

Keeping up appearances

An overview of the archaeological history of Palenque, Chiapas, Mexico,
from the 19th to the 21st century



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In loving memory of Leo Deelen

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Foreword

A quick word of thanks to everyone who helped me in the process of composing this manuscript. First and foremost, my thesis supervisors Dr. Araceli Rojas Martínez and Ilona Heijnen who guided me through the unsure beginnings and some doubtful moments. My gratitude goes out to Dr. Alice Samson motivated me when I was in great need for the figurative push in the back , to Marc van der Stok for correcting my English, and for my friends who gave me support when listening to each other's highs and lows. And of course to my parents, for giving me the possibility to follow my true passion.

Evelien Deelen.

Introduction

A warm morning sun evaporates the last clouds of fog that surround the ancient ruins of Palenque, Chiapas, Mexico. Only the chattering of birds reflecting from the walls of temples and palaces disturbs the peace and quietness of the early morning, and one can easily imagine the ancient city waking up back in Classical times, preparing itself for the rituals of everyday life. But this idyllic picture will soon be over when busloads of tourists from all over the world will reach the grounds, ready to explore the buildings that in ancient times might only have been accessible for the elite few.

Not only in Mexico but throughout the whole of Mesoamerica the monumental centers of what once were mighty cities or city states are now being visited by tourists on a daily basis. But the mere fact that this is even possible comes from years of excavating, mapping, drawing, photographing, restoring and reconstructing, by numerous archaeologists and other experts.

For now, let us concentrate on the Maya area, where the city of Palenque is situated. These cities have come a long way from the time they got deserted by their original inhabitants, to the time were they get repopulated by tourists so to speak. After more than hundreds or thousands of years of facing the elements (tropical storms, burning sun, humidity) and the destructive force of jungle vegetation, most buildings wgot degraded to mounds of stone and rubble, heavily overgrown by trees and shrubs. What happened to these mounds that transformed them from inaccessible heaps of stone to the grand monuments we see today? Who transformed them, and why did they make the choices they did? What scientific and theoretical background were they working from and how were they influenced? These questions arose during the author's stay in Mexico, where she and her teammates visited Palenque as part of the ethnographic field school organized by Professor Dr. Maarten Jansen from the faculty of Archaeology at Leiden University. By writing this bachelor thesis, the author aims to provide an answer to all those questions.

Research question

The research question is the spine of any investigation. To structure this bachelor thesis the following research question was formulated:

How has the development of archaeological research at Palenque from the 19th century upwards lead to the current appearance of the site?

Let us take a closer look at the structure of this question. It consists of several components, respectively;

- The development of archaeological research
- Palenque

- From the 19th century onwards
- Current appearance of the site

The site of **Palenque** was chosen as a case study because during the author's stay in Mexico, this site was of special importance for her research and has intrigued her ever since. Palenque is a very prominent site and plays a major role in science, tourism, Mexican nationalism and economics, and has a long archaeological history. Therefore the author expects that there exists abundant (archaeological) data to be able to execute this investigation.

After visiting several Mexican sites in various stages of development, it became clear to the author that the **current appearance** of many sites like Monte Albán, Chichen Itzá, Uxmal etc. differs greatly from the appearance of unexcavated sites and therefore is the result of many years of renovation and reconstruction. But how realistic are these renovations? To what degree are structures altered after years of intense research? In what way are renovations and reconstructions based on scientific and historical evidence, or perhaps influenced by time bound schools of thought, academic perspectives, or the personal opinion of the archaeologist? And who made the choice to renovate, and on what did they base their decision?

The main focus of this thesis is the **development of archaeological research** at Palenque, e.g. the historical process that formed the archaeological history of the site. This process is worth investigating because at one point in the archaeological history of Palenque the overgrown mounds that once were majestic temples and palaces were reconstructed, but why, how and by who?

Three so called 'epochs' will be analyzed; the 19th century, the 20th century, and the 21st century. For every epoch two of the most influential researchers will be chosen, and analyzed what contributions they made to Palenque's archaeological history and in what way they were influenced by anthropological or archaeological theoretical schools of thought, cultural-historical phases in time, archaeological policies and the development of archaeological science.

To achieve these goals a literature study will be carried out and by making use of scientific publications in the form of books and (digital) articles, excavation and research reports, official governmental websites or the official field project websites, and interviews used for the movie 'Breaking the Maya Code'. From all three epochs images will be gathered that clearly show the state of the ruins at the time and the development through time. By doing so, a coherent chronology will be created that shows how Palenque was discovered, excavated, reconstructed and restored and why it looks like it does today.

Sub questions

To support the research question several sub questions have been formulated;

- What did Palenque look like when 19th century explorers arrived?
- How has Palenque looked like throughout the 19th, 20th and 21st century, according to images?
- What were the time-bound ideas, schools and streams behind archaeological research, excavation, restoration and renovation at particular moments in time?
- It is possible to single out the process of renovation and reconstruction from the literature?
- What does the government say regarding their police about renovation and reconstruction?

Together, these questions will exemplify and support the research question by illuminating several aspects that gather the information from which the research question can be answered.

Theoretical framework

This paragraph will explain the content of the theoretical framework of this thesis. Due to the structure of this manuscript (three chapters with identical 1st, 2nd and 3rd paragraphs each discussing a different epoch, see next paragraph) a theoretical framework will be given in the chapters itself. It will mainly follow the theories of Trigger and his 2006 book ‘A history of archaeological thought’ and of ‘Maya archaeology. Perspectives at the millennium’ by Golden and Borgstede (2004). The framework will put in perspective what archaeological and anthropological theories and streams of thought were of influence on the explorers and archaeologist working at Palenque.

Thesis structure

After the introduction, the collected data will be presented in three chapters. These chapters all follow the same outline, to present a coherent chronology. The first paragraph discusses the archaeological developments between the previous period and the second paragraph of each chapter. The second paragraph discusses the two most influential researchers of each century. Each subparagraph consists of who the researcher was, his motifs, the goal of his expedition, his work at the site, and his contribution to science. The third paragraph contains the theoretical framework of each chapter. The fourth paragraph, the conclusion, is the sum of the second and third paragraph.

Chapter two focuses on the 19th century and discusses the works of Stephens & Catherwood and Maudslay. Before conducting an in-depth analysis on who the two most influential explorers back in the 19th were and what they did, an overview will be provided from the moment of the Spanish ‘rediscovery’ of the site, up until the arrival of Stephens & Catherwood. The third paragraph will elaborate what literary streams and movement were of major influence on these early explorers, and

how this shaped their way of thought. This will explain why people made the decisions they did and what they contributed to the city shaped by their moment in time. The chapter will be closed with a conclusion.

Chapter three and four follow the same outline in the first three paragraphs as chapter two. The paragraphs are similar but applied to the period of time that is analyzed in each chapter. Paragraph 3.1 will inform the reader what happened at Palenque between the visits of the 19th century explorers and the archaeological research of the 20th century, to illuminate what renewed basis the archaeologist were working on. The second paragraph will discuss the works of archaeologist Alberto Ruz Lhuillier and the First Mesa Redonda de Palenque. In chapter four the Palenque Mapping Project by Edwin Barnhart will be subject of discussion, together with an overview of several smaller project due to a lack of a sixth large influential archaeological project.

Chapter five forms the discussion in which the author will discuss her personal observations regarding the studied literature. As a guideline she will keep in mind the divided components of the research question. The discussion will also include a critical view on this thesis and future recommendations . Chapter six will offer a conclusion in which the research question will be answered.

Palenque



Figure 1. 1 Palenque's location in Mesoamerica (Graham 2003, 5)

The city of Palenque is situated in the Mexican state of Chiapas, on the slopes of Sierra Madre de Chiapas, about 7 kilometers away from the modern town of Santo Domingo de Palenque. The Sierra Madre de Chiapas is a large chain of mountains that stretches through parts of Mexico, Guatemala, El Salvador and Honduras. From the Sierra originate numerous streams and rivers of which the Otolum river flows through Palenque (Stuart 2008, 12). There are more than 50 natural springs that originated within the grounds of the city (French 2002, 75).

Palenque was built on a 3x1 square kilometer plateau (Barnhart 2005, 3), about 350 meters above sea level (French 2007, 8). To the south the city is walled by a 300 meter high mountainside and to the east and west the hilly landscape becomes kastic (Barnhart 2005, 3). The steep mountainous area is the result of plate tectonic during the Cenozoic, specifically during the Pliocene. It consists mainly of igneous and metamorphic rock like granite, which were formed during the Paleozoic (Julia, Provencio, Elvira, and Carlos 1999, 25). Another main geographic component is limestone, which formed an abundant source of construction material for Palenque's monuments (Stuart and Stuart 2008, 20). Although opportunities for expansion were limited due to the positioning of the city, defensively it had a great advantage. Enemies could not ambush the city from its sides and its back, and the only way in was via the wide Tabasco plains, on which they could easily be spotted (French 2002, 4).

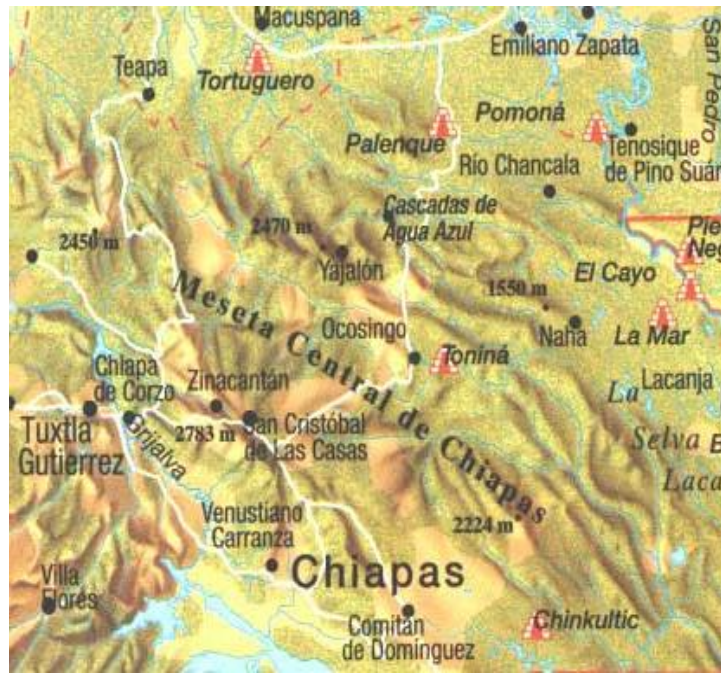


Figure 1. 2 A closer view of Palenque and its neighbors (www.latinamericanstudies.org)

The tropical climate in the Palenque area reaches temperatures from 22.9 °C (December/January) to 28.8 °C (May) with an average rainfall of 300 cm per year (French 2008, 13) (Stuart and Stuart 2008, 17). Humidity often reaches 100% (French 2007, 9).

The chronology of Palenque is composed by Robert Rands and is based on ceramics found in various strata at the site (see chapter 4 for more detail). Occupation first took place around 500 BC during the Preclassic Period when occupants settled at what is now the western part of the site. They carried with them red-brown ceramics defined as the Picota phase. Around 400 BC the social stratification of the community had developed in such an extent that rulers were established (Stuart 2008, 32).

Palenque's dynasty was founded during the Classic Period (AD 250 – AD 900) by king K'uk' Balam I who acceded the throne on March 11, 431 (French 2002, 6). The city reached its peak in architectural development and art during the reign of K'inich Janab Pakal who acceded on July 29, 615 (French 2002, 6). The corresponding ceramic phase is the Otolum phase, which reflects stability and welfare in the sheer amount of both local and imported luxury ceramics, imported by the elite. In the 8th century AD a series of expansions was evicted by the son and successor of K'inich Janab Pakal, K'inich Kan Balam II, the Cross Group and the Palace aqueduct being examples of those projects (French 2002, 8). By the end of the Classic Period, Palenque had grown to its maximum size and was highly developed in its art, architecture and social stratigraphy (Stuart 2008, 32).

At the end of the Classic Period in the 9th century AD a series of unknown events lead to the so called 'Maya Collaps' in the Maya highlands. Most city states witnessed a sudden abandonment and the population of the central highlands dropped dramatically. Even though the exact cause of the

collapse has yet to be defined, there is strong evidence towards a dramatic increase in population during the Late Classic period at Palenque. The Balunté phase (the final ceramic phase at 770-850 AD) is a clear indicator for a phenomenal population density at the ritual center of the site. This high population would have put the natural resources under huge stress; Palenque had reached its carrying capacity (Stuart 2008, 32). After the collapse the city was not abandoned immediately. A specific type of sherds called 'Fine Orange Ware' was found in the most prominent structures of the ritual center, indicating that after the collapse a group of people remained resident in the city. Eventually even they disappeared and around 1000 AD Palenque got abandoned for good (Stuart 2008, 32).



Figure 1. 3 Palenque in a broader context (www.latinamericanstudies.com)

Romanticism at Palenque

This chapter marks the initial period of research at Palenque; the inevitable rediscovery, the first expeditions undertaken primarily by the Spanish, but later also by French, British and American gentlemen. The explorations at the end of the first half of the 19th century had awakened public and academic interest and illustrations, pictures and casts spoke to the imagination.

Careful explorations of the city started in the 18th century AD, and within 50 years the Spanish Crown hosted several expeditions to gather written descriptions and drawings. But it wasn't until 1839 that systematic study and documentation began by the hands of John Lloyd Stephens and Frederic Catherwood. By writing and illustrating the famous 'Incident of Travel' series the world finally got word of the hidden ruins. Half a decade later another important visit was undertaken by Alfred Percival Maudslay, who took numerous photos and casts of structures and architectural elements. Both works represent time capsules that hoist information that since had degraded or even disappeared.

2.1 What had happened at Palenque between the arrival of the Spanish and the exploration in the 19th century?

Affected by the collapse that occurred in the central Maya area at the end of the Classic period, the city of Palenque got abandoned in the 10th century AD. Without the presence of humans the jungle vegetation soon got a hold of the limestone buildings and within decades houses, milpas, plazas, temples and palaces got overgrown completely. Between the 10th and the 18th century the ruins lay forgotten in the forest, although local Indians must have been aware of their presence (Stuart and Stuart 2008, 35). In the 16th century a group of Ch'ol Maya founded a small settlement near the ruins, that consisted of a street lined with a few pole and thatched buildings. Soon, this settlement named Santo Domingo de Palenque, became an important stop between San Christobal De Las Casas (formerly known as Ciudad Real de Chiapa) and the Mexican states of Tabasco, Campeche, and Yucatán (Stuart and Stuart 2008, 35, 36). The inevitable rediscovery of the ancient ruins occurred in the 18th century, when a group of Spaniards were surveying the area in search of suitable farmland. Knowing king Charles III of Spain would be interested in this matter, expeditions were arranged by Fray Ramón Ordoñez de Aguiar, priest of the cathedral of Ciudad Real, to discover these 'casas de piedras'. Fray Ramón's brother was ordered to undertake the expedition and arrived at Palenque in 1773, coincidentally 200 years prior to an event which would be a great milestone in Palenque's modern history (see chapter 3) (Griffin 1973, 9) (Stuart and Stuart 2008, 36). During the late 18th century a political change occurred in Spain after the War of the Spanish succession, and the Bourbon monarchy came into power (Evans 2004, 16). The first official expedition took place in 1784-1785 and consisted of deputy major José Antonio Calderón and architect Antonio Bernasconi. Both men described and drew elements of what they saw in letters and journals to inform their superiors.

Although these drawings are unrealistic, highly interpretive and lack what is considered today as scientific value, it was Bernasconi who drew the first true records of Mayan hieroglyphs (Griffin 1973, 10) (Stuart and Stuart 2008, 37).

