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THE FUTURE OF DEATH AT THE TEMPLE OF THE INSCRIPTIONS, C.E. 683, PALENQUE, CHIAPAS, MEXICO

Elizabeth Olton, Ph.D. Candidate

Death and Life are opposites that complement each other. Both are halves of a sphere that we, subjects of time and space, can only glimpse. In the prenatal world, life and death are merged; in ours, opposed; in the world beyond, reunited again.¹ The Temple of the Inscriptions, an ancient Maya funerary monument in Palenque, ca. C.E. 683, exemplifies a paradox: commemorating a death while celebrating the future. The temple housed the elaborate burial of ruler, Janaab' Pakal, and presents an iconography signifying the convergence of parent, child and ancestor. In this article, I examine the Temple of the Inscriptions in its entirety through a comparative analysis of three carved programs from the structure. I suggest that the imagery on the cover of the sarcophagus found in the burial chamber and that of the four exterior piers in the temple's façade present iconographic analogues: parent/child, death/life and renewal/new birth. This message was expressed in the carved inscriptions and depicted in representations of the body of the king, as well as in the body of his heir and son, Kan B'alam. As such, the Temple of the Inscriptions was more than a funerary monument commemorating Pakal; it reflected the Maya sense of time as a cyclical phenomenon and positioned death and life as interdependent states. By approaching these programs as an ensemble, I suggest that the temple might have been seen as a harbinger of future rule.

Although we are exploring an ancient Maya context, a useful interpretive frame concerning the concept of renewal is found in the work of Emmanuel Levinas. Levinas considers the passage of time and the experience of death in his collection of essays, titled, Time and the Other (1947). According to him, to die is to create the future; this is most eloquently expressed in his notion of paternity: 'Paternity is the relationship with a stranger who, entirely while being Other, is myself...I do not have my child; I am in some way my child.'² Although emerging out of an alien, Western perspective, this proposition, referencing a universal human experience, provides one analytical tool with which I suggest we can begin a preliminary examination of the Maya concept of death and lineage found at the Temple of the Inscriptions.

By employing the extensive archaeological, iconographic and epigraphic work done by Alberto Ruz Lhullier, Merle Greene Robertson, Linda Schele and others, the temple will be examined as a coherent artistic narrative, allowing new questions to be asked about the building's messages.³ Does the temple represent a coherent message? If so, then, what was that message, and what was its purpose? How do the visible—and implied invisible—sculptural programs

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convey meaning? These inquiries are comprehensible only when a funerary monument, like the Temple of the Inscriptions, is approached as a complete statement or system of signs.

Palenque, a central site during the Classic Maya period, is located on a limestone shelf high above the Chiapan plain. It dates from the mid fifth century to the beginning of the ninth century C.E.⁴ The city is nestled against two groups of mountains bisected by the Otolum River. Many monumental structures were built on this narrow flat plateau. One enters the city from the West, moving East through an open space bordered on the South by a series of steep hills; to the North, the ground rapidly descends to the valley below. A system of esplanades and terraces topped by cut-stone, range-style structures and multi-platformed temples guided an ancient visitor through its spaces.⁵

The Temple of the Inscriptions is a focal point in the urbanscape of Palenque (Figure 1). The temple, which would have been painted red in the seventh century, is composed of nine receding platforms, which culminate in a rectangular superstructure.⁶ In line with many other indigenous architectural constructions, the lower sub-platforms of the temple correspond to the form of the mountain that abuts the South end of the temple. A broad staircase on the exterior of the central North-South axis of the temple connects these platforms with the superstructure and directs or leads the viewer's eye up along the nine tiers of the superimposed platforms. The stairs terminate at the base of the



Figure 1. The Temple of the Inscriptions (ca. C. E. 683), Palenque, Chiapas, Mexico. Photo by author (July, 2003).

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superstructure: a low rectangular building whose basal platform forms an open porch that leads to several interior chambers. The superstructure's sculptures are composed of both modeled limestone stucco and cut-stone.⁷ Significantly, the variety and complexity of the sculpture manifests an interest in narrative.

The superstructure of the Temple of the Inscriptions is characterized by a pronounced horizontality, emphasized along its East-West axis by a lattice roof comb and a mansard roof and below these features, a North-facing, columned porch. Its interior space is divided lengthwise by a three-chambered space located at the South end; to the North, a portico gallery containing six exterior piers frames five openings to the outside. The bilateral symmetry of the façade stairway, which bisects the temple's nine sub-platforms, is mirrored in the floor plan of the superstructure. The perpendicular line of the stairway ascends from the basal platform to the opening framed by the third (Pier C) and fourth (Pier D) sculpted piers; this is the main entrance into the superstructure. The line of the stairway continues through the portico gallery and terminates at the back (or South) wall of the central chamber. The design and position of this interior space suggests that it was the most prominent of the temple's three southern chambers. This feature is highlighted by the presence of a carved panel on the chamber's back wall that contains a lengthy hieroglyphic inscription. Two similarly carved panels located in the portico gallery flank the middle room's entrance. These inscribed panels contrast the figurative sculpted piers of the exterior portico. The geometry of the superstructure created a line of sight between the carved panel on the central chamber's back wall, the portico's flanking panels and the main entrance framed by Piers C and D, which opened out to the plaza below.

Six sculpted piers frame the five doorways of the superstructure (Figure 2). The four in the center are decorated with life-sized figures fabricated out of stucco. Although the stucco-sculpted piers are not in what must have been their original seventh century condition, prevailing formal features such as standardization and repetition of visual elements are apparent. Each relief includes a number of basic elements: a skyband frame, a zoomorphic pedestal, a standing figure in a frontal pose and a reclining infant with a serpentine foot. The four sculpted piers are organized in pairs that mirror each other. This organization is seen in the orientation of the imagery: Piers B and C face West, while Piers D and E face East. In addition to these sculptural features, color is standardized. Greene Robertson has suggested that the standing figures and the background were painted in various hues of red, while the infant was painted blue/green.⁸ These visual elements emphasize the juxtaposition of the standing adult and recumbent infant, which enhance the piers' visibility from a distance.⁹

