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## Kukulcan's Realm

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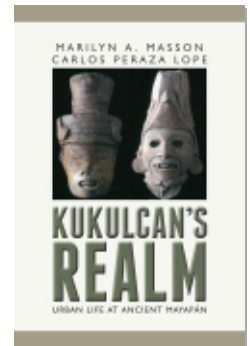
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*An Outlying Temple, Hall,  
and Elite Residence*

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Documenting the complexity of an urban place such as Mayapán relies to an important degree on evidence for specialization and differentiation within the basic institutions of social, political, economic, and religious organization (Kent 1990a, 1990b; Trigger 1968:57). Civic-ceremonial and residential architecture have great potential to reflect functional or social spatial segregation that accompanies occupational diversification and bureaucratic development (Inomata 2001). This chapter examines the details of three examples of differentiated administrative and ritual features in Mayapán's residential zone: an outlying temple, a colonnaded hall, and an elite residence. Architects of these groups took pains to design and build these edifices according to sets of relatively standardized criteria and to distinguish them from one another. Standardization among elite or public buildings is an important criterion for identifying principles of urban planning within an archaeological site (chapter 4; M. Smith 2007, 2008). Our challenge is to reconstruct how differently and by whom these spaces were used. One other point is significant in the analysis of these three types of features that we identify as focal nodes in Mayapán's neighborhoods. Outlying temples and halls replicate characteristics that are concentrated in the monumental zone; a simple inference leads us to conclude that the activities performed at these structures were also replicated. In this respect, they form an intermediate level of facilities within the residential zone (chapter 4). Activities at these buildings would have tied Mayapán's population of 15,000–17,000 people into the administrative and religious affairs of the city's governing elites. Chapter 4 considers the distribution and characteristics of these

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focal nodes and other differentiated spaces such as market plazas, distinct neighborhoods, and streets. Here we set the stage for that site-level analysis by illustrating the diverse yet patterned activities that took place at three different types of buildings.

Our findings discern three significant patterns among temples, halls, and elite residences, following up on our review of monumental art in chapter 2. First, the activities and architecture of outlying temples and halls conform in many ways to top-down conventions, as their characteristics match those found in the site's central monumental groups. Second, on a more specific level, there was room for idiosyncratic variation in details of architectural design, sculpture and effigy assemblages, offerings, and ritual that clearly reflects the imprint of specific patron elite groups that built and used these buildings. Some of this variation may be attributed to ethnic differences, as has been argued for elite House Y-45a by Prudence M. Rice, Timothy W. Pugh, and Leslie G. Cecil (P. Rice 2009c:37, 49; Pugh 2009:176; Rice and Cecil 2009a:245). We consider these claims in our review of the features of House Y-45a, which we infer to have been the home of an overseer within the southern Mayapán neighborhood in which it was embedded. Third, despite the sustained efforts to construct these three distinct types of facilities, significant overlap can be tracked in the activities performed at them, particularly among halls and elite residences. On one level this overlap attests to fuzzy boundaries among the differentiated facilities that we interpret as evidence for complexity and functional diversity. On the other hand, these comparisons allow us to identify elite residences as a third type of civic-ceremonial node that helped to articulate neighborhood commoners to city government and cement inter-elite ties through ceremonies, feasts, and other sociopolitical gatherings.

The use of ritual paraphernalia was important at elite residences, although the ubiquity of ritual objects is much higher at the largest palaces compared to secondary elite dwellings. A quantitative comparison of censer distribution at public buildings and elite and commoner residences overturns the old Carnegie project model of decentralization of religious practice during the Postclassic Period, which was said to be commonplace at the household level (Thompson and Thompson 1955:238–42; Proskouriakoff 1955:88, 1962b:136; J. Thompson 1957:624; Pollock 1962:17). Carnegie investigators drew this conclusion based on a biased sample geared toward higher status residences as well as altars, shrines, caches, and tombs that are rare at the site's majority of commoner dwellings (chapter 5). The concentration of ritual at the homes of Mayapán's most prosperous lords and priests supports the argument that integrative activities were staged at these localities that helped to hold Mayapán's

society together. In chapter 7 we fully assess the variation in ritual objects at different contexts.

We begin with an overview of interpretations of colonnaded halls, which represent the most enigmatic of civic-ceremonial architectural categories at Mayapán (Shook and Irving 1955:127). By contrast, the functions of temples and elite residences have never been particularly problematic to ascertain. In a very real sense, halls lie functionally between temples and residences, as their features replicate aspects of both. We reiterate, however, that Mayapán's elites felt that the purpose of halls was sufficiently distinct that they took pains to construct them according to a clearly recognizable architectural plan, with minor variations (Proskouriakoff 1962a).

## THE FUNCTION OF HALLS

Halls were probably built and operated by noble members of Mayapán's confederacy (Proskouriakoff 1962a:90; Freidel and Sabloff 1984:182; D. Chase 1992; Ringle and Bey 2001:289). The function of Mayapán's colonnaded halls has been debated since the Carnegie project of the 1950s. These edifices are intriguing in their potential to represent civic facilities for political meeting and deliberation. Middens have been found in the general vicinity of some halls that open up the possibility of part-time occupation or large-scale, short-term consumption activities such as feasts. The dense nature of some of this material (behind Halls Q-97 and Q-99, for example) originally raised the question of hall occupation (Shook and Irving 1955:134). Debris from feasting may also be represented by broken pottery, such as the pottery "dump" at the juncture of Hall Q-151 and Temple Q-152 (Shook and Irving 1955:145).

Rituals performed at Mayapán's different halls exhibit patterned variation. Some halls have unique offerings or ritual debris, specific sculptures, or murals; but similar furnishings are also found in altar caches and anthropomorphic sculpted columns or altar figures (chapters 2, 7). A comprehensive examination of effigies at halls and other building types is provided in chapter 7, and in the section below we provide examples of varying hall artifact assemblages.

The defining attributes of colonnaded halls include their elongated rectangular form and the presence of a row of stacked, plastered stone columns that formed a multiple entranceway to the frontal room (Shook and Irving 1955:128; Proskouriakoff 1962a). Halls also had flat beam, mortar, and stone roofs (figure 2.17). Major halls have two parallel rectangular rooms, including the colonnaded entrance room and a rear room that features a long low bench (figures 2.10, 2.11). Central altars are generally present on this bench in the form of

recessed, raised, or projecting altars, or a small sanctuary. Some halls have one or two transverse structures located at either end, and more rare examples, such as Q-163 and Q-156, have back-to-back galleries divided by a central wall and face two directions (Proskouriakoff 1962a). While temples, oratories, and elite residences also often have columns marking the frontal doorway, the long rectangular shape is particularly diagnostic of halls, as is the general expectation that their frontal rooms have three or more columns.

Tatiana Proskouriakoff (1962a:90) tabulates twenty-one halls in Mayapán's main group of the monumental center, and five others were counted elsewhere at the site at the time of her analysis. Survey continues to identify more halls in the settlement zone (chapter 4; Russell 2007). Of the twenty-one, she argues that thirteen stand independently and may have been linked to factions of the confederacy. They are found in architectural association with other halls, oratories, or temples (chapter 2; Proskouriakoff 1962a). The lack of partitioned rooms and abundant grinding stones suggests that they were not residential. In contrast, high-status residences have multiple shorter room divisions in which self-standing rectangular benches are located; residences also have burial features within or around them. Unlike halls, residences are located within courtyards that are formed by other dwelling structures, kitchens, and outbuildings.

Edwin W. Shook and William N. Irving (1955) first contended with the issue of hall function, and they listed possibilities that were later considered in the chapters of Harry E. D. Pollock, Ralph L. Roys, Proskouriakoff, and A. Ledyard Smith's (1962) report. The options they listed included palaces, young men's houses (*telpuchcalli*), and meeting halls for governmental affairs, and they suggest that hall functions changed through time from secular to religious purposes (Shook and Irving 1955:134–35). Proskouriakoff suggested that halls were sometimes used as young men's houses. Alternatively, she proposed that they may have served as seats of political and religious families for members of the city's confederacy (Proskouriakoff 1962a:89; see also D. Chase 1992:128–31). Proskouriakoff (1962a:89) observed that the central Mexican young men's houses or “bachelor's halls” were dispersed around Tenochtitlan and were not listed among Sacred Precinct edifices. This pattern differs from Mayapán, where the majority of halls concentrate at the site center. A. Ledyard Smith (1962:223) also struggled with the functional classification of halls; he proposed that they were ritual edifices and that custodial houses located behind some halls served as retreats for individuals organizing ritual celebrations. He was open to the idea that halls sometimes housed young men or served as places for education or religious training (A. Smith 1962:267). But Smith sug-

gested that Structures Q-116 and Z-146 were better matches for Diego de Landa's (1941:181) description of young men's houses. These edifices are large buildings that are unique at Mayapán, as they were open on all sides. Building Q-116 may have been a school, or *calmecac* (A. Smith 1962:223), but it has never been investigated. Colonnaded halls could have housed visiting merchants, their entourages, or their goods, as suggested for Cozumel (Freidel and Sabloff 1984:157), although merchants in Yucatán also paid to stay at inns during their travels (Tozzer 1941:97n424, 231).

The lack of burials distinguishes halls from elite residences, with a few exceptions. Carlos Peraza Lope, Pedro Delgado Kú, and Bárbara del C. Escamilla Ojeda (2002:113) report graves in the plaza just to the west of Hall Q-72. One was a primary seated interment (Burial 30), and the other consisted of a skull and long bones (Burial 31). A third was found along the north side of the structure's base (Burial 32) in which two individuals were present, but one had an obsidian projectile point embedded in its ribs (Peraza Lope, Delgado Kú, and Escamilla Ojeda 2002:114). No grave offerings were present in these simple graves except for a few obsidian blades that may or may not be associated. It is difficult to know whether these were sacrificial victims or not. Two possible cemetery zones have been associated with custodial houses, defined as small houses next to major temples or halls. These examples include burials near Q-67 and Q-68 and also near Q-92 and Q-93 (Peraza Lope, Delgado Kú, and Escamilla Ojeda 2003:71–77; Serafin 2010:67). Colonnaded Halls Q-152c and Q-54 had burials within them (Serafin 2010:71). But the Q-152c example (Burial 28) was beneath construction fill and close to bedrock. It was near the corner of the frontal terrace rather than being centrally located and predates the hall (Peraza Lope et al. 1999a:175–77). Burial 57 was in front of the altar of Hall Q-54 at a depth of only 55 centimeters below the floor, and it is a better candidate for a funerary feature (Peraza Lope, Escarela Rodríguez, and Delgado Kú 2004:68). Shrine burials at Mayapán represent funerary rituals rather than sacrifices (Serafin and Peraza Lope 2007). In Shrine Q-88c, human remains, mostly crania of at least nine individuals, were placed beneath the floor. Stanley Serafin and Peraza Lope (2007:238) note that this feature may reflect reverential post-mortem treatment of the type accorded to the Cocom family (Landa 1941). Shrines associated with colonnaded hall groups may have housed the remains of revered ancestors of the social factions who built and used the groups. Examples of such shrines include Q-69, associated with Hall Q-70 and facing Hall Q-54 (figure 2.10).

At Utatlán/K'umarcaj, high-ranking lineages were each associated with a long, rectangular structure, or "big house" (*nim ja*); these are displayed on

the Totonican map of the site center (Carmack 1981a:89). Some of these buildings had more specific names. Lineage groups that built and used these edifices at Uatlán were sometimes also called *nim ja*, underscoring the fact that the edifices were seats of political power that embodied the factions who built and used them (Carmack 1981a:89). These buildings represent probable analogs to Mayapán's colonnaded halls, although they lacked stone columns. In the settlement zone of Uatlán, residential settlement units were headed by secondary leaders who answered to the lords of the town. These residential unit authorities were referred to as the *Chuch Kajaw/mofa*, and their duties were religious as well as political (Carmack 1981a:12). Events at Uatlán's *nim ja* included ceremonies, lecturing, bride-price bestowal, feasting, and marriage events (Carmack 1981a:11). The list of activities reveals the use of these structures for ritual, political, and social events.

