11 Witnessed at Yo'okop
Images and Texts of Rulers in a Watery Realm

Linnea Wren and Travis Nygard

At Yo’okop in Quintana Roo, Mexico, political governance, ritual customs, and ecological imperatives formed the basis of a distinctive visual vocabulary. This vocabulary shares elements of style and motif with Maya sites throughout the lowlands. It also reflects specific features of the environment at Yo’okop and reveals a worldview that integrates rulership with cosmology, geography, and ceremony.

The visual vocabulary at Yo’okop includes figural reliefs, hieroglyphic blocks, and architectural complexes. Although the reliefs and blocks have suffered from breakage and erosion, portions have survived and contribute to the reconstruction of a worldview at Yo’okop.

### Elite Rulership in Figural Reliefs and Related Inscriptions

Three stelae and one stone panel have been located at Yo’okop (see table 11.1). These monuments stress the subject of rulership and contribute to an understanding of site governance and site planning at Yo’okop, as well as of inter-site relationships between lowland Maya centers.

#### Stela 1

Stela 1, located in Group B in a plaza east of Structure N6W2-6 (Shaw 2001a, figs. 5–6), depicts a single male lord standing in a frontal pose (see fig. 11.1). The upper section of the monument is missing, and its obverse face is uncarved (Wilson 1972, 83; 1974, 12). Costume elements signifying elite status include a wristlet, consisting of a cuff bordered by spherical beads worn on the figure’s forearm; a belt adorned with heads in maw helmets; celt-shaped dangles below the heads; a skirt fringed possibly with shell tinklers or with beads and cloth; a loincloth and a pendant that hangs below the knees; garters with attached heads; and sandals. The costume elements in Stela 1 are shared widely throughout the central and southern lowlands.

### Table 11.1 Correlation of Current and Previous Monument Identification at Yo’okop

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Stela 1</td>
<td>Stela 1</td>
<td>Stela 1</td>
<td>Stela 1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stela 2</td>
<td>Stela 2</td>
<td></td>
<td>Stela 2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stela 3</td>
<td>Stela 3</td>
<td></td>
<td>Stela 3</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stone B</td>
<td>published, unnumbered</td>
<td>Okop S.S.3</td>
<td>Glyphic Stone 2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stone C</td>
<td>published, unnumbered</td>
<td>Okop S.S.1</td>
<td>Glyphic Stone 1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stone D</td>
<td>described, unnumbered</td>
<td>Okop S.S.2</td>
<td>Glyphic Stone 3</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stone E</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stone F</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Unpublished drawings by Ian Graham in possession of Ian Graham.

Fig. 11.1 Stela 1.
(Illustration by Linnea Wren and Travis Nygard)
The figure holds a serpentine bar incorporating the mat motif diagonally across his chest. Frequently represented on occasions of period endings (Miller and Taube 1993, 58–59), the serpent bar is a cosmological symbol representing the ecliptic of the sky. Both the bar and the mat are symbols of lordship. A foliated ajaw head emerges from the bearded serpent maw on the lower terminus of the bar. A double column of glyphs once formed an inscription on the upper left portion of the stela but is now eroded and illegible.

Stela 3

Stela 3 (see fig. 11.2) is located a short distance from Stela 1 in Group B (Shaw 2001a, figs. 5–6). Like Stela 1, Stela 3 depicts a standing human figure in a frontal pose and reportedly is uncarved on its obverse face. When first documented, the monument was broken into approximately 10 pieces (Wilson 1972, 84; 1974, 13). The upper portion of the monument is damaged from erosion. The lower torso of the figure, only partially visible, is costumed with a belt-mask and three pendants, a skirt, a loincloth with a pendant extending to the ground, and sandals with conical ornaments tied to the front. Elongated loincloth pendants are characteristic of the central and southern lowlands, in contrast to the shorter pendants typical of the northern lowlands.

Only two elements in the upper portion of the monument are visible. An narrow, long, and deep depression is incised into the subject’s chest. Because it was carefully worked, the depression was probably made at the time of the monument’s creation rather than being a later defacement. The depression may have been intended to hold an inset of another material, such as jade or obsidian. Located in the approximate region of the heart, the inset may have signaled that the ruler was both the most exalted performer of sacrifices and the most prestigious of victims.