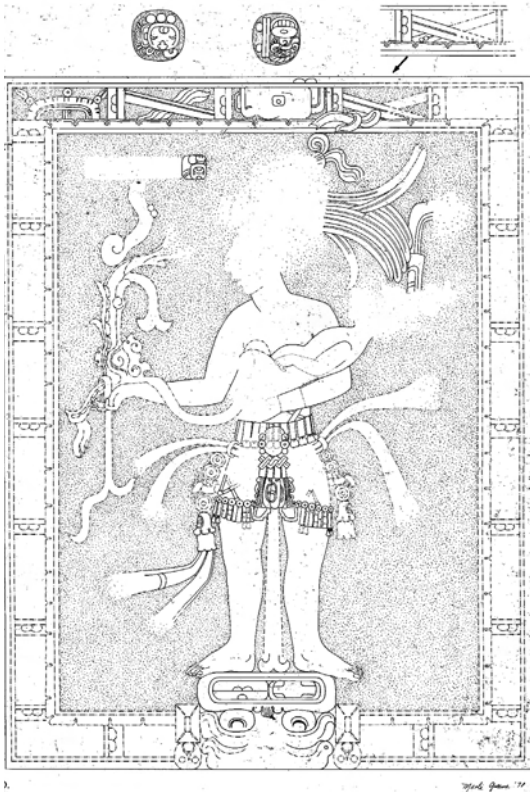


Figure 2. Pier D. *The Temple of the Inscriptions* (ca. C.E. 683), Palenque. Drawing by Merle Greene Robertson (1978). Image courtesy of Merle Greene Robertson.

individual events described in the three panels, there are still unanswered questions.¹³ The inscriptions from the East panel are a dynastic chronology, and recount the sacred obligations of these rulers, while the Central and West panels describe Pakal's accomplishments and his eventual demise.¹⁴ Geraldo Aldana has examined the Central panel containing the political biography of Pakal, which concludes on the West tablet, in relationship to its location in the superstructure.¹⁵ Distinctive features in the superstructure plan, the placement of the pier sculpture, and the *unseen* elements in the central chamber's floor emphasize the central inscription panel and might have given it prominence.

The Temple of the Inscriptions' name refers to the hieroglyphic text on the three interior panels in the portico gallery and central chamber. Although the inscriptions might have constituted a continuous narrative and appear to have been read from the East to West, it is possible that each panel contained a related but distinct theme, thereby allowing for multiple readings.¹⁰ This long written narrative recounts the story of the Palenque dynasty and thus centers on the births, accessions and ritual obligations of its dynasts.¹¹ The inscriptions' structure employs the use of sacred time and *k'atun* cycles (twenty year cycles), as a chronological anchor.¹²

Scholarship on the inscriptions is ongoing, and, although much is known of the story and

Since the sarcophagus cover design is central to this study, the object must be placed within the context of the temple. The stone coffin is the so-called *termination* point of a circuitous interior passageway composed of a switchback stair and an interior corridor that begins directly beneath a flagstone in the

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floor of the superstructure's central chamber.¹⁶ A second *passage*, consisting of a small cut-stone tube or psychoduct,¹⁷ outlines the course of this path, which functions as a physical link or conduit between the exterior and interior of the temple. One part is connected to Pier C and progresses along the floor through the center of the superstructure before descending along the left side of the interior stair to the tomb chamber, while the other end terminates adjacent to the south side of the sarcophagus.¹⁸ The sarcophagus itself is made of two solid pieces of limestone: the coffin or box is a hollowed out shell in the shape of a human form and the cover is a single flat slab measuring 3.79x2.20 meters.¹⁹ According to Ruz, the tomb chamber was built around this monolithic stone container.²⁰ He also discovered that the paved floor of the burial chamber was elevated 30 cm toward the North end.²¹ This feature might have been utilitarian, as well as providing a visitor a clearer view of the carved imagery, as he/she approached the sarcophagus from the tomb's South entrance.

The sarcophagus lid's imagery consists of an array of complex forms organized around a focal point, which is bound by a frame (Figure 3). Its composition can be examined in sections, each of which is reminiscent of the imagery found on the superstructure's pier sculptures.²² The first formal element is the skyband, which can be compared to a similar frame on the pier sculptures.²³ The remainder of the composition is organized around a dominant vertical or North-South axis, which is composed of a series of *stacked* motifs. The trunk of a cruciform tree denotes the axis; objects placed along this line include a plate containing various objects balanced on a zoomorphic skeletal head or quadripartite mask.²⁴ The vertical line passes through the mask and ends at the triangular beard of the open maw. Horizontal elements that balance this dominant line include the figure of the elaborate bird perched at the North end of the cover and the branches of the cruciform tree with which a bejeweled, bicephalic serpent is intertwined. Horizontal and vertical lines are repeated in the square frame of the gaping mouth of the underworld serpent. This figure also serves to secure the south end of the composition and provides a context for the presentation of the reclining figure inside its jaws.

The figure of Pakal composes the final layer of imagery. The ruler's depiction suggests that it might have been the focus of the entire composition. He is represented life-size and reclines in a flexed, infant-like pose, which seems familiar yet new, if not altogether unusual.²⁵ His body is tilted laterally, his head is arched backwards and his legs and hands are in opposed, bent positions like that of a newborn. Pakal seems to be in a state of suspension, just as the jade necklace appears to gently drift in space. Pakal, on his back and in a fetal position, is supported by the plate and quadripartite mask. He is both encased in the open maw-like form and superimposed on the cruciform tree. This placement serves as a visual foil by emphasizing the horizontality of his body and creating



Figure 3. *Drawing of Sarcophagus Cover. Tomb of Janaab' Pakal, Temple of the Inscriptions (C.E., 683). Drawing by Merle Greene Robertson (1975). Image courtesy of Merle Greene Robertson.*

of the Temple of the Inscriptions as a whole, since its imagery depicts cycles of birth and new birth. A comparison of the sculptures from the piers and the imagery carved on the sarcophagus cover reveals an unexpected feature shared by both programs. Prominently depicted and central to the iconography of each work is a flexed, supine figure. The four pier sculptures present a reclining infant, whom Schele and Greene Robertson have identified as Pakal's son and heir, Kan B'alam.³⁰ Correspondingly, the cover of the stone sarcophagus portrays Pakal, the deceased ruler.³¹ Both figures—the dead ruler and his infant son—are placed in identical poses. The self-reflexive (to echo or reflect in form and meaning) iconography of these images highlights a narrative of convergence

the center axis of the whole composition. Pakal's funerary portrait and the presence of his body inside the sarcophagus create a compelling juxtaposition of life, death and new birth.

Emmanuel Levinas argued that, "time is not the achievement of an isolated and lone subject," but rather, is, "the very relationship of the subject with the Other."²⁶ He explored this relationship through a variety of themes, one of which—his discussion of death as a new birth—may provide a schema for interpreting the iconography of the Temple of the Inscriptions.²⁷ He resolves the incomprehensible nature of death becomes tangible in a future that is transcendent and most cogently realized in the creation of a child.²⁸ Consequently, Levinas defines time as the progression of a cycle—in this sense, the past, present and future can be examined as a coherent totality.²⁹ This insight can be applied to an understanding

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between parent, child and ancestor as well as conveying valences that address lineage, accession, renewal and sacrifice.