Then, in 1787, Capitan of Artillery Antonio Del Rio, together with Calderón and a group of Ch'ol Maya, undertook a three week excavation where he cleared the ruins of the dense vegetation, wrote a detailed report on his observations and interpretations, and selected several artifacts to send back to Spain. At the same time Ignacio Armendáriz took upon him the task of visually recording various aspects of the site, like stucco 'adornos' of the interior walls of the Palace, exterior piers from the Palace and Temple of the Inscriptions, and several stuccos and hieroglyphic panels. His work marks the point in time where the visual recording of Palenque began in earnest (Griffin 1973, 10) (Stuart and Stuart 2008, 39).



Figure 2. 1 A drawing by Ignacio Armendáriz.
(Source: <http://decipherment.wordpress.com> 2012)

At the time Mexico was still part of the Spanish colony New Spain and rarely allowed literate 'outsiders' to visit the ruins (Griffin 1973, 10). This finally changed in 1805 when King Charles IV sent retired Captain of Dragoons Guillermo Dupax and artist José Luciano Castañeda on three expeditions to the ruins of Mexico; they reached Palenque in 1807. Whilst Dupax wrote his travel logs, Castañeda drew almost 30 images of many different aspects of the site. Unfortunately his drawings do not represent Palenque realistically but from the point of view of an early 19th century artist trying to make sense of a strange, unfamiliar world (Griffin 1973, 10) (Stuart and Stuart 2008, 42, 43).



Figure 2. 2 The Temple of the Inscriptions by Castañada
(Source: www.mesoweb.com)

When the Dupaix-Castañada expedition came to an end in 1809, so did the first initial period of discovery at Palenque. A short hiatus followed in which nobody brought an official visit to the site (Stuart and Stuart 2008, 43). Yet two important publications appeared at the start of the 19th century: 1808 saw the first printed description of Palenque in ‘a history of Guatemala’ a by Domingo Juarros and the first published picture of a Palencian relief in 1818 by Alexander von Humbolt in his ‘Vues de Cordilleres, et monuments des peuples indigenes de L’Amerique’ (in Paris) (Griffin 1973, 10).

Later, in 1822, Del Rio’s 1787 excavation report surprisingly got printed and published by Henry Berthoud. The book got accompanied by 17 images, and although the artist is unknown, they were the first the general public ever saw. This event marked yet another period of research, in which publication became an important focus, which was made possible by new printing techniques (Stuart and Stuart 2008, 46).

In 1827 the general public was able to read more and more about the Maya when Constantine Samuel Rafinesque started publishing letters on Maya in a local newspaper, the customary form of communication between scholars at the time. Eventually the discussion got supplemented by an image of the column of ten glyphs; most likely the first ever publication of Maya hieroglyphs in the Americas (Stuart and Stuart 2008, 59).

Another remarkable figure that played a role in Palenque’s early modern history was Jean Frederic Maximilien, Comte de Waldec, a shady figure with a endless imagination. He lived at the ruins for a year and made several drawings, ranging from very realistic to completely imaginative. Many were drawn in a neo Egyptian style, since he was convinced the Egyptians built the ancient city. For unknown reasons, after he drew the ‘Beau Relief’, he destroyed parts of it. In 1866 his images got published as lithographs. Interestingly, some showed graffiti left by previous visitors and even

thename of Desiree Charnay! (Griffin 1973, 11).



Figure 2. 3 Graffiti presumably by Charnay.
(Source: <http://laurateaton.blogspot.nl> 2011)



Figure 2. 4 Vandalism is of all times.
(Source: <http://www.svsereia.com> 2006)

With the works of Waldeck the first major era of introducing Palenque to the world, both by word and by print, came to an end. Although Waldeck's words and images were more fiction than fact, they reached a broad public and got many people interested in Palenque. But the men who came next would truly reach the general reading public and brought Palenque the fame it deserved (Stuart and Stuart 2008, 63).

2.2 Who were the two most influential explorers visiting Palenque in the 19th century and what did they do?

2.2.1 John Lloyd Stephens & Frederick Catherwood

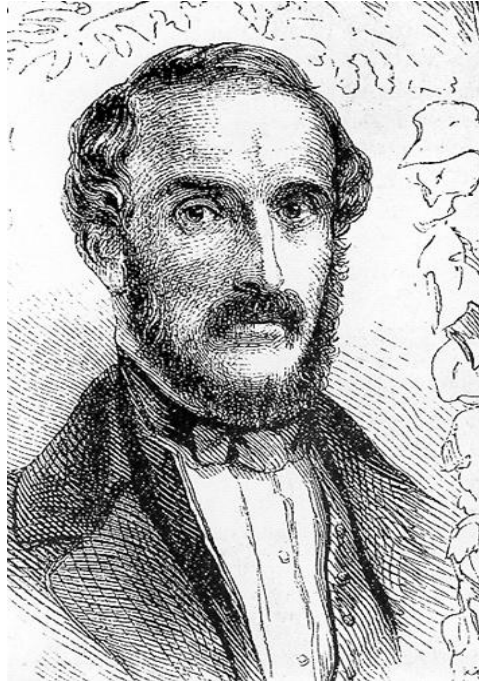


Figure 2. 5 John Lloyd Stephens

(Source: www.latinamericanstudies.org 2012)

Born and raised in New Jersey, United States of America, John Lloyd Stephens (November 28, 1805 – October 13, 1852) was a lawyer and politician, but also a traveler, author, and diplomat. His professional career was shaped by his father who took him to the city of New York where he obtained a lawyers' degree at the Columbia University. After practicing law for nine years an infectious throat disease put his career to a halt by forcing Stephens to undertake a trip abroad to cure himself (Roscoe 1949, 197, 198).

Returning home from his 'Grand Tour' to Europe and the Near East he discovered that the letters he had sent had been published in a local newspaper. Motivated by this unexpected success, Stephens contacted the New York publisher Harper & Brothers, to explore the possibilities of a more formal way of publishing (Porta 2005, 64). It is slightly unclear how Stephens took notice of the hidden archaeological treasures of Central America, but Porta (2005, 65) suggests that certain antiquarian bookshops which functioned as a meeting place for New York intellectuals, might have been where he first picked up on rumors of mysterious overgrown ruins. He found a partner in crime in the Brit Frederick Catherwood (27 February 1799 – 27 September 1854), who as an architect had accompanied previous expeditions to the Near East and therefore had experience with capturing archaeological remains (Porta 2005, 65). Coincidentally, around the same time Stephens was selected to

be the Minister of the United States for the Central American Republic, (Roscoe 1949, 198) adding an important diplomatic aspect to the expedition. In 1839 Stephens set sail for Central America, where he teamed up with Catherwood to embark on their epic nine month journey.

Stephens traveled to Central America with several objectives in mind. First of all, and most importantly, the mythical lands had to be explored, described and mapped. His travel log would have to be accessible by the general public. In his own words, Stephens states that:

“My object has been, not to produce an illustrated work, but to present the drawings in such an inexpensive form as to place them within reach of the gross of our reading public” (Pérez Luna 2002, 204).

Whilst visiting archaeological sites Stephens intended to gather artifacts and ship them back to the US for display (Roberts 2000, 551). Roberts calls this act ‘a salvage paradigm of archaeological science’ in which historically successful nations aim to rescue golden age artifacts from cultures that have denigrated beyond the capacity to care for them. Personally, Stephens entered the expedition with an open mind, aiming to prevent prejudice when exploring sites and ruins, careful not to draw premature conclusions on who built those ‘casas de piedras’. (Pérez Luna 204).



Figure 2. 2 The Temple of the High Hill (Temple of Inscriptions) by Frederick Catherwood.
(Source: www.mesoweb.com 2012)



Figure 2.3 Casa no. 1 (Temple of the Inscriptions) by Frederick Catherwood

(Source: <http://mesoamerica.narod.ru> 2011)

But the literature also displays also a different point of view of why Stephens undertook his mission. An economical point of view is taken by R. Tripp Evans in his book ‘Romancing the Maya’ (2004). According to Evans, Stephens main personal motivation was of financial interest (Evans 2004, 48). Before traveling to Mesoamerica Stephens had already undertaken two extensive journeys to the Near East and Europe after which he produced *Incidents of Travel in Egypt, Arabia, Petraea and the Holy Land* (1837) and *Incidents of Travel in Greece, Turkey, Russia and Poland* (1838) with the aim to prepare ignorant travelers for the problems one could encounter on a trip. To further exploit his status as a bestselling author, Stephens and his publishers Harper and Brothers aimed at the mystique that surrounded Mesoamerica (Evans 2004, 49). With a journalistic style of writing (Evans 2004, 43), a minimal amount of theory, method or philosophy (Evans 2004, 45), images that spoke to the imagination and unlike other travel logs who would sell at several hundreds of dollars, Stephens sold his works for a price affordable for middle-class readers (Evans 2004, 43, 45).

Besides this personal financial aspect, Stephens’ and Catherwoods journey was drenched in an extremely heavy political agenda. Stephens had just been assigned the position of U.S. representative to the Central American Federations and therefore would be at the right place at the right time to find the primary seat of power of this recently independent country. Once established, he could then focus on building a diplomatic relationship between the United States and Mexico and ultimately establish a trade agreement (Evans 2004, 49). Furthermore, the journey made by Stephens and Catherwood could also be seen as a survey, an expression of the United States territorial expansion drift during the 19th century. Spanish Florida had just been annexed in 1819, and the Yucatan peninsula was only a relatively short distance away (Evans 2004, 55).

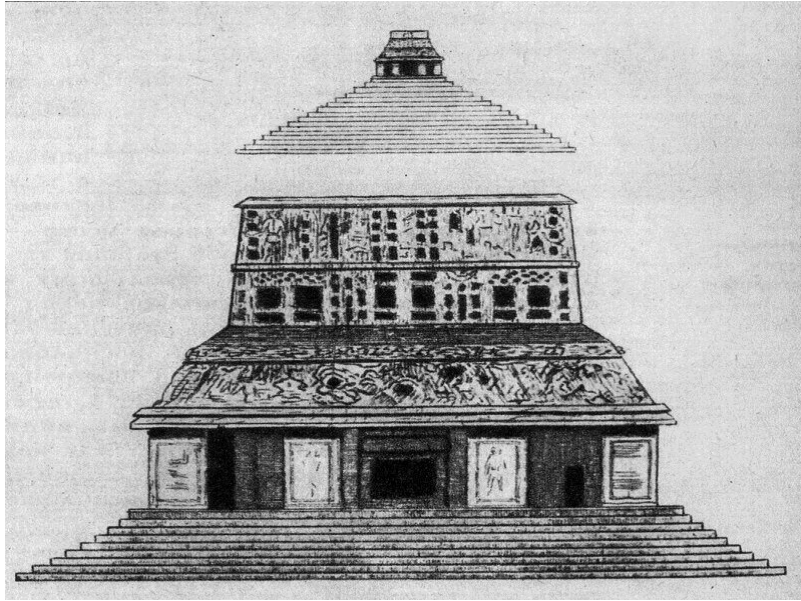


Figure 2.4 Casa de Piedra no. 2 by Frederick Catherwood

(Source: <http://mesoamerica.narod.ru> 2011)

Some years after the Mexican revolution of 1820 the Monroe Doctrine was issued in the United States. This doctrine, combined with the ‘manifest destiny’ (a concept which justified U.S. expansion towards the west (Weinberg 1935, 8)) was aimed to prevent European powers from further colonize the Americas which in turn enabled the U.S. to pursuit and legalize their expansion. This secured the United States future expansion of the American continent (Evans 2004, 44, 55). Stephens executed the doctrine in his own way by preventing Europeans from gaining ownership of the prehistoric ruins (Evans 2004, 3, 4). According to Evans, purchasing some of the ruined cities was part of Stephens’ plan to form a national museum of American Antiquities (Evans 2004, 54). Palenque also seemed suitable for relocation, but Stephens’ options for obtaining the site were minimal: he had to either marry a local Palencana or let the wife of a Mexican friend settle the deal (Evans 2004, 55). Fortunately, both options failed and most of Palenque remained at its place.

During his initial nine months in the field, Stephens systematically surveyed the landscape (Roberts 2000, 553), explored multiple sites including Palenque, and wrote down whatever he found useful in his log. Whilst he explored, Frederick Catherwood drew numerous figures of temples, stelaes and inscriptions, with the understanding of their meaning still decades away. The accuracy of his drawings was the result of a technique recently adopted in the exploration of Mesoamerica called the ‘camera lucida’ (Porta 2005, 64, 65) (Evans 2004, 53). His drawings also included detailed descriptions and measurements. The ruins, being heavily overgrown by the lush vegetation, had to be cleared of vegetation before Catherwood was able to make sense of the unfamiliar architecture. At times, Stephens himself had to scrub clean the engravings, because they were heavily affected by mold and plants (Pérez Luna 2002, 204).



Figure 2.5 Principle Court of the Palace at Palenque by Frederick Catherwood
(Source: www.superstock.com 2012)

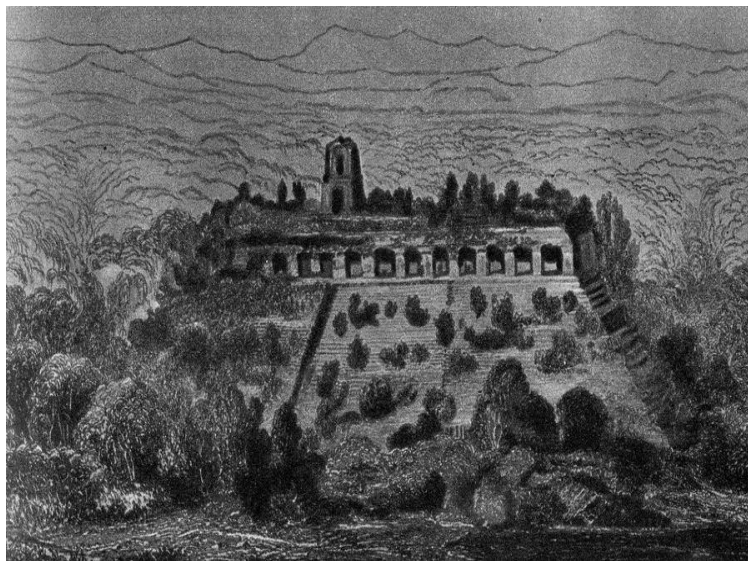


Figure 2.6 The Palace by Frederick Catherwood
(Source: <http://mesoamerica.narod.ru> 2011)

Catherwood's romantic drawings of Palenque were not of the same standard and accuracy as his other work. A fever caused by malaria was probably the cause of the strange imperfections uncharacteristic of his works. The pictures made by the camera lucida are not so much affected by his illness, but when he redrew the overview of the site, the Palace, the Temple of the Inscriptions and the site map his memory failed on him and caused him to make some mistakes. But that doesn't change the fact that his drawings are generally seen as the most beautiful ever produced, and it proved to be the collaboration between Stephens and Catherwood that was their key to success (Evans 2004, 49).

Evans (2004) sheds light on the economic side of why Catherwood was making drawings during the expedition, other than to illustrate their books. Stephens' aim was often to obtain ownership of many of the ruins. Whilst he executed his diplomatic task, Catherwood worked at clearing, measuring and documenting the sites. In a way the drawings represent more than just images; they were copies, facsimiles that anticipated ownership. After Stephens reviewed the works made by his companion, he often tried to buy the structures from the local officials (Evans 2004, 56, 57). Catherwood facilitated Stephens' claims on the ruins by emphasizing their broken down and overgrown state, emphasizing their fate as doomed structures, ownerless and neglected. This way he legalized their attempts to acquire the Mexican heritage, since the Indians themselves were not interested in claiming it (Evans 2004, 58).