In the extreme upper left corner, the partial outline of a fish may be tentatively recognized. Fish nibbling on a flower are typically incorporated into the headdress of the Water Lily Monster.

Single columns of glyphs are carved on the left side (Column A) and left front (Column B) of Stela 3. Each column is read individually in vertical sequence from top to bottom. Although eroded, the two uppermost glyphs in Column A may record the title 1 katun ajaw; an indication that the lord on Stela 3 was less than 20 years old. The subsequent glyph may record a title that incorporates the number 9. Column B may record calendric information, including the tzolkìn date 4 Ajaw in the second uppermost glyph and a haab date with a day number of 18 in the lowermost glyph.

Stela 2

Although termed a stela by previous investigators (Wilson 1972, 84; 1974, 13), Stela 2 employs a horizontal format typical of a ballcourt monument rather than the vertical format of a freestanding stela (see fig. 11.3). Stela 2, located in Group B on the eastern end of Structure N6W2-6 (Shaw 2001a, figs. 5–6), is situated 100 m to the north of a ballcourt (N5W2-6 and N5W2-7; Wilson 1972, 81; 1974, 9) in which a partial ballcourt ring has been located (Shaw 2001a, 24). The placement of a ballcourt panel in a location outside the ballcourt itself has been documented at sites such as La Amelia and Seibal, as well as at Yo’okop (Rosemary Joyce, personal communication 2002).
Stela 2 depicts a ballplayer kneeling with one leg on the ground and one arm upraised. The figure wears a pectoral, a wristlet on his upraised arm, a headdress of a wide browpiece topped with a full-bodied bird and three animal tails, and a ballplayer’s yoke.

Three columns of glyphs are on Stela 2. A long count date may be recorded in Column A, written as a single column of five glyphs. The second and fourth uppermost glyphs include clearly discernible numerical markers. The uppermost pair of glyphs in Columns B and C evidently record a calendar round date. The obverse side of the monument is uncarved (Wilson 1972, 84; 1974, 13).

Dating of Sculptural Monuments

Stela 2 may have included a long count date in its text, but the degree of erosion has made it illegible. Stelae 1 and 3 are also undatable on the basis of their inscriptions. The headed serpent bar on Stela 1 and the Water Lily headdress on Stela 3, motifs often associated with period endings, suggest, however, that the monuments were erected in accordance with calendric cycles.

In the absence of readable dates, we consider stylistic qualities to be the best available method of dating the monuments. Tatiana Proskouriakoff dated Stela 1 on stylistic and iconographic grounds to the Late Classic period, possibly between 9.9.0.0.0 and 9.11.0.0.0, that is, AD 613–652 (Stromsvik, Pollock, and Berlin 1955, 173). Stylistic similarities between the three monuments and other dated lowland monuments lead us to attribute Late Classic dating to Stelae 2 and 3 as well.

Glyphic Blocks

Five glyphic stones have been found at Yo'okop (see fig. 11.4). Stones E and F were discovered together during the 2000 field season in Group A (Shaw, Johnstone, and Krochock 2000, 54). Stones B, C, and D were also located in Group A in close proximity to each other. Local inhabitants reported to previous investigators who located Stones B, C, and D that the stones had been part of Structure SSE1-1, but archaeological evidence has not yet confirmed or disproved this association (Wilson 1972, 84; 1974, 13).

The dimensions and shapes of the five glyphic blocks suggest that they were stairway risers, possibly in a single stairway inscription attributable to Structure SSE1-1. If so, the enlarged scale of the glyphs on Stones B, C, and D indicates that they possibly formed the initial section in the stairway text, whereas the reduced scale of the multiple glyphs on Stones E and F indicates that they may have constituted the subsequent section of the text. Similar use of scale is seen in the dedication steps from Temple 4 at Copán (Schele 1987, fig. 2).

