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The YUK Logogram in Maya Hieroglyphic Writing

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Recent epigraphic work with several inscriptions, particularly texts coming from two sites in southern Quintana Roo, reveals the existence of interesting substitutional patterns in the structure of a well-known glyphic collocation. Particularly relevant are a pair of nominal clauses from Resbalón Hieroglyphic Stairway III (blocks CX14, CX15, and CX16) and Pol Box Stela 3 (G7 and H7). Both clauses likely reference the king known as 'Sky Witness,' ruler of the Snake dynasty between ca. AD 561-572, to whom an important victory over Tikal is ascribed in AD 562 (Martin 2005; Martin and Grube 2000, 2008). Both also demonstrate a very similar structure (Figure 1), being composed of a variant of the T217 'hand' sign, followed by the familiar sequence T134 **no** and T255 **ma**, then the undeciphered T650 'black cross,' and finally T561 **CHAN** and T23 **na**.¹ Several of these elements are of course well known from the name of Sky Witness.

The critical sign in these collocations is the rare T217 variant, apparently an extended hand, whose use is also rather restricted within Maya writing, appearing most often in the name of Sky Witness, but perhaps also in the names of other Snake kings. Although the rarity of this sign in the corpus of Mayan inscriptions presents a stumbling block to a secure phonetic

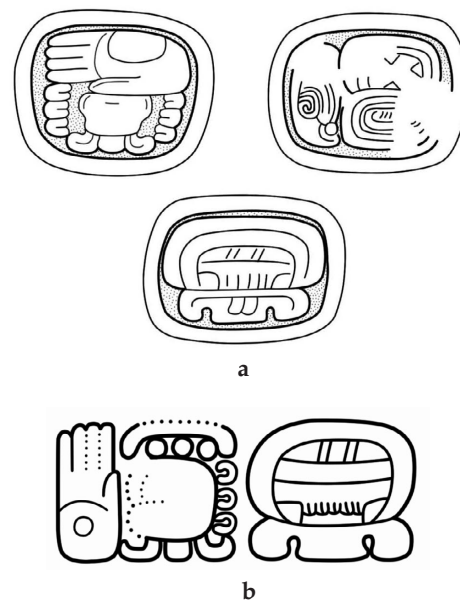


Figure 1. Nominal clauses of Sky Witness in the texts of Southern Quintana Roo: (a) Resbalón Hieroglyphic Stairway III, CX14, CX15 y CX16; (b) Pol Box Stela 3 (drawing by Octavio Esparza and Vania Pérez). Drawings by the authors unless otherwise noted.

decipherment, there are nonetheless some indications that allow us to propose a tentative reading.

In this case, we propose that the sign sequence T217var.-**no-ma** must correspond to some nominal element with which the name of Snake rulers begin, since in the texts of Resbalón and Pol Box this sequence of signs initiates nominal

¹ Catalog numbers for hieroglyphs (e.g., T23) are in reference to Thompson (1962).

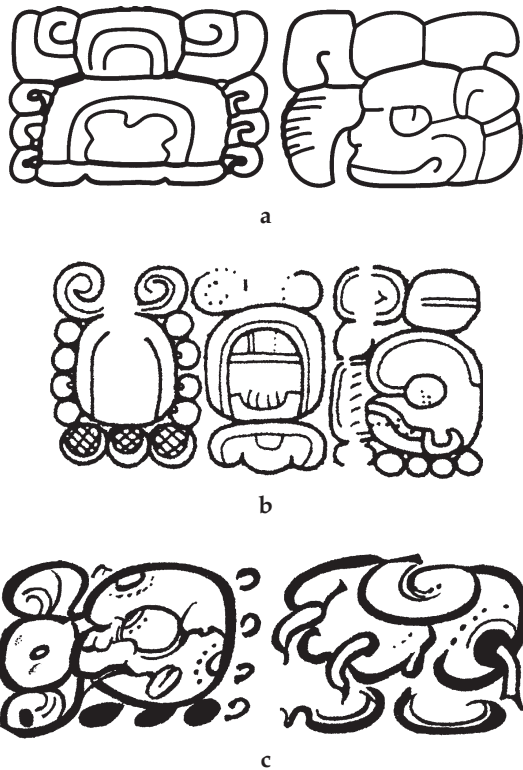


Figure 2. Names of three Snake rulers with the Yuhkno'm appellation: (a) Yuhkno'm Ch'e'n I, Dzibanche Monument 5; (b) Yuhkno'm Ti' Chan, Caracol Stela 3 (after Beetz and Satterthwaite); (c) Yuhkno'm Yichaak K'ahk', Calakmul Tomb 4 of Structure 2 (drawing by Simon Martin).



Figure 3. Nominal clauses of Ruler 11 of the Dynastic vases: (a) K6751 (drawing by Simon Martin); (b) K1372.

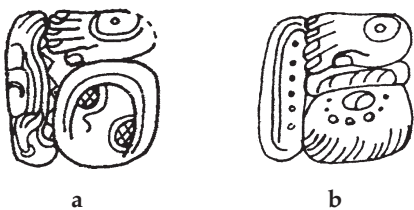


Figure 4. Birth expressions in the texts of Palenque: (a) u-YUK?-KAB, *uyuhk kab*, "his union with the earth," Palenque, Temple of the Foliated Cross alfarda; (b) u-YUK?-ka-ba, *uyuhk kab*, "his union with the earth," Palenque, Tablet of the Temple of the Cross (drawings by Linda Schele).

clauses. Now obviously the sequence ...-no-ma is very similar to the title Yuhkno'm, carried by many rulers of the Snake dynasty (Figure 2). Seen in this way, we might consider that the 'extended hand' sign corresponds to a logogram with the phonetic value YUK. That is, in such cases, YUK-no-ma would replace what is otherwise written *yu-ku-no-ma*, both cueing the term *yuhkno'm*, probably built on the well-attested root *yuhk* "shake"² or even "earthquake"³ (Esparza and Pérez 2009; Velásquez and Esparza n.d.). See Table 1 for attestations of this root in various Mayan languages (see also Zender 2010:Table 3).

