#### ALLER KINGS MEN? POLITICAL CHANGE, COURTLY ELITES, AND URBAN LANDSCAPE IN CLASSIC MAYA SOCIETY

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POLITICAL ANTHROPOLOGY OF ARCHAIC AND TRADITIONAL SOCIETIES: CONTEMPORARY APPROACHES

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# **This presentation**

- The royal court model and the ancient Maya cities
- The place of sub-royal households in a courtly urban landscape
- The historical context of Holmul and La Sufricaya
- Sub-royal elite residences at La Sufricaya (some preliminary data)



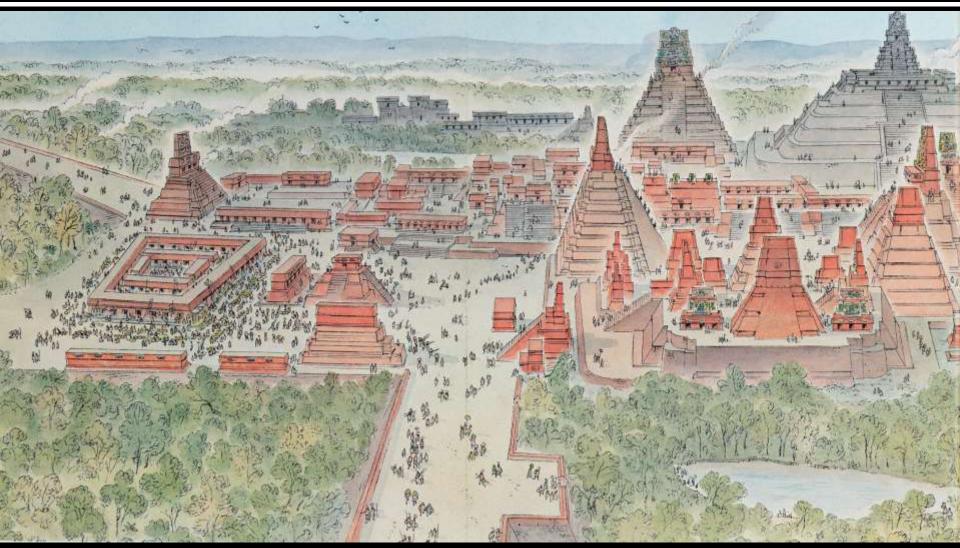
Bonampak Str. 1 murals

# What is a court?

- Place + people + practices
- Centered on the ruler
- Royal household



# Just a house, only bigger...



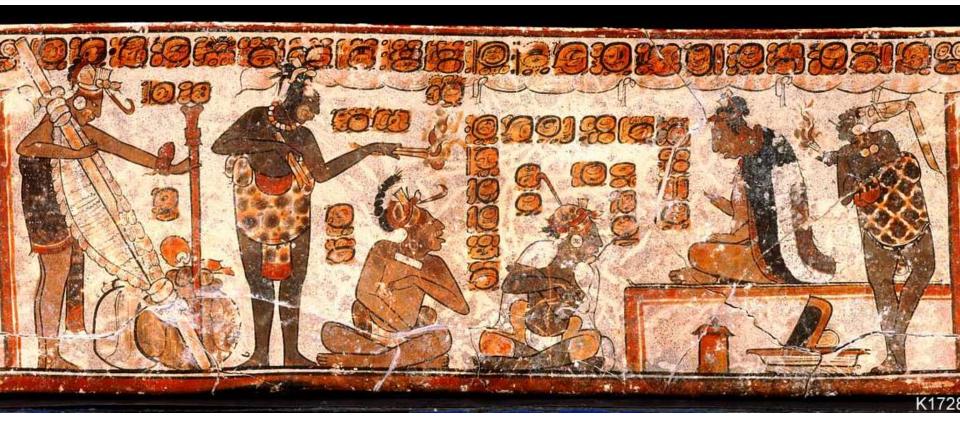
#### View of the center of Tikal

# Places of tension and paradox

- Information flow vs. privilege
- Family-like and yet mostly of people with no blood ties to each other
- Hoarding treasure and giving it away as gifts
- Opportunity and danger

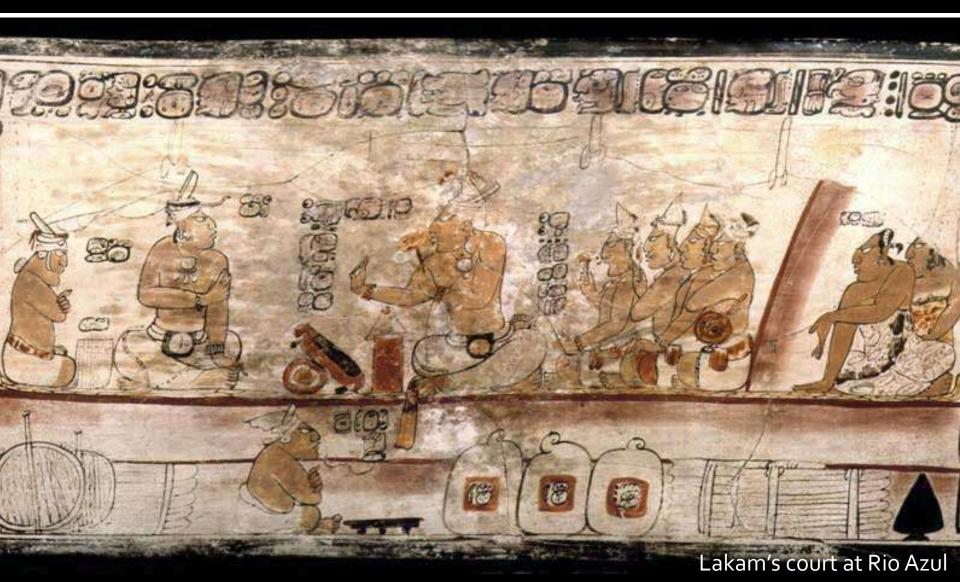


# Household of a king

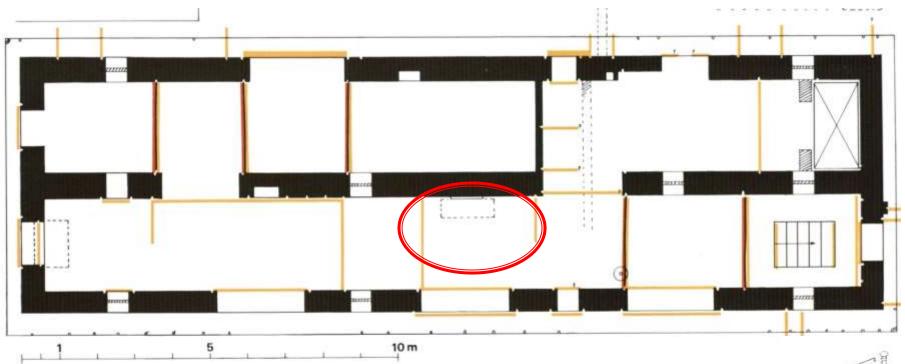


Motul de San Jose royal court

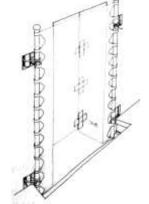
#### Household of a district tax collector