By analogy, the Mayapán colonnaded halls probably functioned similarly. As chapter 2 details, some Postclassic towns were also organized into residential wards headed by secondary authorities (*Ah Cuch Cab*). These two tiers of administration are of great potential significance for discerning the use of halls versus secondary elite residences. Halls may have hosted higher level activities performed by governing nobles of the city's confederacy while neighborhoods may have been administered more often from the more ubiquitous secondary elite residences. These activities would have been complementary and were presumably coordinated and articulated through communication among top-ranking and secondary officials. Complicating this distinction are Mayapán's largest elite palaces, which overlap with hall assemblages more than smaller elite dwellings. It is reasonable to assume that residents of the major palaces of Mayapán were not secondary administrative officials whose domain was limited to a residential zone. Despite the rich documentary information for Uatlán, Mayapán, and Contact Period towns in general, it is difficult to fully separate material assemblages of halls and elite residences, as Dwight T. Wallace reported many years ago (Wallace 1977). A significant ceremonial component is also attributed to an elite residence with hall-like characteristics at Structure 719 at Zacpetén (Pugh et al. 2009:193, 207–11).

## ACTIVITIES AT HALLS AND ELITE RESIDENCES

Proskouriakoff (1962a:89–90) highlighted the fact that colonnaded halls and the largest elite palaces at Mayapán overlapped in function and that they were nodal localities for political meetings, religious celebration, associated feasting, or other purposes. Additional work confirms this pattern based on

analysis of architectural space, offerings, altars, and art objects (Masson and Peraza Lope 2004). The site's most important elites conducted similar rituals and administrative activities at their residences to those occurring at halls, as argued for contemporary sites at Cozumel (Freidel and Sabloff 1984:31, 41) and at Santa Rita (D. Chase 1986). An exception is reported from Buena Vista (Cozumel), where halls lacked a ritual focus (Freidel and Sabloff 1984:172), which illustrates that the use of these buildings is not simply characterized across a single site or within a region.

Differences among Mayapán's halls are clearly observed in pottery assemblages. Halls at some of the larger groups likely served different functions. This pattern is particularly true for the Templo Redondo complex, where halls are clustered in a unique back-to-back configuration atop a shared platform (figure 2.11). A small "hall" at the northern end of the platform, Q-88a (Peraza Lope et al. 1999a:41–45), was burned upon abandonment, and the artifacts found on its floor represent unique or rare possessions. Nineteen complete serving, storage, and cooking vessels were present on the floor, including seven Pelé Polychrome dishes with fish designs (Peraza Lope et al. 1999a:45). Pelé Polychrome vessels may represent a special category of elite serving vessels that were circulated through gifting and were used primarily for political events, including feasts (Smith et al. 2003). Other Mesoamerican sites report the limited distribution of very rare types of vessels, which represent a minor quantity of the assemblages of ancient cities and individual contexts (e.g., Culbert 2003).

Whole vessels of this rare type were found at two other elite contexts, including a single dish from Palace group R-86–90 and a concentration at House Y-45a (Proskouriakoff and Temple 1955; Peraza Lope et al. 2008). At Y-45a, in addition to two fish dishes, several painted and modeled turkey effigy jars of the Pelé Polychrome type were also present (figures 3.1, 3.2). The fish design depicted in figure 3.1 exhibits teeth like the shark in the fisherman mural (figure 2.24), although many fish species have sharp teeth. Pelé Polychrome vessels may identify edifices used by the Kowoj ethnic group, as they share similarities with Chompoxte Red-on-Cream pottery at Zacpetén and Topoxté. We explore this ethnic interpretation in greater detail later in this chapter. A small glyph-inscribed stone jaguar was also found at Hall Q-88a, with day signs *Lamat*, *Chuen*, and *Etz'nab* and a 3 *Ahau* date, probably the K'atun ending in AD 1382 (Milbrath and Peraza Lope 2003a:40). Hall Q-88a has an assemblage unlike other halls investigated at the site. The quantity of fancy serving vessels suggests that it may have been a residence or perhaps a storage facility for other ritual edifices of the Round Temple (Templo Redondo) (Q-152) group, with which it shares a platform. In fact, it lacks the characteristic elongate





FIGURE 3.1. *Pelé Polychrome dish from elite Residence Y-45a with a painted fish design. Illustration by Wilberth Cruz Alvarado.*

rectangular shape and long gallery. Structure Q-88a is an L-shaped building, and although it has a central shrine room, it is atypical for a hall (figure 2.11). In addition to the seven *Pelé Polychrome* dishes, Q-88a had two other dishes (one *Kukula Cream*, one *Mama Red*), four jars (two *Navula Unslipped*, one *Tecoh Red-on-Buff*, one *Buff Polbox*), four basins, and one non-effigy ped-

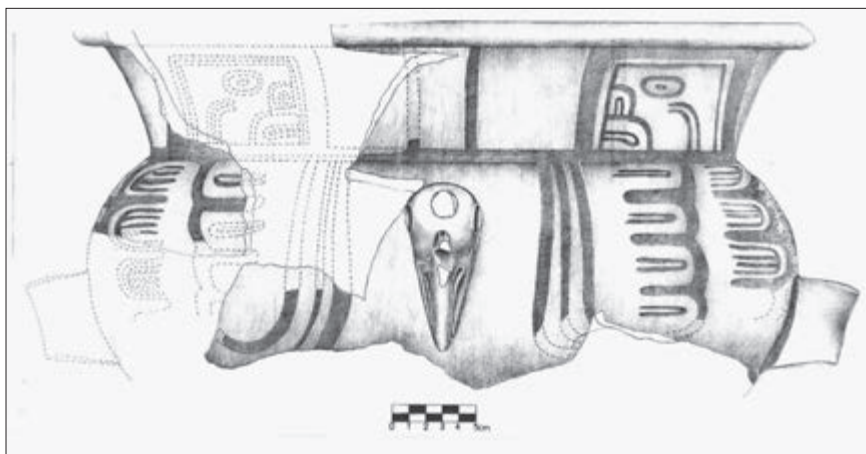


FIGURE 3.2. *Pelé Polychrome vessel from elite Residence Y-45a with a painted and modeled turkey. (Note the Abau glyph on the rim.) Illustrated by Wilberth Cruz Alvarado.*

estal censer (Navula Unslipped), and one Mama Red miniature tripod bowl (Peraza Lope et al. 1997).

Other halls were associated with different surface materials. In contrast to Structure Q-88a, Hall Q-152c had very few materials recovered from it, although ceramic drums were among the vessels present (Peraza Lope et al. 1999a). Table 3.1 illustrates Ch'en Mul effigy censer sherd percentages from selected structures investigated by the Carnegie and INAH projects. Hall Q-151 is conspicuous for the presence of two Puuc-style mosaic stone masks (chapter 2) and a large quantity of broken Chen Mul Modeled effigy censers and other debris on its floor (Shook and Irving 1955; Peraza Lope et al. 1997). Hall Q-81 was also covered with many broken effigy censers (Winters 1955b; Peraza Lope et al. 1997). Two elite dwellings also exhibit particularly high effigy censer proportions (Q-208 and K-67a; table 3.1). No censers were found at Halls Q-72, Q-152c, and Q-87 (Peraza Lope et al. 1997, 1999a). Similarly, elite Residence Q-244b had few censers (chapter 7). But elite Residences R-86-90 and Q-208 had ubiquitous censer fragments, some of them in burial contexts, and these are the only two high-status dwellings from which Xipe Totec effigy censer fragments were found (Proskouriakoff and Temple 1955; J. Thompson 1954, 1957:625).

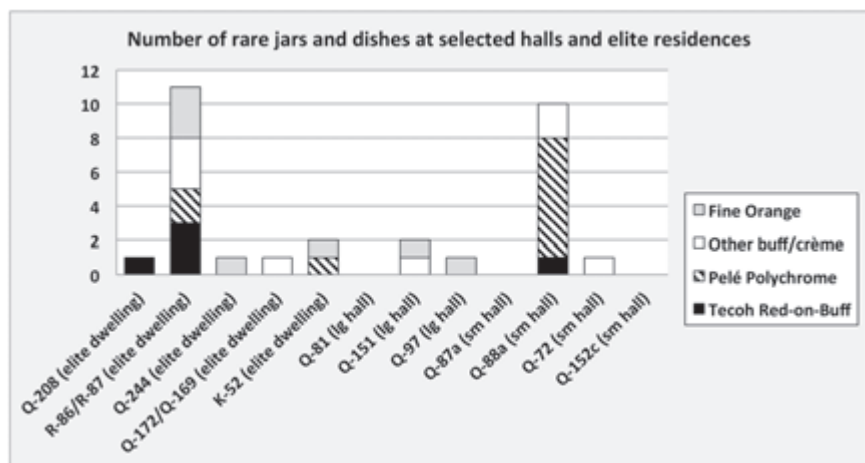
Other halls and elite residences shared types of specialized vessels, including tripod cache cups, stucco anthropomorphic altar figures, and stone or ceramic turtles. For example, stucco altar figures were found at Palace R-87

**TABLE 3.1** Frequencies of human effigy sherds from selected halls and elite residences (percentage of effigies of the total number of sherds per context). Data are compiled from lot lists in the Carnegie Institution of Washington's *Current Report* series (sources provided in table 7.22, data now available in Masson 2009). Q-88a data are courtesy of Carlos Peraza Lope.

<i>Structure</i>	<i>Human effigy (%)</i>
Hall Q-81 surface	87.0
Hall Q-151 surface	82.4
Hall Q-97 surface	55.4
Hall Q-152c surface	52.7
Hall Q-87a	38.0
Hall Q-88a	37.7
Hall Q-213 midden upper	35.7
Hall Q-72	35.6
Hall Q-64	26.5
Residence Q-208	69.6
Residence K-67a (2 room)	64.0
Residence R-86 group all	48.9
Residence A-1 (shrine w/small house)	28.1
Residence K-52a (4 bench)	26.5
Residence Q-62 (4-room dwelling)	23.0
Residence S-133b (4-room dwelling)	17.5
Residence Q-244b (6-room dwelling)	12.0

and Halls Q-97 and Q-151 (Proskouriakoff and Temple 1955:figure 21a; Shook and Irving 1955:131). These materials are also commonly found at oratories, shrines, and temples (chapter 7) and are thus not particularly diagnostic to building type. Calendrical ceremonies were celebrated at both halls and residences but are not limited to these edifices (Masson 2000:table 6.2). A stone turtle at the R-87 palace dwelling was inscribed with a K'atun 10 Ahau and a K'atun 8 Ahau date, and another turtle without dates was also found there (Proskouriakoff and Temple 1955:298, figure 21i, h). The placement of small numbers of jade and shell beads in cache vessels was common at elite residences and halls and other ritual structures (chapter 7).

Except for individual cases such as Q-88a and Y-45a, halls and residences in general are not distinguished by their quantities of uncommon pottery types,



**FIGURE 3.3.** *Rare pottery at selected halls and residences, Mayapán. Data taken from the Carnegie Institution of Washington's Current Reports (see table 7.22 for citations per structure, also Masson 2009) and from Peraza Lope et al. (1999a, for Q-88a).*

including Matillas Fine Orange, Buff Polbox, and Kukula Cream (figure 3.3). Decorated (painted or modeled) Mama Red and Palmul Incised pottery also tends to be rare and does not concentrate in elite contexts (Hare and Masson 2010). The results presented in figure 3.3 in part reflect the scale of excavation per structure, which was greatest at palace group R-86 and Hall Q-88; and the quantity of partially reconstructible non-effigy vessels at Y-45a exceeds those for any other structure yet investigated at the site. But other fully excavated contexts yield low quantities. Only 1 Pelé Polychrome sherd was recovered from full excavations of four features at Itzmal Ch'en: Temple H-17, Hall H-15, House H-II, and the Hall H-15 mass grave (Cruz Alvarado et al. 2012). Buff Polbox group and Tecoh Red-on-Buffer types amount to 0.008 percent of the Temple H-17 sherd assemblage (99 total sherds out of a Postclassic sample of 46,738). Similarly, Altar H-17a, in front of the temple, had only 3 sherds of Tecoh Red-on-Buffer (of 1,490 Postclassic sherds) and Hall H-15 had 35 Buff Polbox sherds and 64 Tecoh Red-on-Buffer sherds (or 0.6 percent of a Postclassic sample of 8,549). If Buff Polbox, Tecoh Red-on-Buffer, or Pelé Polychrome pottery represent ethnic markers, then the signal is weak Itzmal Ch'en. Elsewhere at the site, frequencies of these types are higher (figures 2.8, 2.9).