By way of example, consider the lengthy snake dynasty king lists on vessels K6751 and K1372 (see Martin 1997; see also Guenter 2001). Several of these names are preceded by the common Snake king title Yuhkno'm, written in abbreviated fashion as *yu[ku]*. In the case of the eleventh ruler in this sequence, however, these components appear to have been substituted by the 'extended hand' (Figure 3). If this is a true substitution, then the 'extended hand' should have the value YUK.

Nonetheless, these arguments remain insufficient to support this decipherment, and we must look for other examples of the 'extended hand' sign in order to test the suggestive YUK value. As it

turns out, one interesting context appears in the texts of the Cross Group and Temple XIX at Palenque (Figures 4 and 5). In these texts a verbal phrase (or similar predicate construction) referencing the birth or creation of several Palenque patron gods is spelled either u-T217-ka-ba or u-T217-KAB. This phrase has been the subject of investigation by several other epigraphers, and there is an earlier proposal for the reading of the T217 variant 'extended hand' sign. As David Stuart (2005:78-79) notes with respect to the example from the bench of Temple XIX (Figure 5):

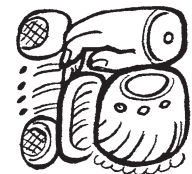


Figure 5. The YUK logogram in a collocation from the platform of Temple XIX, Palenque (u-YUK?-ka-ba, *uyuhk kab*, "his union with the earth"). Drawing by David Stuart.

² David Stuart (2001) was the first to note the *yuhk* root in Mayan inscriptions, in the context of the expression *yu[h]klaj kab[an]* "the earth shook," in the stucco text of Temple XVIII of Palenque. More recently, Marc Zender (2010) demonstrated that *yuhk* was an affective verb appearing in several different contexts in Mayan writing, though most commonly in the Yuhkno'm title of Snake kings.

³ Erik Velásquez first proposed the meaning of the Yuhkno'm title as "mover" or "shaker," taking into account the attested meanings of the root *yuhk* "move, shake," as well as the -(V)n antipassive and -o'm agentive suffixes (Velásquez and Pallán 2006:342; Velásquez n.d.:Note 2). Shortly afterwards, Marc Zender (2010:13) arrived at a similar conclusion.

Proto-Mayan	* <i>yuk</i>	intransitive verb	“shake, move” (Kaufman and Norman 1984:137)	
Proto-Ch’olan	* <i>yuhk</i>	intransitive verb	“shake, move” (Kaufman and Norman 1984:137)	
Colonial Ch’ol	<i>nigquel</i>	intransitive verb (incompletive aspect)	“temblar” (Hopkins et al. 2008:105)	
Ch’ol	<i>yujk-el</i>	noun	“temblor” (Schumann Gálvez 1973:101)	
	<i>yujquel</i>	noun	“temblor” (Aulie and Aulie 1978:144)	
	<i>yujkelum</i>	noun	“temblor”	
	<i>yujkel</i>	noun	“terremoto” (López et al. 2005:247, 248)	
Chontal	<i>yucän</i>	transitive verb	“mecer”	
	<i>yucum</i>	adjective	“movible”	
	<i>yucume</i>	verbal noun	“mecer, mecida”	
	<i>yuc’än</i>	transitive verb	“agitar” (Keller and Luciano 1997:300, 301)	
Ch’olti’	<i>yuclu</i>	verb	“mezclar” (Robertson et al. 2010:334)	
Ch’orti’	<i>yuhk</i>	noun	“shaking or trembling, spasm, convulsion” (Wisdom 1950:770)	
	<i>yuhku</i>	verb	“shake a thing” (Wisdom 1950:770)	
	<i>yujkb’ar</i>	noun	“temblor”	
	<i>yujkreme’n</i>	intransitive verb	“menear”	
	<i>yujkun</i>	transitive verb	“columpiar, mecer, colear la vaca, etc., menear” (Pérez Martínez et al. 1996:267-278)	
	<i>yujkb’ar</i>	noun	“terremoto” (Boot 1997:34)	
	<i>yukb’ar</i>	noun	“terremoto” (Hull 2005: 177)	
	<i>yujku uba / yujku’ix uba</i>	affective verb	“mecerse”	
	<i>yujku / yujku’ix yujk’bar</i>	transitive verb noun	“mecerlo” “temblor” (Schumann n.d.:57, 116)	
	Colonial Tzeltal	<i>yuclaghan</i>	affective verb	“turbarse el agua con viento” (Ara 1986:F.55v)
	Tzotzil	<i>yuq’uel</i>	verb	“agitar(se), sacudir” (Delgaty 1964:60)
<i>yuk’ilanel</i>		verb	“agitar” (López et al. 2005:584)	
<i>yuk-ba</i>		noun	“temblor de tierra” (Swadesh et al. 1991:94)	
Colonial Yucatec	<i>yukba</i>	intransitive verb	“temblar la tierra y temblor o terremoto” (Arzápalo Marín 1995:376)	
	<i>yuk ba</i>	verb	“menearse o temblar la tie[rra] y agua” / “temblar la tierra, moverse haciendo ruido, y temblor o terremoto” (Acuña Sandoval 1993:469, 606)	
Yucatec	<i>yúuk</i>	transitive verb	“menear, revolver algún líquido” (Bastarrachea et al. 1998:93)	

Table 1. The root *yuhk* and its meaning in Mayan languages.

