

Tulum



Zamá

Tulum is located on the Caribbean shore of the modern State of **Quintana Roo**, the pre-Hispanic **Maya** province which was then called **Ekab**, and the name of the city was **Zamá**, an alteration of the original name, **Zamál**. The history of the city spans from the **Early** (1250AD) to the **Late** (1550AD) **Post-Classic Period** (Annex.7). The **Yucatán** east coast stretches 560miles/900km, from **Cabo Catoche** on the North coast of the peninsula, to the channel of **Bacalar Chico**, on the border with Belize. The ancient city importance can only be understood when set within the wider context of its geographical location. It was a major transshipment and trading center, within and around the peninsula and nearby islands. The sea, river, and overland trade routes and alliances with inland chiefdoms and cities are essential to understanding **Tulum's** regional prominence during the **Early to Late Post Classic** period.

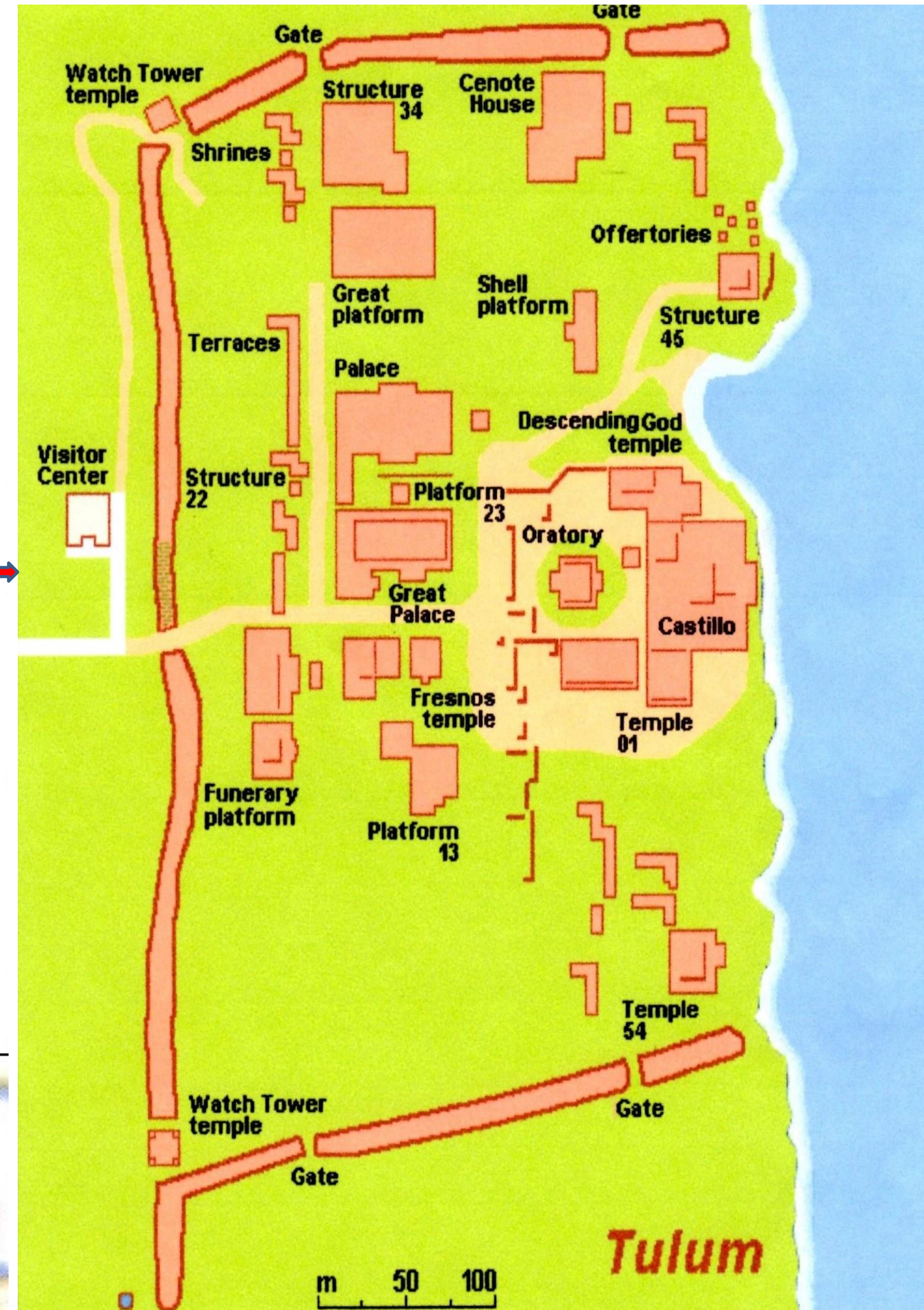
Tulum-Zamá's restoration program which started in the early 1960's, and which began in the early 20th century, is still ongoing today.

Photo Courtesy Edward B. Kurjack, PhD, MARI @ Tulane University, 1964



Maps of northeastern **Yucatán** peninsula, and **Tulum-Zamá**

Coastal map : drawn by Romero Rivera, Courtesy Raices in Arqueologia Mexicana 54-28 – site map: Courtesy Monclém SA de CV, Mexico, 2006:14



Tulum's name means “**wall**” due to the fact that the city is enclosed with walls on three sides while the fourth side, East, is open to the seashore. The defensive walls are 10ft to 15ft/5m high and 20ft/6m thick, pierced by 5 narrow and low gateways, so that raiders had to stoop to enter in single file similar to those seen at **Xelhá** and **Ichpaatùn-Tamalcab**, the later in **Chetumal Bay**. The north and south stone walls stop about 50ft/15m short of the beach and were probably completed with palisades of tree trunks. On the Eastern side, the main seaward of defense where the 12ft/4m high rocky cliffs. The ancient city's walled area on the west side runs north-south as seen below (*waving gray line at right*). The **Castillo** is the elevated structure in the middle promontory (*center*). People living outside the walls took refuge inside the city when warned of assault by raiders.

Zamá was the city's name which in **Yucatec** translates to as “**dawn**” since the city was built on the seashore facing east, where the sun rises.

Luis Gomez Cardenas, Courtesy Editora Fotografica Marina Kukulcan SA, 2007:11



Tulum-Zamá was the head of a *batabil* or independent chiefdom which was part of a regional settlement together with **Tankah-Xamanzamá** and **Xelhá**, located several miles north of the ancient city. It may have been the largest economic and political unit on the **Yucatán** peninsula's eastern seaboard. **Tulum**'s lead in the region grew as **Tankah**'s importance as a trading center waned.

To the south lay the Post-Classic realm of **Chaktemal** (today's **Chetumal**), on Chetumal Bay.

The central area of the city (below), is where secular-religious leaders conducted extensive political and trade negotiations, extending inland on the peninsula and beyond, as will be seen in the second part of this lecture.

Maya traders', *p'oloms*, extensive long distance trade, reached the Bahia de Amatique, Guatemala, and south to the Gulf of Honduras and the Bay Islands; and probably beyond on the Mosquito Coast.

Coastal trade and routes were no less extensive on the Pacific coast of Chiapas extending South, to Guatemala, through the Soconusco in Chiapas southwest corner, an important trade connector with Central America, and north to Oaxaca and beyond (Courtesy Shutterstock).



Tulum-Zamá's historic timeline spreads over 275 years, from the early to late Post classic era (1220-1550). The heart of the ancient city, the **Inner Precinct**, is shown below, with the **Castillo** (center), the **Temple of the Descending God** (far left) and the **Temple of the Initial Series** (far right). The *Castillo* was built in three phases. It is the main building of the city, given its size and location within the city's footprint on a low hill, at the easternmost center of the Inner Precinct. Even though the structures are of different sizes and heights and seem to be randomly placed, it gives the enclave a symmetric aspect (Alberto Ruz L. 1959:14). The small wall surrounding the Inner Precinct, underlines the exclusive character of the ceremonial area that was accessible only by the highest segment of nobility (Courtesy Shutterstock).



El Castillo (Str.1), is the main structure in the Inner Precinct that was the most exclusive and restricted area of the ancient city. The buildings within the Precinct were the heart of the city, and were built for religious purposes, as well as for the high ranking leader's living areas. It was enclosed by a non-defensive **Wall** (Str.10) with three access gates: two on the west side and one on the south section. On each side of the large stairway are two sanctuaries, not contemporaneous to each other. The roof on the north side was made of wood beams covered with concrete, while the one on the south side at the right of stairs, was built with the classic **Maya** vault; an indication that the later pre-dates the other. Three other types of structures seen here are: small temples, shrines and stepped platforms, the later remains of foundations of perishable structures, or for ceremonial use. The two steps platform **Str.13** may have been a small temple, since two graves were found at its center (A. Ruz L. 1959:29).

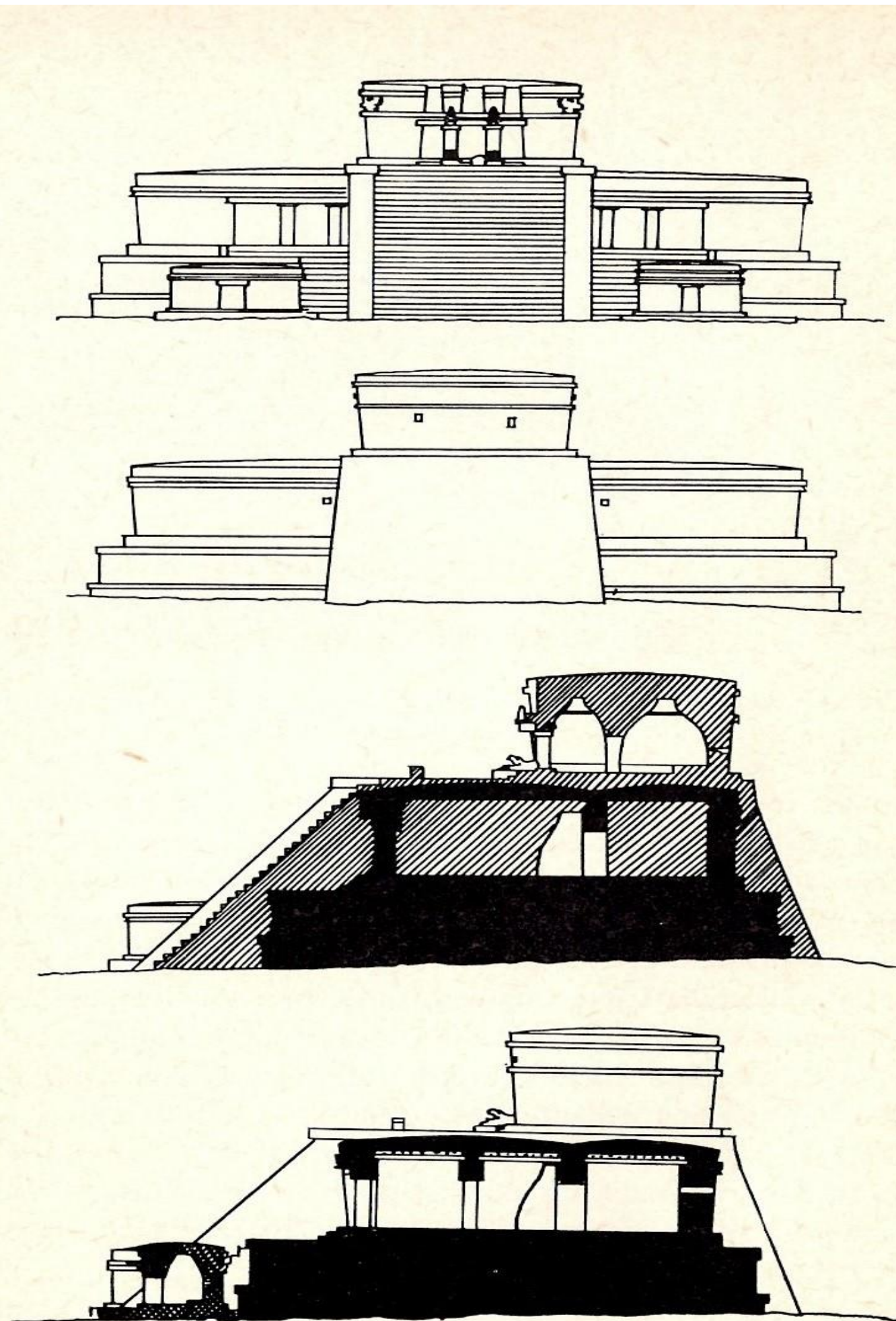


The architecture of **El Castillo** – **Str.1**, is representative of the late Post classic or *Decadent* period (Annex.7). It was the highest and largest structure in **Ekab** territory. The roof front corners showed stucco masks, similar to those seen at the **Temple of the Frescos**. The **Toltec** architectural influence is prevalent on the peninsula's east coast, such as serpent columns and balustrades (ramps) with vertical upper zones. The term “*decadent*” has been used to describe architecture from this time period. Structures are generally made of crude construction featuring limestone block walls in combination with either rough slab vaults or wood beams and mortar roofs. Thick coats of stucco were used everywhere to smooth out the irregular surfaces produced by crude workmanship. (George F. Andrews, 1995:263) – (Courtesy Shutterstock).

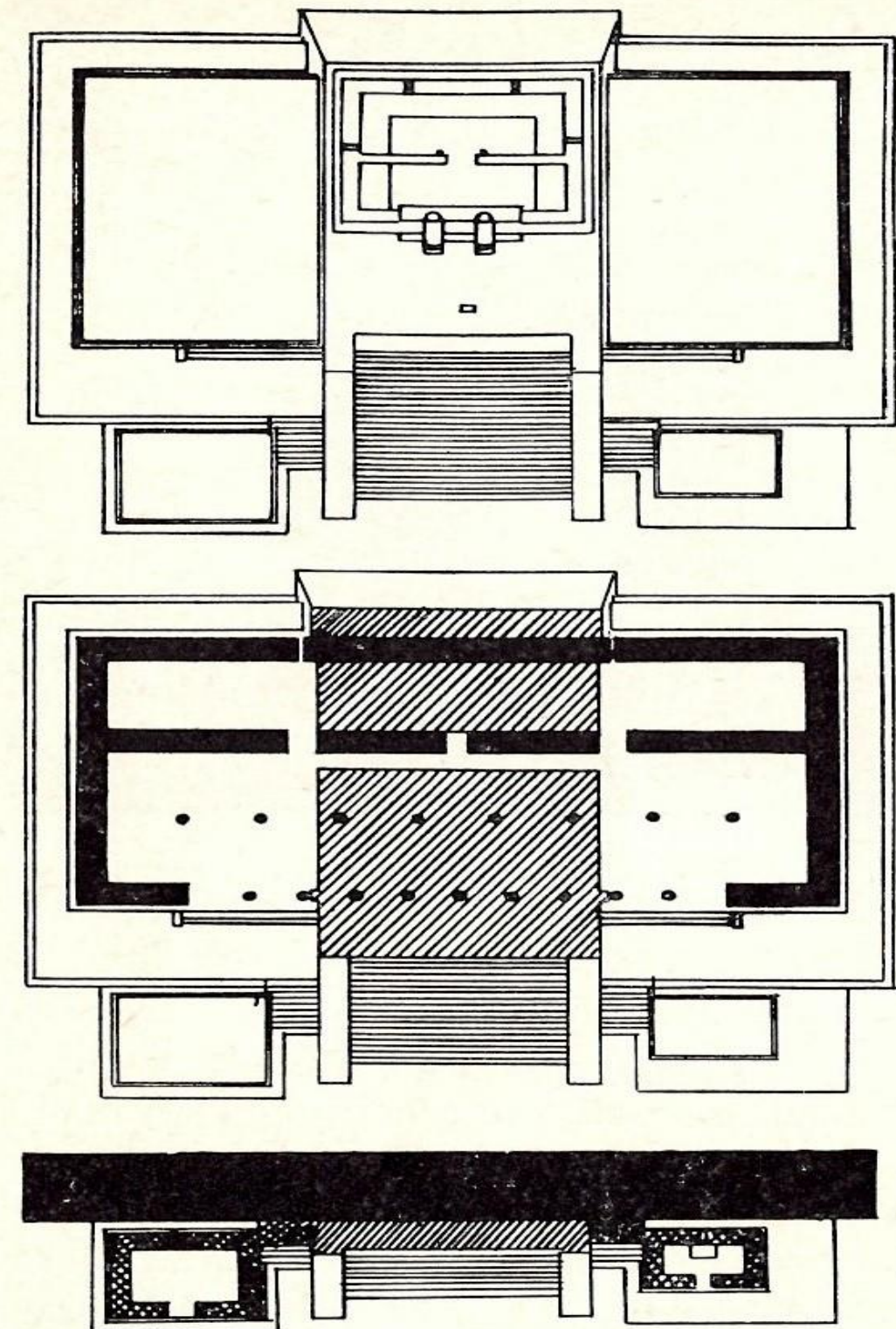


El Castillo, Str.1 Floor Plan and Elevation shown below depicts the three construction phases; Phase B was the largest and most important undertaking, while the last (C) merely added two shrines on each side of the main stairway. Each shrine bears a distinct architectural signature. The shrine on the south end was built at an earlier date, with a traditional **Maya** vault, while the north shrine shows late post classic building techniques or late phase (C).

From A. Ruz Lhuillier, Courtesy Edimex, 1959:18-19



El Castillo (ver página siguiente)



EL CASTILLO (según Lothrop).

- A — Primer período de construcción: edificio de doble galería con columnata, sobre basamento bajo.
- B — Segundo período: templo superior con escalinata, sobre basamento alto y reforzado.
- C — Tercer período: adoratorios adosados a ambos lados de la escalinata.



El Castillo's two columns portico with its three niches above resembles an obvious **Toltec** influence, the stucco figures in particular. The central one is the **Descending God** (aka **Diving God**), while the two others probably represent founding or ancestor figures of the city. Not unlike **Chichen Itzá**, the architecture is typical of the **Maya-Toltec** style. The columns of the temple are built in the shape of serpents, with heads at the base and rattlers at the top, that were painted as were most buildings. An architectural concept similar to the **Temple of the Jaguars**, on the Eastern Platform overlooking the Ballcourt at Chichen Itzá, but built closer to that of **Mayapán**.



El Castillo – Colonial data on the city were lost at the end of the 16th century. The site was forgotten until 1842, when **John Lloyd Stephens** and **Frederick Catherwood**, visited the site in 1842 (Annex.1), before the start of the **Caste War** of Yucatán – 1847-1901. Throughout the war, the ruins of **Tulum** were alternatively occupied by followers of the **Chan Santa Cruz**, the *Talking Cross*, whose followers were the **Cruzob**, and Mexican federal troops. The *Cruzob* **Maya** revolt reached its peak in the spring of 1848, driving the Europeans from all of **Yucatán**, with the exception of the walled cities of Campeche, Merida and Sisal. At the end of the war in 1912, the eastern part of Yucatán, formerly **Ekab** and **Uaymil**, **Chan Santa Cruz** territory, was made the **Federal Territory of Quintana Roo**.

