

PRIMERA MESA REDONDA DE PALENQUE PART II.

*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

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

CONTENTS

FLOYD G. LOUNSBURY	
The Inscription of the Sarcophagus Lid at Palenque	5
CHARLES H. SMILEY	
Dates on the Palenque Sarcophagus Cover	21
GEORGE KUBLER	
Mythological Ancestries in Classic Maya Inscriptions	23
ARTHUR G. MILLER	
West and East in Maya Thought: Death and Rebirth at Palenque and Tulum	45
MICHAEL D. COE	
A Carved Wooden Box from the Classic Maya Civilization	51
DAVID JORALEMON	
Ritual Blood-Sacrifice among the Ancient Maya: Part 1	59
MARTA FONCERRADA DE MOLINA	
Reflexiones en torno a Palenque como Necrópolis	77
PAUL GENDROP	
Consideraciones Sobre la Arquitectura de Palenque	81
S. JEFFREY K. WILKERSON	
Cultural Subareas of Eastern Mesoamerica	89
DONALD ROBERTSON	
Some Remarks on Stone Relief Sculpture at Palenque	103
MOISES MORALES M.	
The “Pais de Pacal”	125

The Inscription of the Sarcophagus Lid at Palenque

FLOYD G. LOUNSBURY

YALE UNIVERSITY

Thirteen dates, stated as days of the Calendar Round, are inscribed on the edges of the lid to the sarcophagus in the crypt below the Temple of the Inscriptions (see Figs. 1 to 11).¹ With each glyph there is associated a name glyph or appellative phrase, either in immediate juxtaposition, as with the last eleven dates, or at a short removal but with unambiguous reference nonetheless, as in the case of the first pair of dates. Though there are thirteen dates, there are apparently no more than ten, nor fewer than eight, individuals named in connection with them. Some persons are named in connection with more than one date. There can be no doubt about these being name glyphs, since seven of them can be equated with those which accompany the figures of the persons depicted on the sides of the sarcophagus, and since Heinrich Berlin (1959) has given a convincing demonstration that these latter are name glyphs of the persons depicted.

It is not yet possible to give secure readings for more than a few of the name glyphs. Hypotheses will be

offered — to the extent possible at this time — in connection with the ensuing review of the dates with which they are associated. The letters *A* to *M* have been assigned to the dates to facilitate reference to them, as well as to the associated personages.

In association with each date in the inscription there is also the designation of an event. The first two dates occur in other inscriptions at Palenque (see below), and the individual and the events associated with those dates are now well established. This individual, we now know, bore the name of Pacal or “Shield”, and the dates *A* and *B* are those of his birth and his death.² It is he whose remains lie in the sarcophagus. Of the remaining events, two are indicated as katun endings, and the other nine are designated by a glyph that is apparently T23.19.585a, with variable positioning of the prefixes. Until the significance of this glyph has been ascertained, it will be referred to as the ‘quincunx’ glyph, after its mainsign T585a. It will be abbreviated as ‘Q’. But this should not be taken to imply

¹The rubbings of glyphs which are reproduced in Figures 1-10, and the drawing of the entire inscription which is given in Figure 11, were made by Merle Greene Robertson. The latter is based on separate photographs of each individual glyph which were taken by her during the summer of 1974.

This paper was undertaken at the instigation of Linda Schele. It incorporates some of her results, and it owes much to discussions and correspondence with her. The debt owed to the published works of Heinrich Berlin, George Kubler, Tatiana Proskouriakoff, and Alberto Ruz requires especial acknowledgment. Criticisms and suggestions received from Michael Coe, David Kelley, George Kubler, Joyce Marcus, Peter Mathews, Tatiana Proskouriakoff, and Merle Robertson, based on a preliminary draft of this paper, are also gratefully acknowledged. To the extent that these have been incorporated in this present version, it is an improvement over the earlier one; and where they have not, it may still remain open to criticism. Such infelicities and extravagances of interpretation as readers may find here must thus be attributed to the writer and not to his generous critics. The author is indebted to Dumbarton Oaks for the opportunity provided during the academic year 1973-74 to work on this and related problems having to do with Maya writing, and to Elizabeth Benson for her constant stimulation and advice.

²See Mathews and Schele, in volume 1 of these reports. The equivalence between the three principal variants of the crucial glyph was established by Thompson. It was posited as an appellative or personal name by Kubler. The determination of its reading rests in part on Kelley’s decipherment of a similar name in inscriptions at Chichen Itza, and in part on additional supportive evidence not yet published. See Thompson 1950: 38b (“Interchangeability ...”), and figure 2.29-31 with notes on same; Kubler 1969: 18-22; and Kelley 1962: 304-305 and figure 49.

TABLE 1: The Dates on the Edges of the Sarcophagus Lid

1. Date and location in text	2. Calendar Round day	3. Placement in the Long Count	4. Event characterization
A (1-2)	8 Ahau 13 Pop	9. 8. 9.13. 0	Birth of Pacal
B (4-5)	6 Etz'nab 11 Yax	9.12.11. 5.18	Death of Pacal (at age 4.1.10.18)
C (16)	5 Caban 5 Mac	9. 4.10. 4.17	Q: CAUAC-UINAL
D (18)	7 Cib 4 Kayab	9. 6.11. 0.16	Q: Kan-Xul
E (20)	9 Manik 5 Yaxkin	9. 6.16.10. 7	Q: CAUAC-UINAL
F (22-23)	7 Ahau 3 Kankin	9. 7. 0. 0. 0	Katun ending: Bahlum
G (25)	11 Chicchan *3 Kayab	9. 7. 9. 5. 5	Q: Bahlum
H (28)	2 Eb 20 Ceh (0 Mac)	9. 8.11. 6.12	Q: Lady Ik
I (31-32)	2 Cimi 14 Mol	9. 8.19. 4. 6	Q: Aahc-Kan
J (37-38)	3 Chuen 4 Uayeb	9. 8.18.14.11	Q: Pacal
K (43-44)	1 Ahau 8 Kayab	9.10. 0. 0. 0	Katun ending: Lady Zac-Kuk
L (42, 46)	4 *Chicchan 13 *Yax	9.10. 7.13. 5	Q: Lady Zac-Kuk
M (48-49)	13 Cimi 4 Pax	9.10.10. 1. 6	Q: Kan-Bahlum-Mo'o

NOTES: Date G in the inscription has 4 Kayab, which is not possible.
 For the interpretation of the day and month signs of date L, see text.
 For alternative possible readings of date H, and the reasons for the above choice, also see text.

any presupposition that it is the quincunx component of the glyph that names or defines the nature of the events designated.

The dates are listed in Table 1, beginning with those which the viewer faces when standing in the entryway to the crypt and proceeding in linear order, left to right, from there. The letters assigned to the dates, together with the locations of the dates in the glyph sequence, are in column 1 of the table. The Calendar Round days named at these locations are in column 2. Their Long Count placements, which are arrived at in the course of the arguments about to be presented, are given in column 3. Finally, in column 4, are the characterizations of the events that are stated in the inscription to have occurred on those dates. The most frequent type of event is the one designated by the 'Q' glyph mentioned above, concerning the nature of which we remain non-committal until the end of the paper. In column 4, accordingly, it is simply labeled as 'Q'. Also in column 4 are the designations adopted here for the persons involved in or associated with those events and dates. These designations (except for the ones which are entirely in upper-case letters) are intended as serious hypotheses — though of course tentative in varying de-

grees — as to the probable readings, or partial readings, of the name glyphs of those persons. They are not intended simply as frivolous nicknames or whimsical glyph labels. The reasons for the choice of each hypothetical name, or name component, are only partly presented here. They are included in each case following those given for the Long Count placements of the respective dates. We turn now to these. Consideration of the possible meaning of the 'Q' glyph will be postponed till last.

PACAL'S DATES: A AND B

The date *A* of the sarcophagus lid is 8 Ahau 13 Pop (glyphs 1-2). This same Calendar Round day is recorded with the Initial Series date 9.8.9.13.0 on the inscribed stairway of House C of the Palace, where it is named as the day of the birth of Pacal. It is followed there by the distance number 12.9.8, leading to what is designated as the accession or inauguration of Pacal, which latter would then have to have been on 5 Lamat 1 Mol, 9.9.2.4.8. The glyphic phrase designating accession or inauguration there is one which is used for this type of event also in the inscriptions of the Temples of the Cross, the Foliated Cross, and the Sun, as well as in the

