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Classic Maya Place Name Database Project, Mesoamerica



**"Ts'ak ch'e'n" expression on Stela 31, Tikal (DB#886).
Photo by Alexandre Tokovinine.**

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Abstract

This report presents the preliminary results of the Classic Maya Place Name Database Project. The first part of the report outlines the main goals and challenges of the study of place names in Classic Maya inscriptions. The second part of the report describes the procedures followed during the data collection stage of the project and some additional challenges, which emerged at that stage. The third part of the report highlights some initial results in terms of the data acquired and the analysis of the data done so far.

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General Considerations

Introduction

The main component of my project has been the compilation of a database of place names on Classic Maya monuments and other media. The aim is to generate a source of data and use it to address the problem of emic understanding of different categories of places in relation to expressions of social/political identity in the same textual/iconographic contexts. It is possible to identify all contexts, in which known categories of place names are mentioned and to use this knowledge to discover new categories of place names. The database allows studying changes through space and time in the way place names were cited in hieroglyphic inscriptions.

This project has built upon and has been informed by previous research on Classic Maya place names, in particular on the methodology outlined in Stuart and Houston (1994) who pioneered a systemic approach in analyzing clusters of place names associated with specific archaeological sites. Stuart and Houston

(1994) would consider only the terms in unequivocal syntactic contexts like a sentence “it happens/happened at [place name]” or a predicate with a verb of motion. The scope of my research has been bigger as it aimed to connect these unequivocal contexts with other discursive patterns, name phrases in particular, in order to elucidate the meaning and the function of place names in the Classic Maya written discourse. Therefore, my project is in need of an explicit statement of the goals and the methods of an epigraphic study of place in the Classic Maya culture.

The Object of the Study

The object of the epigraphic study of place is a system of references to an ideational landscape. If a text from a Classic Maya site refers to a “cave,” or a “spring,” or a “mountain” it may be fruitless to look for the actual landscape feature although it might exist. However, each place within a written discourse is linked to places, people, and events. These webs of significances constitute the object of the study.

Given that all the inscriptions considered in my research were produced and consumed by the ruling elites of Classic Maya polities, I follow Smith (2003) in suggesting that the ideational landscape is to be considered an integral part of the ‘political landscape’ of Classic Maya kingdoms. The latter could be defined as places that maintain the imagined civil community, evoke “memories and emotions central to the experience of political belonging” (Smith 2003:8). While every member of society partakes in (re)creating places through walking, looking, naming, and telling or listening to stories, as Smith argues (2003:70), “not all individuals have the same capacity to engage in the production of spaces on the level of the experience or perception”. A student of Classic Maya civilization may assume that the ideational landscapes created by the ruling elites of Maya kingdoms—palaces, causeways, plazas, and temple mountains—were instrumental in the establishment and maintenance of the social and political order.

Representations or perceptions of the political landscape in the written discourse would be in practice inseparable from other forms of experience. Classic Maya political landscapes also consisted of built and natural features of the physical landscape to be seen, walked through, smelled, and heard. Only together these experiences and perceptions would form a political landscape as a “broad canvas of space and place constituted within histories of social and cultural life” (Smith 2003:11). Therefore, the epigraphic study of place is inherently limited in its ability to reconstruct the political landscape that would be fully available only to a participant observer of the social practices, which bring the landscape into existence creating, maintaining, and destroying the meaning(s) of space. On the other hand, written discourse provides us with a unique glimpse into some of these practices and processes and thus helps to avoid a purely

phenomenological approach to the material, archaeological remains of the Classic Maya political landscape. In my opinion, a researcher cannot assume or imply that his or her perception and experience of the physical landscape resembles the way Classic Maya people perceived and experienced the same landscape. The only clue is their own words.

The epigraphic study of place in Classic Maya political landscape cannot be equated with a study of Classic Maya cartography. Some Classic Maya codices, monuments, murals or even painted textiles may have featured maps and long descriptions of near and distant lands. However, with one or two exceptions, none of these documents has survived to this day. Instead, scholars are left with references to ideational landscape embedded in other genres of texts and visual representations. This situation makes all reconstructions of larger landscape concepts highly tentative. Nevertheless, it still allows for an investigation of the role of place within Classic Maya political discourse by examining and comparing all kinds of narratives that have something to do with the political landscape.

Specific Goals of the Research

One of the primary goals of my project was generating a large, comprehensive, and searchable body of data on Classic Maya place names and the contexts, in which these terms appear. There is nothing like it available to epigraphers and other scholars in Classic Maya studies, while there is a great need for this kind of information. Even as a source of data for reference purposes, a data base of place names will be an important contribution to current and future research.

Another highly important goal was elucidating the meaning of and the relations between the spatial categories in Classic Maya inscriptions. A lack of clear understanding of these categories so far has been one of the main obstacles for the effective comparison of the emic perceptions of Classic Maya political landscape and the physical component of the same landscape. With few exceptions, such comparisons never went beyond the analysis of general cosmology, while the actual need is to study historically specific places. Otherwise, a study of emic place name categories will never venture beyond a rather trivial observation that Maya believe in a four-cornered universe, in which caves, lakes, and mountains are very important.

An epigraphic study of place should also aim at distinguishing between different levels of discourse. Arguably, certain spatial categories and even certain places are more salient within a discourse on place and identity. Certain 'tropes' appear over and over again in the inscriptions of different sites. Certain genres of inscriptions are more centered on place than others. Nevertheless, one may also expect some variation in the way specific places are evoked at different Classic Maya sites, within different written traditions, within more localized discourses. Therefore, the goals of a study of place names is to look for overall patterns, but

also to highlight variations in discourse, local practices, which may have contributed to distinct political identities.

The relationship between place and identity was the main goal of the project. It can be defined as exploring the ways, in which people associate themselves or are associated with the historical and mythological landscapes. I define “historical landscape” as references to the actual physical landscape (built and natural features) as perceived within the written discourse. On the other hand, the category of “mythological landscape” comprises places, which are situated either in deep time or beyond the immediate boundaries of the tangible physical landscape and can be accessed only through ritual practices or as transpositions, re-creations of the original places.

I see the study of place as a way to elucidate how certain practices and perceptions centered on place, historical or mythological, contribute to defining a certain group of people—members of a “political regime” (Smith 2003:155) in the context of Classic Maya political landscape—vis-à-vis members of other political regimes. As such, my research aims at reconstructing what Smith terms a “geopolitical landscape”. I am interested in understanding this landscape as a system of bodies wielding political power as much as a system of places associated with these bodies. In that sense, a place has no substance unless there are people from a place, as well as stories of origin, pilgrimage, foundation and ritual that merge these people and the place into a single whole.