Drawing, Frederick Catherwood, ca. 1839-1843 – Annex.1

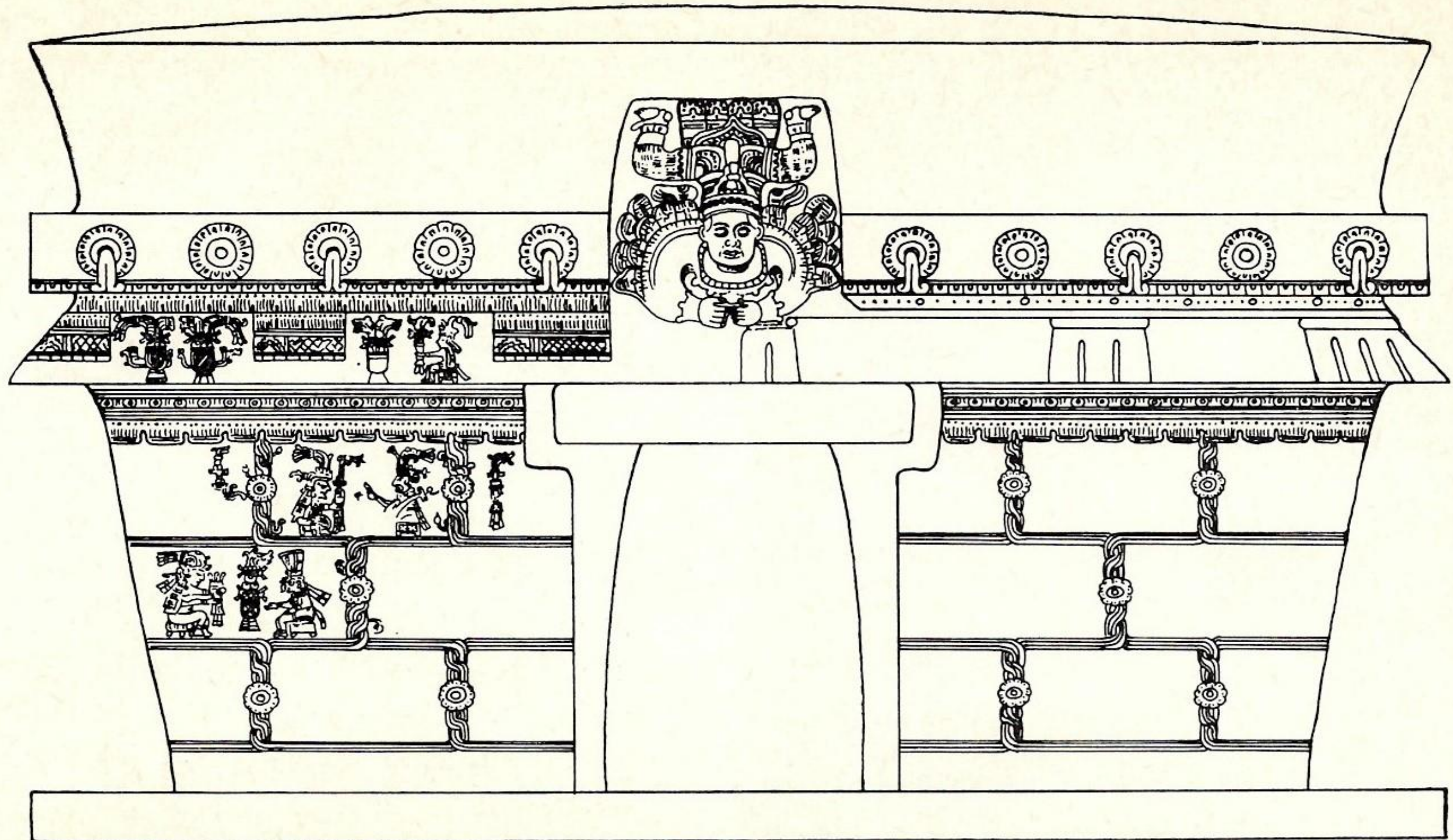


The **Temple of the Descending God** – *Templo del Dios Descendente* (Str.5), is located within the **Inner Precinct**. Its rectangular footprint structure has one room and a door open to the West, with two lateral benches inside and a large window. The stairway, off center, is wide with ramps. Over the doorway, is a niche with the stucco figure representing the **Diving God**, identified as **God.E**, the maize god **Hun-Nal-Ye** “*One Grain of Maize*”, “*First Father of Creation*”. **God.E** with maize headdress, is shown seated on a slopping grinding stone on Mural.1 at **Tankah**, **Structure.12** -----> The religious belief in the sacredness of corn, the mythological substance from which man was made, as well as the actual sustenance of mankind, underlines the contemporary **Yucatec** reverential term for corn as **santo ixim** or “*holy maize seed*”.
(S.Houston 1983 to K.A. Taube 1997:41). Glyph redrawn after A.G. Miller 1982:P1 from K.A. Taube 1997:42d

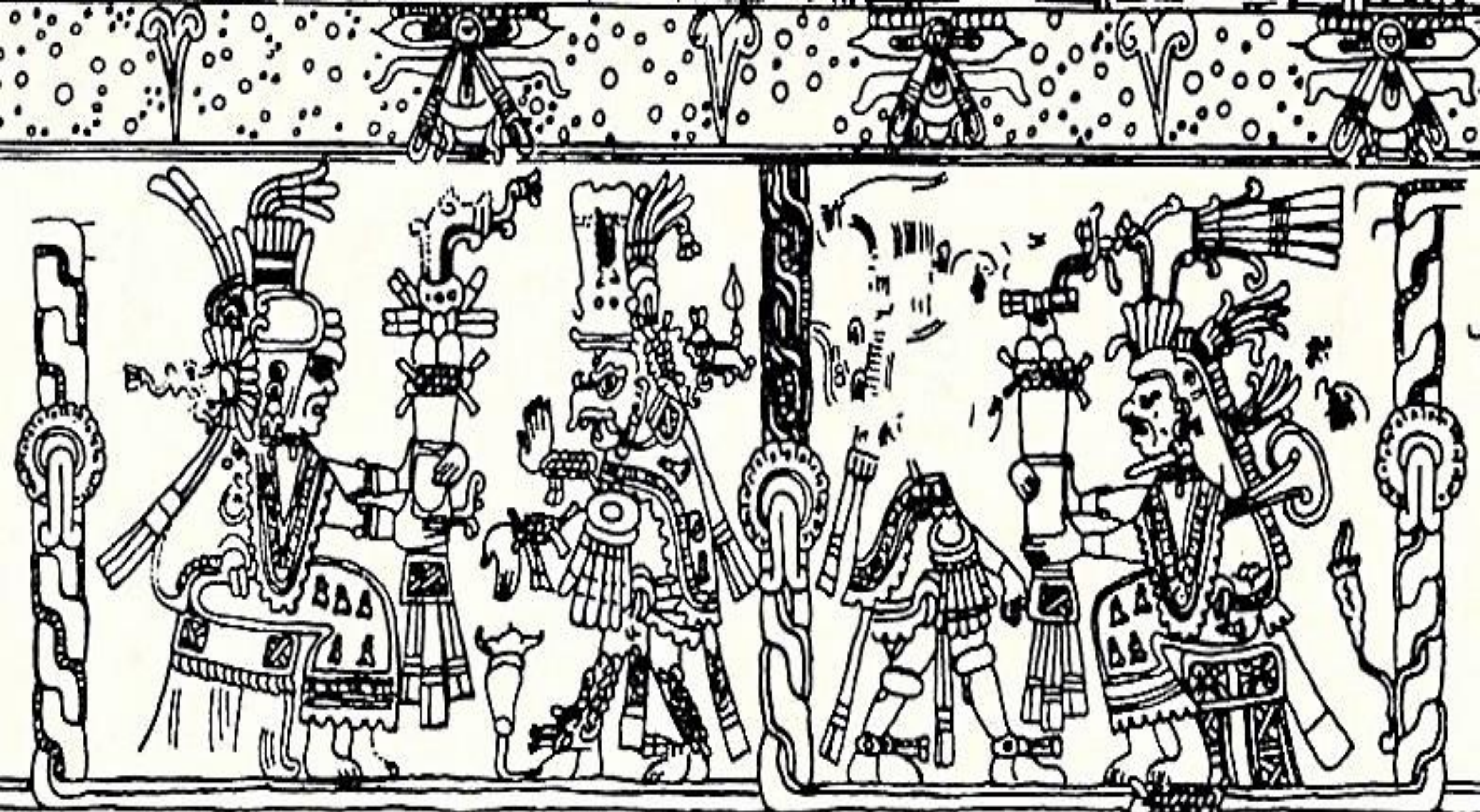


Temple of the Descending God (Str.5). Elevation drawn during important works for the stabilization and restoration of buildings during the 1937-1939 *Expedición Científica Mexicana*, preceded by Samuel Lothrop in 1922, and followed in the 1950s by William T. Sanders and Arthur Miller. The architecture of the *Decadent* or Late Postclassic period is well documented, such as at **Mayapán** and a number of other sites along the east coast of **Yucatán**. The building is characterized by its bulbous roof, slightly trapezoidal door with inset lintel and outward slopped walls. Beside the god figure in the niche above the doorway, are stucco rosettes and inside, an eroded fresco that shows remains of painted mythological figures.

Drawing, Miguel Angel Fernandez, in *Las Ruinas de Tulum*, 1945



Fachada del Templo del Dios Descendente (Estructura No. 5), según M. A. Fernández.



Mural.1 Inside the *Templo del Dios Descendente*, Late Postclassic (Str.5 – 2 central panels); shows an iconography similar to that of the North Temple at **Chichen Itza** (Taube 1997:131), that could have been dedicated to **Hun-Nal Ye**, god of maize (maize = *nal* in **Maya**), **God.E** in the Schellhas-Zimmermann-Taube classification (Annex.8). The top of the frieze, shows the sky with sun V shaped signs, interspaced with mature corn, heart of the vegetable world (Baudez 2004:313). The mural depicts offerings to gods and deities. **Cha'ak**, god of rain, lightning and thunder **God.B** (Annex.2) is shown as the second figure from left, as well as **God.K** (right panel), and guardian deities. **God.B** hands' position show the traditional conclusion of a negotiation in sign language, or manograph. The right hand indicates closure, while the left indicates its finality, or that no further discussion regarding the matter is to continue.

Partial reproduction from F. Dávalos in A.G. Miller 1982 in INAH 1959:25

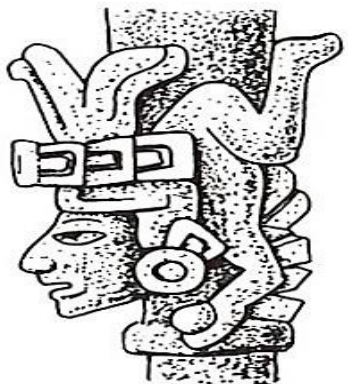


Similar figures of **Descending God (God.E)**, are found in other **Yucatán** sites, notably on the building atop the **Nohoch Mul** pyramid at **Cobá**, at **Tankah** and **Sayil**. **God.E** is the maize god, the *First Father of Creation*. **Nal** is represented as the Postclassic **God.C** in the Codex Madrid. **God.E** is the **Maya** counterpart of **Centeotl**, the Central Mexico god of maize (Shellhas 1904:24). The concept of a god descending from the sky is a common belief in Mesoamerica. The god may not be the sun, but rain or lightning. The **Aztec** equivalent, may also have been **Tzontemoc**, god of the setting sun at dusk.

The same figure is seen at a number of post-Classic sites, such as at **Mayapan** -->> (Courtesy K.A.Taube 1997:43b)



God.E, was also found on a wooden staff in the **Sacred Well** at **Chichen Itza** -->> (K.A. Taube, 1997:43c – from Coggins and Shane, 1984:126).



The Maize God of the Classic Period imagery **Hun-Nal Ye**, *One Grain of Maize*, (**God.E**), *First Father of Creation*, is a prevalent figure in the **Maya** pantheon. On the **Tablet of the Cross** at Palenque, the *First Father* was born 540 days after the *First Mother*, on 12.19.11.13.0, *1-Ahaw - 8-Muwan* or June 16, 3122BC; his birth is connected with he **Creation Day**, *4-Ahaw, 8-Kumk'u*, August 13, 3114BC. (Freidel-Shele-Parker, 1993:69). The manograph is explicit with the “*break*” hand sign of birth, a metaphor for the sprouting of young maize, often seen to unite with spiritual forces of nature



The **Descending God** in the Dresden Codex . P.16b

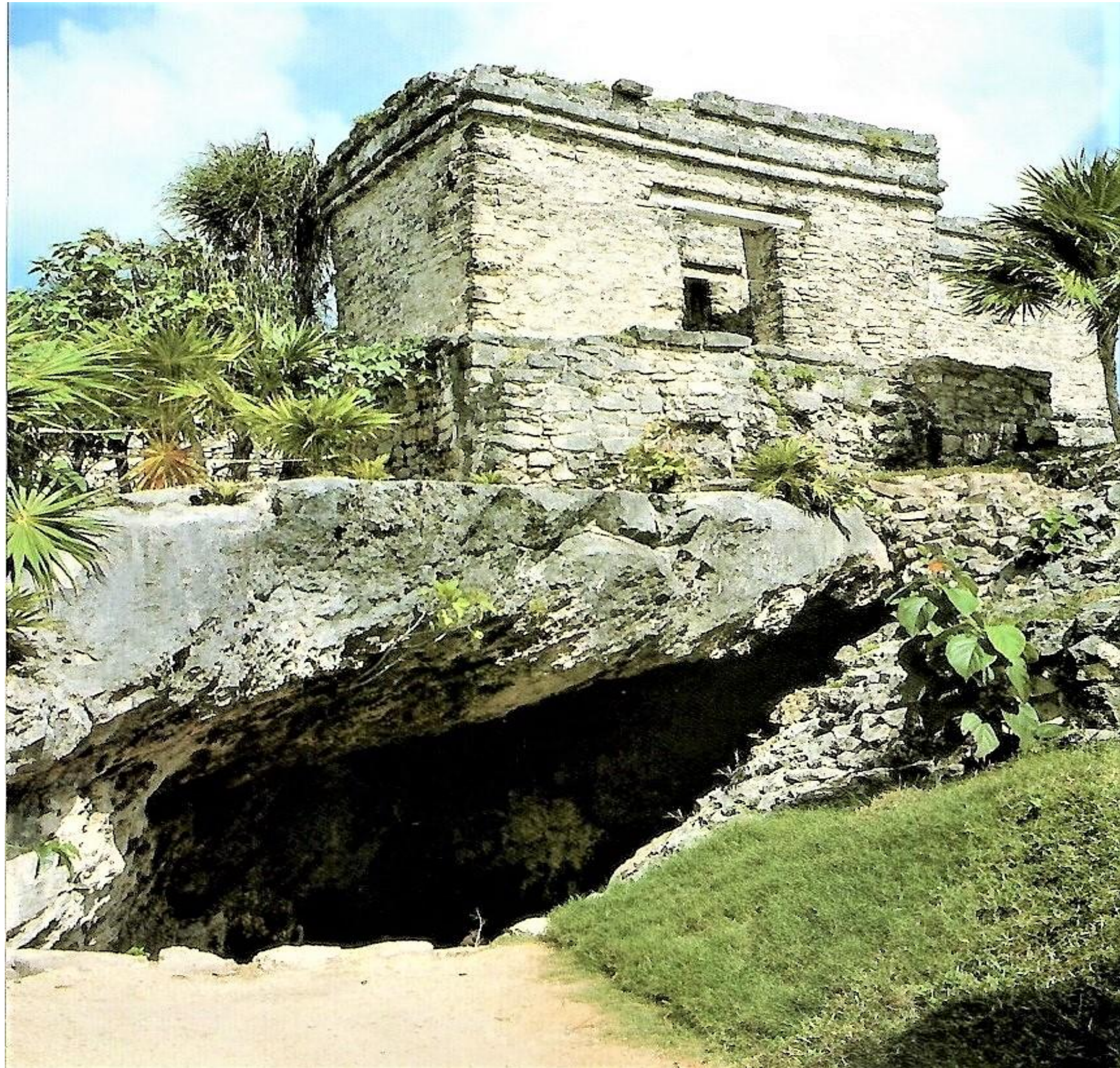
The post-Classic Dresden Codex helps to understand the identity and function of the **Descending God**, as shown on P.16b of the Codex, and the role of other gods and deities. The Codex (screenfold), shows the figure (**left**) upside down, feet up on a diving (or falling) position. His attributes, the trunk in particular, point to the god of rain, lightning and thunder, **Cha 'ak, God.B** (Annex.2). In the iconographic record, the curling nose is particular to that god and **God.K**, but the later is never shown in a “*diving*” position. P.16b refers here to the **Popol Vuh** narrative, since **Hun Ajaw** (center) with its characteristic black spots on the body, is also shown in a “*falling*” position. Young **Goddess.I, Ix Chel** (right – Annex.3) is seated on a sacred bundle, an implement that plays an important role in the history of migration of people. The bundle is believed to hold the remains and sacred items of deified ancestors, gods or deities.

El Castillo, South Gate to the Inner Precinct. This Late Postclassic site reflects **Toltec** influence found at **Mayapán**, and other sites on **Yucatán's** East coast. The term “*decadent*” has been used to describe architecture of that period, featuring block walls in combination with either rough slab vaults or wood beams and mortar roof; “*showy and of poor workmanship*” (Thompson 1954:187). Architectural features representative of the phase include serpent columns, balustrades (ramps) with vertical upper zones, columns with carved stucco figures, inset panels above doorways, battered lower wall zones and **Toltec** elements in mural paintings. (G. F. Andrews 1995:263)



Casa del Cenote, Str.35 – Located close to the northeast door of the city, the name ***cenote*** means sink hole in Spanish, ***dz'onot*** in **Maya**. In ancient towns and villages are found ***cenotes***, an important water supply. **Str.35** was built over a natural small cave opening, in a two stage construction. Initially two rooms were built to which were added at a later date, another in the southwest corner, with an entrance to the South. On the East side is a portico with columns; inside is a bench and a shrine. Under the floor, is a tomb that contained remains of several individuals, possibly those of the nobility given that the structure was built directly over the *cenote*, the road to **Xibalba**, ***Ki'chè*** for *place of fright*, the underworld. Stairs allowed to reach the water table about 15ft/4m under ground level (Alberto Ruz Lhuillier 1959:42).

Giovanni Dagli Orti, Courtesy Monclem Ediciones, 2006:22



Sink holes or ***cenotes***, a corruption of the **Maya** word ***dz'onot*** are still, as in the past, important water sources for northern **Yucatán** communities. Unlike small hand dug wells, ***cenotes*** are constantly replenished by circulating underground water and rain, cleaned by schools of small fish and aquatic plants. Large ones, offer a continuous and unlimited supply of water. ***Cenotes*** are mythologically understood as the road to the underworld, **Xibalba**, where souls are believed to break the bonds of duality, and return to the undifferentiated stream of life. Ph. Diego Cardini



Temple of the Sea (Str.54) is a small temple located South of the Inner Precinct. This one room temple, similar to others such as Str.45, is built over a small 3ft high rectangular platform, with a narrow four steps staircase in front. Its door faces East toward the sea and the rising sun. A small altar is at the back of the room. The façade is sober, with two low moldings and a high one that surrounds a smooth frieze. In earlier times, the structure must have been covered with stucco and painted, like most buildings in the city.





Temple of the Initial Serie – *Templo de la Serie Inicial* (Str.9) is located on the southeast corner of the Inner Precinct, it is facing North, with one door giving access to a single room. The door has two lintels, one of stone on the outside face, and one of wood immediately behind the first. Three narrow windows are looking East, South and West. Stucco figures, on each side of the doorway decorated the main façade; only vestiges of one remains. There were also stucco figures over the door, between the simple moldings that surround the structure, as well as at its corner near the roof. There was a small altar inside with **Stelae.1** that was broken when **John Lloyd Stephens** took it, during his visit to the site, with **Frederick Catherwood** in 1842. It was later sent by Dr. Thomas Gann to the British Museum. It registered the **Maya** date **9.6.10.0.0**. (*Terminal Classic*), a much earlier date than the architecture and ceramic remains registered at **Tulum** (Annex.7), which leads to believe that the stelae came from another site (A. Ruz L. 1959:28).