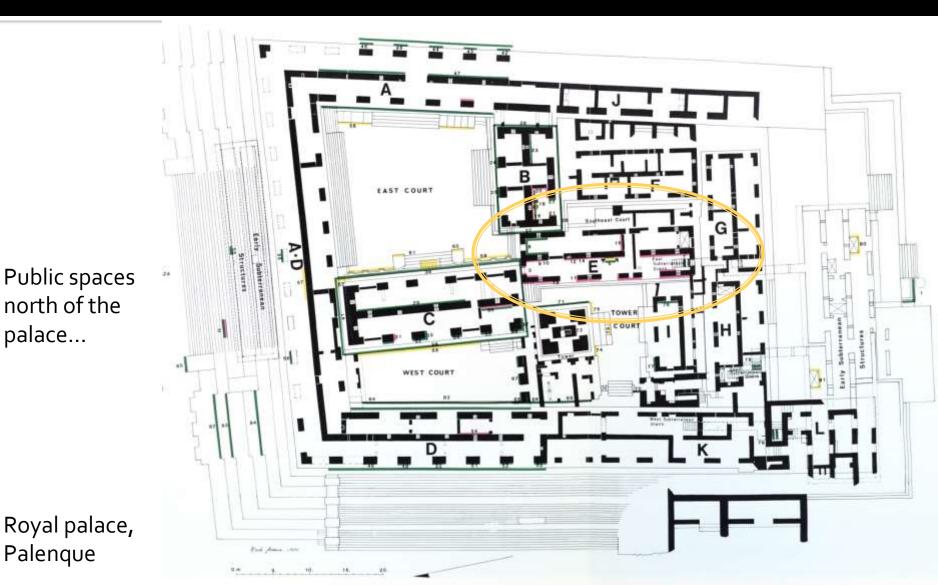
# **Throne hall**



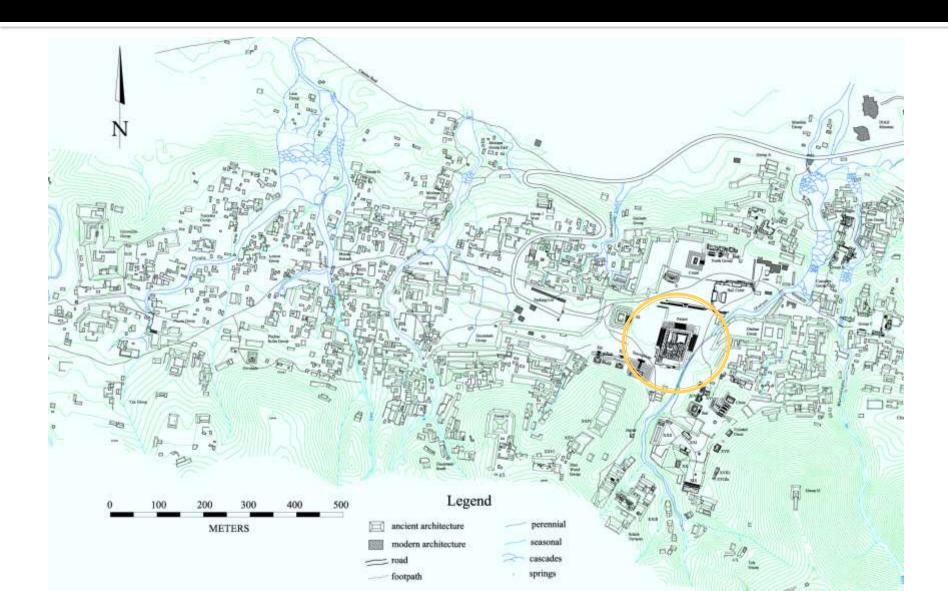
House E, Palenque



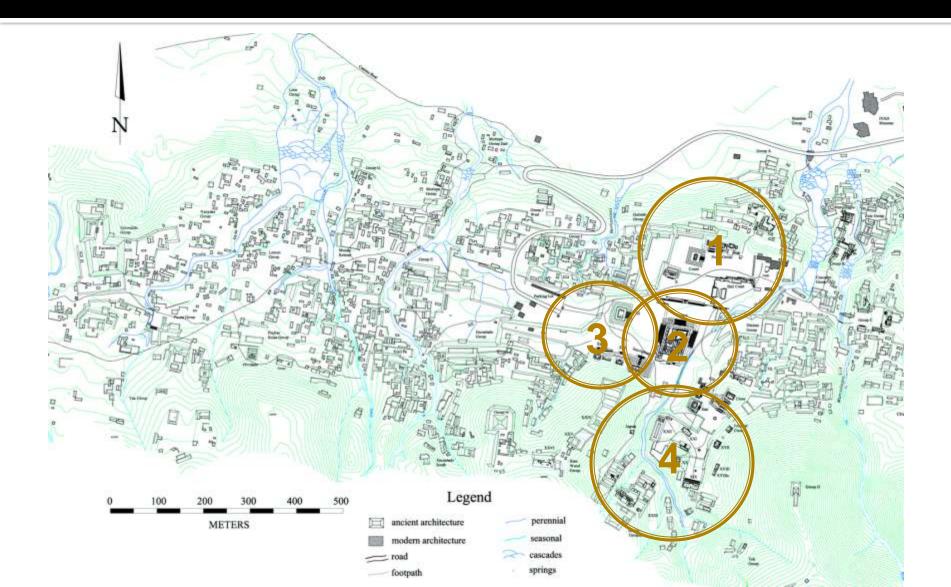
# Throne hall > palace



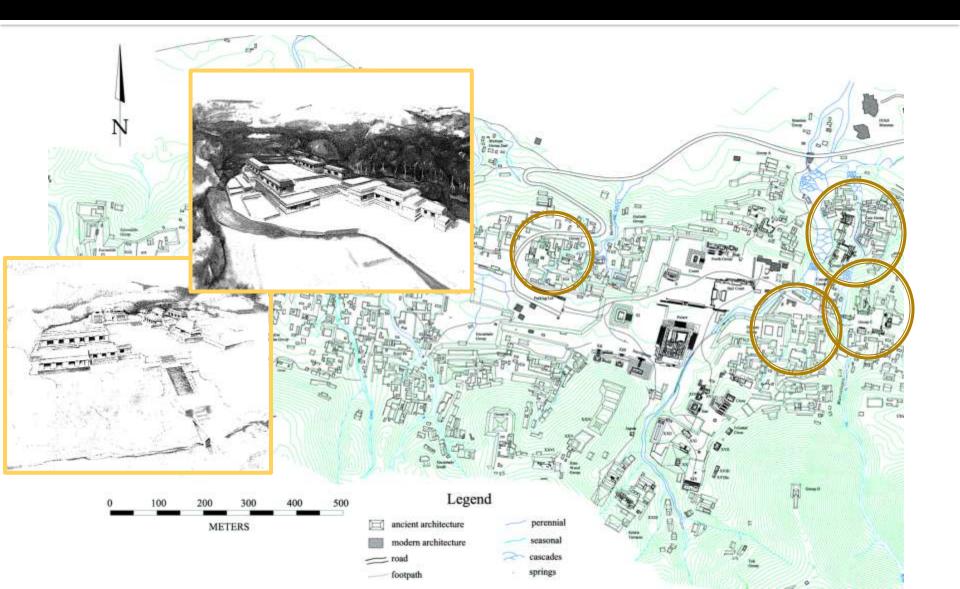
# Throne hall > palace > city



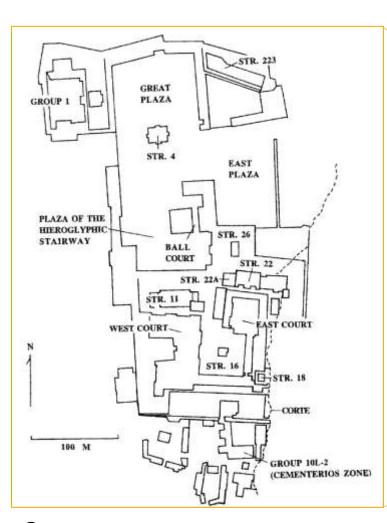
#### Palenque: 1) public spaces; 2) palace; 3) ancestral tombs; 4) temples of the gods

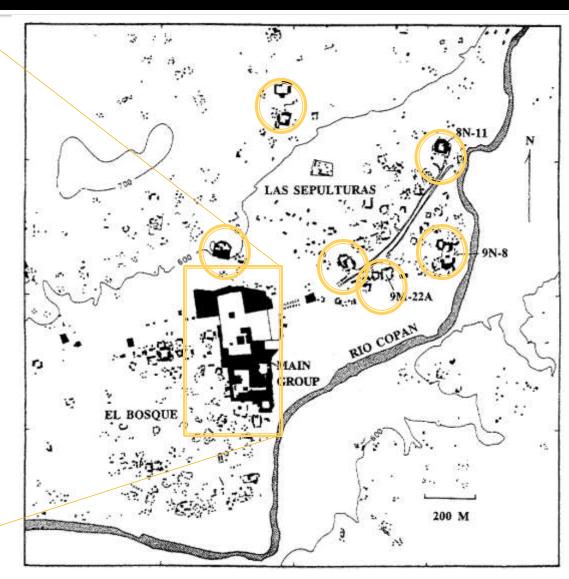


#### Palenque: 5) residencies of courtiers



# Throne hall > palace > city





Copan

# Replication



FIGURE 5.6 Group 10L-2, Copan; royal compound attached to southern edge of Acropolis. Courtesy of E. Wyllys Andrews V.

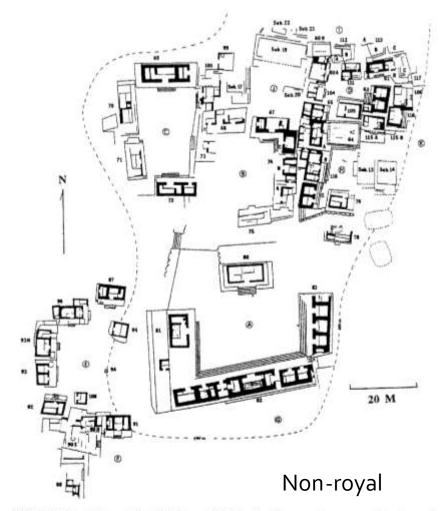
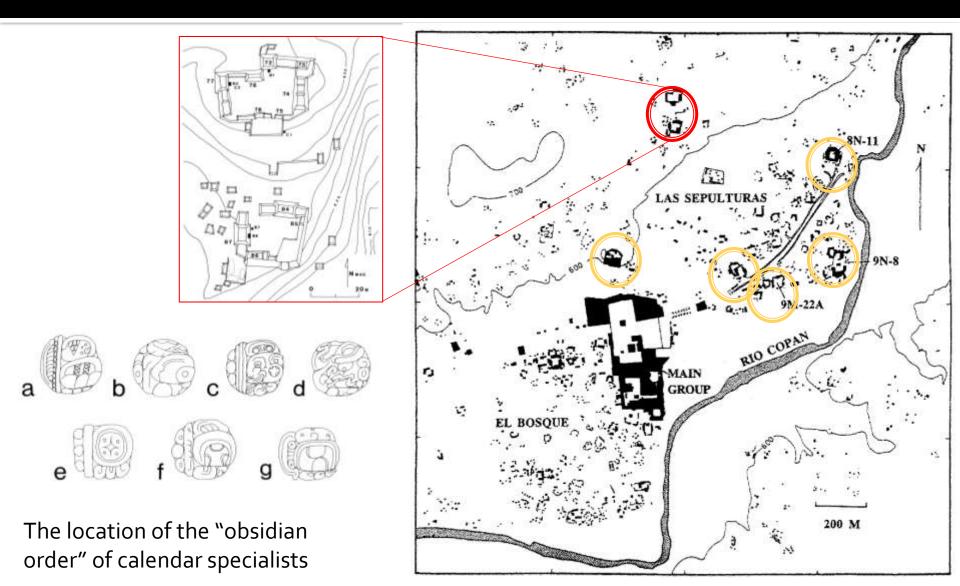
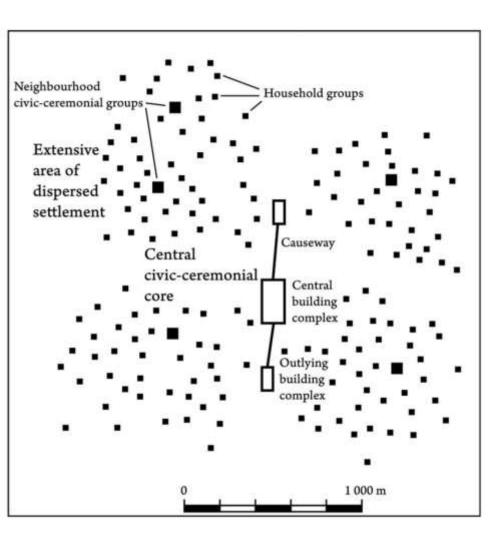


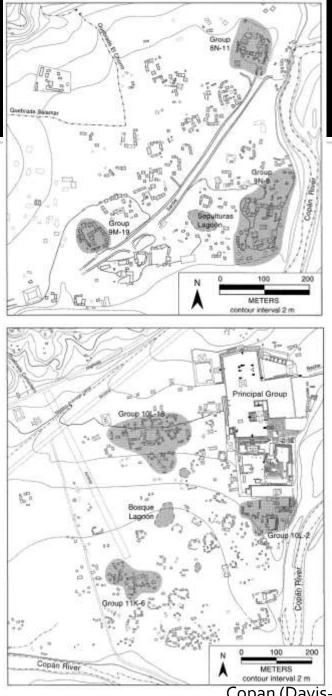
FIGURE 5.7 Elite residential Group 9N-8 in the Copan urban core. Courtesy of David Webster.