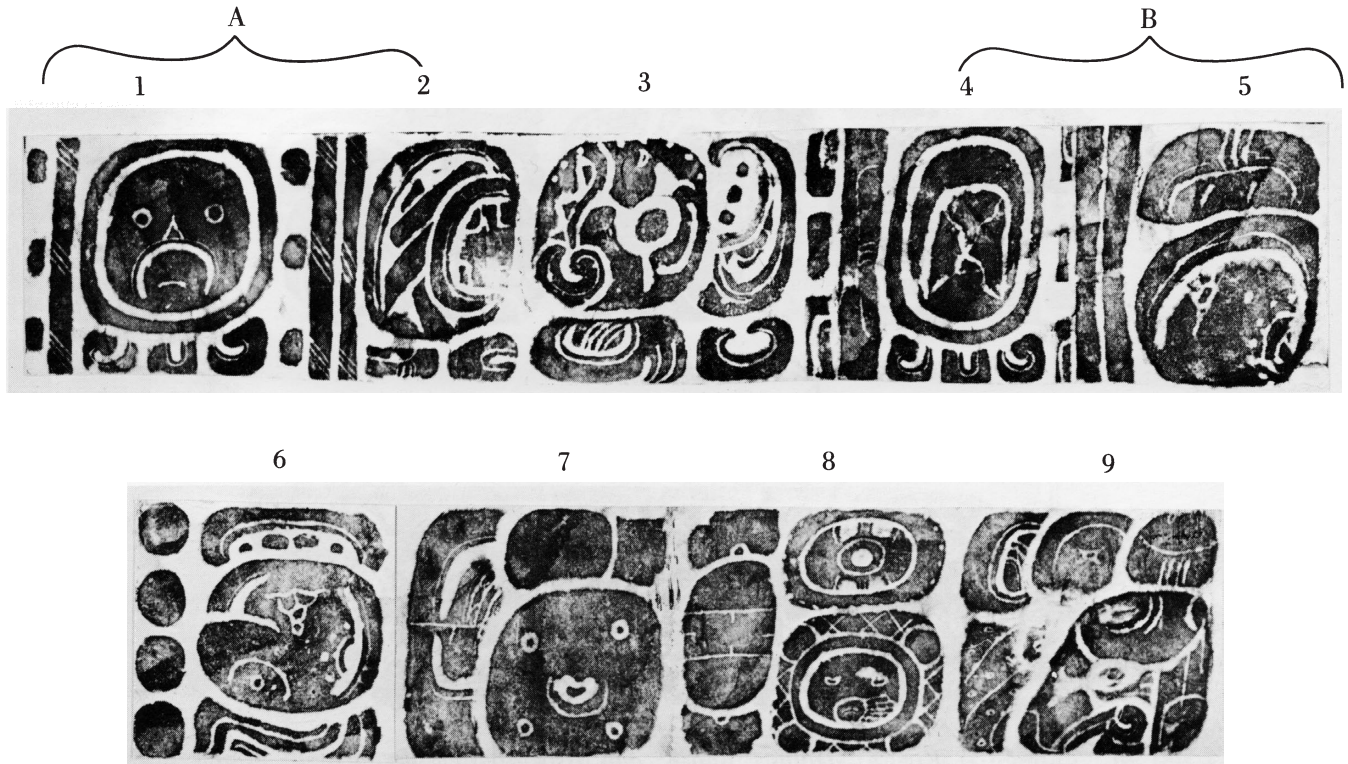


Fig. 1. Dates A and B, and associated glyphs.

west panel of the Temple of the Inscriptions. Since its meaning can hardly be doubted, it appears that Pacal was barely out of boyhood when he was installed as the holder or heir to whatever title the lords of Palenque held.

The same information is recorded again in the west panel of the Temple of the Inscriptions in the passage E1-E9, where the day of Pacal's birth is given as 8 Ahau 13 Pop, the day of his accession as 5 Lamat 1 Mol, and where it is stated (correctly) that the latter day was 2.4.8 after the katun-ending 3 Ahau 3 Zotz. Since that katun-ending was 9.9.0.0.0, Pacal's accession was then 9.9.2.4.8, 5 Lamat 1 Mol, and his birth would then have to have been 9.8.9.13.0, 8 Ahau 13 Pop, all of which is in precise agreement with what is recorded on the hieroglyphic steps. In addition to this information, there is a Distance Number at the beginning of the passage, which, according to the sentence formula used in the Palenque inscriptions, must give the distance between the following two dates, i.e., between the birth and the accession of Pacal. This has to be read 12.9.8. The only unusual feature here is the manner in which the second digit, 9, is written in this Distance Number. It must be, as Teeple has pictured it (1931: 82, fig. 17.A3) a representation of three *ox* signs, i.e., three "threes" (cf. the diagnostic feature of the head-variant numeral "three", Thompson 1950: fig. 24, nos. 12, 13, 17; also Dresden

Codex 9b). In any case, the distance between the two Calendar Round days recorded in that passage, namely from 8 Ahau 13 Pop to 5 Lamat 1 Mol, is 12.9.8.

We can be certain, then, that date A of the sarcophagus lid, 8 Ahau 13 Pop (glyphs 1-2), is the same date as that recorded in the two other texts just mentioned, and that this records the birth of Pacal. It is followed here also by the "Birth" sign (in glyph 3) and by Pacal's name (in glyph 8). And it is therefore certain that its place in the Long Count must be 9.8.9.13.0.

Date B of the sarcophagus lid is given as 6 Etz'nab 11 Yax (glyphs 4-5). This date is recorded elsewhere also, and has previously been interpreted as the death date of this ruler (cf. Kubler 1969: 22). It is in the west panel of the Temple of the Inscriptions, at T5. Its context there fixes it at 9.12.11.5.18 (cf. Kubler, loc. cit.). There is a pretty clear reference to the death of Pacal at the end of that pair of columns (S12b-T12), and a distance number 4.1.10.18 (T6-S7) appears to give his age at death and to relate this apparent death date to the birth date that is recorded for him in the three locations mentioned above. And the chronological distance from 8 Ahau 13 Pop 9.8.9.13.0 to 6 Etz'nab 11 Yax 9.12.11.5.18 is indeed exactly 4.1.10.18, just as recorded in TI-west (T6-S7). Dates A and B, then, can be regarded as securely placed in the Long Count (cf. Mathews and Schele, in volume 1 of these reports). If this interpretation of the significance

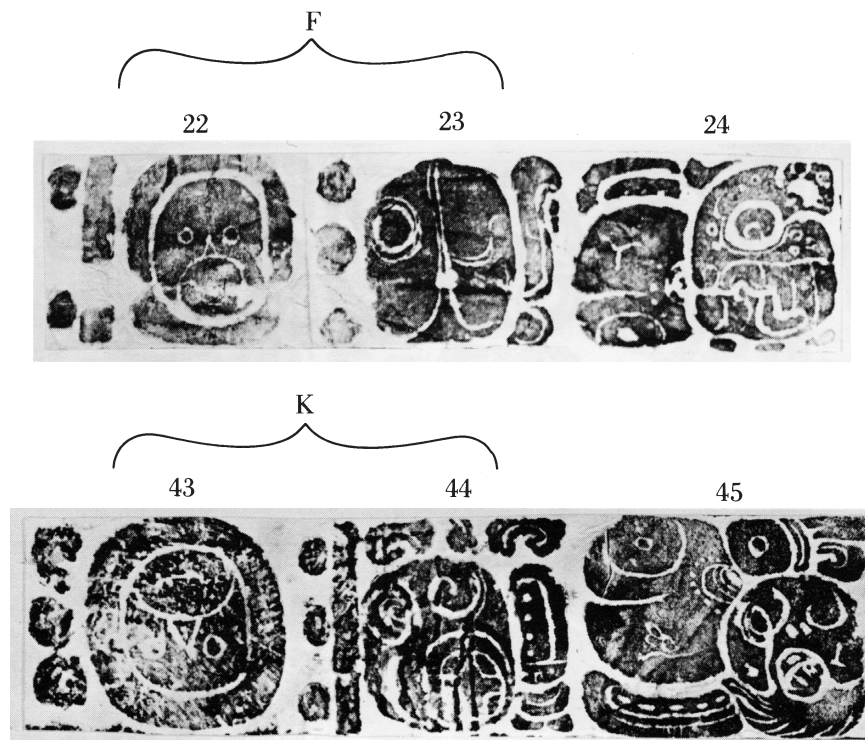


Fig. 2. Dates *F* and *K*, and associated glyphs.

of date *B* is correct, it would appear that Pacal, the presumed occupant of the sarcophagus, must have been older at his death than had been estimated on the basis of the skeletal examination (Dávalos and Romano 1954). The inscriptional evidence, if correctly interpreted, would give him an age of 80 years and 158 days at his death.

THE KATUN ENDINGS: DATES *F* AND *K*

Before attempting to place the remaining dates in the Long Count, it is necessary to take note of the two chronological mileposts that serve to give us our bearings. Date *F*, 7 Ahau 3 Kankin (glyphs 22-23), is marked in glyph 24a as being the end of a katun.³ Its Long Count position, then, can only be 9.7.0.0.0.⁴ This date, or perhaps the katun ‘seated’ on this date, is marked in glyph 24b as being associated with or named for the same person whose ‘Q’ date and ‘Q’ glyph follow in glyphs 25 and 26.

Date *K*, 1 Ahau 8 Kayab (glyphs 43-44), is also marked, in glyph 45a, as being the end of a katun. Its position in the Long Count then can only be 9.10.0.0.0. This is marked in glyph 45b as being associated with the same person whose ‘Q’ date straddles the katun-ending date, in glyphs 42 and 46, and whose ‘Q’ glyph follows in 47.

Dates *F* and *K* are thus also securely placed in the Long Count.