Today, Stephens and Catherwood are perceived as the first true archaeological explorers by modern day scientists, the first to conduct a true systematic investigation of Mesoamerican sites (Porta 2005, 63). Au contraire to his contemporaries Stephens was the first explorer who broke free from the past beliefs and concluded that the ruins were built by native Americans and not by descendants of the Greeks or Egyptians (Roberts 2000, 550). Complemented by Stephens' eye for detail (Porta 2005, 65) and the relative objectivity he kept in mind whilst writing, *Incidents of travel in Yucatán and Central America* forms a document still used by researchers today (Porta 2005, 63) and gave a major pulse to Latin American archaeology back in its day. According to Von Hagen (1947) the start of the first expedition and thus the arrival at Copán was the starting point for Latin American archaeology in general (Porta 2005, 63). Coincidentally, around the same time of the expedition the so called 'graphic book' got invented and immediately became popular amongst both scholars and the general public (Porta 2005, 71). This gave a major boost to the popularity of the journals and produced graphics of such good quality that both images and measurements can still be used today to measure the level of decay between then and now (Porta 2005, 68).

2.2.2 Alfred Percival Maudslay



Figure 2.7 Maudslay at work in Chichen. By Alfred Maudslay

(Source: www.oncetv-ipn.net 2009)

Alfred Percival Maudslay first saw the light of day on March 18, 1850 in Norwood, a rural area south of London. (Graham 2002, 20) (Tozzer 1931, 403). As the grandson of a successful engineer, he had the privilege of attending Cambridge at age 18. Another privilege of his fortunate position in life was the possibility of frequently going abroad: after his graduation he went on a trip to Guatemala that would later convince him to give up his diplomatic career and spend his life in the jungles of Guatemala and Mexico (Graham 2002, 28)(C 1931, 345)(Graham 2003, 31). A visit to the site Quiriguá, where he pulled off a mat of moss from a monument revealing the well preserved inscriptions for the first time in possibly hundreds, perhaps even a thousand years turned out to be a life changing experience (Graham 2003, 31):

“It was the unexpected magnificence of the monuments which that day came into view that led me to devote so many years to securing copies of them, which, preserved in the museums of Europe and America, are likely to survive the originals”(Graham 2003, 31).

From 1881 to 1894 he undertook seven elaborate trips to Latin America, sparing no expense while he made photographs and castings. Surprisingly, he funded the expeditions from his own pocket, but the printing, the reproduction of the plates and the publishing of his works in the ‘Biologica Centrali Americana’ would be covered by Mr. Frederick Godman, one of the producers of the encyclopedia (Tozzer 1931, 404) (Graham 2003, 37).



**Figure 2.8 View of the Temple of The Inscriptions and the south end of the Palace Mound, looking west.
By Alfred Maudslay (Source: www.mesoweb.com 2012)**



**Figure 2.9 The Temple of Inscriptions and the west side of the Palace, looking South. By Alfred Maudslay
(Source: www.mesoweb.com 2012)**

Although Maudslay saw himself as an amateur (Tozzer 1931, 404), his main goal whilst staying at the ruins was to document and collect as many valuable data as possible, to be used for scientific and educational purposes, before the precious stuccos and engravings would deteriorate and fall prey to the harsh jungle conditions. The best way he could do this was by using photography. He already had experience with this technique and user friendly dry plates had just become commercially available, which in contrast to hot plates did not require an immediate development and thus were way more easy to use (Graham 2003, 34). But Maudslay also realized that a photograph would not be able to capture all aspects of the complicated low and high reliefs of the sculptures. Drawings would present a far more accurate and detailed picture instead, but difficult working conditions like swarms of mosquitoes and challenging architectural designs would make this process impossible. To overcome this problem Maudslay decided to make plaster casts that later could serve as moulds and be developed in the United States. (This idea actually came from Desiree Charnay, whom he met some time before at the ruins of Yaxchitlan (Graham 2003, 34).



Figure 2.10 View from the east side of the Palace Mound. By Alfred Maudslay
(Source: www.mesoweb.com 2012)



Figure 2.11 Temple of the Cross, south face. By Alfred Maudslay
(Source: www.mesoweb.com 2012)

In January 1891 Maudslay and his companion Hugh W. Price arrived at Palenque. Before the process of documenting could start they had to repeat the actions many of their predecessors had done before: clear the ruins of the dense tropical vegetation, cut down trees and clean the stucco reliefs of thick encrustations. Price fulfilled his task of surveying and mapping, whilst Maudslay applied himself to making plans, drawings, photographs and moulds (Stuart and Stuart 2008, 79) (Tozzer 1931, 403). Once cleaned, Maudslay made photographs of the buildings, stucco and with special emphasis, the hieroglyphs, which he also made casts of (Stuart and Stuart 2008, 80). The casts were used in two ways, one type made up of plaster, the other made up of wet paper. Later, meticulously detailed drawings of the casts were then made by Miss Annie Hunter, most of which were so accurate that no flaws could ever be discovered (Stuart and Stuart 2008, 80).

Like Stephens and Catherwood, Maudslay captivated Palenque at a time when the ruins were still relatively unspoiled by human actions. Plates of the casts he made were printed in five volumes of the 60 volume 'Biologia Centrali' Americana under the name 'Archaeology' (Tozzer 1931, 407), providing a time capsule containing precious data that has since been long gone. Miss Annie Hunter made detailed step by step drawings, some even in color, which are still used by students and scholars worldwide (Tozzer 2003, 408) (Graham 2003, 34). Maudslay was the first to understand that photographs would not fully grasp the dimensions of the hieroglyphs, and that's why he decided to make precise drawings of many sculptures, and thereby turning out to be the founder of a tradition that would be continued by many future researchers (Graham 2003, 34). Almost a century later his drawings would play a major role in the decipherment of the Maya Hieroglyphs, for which many of

Maudslay's drawings and casts were used. Had he not made his casts and photographs, much information would have been lost forever, eroded by the elements or looted by treasure hunters (Graham 2003, 36) Other than that, Mr. Price's map is without a doubt one of the most accurate ever made and was used until the beginning of the 21st century (Barnhart 2001, 4).

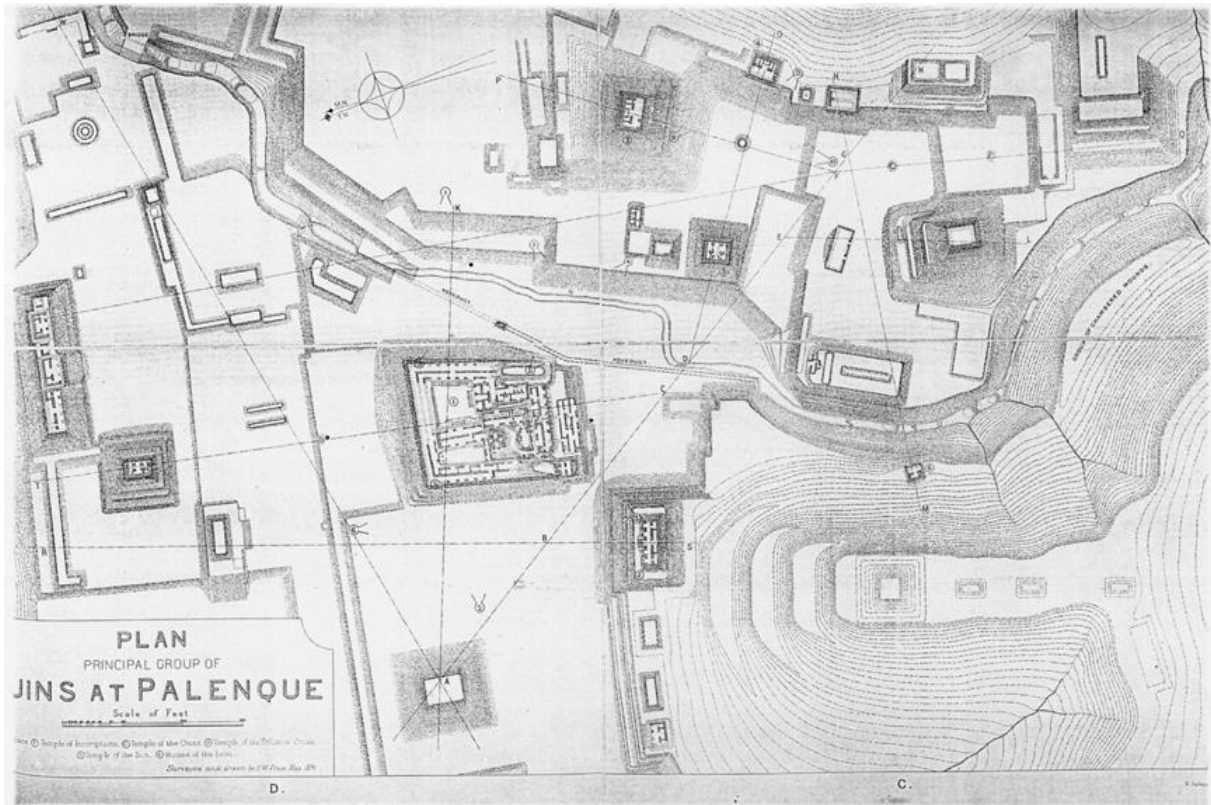


Figure 2.12 Price's map
(Barnhart 2001, 3)

Alfred Percival Maudslay died on January 22, 1931, but his legacy still lives on through his photographs, drawings and maps that are being distributed and studied by mayanists worldwide.



Figure 2.13 The Palace. View of the western Court and Tower, looking south. By Alfred Maudslay.
(Source: www.mesoweb.com 2012)



Figure 2.14 The Palace house. House D. from the west. By Alfred Maudslay
(Source: www.mesoweb.com 2012)



Figure 2.15 View of the Palace, from the Temple of the Inscriptions. Alfred Maudslay
(Source: www.mesoweb.com 2012)



Figure 2.16 View of the Palace looking north west. By Alfred Maudslay.
(Source: www.mesoweb.com 2012)

2.3 What streams and schools were of major influence on these visitors and shaped their way of thought?

2.3.1 Colonial and Antiquarian period (1500-1890)

During the first 200 years of colonization the Spanish Crown was not particularly interested in the history of their newly conquered lands. During the 16th and 17th centuries emphasis lied mainly on religious convention and control of the indigenous population. By destroying or hiding archaeological monuments the colonizers intended to erase the pre-Christian past and belief system (Trigger 2006, 116). Other than that, the Spanish had no clue that the ruins once belonged to powerful city-states that reigned over Guatemala and Mexico, because the Classic Maya cities had been abandoned by centuries when the Spanish arrived. Therefore, they felt no urge to investigate the parts of their empire that seemed empty and uninteresting (Evans 2004, 11).

A change of interest in Precolumbian sites and artifacts occurred in 18th-19th century, due to several factors. The rise of the Enlightenment in the 18th century stimulated the urge to break free from religion, and discover and explain the natural environment in a rational way (Greene 2002, 4). The 18th century also witnessed the increasing interest in American antiquarianism and later the rise of romanticism (Trigger 1989 in Yaeger & Borgstede 2004, 262), the growing independence movements in Spanish American Colonies (Sued B. 1995 in Yaeger & Borgstede 2004, 262), and the increasing dominance of the United States in the Western hemisphere (Patterson 1995 in Yaeger & Borgstede 2004, 262).

Finally, it was antiquarianism that motivated King Charles III to send Antonio Del Rio to Spain in 1787 (Del Rio 1822 in Yaeger & Borgstede 2004, 262). The study of antiquities is called Antiquarianism, before organized methods of excavation and interpretation had established (Greene 2002, 280), the goal of which was to collect material evidence relating to the past (Jacks 1993:9 in trigger 2006, 55).

Before the Mexican independence (1821), Spanish officials rarely allowed non-Spanish visitors to study pre-Hispanic remains (Trigger 2006, 117). This changed after 1821, and soon many European and American explorers and adventurers set sail towards the former Spanish colony, their journeys often made possible by foreign funding and research agendas (Yaeger and Borgstede in Golden and Borgstede 2004, 262). In their way of trying to make sense of this strange new world and the lack of evidence to appoint the ruins to a contemporary culture, both explorers and scholars accepted the idea that the ruins were of Greece, Roman, Egyptian, Phoenician or Israeli origin. This would stay the dominant view up until the mid 19th century (Evans 2004, 20, 35). These theories can be explained by the lack of an intellectual background at that point in time. People relied on theological explanations since modern science was still a long time away of being developed (Willey and Sabloff 1980, 14). Investigations at the time can be categorized as highly speculative in nature,

and therefore the period between 1500-1840 AD can be marked as the Speculative Period (Willey and Sabloff 1980, 12, 32).

2.3.2 Classificatory-Descriptive period within the Antiquarian period (1840-1910)

Romanticism was the dominant intellectual phase during the first half of the 19th century. This stream came forth as a reaction to the rationality of the Enlightenment and the effects of the harshness of the industrial revolution, and expressed itself through admiration of wild landscapes, the ‘Noble Savage’ instead of primitive peoples (Greene 2002, 286), and a deep interest in the past (Trigger 112). Another characteristic of Romanticism was a romanticized view of landscape (Ashmore in Golden and Borgstede 2004, 97-98). Landscape was not recognized as a social construct but as the romantic implication for designating simply ‘nature’, unattained by human presence (Spirn 1996:111 in Ashmore 2004, 98). According to Trigger (2006, 112) Romanticism also stimulated antiquarianism. Archaeology as a profession or official field of study was not yet established (Willey and Sabloff 1980, 31). The Descriptive-Historical phase distinguishes itself from the former by systematically describing archaeological materials, especially architecture and monuments (Willey and Sabloff 1980, 34).

2.3.3 The Institutionalization of Americanist Archaeology (1890-1910)

At the end of the 19th century archaeology got more organized and institutionalized in the United States, and universities like Harvard and the University of Chicago started to offer schooling in anthropology (Yaeger & Borgstede 2004, 264, 265). Franz Boas and his four-field anthropology was a major stimulator for American anthropology, and in combination with historical particularism and an increased amount of retrieved early colonial documents people became more aware of the connection between pre-colonial archaeological sites and the modern Maya (Yaeger & Borgstede in Golden and Borgstede, 2004, 265). Research on the Maya focused mainly on the ruling elite and the religious aspects of their life (Willey and Sabloff 1980, 66) (Sabloff in Golden and Borgstede 2004, 15) and on recording ethnographic and ethnohistoric data before it got lost to modernization, like the Lacandon Maya who live close to Palenque (Yaeger & Borgstede in Golden and Borgstede, 2004, 265).

2.4 Conclusion

Stephens and Catherwood mark the beginning of Classificatory-Descriptive Period in Middle America (Willey and Sabloff 1980, 57). Romanticism influenced these early explorers in several ways. Stephens employed a very dramatized style of writing, often making use of metaphors and exaggerations (Evans 2004, 66).

Catherwood had attended the Royal Academy in England where he mastered Romantic techniques such as *chiaroscuro* and the use of dramatic landscape composition. He was further influenced by Italian painters, which can be seen in the way he depicts ruins in their landscapes, carefully placed at the center of the frame, catching light and at the same time being heavily overgrown by wild and untamed nature. On other occasions, vegetation growing out of the cracks in the buildings was highlighted to emphasizing the deteriorating state the ruins were in (Evans 2004, 65). Catherwood's last trick was placing several contemporary details in the foreground, usually several local inhabitants, to emphasize the contradiction between past glory and present degradation (Evans 2004, 66).

Even though other combinations of writers and artists had visited Palenque before 1839, the beginning of systematic investigation starts with Stephens and Catherwood because they were the first not to present a European or Eurocentric type of image of the site (Willey and Sabloff 1980, 57). Although influenced by Romanticism, for the first time in history drawings were realistic depictions of how Palenque actually looked like at the time.

