

# “With the Gifts and Good Treatment That He Gave Them”: Elite Maya Adoption of Spanish Material Culture at Progreso Lagoon, Belize

Maxine Oland

Published online: 3 September 2014  
© Springer Science+Business Media New York 2014

**Abstract** Spanish artifacts make up a tiny percentage of all artifacts found on the west shore of Progreso Lagoon, a Maya community in northern Belize occupied from the fifteenth to the seventeenth century. Textual references suggest that Spanish *encomenderos* distributed these objects as “gifts” during reduction and pacification efforts, but the careful distribution of these artifacts suggests specific political and economic choices made by Maya individuals. This article compares Spanish material culture from Progreso Lagoon with other Maya sites along the frontier of the Spanish colony, in an attempt to define how strategies of Maya consumption of foreign objects varied with intensity of colonial interaction, social status, and function. The consumption of Spanish artifacts at Progreso Lagoon suggests elite strategies for retaining legitimacy in the uncertain political and economic climate of the fifteenth through seventeenth centuries.

**Keywords** Postclassic-colonial period Maya · Spanish colonialism · Consumption · Colonial frontiers

## Introduction

This article considers the adoption of Spanish artifacts at Progreso Lagoon, Belize within the larger study of Indigenous consumption of foreign objects in colonial contexts. Indigenous people made choices about whether to adopt or reject European material culture. Yet these choices varied according to levels of colonial control, pre-colonial and protohistoric consumption patterns, demographic changes, disruptions in Indigenous production and trade networks, taste (Stahl 2002), practical politics (Silliman 2001) and numerous other factors.

---

M. Oland (✉)  
Departments of Anthropology and Latin American and Latino/a Studies, Smith College,  
Northampton, MA, USA  
e-mail: moland@smith.edu

The Maya community of Chanlacan was located on what became the frontier of the Spanish empire in Mesoamerica, and is thought to be located on the west shore of Progresso Lagoon in present-day northern Belize (Fig. 1) (Jones 1989, p. 284; Oland 2009). Chanlacan was incorporated into a Spanish *encomienda* during the 1544 conquest of the Belize frontier, and is known primarily for its role in the early Maya resistance movement against the Spaniards. Progresso Lagoon was located approximately 50 km (by land) from the Spanish outpost of Salamanca de Bacalar, a community that was itself far beyond the edges of the settled Spanish colony of Yucatan, yet had access to water-borne trade with Spaniards and other Europeans via the Bay of Chetumal.

This study recognizes that Indigenous people along colonial frontiers make choices about consumption within a different political, economic, and demographic environment than those in colonial cores. Indigenous people living along the Belize frontier had fewer and more sporadic interactions with colonizers than in the colonial core, and Maya communities maintained relationships with other semi-conquered or unconquered Maya groups, and incorporated refugees from conquered areas. The adoption of Spanish material culture at Progresso Lagoon therefore took place within a different set of constraints and opportunities than in colonial capitals or tightly controlled Spanish missions. Colonial domination was neither complete nor entirely successful in this region, and consumption patterns were created as much by relationships with other Indigenous groups as they were with Spanish colonizers.

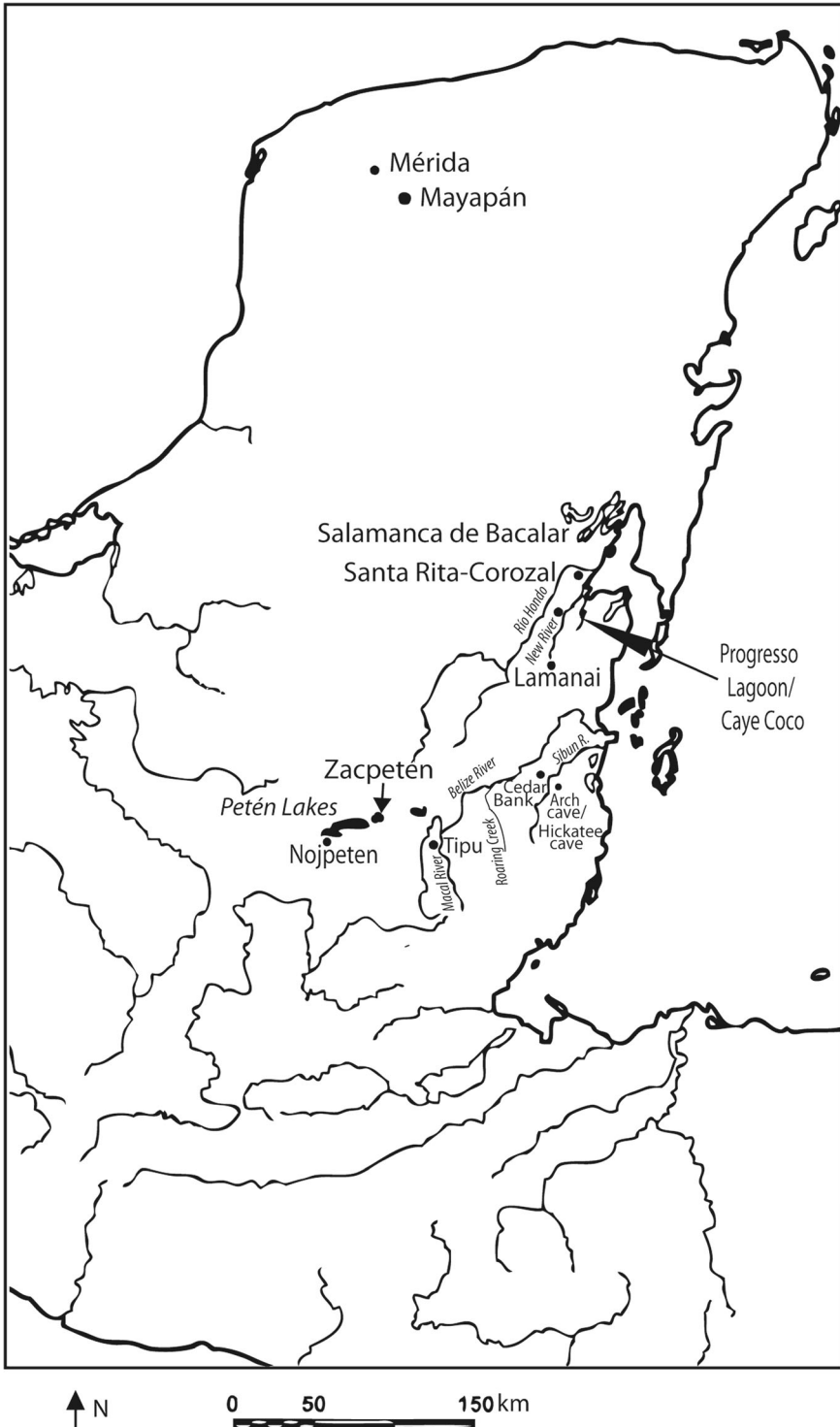
The small collection of Spanish artifacts at Progresso Lagoon is representative of an early colonial frontier assemblage, and may have been obtained as gifts from Spanish *encomenderos* (granted with the power to extract tribute and labor from the natives of particular lands) during the original conquest or re-conquest of the community in the 1540s. In broad horizontal and test excavations at forty-three different structures, Spanish material culture was found only at the main elite or “cacique’s” residence and its associated household shrine. This distribution suggests that Spanish interaction at the community was mediated through community leaders.

## Consumption and Indigenous Agency on the Colonial Frontier

### Consumption on Colonial Frontiers

The Indigenous adoption of European material goods has long been a topic of interest for archaeologists of colonial encounters. Early scholars took this adoption as a given: Indigenous groups would inevitably acculturate to a more dominant culture (Cusick 1998). More recently, scholars have moved to ask “why” Indigenous people would change, and have sought to locate Indigenous agency in negotiating colonial encounters (i.e., Graham 2011; Silliman 2001).

Recent studies have theorized the Indigenous adoption of foreign materials as a practice of consumption: a set of choices in which we acquire material objects “to confirm, display, accent, mask, and imagine who we are and who we wish to be” (Mullins 2011, p. 135). Consumption is not a mere reflection of our identity, but is a tool by which we shape it. Dietler (2005) urges us to carefully examine the multiscale contexts of foreign consumption: how were the foreign goods of colonizers used across



**Fig. 1** The Belize Frontier, showing the location of Progresso Lagoon (Chanlacan) and other sites mentioned in the text

a region, within a site, and within a particular deposit? Attention to contextual details can reveal why some objects are accepted while others rejected.

A focus on context reveals that Indigenous consumption patterns vary across the colonial world. While some parts of the colony might be tightly controlled, and Indigenous consumption highly regulated or observed, consumption at the edges of the colony tends to be imbued with different meanings. Colonial frontiers are zones of interaction between colonizers and Indigenous populations that occur at the edges of colonial empires (Lightfoot and Martinez 1995; Weber and Rausch 1994). They are, by their definition, locations of negotiation. They are also, often, loci of colonial entanglement: places where Indigenous change occurs due to a European (or other colonizing) presence, but in a non-directed fashion, and where power relations are ambiguous (Alexander 1998; Jordan 2009). As Kurt Jordan (2009, p. 32) puts it, “it is difficult to tell who (if anyone) has the upper hand” in entangled situations.

The lack of clear domination on frontiers, and the high level of social negotiation, allows for the creative appropriation of foreign material culture, and the incorporation of foreign objects into Indigenous value systems. One example is the appropriation of copper kettles by the Iroquois of the Great Lakes region in the sixteenth to nineteenth centuries. Copper kettles were reshaped into ornaments that were worn for ceremonial occasions (Bradley 1987, pp. 130–136; Turgeon 1997). They also became a central aspect of ritual feasts, used to share food communally, to prepare a “feast” of the disemboweled remains of enemies, and in the “feast of the dead” in which relatives’ bodies were exhumed, cleaned, and reburied with valuable objects such as copper kettles (Turgeon 1997, pp. 10–11). Kettles were more than utilitarian objects, and never replaced Indigenous earthenware pots. Meghan Howey (2011) argues that the kettles were symbolically charged not only because they were made of copper, which had a long indigenous association with ritual power, but also through their association with the “other.” Kettles became entangled with Indigenous identity in the changing social landscape, and emerged “as a powerful mediating concept” between this identity and the colonial world (Howey 2011, p. 351).