# Not always....



## Low-density urbanism

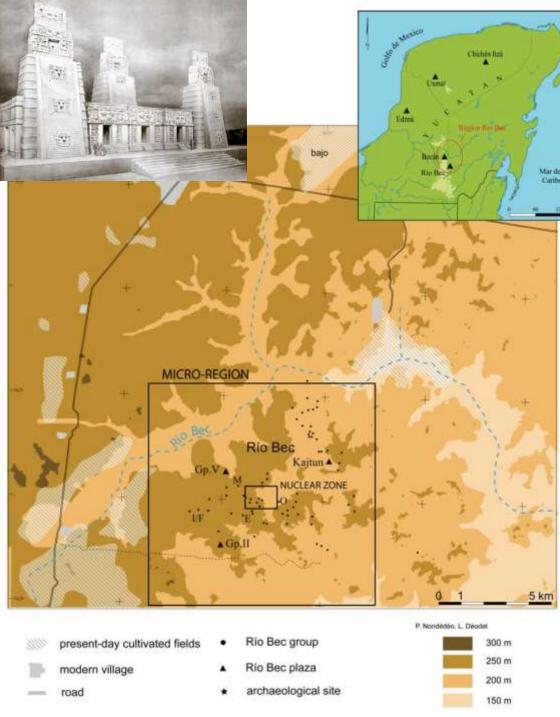




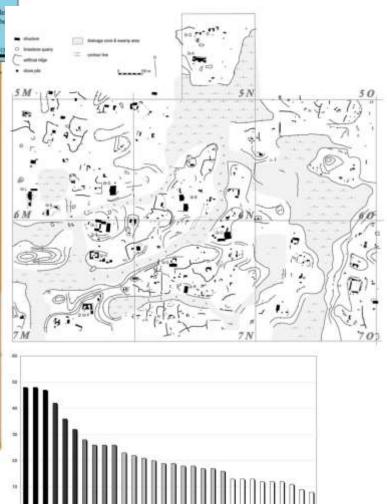
Copan (Davis-Salazar 2003)

## Maya cities in the courtly paradigm

- No cities, no courts (Rio Bec)
- Cities, no courts (Chunchucmil)
- Cities, courts (low density)
- Cities, megacourts (Tikal, Calakmul)



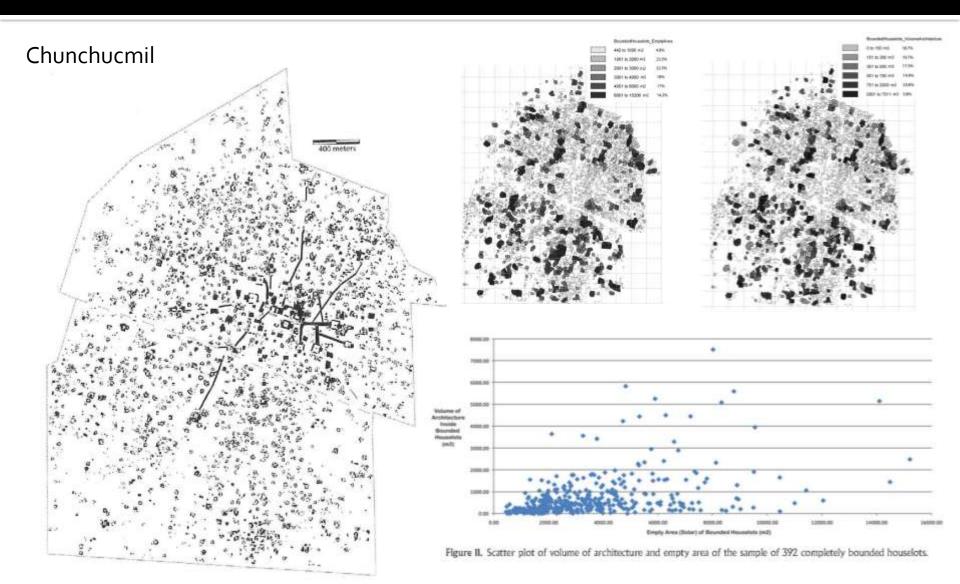
#### Rio Bec: a region with no cities and no courts



Pipters 5. Ratio-order of 32 solutioni proaps in the 100 km<sup>2</sup> entro-orgine. Chart by Philippe Norelddio.

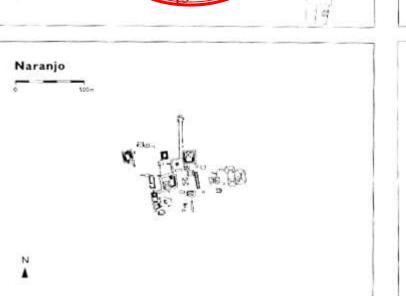
5.8.1

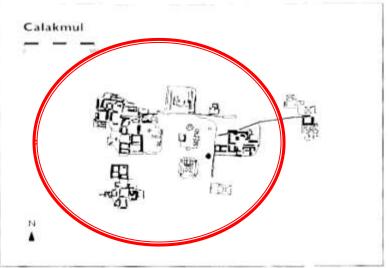
#### A city without a court: Chunchucmil

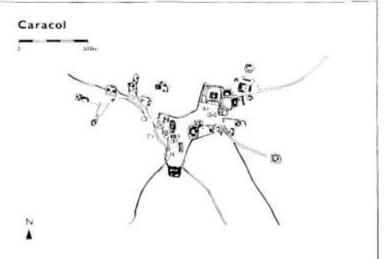


### Megacourts (megapalaces)

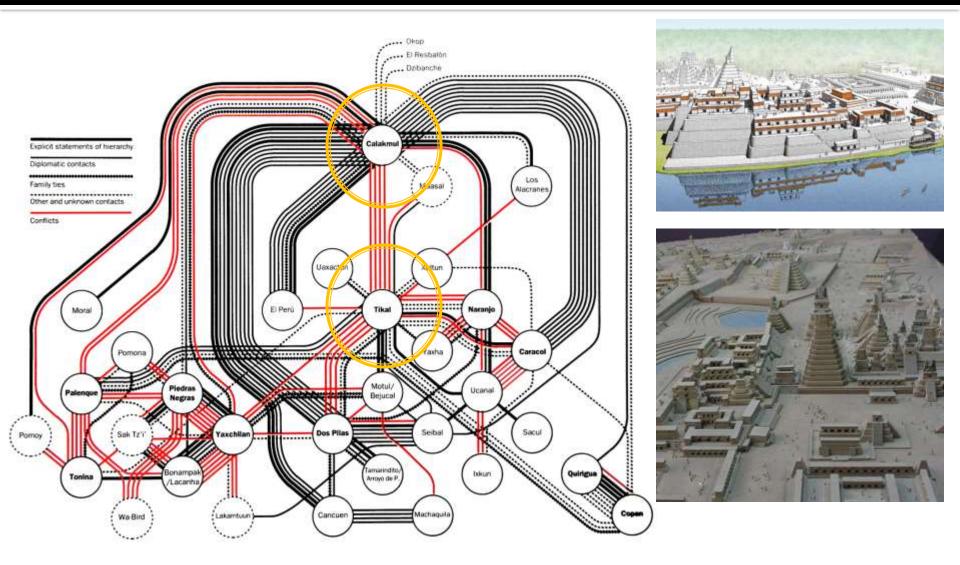








#### Megastates = megacourts



### A synchronic view of sub-royal elites

- Spatial proximity to the royal household
- Spatial proximity to the public spaces
- Possession of special items / knowledge
- Production of special items / knowledge

# **Courtly officials: similar numbers**

- Motul de San Jose: 3 ajk'uhuun officials, 3 lakam officials
- Yaxchilan: ~6 sajal officials, 1 ajk'uhuun
- Piedras Negras: ~5 sajal officials, 1 ajk'uhuun
- Bonampak: ~5 *sajal* officials, 1 *lakam*

#### Aguateca: a perfect synchronic view



#### Special possessions and knowledge

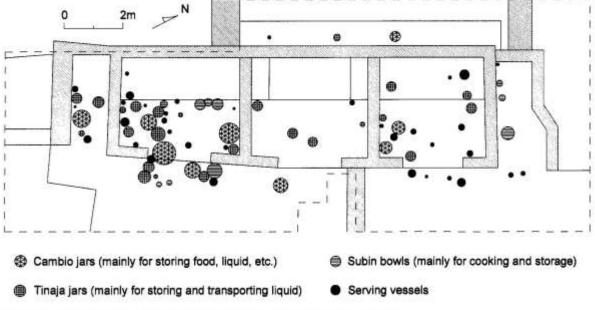
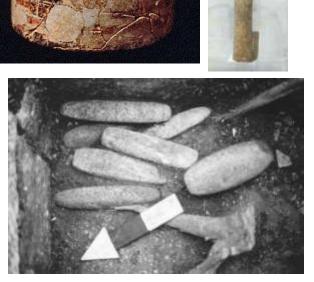


Figure 5. Distribution of ceramic vessels in Str. M8-10. The sizes of symbols are to scale.

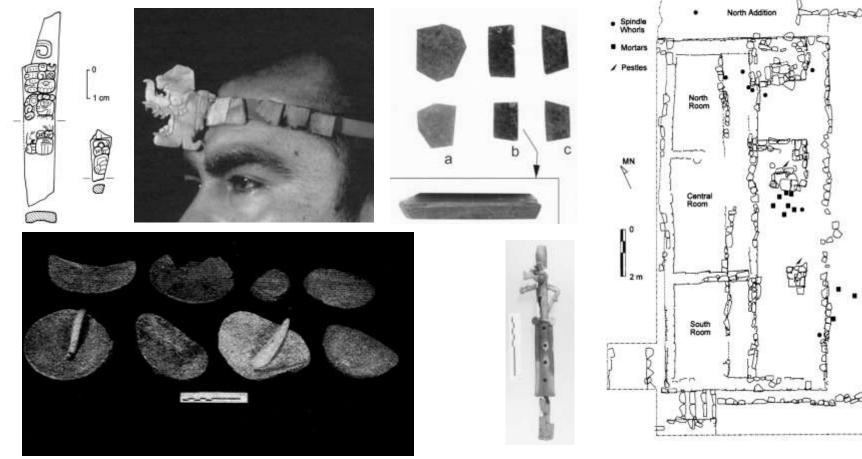






#### **Production of inequality**

#### Str M8-4 and its artifact assemblage



Mortars for pigment preparation (Str M8-4)

(Str M8-4)