Alfred Percival Maudslay seems to have had very different motifs than Stephens. Although both men had in common that they were gathering and collecting data in order to publish books, Maudslay was not in a hurry to publish another 'cash cow'. The photographs he took were to be printed in a grand series of encyclopedia called 'Biologica Centrali Americana' and therefore were taken with a different purpose in mind. His pictures aren't any different from how an archaeologist today would take them. Monuments are captured at different angles often accompanied either by himself or by a local Maya, but unlike Catherwood's staged scenes, Maudslay's Maya's play a passive role, presumably just to give an indication of the scale of the monuments.

It does not seem that Maudslay embarked on his journeys on a political agenda. In the past, Maudslay had fulfilled several political functions but he gave up his position in South East Asia (Tozzer 1931, 404) to be able to travel to Latin America. He financed his eight journeys with his own means, not being paid directly by a sponsor and not at all by a governmental institution. It seems that his aim truly was to document data for no other purpose than research and education.

To conclude, two different visions on Stephens' and Catherwood's journey are being portrayed in the available literature. One is the romantic, acknowledging Stephens to be a romanticist and at the same time romanticizing his works. The other emphasizes the economic side of their travels, their political agenda and the financial aspect. Much less has been published on Maudslay, but by

viewing his photographs it can easily be observed that their purpose was not to awe the viewer but to educate and serve as research material. Although there are many similarities between the works of Stephens & Catherwood and those of Maudslay, there are also many differences. Stephens was a commercial writer, aiming on the general reading public by publishing easy accessible, low cost travel journals. Maudslay seemed more driven by his personal interest in archaeology, but he published his photographs and findings the expensive, limited edition encyclopedia. But what these men have in common is that they were entrepreneurs. Their visits formed the start of years of thorough archaeological and epigraphic research that continues to develop as we speak.

Archaeology at Palenque

The increasing interest in Mesoamerican archaeology had both positive and negative effects on Palenque. Stephens & Catherwood and Maudslay both greatly contributed to the fame of the ancient city and by the end of the 19th century more expeditions were held that included or directly focused on Palenque. But more than a century of primitive exploration techniques had left its mark on the city, at times causing irreversible damage.

The start of the 20th century would see the founding of several short and long lived archaeological institutions, of which the Instituto Nacional de Antropología e Historia was the one to stay. This Mexican institute would bring forth the man who would make the most famous discovery in Palenque history: the tomb of king K'inich Janaab' Pakal by Alberto Ruz Lhuillier.

Several decades later a group of young North American archaeologists and epigraphers would bring Palenque research to an intercontinental level by founding the first 'Mesa Redonda de Palenque'. These two milestones in Palenque's modern archaeological history are further explained in the following chapter, as well as the theoretical framework by which these archaeologists were influenced.

3.1 What had happened at Palenque between the explorations in the 19th century and the first half of the 20th century?

Stephens' immensely popular works stimulated the development of two major processes. The first was the increasing understanding that the long lost cities were not made by Egyptians, Romans, Greeks or other civilized peoples of the Old World (Stuart and Stuart 2008, 73) but instead were built by Native Americans, ancestors of the Maya inhabiting Mexico back then and today. The second was the stream of fraudulent writers that wanted in on the success Stephens gained with his books. Even today the sphere of mysteriousness that surrounds the Maya inspires many writers. Amongst them Erich Von Danichen is a prime example, claiming the lid of Pakal's tomb portraying the great king as an astronaut, to publish books or propose theories based highly on interpretation and fantasy, rather than facts (Stuart and Stuart 2008, 73).

Four years after Maudslay's departure came yet another important visitor: William Henry Holmes. Holmes was an anthropologist, archaeologist, artist, geologist, and curator of anthropology at the Columbian Museum of Chicago. In just four days he gathered very accurate and detailed data on the construction of the Palace and surrounding buildings. His study is acknowledged as one of the most valuable ever produced on the architecture of Palenque (Stuart and Stuart 2008, 80-81). Like Stephens and Catherwood, Holmes produced a time capsule that captured the state the ruins were in at the time.

Just before the turn of the century an expedition was planned by the American Museum of Natural History of New York. Called the 'Expedition of Expeditions' by its organizer Marshall Saville, its aim was to explore and document Yaxchilan and other sites in the Usumacinta valley. Because of diplomatic reasons the focus of the expedition soon shifted from Yaxchilan to Palenque, but because of heavy rains Saville was unable to find labor forces to support him during his stay at the ruins. After only four short weeks near the site, Saville was forced to leave. His departure marked the end of the 19th century explorations of the ruins of Palenque (Stuart and Stuart 2008, 82).

Unfortunately, by now the negative results of Palenque's fame started to come to light. In the short span of time between Palenque's 'discovery' and the beginning of the 20th century many artifacts had been looted from the site (Stuart and Stuart 2008, 80), structures had been destroyed and vandalized by primitive techniques used during explorations (dynamite, for example) and because of travelers wanting so eternalize their names on the walls of the Palace (Griffin 1973, 11). Del Rio was looking for treasure, destroying whatever blocked his way from entering rooms or corridors (Evans 2004, 20). An extreme example of vandalism is the deliberately destroyed 'beau relief' by Waldeck who took it down after capturing it on paper (Stuart and Stuart 2008, 80). Even Stephens added his share of destructions. In his urge to collect artifacts he would not hesitate to destroy the surrounding area or the object itself. At times he found it necessary to take down entire structures, although thankfully this did not occur at Palenque (Evans 2004, 72).

The Tablet of the Cross, the great slab covering the back wall of the Temple of the Cross, also fell victim to these destructions (Stuart and Stuart 2008, 77). Somewhere between 1807 (Dupaix and Castaneda witnessed the tablet in its original position and unspoiled) and 1840 (Catherwood made a drawing of the middle panel when he found it lying on a dirt road somewhere near the ruins) someone had removed the tablet, discarded the left and middle slab somewhere near the ruins, and smashed the right slab to pieces (Stuart and Stuart 2008, 77). Thankfully, when word got out of the destroyed slab, the pieces got collected and shipped to the United States where the slab got reconstructed. In 1909 the three slabs got reunited in Mexico's Museo Nacional de Antropología and a cast of the set was placed in the Temple of the Cross (Stuart and Stuart 2008, 83).

1909 also saw the establishment of the Escuela Internacional de Arqueología y Etnología by Sierra Méndez. After only ten years of intensive research of Palenque's iconography and art the school closed, but its functions and activities passed on to the Universidad Nacional de México. At the time, most archaeological research focused on Teotihuacan and other well-known sites in Central America, but slowly and surely the attention of the main stream of researchers started to turn towards the Maya area, and with it, towards Palenque (Stuart and Stuart 2008, 86-87).

In the 1920 a young Danish researcher named Frans Blom came to work at the site. His work included the first wide reaching survey of Palenque and discovering and naming many new architectural groups whilst expanding Maudslay's map (Barnhart 2001, 4) (Stuart and Stuart 2008, 89). He also drew floor plans and hieroglyphic texts and gave advice on which parts of the structures

should be consolidated and repaired. It was also Blom's idea to assign Roman numbers to unnamed buildings, foreseeing much future research happening at the site (Stuart and Stuart 2008, 89). Blom also witnessed the negative side of Palenque's growing fame; when he revisited the site in 1925 he and his companion Oliver La Farge discovered signs of recent digging in several in the floors of several building (Stuart and Stuart 2008, 89). A short investigation led them to the church of Santo Domingo de Palenque, where the four missing jambs of the Temple of The Cross, who were stolen from the local museum, were found in the façade of the church. The priest got arrested and the jambs got returned (Stuart and Stuart 2008, 90) but this event stressed the need of a centralized institution to guarantee the investigation and consolidation of Palenque (Stuart and Stuart 2008, 90).

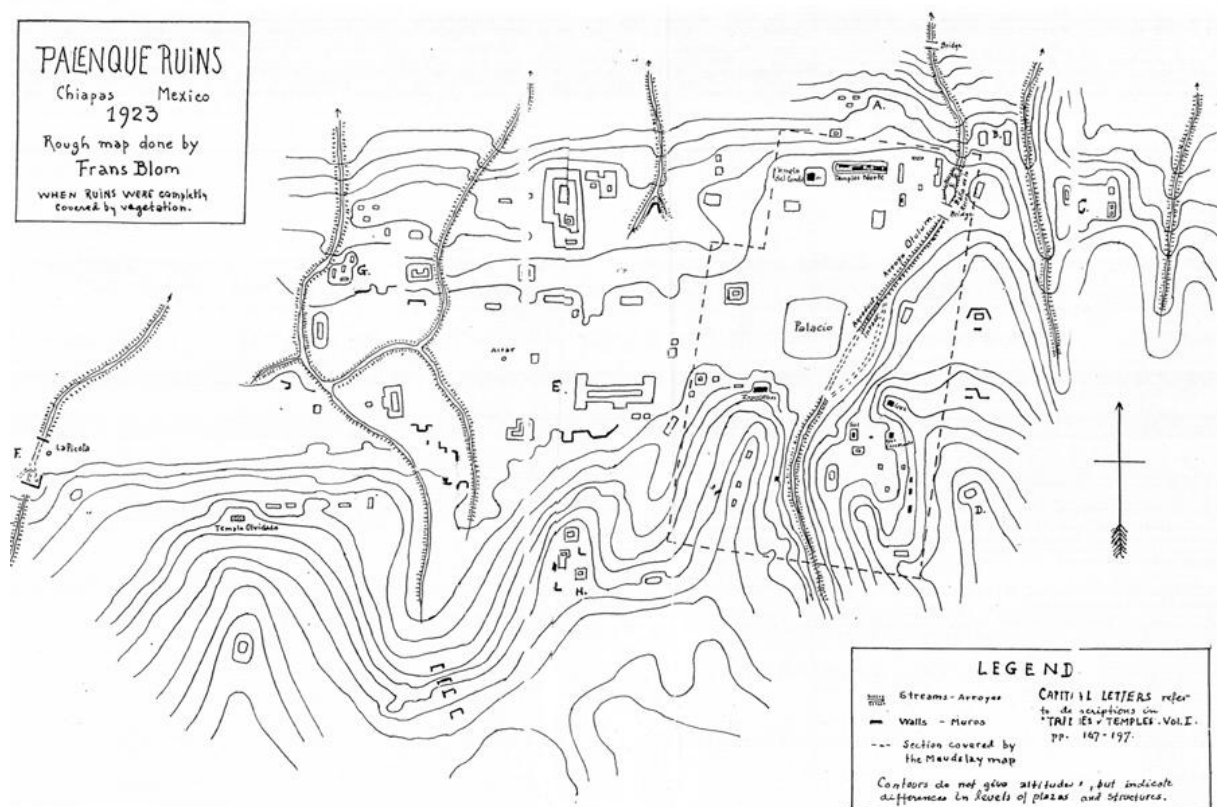


Figure 3. 1 Bloms 1923 map.
(Barnhard 2001, 4)

The need for such an institution was solved by the founding of INAH (Instituto Nacional de Antropología e Historia) in 1939 (Stuart and Stuart 2008, 91). The INAH replaced previously founded government institutions and centralized the exploration of archaeological zones, conservation and restoration of archaeological and historical monuments and artifacts and the publication of findings. Director of excavations was Miguel Angel Fernandez who had arrived at Palenque five years earlier. He focused mainly on the Palace and while excavating the base of the Tower, the Tablet of the 96 Glyphs was discovered. In 1940 Heinrich Berlin joined the team, working on consolidating the Tower

and later excavating the Templo Olvidado. This temple would become his steppingstone into epigraphy (Stuart and Stuart 2008, 91,92).

3.2 Who were the two most influential archaeologists working at Palenque in the first half of the 20th century and what did they do?

3.2.1 Alberto Ruz Lhuillier



Figure 3. 2 Alberto Ruz Lhuillier

(Source: <http://mayananswer.over-blog.com> 2010)

Alberto Ruz Lhuillier and Palenque are always bracketed together. Born in France on the 27th of January 1906 by a French mother and Cuban father, Ruz Lhuillier would move to Mexico in 1936 and obtain citizenship. Ruz Lhuillier became involved in the immense archaeological project of Palenque when the former leader of the INAH's program of excavation and reconstruction at Palenque, Miguel Angel Fernandez, passed away in 1945 (Stuart and Stuart 2008, 92). Since modern structuralized archaeological work at the site had only started in 1934 when Fernandez and his team arrived at the site, a major task was lying ahead. His goals were to establish a complete archaeological chronology

both based on dates recorded in hieroglyphs and on ceramic sequences. Furthermore he aimed at determining the date and nature of the earliest occupation of Palenque and placing the site in the Mesoamerican archaeological framework (Stuart and Stuart 2008, 92). For the first time in the archaeological history of the site, research was being done in a broad context, not focusing on separate bits of data within the site, but acknowledging Palenque as being part of the Mesoamerican realm.

Ruz Lhuillier worked at Palenque from 1945 until 1954. His career was marked by various highlights, of course the discovery of Pakal's tomb being the most famous. But more happened during his time at the ruins. He began excavating a great deal of the central part of the site. Whilst excavating a collapsed wall in the Palace House A-D three large slabs were revealed that formed what is today known as the 'Palace Tablet'. Another tablet was found during the construction of the road from the former train station to the ruins. Workers accidentally came across a formerly unknown platform. Excavating the structure again revealed three slabs that together form a tablet which was named 'Tablet of the Slaves' (Stuart and Stuart 2008, 92,93).

One of Lhuillier's objectives was to form a chronology of the site based on ceramics. This great and immense task was undertaken from 1951 to 1956 by Robert and Barbara Rands who were working at the site due to a program of cooperation between INAH and the Columbia University of New York. (Stuart and Stuart 2008, 93) (Rands and Rands 1957, 140). Ruz started his work on the Pyramid of the Inscriptions in 1949. At first wasn't so much focused on the temple on top, but mostly on the building process of the pyramidal structure. His aim was to find sherds in the fill of the platform that would complement the ceramic chronology (Stuart and Stuart 2008, 95). At the same time a smaller crew was working inside the temple on top of the pyramid. When they cleared the floor, Ruz made two important observations. First, it turned out that the floor was not made up of stucco, like most similar Maya buildings, but of huge flat stones. Second, there seemed to be a disturbance in the floor: it had flagstone edges with drilled holes filled with carefully carved plugs in them. Ruz took away the stones, cleared away the rubble, and there it appeared: a hole in the floor with two stone steps leading downwards (Stuart and Stuart 2008, 95). Clearing the staircase took almost three years but eventually, in 1952, excavators reached the bottom of the stairs and with it a vaulted chamber. After breaking down the north wall, a great vaulted room appeared, decorated with figures in low relief stucco. Inside there was a tomb closed by a great carved stone lid, and contained the skeleton of a man, covered with jade (Stuart and Stuart 2008, 96, 97). This skeleton later determined to be that of king K'inich Janab Pakal.



Figure 3. 3 Palenque in 1957.
(Source: <http://www.diggles.com> 2002)

In 1958 the process of excavation and reconstruction of the Temple of Inscriptions and many other buildings was completed, and when the field season ended, so did Ruz's term at Palenque. He passed away on the 25th of August, 1979. As a tribute to all the work he did in Palenque, his final resting place is at the site, near the Temple of the Inscriptions.

Creating a chronology through ceramics was an important step in Palenque's archaeological history because there are no inscribed stelae at the site, in contrast to other Classic Maya sites. Other than that, its inscriptions are abundant and very complicated (Rands and Rands 1957, 140). The Rands also aimed at placing Palenque in a more broader framework within the Maya realm. They accomplished their goal, and, their chronology is of such high quality that it has been used ever since, with continuing refinements as more information on ceramics of Palenque and other Maya cities comes to light (Stuart and Stuart 2008, 93) (Rands and Rands 1957, 140).