References to death in the imagery from the Temple of the Inscriptions prefigure the future of the lineage. The iconography depicts the Palencano line of descent as sacred and eternal. Molded stucco figures of nine former dynasts line the walls of Pakal's burial chamber, just as a grove of verdant trees, featuring bust length portraits of his immediate ancestors, frame the sides of his sarcophagus.³² In contrast to these vigilant sentinels, the pier sculptures portray Kan B'alam's ancestors in active poses, as nurturers who confirm and literally uphold the future of the family line.³³ The Temple's iconography thus presents the ancestor as an embodiment of the transformative power of death. Although Kan B'alam is cradled by human figures on the pier sculptures, and Pakal seems to float in a suspended state on the sarcophagus cover, the two sculpture programs can be interpreted as homologous.³⁴ Morphologically, the representations of Pakal and Kan B'alam are identical: both figures are depicted on their backs with tightly drawn limbs and bodies that are slightly off balance. Their wrists and hands share a limp pose and each figure's head is tipped backward at a similar angle. These parallel images of Pakal and Kan B'alam stress their shared kinship; however, they also contain visual clues that reveal complexities in a bond which is not seen in other reliefs from the structure. The communion between ancestors and their progeny is a leit-motif repeated throughout the temple in its pictorial and written references.

The supine portrait of Pakal is as striking as it is enigmatic. His recumbent pose is unprecedented for a ruler.³⁵ Depictions of kings in Maya art characteristically show them in hieratic scale, physically elevated, and often standing on other captives and sacrificial victims, who assume prone, subordinate and vulnerable positions. Maya scholars have linked Pakal's reclining and flexed figure to an iconography of birth, apotheosis and sacrifice.³⁶ The cradled infant from the piers is less ambiguous. Greene Robertson and Schele have interpreted the pier figures as a series of portraits commemorating Kan B'alam's heir designation ceremony before an audience in the North Plaza.³⁷ These depictions of Pakal and Kan B'alam, although in different contexts (e.g. interior/exterior and death/life, respectively), express an iconography that unites parent, child, and ancestor in continuous cycles of renewal.

The corresponding figures of Pakal and Kan B'alam are potent models for cycles of renewal and the regenerative power of death; furthermore, the parent-child analogue is consistently depicted in association with portraits of these two dynasts. By closely examining the formal qualities of the father-son and ancestor programs, it becomes clear that representations of the parents of Kan B'alam and Pakal are being emphasized. The standing sculptural figures from pier

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sculptures C and D portray a female and a male. Greene Robertson and Schele have identified the woman on Pier C as Kan B'alam's mother, Lady Tzak' Ahaw, and the Pier D figure as his father, Pakal.³⁸ Their postures are reflections of each other, as each figure faces towards the entrance and to one another. A visitor entering the temple, therefore, passed the pair of figures, one on either side, and would thus have been obliged to acknowledge their positions of honor.

Pakal's parents, likewise, are also singled out and given prominence on their son's sarcophagus.³⁹ Pakal's mother, Lady Sak' K'uk', and his father, K'an Mo-Balam Choh Ahaw, are shown as a pair of anthropomorphized trees on the North and South ends of the sarcophagus.⁴⁰ Their images coincide with the central axis of the cover's iconography. Inscriptions carved into the edge of the South end of the sarcophagus lid are positioned directly above the images of Pakal's mother and father—these inscriptions are the birth and death statements of their son. The juxtaposition of their images with the inscriptions poignantly amplifies their relationship to him. Furthermore, these messages of intergenerational renewal are further underscored by their prominence on the sarcophagus' southern edge, which faced the entrance to the tomb chamber.⁴¹ These examples from Piers C and D, the sarcophagus portraits and the cover's inscriptions present an iconography of lineage that—going beyond a *parentage statement* which traces lineage to confirm legitimacy—expresses the cyclical nature of time and the unification of parent, child and ancestor.

As Schele and Mathews have noted, the king lists from the edges of the sarcophagus cover and those from the East and Central inscription panels of the temple's superstructure convey parallel lineage histories.⁴² These two related chronological narratives are organized within a matrix of nine *katuns* (20 year periods) or 180 years, with each dynastic event corresponding to a *katun* period's conclusion.⁴³ In accordance with the themes of succession depicted on the pier sculptures, the *katun* histories from the inscription panels state the birth and accession dates of each former dynast.⁴⁴ Corresponding to a mortuary theme, the East, North and West inscriptions on the sarcophagus cover recount the death dates of the same rulers named in the inscription panels. In both sets of king lists, Pakal's birth, accession and death are related to the culmination of the ninth period.⁴⁵ By noting Pakal's birth and death dates, the passage on the cover's South edge breaks with the narrative model, which typically only states a ruler's death date.⁴⁶ By including the birth date of Pakal, the South edge highlights the transformative powers of death, which would include accession events and a new birth. The final three glyphs of the South edge, which immediately follow Pakal's birth and death dates, might allude to an act of succession overseen by ancestors and a Vision Serpent.⁴⁷ This reading by Schele and Mathews, and more recently by Stanley Guenter, employs a glyphic phrase that signifies change in time and ruler.⁴⁸ Although parts of this inscription remain obscure, episodes of

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change, expressed as dynastic succession and the transitions between death and life; parent and child; and death, new birth and accession, are parallel themes throughout these programs.

The superstructure's West panel offers another example of corresponding messages that bolsters the parallels seen in the iconography of the sarcophagus cover and the pier sculptures. In passages from the middle of the West panel (lines E, F and G, H), Pakal's implied birth date (set into a period that roughly corresponds to his biological date) and his accession or new birth date (corresponding to his political birth) are presented as the centerpieces of a narrative that characterizes his reign—and by association, his dynasty—as eternal.⁴⁹ The implied birth and re-birth dates link two episodes in time: one, a period of time extending backwards, from the seventh century C.E. to one million years in the past, and two, a period of time that begins with the seventh-century C.E. and telescopes 4000 years into the future.⁵⁰ Schele, Mathews and Guenter agree that Pakal's accession on the Calendar Round date of 5 Lamat 1 Mol (C.E. 615) was explicitly linked to an ancient accession of a distant deified ancestor.⁵¹ The second episode describes an event in which Pakal will be newly born on C.E. 4772; a date that is the product of his implied birth date extended 80 calendar rounds (80x52 years) into the future.⁵² This future date coincides with the anniversary of his accession to the throne.⁵³ It is significant that Pakal's two *births* (biological and political) are the pivots of this vivid and compelling narrative. Lines E-F and G-H of the West panel describe dynastic convergence over immense spans of time. Pakal, the Ahaw of Palenque, is presented as both the beginning and the future of the dynasty, revealing that he is ancestor, ruler and child.