The next two blocks are also familiar from parallel statements in the Cross Group. The first of these, at I2, is a possessed noun **U**-“hand”-**ka-ba** that likely derives from a transitive verb construction where the palm-down hand is a verb root and the direct object **ka-ba**, for *kab* “earth.” Lounsbury made note of the very same glyph in the Cross Group temples (often with the single logogram **KAB** replacing the **ka-ba**) and saw it was always in association with a divine birth date or event. He brilliantly surmised that it was a metaphor for “birth” and related to a series of Ch’ol expressions such as *ilan panimil*, “to see the world,” and perhaps most relevant to the glyph in question, *täl lum*, “touch earth.” Building on Lounsbury’s discovery, there is the possibility that the downturned hand sign of the glyph is a logogram read **TAL**, a transitive root in both Ch’ol and Ch’orti’ for “to touch something,” giving a fuller reading **U-TAL-KAB**, or *u-tal-kab*, “it is his earth-touching.”

As can be seen, the **TAL** reading tentatively proposed by Stuart proceeds from an observation by Floyd Lounsbury, and was in turn based on a Ch’ol Mayan metaphor for birth. There are neither phonetic substitutions nor complementation to support a specific



Figure 6. The possessed compound noun *upattuun*, “his stone-fashioning,” Pol Box Stela 2 (drawing by Octavio Esparza and Vania Pérez).

reading of **TAL** for the ‘extended hand.’ For this reason, we might reasonably continue to entertain a **YUK** value if it could be shown to generate a sensible meaning in this context. As it turns out, there are several Ch’orti’ expressions linking the root *yuk* (and the stem *yuhk*) to the idea of birth, such as *yuk k’ux*, defined as a “convulsion suffered during labor or until the placenta is expelled” (Wisdom 1950:770-771). The Ch’orti’ expression perhaps reveals some

connection, either natural or metaphorical, between birth labors and earthquakes.

On the other hand, the Ch’orti’ word *yuhk* also means “thing joined, joint, union” (Wisdom 1950:770). This, too, might make a reasonable metaphor for birth in combination with the other elements of the glyph block: **u-YUK?-ka-ba**, *uyuhk kab*, “his union with the earth.” Such a meaning would come quite close to another considered by Stuart (2000:30), namely “his encounter with the earth.”

Still another possibility, though more speculative, is that **u-YUK?-ka-ba** might instead be rendered *uyuhkkab* “his earth-union,” a possessed compound noun formed from the combination of a verbal root and a noun and well attested in other contexts (see Lacadena 2003). Examples of such constructions appear



Figure 7. The name of K’altuun Hix, Snake ruler, Naranjo Stela 25 (drawing by Ian Graham).

in other texts from southern Quintana Roo, such as *upattuun* “his stone-forming” on Pol Box Stela 2 (Figure 6). And the same structure can be seen in the name of another ruler of the Snake dynasty: K’altuun Hix (Figure 7). Here, the transitive verb *k’al* “tie, bind” is combined with the noun *tuun* “stone,” just as they are in the well-known period-ending expression *k’altuun* “a stone-tying.”

To come full circle, one final piece of evidence that the T217 variant ‘extended hand’ might register the value **YUK** can be found in the nominal clause of Sky Witness appearing on a bloodletting bone discovered by the archaeologists Enrique Nalda and Sandra Balanzario in 2005 (Nalda and Balanzario n.d.; Velásquez n.d.; Velásquez and Nalda 2005:31). This bloodletter (Figure 8) was discovered above the pelvis of the primary occupant of a tomb located within Dzibanche Temple II (also known as the Temple of the Cormorants).

Distinct from the examples of the name of Sky Witness already discussed on the monuments of Pol Box and Resbalón, and from the namesake Ruler 11 of the Dynastic vases, here it is the syllables **yu-ku-no-ma** (rather than the T217 variant ‘extended hand’) which precede the characteristic ‘eye and black cross’ (T650 variant) and “sky” (**CHAN-na**). All of these other elements are shared by the disparate spellings of the name of Sky Witness, making a strong case for the possibility that the syllables **yu-ku(-no-ma)** and the ‘extended hand’ (**YUK?**) substitute for one another in this context.

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Figure 8. The nominal portion of the bone bloodletter from Dzibanche Temple II (**yu-ku-no-ma UT?-tu-T650var-CHAN-na K’UH-ka-KAN-AJAW**, *Yu[h]kno’ m Ut(?) Tu[...] Chan, k’uh[ul] Kaan[u’l] ajaw*).

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Patterns in the Dresden Codex

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A frequently referenced yet poorly understood deity, Goddess I has suffered from a long tradition of misidentification. Much confusion and disagreement over this goddess persists in the literature but an analysis of her appearance and associated texts allows for some improved understanding. This article demonstrates that naming patterns within the Dresden Codex can be applied to eroded or absent texts to aid in the correct identification of this female deity. More than that, these newly-identified structures can also aid in the advancement of ancient Maya codex studies.

Early Studies of Goddess I

The first systematic study of the deities in the codices was made by Paul Schelhas in 1904. He classified each deity using a letter designation, and his system was later adopted by other scholars. He recognized two goddesses, whom he labeled Goddess I and Goddess O. He named Goddess I “the water goddess” and described her as an aged female with clawed feet and a brown body wearing a serpent headdress and commonly depicted pouring water from a jar (Schelhas 1967:31). He expressed uncertainty about her name glyph but paired it with what was later discovered to be one of the name glyphs associated with a youthful goddess (though he himself did not actually identify a youthful goddess in his studies). Goddess O was identified as “a Goddess with the features of an old woman” and her name glyph was recognised to have “wrinkles of age around the eye” (Schelhas 1967:38). This deity was only identified in the Madrid Codex and was described as an aged female frequently represented working at a loom.

Günter Zimmermann (1956) later applied an entirely different classification to these deities. He dropped Schelhas’s letter designations for a numbered series prefixed by the letter G, labeling the youthful goddess not described by Schelhas as G22/Goddess I and assigning the label G24/Goddess O to the aged goddess Schelhas had identified as Goddess I (Zimmermann 1956:167). This led to a great deal of confusion in the literature. Furthermore, Schelhas had correctly identified and separated two aged goddesses but Zimmermann had combined them. Eric Thompson also studied the



Figure 1. The Moon Goddess, Dresden Codex, detail of folio 49a and associated name glyph (from Kingsborough 1831-1848).

deities in the codices, and it is through his work that the association of Goddess I with the moon became a popular notion (1939). He argued that there were young and old aspects of the “Moon goddess”: one associated with floods and destruction and another associated with beneficial aspects.

