

# Birds of a Feather: The Fallen Stucco Inscription of Temple XVIII, Palenque, Chiapas

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## Introduction

Franz Blom, while conducting explorations of Palenque for the Mexican government in 1923, discovered a fragmentary inscription adhering to the rear wall of a structure he christened Temple XVIII (Blom and LaFarge 1926-7:176-177). The remaining portion of the inscription consisted of 32 individually modeled stucco glyph blocks, once part of a much longer inscription that had for the most part fallen due to the poor quality of the supporting mortar. Subsequent clearing of the floor below the inscription, first partially by Berlin in 1942 and later by Berlin and Sáenz as part of Ruz's extensive program during the 1950s, added about a hundred additional glyphs to the total. The inscription therefore ranks as one of the major texts of Palenque, but it has as yet received scant attention except for catalogs of the excavated material (Fernandez and Berlin 1954, Ruz 1958, Schele and Mathews 1979). The purpose of this paper is to suggest a partial reconstruction of the dates and events of this inscription on the basis of internal constraints and parallels with other texts from Palenque. This inscription and associated texts shed some light on the shadowy period after the disappearance of Kan Xul II, especially the relationship of his successor to earlier rulers.<sup>1</sup>

Temple XVIII is the northernmost half of a double temple located to the south of the Cross Group. Together with its twin, Temple XVIII-a,

and Temple XVII, it formed the eastern boundary of a plaza consisting of Temple XIX to the south, and Temples XX and XXI to the west. The published floor plans indicate that Temple XVIII had an interior sanctuary like those of the Temples of the Cross (TC), Foliated Cross (TFC), and Sun (TS). The fallen stuccos formed an inscription across the rear (east) wall of the sanctuary while two hieroglyphic jambs flanked its entrance. Three tombs were found in the portico of the temple (fig. 1). The adjoining Temple XVIII-a was probed by Victor Segovia (Ruz 1962), who discovered a suite of early vaulted tomb burials below it, probably Middle Classic in date (V. Segovia, personal communication). The main tomb was connected to the surface by a prototypical "psycho-duct" like that in the Temple of the Inscriptions. This structure is discussed in more detail below.

Several discoveries made in 1954 clarified the chronological placement of Temple XVIII. The most important of these was the reassembly of the jambs that once stood at the inner entrance to the sanctuary (Ruz 1958:fig.16). Although several glyphs are effaced, the inscription is fairly straightforward and concerns the ruler known variously as Chaacal III or Cauac Uinal III (Schele and Mathews 1974). The Initial Series records his birth on 9.12.6.5.8 3 Lamat 6 Zac, while at D6 a distance number of 2.3.16.14 leads from his birth to the implied accession date of 9.14.10.4.2 9 Ik

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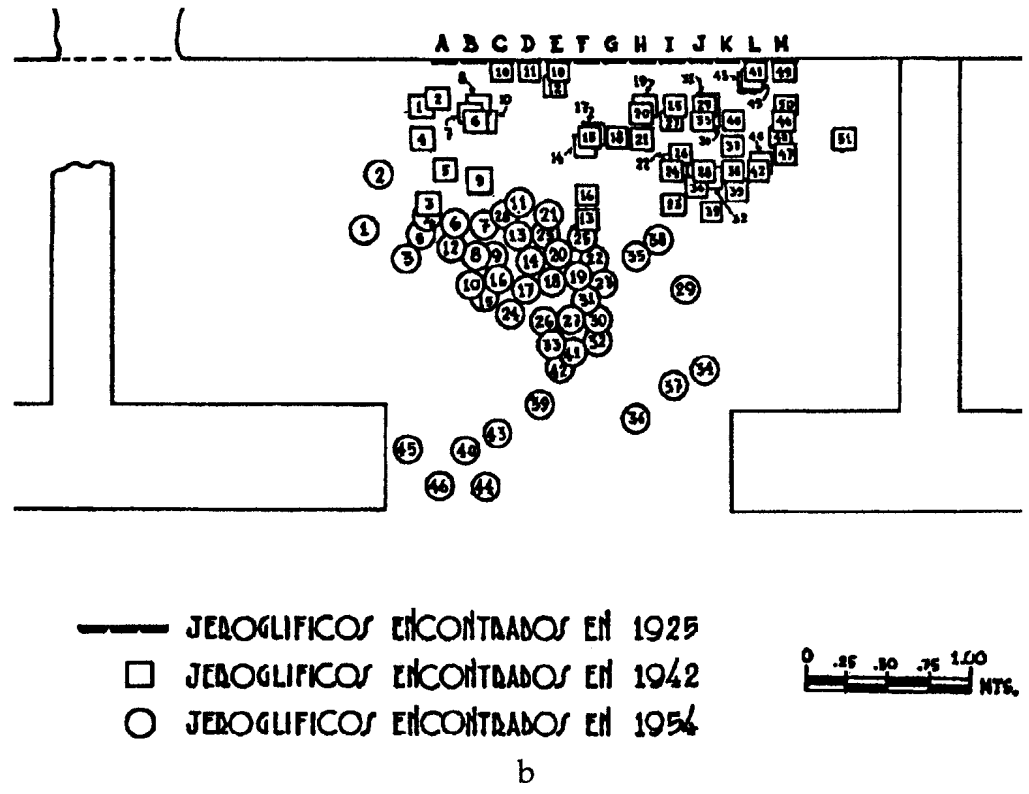
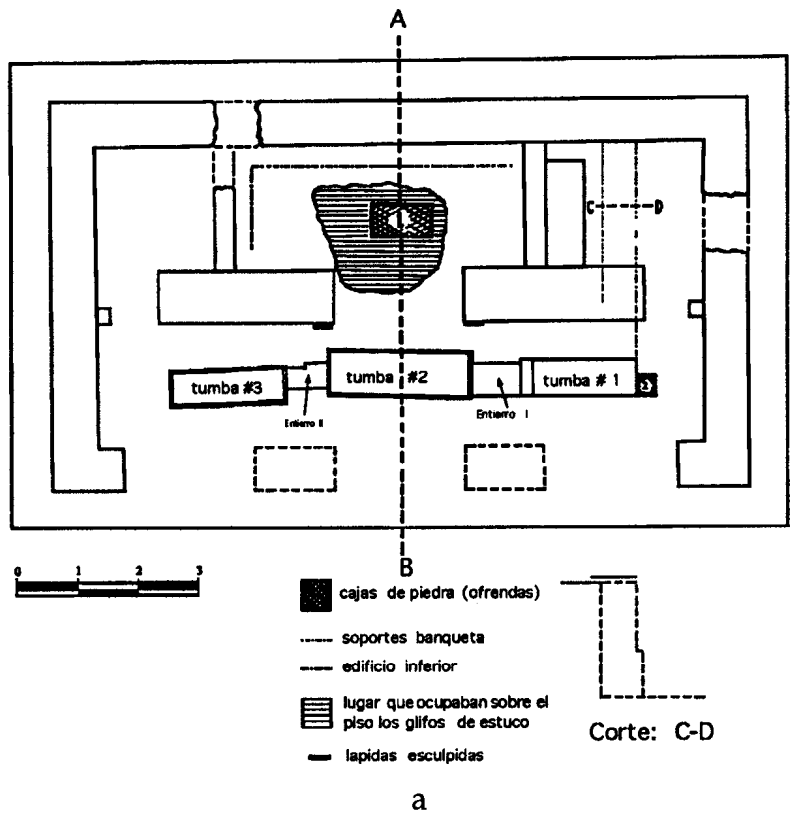


Fig. 1. a) Plan of Temple XVIII (Ruz 1958: Fig. 15). Sanctuary plan showing provenience of glyphs recovered in 1942 and 1954 (Ruz 1958: fig. 17).

5 Kayab, the latest date of the text. His seating is linked to that of the mythological Lady "Beastie" 7.14.9.12.0 earlier. In contrast to the reference to the same event on the TC at F7-F9, the calendrics are here correct for an accession date of 2.0.0.10.2 9 Ik 0 Zac.