Why did Indigenous people want to acquire foreign objects, whether through gifts, trade, or mimesis? Our interpretation of creative appropriations depends on a detailed knowledge of pre-contact lifeways and belief systems, and the ways that everyday practices and symbolic meanings changed over time. A long-term historical perspective, which situates colonial consumption along deep Indigenous timelines, allows us to see Indigenous people as active participants in shaping colonial interactions (Cobb 2003; Ferris 2011; Frink 2007, 2009; Gosden 2004; Lightfoot 1995; Lyons and Papadopoulos 2002; Murray 2004; Oland et al. 2012; Scheiber and Mitchell 2010; Silliman 2005; Silliman and Witt 2010; Stein 2005; Rubertone 2000, 2001). The appropriation of foreign objects is not always based in long-term patterns (see Silliman 2012 discussion of the mesoscale), and must be seen within the evolving social landscape of the colonial world. Nonetheless, a long-term perspective is an appropriate starting place for examining Indigenous agency within early colonial interactions.

Our interpretations must also take into account the larger Indigenous political, economic, and social world of the colonial frontier. In his critique of Richard White’s “Middle Ground,” Michael Witgen (2011) argues that Anishinaabeg colonial relationships were not structured entirely by the presence of Europeans. He stresses that it is the

existence of autonomous Indigenous groups in the region, and the ability of Anishinaabeg leaders to negotiate between these unconquered and colonizing groups, that structured colonial interactions in the Great Lakes region.

In a situation analogous to the Great Lakes region, the Belize Maya adopted foreign material culture as a way to negotiate social relations. Belize missions and *encomienda* communities were located between a Spanish colonial outpost and a powerful unconquered Itzá Maya kingdom (Jones 1998, 2005). In part, Spanish gifts to Maya elites were a way for Spaniards to negotiate indirect colonial rule and peaceful cooperation. Yet Spanish objects took on other meanings within a mostly autonomous Maya world. This study sees the consumption of Spanish goods on the Belize frontier as driven by long-term political and economic patterns, in which the status of Maya elites was tied to the consumption of goods symbolic of distant political and ritual capitals.

### The Conquest and Colonization of the Belize Frontier

Knowledge of the conquest and colonization of the Maya communities present-day Belize comes primarily from the ethnohistorical research of Grant D. Jones (1989, 1998, 2005). Jones pieced together fragmentary Spanish colonial records to detail interactions between Spanish and Maya groups along the Belize frontier. In particular, he was able to reconstruct Maya resistance activities as occurring alongside cycles of the Maya calendar (Jones 1989), and the ways that the unconquered Itzá Maya polity at Nojpeten coerced Maya groups along the Belize frontier into anti-Spanish activities (see Fig. 1) (Jones 1998, 2005).

Spaniards first attempted to establish an outpost on the frontier in 1531, under the command of Alonso Dávila (Jones 1989, pp. 32–39). They established a short-lived settlement called Villa Real on the site of the Maya town of Chetumal, but fled after hostile acts by the local Maya population, and threats of a larger attack. The eastern Maya lowlands therefore became known as a hotbed of native rebellion, and as a location to which Maya of northern Yucatan could flee to escape the more intense colonization of the north (Farriss 1984; Jones 1989).

Conquest of the communities in the eastern Maya lowlands was not attempted again until 1544, when Melchor and Alonso Pacheco (cousins) “pacified” the region in a violent campaign that was criticized by a local Franciscan priest for its cruelty (Jones 1989, pp. 41–45). The Pachecos established the villa of Salamanca de Bacalar on Lake Bacalar in that same year, along with a small number of their followers. Although there is no record that Spaniards lived amongst the Maya settlements on the frontier, some towns were combined at this time into congregated settlements. *Encomiendas* were established that would benefit their Spanish *encomenderos*, who were granted the right to extract tribute and labor from the Maya inhabitants by the Spanish crown, in exchange for the protection and Christianization of the Indigenous population.

Salamanca de Bacalar’s location (see Fig. 1), far from the core of Spanish settlement in Mérida, and with a reputation for native rebellion, attracted a group of poor, mostly illiterate Spaniards (Jones 1989, p. 57). Jones (1989, pp. 57–73) describes Bacalar as a poverty-ridden, unhealthy, small settlement. *Encomienda* tribute was collected from Maya villages in the form of *mantas* (cotton cloths) and cacao (Jones 1989, pp. 41–42), but patterns of flight and rebellion made this income unreliable. Jones (1989, p. 69)

argues that most of Bacalar's income came from trade with native and European trading partners, some of it illicit or unreported to royal officials.

While Bacalar's residents undoubtedly had intimate and co-dependent relationships with Maya communities near the settlement, relations further into the frontier were based around tribute collection, infrequent visits by clerics, and reconquests after rebellious activities. Resistance activities were frequent, and included the burning of churches, killing of Spaniards, flight from *encomienda* communities, and the open practice of Maya religion (Jones 1989). Jones (1989) studied patterns of Maya resistance that were reported in Spanish documents, and found that they occurred in patterns consistent with the Maya calendar. In particular, he found that rebellions were often clustered around the mid-point of the *katun*, a roughly 20-year cycle of the Maya calendar. He argued that Maya politico-religious leaders were manipulating *katun* prophecies to encourage resistance activities against the colonists.

Jones' later work (1998) revealed the importance of the unconquered Itzá Maya polity in the Peten lakes, to the southwest. The Itzá tried to use the Belize Maya communities as a buffer against the Spanish colonists reaching their own kingdom. In many ways they acted as colonists in their own right, sending emissaries and threatening Maya communities that cooperated with Spaniards. Most recently, Jones (2005) has argued that the Itzá may in fact have perpetrated some of the acts of resistance reported by Spaniards, burning the churches and destroying Christian religious materials in seemingly converted Maya towns.

Spanish colonists realized the importance of destroying the Itzá polity and bringing the Itzá under control of the crown. Therefore some Belize Maya communities were visited more frequently by the Spaniards, as they were located along the route to the Itzá kingdom. The Maya community of Tipú, in particular, was the focus of intense Spanish interaction, as it was the last *visita* mission (i.e. it had no resident Spanish priest) before reaching Itzá territory, and was also pressured by the Itzá (see Fig. 1)(Jones 1989, pp. 189–192). Archaeological evidence from Tipú has revealed a Spanish grid town plan, the remains of a *ramada* style church, approximately 600 Christian burials, and substantial quantities of Spanish goods (Graham et al. 1985; Graham 1991, 2011; Hanson 1995; Pendergast and Graham 1993; White 1988).

The Maya community of Lamanai was also located along the riverine route to the interior of the frontier, and to the Itzá (see Fig. 1). It was the site of a major rebellion in 1638, in which residents of Lamanai burned their church, although Jones (2005, p. 309) has suggested this was one event actually perpetrated by the Itzá. Remains of this church, an earlier church, and their associated Christian burials have been excavated (Graham 2008, 2011; Pendergast 1981, 1986a, b, 1991, 1993). Excavations have also been completed at an elite “*cacique's*” (chief's) residence (Pendergast 1991) and a number of residential structures (Wiewall 2009), illustrating various levels of access to Spanish materials. Most recently, Simmons (2003, 2004, 2005, 2006; Simmons et al. 2009) has led excavations in activity areas around the elite residences and church zone, exploring Indigenous Maya copper metallurgy during the fifteenth-seventeenth centuries.

## Chanlacan Along the Belize Frontier

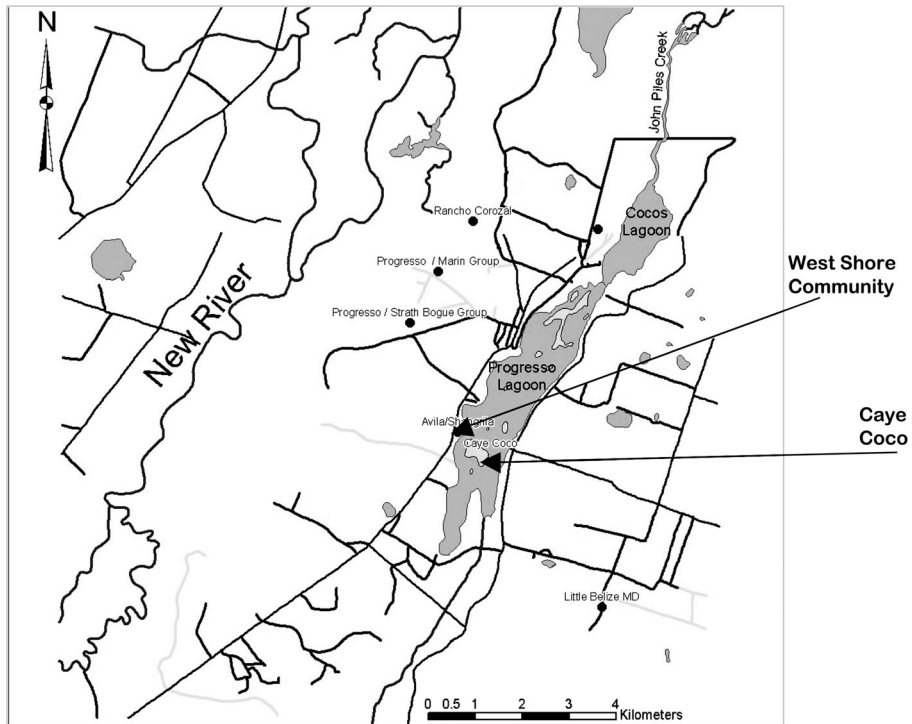
Chanlacan is known primarily for its role in the 1546–47 rebellion against Spanish authorities. In early 1547, word reached Bacalar that residents at Chanlacan had killed their encomendero, a Spaniard named Martín Rodríguez, or “El Piloto” (Jones 1989, p. 46). The rebellion was the first in a string of revolts across the Maya lowlands, which Jones (1989, p. 46) suggested were supported by the Maya priestly elite. The Spanish account of the town’s pacification is the most detailed textual reference that exists from this community. It recounts how Juan de Aguilar quelled the revolt “with the gifts and good treatment that he gave them, and because he gave the cacique his wife who had been in prison at the time as she had been taken in other entradas, he reduced them pacified to the service of his majesty” (Probanza de Juan de Aguilar, 1566 as quoted in Jones 1989, p. 46). The account indicates that after this the community was cooperative, and the town makes only brief appearances in the archival record until its eventual abandonment in 1654 (Jones 1989, p. 284).