These examples demonstrate how texts and imagery found on/in the Temple of the Inscriptions communicate parallel narratives of the cyclical movement of time and the coalescence of parent, child and ancestor, as well as lineage, accession and renewal. The unified nature of these three narrative programs (sarcophagus, inscriptions panels and piers sculptures) suggests that the ancient Maya of Palenque may have apprehended the continuity of existence without regard to such boundaries as *visible* and *invisible*. By exploring the temple in its entirety: its inner precincts in conjunction with its exterior spaces, these self-reflexive programs emerge as components of a larger message that explicitly confirm the bond between death, comprehended as ancestor, and *new birth*, regarded as future.

Representations of trees and references to agricultural cycles create yet another layer of imagery conveying a message of convergence on the four pier sculptures. It has been established that the adults represented on the pier sculptures are the ancestors of the cradled child.⁵⁴ The standing adult in Pier D, although identified

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as Pakal, could also be interpreted as a figure akin to an anthropomorphized *Axis Mundi* or World Tree. The significance of this interpretation derives from the fact that the ancient Maya equated their ancestors with trees.⁵⁵ In Pier D, Pakal appears to stand firm and resolute, like a tree rooted in the earth that bears progeny like fruit sprouting from his limbs.⁵⁶ In this guise, Pakal confirms the act of dynastic succession and Kan B'alam's royal bloodline.⁵⁷

Pakal's sarcophagus cover features a corresponding image of a tree that can be interpreted as an anthropomorphized figure.⁵⁸ He and the animated cruciform tree are shown in close proximity and thus can be viewed as conflated entities. The position of Pakal's limbs and head and the swinging of his jewelry suggest a figure poised for birth or emergence.⁵⁹ The bend of his wrists and neck coincides with the lip, or outermost opening, of the skeletal maw. This orientation suggests that his head and hands are emerging out of the enclosed space of the maw rather than descending down into the gullet of the Underworld or ascending upward to the heavens. Pakal is reclined in a lateral motion, as if twisting and shifting his weight like an infant. His limbs and jewelry seem to rest on a supporting medium, as if floating in amniotic fluid or implanted like a seed or rhizome in the soil. Given his orientation towards the opening of the enclosed space, he appears as if he is sprouting from the earth or emerging in the act of new birth.

The cruciform tree furnishes a series of polyvalent guises: Pakal's figure is reminiscent of the pier sculptures of his son, depicted as cradled by an ancestral tree. Simultaneously, Pakal's body and the cruciform tree are shown as merged entities. The tree on the sarcophagus cover has been variously interpreted as an indigenous ceiba tree (*Yax Che'* in Yucatec Maya), the *Axis Mundi* World Tree, and the wakah-chan.⁶⁰ The *Yax Che'* is symbolic of both the beginning of time and creation and of ancestors.⁶¹ Today in Chiapas, Mexico, the ceiba tree continues to be revered by modern relatives of the ancient Maya. Among vast tracks of maize fields that were once jungles, the ceiba stand alone in the fields, a reminder of the longevity and power of this ancient emblem of lineage. The World Tree or *Yax Che'* is also a representation of the ruler; it forms a quincunx or center of the sacred environment and the ancient Maya worldview.⁶² The anthropomorphosis of the sarcophagus' tree and the presence of the bicephalic serpent or ceremonial bar, a traditional symbol of rulership that is intertwined in its branches, emphasize the connection between ancestor, ruler and *Yax Che'*.⁶³ Schele has suggested that the tree and the ceremonial bar represent the Milky Way and the ecliptic.⁶⁴ In this view, the imagery on the sarcophagus cover presents a cosmogram of cycles of time, lineage and agriculture. The environment of the tomb chamber and sarcophagus is further sanctified as a center of renewal by the arboreal portraits of Pakal's ancestors that populate the sides of his sarcophagus. These themes are

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reiterated in short-hand form in the iconography of the pier sculptures, where an ancestral tree holds up Kan B'alam just as the cruciform tree on the cover and the ancestral trees from the sides of the box sustain Pakal, his father.

Although Pakal was in his eighties when he died, his figure on the sarcophagus cover is of an idealized male in the prime of life; however, the form of this depiction is suggestive of a vulnerable newborn.⁶⁵ This seemingly discordant iconography—merging death and birth, vigor and fragility—becomes a coherent message when placed in a context of agricultural renewal. Karl Taube has identified Pakal on his sarcophagus cover as the *Tonsured Maize God*.⁶⁶ Correspondingly, the written texts from the southeast corner of the cover edge also name him the *Maize God*.⁶⁷ As this youthful deity, Pakal is symbolic of a fresh and robust maize plant.⁶⁸ In yet another guise, Pakal is adorned with the smoking axe or tube, which is embedded in his forehead; he is depicted as K'awaiill, the infant-like symbol of Maya kings.⁶⁹ Schele, Nikolai Grube and Simon Martin have noted that part of K'awaiill's full title includes the word *Ch'ok*, which in Yucatec Maya means 'child' or 'sprout'.⁷⁰ Alternatively, Kan B'alam has also been identified as K'awaiill on the pier sculptures.⁷¹ Although not all reclining figures from the piers are intact, the remaining imagery reveals a consistent pattern depicting infants with a left serpent-foot and a smoking axe embedded in their foreheads. Greene Robertson has indicated that the infant figures were painted blue-green, which suggests that the infants were depicted as a new maize sprout or *Ch'ok* of the ancestors, who hold them in their arms.⁷² Pakal is also the new *Ch'ok* of the ancestral trees that are gathered on his stone coffin, and he is the new sprouting *Yax Che'*.

Concepts of convergence and renewal are depicted in the representations of the *Yax Che'*, K'awaiill, and the *Ch'ok* from the parallel programs of the sarcophagus cover and pier sculptures. An iconography that merges the continuation of human life with agricultural renewal is depicted in an environment constructed to honor a dead ruler. Death and decay, then, become the engine for the cycle of life. For the ancient Maya, the ruler symbolized human dependence on the supernatural. Humans experienced this dependency in the uninterrupted movement of time and in the growth of maize. The imagery from the sarcophagus cover and pier sculptures depicts the ruler as the cultivator. In death, he becomes the *activator* and is transformed into ancestor or *advocate* of the sacred cycle.