Initially, Chaacal was thought to have reigned only briefly, being succeeded by Chac Zudz on 9.14.11.12.14 (Schele and Mathews 1974). Another 1954 find, a fragmentary *incensario* stand found sealed beneath the floor of Temple XVIII (B391<sup>2</sup>, Ruz 1958:151), presented problems for this interpretation since it postdates Chac Zudz's supposed accession. Schele (1991) has partially clarified the situation by "demoting" Chac Zudz

to the status of a subordinate lord (*sahal*), suggesting that Chaacal's reign may have extended to 9.15.0.0.0. I believe he may have ruled until the accession of Bahlum Kuk on 9.16.13.0.7.

Chaacal III's father is given at A14b-A15 on the jambs. The father's name and/or titles consist of a head (T231) with elongated lips, a T561:23 compound, and at A15 the T793a bird head, the same head used in one of the Palenque emblem glyph variants and in the names of Lady Zac Kuk and Lady "Beastie." No mother is mentioned, although a woman's name appears at C14. This woman, Lady T592, is not likely to have been Chaacal's wife, since his son, Bahium Kuk, mentions another woman in his parentage statement on

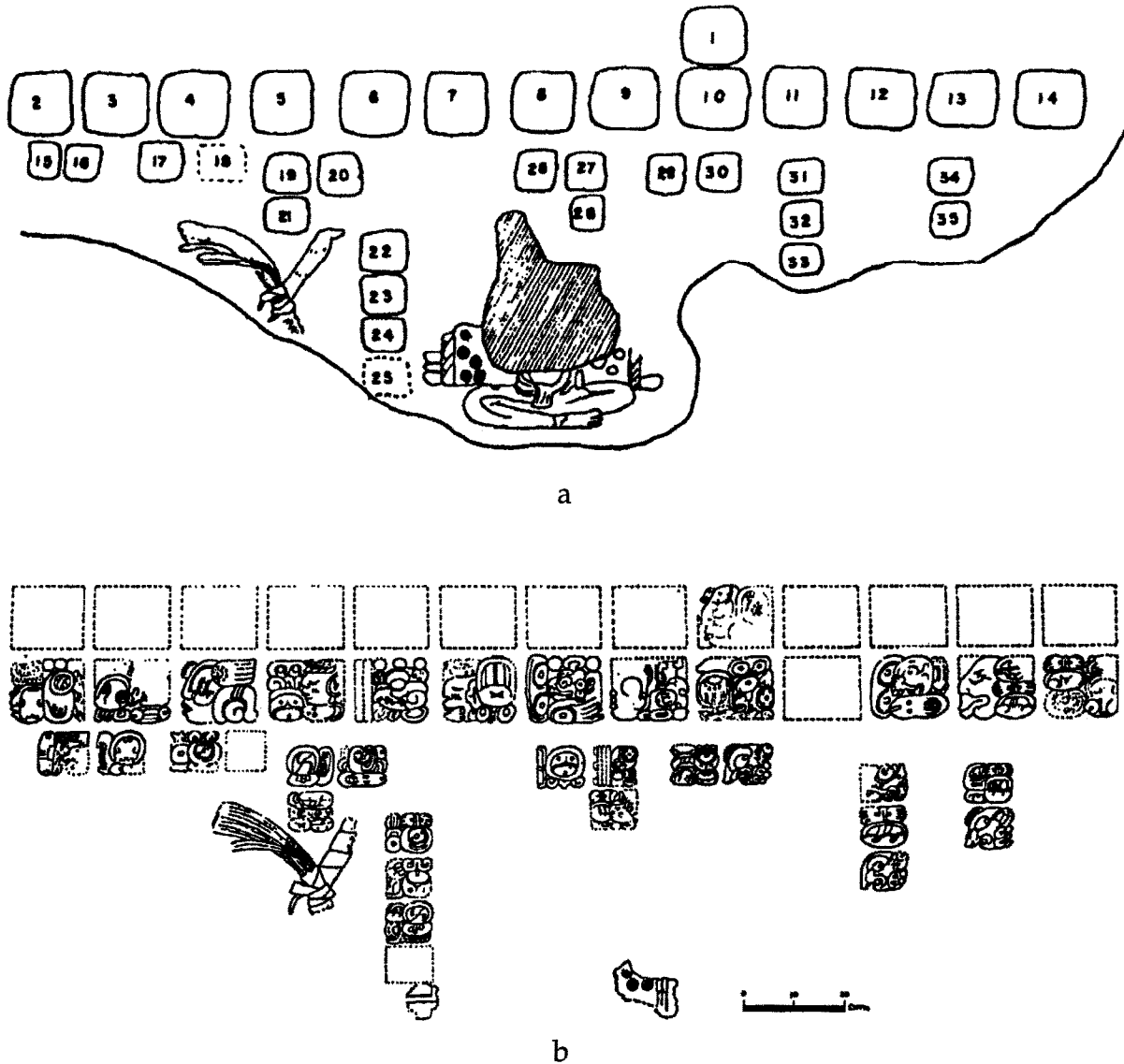


Fig. 2. Two views of the rear sanctuary wall of Temple XVIII: a) Blom 1991: fig. 81; b) Ruz 1958: fig. 18.

the Tablet of the 96 Glyphs (J8-K1). Lady T592 instead follows the T17.(565a:88) *itah* 'sibling' glyph deciphered by Stuart (quoted in Schele 1989).

A final short inscription was found on a weathered conch shell from the central tomb of the portico (Ruz 1958: fig. 26e). This tomb was the largest of the three and was apparently sealed, although little in the way of skeletal remains were found. The shell bore an eroded calendar round with the glyphs for Edznab and Kankin. As Ruz maintained, the date is almost certainly 9.12.13.9.18 13 Edznab 1 Kankin. There also appears to be a distance number of 2 katuns followed by the T679 posterior date indicator. If so, the later date would be 9.14.13.9.18 9 Edznab 1 Zodz.

### Size and Layout of the Inscription

Turning now to the sanctuary inscription, Blom's original description stated:

The inscription runs in a double line of large hieroglyphs along the upper edge of the wall. There were 13 glyphs in each line.... The lower part of the wall was undoubtedly covered with figures in stucco relief, of which now only the feather head-dress of the standing person, and the crossed legs of a sitting person are preserved (Blom and LaFarge 1926:176).

The rather inaccurate drawing accompanying the report (fig. 2a) is valuable in that it shows something of the iconographic layout that had disappeared by the 1950s when it was again investigated (fig. 2b). From this it appears clear that the fallen stuccos had formed another of what Schele (1979) has called "tri-figure panels." She has shown how the Dumbarton Oaks Tablet (DOT), the Palace Tablet (PT), and the Tablet of the Slaves (SLAV) are demonstrations of the legitimacy of a given ruler or subordinate. The stucco panel from Temple XVIII would thus have been Chaacal's contribution to the series begun by Kan Xul II.

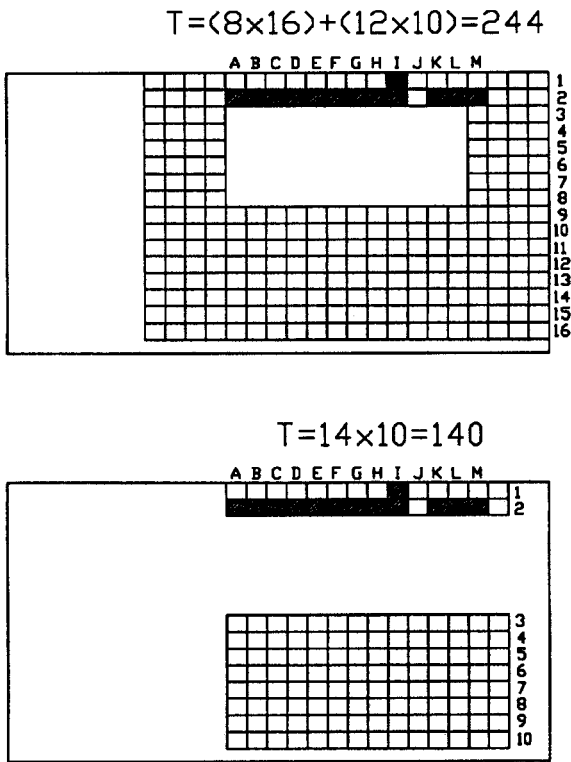
Heinrich Berlin was the next to work at Temple XVIII, partially excavating the floor below in 1942 (Berlin 1944; Fernandez and Berlin 1954, Berlin 1985). In the first report he states that "about 90" glyphs were recovered and that the inscription was 3 meters long by 2 meters high. As for composition,

...the whole (was) framed in a manner similar to the stucco reliefs in the Palace and the Temple of the Sun. In short, this was a stucco counterpart of the famous tablets of the Temples of the Cross, of the Foliated Cross, and of the Sun at the same site" (Berlin 1944: 16).

