



EMC

MOSCOW 2016

HIERARCHY AND POWER
IN THE MAYA WORLD

Russian State University for the Humanities
European Association of Mayanists WAYEB
Faculty of History, Lomonosov Moscow State University

21st European Maya Conference
HIERARCHY AND POWER IN
THE MAYA WORLD

Moscow, Russia
October 17-22, 2016

Program

Abstracts of Papers

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Welcome address

The 21st European Maya Conference is held in Moscow, Russia, from 17 to 22 October 2016. The meeting is organized by the Knorozov Center for Mesoamerican Studies, Russian State University for the Humanities and the Department of Ancient History, Lomonosov Moscow State University in cooperation with Wayeb (European Association of Mayanists). The conference is supported financially by Russian Science Foundation (project № 15-18-300045).

The conference will combine three days of workshops (October 17 - 20) and a symposium (October 21 - 22).

After an opening lecture by Alfonso Lacadena and Dmitri Beliaev the Workshop offers this year, in addition to the standard Beginners workshop, Intermediate workshop on the origins of power from the perspective of the ancient Maya, Advanced workshop on the Classic Maya politics at the local and regional levels and Special workshop on Aztec Codices.

The main topic of this year conference is “Hierarchy and Power in the Maya World”. For many decades discussions concerning Maya political organization were concentrated around competing theoretical models - such as theocratic model, «city-state» model, «regional state» model, and others. It was considered that the Maya area was generally organized in a uniform way although evolved and changed in time. Recent epigraphic, archaeological, and historic discoveries have demonstrated that the Maya society was always characterized by a wide variety of political organization and that different forms of power relations existed in time and space.

The conference focuses on various forms of construction and expression of the power in the Maya culture from prehispanic to modern times. Topics that will be covered include:

- origins and development of complex societies in the Maya area
- hierarchies and heterarchies in Maya societies
- political, economic, and ritual dimensions of power among the Maya
- Maya settlement patterns and political organization
- Maya and Western culture - oppression and resistance

The organizing committee of the 21st European Maya Conference cordially welcomes you in Moscow!

Workshop Program

Workshops (17-20 October)

The three-day workshop groups will be taught and supervised by experienced tutors. Participants will be tutored in English. Spanish explanations can be provided by tutors, on an individual basis, for workshops of all levels.

MONDAY, OCTOBER 17

Location: RSUH Old building, Nikolskaya st. 15

- 14:00 – 15:00 Registration
15:00 – 15:30 Welcome address
15:30 – 17:30 Introductory lecture
Dmitri Beliaev (Russian State University for the Humanities),
Alfonso Lacadena (Universidad Complutense de Madrid)
19:30 Welcome reception organized by Mexican Embassy
Location: Bolshoy Levshinskiy per. 4

Tuesday, October 18

Location: RSUH Main building, Chayanova st. 15

- 9:00 – 12:30 Morning session
12:30 – 14:00 Lunch
14:00 – 18:00 Afternoon session

Wednesday, October 19

Location: RSUH Main building, Chayanova st. 15

- 9:00 – 12:30 Morning session
12:30 – 14:00 Lunch
14:00 – 18:00 Afternoon session
21:00 – 02:00 Russian party
Location: "Campus" Loft, Kutuzovskiy av. 12 bld 1

Thursday, October 20

Location: RSUH Main building, Chayanova st. 15

9:00 – 12:00 Morning session

12:00 – 13:30 Lunch

13:30 – 16:30 Afternoon session

16:30 – 19:00 Wayeb General Assembly

*Location: Conference Hall of the Faculty of History, Political Science and Law.
RSUH campus bld 5, Chayanova 15*

Workshop Abstracts

Beginners: Introduction to Maya Writing

Tutors: **Ramzy Barrois** (European Association of Mayanists WAYEB), **Julia Bernatskaya** (Russian State University for the Humanities) & **Daria Bayda** (Moscow State University)

The information drawn from Maya hieroglyphic texts has fundamentally changed our understanding of the ancient Maya culture. To be able to read what the Maya themselves wrote about their history and rituals provides a fascinating and unparalleled window into a past culture, whose descendants continue to thrive in the communities of Mexico, Belize, Guatemala, and Honduras. The objective of this workshop is to provide an intensive introduction to the study of Maya hieroglyphs. Participants will have a chance to decipher hieroglyphs on their own during the workshop with the assistance of the tutors. General tuition will be given in English but explanations can also be provided in other languages (Spanish and French) on an individual basis. No previous knowledge of Maya culture, Maya hieroglyphs, ancient scripts, or linguistics is required to attend the workshop.

Towards the end of the three day workshop, participants will be able to understand the basic structure of Maya texts, decipher calendrical information, reconstruct chronology, point at verbs and nominal phrases, and much more.

Intermediate: The Origins of Power from the Perspective of the Ancient Maya

Tutors: **Felix Kupprat** & **Erik Velásquez García** (Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México)

In hieroglyphic Maya texts, the divine lords (k'uhul ajaw) of the Classic period repeatedly emphasized their ties to primordial kings, such as gods, ancestors and cultural heroes, who - according to the written record - ruled centuries and even millennia before them. The very institution of the political leader was legitimized by the means of a discourse about an ancient cosmic order in which power is held by extraordinary individuals, from deep-time to the Classic present. These narratives and their meaning in the socio-political landscape are crucial to our current understanding of rulership and the political system of the ancient Maya. In this workshop we will examine various key texts which provide information about who and what the Maya (wanted to be) perceived as prototypes of the political order, focusing on the contents of the respective narratives, as well as regional versions and adaptations.

