Daily life of the ancient Maya recorded on murals at Calakmul, Mexico

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Edited by Michael D. Coe, Yale University, New Haven, CT, and approved September 25, 2009 (received for review April 21, 2009)

Research into ancient societies frequently faces a major challenge in accessing the lives of those who made up the majority of their populations, since the available evidence so often concerns only the ruling elite. Our excavations at the ancient Maya site of Calakmul, Mexico, have uncovered a “painted pyramid”: a structure decorated with murals depicting scenes of its inhabitants giving, receiving, and consuming diverse foods, as well as displaying and transporting other goods. Many are accompanied by hieroglyphic captions that describe the participants, and include spellings of key subsistence items. Collectively, they offer insights into the social mechanisms by which goods were circulated within major Maya centers.

Archaeological remains always present a skewed image of the human past, supplying bountiful information about some aspects of ancient societies but a dearth about others. Many of the issues that most concern scholars—the social processes, behaviors, and relationships integral to living communities—fall into the latter category and leave little or no physical trace. Cultures with a strong tradition of art and writing fill some of these gaps, but here data are usually restricted to the social elite, leaving fundamental questions about societies as a whole unanswered.

This is certainly true of the ancient Maya civilization of Mesoamerica, where writing and iconography provide rich information about the ruling class. From public monuments to the most intimate scale of painted ceramics and personal jewelry, scholars have learned much about the practice and performance of courtly life. Missing from these sources are the lower echelons of society, the population that supported the opulent lifestyles of the elite. The role such people played in circulating goods and services, as well as the social systems through which this was accomplished, are virtually unknown. Our work at the site of Calakmul, Mexico, offers data that address these issues.

Results

First reported in 1931, the site of Calakmul covers over 3,000 hectares in total and lies today within a 726,000-hectare biosphere reserve of the same name in the state of Campeche (1–4) (Fig. 1). Since 1993 the site has been investigated by the Calakmul Archaeological Project of Consejo Nacional para la Cultura y las Artes-Instituto Nacional de Antropología e Historia (CONACULTA-INAH), a department of the Mexican government (5–6). In 2004, we began excavations in the Chik Naab complex, an architectural group covering about 2.5 hectares (7). Since then, we have focused on structure 1, the tallest Structure 1. Encountered as a collapsed mound, it was first cleared of surface debris and consolidated before a tunnel was dug to explore its interior. Like many Maya buildings, the Structure 1 “pyramid” proved to be an accretion of superimposed remodelings. Stylistic analysis of the ceramics found within the rubble core of each version suggests that construction began at some point between A.D. 420 and 620, and that the seventh and final remodeling was initiated between A.D. 820 and 1020 (7), although this was apparently abandoned unfinished.

The third remodeling, dubbed Sub 1–4, was exceptional in that it was decorated with a program of exterior murals, an extremely rare feature in the Maya area (Fig. 3). The plan of Sub 1–4 is square, approximately 11 m wide on each side, and the building rises in three distinct tiers of sloping panels separated by recessed moldings to a height of 4.7 m. Access to the summit was from four stairways, each aligned to a cardinal direction in a cruciform pattern. The summit itself, and with it any trace of a superstructure, was destroyed in the construction of the subsequent version, Sub 1–3. There is clear evidence that Sub 1–3 was built with the preservation of the Sub 1–4 paintings in mind. Their delicate surfaces were packed with a layer of mud and small stones, very much in contrast to the normal practice of breaking up stucco facings to give greater adhesion for the new masonry that will cover them. The date of Sub 1–4 is difficult to isolate with precision. The styles of some of the vessels depicted on the murals suggest that it was decorated between A.D. 620–700 (8), while the painting style and the paleography of the hieroglyphs are consistent with a seventh-century attribution.

Painted scenes were applied to the panels on all three tiers, as well as to the sidewalls of the projecting stairways. Some of the

Author contributions: R.C.V. designed research; R.C.V., V.A.V.L., and S.M. performed research; and S.M. wrote the paper.

The authors declare no conflict of interest.

This article is a PNAS Direct Submission.

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Fig. 1. Map showing Calakmul in relation to other ancient Maya sites with extrensive mural paintings.
recessed moldings between the panels were also painted, either with continuations of the scenes or with short hieroglyphic texts. Some 30 individual scenes have been exposed on the lowest two tiers, while tests on the highest, unexcavated tier indicate that this originally carried as many as 16 more. Preservation ranges widely from good to very poor. We distinguish two phases of painting separated by a thin layer of stucco, seen most clearly where damage to the surface of Phase 2 has exposed portions of Phase 1 beneath. The cleared surfaces have been analyzed with multispectral photography by Gene Ware of Brigham Young University, revealing some faint or obscured details that cannot readily be seen with the naked eye.

The paintings are currently undergoing cleaning and conservation. The chemistry of the pigments, the technique of application, and methods to ensure the long-term preservation of the murals are under study by Piero Baglioni and his team at the University of Florence. Although not produced by a true fresco technique, provisional results suggest that the paints formed a durable bond with the plaster surface similar in its effect to mezzo fresco. To consolidate the pictorial surface, calcium hydroxide nanoparticles in an alcohol suspension have been applied to mimic the original reaction that converts lime [calcium hydroxide Ca(OH)$_2$] into plaster (calcium carbonate CaCO$_3$) (9).
The colors used are blue, green, and a variety of yellows, reds, and browns applied to a background of gray-white stucco with a pinkish hue (10). The Phase 1 murals have six colors, whereas Phase 2 has 16 distinct colors and hues. Both phases used reddish-brown underpainting to plan the images, while final delineation was made with a black-brown line, which in Phase 2 has often decayed to a pinkish red. Each of the panels is framed by a painted red band. In most places the painting shows a continuous line that must have been applied rapidly, with corrections made in several areas. Some of the depicted human figures are out of proportion, which is most noticeable in the relative sizes of the heads and shoulders. This is especially true of Phase 1, whose execution is less accomplished than Phase 2 and plainly the work of a different artist or artists. The two phases of painting cover similar themes, but are not simple reproductions of the same scenes and texts.