The inscriptions from the West panel, on the right wall of the portico of the Temple of the Inscriptions, report that Pakal died on August 29, C.E. 683.⁷³ Scholars believe that although Pakal initiated the first construction campaign of his burial temple, it was his son, Kan B'alam, who actually completed the monument at a later date.⁷⁴ During the interregnum, Kan B'alam interred

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the former ruler in a *muhkaj* event, 'at an altar-place in the House of the Nine Figures'.⁷⁵ Months or years after Pakal's death Kan B'alam finished the construction of his father's funerary monument; in so doing, he concluded the dynastic history carved on the West panel by giving special care to the tomb of Pakal.⁷⁶

The rituals of interment honored Kan B'alam's father and marked the continuation of a lasting dialogue between multiple generations. The discourse between Kan B'alam—the son and heir, and Pakal—the father, deceased ruler and ancestor, was unending and timeless.⁷⁷ Illustration of this continual exchange between rulers, ancestors and their progeny is depicted in the pier sculptures and the sarcophagus lid, as well as the inscription panels. The Temple of the Inscriptions in its entirety portrays and records a cosmology of new birth through the noted convergences. A similar paradigm is expressed in the Maya belief of inter-generational substitution and sacrifice, known in Yucatec Maya as *k'ex* and, among the Tz'utujil speakers, as *Jaloj-K'exoj*.⁷⁸

Ethnographers Robert Carlson and Martín Prechtel, working with the Maya of Santiago Atitlán, Guatemala, have examined the tradition of *Jaloj-K'exoj* from both a pre-Columbian and late twentieth century perspective.⁷⁹ Carlson and Prechtel propose that the tradition of the *Jaloj-K'exoj*, although ancient, has shaped the worldview of modern Maya and is a factor in their cultural survival.⁸⁰ Similarly, Taube in his influential examination of birth imagery in ancient Maya myth and ritual, recounts ethnographic examples of *k'ex* and relates them to ancient imagery. Taube has interpreted the exposed and vulnerable depiction of Pakal on the sarcophagus cover, as the, 'supreme *k'ex*' sacrifice that would ensure the survival of Palenque and the continuation of his dynastic line.⁸¹

Taube defines *k'ex* as a type of ritualized substitute-sacrifice that was an integral element in rites marking transitions between states of being or such political change as celebrations of births and royal successions.⁸² These moments of change upset the equilibrium of existence or the continuity of life and lineage; consequently, to counteract the imbalance the cosmos required a gift in exchange, such as an offering of blood or corn.⁸³ The *Popul Vuh*, a fundamental Maya creation story, includes several examples of *k'ex* events in its narrative. The tradition of *k'ex* is also depicted in Classic period painted polychrome vessels and accession stelae.⁸⁴

The theme of the continuity of life and lineage is reiterated in the public spaces of the Temple of the Inscriptions and in the more private tomb chamber. The interior stairway and psychoduct reunite these spheres of the living and dead. The poses of Pakal and Kan B'alam are key elements in this interpretation. Although Pakal can be interpreted as a polyvalent icon, his posture and

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placement on a plate atop the Quadripartite Monster has led many scholars to identify him as a figure of sacrifice.⁸⁵ He lies prone, although tensed, on a sun or kin marked platter surrounded by offerings, including a shell and a stingray spine. These imported items are commonly excavated in royal interments and are often placed near the deceased; however, in Pakal's example, they are integrated into the narrative scene. The stingray spine, in particular, is a tool for royal auto-sacrifice; thus, there are two references to sacrifice in the iconography surrounding Pakal: Pakal's recumbent posture on the plate and the stingray spine. The stingray spine refers to the sacred duties of a once-living ruler. Combined with the stingray spine, the reclining posture of the former king signifies that he is the *k'ex* to the future. Although the pier sculptures do not denote a message of sacrifice, this meaning is connoted in the prone posture of the infant Kan B'alam. Kan B'alam's pose and the parallel posture of his father are akin to representations of Jaguar Baby infant sacrifices commonly depicted on polychrome painted vessels.⁸⁶ In these examples of *k'ex* from the sarcophagus cover and pier sculptures, Pakal and Kan B'alam represent self-reflexive images of the continuing cycles of life.

With these considerations in mind, another look at the structural and iconographic relationships between the portrait of Pakal on his sarcophagus cover, his image on Pier D and his cradled son is warranted. The convergence of parent, child and ancestor are touchingly depicted in what could be considered *three* images of Pakal. On his sarcophagus cover (in death) Pakal is shown as an infant.⁸⁷ On Pier D, he is a king presenting his son and heir to the public. Finally, the generational convergence comes full circle in the reiterated form of the infant from the pier sculpture: the child Kan B'alam is the future of the dynasty and the future of death, and he is the result of his infant father's symbolic immolation.⁸⁸ By looking at the singular relationship between Pakal and Kan B'alam on Pier D and the portrait of Pakal from the sarcophagus cover, the conceptual importance of *k'ex* becomes apparent.

Carlson and Prechtel describe the analogous *Jaloj-K'exoj* in a two-fold manner. The term *jal* commemorates life cycles observed in humans and in agriculture.⁸⁹ The corresponding word *k'ex* simultaneously represents change and rebirth; it signifies the transfer of life within multiple generations in a family.⁹⁰ Carlson and Prechtel argue that *k'ex* is the basis for the Maya notion of the continuity of life and the primacy of ancestors in both the ancient and the contemporary cultures.⁹¹ By applying the *jal* component of Carlson and Prechtel's compound term to the sculptural programs of the piers and sarcophagus cover, another aspect of the duality of birth and death comes to light. Pakal's figure from the cover has been interpreted as both the Maize God within a *k'ex* event and as the Maize God reborn.⁹² Similarly, Kan B'alam as has been discussed above, is like a 'sprout,' *Ch'ok* of his ancestors; however, in this particular context Kan B'alam,

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like his father, can be identified as a new Maize God or new ruler—here, rebirth is understood as an agricultural metaphor.⁹³ This analogue of Pakal and Kan B'alam is illustrative of the *jal* method of change. Pakal and Kan B'alam are both the *jal* of their lineage and thus, are defined as cycles of maize, part of a human life cycle, and reborn in future generations. These examples are reminiscent of the trials of Hun Hunaphu, the Maize God, from the *Popul Vuh*.⁹⁴ In both text and imagery, Hun Hunaphu is depicted continuously reliving, 'a cycle of life, death and resurrection.'⁹⁵

These themes of birth, death and accession are some of the primary subjects depicted on the inscription panels and pier sculptures.⁹⁶ Moreover, although the sarcophagus functioned as a container for the deceased king, the iconography conveys messages of a new birth and the continuity of life, rather than death.⁹⁷ Birth was an event that encompassed the delivery of a child from its mother and changes in status, such as the accession of an heir to the office of ruler. For the ancient Maya, one of the most dangerous times for a mother and child was during the process of giving birth.⁹⁸ In turn, a ruler went through a second *birth* at his accession to the throne, rendering this phase equally as dangerous for him and his people.⁹⁹ The larger paradigm of *Jaloj-K'exoj* could have been an integral part of this liminal interregnum period. The iconography of the Temple of the Inscriptions explored in its entirety presents a poignant dialogue in text and imagery: between rulers, ancestors and their progeny. These interrelationships were akin to the ideas of *Jaloj-K'exoj* and might have worked to reconcile the past, present and future within a cohesive totality. Carlson and Prechtel compare the continuum of *Jaloj-K'exoj* to creation themes from the *Popul Vuh*. In doing so, they invoke Dennis Tedlock's metaphor of a Möbius strip to describe the cyclicity of the, 'sowing and the dawning,' of maize and of human life.¹⁰⁰ A Möbius strip is characterized by a surface, the two *sides* of which are unbound. Tedlock's metaphor is, indeed, illustrative of the ancient Maya belief in the uninterrupted, unbound continuum of death, life and lineage. Transcendence of the paradox of death is one of the functions of the Temple of the Inscriptions. It reframes death as something that is essential to the preservation of sacred cycles of lineage, accession as a new birth and the paradigm of *k'ex* or intergenerational substitution. The message of convergence is comprehended when the temple is interpreted in its entirety and the apparent boundaries of interior/exterior and visible/the implied invisible have been erased.