The **Temple of the Frescos**, called in Spanish *Templo de las Pinturas* (Str.16) is the best preserved and of major interest in the ancient city for its iconography. It is located outside of the Inner Precinct, and about in the middle of the city. It is dated Late Post-Classic (1400-1550), a time when the architectonic *Costa Oriental* style is found throughout the area. In its iconographical aspect, the architecture includes niches in which the figure of a deity or lord is shown. For Arthur Miller, mythological themes on murals represented death, the underworld and re-birth. Venus and the Sun play key roles in defining characteristics of both art and architecture of the city. The sacred and the profane were intertwined at **Tulum**, because of its importance as a predominant trade center, and a major ceremonial city (Courtesy Shutterstock).



Temple of the Frescos aka *Templo de las Pinturas* (Str.16)

Like other structures, Str.16 is made of a number of structural ad-ons that evolved through time from Phases I to V. From a simple building (Ph.I), was added a column gallery surrounding the initial structure, to the second floor (Ph.III), the buttress in the back to support the second floor structure (Ph.IV), and the low rear stepped platform (Ph.V), answered religious and ceremonial needs that evolved through time. (A. Ruz L. 1959:30-31). The top stucco frieze was located south of the façade (Fig.42), while the other was found on the north façade (Fig.43).

Stucco Friese on the *Templo de las Pinturas*

Miguel A. Fernandez - Ediciones Stylo, 1945

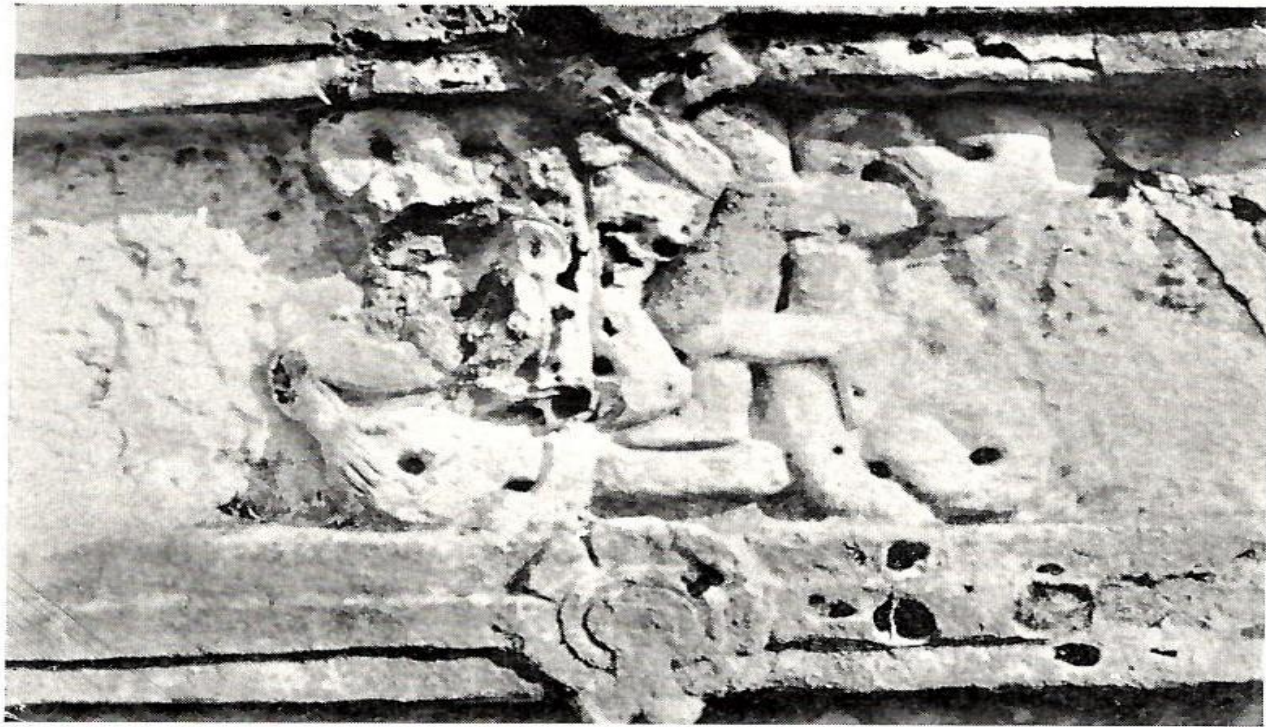


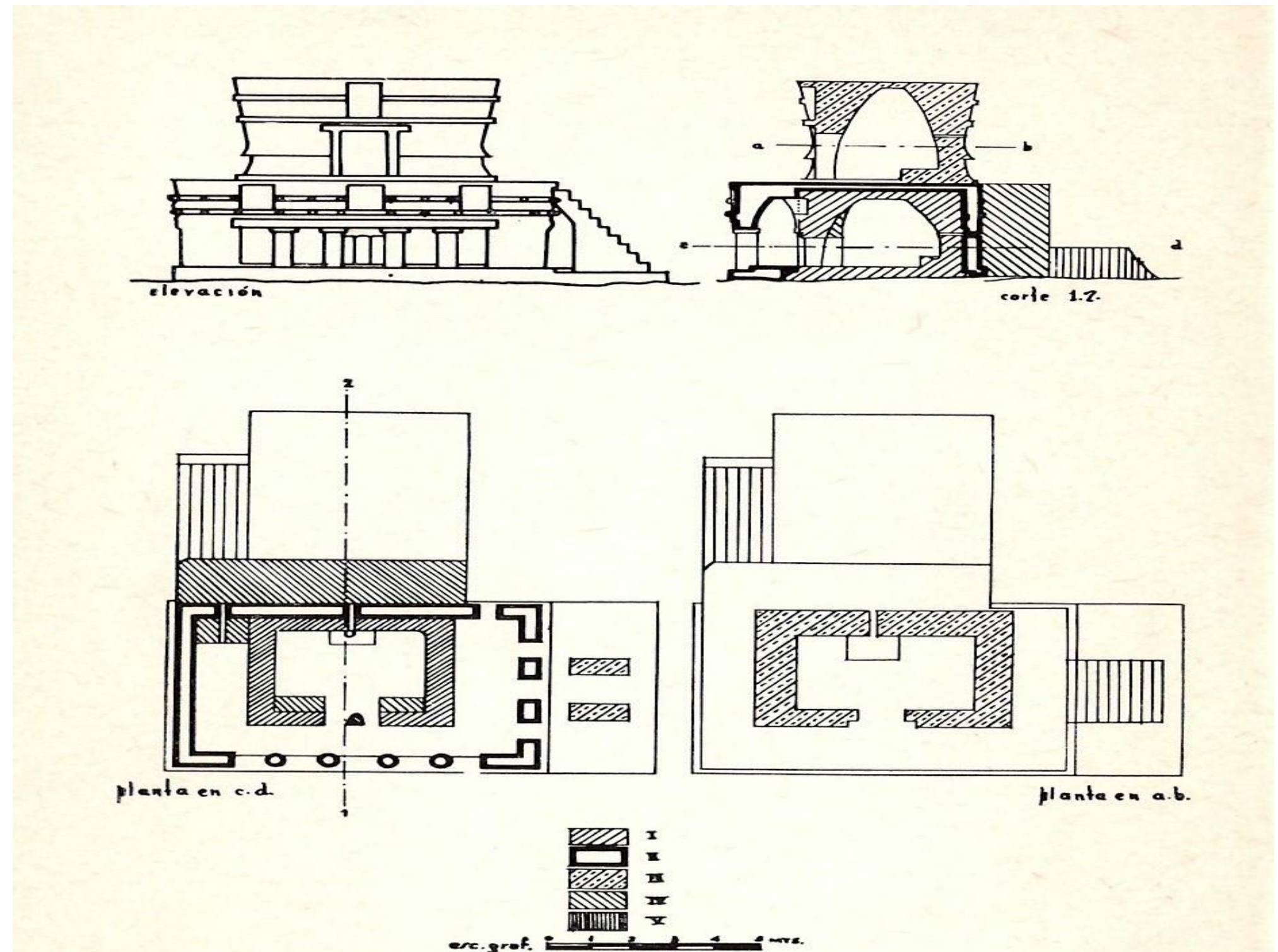
Fig. 42.—Templo 16. Figura de estuco, lado Sur de la fachada.



Fig. 43.—Templo 16. Figura de estuco, lado Norte de la fachada.

Elevation and Floor Plan of the Temple of the Frescoes

Drawings Lothrop and Marquina, INAH in A. Ruz Lhuillier 1959:34



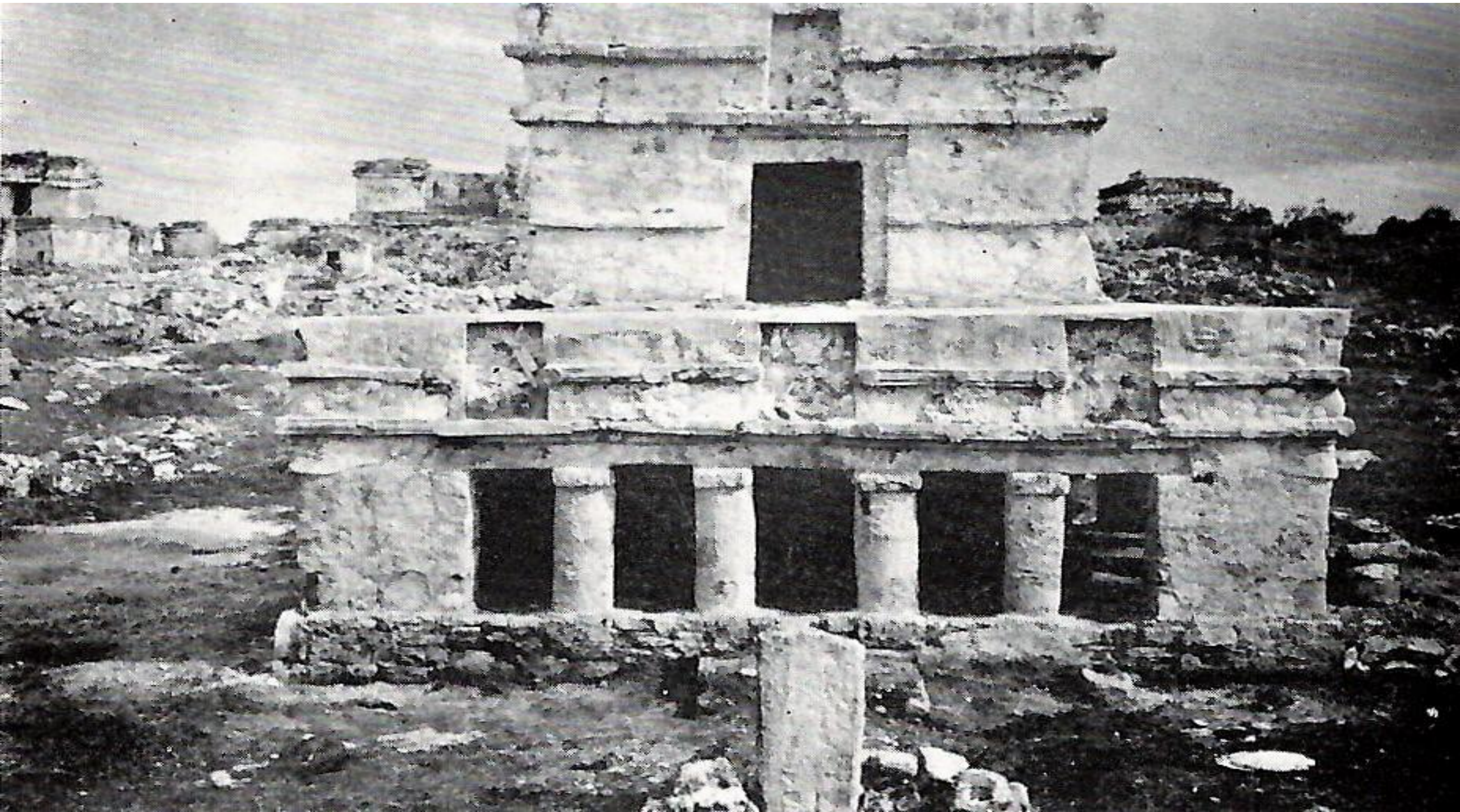
TEMPLO DE LOS FRESCOS (según Lothrop y Marquina)

- I.—Templo original de una sola pieza al nivel del suelo.
- II.—Galería con columnas y pilares rodeando al templo en 3 lados.
- III.—Templo superior superpuesto a las construcciones anteriores.
- IV.—Contrafuerte exterior, pilar y refuerzos de la bóveda.
- V.—Plataforma baja, adosada en la parte posterior de la galería.

Temple of the Frescos also known as **Temple of the Paintings (Str.16)** - In 1916, 1918 and 1922 the Carnegie Institution explored, cleaned and mapped the whole site, with Samuel Lothrop. Miguel Fernandez in 1938 found the ruins much the same as when Lothrop left them, and Str.16 in reasonably good shape. Both the lower and upper floor carry double moldings, while on the lower floor, facing West, are three niches with the **Descending God** in the center and other figures with feathers on each side, reminiscent of those on the upper temple façade of *El Castillo*. The moldings on the façade are decorated with rosettes on thick stucco. The northeast and southeast upper corners, are decorated with stucco masks with the god of the ancient city. In early 20th century, the stelae still stood at its original location, facing the building.

Restored by Miguel Angel Fernandez, with the *Museo Nacional de Arqueologia, Historia y Etnografia*, 1938-1945

Photo from *Las Ruinas de Tulum*, Ediciones Stylo, 1945.F.45



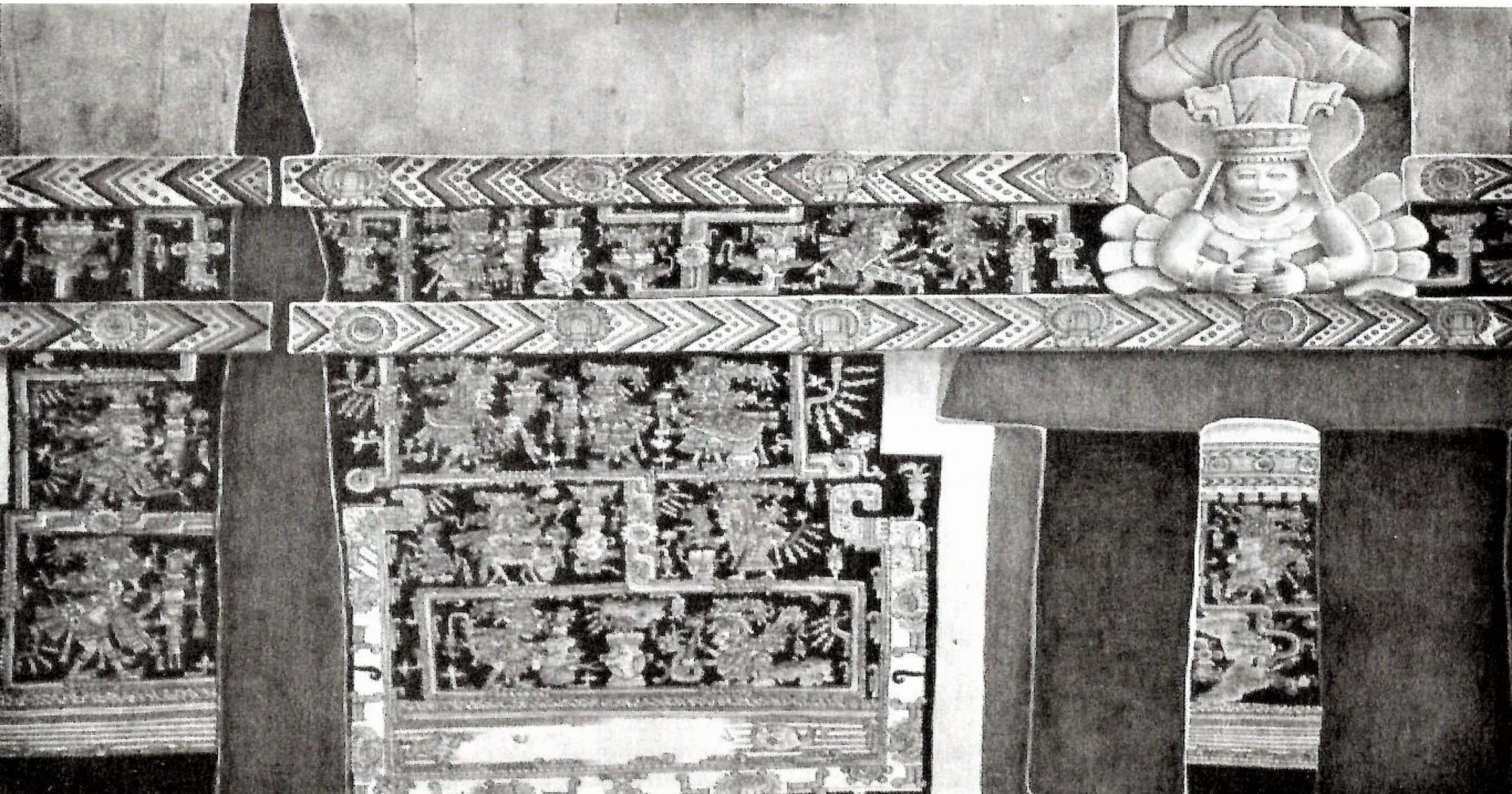
Templo de las Pinturas (Str.16)

The reproduction below was copied by F. Davalos at the beginning of the last century with the Carnegie, when figures were still fairly well defined. The paintings on stucco where made with great dexterity, in blue-green color against a black background, as was the back of the stelae in front of the building's main entrance. In 1938 the front of the stelae showed eroded remains of glyphs (Fernandez 1945:4). **God.E** in the niche over the door shows flower elements behind his arms as *Bolon Mayel* is described in the *Chilam Balam of Chumayel* (K.A.Taube 1997:41).

The paintings are those of gods of the codices: **B**, **E** and **K**, as well as **I** and **O** (see Annex.8). The figures shown are individuals offering or receiving gifts of maize rituals, such as planting or harvesting; while female deities are shown grounding maize on a *metate*, or grinding stone. (Baudez 2004:317). The North wall of Str.16 (partialy shown at extreme left), document an auto-sacrifice, with a figure piercing his tongue or lower lip.