A contemporary account of the event (de Cogolludo and D 1688, as cited in Jones 1989, p. 46) suggests that the leaders of the Chetumal province had relocated to Chanlacan after Dávila’s attempts to settle at Chetumal in the 1530s. This reference hints at the political importance of Chanlacan’s elite leadership in the Maya world at the time of the 1544 conquest.

Based on the accounts of the 1,547 pacification, Jones (1989, pp. 283–284) predicted that Chanlacan would be located on Progreso Lagoon. Archaeological research by Masson (1999, 2002, 2003a, b; Masson and Peraza Lope 2004) revealed a thriving Late Postclassic settlement on Caye Coco, the largest island in Progreso Lagoon (Fig. 2). Sherds of Spanish olive jar were found on one of the island’s prehispanic docks (Masson and Rosenswig 1999), but early test pits revealed dense deposits of diagnostic protohistoric and Spanish colonial artifacts on the west shore of the lagoon (West 1999). These data suggested that the Caye Coco community had been reduced to the shore during the 1544 conquest or after the 1,547 pacification.

Further research included a reconnaissance survey, test pits at 43 household and ritual structures across the shore community, and broad horizontal exposures on six of these structures (Oland 2002, 2003, 2009; Oland and Masson 2005). This work revealed an 11 ha-settlement that post-dated Caye Coco, but which was largely established before the arrival of the Spaniards. I have argued that the shore community was settled in the fifteenth century, and is associated with indigenous political and economic upheavals following the collapse of Mayapan between 1441 and 1461 CE (Oland 2009, 2012). This assertion is based on AMS dates from the shore settlement (see Oland 2009, p. 357) and Caye Coco (Masson 2000b), and on ceramic assemblage comparisons with protohistoric settlements at Lamanai (Graham 1987) and Santa Rita-Corozal (Chase 1982; Chase and Chase 1988).

Extensive excavation revealed that the fifteenth-century settlement was established over earlier Terminal Classic (~750–1050 CE) remains, and that some existing mounds were reused and recapped as platforms for fifteenth-century houses (Oland 2009). New construction utilized low-labor efforts, such as low cobble mounds, or off-mound dirt-floor houses outlined in stone blocks. An economic analysis of household goods indicated decreasing access to long-distance trade networks, while an increasing



**Fig. 2** Progreso Lagoon, showing the locations of Caye Coco and the fifteenth-seventeenth-century settlement on the west shore of the lagoon

diversity in pottery styles suggested less social and economic interaction overall in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. Uniformity in local pottery forms and styles during the Mayapan period has been linked to high levels of interaction, occurring at rotating inter-community calendrical festivals (Freidel 1981; Masson and Rosenswig 2005). The diversity of local pottery styles after the fifteenth century suggests that inter-community festivals did not occur with nearly the same frequency as they had in the preceding two centuries.

These data support Matthew Restall's (1998, 2001) analyses of colonial period Maya documents, in which he depicts the post-Mayapan period as a time of social disintegration and conflict over territorial boundaries and hierarchical position. Thus archaeological and ethnohistorical data suggest that at the time of the first *entradas*, the region was politically fragmented, and that some communities suffered economically as a result. These problems may have been exacerbated by European diseases that spread throughout the region following first contacts in the early sixteenth century, although no direct evidence of epidemics has been found (Graham 2011; Jones 1989).

#### Spanish Artifacts on the Belize Frontier

As noted at other Belize frontier settlements (Pendergast et al. 1993), it is nearly impossible to locate colonial Maya towns without the presence of Spanish artifacts. This is because while there are subtle shifts in Maya material culture in the fifteenth



century (see Oland 2009), there are generally no further changes in Maya materials after the arrival of Spaniards. Spanish objects were added to Maya assemblages, without replacing Maya technologies. One exception is an example of hybrid material culture found in a burial at Tipú: a thurible (European Christian censer) made from Maya ceramic (Graham 2011, p. 154).

Nor are there generally architectural changes, although future research may reveal subtleties not yet obvious. Spanish manipulation of the physical landscape is more evident in northern Yucatán, where grid plan construction and churches remain evident (see Andrews 1981; Hanson 1995). Spanish ramada style churches dating to the sixteenth centuries have been located at Tipú (Graham 1991, 2011; Graham et al. 1985) and Lamanai (Graham 2008, 2011; Pendergast 1981, 1986a, b, 1991), and at the late seventeenth-early eighteenth-century missions in the Petén lakes (Pugh et al. 2012), although there were undoubtedly many more at the various *visita* missions across the frontier (see for example the list of towns in Scholes et al. 1938). The second church at Lamanai was built in the sixteenth or seventeenth century with a masonry stone chapel (Graham 2011, p. 211, Fig. 8.9), and is comparable to stone chapels in Yucatán (see Hanson 1995). Tipú was laid out on a Spanish grid plan (Graham 1991, 2011), most likely because it was a newly established *reducción* community, aggregating populations from several nearby towns. Spanish planning has not been noted at other colonial Maya settlements, where *visita* missions were established at existing Maya towns.

The lack of material change is not to minimize the impact of colonialism at these communities. One of the largest changes we see at sites like Lamanai and Tipú is the large-scale adoption of Christian burial practices, and Graham (2011); see also Graham et al. 2013) has emphasized the fact that residents there called themselves Christians. Additionally, while there is little direct evidence of the massive European epidemics that struck other regions, there is evidence of increased levels of anemia during the colonial period at Lamanai, probably due to the stress of colonial disruption (White 1988).

Spanish artifacts have been found primarily in three types of contexts along the lowland Maya frontier: in Christian burials; in elite Maya household refuse; and in Maya ritual deposits. Patterns of deposition vary within an individual community, as well as across the frontier, and throughout time.

### Christian Burials

At sites with extensive contact, such as Tipú, many Spanish artifacts have been found in the burials of individuals buried in or next to the churches (Graham 1991, 2011). These objects are personal adornments, such as glass trade beads, beads made from European jet and amber, copper needles to fasten burial shrouds, silver wire earrings on which beads were suspended, and bronze lacetags (Cockrell et al. 2013; Graham 1991; Lambert et al. 1994; Smith et al. 1994). Interestingly, glass beads have been found primarily in the burials of children, suggesting that they were gifts from Catholic friars to children that learned their catechism (Graham 1991, p. 328, 2011, p. 23).

At Lamanai, individuals were also buried in cemeteries beneath and adjacent to the two Christian churches, but most were not buried with Spanish artifacts. One individual was buried with a piece of metal of probable European origin (Pendergast 1986b, p. 4), but no burials contained glass beads or other Spanish ornaments. Spanish pottery was

found scattered on the surface of the cemetery, as well as in middens in the vicinity of the two churches. Most fragments of olive jar and majolica dishes were recovered in the area around the two churches and their associated cemeteries, (Pendergast 1991, pp. 347–348), although a small number have recently been found in residential structures (Simmons 2003, 2006; Wiewall 2009). David Pendergast (1991, p. 347) has suggested that olive jar sherds probably originated from a structure adjacent to the second church, which Elizabeth Graham (2008, 2011, pp. 211–212) has interpreted as a rectory. The jars originally contained oil and wine for sacramental use, but the fragmentary nature of the remains indicates the long-term reuse of the jars.

### Elite Maya Households

Although Spanish objects were largely absent from the burials at Lamanai, glass trade beads ( $n=46$ ) were found at the largest elite residence dating to the period, also called N11-18, and nicknamed the “cacique’s residence” (Pendergast 1991, p. 349). Darcy Wiewall (2009, p. 169) and Scott Simmons (2006, pp. 51–55) recovered some fragments of Spanish olive jar from non-elite residential areas at Lamanai, and nine majolica sherds were recovered from a presumed residential structure close to the lake shore. A single majolica sherd was found in the “cacique’s residence” (N11-18) (Pendergast 1991, p. 348), and several small possible sherds of Columbia Plain majolica were found in a midden north of this structure (Simmons 2003, p. 54). At Tipu, Spanish pottery was found primarily around the church and the residences around the main square. Elizabeth Graham has suggested that Spanish dishes were used by visiting Spaniards or high-status Mayas (Graham 1991, p. 323).

Spanish artifacts were found at Cedar Bank in the Sibun River Valley of Belize, in what Steven Morandi (2010, p. 219) suggests was a high-status Maya residence (see Fig. 1). As found at other colonial frontier settlements, the Cedar Bank assemblage was made up of primarily indigenous materials. The assemblage is striking however, for its relative density and variety of Spanish ceramics. The collection includes 61 olive jar sherds, with an MNI of at least two jars (Morandi 2010, pp. 120–139). There were also 85 sherds from six different types of Spanish and Italian majolica. Other European objects from this period found in the Cedar Bank excavations include a brass star cut from sheet metal, similar to those found across Spanish colonial America (Deagan 2002), two pellets of lead shot, and an iron blade (Morandi 2010, pp. 182, 199–201).

No glass beads were found in the Cedar Bank excavations, which is surprising given the diversity of Spanish materials found there (Morandi 2010, p. 215). If the deposit does come from a high-status Maya household, as suggested, then the pattern of artifact deposition is comparable to that at Tipú, where beads were largely absent from elite houses, but majolica pottery was present.

### Maya Ritual

Spanish artifacts have sometimes been found in Maya ritual contexts along the frontier. For example, sherds of Spanish olive jars have been reported from Hickatee Cave and Arch Cave in the Sibun Valley (Peterson 2006) (see Fig. 1). Caves were seen throughout Maya history as sacred liminal spaces between this world and the supernatural

world, and used to deposit ritual offerings and burials (i.e., Brady and Scott 1997; Moyes 2007; Pruffer and Brady 2005).

An entire olive jar and a late sixteenth-century Spanish rapier sword were found in two caves in the Roaring Creek Valley of central Belize (Awe 2005; Awe and Helmke *in press*). Jaime Awe and Christophe Helmke (*in press*) hypothesize that both objects were placed there by Maya residents from the nearby mission site of Hubelna or Xibun. The jar was ritually “killed” upon its deposit: “At the moment that it was placed in the cave they cut the kill hole at its base to ensure that, in accordance with Maya tradition, the spirit of the vessel would be released and that it would never be used again for non-ritual purposes” (Awe 2005, p. 6).

