

Summary of the *Ciudadela* (YUC 2) Artifact Analysis from Tíhoo, Mérida, Yucatán

By

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INTRODUCTION

As part of my dissertation entitled Documenting Cultural Transition Through Contact Archaeology in Tíhoo, Mérida, Yucatán (Rogers 2010), I conducted the first systematic archaeological study of the *Ciudadela* (YUC 2) artifact assemblage – originally collected from Tíhoo/Mérida by Dr. John Goggin in 1956 and 1957 and currently housed in the J. C. Dickinson Hall Research Center at the University of Florida–Florida Museum of Natural History (hereafter referred to as FLMNH). As one of the last standing structures in the Maya site of Tíhoo, now buried beneath the San Benito Marketplace in the Yucatán capital city Mérida, the *Ciudadela* collection represents a rare glimpse into a significant, yet understudied, Type 1 archaeological site. The purpose of this study was to develop a tentative chronological sequence for the site’s cultural occupations, to determine the impacts of Spanish contact, and to illustrate the material connections between the communities occupying this site. I described and quantified formal and decorative elements of style for both precolumbian and historic remains and grouped them into pre-existing cultural and artifact chronologies in order to identify site function, use, and patterns of cultural interaction occurring at this site.

Objectives of Study

Archaeological Research Justification. This article has two main objectives. The first is to make previously unreported data from the *Ciudadela* collection available to scholars, primarily archaeologists and historians. The second objective is to provide a tentative, temporal framework for this site. The stylistic analyses of artifacts as well as their typological classifications provide insights into the cultural occupation and significance of this assemblage. The remainder of this article provides a brief description of the *Ciudadela* collection, its history, and its representative artifacts.

The Archaeological Marginalization of Tíhoo. As one of the last standing structures of precolumbian Tíhoo and as the last major Maya platform in Tíhoo’s ceremonial center, the destruction of the *Ciudadela* structure in the years after Goggin’s excavation led to an almost instant decrease in United States research at this site. Beyond Mexico’s academia and INAH’s salvage archaeology, only one U.S. dissertation, written by an architecture student at the University of Florida, stands out as a major contribution to

the understanding of this structure.¹ Although not written from an archaeological perspective, Mark Childress Lindsay's dissertation entitled *Spanish Mérida Overlaying the Maya City* (1999) dealt with the fusion of architectural styles and building patterns in Mérida, pre- and post-Spanish contact. His dissertation was one of the first to compile and partially translate into English historical documents from Tíhoo/Mérida relating to this structure. In addition, Lindsay was the first U.S. scholar to describe and illustrate the three cultural occupations of the *Ciudadela* complex: the Maya occupation (referred to as the Precolumbian Period, ca. A.D. 250/600-1542) consisting of a religious platform, the Franciscan occupation (referred to as the Colonial Period, ca. A.D. 1542-1800s) consisting of multiple religious edifices, and the Spanish/Mexican Military occupation (referred to as the Post-Colonial Period, ca. A.D. 1800s-1900s) consisting of a citadel (which gave its current name to the site). As of this writing (2010), neither a U.S. institution nor unaffiliated non-Mexican scholar has conducted archaeological research at this structure since Goggin's excavation in the late 1950s.

Generally speaking, most of the archaeological work performed in larger site of Tíhoo/Mérida has been the result of rescue archaeology projects initiated by INAH and the city council of Mérida, research conducted by FAMSI and the NSF, and projects created by academics at the *Universidad Autónoma de Yucatán*. Specifically, researchers such as Fernando Robles, Anthony Andrews, José Ligorred Perramón, Marcos Noé Pool Cab, Carlos Peraza Lope, Agustín Peña Castillo, Socorro Jiménez Álvarez, Raul Alcalá Erosa, and Teresa Ceballos Gallareta, have provided additional information about the socio-cultural makeup of Tíhoo/Mérida and the material culture it produced. The majority of their works, however, have concentrated on the precolumbian components of the site, which has perpetuated problems with contact period ceramic classifications and the analysis of historical material culture. In addition, few of these works have been translated into English, which has resulted in an absence of Tíhoo/Mérida from most English language Maya research and academic literature.

In spite of this academic lacuna, many U.S. and European archaeologists recognize Tíhoo as one of the most important sites in the Northern Maya Lowlands. Silvia Garza Tarazona and Edward Barna Kurjack Basco's reference text, *Atlas Arqueológico del Estado de Yucatán*, list Tíhoo as one of only four type one (1) sites in the Yucatán. In their text, Garza and Kurjack attribute this level of importance to the well-documented Uxmal, Chichén Itzá, and Coba sites (Garza and Kurjack 1980). As is commonly known, the other type (1) sites have been excavated extensively and documented for the better part of the twentieth and twenty-first centuries and are considered, in modern times, major tourist destinations. In 2008, Clifford Brown and Walter R. T. Witschey updated Kurjack and Garza's listing of type (1) sites by adding Izamal to the four previously listed sites in the Northern Maya Lowlands. Although included in both publications, the

¹ Prior to Lindsay's dissertation, Mexican architect Raúl Alcalá Erosa was one of the first to compile the history of the *Ciudadela* complex and to create detailed drawings of the site, which he published in his text *Historia y vestigios de la ciudadela de San Benito* (1998).

precolumbian site of Tíhoo has remained obscure in Maya studies and is mentioned sparingly in most U.S. conducted research in the Maya region, possibly because the site has been destroyed in modern times. The exclusion of both Tíhoo and colonial Mérida in modern scholarship has left a void in Maya archaeological understanding that this article seeks to ameliorate.