The current location of Stones B and C is unknown. Nikolai Grube photographed Stones B and C in the town of Felipe Carrillo Puerto in 1986 (Mayer 1987). We, together with Justine Shaw, attempted to locate Stones B and C in Felipe Carrillo Puerto without success in 2001. Stones D, E, and F remain on-site at Yo'okop.
normally used with verbal stems beginning with consonants, its use with stems beginning with vowels is not unknown. The inclusion of the verbal affix \( ji \) strengthens the reading of the logogram as \( il \). Therefore, Stone B might be read together as \( u\text{-}il\text{-}ji\text{-}\text{\text{\text{c}}}\text{han} \), 'it was seen' or 'he was seen' or it (the sky) was seen' (Phil Wanyerka, personal communication 2002).

As a verbal construction, the name of Sky Witness can be construed as the first glyph in the stairway text of Structure SSE1-1. Sky Witness ruled the Kan polity between approximately AD 561 and AD 572. Although the Kan kingdom emblem glyph has not been recovered at Yo'okop, the appearance of the name Sky Witness suggests that the larger Kan polity may have played a critical role at Yo'okop in the sixth century.\(^5\)

Stone C

Stone C is 43 cm high, 49 cm wide, and 28 cm deep (see fig. 11.4). The relief is 1.0 cm (Graham n.d.). The upper three signs of Stone C are read as the phonetic form of the kaloomte' title. This title is apparently equivalent to \( batab \) (Stuart, Grube, and Schele 1989), which was in use at the time of the Conquest. Colonial sources describe a batab as a lineage head related to an overlord and the batab title as a reference to nobles who headed provincial towns under a regional overlord (Coe 1992, 72).\(^6\) Thus, the person referred to as kaloomte' on Stone C at Yo'okop is apparently serving as a regional leader, most probably under the larger Kan polity.

Clearly a description of a political relationship, the title may also denote a religious office. Elisabeth Wagner has noted the frequent incorporation of logographic glyphs for the Chaak deities and for the verb \( ch\text{'ak} \), meaning 'to chop', 'to ax', or 'to decapitate.' She has suggested that the kaloomte' title may be a reference to the Chaaks, deities of rain, thunder, and lightning. Furthermore, Chaak gods are often associated with the cardinal directions and the, kaloomte' title is often accompanied by directional glyphs (Wagner 1995, personal communication 2002). As such, the ruler named on Stone C may have been appropriating supernatural forces controlled by the Chaak gods.

The lower left sign on Stone C consists of a human head in profile marked by cross-hatched areas at the forehead, ear, and cheek. While eroded on the bottom edges, narrow parallel cheek markings appear to be shaped like the letters \( IL \). The head sign on Stone C shares elements with two well-known titles: the spotted \( ajaw \) title, meaning 'lord'; and the \( ix \) or \( na \) title, meaning 'lady.' In either case, the profile head sign is...
unusual because it lacks the headband common in the spotted ajaw title and the sloping-forehead line that is usual to the ix or na title. Although a male head can very rarely carry the IL-shaped marking, we propose that the head sign on Stone C represents the ix or na title associated with elite women.

The lower right sign below the kaloomte' title on Stone C consists of a hand-held ax, a logogram for ch'ak. The lowermost right sign is too eroded to make an unequivocal identification but may represent kab, meaning 'earth.' Thus, if the title is female, Stone C might be read as ‘the kaloomte’ ix (or lady), the chopper of the earth’ or as a name and title, ‘the kaloomte,’ Ix Ch'ak Kab.” Alternatively, if the title is male, Stone C might be read as a title ‘the kaloomte’ ajaw (or lord), the chopper of the earth’ or as a name and title, ‘the kaloomte,’ Ajaw Ch'ak Kab” (Mark Van Stone, personal communication 2002; Phil Wanyerka, personal communication 2002).

Although uncommon, other examples of female kaloomte’s are known, including Na Chan Ajaw whose image is depicted on Stela 34 from El Perú (Wanyerka 1996, 87). The inscription indicates that Na Chan Ajaw is a royal woman from the Kan polity (Wanyerka 1996, 82–85). Other examples of female kaloomte’s can be found at Yaxchilán on Lintel 24, which refers to Na K'abal Xook (Coe and Van Stone 2001, 138) and on Lintel 27, which refers to Na Pakal (Harri Kettunen, personal communication 2002; Tate 1992, 210).