Drawings of 54 of these glyphs and photos of 18 others, together with size and provenience information for most blocks, were later published (Fernandez and Berlin 1954). The final group of glyphs was recovered in 1954 during excavations directed by César Sáenz (Ruz 1958:147-181). At that time five glyphs were found still adhering to the wall, so Blom had apparently not removed them all. Forty-seven glyphs or glyph fragments were found in the rubble of the main chamber and one in the antechamber to the south.

In 1979 Schele and Mathews published the stuccos stored in the Palenque *bodega*, which included nearly all the previously published stucco blocks and several additional ones. They illustrate 125 blocks of the main inscription (B395-518, 548a) plus 18 fragments (B519-536). B537-543 comprise all the blocks of the secondary texts found *in situ*; five other fragments are preserved (B544-548). The only previously published glyphs not present in Schele and Mathews are F11, 18, 28, and 44, and R42 and 46. F28 is 19 Yaxkin. Although B505 is a Yaxkin without a coefficient, the Fernandez drawing has a curl above the ear of T1010 not found on B505, so they are probably separate glyphs. F18, T231.(IV:74:565a), is one of several such compounds among the stuccos. R46 is another example but with the T231 broken off. There are no apparent Bodega correlates. R42 appears identical to the right half of B513, but as the latter is unbroken it is impossible to equate them. Thus we are left with a total of 125(B)+4(F)+2(R) for a total of 131 blocks. The fragments constitute at least four other blocks and probably more, so that we have roughly 135 of the larger blocks to account for.

The next problem is to estimate how much of the original inscription we possess. Ruz's figures indicate the room had a wall measuring approximately 2.4 meters in width by 4.75 meters in length, but omits the vertical placement of the text on the wall. In 1980 and 1982 my wife and I visited Temple XVIII to remeasure the walls.



**Fig. 3.** Alternative possibilities for the rear inscription of Temple XVIII. The minimal configuration has 140 glyphs, the maximal 244. Hatched squares were found *in situ*.

We confirmed Ruz's dimensions (our dimensions were 4.95 meters in length and about 2.60 meters from the "floor" to the remaining stones of the vault spring), and determined that there could not have been additional rows of glyphs above the two illustrated by Blom. The vault spring was 30 centimeters above the impression of the lowermost stucco and 63 centimeters above the knot binding the hair of the left figure.

The heights and widths of the glyph blocks vary slightly, but average about 12.7cm and 14.5cm respectively. When the surrounding border is included, the average dimensions of a block are 15.5 by 18.5 centimeters. Up to 16 rows could have existed, depending upon how close to the floor the inscription reached. Only 3 columns can be accommodated to the right of column M (fig. 3). Secondary text exists below all the columns up to L, and the pairings indicate that M would have been the left-most side of its paired column. Thus, no more than four longer columns may have flanked the right side of the inscription. If the inscription was symmetrical, as nearly all are, there could have been a maximum

of 20 columns, 8 of which extended to the floor.

Figure 3 shows what are probably the extreme possibilities for the rear wall. Clearly there must have been text below the stucco figures if the glyphs found on the back wall were in their original position. The Supplementary Series and its associated calendar round, for instance, cannot be accommodated in the upper two rows alone. Blom's sketch of the layout (fig. 2a), although not to scale, indicates that the bottom of the central seated figure was roughly 1 meter below the vault spring. Thus, up to 8 rows could have existed below the figures, although probably fewer. Assuming that four columns of text flanked either side, a maximum of 244 glyphs can be accommodated. Unfortunately, the provenience diagram (fig. 14b) shows no evidence of fall from these columns, despite Berlin's comments. If no flanking columns are assumed, a maximum of 140 glyphs can be accommodated, in which case we would have over 90% of the inscription. This seems excessively optimistic. A survey of the text length to calendar round date ratio of eleven other long inscriptions at Palenque gives an average value of 12.14.+ 3.98 blocks per calendar round date. If the Temple XVIII inscription did in fact have 14 dates, the range indicated would be 114 to 225 blocks with a mean value of 170, about 30 more than the minimum. Clearly there was some postdepositional mixing of the stuccos, and we must assume that originally there were some flanking texts.

### Chronological Material

Nine *tzolkin* blocks, one lacking a coefficient, have survived, as have twelve *haab* dates, two of which lack coefficients. Fourteen *uinal-kin* or *kin* distance numbers and 11 distance number introductory glyphs were also recovered. This suggests that at least 5 *tzolkin* dates and three *haab* dates are missing. Three *tun* blocks survive (coefficients 1, 8, and 13), as well as one *2-katun* block. There are also four period ending expressions, one the 15th *tun*, another the 13th, another the end of 8 *katun*, and simply the end of the *tun*. There is little evidence for the Initial Series date: there is no Initial Series Introductory Glyph, no *baktun* glyph, and no single *uinal* or *kin* glyphs (combination *uinal-kin* glyphs never appear in an Initial Series). The Supplementary Series glyphs will be demonstrated to belong to a single series that apparently occupied

the center of the text.

*Tzolkin* dates may pair with only certain *haab* coefficients. The possible stucco pairings are:

1. 5,7,9 Edznab 16 Yax, 6 Kankin, 11 Ch'en
- 2 3 Ix 7 Yax
3. ?, 9, 12 Ahau 8 Muan, 13 Mol, 18 Yax
4. 11 Imix 19 Yaxkin
5. 9 Eb 5 Kayab, 20 Yaxkin (0 Mol)  
(any *tzolkin* date) ? Ch'en, ? Yaxkin

From these pairings it is apparent that there is no class of *tzolkin* dates which is more numerous than the corresponding possible *haab* matches, and thus there are necessarily no more than 11-12 calendar round dates. (The *uinal-kin* distance numbers may in some cases link implied dates.)

The seating glyphs are of relatively little help. No combination of the existing Ahau dates and their permissible *haab* mates seats a *tun* between 9.1.0.0 and 9.17.0.0, although B410, 411, 464, and 470 refer to *tun* endings. Stucco B464 almost certainly refers to 9.8.0.0, which fell on 5 Ahau 3 Ch'en, although the date seems early for the text. B497 is an Ahau cartouche without a coefficient and B487 is a Ch'en glyph without a coefficient, thus one or both may be part of this date. B411 refers to the seating of the 15th *tun* of a *katun*. Only 9.11.15.0.0 4 **Ahau 13 Mol** and 9.15.15.0.0 **9 Ahau 18 Xul** are possible solutions using the surviving stuccos (possible matches in the stuccos are in bold). The latter seems a bit late for the expected time frame of the inscription. B410, indicating the seating of the 13th *tun* of a *katun*, can only refer to 9.11.13.0.0 **12 Ahau 3 Ch'en** if any of the calendar round survives. B470 refers to a *tun* seating. If we confine ourselves to the *haab* dates (a given Ahau date will seat every 13th *tun*), and confine ourselves to between 9.11.0.0 and 9.15.10.0, the following are possible matches:

- |    |        |  |
|----|--------|--|
| ?  | Yaxkin | 9.11.17.0.0-9.12.1.0.0                                 |
| ?  | Ch'en  | 9.12.11.0.0-9.12.14.0.0.0<br>and 9.15.3.0.0-9.15.6.0.0 |
| 8  | Muan   | 9.11.8.0.0, 9.14.1.0.0                                 |
| 13 | Mol    | 9.11.15.0.0, 9.15.8.0.0                                |
| 18 | Yax    | 9.11.16.0.0, 9.14.9.0.0                                |

As a first step, a computer program was

written to generate possible links between the *haab* dates using the available *uinal-kin* coefficients. One peculiarity of the stuccos is the disproportionately low number of *tun* and *katun* blocks versus *uinal-kin* distance numbers. While chance destruction might result in such an imbalance, it seems more likely that there were in fact several distance numbers less than 1 *tun*, and so linkages without *tun-katun* coefficients are to be preferred. Nevertheless, the program added from 1 to 72 *tuns* to each *uinal-kin* distance number to generate possible linkages (a given solution will repeat every 73 *tuns*). A total of 301 possible linkages were generated when one Distance Number was constrained to be 7.13.3.10 as was found by Blom. Another series of runs generated permissible pairs of calendar round dates linked by 0, 1, or 2 intervening (extant) *haab* dates and the existing *uinal-kin* distance numbers plus varying *tun* coefficients.

