# INTERPRETING THE MAYA IDEOSCAPE THROUGH MONUMENTAL REUSE AND SPOLIATION

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ABSTRACT

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Scott M. Yost

This pilot project research examines the Maya reuse of monuments and spoliated objects and its implications for understanding the role played by multi-directional power and ideological negotiation between non-elite and elite members in ancient Maya society. To demonstrate how reuse and alteration can inform on social roles and identity, this thesis employs mixed methods analysis. The use of pedestrian survey, GIS spatial analysis, and quantitative analysis provided clues to the disintegration of structural power and increased agency among non-elites. The results of the study led to the discovery of new and relocated spolia and demonstrated an ideological shift in how spolia were used through time from the Early Classic period to the Postclassic period. These findings also indicate that the greatest frequency of spolia were+ observed during the Late and Terminal Classic periods. Through the analysis of regional, inter-regional, and local patterns, the study was able to detect events related to the perpetuation of Maya elite ideology during the Late Classic period, as well as the role of non-elites in defining their own sacred landscapes through time. The pilot project will provide a foundation to the emerging study of Maya spoliation. Lastly, the study of spoliation supports the investigation of multi-vocal and multi-ideological understandings of how monuments were reused to promote, reinterpret, and redefine ideologies.

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First and foremost, I would like to give my sincerest gratitude to Dr. Jaime Awe for serving as my mentor, chair, and for guiding me through the entire thesis process. He consistently gave me the tools I needed to succeed, generously offered his home in Belize, and allowed me the growth to shape the thesis into my own work while guiding me away from the cliff of my own mistakes. I Additionally, I would like to give a special thanks to Dr. Francis E. Smiley IV, and Dr. Emery Eaves for serving on my committee and for all your feedback and support. You have both contributed to me being a better writer, and this thesis would not be what it is without you.

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# Chapter 1: Maya Spoliation in Ancient Maya Society

The term *spolia* is the plural form of the Latin word *spolium*, or “spoils of war” or “soldier’s booty” (Brenk 1987). The derivative term, *spoliation* comes from the tradition of bringing looted objects back from war. The most famous example of a spoliated object from Greco-Roman times can be seen on the Arch of Titus (Fine 2016; Kon 1950) (Figure 1-1). After the Roman’s conquered Jerusalem in 70 C.E., the Romans looted the menorah from the Temple of Jerusalem and spoliated it back to Rome (Fine 2016; Kon 1950). The Romans then paraded the Menorah through Rome during a triumphal presession as a sign of conquest and domination. The menorah was so metaphorically important as a symbol of the defeat of Jerusalem and the strength of Rome, that it was included in the archway of the monument, the Arch of Titus (Fine 2016; Kon 1950).

Figure 1-1. Relief from the interior of the Arch of Constantine depicting the triumphal procession Menorah spoliated from the conquest (Art Institute of Chicago 1855).

However, the definition of the term was broadened to also include the Greco-Roman and Medieval practice of removing art and architectural elements from one object and incorporating the elements into a new object (Brenk 1987). The most cited example of spoliation using the adapted term, was the Arch of Constantine (Brandenburg 2011; Brenk 1987; Elsner 2000; Ferris 2013; Kinney 2006; Kleiner 2001; Popkin 2016; Wohl 2001). Constantine recycled and incorporated elements from multiple other prominent monuments to solidify and draw upon the power and prestige of powerful Roman emperors (Kleiner 2001). By reusing architectural elements from the "good" emperors, Constantine was audaciously associating and equating himself to those celebrated emperors (Kleiner 2001) (Figure 1-2). Much of the theorical knowledge that was applied to understanding spolia in the Mediterranean and monuments such as the Arch of Constantine have been adapted to the study of the ancient Maya.

Figure 1-2. Arch of Constantine depicting the recycled elements from monuments of prominent Roman emperors (Image from Wikimedia commons, and all adaptations to the image are my own)

## Ancient Maya Spolia in Context

This pilot project aimed to identify and evaluate how Maya communities used spolia. Some reuse and resetting of monuments were reused to perpetuate elite ideology and power or, alternatively, some spolia were reused to avoid elite ideologies. The objective is to provide a multi-vocal and multi-ideological narrative to show how spolia can recognize the disintegration of structural power increased pressure for elites to preserve hegemony, or for non-elites to pursue non-elite ideologies. To understand these changes through time, backgrounds in the study of spolia, power, ideology, and monumental architecture provided a foundation for the analysis. Because the study of spolia is relatively new to Maya research, this thesis will serve a foundational overview of Maya reuse and recycling at both the regional and local level.