The first steps to resolving the confusion created by the early studies were taken by David Kelley in 1976. He recognized four distinct deities: (1) the aged goddess with clawed feet and serpent headdress; (2) a goddess associated with the ‘wrinkled’ head glyph; (3) a youthful goddess; and (4) the actual Moon goddess. Kelley (1976:69) argued that the deity with the wrinkled head glyph identified as Goddess O by Schelhas is in fact an aged version of Goddess I. This deity was only identified in the Madrid Codex. The youthful goddess identified by Zimmermann as G22 and by Thompson as the “Moon goddess” is the youthful version of this goddess. Later scholars such as Andrea Stone (1990), Karl Taube (1992:64), and Gabrielle Vail (1996:115) have supported this interpretation. They also support the identification of four distinct female deities.

Consequently, the work by Kelley and others has demonstrated that Goddess I does not represent the Moon goddess. The only appearance of the Moon goddess—whose name glyphs include the T181 or T683 ‘moon’ signs—appears on page 49a of the Dresden Codex (Figure 1). Karen Bassie-Sweet (2008:201) notes that, unlike this illustration, none of the other depictions of youthful goddesses in the codices feature the moon sign on their bodies. Despite the glyphic and iconographic advances since Kelley’s study, scholars still routinely misidentify Goddess I as the “Moon Goddess” (Milbrath 1995, 1996, 2002; Schele and Friedel 1990:366, 413; Taube 2006:263; Taylor 1992). Whether classified as Goddess I or the “Moon Goddess,” this female deity is portrayed in the Dresden Codex as a youthful goddess and is often identifiable from her long black hair and bare chest (Figure 2).

Hieroglyphic Research

The identification of the female deities in the codices has relied in large part on their associated hieroglyphic texts. Those associated with Goddess I have been identified as the portrait glyph T1026, prefixed by either T171 or T58, and sometimes postfixed by T102 (Figure 3).

Various readings for the T1026 glyph have been suggested but the best supported and most widely accepted decipherment is IX(IX) “lady” (Stuart 1998:396, Note 7; see also Vail and Stone 2002:210). The glyph has often

been equated with the day sign Caban (Kelley 1976), and with the head variant of the number one (Thompson 1972:47), but although they share some formal similarities they cannot be equated. The apparent Caban infix in the portrait glyph is the same as the T171 prefix and

is commonly known as the “Caban curl” (Taube 1992:64). Like others before him, Thompson (1939:132, 141) suggested that it resembled a lock of hair, which probably developed to become a symbol of women (Bassie-Sweet 1991:99). Since *kab* is the Yucatec Maya word for “earth” and “honey” it has been suggested that Goddess I may be an earth or honey goddess (Bassie-Sweet 1991:98, 2008:210; Vail 1996:116). Thompson (1938, 1950, 1972:47) suggested that the Caban curl was similar to the symbol for the phonetic sound *u* in Landa’s alphabet (Tozzer 1941:170), itself similar to the Yucatec Maya word *uh* “moon.” But, as Ardren (2006:29) and Brisko (1994) have pointed out, none of the early colonial sources indicate any association of this deity with the moon.

The T58 prefix was long ago deciphered as **SAK** “white,” perhaps in association with the white light of the moon (Thompson 1972:47) or the similar term *sakal* meaning “weaver” (Thompson 1939:132; 1972:47). Bassie-Sweet (2008:202) has proposed that the “white” association might refer to cotton, salt, or even white corn. Kelley (1976:69) and Vail (1996:115) claim that William Gates (1932) refers to Goddess I as “the White Lady,” but I could find no evidence of this in his publication. Adam Herring (2005:74) notes that in colonial Yucatec *sak* can refer to newly-made works such as “worked stones” (*sak laktun*), “clean paper” (*sak hu’un*), or “fresh laundry” (*sak nok*). It would be interesting if the use of the T58 prefix had similar associations in the name of the goddess.

Nonetheless, the “white” association is not limited to Goddess I. The T58 prefix is used throughout the Dresden to name other deities, including Goddess



Figure 2. The Youthful aspect of Goddess I (from Villacorta and Villacorta 1993).

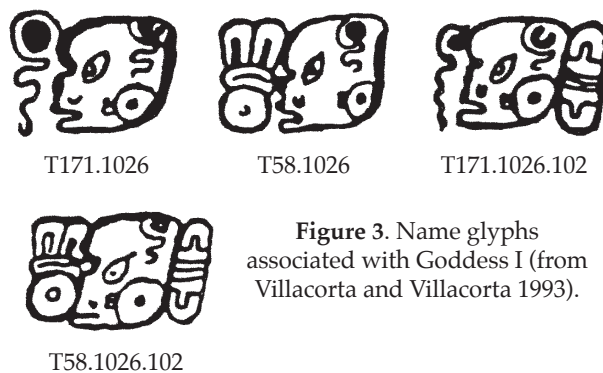


Figure 3. Name glyphs associated with Goddess I (from Villacorta and Villacorta 1993).



Figure 4. Dresden Codex, folios 16c and 17c (detail). The three name glyphs for Goddess I at the right of the almanac each have the T171 prefix and T102 postfix. None have a corresponding visual representation of the goddess (from Villacorta and Villacorta 1993).