Ritual vessels, including tripod or pedestal cache cups (effigy and non-effigy), non-effigy appliqué censers, and rarer ladle censers are found in both

contexts. In a sample of sixty excavated contexts of the PEMY project (test pits and fully excavated structures) with samples of 97 or more sherds, non-effigy censers were quite rare. Forty-three of these contexts lacked non-effigy sherds and the remainder had between 1 and 38 sherds of this vessel form. Fully investigated Y-45a had 12 sherds of the combined types of Cehac-Hunacti Composite, Cehac Painted, and Huhi Impressed, and it also had 13 sherds of Acansip Painted (small cups or cylinders usually used as cache vessels). Numbers were greater at Itzmal Ch'en; Hall H-15 had 711 non-effigy censer sherds and Temple H-17 had 311, although their proportions were low compared to effigy censers (the latter numbered 17,586 and 26,826, respectively). These low frequencies may be misleading due to the limitations of fragmentary sherd analysis. Composite censers are only identifiable from a small portion of the vessel that has applique decorative elements. Some decorated composite vessels were made in jar form, and their body sherds are not distinguishable from ordinary ollas used at the city. Complicating this matter further is the fact that vases attached to effigy censers sometimes had the same rosette or banded motifs that are found on non-effigy vessels.

Differences in the surface assemblages of some halls and elite residences may attest to the final circumstances of use or abandonment rituals rather than to overall function, and some odd materials may postdate the city's abandonment (Shook and Irving 1955:145). Hall Q-88a was burned, and its serving vessel assemblage was found intact beneath the cinders of its thatched roof. House Y-45a and Palace R-86-90 were systematically abandoned. Residents of Y-45a took the time to smash their fancy vessels on a rear room bench and cover them with fill (as described later in this chapter), and residents of the R-86 group may have cached their Chen Mul effigies in a tomb upon departure (Proskouriakoff and Temple 1955:327). Other dense floor assemblages at Mayapán, such as the effigy incense burners covering Hall Q-81 (Winters 1955b), may also pertain to rites of abandonment or destruction, as we discuss for Temple H-17 and Hall H-15 later in this chapter. Terminal events at Mayapán probably led to the destruction, disposal, or caching of effigies housed within public buildings and elite residences, as considered more fully in chapter 8.

Interesting patterns are revealed in the spatial distribution of specific deity effigies (chapter 7). Examples thought by J. Eric S. Thompson (1957) to have been indigenous in origin, including merchant god, diving god, youthful/maize god, Chac, Itzamna, whiskered deity, and old god faces, are found in both residential and hall contexts. Large censer collections at the R-86 palace group and the Q-81 hall show equal diversity, with eight deities each (chapter

7). Effigies thought to be of Mexican inspiration by J. Thompson are present at both residential and hall contexts, although they are not evenly distributed. Xipe Totec faces are only found in residential contexts, but a female figure that Thompson identified as Tlazolteotl is found in both context types, and all other Mexican god identifications are singular occurrences (chapter 7; Masson and Peraza Lope 2010). Some concentrations of deities are observed. Chac and Itzamna are numerous at the R-86 palace group; Itzamna and the youthful/maize god are present in relatively high quantities at the Q-81 hall; and all but one Xipe Totec representation was found at the Q-208 elite dwelling, associated with a multiple child burial (J. Thompson 1954). The Xipe Totec deposit may reflect a special, unique event. The most common pattern is the use of diverse censers at most locations, and the majority of deities have their origins in the Maya area. A focus on particular patron deities is indicated at a few contexts (chapter 7).

The proportion of ritual pottery sherds is very low compared to pottery used for everyday tasks in the fully excavated contexts of the PEMY project (table 3.2). Ritual pottery sherds include effigy and non-effigy ceramics, although we have demonstrated that the latter are uncommon in our contexts. Slipped sherds in table 3.2 are largely made up of Mama Red jars, bowls, and dishes, and unslipped (non-effigy) sherds consist of a majority of Navula Unslipped or Yacman Striated jars, as well as low numbers of bowls or basins (Cruz Alvarado et al. 2012; Cruz Alvarado 2012a). The sherds are tabulated according to the total square meters of excavation and the total estimated volume of excavation units (cubic meters) in table 3.3. The table reveals many interesting patterns, some of which are relevant to our comparisons in this chapter. Very high quantities of ceramic sherds at Houses Q-40a and Q-176 reflect the fact that these were pottery workshops and ubiquitous ritual sherds at Q-40 are due to the fact that it was an effigy censer manufacturing locale (chapter 6). Low quantities of sherds at I-57 and X-43 make sense as the former edifice was dedicated to stone tool making, and the latter was not occupied for long.

Pertinent to this discussion are the low quantities of ritual pottery at Hall H-15 (25.3 sherds per cubic meter) compared to the mass grave (H-15Z/E) that has 503.7 ritual pottery sherds per cubic meter (table 3.3). This pattern likely indicates the removal of materials from this hall (and probably from other Itzamal Ch'en ceremonial buildings) for placement in the mass grave that is adjacent to this building (H-15Z/E). The human bones in the grave were desecrated by chopping and burning and numerous smashed effigy censers were broken amidst the human remains (Vidal Guzmán 2011; Paris and Russell 2012). Except for the mass grave, Temple H-17 exhibits the highest

**TABLE 3.2** Percentages of common types of Mama Red, Navula Unslipped (undecorated), and Yacman Striated in all PEMY contexts, including fully excavated buildings, listed by number below, as well as composite test pits and surface collection results. Percentages shown are of total sherds per structure or per sample.

<i>Structure</i>	<i>Mama Red (percent)</i>	<i>Navula Unslipped (percent)</i>	<i>Yacman Striated (percent)</i>
Q-40	40	14	36
L-28	39	21	36
I-57	37	32	29
Q-39	34	14	47
Q-176	34	10	51
X-43	32	44	16
H-11	29	10	25
Y-45a	29	29	19
I-55	27	11	56
H-15	25	15	8
H-17	17	8	14
H-17a	13	7	7
H-15Z/E	11	5	4
All test pits	36	21	30
All surface collections	35	31	29

quantity of ritual sherds of all contexts listed (85.1 per cubic meter) and elite House Y-45 has significantly more ritual sherds (11.6 per cubic meter) than commoner Houses Q-176, L-28, I-55, and X-43. This pattern is important, especially considering that volume estimates tend to be deflated for larger elite residences, temples, and halls due to the amount of fallen construction rubble that contains fewer artifacts and lowers artifact density calculations. Frequencies per square meter assist in checking this potential bias (table 3.3). Results by this index parallel those by volume, with highest ritual pottery densities at Temple H-17 (46.4 per square meter), followed by Hall H-15 and elite House Y-45a (6.7 and 5.4 per cubic meter, respectively), and almost nonexistent quantities at five commoner houses where pottery was not made (below 0.5 per cubic meter).

Our data on fully excavated contexts thus reveal that ritual artifacts and features are concentrated at public buildings and are scarce at ordinary house-



lots. This finding applies more generally across the city at contexts that we have investigated with surface collection or test pits and also in the results of the Carnegie investigations, contrary to their interpretations. The claim that religious practice involving the use of censers and other ritual paraphernalia was a common household occurrence in the Postclassic Period must be refuted due to the scarcity of effigy ceramics at houselots tested across the site. Sixty-one contexts investigated by the Carnegie project lacked Chen Mul effigy pottery (Masson 2009). In a sample of forty-four excavated contexts of the PEMY project where at least 97 sherds were recovered, 60 percent of the contexts had less than 2 percent effigy or non-effigy censers (figures 3.4, 3.5). Itzmal Ch'en contexts contrast with the rest of the PEMY sample with Chen Mul effigy percentages of 61 percent and higher (figure 3.4); elite House Y-45a had 10 percent, more than all of the other houses in the sample. These proportions illustrate our argument that ritual paraphernalia was concentrated at civic-ceremonial buildings and elite residences. Similarly, at Zacpetén, effigy censers were not recovered at four excavated structures in contrast to Structure 719, a dwelling that had a civic-ceremonial dimension (Pugh, Rice, and Cecil 2009:210). Effigy censers were not recovered at ordinary houses at the secondary Postclassic center of Caye Coco, and the pattern of their spatial concentration at highly specific localities is widely reported from hinterland sites (Russell 2000; Milbrath et al. 2008:107).

On a more mundane level, debris in and around halls and temples indicates the occasional use of common food preparation and serving vessels, including Navula Unslipped, Yacman Striated, and Mama Red types. Mama Red sherds formed 27–40 percent of all residential contexts and 11–25 percent of civic-ceremonial contexts in our sample (table 3.2), including all test pits, surface collections, and fully excavated buildings (Peraza Lope et al. 2008; Cruz Alvarado et al. 2012). Navula Unslipped (undecorated types) form 10–44 percent of dwelling sherd assemblages and Yacman Striated formed 16–45 percent (table 3.2). Proportions of Yacman Striated in fully excavated ceremonial buildings and Y-45a are lower, ranging from 4 to 16 percent. Undecorated Navula vessels are low for the Itzmal Ch'en contexts (5–8 percent) compared to all residences, including Y-45a.

The greater abundance of ordinary vessels at residences is also indicated in table 3.3; non-pottery workshop Houses I-55, Q-39, and H-11, for example, have sherd densities ranging from 118 to 186 slipped sherds and 119–224 unslipped sherds per cubic meter. These quantities are far greater than Temple H-17's density of 30 slipped and 21 unslipped sherds per cubic meter (Hall H-15's densities are even lower). Using a subset of the ceramic assemblage



TABLE 3.3 Slipped, unslipped, ritual (effigy censers and decorated braziers), and total Postclassic Period sherds per square meter and by volume of excavation at fully excavated buildings of the PEMY project.

<i>Structure</i>	<i>Slipped total</i>	<i>Number/ square meter</i>	<i>Number/ excava- tion volume</i>		<i>Unslipped total</i>	<i>Number/ square meter</i>	<i>Number/ excava- tion volume</i>
I-55	8817	44.98	186.2	I-55	10,648	54.33	224.9
H-11	4238	31.79	118.1	H-11	4299	32.25	119.8
L-28	1104	5.21	36.3	L-28	1573	7.42	51.7
X-43	494	1.96	26.6	X-43	921	3.65	49.5
Y-45 elite	9584	25.49	54.4	Y-45 elite	10993	29.24	62.4
H-15	3157	6.64	25.0	H-15	2219	4.67	17.6
H-15Z/E	3201	79.53	111.7	H-15Z/E	1699	42.21	59.3
H-17	9859	16.39	30.0	H-17	7134	11.86	21.7
Q-40	12335	139.38	567.4	Q-40	8718	98.51	401.0
I-57	491	6.80	26.0	I-57	582	8.06	30.8
Q-39	5536	46.13	161.7	Q-39	5674	47.28	165.8
Q-176	15340	112.79	463.9	Q-176	14805	108.86	447.7

<i>Structure</i>	<i>Ritual total</i>	<i>Number/ square meter</i>	<i>Number/ excava- tion volume</i>		<i>Grand total</i>	<i>Number/ square meter</i>	<i>Number/ excava- tion volume</i>
I-55	22	0.11	.5	I-55	19487	99.42	411.6
H-11	61	0.46	1.7	H-11	8598	64.50	239.6
L-28	19	0.09	.6	L-28	2696	12.72	88.6
X-43	112	0.44	6.0	X-43	1527	6.06	82.1
Y-45 elite	2039	5.42	11.6	Y-45 elite	22616	60.15	128.4
H-15	3196	6.72	25.3	H-15	8572	18.03	67.8
H-15Z/E	14437	358.68	503.7	H-15Z/E	19337	480.42	674.7
H-17	27928	46.42	85.1	H-17	44921	74.66	136.9
Q-40	888	10.03	40.8	Q-40	21941	247.92	1009.3
I-57	3	0.04	.2	I-57	1076	14.89	56.9
Q-39	300	2.50	8.8	Q-39	11510	95.92	336.2
Q-176	243	1.79	7.3	Q-176	30388	223.44	919.0

Estimated volume of excavated units at these buildings is as follows (in cubic meters): I-55 was 47.4, H-11 was 35.9, L-28 was 30.4, X-43 was 18.6, Y-45a was 176.1, H-15 was 126.4, H-15 Z/E (mass grave) was 28.7, H-17 was 328.2, Q-40 was 21.7, I-57 was 18.9, Q-39 was 34.2, and Q-176 was 33.1.