The ancient Maya expression *och-b'ih*, 'he entered the road,' has been translated as the experience of death or, 'to die.'¹⁰¹ Interestingly, a common Yucatek Maya salutation is *bix a beel*, translated as, 'how is your road?' or, 'how are you?'¹⁰² Although separated by geography and time, these complementary phrases describe both death and life as *b'ih /beel* or road, which implies a journey that, like the Möbius strip, is an unbound continuum. Analogous transitions between

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death, life and renewal are depicted in the interpolarity of Pakal and Kan B'alam. The necessity of a convergence between death/life and infant /ancestor is made explicit in the iconography of the sarcophagus cover and pier sculptures and in the presence of the interior stairway and psychoduct. These symbols (physical and visual) function as markers, not of death or the end of things, but as a projection into the future and the continuation of life.

ELIZABETH OLTON is a doctoral candidate specializing in Pre-Hispanic Arts and Architecture. Her dissertation focuses on the structural design and iconographic programs in Maya funerary art and architecture. Elizabeth has been working with Flora Clancy, Professor Emerita at the University of New Mexico.

NOTES:

1. Octavio Paz, (New York: Grove, 1961), Labyrinth of Solitude, p. 61.
2. Emmanuel Levinas, Time and the Other [and additional essays], trans., Richard Cohen (Pittsburgh: Duquesne University, 1987), p. 91. The emphasis is Levinas'.
3. Alberto Ruz Lluillier, El Templo de las Inscripciones, Palenque. Colección Científica no. 7, Arqueología (Mexico City: Instituto Nacional de Antropología e Historia, Universidad Autónoma de México, 1973); Merle Greene Robertson, "An Iconographic Approach to the Identity of the Figures on the Piers of the Inscriptions, Palenque," in Tercera Mesa Redonda de Palenque, Vol. IV, ed. M.G. Robertson and D.C. Jeffers (Monterey: Pre-Columbian Art Research Institute, Herald Printers, 1979); Merle Greene Robertson, The Sculpture of Palenque. Volume I: The Temple of the Inscriptions (Princeton: Princeton University, 1983); Linda Schele and Mary Ellen Miller, The Blood of Kings: Dynasty and Ritual in Maya Art (Fort Worth: Kimbell Art Museum, 1986); Schele, Linda Schele and David Friedel, A Forest of Kings: The Untold Story of the Ancient Maya (New York: William Morrow, 1990); Linda Schele and Peter Mathews, Chapter 3, "Palenque: Hanab-Pakal's Tomb," in The Code of Kings: The Language of Seven Sacred Maya Temples and Tombs (New York: Scribner, 1998).
4. Simon Martin and Nikolai Grube, The Chronicle of Maya Kings and Queens (London: Thames and Hudson, 2000), pp. 154-155.
5. George Kubler, Art and Architecture of Ancient America (New York: Penguin, 1990), p. 219.
6. Greene Robertson, The Temple of the Inscriptions, p. 23.
7. Ibid.
8. Ibid., p. 52.
9. Ibid., p. 25. Merle Green Robertson has done sight-line studies of the sculpted piers and she postulates that these standing figures were to be seen by a viewer, in the north plaza, from a distance of between 100 and 10 meters.
10. The left to right reading order is related to the general order of reading Maya hieroglyphs. For additional information see, Robert Wald, A Palenque Triad, second edition, revised and updated, ed. Peter Keeler (Austin: Maya Workshop Foundation, 1999), pp.1-76. This book is an updated volume of the Maya Workshop Notebooks from 1986, 1987, and 1988, written by Linda Schele; Schele

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and Mathews, "Palenque," pp. 102-108; Michael Carrasco, "Temple of the Inscriptions: The *K'atun* Histories and Period-ending Rites of the Temple of the Inscriptions" *Unaahil B'aak: The Temples of Palenque* http://learningobjects.wesleyan.edu/palenque/glyphs/temple_inscriptions/, 2006; Stanley Guenter, "The Tomb of K'inich Janaab Pakal: The Temple of the Inscriptions at Palenque. Mesoweb: www.mesoweb.com/articles/guenter/TI.PDF, 2007.

11. Geraldo Aldana, *Oracular Science: Uncertainty in the History of Maya Astronomy, 500-1600*, (PhD. Diss., Harvard University, 2001), pp.110-132; Gerardo Aldana, *The Apotheosis of Pakal: Science, History, and Religion at Classic Maya Palenque* (Boulder: University Press of Colorado, 2007), p. 128

12. Wald, *A Palenque Triad*; Carrasco, "Temple of the Inscriptions: *K'atun* Histories"; Schele and Mathews, "Palenque," p.106; Michael Carrasco, "Of How they Pleased the Hearts of their Gods: The Architectural, Sculptural, and Literary Legacy of K'inich Janaab Pakal and K'inich Kan B'ahlam" (lecture, Minnesota Mayanist Meeting, Minneapolis, MN, Fall, 2007); Guenter, "The Tomb of K'inich Jaanab Pakal." Schele and Mathews, "Palenque" and Greene Robertson, *The Temple of the Inscriptions*, p. 54, state that these texts may have been precursors to the post-Classic stories of the Chilam Balam, from Yucatan.

13. Guenter, "The Tomb of K'inich Janaab Pakal," p. 2.

14. Schele and Mathews, "Palenque;" pp.101-108; Wald, *A Palenque Triad*, pp. 17-69; Guenter, "The Tomb of Jaanab Pakal," pp. pp.7-62; personal communication, Michael Carrasco, February, 14, 2007.

15. Aldana, *The Apotheosis*, pp.131-132; *Oracular Science*, p. 132.

16. Ruz, *El Templo*, p. 210; Greene Robertson, *The Temple of the Inscriptions*, pp. 23-24; Schele and Mathews, "Palenque," pp. 108-109.

17. Ruz, *El Templo*, pp. 92, 99, 209-211, Fig. 126; Greene Robertson, "An Iconographic Approach," pp. 135-139; Greene Robertson, *The Temple of the Inscriptions*, p.56; Schele and Mathews, "Palenque," p.131.

18. Ruz, *El Templo*, pp. 92, 99, 209-211, Figs. 126, 257; Greene Robertson, "An Iconographic Approach," pp. 135-139; Greene Robertson, *The Temple of the Inscriptions*, p.56, Fig. 101; Schele and Mathews, "Palenque," p.131.