3.2.1 Primera Mesa Redonda de Palenque

The Primera Mesa Redonda de Palenque (Greene Robertson iii) is the product of the vision of several great archaeological minds at a time when structuralized coherent archaeological research at Palenque (and of the Maya in general) was still in its infancy. The idea of the conference came about in August 1973 when Gillett Griffin, David Joralemon, Linda Schele and Merle Greene Robertson and her husband Bob Robertson were sitting on the porch of the Robertson house in Palenque town (Greene Robertson iii), after exploring the site together and discussing the meaning of hieroglyphs (Griffin

1997, 13). The study of Palenque and especially the study of epigraphy was still very decentralized and without structure. The aim of the founders of the Mesa Redonda was to share a mutual interest, get people interested in Maya glyphs and exchange new ideas, and therefore create a collaboration between researchers and raise the understanding of Palenque to a new level (Greene Robertson iii) (Griffin 1997, 13).

At the time, all of the people above were involved in Palenque; Griffin as a Maya enthusiast and art historian, Joralemon was a student of Mayanist Michael Coe, an expert on the Olmecs and present at Palenque to study Maya gods (Griffin 1997, 12) Linda Schele was working on mapping the city beyond the excavated center and Merle Greene Robertson had made a career of making rubbings of the hieroglyphs (Griffin 1997, 7) (Schele 1997, 5). When the season ended and everybody went back home, Merle Greene Robertson started sending out hundreds of invitations to everybody she knew who played a role in the field of Maya studies. The convention took place from 14 to 22 December 1973 addressing the art, iconography and hieroglyphic inscriptions at the site (Stuart and Stuart 2008, 102, 103). Out of all the invitees 37 people attended, representing universities from the United States, Canada and Mexico. Three meetings were held daily, two for scholars and one for other people with interest in the site, like the local guides (Greene Robertson iii). In the morning papers were presented and discussed and in the afternoon the site was visited to further exemplify what was said (Schele 1997, 10).

What makes the Mesa Redonda special is that not only people from the high end of Maya studies could attend, but also graduate students and even undergraduates (Schele 1997, 9). Amongst the attendees were Michael Coe, Elisabeth Benson, Will Andrews, Moises Morales, Peter Mathews, Floyd Lounsbury, Robbert Rands, and Jeff Miller (Schele 1997, 8), all of them people who already were or on their way to become big names in Maya archaeology. This openness was a very important characteristic of the first Mesa Redonda and gave young people a chance to be a part of this fast developing field. Another special aspect of the Mesa Redonda's was that Merle Greene Robertson decided to print and publish all the papers presented at the convention within the same year (Greene Robertson iii). This made the information produced at the First Round Table available for everyone, and people were able to prepare for the next session.

The First Mesa Redonda was the start for many new developments. For the first time in history Maya scholars working on Palenque iconography and epigraphy, but also on Maya studies in general, were united (Schele 1997, 10) and a coherency in the research started to develop. During the convention two important things happened. At one of the evenings at Merle Greene Robertson's house, the first real dynastic list of Maya was produced. This list was still a sketch put together on a big sheet of paper, but it was the first dynastic list of the Maya ever made (Schele 1997, 12). Moises Morales suggested that glyphs of rulers and gods should be given names in Ch'ol Maya, instead of English nicknames in honor of the Ch'ol Maya who were still living in the town of Palenque and the adjacent area. And it was after making this crucial decision that Lord Shield, whose skeleton

was found in the Temple of the Inscriptions about two decades earlier, received his famous Ch'ol name 'Pakal'(Schele 1997, 13, 15).

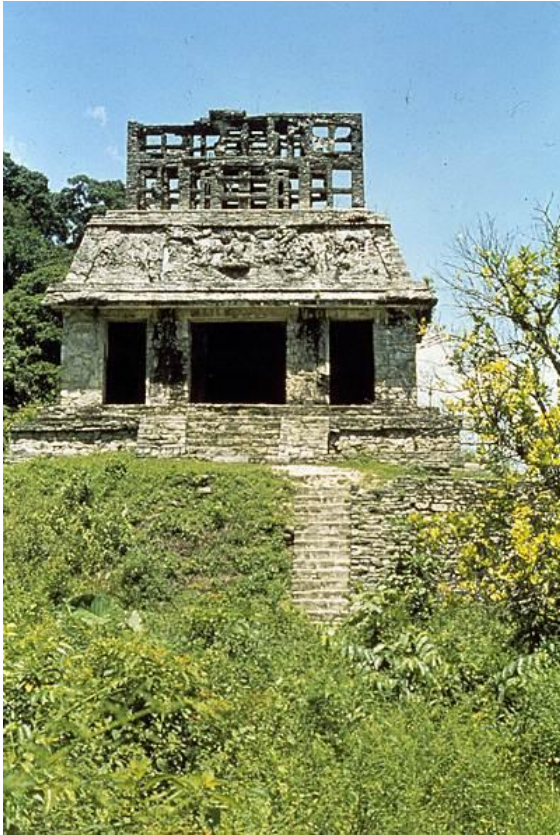


Figure 3. 4 Temple of the Cross in 1974.

**By Merle Greene Robertson
(www.mesoweb.com 2012)**

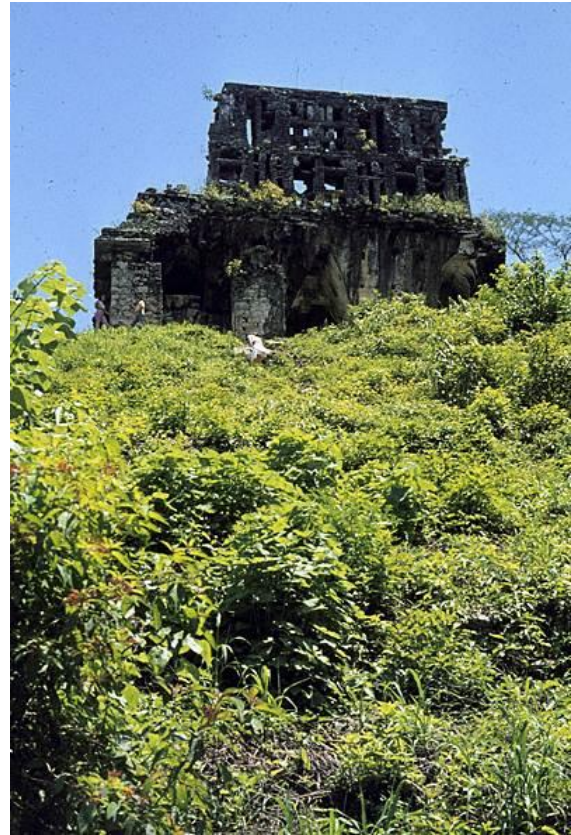
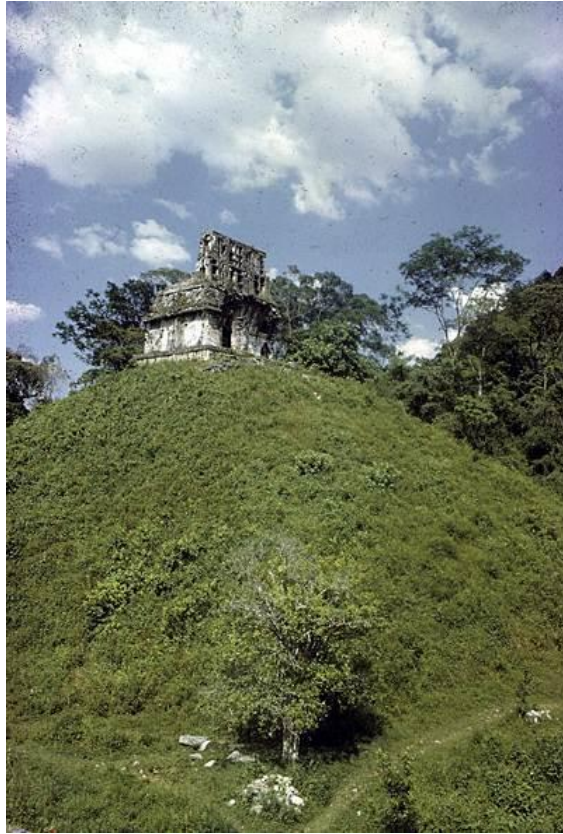


Figure 3. 5 Temple of the Sun in 1974.

**By Merle Greene Robertson
(www.mesoweb.com 2012)**



**Figure 3. 6 Temple of the Cross in 1974. By Merle Greene Robertson
(www.mesoweb.com 2012)**



**Figure 3. 7 The Palace in 1974. By Merle Greene Robertson
(www.mesoweb.com 2012)**

3.3 What streams and schools were of major influence on these visitors and shaped their way of thought?

3.3.1 The Culture-Historical phase (1910-1960) within the institutionalizing period

The antiquarian phase of the 19th century made way for a scientific approach at the beginning of the 20th century. At the dawn of the new century professional archaeology began to take shape in the United States. This development also led to a new theoretical phase within archaeology; the culture-historical phase (Trigger 2006, 278).

Characteristics of the culture-historical phase are the recognition of a 'culture' as a 'specific geographical cultural manifestation in the archaeological record (Trigger 2006, 279)'. Soon, methods to systematically study these cultures came around (Trigger 280) like making classifications, sequences, seriations and typologies and distribution maps. Material culture was used to investigate the history of occupation in an area (Greene 2002, 235). A lack of chronological knowledge within archaeology and the importance of stratigraphy to tackle this problem were also recognized (Trigger 2006, 280). The landscape was being approached systematically through scientific method and theory (Ashmore in C.W. Golden and G. Borgstede 2004, 88). The emphasis of archaeological investigation was towards the ruling elite (Sabloff in C.W. Golden and G. Borgstede 2004, 15) which is shown in the extensive study of elite structures.

The funding of archaeological research also saw a change at the start of the 20th century (Golden and Borgstede 2004, 5) (Yaeger and Borgstede in Golden and Borgstede 2004, 266). Before, research had been funded mostly by governments or wealthy individuals (Yaeger and Borgstede in Golden and Borgstede 2004, 266) but at the end of the 19th century archaeological projects got sponsored more and more by research institutions. American support funded research in the Maya lowlands, whereas Mexican institutions focused mainly on Central Mexican sites like Monte Alban and Teotihuacan. Dominant American institutions were (and still are) the Carnegie Institution of Washington, the Pennsylvania Museum of Anthropology and Archaeology, Tulane's Middle American Research Institute, the School of American Research and the Peabody Museum Harvard University (Golden and Borgstede 2004, 5) (Yaeger and Borgstede in Golden and Borgstede 2004, 266).

In Mexico, a growing awareness of nationalism was a major impulse of archaeological research at the first half of the 20th century. Franz Boas established the International School of Archaeology in Mexico City in 1910 and his pupil Manuel Gamio was the first to link archaeology to the creation of the nation-state (Villalobos 2011, 21) (Kohl 1998, 227). He was the mind behind the project that converted the pyramidal zone of the ruined city of Teotihuacan into a symbol of Mexico's

prehistoric astonishing accomplishments. To make the ruins easily accessible for visitors he published a guidebook, attracting both national and international tourists. By doing so, Gamio became a pioneer in Mexico in commercializing national monuments for the growing tourist industry of the 1920s. Hereby Mexico saw the emergence of its state funded industry of reconstructing prehistoric sites and monuments, legalized by aims of renewing the grandeur of the past, and the national income of mass tourism (Kohl 1998, 5, 6, 7). Sites were being reconstructed to serve as national sources of income. But when looking at objects that express nationalism through archaeology, for example coins, stamps (Villalobos 2011, 2) and the Mexican flag, they all represent Aztec imagery. Mexican nationalism seems to be derived from its Aztec heritage and not at all from its Maya heritage (Villalobos 2011, 175).

3.3.2 New Archaeology (1960-1980)

During the 1950's and 1960's, new developments had formed a basis for the processual 'New Archaeology' (Ashmore in Golden and Borgstede 2004, 98). According to Greene (2002:284) processualism can be characterized as a movement using a scientific approach to archaeological questions by designing models, suggesting hypotheses and testing them in the hope of establishing laws governing human behavior. Processualism was the approach used by New Archaeologists, who aimed at adding a scientific component to archaeology, which was still quite a young field at the time.

Maya archaeology in general saw a shift from a focus on the ruling elite towards settlement pattern studies. Gordon Willey was a great contributor to this trend, mainly because of his pioneering study of settlement patterns in the Belize River Valley (Sabloff in Golden and Borgstede 2004, 15) (Ashmore in Golden and Borgstede 2004, 97). Mapping projects were undertaken at many great Maya centers like Tikal (Pennsylvania State), Dzibilchaltun, Altar de Sacrificios and Seibal (Willey) and Chichen Itza, although rural areas still were often neglected (Culbert in Golden and Borgstede 2004, 312). At the same time the developments regarding the decipherment of the Maya script added tremendously to the knowledge of the political complexity of the Classic Maya (Sabloff in Golden and Borgstede 2004, 16). Other upcoming trends at the beginning of the second half of the 20th century were the use of a multidisciplinary approach and the use of archaeological sciences, the placing of the Maya civilization within the broad framework of Mesoamerica and the relationships between the Maya and their contemporaries (Sabloff in Golden and Borgstede 2004, 16).

The view on landscape had changed dramatically in comparison to the time of Stephens & Catherwood. Due to studies like settlement pattern research by Gordon Willey, American archaeologist had moved away from Romanticism and viewed the landscape through theory and method relating humans to their ambient environment. Landscape had turned into a playground which had no meaning of its own but what was inhabited and used by people, and those people and their actions could be measured and tested (Sabloff in Golden and Borgstede 2004, 98).

3.4 Conclusion

Alberto Ruz Lhuillier got assigned to the position of leader of the INAH's program of excavation and reconstruction at Palenque at a time when the culture-historical phase had developed to be the dominant theoretical phase in archaeology. The archaeological research of Palenque was still at its infancy and Ruz Lhuillier started a major coherent period of systematic research, long enough to set and execute goals that would greatly shape the academic knowledge of the site. Ruz Lhuillier was of major influence of the reestablishment of the 'culture' of Palenque at a time when little was known from this Classic Maya sites, in comparison to sites like Tenochtitlan and Teotihuacan. In a way, researchers were still in the process of making sense of the archaeological world of Palenque.

An important aspect of the culture-historical phase is the establishment of chronologies, which at Palenque got provided by Robert and Barbara Rand. Because little was known of this city, researched focused on the part of the site that was most visible in the landscape: the ceremonial center. Typical of the culture-historic phase was an emphasis on the ruling elite. This also occurred in Palenque, since the ruling elite were the residents of the ceremonial center.

Funding was provided by the Mexican government and partly by the Columbia University of New York. The rise of the awareness that archaeology could be linked to identity and nationalism, and that it could be exploited as a national source of income stimulated the renovation and reconstruction of archaeological sites. This would have meant that more funding became available for research, since it had great benefits for the Mexican nation, although Maya archaeology was not included in claims for nationalism and identity.

At the time of the First Palenque Round Table convention the New Archaeology was the dominant theoretical phase in archaeology. Huge advances were made in the field of epigraphy which added to the understanding of Palenque's hieroglyphs and inscriptions, and for the first time a dynastic list was produced. Attempts were made to improve Palenque's maps beyond the ceremonial center and the general understanding of Palenque improved greatly, however research was still focused on the elite. It seems that researchers were still mostly concerned on establishing a framework of Palenque, not so much on what happened inside the city but on who ruled Palenque and what were the main (architectural, iconographic, epigraphic) components of the city.