THE INTERMEDIATE DATES: *G*, *H*, *I*, AND *J*

If these katun-ending guideposts are to be taken with their usual significance, then it must be assumed that the Calendar Round days that lie between them in the inscription must be assigned Long Count positions intermediate between 9.7.0.0.0 and 9.10.0.0.0. Since this interval, three katuns, is only slightly more than one Calendar Round, there can be very little room for juggling. As a matter of fact, there turns out to be no room at

³The glyph marking dates *F* and *K* as katun endings is the one commonly called “seating of the haab”, following Thompson (1950: 119-122, figure 19.37-45). Its principal use is to mark the ending days of katuns (or “seating” days of those about to begin), but it is occasionally employed also for the ending days of other round-number periods, such as lahuntuns or oxlahuntuns. When it is one of these latter, there are separate indications of that in the texts. In the absence of such special indications here, it can be assumed with fair certainty that these are katun endings. The glyph has two principal forms: a compound form consisting of the “seating” sign and the Cauac/haab/tun sign; and a portmanteau form incorporating the distinctive features of these two signs within one cartouche. It is this latter form which we find marking dates *F* and *K*.

⁴The combination of a particular day in the Calendar Round with a particular position in a katun, such as ending point, can happen only once in every 18,720 years (i.e., vague years or haabs), or once in every 18,980 tuns, which is equal to 2 pictuns 7 baktuns and 9 katuns (2.7.9.0.0.0).

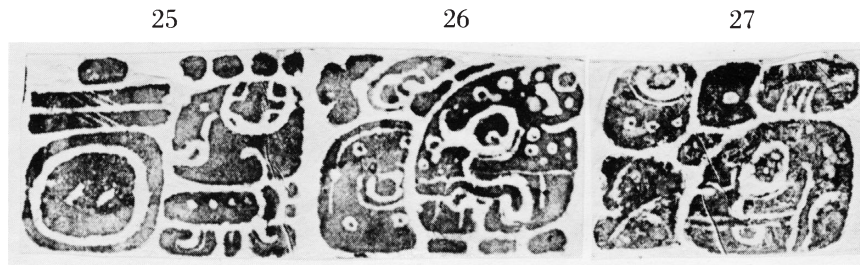


Fig. 3. Date *G* and associated glyphs.

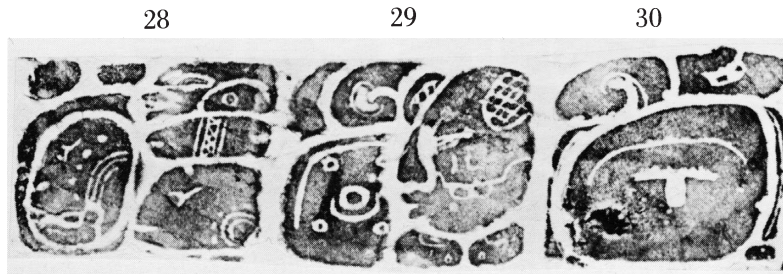


Fig. 4. Date *H* and associated glyphs.

all. Moving any one of them forward or back by the amount of one Calendar Round would put it outside of the 9.7 and 9.10 katun limits. There is, however, a minor problem with date *G* (glyph 25), and a more difficult one with date *H* (glyph 28); but both appear to be resolvable. The dates *I* and *J* (glyphs 31-32 and 37-38 respectively) pose no difficulties. The four dates are considered in sequence below, along with some discussion of the name glyphs of the personages associated with them.

Date *G* is clearly recorded, in glyph 25, as 11 Chicchan 4 Kayab. This, however, is an impossible Calendar Round day, since Chicchan can fall only on the 3rd, 8th, 13th, or 18th day of a month. It must be a scribal or sculptural error, and Ruz (1954: 93) has amended it to 3 Kayab. This is the simplest and most plausible correction that can be made. Accepting it, the place of this date in the Long Count must be 9.7.9.5.5.

The person of date *G*, who is also the one of the katun-ending date *F*, is named twice in the inscription of the lid, in glyphs 24b and 26b. His name glyph is a recognizable jaguar head (T751) with a three-dot suffix or pedestal (T142). In glyph 24 it is compounded with the katun-ending sign that names the significance of date *F*, and in glyph 26 it is compounded with the 'Q' glyph which states the significance of date *G*. In the latter instance it is followed, in glyph 27, by a Palenque emblem glyph. One of the figures depicted on the sides of the

sarcophagus (East-2) is identified by this same name glyph, and the jaguar head in the headgear of this portrait further bears out the identification.⁵ It would seem quite safe to call this person "Jaguar," or "Bahlum" in Ch'ol, on the basis of these three instances of his name glyph and the identifying nominal component of his headgear. Date *F* may then be referred to as the 'katun' date of Bahlum, and date *G* the 'Q' date of Bahlum. These are 9.7.0.0.0, 7 Ahau 3 Kankin, and 9.7.9.5.5, 11 Chicchan 3 Kayab, respectively.

Date *H* (glyph 28) presents a problem of identification. The *tzolkin* day in 28a is clearly legible as 2 Eb. The month sign in 28b is clearly Ceh. Its superfix however, which should give the day of the month, is an unfamiliar sign. Since Eb can only be the zero day, or the 5th, 10th, 15th, or 20th day of a month, the choice is among these. Ruz (1954: p. 93 and fig. 9) suggested zero or ten. For the sake of completeness, however, the consequences of all five possibilities are considered here. Their Long Count positions, within the 9.7.0.0.0 to 9.10.0.0.0 limits, are as follows:

2 Eb 0 Ceh:	9.9.11.10.12
2 Eb 5 Ceh:	9.9. 6. 9.12
2 Eb 10 Ceh:	9.9. 1. 8.12
2 Eb 15 Ceh:	9.8.16. 7.12
2 Eb 20 Ceh:	9.8.11. 6.12

⁵Drawings of the figures on the sides of the sarcophagus may be seen in Ruz 1958 (figures 13, 14, pp. 104-105) or in Kubler 1969 (figure 40). Rubbings of the figures are reproduced in Greene 1967, plates 17-30. Berlin's paper on the nominal glyphs (1959) makes all of the identifications between figures on the sides of the sarcophagus and glyphs in the inscription of the lid which are made here, except for the one of East-2 as the person of date *G*, and the one of East-1 as the person of date *C* and/or *E*.

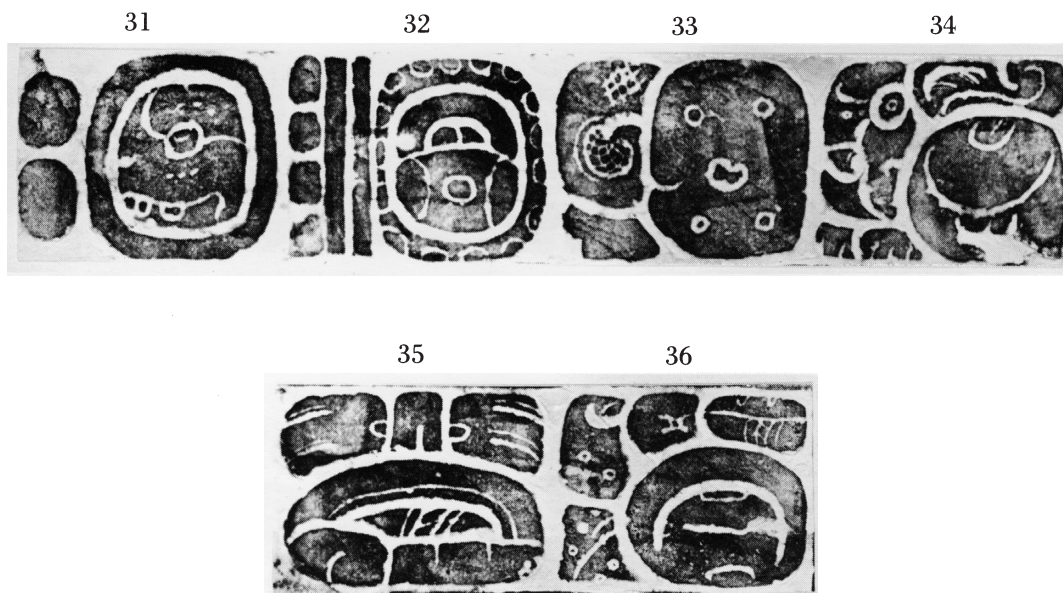


Fig. 5. *Date I and associated glyphs.*

When an earlier draft of this paper was being written, and when only the small-scale published drawing of the inscription (Ruz 1954: fig. 9; Kubler 1969: fig. 28) and another to only slightly larger scale by Linda Schele (unpublished) were available to me, I was inclined to regard the questionable superfix as most likely a hand form — perhaps poorly executed or slightly damaged — and to take it as a possibly unique instance of the use of the hand “completion” sign in the otherwise unprecedented function of indicating the end or final day of a month.⁶ Accordingly I tentatively interpreted date *H* as 2 Eb 20 Ceh (another way of saying 2 Eb 0 Mac), 9.8.11.6.2. But after having an opportunity to see the full-scale rubbings of the glyphs made by Merle Greene Robertson, and more recently having seen her new head-on photographs of the individual glyphs (taken during the summer of 1974) and her drawing made on the basis of those photographs (published here as Fig. 11), I must acknowledge that it would take a very determined imagination to see a hand in this superfix. It is not that. Nevertheless there is a wholly independent reason (which will be noted at the end of this article) for selecting the last of the hypothetically possible Long Count

positions enumerated in the above list, *vix.*, 9.8.11.6.12, as the only plausible one of the five. This, then, entails reading the Calendar Round day of date *H* as 2 Eb 20 Ceh; and it is this date which has been entered in the Table. Thus, hand or no hand, I am led to posit a meaning of “end”, or else of “twenty”, for the unfamiliar superfix of glyph 28b.