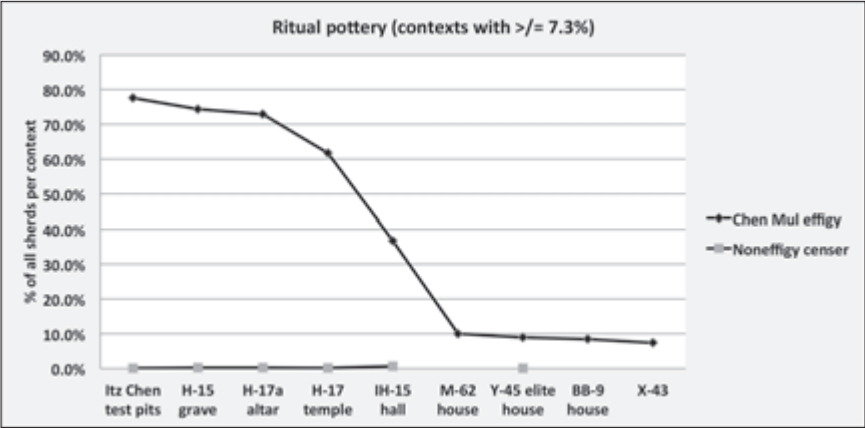


FIGURE 3.4. *Ritual pottery concentrates at civic-ceremonial buildings and elite residences at Mayapán. The graph illustrates excavated contexts of the PEMY project with higher proportions of ritual pottery (effigy and non-effigy); selected contexts in figures 3.4 and 3.5 are limited to those where 96 or more sherds were recovered.*

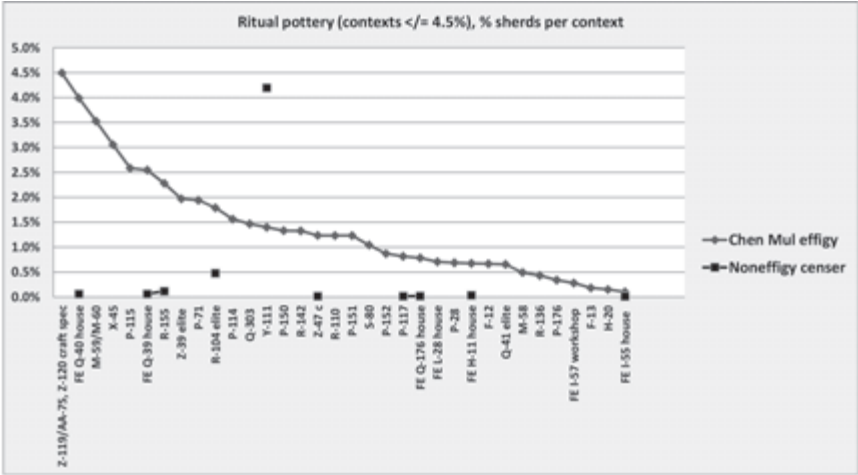


FIGURE 3.5. *Ritual pottery is scarce in a majority of domestic contexts. Excavated contexts of the PEMY project with proportions of ritual pottery below 5 percent (effigy and non-effigy). Percentage shown is that of all sherds per context.*

for which vessel form could be identified from rim sherds or other diagnostic fragments, we can identify some activity differences at Temple H-17, its frontal altar H-17a, Hall H-15, and the H-15 mass grave (table 3.4). These ritual buildings tend to have relatively high proportions of slipped serving dishes relative to jars, as illustrated by ratios that are four to seven times higher than commoner Houses I-55, H-11, L-28 and X-43, but this pattern is complicated by nearly equivalent ratios at affluent commoner houses and pottery workshops (table 3.4). At the minimum, these results suggest that festive meals may have taken place at the affluent House Q-39, and perhaps Q-176 or Q-40, although occupants of Q-176 may have produced dishes. The recovery of a large set of whole vessels at Y-45a potentially invalidates its low dish to jar sherd ratios in table 3.4, although jars form a large majority of this dwelling's reconstructible vessels (table 3.5). Using sherds to compare form frequencies is of limited accuracy due to the correlation of vessel size to the number of sherds. But the size ranges of bowls and jars do not appear to differ according to context in a way that would affect the reliability of relative ratios at this site. The dish to jar ratio is not necessarily the most important indicator of festive celebrations, given the importance of highly decorated jars at Y-45a (table 3.5).

From these data we may infer overlapping use of nonritual pottery at public buildings and residences, with civic-ceremonial contexts tending to have lower overall frequencies and greater relative ratios of dishes to jars, with some exceptions among commoner residences. At Xochicalco, ceramic assemblages also overlapped among residential and public buildings, indicating that a stringent separation in activities was not observed (Cyphers and Hirth 2000). Meal preparation for events in public buildings seems to have taken place at or near public buildings at Xochicalco and Mayapán. Similarly, ordinary pottery represented the bulk of vessels used in political activities at Aztec sites (M. Smith 2002:111; Smith, Wharton, and Olson 2003). Analysis of faunal remains suggests that animals consumed at monumental buildings were brought to those edifices in their entirety (either alive or dead), where they were subsequently butchered and prepared as food (Masson and Peraza Lope 2013). Pottery assemblages around colonnaded halls and temples contain a full range of storage, cooking, and serving vessels that is perhaps due to onsite preparatory and consumptive activities. Metates are sometimes found at colonnaded halls, for example, at Itzmal Ch'en Hall H-15, at Hall Q-81, and between Q-81 and Temple Q-80 (Peraza Lope et al. 1997:198–99; Delgado Kú, Escamilla Ojeda, and Peraza Lope 2012a). Fifty-three metates were found in monumental center buildings by the INAH-Mayapán project during the 1999–2000 season (Peraza Lope, Delgado Kú, and Escamilla Ojeda 2003:120). While they

**TABLE 3.4** Ratios of dishes and bowls to jars at fully excavated contexts of the PEMY project, including all vessels (left) and slipped vessels only (right). Vessel form data is from rim sherds and other diagnostic sherd fragments (Masson et al. 2012:appendices B1, B2).

<i>All bowls and dishes/jar ratio</i>	<i>Structure</i>	<i>All slipped bowls and dishes to slipped jar ratio</i>	<i>Structure</i>
0.1	Hall H-15	0.2	Commoner X-43
0.1	Commoner X-43	0.3	Commoner L-28
0.2	Mass grave H-15	0.3	Elite Y-45
0.2	Commoner H-11	0.3	Workshop I-57
0.2	Commoner L-28	0.4	Commoner H-11
0.2	Elite Y-45	0.6	Craft specialist I-55
0.2	Craft specialist Q-176	2.8	Hall H-15
0.8	Temple H-17	3.6	Mass grave H-15
0.9	Shrine H-17a	3.6	Craft specialist Q-39
1.0	Craft specialist Q-39	3.7	Craft specialist Q-176
1.6	Craft specialist I-55	3.7	Craft specialist Q-40
2.0	Workshop I-57	4.1	Temple H-17
4.4	Craft specialist Q-40	5.6	Shrine H-17a
0.3	Average	0.9	Average
0.7	St dev	1.2	St dev

are sometimes reused in fill or wall construction, in other instances they were located on or around buildings in a manner that suggests use.

In chapter 7 we document parallel inventories of stone, bone, and shell tools and debris on or around halls, temples, and residences. Like pottery, the principal difference is the lower ubiquity of these materials at civic-ceremonial contexts. Some of these artifacts may derive from the informal use of plaza space by visitors or residents of the neighborhood. The cenote at Itzmal Ch'en, as a water source, would have drawn daily traffic, and the ceremonial group was a landmark for pedestrians entering the city from Gates G and H. The plaza may have been relatively vacant between periodic meetings, ceremonies, and other formal gatherings, and it might have served as a public square, used for the purposes of casual social life.

Other seemingly ordinary debris may originate from festive celebrations held at such groups. Ceremonious events were provisioned by a large stock of

TABLE 3.5 Reconstructible vessel fragments from elite House Y-45a.

<i>Form and type: variety classification</i>	<i>Grid square of horizontal excavation</i>	<i>Room number</i>
Jar Buff Polbox: Polbox	3-G, 4-G	2
Jar Buff Polbox: Polbox	3-G	2
Jar Buff Polbox: Polbox	4-G	2
Jar Buff Polbox: Polbox	4-G	2
Jar Buff Polbox: Polbox (fragment)	3-G, 4-G	2
Jar Buff Polbox: Polbox (fragment)	4-G	2
Jar Buff Polbox: Polbox (fragment)	3-G	2
Jar Buff Polbox: Polbox (fragment)	3-F	Passageway
Jar Tecoh Red-on-Buff: Tecoh (fragment)	4-G	2
Jar Tecoh Red-on-Buff: Tecoh (fragment)	4-G	2
Jar Tecoh Red-on-Buff: Tecoh (semicomplete, base missing)	4-G	2
Jar Tecoh Red-on-Buff: Tecoh (semicomplete, base missing)	3-G, 4-G	2
Jar Tecoh Red-on-Buff: Tecoh (semicomplete, rim missing)	3-G	2
Jar Tecoh Red-on-Buff: Tecoh	4-G	2
Effigy jar Tecoh Red-on-Buff: Tecoh	2-D, 3-D	1
Jar Tecoh Red-on-Buff: Tecoh	3-H	2
Jar Tecoh Red-on-Buff: Tecoh	3-G, 4-G	2
Dish Tecoh Red-on-Buff: Tecoh (fragment)	1-F	Passageway (outside of entrance)
Jar Pelé Polychrome: Pelé	3-G, 4-H	2
Tripod dish Pelé Polychrome: Pelé (semicomplete)	3-D, 4-D	1
Jar Mama Red: Black-on-Red (fragment, Jar Katún 8 Ahau)	3-D, 4-D, 3-E	1
Tripod jar Mama Red: Mama	4-C	5
Tripod jar Mama Red: Mama	4-D	1
Tripod dish Mama Red: Mama	3-I	3
Jar Trapiche Pink: Trapiche	3-G, 4-G	2
Tripod cup Cehac Painted: Cehac	3-I	3
Very large jar Kanasín Red/Unslipped: Kanasín	4-E	1

local supplies, including plant and animal foods and everyday pots and tools, as Contact Period accounts indicate. Special objects were also commissioned locally from sculptors working in clay, stone, or stucco. Gifting associated with specific rites required ritual sponsors to accumulate shell ornaments, cotton mantles, and other valuables for bestowal on those who attended the ceremonies (e.g., Landa 1941:106). The economic dimensions of public life had real economic consequences for household activities. To illustrate this point, the following material objects were essential for different steps of a rite of passage overseen by priests in Landa's (1941:105–6) account: mats, priestly garments, brilliantly colored feather jackets, loose feathers (beautiful), cotton ribbons, white cloth and linen, cotton mantles, serpent aspergillum (staff of wood or pottery), water vessel, flowers and cacao, bone armament, beads, stone knife, tobacco, wine (*balche*), deity effigies, shell ornaments (tokens of girls' purity), and much food and drink for the ensuing feast. These expenses were paid for by the patron who hosted the event. As Landa's account illustrates, formal activities at the outlying Itzmal Ch'en group would have stimulated production of specialty ceramic, stone, and stucco sculptures; knives for sacrifices and offerings; and shell ornaments or other valuables given as gifts. They also called for production of tamales, the delivery of game and fowl for consumption at ritual feasts, and a range of pottery vessels for cooking and serving meals. The production and consumption activities for such events represent the ritual dimensions of economy as outlined by Patricia A. McNany (2010:200–6), who points out that households devote a significant proportion of their surplus production to ritual obligations in a variety of ethnographic cases. Although we do not argue that the majority of household surpluses at Mayapán were commissioned for ritual economies, we acknowledge that this process would have been significant.

The symbolic importance of the economic foundations of daily life is evident in certain sculptures and offerings at Mayapán. Seven examples in public contexts illustrate the reverence of daily labors. In chapter 2, we discussed a sculpture of a woman grinding at a metate placed next to the eastern staircase of the Temple of Kukulcan (figure 2.13). Other instances similarly celebrate the tools used for productive activities. The INAH team discovered three manos with a secondary long bone and crania in a plaza burial near to Temple Q-80 (Burial 24, Cuadro 20-M; Peraza Lope et al. 1997:190, photo 306). A mano was cached in a bedrock cavity beneath the plaza floor adjacent to the rear (west) foundation of Temple Q-58 (Peraza Lope, Delgado Kú, and Escamilla Ojeda 2003:27; Peraza Lope et al. 2003:photo 65). Elsewhere, a mano, two conical chert pestles, one other chert pestle, and two chert polishers, along

with a conch shell trumpet, two jade beads, a chert knife, a bone awl, and other chert tool/debris fragments formed a cache in a bedrock cavity beneath the plaza floor at Hall Q-72, inspiring the investigators to name it “La Casa del Albañil,” or House of the Masons (Peraza Lope et al. 1999a:101). Finds that seem to reflect pride in craftsmanship and subsistence staple production are also observed in the settlement zone. In two recent investigations, one potter and the child of a potting family were interred with the tools of this trade at Residences Q-40a and Q-176a (M. Delgado Kú 2012b; Russell, Hutchinson, and Delgado Kú 2012; Cruz Alvarado et al. 2012:figure 15.15). Staple foods were also given a place in ceremonial offerings. A cache at the Itzmal Ch'en temple (H-17) included a turkey sculpture, and this fowl was the second most important staple animal food at the city, after white tailed-deer (Masson and Peraza Lope 2008). In chapter 6, we review examples of using deer bones as funerary offerings, which we infer to be related to the symbiotic relationship at Mayapán between deer raised in captivity and their human caretakers (Masson and Peraza Lope 2008).