Research Question and Study Objectives

Based on the assemblage's potential for yielding information about the cultural occupation of the *Ciudadela* structure and the greater the site of Tíhoo/Mérida, I developed the following research question:

- How did precolumbian and historical exchange impact material culture at the *Ciudadela* site in Tíhoo/Mérida, Yucatán?

With this research question in mind, I then used the following research strategies to address the proposed question:

- 1) Construct a localized chronology for the *Ciudadela* (YUC 2) artifact assemblage.
- 2) Identify artifact forms, decorative styles and, if possible, comment on function and production at this site.
- 3) Identify artifacts from each cultural occupation represented at this site.
- 4) Determine what, if any, changes occurred to the production of material culture in the pre- and post-Spanish contact periods.

For the purpose of brevity, this article only discusses general results from my analysis of the *Ciudadela* collection. A larger manuscript is expected to be published on the subject in the near future.

MATERIALS: THE CIUDADELA COLLECTION

The *Ciudadela* (YUC 2) assemblage originally was collected in 1956 and 1957 as part of John Goggin's fourteen-year majolica research project (1949-1963). Based on personal communications with Dr. Larry C. Heilman, one of Goggin's research assistants from the 1950s, I was fortunate to locate Goggin's unpublished 1957 Field Notebook in which he briefly described the excavation of the *Ciudadela* complex. I combined this information with Goggin's brief comments about the *Ciudadela* structure published in his text *Spanish Majolica in the New World* (1968) and his unpublished 1957 Field Excavation Cards (archived at the FLMNH–Historical Archaeology Lab) to outline the methods employed during both field seasons. A summary of this compiled information is presented here.

During the summer of 1956, Goggin conducted a pedestrian survey of the *Ciudadela* complex as part of the Carnegie Institute’s *Survey of Maya and Colonial Sites* project (1956). During this study, which mostly concentrated on documenting precolumbian and colonial structures in the city of Mérida, Goggin and his team collected 67 majolica sherds from “various levels [along] the face of the *Ciudadela* platform remnant,” of which the results originally were published in his Spanish Majolica text (Goggin 1968:60–61). These are presented in Table 1-1.

Table 1-1. John Goggin’s 1956 Surface Collection: Historic Wares.

Ceramic Type	Counts
Ichtucknee Blue on Blue	5
Ichtucknee Blue on White	2
Fig Springs Polychrome	11
San Luis Blue on White	21
Abó Polychrome	1
Puebla Polychrome	4
Aucilla Polychrome	1
Puebla Blue on White	4
Huejotzingo Blue on White	1
San Luis Polychrome	3
Aranama Polychrome	4
Tumacacori	1
Unclassified Blue on White D	2
Unclassified Polychrome	4
Blue on White Basin Sherds	2
Unclassified White	1
Total	67

Source: Goggin 1968: 60-61.

It is important to note that at the time of Goggin’s survey and later excavation, the only remaining portion of the once two-square-block *Ciudadela* platform was a 3.7 m by 4.6 m (12 by 15 foot) section comprised of what was the northernmost edge of the structure (Goggin 1968:61). Goggin noted that the rest of structure had been removed “in recent years” for land development and road construction. One can assume that Goggin returned to the *Ciudadela* structure in 1957 (under the guidance of the Carnegie

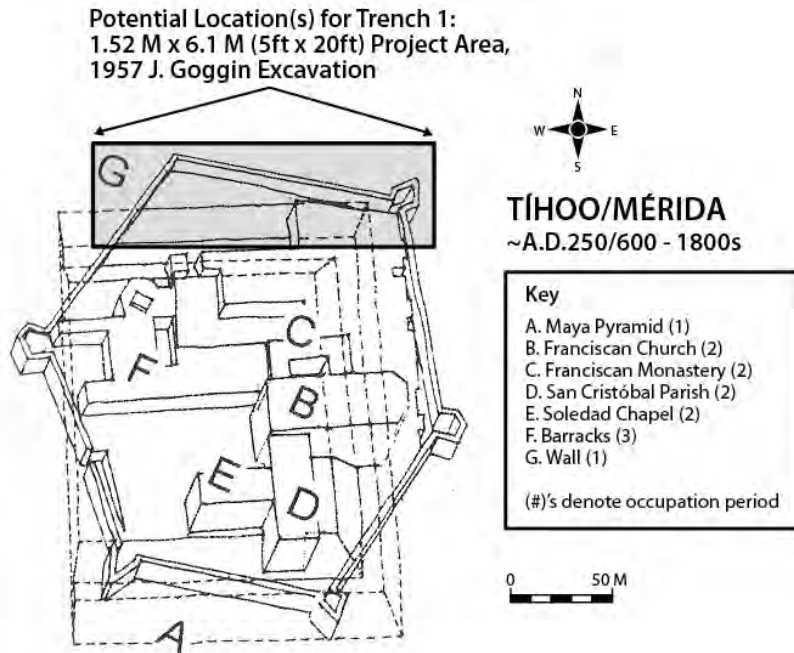
Institute and the University of Florida) to investigate the structure before it was demolished. In the summer of 1957, Goggin received permission from INAH to excavate:

. . . en los vestigios de la construcción colonial conocida como Castillo de San Benito o La Ciudadela , ubicada en [Mérida], en busca de fragmentos de cerámica colonial y prehispánica para su estudio [. . . in the ruins associated with the colonial construction of the Castillo de San Benito or La Ciudadela , located in Mérida, in search of colonial and pre-Hispanic ceramic fragments for his study]. [George A. Smathers Libraries–Special and Area Studies Collections, Gainesville, Florida, John M. Goggin Papers “Solicitande Facilidades para Exploraciones en La Ciudadela, Agosto 14 de 1957,” Ms 44].

