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## Kukulcan's Realm

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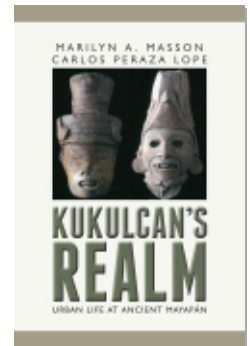
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CARLOS PERAZA LOPE AND  
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The distribution of sculptural art at Mayapán provides new perspectives on religious practice at the city. Marilyn A. Masson (2000:197–216) originally analyzed some patterns of sculpture distribution at Mayapán using Tatiana Proskouriakoff's (1962a, 1962b) published illustrations of examples from temples, halls, oratories, shrines, and elite residences. This chapter focuses specifically on religious art and builds on the earlier study by incorporating all published examples of Mayapán effigy ceramic sculptures from Robert E. Smith (1971), chapters in the Carnegie *Current Report* series, and stone sculptures and censers recovered by Carlos Peraza Lope's INAH-Mayapán project from the 1996 through 2004 seasons. As the personages portrayed in ceramic, stone, and stucco sculptures overlap considerably across these media, we analyze these objects together as part of composite assemblages per architectural group. Iconographic themes are also manifested in a variety of media at other sites that are contemporary with Mayapán. For example, gods, decorative attributes, costume elements, and ritual paraphernalia are replicated among effigy censers, figures illustrated in Maya codices, and entities on the mural paintings of Tulum (Masson 2000:225) and Santa Rita (Chase and Chase 1988:82). Most stone sculptures are relatively small, and like ceramic objects, they could have been portable. Exceptions are represented by stucco sculptures that decorated freestanding or interior altars or columns of major buildings and serpent heads that originated at the base of columns or balustrades.

Effigy censers were necessary accoutrements for all kinds of ceremonies, and reconstructing the specific ritual occasions associated with archaeologically

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recovered censers is an inexact process. Effigy and non-effigy censers have great time depth in the Maya area, although the full-bodied Ch'en Mul censers of the Postclassic Period are distinctive in style (P. Rice 1999). Although Mayapán's censers have been analyzed for many years for their iconographic meaning (J. Thompson 1957; Taube 1992; Milbrath and Peraza Lope 2003a; Milbrath et al. 2008; Milbrath and Peraza Lope 2013), the arrays of effigies at particular buildings has not yet been examined. In this chapter, we review the inventories per structure of each identifiable entity. Our findings indicate that rare effigies tend to concentrate at a few specific buildings or architectural groups while more common Maya gods tend to be widely distributed, with some exceptions. For example, the death god is common but also concentrates at the group of the Q-95 burial shaft (sacrificial) temple. We identified effigies using classifications of Postclassic Maya gods published by J. Eric S. Thompson (1957) and Karl A. Taube (1992). In addition to gods, the Mayapán censer and stone sculptures may also reflect historical individuals or ancestors important to the city's cadre of nobles, lords, priests, and military captains. A full argument for portrayal of apotheosized ancestors among some effigy censers in the Postclassic Maya area is offered elsewhere (Masson 2000:221–24). Similarly, difficulties with assigning Aztec figurines to particular deities leads Michael E. Smith (2002:105–6) to infer that some of them represented people rather than gods.

We leave out non-effigy censers from this analysis, although such vessels were important components of ceremonious ceramic use at other Postclassic sites (P. Rice 2009f). Non-effigy ritual ceramics that potentially represent composite censers include Cehac-Hunacti Composite vessels and Acansip Painted cups (R. Smith 1971; P. Rice 2009f). In the Maya area, non-effigy composite vessels can have mat signs, step frets, rosettes, and other geometric designs that are also observed on sacred buildings, such as Tulum Structure 16 (Masson 2000:figure 7.11). But with the exception of applique rosettes and banding, these designs are rare at Mayapán, where composite vessels are defined as those with filleted bands, as well as applique motifs, and are sometimes painted. Unfortunately, ordinary jars may also exhibit one of these decorative elements (Thul Applique, Chenkeken Incised, Huhi Impressed), and it is difficult to know from the perspective of a sherd sample whether these elements represent a ritual vessel or simply a decorated storage or water jar, especially as most of them exhibit minimal decoration with no interior evidence of burning. Such vessels were not commonly recovered from our test pit and horizontal excavations; of a total excavation sample of 242,996 Postclassic sherds, only 1,728 sherds (0.7 percent) represented the combined

total of Cehac-Hunacti (N = 155), Thul (N = 992), Chenkeken (N = 475), or Huhi (N = 144) unslipped vessels. A small quantity of 81 Acansip Painted sherds were found. Cehac-Hunacti Composite formed only 0.03 percent of Temple H-17's assemblage (Cruz Alvarado et al. 2012). The study of non-effigy decorated pottery at Mayapán merits further careful investigation, but the use of composite censers was minimal at this site in comparison to effigy censers.

## TEMPORAL AND SPATIAL CONTEXTS OF EFFIGY USE

Mayapán was arguably the nucleus of the effigy censer tradition, if the ubiquity, diversity, size, and quality of effigies at this site are any indication. By these measures, the effigies of Mayapán far exceed the caliber of censers at any other contemporary site. Harry E. D. Pollock (1962) argues for a late introduction of effigy censers at Mayapán, and in general terms, effigy censers concentrate in the upper, later stratigraphic deposits at all Postclassic sites (Masson 2000). Good evidence supports a date in the mid-thirteenth century rather than late fourteenth century for the onset of effigy censer use (Milbrath et al. 2008:105; Milbrath and Peraza Lope 2013). Mayapán was likely in decline by at least the end of the fourteenth century AD (chapter 8). While duress is certainly a provocation for revitalization and cultic activities (Masson 2000), the widespread adoption and ubiquity of effigy censer use across the Maya area seems unlikely to have arisen from a political center with ever-diminishing power and influence during its final decades. A second consideration that supports the thirteenth-century origins of effigy censer use is the sheer ubiquity of these objects at Mayapán and its contemporaries. The abundance of these objects (in certain contexts) is more easily explained by the probability of two centuries of production, use, and discard rather than a few decades, as Pollock (1962:8) originally proposed. It is possible that some jars with modeled appliques or other elements are precursors to effigy censers, as has been suggested for Zacpetén (P. Rice 2009f:283).

From historical accounts one gets the impression that most calendrical occasions called for the use of an effigy, whether a ceramic burner, a wooden statue, or an idol made of another material (Russell 2000). Alfred M. Tozzer (1941) suggested that effigy censers were used in Ch'en or Yax monthly ceremonies that Diego de Landa described while J. Thompson (1957:602) felt that they were used on the day 1 Imix in the 260-day almanac, which happened to occur on 18 Yax when Landa recorded his observations. This interpretation is confirmed in Donald H. Graff's (1997:163–64) study of almanacs in the Madrid Codex. Many other "idols" were required for monthly rituals (Russell

2000), the commemoration of the four divisions of the 260-year cycle (Bricker 1997), deer hunting and agricultural ceremonies (P. Rice 2004:246), Uayeb rites and their cardinal shrines, the completion of the 52-year cycle, and the passage of K'atuns or half-K'atuns (D. Chase 1985b, 1988; P. Rice 2009f:300–301).

Mayapán's public buildings were probably used for many different ritual events over the nearly three centuries of the city's occupation, and this resulted in a cumulative overlay of ceremonious debris. Despite this potential for mixing, most of the sculpture assemblages from the site center in this study were recovered from the latest phase of use of each building, as the monumental center has been subjected to little penetrating excavation by the Carnegie or INAH projects. Penetrating excavations rarely recovered sculptures or ceramic effigies. Most examples from building assemblages probably served as decorative or ritual accessories of the latest use of the edifices, making their comparisons a valid exercise. A comparison of faunal use at the monumental center revealed similar results to this effigy study, with common animals widely distributed at public buildings, and at the same time, concentrations indicated the special importance of some taxa at specific localities. In particular, dog use was far above the norm at the Templo Redondo buildings (Masson and Peraza Lope 2013).

The manufacture and use of elaborate ritual paraphernalia at Mayapán was centralized at elite residences and public buildings (chapters 3, 6). Older models of decentralized ritual practice in Postclassic Maya society, based on the impression that portable effigy censers were widely distributed (A. Smith 1962:267), are not supported in our analysis. The spatial constraint of religious practice is also described in historical accounts of patronage and supervision of religious effigy manufacture (Clark and Houston 1998:35–36, 41). Males made them in seclusion under strict ritual guidelines, and the “carving of idols had to be approved by priests” (Landa 1941:159–60; Clark and Houston 1998:41). The specialized molding, modeling, plastering, and painting of effigies at House Q-40a, under the watchful eye of elite group Q-41, certainly fits well with Landa's observation. At hinterland sites, including Santa Rita, Laguna de On, and Caye Coco, caches and censers concentrate at elite residences, special ritual buildings, or ritual dumps located away from the settlement (D. Chase 1986; Masson 1999a, 1999b, 2000; Russell 2000).

In general, the contexts for effigy recovery are similar to those reported at other sites. Paired effigies are sometimes found at Mayapán that match those attributed by Diane Z. Chase (1986) to Uayeb ceremonies—for example, pairs have been reported from Hall Q-151 and Round Temple (Templo Redondo) Q-152 (Peraza Lope et al. 2003; Milbrath and Peraza Lope 2013).

Paired effigies may also be related to K'atun intervals of the *may* cycle, during which "guest" idols were sometimes introduced halfway through the K'atun to accompany the interval's patron deity; the guest effigy would then preside as the new patron over the first half of a subsequent K'atun before being joined by a new guest (P. Rice 2009f:301). As at Santa Rita, pairs of effigies have also been reported from Zacpetén (P. Rice 2009f:304). Some incomplete effigies were located in situ on the floors of monumental buildings at Mayapán that had been broken elsewhere prior to their final deposition (chapter 3; Milbrath et al. 2008:106; Milbrath and Peraza Lope 2013). The recovery of incomplete effigies is common; these have been reported for Zacpetén (Pugh and Rice 2009b:147–50) and Laguna de On (Masson 2000; Russell 2000). At least some effigies were broken when the city was abandoned, perhaps as part of a revolt by those who may have sided with the Xiu (Milbrath and Peraza Lope 2013); other fragments remained within small shrine buildings such as Q-79 and Q-79a. Most anthropomorphic sculptures were defaced or decapitated and were found fallen on or around the structures that they had decorated. One act of reverential abandonment was observed at palace group R-86, where censers were cached within a family tomb for probable conservation (Proskouriakoff and Temple 1955). A few were funerary offerings, as for Xipe Totec censer fragments in the grave at elite House Q-208 (J. Thompson 1954:79). At the Itzmal Ch'en ceremonial group, portions of several censers were broken, mixed together, and deposited on the final floors of Hall H-15 and Temple H-17 in an act of ritual termination (chapter 3, figures 3.11, 3.12). On the other hand, many effigy censers were smashed and thrown in a mass grave of chopped human remains at Itzmal Ch'en. Given these depositional contexts, it appears that most censers were recovered in or near contexts of their use. The censers amidst the mass graves of Hall H-15 or in the plaza by Shrines Q-79/79a of the Templo Redondo group may have been ritually dumped (Adams 1953; Paris and Russell 2012). There is no published information on the effigy censers from the burial shaft of Temple Q-95 that Edwin M. Shook (1954a:271) excavated. From the interior room of the other burial shaft temple (Q-58), the INAH project recovered censer fragments that were probably strewn around at the time that the shaft was looted, long before Shook (1954a:257) investigated this temple. Thus, the Q-58 censers may come from the shaft.

Compared to Mayapán, effigy faces in the hinterlands exhibit fewer variations and are generally smaller along the east coast of Quintana Roo and Belize as well as in the Petén. At least sixteen distinct entities are identified in this chapter among the Mayapán censers, whereas most effigies found in northern Belize are one of five entities, including old and young male faces, the death

god, a female deity, and Itzamna (Sidrys 1983:245; Masson 2000:239; Russell 2000). Raymond V. Sidrys (1983:245) also observed single instances of Chac and a merchant deity in Belize. This short inventory is similar at Zacpetén, with Chac/Tlaloc, Itzamna, a merchant deity, and a female deity thus far identified (P. Rice 2009f:304). The distribution of these censers is extensive, as they occur across the Yucatán Peninsula and into the Petén and highland Guatemala regions (e.g., Pendergast 1986; Schele and Mathews 1998:figure 8.12; Masson 2000; Milbrath et al. 2008; Rice and Rice 2009). Some Mayapán censer faces are made from the same facial mold. Modeling and painting were used to dress and embellish molded faces and form the bodies. Precedents for these effigy vessels are known in Mesoamerica from the Classic Period Oaxaca urn tradition and, closer to home, figurine traditions from Veracruz and Jaina, but direct historical relationships are poorly understood. The Maya area has a longstanding tradition of the use of both censers and effigy vessels (Ringle et al. 1998; P. Rice 1999). Susan Milbrath et al. (2008) argue that central Mexican contact contributed importantly to the iconographic content of Mayapán's effigy censers, although the vessels themselves are all but absent at Aztec sites. The international influences of this era must be acknowledged (Pollock 1962:14; Taube 1992; Smith and Berdan 2003a), but it is also true that the majority of deities represented in the effigies of Mayapán are traditional Maya gods (Masson and Peraza Lope 2010).

### TALLYING EFFIGY ART

The data examined in this chapter were compiled from illustrations or photographs. We compiled a separate page of images for each structure; we then classified the images and entered this information into a Microsoft Excel database that generated the tables of this chapter. We used our own photographs of recently recovered stone and ceramic sculptures from the INAH investigations (1996–2004); other illustrations were published in the Carnegie Institution of Washington's *Current Reports* (table 7.22), or in J. Thompson (1957), R. Smith (1971), or Proskouriakoff (1962a, 1962b). The work of establishing deity identifications and taking photographs of the INAH project collection was accomplished in 2004 with the invaluable assistance of Bradley W. Russell and Elizabeth H. Paris. Josalyn Ferguson and Morgan Houston helped to organize the published Carnegie images. Table 7.22 lists the structures that are referred to in this chapter along with the published sources for each structure from which these images were tallied. Figure 2.10 illustrates the location and arrangement of Mayapán's monumental center structures.

Although our effort was comprehensive, it is in part dependent on the material originally chosen for publication. Investigators of the Carnegie project generally published photographs of whole vessels or faces of incense burners in the *Current Reports* series, and examples of some of these vessels were later published in a ceramic monograph by Robert Smith (1971). Our work represents a systematic attempt to reconstruct the assemblages per structure and is comprehensive with regard to the choices made by prior investigators to publish illustrations or photographs. The INAH sample is more complete, as effigies from this project were studied directly.

Sculptures discovered in 2009 from the Itzmal Ch'en group are described in detail in chapter 3. As ceramic analysis from that season is still in progress, we have not included the tallies of Itzmal Ch'en sculptures and effigy censer faces in the 2009 inventory analyzed in this chapter, which is primarily concerned with large samples from the site's central monumental plazas and surrounding buildings. We do include some of the materials from the Carnegie-era investigations of the Itzmal Ch'en group. Our own work to date on the Itzmal Ch'en sculpture and censer assemblage reveals that there are no conspicuous concentrations of any particular deity other than the recovery of a high number of serpent sculptures (chapter 3).

## HUMAN PORTRAITS

Human portrait sculptures are defined in this study as those that lack deity markers and may indicate historical individuals (table 7.1). Six stone torsos were recovered from the Q-69 shrine, and they exhibit idiosyncratic, personalized adornments (figure 7.1). None exhibit armor that might suggest that they were warriors. A string of beads or beaded cloth is draped from the neck of one figure and another has a circular pendant, perhaps a mirror. The other four figures have pectoral collars. The lower arms are missing from all but one, which holds a spiked incense cone held in a shallow bowl (figure 7.1). Three turbaned human faces were found in the same context, and two of these headdresses support the base of a priestly miter. The torsos and heads appear to be male, except for the individual who holds the incense cone, who wears a long dress. The sculptures are from the general area of the shrine and were not in situ within it. This dispersal of sculpture fragments around buildings is commonly observed at the site center and may be attributed to desecration events at the time of the city's demise. The figures could be portraits of the lords, priests, or important ancestors of families linked to the Q-70 hall group.



TABLE 7.1 Stone/stucco human faces and bodies.

<i>Context</i>	<i>Portion</i>	<i>Description of faces and torsos</i>
Cenote X-Coton	1 face	Male with animal pelt headdress
Temple H-17	1 face	1 eroded face (see also chapter 3)
House J-71b	1 face	Male in reptile headdress
Temple Q-127a	1 face, 1 limb	Helmeted male with closed eyes
Temple Q-149	1 limb	
Hall Q-151	3 limbs	
Hall/Temple Q-151/152	1 face	Fragment
Round Temple Q-152	1 limb	
Hall Q-152c	1 face	Shallowly carved head with long hair
Hall Q-156	1 face, 1 torso, 1 limb	1 human with shield, 1 sculpted column with feet preserved
Shrine Q-157a	1 torso	Nude female torso
Temple Q-159	1 torso	Seated banner holder
Hall Q-161	3 faces, 2 with bodies	1 human head, 2 full-figured turbaned male and female pair
Hall Q-163	1 face	Miniature pot-bellied figure
House Q-168	1 face	Anthropomorphic figure
Round Temple Q-214	1 face	Female with shawl
Temple Q-218	2 limbs	
House Q-244	1 face	Turbaned fanged male
Shrine Q-69	1 face, 6 torsos, 1 limb	2 turbaned males, 6 priest/lord tunic torsos (1 could be female)
Hall Q-70	3 faces, 1 limb	1 male with bird headdress, 1 male with plumed feather head-dress, 1 other horizontal-bodied turbaned figure
Hall Q-72	1 torso	
Shrine Q-84	1 torso	Anthropomorphic figure
Platform Q-84	1 face, 1 torso	1 male face, 1 torso with mirror or shell pendant
Shrine Q-90	3 torsos	1 reclining Chacmool-like miniature

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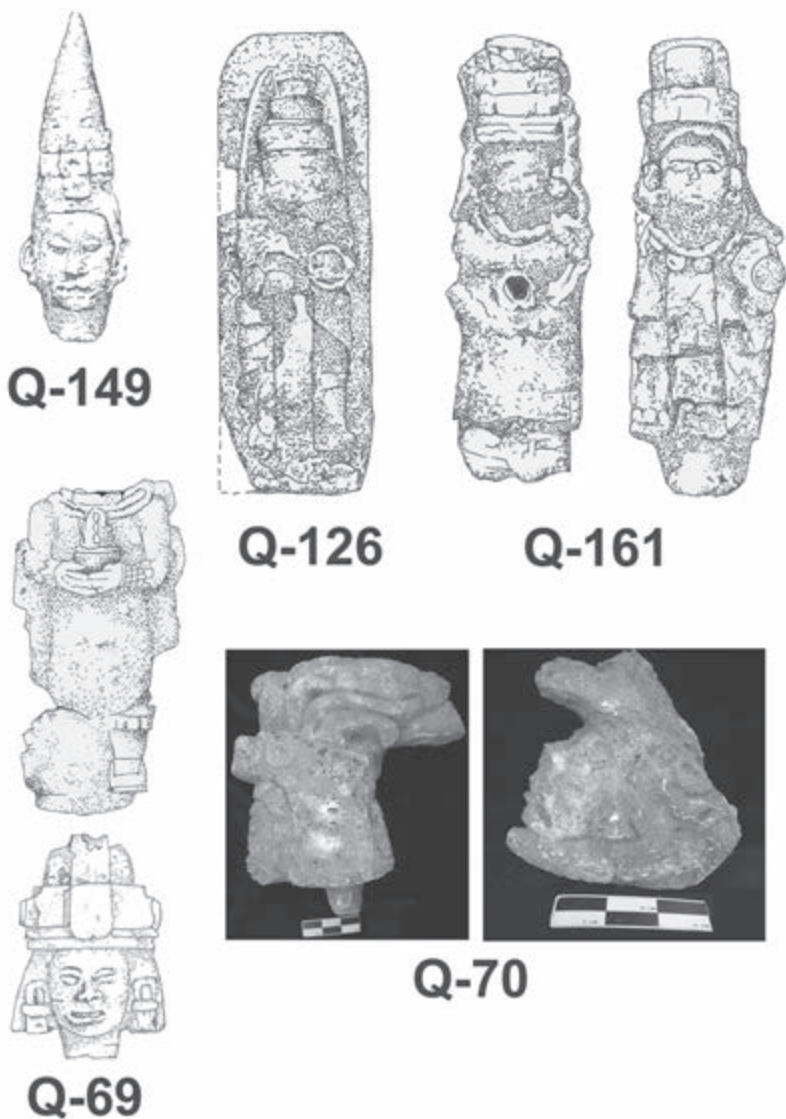
TABLE 7.1—*continued*

<i>Context</i>	<i>Portion</i>	<i>Description of faces and torsos</i>
Temple Q-95	1 limb	
Platform Q-96	1 limb	
Shrine Q-98	2 faces	1 goggled seated figure with turban, 1 old person with side flap headdress
House R-86	1 face, 2 limbs	1 male with large headdress
House R-87	1 limb	
House R-89	2 face	1 male with headdress, 1 human emerging from snake mouth
Temple Q-149	1 face	Cone headdress with triple knots, possibly closed eyes, mouth open
Hall Q-145	1 face	Cone headdress with triple knots, eyes and mouth open

Quite similar in style to the Q-69 figures are two examples from Hall Q-161 (figure 7.1), adjacent to the Temple of Kukulcan's eastern side. These turbaned figures wore miters and represent a male and female pair. They may have been important dynastic founders. The female's abdominal region has a circular cavity into which offerings or a mirror may have been set. An additional turbaned head fragment was recovered at the hall. Tenoned snake and skull sculptures were also present at Q-161, which may have fallen from the Temple of Kukulcan.

Another set of large carved human stone heads was recovered at Hall Q-70, adjacent to the Q-69 shrine (figure 7.1). These were probably the heads of full-bodied human figures. One human face emerges from a bird or serpent mouth, and another face is bedecked in elaborate feathered headgear. This latter figure has prominent cheekbones and may depict an elderly personage, perhaps Itzamna or God N. The noses of both sculptures are broken and may have been defaced. They may represent individuals of two distinct offices, deities, or ancestors. A third turbaned head sculpture from Q-70 may have been set into a shrine or wall program, as it was not part of a full figure. From the Q-98 shrine, two human effigy sculptures were found. These examples represent an older male with a side flap headdress and a seated anthropomorphic figure with traces of goggle eyes and a turban headdress.