Data Collection

Organizing the Database

There were three main methodological challenges at this stage of project. I tried to limit the *a priori* classification of Maya places while selecting and describing the data. Any compilation of data implies some kind of initial etic classification. However, an etic classification may result in circular arguments like citing patterns identified by means of an *a priori* classification as a proof of the validity of such classification. The only way to deal with the problem is to include sufficient contextual information that will allow re-evaluating the existing etic categories in our understanding of Classic Maya place names and place-related iconography. However, providing contextual data would be a challenge in itself, given that most Maya inscriptions are unpublished or published as drawings only. Finally, the documentation of the spelling and the phonetic reading of each place name should meet the challenge of changing publication standards and of the on-going decipherment; in other words, it should remain useful for future scholars.

In order to meet the first challenge, the database includes all the terms that could be potentially described as place names in certain contexts: names of

geographical regions, polities, cities, landscape features, and buildings that appear in historical and mythological narratives. Of course, there is still a caveat of missing the terms that have never been defined as place names or as terms of any spatial significance. For instance, personal names contain many words with the *-nal* suffix that have not been previously analyzed as place names. Some of these potentially significant terms can be extracted from the database, when the syntactic patterns associated with recognized categories are more or less understood.

The problem of providing sufficient context has been solved by documenting each occurrence of every place name pertaining to one of the broad pre-defined categories. A database entry cites the full sentence, in which the place name occurs. It also provides some additional information including (if possible) the name of the site associated with the place name, the kind of object, on which the inscription containing the place name occurs, some broad characterization of the context, the provenience of the object, and the date of its dedication.

The proper documentation entails giving full transcription and transliteration of each place name with undeciphered glyphs numbered according to Thompson's catalog (Thompson 1962). This catalog remains the most well-known and used reference. The Maya script is highly calligraphic and is characterized by an immense variation in the scribal performance of the same signs. The visual complexity of the script is compounded by poor preservation of many inscriptions. Therefore, it is essential to compile an archive of images of each text so that it will be possible to back or to challenge certain readings of highly calligraphic or/and poorly preserved signs. There are also references to prior publications of the drawings and readings of each inscription.

I have compiled the database using Microsoft Access 2003. This software has all the features required to create a database with the categories outlined above. It is convenient in terms of creating new queries when searching the database. It is also attractive from the compatibility standpoint since most potential users rely on this or similar software and they already have some experience of working with databases created in it.

I have not embedded the images of the inscriptions into the database because their publication might infringe upon copyrights and regulations and because that would make the database file many times larger. However, I have stored the images and have assigned the same numbers to the image files and to the correspondent data base entries so that it would be possible to access the scanned drawings or photographs of the inscriptions in question if the image files were made available.

Table 1. A sample of database entries before secondary classification

DB #	Transcription	Transliteration	Full Context	Associated Site	Context Info	Object	Provenience	Long Count Date	Reference
1022	SA'	sa'aal	ajawani k'ahk' tiliw cha'n chaak k'uhul sa'aal ajaw	Naranjo	accession	Stela 22	Naranjo	9.13.10.0.0	CMHI 2:56
1023	K'IN-chi-li-KAB	k'inchil kab	jubyi k'inchil kab		war	Stela 22	Naranjo	9.13.10.0.0	CMHI 2:56
1024	tu-ba-la	tubal	pulyi tubal		war	Stela 22	Naranjo	9.13.10.0.0	CMHI 2:56
1025	bi-TAL-la	bital	juunte' k'in pulyi bital nits'ak kab		war	Stela 22	Naranjo	9.13.10.0.0	CMHI 2:56
1026	MUT	mutal	jubyi aj mutal [...]	Tikal	war	Stela 22	Naranjo	9.13.10.0.0	CMHI 2:56
1027	K'AN-na-T'UL	k'an t'ul	[...] chuhkaj sihyaj k'awiil uhtiy k'an t'ul		capture	Stela 22	Naranjo	9.13.10.0.0	CMHI 2:56
1028	ko-ko-mo	kokom	pulyi kokom		war	Stela 22	Naranjo	9.13.10.0.0	CMHI 2:56
1029	HIX-JOL	hix jol	ucha' [x] pulyi hix jol		war	Stela 22	Naranjo	9.13.10.0.0	CMHI 2:56
1030	K'IN-chi-li-KAB	k'inchil kab	pulyi k'inchil kab		war	Stela 22	Naranjo	9.13.10.0.0	CMHI 2:56
1031	K'AN-na-WITS-NAL	k'an wits nal	pulyi uch'e'n itsamnaah bahlam k'an wits nal ajaw [...]	Ucanal	war	Stela 22	Naranjo	9.13.10.0.0	CMHI 2:56
1032	SA'	sa'aal	pulyi uch'e'n itsamnaah bahlam k'an wits nal ajaw ukabjiy k'ahk' tiliw cha'n chaak k'uhul sa'aal ajaw	Naranjo	war	Stela 22	Naranjo	9.13.10.0.0	CMHI 2:56
1033	YAX-'a	yaxa'	pulyi uch'e'n ma' ch'abil ma' ak'abil [?] chaak yaxa' ajaw [...]	Yaxha	war	Stela 23	Naranjo	9.14.0.0.0	CMHI 2:60
1034	MUT	mutal	[...] waxak lajuun k'in ajawaniy i lok'yi yitaaj yatan ix mutal ajaw [...]	Tikal	leaving	Stela 23	Naranjo	9.14.0.0.0	CMHI 2:60
1035	sa	sa'aal	[...] waxak lajuun k'in ajawaniy i lok'yi yitaaj yatan ix mutal ajaw ukabjiy k'ahk' tiliw cha'n chaak k'uhul sa'aal ajaw	Naranjo	war	Stela 23	Naranjo	9.14.0.0.0	CMHI 2:60
1036	YAX-'a	yaxa'	pahsaj ubaakel ujolet yax bolon chaak yaxa' ajaw [...]	Yaxha	tomb desecration	Stela 23	Naranjo	9.14.0.0.0	CMHI 2:60
1037	PET-ni	peteen	[...] chok ti peteen [...]	Yaxha	tomb desecration	Stela 23	Naranjo	9.14.0.0.0	CMHI 2:60

Additional Methodological Challenges at the Data Entry Stage

A large number of place names occur in the context of personal names and titles. For instance, many place names at Toniná are mentioned only as part of the captives' names, in the contexts known as “emblem glyphs,” “titles of origin” (Stuart and Houston 1994), and similar constructions, where a place name is used as an adjective to a noun (one's personal name or title). Many examples lack semantic controls in the sense that they do not refer to events happening at those named places. Some are inherently ambiguous in terms of whether or not place names are involved at all. For example, if a Toniná ruler is named *Baak nal Chaak*, literally “Bone-place *Chaak*,” should each instance of this name be

included into the database? There is no immediate solution to this problem. I have drawn a rather arbitrary line between personal names-proper and other parts of personal names that can be called “titles” or references to one’s political/social/ethnic affiliation and certain aspects of personality acquired through one’s lifetime (like names of offices occupied and captives taken). The terms inside proper personal names are not included in the data base unless there are other contexts, in which the same terms are unequivocally used as place names. For instance, *Baak nal Chaak* would not be included, because it is a personal name-proper and because the place name *Baak nal* does not appear in other contexts.

