THE SOCIAL LIVES OF STRUCTURES: RITUAL RESIGNIFICATION OF THE CULTURAL LANDSCAPE AT ACTUNCAN, BELIZE

Borislava Simova, David W. Mixter and Lisa J. LeCount

Across the Maya Lowlands, dedication ritual served a vital role in endowing public and private structures with meaning and function. Through ritual, structures acquired the soul-force, or *k’ulel*, necessary to sustain activity within their walls. However, we suggest that ritual could also actively reinvent places within the cultural landscape. In fact, many structures live several ritual lives: the first associated with their original intended function, and subsequent ones associated with changes in their occupational history, particularly after they are abandoned. As such, the cultural landscape of a Maya city is constantly cast and recast as the cultural associations of its constituent parts are actively modified through ritual. The resignification of past cultural landscapes may be seen archaeologically in the adoption of new ritual patterns within old structures, aimed at challenging or extending meanings of durable structures within a shared language of ritual. Analyses of structure histories and veneration practices from three areas of the site of Actuncan, including an elite residential structure, a palace compound, and the plaza of the triadic temple group, elucidate how changing veneration practices modify Actuncan’s cultural landscape from Classic period rule of divine kings to the post-royal occupation of the Terminal Classic period.

Introduction

Ritual plays an essential role in a Maya structure’s life-cycle, particularly in imbuing it with the life force, or *k’ulel*, necessary to sustain activities within its walls. Ritual could also scatter or refocus this energy to kill or change the qualities of the life force to match the structure’s changing function (Mock 1998). Many structures live (at least) two ritual lives: one associated with their original intended function, and a second following a change in occupational status, particularly after a hiatus or complete abandonment. Through the ritual reinvention of structures, the cultural landscape of a Maya city is constantly cast and recast as the cultural associations of its constituent parts are actively modified over time. We consider three loci of ceremonial activities across the site of Actuncan, Belize (Figure 1), and how the material remains of rituals at each speaks to the manipulation of structures’ animating forces in concert with shifting uses of those spaces. These areas include an elite residential structure, Structure 73, a palace compound consisting of Structure 19 and Group 8, and the plaza of a triadic temple group, Plaza A (Figure 2). We elucidate how the changing nature of ritual practices at structures played an important role in the resignification of Actuncan’s cultural landscape during the transition from the Classic Period rule of divine kings to the post-royal occupation of the Terminal Classic period.

In this article we examine ritual as a means of signification and resignification. As a patterned practice set apart from daily activity through form and content, ritual engages supernatural forces to affect change in the natural world. Maya spaces are given meaning as places of cultural and social significance and as animate beings with their own soul-force through ritual dedication. Animation is maintained and augmented through continued ritual investment in the location (Schele and Mathews 1998). Houses, temples, and civic structures are thus endowed with *k’ulel* by their dwellers or proprietors; however, just as structures can be brought to life, *k’ulel* can be
ritually killed or modified when structures are abandoned or their significance changed. Resignification is the process by which the formerly established importance of places is harnessed and reshaped to match the changing needs and values of the local populace. It involves recognition of the powerful spiritual and sociopolitical forces vested in places, as well as a conscious modification of their former meanings. In this paper, we specifically discuss the resignification of places once vested with exclusive royal and elite power into places empowered through shared authority and ceremony. Through this action, Actuncan’s community was able to selectively incorporate vestiges of royal power from the site’s apogee into a new post-royal civic order in the Terminal Classic period.

**Structures, Ritual, and Resignification**

The construction of place is an important component in the manifestation of political power, offering a durable index of labor and symbolic investment. The manipulation of landscapes for the advancement of political agendas is well-recognized within Mesoamerican societies (Schortman and Urban 2011, Stockett 2010, Reese-Taylor and Koontz 2001). The ability of abandoned landscapes to be manipulated for political goals is a key tool in local processes of identity construction and social change (Yoffee 2007, Stanton and Magnoni 2008). Reuse of ruins can take multiple forms, ranging from recycling of construction material to revival of function. Reese-Taylor and Koontz (2001) suggest that activities and performances situated in a space contextualize its form and meaning. Ritual deposits, as a manifestation of the actions that construct a place’s meaning, provide firm anchors into understanding diachronic shifts in the meaning of structures.