Two intact olive jars were also recovered from the Group S cave at Xcaret in Quintana Roo (Andrews and Andrews 1975, pp. 46, 72). This cave had a small shrine and a stucco statue of a feline, and evidently served a ritual function, as did three other nearby caves. Olive jars have been found in *cenotes* (natural pits or sinkholes in limestone that expose groundwater) on Cozumel (Martos López 2008) and in other *cenotes* on the Yucatán Peninsula (see Awe and Helmke *in press*). Deposition in caves and *cenotes* indicates that Spanish pottery and other objects could have a ritual function beyond Christian practices, in addition to serving as an elite status good.

At Zacpetén, a Kowoj Maya site on the Petén lakes, Spanish material culture was recovered in Maya ritual caches from an elite household complex (Pugh 2009). Zacpetén experienced Spanish contact indirectly, when the Spanish conquistador Hernán Cortés visited the nearby Itzá capital Nojpeten in 1525, and may have experienced stories of Spaniards or Spanish goods even earlier. Timothy Pugh found that European metal artifacts were used at Zacpetén much as indigenous metal objects: in primary-axis caches as a way to animate Maya spaces, and to link them these buildings with the sun god. Other offerings were a modified cow mandible and a kaolin pipe stem. Pugh argues that the use of Spanish artifacts in elite Maya ritual contexts represents an attempt to capture some of the power of the Spanish “other.”

### Spanish Artifacts at Progresso Lagoon

Almost all of the Spanish artifacts found on the west shore of Progresso Lagoon were found in the elite household complex associated with Structure 1 on the west shore of Progresso Lagoon (see Fig. 2). Structure 1 was a large, low mound (21 × 14 m), oriented approximately 17° east of north, and aligned with the lagoon (Oland 2001). Excavations on the mound partially exposed the cobble sub-floor of at least one pole and thatch structure. Middens were documented at the base of the mound, on both the east and west sides. Artifacts from the structure were varied, and included remains of food production and consumption, household craft production, and Maya ritual (in the form of incense burners, crystals, and small speleothems [pieces of stalactites/ stalagmites]). The diversity of artifacts led me to interpret the structure as a household, as ritual and political structures from the lagoon tend to be cleaner and have more specific assemblages (i.e., Structure 1 on Caye Coco, which has been interpreted as a lineage council house; Rosenswig and Masson 2003).

There were also a number of objects discarded in the vicinity of the mound that suggest high-status occupants, because they are rare, and were used for personal adornment and display, or in public rituals (Oland 2009). These

objects include five indigenous copper alloy celts, several shell beads, a hematite bead, and a broken preclassic diadem pendant. Additionally, more than half of all faunal bone from the site (NISP=2,447) was found in the middens surrounding Structure 1.

There are architectural indications that there were additional household outbuildings to the north and west side of the mound, the largest of which was a shrine building off the northwest corner of Structure 1, built on a low mound. The structure's plaster floor was partly intact, and fragments of red-painted plaster were found on the floor, suggesting that either the floor or walls were coated with red plaster. There was a circular altar of burned stones in the center of the structure. A very similar structure, also with red-painted plaster and a circular altar, was described from excavations at Santa Rita Corozal, a nearby site that also saw florescence in the fifteenth century (Chase 1982, pp. 395–402).

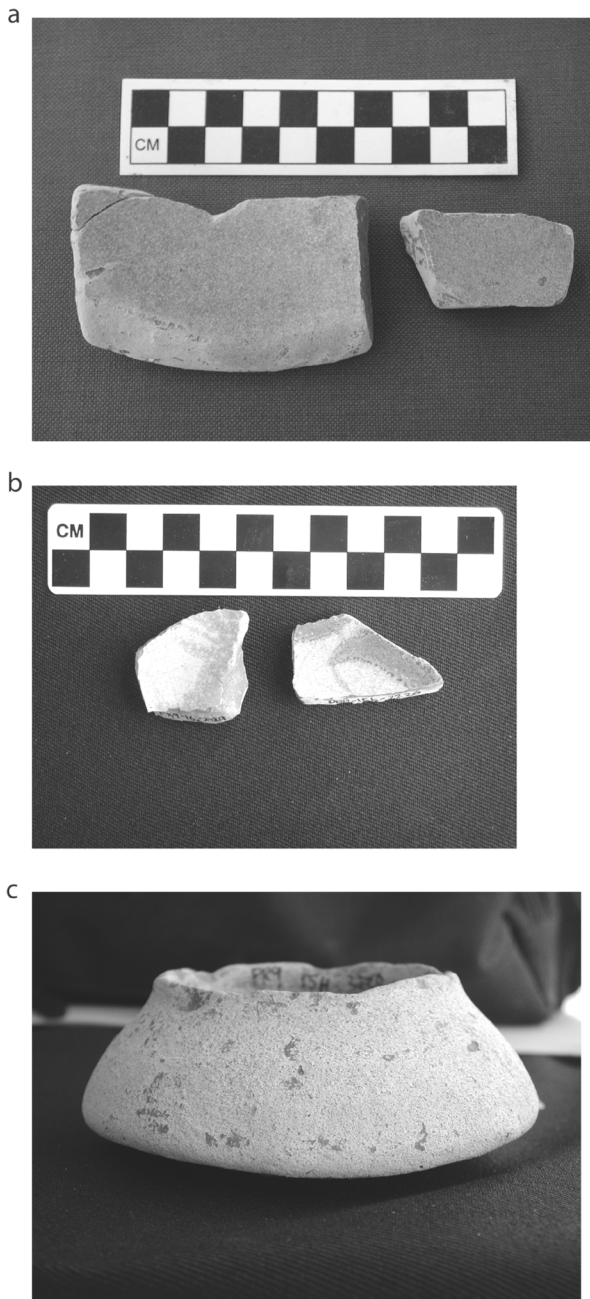
### Spanish Ceramics

Only five sherds of majolica were found at the Progreso Lagoon site, suggesting that very few majolica dishes reached Progreso Lagoon. Four of these were found in the Structure 1 excavations, in the sheet middens surrounding the elite household (Oland 2009, p. 165). Two were Columbia Plain sherds, with a pale green glaze: one body sherd and one plate rim sherd. Columbia Plain is the most commonly found majolica in the Spanish colonies of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries (Deagan 1987). The other two were body sherds of Blue on Blue majolica, with an unidentifiable dark blue design painted over a pale blue background. An additional sherd of Blue on White majolica was found in 1998 in a test pit on the neighboring Shangri La property (West 1999).

A total of 85 sherds of olive jar were recovered from the west shore of the lagoon. While only one rim sherd was found (Fig. 3), a preliminary analysis of paste and glaze revealed that there were at least 10 different olive jars represented. All but three of these sherds were found on and around the Structure 1 elite household complex, and its associated shrine structure. Three sherds were found in a test pit on the neighboring Shangri La property, adjacent to a wall from an unidentified off-mound structure (Oland 2002, p. 75).

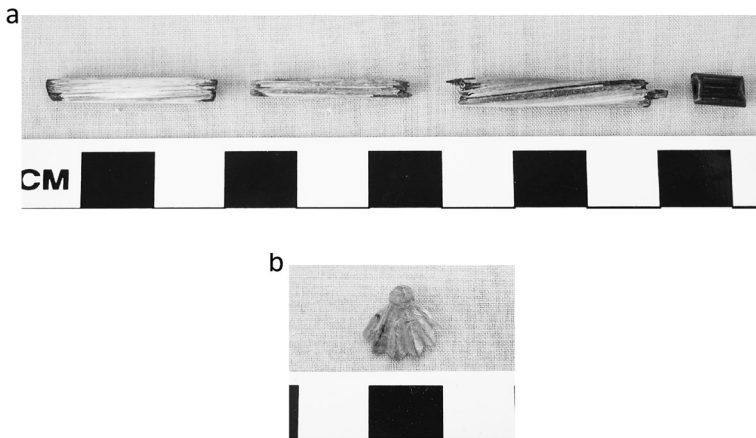
### Glass Beads and Ornaments

Four tubular glass trade beads were recovered from the Structure 1 elite household complex (Fig. 4a) (see Oland 2009, p. 356). All four were Nueva Cadiz trade beads, found only on sites with a pre-1550 occupation (Deagan 1987, p. 163). They include three Nueva Cadiz plain beads, and one Nueva Cadiz twisted bead. One additional glass ornament was found in the sheet midden to the east of Structure 1. This was a yellow glass ornament in the shape of a scallop shell, approximately 1 cm<sup>2</sup>, with a small nob above the shell, presumably for a wire to wrap around it (Fig. 4b). I had originally interpreted this as a piece of decorative jewelry, such as an earring (Oland 2003), but further investigation has revealed that scallop shell ornaments were often religious symbols associated with St. James and the pilgrimage of Santiago de Compostela (Joel Palka, pers. comm.; also see Spencer 2010, pp. 244–248). Other



**Fig. 3** Spanish majolica **a**, **b** and olive jar **c** found on the west shore of Progresso Lagoon

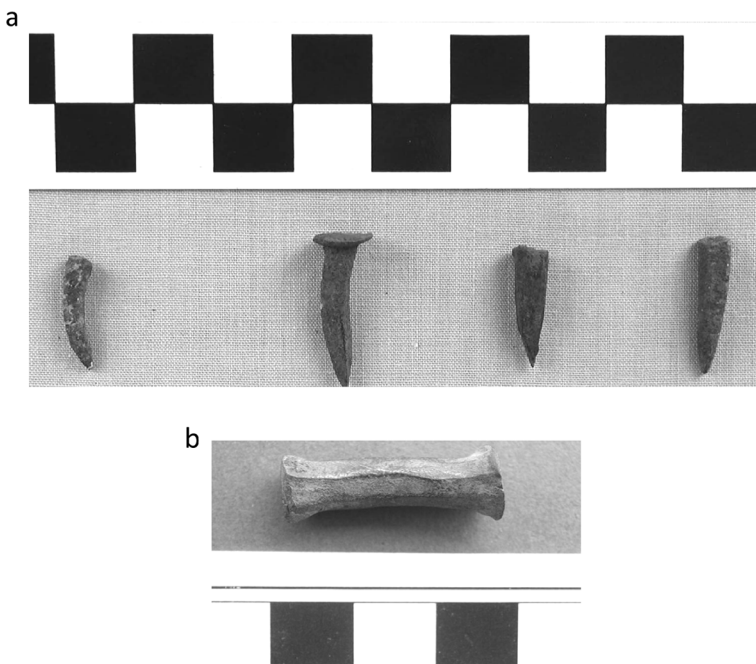
scallop shell ornaments have been found in the Spanish colonies (such as the one found at Santa Elena, South Carolina; South, et al. 1988, pp. 59–60, Fig. 4.3, 4; also illustrated in Deagan 2002, p. 73), but they are usually made of jet or lead (see Lee 2009).