Stone D

Stone D is 47 cm high, 53 cm wide, and 40 cm deep (see fig. 11.4). The relief is 1.7 cm (Graham n.d.). Stone D records an ajaw title followed by a locative phrase. The ajaw title, at the left of the compound, is spelled glyphically as ajaw-k’in(?) -ni-y-a, meaning ‘in the lordship’ or ‘in the ajaw ship.’ The head in the lower right of the compound, consisting of a supernatural being with a disc-shaped headdress, is the logographic sign for the word naab, meaning ‘water,’ ‘water lily,’ ‘lake,’ or ‘sea.’ Above the naab sign is the locative marker nal. Together the compound glyph records a royal title identifying an elite as the ‘lordly person of the waters’ (Phil Wanyerka, personal communication 2002).

Depending upon the reading order of the blocks, Stone D designates either Sky Witness of the Kan polity or the kaloomte’ Ix Ch’ak Kab of Yo’okop as the ajaw of a watery realm. The ajaw nal naab title in this con-
text almost certainly refers to the large aquada at Yo’okop. The use of the title in Stone D suggests that the status and authority of the Yo’okop ruler were identified with the control of water, a crucial natural resource.

Stone E

Stone E is 46 cm high, 49 cm wide, and 34 cm deep (see fig. 11.4). The surface of the block is so badly eroded that only one sign, u, is identifiable. U is commonly used as a third person pronoun.

Stone F

Stone F is 44 cm high, 47 cm wide, and 34 cm deep (see fig. 11.4). The upper left quadrant appears to read 8 k'atun, and the upper left quadrant appears to record the phrase u kab'jiiy, meaning ‘by the action of’ or ‘under the auspices of’ (Shaw, Johnstone, and Krochock 2000, 58). The u kab'jiiy phrase generally refers to a hierarchical relationship between a lord and subordinate noble, and in this case may refer to the action through which the Kan overlord, Sky Witness, established Ix Ch'ak Kab as the female kaloomte' of Yo'okop. The inscription on Stela 34 at El Perú uses the u kab'jiiy phrase to link the late-seventh-century Kan polity ruler Yich'aak K'ak' to Na Chan Ajaw, the female kaloomte' of El Perú. Other inscriptions reveal that Na Chan Ajaw "arrived" at El Perú from the Kan polity, evidently as the result of a marriage arranged by Yich'aak K'ak' to expand the Kan polity's sphere of influence (Wanyerka 1996, 85). Elite intermarriage was frequently used to cement alliances between dominant and client states and to establish dynastic ties. Sky Witness may have arranged such a marriage between Ix Ch'ak Kab and a lord of Yo'okop and, consequently, may have elevated her to the position of kaloomte', where she would have served under the auspices of the Kan ruler.

The sequence 8 k'atun u kab'jiiy was likely part of a period-ending phrase. Therefore, the inscription may have indicated the end of the eighth k'atun in AD 593 (9.8.0.0.0; Simon Martin, personal communication 2003). This inscription is therefore concurrent with the sculpture, which is dated stylistically to the Late Classic and was likely part of the same regal program.
Inscription Interpretation

The subject of elite rulership is stressed in the hieroglyphic blocks and the monumental sculpture at Yo’okop. The Kan polity appears to have played a crucial role in the affairs of the smaller and distant site of Yo’okop. Stone B appears to name Sky Witness as the agent through which Yo’okop became a client state in the larger Kan polity. In Stone C an individual, probably a woman, is named as the lesser lord of Sky Witness. Perhaps, then, the alliance between Yo’okop and the Kan polity was secured by means of a marriage union between a Kan lady and a local lord and was reinforced through elite ascription of supernatural forces and natural resources.

Stone D identifies a protagonist as the “lordly person of the waters.” This phrase can be interpreted as a dual reference to both the sacred geography and the sacred architecture of Yo’okop. An element of sacred geography was the primary water source at Yo’okop, a shallow, rain-filled aguada on which the residents were dependent for survival. The aguada was possibly maintained to keep it free of silt and overgrowth (Faust 1998; Shaw and Johnstone 2001b, 7–10). Because the water level in the aguada varies according to seasonal rainfall patterns and annual precipitation levels, its status must have been a major concern for the people at Yo’okop. At Tikal, a site with extensive systems of water management, the location of a water reservoir at approximately each of the four cardinal directions indicates that bodies of water were consciously considered in site planning and cosmology (Scarborough 1998, 139–44, 154–55).