Here, we use the term resignification, understood in a linguistic sense as the attachment of new meanings to a sign, as a framework for examining ancient Maya ritual performances associated with prominent, long-lived structures. Judith Butler (1997) most notably uses resignification to mark the process in which the language of dominion is subverted through its use in new contexts that augment or contradict the established symbolic values of terms. Her approach highlights the use of language and semiotics in gender politics. Resignification offers an alternative to the development and use of new terms to describe novel social situations. Rather than carving out recognition and acceptance, new labels can marginalize a novel situation by excluding it from deep, culturally meaningful categories, especially if the latter remain unchallenged in the process. By contrast, resignification extends the use of existing symbolically loaded terms to new situations, in the process creating space to negotiate existing meanings. Inclusion of the novel situation under an existing term lets it partake in some of the values attributed to the term while challenging people to reevaluate the boundaries of its meaning.

If we view civic-ceremonial architecture as the prime signifier of a dominant discourse, the activities performed within them represent contemporary, politically accepted readings, interpretations, and applications of the architecture’s meaning. The dominant, symbolic content of structures is something that must be negotiated over time, as the physically persistent
presence of buildings intersects with new social actors. The alteration of interaction with a space can be viewed as an attempt to extend the use of a signifier (structure) to new meanings as well as a challenge to the established values signified by the structure. Unlike demolition, in which the signification of buildings is rejected in its totality, ritual abandonment, effacement, and reuse offer an opportunity to engage with old meanings, enabling the resignification of the structures. In Butler’s words, it is not “an efficacious insurrection nor a painful subordination,” (Butler 1997:392). It is a discourse that engages the past to negotiate new meanings in the present. Due to the presence of the durable physical form, some aspect of the past symbolic form retains salience and, therefore, must be addressed in the process of establishing new social relationships with buildings and landscapes.

To approach the resignification of structures at Actuncan, we examine material traces of rituals performed in rooms and on platforms that were left exposed to the public for extended periods of time. These deposits are durable, spatially contained remains of the activities of past individuals or groups within the community. Their contents and style have communicative properties pertaining to a cohesive group aesthetic or understanding (Wobst 1977, Reese-Taylor and Koontz 2001). To the local community, these deposits represented the remains of familiar rituals applied to new contexts within old structures. As ceremonial acts engaging life forces, they provide a means of influencing the dominant discourse communicated by monumental, civic-ceremonial, or elite architecture.

**Actuncan and the Setting of Ritual and Resignification**

Actuncan is a ridge top site, located on the western bank of the Mopan River. A long lived site, Actuncan was originally occupied around 1000 B.C. and totally abandoned during the Early Postclassic period (A.D. 1000-1250) (McGovern 2004; LeCount and Blitz 2001, 2012; LeCount and Keller 2011; LeCount 2013). Actuncan was constructed in two parts over adjacent ridge tops. The primary ceremonial center, Actuncan South, was connected to the civic and residential center, Actuncan North, by a monumental road, or sakbe. Markers such as large polychrome stucco masks, a carved stela featuring early iconography, and architectural complexes including a triadic temple group and E-Group point to the early adoption of divine kingship at the site during the Terminal Preclassic period (100 B.C. to A.D. 300).

In the fifth century A.D., construction of monumental architecture ceased and elite residences were abandoned, suggesting that the power situated in Actuncan began to falter. Instead, the nearby centers of Buenavista del Cayo and Xunantunich experienced construction booms and emerged as competing capitals in the valley. Over time, Xunantunich solidified its control over the region. By the end of the 8th century, Xunantunich’s power began to wane, allowing for competing centers of authority to emerge. During the Terminal Classic period (A.D. 780-1000), as the rest of the valley experienced population declines, Actuncan’s long-settled population witnessed the recentering of local power at the site (Mixter et al. 2014). This revitalization was marked by construction of a new civic center, Group 4 (LeCount et al. 2011), and the ritual resignification of various buildings to fit a new post-divine model of authority.