Sometimes, a context contains more than one place name. For instance, a parentage statement on Dos Caobas Stela 1 includes references to separate succession numbers for *Pa’ Cha’n* and *Kaaj* lords: *umiin chan winik haab ajaw yaxuun bahlam aj wak tuun ucha’n chakjal te’ ujo’ lajuun ts’akbuul yopaat bahlam k’uhul pa’ cha’n ajaw [x] ts’akbuul [x] k’uhul kaaj ajaw*, “[he is] the son of four-katun lord, Bird Jaguar of Six Stones, the captor of *Chakjalte’*, the fifteenth in the line of *Yopaat Bahlam*, lord of *Pa’ Cha’n*, ... in the line of ..., lord of *Kaaj*” (DB#571). This passage is unique in describing a dynastic union in terms of distinct succession lines from the founding rulers of two places. Splitting it makes little sense. Instead, I enter this context twice, once for *Pa’ Cha’n* and once for *Kaaj*. As a result, I end up with redundant entries in the context fields. However, searching for “*Pa’ Cha’n*” or “*Kaaj*” in the “transliteration” field would eliminate redundant entries (there is still only one “context” entry for each “transcription”/“transliteration” entry). Moreover, since the most important component of the database is place names, I would rather have redundant contexts fields than have some contexts split or omitted.

The undeciphered glyphs in place names are numbered according to Thompson’s catalog (Thompson 1962). Its main shortcomings are missing and misclassified signs. Some can be mended using Kurbjuhn’s revised edition (Kurbjuhn 1989). Nevertheless, some signs are still missing there. In such cases, I have been simply assigning question marks in the “transcription” field. There is no apparent solution: other catalogs are not widely accepted. I may eventually use a more recent catalog compiled by Macri andLooper (2003). It suffers from same problems when it comes to classification, but its list of signs is more extensive.

Initially, I planned to follow the spelling rules proposed by Lacadena and Wichmann (2004). However, after some consideration, I decided to choose a more cautious approach advocated by Robertson *et al.* (2006). In practice, it means that, in some cases, the vowels are not inherently deducible from the spelling of a word. Instead, one has to stick to particular historical linguistic reconstructions. The glossary in Robertson *et al.* is used as the main reference in such cases.

The format of the database allows citing references related to specific entries—contexts, in which place names occur. In most cases, the primary reference is a published or an unpublished drawing of the monument. Some inscriptions are widely cited in the literature, but such citations do not amount to publication as long as only certain sections of inscriptions are highlighted. If transcription/transliteration is available, respective references are included.

Secondary Classification: Contextual Analysis of Place Names

Why Secondary Classification?

From the point of the data entry stage, a sentence *uhtiiy lakam ha' cha'n ch'e'n tu ch'e'n wak cha'n [nal] chak hux bolon chaak k'uhul [T700] nal ajaw* (DB#95) (“it happened at Lakam ha' high ch'e'n, in the ch'e'n of red Hux Bolon Chaak of Wak cha'n [nal], lord of [T700] nal) is a collection of several place names (*lakam ha'*, *wak cha'n [nal]*, *[T700] nal*), which occur in certain syntactic contexts: a sentence, a subject, a predicate. One may supply a general commentary on the nature of the textual or visual context of the place names. Further classification at this stage would unnecessarily restrict future interpretations. However, a subsequent analysis of the information requires a more refined classification that reviews the same piece of data under different angles. The latter are provided by the researcher who assumes that each angle of view will produce additional insights into the general and the specific in the database entry. This classification is only possible when a certain amount of data has been collected and some preliminary observations can be made. It is always subjective and inseparable from the primary goal of the study. In my case, this goal is to elucidate the relationship between place and identity in the Classic Maya political landscape.

The Two Main Referential Contexts of Place Names

The basis of my classification is splitting the contexts of place names in hieroglyphic inscriptions into two distinct classes of references, which I term “direct” and “indirect” references.

The direct references are contexts where a place name is mentioned as a location or an object of someone's actions. If the context is a sentence, the place name is part of the predicate. Examples would include sentences like “it happened at Boston,” or “he arrived at Boston,” or “he conquered Boston”. A place name may also be the subject of sentences where actors are underemphasized or removed (passives and mediopassives like “Boston was/got conquered”) and where the inchoative verbs are used (e.g. “Boston Commons assumes shape”). If the context is imagery (e.g. a scene on a carved monument), the “direct” context is a so-called place register—a caption like “Boston Commons” clarifying the location of the action depicted in the scene. In all the cases

mentioned above, there is a direct relationship between the hypothetical narrator and the place name in the story and between the place name and the event. The relationship is not mediated by the nature of the protagonists of the narrative unless the protagonist is the place itself.

Indirect references are contexts where place names are incorporated into the name phrases of the protagonists. Such contexts are not necessarily related to the nature of the narrated events, but instead depend on the status of the protagonist in relation to the hypothetical narrator, the genre of the narrative, its historical context and even its physical context (the kind of object on which the text is inscribed). Indirect references are far less constrained in terms of complexity, as the same name phrase may contain multiple interrelated place names (e.g. “Italian American from Boston”; compare to “*Kanal* king in *Huxte’tuun* from *Chi’k nahb*,” DB#939).

Distinct analytical approaches are needed to deal with each of the two main referential contexts. In the same time, the two complement each other for the purpose of my study. It is not enough to know “who” does “what” “where” in a given narrative and how this “where” relates to other “where-s”. It is only through examining the relationship between the same “who” and “where” in all available contexts that the role of place in the political landscape can be reconstructed.

Contextualizing the Narrative

Given that epigraphy deals with texts inscribed on objects, the placement of objects in the physical landscape and the nature of objects constitute the primary context for place names within narratives. For instance, in my previous research on posthumous biographies (Tokovinine 2007), I introduced a category of monuments described as “tomb stones,” which were located in spatial proximity to the actual burials of certain individuals. Such identification was important in understanding the terms “one’s tomb stone” (*utuunil umukil*) and “one’s name stone” (*uk’aba’ tuunil*) attested in the inscriptions on these monuments. In another study (Tokovinine and Fialko In Press), a consistent association between the placement of stele and references to a certain place name in the inscription on these monuments served as a basis for identifying that place name as the name of the location of the monuments with some important implications for the interpretation of the same place name in other contexts. On the other hand, it is much harder to contextualize the inscriptions on unprovenanced portable objects.