Hieroglyphic texts will be analyzed in small groups of 3-5 persons, and afterwards discussed with the whole group. Short talks by the tutors will provide contextual information. If possible, attendees are kindly asked to bring a portable computer. However, a computer is not a requirement.

This is an intermediate workshop open to those who have basic knowledge of Maya writing: some calendrical knowledge and the ability to structure hieroglyphic inscriptions and understand their syntactic components are prerequisites to fruitful participation on this workshop level. This intermediate workshops will be taught in English.

Advanced: On the Same Team: Talking Hierarchy in Classic Maya Texts

Tutors: **Alexandre Tokovinine** (University of Alabama) & **Alexander Safronov** (Moscow State University)

Advanced participants with well founded knowledge of Maya writing are offered a special Advanced Workshop to give them the opportunity to expand their proficiency of Classic Maya Writing and to provide them with insight into very special aspects of Classic Maya culture - though with specific focus on epigraphy, language and iconography.

This advanced workshop explores recent advancements in the studies of Classic Maya politics at the local and regional levels. The goal is to review textual and visual rhetoric of power and to highlight the dynamic relationship between the evolution of the ancient Maya political landscape in 378-810 C.E. and changes in its representations in various media. The workshop materials will be organized into three major chronological blocks corresponding to the episodes of political consolidation in 378-435 and 550-695 C.E., as well as the more fluid politics of the eighth century C.E. The eighth century segment will also feature narratives and representations of Classic Maya courtly life reflecting a shift to non-royal elites in the available texts and images. A background in Maya archaeology and epigraphy is required to attend this workshop.

Special: Economic Foundations of the Empire: Aztec Hieroglyphic Books of Tribute, Cadastres and Population Censuses

Tutors: **Albert Davletshin** (Russian State University for the Humanities), **Alfonso Lacadena** (Universidad Complutense de Madrid)

Within the rich corpus of surviving Aztec hieroglyphic texts and their varied subjects, a group of documents has been traditionally classified as economic (Glass and Robertson 1975). These economic documents include lists of tribute, tax records, population censuses, cadastres and land tenure records. By the time the Spaniards arrived the economic documents had already existed and they continued well after the Conquest, incorporating the new realities of the colonial regime. In the Workshop, we will comment on an ample selection of Aztec economic and administrative documents, including (a) *Matrícula de Tributos* and *Codex Mendoza* which are key to understanding the Mexica tributary system, (b) census and cadastral documents, like *Codex Santa María Asunción*, *Codex Vergara*, *Beinecke Map*, and *Matrícula de Huexotzingo*, and (c) documents used in judicial proceedings, like *Codex Osuna*, *Codex Cozcatzin*, and *Memorial de los Indios de Tepetlaoztoc* which concern a miscellany of economic issues. During the sessions we will analyze the structure and compositional conventions of these documents, read the hieroglyphs and alphabetic glosses and contextualize them historically. Special attention will be paid to Aztec numerical and arithmetical system from the point of view of Nahuatl writing and language.

Symposium Program

Friday, October 21

- 8:30 – 9:30 Registration
Location: RSUH Main building. Chayanova st. 15
Welcome Addresses and Introduction
Location: Chekhov lecture hall (#367)
- 9:30 – 10:00 **Evgeniy Ivakhnenko**, Rector of the Russian State University for the Humanities
Andrei Fursenko, Aide to the President of the Russian Federation,
Chairman of the Supervisory Board of the Russian Science Foundation,
Alexander Logunov, Dean of the Faculty of History, Political Science and Law
Harri Kettunen, President of the European Association of Mayanists WAYEB
- 10:00 – 10:30 **María Teresa Franco** (former General Director of the INAH, México)
- 10:30 – 11:00 **Galina Ershova** (Knórozov Center for Mesoamerican Studies)
- 11:00 – 11:30 Coffee break**
- 11:30 – 12:00 **Dmitri Bondarenko** (Institute for African Studies & Russian State University for the Humanities),
Dmitri Beliaev (Russian State University for the Humanities),
Alexander Safronov (Lomonosov Moscow State University)
Homoarchy and Heterarchy in Maya Political Organization

Session 1: Maya Society in the Preclassic and Early Classic

Chair: Ramzy Barrois

- 12:00 – 12:30 **Milan Kováč** (Comenius Bratislava University)
Alborada de los reyes de Uaxactun: huellas y herencias de las dinástias preclásicas
- 12:30 – 13:00 **Philippe Nondédéo** (UMR 8096, CNRS, France),
Alfonso Lacadena (Universidad Complutense de Madrid),
Juan Ignacio Cases (Stanford University),
Julien Hiquet (Universidad de Paris 1 Panthéon-Sorbonne),
Dominique Michelet (UMR 8096, CNRS, France)
Teotihuacanos y mayas en la 'entrada' de 11 Eb' (378 d.C.): nuevos datos de Naachtun, Peten, Guatemala
- 13.00 – 14:30 Lunch break**

Session 2: Territories, Dynasties and Politics

Chair: Harri Kettunen

- 14:30 – 15.00 **David Stuart** (University of Texas at Austin)
Emblems, Dynasty and Identity: New Views on the Nature and Function of the K'uhul Ajaw Title among the Classic Maya