Science at Palenque

Although new advances in Maya archaeology are being made at this very moment, this last chapter aims at providing a coherent structure of the most important and influential research done at Palenque at the beginning of, and during the first decade of the 21st century. The previous chapters both incorporate the two most outstanding persons or projects, but for this chapter it was chosen to pick but one major project and furthermore give an overview of several other important projects. This structure was chosen for two reasons; first because only one project really stands out from the rest and second to provide the reader with a complete overview of current research and keep it as up to date as possible.

4.1 What had happened at Palenque between the first half of the 20th century and the beginning of the 21st century?

After the productive and successful first Mesa Redonda, successive Mesa Redondas were hosted in 1974, 1978, 1980, 1983, 1986, 1989, 1993, 2002, 2004, 2008. The most recent convention took place from November 27 to December 2, 2011. A shift can be seen from the beginning of the Mesa Redonda's towards the successive conventions, where the focus lies not so much on Palenque itself anymore but on the surrounding Maya area as a whole.



Figure 4. 1 The Palace and Temple of Inscriptions in 1983. By Merle Greene Robertson
(www.mesoweb.com 2012)



Figure 4. 2 The Temple of the Inscriptions in 1984. By Merle Greene Robertson
(www.mesoweb.com 2012)

During the 1980's and 1990's INAH continued investigating the central precinct of the site. Led by site director and archaeologist Arnaldo Gonzalez Cruz, the archaeological team conducted several consolidation projects considering the east side of the Palace, Temples XII and XIII, Temple X, the Ballcourt, and the Ignarado. Besides restoring the buildings were also drawn, measured and incorporated to the site's map (Barnhart 2001, 8).

Another important period was the field season of 1994. During the 1993 season Arnaldo Gonzalez Cruz and his team focused on conservation activities at the Palace and the Temple of the Inscriptions. After completing these activities they turned their attention towards the Temple of the Skull, the Temple XII-A and Temple XIII during the 1994 season (Tiesler V et al 2004, 2). When work on temple XIII started, there were no expectations regarding a tomb. The structure had been ignored during previous periods of investigation because the temple had collapsed and therefore didn't look very impressive. Gonzalez Cruz's aim was to find out the temple's construction sequence, and architectural connection to the hill in the background (Tiesler V et al 2004, 3, 5).

When the team worked on clearing the stairway, a blocked door was found. They removed the slab and discovered a corridor that led to the best preserved gallery ever found in Palenque. Inside the gallery, several blocked doorways were found in addition to three chambers of which two were empty and one was blocked by a large slab. The fact that the chamber was blocked caught Gonzalez Cruz's attention and after drilling a 15cm by 15 cm hole in the slab, he discovered a sealed sarcophagus inside the 3.80 by 2.50 meter chamber. After 15 days of excavations, access to the main entrance to the tomb could not be located so the decision was made to enter the tomb by enlarging the perforation

(Tiesler V et al 2004, 5, 6). Inside the chamber stood the sarcophagus, painted red by the use of cinnabar. Adjacent to the sarcophagus were the skeletons of a young boy and a 30-35 year old female. Several effigies were also found. After 14 hours of labor, the lid of the sarcophagus could finally be lifted to reveal the skeleton of a 40-45 year old woman, covered in cinnabar and jade ornaments (Tiesler V et al 2004, 9). The importance of the discovery of the tomb lies within Palenque, proving to be an exception to the rule of standard Classic Maya burial practice consisting of people being buried directly in the ground, in stone cists or in masonry chambers. The tomb of the Red Queen shows many similarities in its architectural features with Pakal's tomb in the Temple of the Inscriptions. Other than that the Red Queen is the only example of a woman being buried in a sarcophagus within a temple. (Tiesler V et al 2004, 11). Although she could not be identified due to a lack of inscriptions, the ceramics found in the tomb were placed within the Otolum ceramic complex (AD 600-700) according to Rands' chronology (Tiesler V et al 2004, 11, 12).



Figure 4. 4 The Reina Roja.
(González Cruz 2000, 7)



Figure 4.5 Human sacrifices next to the tomb
(González Cruz 2000, 8)

The 1997-1998 field season saw the founding of the Proyecto Grupo de las Cruces (The Palenque Project); a collaboration between the Pre-Columbian Art Research Institute (PARI) and the INAH. The directors of this project were Merle Greene Robertson and Alfonso Morales Cleveland, and together they aimed at incorporating epigraphy, art history, iconography, architecture and ground penetrating radar studies in one multidisciplinary project (www.mesoweb.com 2012). The aim of the project was to use all kinds of different resources to fill in the gaps in the archaeological record, increase knowledge of communal and dynastic histories and the architecture of Palenque. The focus of the project will be the period of time just before and just after the reign of king Pakal and his son King

K'inich Kan B'ahlam (www.mesoweb.com 2012). The Palenque Project was active from 1997 up until 2001. During the 1996 field season a Ground Penetrating Radar (GPR) survey was carried out to detect any anomalies that could point to new archaeological information. Amongst the many things they accomplished, these are some of the highlights. The discovery of a towering sculptured stucco panel in Temple XIX happened in 1998. The red and black paint was still visible and panel got restored by Mexican restoration experts who presented their paper on the subject at the Mesa Redonda of 1999.

Later two other major finds occurred in Temple XIX. One of these was the discovery of a carved stone panel with hundreds of glyphs and relief sculpture. The fine reliefs were in great shape and yielded a lot of information on Maya history and cosmology. In front of the panel of the temple, the team found a scattered sculptured limestone panel, which was broken down in many large parts. On the outside of the building on the west part other fragments were recovered. The fragments in front of the temple were covered with a carbon deposit: a sign of burning in an apparent termination ritual.

Temple XX also held a great surprise. During the 1996 GPR survey an anomaly was detected underneath the superstructure of the temple. But instead of a cache with some ceramic vessels a frescoed tomb was found. The digging started in 1999 and on the 9th of March the existence of the tomb was confirmed. The tomb could not yet be entered but digital photographs and video footage was made for further research. But the photo's already revealed the presence of painted stucco murals, ceramic vessels and several concentrations of jade beads. And whilst Merle Greene Robertson added several rubbings of Temple XIX to her database, David Stuart worked on the decipherment of new hieroglyphs to get a better understanding of Palenque's history. Amongst his many accomplishments he re-named the ruler to whom Temple XX was dedicated K'inich Ahkal Mo' Nahb' III and Temple XIX's ruler K'inich K'an Joy Chitam I (www.mesoweb.com 2012).



Figure 4.6 The inside of Temple XX
(www.mesoweb.com 2012)



Figure 4.7 Offerings inside Temple XX
(www.mesoweb.com 2012)



Figure 4.8 Temple XX before excavation and restoration
(www.mesoweb.com 2012)



Figure 4.10 Temple XX before excavation and restoration (www.mesoweb.com 2012)



Figure 4.11 Temple XX after excavation and restoration (www.mesoweb.com 2012)



Figure 4.12 Temple XX after excavation and restoration (www.mesoweb.com 2012)

5.2 Who were the two most influential archaeologists working at Palenque in the 21th century and what did they do?

5.2.1 Ed Barnhart and the Palenque mapping project (PMP)



Figure 5.1 Edwin Barnhart working with a Total Station.

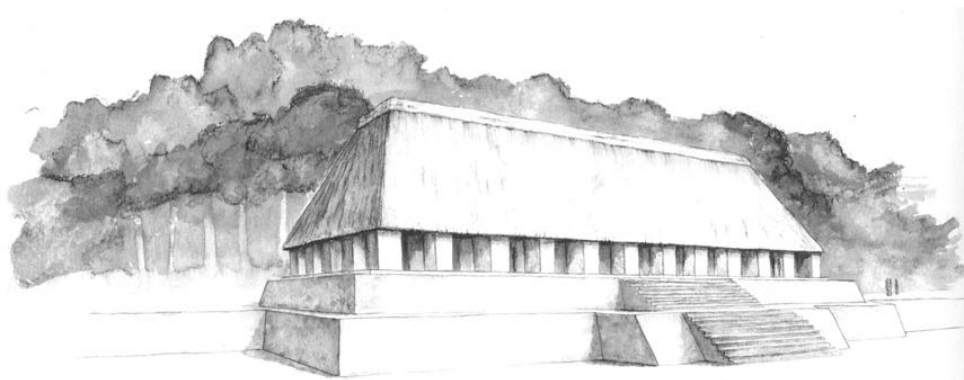
(www.mesoweb.com 2012)

Edwin Lawrence Barnhart was born in New Jersey (United States of America) on October 29th, 1968. His family moved to Texas where he attended high school and obtained a bachelor degree in Anthropology and Latin American Studies (Barnhart 2001, 161). He encountered the Maya in 1990 when he worked as an archaeological intern at the ruins of Copan, Honduras. He began studying art, iconography and epigraphy in 1992 at the University of Texas and finished in 1995. He began teaching Anthropology and Archaeology classes at Southwest Texas State University in September 1996 until 1998 when he was invited by the INAH to direct the Palenque Mapping Project (www.mayaexploration.org 2012). Others preceded him in mapping Palenque. In chapter 2 Price was discussed and in chapter 3 Merle Greene Robertson. Price's map, although accurate, covered only the central precinct of the site. In 1983 Merle Greene Robertson produced a series of works called 'Sculpture of Palenque' which contained a map of roughly the same area as covered by the PMP, but only 329 structures were identified (Barnhart 2001, 3, 4). But new technologies and techniques made possible the creation of a map more accurate than ever before. And accuracy was the main goal kept in mind during this expedition; the margin of error of measurements had to be within twenty centimeters (Barnhart 2001, 3). The fieldwork consisted mainly of surveying and mapping the area using Total Station equipment. A 100% coverage was achieved by walking in loops and frequently returning to previously measured points to remove the buildup of errors. A three-dimensional point of each measurement was processed by special software that created lines and blueprints of buildings that could be seen immediately and checked and adjusted on the spot (Barnhart 2001, 4). At the end of

each season data were transferred to AutoCAD (computer aided drafting software) and complemented with digital architecture to create the final map (Barnhart 2001, 5).

The PMP led to many interesting renewing discoveries that changed our knowledge of Palenque for good. The city turned out to have many more structures than found two decades before by Robertson in the 1980's (Barnhart 2005, 1). The total amount of structures was raised from 329 to 1481 and 16 linear kilometers of terracing was discovered (Barnhart 2005, 1). The urban center of the site had a surface of 2.2 square kilometer and unlike most Classic Maya cities Palenque consisted of just a core and didn't follow the general 'core-periphery' model (Barnhart 2005, 3, 4). Palenque could never extend because of its geographical position (Barnhart 2001, 66). To the north are extensive plains that turn into swamps half the year. To the south rises a mountain range of 300 meters high and at the east and west the hilly landscape becomes very karstic and land becomes inhabitable (Barnhart 2005, 3). This also meant that the estimated population density was different than previously believed. The maximum population at its peak would have been 4147-6220 people and no more than 7500 people based on an average of 4-6 people per household (Barnhart 2005, 5).

The city consisted of several major and minor communal focal points. Although it is generally accepted that the Palace and the Plaza were the center of the city, the Picota Plaza may have been the center in earlier days (Barnhart 2001, 66). During the 2000 season, a new group was discovered and named the Ach' group. To this group belonged the Maya L building (Barnhart 2001, 67). Barnhart concludes that the existence of the Ach' Group shows that Palenque had a multiple foci pattern of city development (Barnhart 2001, 67). The Maya L building also shed light on the agricultural needs of Palenque. Not much farmable land had been discovered, but the Maya L building is large and made up of a platform with columns and a 30 meter wide staircase with a 80 by 150 meter plaza in front. This open but dominant architectural form indicates public access and might have been used for agricultural activities (Barnhart 2005, 11, 12).



**Figure 5.2 A reconstruction of the Maya L building by Heather Hurst, 2000.
(Source: Barnhart 2001, 64)**

Although the 1998-2000 area survey and mapping project was extensive, Barnhart suggests ongoing research in the future to get a full understanding of Palenque's outer regions. The PMP

encountered some setbacks when area's could not be surveyed due to issues of landownership, but the Palenque National Park announced plans in 1999 to buy all private owned land within the parks boundaries and make hiking trails for tourists. These plans should have been completed in 2002 so the research could be completed by then (Barnhart 2001, 68). His further suggestion is in case the research extends to establish an archaeological chronology for the outer regions of the park by means of a series of test pits (50-100). Meanwhile a second crew can continue surveying and mapping (Barnhart 2001, 68).

When the project ended Barnhart wrote his dissertation based on the PMP named 'The Palenque Mapping Project: Settlement Patterns and Urbanism in an ancient Maya city' and received a Ph.D. from the University of Texas in 2001. He now teaches classes for College Professors on Maya astronomy and sacred geometry

5.2.2 Further contemporary research

After the Palenque Project it seems that no other similar extensive and influential field projects have been undertaken, at least none that show in published literature. Ed Barnhart published several papers regarding his mapping project, one on the urbanization of Palenque (2002) and the city's settlement pattern & social organization models (2005).

Young researcher Kirk French participated in the mapping project with a survey on Palenque's water management (www.mayaexploration.org 2012). He extended his research in 2005 accompanied by Dr. Christopher Duffy, who is a professor of hydrology in the Civil Engineering Department at Pennsylvania State (French 2008). In the following year several publications on his continuing research followed in 'Palenque: recent excavations at the Classic Maya Center' edited by Damien Marken in 2007, his dissertation 'The hydroarchaeological approach: understanding the ancient Maya impact on the Palenque watershed' in 2009, the Journal of Archaeological Science (2010) and American Antiquity (2012) (www.kirkfrench.com 2012).

In 2005 Pakals tomb got closed for visitors due to increasing deterioration of the stucco within the tomb (www.mayaexploration.org 2012) . The year 2006 saw the emergence of a series of papers on archaeoastronomy by the Maya Exploration Center, based on recent astronomical observations from the Temple of the Sun during earlier field seasons. During this time NASA undertook several visits to Palenque to study astronomic aspects of the site and the connection it has to its architecture. These visits were part of a new program that had come to life as a collaboration between NASA and UC Berkley, and aimed at creating awareness of the scientific and astronomical knowledge of ancient cultures. The convention was followed by three days of workshops, aimed at teaching local primary and second school teachers the ins and outs of Maya science (www.mayaexploration.org 2012) .

In 2007 Damien Marken published 'Palenque: recent investigations at the Classic Maya Center', a collection of works comprising some of the latest Palenque projects concerning chronology,

settlement, architecture and excavation, religion and ritual space and contemporary concerns & conclusions (Marken 2007). In 2008 Carl Allaway published his findings on the Palenque House E Painted Inscription. Due to time and erosion the calligraphies in the house had become barely visible, but a reconstruction could be made by using photographs taken by Maudslay and Schele (www.mayaexploration.org 2012). In 2011 the INAH decided to seal the tomb of lord Pakal for good. The tomb had been closed for tourists in 2009 but some of the bones were still at other locations subject to study. In 2011 INAH replaced the bones and sealed Pakals tomb, hopefully for eternity (www.mayaexploration.org 2012) .

5.3 What streams and schools were of major influence on these visitors and had shaped their way of thought?

5.3.1 Postprocessual Archaeology (1985-2000)

In Britain, the mid 1980's saw a response to the shortcomings of New Archaeology: Post processual archaeology. This new way of archaeological thinking aimed at breaking loose from the rigid models and patterns of processual archaeology and focussing more on interpretation and recent anthropological approaches such as symbolism and the role of material culture in social relationships (Greene 2002, 285), or interpretations borrowed from anthropology are applied to the material evidence (Greene 2002, 235). Trigger (2004, 452) states that Postprocessual archaeologists generally disapproved of positivist approaches to the analysis of archaeological data. Data does not have to be testable or measurable to have meaning and not one theory represents the definite truth. It seems that archaeology was experiencing a shift from being an exact science towards a social science.