Mayapán Stela 14 is similar in many ways to the self-standing human sculptures. This stela was set next to round Temple Q-126 (figure 7.1), and



**FIGURE 7.1.** *Examples of human sculptures that probably portray historical individuals. Illustrations of examples from Q-149, Q-161, Q-126, and Q-69 are by Kendra Farstad from Proskouriakoff (1962a:figures 8c, 9a, 9b, 11L, 9c, 9k). Photos from Q-70 courtesy of Carlos Peraza Lope, photos by Bradley Russell.*

the turbaned figure is carved in deep relief, except for the rear side, which is part of a flat rectangular slab (Proskouriakoff 1962a:135). A robust, well-rounded human figure carved into Stela 7 from Round Temple Q-152 also resembles self-standing sculptures to a certain degree, but the relief is not as pronounced.

Human head sculptures with cone-shaped headdresses come from two structures located adjacent to one another, the Q-145 hall and the Q-149 temple. Each head has a series of three knots above the forehead out of which a tall vertical cone emerges (figure 7.1). The faces clearly depict two different personages, but their shared group provenience suggests that this headdress was a marker for the individuals that used this architecture. A third cone headdress figure was recovered at a more humble residence, P-33b, but it lacks the triple knots; unlike the others, it is in the form of a tenoned head. A cone headdress is one attribute that is linked to central Mexican depictions of Quetzalcoatl, which sometimes also has two horizontal ribbons at its base (e.g., Miller and Taube 1993:141). Perhaps the Mayapán examples portray a headdress worn by Kukulcan priests, whose activities concentrated at group Q-149. This group is part of a courtyard just to the east of the Temple of Kukulcan, in front of Hall Q-151 and Temple Q-153; the latter is situated on the edge of the Ch'en Mul cenote. Such priests have been described for other late Mesoamerican cities, including Cholula and Chichén Itzá (Ringle 2004).

Other human sculptures include the head of a male from Q-127a (portal vault temple) whose eyes are closed and who wears a side flap helmet. At the residential altar (Q-244d) of elite House Q-244 a male is portrayed with a turban/miter and fangs. At the R-86 palace compound a male portrait sculpture wears a large headdress and the R-89 sanctuary has two eroded heads and one tenoned head. Other human faces, many of which are eroded, are listed in table 7.1 along with fragments of arms, legs, and hands.

Overall, human figure sculptures (heads, torsos, or limbs) come from eight halls, eight temples, six houses, five shrines, two platforms, and one cenote (table 7.1). Many of them wear headdress miters that Taube (1992) links to the priesthood. Other examples have flap, cone, feather, or animal headdresses. Eyes appear to be open in most cases, although many faces are too eroded to make a determination. Male heads are the most numerous item ( $N = 10$ ), and an additional four humans (probably male) have animal headdresses or emerge from an animal's mouth. These sculptures likely portray important governing elites, priests, and warriors from Mayapán's major families. Other categories of human sculptures with more specific attributes are discussed in the remainder of this chapter, including females.

Tenoned sculptures also take the form of deities or humans (table 7.2), and except for the tenon spikes, the personages resemble non-tenoned pieces. One tenoned Itzamna head came from the Ch'en Mul cenote. Two other examples portray human faces that emerge from serpent mouths (Temple Q-126, Hall Q-97), a theme that is observed in other forms of sculpture. Three additional human tenoned faces come from round Temple Q-214, Hall Z-50, and a cone-headed figure from House P-33b (previously mentioned). As table 7.2 shows, three human tenoned pieces have closed eyes, and the eyes are open on two others. All mouths are open on the human examples, where this can be determined, as if to enable speech. The human tenoned sculptures may depict important ancestors and were recovered from a variety of structure types.

Skull tenoned sculptures are concentrated at Shrine Q-89, which has nine of these examples (figure 7.2) and is located in the plaza space in front of burial shaft Temple Q-95. This shrine may have functioned as a skull platform at Mayapán (P. Delgado Kú 2004), analogous to an earlier example at Chichén Itzá. The architecture of this shrine looks like many others at Mayapán in that it has a single, small upper chamber that opens to a staircase ascending from one side (east in this case). Two additional tenoned skulls are found at Hall Q-54, and one each is present at Hall Q-64, Shrine Q-69, Platform Q-94/94a, Hall Q-161, Sanctuary (of the Temple of Kukulcan) Q-162b, and round Temple Q-214 (table 7.2).

At the Q-163a sanctuary, a bird-beaked human face is present; this image represents the wind god (Ehecatl) aspect of Kukulcan. Notably, Q-163a abuts the west side of the Temple of Kukulcan, as it is part of Hall Q-163 that extends to the west of the temple. The association of this deity with the temple is not surprising.

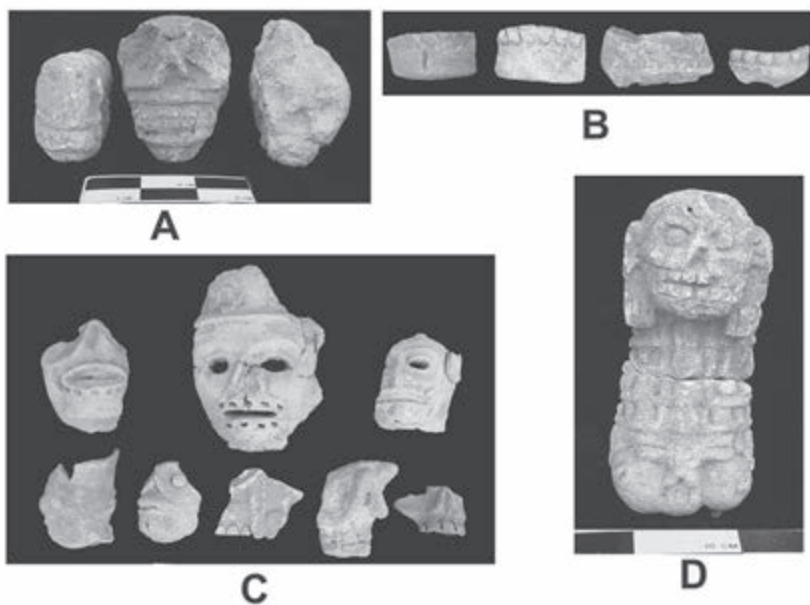
## DEITY STONE AND CERAMIC EFFIGIES

Stone or stucco sculptures and ceramic effigies that seem to represent deities are listed in table 7.3. The censer sample consists largely of faces, most of which were not part of restored vessels. An occasional diagnostic torso or headdress is included in this analysis. A total of 265 fragmented or whole censers or effigy cups were examined, of which 237 were classified and are included in table 7.4. The remaining 28 were miscellaneous unidentified fragments. Five deities are far more common than the others when the percentages of identified (237) censers are compared. These five major entities include Itzamna ( $N = 31$ , 13.1 percent), the merchant god/whiskered god group (11.8 percent; 15 whiskered, 13 merchants), Chac ( $N = 39$ , 16.5 percent), the young face male group that may

TABLE 7.2 Human or deity tenoned stone sculptures

<i>Type</i>	<i>Structure</i>	<i>Number</i>	<i>Description</i>
Skulls	Hall Q-54	2	
	Hall Q-64	1	
	Shrine Q-69	1	
	Shrine Q-89	9	
	House Q-94/94a	1	
	Hall Q-97	1	
	Hall Q-161	1	
	Sanctuary Q-162b	1	
	Round Temple Q-214	1	
	Total	17	
Humans	Temple Q-126	1	Emerges from bird/serpent mouth, closed eyes, mouth open
	Round Temple Q-214	1	Eyes closed, mouth broken
	House P-33b	1	Cone headdress, eyes closed, mouth open
	Hall Z-50	1	Eyes open, mouth open
	Hall Q-97	1	Emerges from serpent mouth, open eyes
Total		5	
Deity	Sanctuary Q-163	1	bird-beaked human/wind god, eyes open
Cenote Ch'en Mul	1	Itzamna or an old god	

represent warriors and/or maize gods ( $N = 59$ , 25.5 percent), and skeletal death god images ( $N = 18$ , 7.4 percent). Other censers that occur regularly in the assemblage include the old god ( $N = 7$ , 3.0 percent) that shares characteristics with Itzamna, old ( $N = 2$ ) and young ( $N = 5$ ) female deities (combined equaling 4.6 percent), and Xipe Totec ( $N = 7$ , 3.0 percent). Four examples are present for each of the following: males with scrolls painted on their faces, diving figures, a possible Venus god, and a Monkey Scribe. Occurring in only one or two examples are the maize god, a censer representing Kukulcan (Winters 1955b),



**FIGURE 7.2.** *Death god images, including three of nine tenoned skulls from Shrine Q-89, effigy skull cup mandibles and faces from various monumental center contexts (B, C), and a small death god sculpture from Temple Q-95. Courtesy of Carlos Peraza Lope, photos by Bradley Russell.*

bird-beaked human faces that may represent the Ehecatl form of Kukulcan/Quetzalcoatl, a fire god (identified by Taube 1992, whose face is identical to Itzamna), two males with nose plugs, a male with hair inset perforations, and a torso displaying intestinal sacrifice. Felines are represented in the form of headdresses that exhibit feline faces or pelts, feline paws, or feline effigies. A recurring symbol is the quincunx (five-point turquoise symbol) medallion worn by two male effigies; an additional example was found in isolation from its original censer.

#### OLD GODS / ITZAMNA

Stone sculpture examples of Itzamna heads were recovered from the Q-87a hall and the Q-146b statue platform. A tenoned head Itzamna was recovered from the Cenote Ch'en Mul (previously mentioned); it was probably moved from its original location and discarded at this locality. Another Itzamna sculp-

TABLE 7.3 Structures with stone and stucco human or deity figures.

<i>Structure</i>	<i>Entity</i>
Shrine Q-77	Xipe Totec
Hall Q-163	Xipe Totec
Hall Q-163	Tlaloc
Oratory Q-87a	Itzamna
Statue Platform Q-146	Itzamna
Altar H-17a	Itzamna
Round Shrine H-18	Earth lord
Palace R-88	Earth lord
Oratory Q-83	Earth lord
Temple Q-159	Earth lord
Hall Q-163	Young female goddess
Hall Q-161	Female/ancestral figure
Sanctuary Q-157a	Old female goddess
Round Temple Q-214	Old female goddess
Temple Q-162	Ehecatl
Temple Q-162	Puffy cheek human
Hall H-15	Puffy cheek human
Hall Q-163	Merchant/whiskered entity and other unidentified males (sculpted columns)

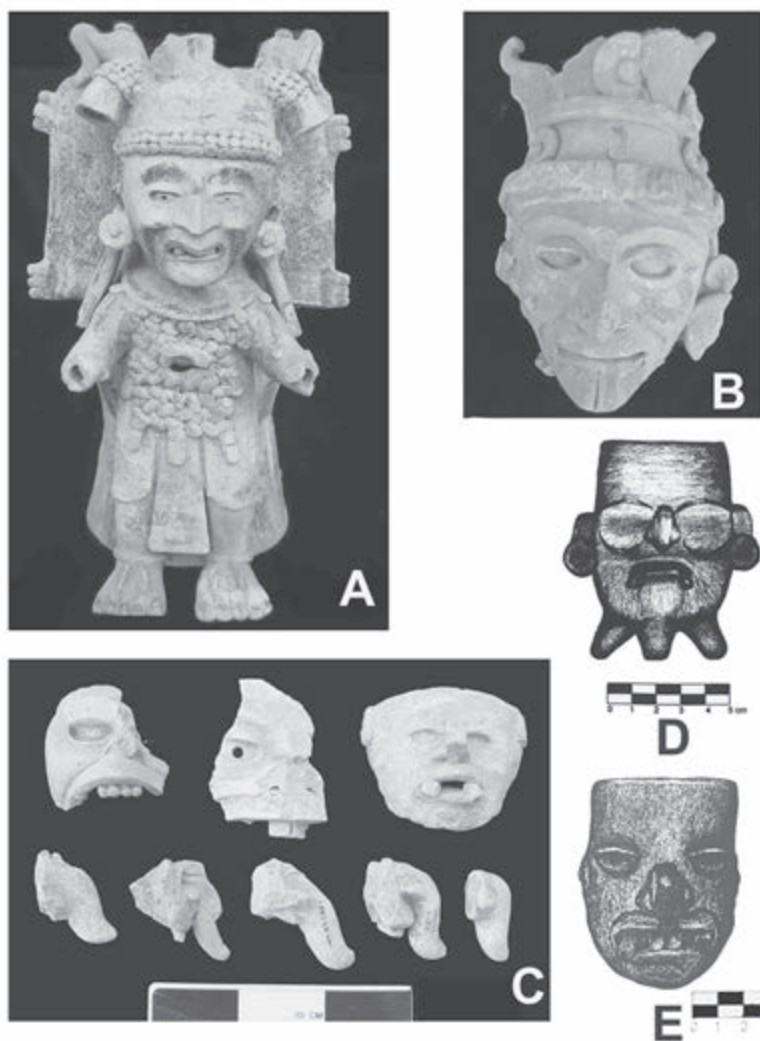
ture was present at a plaza altar, H-17a (Itzmal Ch'en). This entity is abundantly represented in the censer collection of Mayapán, forming 14 percent of the identified censers. Itzamna is a primary deity of the Maya codices, and he was associated with the priesthood and sorcery (J. Thompson 1970; Taube 1992).

Itzamna's diagnostic characteristics include a gaping, largely toothless mouth (sometimes with short fangs); an old, drawn face with high cheekbones and a large hooked nose; portions of the mouth area and eyelids that are sometimes painted yellow; and the presence of a spherical ornament on the nose bridge (figure 7.3a; J. Thompson 1957). Some idiosyncratic attributes of Itzamna faces include a bird headdress (Q-80), a bejeweled headdress consisting of upright ornaments of tubular jade beads topped by white and red shell discoidal beads (Q-70, figure 6.2e), and a nose plug (Q-162). A single Itzamna has a cleft chin (Q-161), suggesting a relationship with old god images. Two



TABLE 7.4 Percentage of identified Chen Mul Modeled effigy censers and effigy cups.

<i>Identification</i>	<i>Number</i>	<i>Percent of 237</i>
Whiskered	15	6.3
Merchant	13	5.5
Old god	7	3.0
Itzamna	31	13.1
Chac (including cups)	39	16.5
Possibly Chac (fanged entity)	2	0.8
Maize god or Kukulcan	2	0.8
Death head	17	7.2
Death torso	1	0.4
Young males	28	11.8
Filed-tooth males	9	3.8
Male with bird headdress	9	3.8
Bird headdress fragment	6	2.5
Male with reptile headdress	2	0.8
Reptile headdress fragment	2	0.8
Helmeted male	1	0.4
Male with shield	2	0.8
Young female goddess	5	2.1
Old female goddess	4	1.7
Female body fragments	2	0.8
Monkey Scribe	4	1.7
Bird-beaked human (Ehecatl)	2	0.8
Venus	4	1.7
Fire god	1	0.4
Tzalohtēotl	2	0.8
Xipe Totec	7	3.0
Diving figure	4	1.7
Other (perforated hair, scroll face, quetzal feather headdress, feline, intestinal sacrifice torso, nose plug figures, red face/blue cheek figure)	16	
Total identified	237	
Other/unidentified fragments	28	



**FIGURE 7.3.** *Effigy incense burners and cups identified as Itzamna (A), an old god (B), and Chac (C, D, E). Courtesy of Carlos Peraza Lope, photos by Bradley Russell.*

Itzamna censers and three other examples share a horizontal strap and knot headdress element at palace group R-86.

One Itzamna effigy head has a face that is identical to other Itzamna examples, but Taube (1992:125) classifies this censer as Huehuateotl, an aged fire god

of central Mexico and the Gulf Coast, based on its quincunx headdress element. This example is unique in combining this face and headband at the site. Without the headdress it would likely be classified as Itzamna. Notably, the fire god effigy comes from the R-86 palace group, where two additional Itzamna censers were found. We do not dispute Taube's identification, although it raises questions about the importance of face versus headdress elements for the classification of effigies. Many of the examples in this study lacked headdresses; thus, Itzamna identifications should be considered with this qualification in mind. Quincunx symbols were represented on other costume elements in our sample that were not in association with older male faces.

Other examples of old male effigy faces share a subset of these characteristics. Overlapping with Itzamna are the gaping mouths and drawn old faces, but differences include the presence of a cleft chin or closed eyes and the absence of a nose bridge ornament (figure 7.3b). Some old god censers may represent God N, although identifying attributes of this deity are not present among our fragments, such as associations with turtle or conch shells, quadripartite symbols, sky markers, or other indicators of Pauhtuns (Taube 1992:93–94). An exception may be an example reported by Milbrath and Peraza Lope (2013) in which an old god effigy has an oval pectoral that is centrally placed within a mat symbol, which they compare to the central Mexican *oyohualli* symbol. J. Thompson (1957) similarly suggests that the old cleft chin could be linked to Mam or Itzamna. It is thus possible that some of our old god examples may represent Itzamna or other more specific entities, but they lack the diagnostic attributes that are needed for verification. Another deity that has an old face and an Itzamna-like Roman nose in the codices is God G, or the Sun God (Taube 1992:50). This entity sometimes has a beard and is shown with serpent eye markings (Taube 1992:50, figure 22b, c). Our old god faces do not have serpent eye markings, beards, or kin sign markings, and thus probably do not portray God G.

One example of an old male face has closed eyes (Q-88). This characteristic is not normally associated with either God N or Itzamna. Closed eyes are a formal attribute of Xipe Totec, who is not portrayed as an aged entity. Five other non-aged censer faces in our sample also had closed eyes but were otherwise relatively generic and not distinguishable as Xipe Totec. One of these faces comes from the same context as the aged closed-eye example (Q-88); three others come from Hall Q-151 and one is from Palace R-86. It is difficult to interpret closed-eye effigies that may not be Xipe Totec. It is tempting to infer that they represent revered ancestors, who are often shown with closed eyes that refer to their deceased status in other Mesoamerican traditions, although other explanations are possible. Except for the eyes, these effi-

gies closely resemble other censers. They are likely gods shown in death. The maize god is sometimes shown with closed eyes, which links this entity to death and the agricultural cycle (Taube 1992), as we discuss in greater detail in the maize god section of this chapter. The majority of Mayapán's censers and sculptures do represent recognizable deities (J. Thompson 1957; Peraza Lope 1999; Milbrath and Peraza Lope 2003a, 2013), supporting the idea that the closed-eye censers are also versions of gods in stages of sleep or death.

Thirty-one Itzamna faces are present in our sample, and the fire god example discussed by Taube would bring this count to thirty-two (tables 7.4, 7.5). Itzamna censer faces are broadly distributed at individual structures at the site center and are present in only one outlying elite residence, the R-86 palace group. Multiple clusters of structures account for the majority of the sample, including a temple group forming the borders of the North Plaza (Q-58/66/62/64), the Q-80 cluster (Q-80/81/79/79a), structures of the Templo Redondo platform (Q-151/152/152b/152c/88a), the Castillo group (Q-162/161), and the R-86 palace. The greatest concentrations are in Temple Q-80 and Temple Q-152 clusters, with 21.9 percent each, followed by the North Plaza Q-58 group and the R-86 palace (12.5 percent each); 9.5 percent of the faces were from the Temple of Kukulcan group. An additional 21.9 percent of the Itzamna faces are thinly distributed among six other contexts. In comparison to other censer types described in this chapter, Itzamna faces are concentrated in a greater number of groups, suggesting that the use of this entity was more widely distributed, as might be expected given the weighty importance of this deity in the Postclassic pantheon (J. Thompson 1957; Taube 1992). Prudence M. Rice (2009f:304) observes that Itzamna was also important for the K'owoj Maya of Zacpetén, who had historical roots at Mayapán. An Itzamna effigy vase was placed as an offering in Hall H-15 of the Itzmal Ch'en group (figure 3.13). Portraits of this god on cups or vases are rare at Mayapán; such vessels normally are linked to Chac or Tlaloc.

Although the identification of an old god in the censer collection is tentative, some observations are noteworthy. At least five examples had cleft chins. The seven occurrences come from five structures that belong to four architectural groups. Three of these groups are the same as those that had Itzamna faces, including the Q-80 cluster (Q-81), the Templo Redondo group (Q-151), and the Q-208 residential group. Considering the old god and Itzamna effigies together, the Q-80 cluster accounts for 20.5 percent of the faces and the Templo Redondo group has 25.6 percent. One of the three stone heads representing Itzamna was also from the Templo Redondo group (Q-87a). If the old god with closed eyes from Q-88 is more closely affiliated with the young face

TABLE 7.5 Structures with Itzamna/old god Ch'en Mul Modeled effigy censers. Three additional stone examples are listed in table 7.3.

<i>Structure</i>	<i>Itzamna censers</i>		<i>Old god censers</i>	
	<i>No.</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>No.</i>	<i>%</i>
Temple Q-58	1	3.1	—	—
House Q-62	1	3.1	—	—
Hall Q-64	1	3.1	—	—
Shrine Q-66	1	3.1	—	—
Hall Q-70	2	6.3	—	—
Hall Q-72	—	—	1	14.3
Shrine Q-79/79a	2	6.3	—	—
Temple Q-80	2	6.3	—	—
Hall Q-81	3	9.4	1	14.3
Hall Q-88a	1	3.1	—	—
Oratory Q-88	—	—	1	14.3
Shrine Q-89	1	3.1	—	—
Shrine Q-98	1	3.1	—	—
Portal Vault Q-127	1	3.1	—	—
Hall Q-151	1	3.1	2	28.6
Round Temple Q-152	2	6.3	—	—
Sanctuary Q-152b	1	3.1	—	—
Hall Q-152c	2	6.3	—	—
Temple Q-153	1	3.1	—	—
Hall Q-161	1	3.1	—	—
Temple Q-162	2	6.3	—	—
Elite House Q-208	1	3.1	2	28.6
Elite House R-86	4	12.5	—	—
	32	100	7	

Note: Old gods have cleft chins. The old god example from Structure Q-88 has closed eyes, and the Itzamna from Q-151 also has a cleft chin.

closed-eye personages, it may be important that three out of four examples of the latter are concentrated in the Templo Redondo compound; the old personage is from Q-88, which is part of that architectural group.

Old god images are distributed at three halls, one oratory, and one residence (Q-208). This residence is an upper-status house at the south end of the monumental center. Itzamna effigies are present at many types of structures, including five shrines, five temples, seven halls, one portal vault, one palace (R-86), and two residences (Q-208, Q-62), as tables 7.4 and 7.5 indicate. This entity has not been found at commoner residences in the settlement zone.

#### CHAC AND TLALOC

Mayapán Chac censers depict this deity with traditional attributes that resemble Maya codex figures; some hinterland peninsular sites display this god with attributes of Tlaloc, the central Mexican rain deity (Milbrath et al. 2008:107–8). It is interesting that, unlike the censers, Chac cups or vases at Mayapán often blend Chac and Tlaloc features (figure 7.3d). Representations of Chac (tables 7.6, 7.7) are divided almost evenly among effigy cups ( $N = 19$ ) and effigy censers ( $N = 20$ ), as J. Thompson (1957:622) originally noted. Effigy cups almost always portray Chac rather than any other god. The presence of Tlaloc goggles on Chac figures reveals some fusion in the traits of these deities (Taube 1992:133). A more typical Tlaloc stone sculpture is known from Hall Q-163. Another goggle-eyed personage was present at Q-98, although it lacks fangs. Chac is not among the deities that are well represented in stone and ceramic form, in contrast to Itzamna, Ehecatl, the death god, or female entities. When both effigy cups and censers are tallied, Chac is the most abundantly portrayed entity at Mayapán. Two additional fanged male faces may also be Chac, but it is not certain whether fangs represent Chac in the absence of other identifying features.