MODER

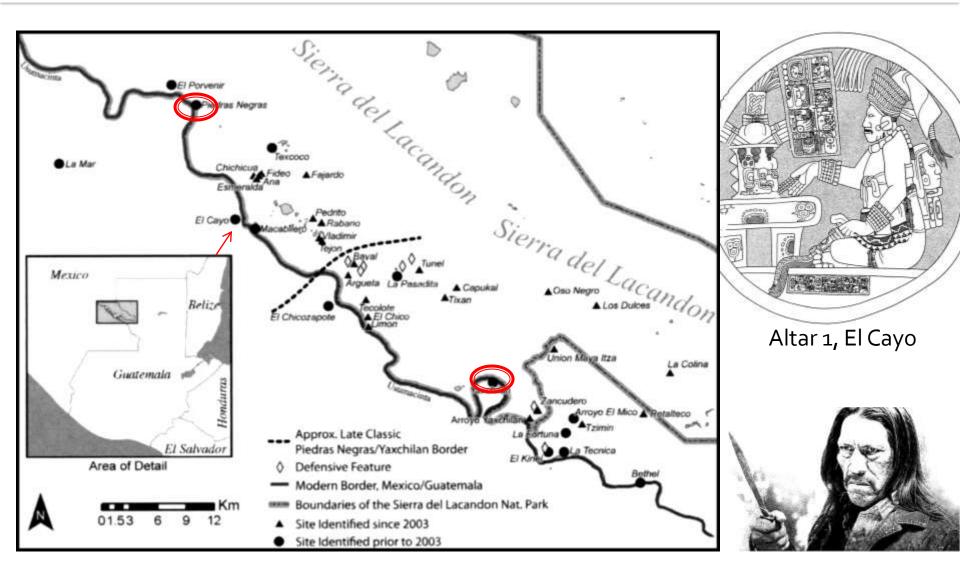
### A diachronic view of sub-royal elites

- Sub-royal dynasties
- Accumulation of power/wealth at the expense of the royal household
- Greater spatial distance from the royal court
  => greater threat to the court

#### Sub-royal dynasties: the case of El Cayo

- (1) d' Ochnal K'uti[im] = Q Ix Baah Ajaw
- (2) ♂ Aj Chak Wayaab K'utiim (birth, September
  1, 664) = ♀?
- (3) d Aj Chak "Bat" K'utiim (accession, June 1, 763) = Q Ix Yuknoom Ch'e'n Joob or Ix Joob (birth, ?March 3, 731)
- (4) Chan Panak Wayaab (birth, June 29, 755) = 9
  ?
- (5) Aj Yax "Bat," active in 795

# Managing the realms



### **References to Maya nobles**

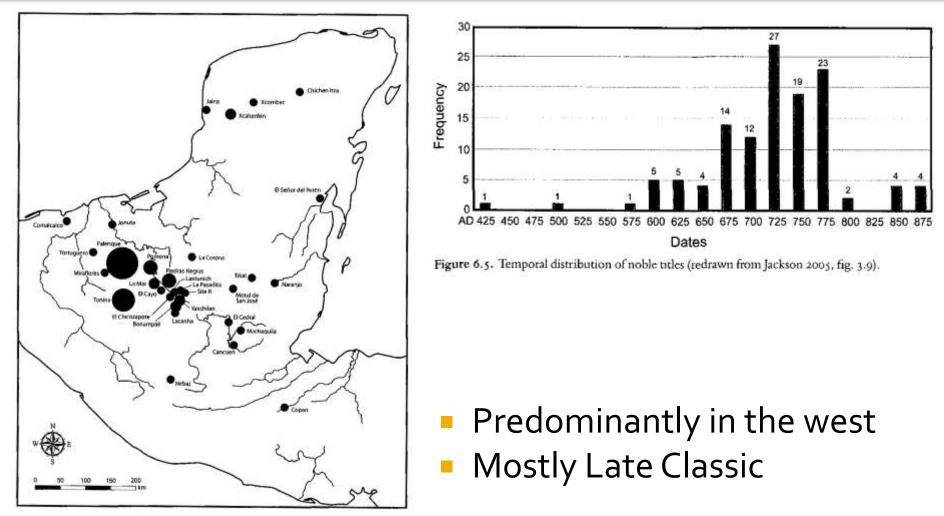
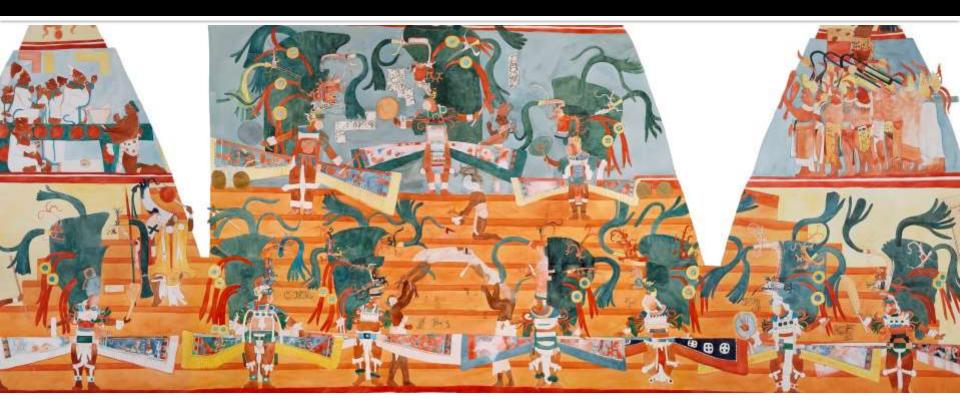


Figure 6.4. Spatial distribution of noble titles with circles corresponding proportionately to number of occurrences (redrawn from Jackson 2005, fig 3.5).

# **Classic Maya moral communities**

- Responsibility to gods, kin, and ancestors
- A covenant with gods who made human flesh (phagiohierarchy with gods on top and humans in the middle)
- Shared practice and restricted special knowledge
- Congregational nature of moral communities with an emphasis on public rituals and events

# One big happy family





# Greater spatial distance from the court => collapse of Piedras Negras and Yaxchilan

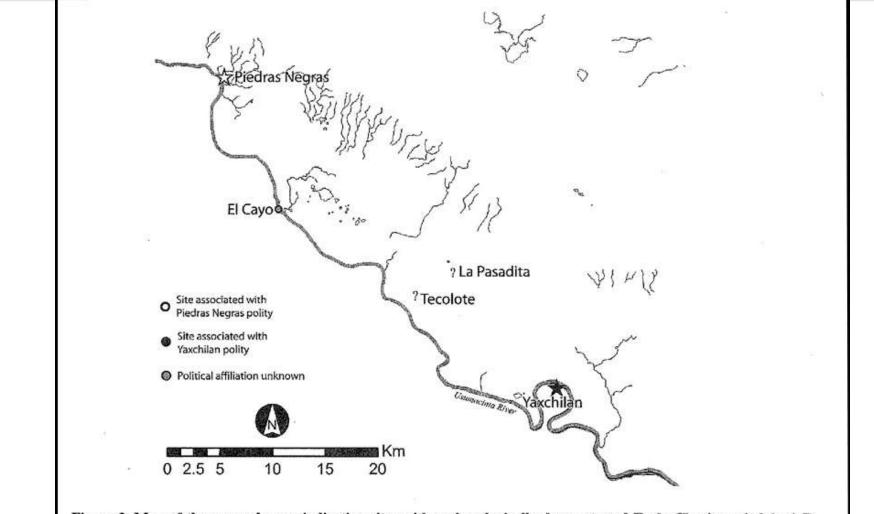


Figure 3. Map of the research area indicating sites with archaeologically demonstrated Early Classic period (c. A.D. 350–600) construction. Sites indicated by question marks yielded Early Classic materials in cave deposits not directly associated with architecture.

# Greater spatial distance from the court => collapse of Piedras Negras and Yaxchilan

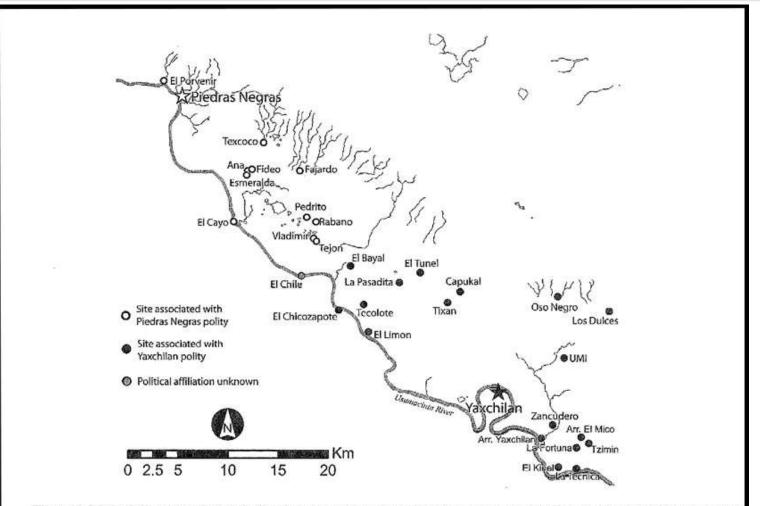
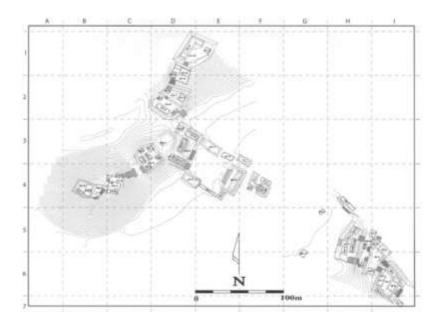


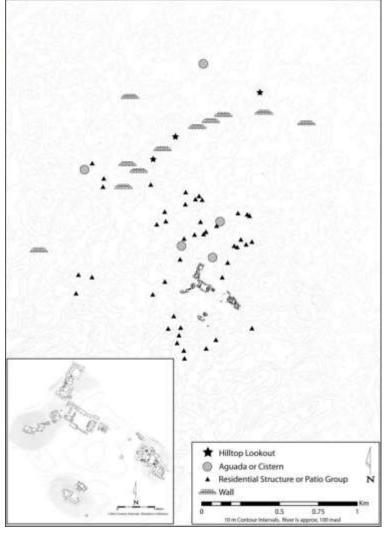
Figure 4. Map of the research area indicating sites with archaeologically demonstrated Late or Terminal Classic period (c. A.D. 600–930) construction or surface deposits.

# Yaxchilan secondary centers: the seeds of self-destruction



Figure 8. Eastern façade of Structure D3-1 at the site of Tecolote (photo by Arlen Heginbotham).