A similar program was written to connect *tzolkin* dates. Here several different runs were produced, but if the *katun* coefficient was constrained to be zero, and 9 Ik was added to the list of *tzolkin* dates for reasons which is explained below, 52 linkages were produced. A final program searched for linkages between fixed Long Count dates elsewhere at Palenque using the stucco *uinal-kin* coefficients plus a varying *tun* coefficient. A total of 275 solutions were generated, 138 of them using distance number 0.0. These "solutions" were then compared with other texts to search for parallels of event or name glyphs.

### Individuals and Events Appearing in the Stuccos

Several names and titles of known Palenqueños are quickly identifiable among the stuccos. Five instances of Chaacal's name glyph in the T232.528:534 or 743[528]:178 form occur, as well as two examples of the T1078 form preceded by what appears to be a "capture" compound. There are also 3 *ah nabe* blocks, a title exclusively associated with Chaacal I, Pacal, Chaacal III and the Pacal of the Initial Series Vase. The name of Chaacal III's father, Lord T231, is nearly as prominent, occurring seven times. B459 is Lady T592, the female *itah* from the jambs of Temple XVIII. B465, a broken block having only 168:573

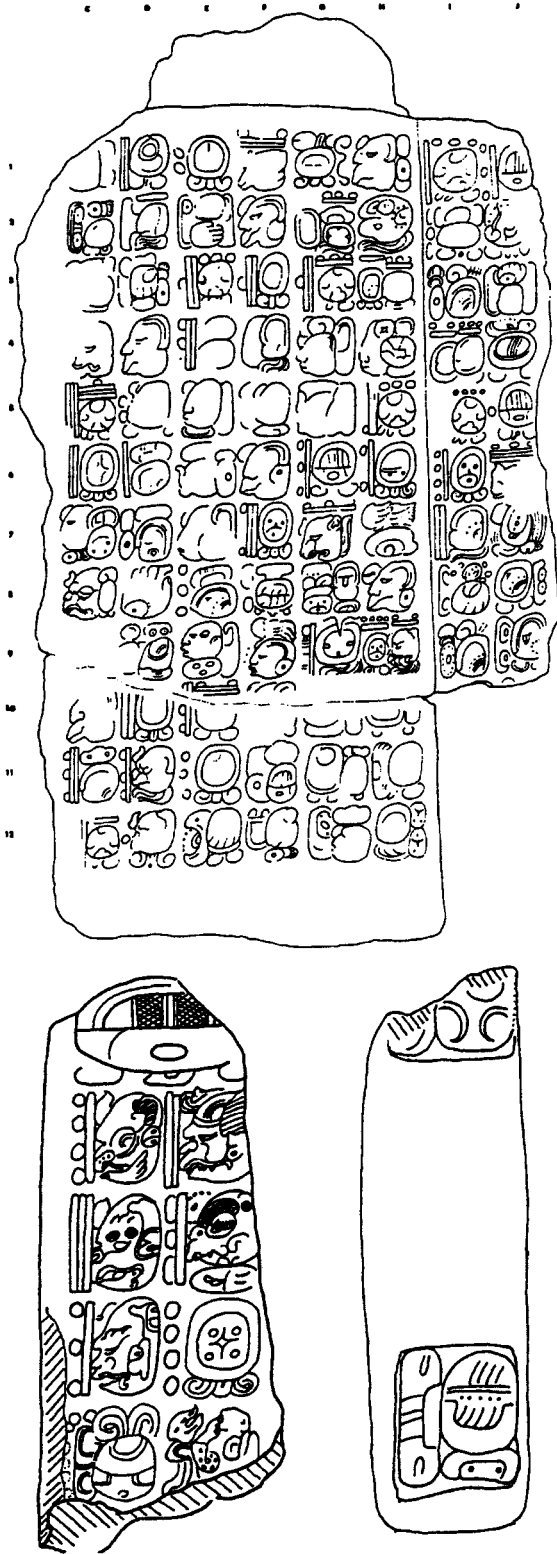


Fig. 4. Incensario texts from Palenque: top—Temple of the Cross Incensario (Schele and Mathews 1979:B281); bottom—the putative left flange, found on a stairway of the Palace (after Acosta 1967: Lam. 36, fig. 6).

remaining, may possibly be the name glyph of Lady Ahau Hel, the consort of Pacal. From these it appears that the inscription, like the jambs, probably concerned Chaacal III and his relations. (F11 is a "child of male" expression, and B547 may be a piece of an *unen* 'child of female' block.) The frequency of T231 and the possible appearance of Lady Ahau Hel suggest that some of the events occurred before Chaacal was born or at least early in his life.

Among the verbs are B501, a birth glyph, and B449, the common accession compound at Palenque. B397-398 forms a death compound found still *in situ* by Blom, while B462 and 485 are two examples of the form of the death glyph found on the sides of the Temple of the Inscriptions sarcophagus sides and elsewhere. Only two deaths may actually have been recorded, however, since B485 has the T679 prefix and probably restated one of the death dates. B471 is a variant of the relatively rare burial compound *mukah*, 'was buried', first read by Peter Mathews. Finally, B418 and 446 are two examples of the *nawah* event that usually occurred early in life and probably means 'was adorned' (Bricker 1986:156). Perhaps related to this event and/or to the accession is a bundle glyph (B483). At least six other blocks are identifiable as events.

Some of these fix points in the chronology. The only accessions (B449) with matches among the stuccos are those of Lady Zac Kuk (9 Edznab 6 Ceh) and Chaacal III (9 Ik 5 Kayab). In view of the other texts of Temple XVIII, the latter is the obvious choice. The date was located directly above the center of the stucco figures, as would befit a date as important as Chaacal's accession (its central position may also explain why it is only implied on the temple jambs). The Supplementary Series provides further confirmation. Supplementary Series most often accompany birth dates at Palenque, but the Palace Tablet has the innovation of including this information with accession dates. Temple XVIII seems to have shared this innovation. B466 is Lord of the Night G1, which agrees with Chaacal's accession date, although not with his birth or Lady Zac Kuk's accession. B403, Glyph X2 of the Supplementary Series, was found *in situ* preceding Glyph C, which had the expected coefficient of 2 (Linden 1986). Placement of the date at 9.14.10.4.2 would