- 15:00 – 15:30 **Nikolai Grube** (University of Bonn)
Unfinished Conquests: Why Defeated Kingdoms Recover so Quickly
- 15:30 – 16:00 **Gabriela Rivera** (Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México)
La percepción maya del territorio y sus implicaciones en el poder, la guerra y el Glifo Emblema durante el Clásico
- 16:00 – 16:30 **Christophe Helmke** (University of Copenhagen) &
Ivan Savchenko (Independent scholar, Russia)
The Legacy of Lady Six Sky: Problematic Dynastic Successions at Naranjo in the Eighth Century
- 16:30 – 17:00 Coffee break**
- 17:00 – 17:30 **Carlos Pallán** (University of Bonn)
Shifting Rulership, Transregional Influences and External Contacts During the Terminal Classic Transition and “Collapse” of Central Lowland Peten Maya Polities
- 17:30 – 18:00 **Daniel Graña-Behrens** (Frobenius Institut Frankfurt am Main)
New Evidence for Hierarchy and Power Among the Classic Maya from the Northern Yucatan (AD 600 - 1000)
- 18:00 – 18:30 **Tsubasa Okoshi** (Kyoto University of Foreign Studies)
Al término del gobierno dinástico: una reflexión sobre el significado histórico de la caída y abandono de Mayapán
- 18:30 – 21:00 Opening of the exhibition “Atlas Epigráfico” & Symposium opening reception
Location: Exhibition hall. Chayanova st. 15

Saturday, October 22

Session 3: Maya Art and Materialization of Power

Chair: Alexandre Tokovinine

- 9:00–9:30 **Erik Velásquez** (Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México)
Gestos y rango en el arte maya clásico. El uso de los gestos para denotar estatus en la escultura y vasijas mayas.
- 9:30–10:00 **Felix Kupprat & Verónica Vázquez** (Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México)
In and Around Classic Maya Media: What the Location of Monuments Tells Us About Social Distinction
- 10:00–10:30 **Stephen Houston** (Brown University), **James Doyle** (Metropolitan Museum), **David Stuart** (University of Texas at Austin) & **Karl Taube** (University of California, Riverside)
Sun, Night, Earth, and Stone: The Politics of Belief on a Classic Maya Lintel
- 10:30–11:00 **Coffee break**

Session 4: Archaeological Approaches to the Hierarchies and Power

Chair: Jarosław Żrałka

- 11:00–11:30 **Andrés Ciudad, Maria Josefa Iglesias y Jesús Adánez** (Universidad Complutense de Madrid)
La organización interna del ajawle: avances y perspectivas desde los estudios de patrones de asentamiento
- 11:30–12:00 **Claudia Zehrt** (University College London)
Communities in Control? The Social Power of the Middle Level
- 12:00–12:30 **Maxime Lamoureux-St-Hilaire** (Tulane University)
The Exercise of Political Power in Classic Maya Regal Palaces
- 12:30–13:00 **Tomás Barrientos** (Universidad del Valle de Guatemala), and **Marcello A. Canuto** (Tulane University)
Shifting roles of Sak Nikte' (La Corona): Regional and Local Hierarchies in Northwestern Peten, Guatemala
- 13:00–14:30 **Lunch break**

Session 5: Of Empires and Superstates

Chair: Harri Kettunen

- 14:30–15:00 **Simon Martin** (University of Pennsylvania Museum)
Articulations of Power: Classic Maya Politics as History and Process
- 15:00–15:30 **Sergei Vepretskii** (Lomonosov Moscow State University), **Philipp Galeev** (Russian State University for the Humanities)
Hiix Witz and Kaanul: New Evidence for the Development of the Late Classic Maya Secondary Polity at Zapote Bobal
- 15:30–16:00 **Joanna Asia Jablonska** (University of Bonn)
Iconography and Style of Calakmul's imperialism imposed on its hinterlands in the Late Classic Period

16:00 – 16:30 Coffee break

Session 6: Hierarchies and Power during the Conquest and the Colonial Era

Chair: Dmitri Bondarenko

- 16:30 – 17:00 **Mallory Matsumoto** (Brown University)
"I saw their evil intent": Writing the Maya into the Moral Hierarchy of Conquest
- 17:00 – 17:30 **Sergio Romero** (University of Texas at Austin)
The Sacrifice of Tolkom: Pre-Christian Ritual in Highland Maya Colonial Texts
- 17:30 – 18:00 **Margarita Cossich Vielman** (Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México)
¿Y los nahuas de Guatemala? La organización sociopolítica según el Título de Santa María Ixhuatán
- 18:00 – 18:30 Closing address & flag ceremony
- 18:30 – 20:00 Closing reception
- 22:00 – 05:00 Closing party
Location: "Campus" Loft. Kutuzovskiy av. 12 bld 1

Symposium Abstracts

Homoarchy and Heterarchy in Maya Political Organization

Dmitri Bondarenko (Institute for African Studies & Russian State University for the Humanities), **Dmitri Beliaev** (Russian State University for the Humanities), and **Alexander Safronov** (Lomonosov Moscow State University)

Since the introduction of the term “heterarchy” defined as “the relation of elements to one another when they are unranked or when they possess the potential for being ranked in a number of different ways” to the study of socio-political organization by Carole Crumley in mid-1990s it is used in the context of the opposition to “hierarchy”. However, it was suggested that we should consider “hierarchy” as the basic principle of the political organization of complex systems with two main forms, that is “homoarchy” and “heterarchy”. Homoarchical socio-political systems are defined as those in which the elements are rigidly ranked one way only, and thus possess no (or no more than very limited) potential for being unranked or ranked in another way at least without cardinal reshaping of the whole socio-political order.