**Fig. 4** Glass trade beads (a) and shell ornament (b) found on the west shore of Progresso Lagoon

### Brass

Four brass nails were recovered from the middens east of Structure 1 (Fig. 5a). The nails were approximately 2 cm long, with a slightly curved and squared-off shaft, tapering to a sharp point. Three out of the four were missing the nail head. The intact nail head was hammered flat. The nails resemble one found at Santa Elena, which South et al. (1988, p. 74, see also p. 72, fig. 35) suggest was probably used in furniture or other small items.



**Fig. 5** Brass nails (a) and rivet (b) found on the west shore of Progresso Lagoon

Two small pieces of sheet copper were also recovered from this midden, as well as what appears to be a large brass rivet (Fig. 5b). The rivet resembles those depicted from Santa Elena (South et al. 1988, p. 71, Fig. 31), and is 3 cm long with grooves along the shaft and two hammered ends. In the past, I have interpreted this object as a native copper lip or nose plug (Oland 2009, 2012), but upon further comparison with other colonial sites it appears very much like the Spanish rivets. South et al. (1988, p. 69) suggest that these rivets would be used with leather and iron, possibly in furniture or horse tack.

### Iron Artifacts and Glassware

Mixed into the fifteenth-seventeenth-century deposits around Structure 1 was a small collection of artifacts that date to the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, including 77 sherds of whiteware and 12 fragments of white clay pipe. Because of these intrusions, it was difficult to date with accuracy the fragments of iron ( $n=67$ ) and glass ( $n=307$ ) that were found around the household. Some of the iron and glass was clearly nineteenth century in date or later. Some of the iron fragments, however, probably date to the sixteenth century. Of particular note is an iron celt (Fig. 6), which is nearly identical to one recovered at Zacpetén (Pugh 2009, p. 380, Fig. 6).

There are also several small machete fragments, some iron nails and spikes, and the blade of a hatchet that may be from this period, but it is impossible to be sure without rust removal and preservation.

### Lead Shot

One piece of lead shot was recovered from the neighborhood of Maya households, on the bluff to the west of the lagoon. The shot is roughly spherical, measuring  $0.9\times$



**Fig. 6** Iron celt (a) and other miscellaneous iron artifacts (b) found on the west shore of Progresso Lagoon

1.07 cm, with two irregular gashes (Fig. 7). It is similar to pictures of irregularly shaped lead shot found at the Fountain of Youth site in St. Augustine, Florida (Deagan 2002), which date to 1560-70. It also resembles the images of lead shot found at Santa Elena (South et al. 1988), and fits roughly between the first and second bimodal distribution of lead shot in the analysis from that site. The shot was found in a 2×2 m unit, approximately 1 m from the northwest corner of an off-mound, dirt-floor house. The shot was associated with no architectural or other features, suggesting that it may have been fired.

### Context

Spanish artifacts were recovered from this elite household context in three kinds of deposits. Most were scattered on the top of the structures and in a dense sheet midden that was present at the base of Structure 1, and stretched west toward the lagoon. The top of the structure and midden deposits were only 8–10 cm below the surface of the ground, and some nineteenth-century artifacts were found in the top of the midden deposit. Therefore it is difficult to tell if artifacts in many contexts were intentionally scattered in a ritual fashion, or if they were discarded with other rubbish, lost, or shifted with natural transformation process of weather.

Certainly there was much rubbish recovered from the elite context, including thousands of ceramic sherds ( $n=21,245$ ) and pieces of faunal bone ( $n=2,447$ ). Yet I suspect that some of the Spanish artifacts may have been intentionally scattered, because 193 censer fragments were found in the analyzed sample of ceramic sherds ( $n=12,368$ ). Censers were often scattered in termination rituals throughout Maya history (Mock 1998; Walker 1990), several elite and ritual structures at Mayapán were terminated with broken dishes and censers upon that city's collapse (Masson and Peraza Lope *in press*). I suspect that Spanish artifacts may have been used in a similar



**Fig. 7** Lead shot found on the west shore of Progresso Lagoon



fashion. For example, olive jar sherds were scattered with large sherds of local Maya redware dishes and some censer pieces on the surface of Structure 2, the shrine structure associated with the elite residence. Structure 2 was a cleaner surface and less disturbed by later artifacts, and it was clear that the scattering in this case was intentional rather than casual disposal.

Finally, one olive jar sherd was cached below the circular altar in the shrine building. The altar was composed of a layer of burned rocks, beneath which was a layer of white soil/ limestone marl. Within the white layer was a dark circular stain, out of which was excavated a large body sherd from a Spanish olive jar. This is the clearest indication of the use of Spanish artifacts in Maya ritual at Progreso Lagoon. In many ways, the olive jar is analogous to Spanish artifacts cached in the elite household at Zacpetén, where iron objects were found in primary-axis caches.

## Discussion

The data from Progreso Lagoon contribute to the larger picture of Maya-Spanish interaction at the edge of the Spanish empire in two ways. First, by comparing Progreso Lagoon's assemblage and contexts to other colonial Maya contexts from Belize and Guatemala, I can situate the community of Chanlacan into a continuum of interaction across the frontier, ranging from highly regulated Maya communities to those that experienced mainly indirect contact with Spaniards. Chanlacan was somewhere in the middle of these two extremes. The small number of Spanish artifacts and their use in culturally Maya ways reflect Chanlacan's sporadic contact and surveillance, and the continuation of Maya political and social goals.

The second contribution the Progreso Lagoon data makes is in our understanding of gift-giving and receiving at frontier Maya communities. Spanish artifacts are more than simply markers of contact and interaction. They were given, consumed, and traded with particular intentions, used to establish relationships, and to convey meaning to others. Both the givers and receivers of gifts made intentional choices about these exchanges. At Progreso Lagoon we see how the use of Spanish artifacts fits into long-term patterns of elite use of exotic materials for ritual and political purposes, and can surmise that elites from Chanlacan sought out Spanish goods to further their own political aims. The comparison with contexts across the frontier suggests that Maya elites and other individuals may have also sought out Spanish goods for their own purposes.

## Interaction

The Maya community of Chanlacan was approximately 50 km from the Spanish settlement of Bacalar (by land, although the Spaniards probably reached it by canoe via the Bay of Chetumal and the Freshwater Creek drainage (Jones 1989, pp. 283–284), closer to Spaniards than many other frontier communities. Nonetheless, the small number of Spanish artifacts and their restricted distribution suggest that interaction with Spanish authorities was minimal compared with sites such as Tipú. The Spanish artifacts that made their way to the elite household on the shore of Progreso Lagoon were likely obtained as gifts from Spaniards, or through down-the-line trade. Their

distribution around one elite household suggests that most interaction with the community was mediated through the local leader, rather than directly with the population.

It is useful to situate Progreso Lagoon's interactions with Spaniards along a continuum of interaction, alongside other frontier Maya communities. On one end was the community of Zacpetén, which had only brief or indirect encounters with Spaniards, and obtained Spanish artifacts primarily through trade. At Zacpetén Spanish artifacts were used only in elite Maya rituals, as a way to capture and contain some power of the Spanish "other," while linking Spanish artifacts to Maya sun god rituals (Pugh 2009).

On the other end of the continuum is the community of Tipú, which was the last Spanish mission before reaching the Itzá kingdom. This site was strategic for both the Spanish and Itzá polities, and was the site of intense Spanish interaction, throughout the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. At Tipú, a large number of Spanish beads and other ornaments were present in burials, mostly of children. European beads and other jewelry were likely given as gifts when children learned their catechism (Graham 1991, p. 328). Spanish interaction at Tipú was directed at elite leaders of the community, but also at the larger Maya community, and children in particular.

Other frontier Maya communities seem to fit between the indirect contact at Zacpetén and the directed manipulation of space and culture at Tipú. Lamanai clearly had significant Spanish interaction, as two churches were constructed during the colonial history of the community. Yet the distribution of goods suggests that most Spanish interaction was filtered through the elites of the community. Smith et al. (1994) have suggested that the differential distribution of beads reflect a much higher degree of Spanish interaction at Tipú than at Lamanai.

Elizabeth Graham (2011) presents an alternative interpretation of the differences between Tipú and Lamanai. Lamanai's masonry chapel (the second church) was much more substantial than Tipú's ramada church, and may reflect that Lamanai boasted a larger population. She argues that Lamanai may in fact have had more oversight by Spaniards than Tipú, forcing residents to express their religious views in subversive ways. Caches of Maya effigy vessels were deposited below the floors of both churches at the time of their construction, and one cache was placed along the primary axis of the first church after it was built (Graham 2008, 2011, pp. 213–223; Pendergast 1991, pp. 346–347). After the second church was burned (at some point between 1638 and 1641), two stelae were erected in the nave of the church. David Pendergast (1986b) excavated Maya offerings from the base of one stela.

The preliminary data from Cedar Bank suggest that this community may have had a high degree of interaction with Spaniards, closer in pattern to Tipú than to Lamanai or Zacpeten. The collection from an elite Maya household contained the highest diversity of Spanish majolica that has been found along the Belize frontier, as well as metal objects not found at other Maya communities from the time period. The lack of any glass beads within the elite household suggests that they may have been reserved for children's Christian burials, as seen at Tipu. A larger sample and better contextual data could help to clarify this preliminary assessment.