Reproduction from F. Dávalos in A.G.Miller, 1982

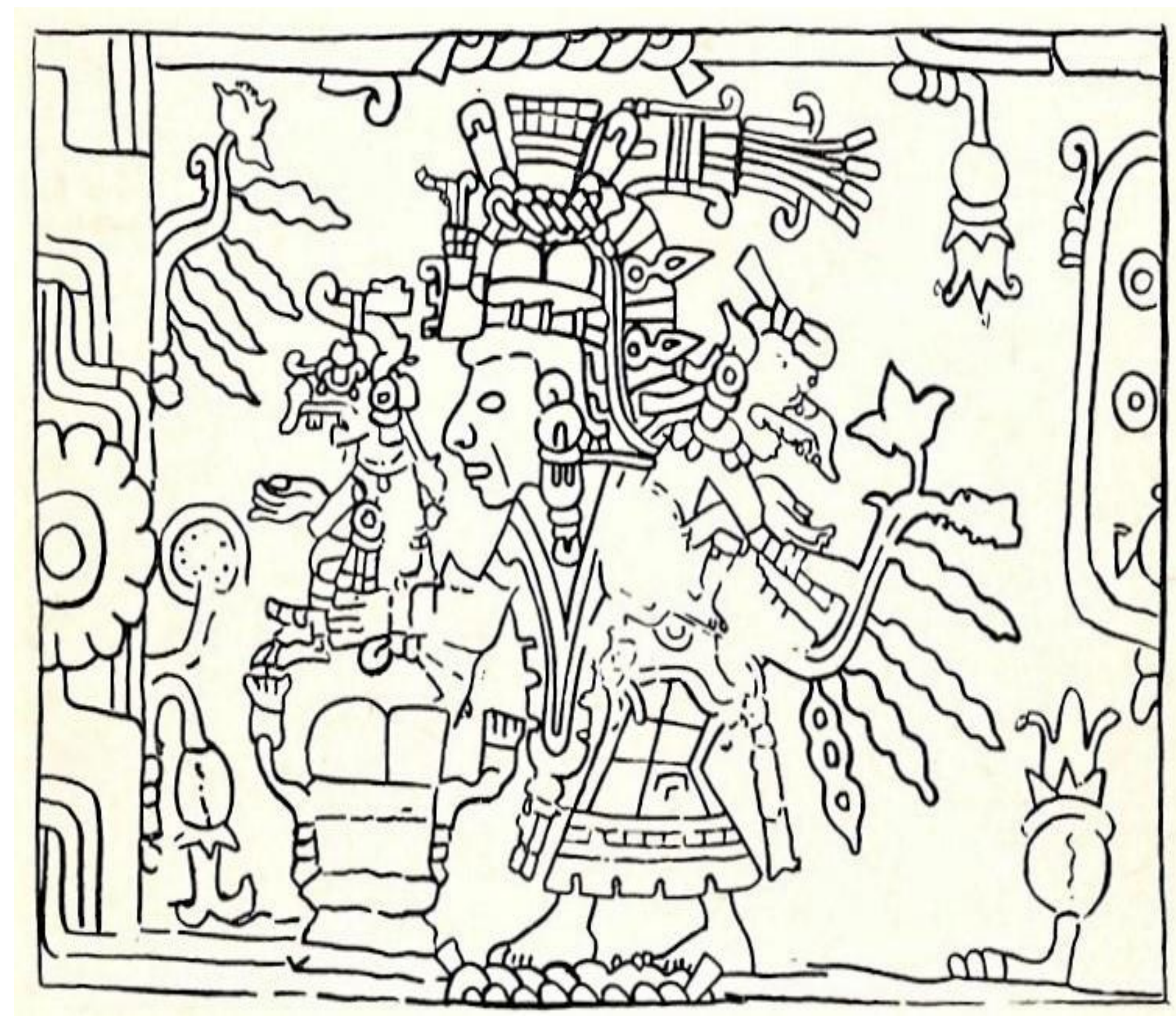
Baudez 2004:314, Courtesy UNAM-Instituto de Investigación Antropológica-CEMCA



Temple of the Frescos – The most interesting, and somewhat well preserved paintings, are found inside on the back wall of the oldest temple (Ph.1), protected by successive additions. The Carnegie Institution's last visit in 1922, tried to preserve the murals with varnish, but it did not help, as mentioned in Miguel Fernandez 1945 field report. Representation of deities, such as probably **Ix Chel**, shown holding the **K'awil** (**God K**), *Manikin Scepter*, that personifies the concept of the sacred in statuary and painted representation of kingship. There were several different forms of **K'awil** representing different aspects of the supernatural (Shele+Mathews 1998:412). The paintings display scenes of abundant flowers, fruits and ears of corn representative of fertility, and show similarities to the “international” **Mixteca-Puebla** style (1450 or later), that originated in the highlands of Mexico, and at **Mayapán**.

The upper and lower interlaced design knots, are the **Pop**, the word for mat in **Maya** that, associated with **Nah** or house, underlines the concept of community. The **Maya** called their ruling Lord **Ah Pop**, “*he of the mat*”, a term synonymous with **Ahau** (*lord*), associated with the highest religious-secular authority, and kingship. The **K'ichè Popol Vuh** is usually translated as the “**Book of Council**”, but the root of **popol** is mat, linking a community council house, a **Popol N'ah**, and the mat on which council attendants sat (Miller+Taube 1993:111).

Ph.(L) from Las Ruinas de Tulum, Ediciones Stylo, 1945.Fig.46 - Drawing (R) from INAH, 1959:31



Temple of the Frescos – Str.16. At the upper northwest and southeast corners of the temple, are large polychrome stucco masks in bas relief; the paint eroded with time, but remains can still be seen (**left**). On the Castillo frontispiece, the figure in the right niche is missing, it was destroyed by man and time. The other in the left niche is shown below (**right**), and seems to carry attributes similar to the one on **Str.5** fresco. The feather headdress of the corner figure (**right**) is damaged with time, but still visible are two tassels dropping on his shoulders from the headdress. Its collar and chest garment, denotes a person of importance. The figures on the Temple corners, also carry a feathered headdress (a common adornment for high nobility). On the painted fresco inside the **Temple of the Descending God** (second panel from left), the hierarch dialoguing with **Cha'ak** wears a similar headdress to the ones shown in both stucco figures (**center**). The large masks on the upper northwest and southeast corners of the Temple however, are not representations of any other god, but the **Descending God**. Of note, the fact that both the *Castillo* and the **Str.16** building phases are closely related in time.



Temple 20 (Str.20) is found across from the Temple of the Frescos. Beyond the two columns entrance, through the next doorway is a large closed area with a small sanctuary, and a room that was added at a later date (A. Ruz L. 1959:37). The roof of the structure was flat, built on wood beams covered inside-out with lime concrete. Over the main and secondary doorways were niches with the stucco figures of the **Diving God**, seen in most buildings at **Tulum**. Walls inside were painted, with mythological figures; black and red color remains were found in protected areas



Casa de las Columnas Str.25, is a palace built on a 4ft/1.25m high platform with a large room at the back and a covered shrine. The width of the room is the largest in the region, and initially built without column or support. Its flat roof was made of round wood beams covered with mortar, and coats of stucco on the inside. At a later date, when the roof started to cave in, a column was erected to support it. The façade of Str.25 was, as all other major buildings, stuccoed with niches and painted. There were moldings with rosettes in the sanctuary, and a niche with the omnipresent figure of the **Descending God** over the doorway.



The **House of the Chultún** is located across from the Temple of the Frescos. Short stairs lead to a wide courtyard, and the two columns entrance that opens through a door surmounted by the **Descending God**, into a wide room that held the customary shrine. At a later date were added two rooms that may be accessed through a small doorway. The house owes its name to the *chultún* – an underground cistern to collect and store rain water – that was found in the southwest corner of the platform – details Annex.6 The flat roof was made of timber covered with cement and stucco. The rooms were painted and profusely decorated; remains of black and red pigments were found.



The **Great Palace** (Str.21 South view) is referred to as the **House of the *Halach Uinic*** or “**Great Lord**”. Its four columns portico entrance open to a walled compound; the large front court yard may have held small structures. Its floor plan is “**L**” shaped, and suggest that the West side was added at a later date. The largest room inside had a shrine in the center of the wall whose back projected outward through the North wall. The other three rooms had long benches, the windows were bared with an “**X**” shape stone and stucco sign. The two inside windows have stone rings, a common feature to receive a wooden rod from which curtains were hung. The West side has its own wide door that opens to the North, and connects with the rest of the palace through an inside door (Alberto Ruz L., 1959:38).

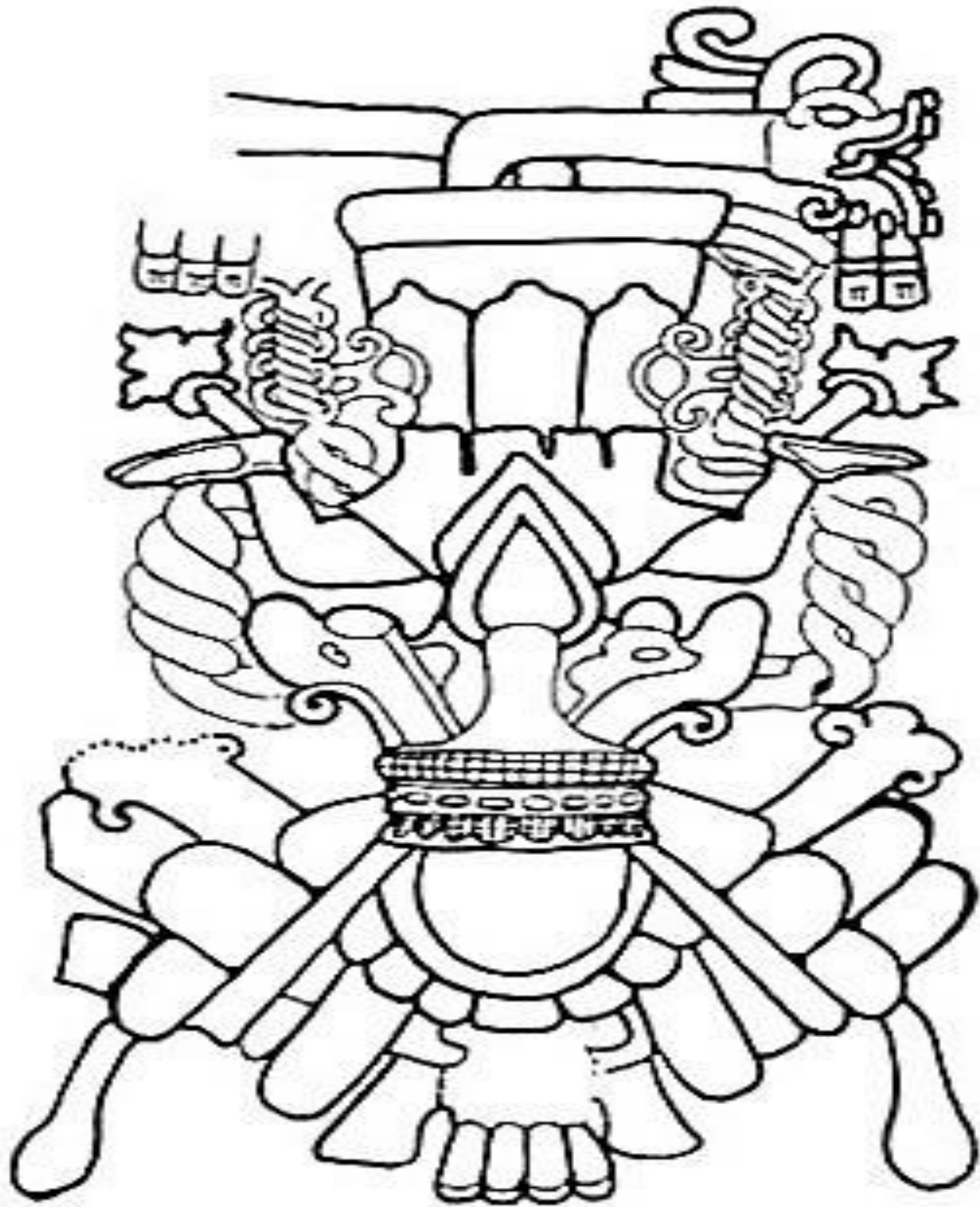


The **Palace** or ***Halach Uinic Ná*** (*Great House* or *Lord House*) – **Str.21** four columns patio entrance, with the ubiquitous **Descending God** stucco figure above the doorway. The original thatch roof over the patio entrance may have been similar to the one shown. The adjective ***Halach*** closest translation is *True Man* or *True Lord*. The word ***true*** is to be understood as “***righteous***” in **Yucatec Maya**, a status representative of a hereditary dynasty.

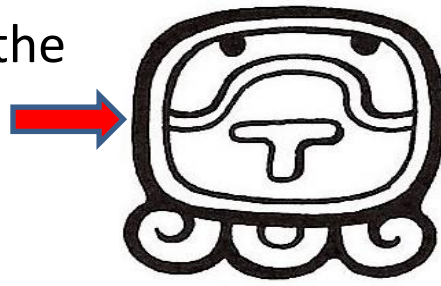


House of the *Halach Uinic* – (Str.21). Stucco **Descending God** – **God.E**, figure, detail drawing, by Karl A. Taube (1997:43a).

Of the gods of the soil, those who have charge of the crops are the most important, for daily survival is at stake. Various crops, such as beans, had their dwelling god, but the maize (corn) god, always depicted as youthful and often with maize growing from his head, was a god of all vegetation (Thompson 1954:231). During the Postclassic period, representations of **God.E** are often affiliated with death in Yucatán. This may be partly due to the agricultural cycle of maize, the planting in the earth equivalent to death and burial, and the harvest. Victoria Bricker (1986:147) notes that the foliated descending figures seen in profile in the Dresden Codex P15a+b, are accompanied by the verbal compound to be read ***upak'ah***, or “***he planted it***”, a reading in agreement with the suggested agricultural significance of the **Descending God**. (Drawing Courtesy Karl A.Taube 1997:41).



Temple of the God of the Wind – *Templo del Dios del Viento* – (Str.45). Built on the sea shore over a karstic limestone cliff, it is a semi-circular structure, with a small altar, and remains of stone motifs. Its footprint and the altar point to its dedication to **Ik**, god of the wind and breath, since they are both the same for the **Mayas**. It is represented in glyphs and architecture as a letter **T** sign that can be shown inverted, it is the cleft in the upper face of the Earth Monster. Its name is **Ehecatl** in **Nahuatl**, the wind of time and the breath that leaves life at the end of days. Similar buildings are found in the region at **Xcaret**, **Paamul** and **San Gervasio**, the later on **Cozumel** Island. Glyph Courtesy V.J.Stanzione & A.Bauer, 2006:7



The back of ***El Castillo*** (Str.1) is a *talud* type buttress wall added to the original structure during the second building Phase (B), to shore up the second floor built during that phase. Its slopped back rests a few feet from the edge of the cliff on which the building is built. It was the first structure described by the chaplain Juan Diaz of the Spanish fleet led by Juan de Grijalva in 1518, which he called “*the great tower*”. Two small “windows” open toward the sea, in direct line of sight with the break in the coral reef off shore and landing on the beach, served as beacons for ocean going traders. For daylight navigation purposes, banners or the smoke of fires, were probably added on the roof, to show wind direction.

Luis Gomez Cardenas, Courtesy *Editores Fotografica Marina Kukulcan SA*. 2007:14



Even though night travel in open seas was avoided, tide and weather did not always cooperate. At night, fires were lit in the two upper windows to help traders reach safe anchorage on the beach below. The “windows” in the thick wall are small and of not much use for observation, especially in the dark, but as guides. At dusk and night, a fire lit in large ceramic urns, kept close to each of the openings, would focus the light of the flames eastward as beacons toward the sea, guiding travelers toward the channel through the reefs, and safe landing.

Luis Gomez Cardenas, Courtesy *Editora Fotografica Marina Kukulcan SA*. 2007:15



Sanctuaries (Str.39>44) to **Ix Shell** (Annex.4), **Ek Shua** and other deities dot the East coast of Yucatán. They are often small, about 7ft/2m square and 5ft/1.5m high, their reduced size led to past legends that hunchbacks and dwarves lived in the area (A. Ruz L. 1959:43). The shrines were used by traders and seafarers for rituals and offering ceremonies to **Ek Shua**, and to their own deities. Some had an altar built on the back wall, with ceramic idols. As a rule, the shrines within the city walls below, and beyond, have one room only, even though one had four (**Str.43**), and another had a round opening on the ceiling to vent the smoke of a *brasero* or *incensario* (**Str.42**). Giovanni Dagli Orti, Courtesy Monclém Ediciones, 2006:24



The **Wall**, made of stones, protects **Tulum** on its North, West and South sides. The north-south section is 1250ft/380m in length, while the North and South sections running east-west are 560ft/170m in length each, and stop 50ft/15m short of the shore, where tree trunks may have completed the wall. The eastern section was protected by the 40ft/12m cliff limestone. The wall average height is 17ft/5m and its thickness 20ft/6m at the base. There were 5 low and narrow 4ft high tunnel like entrances – to slow down raiders – one in the middle of the north-south section, and 2 each in the east-west walls. The North entrance is different from the others for 2 small rooms set inside the mass of the wall. From the southeast corner, the western section of the wall continues obliquely toward the coast, but stops 100ft/30m short of it; the area within did not have any structure. Other cities are known to be protected by such walls, **Mayapán**, **Chacchob**, and **Xelhá** north of **Tulum**. The **Toltec** ceremonial section at Chichen Itzá is surrounded by a defensive wall. Political conditions prevalent between the 13th and 16th centuries, between the **Toltec** and **Spanish** invasions, and wars between chiefdoms, may explain such defensive walls in ceremonial centers (A. Ruz L. 1959:12-23).

Giovani Dagli Orti, Courtesy Monclém Ediciones, 2006:20



Corner Temples (Str.55 & 56). The two temples located on the northwest and southwest corners of the wall surround the ancient city. They were not dedicated “watchtowers” as J.L.Stephens called them (1842); one reason to exclude the watchtower function, is that Str.56 has no opening to watch the western stretch of the wall. They are small ceremonial temples, with a rectangular footprint, doors open to the East, West and South, and a small altar built on their North wall. They are reached by staircases resting against the interior wall. Both temples were painted, and the northeast one (Str.55 – the *House of the Aluxes*), had a stepped frieze common to similar structures. Between the moldings were stucco figures of the *Diving God*, and the façades were covered with frescos painted on a black background. Giovanni Dagli Orti, Courtesy Monclém Ediciones, 2006:24



North, beyond **Tulum** walls, are found structures of the ancient city. Two temples, one a ruin, the other the **Temple of Nauyaca** below, (**Str.59**) is located 1640ft/500m North of the wall. It has one room with a small altar at the back. Its walls are thick, with two simple moldings. Its unique crest on the roof, underline the fact that it was built earlier than the oldest structure in the city, possibly **Early Postclassic** period (1250AD, or earlier), but definitely before **Toltec** influence. Remains of ceramic point to the veneration of **Ek Chua** and other deities, protectors of sea traders and travelers. It was, as most such structures were, both a shrine and a coastal marker.



Tulum in Late Postclassic Yucatán Economy

As any other city, large or small, Tulum was dependent on interaction with other polities to expand and protect its community.