#### ART AT ITZMAL CH'EN TEMPLE H-17 AND HALL H-15

The Itzmal Ch'en ceremonial group illustrates the tendency for outlying groups to conform to citywide emblematic conventions of architectural form and religious practice. Temple H-17 and Hall H-15 also reveal that individual groups exhibit unique design elements or religious art that reflects the choices or obligations of their patrons.

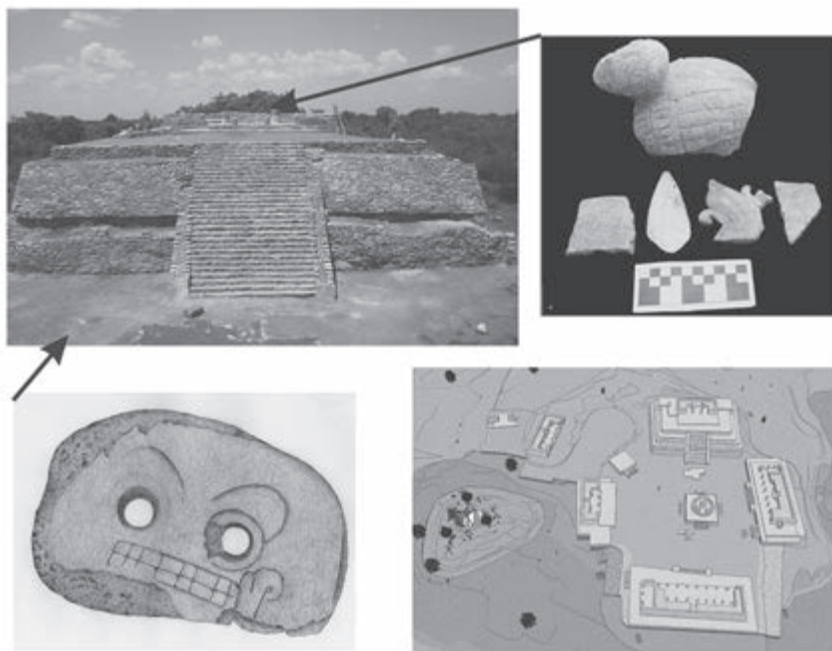
The Itzmal Ch'en group is the largest of the outlying administrative features at Mayapán, located 1.9 kilometers east of the Main Plaza. The limited work Carnegie investigators performed at Itzmal Ch'en involved clearing part of the upper room of the temple (D. Thompson 1955) and exposing a round shrine (with a burial shaft) and altar in the center of the plaza, H-18/H-18a (Chowning 1956). Proskouriakoff (1962a:figure 1) mapped the group and cleared a few architectural features for clarification, and she illustrated the group's sacrificial stone on which a prowling jaguar is carved (Proskouriakoff 1962a:127, 138). This cenote group has remained sacred ground to the present day. At the time of the Carnegie project, Telchaquillo residents conducted Ch'a Chaak rain ceremonies there (Proskouriakoff 1962a:129), and this practice continued until around 2003. During our 2009 investigations, Itzmal Ch'en landowner Don Pancho Uc invited a *h'men* ritualist from Mérida to bless the ceremonial group, so that malevolent spirits potentially evoked by the excavations would do no harm.

A major city wall gate (Gate H) is located just 125 meters east of the Itzmal Ch'en group. Roys (1962:79) revealed that one of Mayapán's eastern gates was under the guardianship of the Kowoj faction along with their "companion" Ah Ek. In the eastern Petén Lakes region of Guatemala, Mayapán-style temples and halls are emulated in the homeland of the Kowoj, who are said to have migrated there from Mayapán (Jones 1998; Pugh 2002; P. Rice 2009a:15; P. Rice 2009c). Given the paucity of Pelé Polychrome sherds at Itzmal Ch'en, it is possible that the Kowoj were guardians of a different eastern gate, perhaps Gate G or Gate T. Bradley W. Russell (2007, 2008a) discovered and mapped a basic ceremonial group located outside the city wall just 100 meters northeast of Gate G. Such a facility might well have hosted activities linked to gate oversight.

We fully excavated the largest colonnaded hall from this group (H-15) and the Itzmal Ch'en temple (H-17) in 2008 and 2009 as well as a nearby dwelling (H-11) and two craft production localities that are within 50–100 meters of the group, including House I-55a and a lithic workshop building, I-57 (Delgado Kú, Escamilla Ojeda, and Peraza Lope 2012a, 2012b; Latimer and Delgado Kú 2012; Hutchinson and Delgado Kú 2012; Kohut et al. 2012). In 2003 we also conducted test pits at three other nearby structures—H-20, H-24, and I-56—and behind three structures of the ceremonial group (Masson, Delu, et al. 2008). Activities performed at the houses near Itzmal Ch'en included craft production and ordinary domestic activities; evidence for ritual specialization was not found. No elaborate residence is located in this part of the city, and we infer that the high-status patrons of the Itzmal Ch'en group resided closer to the central portion of the city, where elite dwellings tend to concentrate (chapter 4). The human remains of a mass grave of burned and chopped bones and effigy incense burners at the southwest corner of the group's platform (next to H-15) are probably those of the group's elite patrons (Paris and Russell 2012; Serafin, Russell, and Delgado Kú 2012). Our investigations of Hall H-15 and Temple H-17 screened all deposits with 1/4" hardware cloth, which allows for more detailed analysis of material assemblages compared to prior work.

Proskouriakoff (1962a:127) identified blended architectural features at Temple H-17. In one respect, its frontal shrine and altars are like those of serpent column temples, but its upper room has more of an oratory plan, with interior columns and benches (figure 3.6). A more typical oratory is also present in the group, H-14 (Proskouriakoff 1962a:128). In its final form, Temple H-17 measures 8 meters high × 26.5 meters long × 19.5 meters wide (Delgado Kú, Escamilla Ojeda, and Peraza Lope 2012a); the stone roof of the upper room would have added more height. Volumetrically, it is the second largest





**FIGURE 3.6.** *Itzmal Ch'en group. Top left: Itzmal Ch'en Temple H-17 and frontal altar H-17a, restored by our project in 2009 (photo by Pedro Delgado Kú). Top right: Offering at Temple H-17, including a turkey sculpture. Bottom left: A death god stela found on front of Temple H-17, west of altar H-17a. Bottom right: A reconstructed view of the Itzmal Ch'en group and cenote (illustration by Bradley Russell).*

temple at Mayapán and one of the largest Postclassic Maya temples yet documented. Buildings of the Itzmal Ch'en group were constructed in several episodes. Two major phases were discerned at Shrine H-18 by Ann Chowning (1956) and three are identified at Hall H-15 and Temple H-17 (Delgado Kú, Escamilla Ojeda, and Peraza Lope 2012a, 2012b).

Forty stone sculpture fragments were found in 2009 in the vicinity of Temple H-17 and its frontal altar complex, H-17a (Cruz Alvarado 2012b). The majority ( $N = 12$ ) were serpent effigies (figure 3.7). Human deities were also represented, including male deities emerging from a turtle or shell, as well as a pregnant monkey effigy, turtles ( $N = 3$ ), birds ( $N = 2$ ), and various fragments of human limbs or geometric elements (figure 3.8, Cruz Alvarado 2012b). Some of the anthropomorphic examples in figure 3.8 appear crudely rendered in their current state, but it is important to remember that these represent only



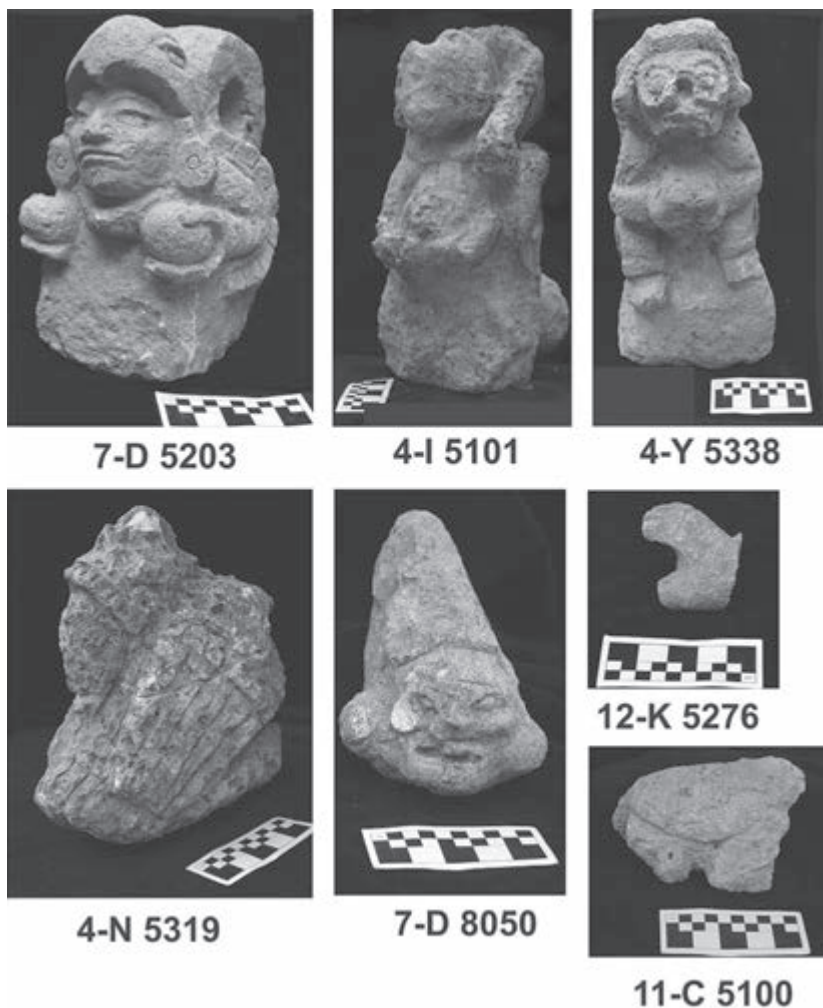
**FIGURE 3.7.** *Examples of serpent sculptures from Temple H-17, Itzmal Ch'en, 2009 season. Photos by Caroline Antonelli.*

the interior canvases of more elaborate pieces. For example, one side of the pregnant monkey effigy's (figure 3.8, top center) cape had preserved remnants of smooth and polished stucco and detailed painted feathered designs. Pieces like this one were embellished with stucco and paint while others were beautifully carved from stone (e.g., figure 3.8, top left).

The diversity of sculpture types from the temple indicates a varied program of religious activities through time. Some sculptures likely formed part of the upper façade; others may have been installed inside the upper temple or in two niches on the edifice's western side; and additional sculptures were placed or buried on the later plaza floors around its base. Small animal sculptures are also regularly recovered at the monumental center (P. Delgado Kú 2004:153). The preponderance of serpents is the primary pattern for Temple H-17 (figures 3.7, 3.8), suggesting that rites dedicated to Kukulcan were especially important at this group. The presence of a round shrine (H-18) in the middle of this plaza also points to the significance of Kukulcan's wind god aspect.

Hall H-15 was much embellished in its day (figure 3.9). Cut geometric stones (recycled Puuc style) had been integrated into its roof façade and sculptures of animals emerged from its basal wall. These latter sculptures had fallen onto the plaza floor and included a dog, a serpent head, a jaguar, and a turtle, all with tenons that had enabled them to project from the architecture (figure 3.10). Several fragments of large stone human sculptures were found along with a large serpent head, which was found on the floor of the western transverse room of the hall. This serpent head differs from most at Mayapán in its vertical orientation that portrays the snake head in a rising position (figure 3.10). The hall was probably intentionally destroyed, as a zone of burned floor materials was encountered in the eastern interior room.