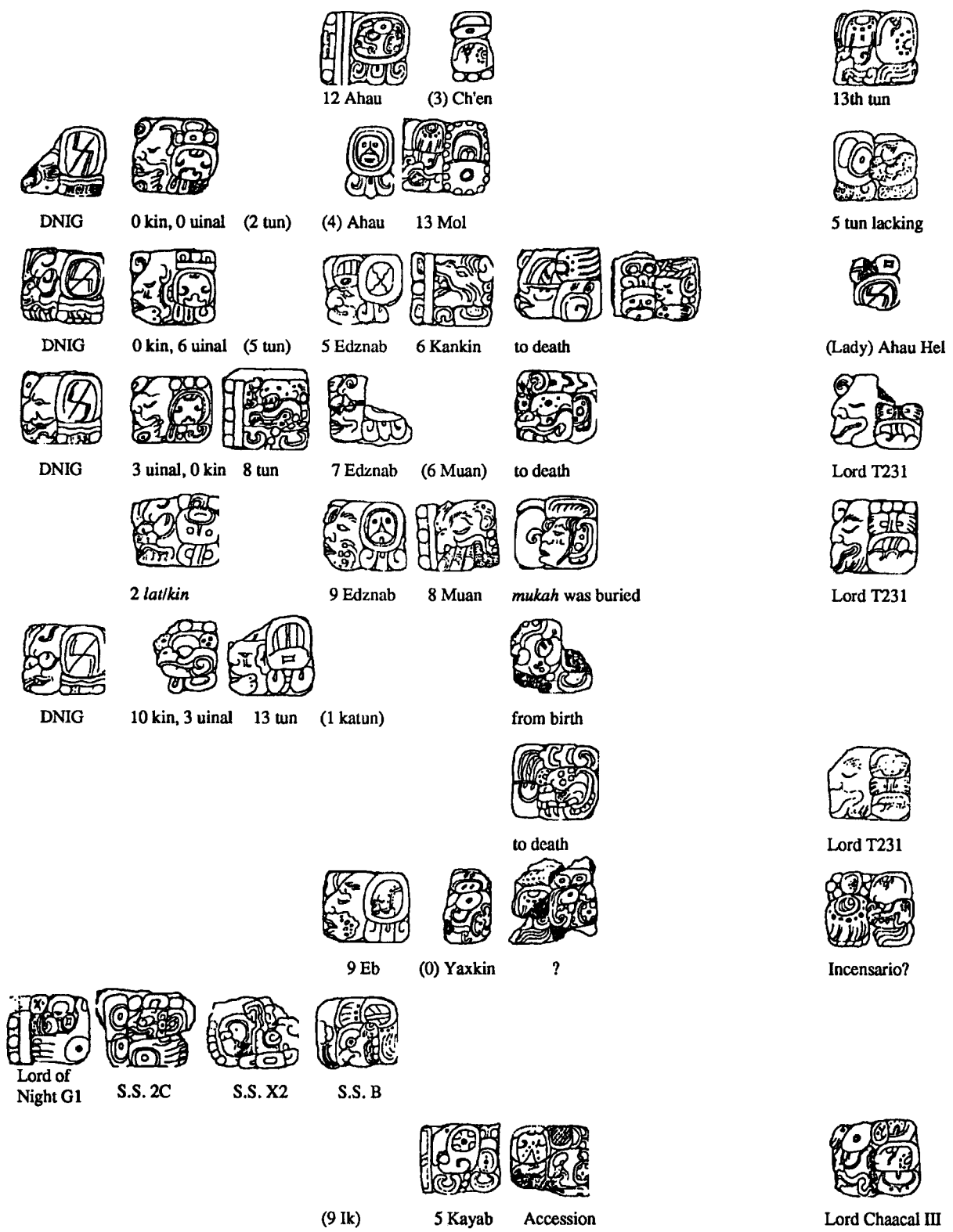


Fig. 5. A partial reconstruction of the Temple XVIII stucco inscription.



place it within the Period of Uniformity, where the expected coefficient for C should indeed have been 2. John Linden (personal communication) also confirmed that the Glyph C head expected on 9.14.10.4.2 is the one found and is in agreement with his hypothesis of lunar semesters (Linden, this volume).

Two additional calendar round dates, 9 Edznab and 18 Yax, may reference the dates 9.13.2.9.011 Ahau **18 Yax** on the temple jambs and 9.14.12.14.18 **9 Edznab** 6 Ch'en implied on the *incensario* from Temple XVIII. Although the time frame is correct, unfortunately the events with both dates are eroded or missing.

The birth glyph (B501) is problematic, since none of the stuccos match the birthdates of the later figures of Palenque, save the coefficient-less Ahau (B497). A solution is suggested below. The first death date can be identified as that of Lady Ahau Hel, consort of Pacal and mother of Chan Bahlum II and Kan Xul II, on 5 Edznab 6 Kankin (9.12.0.6.18). The stucco distance number 6.18 would also link this date with an earlier *tun* ending. Another death and burial glyph remain to be explained. B441 is a distance number of 2 kin in a form that is often used to record the span between death and burial (e.g., Dos Pilas Stela 8, Piedras Negras Lintel 3). Two *kin* connect the stucco *haab* dates 16 and 18 Yax, and the *tzolkin* dates 7 Edznab and 9 Ahau. These are also permissible calendar round pairings, but since a death date on 7 Edznab 16 Yax is not recorded elsewhere at Palenque, I believe this pairing is fortuitous and another solution is preferable.

### The Temple of the Cross *Incensario* and the Stuccos

The key to the birth, burial, and second death date is to be found on an *incensario* from the Temple of the Cross (fig. 4a). The chronology of this *incensario* is extremely garbled due to weathering and perhaps also to scribal error. The *incensario* possesses 12 calendar round dates (Table 2). Of these, Dates 2 (9.11.7.0.0), 4 (9.11.10.0.0), 7 (9.12.0.0.0), and 12 (9.12.10.0.0) are in sequence and reasonably secure. In addition, Date 10 (9 Ahau 8 Muan) can probably be placed at 9.12.8.10.0 since the calendar round date should occur not long before Date 12, 9.12.10.0.0.

The key to recovering the chronology of the *incensario* is to assume that most of the dates form an ascending series, as the syntax indicates, and assume that bars (fives) were drawn in most cases with a single incised line. A clue to the last date of the missing left flange is given at D2, which seems to mark the fifth *tun* of the *katun* (compare with Thompson 1972:fig.32, 36-40). Given that Date 2 is 9.11.7.0.0, and there is a 1 or 2 *tun* distance number intervening at C5-D5, this almost certainly is 9.11.5.0.05 Ahau 3 Zac. C2, which is badly eroded, may well be the 3 Zac *haab* date.

Space does not permit discussion of Dates 1-7 (Table 2), but Dates 8-10 are of most concern for the stuccos. Date 8 is probably 5 Edznab 6 Kankin, 9.12.0.6.18, the death of Lady Ahau Hel. The distance number is possibly 6.18, the event glyph is arguably a death verb variant, and the subject name glyph possibly an eroded T573 *Hel*. The ninth date is clearly the death date of Lord 231. It most probably fell on **7 Edznab** 6 Muan, two days before Date 10 (9 Ahau 8 Muan). The preceding distance number is 8.3.?. A distance number of 8.3.0 would link dates 8 and 9. The *kin* coefficient here appears to be 11 or 12, but I believe is instead an eroded T173 (0). G9 is a *kin* glyph prefixed by what appears to be T12, but perhaps it is instead a coefficient of 1 or 2 days connecting dates 9 and 10. Since Date 9 is the death date of Lord T231, Date 10 may be his burial, as suggested in the stuccos.

Date 11 (14) is heavily eroded and although the following 9 Ahau 18 Zodz is clear, the distance numbers before and after Date 11 are also damaged. Although Date 11 is prefixed by a distance number of over 1 *katun*, the only logic for the placement of Date 11 is that it must lie between Dates 10 and 12, or between 9.12.8.0.0 and 9.12.10.0.0. The ambiguity is unfortunate since the preceding distance number appears to record the elapsed time from someone's birth to Date 11. The subject's name is unclear, but may be the youthful name of Lord T231, given his prominence in the inscription. It is my belief that this section of the *incensario* text is again garbled, and that what actually is recorded is the time from Lord T231's birth to a restatement of his death date on 7 Edznab 6 Muan<sup>3</sup>, certainly a possible interpretation of the calendar round date at I4. The problem here is that this requires a distance num-



Fig. 6. Comparative texts from Temple XVIII and Palenque incensarios: a) passage from the Temple of the Foliated Cross Incensario, A4-A7 (Schele and Mathews 1979:B303), b) passage reconstructed from the stuccos, c) passage from the Temple of the Cross Incensario, I6-J8 (Schele and Mathews 1979: B281).