At Yo’okop, sacred architectural complexes may have been planned so that the aguada would be aligned with the southernmost pole of the site axis (see fig. 9.1). In Maya cosmology, each cardinal direction was fraught with symbolic significance. South was the direction associated with the underworld (Ashmore 1989, 273), which was understood as a watery realm. Further evidence that the aguada was sacred to the Yo’okop populace consists of two architectural features: a ritual sweat bath (Structure S3E1-5) constructed at the edge of the aguada during the Terminal Classic period, and a rim of cut stones placed around the aguada and near the sweat bath at an undetermined date (Shaw et al. 2002).

Sacred geography at Yo’okop was not elaborated only through site planning; it was also possibly replicated in architectural Structure S5E1-1, reportedly the source of the glyphic blocks. Located in Group A to the southwest of the aguada, Structure S5E1-1 is a distinctive architectural complex consisting of a square base ringed by higher constructions. Inside the squared base is a depression similar to a moat in appearance; rising from the depression is a pyramid (Shaw, Johnstone, and Krochock 2000, 24). If possible in the future, this structure warrants excavation to determine whether this unusual architectural feature was a deliberate design element of is the accidental result of the collapse of an earlier interior structure.

Runoff from the upper part of the structure probably filled the raised moat and created a raised pool of water. At the base of Structure S5E1-1, a depressed plaza may also have collected runoff and created a second pool of water. Farther away is the aguada, now covered by green vegetation and partially blocked from view by the trees surrounding Structure S5E1-1. When the site was inhabited, however, the eastern end of the aguada and Structure S5E1-1 may have been in view of each other (personal observation; Justine Shaw, personal communication 2002).

We propose that Structure S5E1-1 may have functioned as a water shrine. Architectural complexes referencing water surfaces and landscape formations are present at many Maya sites. For example, at Palenque and Uaxactun, plazas and pyramids were constructed to represent the primordial sea and the cosmic mountain (Freidel et al. 1993, 139–46). Structure S5E1-1 at Yo’okop may have been constructed as a mountainous water shrine by incorporating references to two water bodies at two different elevations in the same architectural complex.

Among the contemporary Maya, water shrines are found in mountain and cave settings (Vogt 1969, 375–91). In both settings, rituals alternate between high and low locations (E. W. Andrews IV 1970; Bassie-Sweet 1991, 83; 1996, 69). We suggest that Structure S5E1-1 was a ritual building that connected both high and low water locations. In Structure S5E1-1, the aguada, and possibly the sunken plaza, would have corresponded to a low water shrine and represented the underworld sea. The pyramid-temple would have corresponded to a mountain, and the raised moat would have replicated a high water shrine situated on a mountaintop, slope, or ridge. A similar use of elevation is evident at Tikal, where Vernon Scarborough has suggested that the water reservoirs associated with the cardinal directions were low water shrines, and central reservoirs were high water shrines (Scarborough 1998, 154).

The hieroglyphic stairway in which Stones B, C, D, E, and F most probably were embedded may have connected the low and high water shrines of Structure S5E1-1. The nab naal phrase recorded in Stone D
situated the ruler of Yo’okop in the geography of the site over which he asserted his dominion.

**Elite Rulership and Cosmological Beliefs**

The visual vocabulary at Yo’okop connected elite rulership to cosmological beliefs. Current mapping reveals that Yo’okop consists of four architectural groups connected by causeways (Shaw 2001b). Together, Groups A, B, and C and Sacbe 1 and 2 form a north-south axis that dominates the site layout (see fig. 9.1). Ceramic analysis in Groups A and B indicates that the axis was developed during the Preclassic period, although the roadways were not added until the Terminal Classic. Although Group C has not yet been surveyed and Sacbe 2 is not included on the present site map, the causeway is known to continue more than 1 km northeast of Group B to Group C based upon GPS readings.

In ancient Maya cosmology, north and south were equated with the vertical movements of the sun. North was the direction of the sky and was equated with the solar zenith. South, the direction of the underworld, was equated with the solar nadir. The underworld was believed to be a watery realm and the source of the primordial sea. The underworld associations of the direction south are underscored by the location of Yo’okop’s only aguada, at the southern terminus of the site axis.