Goggin’s notes stated that the area currently was used as a cornfield and covered with a thick layer of secondary growth and vegetation, which he cleared in order to make surface collections and excavate (Goggin 1957: Ms 44, 1968:59). He also indicated that the remaining section of the *Ciudadela* structure appeared to be the remains of “rock fill constructed in Spanish times, covered with refuse, and subsequent buildings constructed on top of the fill” (Goggin 1968:60). It appears that Goggin believed the site would yield significant historical materials, as indicated by his statements about the high probability of recovering Spanish and colonial majolica from the *Ciudadela* excavation (Goggin 1968:59–61).

Once initial observations were documented, Goggin, his research team, and several local workers, excavated a 1.5 m by 6.1 m (5 by 20 foot) trench (labeled “Trench 1”) along the structure’s remaining outer wall. After the grid was measured, Goggin subsequently divided Trench 1 into four arbitrary excavation units, labeled Units A-D. The exact location of the excavation trench was not recorded, although Goggin noted that it was positioned “just in from the edge” of the northernmost part of the structure (Goggin 1968:60; SL, Florida, Ms 44). It is important to note that, due to Goggin’s death in 1963, much of his Yucatecan research never was completed and the majority of it went unpublished, including his *Ciudadela* excavation. Rouse stated in his foreword for Goggin’s *Spanish Majolica in the New World* (1968) that he was unable to locate Goggin’s *Ciudadela* site report, either due to the fact that it had never been found or was never written before his death (Goggin 1968: iii). In the map labeled Figure 1-1, I have hypothesized about the probable location(s) of “Trench 1” based on Goggin’s unpublished field notes. Since Goggin indicated that the only remaining portion of the structure consisted of the “northernmost edge,” I elected to highlight the areas that he most likely could have been referring to in his notes.

Figure 1-1. Potential Location(s) of *Ciudadela* Excavation Trench.

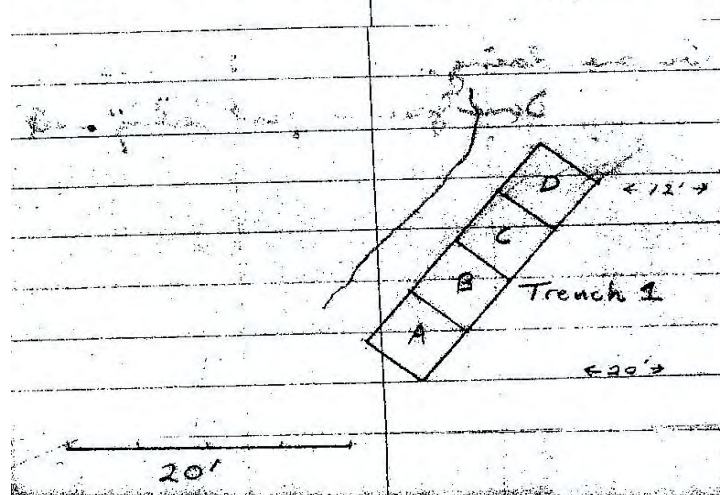


Source: Adapted from Lindsay 1999:147, Figure 6.6.
(Artistic rendering courtesy of Dennise Rodríguez-Ávila.)

Although it seems likely that this was the location of Goggin's excavation, the above map is based solely on my interpretation of his brief site descriptions and field notes; it should be noted that it is impossible to state definitively the exact location of this excavation. Despite the lack of exact site coordinates, Goggin's Field Notebook did include a number of rough sketches of the site, which highlighted the general locations of Test Units A-D. Figure 1-2 is one such drawing which shows the orientation of "Trench 1" to the *Ciudadela* structure, presumably the northernmost point shown on the previous map.

Figure 1-2. 1957 Sketch Plan and Test Units, *Ciudadela* (YUC 2), Mérida, Yucatán.

Sketch Plan, Strat Test
 convento de San Benito, Merida, Yucatan



Source: Goggin [1926-1963] 1957, Ms44.

In the above sketch, Goggin drew Trench 1 in front of what appears to be the 1.5 m by 6.1 m (12 by 15 foot) remnant of the *Ciudadela* structure, which was illustrated in the drawing as a single, curved line above and to the left of the four labeled units. The orientation of this map was made without the use of cardinal directions; as such, I have assumed, based on Goggin's previous details, that Trench 1 originally was located either to the northeast or northwest of the structure.

Goggin's notes indicated that Trench 1 was comprised of four 1.5 m by 1.5 m (5 by 5 foot) excavation units labeled A thru D. The depth of the test units ranged from 118.1 cm (46.5 in) in Unit A to 190.5 cm (75 in) in Units B-D. Goggin excavated each unit in 15.2 cm (6 in) arbitrary levels. The field notes did not mention if the excavated soils were screened; however, the unpublished Field Excavation Cards provided brief details about soil types and features encountered during the excavation of each unit level. Tables 1-2 through 1-5 provide a summary of these results. (Note: In the tables below, I labeled all features as "F" and provided each with a corresponding number.)

Table 1-2. Unit A: Soil and Level Descriptions.

Level	Soil Type	Materials/Features Encountered
0-15.2cm (0-6in.)	Limey marl (brown when damp, grey when dry) with fine pebbles and rocks	Potsherds and 2 Glass Beads
15.2-30.5cm (6-12in.)	Limey marl (brown when	Potsherds and cut crystal

	damp, grey when dry) with fine pebbles and rocks	chandelier ornament (now missing)
30.5-45.7cm (12-18in.)	Limey marl (brown when damp, grey when dry) with fine pebbles and rocks and noticeable caliche	Potsherds, etc.
45.7-61cm (18-24in.)	Loose limey marl (brown when damp, grey when dry) with fine pebbles and rocks and noticeable caliche	Potsherds, "no obvious intrusive pit but large piece of enameled metal pot here (discarded)" (now missing)
61-76.2cm (24-30in.)	No Data	No Data
76.2-91.4cm (30-36in.)	Rubble	Potsherds, etc. (F1): "Wall fragment, see 36-42in."
91.4cm-108cm (36-42in.)	Dark soil	Potsherds, etc. (F1): "Two walls intersecting"
108cm-118.1cm (42-46.5in.)	Brown soil with rubble	Potsherds, etc. (F1): "Reached floor inside and outside of walls at 46.5in."