Progreso Lagoon, in contrast, shows an interaction pattern between Zacpetén and Lamanai. The "gifts and good treatment" at Chanlacaan were filtered through the community's elites, and there is no evidence that Spaniards interacted with other members of the community. Spanish artifacts, including glass trade beads, were

clustered at the primary elite residence, in a very similar pattern to Lamanai. But they were also found in some ritual contexts, used in very Maya ways, much as Spanish artifacts had been at the elite complex at Zacpetén. No church was found at Progresso Lagoon, making further comparisons to Lamanai difficult. Nonetheless, the presence of olive jar and majolica in the elite residence at Chanlacan is a different pattern from Lamanai, where Spanish pottery was found almost exclusively in the area of the church.

### The Function of Gift Giving and Receiving

Spanish artifacts have been found in three types of contexts across the frontier: in elite households, in Maya ritual deposits, and in Christian churches and church burials. Yet a comparative view reveals many intersections across these contexts. The addition of the Progresso Lagoon data helps to reveal patterns of gift-giving and receiving across the frontier. Some patterns appear to be linked with the extent and duration of contact at a site. Other patterns are more closely associated with the elite use of Spanish artifacts in Maya rituals.

For example, Spanish artifacts at all sites across the frontier are clustered at elite households, suggesting that Spaniards interacted primarily with leaders of the community. It is quite likely that elites acquired Spanish artifacts as gifts from Spaniards in exchange for their cooperation. Indirect Spanish rule over *encomienda* towns required the cooperation of local elites. For Maya leaders, the recognition of their status conferred continued legitimacy, and sometimes a title of *Indio Hidalgo* (Noble Indian) (Restall 1998, pp. 44–45).

It is also likely that the diacritical display of Spanish artifacts helped to legitimize elite status in Maya communities. In the thirteenth-to-fifteenth-century Maya community at Progresso Lagoon, elites engaged with the ritual symbolism and “culture-style” of Mayapan as a way to show their connectedness to the distant Postclassic Yucatec capital (Masson 2000a, c). This took the form of local versions of Mayapan-style serving dishes and effigy incense burners, which were used in calendrical rituals. I have argued that making connections to foreign capitals was important for local leaders from at least the terminal classic period, and that Spanish artifacts were the colonial period manifestation of this pattern (Oland 2012).

Majolica ceramics may have been one way of diacritically marking status, by exhibiting connections to a new foreign capital in public or small private feasts. It is clear from other Spanish colonial contexts that dishes served as a marker of Spanish identity and class (i.e., Deagan 1978; King 1984; Rodríguez-Alegría 2005; Voss 2008) and this may have been translated into Maya elite identities as well. Alternatively, one could see elite use of majolica much the way elites adopted Mayapan-style dishes, although elites could not commission local copies of Spanish majolica at this early date. There are very few majolica dishes at sites like Progresso Lagoon and Lamanai, and Pendergast (1991, p. 348) has suggested that the small number of dishes in these assemblages might have been the result of Spaniards traveling with their own mess kits. This may be the case, particularly at Lamanai where almost all majolica was found in the context of the two churches. Yet at sites with more extensive contact, such as Tipu and Cedar Bank, majolica tends to be clustered in elite households, in addition to church contexts, suggesting it was used in diacritical display or feasting.

In many cases, it seems that Maya elites were using Spanish artifacts for ritual purposes. At Progresso Lagoon and Zacpetén there are clear indications that Spanish artifacts were cached within elite household ritual deposits. At Progresso Lagoon, Spanish artifacts were also scattered across the surface of elite structures along with indigenous ritual objects in a final termination ritual. Termination appears to have occurred across the entire community, as fragments of Maya incense burners were littered across the surface of nearly all structures (Oland 2009). This pattern of termination through the spreading of incense burners is seen across the Maya lowlands at the abandonment of late postclassic sites (Masson and Peraza Lope *in press*). Incense burners were also scattered by Maya pilgrims visiting abandoned sites (Walker 1990). At Lamanai, some of the glass beads found at the Cacique's Residence (N11-18) were scattered in what appears to be a termination ritual (Pendergast and Graham 1993, pp. 345–351; Smith et al. 1994, p. 23). Fourteen of the beads were scattered across the floor of the house, with an additional six beads distributed outside the front of the house.

Spanish olive jars are also associated with Christian churches at both Lamanai and Tipu, where much of the Spanish ceramics are assumed to have been used for sacramental purposes. One could question, however, whether some of the olive jar sherds from church contexts were also used in a Maya ritual fashion. For example, at Lamanai many of the olive jar sherds were found scattered with other artifacts across the surface of the second cemetery (Pendergast 1991, p. 347). Pendergast argues that the fragmentary olive jar sherds were redeposited or disturbed, as very few could be refit. Like the glass beads of the Cacique's Residence, and the scattering of olive jar sherds and incense burners at Progresso Lagoon, the scattering of olive jar sherds in the Lamanai church cemetery may be evidence of ritual Maya termination or visitation. Furthermore, the caching of whole olive jars or olive jar sherds at Progresso Lagoon and in caves indicates the ritual power of these jars. While it is likely that the jars were originally brought to the community containing oil or wine for sacramental purposes, the redeposition of their sherds suggests ritual Maya patterns.

Spanish artifacts might have served as status symbols outright at some Maya communities, particularly where extensive contact might have transmitted ideals that linked tableware with status within the Spanish worldview. However, we might also consider that elites reinforced or maintained their status by the control over these materials. As I argue above, the use of exotic materials in elite ritual is a long-term pattern of elite power and consumption at Progresso Lagoon, where connections to the large centers of Chichén Itzá and Mayapán were conveyed through the adoption of new ritual paraphernalia and practices. Elite power in the Postclassic Maya world was expressed through access to ritual, and through connections to distant ritual and political capitals. Spanish artifacts were desired for their “otherness” at Zacpetén (Pugh 2009). At communities like Progresso Lagoon and Lamanai, Spanish artifacts may have been consumed as a way to maintain elite status in a tumultuous period. At Tipú, glass beads found primarily in children's burials might reflect the careful curation and active choices of Maya parents and ritual specialists in an era when ritual beliefs and concepts of personhood were rapidly changing. Additionally, we might question whether the limited distribution of beads in fact indicates tight political control over this resource, and who might have benefited from the access to and distribution of glass beads.

## Conclusion

There is no doubt that Spanish colonization in the Belize region was an unequal process that ultimately did change the course of Maya history forever. While I have chosen to focus on the “gifts and good treatment,” I have ignored the second part of the statement: “and because he gave the cacique his wife who had been in prison at the time as she had been taken in other entradas” (Probanza de Juan de Aguilar, 1566 as quoted in Jones 1989, p. 46). The remainder of the quote reminds us that colonization was a process that affected segments of the population differently, reinforcing or creating gender roles, class and status designations, and other identities. According to this quote, women were taken as prisoners, and presumably became part of the “gifts” given back to Maya elites to pacify the community.

Attention to the consumption of Spanish artifacts, both within the site, and across the frontier, reveals ways in which colonization affected individuals and communities in different ways. Spanish artifacts can be used to assess the extent of the interaction between Maya individuals and Spaniards, and can tell us who was interacting. Often only the elites appear to have interacted with Spaniards, but at sites with more and longer interaction, we see the transmission of Spanish artifacts to the larger population.

By approaching Spanish artifacts as objects of consumption, they become more than mere indicators of status or acculturation. Instead, detailed attention to their locations within elite households and ritual areas suggests an elite desire for their use in ritual—which was a way of establishing elite status in the Maya world. This slight difference paints a picture of elites at Progreso Lagoon utilizing their gifts and good treatment for furthering their own political aims within the community. This was based less on a desire for title in the Spanish world, than on a desire for continued relevancy within the Maya world.

**Acknowledgments** Research for this article was made possible by the Belize Institute of Archaeology, under the direction of Dr. John Morris, George Thompson, and Dr. Jaime Awe. It was completed under the auspices of the Belize Postclassic Project, directed by Marilyn Masson. Funding was provided by The University at Albany-SUNY Field School, Northwestern University, the National Science Foundation Dissertation Improvement Grant (#0315331), and a dissertation grant from the Wenner-Gren Foundation for Anthropological Research (#7055). I extend thanks to the local communities of Progreso and San Estevan, where I lived while archaeological research was carried out, and to all of the many people that contributed to the research process over the years. I thank Victor and Sonya Ayuso y Espat, and Margaret Briggs, for opening their homes to me while I completed analysis. The map of Progreso Lagoon was created for me by Timothy Hare. I am grateful to Elizabeth Klarich, Cynthia Robin, Elizabeth Graham, and an anonymous reviewer, who provided comments on earlier versions of this paper.

## References

- Alexander, R. T. (1998). Afterword: toward an archaeological theory of culture contact. In Cusick, J. G. (ed.), *Studies in Culture Contact Center for Archaeological Investigations*, Southern Illinois University, Carbondale, pp. 467–495.
- Andrews, A. P. (1981). Historical archaeology in Yucatan: a preliminary framework. *Historical Archaeology* 15(1): 1–18.
- Andrews IV, A. W., and Andrews, A. P. (1975). *A preliminary study of the ruins of Xcaret, Quintana Roo, Mexico: with notes on other archaeological remains on the central east coast of the Yucatan Peninsula*, Middle American Research Institute Tulane University, New Orleans.