In this paper, we focus on architectural changes and ritual deposits at structures that were implicated in the restructuring of Actuncan’s political landscape, specifically those located along the site’s only sakbe, a critical location for processional ritual during Actuncan’s apogee from the Late Preclassic to Early Classic periods. During this long span of local divine rule, Structure 19, the largest range structure at the heart of Actuncan’s civic-ceremonial center, was a setting of public ritual enactment. It is from this location that ritual processions likely emerged, making their way to the triadic temple group of Actuncan South, which was the most prominent and oldest symbol of kingly power. Moving along the sakbe toward the raised triadic temple, these processions would have passed though Plaza C and the site’s only ballcourt. Upon arriving in Plaza A, the towering triadic temple fronted by stelae and at least one altar, would have loomed over the procession. To the east, Structure 5,
with its elaborate plaster polychrome masks depicting Maya deities and cosmologies, would have offered a reminder of the royal ancestral lines. The plaza itself bore witness to long-standing ceremonies in which interments of objects and ancestors served to ensoul the great buildings and solidify the power of local kings (Becker 1992). Even Structure 73, a large elite house, is implicated in the spectacle of regal processions, due to its proximity to the sakbe, prominent position between the two sections of the site, and elevated domestic status during this time. With the decline of local, divine rulership in the Late and Terminal Classic periods, these vestiges of royal power were engaged through ritual in new ways, harnessing their life forces toward new community roles.

Locations with Meaning

Structure 73- An Elite Residence

To understand how ritual plays into this transformation of the landscape, we examined its remains, placing its form and contents — primarily dense deposits of fragmented ceramics and ornaments — in the context of social interactions with the structures. The first structure considered is Structure 73, which as mentioned above, is located in a prime location between Actuncan North and Actuncan South, a few meters from the sakbe. It has a long and complex occupation history marked by several discreet episodes of ritual deposition. Testing and trench excavations in 2011 and 2013 have just begun to uncover its intricacies (Simova 2012, 2014). The earliest known structure was an imposing example of ashlar masonry with a massive apron molding, suggesting extensive elite investment in construction (Figure 3). By the Early Classic, this prominent structure was covered by an elite residence whose raised platform served to visually and physically distinguish and isolate the domestic activity space. In the Late Classic, the structure was expanded to its terminal form with a larger central platform, low terraces to each side and a small superstructure on the northwest corner of the central platform. Multiple burials were incorporated into the structure’s fill indicating that ritual activities on the platform began assimilating members of the community beyond those associated with house ancestors. Perhaps in recognition of these burials, Terminal Classic activities following abandonment took an inclusive and reverential form, featuring repetitive community feasting events.

The earliest known ceremonial activity at the structure was an Early Classic termination deposit encountered in front of the terminal superstructure. This deposit rested on the thick marl surface of an early platform, part of which was left exposed for hundreds of years along with the termination deposit. Three hundred and sixty-two sherds, including a Teotihuacan style cylinder vase and basal flanged bowls, were examined from the test pit excavation of this deposit (Figure 4). Sherds were generally large and the ones from the upper levels of the deposit had highly eroded surfaces suggesting long exposure to the elements. What was most notable about the deposit was the presence of diverse vessel forms, some of which display irregular execution of standardized vessel
Simova, Mixter and LeCount

Figure 4. Ceramic deposit from the Early Classic termination of Structure 73.

shapes. Large bowls and jar rims and the footed vessel in particular indicate expedient production for ritual use and a desire to reproduce the forms of valued, finely crafted vessels (Simova 2013). Generally, termination deposits, which reference the ritual scattering of life forces, indicate a break with previous occupations and signal either the abandonment of the structure or new construction (Mock 1998). However, at Structure 73, occupation of the mound continued in an altered form while the Early Classic termination deposit was left exposed. By maintaining the visibility of this deposit through continued construction and acts of reverence, the Maya publicized reinforced the end of the building’s function as a residence and perpetuated the resignification accomplished through new ritual acts. The treatment of the deposit therefore is integral in our understanding of the resignification of the structure in the Late Classic period.