The name glyph of the person of date *H*, at 29b-30, consists of the day-sign Ik (T503) with a superfix of uncertain identity (T86?) and unknown value, and with a pair of narrow flanking appendages that may possibly also be affixes, and with a preposed head of the form that marks the names of female personages. This same name glyph appears also beside one of the figures on the side of the sarcophagus (East-3), which apparently was intended to represent this person.⁷ We cannot be far off if we call her “Lady Ik”, though this can hardly be a full rendering of her name because it does not take account of the superfix or the possible flanking affixes. The Ik component, however, can surely be regarded as definite; and so also can the sense of the female prefix.

The Ik sign, as is well known, was an important symbol at Palenque, being built into the walls in several

⁶The hand as “completion” is employed as a marker of the ends of longer periods, most frequently katuns (as in TI-east: C5, L5, O2, R12) but sometimes other periods (such as the oxlahuntun in TI-east: M1). The sign for the ends of months on the other hand — when the last day of a month is so designated rather than as the “seating” day of the next month — is more commonly a tun sign (as in TC: D9). Cf. Thompson 1950, figure 5.40-46 for illustrations of the former, and figure 19.21-27 for the latter; see also figure 32.1-11, 22, and 24-29 for the hand in various “completion” signs, and figure 25.37-45 and 57-58 for its use in “completion”(?) or “zero” signs. The hand as part of a “zero” sign is only in composition with the shell sign or with a face, and its use as such is only as an alternative way of specifying “0 days” in the last position of an Initial Series date (e.g., TC: A7; TFC: A7).

⁷There are in fact two portrayals of women accompanied by this name glyph on the sides of the sarcophagus, *viz.*, East-3 and West-2. The one of West-2, however, has an additional name glyph intervening between the “female” head sign and the Ik sign with its affixes. I doubt that these represent the same person.

In regard to the head form that marks the names of female persons, see Berlin 1959, and Proskouriakoff 1960: 471.

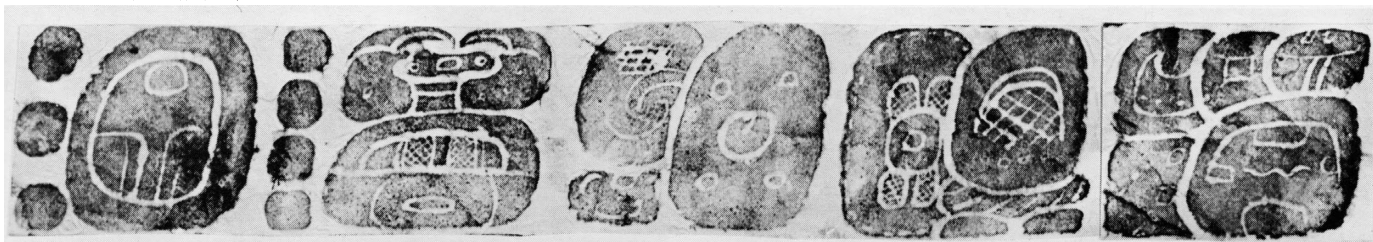


Fig. 6. Date *J* and associated glyphs.

places in the Palace and also in the Temple of the Inscriptions. We cannot be sure of its significance in this context, but it may have been a lineage symbol, or it may have derived from a cult of the Evening Star. (Ik is the canonical day for first visibility of Evening Star at the horizon, beginning that particular Evening Star period in the Venus calendar that is just prior to the Ahau heliacal rising of Morning Star; which latter in turn is the most important of these, being the one that begins a new Venus-Haab cycle; see pages 46-50 of the Dresden Codex; note also the several Ik days in the first half of the inscription of the Temple of the Cross.) As a name for persons, Ik may have been a traditional female name that was the prerogative of a ruling lineage — possibly one claiming descent from the Evening Star.

Date *H* is marked in glyph 29a as the ‘Q’ date of the person whom we are calling “Lady Ik.” This abbreviated rendering of her name is probably correct as far as it goes, and at least it is apt as a label. Should the value of the unread superfix eventually be determined, a fuller rendering may replace it. Of the five different possibilities that were enumerated for the reading and the Long Count placement of date *H*, we have chosen 2 Eb 20 Ceh, 9.8.11.6.12, as the most likely. The reason for this choice will be given later, after consideration of the apparent meaning of the ‘Q’ glyph.

Date *I* (glyphs 31-32) is without complications. It is clearly legible as 2 Cimi 14 Mol. Its only possible place in the Long Count, within the 9.7 to 9.10 katun interval, is 9.8.19.4.6. Glyph 33 marks this as the ‘Q’ date of the person who is named in glyphs 34-36. This person’s part of the inscription, consisting of six glyphs, is all that there is recorded on the north edge of the lid. The phrase by which he is named consists of three glyphs. The third of these, no. 36, is a Palenque emblem glyph (T40?.168:570).⁸ The second, no. 35, may be a heredit-

ary noble name of some sort; it appears to be the same (in its essential components, T74:565a) as that of a mythological character named in the Temples of the Cross, the Sun, and the Foliated Cross, whose ‘birth’ is there associated with the first seasonal reversal of the *haab* calendar.⁹ It is the first glyph of the group, no. 34, that is probably the one best considered as the personal name, or the particularizing part of the personal name, of this individual. It is a compound of the turtle-head sign (T743) and the Kan day-sign or “maize” sign (T506) with a subfix under the former and a superfix over the latter, both of uncertain identity. As a tentative approximation, the expression “Turtle-Maize” may serve as a designation for this person. A Chol equivalent would be “Aahc-Kan.” But even if the identification and readings of the two main components of this name glyph should be correct (which seems reasonably probable¹⁰), it would still be only a partial rendering of the name of this person, since it does not take the affixes into account; nor does it include a rendering of the next glyph, no. 35. This person does not appear to be depicted on the sides of the sarcophagus; at least his name glyph is not found adjacent to any of the figures there. Date *I*, his ‘Q’ date, 2 Cimi 14 Mol, is securely placed at 9.8.19.4.6.

Date *J* (glyphs 37-38) is also without complications. It is 3 Chuen 4 Uayeb. Its only possible place in the Long Count, within the 9.7 to 9.10 katun interval, is 9.8.18.14.11. The person of date *J* is referred to in glyphs 40 and 41, following the ‘Q’ glyph at 39. Glyph 41 is a Palenque emblem glyph (T38?.168:570). The person’s name is in glyph 40. It is one of the standard variants of the name Pacal, combining a shield sign (T624a) with a phonetic spelling consisting of a *pa* sign (T602), a *ca* sign (T25), and a *la* or *al* sign (T178).¹¹ This raises the question of whether there is reference here to the same Pacal who is named in glyph 8 and is associated with dates *A*

⁸See Berlin 1958.

⁹The locations of the name glyph of this mythological character in the three mentioned temples are TC.D17, TS.D10, and TFC.D5-6. The associated dates are 1.18.5.3.2 (TC), 1.18.5.3.6 (TS), and 1.18.5.4.0 (TFC). I see no good reason not to accept Bowditch’s interpretation (1906) of the calendrical significance of this group of dates, even though their contexts appear to impose a mythological interpretation.

¹⁰We follow Thompson (1962: 324-6) in the identification of the head, for which there is a good deal of support in the Maya codices. This is in agreement with Tozzer and Allen (1910: 321-3), Zimmermann (1956: 67-68), Knorozov (1967: 98), and Kelley (1962: 23). The proposed reading, besides being the obvious one, receives a modicum of support from Landa’s presentation of this sign as one of three which he gave for the vowel *a*; and it is in agreement with the interpretations of Knorozov and Kelley, as well as with the earlier ones of Valentini (1880: 79-80) and Brinton (1895: 126).