- Awe, J. (2005). The olive jar: a unique Spanish olive jar from the Cayo District. *NICH Culture Magazine* 3(5): 6.
- Awe, J. J. and Helmke, C. (in press). The sword and the olive jar: material evidence of seventeenth-century Maya-Spanish interaction in central Belize. To appear in *Ethnohistory*.
- Bradley, J. W. (1987). *Evolution of the Onondaga Iroquois: accommodating change, 1500-1655*, Syracuse University Press, Syracuse.
- Brady, J. E., and Scott, A. (1997). Excavations in buried cave deposits: implications for interpretation. *Journal of Caves and Karst Studies* 59: 15–21.
- Chase, D. Z. (1982). *Spatial and Temporal Variability in Postclassic Northern Belize*. Doctoral dissertation, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia.
- Chase, D. Z., and Chase, A. F. (1988). *A Postclassic Perspective: Excavations at the Maya Site of Santa Rita Corozal Belize*, Pre-Columbian Art Research Institute, San Francisco.
- Cobb, C. R. (2003). *Stone Tool Traditions in the Contact Era*, University of Alabama Press, Tuscaloosa.
- Cockrell, B., Martínón-Torres, M., and Graham, E. (2013). Negotiating a colonial Maya identity: metal ornaments from Tipu, Belize. *Open Journal of Archaeometallurgy* 1(1): 1–13.
- Cusick, J. G. (1998). Historiography of acculturation: an evaluation of concepts and their application in archaeology. In Cusick, J. G. (ed.), *Studies in Culture Contact: Interaction, Culture Change, and Archaeology*, Southern Illinois University, Carbondale, Center for Archaeological Investigations, pp. 126–145.
- Deagan, K. A. (1978). The material assemblage of 16th century Spanish Florida. *Historical Archaeology* 12: 25–50.
- Deagan, K. A. (1987). *Artifacts of the Spanish Colonies of Florida and the Caribbean, 1500-1800: Volume 1: Ceramics, Glassware, and Beads*, Smithsonian Institution Press, Washington.
- Deagan, K. A. (2002). *Artifacts of the Spanish Colonies of Florida and the Caribbean, 1500-1800, Volume 2: Portable Personal Possessions*, Smithsonian Books, Washington.
- Dietler, M. (2005). The archaeology of colonization and the colonization of archaeology: theoretical challenges from an ancient Mediterranean colonial encounter. In Stein, G. J. (ed.), *The Archaeology of Colonial Encounters: Comparative Perspectives*, SAR Press, Santa Fe, pp. 33–68.
- Farriss, N. M. (1984). *Maya Society under Colonial Rule: The Collective Enterprise of Survival*, Princeton University Press, Princeton.
- Ferris, N. (2011). *Archaeology of Native-Lived Colonialism: Challenging History in the Great Lakes*, University of Arizona Press, Tucson.
- Freidel, D. A. (1981). The political economics of residential dispersion among the lowland Maya. In Ashmore, W. (ed.), *Lowland Maya Settlement Patterns*, University of New Mexico Press, Albuquerque, pp. 371–382.
- Frink, L. (2007). Storage and status in precolonial and colonial coastal western Alaska. *Current Anthropology* 48: 349–374.
- Frink, L. M. (2009). The social role of technology in coastal Alaska. *International Journal of Historical Archaeology* 13: 282–302.
- Gosden, C. (2004). *Archaeology and Colonialism: Cultural Contact from 5000 BC to the Present*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.
- Graham, E. (1987). Terminal classic to early historic period vessel forms from Belize. In Rice, P. M., and Sharer, R. J. (eds.), *Maya Ceramics: Papers From the 1985 Maya Ceramic Conference*, BAR International Series, Oxford, pp. 73–98.
- Graham, E. A. (1991). Archaeological insights into colonial period Maya life at Tipu, Belize. In Thomas, D. H. (ed.), *Columbian Consequences: The Spanish Borderlands in Pan-American Perspective*, Smithsonian Institution Press, Washington, DC., pp. 319–335.
- Graham, E. (2008). *Lamanai Historic Monuments Conservation Project: Recording and Consolidation of New Church Architectural Features at Lamanai, Belize*. Report to the Foundation for the Advancement of Mesoamerican Studies, Inc. (FAMSI). <http://www.famsi.org/reports/06110C/>
- Graham, E. A. (2011). *Maya Christians and their Churches in Sixteenth-Century Belize*, University Press of Florida, Gainesville.
- Graham, E. A., Jones, G. D., and Kautz, R. R. (1985). Archaeology and ethnohistory on a Spanish colonial frontier: an interim report on the Macal-Tipu project in western Belize. In Chase, A. F., and Rice, P. M. (eds.), *The Lowland Maya Postclassic*, University of Texas Press, Austin, pp. 206–214.
- Graham, E., Simmons, S. E., and White, C. D. (2013). The Spanish conquest and the Maya collapse: how religious is change? *World Archaeology* 45: 161–185.
- Hanson, C. A. (1995). The Hispanic horizon in Yucatán: a model of Franciscan missionization. *Ancient Mesoamerica* 6: 15–28.
- Howey, M. C. (2011). Colonial encounters, European kettles, and the magic of mimesis in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth century indigenous northeast and Great Lakes. *International Journal of Historical Archaeology* 15: 329–357.

- Jones, G. D. (1989). *Maya Resistance to Spanish Rule: Time and History on a Colonial Frontier*, University of New Mexico Press, Albuquerque.
- Jones, G. D. (1998). *The Conquest of the Last Maya Kingdom*, Stanford University Press, Stanford, CA.
- Jones, G. D. (2005). Ethnohistorical knowledge and interdisciplinary research: rethinking colonial "resistance" on the colonial frontiers of Yucatán. In Scarborough, V. L. (ed.), *A Catalyst for Ideas: Anthropological Archaeology and the Legacy of Douglas W*, School of American Research Press, Santa Fe, Schwartz, pp. 287–316.
- Jordan, K. A. (2009). Colonies, colonialism, and cultural entanglement: the archaeology of postcolumbian intercultural relations. In Gaimster, D., and Majewski, T. (eds.), *International Handbook of Historical Archaeology*, Springer, New York, pp. 31–49.
- King, J. (1984). Ceramic variability in 17th century St. Augustine, Florida. *Historical Archaeology* 18(2): 75–82.
- Lambert, J. B., Graham, E., Smith, M. T., and Frye, J. S. (1994). Amber and jet from Tipu, Belize. *Ancient Mesoamerica* 5: 55–60.
- Lee, J. (2009). Meaning and material in lead pilgrims' signs. *Peregrinations* 2(3): 152–169.
- Lightfoot, K. G. (1995). Culture contact studies: redefining the relationship between prehistoric and historical Archaeology. *American Antiquity* 60: 199–217.
- Lightfoot, K. G., and Martinez, A. (1995). Frontiers and boundaries in archaeological perspective. *Annual Review of Anthropology* 24: 471–492.
- López de Cogolludo, D. (1688). *Historia de Yucatán*. J. García Infanzón, Madrid.
- Lyons, C. L., and Papadopoulos, J. K. (eds.) (2002). *The Archaeology of Colonialism*, Getty Research Institute, Los Angeles.
- Masson, M. A. (1999). Postclassic Maya communities at Progresso Lagoon and Laguna Seca, northern Belize. *Journal of Field Archaeology* 26: 285–306.
- Masson, M. A. (2000a). *In the Realm of Nachan Kan: Postclassic Maya Archaeology at Laguna de On*, University Press of Colorado, Boulder, Belize.
- Masson, M. (2000b). *Postclassic Political and Economic Development in the Chetumal Province: Establishing a Chronological Framework*. Report to the Foundation for the Advancement of Mesoamerican Studies, Inc. (FAMSI). <http://www.famsi.org/reports/98021/>
- Masson, M. A. (2002). Community economy and the mercantile transformation in postclassic northeastern Belize. In Masson, M. A., and Freidel, D. A. (eds.), *Ancient Maya Political Economies*, Altamira, Walnut Creek, pp. 335–364.
- Masson, M. A. (2003a). Economic patterns in northern Belize. In Smith, M. E., and Berdan, F. F. (eds.), *The Postclassic Mesoamerican World*, University of Utah Press, Salt Lake City, pp. 269–281.
- Masson, M. A. (2003b). Laguna de On and Caye Coco: economic differentiation at two postclassic island communities in northern Belize. In Iannone, G. and Connell, S. V. (eds.), *Perspectives on Ancient Maya Rural Complexity*, Cotsen Institute of Archaeology, University of California, Los Angeles, pp. 119–130.
- Masson, M. A. (2003c). The late postclassic symbol set in the Maya area. In Smith, M. E., and Berdan, F. F. (eds.), *The Postclassic Mesoamerican World*, University of Utah Press, Salt Lake City, pp. 194–200.
- Masson, M. A., and Peraza Lope, C. (2004). Commoners in postclassic Maya society: social versus economic class constructs. In Lohse, J. C., and Valdez, F. J. (eds.), *Ancient Maya Commoners*, University of Texas Press, Austin, pp. 197–223.
- Masson, M. A. and Peraza Lope, C. (in press). *Kukulkan's Realm: Urban Life at Mayapan*. University of Colorado Press, Boulder.
- Masson, M. A., and Rosenswig, R. M. (eds.) (1999). *Belize Postclassic Project 1998: Investigations at Progresso Lagoon. Report to the Department of Archaeology, Belmopan, Belize*. Institute for Mesoamerican Studies, University at Albany, Albany, NY.
- Masson, M. A., and Rosenswig, R. M. (2005). Production characteristics of postclassic Maya pottery from Caye Coco, northern Belize. *Latin American Antiquity* 16: 355–384.
- Mock, S. B. (ed.) (1998). *The Sowing and The Dawning: Termination, Dedication, and Transformation in the Archaeological and Ethnographic Record of Mesoamerica*, University of New Mexico Press, Albuquerque.
- Morandi, S. J. (2010). *Xibun Maya: The Archaeology of an Early Spanish Colonial Frontier in Southeastern Yucatan*, Boston University, Boston, MA, Doctoral dissertation.
- Martos López, L. A. (2008). Underwater archaeological exploration of the Maya cenotes. *Museum International* 60(4): 100–110.
- Moyes, H. (2007). Ancient Maya drought cult: Late classic cave use in Belize. *Research Reports in Belizean Archaeology* 4: 43–54.
- Mullins, P. R. (2011). The archaeology of consumption. *Annual Review of Anthropology* 40: 133–144.