19. Ruz, *El Templo*, p.83-85; Greene Robertson, *The Temple of the Inscriptions*, p.55.

20. Ruz, *El Templo*, pp. 216-219, Figs., 248, 249.

21. Ruz, *El Templo*, p. 83, Greene Robertson, *The Temple of the Inscriptions*, p. 55.

22. Space does not permit a more detailed discussion of the formal features of the cover. See Greene Robertson, *The Temple of the Inscriptions*, pp.56-74; Schele and Miller, *The Blood*, pp. 282-285; Schele and Mathews, "Palenque," pp. 100-132.

23. Ruz, *El Templo*, p. 174; Greene Robertson, *The Temple of the Inscriptions*, p. 62.

24. Greene Robertson, *The Temple of the Inscriptions*, p.58.

25. Ibid, p. 57.

26. Levinas, *Time and the Other*, p. 39.

27. Ibid, p. 81.

28. Ibid, p. 91.

29. Ibid, p. 80.

30. Linda Schele, "Accession Iconography of Chan-Balam in the Group of the Cross at Palenque." *In Segunda Mesa Redonda de Palenque Part III*, edited by M. G. Robertson, (Pebble Beach: Robert Louis Stevenson School, 1976) p. 15; Greene Robertson, "An Iconographic Approach," p. 130, 131. Whereas Pakal is identified in the inscriptions from the south edge of the sarcophagus cover, which states his birth and death dates and explicitly link him to the guise of "maize god"; Schele and Mathews, "Palenque," p.118; Guenter, "The Tomb of K'inich Janaab Pakal," p. 57.

31. Greene Robertson, *The Temple of the Inscriptions*, p. 55; Peter Mathews and Linda Schele,

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- "Lords of Palenque—The Glyphic Evidence," Primera Mesa Redonda de Palenque, Part I, ed. M.G. Robertson (Pebble Beach: Robert Louis Stevenson School, 1974); Floyd Loundsbury, "Pacal," Primera Mesa Redonda de Palenque, Part I, (Pebble Beach: Robert Louis Stevenson School, 1974).
32. Greene Robertson, The Temple of the Inscriptions, pp. 66-73; Schele and Mathews, "Palenque," pp. 119-130. Gunter, "The Tomb of K'inich Janaab Pakal," p. 5 has identified the infants from above as images of Pakal, linking their form to the portrait of the ruler on his sarcophagus cover. I have independently come to the same conclusion and presented this interpretation in the paper, *Representations of Transformation at the Temple of the Inscriptions, Palenque, Chiapas, Mexico*, A.D. 683: *The New King and the New Ancestor*, at the 20th Annual Graduate Symposium on the History of Art, Boston University and Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, MA, March, 20, 2004.
33. Greene Robertson, "An Iconographic Approach"; Greene Robertson, The Temple of the Inscriptions, pp. 27-51; Schele and Mathews, "Palenque," pp. 99-100.
34. Greene Robertson, The Temple of the Inscriptions, p. 57; Schele and Miller, The Blood, pp. 282-284; Schele and Mathews, "Palenque," pp. 115-17; Mary Miller and Simon Martin, Courtly Art of the Ancient Maya, (London: Thames and Hudson, 2004), p.207. The "action" of the sarcophagus cover is a source of healthy debate in the academic community; this image is mostly likely polyvalent.
35. Mary Miller, Maya Art and Architecture (London: Thames and Hudson, 1999), p. 112. Michael Carrasco, personal communication, 2008, has noted that this pose is not unusual for the Maize God, however.
36. Greene Robertson, The Temple of the Inscriptions, pp. 56-63. Schele and Miller, The Blood, pp. 282-284, Aldana, The Apotheosis; Miller and Marin, Courtly Art; 199-207; Schele and Mathews, "Palenque," p.132; Karl Taube, "The Birth Vase: Natal Imagery in Ancient Maya Myth and Ritual," *The Maya Vase Book Vol. 4*, Ed. Justin Kerr (New York: Kerr and Associates, 1994) pp.672-675.
37. Greene Robertson, "An Iconographic Approach"; Greene Robertson, The Temple of the Inscriptions, pp.42-44; Schele and Friedel, A Forest, p. 235; Schele and Mathews, "Palenque," pp. 99-100.
38. Greene Robertson, "An Iconographic Approach"; Greene Robertson, The Temple of the Inscriptions, pp. 42-44; Schele and Mathews, "Palenque," pp. 99-100.
39. Greene Robertson, The Temple of the Inscriptions, p. 66; Schele and Mathews, "Palenque," p. 121.
40. Greene Robertson, The Temple of the Inscriptions, pp. 66-73; Schele and Mathews, "Palenque," pp. 120-122.
41. For drawings of Pakal's parents' portraits and this inscription, see Greene Robertson, The Temple of the Inscriptions, plates, 174-202; 170-172; Schele and Mathews, "Palenque," pp. 120-122.
42. Schele and Mathews, "Palenque," p.117.
43. Ruz, El Templo, p. 112, Wald, A Palenque Triad, pp. 6-70; Schele and Mathews, "Palenque," pp. 101-108.
44. Wald, A Palenque Triad, pp. 6-70; Schele and Mathews, "Palenque," pp. 101-108.
45. Schele and Mathews, "Palenque," pp.104-106, 117-119.
46. Wald, A Palenque Triad, pp. 35-37; Schele and Mathews, "Palenque," 117; Guenter, "The Tomb of K'inich Janaab Pakal," p.57.
47. Schele and Mathews, "Palenque," pp. 119, 131; Guenter, "The Tomb of K'inich Janaab Pakal," pp. 57, 58.
48. Guenter, "The Tomb of K'inich Janab Pakal," p. 58.
49. Ibid, p. 41-44. This date is implied because it is associated with a period ending, rather than the actual calendrical date of his birth. For additional information see, Schele and Mathews, "Palenque," p. 103, 106.
50. Schele and Mathews, "Palenque," p. 107; Guenter, "The Tomb of K'inich Janaab Pakal," pp. 41-44.