We cannot assess how much time passed between the painting of Phase 1 and Phase 2, or how long before the latter was covered by the next version, Structure Sub 1–3. The intensity of the colors on Phase 2 could be seen to argue for a relatively short period of exposure to the elements, but we lack sufficient data on the stability of the paints and stucco surface to draw any conclusion about this.

The murals are notable examples of Maya art, but their scientific value lies primarily in the information conveyed in their imagery. Earlier mural finds, such as those inside buildings at Bonampak, Mexico, and San Bartolo, Guatemala, have contributed greatly to our understanding of Maya society and culture, the former illuminating aspects of warfare and royal rituals, the latter the deep antiquity of religious thought and writing (11–14). The Calakmul murals differ in important ways. Lacking the fine ceremonial garb of royal performance or any of the distinctive markers of supernatural identity, they offer insights into quotidian activities.

The paintings at Calakmul show groups of men, women, and a child engaged in a range of different activities. The proportion of women is very high compared to Maya art in general and about one-third of the figures that survive in Phase 2 are female. The image of an elderly woman is one of the only nonmythological depictions of its kind. Costumes range from simple loincloths and tied-cloth headbands to more elaborate headgear and clothing decorated with painted or woven designs. Such distinctions probably reflect differing social status. Several figures, male and female, wear broad-brimmed hats likely woven from a vegetable fiber. Women often wear face-paint, sometimes extending below the neckline, and both sexes wear ear ornaments, necklaces, and pendants. Most scenes include images of ceramic vessels, baskets, or various types of bound sacks and packages. A number show people preparing and dispensing foodstuffs together with others who consume them. Other characters are engaged in transportation: bearers are weighed down with large pots or rope-tied bundles, each carried with a tumpline over the forehead in traditional Maya fashion (Fig. 4). One man stretches out a striped blanket or cloak, while others extend twisted cords. Another figure is accompanied by a scarlet macaw perched on a pole stand. In one scene, pin-like objects of uncertain function protrude from baskets.

The hieroglyphs that accompany the scenes provide invaluable data for their interpretation. All of the most legible hieroglyphs come from Phase 2, where they serve as captions. Thus we find ke-le-ma keleem “young man” close to the image of a male who is intermediate in height between adjacent adults and a child.

![Fig. 4. Scene of a bearer carrying a large pot using a tumpline over his forehead.](image)

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![Fig. 5. Scene showing the serving and drinking of ul “maize-gruel.” The hieroglyphic caption aj ul “Maize-gruel person” (AJ u-lu) appears at top left.](image)
We have very little hard information about the social processes and the varying roles of festivals, gift-giving, communal feasting, and exchange, all of which are attested in ethnohistorical sources. These murals evidently depict one or more of these activities and thereby portray an ancient social mechanism that has left no other evidence of its existence.

Materials and Methods

Investigation of Structure 1 began with the clearance of covering vegetation and the removal of earth and stone debris. Where the original lines of the building were clear, fallen masonry blocks were reset using a limestone mortar mixed with small quantities of cement. Exploration of the interior began at its southeastern corner, where a tunnel approximately 0.7 m wide was driven in a northerly direction at ground level using hand tools. This encountered and passed through the damaged facades of three previous versions: Sub 1–1, Sub 1–2, and Sub 1–3. After about 2 m, the excavation came to the painted facade of Sub 1–4 and thereafter proceeded laterally to follow its surface. Ultimately, the work opened a cavity around the whole southeastern corner approximately 5 m on each side and 3.5 m in height, reaching the top of the second tier. This method was repeated for the southwestern, northeastern, and northwestern corners of the building (in that order), leaving the consolidated final version of Structure 1 as a protective enclosure. The third, highest tier on the southeast corner was briefly explored from above and then reburied. We are currently developing a plan for the long-term conservation of the murals that will allow for the exposure and study of the third tier. Evidence for two earlier versions, Sub 1–5 and Sub 1–6, was gained from a tunnel 6 m long and 0.8 m wide heading west that was sunk into the remains of the eastern stairway of Sub 1–4. Fragments of ceramic vessels were recovered from the interior fill of each version of the building for style-dating analysis.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS. We thank our colleagues from the Consorzio per lo sviluppo dei Sistemi a Grande Interfase (CSGI) at the University of Florence and the Ancient Textual Imaging Group at Brigham Young University for their technical contributions. The Calakmul Archaeological Project (Proyecto Arqueológico de Calakmul) was supported by the Mexican Government agency of Consejo Nacional para la Cultura y las Artes-Instituto Nacional de Antropología e Historia (CONACULTA-INAH), the Government of the State of Campeche, and Fomento Cultural Banamex.

Fig. 6. Hieroglyphic spellings of two titles from the murals: (A) aj _ix’m “Maize-grain person” (AJ-i-xi-ma); (B) aj _atz’aam “Salt person” (AJ-a _tz’a-mi).