In the present paper we will analyze how these two principles were realized in the socio-political organization of the Maya society in Prehispanic times. We suggest that although Maya polities were usually of homoarchical type, in some regions there existed heterarchical societies

Alborada de los reyes de Uaxactun: huellas y herencias de las dinastías preclásicas

Milan Kováč (Comenius Bratislava University)

Desde los años ochenta del siglo pasado, los hallazgos de Juan Antonio Valdés llamaron la atención por la belleza e importancia de Uaxactun durante el periodo Preclásico. Durante los últimos ocho años, el nuevo proyecto en el sitio ha investigado sistemáticamente el mismo periodo en toda su complejidad. Excavando las partes no investigadas, paso por paso se ha complementado el conocimiento faltante. Paulatinamente, se ha refinado la cronología, las relaciones entre varias partes del sitio, la evolución de la arquitectura y frisos monumentales. Así mismo, se ha hallado evidencia de relaciones políticas, subordinación, guerras, tiempos de abandono, tiempos de auge y tiempos de pobreza. Junto a los últimos hallazgos que contienen inscripciones preclásicas, se cuenta con suficiente material acumulado para una interpretación preliminar de los momentos más importantes del sitio. Antes que Uaxactun terminara en la sombra de su poderoso vecino Tikal, su historia parece haber sido muy diferente. El sitio predominó en todo el Peten Central y sus reyes mostraron su poder con pomposidad. Se han identificado las sedes de los reyes, sus sitios satelitales, sus aliados y además el centro político en su corazón, llamado “El Tiburón”. Se ha tratado de entender los rituales de entronización, el culto dinástico temprano, entre otros. En el año del Centenario de las investigaciones en Uaxactun, esta ponencia pretende no solo mostrar el grado de entendimiento de la historia más antigua del sitio, sino también tomar en cuenta su historia de investigación. Uaxactun empezó como un sitio de alta importancia, como un patrón cultural. Tras décadas de hallazgos importantes en otros sitios, la relevancia de Uaxactun se pasó por alto, perdiéndose casi completamente el interés. Paradójicamente los hallazgos nuevos del periodo Preclásico regresen a este sitio al panorama y probablemente lo recoloquen entre los más importantes del Mundo Maya.

Teotihuacanos y mayas en la ‘entrada’ de 11 Eb’ (378 d.C.): nuevos datos de Naachtun, Peten, Guatemala

Philippe Nondédéo (UMR 8096, CNRS, France), **Alfonso Lacadena** (Universidad Complutense de Madrid), **Juan Ignacio Cases** (Stanford University), **Julien Hiquet** (Universidad de Paris 1 Panthéon-Sorbonne), **Dominique Michelet** (UMR 8096, CNRS, France)

Desde que a mediados del siglo XX se detectó en el registro arqueológico la presencia de rasgos teotihuacanos en el área maya, entender la naturaleza de dicha presencia ha sido objeto de un largo y fuerte debate. Hace ya casi veinte años, David Stuart, siguiendo el trabajo seminal de Tiana Proskouriakoff, sugirió, basándose en la lectura e interpretación de los textos epigráficos disponibles, que uno de los episodios de la compleja interacción entre Teotihuacan y el área maya había adoptado la forma de una conquista militar, que se verificó en la fecha 8.17.1.4.12 11 Eb’ 15 Mak (378 d.C.). El nuevo registro epigráfico de monumentos de Naachtun, Peten, Guatemala, en el contexto de las excavaciones del Proyecto franco-guatemalteco, ha ofrecido nuevos datos sobre las características de la ‘entrada’ del 11 Eb’, corroborando su definitiva naturaleza militar. Sugiere la participación de reinos mayas del lado de los teotihuacanos en ese importante acontecimiento histórico, —entre ellos el reino de Suuts’ (Murciélagos) establecido en Naachtun—, que hemos de ver no ya como un acontecimiento puntual sino como la culminación de un complejo proceso planificado. En esta ponencia, detallaremos también cómo esta alianza con Teotihuacan y luego con los nuevos soberanos de Tikal, favoreció el desarrollo sociopolítico y demográfico de Naachtun.

Emblems, Dynasty and Identity: New Views on the Nature and Function of the K’uhul Ajaw Title among the Classic Maya

David Stuart (University of Texas at Austin)

Ever since their initial recognition by Heinrich Berlin, emblem glyphs (EGs) have fascinated Mayanists interested in Classic Maya political organization and elite social structure. Today we recognize that EGs are not simple place names, but instead royal titles based on the designations for royal houses and dynastic centers that could shift geographically through time, fissure through internal dynastic conflict, or even co-occur in reference to a single individual. This paper will highlight one particularly revealing text from the site of Dos Caobas (first noted by the author in 2007) where the two emblems associated with Yaxchilan are specifically described as names for separate dynastic lines, each with their own internal numerical count. Taking a wider perspective, this study will examine how named “dynasties” played an important and complex role in forging concepts of political and social identity among elites in the Classic period.

La percepción maya del territorio y sus implicaciones en el poder, la guerra y el Glifo Emblema durante el Clásico

Gabriela Rivera (Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México)

El territorio como uno de los ejes centrales de ejercicio del poder es una temática que a lo largo de los estudios mayas ha sido trabajada sin resolución contundente. Al respecto esta investigación propone y se desarrolla bajo la idea de que el territorio no es una demarcación geográfica con fronteras definidas; si no una jurisdicción sustentada en el reconocimiento de un nominal con prestigio y poder, el Glifo Emblema, por los integrantes comprendidos dentro de esta administración; por lo que desde una perspectiva geográfica, no obedeció espacios continuos ni lineales. Este *kab'* jurisdicción, fue administrado por el representante del linaje del Glifo Emblema correspondiente, el cual se encontraba justificado como administrador por el poder que su nombre detentaba, así como por sus aptitudes sobre el control y redistribución de redes de intercambio, el control del usufructo de la mano de obra dentro de su jurisdicción; volviendo al control de estas redes de redistribución la verdadera fuente de poder.