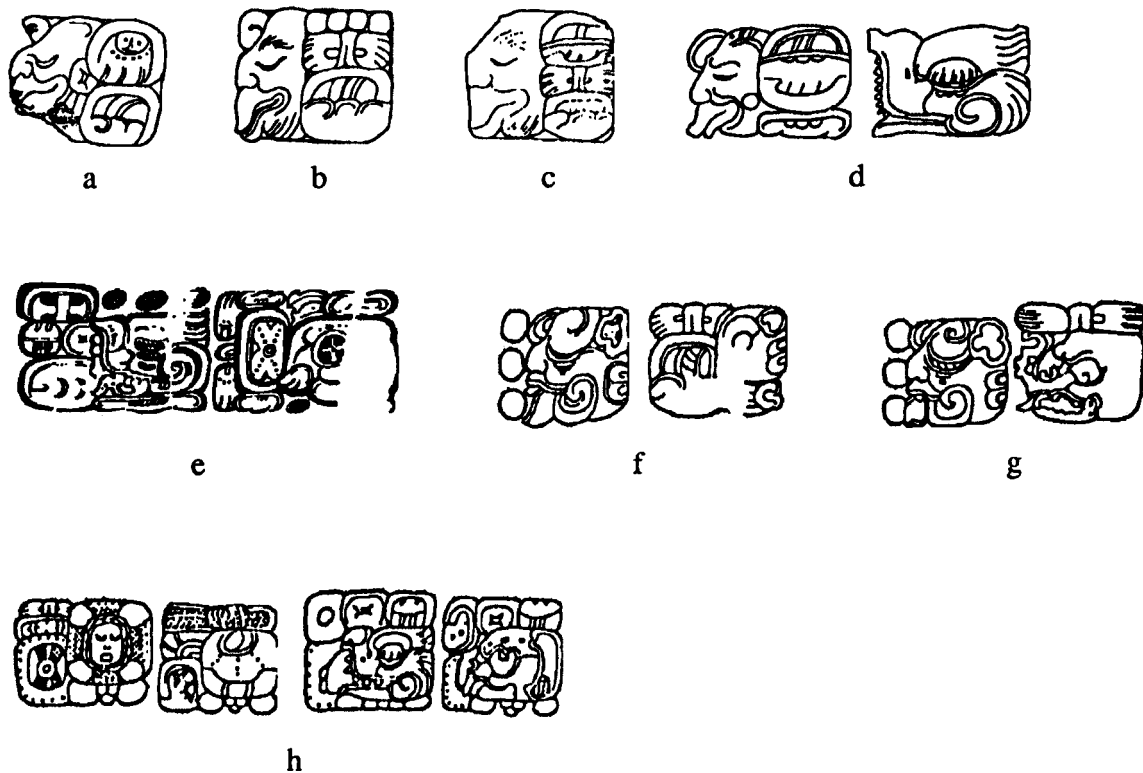


Fig. 7. The mat compound (74:565 or 793 or 1079): a-d are examples in Lord T231's name (a-c are stuccos, d is from the Temple XVIII jambs, A15-B15). B-d are prefixed by kan/chan/IV. Examples e-g are from Kan Xul II's name (96 Glyphs: C6-D6; PT: H12-G13). Note the associated III coefficient. Example g shows the *mat* bird and rabbit skull used in variants of the Palenque Emblem Glyphs (Palace Tablet: C12-D13). Examples a-c from Schele and Mathews (1979), d from Ruz (1958: fig. 16), e by Merle Greene Robertson, and f-h by Linda Schele.

ber of 1.8.2 to reach an unequivocal 9.12.10.0.0 at I6-I7.

Here the stuccos are of some help. The distance number at I1-I2 may be 1.13.3.10 given the pattern previously observed. Blom found an *in situ* distance number of 13.3.10 on the rear wall of Temple XVIII which may have had a following *katun* coefficient. A computer search of the possible distance numbers connecting all known calendar round dates at Palenque found only two links that terminated in 13.3.10. One (TI-E:A10) connected Chaacal I's accession with 9.4.0.0.0. The other, however, linked 4 Lamat 16 Pop (9.10.15.6.8) with 7 Edznab 6 Muan. The former date is the Initial Series from a sculptured stone found on clearing the west stairway of the Palace (fig. 4b). Unfortunately, the section following the date is missing, but since Initial Series most frequently record births at Palenque, that event is most likely. The linkage of this stone with the *incensario* was nicely confirmed in a conversation with David Stuart. He had formed the opinion that the stone was in fact the missing flange of the Temple of the Cross *incensario* because of its style and breakage pattern, and on rechecking the figures, I entirely agree. Thus the birth and death dates seem reasonably secure.

Part of the stucco inscription (fig. 5) would therefore parallel almost exactly this section of the *incensario*. Initially Lady Ahau Hel's death would be linked to a period ending, then to Lord T231's death and burial. Then a parenthetical clause would state the time between Lord T231's birth and death 1.13.3.10 later. This form would explain the absence of either calendar round date of Lord T231's birthday among the stuccos. If Lord T231's birthdate is 9.10.15.6.8, he would have been nine or older for the early events on the Temple of the Cross *Incensario*, a young but not unprecedented age at Palenque for events such as heir apparenacy. Lord T231 thus died not long after Chaacal's birth and about 2 *katun* before his accession.

A further parallel with *incensario* texts probably occurred on **9 Eb 0 Yaxkin**. 9 Eb is recorded only twice at Palenque, on an *incensario* from the Temple of the Foliated Cross (B303) and stucco B424. The former is paired with 0 Yaxkin, for which Schele and Mathews (1979) suggest the Long Count position of 9.13.0.4.12 (fig. 6). It

may be represented by stucco B505, a Yaxkin glyph without a coefficient. The *incensario* event on this date has an animal head followed by T74:501:130:116. Apart from seating and accession expressions, the positional verb perfective suffix T130:116 is uncommon at Palenque. It is found, however, on stucco B404, T212:501:130:116=1:757v.\*. Although the prefixes differ, I believe it is the equivalent of the *incensario* verb, and records the same event.

The next block of the *incensario*, (1?.174?:501).(528:116:24), finds a more definite match in stucco B510. T174 is a relatively rare affix: of the seven at Palenque, three occur over T501 followed by a T528 tun sign. Besides the two mentioned, the final one is from TC11:I8-J8 following the date 9.12.10.0.0 **9 Ahau** 18 Zodz, although in this case with a different verb. Considering the existence of the *tzolkin* date and the textual parallels, **9 Eb 0 Yaxkin** seems the likeliest solution for the stucco date, although **9 Ahau** is also a possibility. The distribution of T174:501 suggests it may be a term for *incensario*.

### Temple XVIII as a Lineage Temple

What then is the relation of Lord T231 and Chaacal III to preceding dynastic lines of Palenque? Schele and Freidel (1990:469, 476) hypothesize that Chaacal III was an offspring of a sister of Chan Bahlum and Kan Xul, and that his mention of the mythical Lady "Beastie" was by way of indicating his legitimacy through his mother, in much the way Pacal had earlier. My analysis suggests otherwise, that Chaacal's father, Lord T231, was in fact the third son of Pacal and hence Chaacal was a full member of the ruling patriline. This is the message of the Tablet of the 96 Glyphs if we take its king list literally. This text clearly shows that Lord Bahlum Kuk viewed Chaacal III as the most recent representative of the line of legitimate succession with not a hint of dynastic discontinuity.

Two initial objections may be made to Schele and Freidel's hypothesis. First, why would Chaacal mention only his father in his parentage statement on the temple jambs if his tie to the throne came through his mother? Second, why would Lord T231 merit an *incensario* inscription? It cannot simply be that he was the father

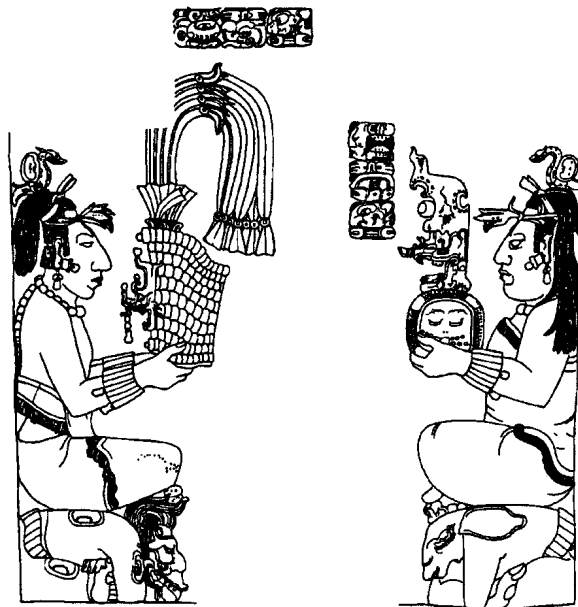


Fig. 8. The attendant figures of the Tablet of the Slaves (drawing by Merle Greene Robertson).

of a Palenque king. At the time of the incensario dedication, Pacal himself was still alive and no one could have foreseen Chaacal's accession, particularly if it marked a break in the patriline. Lord T231 might have merited such an inscription as an important subordinate, but then the twice-mentioned association with Lady Ahau Hel must be explained.

The most parsimonious explanation is simply that the incensario was Pacal's memorial to his deceased wife and youngest son. Lord T231 was born on 9.10.15.6.8, a few years after Kan Xul II's birth on 9.10.11.17.0, and so could well have been his younger brother. He died prematurely on 9.12.8.9.18, shortly after the birth of Chaacal III on 9.12.6.5.8 and about three years before the death of long-lived Pacal and the accession of Chan Bahlum. If I am right, this indicates the order of succession cycled through the brothers, but since Lord T231 died early, his son Chaacal became the legitimate heir. This may have been the prescribed order of succession, or perhaps Kan Xul and Chan Bahlum died without male heirs.