Chac cups are usually found as caches in rear interior building altars, singly or paired with plain cups (e.g., Adams 1953:figure 5; Winters 1955b:384, figure 40). Other variations of these caches include single or paired plain cups without Chac representations. Offerings within the cups typically include jade and/or shell beads (e.g., Smith and Ruppert 1956:figure 8i, j; Pollock 1956:535; Shook 1954a:figure 2j). Of interest is a possible parallel practice in offerings to Tlaloc at the Templo Mayor, where “cloud jars” contained greenstone beads (López Luján 1998:180). Nineteen Chac effigy cups are present in the structures available for study (table 7.6). These come from sixteen different contexts, as six of the cups came in three pairs. Where supports could be determined, there are six tripod cups, ten pedestaled cups, and two pedestaled vases. Given their contexts, cups are inferred to represent cache vessels, but non-effigy examples are sometimes recovered from dwellings. The possibility

**TABLE 7.6** Structures with Chac cups and pedestal vessels, including those with Tlaloc attributes. Chac effigy censers are listed separately in table 7.7.

<i>Structure</i>	<i>Number</i>	<i>Form/ID</i>	<i>Identifying attributes</i>
Hall Q-64	1	Chac tripod	Nose, side fangs not visible
Shrine Q-71	1	Chac pedestal	Long nose and fangs
Hall Q-87a	1	Chac/Tlaloc pedestal vase	Goggles and elaborate nose, no fangs
Temple Q-127a	1	Chac fragment	Only fanged mouth visible
Hall Q-151	1	Chac/Tlaloc tripod	Has goggles, fangs, long nose
Temple Q-153	1	Chac pedestal	Long nose and fangs
Hall Q-161	1	Chac cylinder vase	Long nose, upcurling and drooping variety
Hall Q-164	1	Chac pedestal	Long nose and fangs
House Q-208	2	Chac pedestal, Chac tripod	Both have long nose, fangs, pedestal is painted
Round Temple Q-214	1	Chac tripod	Long nose
Serpent Temple Q-218	1	Chac tripod	Long nose and fangs, eye bridge bobble
Shrine A-1	2	Chac/Tlaloc pedestals	Both examples have goggle eyes, one has fangs
Temple H-17	1	Chac pedestal	Only fanged mouth visible
House R-86/87	1	Chac tripod	Long and cruller nose, fangs
Oratory R-91	2	Chac/Tlaloc pedestal, Chac tripod	Pedestal vessel has goggle eyes and fangs, long nose, tripod has cruller nose
Structure Y-30	1	Chac pedestal	Fangs

that they also represented drinking vessels cannot be ruled out, as this was the case for the Aztec realm (Smith, Wharton, and Olson 2003). The fact that they are infrequent suggests that drinking involved other types of vessels in addition to cups.

Two primary variants are observed in the Chac representations (figure 7.3c, d, e). One has a more naturalistic face, with a long nose and fangs; these are

TABLE 7.7 Contexts with Chac Ch'en Mul Modeled effigy censers.

<i>Structure</i>	<i>Chac censers (number)</i>	<i>Chac censers (percent)</i>
Shrine Q-79/79a	1	4.8
Temple Q-80	2	9.5
Hall Q-81	1	4.8
Oratory Q-88	1	4.8
Hall Q-88a	4	19.0
Platform Q-88b	1	4.8
Altar Q-88e	1	4.8
Temple Q-95	1	4.8
Hall Q-151	1	4.8
Temple Q-152	1	4.8
Hall Q-152C	2	9.5
House R-86	4	19.0
Total	20	

present on both pedestal and tripod cups. In two cases a braided nose ornament is present. One cup has an upcurling/drooping nose that closely resembles codex representations of Chac, and one pedestal vase reveals this nose form. The other variation shares many attributes with the first, but Tlaloc-like goggles are present on the eyes. Only five cases have goggles—these are pedestal cups, with a single exception. One example is paired at R-91 with a braided nose cup. A combination of Chac and Tlaloc attributes is also reported from some Zacpetén censers (Pugh and Rice 2009b:162; P. Rice 2009f:304). The mingling of the Mexican and Mayan rain god characteristics probably attests to high levels of interregional interaction and their functional parallels in the religious systems of both regions.

Almost half of the contexts ( $N = 7$ ) with Chac cups do not have censers, and this reflects the fact that the use of Chac vessels was widespread. The sample of nineteen Chac cups originated from temples (26 percent); halls (26 percent); shrines, sanctuaries, and altars (21 percent); oratories (11 percent); and houses (16 percent). They were most commonly found in or around the interior altars of these buildings (table 7.6). The majority of these vessels were originally altar offerings; when found near the altars, the altars had been looted in antiquity and the vessels had been discarded in close proximity. Only two contexts, shrines at A-1 and Y-30, are associated with small commoner domestic



groups, and all others are from elite residential or public buildings in or near the monumental zone. J. Thompson (1957) observed that Itzamna's importance in the Postclassic Period did not continue into Colonial times. He contrasts this pattern with that of Chac. Thompson suggested that Itzamna may have been a god who was more important to the nobility, whereas Chac was more broadly important to commoners and continued traditions of village agriculture. Although his idea resonates compellingly, elites at Mayapán seem to have appropriated Chac effectively for rites involving altar offerings at monumental buildings or palaces.

Non-effigy tripod cups, sometimes associated with Chac cups, functioned in similar ways and may pertain to rituals involving Chac. There are thirty-one plain cups in our sample that originate from twenty-three contexts, only three of which are outside of Square Q on the Mayapán map (the epicenter). Two of these plain cups are from non-elite contexts. Eight structures have multiple tripod or pedestal cup offerings of two or three vessels, and only three combine non-effigy cups with Chac effigy cups. Non-effigy cups come from eight altar, shrine, or sanctuary structures, five halls, four temples, three oratories; and three houses, and are distributed across all major groups of the Main Plaza.

Chac effigy censers (table 7.7) are among the five most common censer groups in the sample (9 percent). Over half of them (57.4 percent) come from the Templo Redondo compound that includes Q-88, 88a, 88b, 88e, Q-151, Q-152, and Q-152c. Although these structures face different directions and might have been part of courtyard groups shared with nearby buildings, they are back to back or side by side with each other or the Templo Redondo, and they represent an elevated, intimate group that shares refuse zones, passageways, alleys, or staircases. The concentration of Chac censers at the Templo Redondo group is probably significant. This group forms the east border of the Main Plaza of the city. An additional 19 percent of the Chac censers were recovered from the adjacent cluster of buildings that forms the north border of the Main Plaza (Q-80, Q-81, and Q-79/79a). Milbrath and Peraza Lope (2009:598) suggest that Xiu nobles, known as "rain-bringers," were the patrons of Hall Q-151 (Hall of the Chac Masks), which is located at the southern end of the Templo Redondo cluster and faces its own courtyard. These authors' assessment represents one plausible explanation for the prevalence of Chac effigies at this group.

Like the Templo Redondo cluster, the Q-80 cluster includes structures that face opposite courts, but they share a narrow alley. The rear room of the Q-80 temple, where the serpent mural is located, opens toward the alley and the back of the Q-81 hall. Although 19 percent of the Chac effigies are

concentrated at the Q-80 group, this quantity is less than half of the amount (57.4 percent) found at the Templo Redondo group. The Q-80 group has a diverse assemblage, with examples of almost every kind of censer present. An additional five Chac effigies were present at palace group R-86, just east of the monumental zone. Including these groups, Chac censers were present at four halls, three temples, one palace, a platform, a shrine, and an oratory. The greatest concentration at individual structures is observed at the Q-88a hall and the R-86 palace group, which had four and five Chac effigies, respectively. All other contexts had one example, except for Q-80 ( $N = 2$ ) and Q-152c ( $N = 2$ ).

#### MERCHANT GOD/WHISKERED GOD

The merchant god is primarily observed in censer form (table 7.8, figure 7.4), although one stucco portrait was present on a sculpted column at Hall Q-163 (figure 2.10). Ten faces and three noses were present among the censers. J. Thompson's (1957) unidentified "whiskered god" was also common, with fifteen examples (figure 7.4). The whiskered god censers probably portray merchants, although they are separately tabulated and evaluated in this discussion. Together whiskered entities and merchant effigies represent the most ubiquitous category of censers (26.7 percent,  $N = 28$ ). Only Chac is more numerous when cups and censers are considered.

Merchant effigies exhibit interesting variation. The most diagnostic attributes include an elongated nose and hollow eyes. Hollow eyes were present on all of the faces ( $N = 10$ ) discussed here and three additional noses belonged to this deity (from Q-74, Q-98, and Q-162). Less uniform attributes of merchants include the presence of a bird headdress ( $N = 1$ , Q-81), the presence of whiskers on merchants ( $N = 3$ , Q-81, Q-163a, and R-86), the presence of a side flap headdress ( $N = 2$ , Q-79/79a and Q-163a), and the presence of a protruding lip plug and flat cap ( $N = 4$ , two at Q-81, also at Q-172 and Y-8b). Two major variants can be discerned that include the whiskered, side flap, or bird headdress variety and the protruding lip, flat cap variety that resembles God M (J. Thompson 1957), as illustrated in figure 7.4.

Fifteen effigy censers are classified as deities with whiskers (table 7.8). As some clearly identified merchants have whiskers, and most other known Postclassic Maya deities do not, it is likely that whiskered entities are also merchants, perhaps shown without hollow eyes. Taube (1992:figures 44b, 45) illustrates multiple examples of whiskered merchants from the Maya codices and other art. Two whiskered entities have bird headdresses, and at Q-81 this

TABLE 7.8 Structures with whiskered and merchant Chen Mul Modeled effigy censers.

	<i>Whiskered gods</i>		<i>Merchant gods</i>		<i>Combined whiskered and merchant gods</i>
	<i>No.</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>No.</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>%</i>
House Q-62	1	6.7	—	—	3.6
Platform Q-74	—	—	1	7.7	3.6
Shrine Q-79/79a	2	13.3	1	7.7	10.7
Temple Q-80	3	20.0	—	—	10.7
Hall Q-81	1	6.7	3	23.1	14.3
Oratory Q-82	1	6.7	—	—	3.6
Temple Q-95	1	6.7	—	—	3.6
Shrine Q-98	1	6.7	1	7.7	7.1
Hall Q-152c	1	6.7	—	—	3.6
Hall Q-161	—	—	1	7.7	3.6
Temple Q-162	2	13.3	1	7.7	10.7
Sanctuary Q-162b	1	6.7	—	—	3.6
Sanctuary Q-163a	—	—	1	7.7	3.6
House Q-172	—	—	1	7.7	3.6
House K-67	1	6.7	—	—	3.6
House R-86	—	—	1	7.7	3.6
Oratory Y-8b	—	—	2	15.4	7.1
Total	15	100.0	13	100.0	100.0

headdress is also worn by a whiskered merchant. A whiskered, hollow-eyed merchant figure of stucco is observed at Q-163, and he wears a bird headdress (figure 2.10). The whiskered entity on the Santa Rita mural (Tun 6 Ahau figure) also has a bird headdress (J. Thompson 1957). Males with young faces are the only other censer category with multiple examples of bird headdresses (one Itzamna example is present), and as we discuss in chapter 6, this may be linked to military roles that are one aspect of merchant activities. One unique whiskered figure from K-67 wears a helmet with a spike on top. Outside of the Maya area, some other Mesoamerican gods had whiskers, including Quetzalcoatl/Ehecatl in the Borgia Codex. The single trait of whiskers is not



A



B

**FIGURE 7.4.** *Effigy censer burners identified as merchant gods (A) and gods with whiskers (possibly also merchant gods) (B). Courtesy of Carlos Peraza Lope, photos by Bradley Russell.*

sufficient to propose a Quetzalcoatl/Kukulcan identity for Mayapán, especially when some clear examples of merchants also have whiskers. Whiskers may also connote a jaguar association (J. Thompson 1957:611).

The distribution of merchant and whiskered god effigy censers is shown in table 7.8. These are concentrated in two localities of the Main Plaza—the

Q-80 group and the Q-162 group. The Temple Q-80 group accounts for 46.7 percent of the whiskered effigies and 30.8 percent of merchants (including Q-81, Q-79, Q-79a, and Q-82). The Temple of Kukulcan group accounts for 20 percent of the whiskered entities and 23.1 percent of merchants (Q-162, Q-161, Q-162b, and Q-163a). All other occurrences are single censers from different groups—except for Oratory Y-8b, where two merchant effigies were found. Whiskered and merchant censers are not linked to a particular building type, as whiskered effigies are found at three temples and two houses, and merchants are found at one platform, one temple, and two residences. Both are found at one oratory, three shrines, and two halls.

Together, the Q-80 and Q-162 clusters account for 66.7 percent of the whiskered god censers and 53.8 percent of the merchant god censers (table 7.8, Structures Q-81, 81, 82, 161, 162, 162b, 163). The fact that these two categories cluster at the same architectural groups lends support to our suggestion that they both represent merchants. These concentrations occur at two of the most important sets of architecture in the monumental center of Mayapán and reveal the central place given to merchant deities in rites of the Main Plaza.

#### MAIZE GOD AND KUKULCAN

Maize gods and Kukulcan were difficult to identify in a sample of fragmented censers and censer faces (table 7.9, figure 7.5). Both entities might be expected to have young male faces, of which we found many. Loose costume elements cannot be securely linked to these faces. In the Maya codices, the maize god has a vertical jagged line that crosses his face (Schellhas 1904:167; Taube 1992:41) that was not present in any of the examples in our sample. Since our analysis, however, a new censer was recovered from Hall Q-54 that has a stepped cut-out face, maize foliation, youthful features, and a blue paint that probably represents the maize god (Milbrath and Peraza Lope 2013:220; Milbrath, Peraza Lope, and Delgado Kú 2010). Other ceramic art may portray the maize god, who Taube (1992:41) connects to diving figures at Tulum and a small stone sculpture at Mayapán. Many such descending figures are represented in stone sculptures ( $N = 13$ ) and effigy ceramics ( $N = 4$ ). Flowers and maize foliage adorn possible maize god images at Tulum (Taube 1992:41); botanical elements are abundant in our sample, including ten buds, fourteen flowers, sixteen maize plants, and twelve maize tamales (or copal balls). We suspect that these botanical embellishments were part of censers belonging to some of the young male faces, although this association was not constant.

Eight of the structures where young male faces were found had either flowers or maize elements while seven did not.

The maize god is occasionally linked to sacrifice, particularly disembowelment, as in two cases in the Dresden and Paris codices (Taube 1992:44). Disembowelment is closely associated with harvesting maize (especially green corn) elsewhere in Mesoamerica (Taube 1992:44). In these instances and others, Taube notes that the maize god is shown with closed eyes, indicating death. We have one censer body that is disemboweled from Oratory Q-82 (figure 7.5b). A slit was modeled into the censer torso in its lower right abdomen, from which applique entrails protrude. At the top of the sternum area, a wound is also painted on this torso from which blood flows. Perhaps this effigy represents a sacrificed maize deity. As mentioned previously, four young-faced male censers have closed eyes but lack any other attributes that would link them to closed-eye Xipe Totec figures. These examples from Oratory Q-88, Hall Q-151 (N = 2), and Palace R-86 may represent the maize deity.

Other young-faced male effigies may represent the maize god. One vessel has a youthful face that is modeled on the side of a simple vase. Corncob elements may be present in the headdress. Sixteen other young faces are also possible contenders (table 7.9, first column on left), although they may also represent warriors. These young faces are generally attractive, and some resemble a maize god effigy identified by Howard D. Winters (1955b). A complicating factor is that the maize god is not the only male deity who is youthful or beautiful in the Postclassic Period; the Venus deity and Kukulcan could also be put into this category (J. Thompson 1957; Winters 1955b). In fact, the faces of one Kukulcan example and one maize god example from Hall Q-81 were made from the same censer face mold (Winters 1955b). Masson has argued that it is difficult to know whether the Tulum descending figures portray Kukulcan or the maize god, as the former was said to descend from the heavens to receive offerings on certain ritual occasions (Landa 1941:158; Masson 2000:221, 231–37). The painted design on the face of the Venus entity aids in identification, but paint has eroded from some of our youthful male examples. Warriors may also have been young and attractive, as suggested by two males with bird headdresses from H-17a and K-67.

Carnegie investigators were conservative with identifications of the maize god or Kukulcan, and they often resorted to describing censers as having youthful faces. A single example of each god was reported by Winters (1955b) from Hall Q-81, made possible by the recovery of fully restorable effigies. Each of these reconstructed censers carries ball adornos, and maize foliage sprouts from the ball held by the maize god. The Kukulcan censer wears a conch shell pendant that represents the primary identifier and has a puma

TABLE 7-9 Ch'ên Mul effigy vessels with male faces that represent unknown entities.

	Young male faces	Other adult male faces	Filed- tooth male	Male w/bird beaddress	Bird beaddress	Male w/ reptile beaddress	Reptile beaddress	Male w/5-point shield	Male w/ helmet	Total
Temple Q-58	-	1	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	2
House Q-62	1	-	-	1	-	1	-	-	-	3
Hall Q-64	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	2
Hall Q-70	1	-	2	-	1	-	-	-	-	4
Hall Q-72	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0
Shrine Q-79/79a	2	-	-	1	-	1	1	-	-	5
Temple Q-80	2	1	6	-	-	-	-	-	-	9
Hall Q-81	-	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2
Oratory Q-82	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	1
Oratory Q-88	1	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2
Hall Q-88a	1	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	2
Platform Q-88b	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
Shrine Q-89	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
Hall Q-151	2	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	3
Temple Q-95	1	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	2
Temple Q-126	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	1
Portal Vault Q-127	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1

	Young male faces	Other adult male faces	Filed- tooth male	Male w/bird beaddress	Bird beaddress	Male w/ reptile beaddress	Reptile beaddress	Male w/5-point shield	Male w/ helmet	Total
Cenote Ch'en Mul	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
Temple Q-162	1	-	-	-	2	-	-	-	-	3
Sanctuary Q-162c	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	1
Altar Q-162h	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	1
House Q-208	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
Temple H-17	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
Altar H-17a	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	1
House K-67	-	1	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	2
Palace R-86	2	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	3
House J-71a	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	1
Other	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	1	-	2
Totals (number)	17	11	9	7	6	3	2	2	1	58
Total (percent)	29	19	16	12	10	5	3	3	2	

Note: The North Plaza has 9 percent (Q-58/62.64, N = 5), the West group (Q-70, N = 4) has 7 percent, the North group (Q-79/79a/80/81/82, N = 17) has 29 percent, the East group (Q-151/88/88a/88b, N = 9) has 16 percent, the Castillo group (Q-162, 162c/162h, Cenote Ch'en Mul, N = 6) has 10 percent, and the Itzmal Ch'en group (H-17/17a, N = 2) has 3 percent. The Q-72 example is from a Lacandon-style head vessel and could be the maize god. It is not included in the percentages calculated.



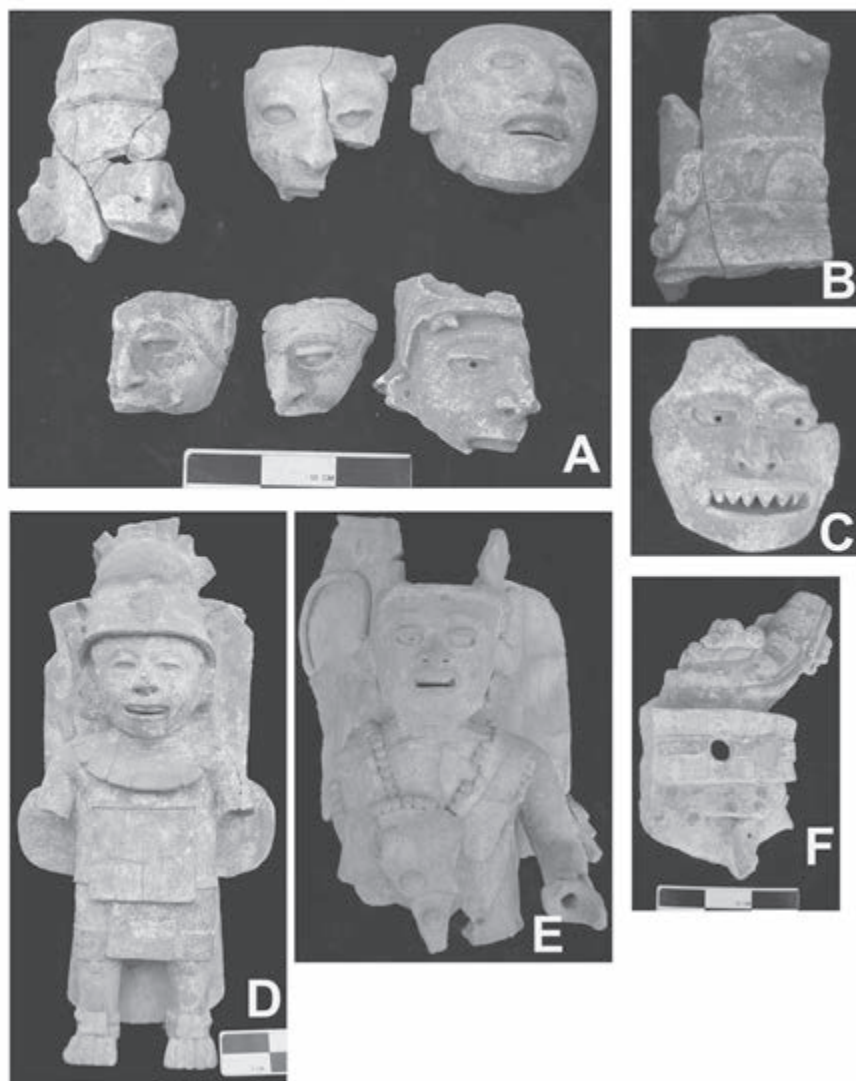
headdress (Winters 1955b; J. Thompson 1957). This figure does not have the flanking knots or turquoise disk that the Dresden Kukulcan possesses (Taube 1992:60, figure 27a). The Dresden figure has a collar of olive shells, as do comparative examples shown by Taube from Aztec codices. No olive shells were present in our study collection of censer adornos, but one conch shell adorno was found, from the Temple of Kukulcan. This shell may have been part of a Kukulcan censer.