Este trabajo pretende acercarse a la realidad mesoamericana en la que las concepciones de propiedad privada, posesión de la tierra, poder y gobierno, provenientes del pensamiento occidental y útiles para sus sociedades, resultan disímiles a la realidad ontológica de nuestra región y cronología de estudio. Se enfoca en el entendimiento del territorio como un ente dinámico y social, y no como un espacio en un mapa, donde sus implicaciones en la vida política, bélica y administrativa de las sociedades mayas del Clásico es mucho más profunda de lo que hemos pensando.

The Legacy of Lady Six Sky: Problematic Dynastic Successions at Naranjo in the Eighth Century

Christophe Helmke (University of Copenhagen) & **Ivan Savchenko** (Independent researcher, Russia)

The 'arrival' of Lady Six Sky in August 682 has long been recognized as a pivotal turning point in the history of Naranjo, marking in essence the re-founding of the dynasty. Considering that all references to this event are retrospective only highlights the diplomatic recourse and charisma of Lady Six Sky, which ultimately enabled her to assert herself as regent to the young K'ahk' Tiliw Chan Chaahk, who would rule as the 38th in the dynastic sequence. Despite such a promising revival, the protracted regency—wherein Lady Six Sky only tepidly released the reins of power before reasserting herself all the more—was inevitably followed by a series of short and unstable reigns, casting Naranjo once more into disarray. Here we will focus on the legacy of Lady Six Sky's lengthy regency and re-evaluate the identity of Yax Mayuy Chan Chaahk and K'ahk' Yipiiw Chan Chaahk. In so doing we will attempt to determine whether these were consanguineal relatives, as offspring or younger siblings of K'ahk' Tiliw Chan Chaahk, or high-standing members of the court, taking into account the pre-accessions mentions made to these individuals on Stelae 1, 28 and 18.

Shifting Rulership, Transregional Influences and External Contacts During the Terminal Classic Transition and “Collapse” of Central Lowland Peten Maya Politics

Carlos Pallán (University of Bonn)

A defining moment in Classic Maya history is the so-called “Collapse” of the Terminal Classic, which can be placed between ca. 800 and 950 AD. The present work will focus on the central Peten region, which richness of datasets combine extended research by several archaeological projects with a relatively abundant epigraphic record. The so-called Maya “Collapse” is usually regarded as part of the Terminal Classic transition. When dealing with it, different authors and schools of thought have adduced different underlying causes, ranging from overpopulation to the rise of militarism, internal revolts to migration, as well as ecological and environmental factors, including droughts, climate shifts and deforestation. From the above phenomena, it is often difficult to discern causes from their effects and how they imprinted on the archaeological and hieroglyphic records, often in subtle ways. Outstanding amongst the most relevant factors associated with the “Collapse” and the Terminal Classic sociopolitical shifts is the evidence of cultural contact and the assimilation of ideas from groups external to the lowland Maya late-Classic tradition. The present work will analyze the epigraphic and iconographic data from Terminal Classic monuments during the Late Classic to Terminal Classic transition, contextualized and informed by the archaeological record and current studies on larger Panmesoamerican trade and exchange spheres, in order to assess the role of external and transregional contacts within the political fragmentation, economic shifts and the demise of previous modes of rulership and social organization based on the institution of divine kingship led by charismatic rulers.

New Evidence for Hierarchy and Power Among the Classic Maya from the Northern Yucatan (AD 600 – 1000)

Daniel Graña-Behrens (Frobenius Institut Frankfurt am Main)

The presentation will focus on new evidence from hieroglyphic inscriptions in northern Yucatan that concern the internal and external political structure. It will be argued that the political organization of northern Yucatan varies in various respects from the Southern Lowlands but nonetheless shares some important features based on dynastic proliferations, titles, and presentations on public monuments. These features clearly show that in order to compete and to establish sociopolitical or economic relationships by kinship, allies and trade, the varying forms of power which differentiate Maya political kingdoms in general cannot be arbitrary. They must be compatible somehow. Based on this observations several topics will be discussed: the „T709“ Emblem Glyph which connects northern Yucatan at different points with the Southern Lowlands (Bonampak, Yaxchilan); the numbered „pet“ title which is shared by some sites in northern Yucatan with southern kingdoms; a probable new parental statement at Chichen Itza that deepens our understanding of the site’s internal political hierarchy and some observations on hierarchy and power based on new dynastic sequences from several northern kingdoms.

Al término del gobierno dinástico: una reflexión sobre el significado histórico de la caída y abandono de Mayapán

Tsubasa Okoshi (Kyoto University of Foreign Studies)

Hacia mediados del siglo XV, el gobierno de Mayapán, encabezado por los Cocom, sufrió un conflicto interno y su abandono se tradujo en la fragmentación política en las Tierras Bajas del norte. El surgimiento de varios cúuchcabalob con los cuales los invasores europeos se enfrentaron eran la consecuencia directa de dicho proceso. Hasta la fecha se entendía que entre la caída y abandono de Mayapán no hubo un lapso alguno, es decir, el segundo sucedió casi inmediatamente después del primero. No obstante, el análisis de varios datos históricos apunta que no fue así. En términos reales, el gobierno de Mayapán mantenía su función ahora como el “confederado” durante al menos tres o cuatro décadas más, y en este trabajo discutiré: i) la diferencia de la forma del gobierno de Mayapán, antes y después de la rebelión de los señores, ii) el proceso concreto del “abandono” de Mayapán, y iii) la interrelación entre los cúuchcabalob con los que los españoles enfrentaron.

Gestos y rango en el arte maya clásico. El uso de los gestos para denotar estatus en la escultura y vasijas mayas.