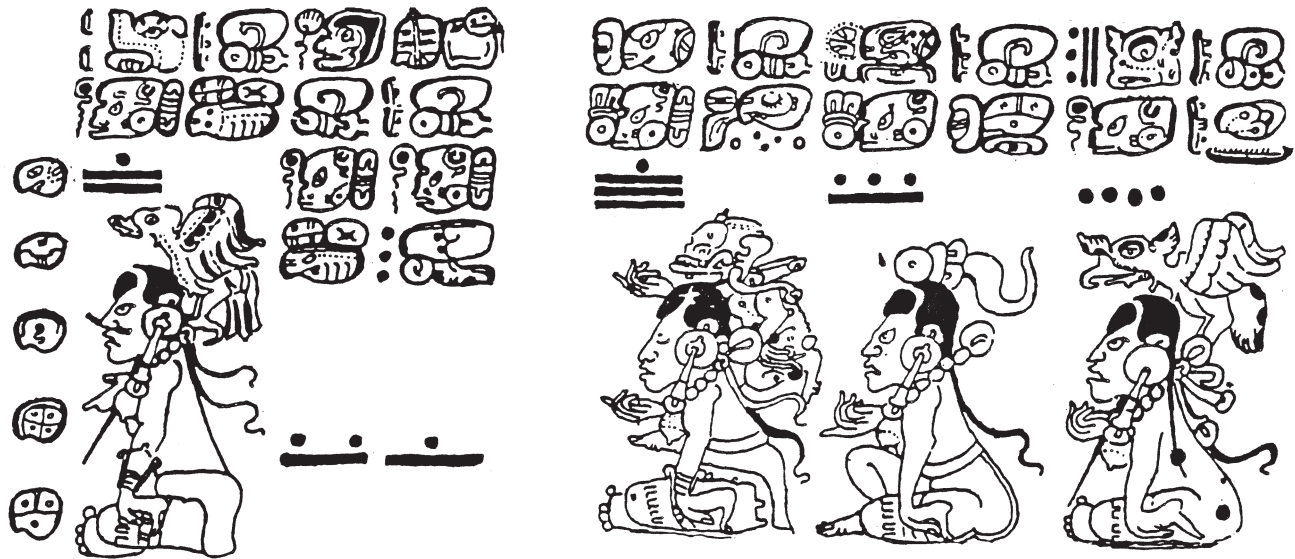


Figure 5. Dresden Codex, folios 17b (detail) and 18b. The prefixes used to name Goddess I at the beginning and end of the almanac are identical, despite different name glyphs being used within the almanac (from Villacorta and Villacorta 1993).

O, God H, and God B. Some scholars have attributed instances such as these to scribal errors. Yet in her study of the Madrid Codex, Vail (1996:59) found that although there is generally a close relationship between an almanac's text and its iconography, this is not always a one-to-one correspondence. Consequently, she argues that not all of these instances are scribal errors and may instead reflect the fluid nature of deities. She proposes that these so-called errors are actually patterned in

meaningful ways and might reflect the fact that deities have more than one manifestation, each perhaps associated with a different name (Vail 2000).

The postfix T102 is well known as the phonetic syllable *ki*, where it most likely serves as a phonetic complement or extension to T1026 IX(İK), leading to the reading *ixik* "lady" (Vail and Stone 2002:210). Both Vail and Stone (2002:207, 210) and Ardren (2006:31) have read T171 as **KAB** and suggest that the goddesses' name

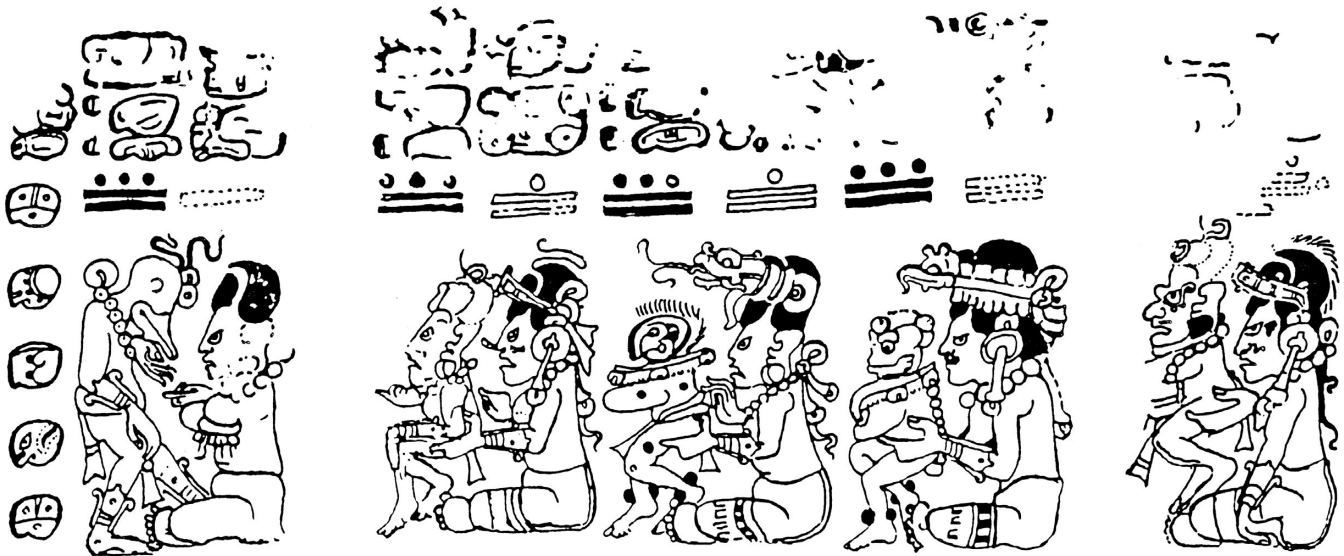


Figure 6. Dresden Codex, folios 19a (detail), 20a, and 21a (detail). Based on the naming patterns observed for Goddess I, the name glyphs above the first and last images of Goddess I can be reconstructed as T171.1026 (from Villacorta and Villacorta 1933).