In the United States Postprocessualism had its own origin, but similar to Britain many American researchers realized that the objective scientific approach of the New Archaeology was not the only answer to interpret archaeological remains (Trigger 2004, 456). But this was not yet the moment in time where archaeologist made use of the living heritage and connection between past culture and present indigenous peoples to interpret archaeological evidence(Trigger 2004, 458). Modern Maya's living in traditional ways, although abundant throughout Mesoamerica, did not yet contribute to the unraveling of their heritage.

5.3.2 Postprocessual archaeology into the new millennium

This paragraph will focus on theoretic developments around the 21th century. According to Joyce Marcus (2003:71) the last decade Mayanists have been heading in three directions: some followed traditional anthropological research topics like the nature of political economies, the emergence of

sociopolitical hierarchies, state formations, civilian life and the impact of warfare. Other people had more interest in exact archaeological sciences like climate change, DNA, human bone studies and isotopic analysis to reconstruct diet and origins. Finally there was a group of archaeologists that stuck with popular 1980 postmodernist themes such as agency, practice theory, gender and power.

Despite these different streams it seems that a culture-historical approach is still widely used within Maya archaeology (Demarest 2009, 254). However, many aspects of archaeology benefited from new techniques; epigraphy and subsistence & material culture studies for example. These new developments also led to renewed visions on culture-history and political and economic organization (Demarest 2009, 254). As stated before, huge progress has been made in epigraphy since the 1960/1970, but the results we gain from this field might over-represent the knowledge about the elite Maya. Next to this, archaeologists have to deal with the over and underrepresentation of texts in various Maya cultural regions (Demarest 2009, 254).

During the years, as archaeology and other sciences (both exact and social) advanced, new archaeological subdisciplines developed. This has led to two types of excavation; the traditional single primary institutional base model and on the other hand fully independent multi-institutional work. Unfortunately archaeology is feeling the pressure of budget cuts so many useful technologies are not exploited to the fullest (Demarest 2009, 257). Other implications of decreasing funds are increased pressure on researchers, who have to accomplish and publish the same amount of work with less time in the field (Demarest 2009, 261). Researchers try to fill the gaps in their knowledge by linking data from different centers together, aiming to create a coherency but actually creating a fictive history and accepting false assumptions. Also, large unexplored areas are not being added in the body of knowledge, thereby allowing gaps to exist in the complete picture of Maya culture-history (Demarest 2009, 258).

The last decade has shown a slight increase in the incorporation of modern Maya's in their heritage. The workshops following the NASA program are a great example of this trend (Yaeger and Borgstede 2004, 278). And why not, Maya people are getting more organized and have the right to demand a share of their past. Today, archaeology and Mexico are tightly woven together, archaeology being an important economic resource (Villalobos 2001, 258). Like at the beginning of the 20th century it is still being used to justify Mexican identity and as a main pull factor for tourism (Villalobos 2001, 72). However it seems that Maya archaeology still comes second or third to Aztec archaeology because national identity is not sought with the Maya's. According to Villalobos (2001, 72) during the last century nationalism and tourism have determined the model through which archaeology has been managed. Archaeology has been used in a systematic way for the purposes of politics and propaganda. It is, however, unclear to what policies archaeologists are subjected, since no official publications are available regarding this subject. .

5.4 Conclusion

Palenque keeps on amazing its archaeologist. When no major discoveries are being expected, archaeologists stumble upon a previously unknown internal gallery inside of temple XIII and within it the tomb of a woman they would later call the Red Queen. Several years later another tomb would be discovered in temple XX. The first Mesa Redonda's were mainly concerned with development in Maya research from the perspective of Palenque, but as time went on its focus saw a shift towards other themes of Maya research and not just on Palenque itself. This may indicate that the academic world has developed an awareness of Palenque being part of an extensive network of Maya city-states, and of Mesoamerica in general. But the end of this chapter it becomes clear that although much research has been done at Palenque it mainly focused on the central precinct without even being aware of the full scale of the ancient city. It was only at the turn of the century that Ed Barnhart would undertake a large scale mapping project that would put Palenque into a geographical perspective.

The successive 'Creating water through space' project by Kirk French seems very similar to the PMP, focussing on determining the most crucial aspects of the city; its water supply. Although archeological theory had proceeded into the Post-Processual phase, it seems that work at Palenque is still occupied with on making sense of the past, of the royal dynasties, boundaries and aspects of the city and the preservation of the ceremonial center. Only from 2006 and upwards, with the series of papers on archaeoastronomy by the Maya Exploration Center and with the 2007 'Recent investigations at a Classic Maya Center' Maya archaeology seems to be incorporating some post-processual approaches into its research.

It is unclear what investigations are taking place at this moment. During the authors visit at Palenque in June 2011 she came across a closed section of Palenque's city center, right next to the Cross Group. She asked a group of Maya ladies who worked at maintaining the Cross Group why the area could not be entered, and they replied with: 'Because the temple has not been cleaned yet'. Research at Palenque seems to be quite Processual, even though Post Processualism has been a dominant theoretical stream for the last two decades. The last years there seems to have been a shift towards more post processual approaches, but it is not possible to say how this trend is developing since no other literature, reports or even news feeds have been published.

It is however possible to make an observation on who has been funding the Palenque projects the last decades. Much work has been done by the INAH, they seem to focus mostly on projects that focus on the excavation, consolidation, reconstruction and renovation of temples. The 'Palenque Project' was a collaboration between INAH and FAMSI (Foundation for the Advancement of Mesoamerican Studies Inc.). Most epigraphic work is done by North Americans, of which David Stuart is the leading expert. Ed Barnhart lead the PMP but he was invited by the Mexicans. In comparison to the early years of Palenque explorations, especially since the founding of the INAH,

Palenque research is mainly in the hands of the INAH, but occasionally they do collaborate with North American institutions.

Discussion

Chapter three, four and five aim at providing a compilation of scientific publications about Palenque's archaeological history. Chapter six, the discussion, consists of the authors observations regarding the components of the research question as discussed in the introduction. These observations are based on the literature gathered for chapter three, four and five, and on the authors visit to Palenque in June 2011.

The development of archaeological research

At the start of this investigation I was under the assumption that the development of archaeological research was mainly driven by dominant theoretical archaeological and anthropological streams and literary movements. But whilst working on chapter three it soon became clear that theoretical and literary streams may have influenced the personal interpretation of the researcher, there is another component which is equally as important: the funder and his agenda. This agenda influences everything, because the funder always has a (financial) motif. For example, Stephens and Catherwood were sponsored by their publisher who's aim was to publish a bestseller that would appeal to the general reading public. By using a romanticized style of writing and incorporating popular romantic themes and images, 'Incidents of Travel' spoke greatly to the imagination of the reader. And besides the publisher's agenda, Stephens and Catherwood were subject to the political agenda of the United States. Only twenty years prior Mexico had gained independence and with the recently established 'Manifest Destiny' the United States saw an opportunity to expand their territory. By writing 'Incidents of Travel' Stephens had the perfect cover whilst surveying Mesoamerica for its riches.

The founding of the Instituto Nacional de Antropología y Historia in 1939 marked a change in who controlled Palenque. During the preceding century most explorations and early research were undertaken by North Americans, but when the INAH got jurisdiction over Mexico's archaeological and historical sites this marked a shift towards a Mexican monopoly on their archaeological heritage. And as inbound tourism grew, so did the exploitation of archaeological sites as commercial products. This explains, to my opinion, why the INAH puts so much emphasis on excavating, reconstructing and renovating ancient structures instead of working on seemingly less important aspects of the site that would not appeal the eye of the tourist as much.

Palenque

The ancient city of Palenque today is part of Mexico's system of commercial heritage. It serves as a national source of income, archaeology coming second place. But this commercializing of the past makes investing in archaeology profitable and therefore provides the opportunity to continue

archaeological research. Tourism is dependent on Mexico's archaeological heritage and the archaeological heritage is dependent on tourism. But Palenque also highlight the social inequality of different indigenous groups within Mexico, and their recognition of indigenous peoples in Mexico's history. Mexico's national flag, coins and stamps are decorated with Aztec symbols (Villalobos 2001). Maya's do not seem to be associated with nationalism. Instead, they seem to be associated with tourism, mainly in the Yucatan peninsula and Chiapas. But, this statement is an observation and for a valid scientific argument more research would be necessary. Due to the time span of this thesis I will not go further into this argument but I will make it a recommendation for future research (see recommendations).

From the 19th century upwards

I cannot say that little has been published about the archaeological history of Palenque. However, I can say that there is little coherency in the available literature. There exists no database which holds all Palenque documents, and although there are good books (for example: Stuart, D. and G. Stuart, 2008. *Palenque. Eternal city of the Maya*. London: Thames & Hudson Ltd.) there seems to be no coherence in Palenque research on a worldwide level. Next to that, it can be observed that there exist great over and under representation of certain subjects (subjects being the researchers discussed in this thesis). Stephens and Catherwood are highly represented, but very little is written about Maudslay or Ruz Lhuillier. The latter is very famous for the discovery of the tomb of Pakal, but Ruz Lhuillier was responsible for many other things, although overshadowed by his great find. This causes an uneven image of the importance of certain subjects, just because very little has been published about them.

The current appearance of the site

One of the main objectives of this thesis was to single out the process of renovation and reconstruction of Palenque. This turned out to be nearly impossible since no literature was published on the policy of INAH and on what they base their reconstructive choices. Only in the Tercera Mesa Redonda de Palenque an article was published that discussed the process of renovation and reconstruction at the site. Although I think I now know why the INAH puts so much emphasis on the reconstruction of the exterior of ancient buildings (see paragraph 6.1), it is still unclear on what rules and regulations the INAH bases the reconstructions. To highlight the fact that I could only find a few informative articles about this subject, I have decided to summarize it in this discussion.

Consolidation

An interesting article was published in the Mesa Redonda of 1978 (the third Mesa Redonda) by Augusto Molina Montes, in which he discusses the state the ruins were in at the time. He gives a good overview of some of the consolidation work that has been executed at the site, starting with the first

act of consolidation in 1909 when the Tablet of The Cross was restored. Before that moment, he states, most building work at the site was to prevent vandalism and looting (Montes 1978, 3). The first official proposal for consolidation was proposed by Frans Blom in 1921 when he requests for the removal and burning of all the vegetation that is covering the plazas and terraces and for the planting of grass, which prevents plants from growing back. Only when this was completed he found it useful to proceed to the next step of consolidating the roof comb of the Temple of The Cross and The Sun, several Palace walls and almost all of the temple platforms. He also speaks of rubble that has been left by previous explorers and the excavation holes they made and suggests the construction of houses for guardians, a museum and a laboratory (Montes 1987, 3).

The year of 1933 saw the independent arrival of two visitors, Escalona Ramos and Rosado Vega, who both made notice of the terrible state the ruins were in. Thankfully, in 1934 Miguel Angel Fernandez who worked as an archaeologist for the Oficina de Monumentos Prehispánicos took note of their pleas and began a full scale renovation project of the archaeological zone (Montes 1987, 5). Like all of his predecessors he began by delegating the removal of trees and shrubs and took upon him the task of restoring the Temple of The Sun. This temple was in better shape than most structures but Fernandez feared it would soon deteriorate. The temple's lintels were missing so he made wooden ones, cleaned and consolidated the frieze and roof comb and made a reconstruction drawing, although unfortunately by the time Molina Montes came looking for it was lost (Montes 1987, 6).

Fernandez worked at the ruins until 1945 but the difficult working condition made progress slow. After he passed away in 1945 Alberto Ruz Lhuillier became his successor, and worked at the ruins from 1949 until 1958 and is world-famous for his discovery of Pakal's tomb (Montes 1987, 8). But Molina Morales states, and I agree with him on this point since I also made this observation, that the discovery of the tomb has wildly overshadowed Ruz Lhuillier's other work done at the site. According to Molina Morales Palenque looks like it does today thanks to Ruz Lhuillier's effort to restore and reconstruct the site (Montes 1987, 8, 9). I can only agree with him on that part as well, since no other projects of such greatness and size would later be executed in the central precinct of the site.

But if Ruz Lhuillier has made such influential contributions to Palenque's appearance, how come it is nearly impossible to find his fieldwork preposition, his field reports, or his final conclusive works? In 1973 he published 'El Templo de las Inscripciones: Palenque' which covers the work he did at the temple, but it seems that this book has not been published in English, therefore constricting itself to a Spanish audience. The article written by Molina Morals is the most useful piece of literature and so far it has been the only one that sheds some light on the reconstructive process of the city. But it still doesn't tell us what Fernandez used as an example when he reconstructed the roofcomb of the Temple of The Sun, or on what Ruz Lhuillier based his restoration of the pyramids.

What INAH says

The year 1939 saw the founding of the INAH, short for 'Instituto Nacional de Antropología e historia'. This Mexican governmental institution has a monopoly on archaeological remains since the founding of the 1972 'Ley federal sobre monumentos y zonas arqueológicas, artísticos e históricos' (Muriel 2007, 16). Within their archaeological projects the emphasis lies mainly on reconstruction and conservation due to the demanding environmental factors many sites are subdued to (Muriel 2007, 17, 18). In 2007 the society for American Archaeology published a very interesting volume of their magazine 'The SAA Archaeological Record' specially dedicated to Mexican archaeology, containing articles written by Mexican archaeologists. This volume is aimed at explaining the structure and law of archaeology in Mexico and comes closest to explaining aspects of archaeology from the Mexican point of view.

Nelly M. Robles García, director of archaeological zone Monte Alban, has contributed to this volume with an article called 'Management and conservation of archaeological sites'. In the article she speaks of a 'reconstruction period' and its opposite the 'non-reconstructive purism' movement (Robles García 2007, 29). She also speaks of basic restoration techniques and the importance for international institutions to accept and follow Mexican regulations regarding restoration and the mandatory presence of a Mexican restoration specialist during excavations (Robles Garcia 2007, 30, 31). However, Robles García does not specify on what those restoration techniques are.

Another author, Peter Jimenez Betts, further confirming the obligation foreign archaeologist have in following Mexican policy: all archaeological architectural elements are required to be stabilized, conserved and protected during the excavation progress (Betts 2007, 33). He refers to the 'INAH Rules and Dispositions for Archaeological Research in Mexico' (Betts 2007, 32), but a search on the internet does not bring the content of these rules to light. Interestingly Jimenez Betts also refers to the INAH Technical Archive which is a database containing most of Mexico's archaeological data from the 20th century (Betts 2007, 32. 33). But it seems that the archives can only be consulted by visiting it what explains the lack of scientific archaeological information online: it hasn't been published!

What other sources says

In chapter four I discussed Damien Marken's book 'Palenque: recent investigations at the Classic Maya site'. Rudy Larios Villalta has contributed to this volume by writing the chapter 'Why restore architecture at Palenque?'. He begins his argument with the statement that restoration of sites has never gotten the appropriate attention in the literature that it deserves. He then goes into the reasons why to restore and uses the Proyecto Grupo de las Cruces as a case study (Larios Villalta 2007, 265), and then asks himself questions regarding the restoration of pre-Hispanic ruins: why should we restore and how much, and what will be the function of restored ruins? (Larios Villalta 2007, 266). He makes

a statement contradicting INAH by saying that the restoration of structures has never been guided by regulations but most often by the leading director of an excavation (Larios Villalta, 2007 266).

There are international guidelines regarding the restoration of monuments, composed in Quito, Ecuador, at the 1967 'Meeting for the preservation and utilization of monuments and sites of artistic and historical value', but these can be very loosely interpreted by archaeologists (Larios Villalta 2007, 266). Restoration is mainly done to improve the social function of a site, but the question arises of how much we should restore. Are buildings better off when they can die a 'natural death' or can they serve a social purpose? Larios Villalta asks important questions. How far can we go with renovating structures, and why would we do it? In my opinion, the INAH does not provide answers to these questions. But to stay within the limits of this thesis this subject will not be further elaborated, but the ethical aspect of reconstruction and renovation is very interesting and well worth being investigated in future research.