Erik Velásquez (Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México)

La representación sistemática de los ademanes y posturas corporales entre los artistas mayas del Clásico tardío parece haber tenido que ver con señalar interrelaciones humanas que sirvieran para establecer la jerarquía relativa de los personajes y, con ello, enaltecer la imagen del gobernante. No obstante, el lenguaje gestual era sólo uno de los recursos para alcanzar este fin, pues en todas las escenas podemos apreciar un sistema de estrategias que incluía la representación de atuendos y parafernalia específica, el uso de títulos escritos de cargo y rango, el juego de volúmenes y escalas corporales, el principio de diferenciación de una figura dentro del grupo, el uso del hueco jerárquico, el escalonamiento vertical de los personajes y, muy especialmente, el lugar que ocupa cada individuo dentro de la composición, ya que el espacio pictórico no era para los artistas un campo indiferenciado, sino que estaba parcelado en áreas de mayor y de menor importancia. Se trata de una visión codificada y jerarquizada del espacio. El repertorio de estrategias que está representado en el arte maya clásico constituye un puñado de fórmulas que los artistas aprendían en los talleres, pues eran medios eficaces para transmitir información pictórica.

In and Around Classic Maya Media: What the Location of Monuments tells us about Social Distinction

Felix Kupprat & Verónica Vázquez (Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México)

The socio-political structures of the Classic Maya have received considerable attention, especially since the sudden advances in epigraphy. Textual evidence has shed light on titles, offices, and interaction among royal and—to some extent—non-royal elites, creating a differentiated panorama of basic mechanisms of social cohesion and distinction. As important as the contents of text and image are for the historical approach, comparably little attention has been paid to their context, i.e. their social function and use as media of communication. For some time, sculpted monuments have been considered devices of political propaganda, through which the ruling elites legitimized their status. However, it has frequently been ignored who the addressees of written and depicted messages were and how people received and interacted with hieroglyphs and imagery. The spatial environments of monuments are extremely diverse, ranging from closed and sacred spaces to open plazas, so that we cannot assume that the messages they conveyed were meant for the same group of spectators. The reception of Maya media occurred not only in diverse spatial contexts, but also in specific social situations. In this paper we explore the relationship between the strategic use of visual media and social differentiation. Certain social actors were consciously in- or excluded from the active and passive participation in the monumental discourse. When it comes to the non-royal social units, we can distinguish different degrees of integration, dictated by the courtly authority, which reflect different political settings and strategies throughout the Maya area.

Sun, Night, Earth, and Stone: The Politics of Belief on a Classic Maya Lintel

Stephen Houston (Brown University), **James Doyle** (Metropolitan Museum), **David Stuart** (University of Texas at Austin) & **Karl Taube** (University of California, Riverside)

Among the most potent images in the Maya world are those that fuse dynastic needs with mythic verities. Kings and nobleman come to discharge, or are seen to discharge, roles and duties set in the remote past. Expansive beings, the gods themselves, undertake tasks that humans can emulate. Through deity impersonation, those same people become one with supernatural figures. A compact illustration of these themes is a set of lintels taken over 50 years ago from what is now the Republic of Guatemala. For the most part, the carvings have languished in obscurity, only to re-emerge, after decades, in the recent past. A fresh set of images and technical assays permits a re-examination of their content, in sculptures commissioned for an unknown site under the control of the kingdom of Yaxchilan, Mexico. One carving in particular, to be studied closely here, grafts the supernatural and the political in a work that exemplifies Classic Maya fusions of identity. In doing so, it engenders a sense of inevitability, likening dynastic statecraft, hierarchy, and acts of building to the cosmic order of gods.

La organización interna del ajawlel: avances y perspectivas desde los estudios de patrones de asentamiento

Andrés Ciudad, María Josefa Iglesias y Jesús Adánez (Universidad Complutense de Madrid)

A pesar de las visiones iniciales de autores como Gordon R. Willey o William R. Bullard, que adelantaron hipótesis acerca de un ordenamiento jerárquico del asentamiento dentro de las entidades políticas mayas clásicas, la atención prestada por la investigación a los epicentros urbanos, de un lado, y a los grupos domésticos aisladamente considerados, de otro, ha tendido a transmitir la impresión del ajawlel (el reino o señorío maya clásico) como una agregación concéntrica, básicamente indiferenciada, de grupos residenciales en torno a un núcleo monumentalizado. Esa imagen impresionista reduce su organización política interna a una dicotomía entre gobernantes y gobernados y supone la inexistencia de niveles intermedios con funciones de carácter administrativo. La epigrafía ha venido aportando, sin embargo, indicios de lo contrario, a través de la identificación de títulos ligados a cargos tanto en la corte como fuera de ella. También la arqueología, mediante nuevas exploraciones y excavaciones más allá de los epicentros, incluyendo áreas rurales, o mediante el reexamen de los mapas producto de exploraciones anteriores, viene desvelando un panorama complejo de la organización y la jerarquización internas de las entidades políticas del periodo Clásico. Sobre esta base, se hace relevante la revisión de tales avances arqueológicos, relativamente dispersos en la literatura mayista, atendiendo tanto a las interpretaciones que generan como a la información material y espacial desde la cual se elaboran dichas interpretaciones; su evaluación permite ensayar un balance de los progresos alcanzados por la arqueología en este campo y entrever posibles líneas futuras de investigación.

Communities in Control? The Social Power of the Middle Level

Claudia Zehrt (University College London)

In Maya archaeology ‘community’ mainly refers to a spatial entity, often equated with ‘site.’ But looking at communities as a “dynamic socially constituted institution that is contingent upon human agency for its creation and continued existence” (Canuto and Yaeger 2000: 5) allows archaeologists to consider the construction and expression of different levels of power within a site. By analysing material from the archaeological record not only as a representation of social rank, but as an expression of community identity which could cross-cut or underline social divisions, our view of ancient Maya culture can take on a more dynamic view. As communities, like households, are directly involved in economic and ecological processes their investigation can cover the middle ground between a very locus-specific analysis and larger regional studies.