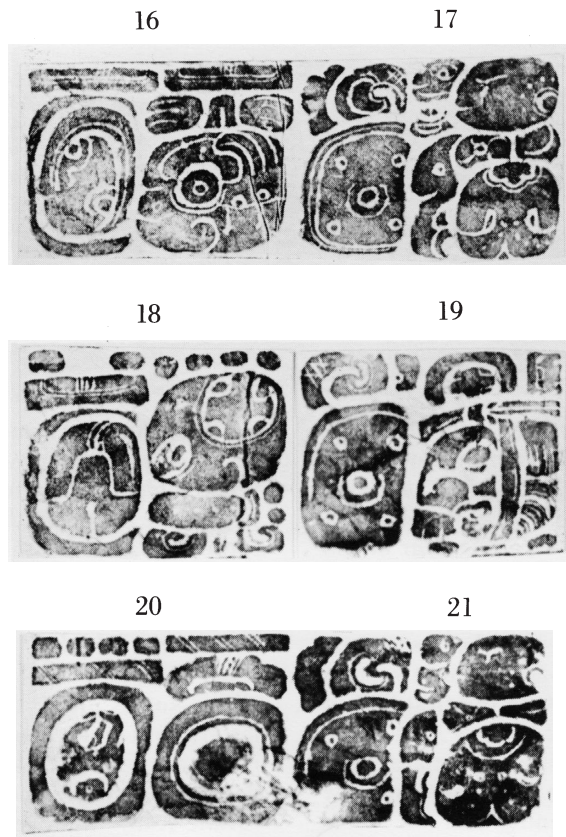


Fig. 7. Dates *C*, *D*, and *E*, and associated glyphs.

and *B*, or whether we have to do here with another person who bore this same name. (Glyph 8b is a doubly iconic variant, T624a:624b, whereas glyph 40 is iconic and phonetic. The one of glyph 40, like that of glyph 8, is relatable elsewhere to the dates of *A* and *B*. But date *J* is nowhere else relatable to any variant of the Pacal glyph, other than right here.) For the time being we may leave open the question of whether there are one or two Pacals being referred to in this inscription. We can simply say that the individual of date *J* bore this name, and that his 'Q' date, 3 Chuen 4 Uayeb, is fixed at 9.8.1814.11. If it is the same Pacal as the one named at the beginning of the inscription, and whose tomb this must be, then that Pacal was of age 9.1.11 when this 'Q' event of his occurred. But if this is not the same person, then the 'Q' event of date *J* was that of some other "Pacal."

THE EARLIER DATES: C, D, AND E

For the same reasons that it could be assumed that

the dates *G*, *H*, *I*, and *J* must lie between the katun-ending dates *F* and *K*, it can also be assumed that the dates *C*, *D*, and *E* must precede the katun-ending date *F*, i.e., that they must be placed in the Long Count before 9.7.0.0.0. If we assume that the order of listing in the inscription agrees with the intended chronological order, and that each date precedes the following one by an interval of less than a Calendar Round, then date *E* will necessarily be placed at 9.6.16.10.7, date *D* at 9.6.11.0.16, and date *C* at 9.4.10.4.17. These are not exactly gratuitous assumptions, since although the inscription is no doubt deliberately economical, it is not expectable that it should be economical to the point of admitting uncontrollable ambiguity. In other words, if the assumed conditions were not applicable, we should have expected the insertion of one or more additional katun-ending guide-posts. These assumptions however, at this stage of the argument, should be regarded only as tentative working hypotheses. Accordingly, the Long

¹¹See Mathews and Schele in volume 1 of these reports; also the cover monogram and the explanatory note on page ii; and cf. note 2 of this paper.

¹²Conclusive supporting evidence is available in other Palenque inscriptions, but its presentation must await a later publication. Although these three Long Count positions are characterized here as tentative hypotheses, I have no doubt about their correctness. I should acknowledge, however, that it was Linda Schele who convinced me of these and who marshalled evidence for them, causing me to give up alternative hypotheses that put dates *C* and *D* one Calendar Round earlier than I now have them.

Count positions for dates *C*, *D*, and *E* which depend on them should also be taken as hypotheses for which conclusive supporting evidence has yet to be adduced.¹²

The person of date *C* is named in glyph 17b, following his ‘Q’ glyph in 17a. The one of date *E* is named in 21b, following his ‘Q’ glyph in 21a. Either they are the same person, or else they are two different persons with the same name; for each of the two name glyphs consists of the same five parts: a *Cauac/haab/tun* sign (equivalent to T528), a ‘dotted *uinal*’ sign (T522), and three affixes (lacking T-numbers). One of these, which is either a suffix to the *Cauac/haab/tun* sign or a superfix to the dotted *uinal* sign, consists of two parts that somewhat resemble (depending on one’s imagination) a four-petaled flower and a leaf. The other two are prefixes. The lower one of these has features of a bird head with eye and upper beak. The lateral cusp and the edging line of the beak are its distinctive attributes and suggest something from the parrot family. The upper prefix is less clear. It somewhat resembles the small head (fish head?) that is sometimes infixed into the *Cauac/haab/tun* sign when it serves in the value *tun*, especially in period-ending signs. Of the figures depicted on the sides of the sarcophagus, the first one on the east side (East-1) is identified by a glyph that has at least three of these five parts. It has the *Cauac/haab/tun* sign, but it lacks the dotted *uinal*. It clearly has the parrot-head affix, but as a postfix rather than as a prefix. And it also has the flower-and-leaf affix, but here it is a superfix to the *Cauac* rather than a suffix to it. And to the left of the *Cauac/haab/tun* sign is a prefix that may or may not be the same as the upper prefix which it has in 17b and 21b of the lid. Moreover, these name symbols appear also in the headgear worn by this personage, where three of the elements can be identified. The main element in the headgear is the beaked head with a distinctive curl on the nostril — a form that often serves as a calendrical *tun* sign, and also, though less often, as a *Cauac* day sign and as a *haab* sign. This head-form *tun* sign is a well-known equivalent and alternative to the normal form of the *Cauac/haab/tun* sign that is in the name glyphs. Surely, then, that must be its function here also in the headgear. Below the beak of this *tun* head there is another beak with the distinctive lateral cusp and edging line that characterizes the parrot-head affix. And behind the *tun* head there is at least the flower element of the flower-and-leaf affix. These elements in the name glyph and in the headgear of the personage on the side of the sarcophagus (East-1) quite surely indicate that this is the person of date *C* and/or of date *E* of the inscription on the lid. And they suggest that the dotted *uinal* sign may be a dispensable element in the name sign. There is no possibility of approximating a plausible

reading or even partial reading of this name glyph. Instead, some label serving to identify the glyph, rather than suggesting a possible reading of it, will have to suffice. For this purpose, and in reference only to the glyphs 17b and 21b of the sarcophagus lid, the label CAUAC-UINAL will be used in the table. (For brevity the affixes are passed over.) It is put in upper-case letters to mark it as merely a glyph label, distinguishing it thus from a seriously proposed hypothesis for a possible reading. The ‘Q’ dates of the person or persons named by this glyph are 5 Caban 5 Mac (date *C*), tentatively placed at 9.4.10.4.17, and 9 Manik 5 Yaxkin (date *E*), tentatively 9.6.16.10.7. The question as to whether they are one person or two will be considered later.

The person of date *D* is named in glyph 19b following his ‘Q’ glyph in 19a. His name glyph consists of the head of an unidentified rodent-like animal (possibly that of T757, 758, or 759) which is tied with a band and knotted at the top, together with a superfixed *kan*-cross (T281) and a *na* or *an* sign (T23).¹³ This person is depicted on the west side of the sarcophagus (West-3), where the name glyph is similar, but with the *kan*-cross infixed into the eye of the animal instead of being carried as a superfix, and without the second affix. And the same head, again with the *kan*-cross in the eye, forms the central part of this person’s headgear as he is depicted there; but this time it is without the bandage and the knot. There is at present no possibility of providing a secure reading for this name glyph. However, the *kan* element is certain enough; and there are some fair reasons for suspecting a reading of *xul* for the animal head, with or without the bandage and knot, and with or without the infix T7 which the month sign of that name usually has.¹⁴ Very tentatively, then, we will call this person “Kan-Xul” on the basis of these two components of his name glyph. The *na* or *an* sign is probably to be understood as a phonetic complement to the *kan* sign, and so is omitted from this designation. His ‘Q’ date, 7 Cib 4 Kayab (date *D*), is tentatively placed at 9.6.11.0.16.

THE LATER DATES: L AND M

The two dates *L* and *M* should apparently be placed in the Long Count after 9.10.0.0.0. At least date *M* should. There might be a question as to whether date *L* should or should not, because, curiously, in the inscription it straddles the 9.10.0.0.0 guidepost. The glyph designating its *tzolkin* day precedes it, while those designating its *habb* day and assigning it to a ‘Q’ event follow it. It is as if the stonecarver had momentarily forgotten about inserting the chronological guidepost until he was already started on the *tzolkin* glyph of the next ‘Q’ date, and, erasure not being possible, inserted it

¹³Knorozov (1955) posited a phonetic value *na* for this sign, without supporting evidence. (Later, 1963, he revised it to *nga*.) There is quite an array of evidence, however, as yet nowhere brought together in print, that is supportive of the *na* hypothesis.

¹⁴The reasons alluded to, for anticipating a reading *xul* for the head with the bandage, as well as for some of the variants of it without the bandage, require further study and more extensive treatment than could be given here. This subject is reserved for a future occasion.



Fig. 8. Date *M* and associated glyphs.

then and there, and continued on to complete the ‘Q’ date that was supposed to follow it.

Considering first date *M*, this is readily placed at 9.10.10.1.6. We assume it could not be a Calendar Round earlier, because that would put it on the wrong side of the 9.10.0.0.0 guidepost. In fact it would throw it back to a position (9.7.17.6.6) just after date *G* and more than a katun before *H*, *I*, and *J*. It would thus be completely out of order. And we assume also that it could not be a Calendar Round later; because that would give it a position (9.13.2.14.6) more than a lahuntun after Pacal’s death. But Pacal’s death date, given the context of this inscription, can pretty surely be taken to be the terminus *post quem non* for the dates of this inscription.