The fisherman mural figure on the bench of Q-95 wears an oversize olive shell in his midsection and may represent Kukulcan (figure 2.24; Masson and Peraza Lope 2007). Unfortunately, the face of this mural was obliterated in antiquity. The presence of a water serpent in this scene is additional evidence for the identification of this figure as God H, who is linked separately to water serpents and Quetzalcoatl in the Dresden Codex (Taube 1992:56, 60). The Classic Period Water Lily Serpent is also linked to the wind glyph (Taube 1992:59). It is curious that this deity, so important to Mayapán, is not clearly represented in human form, in contrast to numerous zoomorphic and architectural referents. Kukulcan is well represented by serpent columns and balustrades, round temples (Milbrath and Peraza Lope 2003a:23; Pollock 1936; Ringle, Négron, and Bey 1998), and bird-beaked Ehecatl sculptures that depict this entity as the wind god.

#### OTHER MALE CENSERS

Some censers published in the Carnegie *Current Reports* were not identified to specific deities, particularly those with adult male faces that did not look particularly old or young (table 7.9). In our analysis of the INAH assemblage, we had a similar problem. Some adult male censer faces in our sample have distinctive markings that may be linked to specific deities that have yet to be identified, particularly those with scroll designs on their faces or filed teeth. Both of these unusual types concentrate at the Q-80 group (figure 7.5c).

The bodies of restored effigies with adult male faces that were recovered by Peraza Lope's INAH project, along with examples from Chichén Itzá, reveal costume elements that are suggestive of warriors. Animal headdresses, helmets, thick cotton breastplates, and pectoral quincunx shields or medallions may attest to this role (figure 7.5d-f). Fragments of censer bodies from the INAH sample reveal more examples of possible braided cotton armor. Rather than armor, such textile elements may have been part of aged deities (Milbrath and Peraza Lope 2013:218). Proskouriakoff and Charles R. Temple (1955) identified one censer from the R-86 palace as an "Eagle Knight." Bird



**FIGURE 7.5.** *Effigy censers with young male faces, including some that may represent the maize god (A), a sacrificial torso with intestines emerging (B), and an example of filed-tooth males (C). Some males have a helmet (D), with a medallion (probably the five-point turquoise symbol (E), or commonly wear bird or reptile (F) headdresses. Courtesy of Carlos Peraza Lope, photos by Bradley Russell.*

or reptile headdresses are common among the adult male effigies; other animal elements are also found, including a jaguar pelt (Q-162) and bat imagery (Q-79). Human tenoned and freestanding sculptures, as discussed previously, have similar headdresses. Some adult male faces may represent warriors, perhaps those who were associated with military orders, as proposed for other Mesoamerican cities (Hirth 1989:69, 73, 77; Sugiyama 2004:118).

Types of headgear may be particularly diagnostic at Mayapán. Recognizable deities such as Itzamna, Chac, Venus, the Monkey Scribe, and various females have turban or miter-style headdresses while males with adult faces that lack diagnostic facial markings tend to have bird or reptile headdresses. Only rarely do other identified gods have animal headdresses, with the exception of merchants, who were known to be armed and martially skilled. Of thirty-one examples of Itzamna ceramic or stone sculptures at the site, only one has a bird headdress (Q-80), and two examples of the merchant god have animal headgear (Q-81 and Q-62). Whiskered gods (also possibly merchants) sometimes have bird headdresses (Q-81 and Q-62), as does a sculpted column whiskered head from Q-163. J. Thompson (1957) states that Chac censers are occasionally associated with reptile headdresses, although we do not see evidence for this in our sample. The single Kukulcan censer from Q-81 has a puma headdress.

If the bird and reptile headdresses (and perhaps other animals) do indicate the presence of warrior orders at the site, we have new insight into the importance of such an organization in the city's rituals. There are hints of the existence of such orders from documents, notably the Chumayel chronicle's metaphorical description of conflict at Mayapán, where the snakes and jaguars are said to bite each other, and also where the "kinkajou claws the back of the jaguar" (Roys 1962:44, Roys 1933:197). Ralph L. Roys long ago interpreted these passages to refer to the existence of warrior orders at Mayapán analogous to those of central Mexico and Chichén Itzá (Roys 1962:44, Roys 1933:197). But the animals referred to in these passages do not correspond neatly to the prevalent bird and reptile headdresses worn by the effigies.

Although jaguars or pumas are present in the iconography of Mayapán, they are not as common as birds or reptiles in the headdresses. Jaguars are not dominant in any particular building program, as they are at Chichén Itzá, and there are very few representations of felines in censer or stone art. At the Temple of Kukulcan one censer (face missing) has a jaguar pelt headdress; separately, four feline effigy censer paws were found by Peraza Lope's team. A Kukulcan censer has a puma headdress from Q-81 (Winters 1955b). One full figure effigy censer seems to have the body of a feline (Q-151). Stone or stucco representations of jaguars are also found at an altar and dance platform aligned

with the Temple of Kukulcan (Q-162d and Q-77), one other serpent temple (Q-159), the shrine of an additional hall (Q-72b), and the Itzmal Ch'en temple (H-17). It is odd that feline imagery is so rare at Mayapán, given the references in the chronicles and important precedents at Chichén Itzá. Felines are also rare in the site's faunal record. The dominance of bird imagery in the headdresses of male adult censers differs from the dominance of serpent imagery in stone sculpture and architecture.

Quincunx emblems include five dots that mark the four corners of a square and a center point (Freidel, Schele, and Parker 1993). Shields with this design may represent jeweled banners such as those carried to or placed in front of temples in the Nuttall Codex (e.g., Nuttall 1975:1, 18). This symbol also decorates certain temples (Nuttall 1975:15, 18), which Bruce E. Byland and John M. D. Pohl (1994:77) identify as a jewel in its roof. Taube (1992:125) states that this symbol is characteristic of a Mexican fire god at Mayapán. Two examples of quincunx banners are present in our collection. Two additional censers display a shield-sized pectoral with this design that is draped over the midsection of adult males, possibly warriors. One of the males is helmeted and the other is missing its headgear; these pieces originate from Sanctuary Q-162c and the Q-64 hall. Two cases of helmet-like headgear are documented, including one each from the Carnegie and INAH projects (figure 7.5d). One wears the quincunx pectoral just discussed (Q-162c, figure 7.5e). The helmet fits close around the face and tapers to a point at the top, and it is unique in the collection. The other helmet is worn by a whiskered entity from house group K-67.

A total of fifty-eight male faces are present in our sample (figure 7.5a, d, e). Of these, seventeen have beautiful faces and might represent the maize god. Assuming that other entities might also have had beautiful faces, these handsome examples cannot be definitively identified. Some young or mature (not aged) males have distinguishing characteristics such as bird or reptile headdresses, helmets, quincunx shields, or filed teeth (figure 7.5). Eleven faces could not be identified to any specific deity and could not be classified as especially attractive. Nine filed-tooth males were present in the sample, and these were concentrated in two contexts—seven from the Q-80 temple and two from the Q-70 hall.

Ten examples had bird or reptile headdresses, and six additional isolated bird and two isolated reptile headdresses were present in the collection that had been detached from the faces. The spatial distribution of bird and reptile headdresses is broad (table 7.9). Censer headdresses of both types are found at the Q-79/79a shrine and at a house (Q-62) next to Hall Q-64. All other

contexts have exclusively bird ( $N = 8$ ) or exclusively reptile ( $N = 2$ ) censer headdress figures. The thirteen different contexts with either headdress type include two halls, three shrine/altars, four temples, and four houses. At least one house and one shrine are linked directly to an adjacent hall. Bird headdress elements ( $N = 13$ ) are much more common than reptiles ( $N = 5$ ). Stone sculpture examples of reptile headdress figures are known from two residential groups—J-71b and R-89—and a stone bird headdress figure was found at Hall Q-70. All stone examples are from architectural groups where censer examples were also found.

Bird headgear is exclusively present on censers at Temples Q-58 and Q-95, Altar H-17a (of Temple H-17), Q-162 (along with one of its altars, Q-162h), Hall Q-70, Oratory Q-82, and one upper-status house (K-67). Reptile headdress censers (figure 7.5f) are exclusively present at two contexts: the Q-88a hall and the Q-126 round temple. Some of the most important major groups at the site center are represented by these contexts, including the North Plaza (Q-58/62), a group along the Main Plaza's western edge (Q-70), the Q-80 group that connects the North and Main Plazas (Q-79/79a/82), the Templo Redondo group (Q-88a), the Temple of Kukulcan group (Q-162/162h), and other major features, including the Q-95 Fisherman Temple, the round portal vault Temple Q-126, and three major domestic compounds (R-86/87, K-67, and J-71a). The outlying ceremonial group of Itzmal Ch'en (H-17a), in this respect, replicates art from the site center. From Chichén Itzá, fully restored examples of male effigy censers with bird and reptile headdresses and cotton braided breast plates are currently on display at El Gran Museo del Mundo Maya de Mérida.

Generic adult male faces from which headdresses have been detached are sometimes found in the same contexts as those with bird or reptile headdresses ( $N = 3$ ). Sometimes they are present in locations without other censers with such headdresses ( $N = 6$ ). The same pattern is observed for beautiful face males without headdresses; in six cases, they are found with those wearing animal headdresses, and in eight cases, they are not. But twenty-two of twenty-eight adult male faces (beautiful or not) overlap with the same six architectural groups listed above for the bird/reptile headdress distributions. Closed-eye faces are also present at Q-151 ( $N = 2$ ), R-86 ( $N = 1$ ), Q-88, and Q-151; they also have the potential to represent ancestral or patron gods rather than specific entities from the Maya codices. Two examples of male faces with nose plug ornaments were also found in the INAH collection, although such ornaments were not unique to warriors. The nose plug censers were also from the Q-80 temple.

A group of censer faces found by the INAH project exhibits distinctive teeth that are filed to a point (table 7.9). This tooth modification provides a fierce appearance, and although Landa (1941:125) describes this practice as one of beautification for women, the censer examples from Mayapán have cropped hairstyles that clearly identify them as male (figure 7.5c). It is interesting that they are concentrated at only two contexts. Most of them are from the Q-80 temple group (seven of nine examples), and two others are present at the Q-70 hall. An effigy censer with filed teeth was recovered at Zacpetén from an oratory or temple, Structure 605; this variant is unusual for that site (Pugh and Rice 2009b:150–53). Another example at that site is reported from group 719 (Pugh, Rice, and Cecil 2009:194). Few examples of such censers have been reported; we are not aware of any in the Maya area other than Zacpetén and these two edifices at Mayapán. It is tempting to interpret these findings as evidence for affinity between the two sites (e.g., chapter 3; Rice and Rice 2009).

Warriors are infrequently portrayed in solid figurines in the Postclassic Maya realm. Known cases include Mayapán House Q-214 and at Santa Rita Corozal in Belize (Chase and Chase 1988:figure 3). Effigy censer portraits of warriors are also reported from Champotón (Milbrath et al. 2008:108). Perhaps the veneration of patron gods of warrior orders was important, or alternatively, revered ancestral lords were portrayed in military gear, as was common in earlier Maya art (Schele and Freidel 1990). War captains would have been influential in Mayapán society as the chief enforcers of state policy (Restall 2001:table 11.3, Roys 1962:50). When they failed, the city recruited mercenaries (Roys 1962:59). Like some of its predecessor capitals in Mesoamerica, Mayapán could have instituted ideological events and objects celebrating the importance of service to the state through the military (e.g., Sugiyama 2004; Headrick 2007).

One problem with the warrior identification is the lack of weapons in the censer assemblage. The Q-214 solid figurine carries a spear. We are left with the conclusion that entities who wore animal headdresses probably carried objects of copal, rubber, maize, or cacao, as did other censer effigies at the site. Perhaps these effigies were patron gods of warrior orders and thus held offerings presented for success in battle.

Warriors are well glorified elsewhere in Mesoamerican art, as exemplified in the eagle/jaguar battle scenes of the Cacaxtla murals (Nagao 1989). Closer in time to Mayapán are the Mixtec codices, where many actors (including some females) in the Nuttall Codex wear bird or reptile headdresses (along with feline headdresses). In many scenes, these figures are not engaged in acts of war (e.g., Nuttall 1975:91). Many actors are ultimately involved in dynastic combative struggles, although it is not clear that their primary occupation



was the role of warrior. The Mixtec codices suggest that animal headdresses are more closely related to mythology rather than military institutions in that region. Most striking is a scene from the War of Heaven involving 9 Wind, the Mixtec equivalent of Quetzalcoatl. Patriarchal/priestly figures, the Yaha Yahui, descend from the sky in this scene on page 48 of the *Codex Vindobonensis*, wearing bird and serpent headdresses (Byland and Pohl 1994:figure 38). They are identified as avatars of 9 Wind by Byland and Pohl (1994:88). A mythological underpinning for these elements of Mayapán's censers and sculptures cannot be ruled out. Kukulcan would have been as important at Mayapán as 9 Wind would have been to Mixteca dynasties, and perhaps the bird/serpent headdresses of the censers signal entities that were devoted to this founding deity. Eagle headdresses are most commonly depicted in the Nuttall and other codices, but the Mayapán birds lack the hooked beak and appear to represent different species. When Mixtec priests are shown (Byland and Pohl 1994:figures 60, 61), they do not have animal headdresses, although their headgear changes with the occasion. Their gear includes miters similar to those of the gods of the Maya codices and many Mayapán censers. Guilhem Olivier (2003:plate 1) notes examples where the Aztec deity Tezcatlipoca appears in the guise of both a turkey and a vulture in highland codices. This example illustrates the point that certain actors could adorn themselves in animal gear for specific occasions.

At Chichén Itzá, evidence is stronger that bird headdresses were associated with military officials—for example, as observed on the Mercado (3D11) balustrades and sculptured dais (Ruppert 1943:236, figure 23). The combatants on the Temple of the Wall Panels (north panel) have hovering snakes and jaguars that face off with their human counterparts (Ruppert 1931:plate 11). Warriors, identified by their weapons, also wear serpent/reptile headdresses at Chichén Itzá, as on two (south and north) sculpted pilasters of the Mercado (Ruppert 1943:figure 20a, f). Many more examples of warriors with animal headdresses exist at Chichén Itzá, although this is not the only type of headgear that warriors have at that site. Two complete bird and reptile headdress censers from El Gran Museo del Mundo Maya in Mérida are from Chichén Itzá, and they link this iconography to the censers.

Headdresses on other effigies come in several basic forms that could be lumped under the general classifications of turbans, flaps, feathers, and cones. Turbans often have large discs across a wide band over the forehead, with a cylinder or funnel-shaped priestly miter element extending above the band (Taube 1992); these are present on censers and the stucco sculptures of the Q-163 hall (Peraza Lope 1999). Another common turban variant is a band that is covered in rows of beaded or knotted cloth, above which rise similar

elements to the disc band turbans. Side flap headdresses are rare (figure 7.4a), and only two examples are known from censer sample. Feathers are common back rack elements for many censers, but a few stone sculptures have feathered headdresses as observed at Q-70 (figure 7.1). Torsos on censers and stone sculptures have various layered tunics, pectoral cloth collars, finely made loin-cloths, and occasional pendants.

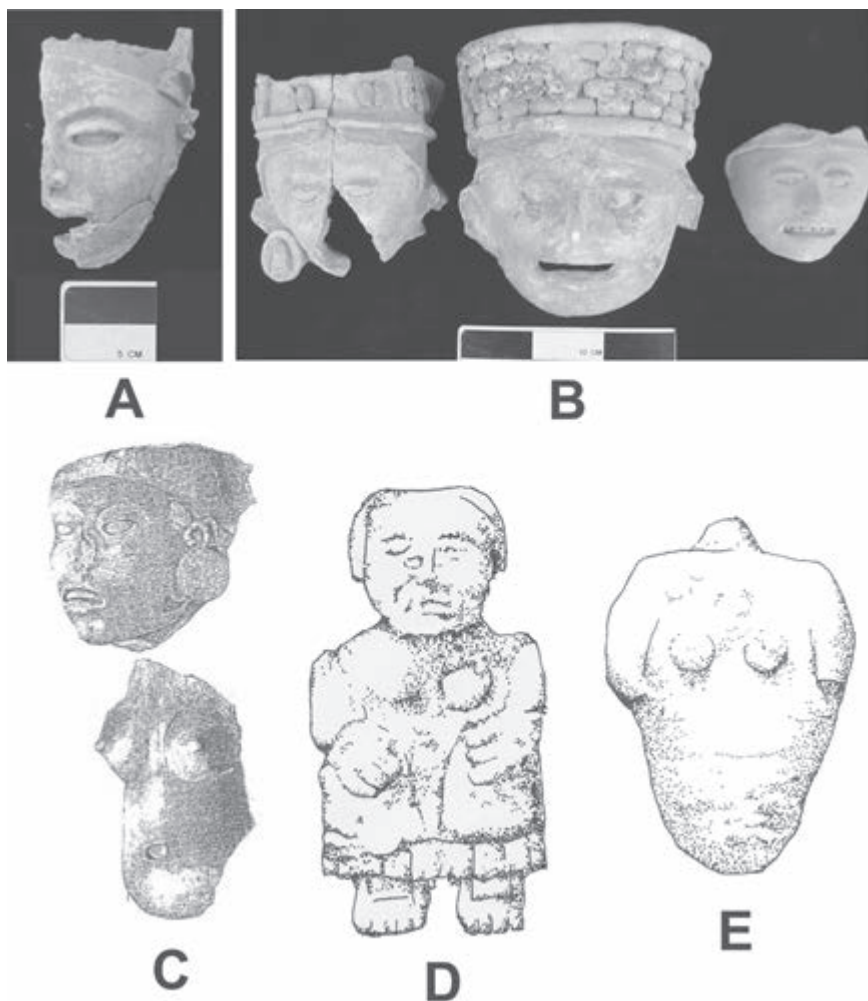
## FEMALES

Females are rare in Mayapán art compared to males. One female sculpture was paired with a male at Hall Q-161 (figure 7.1), and she is likely an ancestor or other key historical person. Other examples probably represent goddesses. A female torso was found at Sanctuary Q-157a (figure 7.6e). This figure has bare breasts and is broad and crudely made. Another female was reported (Shook 1954a) from round Temple Q-214 and is thought to represent a deity. She wears a V-shaped shawl to the back, although her breasts are bare, and her braided hair is crossed in the rear. She is seated with her knees drawn up, perhaps in a childbearing position. Shook (1954c:19) suggested that she represents Goddess O/Ixchel, as this portrait evinces broad, mature, and authoritative qualities. Both of the females from Q-157a and Q-214 may represent Ixchel, as they share the attributes of broad bodies and bare breasts (figure 7.6d). There are no other specific deity attributes on these sculptures of older women.

Another female sculpture was found at the base of the Castillo's (Q-162) east stair (figure 2.13). Her age is not discernible, as her head has been removed. She is shown grinding at a metate, and this piece perhaps celebrated female roles in the food production process (figure 2.13). Alternatively, the sculpture may refer to a creation myth. A female with a mano and metate is present in the upper celestial realm of the Tulum Structure 16 mural; the scene seems to celebrate dynastic history and mythology (Miller 1982:plate 37; Masson 2000).

At Hall Q-163, a young female was portrayed in plaster around a sculpted column (figure 7.6c). This beautiful, pregnant young woman is identified by Milbrath and Peraza Lope (2003a:26, figure 21) as Tlazolteotl, the Aztec goddess of childbirth. But the column figure does not bear any diagnostic facial markings, including those of the Aztec goddess. Her beauty and youth also recall the younger aspect of Postclassic Maya Goddess I, as shown in the codices (Taube 1992:figure 29), although it is the older Ixchel who is more closely linked to childbirth (Taube 1992, Tozzer 1941:129). Merideth Paxton (2001:148) makes a compelling case that these old and young female portrayals depict the same goddess (Ixchel) at different ages, as they share numerous attributes and





**FIGURE 7.6.** Young (A) and older (B) female effigy censers from Mayapán's monumental center (courtesy of Carlos Peraza Lope, photos by Bradley Russell), and monumental center female sculptures, including a young female (stucco column, Hall Q-163, courtesy of Carlos Peraza Lope), a seated older female sculpture from round Temple Q-214 (D), and another sculpture from Shrine Q-157a (E). Objects in D and E drawn by Kendra Farstad from Proskouriakoff (1962a:figure 10f and 10b).

an identification glyph in the codices. Thompson (1950:83) at one point made a similar argument, as Taube (1992:64) acknowledges. Old and young goddesses in the Maya codices reflected ideal roles for women in Postclassic Maya society (Vail and Stone (2002).

Tlazolteotl's face was identified by J. Thompson (1957) in two examples in the Carnegie censer assemblage, based on distinctive markings, including a U-shaped nose ornament and a yellow and white face with black lip and cheek markings (table 7.10). He states that she is closely associated with weaving, Xipe Totec rituals, and merchants in the central Mexican documentary records. Thompson found examples from Palace R-86 and the Q-208 elite residence. Notably, rare Xipe Totec effigy censers were also found at these two structures.

Eleven other fragments of female censers were recovered by the INAH project, representing a minimum number of seven women in six faces and one fully restored censer (table 7.10). Four other torso fragments with breasts were found. Female effigies are concentrated at the Temple Q-80 group, including six with young faces and two with old faces. Two female torso fragments originate from the Q-80 temple itself, and the other examples are from adjacent Hall Q-81 and Oratory Q-55. Three of the females have blue-painted faces (figure 7.6a). One female effigy was fully restored (Peraza Lope et al. 1997); it had been smashed and thrown into a mass grave just below the plaza surface at the corner of Hall Q-81 and Shrines Q-79 and 79a (Pedro Delgado Kú, personal communication 2013). A portion of the mass grave was originally investigated by Robert M. Adams, Jr. (1953), and additional work by Peraza Lope et al. (1997) reveals that this deposit is spatially extensive. Milbrath suggests (personal communication, 2013) that this restored female may represent a version of an Aztec female maize goddess (Chicomecoatl), as she wears a central Mexican-style V-shaped shawl (*quechquemitl*). This effigy, and five other examples with young faces, may represent Goddess I, and the two older ones with gaping mouths could either be an older aspect of her or Goddess O/Ixchel, according to Taube's (1992) classification. This explanation is the simplest. Females wore V-shaped shawls in other instances of Postclassic Maya public art. For example, the rear side of the female figure in figure 7.6d has such a shawl (as shown in Proskouriakoff 1962a:figure 10f), as do the female ancestral figures shown on the Tulum murals (Masson 2000, 2003a). Mayapán figurines, however, most commonly wear simple dresses that cover the chest, as do some portraits of probable historical personages (Masson and Peraza Lope 2012). It is probable that many of Mayapán's figurines represented people rather than gods (e.g., M. Smith 2002:105–6).

TABLE 7.10 Structures with female Ch'en Mul Modeled effigy censers.