Table 1-3. Unit B: Soil and Level Descriptions.

Level	Soil Type	Materials/Features Encountered
0-15.2cm (0-6in.)	Limey marl (brown when damp, grey when dry) with fine pebbles and rocks	Potsherds, Glass, U.S. nickel (missing)
15.2-30.5cm (6-12in.)	Limey marl (brown when damp, grey when dry) with fine pebbles and rocks	Potsherds, Mexican Brass Military Button "Colleigo Militar" (1850–1890?), etc.
30.5-45.7cm (12-18in.)	Dense Limey marl (brown when damp, grey when dry) with fine pebbles and rocks and noticeable caliche/plaster	Potsherds, Near intact green glass bottle (missing), etc.
45.7-61cm (18-24in.)	Dense Limey marl (brown when damp, grey when dry) with fine pebbles and rocks and noticeable caliche/plaster	Potsherds, (F2): "Reach a possible floor at 24 in. see 24-30in."
61-76.2cm (24-30in.)	Limey marl, side near Unit D has a plaster layer	Potsherds, etc., (F2): "Possible floor" is actually fallen wall plaster from Unit D wall feature
76.2-91.4cm (30-36in.)	Rubble	Potsherds and animal bone
91.4cm-111.8/114.3cm (36-44/45in.)	Rubble	Potsherds, animal bones, colonial bricks (ladrillos), "Measurements wrong-level ends at 44-45in."
111.8/114.3cm - 121.9cm (44/45-48in.)	Brown soil and rubble	Potsherds, animal bone, etc.
121.9-137.2cm (48-54in.)	Light brown soil and rubble	Potsherds, 1 Chinese porcelain, "Reached rock layer at 54in."
137.2-152.4cm (54-60in.)	Light brown soil	Few Potsherds, encountered (F3): midden refuse, (F4): Colonial Aqueduct "aqueduct first appeared to be a wall at 54in., during removal discovered it contained interlocking clay pipes set in lime mortar surrounded by stones set in mortar, width averages 2ft."
152.4-190.5cm (60-75in)	Soil and rubble and transitions to rubble at 75in.	Reached bottom of (F4) aqueduct, few potsherds but more than Units C and

		D
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Table 1-4. Unit C: Soil and Level Descriptions.

Level	Soil Type	Materials/Features Encountered
0-15.2cm (0-6in.)	Limey marl (brown when damp, grey when dry) with fine pebbles and rocks	Potsherds, 1864 U.S. Penny, "Fine piece of Abó Polychrome"
15.2-30.5cm (6-12in.)	Limey marl (brown when damp, grey when dry) with fine pebbles and rocks	Potsherds, Bone Button, etc.
30.5-45.7cm (12-18in.)	Limey marl (brown when damp, grey when dry) with fine pebbles and rocks and noticeable caliche	Potsherds and "Door handle"
45.7-61cm (18-24in.)	Very limey marl (brown when damp, grey when dry) with fine pebbles and rocks and noticeable caliche	Potsherds, etc. (F2): "On side near Unit B, there seems to be a possible floor, see 24-30in." Determine "floor" actually is fallen wall plaster from Unit D wall feature
61-76.2cm (24-30in.)	Dark soil and rubble	Many potsherds, colonial bricks (ladrillos), and animal bones
76.2-91.4cm (30-36in.)	Rubble	Potsherds, etc.
91.4cm-106.7cm (36-42in.)	Dark soil rubble, in places at 42in. soil caliche encountered	Potsherds, many colonial bricks (ladrillos) fragments, etc.
106.7-121.9cm (42-48in.)	Lighter brown soil	Potsherds, animal bone, etc.
121.9-137.2cm (48-54in.)	Light brown soil with rubble	Few potsherds "Reached rock layer at 54in."
137.2-152.4cm (54-60in.)	Light brown soil	(F3): Midden refuse and (F4): aqueduct, see Unit B 54-60"
152.4-190.5cm (60-75in)	Soil and rubble and transitions to rubble at 75in.	Reached bottom of (F4) aqueduct, few potsherds

Table 1-5. Unit D: Soil and Level Descriptions.

Level	Soil Type	Materials/Features Encountered
0-15.2cm (0-6in.)	Limey marl (brown when damp, grey when dry) with fine pebbles and rocks	Potsherds, glass, etc.
15.2-30.5cm (6-12in.)	Limey marl (brown when damp, grey when dry) with fine pebbles and rocks	Potsherds, etc., (F5): "Possible wall, see 18-24in."
30.5-45.7cm (12-18in.)	Limey marl with many plaster fragments	Potsherds, etc., (F5): "Wall across side, see 18-24in."
45.7-61cm (18-24in.)	Limey marl with more plaster fragments	Wall exposed with intact plaster, see 24-30in. for floor plan
61-76.2cm (24-30in.)	Marl with rubble	Potsherds (noted Creamware), (F5): Wall feature still encountered, 3 colonial brick (ladrillo) fragments
76.2-91.4cm (30-36in.)	Rubble	Potsherds, etc., "Large stone in floor left in place"
91.4cm-106.7cm (36-42in.)	Dark soil and rubble	Potsherds, etc. "Stone still in center" [Note: 2 excavation cards for the same level]
106.7-121.9cm (42-48in.)	Lighter brown soil	Few potsherds, animal bones, "Removed center stone at this level"
121.9-137.2cm (48-54in.)	Light brown with rocks	Potsherds, etc.
137.2-152.4cm (54-60in.)	Light brown soil with rubble	Potsherds, etc.
152.4-190.5cm (60-75in.)	Light brown soil and rubble transitions into rocks	Potsherds scarce