Figure 7. Dresden Codex, folios 21c and 22c (detail). The column of hieroglyphs at the far right of the image shows a name glyph for Goddess I but no corresponding image. The third image of the goddess does not have the T0126 portrait glyph in the corresponding text above her image. The name of the second goddess probably serves for this third goddess (from Villacorta and Villacorta 1933).

is to be read as *Ixik Kab* "Lady Earth." Alternatively, the reading *Kab Ixik* would make better sense of the order of the glyphs, in which case the name would mean "Earth Lady." By contrast, the T58 prefix in place of T171 leads to a reading of *Sak Ixik* "White Lady" (Bassie-Sweet 2008:202). Although there are two different prefixes to the T1026 glyph, and occasions when it is postfixed by

T102, which would seem to suggest that the text is naming between two to four different goddesses, various scholars have failed to differentiate between naming glyphs and images of the goddesses and have suggested that the glyphs represent various titles or names for the same goddess (Brisko 1994; Kelley 1976; Thompson 1939:163, 1972:47; Vail 1996).

Goddess I in the Dresden Codex

To better understand the loosely defined group of female deities in the Dresden Codex known as “Goddess I,” an analysis of her appearance and name glyphs was undertaken. As previously mentioned, the aged version of Goddess I has been identified only in the Madrid Codex and therefore this paper focuses exclusively on the youthful version of Goddess I. Most of her appearances in the Dresden Codex occur within the almanacs on pages 16-23.

Since various scholars have suggested that there is not a recognizable difference between the goddesses labeled with the T171 and T58 prefixes, images of Goddess I were categorized according to her naming glyph to verify whether or not this was true. This method of identification resulted in ten images with T171 as a prefix and T102 as a postfix, thirteen images with only the T171 prefix, one image with the T58 prefix and T102 postfix, and twelve images with only T58 as a prefix. There were eight images of the deity associated with a problematic glyph and seven with eroded texts. Problematic glyphs included unclear or absent portrait glyphs. This provided a total of fifty-one images of Goddess I.

In order to verify whether or not there were recognizable differences between the goddesses labeled with the T171 and T58 prefixes, specific aspects of Goddess I’s appearance were studied: type of headdress, hairstyle, adornment, and textiles. It became apparent that there was no significant difference in the presence or absence of the T102 postfix in the images. This makes perfect sense, since the best glyphic explanation of the postfix is as a redundant phonetic complement **ki** to the T1026 logogram **IX(İK)**. Consequently, the images with the T102 postfix were amalgamated with those images that did not have the postfix. A separation based on the T171 and T58 prefixes was maintained to verify the presence or absence of differences between these prefixes.

The analysis demonstrated that the greatest percentage of goddesses do not wear a headdress, which is similar to Vail’s (1996:161) findings for depictions of goddesses in the Madrid Codex. Ten different varieties of headdress are worn, including one that incorporates the T58 **SAK** “white” sign (see Figure 5, second figure from right). This headdress is not limited to Goddess I, however, since it is also worn by male deities such as God A and God D (see Dresden Codex, folios 13, 14, and 53).

Whereas the goddess does not appear to wear a headdress that defines her identity, it appears that the hairstyle of the goddess is a much more characteristic trait. It is very common for Goddess I to have one or more strands of hair visible in the image that accompanies her name glyph. As already mentioned, Thompson and others have suggested that the Caban curl in the T1026 portrait glyph and the T171 prefix represents a

lock of hair. Interestingly, the only example in which the hair of a goddess is not visible is the only time in which she is not named by either the T171 or T58 prefix, but rather the T45-semblant sign **HUL** (see Dresden Codex, folio 21b).

Adornment also does not differ significantly between goddesses identified with the T171 or T58 prefixes. In every image, the goddess wears an earspool and necklace (apart from four images in which the neck area is obscured). The bracelet is another common piece of adornment, and there were only seven instances in which the goddess does not wear a bracelet, and five instances in which the wrist area was obscured. A much less common adornment was a nose bar, occurring only six times.

Finally, an analysis of the textiles worn by the goddesses demonstrates that the most common representation of Goddess I is bare chested but wearing a skirt, with only one representation of a full length *huipil*. There is no significant difference between the frequency of short and long skirts. In only one instance is the goddess not wearing any visible textiles, yet even here she should probably not be considered naked, because she is “clothed” both by her adornments and her elaborate hairstyle.

Consequently, there is no significant difference between the appearances of goddesses named by the T171 prefix and the goddesses named by the T58 prefix. Attention was thus turned to the presence of what seem to be naming patterns within the text.

Goddess I Naming Patterns

One of the most noticeable patterns from the texts of Goddess I is that in every instance where a name glyph of Goddess I is given without a corresponding image, the glyph has the T171 prefix, and often also has the T102 postfix (see Figures 4, 5, 7). This may suggest that the T171 prefix was the standardized name glyph for Goddess I. That is, because it would have been so familiar, perhaps an accompanying image was not always necessary. In line with this, Goddess I with the T58 **SAK** prefix may have always been illustrated because she was a less familiar aspect.

Another noticeable pattern concerns almanacs containing the names of several goddesses. In these almanacs, the initial and final name glyphs will always have identical prefixes (Figure 5). A recognizable pattern naming the goddesses *within* the almanacs was not identified, but since the initial and final glyphs are always identical, it suggests that there was a structure to almanacs involving more than one goddess. Perhaps the same goddesses were always required to begin and end these almanacs.

This principle was applied against some of the eroded images in order to try and identify the name glyphs. One example in which this principle was applied with

success is shown in Figure 6. Most of the text in this almanac is eroded, but a comparison with other facsimiles of the Dresden Codex, including Kingsborough's edition—which Thompson (1950:26) suggested was accurate enough to be used for checking subsequently damaged glyphs—allows a reading of the initial glyph as the T1026 portrait head with the T171 prefix. Using the structural pattern discussed above, I propose that the end of this almanac would originally have featured the same collocation.