This paper will look at the archaeology of communities approach and critically evaluate if it is feasible for uncovering dynamic patterns in community organisation and power brokerage. Based on case studies from the Late Classic Maya lowlands I will attempt to illuminate questions such as: How is the social construct of community expressed in the archaeological record? How does the construction of power within a community and between communities affect responses to outside influences? I will endeavour to show that the middle-level position of communities within the greater narrative of social and cultural change positions the approach as a complementary tier to the inter-regional analyses of hierarchies and heterarchies between sites.

The Exercise of Political Power in Classic Maya Regal Palaces

Maxime Lamoureux-St-Hilaire (Tulane University)

The concept of political power among the Classic Maya has mostly been related to forms of justifications for kingship, large public ceremonies, and interregional conflicts and alliances. Many questions about the practical, daily exercise of the political power of royal courts remain to be addressed. Where did rulers store their properties and supplies? How and when did courts communicate with their allies and vassals? How was traffic controlled at court? What economic activities took place within the court?

This paper approaches political power from a pragmatic perspective and studies Classic Maya regal palaces as political institutions. Classic Maya palaces have often been primarily related to residential functions and lavish receptions held inside throne rooms, such as those represented on the courtly scenes from polychrome vases; views which have dissociated regal palaces from political and economic practices. Yet, the practicalities behind the operation of the complex political systems of the Classic Maya had to be focused somewhere. This paper advocates that regal palaces may represent the archaeological footprint of the agents and behaviors which constituted Classic Maya royal courts.

Based on the case-study of the regal palace of La Corona, Guatemala, this paper attempts to reconstruct the administrative, economic, ceremonial, and residential behaviors which constituted the daily functions of an ancient political institution. Specifically, architectural, macro- and micro-artifactual, paleobotanical, geochemical, and epigraphic data are presented in order to reconstruct the behaviors and practices of the members of this modest, yet important royal court.

Shifting roles of Sak Nikte' (La Corona): Regional and Local Hierarchies in Northwestern Peten, Guatemala

Tomás Barrientos (Universidad del Valle de Guatemala), and **Marcello A. Canuto** (Tulane University)

Recent epigraphic and archaeological discoveries at the site of La Corona and its surrounding areas have led to new insights concerning the role of this site in the history of the Maya Lowlands. From its Preclassic and Early Classic predecessor El Achiotal, to the rise of La Corona as one of the most important allies of the Kaan kingdom, this minor center became a key player in the geopolitical dynamics of the 6th and 7th centuries AD. Nevertheless, its importance did not entirely wane with the 8th century AD retreat of the Kaan dynasty from what is now northern Guatemala. New data have revealed an interesting process of revitalization at La Corona in the second half of the 8th century AD, reflecting the continued complexity of the Late Classic political landscape of the lowland Maya. In sum, this paper will show how small sites like Sak Nikte' were not only products of larger regional political hierarchies, but also negotiated their roles within them to obtain control of their surroundings, and perhaps even enlarge their domains as regional hierarchies collapsed.

Articulations of Power: Classic Maya Politics as History and Process

Simon Martin (University of Pennsylvania Museum)

Although it has been possible to build a robust and defensible outline model of Classic Maya political interaction over the past two decades, much remains to be understood. We lack appropriate data at both ends of the scalar spectrum: at the fine-grained level that allows us to posit explicit historical causations, and at the overarching level of sociological context, where the greater issues of process are in play. The recent revival of the term “empire,” unseen since Sylvanus Morley employed it for his sweeping temporal-cultural categories, marks a moment of re-evaluation for how Classic Maya articulations of power should be comprehended, in both etic and emic terms. Labels are important, because in seeking to describe, we are by necessity seeking to explain.

Hiix Witz and Kaanul: New Evidence for the Development of the Late Classic Maya Secondary Polity at Zapote Bobal

Sergei Vepretskii (Lomonosov Moscow State University), **Philipp Galeev** (Russian State University for the Humanities)

Hiix Witz was a middle-range Maya polity mentioned in various Late Classic hieroglyphic inscriptions from different sites (Yaxchilan, Piedras Negras, El Reinado etc.). It was identified with both Zapote Bobal and El Pajalar sites by David Stuart. Excavations at Zapote Bobal by the archaeologists from Proyecto Petén Noroccidental directed by James Fitzsimmons and Véronique Breuil-Martínez showed that the site flourished for approximately two centuries in Late Classic, and was abandoned around 800 AD. It is possible that El Pajalar was the Early Classic center of the polity while Zapote Bobal eclipsed it around 600-650.

We suggest that the rise of the new political center was due to the impact of the Kaanul dynasty in the western part of Petén. New epigraphic data from the recently re-discovered Stela 1 from Zapote Bobal dated to the late 7th century and dedicated by the king Jan Ti' O' shed light on the relationship between Hiix Witz and Kaanul. Jan Ti' O' was only 15 years old when he acceded in 663 AD, and in 669 AD he was involved in the second accession ritual under the aegis of Kaanul overlord Yuknom Ch'en. The fast growth of Zapote Bobal was connected to the establishment of the new ruling lineage that came to the power with the support of Kaanul high king.