The person of date *M* is named in glyph 50b immediately following his ‘Q’ glyph in 50a, and is named again in glyph 53. The name glyph in each case is a composite head showing the diagnostic features of two different species, one of which is surely the jaguar, and the other of which must be some one of the *psittaciformes*, quite likely the macaw.¹⁵ The person named with this glyph is also among the figures represented on the sides of the sarcophagus, being depicted there twice (North-2 and South-1; see Berlin 1959) and his name glyph appears in both of these places as well as in 50b and 53 on the lid. The parrot-like feature consists of a beak or upper mandible with an edging line and a prominent lateral cusp.¹⁶ It is present in all four occurrences of the glyph. Jaguar features include the usual diagnostic spots and ear form, and also, in glyph 53, an eye having the form of the Ix/Balam day sign. Composite head-form name glyphs marked with features diagnostic of two different kinds of creatures may be presumed to represent compound names. Thus it is likely that the name of this individual was a compound, perhaps something along the lines of “Jaguar-Macaw”. But there must have been a third component in his name also, for three of the instances of his glyph have a *kan* cross infixed into the eye of the jaguar (sarcophagus sides: North-2, South-1; lid: glyph 50) and the fourth instance (glyph 53,

which has the Ix/Balam sign in the eye) has the *kan* cross prefixed to the head instead of infixed in the eye. Thus one may venture a speculative reading of this name glyph as Kan-Bahlum-Mo’o. While there can be no assurance that this prediction is correct, it would seem to be fairly apt and perhaps not improbable. It must at least approximate the sense of the name, and so can serve as an appropriate label of convenience for the person designated by the glyph. It should be noted that this person, in his depictions on the sides of the sarcophagus (North-2, South-1) is wearing especially striking examples of the composite jaguar-macaw head as the name component of his headgear, and that both examples have eyes with the Ix/Balam sign.

Date *M*, the ‘Q’ date of this person, who can tentatively be called Kan-Bahlum-Mo’o, is 13 Cimi 4 Pax. This, as already noted, is quite certainly to be placed at 9.10.10.1.6 in the Long Count.

Turning now to date *L*, the fact that it straddles the katun guidepost is not its only difficulty. There is another. It is difficult to decide whether the *tzolkin* day was meant to be 4 Chicchan or 4 Oc, and further, whether the *haab* day is 13 Chen or 13 Yax. This leaves open four different possibilities:

4 Chicchan 13 Yax	9.10. 7.13. 5
4 Oc 13 Yax	9.11. 0.16.10
4 Chicchan 13 Chen	9.11. 7.17. 5
4 Oc 13 Chen	9.12. 1. 2.10

All four of these hypothetical possibilities satisfy the assumed boundary conditions, namely that the proper date lie between the katun-ending at 9.10.0.0.0 and Pacal’s death date of 9.12.11.5.18. But, if we may appeal both to precedent and to the seeming logic of the arrangement, there is another consideration that is relevant here. It will be recalled that the katun-ending date *F* at 9.7.0.0.0 was ascribed to, or named for, the same person as the one whose ‘Q’ date immediately followed it in the inscription, and moreover that this person’s ‘Q’ date belonged to the katun that was ‘seated’ at that time. This was the person of date *G*, whose name has been

¹⁵I find no glyph of this form in the Thompson catalog (1962).

¹⁶The cusp is not far enough forward to make it likely that one of the *falconiformes* was intended, nor does it have enough of a hook on the end of the beak for one of these. As for the *psittaciformes*, one can only guess which was intended. One of the macaws would seem most probable. The word *mo’o* or *mo’* is applied to these in most Mayan languages.

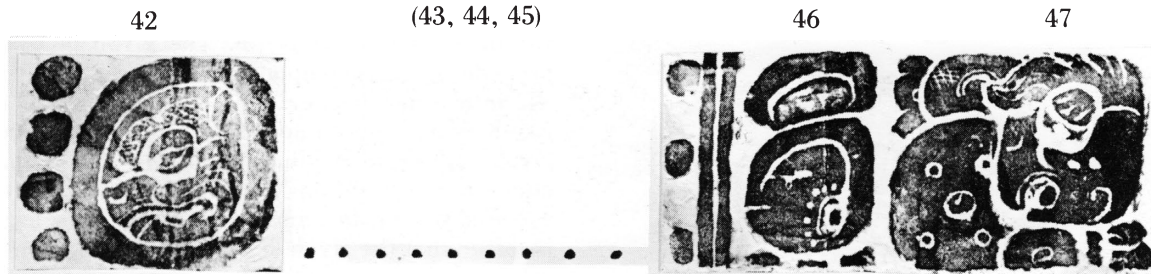


Fig. 9. Date *L* and associated glyph.

tentatively rendered as “Jaguar”, or Bahlum (in Chol). Now in the present case, the katun-ending date *K* at 9.10.0.0.0 is ascribed to, or named for, the same person as the one whose ‘*Q*’ date is date *L*, and this ‘*Q*’ date straddles the katun-ending date *K*. Thus we should expect date *L* to be chronologically adjacent to date *K* in the sequence, and also to belong to the katun that is ‘seated’ on that date. Only the first of the four hypothetical possibilities listed above for date *L* conforms to these additional expectations. Any of the other three would be posterior to date *M*, and thus would fail to fulfill the adjacency desideratum. And besides, any of the others would belong to a later katun, and so would fail also to meet the second expectation. If date *L* were to be any of these, we should have expected the katun-ending date *K* to be named for the person of date *M*, the Kan-Bahlum-Mo’o of the preceding paragraphs, rather than for the person of date *L*; for in any of these cases it would be date *M* that would be adjacent to date *K*, and it would be only date *M* that would belong to the right katun. If we should attempt to make date *M* one Calendar Round later (9.13.2.14.6) in order to provide room for one of the later possibilities for date *L* while preserving the sequence, date *L* would still not belong to the right katun, and date *M* would then fall some 31 years after the death of Pacal. Given its context, this latter date would then have to be interpreted as a projection ahead, and the ‘*Q*’ event ascribed to that day would have to be assigned to the future tense. Being on Pacal’s own sarcophagus, however, and in the company of other dates and events prior to Pacal’s death, such a future assignment may be regarded as quite unlikely. So we conclude that only the first of the four hypothetical possibilities enumerated above satisfies what appear to be the most

reasonable expectations. It is this date, 4 Chicchan 13 Yax, 9.10.7.13.5, that has been entered in the table for date *L*.

This conclusion is at variance with a previous reading of that date as 4 Oc 13 Yax (Ruz 1954, p. 93; Kubler 1969, fig. 28). It is possible to see how the decisions in favor of Oc and Yax were reached, but it is possible also to see how one might have come to the opposite conclusions. The features of the inscribed day sign are ambiguous, and those that should be diagnostic for the month sign are simply missing. When the record is unclear it is usually better to give more weight to circumstantial evidence. Here the circumstantial evidence is quite unambiguous: it favors 4 Chicchan 13 Yax, 9.10.7.13.5. In further defense of this reading of the day sign one may point to the very marked ‘blackened’ or crosshatched area over the eye in the glyph. This is a quite regular feature of the head-form Chicchans in the inscriptions, but it is rare to have such a large one as a feature of Oc (for an example, however, see Thompson, 1950: fig. 8.26).¹⁷

The person of date *L*, as well as of date *K*, is named in glyphs 45b and 47b. In the first of these the name glyph is compounded with the katun-ending sign of 45a, and in the second it is compounded with the ‘*Q*’ glyph of 47a. The name glyph in each case consists of the representation of the head of a bird marked by a distinctive quetzal crest,¹⁸ together with a subfixed *zac* sign (T58). This person is apparently depicted on the sides of the sarcophagus, at each end (North-1 and South-2). The adjacent name glyphs there consist of the same two components, but there the *zac* sign appears as a superfix instead of as a subfix. And in addition, the name is compounded there with the head that designates female

¹⁷Unfortunately, comparison with the other Chicchan day in this inscription won’t help, since that one (glyph 25a) is in the very rare alternative form, T508, instead of the usual head form, T764, which would have been necessary for this purpose.

¹⁸Of the glyph forms in the Thompson catalog it is 744a that comes closest to the form of which we speak, and Thompson has included reference to it under that number. He labeled this glyph-form “macaw” but noted that “there is a possibility, too, that quetzals may be represented” (1962: 326-328). It is hardly to be supposed that glyph forms such as this were executed as accurate portrayals of living species; hence the difficulties in identification if one pays equal attention to all features. More likely, it may be supposed, principal attention was given to particular diagnostics, the ‘distinctive features’ of the conventional glyphic signs. Other features might have been accurate or inaccurate without consequence for the identification and reading of a glyph. In the present case the quetzal crest is almost surely its distinctive feature and the determinant of the word or principal morpheme designated by the glyph. The beak, admittedly, seems too large for a quetzal; either this is a nondistinctive feature and of no consequence, or else the glyph is a portmanteau combining the distinctive features of two different glyphic signs into one and designating a compound name.