Both Temple H-17 and Hall H-15 were ritually abandoned with effigy censer rituals. Nine smashed censer concentrations were placed at the temple—five within the upper room and four in front of the building on either side of the staircase on the plaza floor (figures 3.11, 3.12). Three censer offerings were on the floor of the hall. In one concentration at each building, a crude piece of greenstone was placed; a recycled chisel (perhaps a former ax) was placed at Hall H-15 and a piece of raw material was placed at Temple H-17. This parallel set of materials suggests the simultaneous symbolic termination of both buildings. None of the concentrations contained a fully reconstructible effigy censer, indicating that the vessels had been broken, mixed, and then deposited in discrete piles. Future analysis will determine whether refits can be made between concentrations or with the effigies of the Itzmal Ch'en mass grave. A tally of noses from censer faces indicates that a minimum of fifteen effigies are represented in the Temple H-17 concentrations. The fragments are not diagnostic to specific deities. Censer assemblages have also been well documented from Zacpetén buildings—for example, at Structure 602 (Pugh and Rice 2009b:147). Some differences exist in the Structure 602 deposit and those of Itzmal Ch'en. Unlike H-17 and H-15, at Zacpetén partially reconstructible



**FIGURE 3.8.** *Examples of anthropomorphic and turtle sculptures from Temple H-17, Itzmal Ch'en, 2009 season. Photos by Caroline Antonelli. Top row, ring sculptures (left to right): deity emerging from turtle mouth with offerings, pregnant female monkey, old god holding offering. Bottom row (left to right): human-bird figure, old god face possibly emerging from a shell, hand fragment of human portrait figure (top), turtle (bottom). The sculptures had remnants of plastered, painted surfaces.*

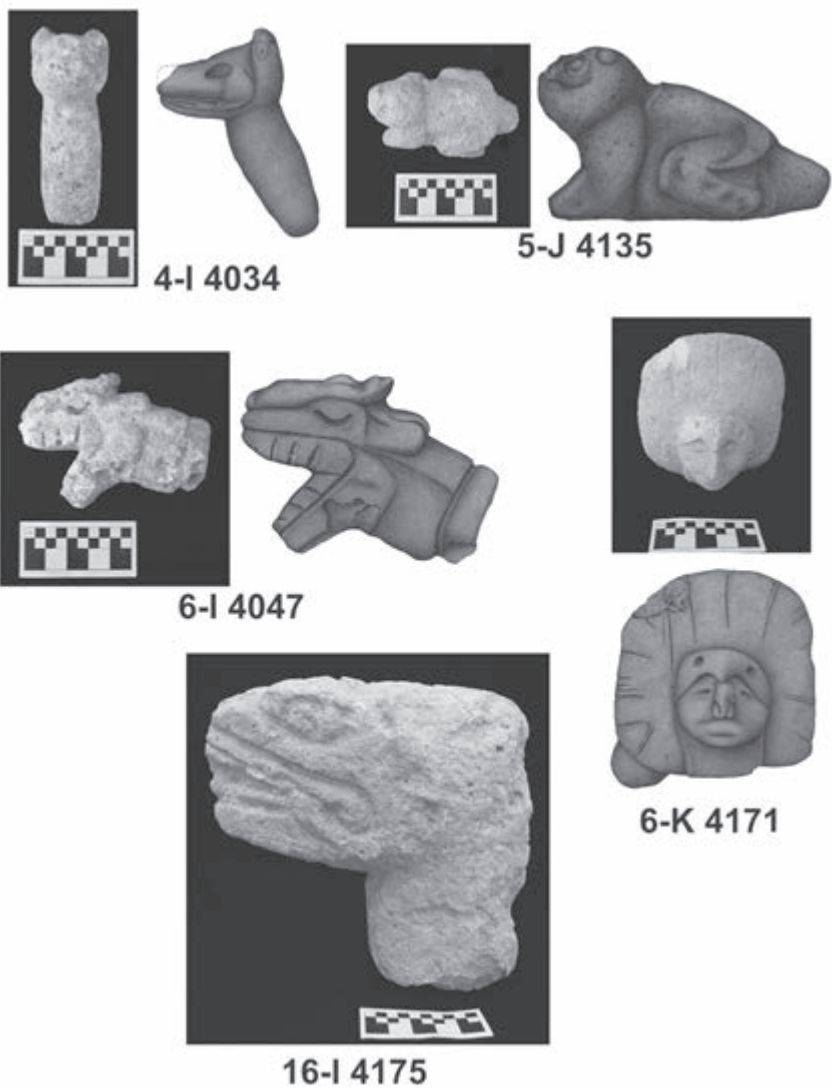


**FIGURE 3.9.** *Hall H-15 of the Itzmal Ch'en group, as seen from the top of Temple H-17. The hall was excavated and restored in 2008 by the PEMY project. Photo by Pedro Delgado Kú.*

censers were present along with a mixture of other types of non-censer vessels. The Zacpetén deposit is not considered to represent a termination event (Pugh and Rice 2009b:150).

More formal offerings were also found at the hall and temple. Behind the altar on the floor of the upper room of the temple (figure 3.6), a turkey sculpture was found, along with a bifacial knife, brightly painted effigy censer fragments (vegetation scrolls), and a plain sherd (Delgado Kú, Escamilla Ojeda, and Peraza Lope 2012b). A polychrome Itzamna effigy cup was cached (figures 3.12, 3.13) within the altar of Hall H-15 (Delgado Kú, Escamilla Ojeda, and Peraza Lope 2012a).

The Itzmal Ch'en group shares some symbolic features and artifacts with the site center. The rectangular base of Temple H-17 is like that of some central temples, but the broad and elongated foundation of this temple, combined with its height, makes it stand out from many other examples at the site (Delgado Kú, Escamilla Ojeda, and Peraza Lope 2012b). Aspects of the hall's architectural layout and upper molding resemble halls in the site center, but rounded stones forming the corners are unique among halls at the site (Delgado Kú, Escamilla Ojeda, and Peraza Lope 2012a). Circular shrines and



**FIGURE 3.10.** *Examples of sculptures from Hall H-15. Top: dog, jaguar. Center: serpent, human face emerging from turtle. Bottom: serpent. Illustrations by Wilberth Cruz Alvarado, photos by Caroline Antonelli.*



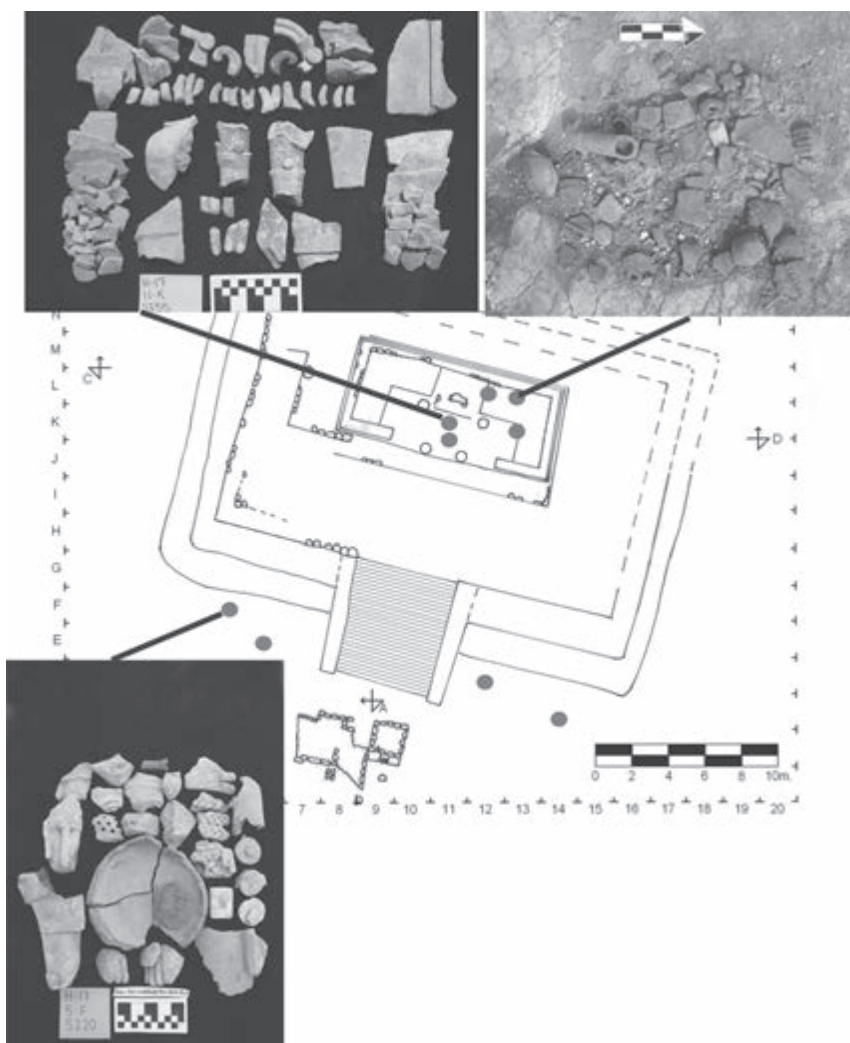
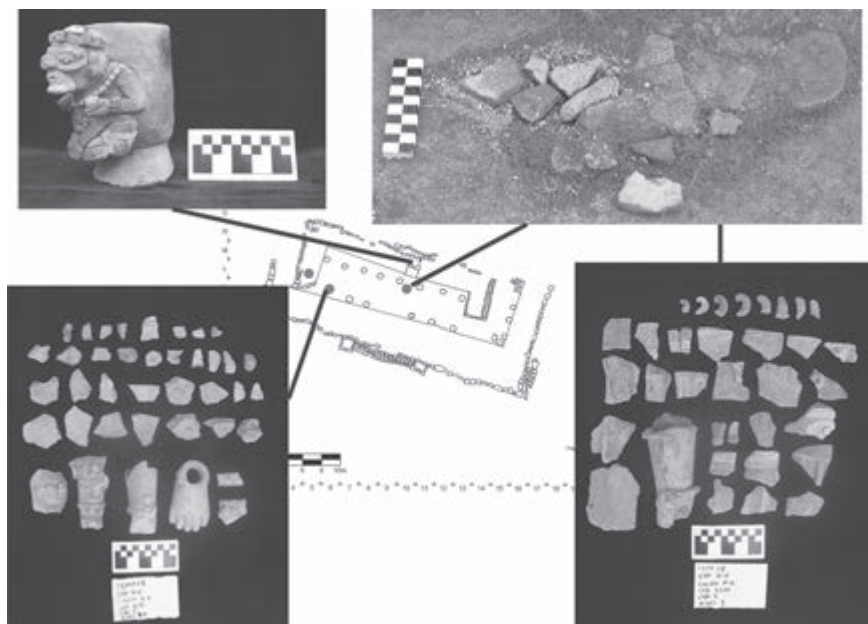


FIGURE 3.II. Dots indicate the locations of nine smashed effigy censer offerings on the floor of Temple H-17. The photos illustrate examples of sherd fragments in the concentrations. A small piece of greenstone raw material is shown within one of the concentrations (upper right).

burial shafts like those of H-18 occur elsewhere at the site but not in combination (Proskouriakoff 1962a). The H-18a earth lord altar differs from other representations of Tlatecuhtli at the city, which occur as smaller stone sculptures



**FIGURE 3.12.** Dots indicate the locations of three smashed effigy censer offerings on the floor of Hall H-15. The photos illustrate examples of sherd fragments in the concentrations. A small piece of reworked greenstone is shown within one of the concentrations (upper right), and the Itzamna effigy is from the hall's altar cache (upper left).

or are in the form of serpent riders (chapter 2; Proskouriakoff 1962a; Taube 1992:128; Milbrath and Peraza Lope 2003a:26). The recovery of an Itzamna effigy censer at Hall H-15 links this structure with one of the most common gods represented in Postclassic Maya ceramics and codices (chapter 7). Unique for Mayapán is the tabletop stone altar in the interior upper room of Temple H-17. It is supported by small seated stucco figures (D. Thompson 1955) that resemble many other such human altar sculptures found at a variety of ritual building types at the city. Although the idea of a table altar with anthropomorphic supports is reminiscent of Chichén Itzá's Temple of the Jaguars, the style of the Itzmal Ch'en figures is dissimilar to the earlier site. The prowling jaguar sculpted on the sacrificial stone at Itzmal Ch'en does resemble those at the Temple of the Jaguars and other buildings at Chichén Itzá. One small monkey sculpture was found at Itzmal Ch'en Temple H-17 (figure 3.8). David A. Freidel and Jeremy A. Sabloff (1984:156) observe that monkeys are sometimes





**FIGURE 3.13.** *Itzamna offering vessel from the altar of Hall H-15, PEMY project, 2008. Photo by Bradley Russell.*

an attribute of the goddess Ixchel (Tozzer 1941:10) in their discussion of a leaping monkey stucco façade at San Gervasio. A new stela found in front of the temple, just west of Shrine H-17a, on the plaza floor, is carved with a large, crude rendition of the death god; no other stela at Mayapán shares its style or appearance (figure 3.6). Clearly those who commissioned the art and architecture of the Itzmal Ch'en group had the leeway to innovate, and these patrons tapped into a diverse array of ritual knowledge in the Postclassic Mesoamerican world. Itzmal Ch'en, like the site center, was cosmopolitan. The symbolic objects and features of this group accumulated through time as the facility was used and renovated. They reflect a number of diverse ritual activities and pluralistic themes of religious practice.