<i>Structure</i>	<i>Young face (number)</i>	<i>Old face (number)</i>	<i>Female body frag- ment (number)</i>	<i>Tlazolteotl god- dess* (number)</i>
Oratory Q-55	—	—	1	—
Temple Q-80	4	2	2	—
Hall Q-81	—	—	1	—
Residence Q-208	—	—	—	1
Palace R-86	—	—	—	1
Shrine/Hall Q-79/Q-81	1	—	—	—

\* Identified by J. Thompson (1957)

The seven female faces are clearly identified as female by centrally parted long hair that drapes partially over the forehead, with one exception (figure 7.6b). Male censer figures have short cropped hairstyles and the female faces are noticeably more gracile than the males. One female face fragment lacks the hair portion of the censer but exhibits delicate facial features. The concentration of these censers at Temple Q-80 and adjacent Hall Q-81 is striking and suggests that specific ritual practices at this temple were connected to Goddesses I and O. Two Tlazolteotl effigies identified by J. Thompson (1957) come from two residences. Stone or stucco women are present at additional contexts, including public buildings Q-157a, Q-214, Q-162, and Q-163. Women in the city's art are thus represented by four general entity types: young goddess, old goddess, Tlazolteotl, and ancestral figures. The only effigy censers in residential contexts are those of Tlazolteotl, perhaps incorporated by nobility to emphasize their foreign connections (J. Thompson 1957; Masson and Peraza Lope 2010), although some residences had numerous female solid or hollow figurines. These figurines lack distinctive deity characteristics (Masson and Peraza Lope 2012). Female figurines are also reported from Zacpetén, although they are not common (P. Rice 2009f:292–95). A very small proportion of the Mayapán female figurines appear pregnant, as is sometimes the case for the Zacpetén assemblage. Figurines are not found from the coeval sites of Laguna de On or Caye Coco, Belize, with the exception of one articulated puppet-like example from the latter site. Prudence Rice (2009f:292–95) reports that female figurines are found in public and residential contexts, and this distribution is also observed at Mayapán (Masson and Peraza Lope 2010:figures 2–7, 9, 10; Masson and Peraza Lope 2012). The lack of distinctive deity attributes on female figurines in the Postclassic Maya area contrasts

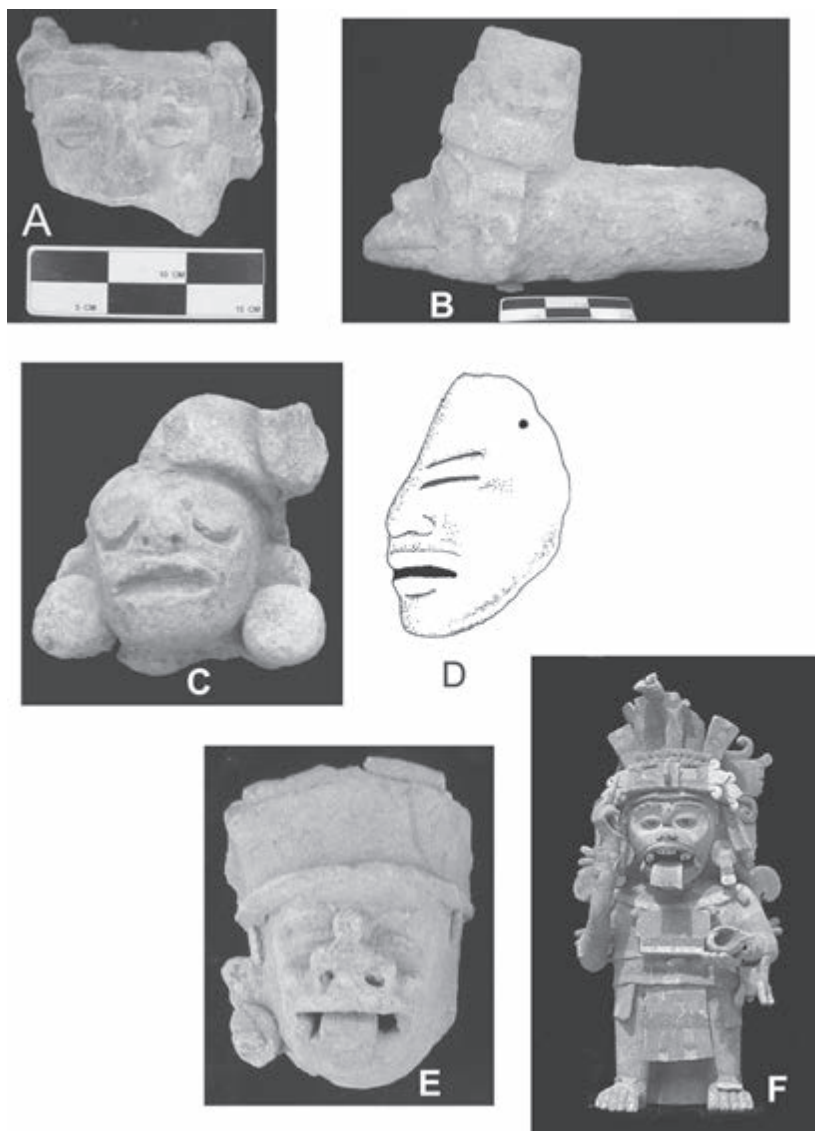
with examples reported from Otumba (C. Charlton 1994). As Prudence Rice (2009f) suggests for Zacpetén, the Mayapán examples were probably important for curing and practices that included household rituals. It is interesting that reverence regarding these figurines also resulted in their deposition in and around monumental buildings; they are also common in child burials at Mayapán (Masson and Peraza Lope 2012).

#### VENUS

Venus deities had a youthful appearance like that of the maize god (Milbrath and Peraza Lope 2013). J. Thompson (1957) tentatively identified a central Mexican Venus god in the Carnegie project assemblage, based on a painted checkerboard facial pattern (figure 7.7a). Four examples are known, and they are concentrated at Shrine Q-79/79a (N = 3) and Hall Q-81 (N = 1), with which these shrines share a platform. This tally includes Thompson's identification of one face at each building; two more were found associated with Q-79/79a by the INAH project. Thompson's examples had lower skeletal jawbones, which he linked to the central Mexican deity Tlauizcalpantecutli and other Venus figures in the Mexican codices (J. Thompson 1957:616). The newly found examples have checkerboard patterns delineated by yellow paint on a white background. Kukulcan was sometimes associated with Venus (Milbrath and Peraza Lope 2003a). It is possible that he is indirectly referenced by these Venus effigies.

#### XIPE TOTEC

Two Xipe Totec sculptures are reported—one of stucco from Hall Q-163 (Peraza Lope 1999; Milbrath and Peraza Lope 2003a) and one of stone from a plaza trench dug between the Temple of Kukulcan and the Q-77 platform (Adams 1953). A couple of other examples of human stone sculptures have closed eyes, as do three additional human tenoned heads, four ceramic masks (figure 7.7d), and the old and young face male censer effigies described previously. It is not certain that all figures with closed eyes represent Xipe Totec, in the absence of other identifying attributes. But at least seven censer effigies definitively portray this entity (figure 7.7c). Two faces each originate from Hall Q-88a and elite Residence Q-208, and one each was found from Altar Q-72b, Temple Q-80, and palace compound R-86 (table 7.11). Two additional censer limbs that exhibit flayed skins come from Q-208, and these fragments probably belong to the same vessels as the faces (J. Thompson 1957). Xipe Totec is the



**FIGURE 7.7.** *Examples of a checkered-face Venus ceramic effigy (A), a stone EbecatI sculpture from the Temple of Kukulcan (B), a Xipe Totec effigy (C), a ceramic mask resembling Xipe (D), and two Monkey Scribe effigy censers (E, F). Examples A–C and E–F are from the monumental center, courtesy of Carlos Peraza Lope. Photos A, B, C, and E by Bradley Russell; photo F by Phil Hostetler; example D is from Structure Q-119, drawn by Kendra Farstad from R. Smith (1971:figure 32d).*

most clearly identified central Mexican deity at Mayapán, and he is present at three major compounds of the Main Plaza and two upper-status residential groups located near the monumental zone. In all contexts where Xipe Totec is found, the assemblage of effigies also includes a majority of more traditional Maya gods. The presence of this deity does not necessarily indicate foreign residences at Mayapán, as this entity was incorporated in a cosmopolitan fashion into rituals involving local supernatural beings (Masson and Peraza Lope 2010). House Q-208 has the greatest number of Xipe representations due to the presence of body fragments and faces, and it is noteworthy that a representation of Tlazolteotl was also found there. This concentration may attest to especially strong international ties of the Q-208 residents. The Xipe Totec censer fragments come from a multiple child burial at this house. There is nothing else that is unusual about the grave, and the presence of this god may be related to the deity's association with renewal in the cycle of death and rebirth.

#### DESCENDING FIGURES

Effigies of diving or descending figures are found in ceramic ( $N = 4$ ) and stone ( $N = 12$ ). They are distributed at both domestic and public buildings in quantities of one or two per edifice (table 7.12). Diving figures are likely to represent different individual deities, or perhaps ancestors, rather than a specific entity known as the diving god (Masson 2000). Other possibilities are discussed in the section treating the maize god and Kukulcan. The lack of diagnostic attributes prohibits the identification of descending entities with specific deities.

#### CERAMIC MASKS

Four ceramic masks were recovered by Carnegie investigators from Structures Q-244b ( $N = 2$ ), Q-119 ( $N = 1$ ), and Q-59b ( $N = 1$ ). Three were from residential contexts and one was from Q-59b, a burial altar in front of Temple Q-58 (table 7.13). These masks may depict deceased humans or gods (figure 7.7d), as suggested previously in the discussion of the maize god, young-faced males, and Xipe Totec. Their slit eyes are closed or partially open and their mouths are open as if to permit speech. Three mouths are oval shaped, and one is an open slit. The masks are all perforated for suspension but are too small to have been worn over a human face, around 7 centimeters in height (Taube 1992:122). A. Ledyard Smith and Karl Ruppert (1956:figure 10f) suggest that the example from Q-244b was used as a pectoral. It is not possible to determine whether the masks were intended for covering skeletal bundles

TABLE 7.11 Structures with Xipe Totec Chen Mul Modeled effigy censers.

<i>Structure</i>	<i>Number</i>
Altar Q-72b	1
Temple Q-80	1
Hall Q-88a	2
Residence Q-208	2
Palace R-86	1

of the deceased, as has been argued for other mask traditions of Mesoamerica (Headrick 2007:55–56). Only one of these contexts is a burial (Q-59b). No burials are reported from Q-119a and the mask from Q-244b was not in one of the burials. Thus, their use as funerary masks cannot be inferred from the present data, although they all come from residences and may have been part of mortuary bundles removed at some point from funerary contexts. These items are rare at the site, and while each is unique, all share basic similarities. They originate from contexts that are not spatially clustered. One derives from a temple group at the site center (Q-59b), two from a large elite residential group to the southeast of the center (Q-244b), and one is from a large residential group to the center's northeast (Q-119). Masks are rare at Zacpetén, although one example was recovered that represents the face of a rain deity that is unlike the human face masks of Mayapán (P. Rice 2009f:297).

Taube (1992:122, figure 74) identifies these masks as representations of Xipe Totec. They might represent pectorals linked to the veneration of this deity rather than representations of deceased residents of the city. They do not originate from any contexts where Xipe Totec censers were found. If these masks do represent Xipe Totec, then the total number of contexts with this god at the city would be increased to thirteen. The only attributes that these masks share with Xipe Totec are the closed eyes and open, prominent mouths and lips. Human sculptures at Mayapán can also have closed eyes and open mouths yet may not represent this god, as observed on the figures from Q-127a and Q-149 and tenoned heads from Q-126 and P-33b (Proskouriakoff 1962a:figure 8). The ceramic masks closely resemble some of the faces of figurines that also have closed eyes and open mouths and are not Xipe Totec (e.g., two figurines from Q-244b and a figurine from the R-86 palace group). A personified, ground stone celt from the R-86 group exhibits the same face. It is hard to know whether deceased entities were Xipe Totec without additional identifying attributes such as flayed skin (Proskouriakoff and Temple 1955). The faces from Q-244b are missing their



TABLE 7.12 Structures with ceramic and stone diving figures.

<i>Structure</i>	<i>Ceramic</i>	<i>Stone</i>
Temple H-17	—	1
Altar H-17a	—	1
Residence R-86	1	1
Residence S-133b	—	1
Hall Z-50	—	2
Hall Q-54	—	1
Shrine Q-89	—	1
Portal vault Q-127	—	1
House Q-208	2	1
House Q-244	—	2
Hall Q-81	1	—
Total	4	12

bodies. The theme of a dead or sleeping posture with an open mouth is probably not unique to Xipe Totec and may in some cases represent ancestral personages.

#### MONKEY SCRIBE

Four Monkey Scribe ceramic effigies have been found at three different groups, including one from Temple Q-58, two from the Templo Redondo group (Q-152, figure 7.7e), and one from the R-86 noble residence. The most elaborate example is from Temple Q-58 (figure 7.7f), the subject of a recent article by Milbrath and Peraza Lope (2003b), who document this entity's links to Maya creation myths. The presence of two Monkey Scribe effigies in the Templo Redondo group provides further indications of an emphasis on traditional Maya gods at this locality, including Itzamna and Chac. The Q-58 example was found buried facedown in the soil behind this large burial shaft temple, the second biggest structure in the monumental zone. The effigy was probably removed from the pyramid's temple, perhaps at the time of the city's destruction. This scribe holds a shell ink cup and brush, and numerical banners are painted on his tongue, headdress, and arms. Human sacrifice at Q-58 would have been linked to creation mythology, of which the Monkey Scribe was an integral component (Milbrath and Peraza Lope 2003b).



TABLE 7.13 Structures with human face ceramic masks.

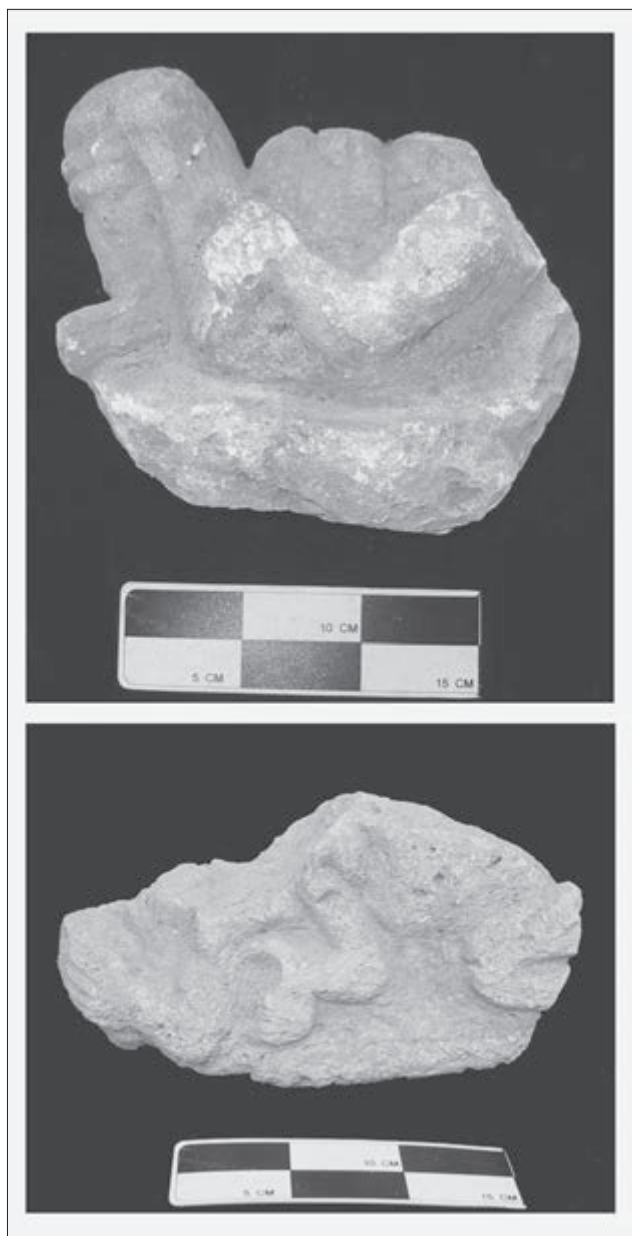
<i>Structure</i>	<i>Description of structure</i>	<i>Description of mask</i>
Q-59b	Burial shrine in front of temple Q-58	Mask has half open, narrow eyes with elongated, open oval mouth.
Q-119a	Residence to northeast of monumental center	Mask has closed-eye slits and a wide, straight open mouth.
Q-244 group	Elite house	Mask has barely open eyes with an elongated, open oval mouth. A second mask has closed eye slits with an elongated, open oval mouth.

#### CHACMOOL-LIKE RECLINING FIGURE

A miniature reclining ceramic sculpture with its head missing was found from the Q-90 shrine (figure 7.8). The body posture mimics that of larger Chacmool stone sculptures known from Chichén Itzá, but it is hard to know whether this figure portrayed the same entity; it lacks an offering dish on its midsection.

#### DEATH GODS

A small skeletal sculpture from the Q-95 temple resembles the central Mexican deity of Cihuateteo (Milbrath and Peraza Lope 2003a:figure 21b), and it shares characteristics with a variety of Mesoamerican death gods (figure 7.2d). A skeletal effigy stone ring was found at a dance platform (Q-96) in front of Temple Q-95. Nine tenoned skeletal faces decorated Shrine Q-89, which is located in the courtyard formed in part by Temple Q-95 (figure 7.2a). Twenty-one of thirty-nine death images—including censers, skull effigy cups, tenoned skulls and other sculptures—are concentrated in the Q-95 temple group. Skull art is similar across all of these different media, and the inverted V-shaped nose element is also common in central Mexico death god representations. Ceramic effigies of the death god take three major forms (table 7.14, figure 7.2b, c), including a skeletal head that was formerly part of a full-bodied censer, mandibles that were part of skeletal cups, or modeled skull elements that were part of censer headdresses that featured multiple skulls (R. Smith 1971:figure 71a). Headdress skulls (death bonnets) are not included in our tally, as they were not fully published in the *Current Reports*. Two molds for effigy censer-sized death heads were found by the Carnegie project, from Residence S-133b and Oratory Y-8b. One variant of the full-bodied censer death figures



**FIGURE 7.8.** *A miniature Chacmool sculpture from Structure Q-90 (top) and an example of several earth lord sculptures at Mayapán, this one from Q-83 (bottom).*

**TABLE 7.14** Death effigy ceramic vessels. All are Ch'en Mul effigy censers unless otherwise described.

<i>Structure</i>	<i>Number</i>	<i>Description</i>
Hall Q-70	1	1 death torso (Chapab Modeled vessel with applique decoration)
Temple Q-80	2	1 death face, 1 skeletal mandible
Oratory Q-82	2	1 death cup, 1 death censer face
Hall Q-88a	1	Death face fragment, skeletal mandible
Shrine Q-90	1	Death face has perforated mouth, no nose
Temple Q-95	8	2 skeletal mandibles from probable skull cups, 1 skull cup, 2 maxilla, 2 perforated mouths without noses, 1 skull face
Temple Q-162	1	Perforated mouth with nose
Elite Residence Q-170	1	Death face censer
Elite Residence R-86	1	Death face cup
Residence R-126a	1	Death head mold

has a perforated mouth (figure 7.2c). Bradley Russell (personal communication, 2004) suggests that these holes represent teeth. Three examples of these perforated mouth censers have no nose—just like the skeletal faces—and this trait equates them with death god images (figure 7.2c).

#### PUFFY FACE FIGURES

Two puffy-faced figures with enlarged cheeks are found in Mayapán's sculpture assemblage, one is from the Temple of Kukulcan (Q-162), and the other is from Itzmal Ch'en Hall H-15. The Q-162 example has a beaded turban head-dress. This curious personage has yet to be linked to a known deity.

#### WIND GOD / EHECATL

Two stone tenoned heads and one ceramic representation of a bird-beaked human are found at Mayapán. All are from the Temple of Kukulcan group; the censer and one stone sculpture are from the temple itself (figure 7.7b). The other example is from an adjacent structure at the temple's southwest corner (Sanctuary Q-163a). This exclusive distribution reveals an association of the site's main temple with Quetzalcoatl/Kukulcan, including his aspect in the

form of the wind god (see Milbrath and Peraza Lope 2003a:26, figure 22). The ubiquity of serpent sculptures in the site center and at the Itzmal Ch'en group is discussed in chapters 2 and 3. Sometimes these sculptures indicate serpent column temples (Proskouriakoff 1962a; Pugh 2001), and in other cases they demonstrate the importance of the feathered or other serpent deity sculptures at public buildings of the city.

#### EARTH LORD

Earth lord effigies are found at Mayapán in multiple media (figure 7.8). A modeled stucco altar on the plaza floor of the Itzmal Ch'en group—Shrine H-18a—depicts this deity, specifically, the central Mexican god Tlaltecuhli (Proskouriakoff 1962a:137; Taube 1992:128–30; Milbrath and Peraza Lope 2003a:26). Taube (1992:128–30) suggests that this god may have had a Late Classic Maya precedent in Itzamna Cain, Itzamna's earth monster manifestation. A miniature stone sculpture of a scaly earth monster was found at R-88, part of the R-86 palace group. Another clawed, long-limbed earth lord figure rides a diving figure from the Q-83 oratory. A pair of earth lord riders are mounted like jockeys atop the heads of serpent columns from Temple Q-159 (Proskouriakoff 1962a:figure 7).

#### SCROLL FACE EFFIGIES

Four examples of a scroll-faced censer entity come from Temple Q-80. Each has a yellow square scroll that extends from the nose across the cheekbones and cheek. The identification of this entity is unknown.

#### PERFORATED HAIR ENTITY

One censer has rows of perforations that extend along the hairline. Perhaps hair was embedded into these indentations when the censer was used. This attribute is rare, but a similar characteristic is observed on a death god image from the Templo Mayor of Tenochtitlan (Solís 2004).

#### ANIMALS

Animal heads, full-bodied images, tenoned sculptures, or ring sculptures occur regularly at Mayapán's buildings. Except for the felines and serpents discussed previously, these sculptures tend to represent animals that are not fierce

predators (table 7.15). Most examples have been found at the site center, the Itzmal Ch'en group, or high-status residences. A monkey and a coati ring were present at Sanctuary Q-162b along with a dog or coati head. Dog head sculptures were also found in a niche in Cenote X-Coton and at Halls Q-81 and H-15 (figure 3.10). Monkey stone sculptures are found at Itzmal Ch'en Temple H-17 (figure 3.8) and on two panels from the Z-8b house (Proskouriakoff 1962a:figure 11b, c). Bird effigies are found at elite contexts including Palace R-86, Altar H-17a, and at Halls Q-151 and Q-152c; some of these have perforated eyeholes and could have been ring sculptures or cord holders. A single crocodile sculpture was found at House J-71b and an iguana column was present at House Q-113a. Felines are confined to the Main Plaza and Itzmal Ch'en. They were recovered from the Q-159 temple, dance Platform Q-77, Altars Q-72b and Q-162d, Hall Q-88a, and Hall H-15; the latter is probably a sacrificial stone (Proskouriakoff 1962a:figure 10x). The miniature jaguar from Q-88a, inscribed with calendrical hieroglyphs, may represent the maize god in feline form (Peraza Lope et al. 1997:41-49). A variety of structure types have animal sculptures, including four houses; two platforms; five halls, five altars, shrines, or sanctuaries; one cenote; and three temples (table 7.15). All of the houses except for Z-8b are elaborate.