It should be noted that there are several reasons why the *Ciudadela* (YUC 2) collection was selected for this project. First and foremost, it represents the only site in Goggin's Yucatecan investigations where he dug stratigraphic test pits and encountered intact features. Of the four pits excavated at this site, this study concentrates primarily on Units A and B, and General Collections.² Units A and B were selected as the primary

² It is important to note that the classification "General Collections" originally was not created by Goggin in the 1950s. It appears that artifacts may have been mislabeled and then reclassified under this heading some time between the transportation of items from Mexico in the 1950s to the accessioning of the YUC 2 collection into the FLMNH collections in the 1970s.

study units because they represented the highest concentration of features and contained the greatest number of levels that appear to have been *in situ* at the time of excavation (e.g. levels 137–152 cm and 152–191 cm in Unit B contained both the intact aqueduct and associated midden features, and levels 76–91 cm thru 108 cm–118 cm in Unit A contained intact, intersecting colonial walls and an associated, intact floor). As such, I felt that these units were the most likely to provide sufficient information to answer the research question presented earlier.

LAB METHODS AND PROCEDURES

Based upon the materials that Goggin collected but never published, I organized, cataloged, analyzed and, in some instances, re-analyzed the material remains associated with the YUC 2 *Ciudadela* artifact assemblage.³ To do so, I used the following analytical methods: the Type-Variety Classification Method (TVM), the Historical Archaeology Type Collection Classification Method (HATC, which is based loosely on the TVM), and the Non-Ceramic classification methods described in Deagan's *Artifacts of the Spanish Colonies* (1987, 2002) and on the Society of Historical Archaeology's *Historic Glass Bottle Classification and Identification Website* (Lindsey 2010). Using these methodologies, I classified all diagnostic elements, motifs, configurations, and decorative layouts in order to group materials properly into their respective cultural, ceramic, and non-ceramic classifications.

YUC 2 ANALYTICAL RESULTS

The analyses performed in this study specifically were used to illustrate the research question and strategies presented earlier. Since historic (25%) and precolumbian (43%) ceramics were represented significantly in this collection, I analyzed and documented both components in the YUC 2 sample. Do to so efficiently, I created the first comprehensive catalog for the entire YUC 2 *Ciudadela* collection (approximately 20,000 items), entitled *FMNH YUC 2: Catalog of Artifacts* (referred to as the *YUC2CA*). After all items in the collection were recorded in the *YUC2CA*, I sampled two of Goggin's four stratigraphically excavated test units (i.e. Units A and B and General Collections) in order to create a gross estimation for material remains represented in this assemblage. All corresponding data recorded in the *YUC2CA* was transcribed into two detailed catalogs entitled the *FLMNH YUC 2: Ceramic Stylistic Catalog* (referred to as the *YUC2SC*) and the *FLMNH YUC 2: Non-Ceramic Catalog* (referred to as the *YUC2NCC*)

³ I only analyzed the portion of the *Ciudadela* collection currently stored in the Historical Archaeology Lab (YUC 2), which did not include the ~14 trays (approximately \pm 20,000) of bone fragments removed by "JC" in 2004 and restored in the Zooarchaeology collection under the accession heading "1ET12-8."

(for more specific details, see Rogers 2010). Tables 1-7 and 1-8 provides a brief listing of all artifacts sampled (N=10,765) during this study.

Table 1-7. General Ceramic Classifications.

Variables	Pre-Columbian	Historic	Pre-Columbian/Historic	Totals
General Collections	96	521	38	655
Unit A	1010	615	1254	2879
Unit B	2680	1035	1557	5272
Totals	3786	2171	2849	8806

The YUC2SC catalog contained 8,806 individually recorded ceramic sherds (line items) representing General Collections, Unit A, and Unit B.

Table 1-8. General Non-Ceramic Classifications.

Variables	Pre-Columbian	Historic	Pre-Columbian/Historic	Totals
General Collections	0	24	1	25
Unit A	0	637	167	804
Unit B	10	971	149	1130
Totals	10	1632	317	1959

The YUC2NCC catalog contained 1,959 individually recorded non-ceramic remains (line items) representing General Collections, Unit A, and Unit B.

Precolumbian and Historical Ceramic Classifications

During this study, I identified eleven diagnostic precolumbian Wares, three ceramic Horizons, sixteen Groups, twenty-six Types, and three Varieties in the YUC 2 sample, which have been provided in Table 1-9.

Table 1-9. Precolumbian Ceramic Classifications.