The genre of the text itself offers further clues with respect to the meaning of the place name in the narrative. In the above-mentioned example of tombstones (Tokovinine 2007), the genre of the texts could be defined as posthumous biographies highlighting certain events in the lifetime of the deceased individual with an emphasis on status and political authority. Any reference to traveling to

certain locations in such narratives would be a testimony to the centrality of those places in the political landscape as perceived by the narrator. For example, in the tombstone inscriptions commissioned by subsidiary rulers (vassals and non-royal governors), the voyage of the venerated ancestor to the court of his liege constitutes the pivotal event of the narrative.

The most important contrast in terms of the genres of texts is between the historical and mythological narratives. I define mythological narratives as taking place in deep time and at locations beyond the immediate boundaries of the tangible physical landscape. I am expecting certain places to transcend the boundary between mythological and historical space-time. I am also looking for the cases when certain tropes of the mythological landscape are incorporated into particular political landscapes of Classic Maya kingdoms.

The historical or socio-historical context of a place name in a narrative is no less important. This context can be defined as a set of related questions including who commissions the inscription, who produces the inscription, who speaks through the inscription, who consumes the inscription, as well as what historical circumstances are relevant for the events described in the narrative.

The phrasing of the sentence, the choice of verbs, and the relation of a given place name to other place names within the same sentence or the same text provide another crucial context for understanding the meaning of spatial terms. Verbs may carry deictic functions highlighting the place as something “high” or “low,” something “here” or “there,” something that can be “entered” or “exited” (Beliaev 2006). Certain spatial terms used in combination with place names such as *kab* “land” and *ch’e’n* “cave” provide additional contextual information (Lacadena García-Gallo 2002; Martin 2004:106-109; Stuart and Houston 1994:12-13; Vogt and Stuart 2005:157-163). Moreover, several place names may be cited within the same predicate potentially informing the reader of the relative orders of importance or inclusivity of the terms in question (Stuart and Houston 1994:26,31). Returning to our set of imaginary examples, a text may report that a dedication of a building by a certain “Italian American from Boston” took place “in the city of Boston, U.S.A.,” not too far syntactically from the phrases *ukabjiiy yuknoom ch’e’n kanal ajaw ta huxte’ tuun aj chi’k nahb* (“Yuknoom Ch’e’n, the Kanal lord at Huxte’ tuun, the person of Chi’k nahb ordered it”; DB#937) and “*uhtiiy huxte’ tuun chi’k nahb*” (“it happened [in] *chi’k nahb* of *huxte tuun*” or “it happened [in] *huxte’ tuun* [in] *chi’k nahb*”; DB#1296).

Contextualizing People

The same set of spatial terms (America, Italy, Boston) may carry different meanings and are ordered in different ways as in the contexts of “Italian American Bostonians” and of “Little Italy in Boston, U.S.A.”. This observation holds for place names within personal name phrases in Classic Maya inscriptions

(Lacadena García-Gallo 2000; Stuart and Houston 1994:37-39) and prompts an additional set of contexts to consider.

The most important context in this set can be roughly termed “inside” vs. “outside,” although what it really implies is that certain narratives contain representations of the political “other” of various kinds: strangers from other kingdoms, enemies, people and even supernatural beings from distant places.

Beliaev’s (2000) research on the titles *Huk Tsuk* and *Huxlajuun Tsuk* in Classic Maya inscriptions was one of the first successful demonstrations that we can identify the distinct frameworks of reference in hieroglyphic inscriptions. Moreover, the “us-them” dichotomy in political identities, “us” being more specific and internally complex and “them” being more generic, can be extended to “here” vs. “there” descriptions of landscape. In fact, as in the case highlighted by Beliaev, the concepts of “them” and “there” become fused within a single category that intentionally fails to discriminate between different kinds of “other” people and places. Tikal inscriptions refer to the captives from Naranjo as “those of Seven Partitions”—a term for people from the Eastern Petén and the lakes region. Similarly, Dos Pilas texts refer to the enemies from Tikal as “those of Thirteen Partitions”—a term reserved for people living west and north of “Seven Partitions”. On the other hand, self-referential mentions of “Seven Partitions” and “Thirteen Partitions” are confined to a handful of inscriptions, of which some are dealing with individuals of non-royal descent. It seems as if being a member of either group was implied and yet overshadowed by other identities deemed more significant in the written discourse centered on the ruler and the court.

The divide between people of royal and non-royal descent is no less important. The Classic Maya non-royal elites have only recently become the subject of epigraphic research. The corpus of texts mentioning non-royal elites is very small and the number of inscriptions commissioned by non-royal elites themselves is even smaller. Yet, as in the case of non-royal posthumous biographies mentioned above, the non-royal inscriptions reveal important differences in the perception of the political landscape when compared to royal texts.

Finally, just as in the case of “us” and “them,” emphasis and omission in themselves are important clues to understanding the relationship between people and places represented in the written discourse. As different historical actors present multiple and conflicting claims on the same political landscape, researchers are offered a unique opportunity to understand the reasons, the patterns of significance behind the actors’ choices.

The way emphasis and omission reveal new aspects of the Classic Maya political landscape can be illustrated with the example of the “Knot site” discussed by Palka (1996). There is an apparent contradiction between the references to two historical characters, the so-called “Knot Jaguar” ([TROPHY.HEAD] *Bahlam*) and *Sak Teles*. An earlier inscription from the site of Lacanhá (DB#665)

commissioned by *Sak Teles* identifies him as a *sajal* from *Xukalnaah* (Lacanhá) and the vassal of “Knot Jaguar” described as “*Ak’e’* lord, *Xukalnaah* lord, person from the Knot site” (Palka 1996:217). Later inscriptions commissioned by *Sak Teles*’s son, *Yajaw Cha’n Muwaan*, who claims the titles of the lord of *Ak’e’* and *Xukalnaah* and reins from Bonampak (possibly *Uus Wits*), refer to *Sak Teles* as the lord of *Ak’e’* and *Xukalnaah* and as a “person from Bonampak”. Palka capitalizes on the mutual claims of royal titles and suggests that a ‘foreign ruler’ from the “Knot site” resided in Bonampak and Lacanhá. However, the message of the later inscriptions is more complex. Not only *Sak Teles* ‘assumes’ royal titles in later narratives, his spatial affiliation also changes to suit the location of his son’s seat of rulership. The omission of Knot Jaguar’s royal titles reflects an attempt to exclude him from the members of the royal dynasty of *Ak’e’* and *Xukalnaah*, but not necessarily an attempt to deny his political power over the members of this dynasty.