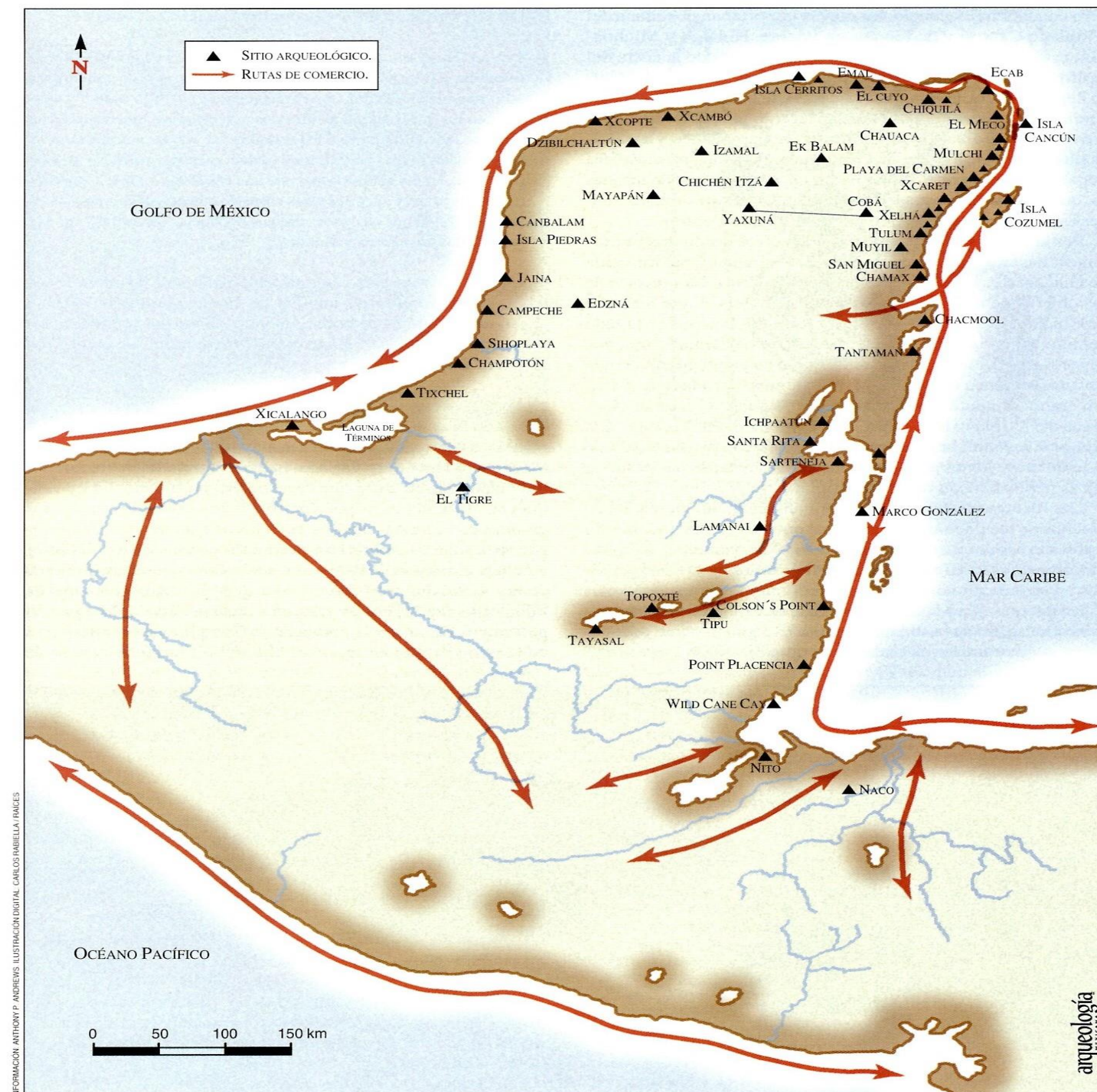
A concept that requires to interface with others to survive and thrive. This will briefly explain the city's position relative to trade in the region, the rise and fall of great cities in the Yucatán, and the underlying historic and economic factors that altered Tulum's fate, and that of the peninsula.



Post-Classic Yucatán Peninsula Circumnavigation and Trade

Trade covered a wide array of exchange, from bird feathers to slaves, salt, ceramics and hard stones – obsidian and iron pyrite from central Mexico to basalt and jade from the **Motagua** river valley in Honduras and the highlands of Guatemala. Commodities, such as dry fish, fruits and meat from game across the peninsula (Annex.5), copal incense, animal pelts and a wide array of other products were traded. Where people travel, so do ideas, concepts, know how, politics, and friendships. They traveled frequently, especially residents of off shore islands and those in land locked bays, to meetings, ceremonies, weddings and war. **Yucatán** water borne trade system was by sea and rivers, among the later were major waterways, such as the **Grijalva**, the **Candelaria**, the **Usumacinta**, the **Chamotón**, and their tributaries. The **Spaniards** were impressed by the extensive trade network, ports and navigation knowledge of the **Mayas**. J. Eric Thompson summed up their abilities in these areas by calling them “*the Phoenicians of the New World*” (Thompson 1958:179).

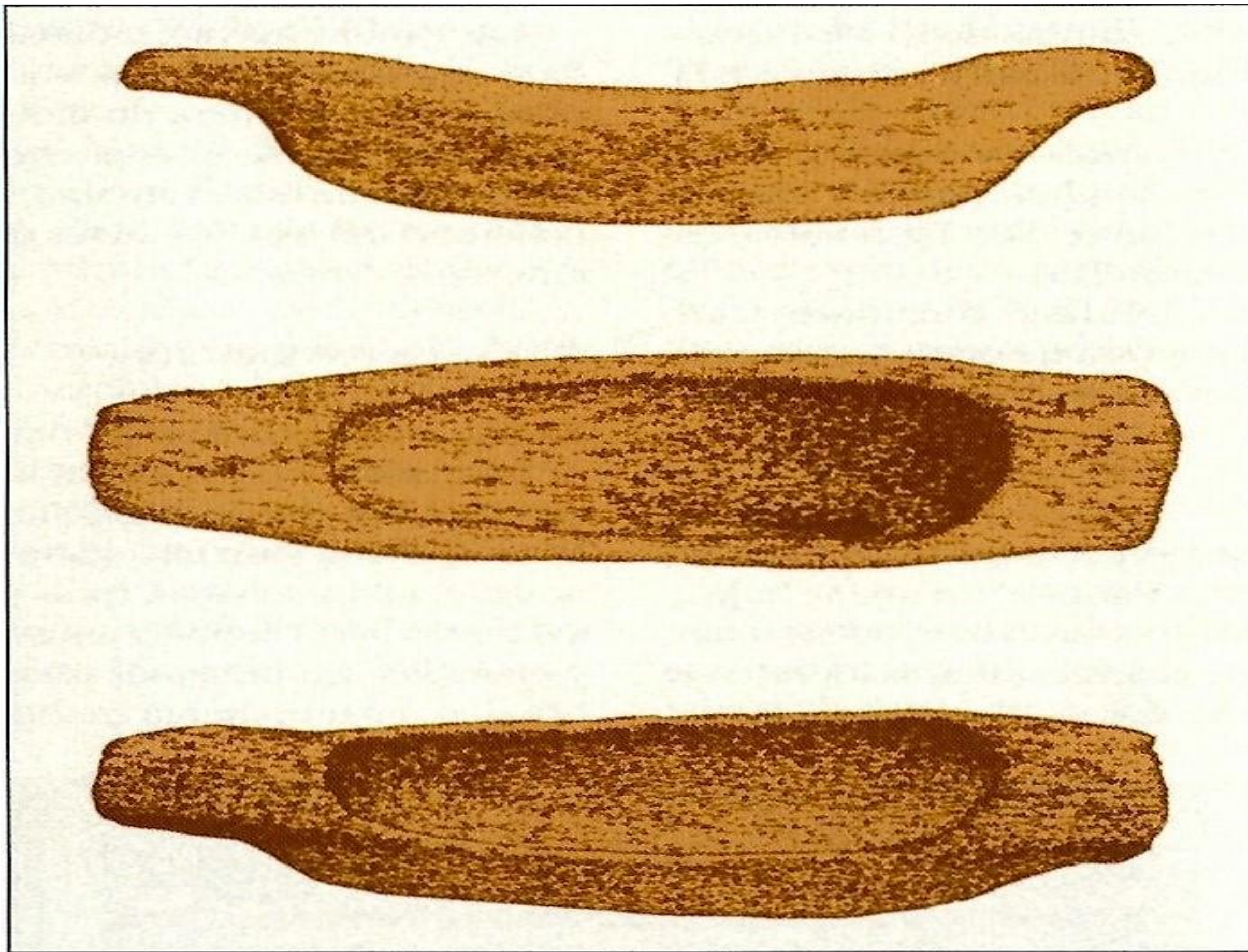
Drawings, Carlos Rabiela / Courtesy Raices in Arqueología Mexicana No. 33:17+21



Pre-Columbian sea and coastal **canoe** carried up to 50 people; the large ones had a flat bottom. The archaeological record, on stone, bones of manatee and the codices, show the type of canoes and oars used. The bow and stern protruded as small platforms, at gunwale level. In the past, as today, canoes came in a number of shapes and sizes, from individual to collective. Propulsion means were either oar or pole. Sail was known but little used, perhaps because most travel took place within semi-protected coastal waterways, where sails would not have been as efficient as oars or poles; open ocean was avoided (M.E.Romero R. INAH 33:10). Oars length and shape were made and used according to the sailing requirement of the location and boat size, in the sea, lagoon, river or estuary. For this reason the length of the handle and the type of paddle were shaped by experience to meet specific local waters and depth particulars. In shallow waters, the pole was used.

Codex Dresdensis in Sachsische Landesbibliothek (SLUB), P.49c – Dresden, Germany

Drawings Graciela Rogriguez / Courtesy Raices in Aequologia Mexicana No.33-10.20



Cobá, the *Nohoch N'ah*, at 138ft/42m and 120 stairs, is the highest temple pyramid on the **Yucatán** peninsula. The inland city also has the longest *Sacbé*, white road or elevated causeway, 62mi/100km West to **Yaxuná**, 13m/20km North of **Chichen Itzá**, and East to **Xelhá** and **Tulum**. The site numbers no less than 45 *Sacbéob* (*Sacbé* plural) of various length and width (map Annex.10). The temple at the top of the pyramid, also displays the stucco figure of the **Descending God**. The **Itzá** invaders could not take **Yaxuná** because the rulers, and those of **Puuc** cities further South claimed it as their own (Annex.9) . Through diplomacy or force of arms, the two kingdoms initially repelled the invader's advance, forcing the Itzá to choose another location with a *cenote* as their new capital, they elected Chichen Itzá. (Schele-Freidel 1990:352). At the time of the Itzá incursion, **Cobá** played an important part in the trade and political economy of northeastern **Yucatán**'s Late Postclassic (1350-1550).

Luis Gomez Cardenas, Courtesy Editora Fotografica Marina Kukulcan SA. 2007:25



The Late Postclassic period coincides with exchange mechanisms described in the ethnohistoric record. In a now famous model, Sabloff and Rathje argued that the Postclassic period was characterized by growing commercialization and the rise of a merchant class (Sabloff and Rathje 1975 in Mason and Freidel 2002:175). **El Meco** (*Belmá?*) was an important port during the Late Postclassic phase (1450-1550), when its population swelled, thanks to the influx of **Maya-Chontal** (aka *Putùn* or *Yokotán*), from the West and southwest coast of the Gulf of Mexico. **El Meco** was a significant player in a wide coastal and circum-peninsular transportation network; the main gateway to **Isla Mujeres**, with daily transport of both cargo and people; as well as a transit point to destinations North, to **Cancùn - El Rey** and **Pok-ta-Pok**, and South to **Xcaret** and **Xelhá** (Annex.10).



Ek Chuak is **God.M**, the *Black Scorpion* (*God.L* in Classic time – Annex.8), and **Xaman Ek**, patron gods and protectors of merchants and travelers in the Post-Classic period.

Museo de America — Madrid Codex, or *Tro-Cortesianus*, Page 56

Figures in **Madrid Codex**, P.56a+b (right), show traders traveling with loads on their backs with weapons, to ward off pirates or thieves. The black figure, 56a, is **Ek Chuak**, a **Late Postclassic** god (**God.M**), of merchants, *p'olom* in **Maya**, and travelers. His **Aztec** equivalent is **Yacatecuhtli**.

Ek Chuak was also the god of cocoa, underlining the link between trade and one of its main medium of exchange, cocoa beans. The two figures in P.56c illustrate actual barter, a common way of exchange for small and large trade alike.

According to **Fray Diego De Landa** (1524-1579), to ward off evil and ensure safe return home, travelers prayed and made offerings to the god and deities in numerous small shrines built along the coast and rivers, from Honduras to the Gulf of Mexico. Most shrines were also coastal markers used for navigation, as well as adobes of the traders' protectors, **Ek Chuak** and **Xaman Ek**.

Xaman Ek, is the deity of the **North Star**, specifically associated with water borne trade, since the star is an essential reference in off shore navigation, especially at sea beyond sight of land.

The **Maya** large ocean going canoes were made from mahogany, teak or cedar trunk. Remains of settlement and small structures were found on islands in the bay of Honduras, as far as 40+mi /60+km off shore.

On **Quintana Roo**'s coast, South to the **Bay of Chetumal** and today's **Belize**, were numerous important distribution and trade centers for transshipment of goods to markets on the peninsula. The ports also fed overland trade routes to and from central Mexico. Among the main ports, were **El Meco** for **Isla Mujeres** and **Isla Cancùn**, **Polè** (**Xcaret**), **Akumal** and **Xhel' ha**, the later for **Coba**, **Ek Balam**, **Yaxuna**, and other towns and cities. **Chichen Itzá**, main port was **Isla Cerritos**.





San Gervasio – Structures, the *Columnas*, *Los Nichos* and *Str.25B* complex in the central plaza (shown L>R). **Cozumel** is contemporaneous with **Tulum** and an important religious and trade center, with large storage sheds for goods in transit up and down the coast, as well as for transfer to mainland destinations. The island flourished from about 1250 to the 16th century. The apogee of the island, during the Late Postclassic (1250-1550), is a direct consequence of the *Mexicanized Chontal-Maya* expansion, aka the **Putùns**, from *Chakanputùn*, today's Champotón. Coming from the low lands of Tabasco and Campeche, at the close of the Classic (A.Velasquez M., INAH Q.R. 2002:54), they had longstanding connections with the Central Plateau of Mexico, and spoke Nahuatl. The **Chontal** were competent traders and seafarers, and contributed to the wealth of the islands and coastal ports. Sanctuaries and shrines dotted the island's coast, an indication that thriving trade by sea was a long established tradition. **Cozumel's** offshore location offered protection from land raiders for the goods stored in its warehouses. Its mainland ports were **Xcaret**, as well as **Tulum**. *Sacbeob*, *white roads*, elevated causeways, crossed the island from the seashore unloading points to **San Gervasio's** store houses, underlines the island's elaborate logistic structure as a trading and distribution gateway.

Cozumel – San Gervasio, the *El Alamo* residential complex with *El Palacio* and *Las Murales* overlook the Central Plaza with the *Altar*.

The island was one of the three most important **Maya** religious centers with **Chichen Itzá** and **Izamal**, that the **Itzá** needed to control. Here was the sanctuary of the great deity, **Ix Chel**, *Goddess I*, ***Goddess of the Moon***, (Annex.3), of childbirth and medicine. The sanctuary drew pilgrims from all parts of the country and beyond for ceremonies that took place throughout the year. Thus the **Itzá** controlled the three greatest religious sanctuaries in **Yucatán**, all dedicated to the most important gods of the **Maya** pantheon. They were then keeping a tight control over the **Maya** priesthood, as well as the prestige and revenues from the pilgrim's traffic. (Thompson 1959:114-116).



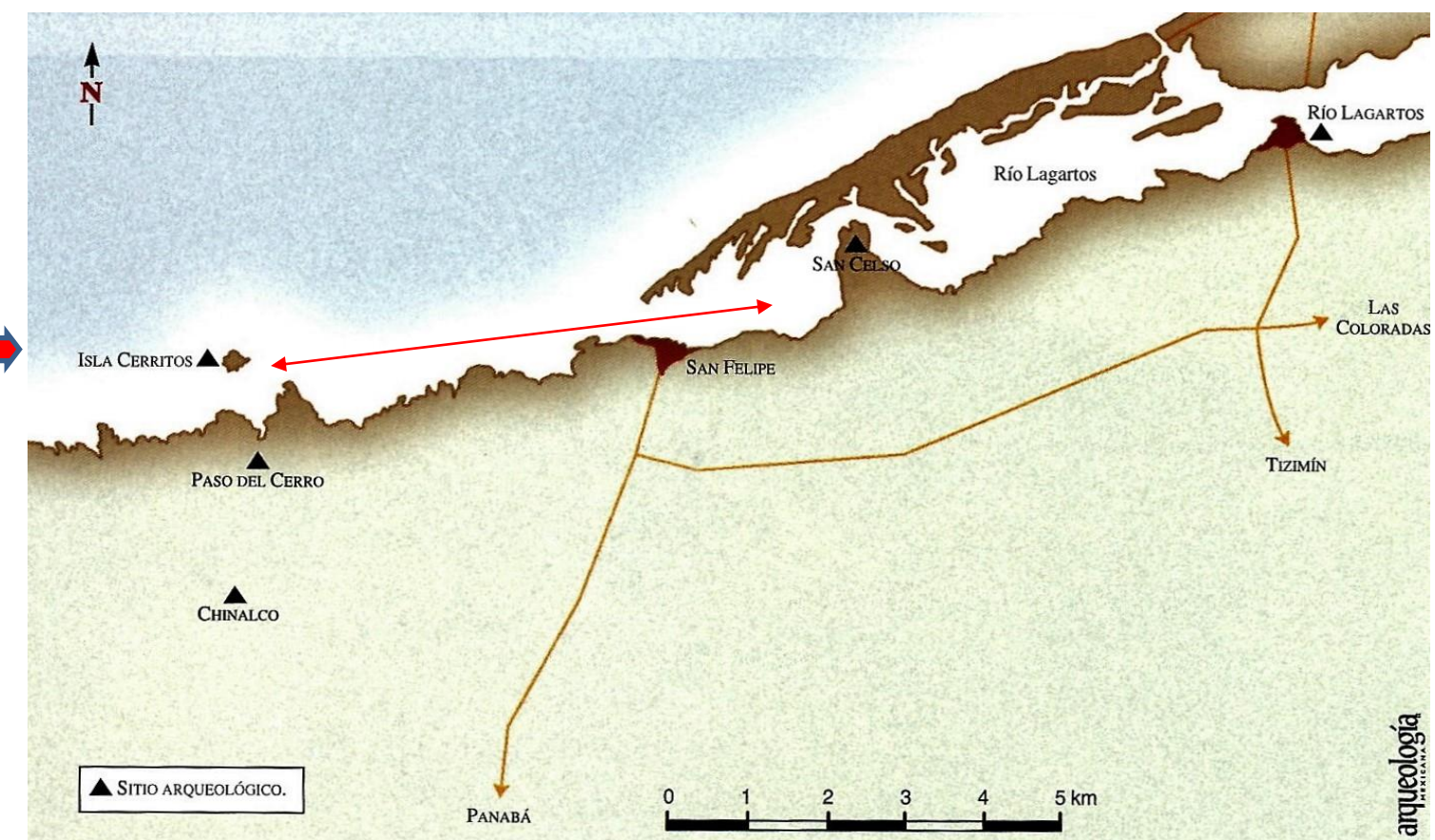
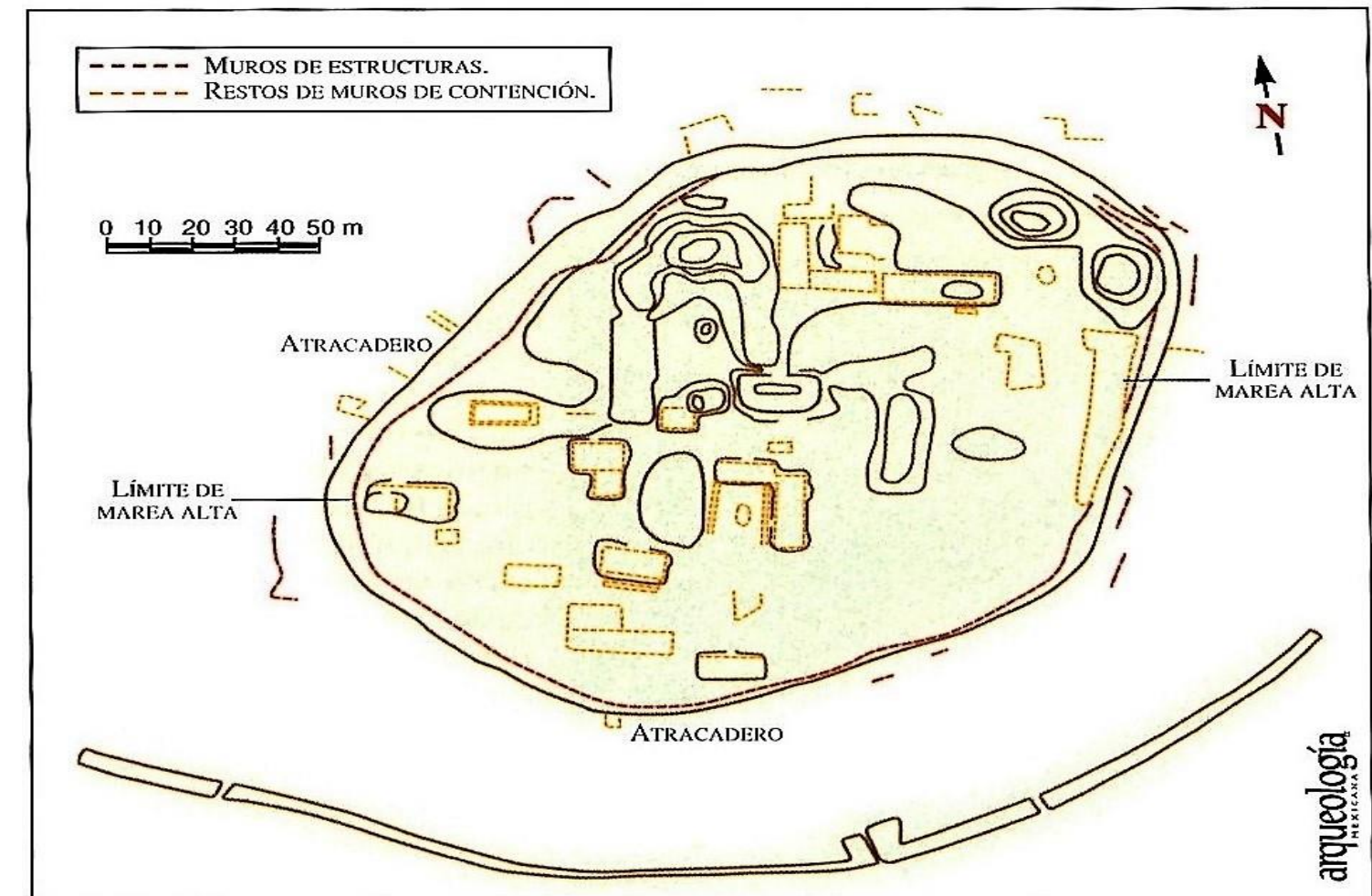
Xcambò, Yucatán. In **Maya-Chontal** it translates as "*heavenly crocodile*". It is built on a low hill surrounded by salt flats. The site's broad timeline spans from Late Preclassic 100BC-250AD, to Late Postclassic 1100-1450 Andrews (1980:75-77, 1983:18-19, 1991) and argues that the salt beds of northern Yucatán were the main source of supply of salt for the Maya lowlands, and that long-distance trade of this commodity began in Late Pre-Classic. Large storage areas have been found northeast of the site, as well as at the neighboring site of **Xtampù**, under **Xcambo**'s control, but not at **Emal** further up the coast. The ceramic record shows a close relationship with Late Preclassic **Dzibilchaltùn**.(see lecture).