CERAMIC CLASSIFICATIONS	
Chichen Red Ware	Mayapan Unslipped Ware, continued
Chichen Red Ware (General)	Panaba Unslipped Group-Huhi Impressed Type
Red Dzibiac Group (General)	Panaba Unslipped Group-Unslipped Type
Chichen Slate Ware	Unslipped Navula Group (General)
Slate Dzas Group (General)	Unslipped Navula Group-Chenkeken Incised Type
Fine Orange Ware	Unslipped Navula Group-Cehac-Hunacti Composite Type
Fine Orange Matillas Group-Matillas	Unslipped Navula Group-Navula

Orange Type	Unslipped Type
Uni. Mayapan Ware	Mayapan Black Ware
Uni. Mayapan Ware	Black Sulche Group (General)
Mayapan Red Ware	Black Sulche Group-Pacha Incised Type
Western Tases Horizon	Black Sulche Group-Sulche Black Type
Red Mama Group (General)	Peto Cream Ware
Red Mama Group-Chapab Molded Type	Cream Kukula Group (General)
Red Mama Group-Dzonot Appliqué Type	Cream Kukula Group-Kukula Cream Type
Red Mama Group-Red Mama Type	Cream Kukula Group-Xcanchakan Black-on-Cream Type
Red Mama Group-Papacal Incised Type	Puuc Slate Ware
Red Panabchen Group-Mama Red Type	Slate Muna-Muna Slate Type
Red Panabchen Group-Pustunich Incised Type	San Joaquin Buff Ware
Mayapan Unslipped Ware	Buff Polbox Group (General)
Western Tases Horizon	Buff Polbox Group-Pele Polychrome Type
Panaba Unslipped Group (General)	Buff Polbox Group-Polbox Buff Type
Panaba Unslipped Group-Chen Mul Modeled Type	Buff Polbox Group-Tecoh Red-on-Buffer Type
Panaba Unslipped Group-Thul Appliqué Type	Thin Slate Ware
Panaba Unslipped Group-Cehac-Hunacti Composite Type	Thin Slate Group-Tinum Red-on-Cinnamon Type
Panaba Unslipped Group-Acansip Painted Type	Tulum Red Ware
	Red Payil Group-Payil Red Type

Precolumbian Maya ceramics, unlike their Historic counterparts, either were hand molded or mold-made (glazes and the potter's wheel were not introduced to the Yucatán until the Spanish arrived in the sixteenth century). Maya potters created a variety of utilitarian and ceremonial vessels including: bowls, plates, effigy vessels and censers, serving dishes, grater bowls, goblets, basins, tripod vessels, cups, jars, dishes, figurines, and vases (Smith 1971:70–106). Both skilled artisans and commoners created utilitarian and ceremonial wares, both of which were represented in this sample. As a previously documented Maya ceremonial platform in the Late and Terminal Classic periods, the precolumbian component of the *Ciudadela* (YUC 2) sample included a wide variety of decorative and non-decorative wares and types, many of which were

determined to be of significant religious importance (e.g. censers and effigy vessel fragments). Trade, exchange, and changes in regional power between precolumbian Maya groups and outside settlers (e.g. the Toltec, Itza, Xiu, and Cocom lineages) increased the diversity of pottery in the region as well as encouraged the creation of regional variations in the Northwestern Corridor (Rogers 2010). These influences clearly were reflected in the sampled YUC 2 pottery.

In the Historic Periods, I documented nine Categories, thirty-eight Types, thirty Varieties, and twenty-one Traditions⁴, which have been provided in Table 1-10.

⁴ Please note that the term “ware” has been used loosely in the naming process of these types.

Table 1-10. Historic Ceramic Classifications.

CERAMIC CLASSIFICATIONS	
Delftware Category	Porcelain Category
Delftware Blue on White Variety	Porcelain Type-Brown Glazed Variety
Delftware Type-Polychrome Variety	Porcelain Type-Ch'ing Blue on White Variety
Delftware Type-Plain Variety	Porcelain Type-Chinese Imari Variety
Delftware Type-Sponged Variety	Porcelain Type-Japanese Variety
Uni. Delftware Type-England and Holland Tradition	Porcelain Type-UID Asian
Lead Glazed Coarse Earthenware Category	Porcelain Type-Polychrome Chinese Export Variety
Lead Glazed Coarse Earthenware (General)	Refined Earthenware Category
El Morro Type	Annular Ware Type-Banded Variety
Green Lead Glazed Coarse Earthenware Type	Annular Ware Type-Cabled Variety
Rey Ware Type	Creamware Type-Plain Variety
Majolica Category	Creamware Type-Royal Variety
Abo Polychrome Type	Creamware Type-Transfer Print Variety
Aucilla Polychrome Type	Pearlware (General)
Columbia Plain Type	Pearlware Type-Edged Variety
Esquitlan Polychrome Type	Pearlware Type-Hand Painted Blue on White Variety
Faenza Polychrome- <i>Compendiario</i> Variety	Pearlware Type-Hand Painted Polychrome Variety (Early)
Fig Springs Polychrome Type	Pearlware Type-Hand Painted Polychrome Variety (Late)
Huejotzingo Blue on White Type	Pearlware Type-Plain Variety
Ichtucknee Blue on White Type	Pearlware Type-Sponged & Spattered Variety
Ligurian Blue on White Type	Pearlware Type-Transfer Print
Mexico City White Type-Variety 1	Whieldon Ware Type (General)
Mexico City White Type-Variety 2	Whiteware Type-Hand Painted Variety
Mt. Royal Polychrome	Whiteware Type-Overglazed Variety
Nopaltepec Polychrome	Whiteware Type-Plain Variety