Iconography and Style of Calakmul's Imperialism Imposed on its Hinterlands in the Late Classic Period

Joanna Asia Jablonska (University of Bonn)

The Kaan dynasty, ruling from Calakmul in the Late Classic Period, although never considered to be an empire, employed some imperial strategies inside its kingdom in order to bind smaller sites into orbit of its influence. One of these strategies was co-option of local rulers. Archeologically, this can be identified by the emulation of imperial styles by dominated sites. The Kaan dynasty paid special attention to visual representations as a means of spreading ideologies and ideas to its subordinates. The incorporation of Uxul, Naachtun, Oxpemul and La Corona into Calakmul during the heights of its power, changed their use of style and symbol system. Introduction of the imperial style at these sites relied mostly on incorporating and repeating the same art conventions and symbols. The stelae of Uxul, Naachtun, La Corona and Oxpemul follow an iconographic program known from other sites under the rule of the Kaan dynasty. These include, for example, ball game and paired stelae themes or particular elements of costume like net dress, or shell pectoral. Areas, distant to hegemonic center, may have adopted this imperial art as highly prestigious or powerful but in the case of cities lying within the particular kingdom, this served as evidence of political control. My case study thus is a good example of how a superstate, in the process of expanding, employs iconography as a way of asserting power and supremacy and how art was used as powerful means of political control and propaganda.

“I saw their evil intent”: Writing the Maya into the Moral Hierarchy of Conquest

Mallory Matsumoto (Brown University)

Warfare entails armed conflict, and armed conflict entails an acknowledged enemy against whom one is fighting. Yet that enemy is often defined as much in the discourse of war as on the battlefield. By identifying the antagonist and morally justifying one's own cause at the expense of the opposition, words have the capacity to mobilize both military and symbolic power. Although scholars have long been aware that the Spanish conquest of the Americas was a discursive phenomenon as well as a military one (e.g., Mignolo 2003; Todorov 1984), they have yet to explore the ways in which conquistadors sought to validate their cause by representing their indigenous opponents in the framework of just war philosophy. In response to the European invasion, Maya communities in both the lowlands and highlands employed a number of traditional and innovative strategies, some of which mobilized the cunning and deceit that these groups so highly valued in their warriors (Chinchilla Mazariegos 2013:701; Restall 2014:103). The conquistadors, however, were highly critical of their enemies' ambushes, surprise attacks, and other conduct which did not align with contemporary Spanish conceptions of just war. By condemning the indigenous population as treacherous and malevolent, they articulated a just cause for their conquest waged to subdue a rebellious population. In thus asserting moral superiority over their opponents, the conquistadors legitimized not only their quest for power in the Americas, but also the often excessively violent means they employed to this end.

The Sacrifice of Tolk'om: Pre-Christian Ritual in Highland Maya Colonial Texts

Sergio Romero (University of Texas at Austin)

This paper argues that ritual is the quintessential form of post-Classic political discourse among the highland Maya. Based on the analysis of the narrative of Tolkom's arrow sacrifice in the Memorial de Tecpán-Atitlán, I show that performances of ritual in mythical time act as foundational events legitimizing the rule of post-Classic elites. The sacrifice of Tolk'om, a powerful post-Classic earthlord, is the conclusion of a mythical episode bringing together friends and foes of the Kaqchikel. In this narrative Q'aq'awitz, ancestral father of the Kaqchikel, defeats and sacrifices Tolk'om thereby claiming possession of his lands and establishing a ritual dance that performatively legitimized Kaqchikel rule for years to come. Highland Maya histories such as the Memorial de Tecpán-Atitlán show that elite ritual materialized an ideology in which power was in turn exercised through ritual.

¿Y los nahuas de Guatemala? La organización sociopolítica según el Título de Santa María Ixhuatán

Margarita Cossich Vielman (Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México)

El Título de Santa María Ixhuatán es un documento del siglo XVII escrito en náhuatl central centroamericano proveniente del oriente de Guatemala; área poco estudiada por los académicos, pero muy importante para comprender la organización política del área maya, ya que no podemos comprender a los mayas en su totalidad sin comprender sus relaciones con sus vecinos más cercanos. En la primera parte del documento se narra la migración de los pobladores de Ixhuatán desde lugares míticos como Chicomoztoc y Nueve Cerros, la división de los grupos durante su recorrido, los dirigentes de la migración y su organización sociopolítica.

En esta presentación se hablará del autor de este documento, Don Pedro de Alvarado Xilomiqui, su manera de legitimar a Ixhuatán como la capital del Altepétl-Chinamit, ante Guazacapan, Pasaco y Nancinta, y la relación entre los sitios mencionados en este documento y el patrón de asentamiento arqueológico. Este documento permite explicar la organización socio política que se plantea por estos pobladores en el Título de Ixhuatán, quedando así evidente nuestro poco entendimiento de la región nahua y xinka de Guatemala y de conceptos tan utilizados en el área maya como chinamit y altepétl.

El sistema de parentesco maya en la formación de las estructuras del poder

Galina Ershova (Knórozov Center for Mesoamerican Studies)

Los términos de parentesco reflejan la parte más arcaica de la cultura de un grupo étnico. Las lenguas mayenses guardan por lo general el repertorio léxico y semiótico semejante de los términos de parentesco. La reconstrucción del sistema de parentesco maya por los términos de parentesco conserva algunos elementos de la estructura y poder en la sociedad maya, que existió en el supuesto periodo arcaico. Al mismo tiempo algunos de estos elementos seguían funcionando o se percibían en las estructuras de poder de los periodos posteriores.

La estructura de la organización social, reflejada en los términos de parentesco, perfectamente correspondía al funcionamiento del modelo tribal de la sociedad. Sin embargo para el periodo clásico, la reproducción del dicho sistema a nivel de la organización del poder, el modelo “genético”, aplicado a las élites políticas, se transformó en un freno para la sociedad maya, impidiendo su desarrollo y provocando la inestabilidad. Los textos mitológicos del periodo colonial presentan evidencias de la pérdida del entendimiento de la procedencia de los términos de parentesco.

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