The captions on the famous Bonampak murals commissioned by *Yajaw Cha’n Muwaan* identify at least four contemporaneous “holy *Xukalnaah* lords” (R1-C23; R1-C40; R1-C41; R1-C42; R2-C15; R2-C31; R2-C32; R2-C33) including one “Knot site person”. It seems unlikely that all of them were supreme rulers or that all of them ruled at the same site. Instead, we witness a number of contemporaneous members of the same dynasty ruling at different sites and occasionally acting together. *Yajaw Cha’n Muwaan* might well be more powerful and treat the other members of the same royal lineage as vassals. What is really important, is that there would be no contradiction in calling [TROPHY.HEAD] *Bahlam* “the Knot site lord” when referring to his seat of rulership and “*Xukalnaah* lord” when emphasizing his royal pedigree and dynastic connections. The choice of one title over the other reflects nothing but the relationship between [TROPHY.HEAD] *Bahlam* and the author of the text or the person who commissioned it.

Introducing all the intricacies of the case outlined above into a database field is hardly possible. Nevertheless, a field distinguishing between direct and indirect contexts captures the most important nuances. In particular, identifying the cases of the so-called emblem glyphs versus other origin titles (connecting people to certain places) helps to isolate a group of place names related to one’s claims of royal status.

Visualizing the Contexts

I have introduced additional fields to the main data base table, which would allow me to construct contextual tables for each place name. Given the small size of the sample, I am reluctant to consider the frequencies of each context. Instead, I am concerned only with presence/absence of a certain context as a reflection of the meaning and function of a place within a given political landscape. [Table 2](#), below, provides examples of the contexts I am considering.

Table 2. Place Name Contexts in the Inscriptions; the case of Tikal (*Mutal*)

	Inside	Outside
direct	smth happened at/with <i>mutal</i>	
indirect:		
royal	a king is associated with <i>mutal</i>	
non-royal	a non-royal individual is associated with <i>mutal</i>	
[x]ajaw	holy <i>mutal</i> lord, <i>mutal</i> lord	
aj[x] / [x]other / [x]	person from <i>mutal</i> , <i>mutal</i> person, <i>mutal</i> [person]	
historical landscape	historical events happened at <i>mutal</i>	
mythological landscape	<i>mutal</i> is named after a mythological beast	

The dimensions of “direct/indirect” and “inside/outside” constitute the primary contexts of each place name. The last six rows represent the contexts, which are effectively the subsets of the “indirect/indirect” classification (“royal/non-royal,” “emblem glyph/a person from,” “historical/mythological”). This is why the table is presented as a combination of one-dimensional and two-dimensional formats, where each place name entry is classified in terms of seven contexts, which in turn can be classified in terms of “us/them”.

Classic Maya Place Name Database: Preliminary Results

Data Acquisition

The database consists of 1640 entries with about 300 distinct place names. The count of place names depends on the treatment of complex place name phrases because some cases cannot be unequivocally labeled as either strings of different place names or elaborations of the same place name. There are at least 200 distinct place names documented in the database. It incorporates the inscriptions from the sites of Palenque, Comalcalco, Tortuguero, Toniná, El Cayó, Piedras Negras, Yaxchilán, Dos Caobas, La Pasadita, Bonampak, Lacanhá, Dos Pilas, Aguateca, Tikal, Naranjo, Caracol, Copán, Quiriguá, Moral, Pomoná, La Mar, La Corona, Holmul, El Perú, Calakmul, Machaquilá, Tamarindito, Seibal, Itzan, Ixkún, Cancuén, Xultún, and Yaxhá. It also includes texts on several unprovenanced monuments commissioned by *Sak Ts’i’* and *Ak’e’* lords. Each entry is accompanied by a scanned line drawing or photograph of the text in question. An average size of a drawing/photo file (JPG) is about 200 KB.

Besides working on published materials, I also had a chance to study new monuments from Naranjo, Petén, as part of my archaeological fieldwork at the site. This research resulted in identifying the name of the Triadic Acropolis C-9. Apparently, the emblem glyph of Naranjo rulers evokes the name of that temple complex. This discovery is highly important for the general discussion of the

relationship between the place names in the emblem glyphs and the built/physical landscape.

The data acquisition stage has not been finished as of February 1st, 2007. Although all the large corpora of the inscriptions with the exceptions of the texts from Altar de Sacrificios and Naj Tunich have been included, there are still several sites with some inscriptions containing place names, which have not been documented. The main reason why the data acquisition took more time than expected is that scanning and working with the photographs of the inscriptions in the archive of the Corpus of Maya Hieroglyphic Inscriptions turned out to be more time-consuming. The main difficulty is poor preservation of many inscriptions and lack of good drawings: proper documentation of place names and contexts requires careful examination of multiple photographs of every text in question. There is a huge difference in time per entry ratios between well-preserved and well-published texts like the inscriptions from Palenque or Yaxchilán and poorly-preserved and poorly-published texts like the inscriptions from Calakmul.

In addition, I plan to include the inscriptions on portable objects (inscribed vessels, boxes, jewelry, bloodletting instruments, needles, relics, mirrors, and celts). The corpus of these texts can add some 200-300 entries to the database. The two main problems with this source of data are lack of provenience for most portable objects and ethical considerations of using unprovenanced objects in the research. However, the information contained in these inscriptions is often too valuable to be ignored in an all-encompassing survey like the place name database. If texts on portable objects are included, I estimate the final size of the database as about 2000 entries. I expect to complete entering the data by April 2007, although I will keep adding some entries while working on my dissertation in 2007-2008.

Analysis

The analysis of the data entails creating queries when searching for specific place names or contexts. The contexts can be searched either by type/category or by looking for relationships/sequences in full contexts (transliterations of full sentences with place names). So far over 300 queries have been created to identify distinct place names. Some of these place names are presented in the [Appendix](#).

The place name-based queries are instrumental in revealing variation in spellings and in estimating the range of contexts associated with each place name. For instance, in the case of the main place name for the site of Copán, a unique occurrence of the **3-wi-ni-ti-ki** spelling suggests that the common **3-wi-ti-ki** spelling contains an underspelled *-n-*. Similarly, **T756d-(pi)** as a spelling of the

place name in the Copán emblem glyph turns out to correspond to a later stage in the history of the spelling that initially looks like **T756-pi-pu**.