Puebla Blue on White (General)	Whiteware Type-Transfer Print Variety
Puebla Blue on White-Early Variety	Uni. Refined Earthenware (General)
Puebla Blue on White-Late Variety	Slipware Category
Puebla Polychrome Type	Slipware Type-Moravian Variety
San Elizario Polychrome Type	Slipware Type-Red Mama Variety *
San Luis Blue on White Type	Stoneware Category
San Luis Polychrome Type	Stoneware Type-Brown Salt Glazed, English Variety
Santa Maria Polychrome Type	Stoneware Type-Nottingham Variety
Santo Domingo Blue on White Type	Stoneware Type-Rhenish Blue Gray Variety
Sevilla Blue on Blue	Stoneware Type-White Salt Glazed Variety
Sevilla Blue on White	Uni. Stoneware-Salt Glazed Variety
Yayal Blue on White	Uni. Stoneware-English Tradition
Uni. Blue on White Majolica (General)	Tin Enameled Coarse Earthenware Category
Uni. Blue on White Majolica Type, Iberian Tradition	Uni. Majolica Tin Enameled
Uni. Blue on White Majolica Type, Italian Tradition	Uni. Majolica Tin Enameled, Spanish Tradition
Uni. Blue on White Majolica Type, Mexico City Tradition	Uni. Majolica Tin Enameled, Puebla Tradition
Uni. Blue on White Majolica Type, Puebla Tradition	Uni. Majolica Tin Enameled, Mexico City Tradition
Uni. Blue on White Majolica Type, Spanish Tradition	Unglazed Coarse Earthenware Category
Uni. Majolica Polychrome (General)	Bizcocho Ware (Bisque) Type
Uni. Majolica Polychrome Type, Italian Tradition	Mexican Red Painted Type
Uni. Majolica Polychrome Type, Mexico City Tradition	Olive Jar (Generic)
Uni. Majolica Polychrome Type, Mexico 19 th Century Tradition	Olive Jar Type-Early Style Variety
Uni. Majolica Polychrome Type, Mexico/Iberian Tradition	Olive Jar Type-Middle Style Variety
Uni. Majolica Polychrome Type, Puebla Tradition	Olive Jar Type-Late Style Variety
Uni. Majolica Polychrome Type, Spanish Tradition	Yucatán Colonial Ware Type

With the introduction of glazes and the potter's wheel in the sixteenth century, Historic Period pottery became increasingly diverse. Like the Maya before them, European potters created a variety of utilitarian vessels including: bowls, plates, serving dishes, basins, jars, jugs, pitchers, cups, chamber pots, saucers, platters, and bottles (Deagan et al. 2010). Artisans in both Europe and the New World created historic Utilitarian categories, which frequently were represented in this sample. Trade and exchange continued during this period as illustrated by the increased diversity of pottery in the region.

Ceramic Results Summary. The presence of European pottery and intact historical features indicates that this assemblage most likely dates to the Colonial and Post-Colonial Periods; however, the identification of precolumbian materials at the lower stratigraphic levels of Units A and B suggest that the site was occupied during a period of Maya influence. Unit B contained the most remains, with Level 1 (0–15.2 cm) and Level 7 (76.2–91.4 cm) yielding the highest quantity of ceramics. This was expected in both cases since Unit B-Level 1 represents a highly disturbed stratum and the remains at Unit B-Level 7 are associated with the colonial aqueduct/midden feature(s). Mayapan wares, particularly Mayapan Red Ware (N=1972) and Mayapan Unslipped Ware (N=1630), constituted 40.9% (a ratio of 3602:8806) of the overall sample, the largest grouping of all identified ceramics analyzed during this study. Locally produced ceramics from Mexico, Puebla, and the Yucatán peninsula (N=368) represented the largest non-Maya classification from the Franciscan Colonial Period, while Refined Earthenware (N=632) constituted the largest non-Maya ceramic grouping from the Spanish/Mexican Military Post-Colonial Period. Although it is clear that there was a significant historical occupation at this site, it seems that the majority of wares used by the inhabitants of the structure remained Maya in origin.⁵

Analysis of Precolumbian and Colonial/Historic Non-Ceramic Types

Due to the lack of diagnostic elements, non-ceramic remains were classified using much broader methods of classifications (e.g. green glass) than those used for the quantification of ceramic remains. As such, I documented general stylistic details (e.g. green glass base fragment) and placed each material (line item) into broadly group categories (e.g. 1600–1900 utilitarian glassware) rather than into regionalized or site-specific, non-ceramic sub-groupings. These general historic or precolumbian groupings have been provided here in Table 1-11.

⁵ Adding to this fact, I noted that a large majority of the “unidentified wares” documented in this sample may represent additional colonial Maya types (e.g. Mama Red). However, the current vagueness of Slipware definitions in both U.S. and Mexican chronologies made it difficult (if not impossible) to differentiate; as such, the vast majority were left unclassified.

Table 1-11. General Collection: Precolumbian and Colonial Non-Ceramic Remains.

Item

Artifact/Beads

Artifact/Buckles Straps Hooks

Artifact/ Clothing Items/ "Jeweled Buttons"