#### **ELITE RESIDENCE Y-45A**

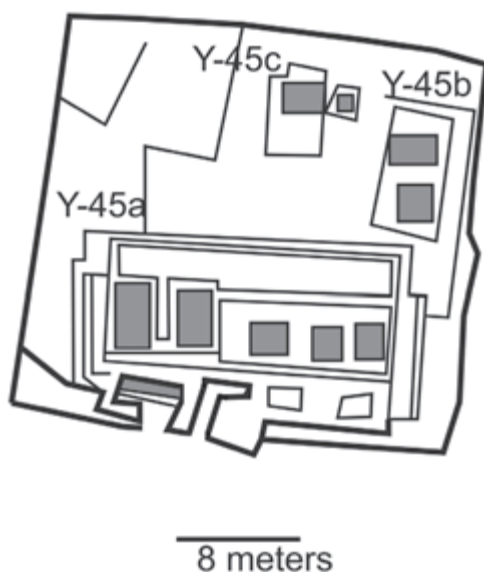
Residence Y-45a is an eight-room building located on an *altillo*, or knoll (figures 3.14, 3.15). The dwelling forms a group with a smaller structure (Y-45b),

which may represent a secondary house or ancillary building, and a small family shrine (Y-45c). Full investigations of this structure in 2003 (Peraza Lope, Masson, and Delgado Sánchez 2008) revealed that it was much bigger and more complex than it appeared to be at the surface. It is 23 meters long and 12 meters wide. Mapping of this residence by Morris R. Jones (1962) and as part of our 2002 survey (Hare 2008a) detected only the upper long gallery rooms and benches. The upper level has characteristics that we described previously as typical for elite residences (figures 3.14, 3.15). Frontal Room 6 is a long gallery of  $19 \times 3$  meters (Figure 3.16). A parallel rear room of nearly equal dimensions (Room 7) has five benches (figures 3.15, 3.16). Two transverse rooms are present at either end (Rooms 5 and 8), which are lower than the upper gallery rooms on a modified contour of the altillo (figure 3.16). Room 8 may have been a kitchen; it faces east, from which the breeze comes at Mayapán, and the structures' middens were located below it at the base of the altillo. One Mama Red tripod jar was left in place on the floor of Room 5. During excavation, we exposed a lower rear level of this house that contained four rooms, as shown in figure 3.16. The rooms had been filled in with soil and rocks to the level of the surrounding altillo, concealing the entire lower tier. It is unlikely that the fill is due to roof collapse, as the walls of the rooms reach nearly two meters; roof fill would have not reached the altillo's surface, and there was a large quantity of soil and smaller rocks that are uncharacteristic of roofing material. Also, at least three distinct layers of offerings were discerned in the fill of Room 2 and its passageway. We determined that the rooms had been filled intentionally with debris after a series of termination rituals that took place in Rooms 1 and 2.

This split-level design is unique for houses that have been investigated at Mayapán. Room 1 is a bench room on the western end of the lower level that may have been used for formally receiving guests (figure 3.16). Room 2, a shrine room, was especially unique for the site, as its approach was delineated by a finely built stone passageway of four meters in length, with foundation walls that reached nearly two meters (1.89 meters) in height (figure 3.16). At the end of the passageway, Room 2 was located at a right angle to the east. A stone window was present at the rear of Room 2 that connected it to Room 3 (figure 3.16). The function of smaller, square Rooms 3 and 4 is less clear. They were fully enclosed and lacked entrances. Room 3 may have been a concealed locality for ritualists to speak through talking idols in Room 2, as suggested for Cozumel features (Freidel and Sabloff 1984), or it may have served as a storeroom or both. Indications of Room 3's ritual importance include the recovery of two miniature vessels in its fill, a small tripod cup and bowl;

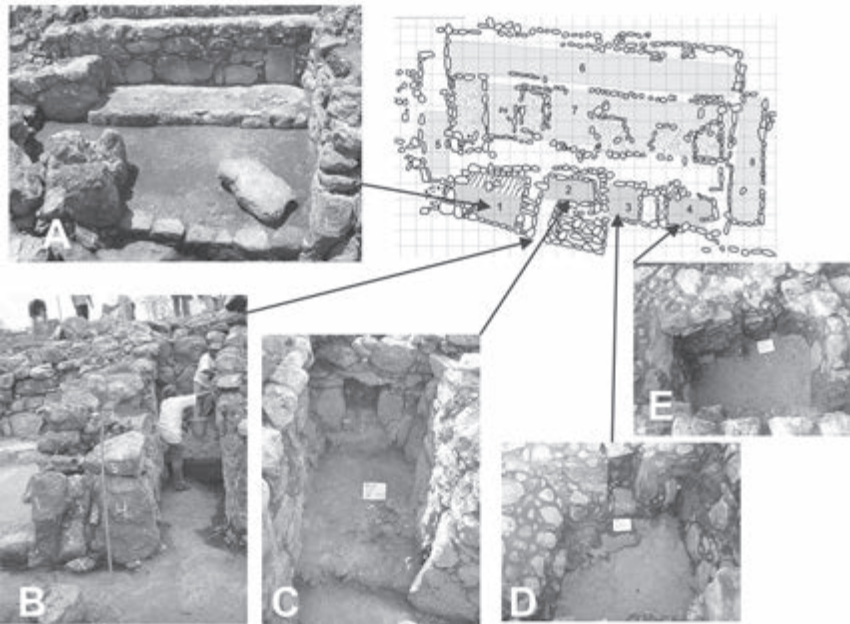


**FIGURE 3.14.** *View of upper rooms of elite House Y-45a during excavation. A possible uncarved stela was present on the central bench.*



**FIGURE 3.15.** *Plan map of elite House Y-45a, secondary House Y-45b, and Shrine Y-45c.*

these are commonly used for offerings or caches at the site (figure 3.17). Room 4, completely self-contained, was a probable storeroom. Neither Room 3 nor Room 4 had concentrations of smashed vessels or burned offerings, but they were likely infilled at the same time as Rooms 1 and 2.



**FIGURE 3.16.** Map of elite Residence Y-45a and photos of its rear lower-level rooms: (A) Room 1 with stucco bench, (B) passageway to Room 2 (note the stair cut into bedrock), (C) Room 2 with burned offering in fill during excavation (note window to Room 3 at rear), (D) Room 3, and (E) Room 4.

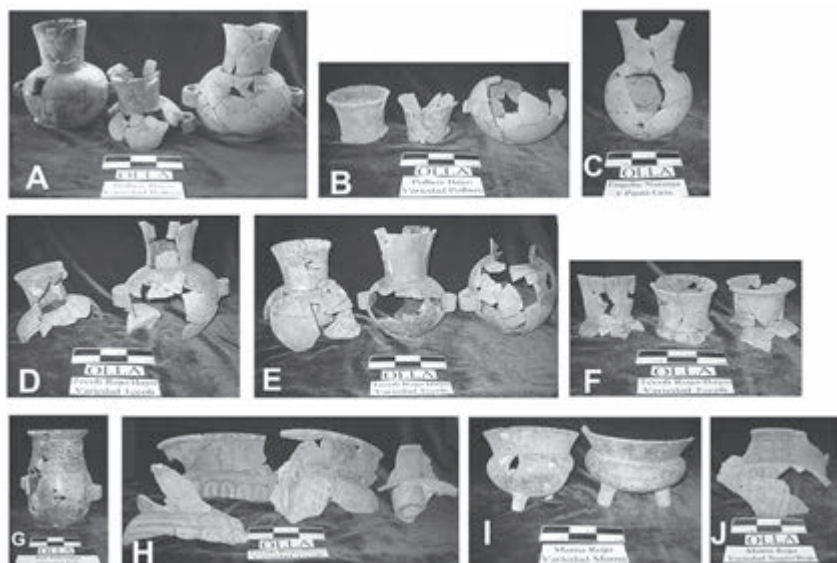
In Room 1, vessels were smashed over a plaster bench and on the floor in front of it, including reconstructible vessels of Mama Red: Black-on-Red type, Pelé Polychrome, Tecoh Red-on-Buff, Buff Polbox, and an extremely large stucco-covered Kanasín Red/Unslipped jar (figures 3.17–3.19). The rear half of the passageway and Room 2 had multiple smashed pottery concentrations and burned organic offerings in at least three different levels in the soil, indicating that the infilling of this room was intentional. Effigy censer fragments were concentrated in the passageway, and these included cacao pod adornos that are sometimes worn or held by effigies (chapter 7). Three ceramic cacao pods were in the passageway, and an additional two were in Room 2. Three others were found in various lots at Y-45a. Cacao pod adornos do not generally concentrate at Mayapán buildings, and we infer that they were of special symbolic significance to the activities at the group. No effigy faces were recovered, and the censer fragments did not represent reconstructible vessels. These vessels were likely broken else-



**FIGURE 3.17.** *Reconstructible vessels from elite House Y-45a. Most of the vessels were smashed on the floors of Rooms 1 and 2, with the exception of the tripod jar at the far left (Room 5) and the miniature tripod bowl and tripod cup in the front (Room 3). Note the extremely large stucco-covered jar of the type Kanasín Red/Unslipped. Vessels were identified and reconstructed by Wilberth Cruz Alvarado and Luis Flores Cobá. Photo by Bradley Russell.*

where, with only fragments brought to the passageway for deposition. The only effigy head was that of a rodent that was part of a figurine or vessel appliqué.

A total of twenty-seven reconstructible partial vessels from Y-45a are listed in table 3.5 (figures 3.17–3.19). Although the quantities of smashed vessel sherds were higher in Room 1, covering most of the bench and floor and piled in concentrations that were 30 centimeters deep in places, table 3.5 illustrates that reconstructible vessels were more abundant in Room 2. Reconstruction efforts by Wilberth A. Cruz Alvarado and Luis Flores Cobá indicate that some vessels were incomplete at the time of their breakage in the Y-45a rooms. Twenty of the vessels are classified as Buff Polbox group pottery, including

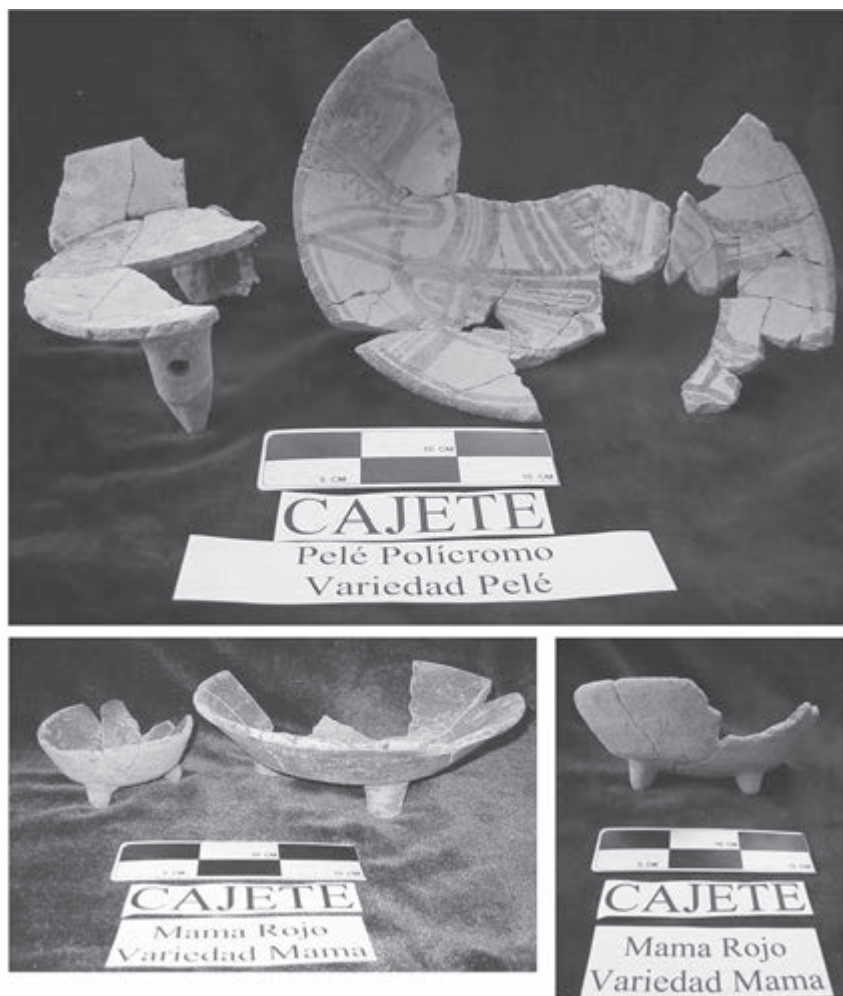


**FIGURE 3.18.** Jars of Buff Polbox (A, B), unknown type (C), Tecoh Red-on-Buff (D, E, F), Pelé Polychrome (G, H), and Mama Red (I, J) types from elite House Y-45a. All examples are from Room 1, Room 2, or the passageway to Room 2, with the exception of the tripod jar shown in photo I at left (Room 5). Photos by Bradley Russell.