A study of all the direct contexts of the occurrences of **3-wi-(ni)-ti-ki** and **T756-pi-pu** reveals the relationship between the two place names: the term **3-wi-(ni)-ti-ki** corresponds to a higher-order spatial entity than **T756-pi-pu**. On the other hand, Copán rulers almost never associate themselves with the **3-wi-(ni)-ti-ki** place name. In other words, there is a striking contrast between the prominence of one place name in the direct contexts and the prominence of another place name in the indirect contexts.

Similar procedures have been followed for common place names attested at other sites with large corpora of the inscriptions. Nevertheless, smaller corpora are no less important for investigating broader similarities and patterns. One of the project goals is to understand the meaning of the terms *ch'e'n*, *kab*, and *kaaj* used by the Classic Maya themselves to describe the political landscape. Every instance of these terms is important and smaller corpora provide the bulk of the variation in ways the terms could be used within the written discourse.

Presentation/Publication of the Results

The results of the 2006 fieldwork at Naranjo were presented at the annual Symposium of Archaeological Research in Guatemala (Tokovinine and Fialko 2006). An extended version of this presentation has been accepted for publication in the PARI Journal (Tokovinine and Fialko In Press). I presented some preliminary results of the place name database project at the 11th European Maya Conference “Ecology, Power, and Religion in Maya Landscapes” hosted by Malmö University, Sweden, December 4-9. This paper entitled “People from a Place: Re-interpreting Classic Maya Emblem Glyphs” will be published in the proceedings of the conference.

I plan to devote three chapters of my dissertation to the results of my work with the database. Chapter Three of my dissertation will discuss Classic Maya spatial categories and modes of ordering the political landscape evidenced in the inscriptions. Chapter Four will be devoted to place names in personal names and titles with a particular emphasis on emblem glyphs and titles of origin. Chapter Five will review several major tropes in the written discourse when certain places are evoked to strengthen one’s claims to political legitimacy or to emphasize specific political identities.

In accordance with my preliminary agreement with FAMSI, I plan to make the database fully available online, as soon as my dissertation project is done. The actual format of the online version of the database remains to be agreed upon. It should be searchable for both the place names and the contexts. It may also be converted into a searchable map, although this option may not work well in the

cases of database entries corresponding to objects of unknown provenience or to place names associated with unknown sites.

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Appendix 1. 200 Maya Place Names

No.	Transcription	Transliteration	Provenience
1	bi-k'i-la	bik'iil	PNG
2	bi-TAL // bi-TAL-la	bital	NAR, CRC
3	9-AJAW-NAAH	bolon ajaw naah	TIK
4	9-TE'-wi-WITS	bolonte' wits	CPN
5	bu-bu-lu-HA'	bubul ha'	PNG
6	bu-ku-TUUN-ni	buk tuun	YAX
7	bu-lu-'u	bulu'	NAR
8	bu-pa-'a	bupa'	NAR
9	CHAAK-NAAH	chaak naah	DPL
10	ch'a-li-TE'	ch'aal te'	La Rejolla
11	cha-hu-ku NAAH	chahuk naah	PNG
12	CHAK-HA' // CHAK-HA'-'a	chak ha'	MQL, ADP, CRC, TAM
13	cha-la	chal	YAX
14	4-ITSAM-TUUN 4-xi-wa-TUUN	chan itsam tuun chan xiiw tuun	CNC
15	4-MAY-CHA'N-na	chan may cha'n	CPN
16	4-ni-CHA'N-na	chan ni' cha'n	CPN
17	4-PET-NAL-la // 4-PET	chan pet nal // chan pet	TNA, TIK
18	4-SUUTS'-NAL	chan suuts' nal	YAX
19	4-[T1079]-ma-NAL	chan [?] nal	YAX
20	4-TE'-CHA'N-na	chan te' cha'n	CPN
21	CHA'N-la-na-hi // CHA'N-na-NAAH	cha'nal naah	MQL, ADP
22	cha-THAN // cha-THAN-na	chatahn	CLK, TIK
23	CHAY-NAL	chay nal	CPN
24	chi-ku na-bi // chi-ku-NAHB	chi'k nahb	TNA, DPL, NAR, CLK, CRN, QRG, CNC
25	chi-[T316]	[?]	PAL, YAX, TIK, ADP, CPN
26	cho-ja	cho'j	PAL
27	ch'o-ko-NAAH	ch'ok naah	CPN
28	EK'-TUUN-NAL	ek' tuun nal	CNC
29	ha-NAL-la	ha' nal	PAL
30	ha-lu-mi	haluum	CNC
31	HIX-WITS	hix wits	PNG, YAX, DPL
32	7-CHIIT-K'AN-NAL-la // 7-CHIIT-K'AN-NAL	huk chiit k'an nal	TNA, TIK, NAR, CRC, CPN, YXH
31	7-tsu-ku // OCH-K'IN-ni 7-tsu-ku	huk tsuk // ochk'in huk tsuk	TIK, NAR, CRC
32	hu-si	huus	YAX
33	3-a-ha-li-EHB // 3-'a-ha-li 'e-bu	hux ahaal ehb	YAX, NAR
34	3-AHK PET-ne	hux ahk peten	CNC
35	3-CHA'N-na	hux cha'n	YAX
36	3-wi-ti-ki // 3-wi-ni-ti-ki // wi-ti-ki	hux wintik // wintik	CPN
37	3-WITS-'a // 3-WITS // 3-wi-WITS	hux witsa'	NAR, CRC, CPN
38	13-tsu-ku	huxlajuun tsuk	NAR, DPL, XUL, HRZ