Critique

Although I believe that this thesis has put forth some coherency on the subject, some questions remain unanswered and may very well provide a basis for future research. My main critique lies with the incoherent data that was available for this literature study. My arguments and conclusions are based on the literature I was able to retrieve, but at times it was difficult to gain access to Mexican excavation reports and Mexican literature in general. They are often not published online, and if it is published it is often not translated into English. This is an important observation *an sich*, and it is very much worthwhile to investigate this in the future. But it should also be kept in mind that the results in this thesis are based on sometimes incoherent literature, and that field research in Mexico could yield even more detailed results.

Recommendations

This discussion has yielded some very interesting recommendations for future research. First I would like to further investigate the connection between archaeology and tourism in Mexico. Tourism is a major source of national income and must be of great influence to the decision making in archaeology. It also overlaps with my other recommendation, which is a deeper analysis into the role Maya's and Maya archaeology play in Mexican nationalism. Indigenous struggle is a very actual topic in Mesoamerica and the combination with archaeology and the commercializing of national heritage could very well be an interesting subject for a MA thesis.

Conclusion

Palenque captures the minds of all its visitors, whether back in the 19th century when the city lay in ruins and heavily overgrown by lush jungle vegetation, or at present day when in constant state of reconstruction and maintenance. This thesis has put forth a coherent overview of the development of archaeological research at Palenque, from the 19th century and upwards, and has led to the following conclusion of how this process has led to the current appearance of the site. In the 19th century, after the independence of Mexico, the United States established the ‘Manifest Destiny’ to legalize their expansion drift into these new territories. They send Stephens, who only recently got assigned the position of U.S. representative to the Central American Federations, to undertake a survey of Mesoamerica and with the Monroe Doctrine in mind, to prevent European nations from obtaining ownership of possible valuable resources. For Stephens himself this journey also yielded a great financial benefit. He would write his bestsellers ‘Incidents of Travel’ series, books that were enormous bestsellers thanks to their low prices and popular romantic themes and images. About a decade later Palenque is again subject to the prospect of financial benefits. After the commercial success of Teotihuacan and the founding of the INAH, sites were being reconstructed to serve as a national source of income. This was the start of a fine balance between income gained by tourism and the funds available for the development of archaeological research. The discovery of the tomb of lord K’inich Janab Pakal in 1952 by Albert Ruz Lhuillier contributed greatly to the fame of the site, and of course to the amount of visitors. The INAH holds a monopoly on Mexican archaeology, but at times they collaborate with North American initiatives and universities. The Mesa Redonda’s de Palenque were set up in 1974 by North American archaeologist and epigraphist like Merle Greene Robertson and Linda Schele and caused a great international (although mainly North American) awareness of the site, both in the fields of archaeology and epigraphy. In the years that followed research continued, but mainly on the ceremonial center of the site. When archaeological theory proceeded from the processual into the Postprocessual phase, it seems that Palenque got left behind a bit, as research continuously focused on making sense of Palenque as a site and establishing its boundaries. The Palenque Project is a great example of this processualism, and it seems strange that only after more than a century of research we are finally aware of the scale of the city.

Today, Palenque is part of Mexico’s system of commercial archaeology and a major tourist attraction. Most excavations take place in the central ritual precinct of the site and are generally followed by reconstructing and renovating the structures. The question remains though, in what way are the reconstructions of temples based on an esthetic or scientific aspect? Throughout this thesis it became clear that although the archaeologist himself may be driven by personal beliefs and interest, there is always the bigger picture, the involvement of a funder with his own, mostly financial agenda. Archaeological theory may be constantly developing, the development of the practical side of archaeological research depends greatly on the available funding. Although this attitude towards

archaeology can be criticized, it is also a main reason why there exists so much attention towards archaeology in Mexico. Archaeology enables tourism, and tourism enables the development of archaeology. And after all, in Classic times Palenque has been a busy, densely populated city. Why not keep this great city alive, not only with the indigenous Maya, but with inhabitants from all over the world?

Summary

The Classic Maya city of Palenque, Chiapas, Mexico, is a great and beautiful city, but the current appearance of the site is the result of almost two centuries of intensive research. This thesis investigates who the most influential explorers and archaeologist were during the 19th, 20th and 21st century, and how their choices shaped Palenque. It will also look into what literate and theoretical streams were of influence on the explorers and archaeologists. After applying theory to the data, the outcome is that archaeology is not only driven by the personal interests of the archaeologist, but also by the agenda of the funder, who seems mainly interested of the financial benefits of archaeology. In Mexico, financial benefits of archaeology come mainly through tourism, and therefore the appearance of archeological sites is high adapted to appeal to the eye of the tourist and to insure national income by means of tourism.

De Klassieke Mayastad Palenque, gelegen in Chiapas, Mexico, is een prachtige stad, maar het huidige uiterlijk van de site is het resultaat van bijna twee eeuwen van intensief onderzoek. Deze scriptie onderzoek wie de meest invloedrijke onderzoekers en archeologen waren in de 19^e, 20^e en 21^{ste} eeuw, en hoe hun keuzes het uiterlijk van Palenque hebben gevormd. Het zal ook ingaan op welke literaire en theoretische stromingen van invloed waren op deze onderzoekers en archeologen. Na het toepassen van de theorie op de data blijkt de uitkomst te zijn dat archeologie niet alleen gedreven wordt door de persoonlijke overtuiging van de archeoloog, maar ook door de agenda van de geldverstrekker, die voornamelijk geïnteresseerd blijkt te zijn in de financiële voordelen van archeologie. In Mexico, financiële voordelen van archeologie bestaan voornamelijk in de vorm van toerisme, en daarom is het uiterlijk van sites in grote mate aangepast aan wat toeristen trekt. Hierdoor wordt nationaal inkomen gegenereerd.

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http://www.google.nl/imgres?um=1&hl=nl&authuser=0&biw=1366&bih=704&tbn=isch&tbnid=ulsbBqAyUC9QQM:&imgrefurl=http://mesoamerica.narod.ru/frederick_catherwood_palenque.html&docid=g2gukG2wZmSnLM&imgurl=http://mesoamerica.narod.ru/Images/Cities/

Figure 2.5 Principle Court of the Palace at Palenque by Frederick Catherwood (30-05-2012).

http://www.google.com/imgres?q=catherwood+Palenque&hl=nl&biw=1366&bih=704&gbv=2&tbn=isch&tbnid=qLnncEw6ngac9M:&imgrefurl=http://www.superstock.com/stock-photos-images/1095-439&docid=XcFwMGr8BEICRM&imgurl=http://wwdelivery.superstock.com/WI/223/1095/PreviewComp/SuperStock_1095-439.jpg&w=350&h=231&ei=t-XiT-XAHcW38QPynOXWDg&zoom=1&iact=rc&dur=396&sig=104111657953587294798&page=1&tbnh=155&tbnw=211&start=0&ndsp=15&ved=1t:429,r:2,s:0,i:77&tx=84&ty=71

Figure 2.6 The Palace by Frederick Catherwood (30-05-2012)

<http://www.google.nl/imgres?um=1&hl=nl&authuser=0&biw=1366&bih=704&tbn=isch&tbnid=ulsb>

[BqAyUC9QQM:&imgrefurl=http://mesoamerica.narod.ru/frederick_catherwood_palenque.html&docid=g2gukG2wZmSnLM&imgurl=http://mesoamerica.narod.ru/Images/Cities/Palen](http://mesoamerica.narod.ru/frederick_catherwood_palenque.html&docid=g2gukG2wZmSnLM&imgurl=http://mesoamerica.narod.ru/Images/Cities/Palen)

Figure 2.7 Maudslay at work in Chichen Itza (30-05-2012)

http://www.google.nl/imgres?um=1&hl=nl&authuser=0&biw=1366&bih=704&tbn=isch&tbnid=w6tBVakoJtcMAM:&imgrefurl=http://oncetv-ipn.net/sacbe/mundo/los_primeros_exploradores/&docid=TcwCFJXYKgPxAM&imgurl=http://oncetv-ipn.net/sacbe/

Figure 2.8 View of the Temple of The Inscriptions and the south end of the Palace Mound, looking west (30-05-2012).

<http://www.mesoweb.com/photo/view.asp?act=viewfull&i=358&s=1889%2D1902&ext=n&sit=1&incnot=n&id=358&>

Figure 2.9 The Temple of Inscriptions and the west side of the Palace, looking South. (30-05-2012).

<http://www.mesoweb.com/photo/view.asp?act=viewfull&i=358&s=1889%2D1902&ext=n&sit=1&incnot=n&id=358&pem=n&pip=n>

Figure 2.10 from the east side of the Palace Mound. (30-05-2012).

<http://www.mesoweb.com/photo/view.asp?act=viewdata&i=360&s=1889%2D1902&ext=n&sit=1&incnot=n&id=367&pem=n&pip=n&vid=n&expert=y&sAND=&sANDNOT=>

Figure 2.11 Temple of the Cross, south face. (30-05-2012).

<http://www.mesoweb.com/photo/view.asp?act=viewdata&i=369&s=1889%2D1902&ext=n&sit=1&incnot=n&id=369&pem=n&pip=n&vid=n&expert=y&sAND=&sANDNOT=>

Figure 2.12 Price's map.

Barnhart 2001, 3

Figure 2.13 The Palace. View of the western Court and Tower, looking south (30-05-2012).

<http://www.mesoweb.com/photo/view.asp?act=viewdata&i=326&s=1889%2D1902&ext=n&sit=1&incnot=n&id=326&pem=n&pip=n&vid=n&expert=>

Figure 2.14 The Palace house D (30-05-2012).

<http://www.mesoweb.com/photo/view.asp?act=viewfull&i=339&s=1889%2D1902&ext=n&sit=1&incnot=n&id=339&pem=n&pip=n&vid=n&expert=y&sAND=&sANDNOT=>

Figure 2.15 View of the Palace, from the Temple of the Inscriptions (30-05-2012).

<http://www.mesoweb.com/photo/view.asp?act=viewfull&i=344&s=1889%2D1902&ext=n&sit=1&incnot=n&id=344&pem=n&pip=n&vid=n&expert=y&sAND=&sA>

Figure 2.16 View of the Palace looking north west (30-05-2012).

<http://www.mesoweb.com/photo/view.asp?act=viewfull&i=357&s=1889%2D1902&ext=n&sit=1&incnot=n&id=357&pem=n&pip=n&vid=n&expert=y&sAND=&sANDNOT>

Figure 3.1 Bloms 1923 map

Barnhart 2001, 4

Figure 3.2 Alberto Ruz Lhuillier (30-05-2012).

http://www.google.nl/imgres?um=1&hl=nl&authuser=0&biw=1366&bih=704&tbm=isch&tbnid=AMF1a90oLNqFWM:&imgrefurl=http://mayananswer.over-blog.com/categorie-11293052.html&docid=0p_2aVJ1XPYrdM&imgurl=http://ruz56.laneta.apc.org/Fotobiografia/A04retrato.

Figure 3.3 Palenque in 1957 (30-05-2012).

<http://www.google.nl/imgres?start=108&um=1&hl=nl&authuser=0&biw=1366&bih=704&tbm=isch&tbnid=O-h-D1U7yWzYsM:&imgrefurl=http://www.diggles.com/ec/1999/EC99-03.html&docid=EWK9PgU71FN8NM&imgurl=http://www.diggles.com/ec/1999>

Figure 3.4 Temple of the Cross in 1974 (30-05-2012).

<http://www.mesoweb.com/photo/view.asp?act=viewdata&i=18&s=palenque&ext=n&sit=1&incnot=n&id=18&pem=n&pip=n&vid=n&expert=y&sAND=&sANDNOT=maudslay+1983+glyph>

Figure 3.5 Temple of the Sun in 1974 (30-05-2012).

<http://www.mesoweb.com/photo/view.asp?act=viewfull&i=22&s=palenque&ext=n&sit=1&incnot=n&id=22&pem=n&pip=n&vid=n&expert=y&sAND=&sANDNOT=maudslay+1983+glyph>

Figure 3.6 Temple of the Cross in 1974 (30-05-2012).

<http://www.mesoweb.com/photo/view.asp?act=viewfull&i=23&s=palenque&ext=n&sit=1&incnot=n&id=23&pem=n&pip=n&vid=n&expert=y&sAND=&sANDNOT=maudslay+1983+glyph>

Figure 3.7 The Palace in 1974 (30-05-2012).

<http://www.mesoweb.com/photo/view.asp?act=viewfull&i=28&s=palenque&ext=n&sit=1&incnot=n&id=28&pem=n&pip=n&vid=n&expert=y&sAND=&sANDNOT=maudslay+1983+glyph>

Figure 4.1 The Palace and Temple of Inscriptions in 1984 (30-05-2012).

<http://www.mesoweb.com/photo/view.asp?act=viewdata&i=0&s=palenque&ext=n&sit=1&incnot=n&id=0&pem=n&pip=n&vid=n&expert=y&sAND=1983&sANDNOT=>

Figure 4.2 The Temple of the Inscriptions in 1984 (30-05-2012).

<http://www.mesoweb.com/photo/view.asp?act=viewfull&i=3&s=palenque&ext=n&sit=1&incnot=n&id=3&pem=n&pip=n&vid=n&expert=y&sAND=1983&sANDNOT=>

Figure 4.3 The Reina Roja.

González Cruz 2000, 7

Figure 4.4 Human sacrifices next to the tomb.

González Cruz 2000, 8

Figure 4.5 The inside of Temple XX (10-06-2012).

http://www.mesoweb.com/palenque/dig/report/archive/pix/XX/Mar101_29.html

Figure 4.6 Offerings inside Temple XX (10-06-2012).

http://www.mesoweb.com/palenque/dig/report/archive/pix/XX/Mar101_40.html

Figure 4.7 Temple XX before excavation and restoration (10-06-2012).

http://www.mesoweb.com/palenque/dig/update/update_all_01.html

Figure 4.8 Temple XX before excavation and restoration (10-06-2012).

http://www.mesoweb.com/palenque/dig/update/update_all_09.html

Figure 4.9 Temple XX before excavation and restoration (10-06-2012).

http://www.mesoweb.com/palenque/dig/update/update_all_09.html

Figure 4.10 Temple XX after excavation and restoration (10-06-2012).

http://www.mesoweb.com/palenque/dig/update/update_all_09.html

Figure 4.11 XX after excavation and restoration (10-06-2012).

http://www.mesoweb.com/palenque/dig/update/update_all_09.html

Figure 5.1 Edwin Barnhart working with a Total Station (21-06-2012).

<http://www.google.nl/imgres?um=1&hl=nl&sa=N&biw=1366&bih=704&tbn=isch&tbnid=b4ZpdqsW4GIMjM:&imgrefurl=http://www.mesoweb.com/palenque/dig/report/mapping/sub/edsurvey.html&docid=OxkbCACNrcKMXM&imgurl=http://www.mesoweb.com/palenque/dig/report/mapping/sub/media/edsurvey.jpg&w=314&h=235&ei=yALjT8nxO4qJ8gPTpYjVDg&zoom=1&iact=hc&vpx=730&vpy=171&dur=354&hovh=156&hovw=208&tx=64&ty=64&sig=114230383359159251684&page=1&tbnh=156&tbnw=208&start=0&ndsp=18&ved=1t:429,r:3,s:0,i:80>

Figure 5.2 A reconstruction of the Maya L building by Heather Hurst, 2000.
(Source: Barnhart 2001, 64)