A final noteworthy pattern is the principle of a deleted text subject. Four images of Goddess I in the Dresden Codex do not have a corresponding name glyph. Three of these examples are part of an almanac with more than one goddess (Figure 7). Since there seem to be regular patterns involving the glyphs in these almanacs, I suggest that there was a pattern involving the images as well. I suggest that the name glyph associated with the preceding image names these goddesses, and that the scribes may have felt no need to repeat her name several times throughout the same almanac. Examples of deleted subjects are also known in Maya hieroglyphs from the Classic period, so there is some precedent for this feature. Consequently, the name glyph of these females can be suggested even without a text directly above her image.

By applying the patterns discussed above it is possible to increase the number of identified goddesses in the Dresden Codex. In comparison to the original numbers, the goddesses with the T171 prefix are increased by four images from twenty-three to twenty-seven, and the goddesses with the T58 prefix are increased by two images from thirteen to fifteen. Although this is only a small change, a 15% increase in both data sets is still significant, and it illustrates that a better understanding of Goddess I can be reached even without the discovery of new texts, merely by paying close attention to naming patterns within well-known sources.

Conclusion

This paper has explored the representation of Goddess I in the Dresden Codex through visual appearance and associated name glyphs as a means of overcoming a long tradition of misidentification. The analysis demonstrated that there is not a clear separation between the appearances of goddesses named with the T171 prefix and those named by the T58 prefix. Additionally, no significant difference was noticed for goddesses whose names included the T102 postfix. Several suggested naming patterns can be applied to eroded or absent texts to aid in the correct identification of Goddess I. Since there is no clear difference between the naming texts of Goddess I and her visual appearance it does appear that the variety of texts represent various titles or names for the same goddess. Just as Vail (2000) has suggested for the deities in the Madrid Codex, perhaps

the various name glyphs for Goddess I employed by scribes in the Dresden Codex reflected the goddess's various manifestations.

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Dresden Codex, folio 17 (from Villacorta and Villacorta 1993).

The Further Adventures of Merle (continued)

MERLE GREENE ROBERTSON

Uaxactun

Because Uaxactun is only about 20 km north of Tikal, I shall discuss it now, although it was somewhat later that I did work there (1970). This time Don Hart, a student of mine from Stevenson School, Pebble Beach, California, and Bob Robertson, my husband, were with me. The caretaker of the ruins was the policeman Aldana. He hunted all over, in the rain, for stelae. He built scaffolding in front of one very tall stela. I was perched on top, with no way to get down, so he maneuvered huge sheets of plastic that I always carried with me so I could work up there. To dry the paper, he then used pine sticks to build a fire at the base of the stela, but the smoke all came up to where I was working. I was gagging on smoke, my face wrapped in a wet handkerchief, but my eyes were crying continually. We were having so much rain that it was hard to believe that there are long periods of time (sometimes six months and sometimes a year) during which Uaxactun gets no rain at all. We did have a field day though, even if most of it was in the rain. One of the first stelae I did a rubbing of was Stela 1, which had the upper portion broken off in ancient times (Figure 1). A typical example of Cycle 8 early carving, it showed a heavy chain attached to the side of the belt supporting a grotesque ornament. Another Early Classic stela was Stela 3 with a head dangling from the back-mask that is identical to the head held in the crook of the arm of the Tikal Stela 31 lord (Figure 2). Another stela I did a rubbing of at Uaxactun was the unusual Stela 5, a warrior armed with an *atlatl* (spear thrower) in his left hand and a *macuahuitl* (wooden club into which obsidian blades were set) in his right hand, both unusual weapons in Classic art (Figure 3). I don't know if it was the surprising *atlatl* or the perky parrot balanced on top of his headgear that intrigued me the most. A bustle-like arrangement of feathers hangs from the striding figure's waist, in the manner of the Teotihuacan-related warriors at Tikal.

As no one had worked at Uaxactun since the Carnegie staff of Ed Shook, Jesse Jennings, and Ledyard and Robert Smith, the Aldanas, caretakers of the ruins, were more than happy to see us. It was not an easy place to get to at the time we went. With no place to stay, and it raining most of the time, the Aldanas took us right into their very comfortable home, where kids, chickens,



Figure 1. Uolantun Stela 1. As this is the only monument found on the only mound at Uolantun, Morley postulated in *The Inscriptions of Peten* that this tiny site was an offshoot of nearby Uaxactun.



Figure 2. Uaxactun Stela 3.

rabbits, and a pig lived happily together. Don played soccer with the Uaxactun kids, who were happy to have someone who new the game, but as usual, he hurt his leg—no more use to me in helping with rubbings. I made dozens of paper dolls for the Aldana children; they loved it but didn't realize that some children must have different outfits for school, for play, etc. as they had only two changes of clothes, both alike. As Blanca didn't have a doll, I made one for her from an old tee shirt and stuffed it with pieces of cloth, then made its yellow hair from nylon rope. And of course this doll had to have a dress. We hated to leave Uaxactun, we were having so much fun despite the rain. In my field book I made many



Figure 3. Uaxactun Stela 5.

detailed drawings of the entire Aldana compound.

I first became acquainted with Ed Shook when I was working in Antigua, Guatemala, the city of "Eternal Spring." Ed and his wife Ginny lived in the beautiful old ruined cathedral at the edge of town that has become the most upscale gorgeous hotel in Antigua, Casa Santo Domingo. I have visited it when Ed and Ginny lived there and also when it became the "in place" for elegant weddings. Ed always had a large library that he sold, and then acquired another library which he also sold. I believe his last library was the one he sold to the archaeological museum in Villahermosa, Mexico. Of course each library had fewer of the rare books than the one before it. Ed started his work as a young man of 21 in Campeche, Mexico. I have his diary during that

time with such perfect handwriting, I couldn't believe it. This from Ed—getting him to write anything was like pulling teeth.