Xcambò became **Izamal**'s main port, 31mi/50km inland, that controlled its important lucrative high quality salt, sold inland and beyond. Mason and Freidel (2002:323) argue that tropical farming societies with low levels of meat consumption, typically consume higher than average quantities of salt to meet their minimal physiological need for sodium, hence the salt trade. During the Early Postclassic 1100-1200, **Chichen Itzá**'s power was felt throughout the peninsula and displaced older hegemonic chiefdoms. It established its own trade network and port at **Isla Cerritos**, the one and only **Itzá** enclave on the North coast. (T.N. Sierra R. UADY/INAH 37:40-47). Michael Calderwood, Courtesy Raices in Arqueologia Mexicana 37:43



Isla Cerritos, on the northern coast of **Yucatán**, was an important **Itzá** transit and distribution center. A major salt exporter thanks to the extensive production of the most important trade item of the peninsula. Late Postclassic (Annex.7) saw the island, and its neighbors **Paso del Cerro** and **Isla Holbox** greatest expansion, gateway for the great inland city, 62mi/100km from the coast, **Chichen Itzá**. At that time coastal trade also became more important with the rise of the northern inland city (McKillop 1989:51). The small island is 660ft/200m in diameter for a total area of 7.5acres/3hect, and housed several hundred people. Administrative buildings, a small temple, housing platforms and storehouses completed the infrastructure, with an off shore breakwater. The island's strategic location, at the mouth of Rio Lagartos, allowed to control the salt trade from **Emal-Las Coloradas**, the largest salt production center in Mesoamerica, and main **Yucatán** export.

(Tomas Gallareta N. 1998:33.30). Maps Carlos Rabiela, Courtesy Raices in Arqueologia Mexicana 33:25-28 – Ph. Anthony P. Andrews, Courtesy Arqueologia Mexicana 33:22



Isla Cerritos Grave No.7 under Str.8. Ceramic offerings in the grave underline the trade, far and wide, that took place around the **Yucatán** peninsula, and beyond. The small footed pot (bottom right), originates from southwest Guatemala, while the long neck *Silho Fine Orange* vase (bottom center), came from Seibal in the Petén (G.R. Willey in Culbert 1973:129). Topoxte ceramic groups from Lake Yaxha also from the Petén, were identified at both Mayapán and Chichen Itzá. The abandonment of the island within the period of the fall of the **Itzá'** s capital underline the perception that the future of the people of the island was very closely linked with those of the elite at **Chichen Itzá** (T.Gallareta N. 1998:33.29).

Barbara McClatchie-Andrew, Courtesy Arqueologia Mexicana No. 33:30



Chichen Itzá, *Uuc' Yab 'nál* in *Yucatec Maya*. The old structure of society, before the **Toltec** arrival, fundamentally changed the chiefdom system, with the disappearance of the ***Halach Uinic*** kinship structure. The city forged a military and economic empire in northern **Yucatán** that, Kepecs argues, surpassed the integration achieved by earlier **Maya** states. The centralizing effect of this great city's activities on socio-economics are perhaps explained by its greater degree of power consolidation (Kepecs et al. 1994). Coastal trade also became more important with the rise of the northern center at Chichen Itzá (McKillop 1989:51). At the fall of Chichen Itzá in the first part of the 13th century, the regional hegemony on the peninsula moved to **Mayapán** (Annex.9)



The **Mayapán** people hired a mercenary **Hunac Ceel** from **Tabasco**, formerly with the **Tutul Xiu** clan, that shifted his allegiance and, by trick, threats and ultimately military force with the assistance of **Toltec** mercenaries, drove the **Tutul Xiu** clan from power and became master of **Chichen Itzá**. The record is not definite as to the date of that event, c. 1221-1283, but the city's power gradually faded while **Mayapán** under **Hunac Ceel** lordship established the *League of Mayapán*, together with, **Chichen Itza** and **Uxmal** (Annex.9). In 1441-1445, following a civil war, the League members and affiliates rebelled triggering the disintegration of the League into seven *Kuch'kabal*, independent chiefdoms. **Mayapán** became predominant in controlling the lucrative coastal trade, and probably rebuilt **Tulum** (Phillips and Jones 2008:205). With the fall of **Chichen Itzá**, the **Itzá** attempt to create an empire on the peninsula fell, and **Isla Cerritos** was abandoned.



As E. Wyllis Andrews IV pointedly wrote, “*whoever the Toltecs were, they dominated life in the Yucatan peninsula for a long time, and dominated it in a very severe way. Their origins are uncertain, their disappearance seems to represent their absorption by the Maya. Whoever they were, their impact on the Maya physical type and language, was minimal*” (in Culbert 1973:255).

Chichen Itzá, Toltec style Temple of the Jaguars built on the Eastern Platform of the Ball Court.



Tulum is the only religious center on the **Yucatán** peninsula that remains to this day, a site of pilgrimage. The **Mayas** showed through history, a tenacious resistance to invaders, the **Toltecs** and the **Spaniards**. They overcame the hardships of the 1464 hurricane, the plague of 1480 and the epidemic of smallpox of 1514; the uprising of Bacalar 1639-1641; the uprising of 1668-1671 and the rebellion of Jacinto Canek in 1761.

They showed no less tenacity during the **Caste War** (1847-1901), that bloodied the **Yucatán** peninsula for over 50 years. History notwithstanding, the **Mayas** believe that from **Tulum** is an invisible road passing under the sea that, when it opens, will play a special role in their world (Sullivan, 2002:54). The “*road*” or portal, is the collective memory of the ancient past of the walled cliff-side enclave, perched high over the blue waters of the Caribbean Sea.





A n n e x & B i b l i o g r a p h y



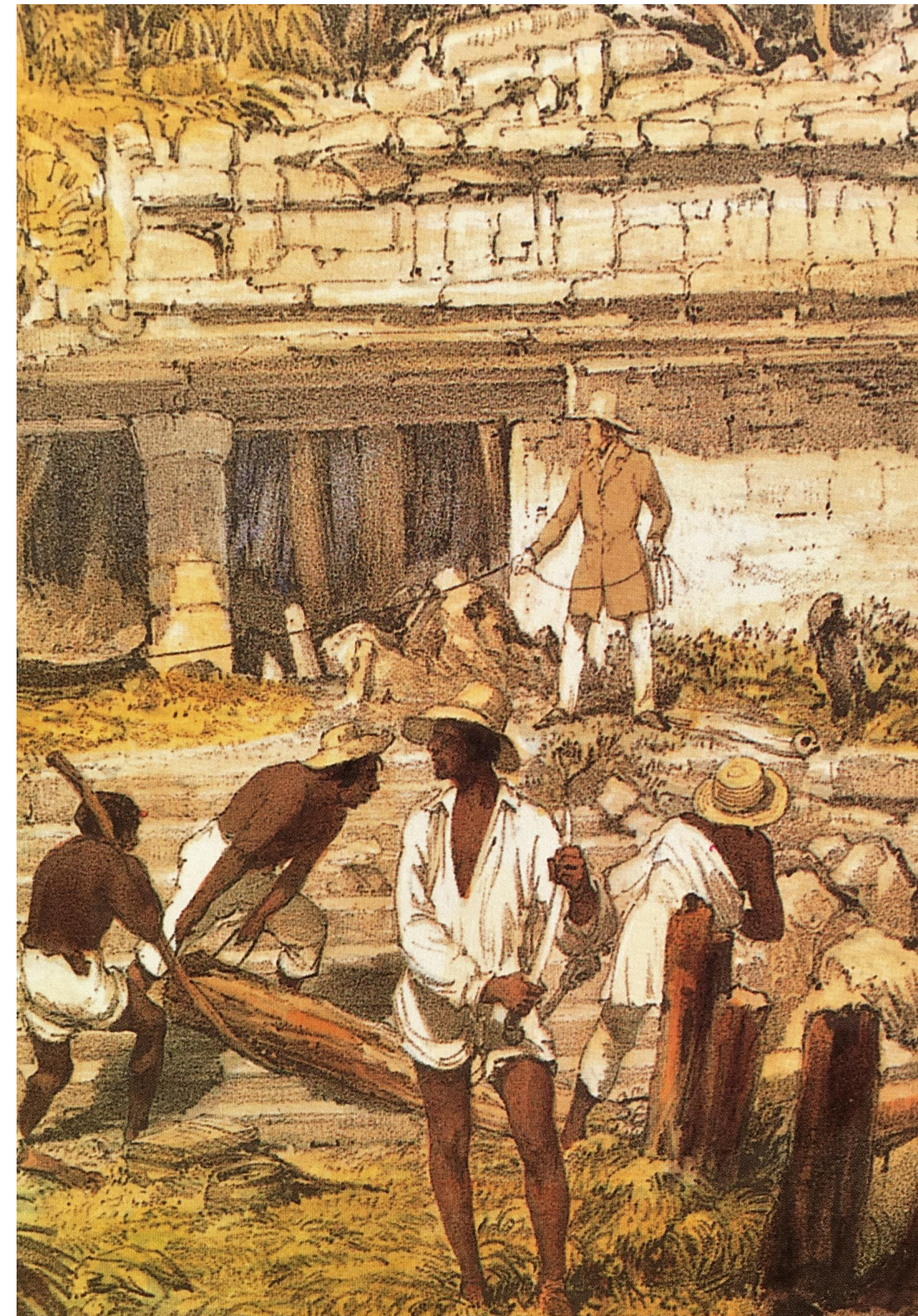
george@mayaworldimages.com

A n n e x . 1

John Lloyd Stephens expeditions to Mexico and Central America, in 1839 and 1841, were the first to document the culture of the **Maya**, then unknown to the world. His book is used to this day as a reference to locate forgotten ruins, even then unknown to local Indians.

His traveling partner **Frederick Catherwood**, a trained architect, highly precise and realistic drawings and mapping of ancient cities, show monuments, temples and free standing sculptures prized by scholars today, because their erosion and depredations over the last century, destroyed important details and artifacts, now lost forever.

There are no known portrait of **Frederick Catherwood** (1799-1854). The drawing (R) is his only representation, drawn while he was measuring ruins at **Tulum**, Yucatán, ca. 1838-1843. All his detailed and precise drawings were made using an optical device, the *camera lucida*.



A n n e x . 2

Cha'ak, God B

Codex Madrid Tro-Cortesianus P.4a-b

Glyph – Michael Coe & Mark Van Stone, 2001:111



The most important deity of the ancient and contemporary **Maya**, perhaps after **Itzamna**, is **Cha'ak** the god of rain, lighting and thunder, **God B** in Shellhas-Zimmermann-Taube classification. It is associated with life sustaining water and crops, specifically corn, the mythological substance, as well as the actual sustenance of mankind.

Because of the association of this god with serpents, Schellhas (1904:17-18), considers **God B** as the Maya **Kukukcán**, the Nahuatl **Quetzalcoatl**. There is now overwhelming evidence that this god is indeed **Cha'ak**, and that many of his associations are extremely old, and may be traced back to the beginnings of Classic **Maya** religion (Taube, 1997:17-27), or probably before.

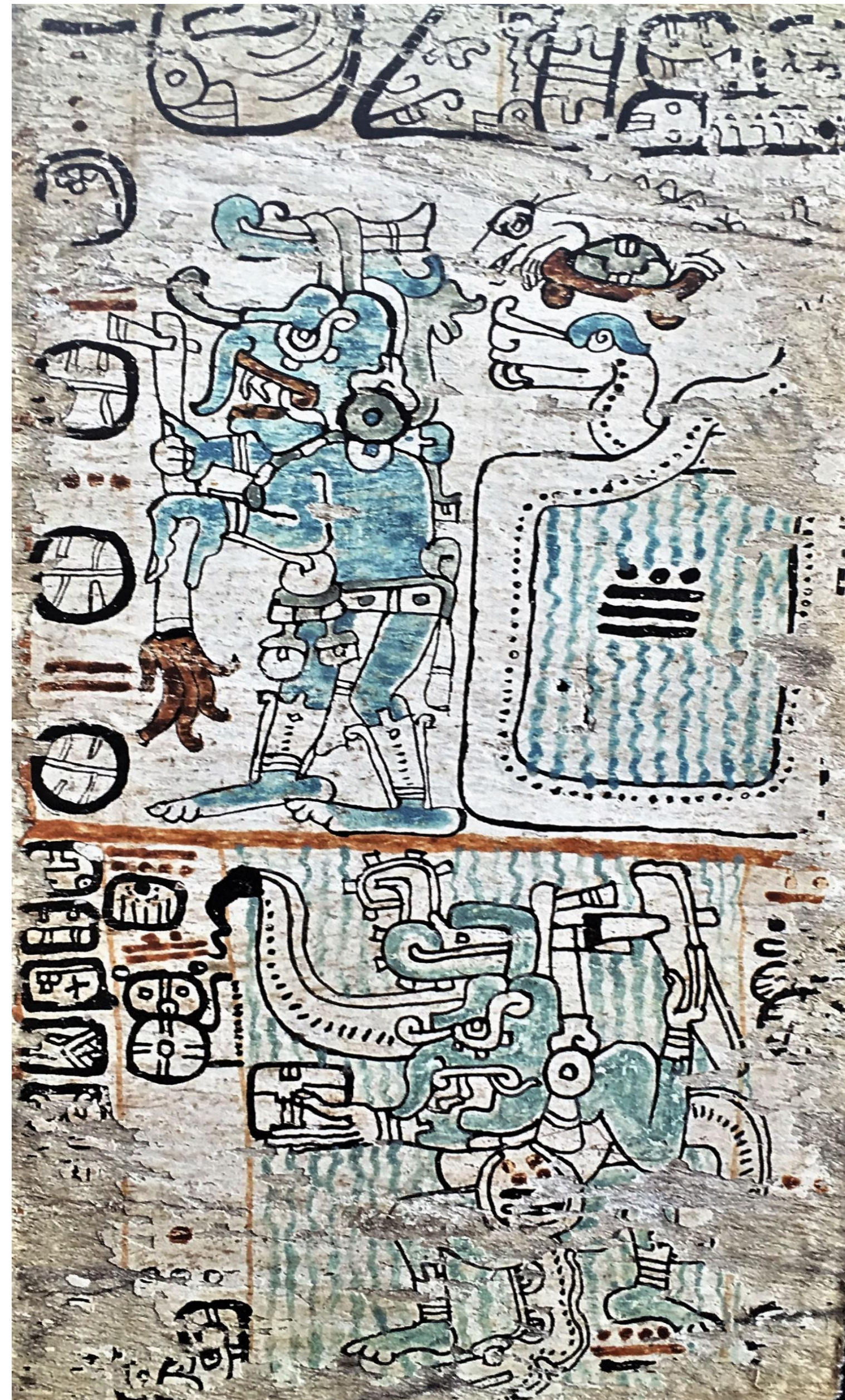
Like all gods and deities, **God B** dual nature is both benevolent and malevolent. It is the most venerated god of the past and today in **Maya** land. He is **One** of **Yaxal Cha'ak** at the center of the cosmos, and the four corners of the universe mythological colors.

There are more than one **Cha'ak**. Each manifestation of the deity is dedicated to the task of controlling nature and overseeing mankind compliance with the god's commands. Well known and respected to this day is the Post-Classic **Red Cha'ak** of the east, **Chak Xib Cha'ak**.

Cha'ak is represented in stone, on ceramics, the Codices and ancient texts from the Terminal to the Early post-Classic that depict scenes of gods, deities and their powers over man and nature.

Shown on Page.4 of the Madrid Codex are depictions of **Cha'ak** in its role of supplying water to mankind. However, the later is aware that it may be withheld, or hail destroying crops sent, at the god's will.

Goddess O is the female deity **Ix Chel** also referred to as **Chac Chel** and **Chac Chel Chac**, a powerful goddess of creation, closely associated with her counterpart **God B**, in the pantheon of **Maya** gods and deities.