Late Classic modifications to the platform include multiple fragmented and comingled human interments, exceeding the number of burials encountered in most residences at Actuncan. One comingled burial, Burial 15, occurred in a simple cist grave located within the fill just east of the structure midline. Burials 16, 17, and 19 also were found fragmented and disturbed within the fill matrix. Even though they lacked prepared graves, according to Carolyn Freiwald they generally exhibit a consistent north-south orientation like that observed in Burial 15, with cranial fragments located to the south. Additional human bone fragments and teeth were encountered in small concentrations throughout the fill. Because of the high number of individuals found in the fill, we suggest that these burials represent a larger segment of the community than merely a single household. At Structure 73, the customary practice of incorporating burials and human remains in domestic structures may have been expanded to include a breadth of community members because of its prominent location near the sakbe and significance marked by the exposed Early Classic termination deposit.

After its role as a burial location broadened its import to the entire community, Structure 73 was transformed into a location for inclusive ceremonial activities in the Terminal Classic period. The last known activities centered on Structure 73 are evidenced by large quantities of artifacts recovered across the southern portion of the mound on top of collapse debris. The quantity and nature of the artifacts within these Terminal Classic deposits suggest to us repetitive ritual activities similar in form to ones encountered in other abandoned and collapsed public places, such as Structure 5 of Plaza A discussed below. Over 5,500 jotes were recovered just from the top of the stair collapse
as well as in between and over layers of collapse debris. Other evidence of feasting, including a comal rim and ground stone mano and metate fragments were found scattered over collapse across the mound. Exceptionally dense and varied chipped-stone tools and debris were also encountered, including abundant spear points (Figure 5).

These data evidence a revered and frequently engaged place with deep roots in the period of royal power. Structure 73’s cultural meanings were resignified multiple times through repeated reengagement beginning with the Early Classic ritual termination event. After domestic activities were abandoned following this event, the space was resignified through Late Classic period interments that incorporated a larger group of stakeholders. Finally, the location was recast as an important ceremonial venue within the more communally-oriented Terminal Classic center.

**Structure 19 and Group 8- A Royal Compound**

The second locus of ceremonial activity we examine is the Late Classic ruler’s compound, composed of Structure 19 and Group 8. Structure 19 is a long structure with multiple, linearly arranged rooms, that faces to the south and overlooks the ballcourt and sakbe (Figure 6b). Its initial construction dates to the Terminal Preclassic period, when it was built as a range structure to house civic and administrative functions. After a hiatus in use, it was modified in tandem with the construction of Group 8 into the residential compound for a vassal noble of nearby Xunantunich (Mixter et al. 2013). In its terminal form, a broad staircase likely led from Plaza C to five vaulted masonry rooms at the summit (Jamison 2012). The remains of the three eastern rooms were excavated in 2012. Each room was fronted by a single doorway and featured plastered wall blocks and a bench along the back wall. When the structure was abandoned, the roof vaults of Rooms 2 and 3 were torn down and their interior space was infilled and capped. In contrast, the easternmost room, Room 1, had no indication of infilling. It is in this room that a small termination deposit was found primarily banked up against the east edge of the bench, but also partially extending out to the front of the room.

![Figure 5. Lithics from Structure 73-1st Terminal Classic deposits.](image)

The material, consisting of ceramic fragments and one carved shell ornament, was covered only by a small amount of collapse and humus, and the ceramics encountered were fairly large, indicating primary deposition, but also generally poorly preserved. Proximity to the weathering plaster of the floor and bench resulted in a crusty white coating on some, while others acquired pockmarked surfaces from their exposure to the elements. Diagnostics from this deposit include several Belize Group, Mount Maloney bowl, and Alexander jar rims. There is no evidence that the Maya incorporated rare, exotic or otherwise exceptional ceramics in the termination of this structure.