Animal vessels, most of which are not censers, are few at Mayapán. Rodent, posote, or turkey head applique pots were found at P-114 and Y-45a. Four large ceramic feline paws and a feline censer headdress came from Q-162b; one feline effigy vessel was found in the Q-151/152 passage; one pelt from a censer headdress came from Q-152c; and two effigy vessels were found at elite Residence Q-169. The paws from the Castillo sanctuary (Q-162b) and the feline effigy vessels resemble those from Classic Period Monte Alban, although the vessel slips and form are local. While we do not propose a direct historical relationship, earlier Oaxacan precedents are worth noting, as these are not limited to jaguars but also to the representation of a variety of animals, deities, and warriors in ceramic vessels (Caso and Bernal 1952). Other animals are fewer in number at Mayapán. One monkey sculpture was found at H-18a and at the Q-151/152 passage, and the feet of an odd zoomorphic entity, with toes made of three cacao pods, came from Q-58.

## MISCELLANEOUS STONE SCULPTURES

### EFFIGY BANNERS, BUNDLES, AND STONE HOUSES

A few stone banners or banner holders are preserved at Mayapán. They were located at round Temple Q-214, monument Platform Q-84, Temple Q-159,

TABLE 7.15 Contexts with zoomorphic stone and stucco sculptures.

<i>Structure</i>	<i>Identification</i>
Temple H-17	Monkeys (N = 3)
House Z-8b	Monkeys (N = 2)
Elite House R-86	Parrot
Hall Q-151	Bird
Altar H-17a	Bird
Hall Q-152c	Bird
House J-71b	Crocodile
Hall Q-81	Dog
Cenote X-Coton	Dog
Sanctuary Q-162b	Dog/coati
Platform Q-77	2 feline
Temple Q-159	Feline
Altar Q-72b	Feline
Altar Q-162d	Feline
Hall H-15	Feline (N = 2), sacrificial stone shown in Proskouriakoff 1962a:figure 10x, and a miniature sculpture
Hall Q-88a	Feline, miniature with glyphs
House Q-113a	Iguana column
Platform Q-96	Unidentified body
Temple Q-95	Unidentified body
Shrine Q-90	Unidentified body
Temple H-17	Turkey
Temple H-17	Serpents (N = 11)
Hall H-15	Serpents (N = 2)
Temple H-17	Turtles (N = 3)
Hall H-15	Turtles (N = 2), 1 with human face
Hall H-15	Dog

Platform Q-172, and House Z-8b. A stone bundle was recovered at Temple Q-80 (table 7.16). Banners and bundles would have been an important part of rituals conducted at Mayapán, and most would have been made of perishable materials. They are rarely represented in stone and their distribution is not

particularly revealing. They are not found at the same structures as column ball sculptures. Three small stone effigy temple sculptures are reported for Mayapán at Houses Q-66 and S-133b and Palace R-86. Such temple effigies are reported for the Aztec area (e.g., Marquina 1960:figures 3–6) and Copán, where they may have represented sleeping houses for deities (Stuart 1998:400).

#### COLUMN BALL SCULPTURES

Thirteen column ball sculptures have been found at Mayapán, from contexts that include four temples (including two round temples); two halls; five altars, sanctuaries, or oratories; one house; and one monument platform (table 7.17). They generally resemble earlier war banners or marker stones documented for sites such as Teotihuacan, Tikal, and El Tajín (Freidel, Schele, and Parker 1993:figures 7:4b, 7.6; Koontz 2002:109–14). Rex Koontz also identifies them in Postclassic central Mexican codices. The art at El Tajín shows banners at a scale that approximates the large size of some Mayapán examples. The earlier banners have circular disks on top rather than rounded balls on top of a straight stone column, as at Mayapán. In our sample, these sculptures were central components of the structures in which they were found, particularly at Itzmal Ch'en Shrine H-18 (Proskouriakoff 1962a:figure 10). There is no direct evidence for their association with war activities at Mayapán, but they may be linked to sacrificial rituals that could have been the end product of war. Shrine H-18 had a burial shaft in which sacrificial victims were placed (Chowning 1956). Alternatively, they may have been installed as part of cosmological or calendrical ceremonies, perhaps involving the world tree as the axis mundi. Symbolic links between sacrifice, warfare, and cosmology are not mutually exclusive at Mesoamerican sites (Freidel, Schele, and Parker 1993:299–303; Koontz 2002; Sugiyama 2004).

Column ball sculptures were not concentrated at specific groups, although important groups seem to possess them. They are found at an oratory at the Main Plaza's northeast entrance (Q-83), a monument platform within the plaza (Q-84), a skull platform/shrine (Q-89), two major halls just to the southeast of the Main Plaza (Q-142 and Q-145), the Templo Redondo (Q-152) and its sanctuary (Q-152a), the Temple of Kukulcan (Q-162), a temple to the south of the Main Plaza (Q-218), a round shrine (H-18) and altar (H-17a) of the Itzmal Ch'en group, and a palace structure (R-87) and its sanctuary (R-90). In three cases, two column ball sculptures are found within a single group, and two of these groups include a round temple. The presence of column ball sculptures marks the Itzmal Ch'en, Templo Redondo, and Temple of Kukulcan groups;

**TABLE 7.16** Structures with stone banner holders or bundles.

<i>Structure</i>	<i>Description</i>
Temple Q-80	1 bundle
Round Temple Q-214	1 zoomorphic banner holder
Monument Platform Q-84	1 banner holder
Temple Q-149	1 stone bowl
Temple Q-159	1 banner holder or spool element
House Q-172	1 socketed banner holder
House Z-8b	1 banner holder

**TABLE 7.17** Structures with column ball altars.

<i>Structure</i>	<i>Number</i>
Oratory Q-83	1
Monument Platform Q-84	1
Shrine Q-89	1
Hall Q-142	1
Hall Q-145	1
Round Temple Q-152	1
Shrine Q-157a	1
Temple Q-162	1
Temple Q-218	1
Altar H-17a	1
Round Temple H-18	1
House R-87	1
Sanctuary R-90	1

the example at Itzmal Ch'en is the largest at the city. Some interesting spatial overlap is observed in the distribution of these columns with that of sacrificial stones, as described in the next section.

#### SACRIFICIAL STONES

Seven sacrificial stones are reported from the site (table 7.18). They are identified by a tapered shape at one end. Examples are found at four temples, one



altar linked to a temple, one hall, and one monument platform. The Temple of Kukulcan (Q-162), the Q-218 temple, the H-17a altar, and the Q-84 monument platform have these stones and column ball sculptures. The Q-141 temple, which has a sacrificial stone, is situated across a courtyard from Hall Q-142, where a column ball altar was found. The contexts of five of seven sacrificial stones thus overlap with structures or groups that have column ball sculptures, suggesting a functional relationship between these two types. The two other contexts include burial shaft Temple Q-95, where the presence of a sacrificial stone is not surprising, and the Z-50 hall that is located at the southern end of Mayapán's principle *sacbe*.

### SPATIAL DISTRIBUTION OF EFFIGIES AT MAYAPÁN: A SUMMARY

The distribution of stone, stucco, and ceramic effigies at individual structures has been explored in detail in the foregoing sections of this chapter, where the tallies of effigy ceramics have been presented in separate tables from those of stone or stucco. Here we summarize the composite characteristics of these structure group assemblages and examine combined proportions of deities represented in multiple media. There is a tendency for the majority of entities to be represented primarily in stone/stucco or ceramic forms. The percentage of effigy types of all media within these groups is presented in tables 7.19 and 7.20. Table 7.19 provides row totals that examine the proportion of all specific effigies within each structure and within each structure group. Table 7.20 presents column totals that reveal the proportion of each effigy in the sample that is found at individual structures and groups. These tables provide percentages that differ from those offered previously in this chapter, as they combine all examples of stone, stucco, and ceramic effigies. Common effigy types are widely distributed (figure 7.9), and the Q-80 group has twice as many effigies as all other groups (figure 7.10) other than the Templo Redondo group (Q-152).

Within specific architectural groups, some effigies are present in large proportions. Chac ( $N = 39$ ) and Itzamna ( $N = 35$ ) censers or cups are common in the assemblages from the Templo Redondo (Q-152) compound (28.9 percent, 21.1 percent) and elite residential group R-86 (33 percent, 19.0 percent), as indicated in table 7.19. Itzamna is also common at the Temple Q-58 group (25 percent) and the Q-127 and Itzmal Ch'en groups (20 percent each). These patterns suggest the importance of local gods at these groups, although the Templo Redondo and R-86 assemblages also include the central Mexican entity Xipe Totec and a wide range of other traditional Maya deity effigies

TABLE 7.18. Structures with tapered sacrificial stones.

<i>Structures</i>	<i>Number</i>
Monument Platform Q-84	1
Burial shaft Temple Q-95	1
Temple Q-141	1
Temple Q-162	1
Temple Q-218	1
Altar H-17a	1
Hall Z-50	1

(figures 7.11–7.14). In the K'ich'ean area, Mexican-style architecture such as twin temple complexes and Mexican deity effigies such as Xipe Totec are also reported, but as is observed at Mayapán, these features are not numerically dominant in the assemblages (Carmack 1971:16–17).

When the distributions of all examples among the groups are calculated (table 7.20, figure 7.11), the Templo Redondo group has 28.2 percent of the sample's Chac effigies and 22.9 percent of the Itzamna effigies. The R-86 compound has 17.9 percent of the sample's Chacs but only 11.4 percent of the Itzamnás. Temple Q-58 has 11.4 percent of the site's Itzamna figures. At the Q-80 temple cluster, which has the most censers of any group, 20 percent of all Itzamna and 10.3 percent of all Chac effigies in the sample were found. But these were not the most important censers at the Q-80 group, as merchants, other males, and females are present in higher proportions (figure 7.11). Although important at several particular groups, Chac and Itzamna effigies were popular and widely distributed in lower proportions at many other localities.

Merchant/whiskered gods are present in high proportions in two groups: the Temple Q-80 cluster and the Temple of Kukulcan (Q-162) group, which have 16.7 percent and 25.9 percent of these effigies, respectively (table 7.19). Other male figures are also relatively abundant at these groups, representing 19.4 percent of the Q-80 group assemblage and 14.8 percent of the Q-162 group sample. Other male effigies are particularly ubiquitous at Q-58 (37.5 percent) and Itzmal Ch'en (40 percent), where they are more abundant than other types. Hall Q-70 (18.8 percent) and Portal Gate Q-127 (20 percent) also have high proportions, although other males are not the most common type at these groups. It may be significant that the Q-80 and Q-162 groups are the only localities where other male effigies are ubiquitous along with high proportion of merchant and whiskered entities (figures 7.11, 7.12).

TABLE 7.19 Distribution percentage of effigy types within structures and groups (row totals).

Structure	Irzamna	Old god	Merchant/ whiskered	Chac	Maize	Other male	Closed-eye human	Xipe Totec	Death head	Female
Q-80 GROUP										
Q-80 temple	2	—	3	2	2	7	—	1	2	8
Q-81 hall	3	1	4	1	—	2	—	—	—	2
Q-79/79a shrine	2	—	3	1	2	3	—	—	—	—
Q-83 oratory	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Q-82 oratory	—	—	1	—	—	1	—	—	2	—
Subtotal	7	1	11	4	4	13	0	1	4	10
Q-80 group (percent)	10.6	1.5	16.7	6.0	6.0	19.4	0.0	1.5	6.0	14.9
R-86 GROUP										
R-86 residence	4	—	1	5	2	1	1	1	1	1
R-91 oratory	—	—	—	2	—	—	—	—	—	—
Subtotal	4	0	1	7	2	1	1	1	1	1
R-86 group (percent)	19.0	0.0	4.8	33.3	9.5	4.8	—	4.8	4.8	4.8
Q-162 GROUP										
Q-162 temple	2	—	3	—	1	2	—	—	1	—
Q-161 hall	1	—	1	1	—	—	—	—	1	1
Q-163 hall	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	1	—	1
Q-162b	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	1	—

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TABLE 7.19—continued

<i>Structure</i>	<i>Itzamna</i>	<i>Old god</i>	<i>Merchant/ whiskered</i>	<i>Chac</i>	<i>Maize</i>	<i>Other male</i>	<i>Closed-eye human</i>	<i>Xipe Totec</i>	<i>Death head</i>	<i>Female</i>
Cenote Ch'en Mul		—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Q-162c	—	—	—	—	—	I	—	—	—	—
Q-162h	—	—	—	—	—	I	—	—	—	—
Q-163a sanctuary	—	—	I	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Subtotal	3	0	7	I	2	4	0	I	3	2
Q-162 group (percent)	11.1	0.0	25.9	3.7	7.4	14.8	0.0	3.7	11.1	7.4
Q-95 GROUP										
Q-95 temple	—	—	I	I	—	I	—	—	9	—
Q-89 shrine	I	—	—	—	I	—	—	—	9	—
Q-90 shrine	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	I	—
Q-94 house	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	I	—
Q-97 hall	—	—	—	—	—	I	—	—	I	—
Subtotal	I	0	I	I	I	2	0	0	21	0
Q-95 group (percent)	3.7	0.0	3.7	3.7	3.7	7.4	0.0	0.0	77.8	0.0
Q-152 GROUP										
Q-88a hall	I	—	—	4	—	—	—	2	2	—
Q-151 hall	I	2	—	2	2	I	2	—	—	—
Q-88 oratory	—	I	—	I	I	I	2	—	—	—

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TABLE 7.19—continued

Structure	Itzamna	Old god	Merchant/ whiskered	Chac	Maize	Other male	Closed-eye human	Xipe Totec	Death head	Female
Q-152c hall	2	—	I	2	—	—	—	—	—	—
Q-87a oratory	I	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Q-152 temple	2	—	—	I	—	—	—	—	—	—
Q-87a hall	—	—	—	I	—	—	—	—	—	—
Q-152b sanctuary	I	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Subtotal	8	3	I	I I	3	2	4	2	2	0
Q-152 group (percent)	21.1	7.9	2.6	28.9	7.9	5.3	10.5	5.3	5.3	0.0
Q-70 GROUP										
Q-70 hall	2	—	—	—	I	3	—	—	I	—
Q-54 hall	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	2	—
Q-72b altar	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	I	—	—
Q-69 shrine	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	I	—
Q-72 hall	—	I	—	—	I	—	—	—	—	—
Q-74 platform	—	—	I	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Q-71 shrine	—	—	—	I	—	—	—	—	—	—
Q-55 oratory	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	I
Subtotal	2	I	I	I	2	3	0	I	4	I
Q-70 group (percent)	12.5	6.3	6.3	6.3	12.5	18.8	0.0	6.3	25.0	6.3

continued on next page

TABLE 7.19—continued

Structure	Itzamna	Old god	Merchant/ whiskered	Chac	Maize	Other male	Closed-eye human	Xipe Totec	Death head	Female
Q-58 GROUP										
Q-58 temple	I	—	—	—	—	2	—	—	—	—
Q-62 residence	I	—	I	—	I	2	—	—	—	—
Q-64 hall	I	—	—	I	—	2	—	—	I	—
Q-59b shrine	—	—	—	—	—	—	I	—	—	—
Q-66 shrine	I	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Subtotal	4	0	I	I	I	6	I	0	I	0
Q-58 group (percent)	25.0	0.0	6.3	6.3	6.3	37.5	6.3	0.0	6.3	0.0
Q-214 GROUP										
Q-214 temple	—	—	—	I	—	—	I	—	I	I
Q-218 temple	—	—	—	I	—	—	—	—	—	—
Subtotal	0	0	0	2	0	0	I	0	I	I
Q-214 group (percent)	0.0	0.0	0.0	40.0	0.0	0.0	20.0	0.0	20.0	20.0
ITZMAL CH'EN										
H-17a altar	I	—	—	—	—	I	—	—	—	—
H-17 temple	—	—	—	I	—	I	—	—	—	—
H-18 shrine	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Subtotal	I	0	0	I	0	2	0	0	0	0
Itzmal Ch'en (percent)	20.0	0.0	0.0	20.0	0.0	40.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0

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TABLE 7.19—continued

Structure	Izamna	Old god	Merchant/ whiskered	Chac	Maize	Other male	Closed-eye human	Xipe Totec	Death head	Female
Q-127 GROUP										
Q-126 TEMPLE	—	—	—	—	—	I	I	—	—	—
Q-127 portal	I	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Q-127a temple	—	—	—	I	—	—	I	—	—	—
Subtotal	I	O	O	I	O	I	2	O	O	O
Q-127 group (percent)	20.0	0.0	0.0	20.0	0.0	20.0	40.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
MISC. STRUCTURES										
Q-88b platform	—	—	—	I	I	—	—	—	—	—
Q-153 temple	I	—	—	I	—	—	—	—	—	—
Q-159 temple	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Q-164 hall	—	—	—	I	—	—	—	—	—	—
Q-157 sanctuary	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	I
Q-244 house	—	—	—	—	—	—	2	—	—	—
Q-149 temple	—	—	—	—	—	—	I	—	—	—
Q-146 platform	I	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Q-208 house	I	2	—	2	—	I	—	2	—	I
Q-98 shrine	I	—	2	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Q-77 shrine	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	I	—	—
Q-88e	—	—	—	I	—	—	—	—	—	—

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TABLE 7.19—continued

Structure	Irzamna	Old god	Merchant/ whiskered	Chac	Maize	Other male	Closed-eye human	Xipe Totec	Death head	Female
Q-119a house	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	—
A-1 shrine	—	—	—	2	—	—	—	—	—	—
P-33b	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	—
R-126a	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	—
J-71a	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—
Q-172 house	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Y-30	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	—
Y-8b oratory	—	—	2	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Q-170 house	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	—
K-67 house	—	—	1	—	—	2	—	—	—	—
Subtotal misc. structures	4	2	6	9	1	4	5	3	2	2
Misc. structures (percent)	9.5	4.8	14.3	21.4	2.4	9.5	11.9	7.1	4.8	7.1
Grand total per column	35	7	28	39	16	38	14	9	39	17

Structures continued	Monkey Scribe	Ehecatl	Diving figures	Tlaloc	Nose plug	Scroll face	Earth lord	Venus	Total
Q-80 GROUP									
Q-80 temple	—	—	—	—	2	4	—	—	33
Q-81 hall	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	1	13
Q-79/79a	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	3	11

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TABLE 7.19—continued

<i>Structures continued</i>	<i>Monkey Scribe</i>	<i>Ehecatl</i>	<i>Diving figures</i>	<i>Tlaloc</i>	<i>Nose plug</i>	<i>Scroll face</i>	<i>Earth lord</i>	<i>Venus</i>	<i>Total</i>
Q-83 oratory	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	1
Q-82 oratory	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	4
Subtotal	0	0	1	0	2	4	1	4	66
Q-80 group (percent)	0.0	0.0	1.5	0.0	3.0	6.0	1.5	6.0	100.0
R-86 GROUP									
R-86 house	1		1				1		19
R-91 oratory	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	2
Subtotal	1	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	21
R-86 group (percent)	4.8	0.0	4.8	0.0	0.0	0.0	4.8	0.0	100.0
Q-162 GROUP									
Q-162 temple	—	3	—	—	—	—	—	—	12
Q-161 hall	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	5
Q-163 hall	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	3
Q-162b sanctuary	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	2
Cenote Ch'en Mul	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1
Q-162c	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1
Q-162h	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1
Q-163a sanctuary	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1
Subtotal	0	3	0	1	0	0	0	0	26
Q-162 group (percent)	0.0	11.1	0.0	3.7	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	100.0

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TABLE 7.19—continued

Structures continued	Monkey Scribe	Ehecatl	Diving figures	Tlaloc	Nose plug	Scroll face	Earth lord	Venus	Total
Q-95 GROUP									
Q-95 temple	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	12
Q-89 shrine	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	11
Q-90 shrine	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1
Q-94 house	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1
Q-97 hall	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	2
Subtotal	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	27
Q-95 group (percent)	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	100.0
Q-152 GROUP									
Q-88a hall	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	10
Q-151 hall	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	8
Q-88 oratory	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	5
Q-152c hall	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	5
Q-87a oratory	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1
Q-152 temple	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	3
Q-87a hall	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1
Q-152b sanctuary	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1
Subtotal	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	34
Q-152 group (percent)	5.9	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	100.0

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TABLE 7.19—continued

Structures continued	Monkey Scribe	Ehecatl	Diving figures	Tlaloc	Nose plug	Scroll face	Earth lord	Venus	Total
Q-70 group									
Q-70 hall	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	7
Q-54 hall	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	2
Q-72b altar	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1
Q-69 shrine	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1
Q-72 hall	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	2
Q-74 platform	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1
Q-71 shrine	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1
Q-55 oratory	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1
Subtotal	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	16
Q-70 group (percent)	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	100.0
Q-58 GROUP									
Q-58 temple	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	4
Q-62 house	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	5
Q-64 hall	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	5
Q-59b shrine	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1
Q-66 shrine	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1
Subtotal	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	16
Q-58 group (percent)	6.3	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	100.0

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TABLE 7.19—continued

Structures continued	Monkey Scribe	Ehecatl	Diving figures	Tlaloc	Nose plug	Scroll face	Earth lord	Venus	Total
Q-214 GROUP									
Q-214 temple	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	4
Q-218 temple	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1
Subtotal	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	5
Q-214 group (percent)	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	100.0
ITZMAL CH'EN									
H-17a altar	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	2
H-17 temple	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	2
H-18 shrine	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	1
Subtotal	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	5
Itzmal Ch'en (percent)	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	20	0.0	100.0
Q-127 GROUP									
Q-126 temple	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	2
Q-127 vault	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1
Q-127a temple	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	2
Subtotal	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	5
Q-127 group (percent)	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	100.0

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TABLE 7.19—continued

Structures continued	Monkey Scribe	Ehecatl	Diving figures	Tlaloc	Nose plug	Scroll face	Earth lord	Venus	Total
MISC. STRUCTURES									
Q-88b platform	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	2
Q-153 temple	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	2
Q-159 temple	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	1
Q-164 hall	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1
Q-157 sanctuary	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1
Q-244 house	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	2
Q-149 temple	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1
Q-146 platform	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1
Q-208 house	—	—	2	—	—	—	—	—	11
Q-98 shrine	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	3
Q-77 shrine	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1
Q-88e	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1
Q-119a house	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1
A-1 shrine	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	2
P-33b	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1
R-126a	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1
J-71a	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1

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TABLE 7.19—continued

Structures continued	Monkey Scribe	Ehecatl	Diving figures	Tlaloc	Nose plug	Scroll face	Earth lord	Venus	Total
Q-172 house	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1
Y-30	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1
Y-8b oratory	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	2
Q-170 house	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1
K-67 house	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	3
Subtotal misc. structures	0	0	2	0	0	0	1	0	41
Misc. structures (percent)	0.0	0.0	4.8	0.0	0.0	0.0	2.4	0.0	100.0
Grand total per column	4	3	4	1	2	4	4	4	263

Note: Closed-eyed column includes four possible maize god, other male, or old god figures with closed eyes. Where there is overlap, these examples are not included in percentage calculations. The remaining closed-eye examples include ceramic masks.