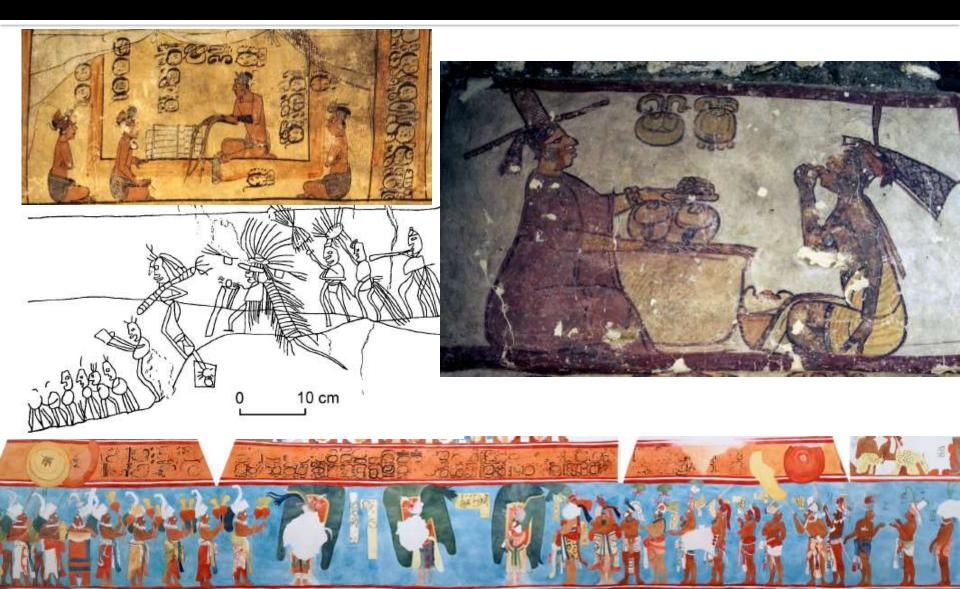
# Individuals vs. dividuals



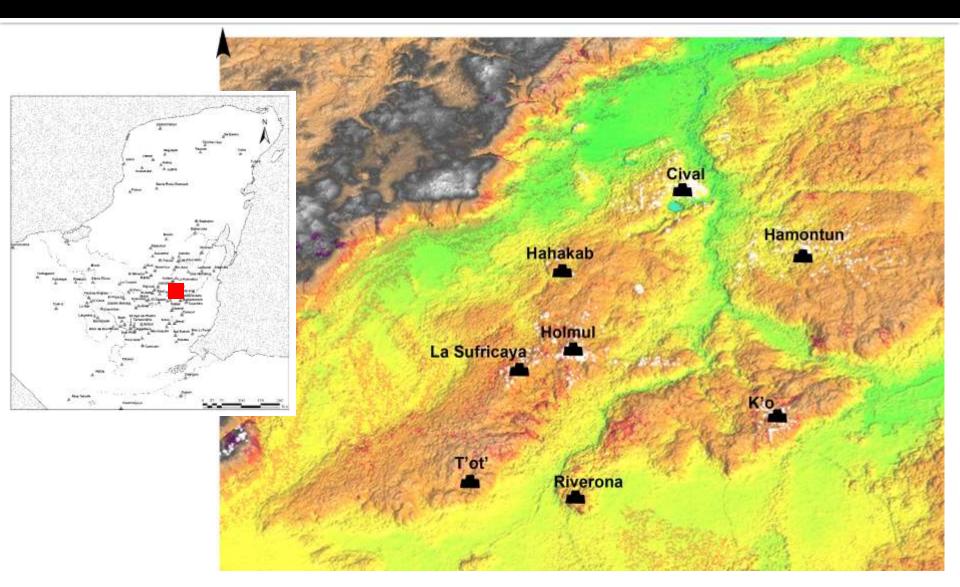
Codex Laud, Page 27

Early Classic Maya vessel

#### **Dividuals and trust**



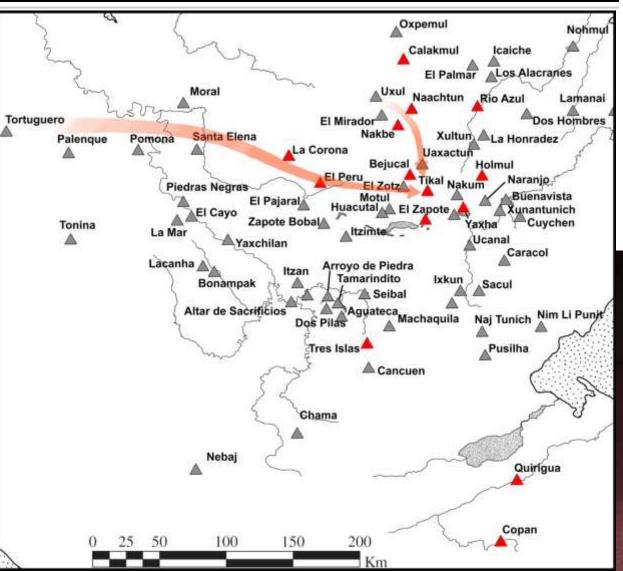
# **Case study: the Holmul Region**



# Holmul (dynastic) timeline

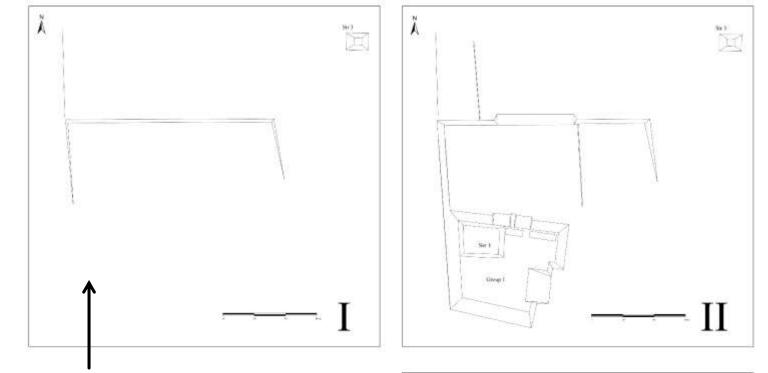
- Formative > Early Classic: power and population shift from Cival to Holmul (Group II, Holmul)
- 379 C.E. a new palace is built at La Sufricaya; the local family is part of the new regional order
- ~550s C.E. the royal residence moves back to Group II, Holmul (Group I by early 600-s); dynastic union with Naranjo and subordination to the Kaanu'l royal family
- 626-640 C.E. Naranjo wars and the Kaanu'l dynastic war
- 682-710s C.E. crisis and recovery at Naranjo
- 744-748 C.E. Tikal conquers Naranjo and Holmul
- 780-820s C.E. Naranjo as a regional power
- 830+ C.E. Naranjo collapses

# Teotihuacan entrada



- Sihyaj K'ahk'
- 1<sup>st</sup> arrival in 378 C.E.
- Yax Nuun Ahiin & Wiinte' Naah
- 2<sup>nd</sup> arrival in 406 C.E.
  after Yax Nuun
  Ahiin's death

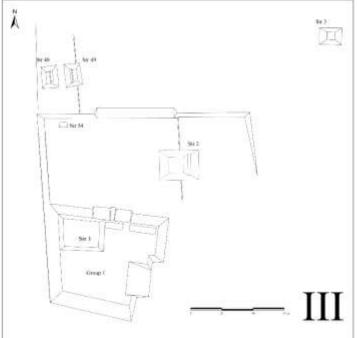




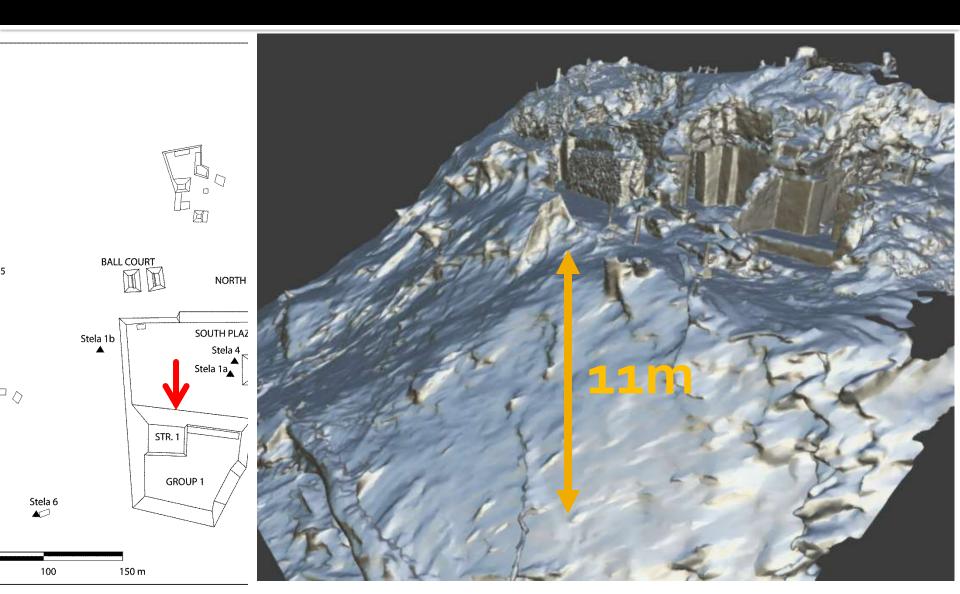
A construction phase with no occupation?

#### **Building La Sufricaya:**

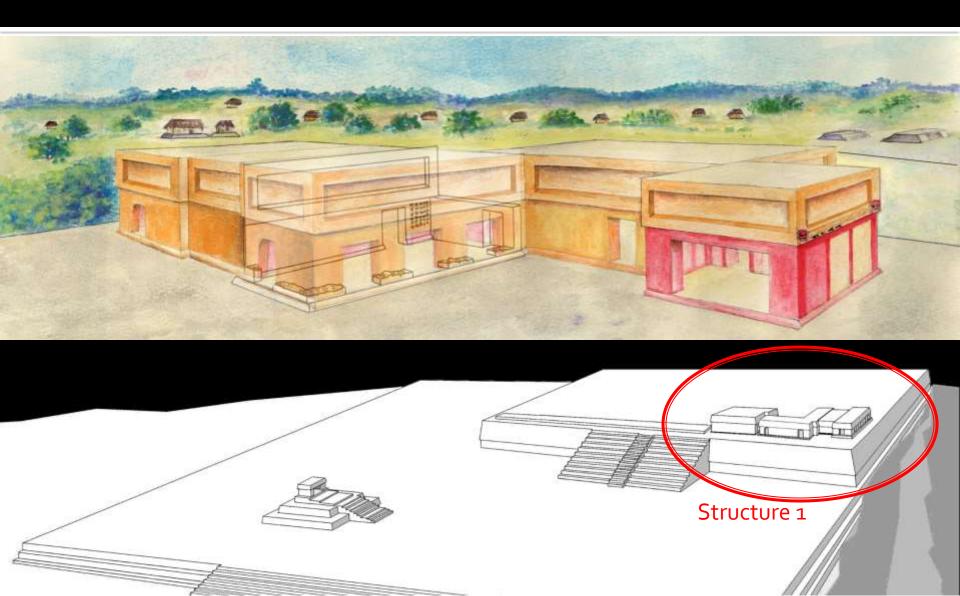
~45,000 m<sup>3</sup> if 50% is a modified hill ~170,000 person-days ~470 people to build it in a year <5,000 total population in the region



#### La Sufricaya: Group 1



# The story of La Sufricaya



# Mural 7





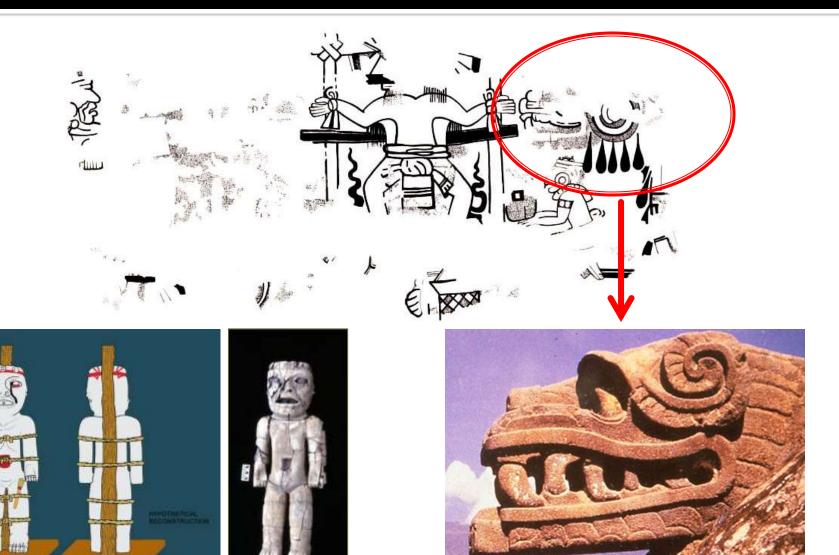
# Murals 1-2: an image of a city?