Artifact/ Clothing Items/ Bracelets

Artifact/ Clothing Items/ Eighteenth Century Buttons

Artifact/ Clothing Items/ Military Buttons

Artifact/ Clothing Items/ Modern Buttons

Artifact/ Clothing Items/ Shell and Glass Buttons

Artifact/ Clothing Items/ Uni. Buttons

Artifact/ Coins

Artifact/ Firearms

Artifact/ Household Items

Artifact/ Industrial

Artifact/ Industrial/ Early Machine Cut Nails

Artifact/ Industrial/ Hand Wrought Nails

Artifact/ Industrial/ Modern Machine Cut Nails

Artifact/ Industrial/ Modern Wire Nails

Artifact/ Lithic

Artifact/ Misc. Metal

Artifact/ Modified Wood

Artifact/ Pastimes

Artifact/ Pastimes/ Colonoware Pipe

Artifact/ Pastimes/ Games and Gambling

Artifact/ Religious Items/ Venera Pendant

Artifact/ Unglazed Tiles and Bricks

Artifact/ Uni. Clay

Artifact/ Utilitarian Glassware

Artifact/ Utilitarian Glassware/ Glass Knob

Artifact/ Utilitarian Glassware/ Tableware and Ornamental Glass

Ecofact/ Animal Bones

Ecofact/ Shell

Ecofact/ Wood

Geofact/ Limestone Marl

Geofact/ Rocks

Geofacts/ Rocks/ Granite

Non-Ceramic Results Summary. Based on the quantification of items into these classifications, it appears that historic material remains (90% of the collection) were better represented in the *Ciudadela* sample than precolumbian remains (10%). The lack of precolumbian non-ceramic materials may be the result of Goggin's emphasis on the Colonial and Post-Colonial Periods and the termination of his excavation units after he encountered historic features (e.g. colonial walls, floors, and the aqueduct) in Units A-D. It is possible that additional precolumbian, non-ceramic remains may have been encountered at lower levels if the excavation had it continued beyond 190.5 cm (75 in). Despite the general lack of precolumbian data, I was able to identify three diagnostic precolumbian non-ceramic sub-groupings in this collection: modified wood, modified bone, and lithics. In the Colonial and Post-Colonial Periods, I was able to identify ten general non-ceramic sub-groupings including: colonial tiles/bricks; utilitarian glassware; beads; religious items; jewelry; clothing items (fasteners and ornaments); buckles, straps, and hooks; coins and weights; personal firearms; and pastimes (e.g. games, gambling, and tobacco) (for more details, see Rogers 2010)

The majority of non-ceramic items recovered from this excavation dated to the both historic periods, with the largest classifications being Utilitarian Glassware and Industrial materials. Similar to the ceramic yields, Unit B contained the most non-ceramic remains, with Level 3 (30.5–45.7 cm) yielding the highest quantity of non-ceramic remains (N=188); Level 4 (45.7–61 cm) and Level 2 (15.2–30.5 cm) also contained a relatively high number of non-ceramic items, with N=126 and N=128 respectively. It seems likely that the high concentration of historic non-ceramic remains at these levels was due to the proximity of Unit B to the *Ciudadela* structure and historic features encountered above and below the surface. Additionally, the appearance of historic non-ceramic materials at all excavated levels suggests that this assemblage is a good representation of the *Ciudadela*'s Colonial and Post-Colonial occupations.

CONCLUSIONS

The development of a cultural sequence for this site has been crucial for assessing material use, production, and exchange between the Maya and Spanish. Therefore, the identification of utilitarian and religious material remains found in context

with features in Trench 1 (Units A-D) has been important for postulating about the daily activities occurring at this site. The stratigraphic sequence of diagnostic remains has contributed to the reconstruction of a cultural history for the YUC 2 assemblage and, more generally, for the *Ciudadela* site as a whole. Goggin's excavations did, in fact, reveal in situ stratigraphic layers, specifically at the lower levels of Units A and B, near the intact historic features (i.e. the colonial walls and floors, and the intact historical aqueduct). As such, I was able to develop a tentative cultural sequence for the occupation at this site. However, a significant portion of this collection was comprised of precolumbian ceramics (N=3829) and a few representative precolumbian non-ceramic remains (N=10), indicating a strong Maya presence at the site, either pre-dating or during Spanish occupation.⁶

The results of this investigation illustrated that the Maya, through material exchange, were able to retain aspects of their precolumbian power and religious authority through their continued use of precolumbian-style artifacts. The archaeological data specifically illustrated that there was little change in the production of indigenous pottery after the fall of Mayapan (ca. A.D. 1441–61) as inhabitants of precolumbian Tihoo continued to use the preexisting wares and tools from their former capital and regional centers well into the Spanish Colonial Period. The high concentration of precolumbian remains in the YUC 2 sample suggests that, at least during the Colonial Period, the Maya continued to use and rely on their native material wealth for daily activities. In the Post-Colonial era, however, a significant change in material culture occurred as native inhabitants and Spaniards incorporated more imported and foreign items into their everyday livelihoods. Ceramics from Spain, Italy, England, Germany, Holland, and porcelains from China and Japan, combined with colonial Mexican ceramics, to illustrate a complex material exchange between Maya inhabitants and European immigrants during this time. Despite the loss of precolumbian Maya material wealth, prolonged resistance to Spanish subjugation and the manipulation of Spanish and Catholic systems allowed the Maya to find other avenues to retain power and authority in the historic periods (see Rogers 2010).

Overall, the material assemblage from the *Ciudadela* (YUC 2) collection is very distinct, yet it simultaneously represents the history of both the colonized and colonizers. Much of the diversity in the assemblage represents the political, economic, socio-religious, and socio-cultural developments in Spain, the Yucatán, and greater Mexico occurring during this time. Events such as the completion of the Iberian Reconquista; the conquistadores' reenactment of the Reconquista mindset in the New World; the conflicts between the Franciscans, Spanish, and Maya; the social subjugation and resilience of the precolumbian and historical Maya; and the growing influence of European invaders

⁶ It is important to note that ecofacts and geofacts were not interpreted in this study. The majority of ecofacts were removed from this collection on 4/8/2004 and re-accessioned under the heading "1ET12-8" in FLMNH Zooarchaeology Collections, which would make any determinations about the remaining ecofacts in the YUC 2 inaccurate. In addition, the only geofacts recorded in this sample (N=134) were unmodified rocks, probably mistaken for ceramics during excavation.

and expansion in the peninsula, together reflect the complex exchange and daily issues that the natives were forced to encounter. The interaction between groups, their histories, and the material goods they used and produced characterize the historic and current culture patterns in the region. Regardless of their differing experiences, both Maya and Spanish worldviews helped shape the archaeology and history of Tíhoo/Mérida, as represented by the artifacts in the *Ciudadela* assemblage.

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