TABLE 7.20 Distribution percentage of effigy types between structures and groups (column totals).

<i>Structure</i>	<i>Itzamna</i>	<i>Old god</i>	<i>Merchant/ whiskered</i>	<i>Chac</i>	<i>Maize</i>	<i>Other male</i>	<i>Closed- eye human</i>	<i>Xipe Totec</i>	<i>Death head</i>	<i>Female</i>
Q-80 GROUP										
Q-80 temple	2	—	3	2	2	7	—	1	2	8
Q-81 hall	3	1	4	1	—	2	—	—	—	2
Q-79 shrine	2	—	3	1	2	3	—	—	—	—
Q-83 oratory	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Q-82 oratory	—	—	1	—	—	1	—	—	2	—
Subtotal	7	1	11	4	4	13	0	1	4	9
Q-80 group (percent)	20.0	14.3	37.9	10.3	25.0	34.2		11.1	10.3	58.8
R-86 GROUP										
R-86 residence	4	—	1	5	2	1	1	1	1	1
R-91 oratory	—	—	—	2	—	—	—	—	—	—
Subtotal	4	0	1	7	2	1	1	1	1	1
R-86 group (percent)	11.4	0.0	3.4	17.9	12.5	2.6		11.1	2.6	5.9
Q-162 GROUP										
Q-162 temple	2	—	3	—	1	2	—	—	1	—
Q-161 hall	1	—	1	1	—	—	—	—	1	1
Q-163 hall	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	1	—	1

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TABLE 7.20—continued

<i>Structure</i>	<i>Itzamna</i>	<i>Old god</i>	<i>Merchant/ whiskered</i>	<i>Chac</i>	<i>Maize</i>	<i>Other male</i>	<i>Closed- eye human</i>	<i>Xipe Totec</i>	<i>Death head</i>	<i>Female</i>
Q-162b sanctuary	—	—	I	—	—	—	—	—	I	—
Cenote Ch'en Mul		—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Q-162c	—	—	—	—	—	I	—	—	—	—
Q-162h	—	—	—	—	—	I	—	—	—	—
Q-163a sanctuary	—	—	I	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Subtotal	3	0	6	I	2	4	0	I	3	2
Q-162 group (percent)	8.6	0.0	24.1	2.6	12.5	10.5	0.0	11.1	7.7	11.8
Q-95 GROUP										
Q-95 temple	—	—	I	I	—	I	—	—	9	—
Q-89 shrine	I	—	—	—	I	—	—	—	9	—
Q-90 shrine	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	I	—
Q-94 house	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	I	—
Q-97 hall	—	—	—	—	—	I	—	—	I	—
Subtotal	I	0	I	I	I	2	0	0	21	0
Q-95 group (percent)	2.9	0.0	3.4	2.6	6.3	5.3	0.0	0.0	53.8	0.0
Q-152 group										
Q-88a hall	I	—	—	4	—	—	—	2	2	—

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TABLE 7.20—continued

Structure	Itzamna	Old god	Merchant/ whiskered	Chac	Maize	Other male	Closed- eye human	Xipe Totec	Death head	Female
Q-151 hall	1	2	—	2	2	1	2	—	—	—
Q-88 oratory	—	1	—	1	1	1	2	—	—	—
Q-152c hall	2	—	1	2	—	—	—	—	—	—
Q-87a oratory	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Q-152 temple	2	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	—
Q-87a hall	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	—
Q-152b sanctuary	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Subtotal	8	3	1	11	3	2	4	2	2	0
Q-152 group (percent)	22.9	42.9	3.4	28.2	18.8	5.3	30.8	22.2	5.1	0.0
Q-70 GROUP										
Q-70 hall	2	—	—	—	1	3	—	—	1	—
Q-54 hall	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	2	—
Q-72b altar	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	—
Q-69 shrine	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	—
Q-72 hall	—	1	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—
Q-74 platform	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—

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TABLE 7.20—continued

Structure	Itzamna	Old god	Merchant/ whiskered	Chac	Maize	Other male	Closed- eye human	Xipe Totec	Death head	Female
Q-71 shrine	—	—	—	I	—	—	—	—	—	—
Q-55 oratory	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	I
Subtotal	2	I	I	I	2	3	0	I	4	I
Q-70 group (percent)	5.7	14.3	3.4	2.6	12.5	7.9	0.0	11.1	10.3	5.9
Q-58 GROUP										
Q-58 temple	I	—	—	—	—	2	—	—	—	—
Q-62 house	I	—	I	—	I	2	—	—	—	—
Q-64 hall	I	—	—	I	—	2	—	—	I	—
Q-59b shrine	—	—	—	—	—	—	I	—	—	—
Q-66 shrine	I	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Subtotal	4	0	I	I	I	6	I	0	I	0
Q-58 group (percent)	11.4	0.0	3.4	2.6	6.3	15.8	7.1	0.0	2.6	0.0
Q-214 GROUP										
Q-214 temple	—	—	—	I	—	—	I	—	I	I
Q-218 temple	—	—	—	I	—	—	—	—	—	—
Subtotal	0	0	0	2	0	0	I	0	I	I
Q-214 group (percent)	0.0	0.0	0.0	5.1	0.0	0.0	7.1	0.0	2.6	5.9

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TABLE 7.20—continued

<i>Structure</i>	<i>Itzamna</i>	<i>Old god</i>	<i>Merchant/ whiskered</i>	<i>Chac</i>	<i>Maize</i>	<i>Other male</i>	<i>Closed- eye human</i>	<i>Xipe Totec</i>	<i>Death head</i>	<i>Female</i>
ITZMAL CH'EN										
H-17a altar	I	—	—	—	—	I	—	—	—	—
H-17 temple	—	—	—	I	—	I	—	—	—	—
H-18 shrine	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Subtotal	I	0	0	I	0	2	0	0	0	0
Itzmal Ch'en (percent)	2.9	0.0	0.0	2.6	0.0	5.3		0.0	0.0	0.0
MISC. STRUCTURES										
Q-88b platform	—	—	—	I	I	—	—	—	—	—
Q-153 temple	I	—	—	I	—	—	—	—	—	—
Q-159 temple	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Q-164 hall	—	—	—	I	—	—	—	—	—	—
Q-157 sanctuary	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	I
Q-244 house	—	—	—	—	—	—	2	—	—	—
Q-149 temple	—	—	—	—	—	—	I	—	—	—
Q-146 platform	I	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Q-208 house	I	2	—	2	—	I	—	2	—	I
Q-98 shrine	I	—	2	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Q-77 shrine	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	I	—	—

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TABLE 7.20—continued

<i>Structure</i>	<i>Itzamna</i>	<i>Old god</i>	<i>Merchant/ whiskered</i>	<i>Chac</i>	<i>Maize</i>	<i>Other male</i>	<i>Closed- eye human</i>	<i>Xipe Totec</i>	<i>Death head</i>	<i>Female</i>
Q-88e				1						
Q-119a house							1			
A-1 shrine				2						
P-33b							1			
R-126a									1	
J-71a						1				
Q-172 house	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Y-30 shrine	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	—
Y-8b oratory	—	—	2	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Q-170 house	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	—
K-67 house	—	—	1	—	—	2	—	—	—	—
Subtotal misc. structures	4	2	6	9	1	4	5	3	2	2
Misc. structures (percent)	11.4	20.7	20.7	23.1	6.3	10.5	38.5	33.3	5.1	11.8
Grand total per column	35	7	29	39	16	38	14	9	39	17

TABLE 7.20—continued

Structures continued	Monkey Scribe	Ehecatl	Diving figures	Tlaloc	Nose plug	Scroll face	Earth lord	Venus	Total
Q-80 GROUP									
Q-80 temple	—	—	—	—	2	4	—	—	33
Q-81 hall	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	1	13
Q-79 shrine	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	3	11
Q-83 oratory	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	1
Q-82 oratory	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	4
Subtotal	0	0	1	0	2	4	1	4	62
Q-80 group (percent)	0.0	0.0	25.0	0.0	100.0	100.0	25.0	100.0	24.0
R-86 GROUP									
R-86 residence	1	—	1	—	—	—	1	—	19
R-91 oratory	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	2
Subtotal	1	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	21
R-86 group (percent)	25.0	0.0	25.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	25.0	0.0	8.0
Q-162 GROUP									
Q-162 temple	—	3	—	—	—	—	—	—	12
Q-161 hall	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	5
Q-163 hall	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	3
Q-162b sanctuary	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	2

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TABLE 7.20—continued

<i>Structures continued</i>	<i>Monkey Scribe</i>	<i>Ehecatl</i>	<i>Diving figures</i>	<i>Tlaloc</i>	<i>Nose plug</i>	<i>Scroll face</i>	<i>Earth lord</i>	<i>Venus</i>	<i>Total</i>
Cenote Ch'en Mul		—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1
Q-162c	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1
Q-162h	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1
Q-163a sanctuary	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1
Subtotal	0	3	0	1	0	0	0	0	26
Q-162 group (percent)	0.0	100.0	0.0	100.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	10.3
Q-95 GROUP									
Q-95 temple	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	12
Q-89 shrine	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	11
Q-90 shrine	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1
Q-94 house	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1
Q-97 hall	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	2
Subtotal	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	27
Q-95 group (percent)	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	10.3
Q-152 GROUP									
Q-88a hall	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	10
Q-151 hall	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	8
Q-88 oratory	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	5

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TABLE 7.20—continued

Structures continued	Monkey Scribe	Ehecatl	Diving figures	Tlaloc	Nose plug	Scroll face	Earth lord	Venus	Total
Q-152c hall	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	5
Q-87a oratory	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1
Q-152 temple	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	3
Q-87a hall	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1
Q-152b sanctuary	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1
Subtotal	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	38
Q-152 group (percent)	50.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	14.4
Q-70 GROUP									
Q-70 hall	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	7
Q-54 hall	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	2
Q-72b altar	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1
Q-69 shrine	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1
Q-72 hall	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	2
Q-74 platform	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1
Q-71 shrine	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1
Q-55 oratory	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1
Subtotal	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	16
Q-70 group (percent)	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	6.1

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TABLE 7.20—continued

Structures continued	Monkey Scribe	Ehecatl	Diving figures	Tlaloc	Nose plug	Scroll face	Earth lord	Venus	Total
Q-58 GROUP									
Q-58 temple	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	4
Q-62 residence	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	5
Q-64 hall	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	5
Q-59b shrine	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1
Q-66 shrine	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1
Subtotal	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	16
Q-58 group (percent)	25.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	6.1
Q-214 GROUP									
Q-214 temple	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	4
Q-218 temple	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1
Subtotal	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	5
Q-214 group (percent)	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	1.9
Itzmal Ch'en									
H-17a altar	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	2
H-17 temple	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	2

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TABLE 7.20—continued

<i>Structures continued</i>	<i>Monkey Scribe</i>	<i>Ehecatl</i>	<i>Diving figures</i>	<i>Tlaloc</i>	<i>Nose plug</i>	<i>Scroll face</i>	<i>Earth lord</i>	<i>Venus</i>	<i>Total</i>
H-18 temple	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	1
Subtotal	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	5
Itzmal Ch'en (percent)	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	25	0.0	1.9
Q-127 GROUP									
Q-126 temple	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	2
Q-127 vault	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1
Q-127a temple	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	2
Subtotal	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	5
Itzmal Ch'en (percent)	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	25	0.0	1.9
MISC. STRUCTURES									
Q-88b platform	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	2
Q-153 temple	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	2
Q-159 temple	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	1
Q-164 hall	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1
Q-157 sanctuary	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1
Q-244 house	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	2
Q-149 temple	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1
Q-146 platform	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1

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TABLE 7.20—continued

<i>Structures continued</i>	<i>Monkey Scribe</i>	<i>Ehecatl</i>	<i>Diving figures</i>	<i>Tlaloc</i>	<i>Nose plug</i>	<i>Scroll face</i>	<i>Earth lord</i>	<i>Venus</i>	<i>Total</i>
Q-208 house	—	—	2	—	—	—	—	—	11
Q-98 shrine	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	3
Q-77 shrine	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1
Q-88e	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1
Q-119a house	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1
A-1 shrine	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	2
P-33b	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1
R-126a	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1
J-71a	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1
Q-172 house	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1
Y-30	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1
Y-8b oratory	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	2
Q-170 house	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1
K-67 house	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	3
Subtotal misc. structures	0	0	2	0	0	0	1	0	41
Misc. structures (percent)	0.0	0.0	50.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	25.0	0.0	15.9
Grand total per column	4	3	4	1	2	4	4	4	263

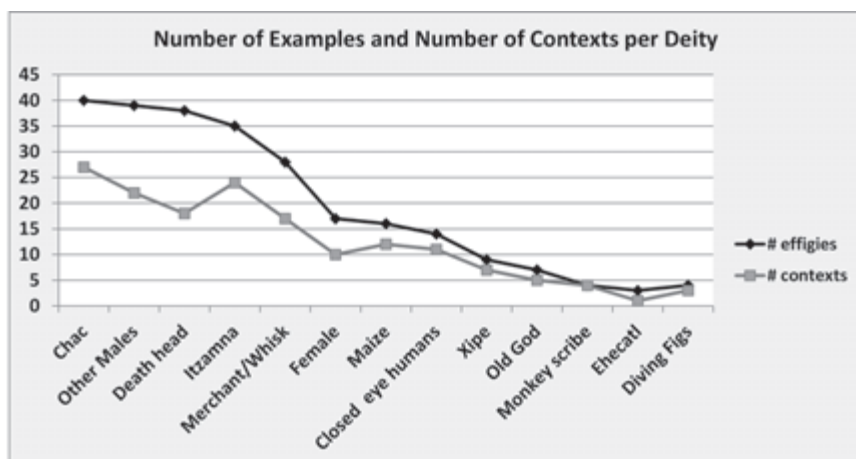


FIGURE 7.9. Common stone and ceramic effigies are widely distributed among different contexts—in particular, Chac, various males, death gods, Itzamna, and merchant gods. As might be expected, rarer representations are limited to fewer contexts.

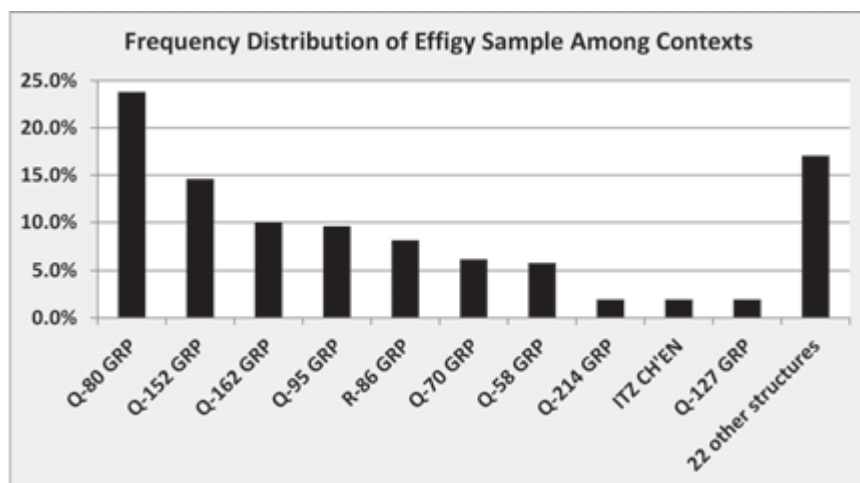


FIGURE 7.10. Graph indicating the distribution of all ceramic and stone effigies in our sample by group. Percentage calculated is that of all effigies in the sample analyzed.

The Q-80 and Q-162 groups have the highest proportions of female effigies at the site, especially Q-80, where they form 14.9 percent of this group assemblage (table 7.19, N = 10). Eight censer examples come from Temple

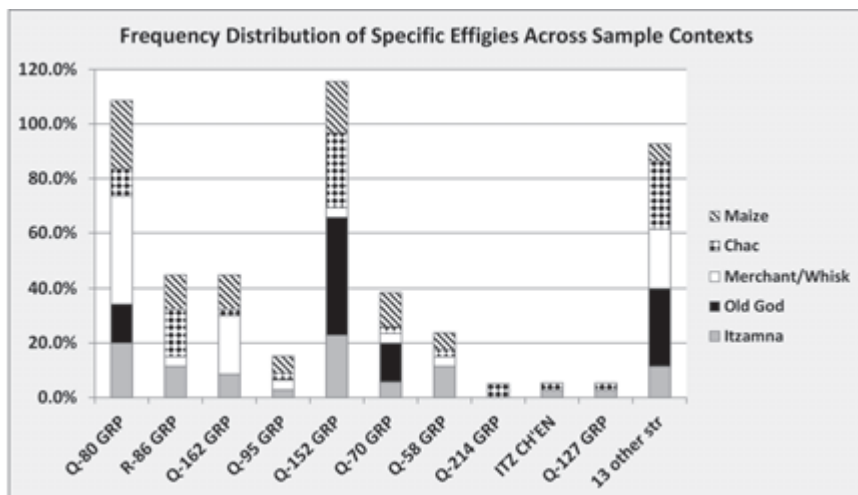


FIGURE 7.11. Percentages reflect the proportion of the total number of specific effigy censors in the sample that are present at different groups.

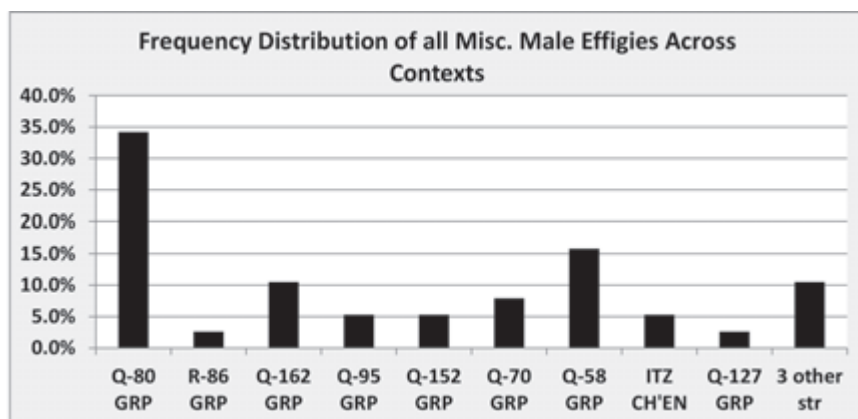


FIGURE 7.12. Graph indicating the distribution of all “other male” effigies across the groups compared; some may represent warrior figures. The ubiquity at the Q-80 group may be related to the large sample size at this locality.

Q-80; females were especially important at this locality. Fifty-nine percent of all of the female images recovered are from Q-80 (table 7.20, figure 7.15). The Kukulcan temple group stands out for having three sculptures, which make up 7.7 percent of the Q-162 group assemblage (table 7.19) and 11.8 percent of the total sample of females (table 7.20).

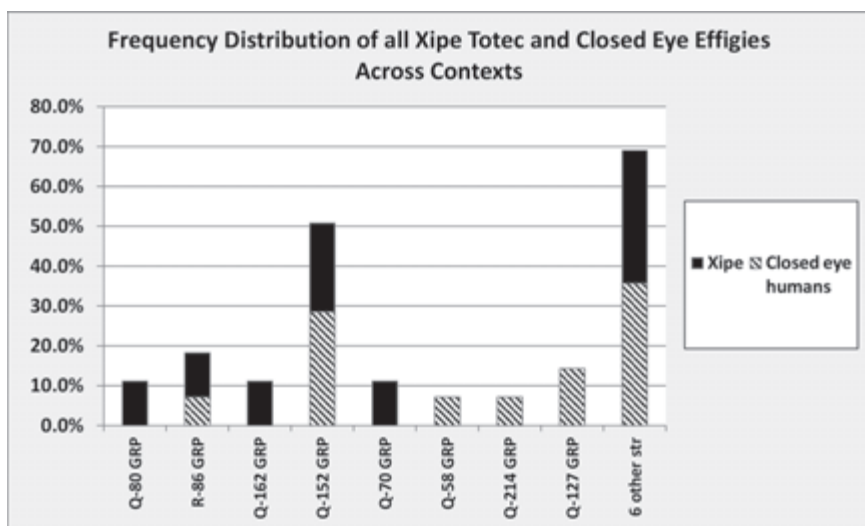


FIGURE 7.13. Distribution of the total number of *Xipe Totec* and closed-eye (stone and ceramic) effigies across the groups in the sample. Note: closed eye censers from R-86 and Q-152 groups overlap with censers also classified as maize gods, other males, and old gods.

Venus god faces were concentrated (three out of four) at the Q-79/79a shrine (part of the Q-80 cluster), and the fourth example is within the same group, from Hall Q-81 (tables 6.19, 6.20, figure 7.16). The Kukulcan temple group has the only Ehecatl effigies at Mayapán (figure 7.16), and they form 11.1 percent of this group's assemblage (table 7.19). This concentration fits nicely with the fact that this temple was dedicated to Kukulcan, of whom Ehecatl was a wind god manifestation.

Other males represent a composite category that may include warrior effigies. Potentially, Q-80 and Q-162 centralize images linked to female gods, merchants, and warriors or ancestral figures. Merchants often had a bellicose dimension. Most filed-tooth males derive from the Q-80 group, where seven of nine were recovered; two others come from nearby Hall Q-70. Other males are also present in higher proportions at colonnaded hall group Q-70 (18.8 percent), burial shaft Temple Q-58 (37.5 percent), and the outlying Itzmal Ch'en group (40 percent, table 6.19). Death effigies were also significant at Q-70 (25 percent). But the structures with the most death imagery—Q-95 and Q-89—do not have high proportions of other males (table 6.19).