IDEM

Balaismyn, Stewarturgd. 1912 - June 22. Jenn Dedeite

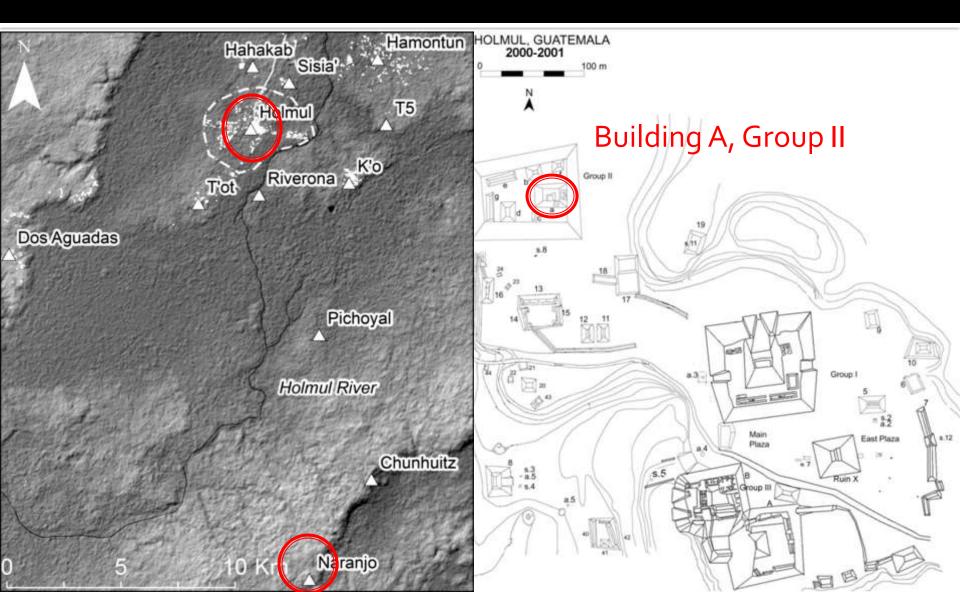
## Mural 5: new gods and rituals



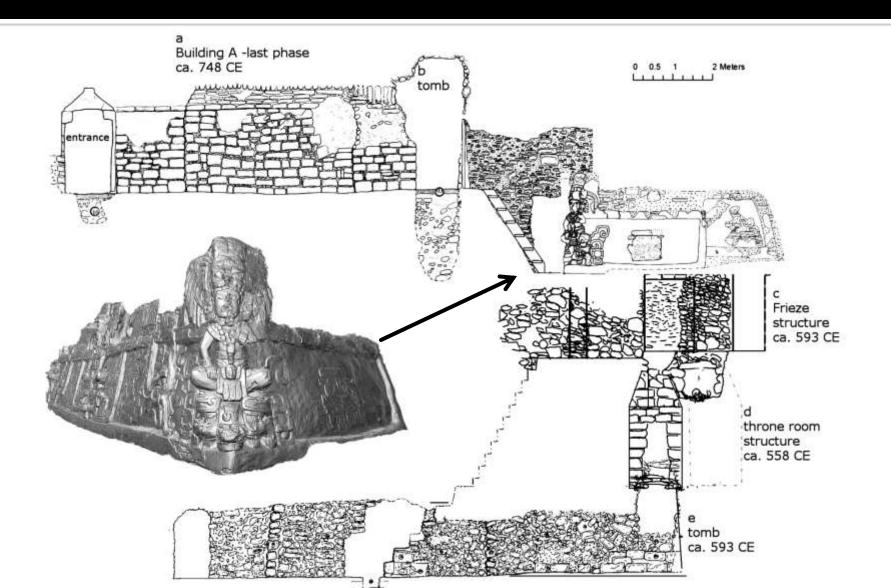
#### **Real and look-alike imports**



#### **Back to Holmul**



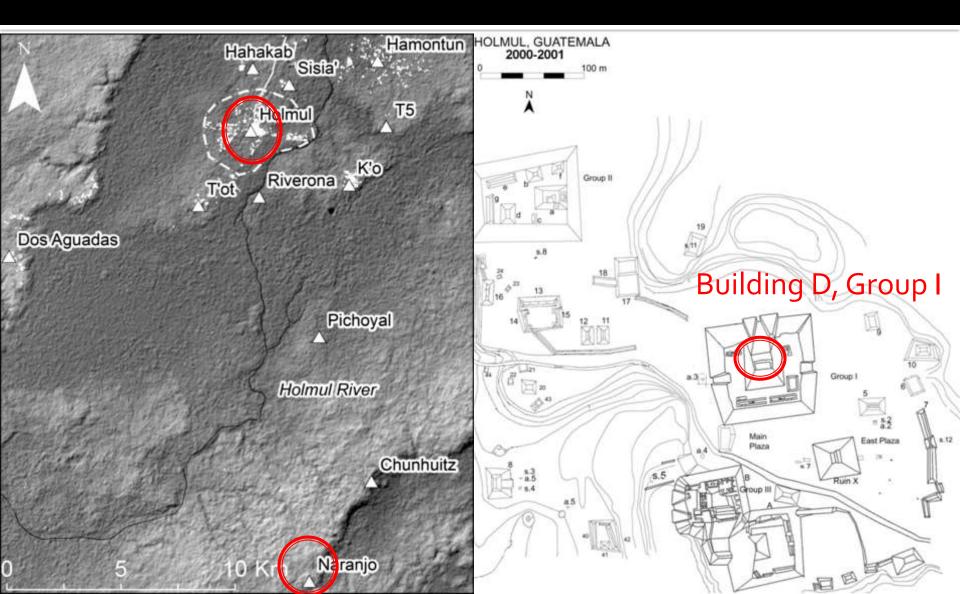
# Building A: palace > shrine





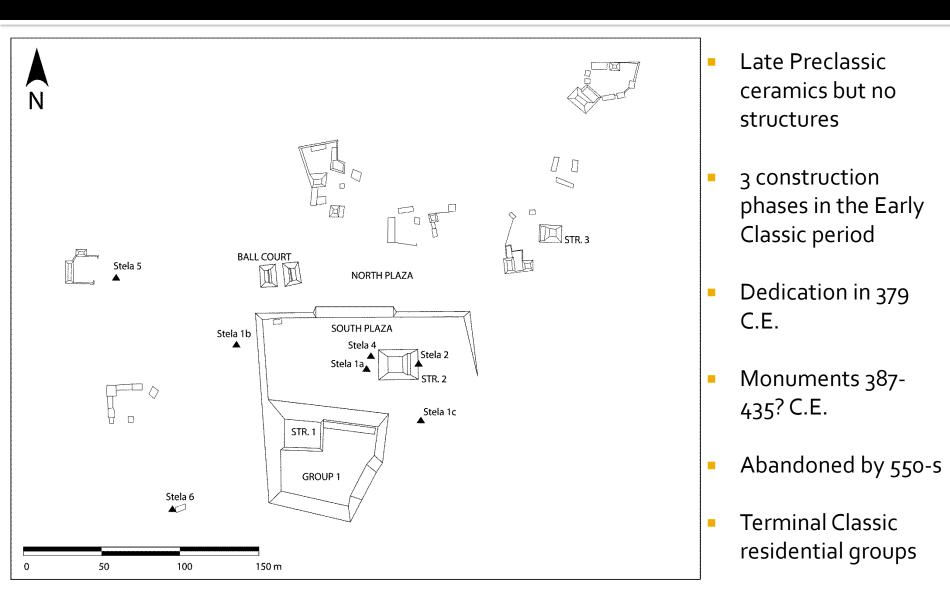
Building A-sub, roof frieze (west side)