Lord T231 is further linked to Pacal, Chaacal, and Kan Xul by the T74:565 compound, perhaps read *mat*. The compound is a fixed component of Lord T231's name in the Temple XVIII stuccos, usually preceded by the coefficient IV<sup>4</sup> or

its equivalent T793a (fig. 7b-d). Schele (n.d.) has shown that T74:793 is an allograph of T74:565, since both occur with Kan Xul II on the Palace Tablet in equivalent structural positions. Since T793 can occur without complements (fig. d), it is almost certainly a logogram for *mat*, with T74 as an optional phonetic complement. It may derive from the Classic period Chontal cognate of the Yucatec root *maach*, 'crow or raven' (Barrera V. et al. 1980:473), with a shift from a terminal -t to -ch akin to the *otot/otoch* contrast. Its skeletal form is T1079.

The distribution of the *mat* compound suggests it may well be a patronym or lineage name, or alternatively the name of a *barrio* of Palenque. Kan Xul's epithet on the 96 Glyphs might mark him as *ox ? mat na*, or 'third ? of the *mat* house'. On the Tablet of the Slaves (fig. 8), the names of both figures presenting Chac Zudz with the paraphernalia of office are followed by the *mat* compound. It is unlikely that any but the paramount line would have such power. Furthermore, the woman is Lady T592, who is listed on the Temple XVIII jambs as the *itah* of Chaacal. The male, otherwise unknown in the inscriptions, is seated upon a grotesque. It too would seem to be an emblem of the *mat* group, since it seems to combine the lips of Lord T231 with the face of the sun god, perhaps an image of their apotheosized father.

In both of the Tablet of the Slaves captions, the final block is 758:110, *ch'ok*. Schele has suggested that sometimes *ch'ok* is best translated as 'sprout', referring metaphorically to an individual's membership in a particular descent group, and indeed T74:565 is followed by *ch'ok* in several other contexts (e.g., Palace Tablet: E9). The meaning may be more literal, however, since both Knowles' (1984) Chontal word list and Moran's Cholti dictionary (Gates 1935) gloss the root as 'son, daughter, or child' and by extension offspring in general. In either case it would support the proposed meaning of *mat*.

The *mat* compound is also prominent in the secondary texts of the Temple XVIII stuccos (fig. 9). Like the Tablet of the Slaves captions, the two rightmost captions (columns 1, m) terminate in *mat ch'ok*. The first is clearly a reference to Kan Xul II, the second to Lord T231. It is not clear how these relate to the figure that was once below,

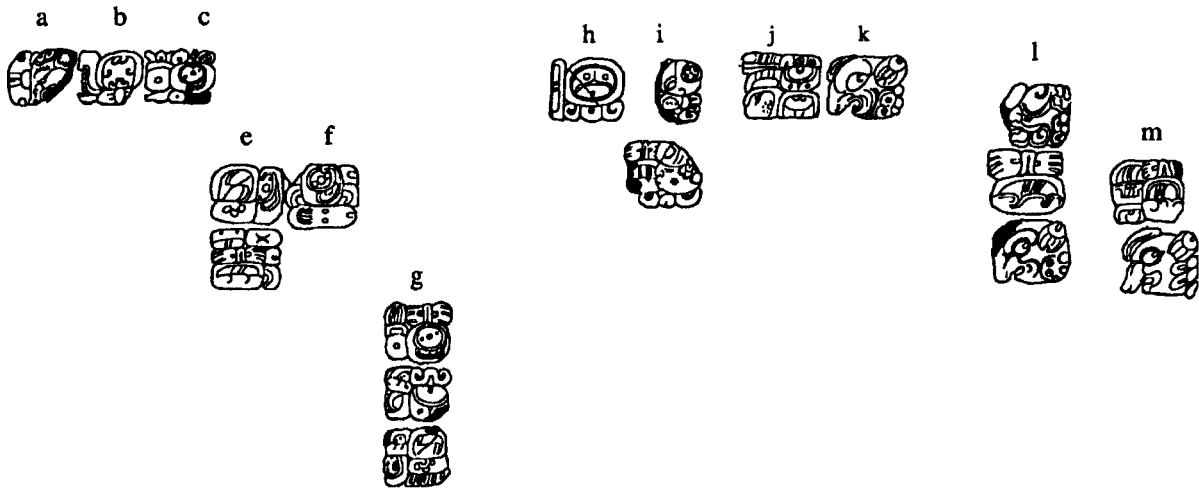


Fig. 9. The secondary captions of Temple XVIII (Schele and Mathews 1979). All were found *in situ*.

but it again emphasizes the link between these two individuals. Two other captions (fig. 9: e-f, h-k) indicate the accompanying figures had the rank of *mat ahau*. The latter is associated with the central figure and the date 5 Ahau 18 Kayab, the only sure calendar round of the stuccos. Possible placements are 9.12.6.12.0 or 9.14.19.7.0. If the former, it may mark the designation of Chaacal as a lord of the lineage in his earliest infancy.

The leftmost figure, of whom only the top-knot survived, was also a *mat ahau*, but recent work has shown that there are various gradations of *ahaus*. This figure is listed in columns a-c as a *ch'ak ? uinic* and seemingly a *yahau*. Use of the possessed form would suggest he was of lower rank. E2 names him as *mat ahau*, directly over the top knot of the figure below. Block F1, T130.683b.130:82, may be his name. If so, a very similar block on Miraflores Fragment D (Schele 1991:fig. 3) names a *sahal* of Pacal, albeit there with a T130 suffix. This individual may have been an important member of the patriline who invests Chaacal III with rulership on the Temple XVIII panel.

Elsewhere, the *mat* compound variants are almost wholly confined not just to Palenque, but to a restricted subset of its ruling elite. (The only non-Palenque example I know is a woman on one of the Piedras Negras shell plaques who may well have hailed from Palenque.) In addition to those already mentioned, the compound occurs only

with Aahc Kan and U Kiix Chan. Aahc Kan, the son of the ruler Lady Kan Ik, was a king reigning for a short while between 9.8.11.9.10 and 9.8.19.4.6, but is accorded special prestige on the north edge of Pacal's sarcophagus. Since Pacal emphasizes his descent through Lady Zac Kuk, and since Aahc Kan is her father, his association with the title is significant. The final figure associated with the compound, U Kiix Chan, is hardly an historical figure since he flourished during the fifth *baktun*, but may be an apical ancestor of the group.

If I am right in identifying the *mat* sign as a descent group, the appearance of T793 in emblem glyphs remains to be explained. Like the *mat* sign, it occurs only with the same subset of rulers with the addition of Pacal and Chan Bahlum, thus completing the pattern. I would interpret this as meaning "holy lord of the *mat* group," rather than all of Palenque. One final figure occurs with this emblem glyph: Lady "Beastie." She is best viewed as the group's tutelary goddess, and it is probably no accident that her name glyph (T793b) is so similar to the T793a bird. On a badly destroyed mural in House E (Greene Robertson 1985:fig. 103), where Lady Beastie's and Chaacal's accession dates are again linked, her accession verb appears to be the T793a head over an outstretched hand instead of the usual seating glyph. This would seem to make explicit her role as ruler of the *mat* segment.

## Conclusions

Much remains to be learned of Temple XVIII. Several dates and events remain unexplained, and it is odd that so much attention is given to Lord T231, yet no mention of Pacal survives. But it is clear that this area was one of exceptional prestige and power. Schele (1986) has suggested Chaacal I may be the occupant of the central vault of XVIII-a, and that Pacal may have consciously utilized several of its features in constructing his own mausoleum.

If true, Chaacal III's appropriation of the structure would be particularly significant, and is perhaps explicable as a further step in the political expansion of the *mat* group begun by Pacal. Like the later rulers of Yaxchilan, Pacal and his descendants would seem to have occupied a dual throne, possibly resulting from the merger of two earlier segments. This duality is reflected in the use of twin emblem glyphs (fig. 7h) by Pacal and his successors. It is also evident in the symbolism of the flanking figures of the Tablet of the Slaves. As noted, the left male is seated on an image perhaps related to Lord T231 and hence the *mat* group, while the female, although part of the *mat* group, is seated on a deer, representative of the other Palenque emblem glyph used by all rulers previous to Pacal. Yet such symbolism may only be token obeisance to a former order, since history begins at Palenque only with Pacal. Thus, the expansion of XVIII-a into a twin temple may be seen as ostensible homage to this tradition of duality while in reality appropriating, rewriting, and remodeling the earlier history of Palenque.