Tecoh Red-on-Buff or Pelé Polychrome (table 3.5). The polychromes include a turkey effigy jar (figures 3.2, 3.18h) and a painted fish dish (figures 3.1, 3.19); other Tecoh Red-on-Buff jars are also decorated with red paint (figure 3.18e, f). One jar from Room 2 may represent Trapiche Pink (figure 3.18c), a type from the Petén Lakes area of Guatemala (P. Rice, personal communication to Carlos Peraza Lope, 2004). Why were partial vessels brought to Y-45's rooms for breakage? As the entire structure was excavated, we can be certain that the remainder of the vessels were not placed in another room of the house. We also tested two areas of a rich midden deposit to the east of the altílo within the Y-45 group albarrada, and we did not recover significant quantities of the rare types of vessels found in the rear rooms.

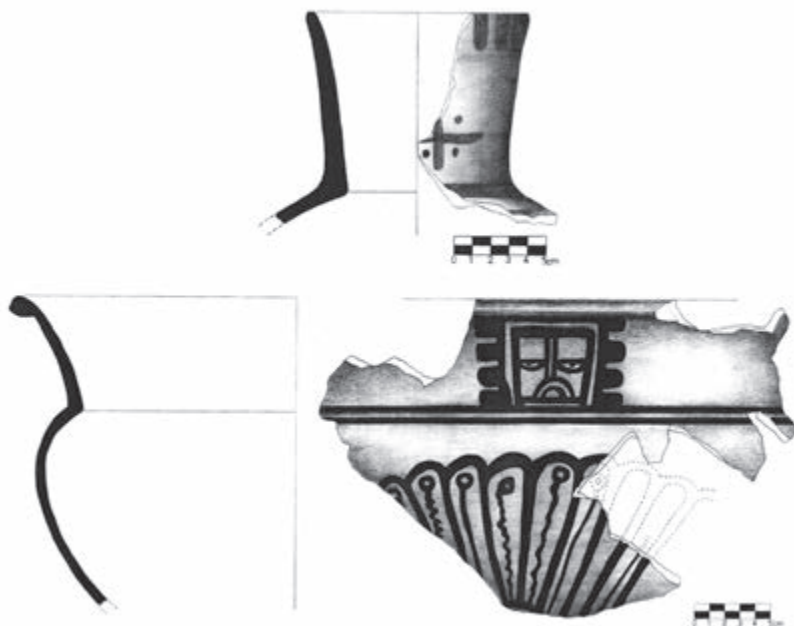
Of the four Mama Red vessels, one has an Ahau face painted on the rim (figure 3.20), as does the turkey effigy vessel shown in figure 3.2. Calendrical motifs are part of the decorative inventory of Kowoj pottery at Zacpetén, including Ahau glyphs (Rice and Cecil 2009a:245; Cecil 2009:233). Other





**FIGURE 3.19.** Reconstructible dishes from elite House Y-45a. All vessels were broken in Rooms 1 and 2, except for the miniature tripod Mama Red dish (bottom left). Note the effigy supports on the Pelé Polychrome dish at top, which is characteristic of these vessels. Photos by Bradley Russell.

calendrical signs are known from this area on Chompoxté Red-on-Cream vessels, including Lamat year-bearer glyphs (Rice and Cecil 2009:247, figure 11.3a, b), and one of the Tecoh Red-on-Buff jars from Y-45a also has this symbol (figure 3.20). The presence of these three glyphs on the Y-45a vessels repre-



**FIGURE 3.20.** *Partial vessels with glyphs from elite House Y-45a. Top example has a painted Lamat glyph on the neck of a Tecoh Red-on-Buff jar. Bottom example is a Mama Red: Variety Black-on-Red vessel with an Ahau glyph on the neck. Figure 3.2 illustrates an Ahau glyph on another vessel from the structure. Illustrations by Wilberth Cruz Alvarado.*

sents intriguing evidence in support of these investigators' suggestion that this Mayapán house was occupied by members of the Kowoj faction. These glyphs are exceedingly rare on Mayapán pottery. We initially thought that the eight dot-like designs next to the Ahau face on the Y-45a Mama Red jar represented a pseudo-glyphic reference to K'atun 8 Ahau. But this date is properly written as a bar and three dots. Taking into consideration our radiocarbon results that indicate Y-45a's abandonment before 1400—earlier than K'atun 8 Ahau in 1441–1461—we view the dots as decorative rather than calendrical.

The similarities of Kowoj Chompoxté Red-on-Cream pottery to Tecoh Red-on-Buff and Pelé Polychrome pottery have been outlined in detail by Rice and her colleagues (P. Rice 2009c:37; Pugh and Rice 2009a:92; Rice and Cecil 2009a:242–51). There are additional similarities and differences worth mentioning for the purposes of ongoing comparisons. The tendency to decorate the interiors rather than exteriors of dishes and the exterior of jars is



shared by both sites (P. Rice 2009e:218; Rice and Cecil 2009a:242). Some differences might be expected given the great distances between Yucatán and the Petén. Unlike Chompoxté Red-on-Cream, Pelé Polychrome vessels tend to have black painted designs instead of red ones, although some Tecoh Red-on-Buff vessels do have red painted decorations (figure 3.18e, f). Fish designs are popular on Pelé dishes at Mayapán, but examples of this theme are not published for the Zacpetén and Topoxté area. Pelé dishes also have zoomorphic effigy supports, which are not listed as diagnostics for the Kowoj by Rice and Cecil (2009). Modeled pots with turkeys, such as the example from Y-45a, are also not reported from the Petén. Non-effigy censers often have spikes in Zacpetén examples (P. Rice 2009f:286–88) but are rare at Mayapán; and small cache bowls with side handles reported from Zacpetén are unlike Mayapán's more common miniature tripod cups, bowls, and vases, although the practice of putting beads of shell and jade in them is shared at both sites (P. Rice 2009f:290).

In summary, Structure Y-45a contributes in important ways to the study of complexity at Mayapán by revealing a high level of segregation of social space. The unique features of this building indicate that simple classifications of residential form and function do not always hold up when full excavations are undertaken. Some of the idiosyncratic variation in building design and artifact assemblages of the sort revealed by this structure may be attributable to ethnic associations. The rooms of Y-45a also point to functions performed in a residential zone by occupants of a secondary elite residence. A frontal gallery on the upper level of the structure provided a suitable space for hosting gatherings. A rear bench room may have emphasized the authority of the head of household and provided a staging ground for formal transactions with subordinates (e.g., Inomata 2001). Given the historical descriptions of the activities of mid-level administrators in Contact Period Maya society (chapter 2), it is possible that officials used Room 1 to receive tribute and negotiate other demands for service to the state. Surplus may have been stored in Room 4 or elsewhere at the building. Cacao, a primary currency of the Postclassic Period, may have been collected as tribute at Y-45a, and the importance of this item was underscored by a rare concentration of effigy adorno cacao pods at the house. Authority at the house may have been buttressed by the maintenance of a shrine room in which a communicating idol may have been housed, as suggested by the passageway, Room 2, and the window between Rooms 2 and 3. The upper rooms were used for conventional purposes of living and entertaining, as is observed at many elite residences at Mayapán. The exercise of secular and religious authority, clearly spatially separated by Room 1 and Room 2,

imply additional duties for a probable intermediary administrator in this part of the city. Alfred M. Tozzer (1941:n.859) points out that a possible cacao deity was also a god of merchants. Given the diversity of fancy pottery at this structure that indicates the wealth of its residents, it is also possible that they were engaged in distant commercial exchange. This occupation was common for members of Mayapán's nobility, and if their ties to the Petén were strong, they would have had advantageous connections for north-south trade.

## IN SUM

Outlying colonnaded halls, temples, and elite residences were key focal nodes for political and religious integration in the city. In some cases the symbolic objects and features of these buildings overlapped. The matching offerings of broken Chen Mul effigies and greenstone objects on the floors of Hall H-15 and Temple H-17 provide an apt illustration of parallel, contemporary rites. Overlap is also observed in events held at halls and elite residences at Mayapán that parallels patterns documented for Utatlán and Zacpetén (Wallace 1977; Pugh et al. 2009:207). But this statement cannot be easily generalized, given evidence for variation in activities among halls and elite residences (Pugh, Rice, and Cecil 2009:207). The patrons of Mayapán's colonnaded halls were among the same individuals who inhabited its loftiest palaces. Long columned gallery rooms at elite homes such as R-86, R-87, and Y-45a may have been used for gatherings, feasts, and calendrical celebrations in a similar manner to the rites of some halls and temples. Proskouriakoff and Charles R. Temple (1955:294; A. Smith 1962:figure 6) note that the gallery of R-86 is 4 meters wide and 22 meters long, with 3-meter spaces between massive columns; and an adjacent palatial dwelling, R-87, has a frontal columned room that is nearly as spacious (17 meters  $\times$  4 meters). Secondary elite House Y-45a lacks columns but has a frontal gallery of a size close to that of R-86. Such spaces resemble those provided by colonnaded halls.

Halls differ in symbolic emphasis. The specific mural and columnar art of certain resplendent monumental halls was outlined in chapter 2. Some halls like Q-64 (La Sala de los Incensarios) were littered with effigy censers (Peraza Lope, Delgado Kú, and Escamilla Ojeda 2003:18), some had carefully smashed concentrations of censers (H-15), and others had rich polychrome serving ware assemblages (Q-88a) while additional examples were more devoid of materials (Q-152c). Altars at halls often had paired ceramic vessel offerings of Navula Unslipped or Acansip Painted tripod or cylindrical vessels, which regularly contained a shell ornament/bead and jade bead offering.

Paired vessel offerings and censers have been linked to calendrical ceremonies (Chase and Chase 1988:85; P. Rice 2009f:300–1; Milbrath et al. 2008; Milbrath and Peraza Lope 2009, 2013), but single offerings such as H-15's Itzamna vase were also important.

Chapter 7 explores greater variation in the identity of effigy sculptures of different hall and temple groups at Mayapán. The diversity of sculptures at Hall H-15 and Temple H-17 of Itzmal Ch'en reflects a plurality that is attributable to long-term use and a range of ritual practices at this group. Outlying ceremonial groups like Itzmal Ch'en may have hosted a greater variety of events than at the site center, which had more numerous specialized buildings and groups. It is still unclear who constructed and used the Itzmal Ch'en group. This question is difficult to answer since no large elite palaces are found near Itzmal Ch'en. Houses in the neighborhood were engaged in a full range of work activities, like those found in other parts of the city; some were generalized and presumably engaged in agrarian production and custodial activities (H-11) while others produced surplus quantities of fine or mundane craft objects (I-55a and I-57), as documented in chapter 6. The Itzmal Ch'en group likely served more than the neighborhood in which it was embedded, as the rich symbolic array of materials is well linked to the art and ritual of the site center. Outlying focal groups were probably incorporated into site-level celebrations, perhaps on a rotating calendrical basis. They would have been landmarks and may have been of key significance to quadripartite division or other cosmological concepts (chapter 4). Turtle sculptures and censers (among other objects) probably reflect rotating calendrical celebrations that took place at geographic subdivisions of towns, polities, and territories (Masson 2000; P. Rice 2004; P. Rice 2009c:23–25). Although the buildings of Itzmal Ch'en exhibit idiosyncratic design elements, their functions and general assemblages mimic the style and content of the site center. An emphasis on Kukulcan inferred from the prevalence of serpent sculptures and a round shrine also links this group to the major founding deity of Mayapán. While the Itzmal Ch'en group may have been a site-level facility, it undoubtedly served as an important defining entity for the surrounding residential zone. It would have been a landmark in the cityscape and perhaps a public square for local and visiting pedestrians. As a public water source, it would have been imbued with both sacred and mundane attributes (Brown 1999, 2005, 2006, 2008).

The political economy of Mayapán linked rather than segregated domestic, craft, and ritual institutions and practices. It is possible that ordinary goods used at ceremonial groups were purchased in the marketplace, as suggested for Aztec sites (Smith, Wharton, and Olson 2003). We develop this argument

further in the analysis of artifacts in chapter 6. The next chapter considers evidence for the structuring principles of the Mayapán settlement that are observed in the distribution of roads, cenotes, public plazas, and nodal architecture of the city.