A n n e x . 3

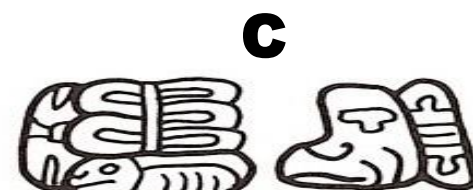
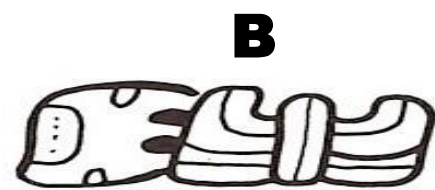
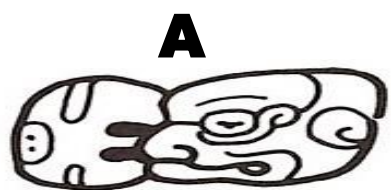
Ix Chel, *Goddess O* and *Goddess I*

Codex Dresdensis in Sachsische Landesbibliothek – SLUB, Dresden, Germany, P.39
Glyphs Courtesy Karl A. Taube, 1992:100

Ix Chel identified as **Goddess.O** (Zimmermann 1956:167, Thompson 1972), is a powerful and fearful aged woman identified with creation, death and world destruction. Gods and goddesses of the ancient past embodied duality or the field of opposites, such as life-death, male-female, water-fire, young-old and other aspects. She is also, as **Goddess.I** the youthful **Goddess of the Moon**, of childbirth and medicine. Thompson (1970) interpret the young **Goddess.I** as the new moon **Ix Chel**, while old **Goddess.O** is the full moon **Ix Chel Yax**, the companion of God.D.

During both Late Classic and Postclassic periods, **Goddess.O** appears with feline attributes, most notably the **Ix** jaguar eye and clawed hands and feet. Like **God N**, **Goddess.O** may be a **Maya** version of the post-Classic Central Mexican **tzitzimil** sky bearers, fierce demons that threaten the world at certain calendrical and celestial events. J. Eric S. Thompson (1950) suggest that **Goddess.O** may be an equivalent to the Central Mexican **Cihuacoatl**, an observation supported by the Selden roll and Bilbao figures.

Goddess.O glyphs in the Dresden Codex: **A** is prefixed by a **chac** sign. **B** the name glyph is made of elements of **chac** and **che**, probably refers to the name **chac chel**, that may be seen in P39b at right – see arrow. **C** is another glyph, from the Madrid Codex P.10b, that may read **chac chel chac**.



Ix Chel as **Goddess.I** is the young **Goddess of the Moon** associated with birth, weaving, curing, divination (Seller 1904:50-52), and shares many traits with **Ilamatecuhtli-Cihuacoatl** and other young goddesses of Postclassic highland Mexico (Miller & Taube 1993:148). However Karl Taube argues (1997:64) that there is no evidence that this was actually her name. In fact the term **chel** is associated primarily with the aged **Goddess.O**. To quote Paul Shellhass (1950:83) then, were the goddesses, the old and young, aspects of the same being?



A n n e x - 4

Post-Classic **Maya** ports on the **Yucatán** peninsula East and West Seaboards.

Arqueologia Mexicana, Anthony P. Andrews – 1998:33-15

Over 400 pre-Hispanic sites have been identified as ports or transit points on the peninsula for goods and travelers, of which 150 were used during the Postclassic period. Approximately 50 were major ports and trade centers during this late period, among which are:

- Campeche:** Aguacatal, Jaina, Xicalango, Tixchel and Champotòn
- Northern Yucatán:** Xcambò, Isla Cerritos, Emal, El Cuyo, Chiquila-*Conil*, and Vista Alegre
- Quintana Roo:** Ecab, El Meco, Cancun, *Mulchi-Mocchi*, Playa del Carmen-*Xamanhá*, Xcaret-*Polè*, Paamul, Xhelhá-*Xalá*, Tankah-*Zamanzamá*, Tulum-*Zamá*, Muyil/Chunyaxchè, San Miguel de Ruz, Chamax, Santa Rosa-*Chacmool*, Ichpaatùn-*Tamalcab* in the Bay of Chetumal.
- Cozumel:** San Gervasio, La Caleta
- Belize:** Santa Rita Corozal, Sarteneja, Marco Gonzalez, Colson's Point, Placencia and Wildcane Cay
- Honduras:** Naco
- Guatemala:** Nito

A number of landings were only temporary shelters, or for small trade, and did not have storage facilities for distribution inland, such as: Xcaret, Xaac, Chakalal, Yakù; La Caleta, the later in Cozumel.

There are four types of ports that were not exclusive in their functions, and offered multiple services:

- 1.Commercial:** linked to inland routes for distribution during the Post-Classic. Clearly a number were predominant in trade and control specific markets and goods.
- 2.Transit:** dedicated specifically to either transfer loads inland or to another port for ongoing transport, among which are: Xicalango, Canbalam, Isla Cerritos, Chiquila, Ecab, Xelhá, Marco Gonzalez, Wild Cane Cay and Nito.
- 3.Feeder:** for people and trade, dedicated to supply off shore islands, such as: Xcaret and Playa del Carmen for Cozumel, El Meco for Isla Mujeres, and Chiquila-*Conil* for Isla Holbox
- 4.Links to major inland cities or chiefdoms:** Isla Cerritos for Chichen Itza and Izamal; Xelhá and Tankah for Cobá, Canbalam-*Chunchucmil*, Emal, El Cuyo-*Chauaca*; and Marlowe Cay for Altùn Ha (Belize), and many others from secondary landing points.

Annex - 5

Merchants, Travelers, Products and Trade Items

Ilustracion, Raul Velasquez Olivera

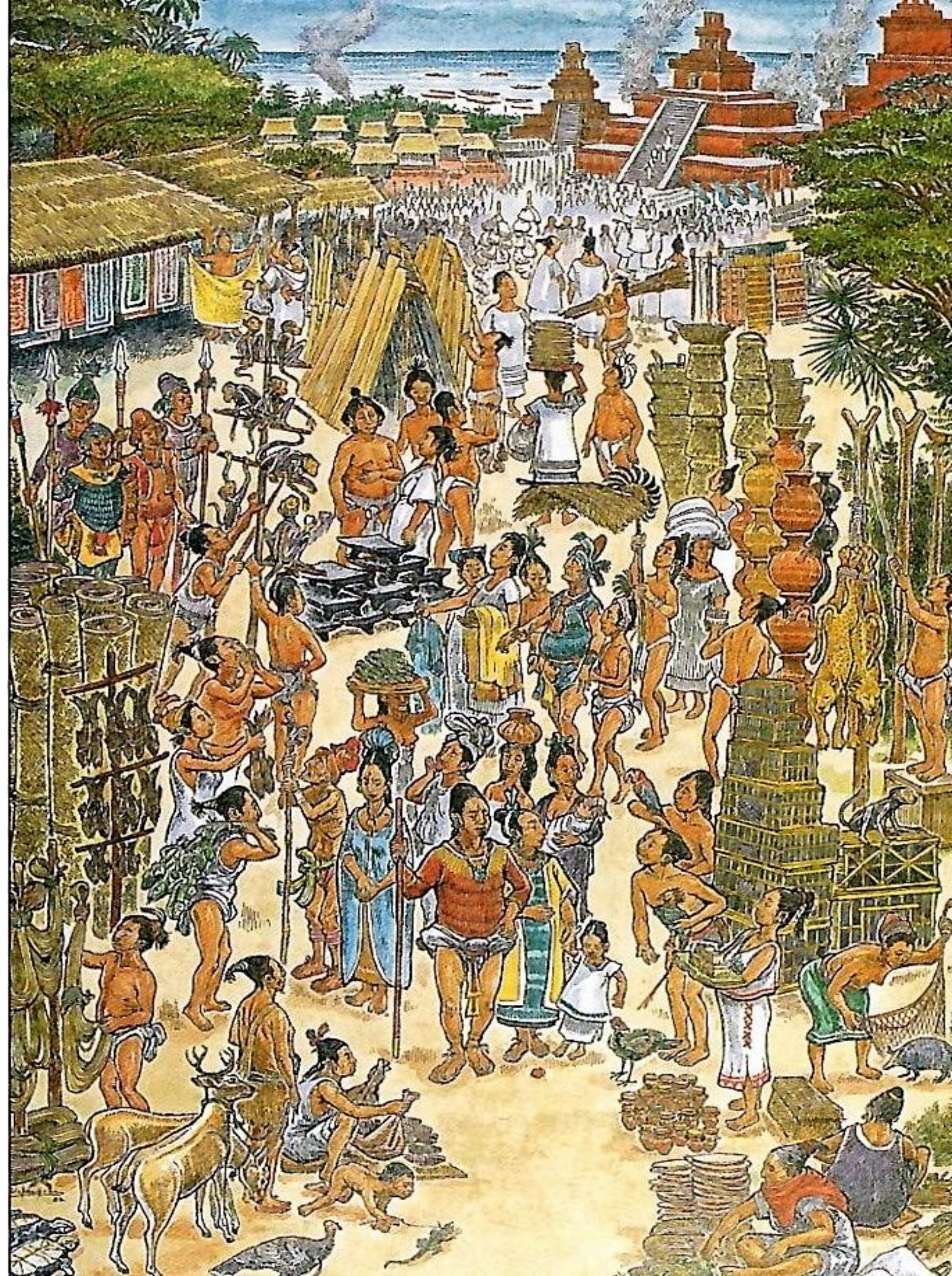
Courtesy Raices in Arqueologia Mexicana, 54:43

Trade in the **Maya** world is traced back to the **Pre-Classic**. It was always very active and, as expected, intensely competitive among chiefdoms during **Classic** times. In the years of the **Post-Classic**, it was dynamic and widespread. **Fray Diego de Landa** observed “...the activity they most dedicate themselves are in the markets, selling apparels, salt, and slaves to the lands of Ulua or Tabasco; bartering with cacao beans and fine stones, their currency, and buying everything for immediate use or future barter”.

Who were the **Maya** merchants the *p’oloms*? Records show that they spanned from individuals carrying a backpack with few items to large traders, equipped with canoe fleets and numerous slaves carrying loads over long distances. Most of the trade was transported over waters, rivers and coastal routes for hundred of miles. Long distance traders were, as a rule, members of the nobility, since they not only traded, but could also be ambassadors and spies for their Lord. Their **Aztec** counterparts were the *pochtecas*.

A large number of products were traded over long distances. Most of the obsidian in the Low Lands came from the Central Plateau around Puebla, Hidalgo and Michoacan, as well as Belize. *Manos* and *metates* of basalt came from Veracruz and Guatemala. Fine ceramic wares, like the *Orange* and *Fine Gray*, came from Tabasco and southwest Campeche. Artifacts of gold and copper came from Central America and Panama. Turquoise from northern Mexico; as well as today’s Arizona and New Mexico. Jade came from the upper **Motagua** river valley in Guatemala. Items from the Central Plateau were sent to Belize around the **Yucatán** peninsula.

Markets took place daily in **Mayan** cities and towns’ central plazas, and were efficiently organized. Overseers controlled buyers and sellers, settled arguments, ensured that regulations were observed and levied taxes. A merchant or person caught stealing from a stall or storehouse, would be sentenced to death (Sabloff 54:43).



Annex.6 - Water Supply: *Chultùn* and *Buk'te*

Water in central and northern *Yucatán* is scarce during the dry season. The peninsula lacks rivers and relies on *cenotes*, or sinkholes, and hand dug small wells to tap the water table 5 to 10 feet underground, even lower in other parts of the state.

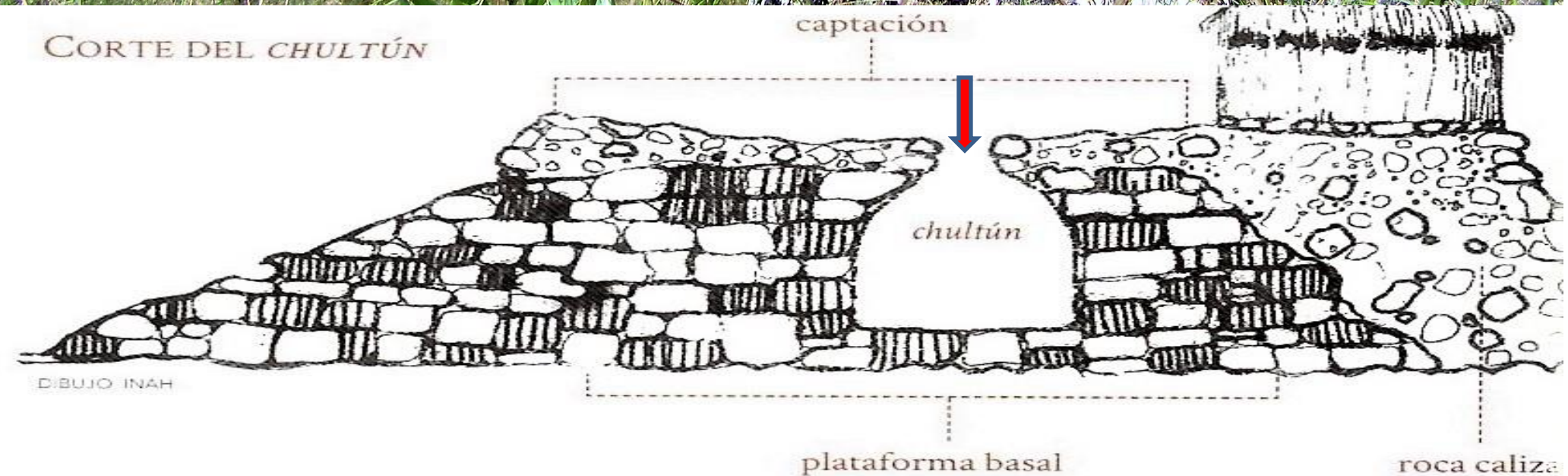
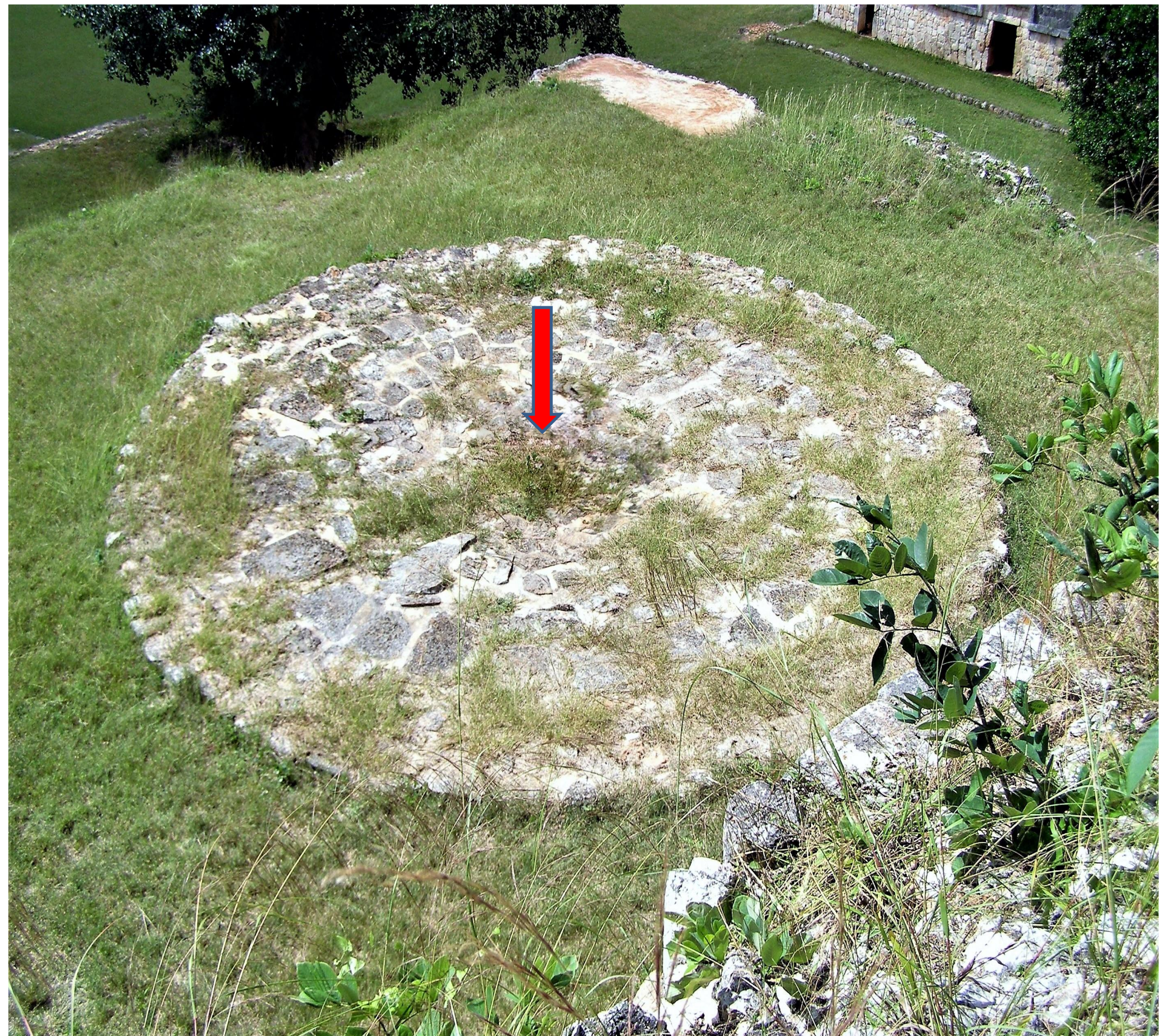
The other water supply is of course the rain season, for both human consumption and gardens. The problem is that seasonal rains are not constant in their frequency nor volume. The answer to this dilemma by communities then was two fold: 1. build *chultunes* (plural for *chultún*) described below and, 2. *aguadas*, large surface areas prepared to receive rain fall.

A typical *chultún* is shown at right. The drawing below shows the underground rocky structure and catchment area on the surface.

Capture was done through a slightly concave lime plastered area that covered level spaces of buildings or plazas, with a central catchment: the *chultún*. The catchment circular area was level with its surroundings, the floor declination then channeled rain water toward its opening at the center of the catchment (arrows).

The *chultún* underground structure is a bottle shaped cistern, built into excavated limestone rock. Lime stucco covered the inside walls to prevent water leakage (drawing).

Aguadas or *buk'te*: the *Mayas*, took advantage of natural terrain depressions where water flowed naturally. A clay and stone floor was built, once the top layer was removed, then left to dry in the sun for a water tight area. The *buk'te* allowed, in line with the surface of the catchment area, to store a fairly large amount of water. Availability however was subject to the length and severity of the dry seasons, as well as the amount of rain preceding them.



A n n e x . 7

Courtesy, Monclém Ediciones SA, 2006:9

CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE					
YEARS	PERIOD	CITIES			CHARACTERISTICS
2500 B.C.	LOWER PRE-CLASSIC	PROTOMAYA			<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Division into Huastecos and Mayas• First ceramics
1200 B.C. 400 B.C.	MIDDLE PRE-CLASSIC	D Z I B I L C H A L T Ú N	<div><div>K A M I N A L J U Y Ú</div><div>C A L A K M U L</div><div>P A L E N Q U E</div><div>B O N A M P A K</div><div>T I K A L</div><div>R I O B E C</div></div>		<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Population increase• First cities
200 A.D.	UPPER PRE-CLASSIC				<ul style="list-style-type: none">• More complex ceremonial centers• Clear social division• Beginning of polychrome ceramics
600 A.D.	EARLY CLASSIC				<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Beginning of the dynasties. Splendor of the Classic period
800 A.D.	LATE CLASSIC				<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Consolidation of dynasties• Beginning and development of major wars
900 A.D.	END CLASSIC				<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Important contacts with groups from Central Mexico
1250 A.D.	EARLY POST-CLASSIC	T U L U M	CHICHÉN ITZÁ	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Power of Chichén Itzá• Fall of Uxmal	
1521 A.D.	LATE POST-CLASSIC		MAYAPÁN MANÍ	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Mayapán, last great domain of centralized power	

Annex . 8

Paul Shellhas Maya Gods Classification, 1904 – A *Brief Description*

Courtesy in Mary Miller and Karl Taube, 1993:146-148

During the pioneering efforts of the late 19th century, researchers faced a complex and poorly understood array of supernatural beings in the three ancient Maya codices, the Dresden, Paris and Madrid. Paul Shellhas, was the first to identify systematically the various gods and accompanying name glyphs, found in these **Post-Classic** screenfolds, organized and labelled the various gods to the Latin Alphabet. Beginning with A, each isolated god was thus provided with a letter designation.