Jimbal

Jimbal is half way between Tikal and Uaxactun. I had been asked by John Graham from UC Berkeley and Harvard to go in and do a rubbing of the monument in late June 1970. I had asked Sr. Sandoval, who was at that time keeper of Tikal, and his helper, to take us in, starting at 5:15 the next morning, and to bring their own water. He did not want to go, and quoted such a high price to take me, that he was sure I would have to refuse. But, as I had already been paid for two round trips from San Francisco, and expenses while doing this, I had no choice but to pay his price. He told me that we didn't need to bring any water because there was plenty in the

aguada. There was no trail, nor was there any water in the lanai vines—everything dry. When we arrived, quite dehydrated, there was no water at all in the aguada. Sandoval said he did not know where the stela was. Don and I started hunting and found it immediately, of course. Right away we saw that the entire upper portion had been sawed off. Sandoval just shrugged his shoulders and said we would turn around and go back. I told him that we would not go back, that Don and I were too beat, and without water could not possibly do it. I still had the drinking water in my canteen, but I was not going to share that with them. I proceeded to do the rubbing of what was left of the stela instead.

We then put up my tent and placed our cooking pots all around the edge to catch water if it rained. We had nothing to eat that didn't need water for its preparation except one tiny can of tomato juice apiece. Don and I



Figure 4. Jimbal stela.

got in our tent to get some sleep. In the middle of the night we heard pelts of rain coming down. Out of the tent we jumped to get the water in the pots. The rain had then stopped, and there was no water in the pots. We got back in the tent. There was muddy water on its floor. So we slurped up this muddy water with our mouths on the floor of the tent. No, we did not get sick. Returning to Tikal the next morning was torture. We were so dehydrated that when we were picked up by the Tikal jeep at the airport, we were literally holding each other up, and were taken directly to the kitchen and given coffee that was already made, into which we poured the whole bowl of sugar. We were sure we knew who had stolen the upper portion of the Jimbal Stela.

Sayaxche

As we spent so much time in Sayaxche, a small two-street village at the junction of the Pasion River and the Petexbatun Lagoon, something should be said about it now. It became home away from home. Julio Gadoy was the owner of this tiny two-room—what shall I call it?—not really a hotel or a house, just someplace where we stayed and where from season to season as we worked in El Petén, we stored our equipment. Julio became a very good friend and a big help so many times. There was no store in Sayaxche, so when we wanted to buy eggs, Julio would have his young son go scampering into the woods to find as many as he could. They were very good fresh eggs. Julio's little porch looked right out on the Pasion where we could see all of the cargo being sent by cayuca up and down the river. Here is where we met so many interesting people who often became good friends, like Trudy Blom. Trudy was the wife of Franz Blom, the Tulane University archaeologist. Trudy lived in San Cristobal at her home Na Balom where she befriended all of the Lacandon Indians. She was also a wonderful photographer documenting much of the life of the Lacandons. No matter what the occasion—breakfast, dinner, a public meeting, or whatever, she was always dressed as if going to a fancy ball—loads of jewelry. She visited me once in San Francisco when she was on her way to Switzerland to meet with her family. Was it the isolation we were all feeling or the comradeship of being together in so remote a place as Sayaxche? All of the Peace Corps people made their headquarters here, as did doctors helping out in El Petén. While we were there a heart specialist, a pediatrician, and a dentist spent time there. Sayaxche was, also, the home of Tranquil Flores and his family. Tranquil was a young fellow whose family was from Belize. Tranquil worked with me all through El Petén. Later, when he married, he had a little girl he named Merle. I was so proud. I have since met this Merle and had a silver bracelet made for

her with “our” name engraved on it.

Sayaxche is where jaguar hunters would bring their pelts to be sold to someone going back to civilization. Can't be done today. Jacques VanKirk, whose partner in Mexico had committed a crime and told the police that it was Jacques and not he who had done it, had been put in the position of being an outlaw from the Mexican police. He was hiding out in Sayaxche, and had become one of the jaguar hunters. He had at one time been a hunter of polar bears in Alaska, as well as other weird occupations. He came to remote Sayaxche with only his gun, his wife Parney, and his two little girls, nothing else; he had to escape so fast. Who was out to kill him, we never found out, but when he went out jaguar hunting, he told his wife that if anyone came to their camp, she was to shoot first and think after. Their home at the edge of the Petexbatun River was a small tree house built on stilts so it wouldn't get flooded. They climbed a wooden ladder up into the tree house. They would pull the ladder up when they were in. The one room was about ten feet by ten feet with every inch taken up. A bed was built on one side of this room, and a double bunk on the opposite side, and a very narrow bunk was on the third side. The fourth side was taken up with a tiny cupboard. A coffee-like table was in the middle of the floor, with just enough room to squeeze around it. You sat on the bunks to eat or talk. Five people lived in this tiny room that wasn't big enough for even one person. They cooked on a campfire underneath this tree house. Jacques was what we called our “hiding guide.”

He would take us into off-the-beaten-track sites like Itzan, where howler monkeys interrupted me when I was doing a rubbing by firing branches down at me all the time. When I first met Don Robertson in Mexico City, he told me the story of how they had gotten their apartment, when apartments were hard to find. The woman who owned the apartment told the Robertsons that the people who had lived there before left suddenly, leaving a closet full of little girls clothes and clothes for adults, all sorts of personal belongings, including a polar bear rug (maybe he really was a polar bear hunter). Putting two and two together, we knew it was the apartment of Jacques VanKirk.

Today Sayaxche is quite a village, and the headquarters for driving, yes driving, into Seibal. It was when I was working at Seibal that one noon we heard a terrible crash. A yellow bulldozer was hacking its way into the site, preparing for this new road. There are now several hotels, a grocery store, a mechanics shop, and much more in Sayaxche. The lodge in the Petexbatun is now the very best place, and really the only place, to stay for those going into the sites in the region—Dos Pilas, Aguateca, Tamarindito, and Seibal.