- Murray, T. (ed.) (2004). *The Archaeology of Contact in Settler Societies*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.
- Oland, M. H. (2001). Investigation of the Avila group, Progresso Lagoon shore (PR9), Orange Walk District, Belize. In Rosenswig, R. M. and Masson, M. A. (eds.), *Belize Postclassic Project 2000: Investigations at Caye Coco and the Shore Settlements of Progresso Lagoon. Report to the Department of Archaeology, Belmopan, Belize*. Institute for Mesoamerican Studies, University at Albany, Albany, NY, pp. 129–143.
- Oland, M. H. (2002). Continued investigations of colonial Maya-Spanish interaction on the shore of Progresso Lagoon. In Delu, A. M., Russell, B. W., and Masson, M. A. (eds.), *Belize Postclassic Project 2001: Investigations at the Shore Settlements of Progresso Lagoon. Report to the Department of Archaeology, Belmopan, Belize*. Institute for Mesoamerican Studies, University at Albany, Albany, NY, pp. 98–130.
- Oland, M. H. (2003). Continued colonial Maya excavations at the Avila site (PR 9), Progresso Lagoon shore, Belize 2002 Season. In Ferguson, J. M. and Masson, M. A. (eds.), *Belize Postclassic Project 2002: Investigations of the Shore Settlements of Progresso Lagoon, and San Estevan. Report to the Department of Archaeology, Belmopan, Belize*. Institute for Mesoamerican Studies, University at Albany, Albany, NY, pp. 7–45.
- Oland, M. H. (2009). *Long-Term Indigenous History on a Colonial Frontier: Archaeology at a 15th-17th Century Maya Village, Progresso Lagoon*, Northwestern University, Evanston, IL, Belize. Doctoral dissertation.
- Oland, M. (2012). Lost among the colonial Maya: engaging indigenous Maya history at Progresso Lagoon, Belize. In Oland, M., Hart, S. M., and Frink, L. (eds.), *Decolonizing Indigenous Histories: Exploring Prehistoric/Colonial Transitions in Archaeology*, University of Arizona Press, Tuscon, pp. 178–200.
- Oland, M., Hart, S. M., and Frink, L. (eds.) (2012). *Decolonizing Indigenous Histories: Exploring Prehistoric/Colonial Transitions in Archaeology*, University of Arizona Press, Tuscon.
- Oland, M. H., and Masson, M. A. (2005). Late postclassic-colonial period Maya settlement on the west shore of Progresso Lagoon. *Research Reports in Belizean Archaeology* 2: 223–230.
- Pendergast, D. M. (1981). Lamanai, Belize: summary of excavation results, 1974–1980. *Journal of Field Archaeology* 8: 29–53.
- Pendergast, D. M. (1986a). Stability through change: Lamanai, Belize, from the ninth to the seventeenth century. In Sabloff, J. A., and Andrews, E. W. V. (eds.), *Late Lowland Maya Civilization: Classic to Postclassic*, University of New Mexico Press, Albuquerque, pp. 223–249.
- Pendergast, D. M. (1986b). Under Spanish rule: the final chapter in Lamanai's Maya history. *Belcast Journal of Belizean Affairs* 3(1/2): 1–7.
- Pendergast, D. M. (1991). The southern Maya lowlands contact experience: the view from Lamanai, Belize. In Thomas, D. H. (ed.), *Columbian Consequences, The Spanish Borderlands in Pan-American Perspective*, vol. 3, Smithsonian Institution Press, Washington, DC, pp. 337–354.
- Pendergast, D. M. (1993). Worlds in collision: the Maya/Spanish encounter in sixteenth and seventeenth century Belize. *Proceedings of the British Academy* 81: 105–143.
- Pendergast, D. M. and Graham, E. (1993). La mezcla de arqueología y etnohistoria: El estudio del período hispánico en los sitios de Tipu y Lamanai, Belice. In Ponce de León, M. J. I. (ed.), *Perspectivas Antropológicas En El Mundo Maya*, Sociedad Española de Estudios Mayas, Madrid, pp. 331–353.
- Pendergast, D. M., Jones, G. D., and Graham, E. (1993). Locating Maya lowlands Spanish colonial towns: a case study from Belize. *Latin American Antiquity* 4: 59–73.
- Peterson, P. A. (2006). *Ancient Maya Ritual Cave Use in the Sibun Valley*, Boston University, Boston, MA, Belize. Doctoral dissertation.
- Prufer, K. M., and Brady, J. E. (eds.) (2005). *Stone Houses and Earth Lords: Maya Religion in the Cave Context*, University Press of Colorado, Boulder.
- Pugh, T. W. (2009). Contagion and alterity: Kowoj Maya appropriations of European objects. *American Anthropologist* 111: 373–386.
- Pugh, T. W., Sanchez, J. R., and Shiratori, Y. (2012). Contact and missionization at Tayasal, Petén, Guatemala. *Journal of Field Archaeology* 37: 3–19.
- Restall, M. (1998). *Maya Conquistador*, Beacon, Boston.
- Restall, M. (2001). The people of the patio: ethnohistorical evidence of Yucatec Maya royal courts. In Inomata, T., and Houston, S. D. (eds.), *Royal Courts of the Ancient Maya: Data and Case Studies*, Westview, Boulder, CO, pp. 335–390.
- Rodríguez-Alegria, E. (2005). Eating like an Indian: negotiating social relations in the Spanish colonies. *Current Anthropology* 46: 551–573.
- Rosenswig, R. M., and Masson, M. A. (2003). Transformation of the terminal classic to postclassic architectural landscape at Caye Coco, Belize. *Ancient Mesoamerica* 13: 213–235.
- Rubertone, P. E. (2000). The historical archaeology of Native Americans. *Annual Review of Anthropology* 29: 425–446.



- Rubertone, P. E. (2001). *Grave Undertakings: An Archaeology of Roger Williams and the Narragansett Indians*, Smithsonian Institution Press, Washington, DC.
- Scheiber, L. L., and Mitchell, M. D. (eds.) (2010). *Across a Great Divide: Continuity and Change in Native North American Societies, 1400-1900*, University of Arizona Press, Tucson.
- Scholes, F., Menéndez, C. R., Rubio Mañé, J. I., and Adams, E. B. (eds.) (1938). *Documentos para la historia de Yucatán, Volume 2*, La Iglesia en Yucatán. Compañía Tipográfica Yucateca, Merida.
- Silliman, S. W. (2001). Agency, practical politics and the archaeology of culture contact. *Journal of Social Archaeology* 1: 190–209.
- Silliman, S. W. (2005). Culture contact or colonialism? challenges in the archaeology of native North America. *American Antiquity* 70: 55–74.
- Silliman, S. W. (2012). Between the longue durée and the short purée: postcolonial archaeologies of indigenous history in colonial North America. In Oland, M., Hart, S. M., and Frink, L. (eds.), *Decolonizing Indigenous Histories: Exploring Prehistoric/Colonial Transitions in Archaeology*, University of Arizona Press, Tuscon, pp. 113–132.
- Silliman, S. W., and Witt, T. A. (2010). The complexities of consumption: Eastern Pequot cultural economics in eighteenth-century New England. *Historical Archaeology* 44: 46–68.
- Simmons, S. E. (2003). *Preliminary Report of the 2001-2002 Field Seasons at Lamanai*, The Maya Archaeometallurgy Project and Lamanai Archaeological Project Field School. UNCW Anthropological Papers, University of North Carolina, Wilmington, Belize.
- Simmons, S. E. (2004). *Preliminary Report of the 2004 Field Season at Lamanai*, The Maya Archaeometallurgy Project and Lamanai Archaeological Project Field School. UNCW Anthropological Papers, University of North Carolina, Wilmington, Belize.
- Simmons, S. E. (2005). *Preliminary Report of the 2005 Field Season at Lamanai*, The Maya Archaeometallurgy Project. UNCW Anthropological Papers, University of North Carolina, Wilmington, Belize.
- Simmons, S. E. (2006). *Preliminary Report of the 2006 Field Season at Lamanai*, The Maya Archaeometallurgy Project. UNCW Anthropological Papers, University of North Carolina, Wilmington, Belize.
- Simmons, S. E., Pendergast, D. M., and Graham, E. (2009). The context and significance of copper artifacts in postclassic and early historic Lamanai. *Journal of Field Archaeology* 34: 57–75.
- Smith, M. T., Graham, E., and Pendergast, D. M. (1994). European beads from Spanish colonial Lamanai and Tipu, Belize. *Beads: Journal of the Society of Bead Researchers* 6: 27–47.
- South, S., Skowronek, R. K., and Johnson, R. E. (eds.) (1988). *Spanish Artifacts from Santa Elena*, The South Carolina Institute of Archaeology and Anthropology, University of South Carolina, Columbia, SC.
- Spencer, B. (2010). *Pilgrim Souvenirs and Secular Badges*. Boydell Press and Museum of, London, London.
- Stahl, A. B. (2002). Colonial entanglements and the practices of taste: an alternative to logocentric approaches. *American Anthropologist* 104: 827–845.
- Stein, G. J. (ed.) (2005). *The Archaeology of Colonial Encounters: Comparative Perspectives*, School of American Research Press, Santa Fe, NM.
- Turgeon, L. (1997). The tale of the kettle: Odyssey of an intercultural object. *Ethnohistory* 44: 1–29.
- Voss, B. L. (2008). *The Archaeology of Ethnogenesis: Race and Sexuality in Colonial San Francisco*, University of California Press, Berkeley.
- Walker, D. S. (1990). *Cerros revisited: ceramic indicators of Terminal Classic and Postclassic settlement and pilgrimage in northern Belize*, Southern Methodist University, Dallas, Doctoral dissertation.
- West, G. (1999). Testing Progresso Lagoon Shore Sites, (PR4) and (PR5) Localities. In Masson, M. A. and Rosenswig, R. M. (eds.), *Belize Postclassic Project 1998: Investigations at Progresso Lagoon. Report to the Department of Archaeology, Belmopan, Belize*. Institute for Mesoamerican Studies, University at Albany, Albany, NY, pp. 83–102.
- Weber, D. J., and Rausch, J. M. (eds.) (1994). *Where Cultures Meet: Frontiers in Latin American History*. Jaguar Books, Wilmington, DE.
- White, C. D. (1988). The ancient Maya from Lamanai, Belize: diet and health over 2,000 years. *Canadian Review of Physical Anthropology* 6(2): 1–21.
- Wiewall, D. L. (2009). *Identifying the Impact of the Spanish Colonial Regime on Maya Household Production at Lamanai, Belize during the Terminal Postclassic to Early Colonial Transition*, University of California, Riverside, Doctoral dissertation.
- Witgen, M. (2011). *An Infinity of Nations: How the Native New World Shaped Early North America*, University of Pennsylvania Press, Philadelphia.

Copyright of International Journal of Historical Archaeology is the property of Springer Science & Business Media B.V. and its content may not be copied or emailed to multiple sites or posted to a listserv without the copyright holder's express written permission. However, users may print, download, or email articles for individual use.