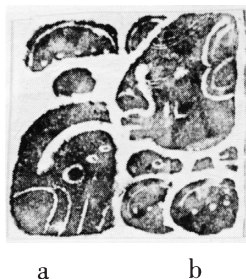


Fig. 10

persons. The implication is that this person was a woman. It seems legitimate to assume that her name must have contained morphemes for “white” and “quetzal”, i.e., *zac* and *kuk*. The latter component is borne out again in the headgear which this person is depicted wearing. The quetzal crest is a standard piece in headgear as such, and appears at the base of the rear set of plumes in the headgear of all but one of the personages depicted on the sides of the sarcophagus. But in the case of this person, the headgear has two quetzal crests: the standard one at the back, and an additional one forward which is the identifying part of the bird head that constitutes the personal or nominal component of the headgear. It appears this way in both depictions. It should be relatively safe then to call this person “Lady White-Quetzal” or “Lady Zac-Kuk.” To do so need not be interpreted as implying any suppositions about nonexistent white quetzal birds. The word *zac*, besides meaning “white”, has a variety of other meanings and connotations ranging from “pale, weak, attenuated, secondary” at one extreme, to “bright, shining, brilliant, resplendent” at another extreme, depending on the particular Mayan language, or in some languages, depending on the context. The latter connotation would of course be precisely correct for the species in question, *Pharomacrus mocinno*, which is known as the Resplendent Quetzal. The suggested Maya rendering of the name glyph as *Zac-Kuk* may thus be more accurate than the English one employing the customary gloss of “white” for *zac*. A better equivalent might be “Lady Resplendent-Quetzal,” using the proper English name of the bird that is indicated in the glyphs and in the headgear.

This lady is quite certainly mentioned also in the glyph 54b, the last glyph of the inscription on the edge of the sarcophagus lid. Here, in 54b, her name glyph is dominated by the head designating a female person. Under this, in horizontal position, is the sign for *zac* (T58); and below this is a pair of elements (T149b) that are quite surely a variant of the phonetic *ku* sign. They are the upper portion of the sign for *ku* that was recorded by Landa, and which, in reduplicated form, is used to spell *kuk* and to designate the quetzal bird in the Dresden Codex, page 16c. Thus, glyph 54b can apparently be interpreted as recording “Lady Zac-Ku(k),” with a trun-

cated or abbreviated rendition of a partially phonetic variant of her name glyph. The glyph of 54a, which precedes it and is compounded with it in the glyph space 54, intervenes between this final reference to Lady Zac-Kuk and the immediately preceding reference, in glyph 53, to Kan-Bahlum-Mo’o. This is a second reference to Kan-Bahlum-Mo’o, and one without an associated second date and event glyph. Thus, a suspicion is raised that the glyph of 54a may specify some kind of relationship between this man and this woman. Be this as it may, the glyph of 54b in any case lends additional support to the proposed reading of “(Lady) Zac-Kuk” for the glyphs 45b and 47b of the lid, as well as for those that accompany the representations of her person on the sides of the sarcophagus (North-1 and South-2).

Date *L*, the ‘Q’ date of Lady Zac-Kuk, we have taken to be 4 Chicchan 13 Yax, 9.10.7.13.5. This is of course to be understood as tentative, depending on the validity of the arguments advanced above, and pending the appearance of further inscriptional evidence that might either support or contradict those arguments and the result that is based on them.

THE ‘Q’ EVENTS

We turn now to the question of the meaning of the ‘Q’ glyph and the nature of the events that it designates. There appears to be a variant of this glyph in position no. 7 of the inscription. The quincunx (T758a) is clear. And there are two superfixes, as well as a prefix. The first of the superfixes is completely illegible: there is only an oval space with no interior markings, as if the carving had not been finished. The second superfix is also vague, but the right-hand edge of it suggests that it is probably the same as one of the two affixes regularly occurring in what we have been calling the ‘Q’ glyph. For present purposes we may hazard the guess that these were indeed intended to be the same two affixes as accompany the quincunx sign in glyphs 17a, 19a, 21a, 26a, 33, 39, 47a, and 50a of this inscription, and accordingly we may entertain the hypothesis that glyph no. 7 is another example belonging to this group. If it is, it provides the key to the meaning of our so-called ‘Q’ glyph.

Glyph no. 7, however, also has a prefix, T679a, which the other ‘Q’ glyphs do not have. This prefix is one which, in some of its uses, marks the second of two date indicators, or the second of two event glyphs, the difference between whose dates is recorded by means of a distance number. It is thus commonly called the “forward” or “posterior date” indicator in those contexts. It has also been suggested that it might be the same glyphic sign as the one that Landa gave in his ‘alphabet’ for the letter *i*, though this is not certain (Thompson 1962: 281), and it has been noted that it has still other occurrences and presumably other uses besides that of the “forward” or “posterior date” indication. In the present context, on the south end of the sarcophagus lid, there are indeed two dates. These are the dates *A* and *B*, in glyphs 1-2 and 4-5. And there are two event glyphs: “birth” in glyph 3, and the ‘Q’ glyph in no. 7. But there is

no distance number. This would seem to rule out the possibility that it had the function of posterior date or posterior event indication here, for nowhere else is it known to have this function in the absence of an associated distance number. Another possibility is suggested by the fact that the region around Palenque is — and in earlier times may also very well have been — Chol country, and by the fact that only in Chol, of all of the Mayan languages, does the preposed third-person nominative and possessive pronoun have the form *i*, rather than *u*, *ru*, *r*, *s*, *ula*, etc. of the other Mayan languages.¹⁹ If this prefix (T679a) really is the same sign as Landa's 'i', one may consider the possibility that its presence in glyph 7 might be as a pronominal indicator. There is, moreover, a pattern found quite frequently in the codices according to which, when several successive phrases which are variable in their other parts employ the same constant verb form, its pronominal prefix is registered with the first occurrence of the verb, and sometimes also with the last, but is omitted from the intervening instances which are elliptic in this respect. This suggests that a third-person pronoun, written with the presumed 'Q' glyph of no. 7 in this series, is to be understood with the others as well. Now in glyph 7, the antecedent of the pronoun can only be Pacal, whose name glyph, in normal Mayan grammatical order, follows the verb. And the verb, i.e. the 'Q' glyph, in this instance as in all of the other instances must be associated with the date that precedes it. But the date that precedes the 'Q' glyph of no. 7 is the same as the day of Pacal's death as given in the Temple of the Inscriptions (TI-west: T5-S6), namely 6 Etz'nab 11 Yax (9.12.11.5.18). This date is followed here, in glyph 6, by the sign that is normally used for the endings of katuns, together with a coefficient of 4. One must presume that this has reference either to the four completed katuns of Pacal's life (he lived to the age of 4.1.10.18, which is 80 years and 158 days) or else to the four katun endings or katun 'seatings' that he lived through and no doubt celebrated in some manner (9.9..., 9.10..., 9.11..., and 9.12...). The reference of the 'Q' event glyph in the case of Pacal then must be his death. Or at least it must be something terminal; if not death, then possibly royal interment.

We are led to conclude, then, that the meaning of the 'Q' glyph is something terminal for an individual: death, or perhaps interment. If this is its meaning, it settles the question of whether there were one or two Pacals, and whether there were one or two with the

name glyph based on the Cauac and dotted uinal signs. There must have been two persons with the name Pacal: one, named in glyph 40, whose end came on 3 Chuen 4 Uayeb, 9.8.18.14.11 (date *J*, glyphs 37-38), when the later Pacal was still a boy of 9 years. This later Pacal's end in turn came on 6 Etz'nab 11 Yax, 9.12.11.5.18 (date *B*, glyphs 4-5) when he was over 80 years of age. This is the one who is named in glyph 8, and whose remains lie in the sarcophagus. Similarly, the person of date *C* and the one of date *E*, named in glyphs 17b and 21b with identical name glyphs, must have been two different persons. The end of the first was on 5 Caban 5 Mac (date *C*, glyph 16) which we think must have been 9.4.10.4.17; and the end of the second came some 45 years after that on 9 Manik 5 Yaxkin (date *E*, glyph 20) which was 9.6.16.10.7.

There is another question which this result helps to answer. It is the question posed earlier as to which one of the five apparent possibilities that were enumerated for date *H* may be the appropriate one. But the answer rests in part also on information from another inscription, the East Panel from the Temple of the Inscriptions. The content of the inscription on this panel will not be dealt with in any detail here (it is the subject of another paper, in preparation); but for present purposes it may be noted that that panel records the accession or "enthronement" dates of eight rulers of Palenque, beginning with that of the person whose death (or interment?) is given in date *C* of the sarcophagus lid, and ending with that of Pacal whose death (or interment) is date *B* of the lid, and including all but two, or possibly three, of the others who are named in the inscription of the lid (two of whom had no accession dates because they were outlived by the ones whom they stood in line to succeed). The relevance of this information to the choice made amongst the five alternative possibilities for the reading of date *H* is this: (1) TI-east, L9-N2, records the accession or enthronement of Aahc-Kan as having been 1.8.0 before the oxlahuntun ending on 5 Ahau 18 Zec, 9.8.13.0.0, thus placing it on 8 Oc 18 Muan, 9.8.11.9.10. (2) If any other choice were made from among the five apparent possibilities for date *H* of the sarcophagus lid, the result would be that the enthronement of Aahc-Kan would have preceded the death (or interment) of his predecessor, Lady Ik. While such a sequence of events cannot be ruled out *a priori* as a hypothetical historical possibility, it must nonetheless be regarded as less likely, since there is no other similar case to offer a precedent in the dynastic history documented in these two inscriptions. Thus,

¹⁹The glyphic *u* prefix also occurs in Palenque inscriptions as a sign for the third-person pronoun. This does not necessarily militate against recognition of the *i* sign (if that's what it is) in this function however. There are two possible ways in which these signs could have alternated with each other. One possibility is that the *u* sign had come to be interpreted as a morpheme sign for third person and so could be used for that meaning regardless of the local pronunciation, while the *i* sign was a phonetic sign and could be used for third person precisely because of its pronunciation. The other possibility is that 7th-century Chol might have had, as Chorti does today, two sets of preposed pronouns where the other languages have but one. The two third-person preposed pronouns in Chorti are *u* and *a*, the choice between them being a function of the grammatical voice of the verb. The second is normal in middle-voice verbs, and "to be born" and "to die" are verbs of that voice. One would have to suppose that the Chol of an earlier period had *u* and *i* in these separate functions. The *u* has precedent in a number of other Mayan languages where it has taken over both functions; the *i* is the Chol form of today.

the choice made for date *H* was the one considered most probable in the light of the pattern of the record taken as a whole.