The next indication of ritualized activity in this complex comes from Group 8, a multi-patio residential group to the north of Structure 19 (Figure 6a). Group 8’s construction in the Late Classic period marked the transformation of the range structure from a civic-ceremonial building during the site’s apogee to the central building of a residential compound (Mixter and Freiwald 2012; Mixter et al. 2013). The ancillary group consists of eight structures arranged around three patios of various levels of
accessibility. Excavations into the uppermost enclosed patio, Patio 1, reveal a sequence of major structural modifications. First, a room located in the northwest corner of the patio was filled in, and a new building, Structure 21A, was constructed in its place. Structure 21A was dedicated and ensouled through the inclusion of a fragmented, incised limestone monument in the fill, giving a new meaning to the reimagined structure and residential group (Figure 7). In the Terminal Classic period, the compound was once again resignified as evidenced by a termination deposit at the foot of the subplatform in the northwest corner of the patio. Excavations in this area encountered a dense deposit of broken ceramics that were fairly large in size, with multiple mendable portions of large vessels suggesting in situ smashing (Figure 8a). Among the most numerous ceramic types identified are Mount Maloney bowls and jars, Alexander jars, and Belize Red incurving bowls. The most spectacular find was a halved, post-fire incised Belize Red ocarina (Figure 9). Besides ceramics, the deposit incorporated three mano fragments, obsidian, daub, some lithic material, and small amounts of slate. These materials were imbedded in light-colored clay sediment and many had limey accretions. The surfaces were eroded, but generally better preserved than those of the Structure 19 termination described above, suggesting they were exposed for a short period of time prior to the collapse of the surrounding buildings, Structures 20 and 21A.

In sum, Late Classic rituals at the palace compound centered on more exclusive and proprietary forms of interaction. In the course of constructing the compound, the residents planted a monument within its fill, creating animating forces and proprietary knowledge of the concealed deposit. When its function as an elite residence ended, the termination of the complex took a drastic form. The vaults of Structure 19 were torn down and the remaining walls were infilled, except in the eastern-most Room 1, which was transformed into a lasting reminder of the ritual end of Structure 19’s use as a ruling venue. Similarly, the deposit in Patio 1 publicly marked the abandonment of the associated residential compound. These forms of ritual engagement
The Social Lives of Structures

Figure 8. Terminal Classic diagnostics from Group 8 deposit; a, e-g) Mount Maloney incurving bowls, b) cylinder vase, c) reed stamped rim, d) censor fragment, g) McRae Impressed rim.

Figure 9. Post-fire incised Belize Red ocarina found in Group 8, Op. 24 Feature 1 (Modified after Mixter et al. 2013: Figure 7).

did not seek to reintegrate the palace compound into the Terminal Classic community, but instead signaled its enduring termination and precluded further veneration.

Plaza A- The Triadic Temple Plaza

The third and last locus of ceremonialism examined in this paper is Plaza A of Actuncan South (Figure 10). This plaza is situated within the triadic temple group that likely served as the site’s primary center of royal authority and spectacle during its apogee. The earliest construction phases of Plaza A and its triad of surrounding pyramids were investigated by James McGovern (2004). The three large pyramids, Structures 4, 5, and 6, were constructed primarily during the Late Preclassic and Early Classic periods, although the plaza platform was built in the Middle Preclassic period. The southern pyramid rises to a height of 28 m, taller than any other structure within the site core. Unsurprisingly, Plaza A and its monuments stood as the largest, most exclusive materialization of Preclassic royal power within the Actuncan center. The last monumental construction within Plaza A corresponds to the end of autochthonous rule at the site during the Early Classic period before the site was incorporated as a secondary center into the Xunantunich polity. From the time of the last construction through the Late Classic period, Plaza A’s use appears to have been marked by a lack of visitation. This quiet leave-taking contrasts with elite houses, like the previously discussed Structure 73, that were abandoned and
terminated by smashing polychrome pottery, other significant local ceramic types and objects.