What might the high proportions of merchant, miscellaneous male, and female effigies mean? The Q-80 and Q-162 compounds are among the three

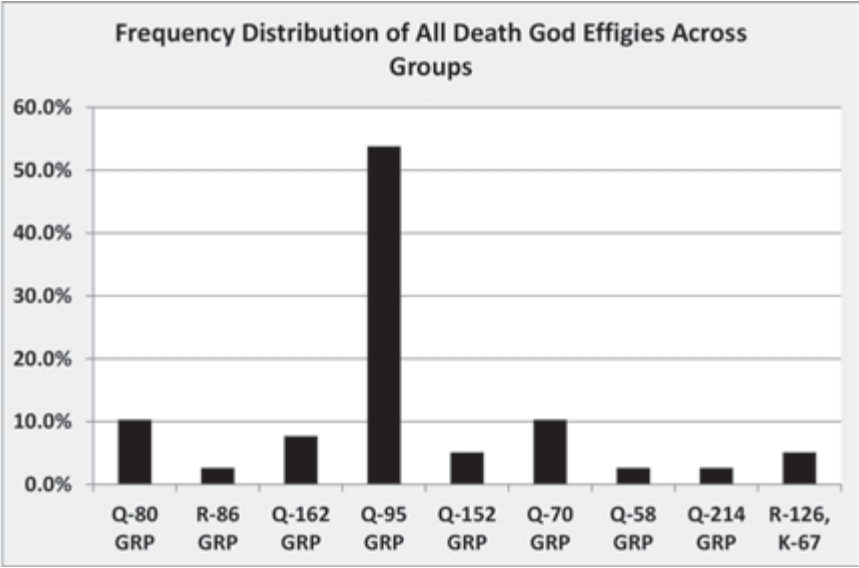


FIGURE 7.14. Distribution of the total number of death god effigies across the groups in the sample. Group Q-95 (Fisherman Temple group) has the highest concentration.

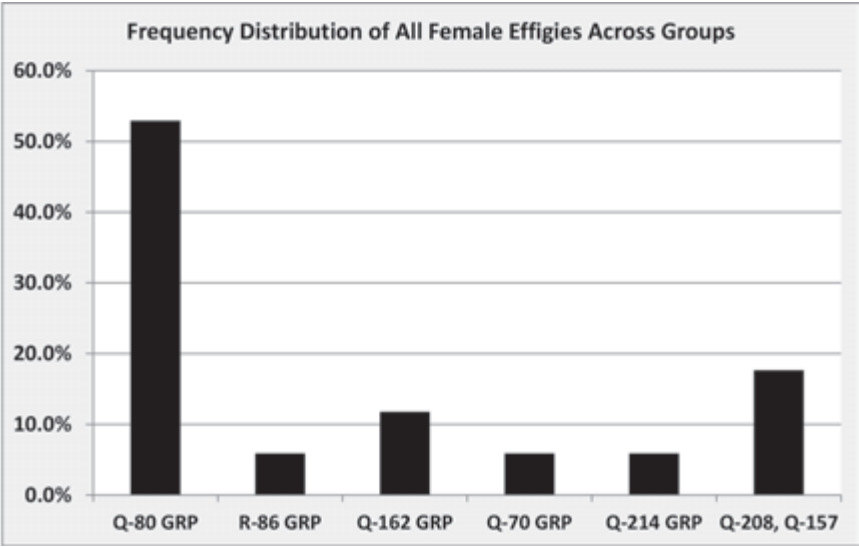


FIGURE 7.15. Distribution of the total number of female stone and ceramic effigies across the groups in the sample. From the monumental center, all but one ceramic effigy censer was found at the Q-80 group (eight from Temple Q-80 and one from Hall Q-81), suggesting that the invocation of female deities was significant at this locality.

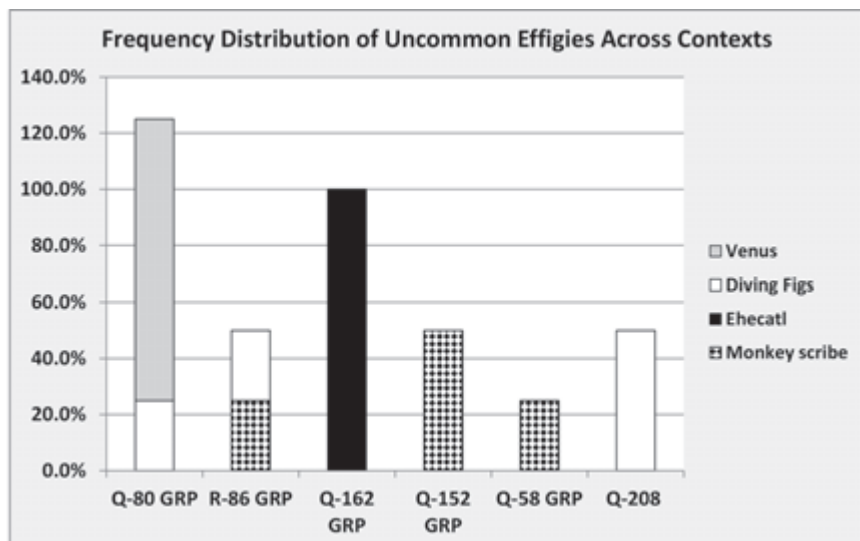


FIGURE 7.16. *Distribution of the total number of Venus god, diving figure, Ehecatl, and Monkey Scribe stone or ceramic effigies across the groups in the sample. Ehecatl, the wind god aspect of Kukulcan/Quetzalcoatl, concentrates at the Temple of Kukulcan (Q-162). Venus effigies concentrate at Q-80. The other rare types do not concentrate at a single group.*

most conspicuous architectural groups in the site center along with the Templo Redondo. These deities have symbolic implications for the commercial and productive industries of the city. Merchant effigies show a range of stylistic variation, and to facilitate synthesis we lump whiskered gods with them here. The Temple Q-80 group has 37.9 percent of the merchant/whiskered effigies in the entire sample and the Temple of Kukulcan (Q-162) group has 24.1 percent (table 7.20). Temples Q-80 and Q-162 probably served as major pilgrimage nodes or locations for ceremonies that emphasized trade, war, and female contributions to society and the supernatural realm. One of the goddess sculptures from the Q-162 group is pregnant, and one large sculpture portrays a woman grinding at a metate (figures 2.13, 7.6). Both young and old female faces are found among the Q-80 group censers, which may represent at least two different deities—Goddesses I and O—or a central Mexican maize goddess, as Milbrath has suggested (personal communication, 2013). Other female sculptures are found at round Temple Q-214, and Q-157a may also be linked to Ixchel (Shook 1954a).

Although the Q-80 and Q-162 groups have notable concentrations of certain effigies, these samples are diverse and among the top three most ubiqui-

tous group assemblages from the site. A broad array of effigies was used for different ritual occasions within the buildings of these central compounds of the city. J. Thompson (1957) discusses six central Mexican deities that were important to travelers, and these included the merchant god (Yacapitzauac, with a pointed nose), a female goddess (Chalmecaciatl), and a version of Quetzalcoatl (Nacxitle). Perhaps the Q-80 and Q-162 array of entities reflects gods that were important for travelers to Mayapán. Ixchel was similarly the focus of pilgrimage on the island of Cozumel, a hub for merchants (Tozzer 1941:109; Freidel and Sabloff 1984; Paxton 2001:51, 143).

Old god faces are not common in the sample ( $N = 7$ ), as they are only present at four groups (figure 7.11). At these localities, they are found in similar or lesser proportions to other censers (table 7.19), including the Q-80 group (1.5 percent), the Templo Redondo group (7.9 percent), the Q-70 hall group (6.3 percent), and the Q-208 residence (18.2 percent). The Templo Redondo (Q-152) compound has nearly half (42.9 percent,  $N = 3$ ) of the old god faces in the sample (table 7.20); two examples are at the Q-208 residence and two other occurrences are single. The faces lack insignia linking them to Pawatuns, with which old God N is often identified (Taube 1992), although diagnostic attributes may have been present on the bodies or headgear that they now lack (Milbrath and Peraza Lope 2013:218). One example has closed eyes. The multiple presence of old god entities at the Templo Redondo, where the well-known gods of Itzamna and Chac are abundant, suggests further links to the more conservative ritual emphasis of this compound, especially considering the likelihood that they represent Pawatuns.

Potential maize god images ( $N = 16$ ) do not dominate the assemblage of any group (table 7.19, figure 7.11). They may be common at the site (Milbrath and Peraza Lope 2013), even if specific diagnostic attributes are not present on fragmentary censers. Carnegie scholars were able to identify only one definitive maize god from a fully restored example decorated with maize foliage (Winters 1955b; J. Thompson 1957). Taube (1992) notes that the maize god is linked to death and disembowelment and is sometimes depicted with closed eyes. Four young, attractive “other male” censer faces have closed eyes and may thus represent the maize god, as might a disemboweled torso fragment. Fourteen ceramic effigies and sculptures have closed eyes in the sample, but some of these are old or mature individuals that could represent deceased humans, Xipe Totec, or the maize god.

Xipe Totec ( $N = 9$ ) is found in seven contexts at Mayapán (table 7.19, figure 7.13). In two groups, two faces of this god are present, the Templo Redondo (Q-152) group and the Q-208 residence. Other cases occur singly. Xipe Totec



represents only 5.3 percent of the Templo Redondo group but is 18.2 percent of the Q-208 assemblage, counting the limbs and faces that may be part of only one or two examples (table 7.19). Xipe Totec is not an exclusive deity for any group, and all groups with this effigy have at least six types of entities present, including local traditional Maya gods (figures 7.11, 7.13). The use of these images may reflect the foreign connections of some of Mayapán's local groups or, alternatively, newcomers undergoing assimilation (Masson and Peraza Lope 2010). Some closed-eye old face censers, ceramic masks, and sculptures may also represent Xipe Totec, but as they overlap with other categories, percentages of closed-eye personages are not calculated in tables 7.19 and 7.20. We hesitate to identify this deity based on the single attribute of closed eyes.

Four diving figures are reported in the sample (table 7.19, figure 7.16). These form low proportions of the samples at three contexts, Residences R-86 ( $N = 1$ ) and Q-208 ( $N = 2$ ) and the Q-80 compound ( $N = 1$ ). Their identities are difficult to ascertain from published photos, but one example may represent the maize god and another might be Chac. At Tulum and Mayapán, diving figures have previously been identified as the maize god (Taube 1992). The two elite houses where Xipe Totec was found (R-86 and Q-208) also had diving effigies. The presence of this east coast icon at these structures may further reflect their occupants' cosmopolitan trading ties. Most diving figures at Mayapán are in the form of thirteen miniature stone sculptures described by Proskouriakoff (1962a). Two other upper-status residences also had diving figures (S-133 and Q-244), which were also present at two halls (Q-54 and Z-50), a shrine (Q-89), and a portal vault (Q-127) as well as the Itzmal Ch'en temple and altar (H-17 and H-17a). The stone divers are broadly distributed among a range of elite houses and public buildings.

Death head images include skeletal faces in cup or censer form and stone sculptures, including tenoned heads, totaling thirty-nine examples (figure 7.14). Although widespread among eighteen contexts, death imagery is heavily concentrated at one group, that of the Q-95 Fisherman Temple, which has 53.8 percent of the death images at the site (table 7.20). This group's assemblage is comprised of 77.8 percent death images (table 7.19). Four death god heads were found at each of two other groups, Q-80 and Q-70. They formed a mere 6 percent of the Q-80 assemblage but were more significant at Q-70 (25 percent).

Eighteen of twenty-one death images at the Q-95 group come from two structures: eight ceramic effigies and one death god sculpture from the Q-95 temple itself and nine tenoned skull heads from the Q-89 shrine. The tenoned head concentration at Shrine Q-89 suggests it may have served as a skull plat-

form similar to those reported at Chichén Itzá and Postclassic central Mexico. At Temple Q-95, the death god sculpture has been identified as a central Mexican deity (Milbrath and Peraza Lope 2003a). Death head ceramics are more abundant here than anywhere else at Mayapán. These effigies underscore the importance of sacrifice at Q-95, as indicated by the central burial shaft in which the remains of over forty men, women, and children were thrown. A sacrificial stone was found on top of the temple (Shook 1954c). The structure's fisherman mural also relates a story of sacrifice and rebirth (chapter 2).

### CACAO PODS

The Carnegie project occasionally recovered cacao pod censer adornos. Thirty-seven examples were recovered from eighteen different contexts tested by the INAH and PEMY projects. Most contexts only had one or two ceramic pods, but three were found at Hall Q-88/88a, five were found at elite House Y-45a, and eleven were from Temple Q-80. Effigy censers at these latter two structures probably held cacao pod offerings, or they formed part of the foliage that emanates from the elaborate costumes of some censer figures (table 7.21). As we have discussed, Q-80 was a pivotal temple at Mayapán, and the structures in its vicinity had abundant and diverse effigies, including many merchant deity censers. The association of cacao pods with this group is probably linked to its importance to commercial agents and activities.

Cacao beans were the most common form of money (Tozzer 1941:37). Unfortunately, most cacao pod adornos are not part of restored vessels, and we do not know which deities held them. Milbrath et al. (2008:108) report cacao pods in the headdress of merchant deity censers at Mayapán, and they also describe an example from Champotón. The association of merchant effigies with cacao pods is a clear indication of the symbolic importance of commerce. House Y-45a was a large residence located in a neighborhood near the southeast portion of the city wall, with a rear shrine room, receiving room, and two storage rooms. Its residents may have been merchants, provisioners, or tribute collectors. Other objects held by censer figures at the city include cones and balls of copal or rubber, flowers, tamales, and maize foliage.

### LAYERS OF RELIGIOUS PRACTICE

Our results reflect complex patterns of censer and sculpture effigy use at Mayapán. While concentrations imply different emphases at the city's buildings in rituals that invoked various entities, the prevailing pattern is the use

**TABLE 7.21** Contexts with ceramic cacao pods. These adornos probably derive from headdress or handheld elements of Ch'en Mul Modeled effigy censers.

<i>Structure</i>	<i>Project sample</i>	<i>Number</i>
House Q-62	INAH	1
Hall Q-70	INAH	1
Shrine Q-79/79a	INAH	1
Temple Q-80	INAH	11
Hall Q-81	INAH	1
Oratory Q-82	INAH	2
Oratory Q-88	INAH	1
Halls Q-88/88a	INAH	3
House Q-94/94a	INAH	1
Shrine Q-98	INAH	1
Round Temple Q-152	INAH	2
Hall Q-161	INAH	1
House R-142c	PEMY	1
House Z-39	PEMY	1
House R-101	PEMY	1
House Q-303	PEMY	1
House L-28	PEMY	2
House Y-45	PEMY	5

of a broad range of entities at major structures and groups. The larger the sample of effigies from a particular location, the more diverse is the assemblage. The most prominent groups of the Main Plaza at Mayapán have the greatest number of effigies, with outlying structures rarely having more than two. Noble families of Mayapán rotated the burden of calendrical festivals linked to the effigies (Landa 1941:133–57; D. Chase 1985a, 1986; P. Rice 2004:77–83; P. Rice 2009c; Milbrath and Peraza Lope 2013), and our analysis indicates that this practice resulted in the use of many different kinds of gods at specific structures.

Concentrations hint at the importance of certain deities at specific architectural groups. Death imagery concentrates at the Q-95 burial shaft temple and a shrine in its courtyard, Q-89. But burial shaft temples may have focused on different aspects of sacrificial ritual and cosmology, as other temples and

shrines lack death god imagery (Q-58, H-18, and T-70). All of these temples have some link to Kukulcan creation myths, as indicated by the presence of serpent sculptures or related imagery (Masson and Peraza Lope 2007).

The Q-80 and Q-162 temple groups had effigies that may have appealed to merchants and creation mythology. Temple Q-80 has an important concentration of female effigy censers. Wind god effigies are only found at the Temple of Kukulcan, and all but one of the Venus gods were found at a shrine within the Q-80 compound. Filed-tooth male entities also concentrated almost exclusively at this group. In contrast, the Templo Redondo group and the R-86 noble residence have high proportions of Chac and Itzamna, two of the most important local gods. These groups, along with Q-80, also had diving figure effigies. Both the Templo Redondo and R-86 groups have diverse assemblages that include Xipe Totec. These shared characteristics may link the R-86 noble family to the Templo Redondo group along with the Pelé Polychrome fish dishes found at both of these groups. Multiple examples of old gods and Xipe Totec are found only at the Templo Redondo group and Q-208, another elite residence.

The most perplexing problem—one that may never be resolved—is to determine the specific occasions for which effigy censers were produced, used, and discarded. Beyond monthly festivals and yearly Uayeb ceremonies, K'atun intervals also had patron gods in effigy form; curiously, the faces of K'atun effigies may have been those of historical figures rather than faces with deity markers (Love 1994:19–25). This possibility may explain the large number of male face effigies that lack specific deity attributes (Masson 2000). Some effigy censers from Utatlán and its neighbors may also have been apotheosized ancestors (Carmack 1971:17).

Chapter 8 considers the evidence for the collapse of the Mayapán polity, including deposits linked to willful acts of destruction at many of the city's public buildings. As discussed at the beginning of this chapter, many of the broken censers and sculptures were deposited in the context of episodes of abandonment.

**TABLE 7.22** Citations for investigations of structures mentioned in chapter 7, which report effigies of ceramics, stone, or stucco. Some effigy ceramics were republished by Robert Smith (1971).

<i>Structure/group</i>	<i>Carnegie project</i>	<i>INAH or PEMY project</i>
A-1	Smith and Ruppert 1956	
A-3	Ruppert and Smith 1954	
AA-13	Ruppert and Smith 1954	
AA-31	Ruppert and Smith 1954	
AA-37	Ruppert and Smith 1954	
AA-60	Ruppert and Smith 1954	
AA-94	Ruppert and Smith 1954	
AA-103	Ruppert and Smith 1954	
AA-112	Ruppert and Smith 1954	
H-12	Chowning 1956	
H-13	Chowning 1956	
H-14	Chowning 1956	
H-15	Chowning 1956	Delgado Kú, Escamilla Ojeda, and Peraza Lope 2012a
H-16	Chowning 1956	
H-17	Chowning 1956; D. Thompson 1955; J. Thompson 1957	Delgado Kú, Escamilla Ojeda, and Peraza Lope 2012b
H-18	Chowning 1956	
I-94	Ruppert and Smith 1952	
J-122	Ruppert and Smith 1952	
J-131	Ruppert and Smith 1952	
J-49	Ruppert and Smith 1952	
J-50	Ruppert and Smith 1952	
J-71	Smith and Ruppert 1956	
K-52	Smith and Ruppert 1953	
K-67	Smith and Ruppert 1956	
P-14	Smith and Ruppert 1956	
P-23	Smith and Ruppert 1956	

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TABLE 7.22—*continued*

<i>Structure/group</i>	<i>Carnegie project</i>	<i>INAH or PEMY project</i>
P-28	Smith and Ruppert 1956	
Q-37	Smith and Ruppert 1956	
Q-58	Shook 1954a	
Q-59	Shook 1954a	
Q-60	Shook 1954a	
Q-61		Peraza Lope et al. 2003
Q-62	Ruppert and Smith 1954	
Q-64		Peraza Lope et al. 2003
Q-65		Peraza Lope et al. 2003
Q-69	Adams 1953	Peraza Lope, Delgado Kú, and Escamilla Ojeda 2002
Q-70		Peraza Lope, Delgado Kú, and Escamilla Ojeda 2002
Q-71	Adams 1953	Peraza Lope, Delgado Kú, and Escamilla Ojeda 2002
Q-72		Peraza Lope, Delgado Kú, and Escamilla Ojeda 2002
Q-73		Peraza Lope et al. 1997
Q-74		Peraza Lope et al. 1997
Q-75		Peraza Lope, Delgado Kú, and Escamilla Ojeda 2002
Q-76		Peraza Lope et al. 1997
Q-77	Adams 1953	Peraza Lope et al. 1997
Q-78		Peraza Lope, Delgado Kú, and Escamilla Ojeda 2002
Q-79	Adams 1953	Peraza Lope et al. 1997
Q-80	Winters 1955a	Peraza Lope et al. 1997
Q-81	Winters 1955b	Peraza Lope et al. 1997
Q-82	Shook 1954a	Peraza Lope et al. 1997, 1999a
Q-83		Peraza Lope et al. 1999b
Q-84	Adams 1953	Peraza Lope et al. 1999c
Q-85		Peraza Lope et al. 1997

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TABLE 7.22—continued

<i>Structure/group</i>	<i>Carnegie project</i>	<i>INAH or PEMY project</i>
Q-86		Peraza Lope et al. 1999c
Q-87		Peraza Lope et al. 1997
Q-88	Shook and Irving 1955	Peraza Lope et al. 1997
Q-89		Peraza Lope et al. 2003
Q-90	Adams 1953	Peraza Lope et al. 2003
Q-91		Peraza Lope et al. 2003
Q-92		Peraza Lope et al. 2003
Q-93		Peraza Lope et al. 2003
Q-94		Peraza Lope et al. 2003
Q-95	Shook 1954a	Peraza Lope et al. 2003
Q-96		Peraza Lope et al. 2003
Q-97	Shook and Irving 1955	
Q-98		Peraza Lope et al. 2003
Q-119	Smith and Ruppert 1953	
Q-126	Shook 1955	
Q-127	Strömsvik 1953	
Q-143	Winters 1955c	
Q-146	Winters 1955c	
Q-147	P. Smith 1955	
Q-148	P. Smith 1955	
Q-149	P. Smith 1955	
Q-151	Shook and Irving 1955	Peraza Lope et al. 1997
Q-152	Shook and Irving 1955	Peraza Lope et al. 1999a
Q-153	P. Smith 1955	Peraza Lope, Delgado Kú, and Escamilla Ojeda 2002
Cenote Ch'en Mul	R. Smith 1954	
Q-157	R. Smith 1954	
Q-159	Winters 1955c	
Q-160		
Q-161		Peraza Lope et al. 1997

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TABLE 7.22—*continued*

<i>Structure/group</i>	<i>Carnegie project</i>	<i>INAH or PEMY project</i>
Q-162		Peraza Lope et al. 1997, 1999b
Q-163		Peraza Lope et al. 1999b
Q-164	Shook 1954a	
Q-165	Chowning and Thompson 1956	
Q-166/167	Chowning and Thompson 1956	
Q-168	Chowning and Thompson 1956	
Q-169	Thompson and Thompson 1955	
Q-172	Thompson and Thompson 1955	
Q-173	Thompson and Thompson 1955	
Q-208	J. Thompson 1954	
Q-209	J. Thompson 1954	
Q-213	Shook 1954b	
Q-214	Shook 1954b	
Q-217	Winters 1955c	
Q-218	Winters 1955c	
Q-244	Smith and Ruppert 1956	
R-100	Smith and Ruppert 1953	
R-126	Smith and Ruppert 1956	
R-142	Smith and Ruppert 1956	
R-171	Smith and Ruppert 1956	
R-30	Smith and Ruppert 1956	
R-85 to R-90	Proskouriakoff and Temple 1955	
R-91	Smith and Ruppert 1956	
S-133	Smith and Ruppert 1956	
T-70	Shook 1953	
T-72	Shook 1953	
Cenote X-Coton	R. Smith 1953	
Y-2	Smith and Ruppert 1956	
Y-8	Smith and Ruppert 1956	
Z-4	Ruppert and Smith 1954	
Z-50	Pollock 1956	