God.A – *Yum Kimil* Maya god of death and the Maya *Metnal*, the Aztec, *Mictlan*.

God.A' – Is a distinct death god from God.A; it is a deity of violent sacrifice.

God.B – The Post-Classic form of *Cha'ak*, Maya god of rain, lightning and thunder.

God.C – *K'u* or *Ch'u* is a personification of the sacred in both Classic and Post-Classic

God.D – The great god of creation, *Itzamná*, also god of divination and writing.

God.E – God of mature maize ear *Hun'al Ye*, in both the Classic and Post-Classic.

God.F – No specific correlation, as is mixed with gods A', Q and J; still under study.

God.G – The sun god, commonly appears with the solar *kin* glyph; he is *Kinich Ahau*

God.H – A poorly understood youthful god, maybe a Maya version of the wind god.

God.CH – A Post-Classic for *Xbalanque*, one of the hero twins of the *Popol Vuh*.

Goddess.I – Identified as *Ix Chel*, the young moon goddess, of fertility and childbirth

God.K – Classic and Post-Classic, *God.II* lightning, and dynastic descent, the *K'awil*.

God.L – God of the underworld during Classic time; of traders and the *Muan Owl*.

God.M – *Ek'Chuak* the *Black Scorpion*, god of merchants; primarily Post-Classic.

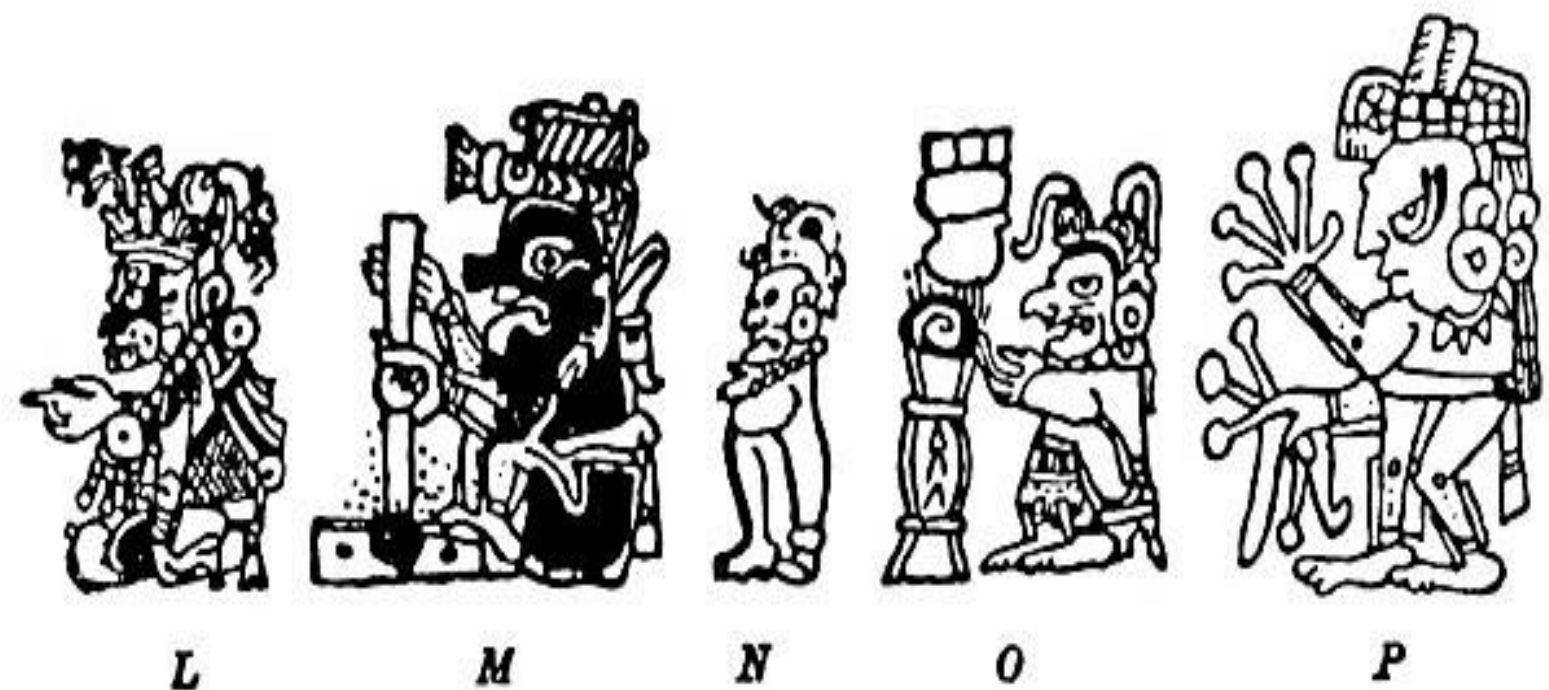
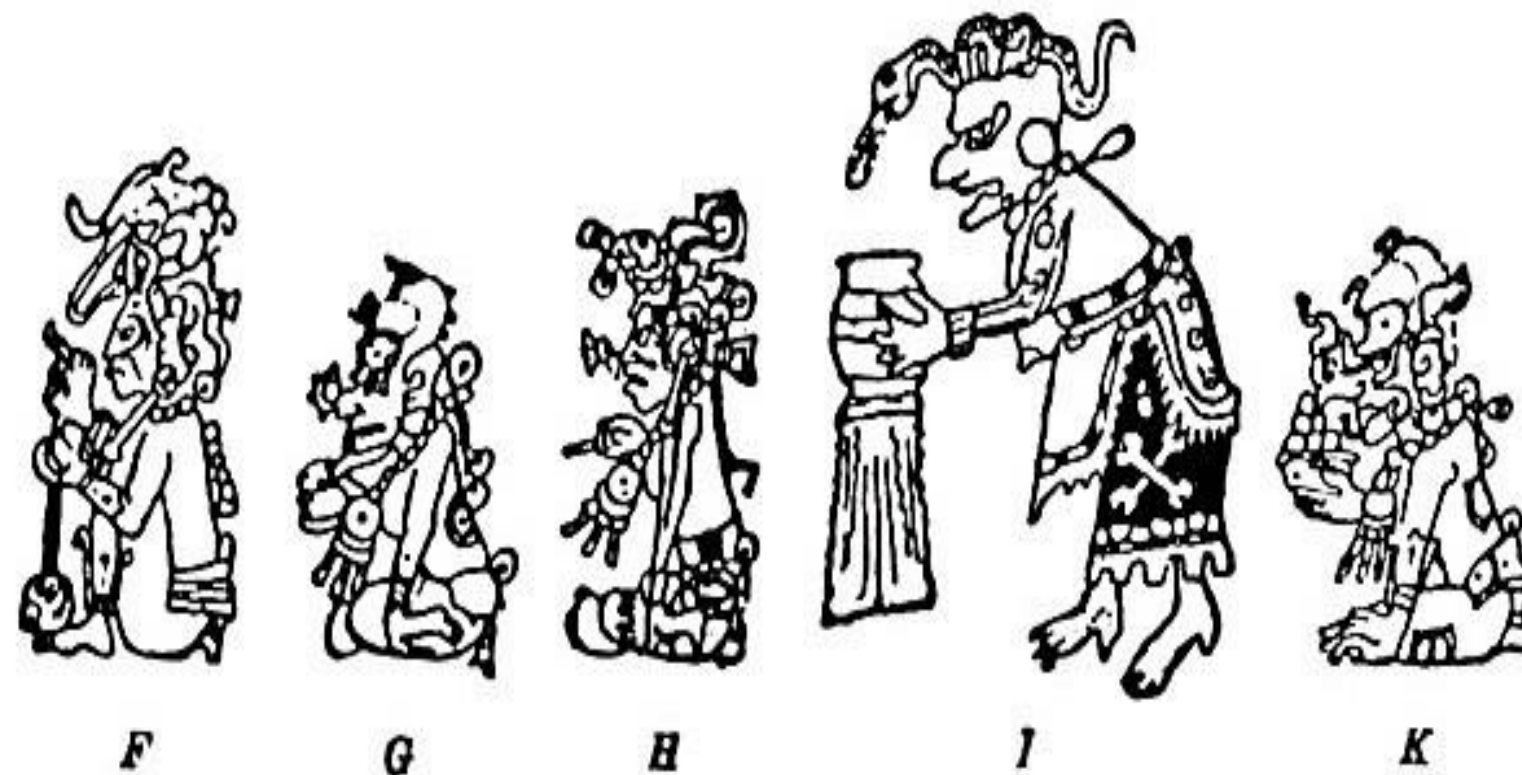
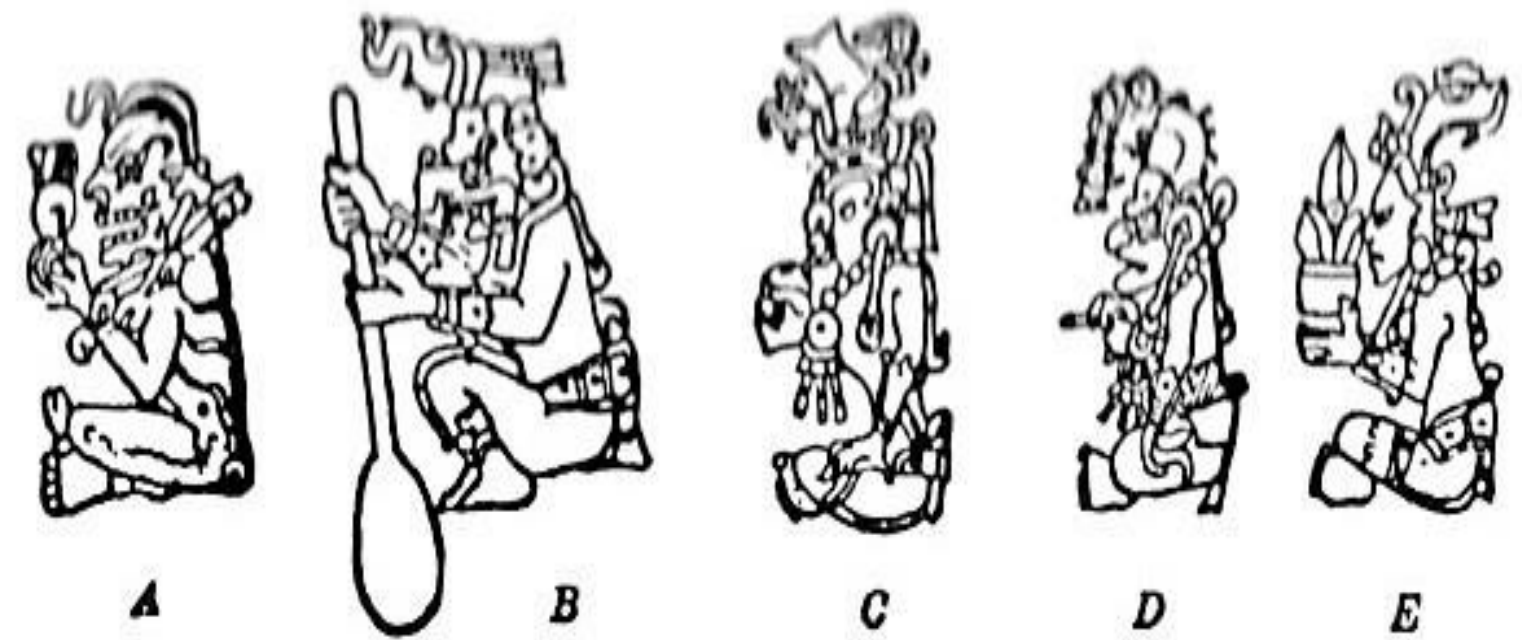
God.N – Quadripartite in nature, identified the *pauhtùn*, one of the sky bearers.

Goddess.O – An aged genitrix, with clawed hands and feet; a counter part to God.I

God.P – Appears only once in the Madrid codex; may be a version of God.N

God.Q – Deity of war, violent death and human sacrifices, may be related to God.A'

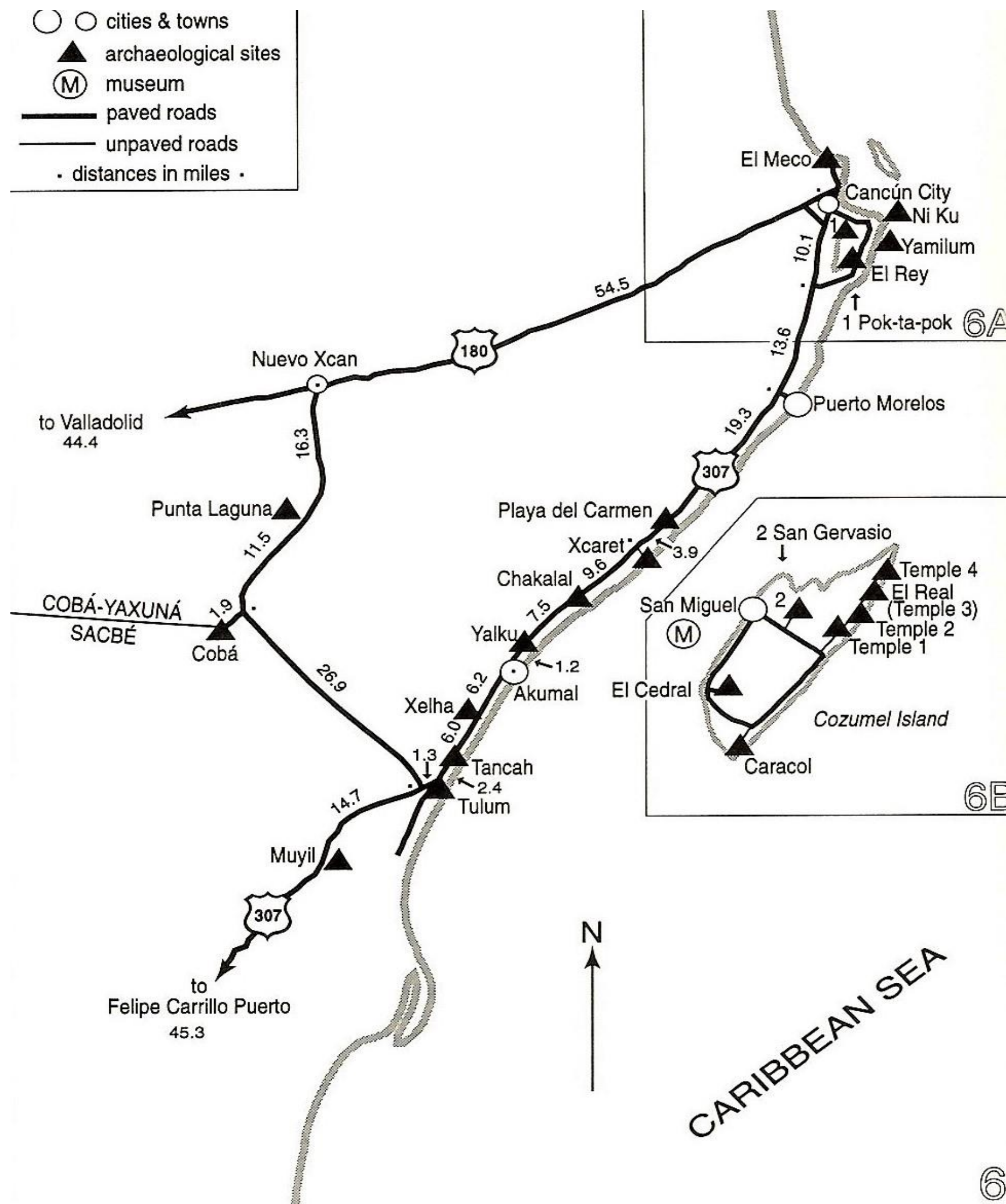
The Yucatec **Maya** often called a particular god by a number of epithets, and it is often difficult to select which term is the most appropriate. Recent research indicates that certain Postclassic codical gods, also appear in the Classic period.



A n n e x . 9

Itzá, Toltecs, Chichen Itzá, and Mayapán

- According to the Maya chronicles, the Maya Itzá (plural, *Itzaes*) a group of Maya that migrated from today's State of Tabasco to Yucatán. On their way North, they first stopped at Chakanputùn (today's Champotòn), on the Gulf of Mexico.
- Discord with local Maya societies, that described the Itzáes contemptuously as “*tricksters*”, the “*lewed ones*” and those “*with no mother and no father*” did not speak the local language, since the chronicles record them as “*people who use our tongue brokenly*”; the record indicates that they were unable, or unwilling, to assimilate into Yucatec Maya local culture.
- The Itzáes were forced to move North on the peninsula, *ca.* 1200-1220; the Tutul Xiu family-clan settled in the city of *Uuic Abnal*, (*seven bushes*), they renamed Chichen Itzá, or “*Mouth of the Well of the Itzaes*”, *ca.* 1224-1244; there they sanctified the main *cenote* (Maya - *dz'onot*), where archaeologists found numerous artifacts and human remains.
- Among other gods, the Itzáes worshipped Ix Chell, *Goddess I*, consort of Itzam'ná, god of creation, divination and writing, *God.D*.
- In 864-869 the Itzá ruler of the Tutul Xiu clan had moved to Uxmal, probably from Pontonchán, in Tabasco.
- The first Itzá group was the second foreign faction to settle in the Yucatán; they were followed by the Toltecs that migrated from the Central Plateau of Mexico, from Tula *ca.* 967-987; with them came Topiltzin the Tula Chico prince, associated with the deity Quetzalcoatl, in the Nahuatl language, and Kukulcán in Yucatec Maya; the Toltec migration was most probably triggered from extensive trade contacts through time; it was not a military invasion.
- Discord and antagonism arose between the Tutul Xiu and Chichen Itza's lord Ah Mec Cuc, the later plotted with Hunac Ceel (whom he threw in the cenote but the later survived and gained fame and lordship), went on to move to Mayapán, leaving the Tutul Xiu at Chichen Itzá; in 1285-1287, quarrel between the Cocom and the Tutul Xiu dynasts worsened, and ultimately triggered Chichen Itzá's downfall.
- The Cocom hired an army from Tabasco, led by Hunac Ceel (aka Cauic), who worked for both factions for a time but settled for the Cocom; the soldiers were probably Toltecs armed with superior weapons, the bow and arrow among others that first appears on the peninsula at that time; their skills with the *atlatl*, spear thrower, and exceptional tactical prowess, succeeded in the capture of Chichen Itzá, witness the frescoes of the battles in the Temple of the Warriors.
- The Tutul Xiu were driven from their city and settled near the ruins of Uxmal, nursing their hatred through several generations, until they got their chance; Ah Xupan, Tutul Xiu lord, plotted with nobles, that had no filiation to rise up against the Cocom dynasts; every noble of the Cocom were slaughtered *ca.* 1441-1461, except one who was in Honduras on a trade mission (aka business trip); Mayapán was destroyed and left to decay; the fall of the city marked the rise of petty states.
- *Notes: dates are based on sources such as the Chilam Balam de Chumayel, of Mani and other post-contact documents; the archaeological record, notably ceramics, also help in correlations but do not always coincide; a work in progress. (Phillips+Jones 2011:96-97)*



Annex . 10

From, *An Archaeological Guide to Mexico's Yucatán Peninsula* by, Joyce Kelly
 Courtesy, University of Oklahoma Press, Norman, OK. 1993:302

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- **Photos:** Unless otherwise specified are ©GFery

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