During the Terminal Classic period, intensive use of Plaza A resumed, corresponding to the post-royal return of power to Actuncan. Four low platforms, Structures 7, 8, 9, and 93, were constructed within the plaza, marking its reutilization in support of a new Actuncan community (Mixter and Langlie 2014). Collectively, the arrangement of these low platforms shifted the focus of the plaza away from the towering triadic temple group towards Structure 5 to the east. Structure 9, constructed as a small attached platform to the northern edge of Structure 5 supports the renewed relevance of this structure. Because of its location on the eastern edge of Plaza A, the Terminal Classic community likely viewed Structure 5 as an important shrine, either as the site’s original royal shrine and the burial place for the site’s founding ancestors (McAnany 1995) or as an eastern shrine associated with the rising sun. It, like other buildings and spaces in Plaza A, would have been the location of regal performances and activities, some of which were private and hidden from view (Freidel and Schele 1995; LeCount 2000).

In contrast, rituals performed during the Terminal Classic period were for all to see and remember. For instance, Structure 5’s masonry superstructure was filled with a dense, 80 cm thick deposit of burned Terminal Classic ceramic sherds. McGovern (2004:159) originally identified this deposit from his inspection of the site’s looters’ trenches and retrieved over 6,000 sherds simply from cleaning the profile wall. The sheer quantity of this material points to repeated ceremonial events undertaken by the local community.

The inclusive nature of Terminal Classic rituals in Actuncan South also is evidenced by the contents of a deposit of smashed ceramic vessels recovered from Structure 8. This structure was a single long room with at least three entrances on its north side and a portico-like façade on its south side opening onto Plaza A. This novel arrangement would have funneled community members through the three doors to join ceremonies taking place within the open plaza space. Along the building’s open side, excavations encountered a deposit of materials smashed over the single step up to its floor. Similar to the Terminal Classic deposits discussed within Group 8, this deposit consisted primarily of broken ceramic vessels with few other materials. Identifiable rims indicate the presence of three major ceramic groups. Notably, types include two large smashed McRae Impressed dishes and the rims of eight other Belize Red vessels, 18 Mount Maloney Black rims, 16 of which were incurving bowls, and 29 large Cayo Group jars, many of which featured flared rims and piecrust lips diagnostic of the Terminal Classic period (Figure 11). These ceramic groups and types are by far the most common serving and water storage vessels within local ceramic assemblages and indicate that ceremonies in Plaza A were undertaken using local identity markers, possibly for feasting. In contrast, other local and exotic types commonly encountered at the site, such as Chial Orange-Brown, Dolphin Head Red, and imitation Fine Orange vases, are rare in the assemblage. As noted above, other artifact classes are poorly represented, but do include two ground stone objects and a quartered jade bead. In contrast to Structure 73, only a few jutes were found; this indicates that a different kind of commemorative ritual took place in this location than in others at the site.

In sum, the Terminal Classic deposits on Structure 5 and 8 were left uncovered as
materializations of the communal nature of these rituals. Such public displays reflect a more inclusive ritual than royal rituals in which the remains were buried or kept out of sight. Open deposits remained accessible to the public who were then able to conduct veneration rites as individuals or in groups. Thus, we argue that Plaza A was resignified by local groups to fulfill an integrative role during the Terminal Classic period as a place of periodic and repeated veneration used to build a renewed community in the post-collapse world.

Conclusion
In this article we have introduced the concept of resignification, which can be examined through changing patterns of ritual within long-lived architectural spaces of significance. We define resignification as the process by which the formerly established importance of places is reshaped to match the changing values and needs of the local populace. It involves recognition of the powerful spiritual and sociopolitical forces vested in places, as well as a conscious modification of their former meanings.