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51. Schele and Mathews, "Palenque," p.106; Guenter, "The Tomb of K'inich Janaab Pakal," p. 43.
52. Schele and Mathews, "Palenque," pp.106, 107; Guenter, "The Tomb of K'inich Janaab Pakal," pp. 43, 44.
53. Schele and Mathews, "Palenque," pp.106, 107; Guenter, "The Tomb of K'inich Janaab Pakal," p. 43.
54. See note 37.
55. Schele and Mathews, "Palenque;" Patricia Mcanany, Living with the Ancestors (Austin: University of Texas, 1995).
56. Robert Carlson and Martin Prechtel, "The Flowering of the Dead," The War for the Heart and Soul of a Highland Town (Austin: University of Texas, 1997), p.55.
57. Greene Robertson, "An Iconographic approach," pp. 132-33; Greene Robertson, The Temple of the Inscriptions, p. 37; Schele and Mathews, "Palenque."
58. Schele and Mathews, "Palenque," p.113.
59. Greene Robertson, The Temple of the Inscriptions, p. 62.
60. Schele and Friedel, A Forest, pp. 66, 67, 231; David Friedel, Schele, Joy Parker, Maya Cosmos, (New York: Scribner, 1994) pp. 53-55, 75-79; Greene Robertson, The Temple of the Inscriptions, p. 59.
61. Schele and Mathews, "Palenque," pp. 122-123, 127; Robert Carlson and Martín Prechtel, "The Flowering of the Dead," pp. 52-56.
62. Schele, Friedel and Parker. Maya Cosmos, pp. 135-138, 414, n.36, 418, n.21; Schele and Mathews, "Palenque," pp. 120-23.
63. Schele and Mathews, "Palenque," p. 113-115.
64. Friedel, Schele, Parker, The Maya Cosmos, 76-80; Schele and Mathews, "Palenque," pp. 114, 115.
65. Vera Tieseler and Andrea Cucina, Ed. Janaab' Pakal of Palenque: Reconstructing the Life and Death of a Maya Ruler (Tucson: University of Arizona, 2006), p. 9.
66. Karl Taube, "The Classic Maya Maize God: A Reappraisal," Fifth Palenque Round Table (San Francisco: PreColumbian Art Research Institute, 1983) pp. 171-181; Taube, "The Birth Vase" p. 674.
67. Schele and Mathews, "Palenque," p. 118; Guenter, "The Tomb of K'inich Janaab Pakal," p. 57.
68. Schele and Mathews, "Palenque," 116.
69. Green Roberston, "An Iconographic Approach," p. 135; Friedel, Schele and Parker, Maya Cosmos, pp. 193-202; Schele and Miller, The Blood, p. 49; Greene Robertson, The Temple of the Inscriptions, p. 59.
70. Schele, Nikolai Grube, Simon Martin, Notebook 22nd for the University of Texas Hieroglyphic Forum (Austin: Maya Workshop Foundation, 1997) p. 43; Wald, A Palenque Triad, p. 107; Schele and Mathews, "Palenque," p. 99; Greene Robertson, The Temple of the Inscriptions, pp. 33, 36-40.
71. Greene Robertson, "An Iconographic Approach," pp.129-131, Greene Robertson, The Temple of the Inscriptions, pp. 33, 36-40; Schele and Mathews, "Palenque," p. 99.
72. Greene Robertson, The Temple of the Inscriptions, pp. 51-53.
73. Schele and Mathews, "Palenque;" Tiesler and Cucina, Janaab' Pakal of Palenque, p. 123.
74. Greene Robertson, "An Iconographic Approach," p. 132.
75. New evidence presented by Markus Eberl suggests that dynastic funerary rites could have lasted for years after the initial burial, Tiesler and Cucina, Janaab' Pakal of Palenque, pp. 104, 123; G. Bernal, "K'inich Janaab' Pakal," Arqueología Mexicana (16), 2004, p.19.
76. Tiesler and Cucina, Janaab' Pakal of Palenque, p. 105; Greene Robertson, "An Iconographic Approach," p. 132; Bernal, "K'inich Janaab' Pakal," p.19.
77. Kan B'alam was declared the ruler in January 7, C.E. 684, five months after his father's death. Martin and Grube, The Chronicles, p. 168.

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78. Friedel, Schele, Parker, Maya Cosmos, p. 193-94; Taube, "The Birth Vase," p. 669-675; Carlson and Prechtel, "The Flowering of the Dead," p. 47-67.
79. Carlson and Prechtel, "The Flowering of the Dead," pp. 47-67.
80. Robert Carlson, The War for the Heart and Soul of a Highland Maya Town, p. 5.
81. Taube, "The Birth Vase," p. 674.
82. Ibid, p. 674.
83. Ibid, pp. 672-674.
84. Ibid.
85. Green Robertson, "The Quadripartite Badge—A Badge of Rulership," Primera Mesa Redonda de Palenque, Part I, Ed. M.G. Robertson (Pebble Beach: Robert Louis Stevenson School, 1974); Green Robertson, Temple of the Inscriptions, pp. 58-62; Taube, "The Birth Vase," p. 674.
86. Taube, "The Birth Vase," p. 672, Martin, "The Baby Jaguar: An Exploration of its Identity and Origins in Maya Art and Writing," Memoria de la Tercera Mesa Redonda de Palenque, Vol. I, Ed. V. Tiesler, R. Cobos, and M. G. Robertson (Mexico City: Instituto Nacional de Antropología e Historia, Universidad Autónoma de Yucatán, 2002), p. 56.
87. Pakal's image on the sarcophagus cover is exceedingly polyvalent, therefore, he is depicted as many things; in this section I am exploring his infant identity.
88. My interpretation here might present an alternative idea when compared to Karl Taube's from "The Birth Vase," p. 673. Taube states that, "a replacement in the world of the dead," is necessary.
89. Carlson and Prechtel, "The Flowering," p. 50.
90. Ibid. This transfer is most often recounted in inter-generational *k'ex* exchanges between a child and grandchild.
91. Ibid.
92. Taube, "The Birth Vase," p. 673; Schele and Mathews, "Palenque," p. 132; Friedel, Schele, Parker, Maya Cosmos, p. 139, associate him with the First Father and Maize.
93. Taube, "The Birth Vase," p. 674, Martin, "The Baby Jaguar," p. 56.
94. Karl Taube, "The Classic Maya Maize God: A Reappraisal."
95. Mary Miller and Marco Samayoa, "Where the Maize May Grow," RES (33) (Cambridge: Peabody Museum, 1998), p. 57.
96. For a detailed transcription of the panel inscriptions see Wald, A Palenque Triad, A more thematic translation appears in Schele and Mathews, "Palenque," pp. 95-132; and Stanley Guenter has most recently contributed to another transcription and translation in "The Tomb of K'inich Jaanab Pakal"
97. Schele and Mathews, "Palenque," p.132.
98. Taube, "The Birth Vase," p. 671
99. Ibid. p. 672.
100. Carlson and Prechtel, "The Flowering," p. 58.
101. Wald, A Palenque Triad, p. 66; Schele and Mathews, "Palenque," p.115; Guenter, "The Tomb of K'inich Jaanab Pakal," p. 54.
102. Robert W. Blair and Refugio Vermont Salas, Spoken Yucatec Maya, Book I. Rev. Edition, Program in Latin American Studies (Chapel Hill: Duke University-University of North Carolina, 1995) p.2. Also thanks to Michael Carrasco for his Yucatec Maya edits.