The cosmological symbolism of the site plan at Yo’okop may further contextualize the elite lords represented in the site monuments. The stelae all contain watery motifs that associate rulership with the management of the water resources in Yo’okop’s aguada and with control of the supernatural forces that emanated from the underworld and its primordial sea.

Stela 1 depicts a foliated ajaw head suspended upside down from the open maw of the serpent bar held across the body of the ruler. The foliated ajaw motif is common in scenes depicting the watery underworld (K3091) and creation cosmology (Coe 1978, 83–87). On Stela C at Copán, a foliated Maize God head, strikingly similar to the foliated ajaw head on Stela 1 at Yo’okop, is held in a pendant position by a monkey emerging from the serpent bar held by Waxaklajuun Ub’aah K’awil’, 18 Images of K’awil’ (Newsome 1996). Ceremonial bars terminating in foliated pendant heads are also depicted on a stela attributed to El Chorro and on Panel 10 from Dos Pilas (Mayer 1991, 26–28, pls. 15, 16, and 144).

Stela 2 incorporates a waterbird in the headress of the ballplayer. As creatures that moved between the supernatural spheres of the sky and the underworld, waterbirds were associated with the underworld (K6551) and with the ballgame in creation mythology (K1288). Ballplayers are seen playing the game wearing waterbird headdresses in the Late Classic Monuments 1 and 2 from Ichmul as well as in two vases (Mayer 1991, pl. 23; Proskouriakoff 1950, fig. 82a and b; K1209, K2912). Ballgame rituals that involved bird costumes and dance ceremonies were both a Maya and a pan-Mesoamerican phenomenon (Koons 2000, 4–12). One Late Classic Maya vase (K1288) depicts an underworld ballgame with the Hero Twins and Itzamnaaj, the powerful creator god, in his avian aspect, whereas other Late Classic Maya vases (K1209, K2803) depict mythic ballplayers with bird headaddresses. Although not shown in a dance pose, the ballplayer on Yo’okop Stela 2 was probably a participant in a ballgame ritual that incorporated dance and alluded to the creative underworld forces.

Stela 3, although badly damaged, may also include a water motif. The partial outline of a fish may be indicated in the extreme upper left corner. If this reconstruction is correct, the dangling fish indicates that the subject of Stela 3 wore a Water Lily Monster headress. In Stela 33 from El Perú, this headdress is worn by K’inch B’alam, ‘Sun-Faced Jaguar,’ the ruler of the site and presumably the husband of Na Chan Ajaw (Wanyerka 1996, 82). A symbol of the surface of still water, the Water Lily Monster in Late Classic polychrome vases (K5073; K5941) figured prominently as a symbol of fertility and regeneration in the watery underworld.

Bodies of water were used in Maya rituals to represent the surface of the underworld or the mythological sea. Yo’okop provides evidence that natural topography was replicated in ancient ceremonial circuits in which ritual practitioners symbolically climbed the mountains and descended to the underworld in order to secure the water resources on which their existence depended. Water shimmered from the high pool of Structure SSE1-1 and from the low surface of the aguada and, perhaps, the plaza. This resource was revered in the depictions of the lords on their stelae. This feature was, perhaps, both venerated and managed under the direction of Yo’okop’s likely female ka’oomte,’ Ix Ch’aak, a relative of Sky Witness, the expansionist ruler of the Kan polity. Through the alliance she epitomized, Yo’okop was integrated into the thriving Kan polity while maintaining its independent ecological, cosmological, and political identity. Her role as ka’oomte’ was emphasized in the stairway inscription of Yo’okop’s architectural water mountain, perhaps because
Ix Ch’ak Kab performed at least two pivotal functions. In the ritual sphere, she bridged the natural world of the human plane with the upperworld of the ancestors and the underworld of the supernatural forces, while in the political arena, she united the city of her rulership with her Kan polity heritage.