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#### Notes

1 This paper has had a lengthy genesis, being first intended for the 1980 Mesa Redonda. Linda Schele in particular has been most helpful with texts and interest. Some of my findings have been independently arrived at by others in the meantime. Karen Bassie-Sweet (1991 :247-248), for instance, also concluded that Lord T231 was the third son of Pacal, although she did not treat the incensario and stucco texts discussed below.

2 'B' preceding a number refers to entries in Schele and Mathews (1979), 'F' to Fernandez and Berlin (1954), and 'R' to Ruz (1958).

3 It is noteworthy that the date on the Temple XVIII conch is exactly 5 tun after this date.

4 On the Tablet of the 96 Glyphs, C6, and in several places on the Palace Tablet, Kan Xul II has the *mat* compound preceded by a coefficient of III. This may indicate he was the third in the sequence of whom Lord T231 was the fourth (fig. 7e), but Kan Xul's coefficient is always followed by T1058 or its equivalent. Thus, the significance of the coefficients awaits further clarification.

**Table 1. Suggested Partial Chronology for Temple XVIII**

(bold entries are present in the stuccos)

9.11.13.0.0 2. 0. 0	<b>12 Ahau</b>	<b>3 Ch'en</b>	<b>Seating of 13th tun</b>
9.11.15.0.0 5. 6.18	4 Ahau	<b>13 Mol</b>	<b>5 tun lacking</b>
9.12.0. 6.18 8. 3. 0	<b>5 Edznab</b>	<b>6 Kankin</b>	<b>Death Lady Ahau Hel</b>
9.12.8. 9.18 2	<b>7 Edznab</b>	6 Muan	<b>To death Lord T231</b>
9.12.8.10.0	<b>9 Ahau</b>	<b>8 Muan</b>	<b>Burial Lord T231</b>
(9.10.15.6.8) 1.13. 3.	4 Lamat	16 Pop (implied)	<b>From birth Lord T231</b>
9.12.8. 9.18	<b>7 Edznab</b>	6 Muan	<b>To death Lord T231</b>
9.13.0. 4.12	<b>9 Eb</b>	<b>0 Yaxkin</b>	<b>T212:501:130:116=1:757v.*.</b>
9.13.2. 9. 0	11 Ahau	<b>18 Yax</b>	?
9.14.10.4.2	9 1k	<b>5 Kayab</b>	<b>Accession Chaacal III</b>
9.14.12.14.18	<b>9 Edznab</b>	6 Ch'en	?

**Table 2. The Revised Chronology of the Temple of the Cross Incensario**

IS	9. 10.15. 6.	8 4	Lamat	16	Pop	Birth Lord T231
	(9. 11. 5. 0.	0 5	Ahau	3	Zac) implied	PE
	1.16. 17					
1. C6	9. 11. 6. 16.	17 13	Caban	10	Ch'en <sup>1</sup>	
2. D10	9. 11. 7. 0.	0 10	Ahau	13	Yax	
	2.14. 19					
3. El	9. 11. 9. 14.	19 2	Cauac	17	Xul	
	3. 11					
4. F3	9. 11.10. 0.	0 11	Ahau	18	Ch'en	PE
5. E7	9. 11.13. 0.	0 12	Ahau	3	Ch'en	PE
	2.10. 7					
6. Eli	9. 11.15. 10.	7 3	Manik	0	Uayeb	
7. Gl	9. 12. 0. 0.	0 10	Ahau	8	Yaxkin	PE
	6. 18					
8. H3	9. 12. 0. 6.	18 5	Edznab	6	Kankin	Death Lady Ahau
	8. 3. 0					
9. H6	9. 12. 8. 9.	18 7	Edznab	6	Muan	Death Lord T231
10. H9	9. 12. 8. 10.	0 9	Ahau	8	Muan	Burial Lord T231
	(9. 10.15. 6.	8 4	Lamat	16	Pop) implied	(from birth)
	1.13. 3. 10					
11. 14	9. 12. 8. 9.	18 7	Edznab	6	Muan	To death Lord T231
	1. 8. 2					
12. 16	9. 12.10. 0.	0 9	Ahau	18	Zodz	PE

Of these, dates 5, 8, 9, and 10 and the Initial Series are suggested to be present in the stuccos.



**Table 3. Parallels of Stucco Dates with Other Palenque Dates**

*Uinal-kin* DNs

1.0.0 PT:G8-H8

9. 11. 0. 0. 0                      12 Ahau                      8 Ceh

13. 0. 0

9. 11. 13. 0. 0                      12 Ahau                      3 Ch'en

2.2 TC11:G9?

3.1.11T96G:A5

9. 11. 0. 0. 0                      12 Ahau                      8 Ceh

2. 1.11

9. 11. 2. 1.11                      9 Chuen                      9 Mac

4.3. 0 TIPD:M1; TIW:P8; TFC:C7?

5.3. 10 TC11:I1, TIE:A10

6.6. 7 (none)

7.6. 18 (none, although NGJ2 is 6.6)

8.8. 17

TC: K9

9. 10. 8. 9. 3                                      9 Akbal                      6 Xul

1. 8.17

9. 10. 0. 0. 0                                      13 Ahau                      18 Kankin

9.12. 4 TFC:013

9. 12. 18. 5.16                      2 Cib                      14 Mol

1. 12.4

9. 13. 0. 0. 0                      8 Ahau                      8 Uo

10.13. 13 B54                      (Loose stucco - LC position uncertain)

11.15. 9 (none)

12.16. 0 (none)

13.16. 15 TC11:C5                      (LC position uncertain)

14.17.12 (none)

*Haab* Parallels

1. 16 Yax T181:D4 (LC uncertain) ? Akbal 16 Yax

2. 6 Kankin TIW-Q11 9.12. 0. 6.18 5 Edznab 6 Kankin

3. 11 Ch'en (none)

4. 7 Yax TFC:A14 1.18. 6. 0.19 1 Cauac 7 Yax

5. 8 Muan TC11:H9 9.12. 8.10. 0 9 Ahau 8 Muan

6. 13 Mol (none)

7. 18 Yax TIE:A6 9. 4. 0. 0. 0 13 Ahau 18 Yax

T18J:B20 9.13. 2. 9. 0 11 Ahau 18 Yax

8. 19 Yaxkin (none)

9. 5 Kayab (several) 9.12.19.14.12 5 Eb 5 Kayab

(several) 9.14.10. 4. 2 9 1k 5 Kayab

10. 20 Yaxkin HCWF:G1 9. 8.18. 3. 7 13 Manik 20 Yaxkin

9.11.10.16. 7

11. Ch'en (several)

12. ? Yaxkin (many)

*Tzolkin Dates*

1.	5	Edznab	TIW:Q11	9. 2. 0. 6.	18	5	Edznab	5	Kayab
2.	7	Edznab	(none)						
3.	9	Edznab	TCI8I:A1	9.14.12.14.	18	9	Edznab	6	Ch'en (implied)
4.	3	Ix	(none)						
5.	11	Imix	(none)						
6.	9	Eb	TFCI:pA4	9.13. 0. 4.	12?	9	Eb	0	Yaxkin
7.	9	Ahau	T14T:G5	9.11.1.2.	0?	9	Ahau	3	Kankin
			TIW:S1	9.12.10.0.	0	9	Ahau	18	Zodz
			TCI1:I6						
			TIE:F4	9. 6. 0. 0.	0	9	Ahau	3	Uayeb
			TIE:H8	9. 6.13.0.	0	9	Ahau	18	Muan
			TCI1:H9	9.12. 8.10.	0	9	Ahau	6	Muan
8.	12	Ahau	(several)	9.11. 0. 0.	0	12	Ahau	8	Ceh
			PT:G10	9.11.13. 0.	0	12	Ahau	3	Ch'en
			TCI1:F7	9.11. 5. 1.	0?	12	Ahau	3	Ceh
9.	?	Ahau	(many)						