39	3-TE'-K'UH // 3-K'UH	huxte' k'uh	PAL, YAX, TRT
40	3-TE'-TUUN-ni // 3-TE'-TUUN	huxte' tuun	DPL, NAR, CLK, CRN, CNC
41	'i	i	TIK, CRC, SCU
42	IK'-CHA'N-na-NAHB-NAL-la	ik' cha'n nahb nal	CPN
43	IK'-KAB-[T538]-NAL	ik' kab [?] nal	QRG, PNG
44	IK'-CHA'N-na-NAHB-NAL-la	ik' cha'n nahb nal	CPN
45	IK'-NAHB-NAL	ik' nahb nal	QRG, CPN
46	6-IK'-NAHB-NAL	wak ik' nahb nal	QRG
47	IK'-WAY-NAL // IK'-WAY-NAL-la	ik' way nal	YAX, CPN, QRG, ZPT
48	IK' // IK'-'a	ik'a'	YAX, DPL, MQL, SBL, ITN
49	ja-ma-li-bi	jamlib	YAX
50	5-JANAAB-WITS // 5-JANAAB wi-tsi // 5-JANAAB-NAL-wi-tsi	jo' janaab wits // jo' janaab nal wits	PNG, CNC
51	5-PET-ka-ba	jo' pet kab	PAL
52	5-KAB	jo' kab	IXZ
53	5-NIK-TE'-'[x] NAAH-ji	jo' nikte' nal naah	TAM
54	5-NIK-TE' [T69.610]-na	jo' nikte' [?]	CPN
55	5-no-WITS	jo' noh wits	TIK
56	5-[T538]-NAL	jo' [?] nal	CPN, PNG
57	JOM-TOK-na-ji	jom tok naah	CPN
58	JOM-la	jomal	YAX
59	JOY-CHA'N	joy cha'n	TRT
60	JUL-lu-pi // JUL-lu-li-pi // ju-JUL-lu-li-pi	julip	SCU, IXK
61	KAJ // KAJ-ji // KAJ-ni-bi	kaaj // kaajnib	YAX, TNA, PSD, DCS
62	yo-OHL-la TAHN-li NAAH-IXIM-mi K'AHK-NAHB NAAH	yohl tahnli naah ixim k'ahk' nahb naah	PAL
63	K'AHK' WITS	k'ahk' wits	TRT, TIK
64	k'a-lo	k'alol	TNA
65	K'AN-TE' // K'AN-TE'-la	k'ante'el	PNG, YAX, TIK
66	K'AN-na yo-po-TE'-NAL	k'an yop te' nal	TNA
67	K'AN-na pa-ta-mi-TE'	k'an pataam te'	YAX
68	K'AN-TOK-'a	k'an toka'	CRC
69	K'AN-na-T'UL	k'an t'ul	NAR
70	K'AN-na-WITS-NAL // K'AN-WITS-NAL // K'AN-WITS-NAL-la	k'an wits nal	NAR, UCN, CRC, SBL, SCU, IXK, YXH
71	ka-KAN // ka-KAN-la // KAN-la	kanal	PAL, PNG, YAX, DPL, TIK, NAR, CRC CLK, SBL, CRN, PRU, MRL, CPN, QRG, CNC
72	K'IHNICH-AHIIN-na HA'-PET-ni	k'ihnich ahiin ha' peteen	YAX
73	K'IN-HA'-NAL // K'IN-ni-HA'-NAL	k'ihn ha' nal	DPL, CNC
74	K'IN-ni che-'e	k'in che'	ADP
75	K'IN-ni-'a // K'IN-ni // K'IN // k'i-K'IN	k'ina'	PAL, PNG, PSD, CAY
76	K'IN-chi-li-KAB	k'inchil kab	NAR
77	ko-ba-na	koban	DPL
78	ko-ko-mo	kokom	NAR
79	ko-lo-lo-TE' // ko-lo-TE'	kolol te'	TNA

80	ko-la	kool	PAL
81	ko-[T316]	[?]	NAR, CRC
82	ko-TE'	kote'	YAX
83	ko-xo-pa // ko-xo-pi	koxoop	CPN, QRG
84	ku-la-NAL	kukuul nal	TIK
85	ku-ku-la	kukuul	TIK
86	LAKAM-HA'	lakam ha'	PAL BMP
87	BAAK-la // BAAK // BAAK-le // BAAK-'a	baakeel	PAL, TNA, TRT, PNG, PMT, MRL, CMC
88	LAKAM-TUUN-ni // LAKAM-ma-TUUN-ni // LAKAM-TUUN	lakam tuun	YAX, MQL, SBL, ITN
89	LAM-NAAH-ji	lam naah	PNG
90	ma-ba-CHA'N-na	mab cha'n	BMP
91	ma-KAN-la wi-tsi // ma-ka-na wi-tsi	makanal wits	QRG, CNC
92	ma-su // ma-su-la	ma'sal	TIK, CLK
93	ma-ta-wi-la // ma-MAT // ma-ta // MAT-la // ma-ta-wi // MAT	matwiil	PAL, PNG, TNA, CPN
94	ma-xa-ma	maxam	NAR
95	MO'-wi-WITS // MO'-WITS // mo-'o-WITS // MO'-'o-wi-tsi // mo-'o-wi-tsi	mo' wits	CPN
96	MO'-WITS	mo' wits	CPN, TRS
97	mu-k'i-ji-TUUN-ni	muk'ij tuun	PNG
98	MUT // MUT-la // mu-MUT // YAX-MUT // YAX-MUT-la	mutal // yax mutal	YAX, DPL, AGT, TIK, NAR, ADP, TAM, CRC, SBL, IXL, IXZ, CPN, CNC
99	K'IN-PALAW-NAL-YAX-MUT	k'ihn palaw nal yax mutal	TIK
100	mu-xu-ka-na	muxkan	PNG
101	NAAH-5-CHA'N // NAAH-5-CHA'N-na	naah jo' cha'n	TNA, NAR, CRC, QRG
102	NAAH-WITS // NAAH-WITS-la	naah wits / naah witsal	CLK, CRN
103	NAHB-NAL // NAHB	nahb nal	YAX
104	MAAN-ni // na-MAAN // na-MAAN-ni // MAAN-ma-na	namaan	PNG, YAX
105	NIK-TE'	nik te'	PNG
106	NIK-li-NAAH	nikil naah	DPL
107	pa-AHK	pa' ahk	TNA
108	PA'-CHA'N // PA'-CHA'N-na	pa' cha'n	PAL, PNG, YAX, PSD, DCS, BMP, DPL
109	PA'-K'IN-ni	pa' k'in	PAL
110	K'IHNICH-pa-'a-WITS // K'IHNICH-PA'-WITS // K'IHNICH-PA'-wi-WITS	k'ihnich pa' wits	DPL, AGT
111	pa-ka-bu // pa-ka-bu-la	pakbuul	TNA, PNG, PMT, MAR
112	pa-ya-k'a-ba	pay k'ab	PAL
113	pa-ya-la mo-'o-la	payal mo'ool	YAX
114	pe-TUUN-ni // pe-'e-TUUN-ni // pe-TUUN	pe' tuun	PNG, TNA
115	4-PET-NAL-la	chan pet nal	TNA
116	PET-ni // PET // PET-ne	peteen	YAX, DCS, TIK, ADP, NAR, CNC
117	pi-pi-'a // pi-'a	pipa'	PAL, TNA, PMY