#### New friends and overlords

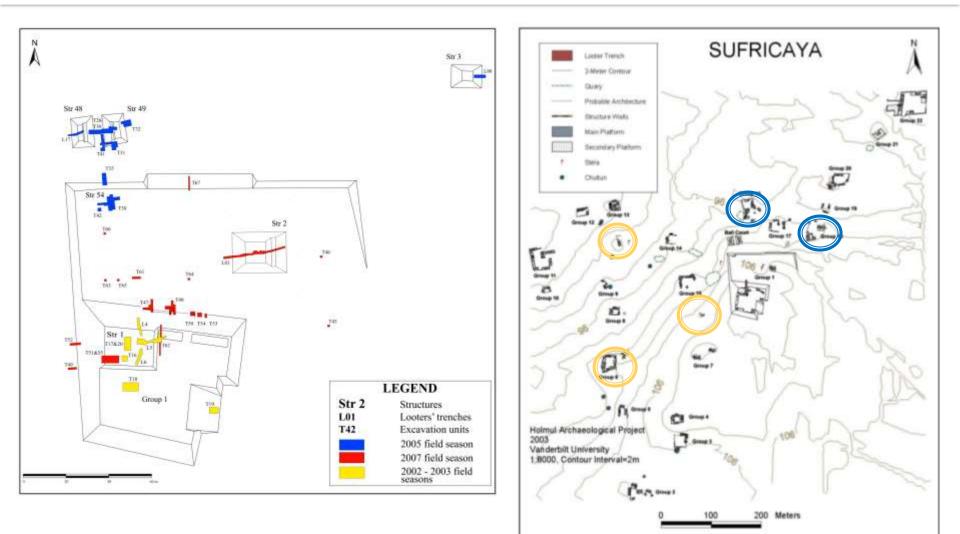




# **Back to La Sufricaya**

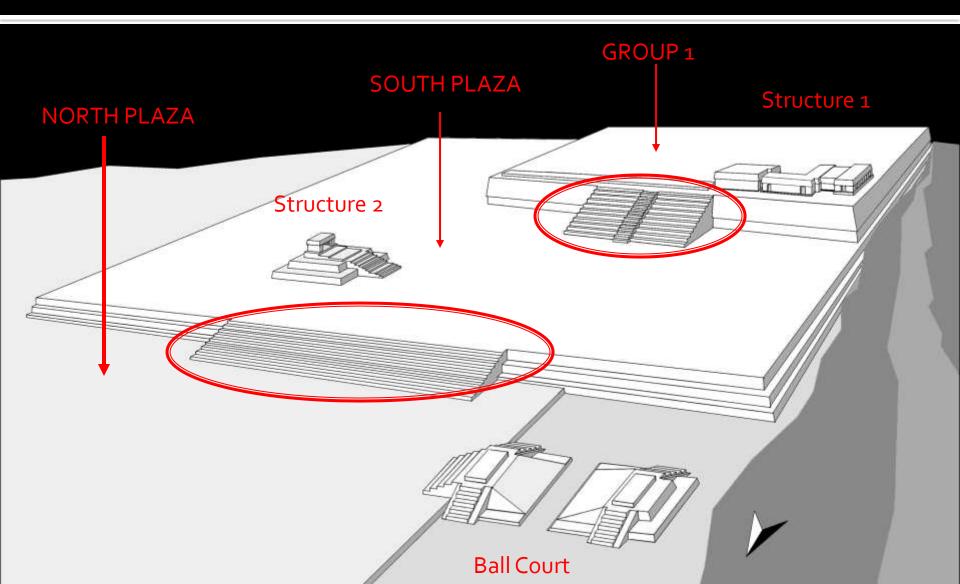


#### Studies so far: mostly the palace

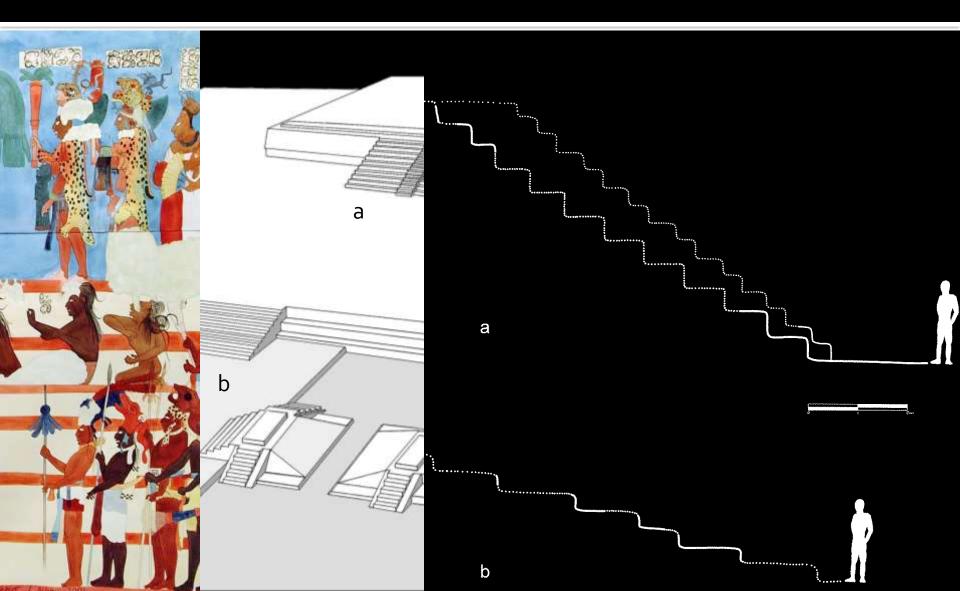


WOLF03

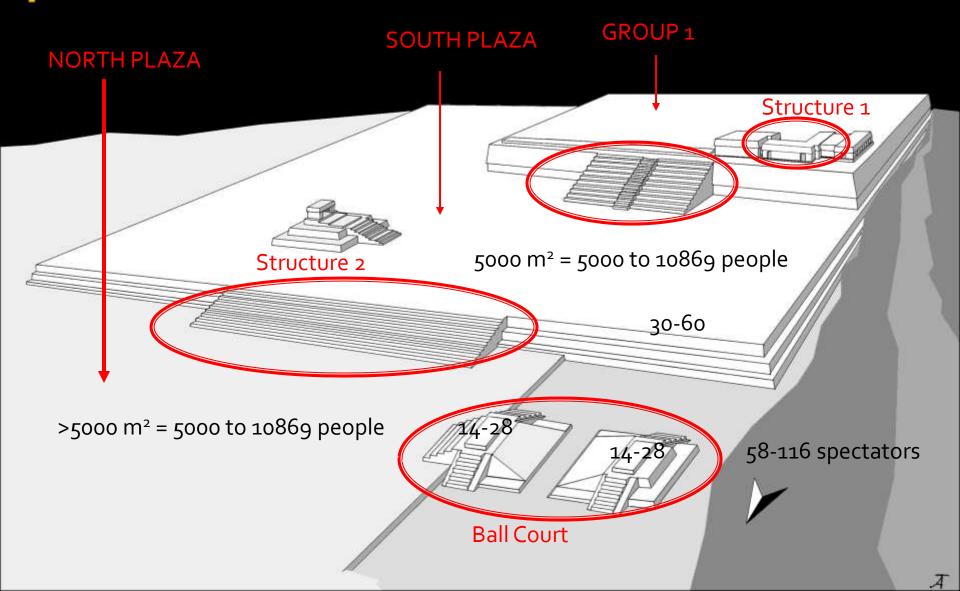
# A place for a good show



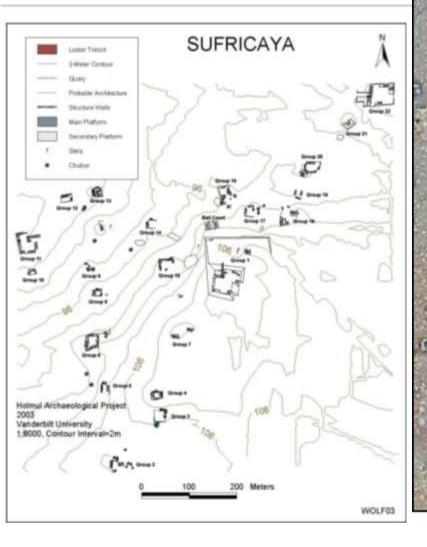
# **Steps: Access & Performance**



# Different audiences or different political communities?



# Lidar data > New survey



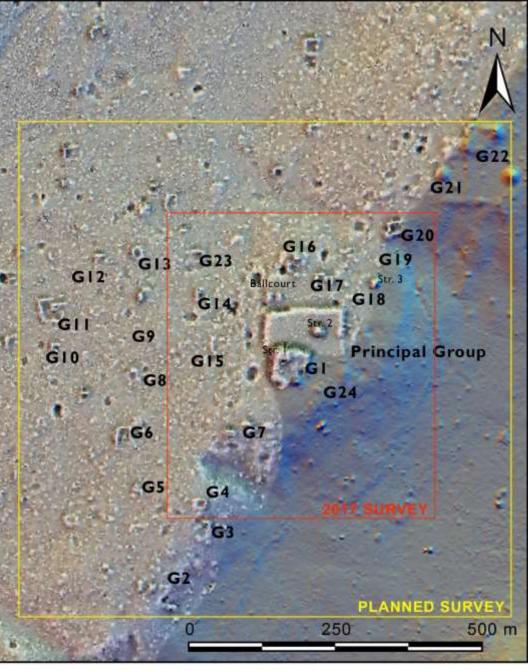
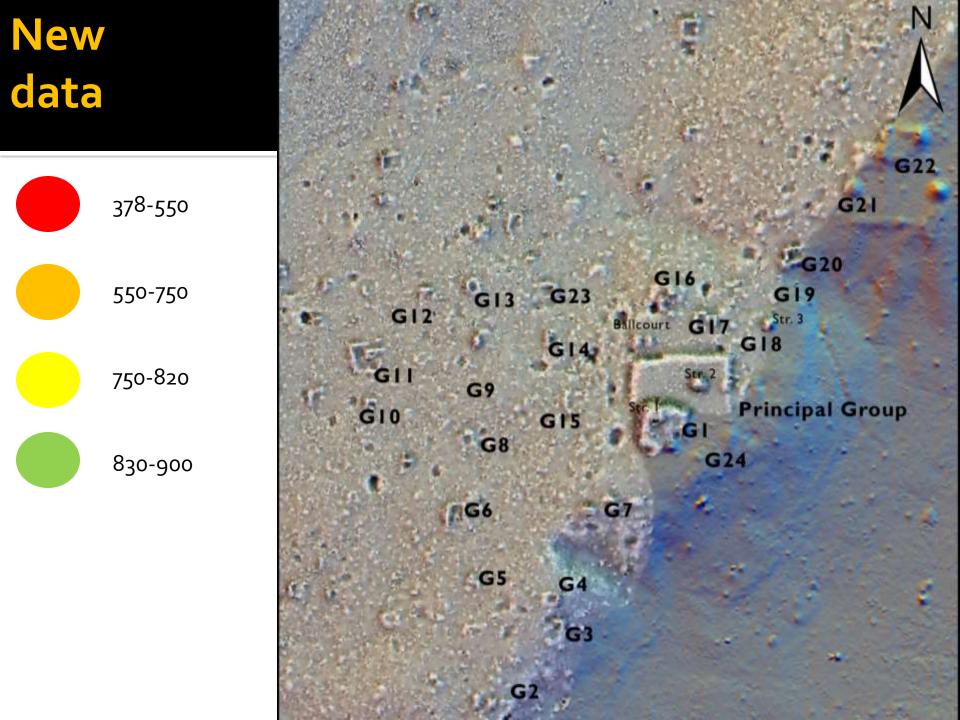