We found parallels and deviations in the construction of ritual and use of architecture in three locations at Actuncan that point to the resignification of the built environment away from a landscape of exclusivity and divine kingship and towards inclusive communal authority. At Structure 73, an Early Classic termination deposit associated with the building’s last residents was maintained into the Terminal Classic period and provided an opening for resignification of the building as a communal shrine. Later ceremonies involved periodic practices including co-mingled burials, jute consumption, and lithic scattering that marked a shift to inclusive ritual performed by individuals from the community. Similarly, the little-used Preclassic temples of Classic-period Plaza A were resignified as ritual space for more heterarchical Terminal Classic community ceremonies. Here, Actuncan residents appropriated the site’s most ancient plaza to create a new social order by funneling separate social groups through a three-doored entrance structure at the terminus of the sakbe into a single space where they feasted and performed ceremonies together. In contrast, termination activities at the ruler’s palace compound aimed to openly communicate the end of the building’s life force and prohibit its use by members of the community. The space was preserved on the landscape as an imposing reminder of Late Classic non-local rule and its end.

We suggest that resignification most successfully serves to instantiate community investment in inclusive projects when architecture and deposits are left open because in this state they function as signs accessible to all community members. Unlike hidden or buried deposits that imply proprietary knowledge, open deposits solicit individual or communal acts of faith in the collective. Studying the variability in ritual deposits within the built environment at Actuncan illustrates how the significance of structures shift through time and offer archaeologists another means of understanding changes in sociopolitical patterns.

Acknowledgments
Major funding for the Actuncan Archaeological Project was provided by the National Science Foundation (BCS0923747), the National Geographic Society Committee for Exploration and Research (9279-13), and the University of Alabama awarded to Lisa LeCount. David Mixter’s research was funded by the Wenner-Gren Foundation (8686), the Washington University Graduate School of Arts and Sciences, and Elizabeth and Stephen Mixter. We gratefully acknowledge this aid. Investigations took place through the permission and generous support of the Belize Institute of Archaeology (IA). We also wish to thank the staff of the IA for their work exporting materials from Belize to the US and organizing the BAAS and RRBA. The Galvez and Juan families permitted us to excavate on their lands, and Chena Galvez’s hospitality and excellent food sustained us through our project. We were assisted in our research by the hard work and collaboration of many dedicated individuals from San José de Succotz and Benque Viejo del Carmen. Don Cruz Puc and Carlos Cocom have served admirably as our foremen, and we relied heavily on their experience and that of our lab crew. We also wish to thank Carolyn Freiwald for her continued analysis of osteological and faunal remains, John Blitz for his tireless
support, Tom Jamison for supervising excavations on Structure 19, and BrieAnna Langlie for her support and aid in the excavations of deposits in Plaza A.

References

Becker, Marshall J.

Butler, Judith

Jamison, Thomas R.

LeCount, Lisa J.

LeCount, Lisa J., and John H. Blitz


LeCount, Lisa J., and Angela H. Keller

LeCount, Lisa J., Angela H. Keller, and John H. Blitz

McAnany, Patricia A.

McGovern, James O.

Mixter, David W.

Mixter, David W., and BrieAnna S. Langlie

Mixter, David W., and Carolyn Freiwald

Mixter, David W., Kara A. Fulton, Lauren Hahn Bussiere, and Lisa J. LeCount

Mixter, David W., Thomas R. Jamison, and Lisa J. LeCount

Mock, Shirley Boteler (editor)

Reese-Taylor, Kathryn, and Rex Koontz

Schele, Linda, and Peter Mathews
Schortman, Edward, and Patricia Urban

Stockett, Miranda
2010 Sites of Memory in the Making: Political Strategizing in the Construction and Deconstruction of Place in Late to Terminal Classic Southeastern Mesoamerica. Ancient Mesoamerica, 21(2):315-330.

Simova, Borislava

2013 Identity Formation among the Ancient Maya as Reconstructed from Late Preclassic to Early Classic Domestic Contexts at the Site of Actuncan, Belize. Unpublished M.A. Thesis, Department of Anthropology, University of Alabama, Tuscaloosa.


Stanton, Travis W., and Aline Magnoni (editors)

Yoffee, Norman (editor)