Acknowledgments
We wish to express our gratitude to people who have been indispensable in our research. Justine Shaw and Dave Johnstone allowed us to join the Yo’okop project, provided resources and immense insight into Yo’okop, and provided feedback. The people of Sabán, Mexico, allowed us to live with them and assisted and augmented the research in innumerable ways. Reginald Wilson, a previous Yo’okop researcher, supplied us with photographic negatives and prints, documentation, and feedback. Phil Wanyerka and Simon Martin read and provided penetrating analysis of the glyphic inscriptions and pointed us in new directions. Ian Graham’s field sketches have been indispensable to our understanding of the epigraphy. Other colleagues, including Jorge Elias, Daniel Graña-Behrens, Rosemary Joyce, Harri Kettunen, Mark Van Stone, and Elisabeth Wagner, have examined our materials, provided insight, and critiqued our ideas. Finally, Gustavus Adolphus College provided financial support for this research.
Bibliography

Ambrosino, J. N.

Ashmore, W.

Ashmore, W. and J. Sabloff

Coe, M. D.

Culbert, T. P.

Davis-Salazar, K. L.

Dunning, N. P.

Folan, W. J.

Freidel, D. and S. Guenter

Freidel, D. and C. Suhler

Hewitt, E. A.

Hodell, D., Jason H. Curtis, and Mark Brenner

Hodell, D., Mark Brenner, Jason Curtis, and Thomas Guilderson

Houston, S. D.

Johnstone, D.

Josserand, J. K.

Joyce, R. A.

Kashak, M.

Kurjack, E. B. and S. Garza T.

Looper, M. G.

Marcus, J.

Martin, S.

Martin, S. and N. Grube
2000  Chronicle of the Maya Kings and Queens: Deciphering the Dynasties of the Ancient Maya. Thames and Hudson, New York.

Mathews, J. P. and J. F. Garber

Mathews, P. and G. R. Willey

Mason, G.

McGee, B. R.

Milbrath, S. and C. P. Lope

Miller, M. E. and K. A. Taube

Proskouriakoff, T. A.

Sáenz, C. A.

Scarborough, V. L.

Scarborough, V. L., R. P. Connolly and S. P. Ross

Schele, L.
1979 Genealogical Documentation For the Tri-Figure Panels at Palenque. In Tercera Mesa Redonda de Palenque, 1978, edited by M. G. Robertson and D. C. Jeffers, pp. 41-70. Pre-Columbian Art Research Center, Monterrey.

Schele, L. and P. Mathews

Shaw, J. M.


Shaw, J. M. and D. Johnstone

Shaw, J. M., D. Johnstone and R. Krochock


Sheets, P. D.


Smith, R. E.


Stone, A. J.


Stromsvik, G., H. E. D. Pollock and H. Berlin


Stuart, D., N. Grube and L. Schele

1989 A substitution set for the Ma Cuch/Batab Title. *Copán Notes* (58).

Villa Rojas, A.


Wanyerka, P.


Wilson, R.


Contents

Introduction
Justine M. Shaw and Jennifer P. Mathews 3

Part I  An Overview of Coastal Quintana Roo
1  The East Coast of Quintana Roo:
   A Brief Account of Archaeological Work
   María José Con Uribe 15

Part II  Northern Quintana Roo
2  The Yalahau Regional Human Ecology Project:
   An Introduction and Summary of Recent Research
   Scott L. Fedick and Jennifer P. Mathews 33
3  Recent Research in the Yalahau Region: Methodological
   Concerns and Preliminary Results of a Regional Survey
   Jeffrey B. Glover and Fabio Esteban Amador II 51
4  A Reassessment of the Middle Preclassic in
   Northern Quintana Roo
   Dominique Rissolo, José Manuel Ochoa Rodríguez,
   and Joseph W. Ball 66
5  Ceramic Analyses and Sequence from San Gervasio, Cozumel
   Carlos Peraza Lope 77
6  Late Postclassic Occupation in the Ruinas de San Angel Region
   Tomás Gallareta Negrón and Karl Taube 87
7  Jungle Rails: A Historic Narrow-Gauge Railway
   in Quintana Roo
   Jennifer P. Mathews and Lilia Lizama-Rogers 112

Part III  Central Quintana Roo
8  Muyil: An Early Start and Late Finish in East Coast Settlement
   Walter R. T. Witschey 127