118	po-'o // po-po-'o // po	po' (?popo')	TNA
119	po-mo-yo	pomoy	TNA
120	po-po-TUUN-ni	pop tuun	CLK
121	PUL-li // pu-lu-li	puluul	DPL
122	pu-lu-ma	pulum	SBL
123	pu-wi	puuw	CPN
124	pu-wa-'a	puwa'	TNA
125	pu-yu	puy	NAR
126	SA'-li // SA' // sa	sa'aal	NAR, TIK, CRC, HLM
127	6-ik'-[T217:686]-HU'N-NAL pe-ke SA'-li	wak ik' [?] [?] nal pek sa'aal	NAR
128	SAK-CHAY-ya // SAK-CHAY-ya	sak chay	IXK, IXL, ZPT
129	SAK-HA' // SAK-HA'-'a	sak ha'	YAX, DPL, NAR, SBL
130	SAK-ka-KAB	sak kab	NAR
131	SAK-la-ka-la	sak lakal	PNG, YAX, BMP
132	SAK-[T533]-LAK-la	sak [?] lakal	TIK
133	SAK-[T533]-[x]-ma [T24]-WITS-NAL	sak [?] [?] wits nal	YAX
134	YAX-ha-li wi-tsi-SAK-[T533]-ki NAL-la	yax haal wits [?] nal	PAL
135	SAK-NIK-TE'	sak nikte'	CRN
136	si-k'a-ba	sik'ab	PAL
137	SINA'N-WITS	sina'n wits	TNA
138	[T5]-TUUN-ni	[?] tuun	PNG, CAY
139	[T174]-su // [T174]-tu-su // [T174]-su-hi	[?] suuh	DPL, MQL, CNC, TRS
140	ti-[T176] // [T176] // [T176]-tsi // [T176]-mi	[?]	DPL, AGT SBL
141	[T214.610]-la	[?]	Temple 19, PAL
142	NAAH-[T214]-K'AN-la // [T225]-[T214]-K'AN-NAAH	k'an [?] naah	PAL
143	[T214]-he-NAL-NAAH	[?] nal naah	TIK
144	[T297]-WITS	[?] wits	TIK, CRC, XUL
145	[T533]-li wi-WITS // [T533]-ki-wi-WITS	[?] wits	TIK
146	ya-[T544.501]-AHK	[?] ahk	DPL, CNC, TRS
147	[T556.686]-TE'	[?] te'	DPL, ITN
148	[T700]-NAL-la // [T700]-NAL	[?] nal	PAL, YAX, DPL, NAR
149	[T756]-chi	[?]	QRG
150	[T756d]-pi // [T756]-pi-pu // [T756]-pi // [T756]-pu // [T756d]-pu	[?]	CRC, CPN, QRG
151	K'UH-[T756]-pu-NAAH	k'uhul [?] naah	CPN
152	[T756d]-ya	[?]	QRG, CPN
153	[T856] // [T856]-la	[?]	AGT, DPL, ADP, TAM, SBL
154	ta-'u-su	ta us	PAL
155	TI'-CHA'N-na YAX-[T176]-NAL	ti' cha'n yax [?] nal	PAL, PNG, QRG
156	TI'-pa-'a	ti' pa'	NAR
157	TI'-tsi-la	ti' tsiil	PMT
158	TI'-WAY-ya-[T24]-NAHB-NAL [T756d]-pi	ti' way [?] nahb nal [?]	CPN
159	TI'-YAX-WAY	ti' yax way	TIK
160	to-ko-TAHN // to-ko-TAHN-na	tok tahn	PAL
161	TOOK'-TUUN	took' tuun	ITN
162	tsa-ma	tsam	CRC
163	ts'o-bo wi-WITS	ts'ob wits	NAR

164	tu-ba-la // tu-ba	tubal	TIK, NAR
165	tu-ku-nu-wi-tsi // tu-ku-nu wi-WITS	tukun wits	CPN
166	UUN // UUN-ni	uun	QRG
167	u-si-WITS // u-si-la-WITS	uus wits // uusuul wits	BMP
168	wa-be // wa-be-la	wabe' // wabeel	PAL, PNG, CRN
169	6-CHA'N-AJAW	wak cha'n ajaw	TIK
170	6-AJAW-NAAH-hi	wak ajaw naah	ITN
171	WAK-CHA'N // 6-CHA'N-NAL	wak cha'n // wak cha'nal	PAL, TIK, QRG
172	WAK-CHA'N-[T170]	wak cha'n [?]	YAX
173	6-ja-ma-CHA'N-na-AJAW	wak jam cha'n ajaw	YAX
174	6-MUYAL-CHA'N-li [?] [?] HIX-[T150]-TUUN-ni-li	wak muyal cha'n il [?] [?] hix [?] tuunil	QRG
175	6-'e-bu-NAL	wak ehb nal	SBL
176	6-HIX / /6-HIX-NAL-la	wak hix	DPL, CRC
177	6-ik'-NAHB-NAL	wak ik' nahb nal	QRG
178	6-KAB-NAL-la // 6-KAB-NAL // 6-KAB	wak kab nal	TIK, NAR, CNC, HLM
179	6-mi-NAL	wak miin nal	CRN, YAX, CPN, QRG, YXH
180	WAKA' // wa-ka // wa-ka-'a	waka'	TIK, PRU
181	YAX-'a LAK-K'IN-wa-ka-'a	yaxa' lak'in waka'	TIK
182	wa-k'a-bi	wak'aab	YAX
183	WAY-ya	wayal	PNG
184	WINIK-li-NAL	winikil nal	TIK, CPN
185	wi-[T600]-TE'-NAAH // wi-TE'-NAAH // [T600]-TE'-NAAH	wite' naah	YAX, TIK, MQL, CPN, QRG
186	xu-ka-la-NAAH // xu-ka-la // xu-ka-la-na	xukal naah	PNG, YAX, BMP, LAC
187	YAX-CH'E'N-WITS	yax ch'e'n wits	CPN
188	YAX-ha-li wi-tsi-SAK-[T533]-ki NAL-la	yax haal wits sak [?] nal	PAL
189	YAX-ha-li wi-tsi-na-la	yax haal wits nal	PAL
190	YAX-ni-la	yaxniil	CAY
191	YAX-a-ku la-HA' YAX-ni-la	yax ahkuul ha' yaxniil	CAY
192	YAX-'a // YAX	yaxa'	DPL, TIK, NAR, CRC, YXH
193	YAX-K'UK'-TSIH-HA'-YAX-'a	yax k'uk' tsih ha' yaxa'	YXH
194	ye-ma-la K'UK' wi-tsi // ye-ma-la K'UK'-k'u-wi-tsi	yehmal k'uk' wits	PAL
195	[?]-yo-OHL 'a-ku	[?] yohl ahk	CNC
196	yo-ki-bl // yo-yo-ki-bi	yokib	PNG, YAX, CAY
197	[?]-PALAW [T24]-AJAN-NAL yo-ki-bi	[?] palaw [?] ajan nal yokib	PNG
198	yo-YOOTS // yo-YOOTS-tsi	yoots	NAR
199	yu-lu CHA'N-na-HA'	yul cha'n ha'	CNC
200	[T210]-TUUN-ni	[?] tuun	BMP