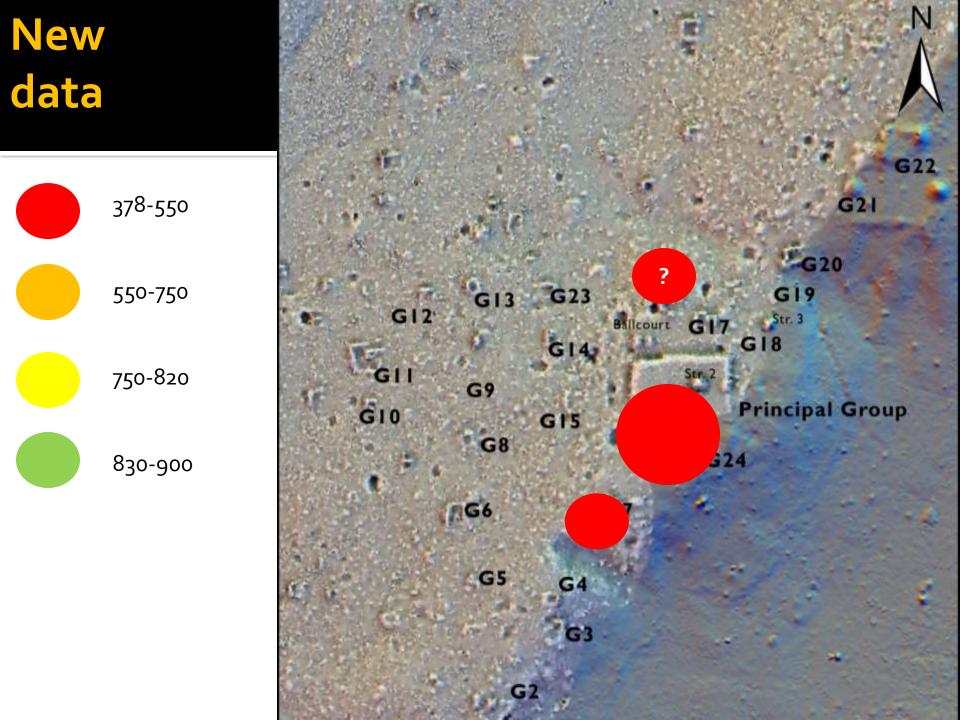
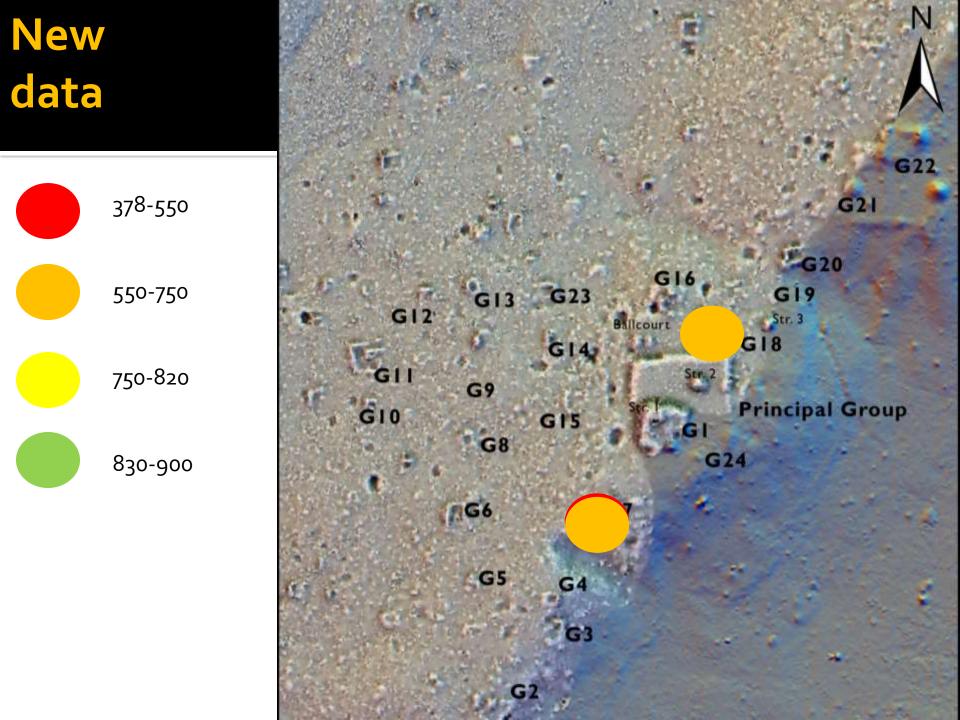
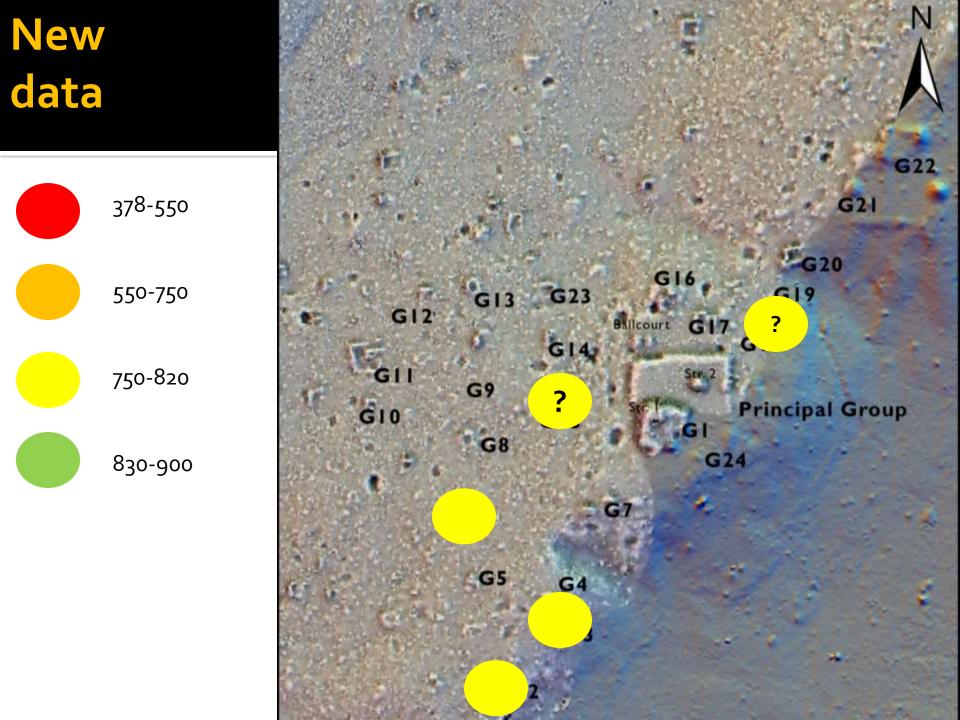


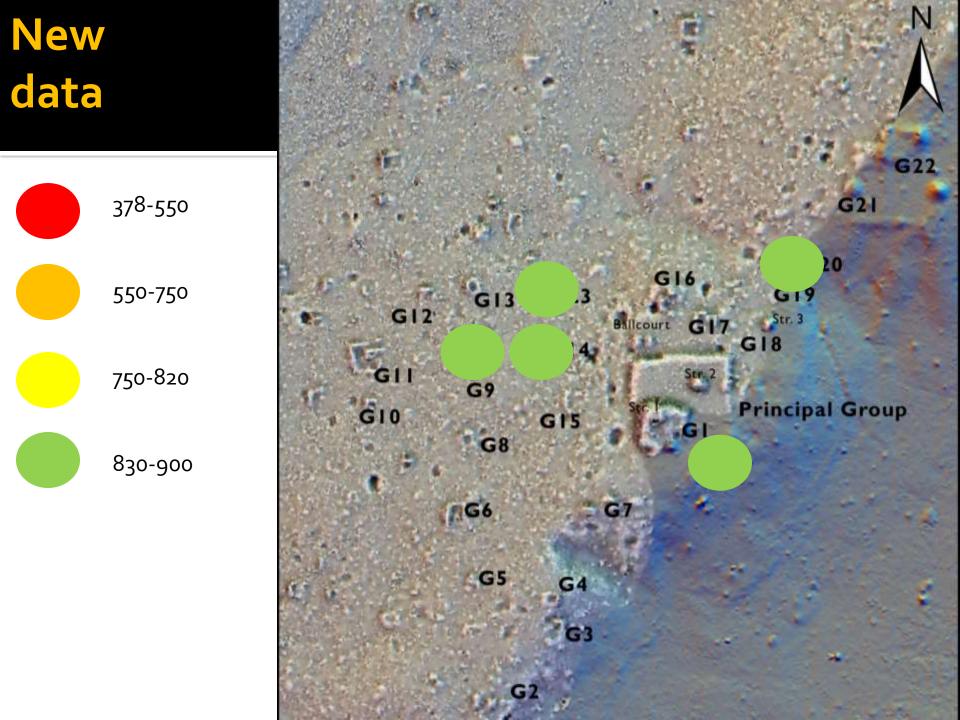
Figure 1. Lidar-based digital elevation model of La Sufricaya (unmapped residential groups are unlabeled)

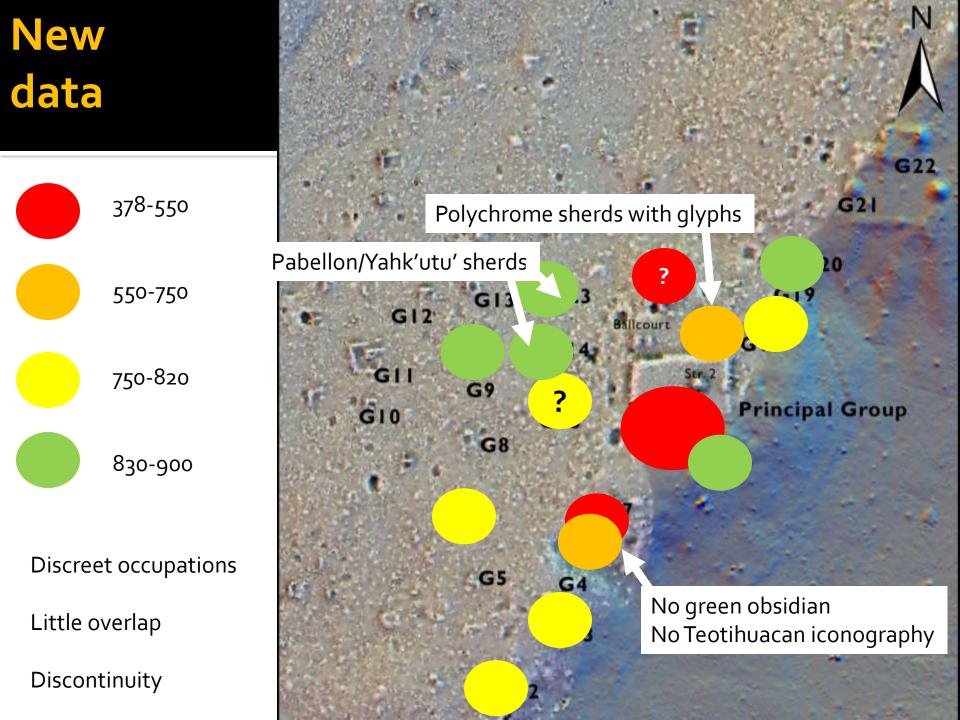












# **Questioning the model**

- Sub-royal households are unstable
- Sub-royal houses are out of sync with the royal household
- Proximity to the royal household seems unimportant
- Sub-royal houses may not share the prestige goods economy with the royal household