CONCLUSION

We conclude that the inscription of the sarcophagus lid records first the birth and the death dates — or more guardedly, the ‘initial’ and ‘terminal’ dates — of the occupant of the sarcophagus (in glyph 1-9), together with some additional information pertaining in some way to him (in glyphs 10-15, not discussed here), and then records further the death or ‘terminal’ dates of a series of other persons, possibly ancestors, some of them rulers, all of whom preceded the occupant of this sarcophagus in death. There are nine of these. At least seven of them are also portrayed on the sides of the sarcophagus, two of them — those on the ends — being depicted twice each. The time-span covered by this inscription is from 9.4.10.4.17 to 9.12.11.5.18. The key glyph, referring to the death or other event terminating

the existence or influence of each of these persons, consists of the so-called ‘quincunx’ sign (T585a), or variant of this sign, together with two variably placed affixes of uncertain identity. One of these usually has a hook-shaped line terminating on the base of the cartouche, together with another curve and a cross-hatched area. The other usually has a trilobate form, though in some cases the edge of its cartouche only faintly suggests this. As noted earlier, it is *not* concluded that “death” or some similar concept is the meaning of the quincunx sign itself, but only that this is the meaning of the composite glyph which consists of this *together with the two mentioned affixes*.²⁰

This record of ‘terminal’ dates of presumably royal personages, contained in the inscription on the edges of the sarcophagus lid, can be meshed with the record of accessions or enthronements contained in the east panel of the Temple of the Inscriptions, as well as with a portion of the records of births and accessions contained in the right-hand panel of the Temple of the Cross. These matters will be dealt with elsewhere.

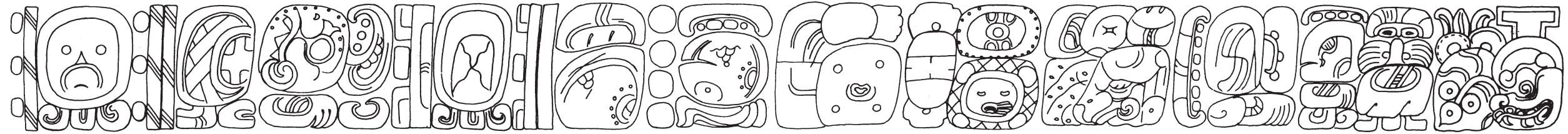
²⁰Further evidence supporting these conclusions, confirming the Long Count positions determined here, and demonstrating that it is the affix with the hook or spiral that is criterial for the meaning of the “death” or “interment” glyph, and that the quincunx sign is dispensable, will be presented in a later publication.

Sarcophagus Edge Palenque

Drawings by Merle Greene Robertson

Photographs taken of each individual glyph with a Nikon micro-lens with distance measured exactly. Preliminary drawings made over photos, then re-checked in the tomb for accuracy.

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12



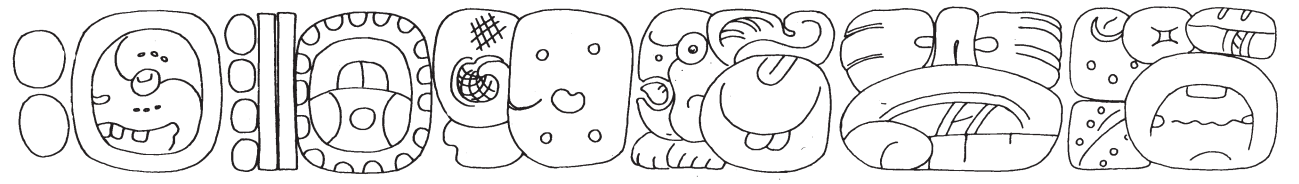
South Edge

13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20 21 22 23 24 25 26 27 28 29 30



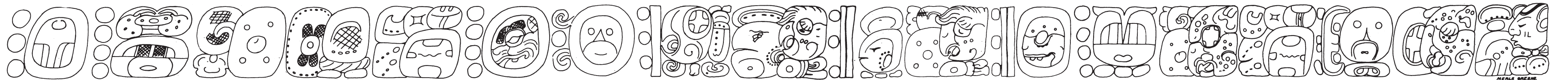
East Edge

31 32 33 34 35 36



North Edge

37 38 39 40 41 42 43 44 45 46 47 48 49 50 51 52 53 54



West Edge

MERLE GREENE

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- BERLIN, HEINRICH
 1958 El Glifo 'Emblema' en las inscripciones Mayas. *Journal de la Société des Américanistes* 47: 111-119. Paris
 1959 Glifos nominales en el sarcófago de Palenque. *Humanidades* vol. 2, no. 10: 1-8. Universidad de San Carlos, Guatemala.
- BOWDITCH, CHARLES P.
 1906 The Temples of the Cross, of the Foliated Cross and of the Sun at Palenque. The University Press. Cambridge, Mass.
- BRINTON, DANIEL G.
 1895 A Primer of Mayan Hieroglyphics. *University of Pennsylvania Series in Philology, Literature, and Archaeology*, vol. 3, no. 2. Philadelphia.
- DÁVALOS H., EUSEBIO, Y ARTURO ROMANO
 1954 Estudio preliminar de los restos osteológicos encontrados en la tumba del Templo de las Inscripciones, Palenque. Appendix to Ruz 1954, q.v., pp. 107-110.
- GREENE, MERLE AND J. ERIC S. THOMPSON
 1967 Ancient Maya Relief Sculpture: The Museum of Primitive Art. New York.
- KELLEY, DAVID H.
 1962a A history of the decipherment of Maya script. *Anthropological Linguistics* 4.8: 1-48. Bloomington, Ind.
 1962b Fonetismo en la escritura Maya. *Estudios de Cultura Maya* 2: 277-317. Mexico.
- KNOROV, YURI V.
 1955 La escritura de los antiguos Mayas (Ensayo de descifrado). Editorial de la Academia de Ciencias de la URSS. Moscow.
 1963 Pisjmiennostj Indieitsev Maiya. Moscow.
 1967 Selected Chapters from The Writing of the Maya Indians (tr. by Sophie Coe). *Russian Translation Series*, vol. 4. Peabody Museum, Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass.
- KUBLER, GEORGE
 1969 Studies in Classic Maya Iconography. *Memoirs of the Connecticut Academy of Arts and Sciences*, vol. 18. New Haven.
- MATHEWS, PETER AND LINDA SCHELE
 1974 Lords of Palenque - The glyphic evidence. *Report of the Primera Mesa Redonda de Palenque*, Part I, pp. 63-76.
- PROSKOURIAKOFF, TATIANA
 1960 Historical implications of a pattern of dates at Piedras Negras, Guatemala. *American Antiquity* 25: 454-475.
- RUZ LIIULLIER, ALBERTO
 1954 Exploraciones en Palenque: 1952. *Anales del Instituto Nacional de Antropología e Historia*, 1952, primera parte: 79-110. Mexico.
 1958 Exploraciones arqueológicas en Palenque: 1953. *Anales del Instituto Nacional de Antropología e Historia*, 1956: 69-116. Mexico.
- TEEPLE, JOHN E.
 1930 Maya Astronomy. *Publication* 403. Carnegie Institute of Washington. Washington, D.C.
- THOMPSON, J. ERIC S.
 1950 Maya Hieroglyphic Writing. An Introduction. Washington, D.C.: Carnegie Institution of Washington. Reprinted 1960. University of Oklahoma Press. Norman.
 1962 A Catalog of Maya Hieroglyphs. University of Oklahoma Press. Norman.
- TOZZER, A.M., AND G. ALLEN
 1910 Animal figures in the Maya codices. *Papers of the Peabody Museum, Harvard University*, vol. 9. Cambridge, Mass.
- VALENTINI, PHILIPP J.J.
 1880 The Landa alphabet, a Spanish fabrication. *Proceedings of the American Antiquarian Society* 75: 59-91.
- ZIMMERMANN, GÜNTER
 1956 Die Hieroglyphen der Maya-Handschriften. Hamburg.