The use of spolia is a common tradition around the world, and recycling and re-purposing reflects transitions in social memory, identity, and structural power (Alcock and Van Dyke 2003; Hansen et al. 2008; Hendon 1991; McAnany 2013a; Morton et al. 2019). Poeschke and Brandenburg (1996) suggested that objects have a traceable social identity and are imbued with meaning (Alcock and Van Dyke 2003; Dobres 1999). Therefore, spolia provide an opportunity to understand transitions in power, multi-vocal narratives, and ideologies. Arjun Appadurai (1990) coined the term ‘ideoscape’ to describe how counter-ideologies are in opposition to the modern dominant ideologies. Appadurai’s (1990) concept is particularly useful in the study of spolia to describe

various social roles and multiple ideologies that are a part of a monument's life history and reuse.

Spolia have been studied in various ways through time. The reuse of materials has been referred to as crisis architecture, a 'citation' to its origin, the cannibalism of objects, object survival, cultural aesthetics, imbued with the *authoritas* or authority, and observable denigration of structural power (Brenk 1987; Esch 1969, 2011; Kinney 2006; Settis 1986). Theories engaging Maya spolia have been a recent development, with the word *spolia* first circulating in the 2000s (Barrientos et al. 2016; Christenson 2012; Halperin 2021; Halperin and Garrido 2020; Wren et al. 2015). Maya researchers have, however, indirectly referred to spoliation through synonymous terminology since the early 1900s (Maler 1903 1913; Morley 1915 1920; Ricketson and Ricketson 1937). Synonyms of spoliation include fragmentation, reuse, dismantled, shifted, recycling, moved, removed, modification, relocation, despoliation, and alteration.

Some of the first researchers to discuss monumental reuse in the Maya area include Maler (1903, 1913), Morley (1915, 1920, 1937, 1938), Ricketson and Ricketson (1937), Proskouriakoff (1950, 1963) and, Baker (1962). However, the first author to report almost entirely on the subject was Satterthwaite (1958). In his article, "The Problem of Abnormal Stela Placements at Tikal and Elsewhere", Satterthwaite (1958) took an in-depth look at monumental reuse in what he refers to as 'abnormal' use of stelae. Satterthwaite postulated that monuments were moved, re-used, and modified for three main reasons: practical reasons, reused in ceremonial function, and for purposeful fragmentation/termination (Cecil and Pugh 2018; Morton et al. 2019; Satterthwaite 1958). More case studies and examples of spolia were reported on in the

1970s-1990s (Andrews IV 1980; Andrews V and Fash 1992; Jones and Satterthwaite 1982; Pendergast 1981; Smith, 1982; Umberger 1987).

An interest in the study of reuse and recycling increased in focus across all of Mesoamerica in the 2000s (Hansen et al. 2008; Joyce et al. 2001; Joyce and Weller,2007; Just 2005; Martin 2000) when Joyce et al. (2001) introduced the concept of commoner power with monumental reuse. Joyce et al. (2001) was the first attempt at a multi-vocal understanding of spolia. Others argued that monuments were continually reused, modified, and bestowed with the meaning of modern ideologies and interpretations (Alcock and Van Dyke 2003; Barrett III 1999; Schele and Freidel 1990).

Some of the first researchers to begin applying spoliation theory to Mesoamerica include Barrientos et al. (2016), Christenson (2012), Rodriquez (2015), Kristen-Graham and Amrhein (2015), and Wren et al. (2015). More recent research on the study of spolia in the Maya area includes work by Halperin (Halperin, 2021), Halperin and Garrido (2020), Cecil and Pugh (2018), Landry (2018), Morton et al. (2019) and Shiratori (2019). Cecil and Pugh (2018), and Morton et al. (2019) focused on the role of fragmentation and termination as a ritual motive for some acts of spoliation. In contrast, Halperin and Garrido's (2020) study of Terminal Classic developments at Ucanal suggested that reuse and recycling was an aesthetic choice by Maya communities to redefine social meaning and orientations.

## Research Problem

The study of spolia in the Maya world is critically important because it creates a platform to discuss the multi-vocality and multi-ideological nature of spolia (Appadurai 1990; Joyce et al. 2001; Morton et al. 2019). Spolia are particularly useful because the

entire Maya community participated in the practice of spoliation and monumental reuse. However, most studies have limited their scope to top-down perspectives and to static periods of time (Freidel and Schele 1988; Houston and Stuart 1996; Martin and Grube 2008; McAnany 2013a; Schele and Freidel 1990; Schele and Mathews 1999). Their theoretical scope has largely focused on the epigraphic and chronologic placement of monuments and associated hegemonic narratives. Such static focus poses a problem, because every monument has an extended life history that extends long beyond the object's original creation (Holtorf 2002). For instance, at, Caracol Stela 20 was fragmented and part of the monument was entombed within structure A-6 and the other half of the monument was relcocted with Plaza A and left to weather in the Courtyard. Even Stela 20 can provide clues to multi-vocal narratives in how a monument is treated and demonstrate how a monument cannot be understood from a static perspective

(Figure 1-3).

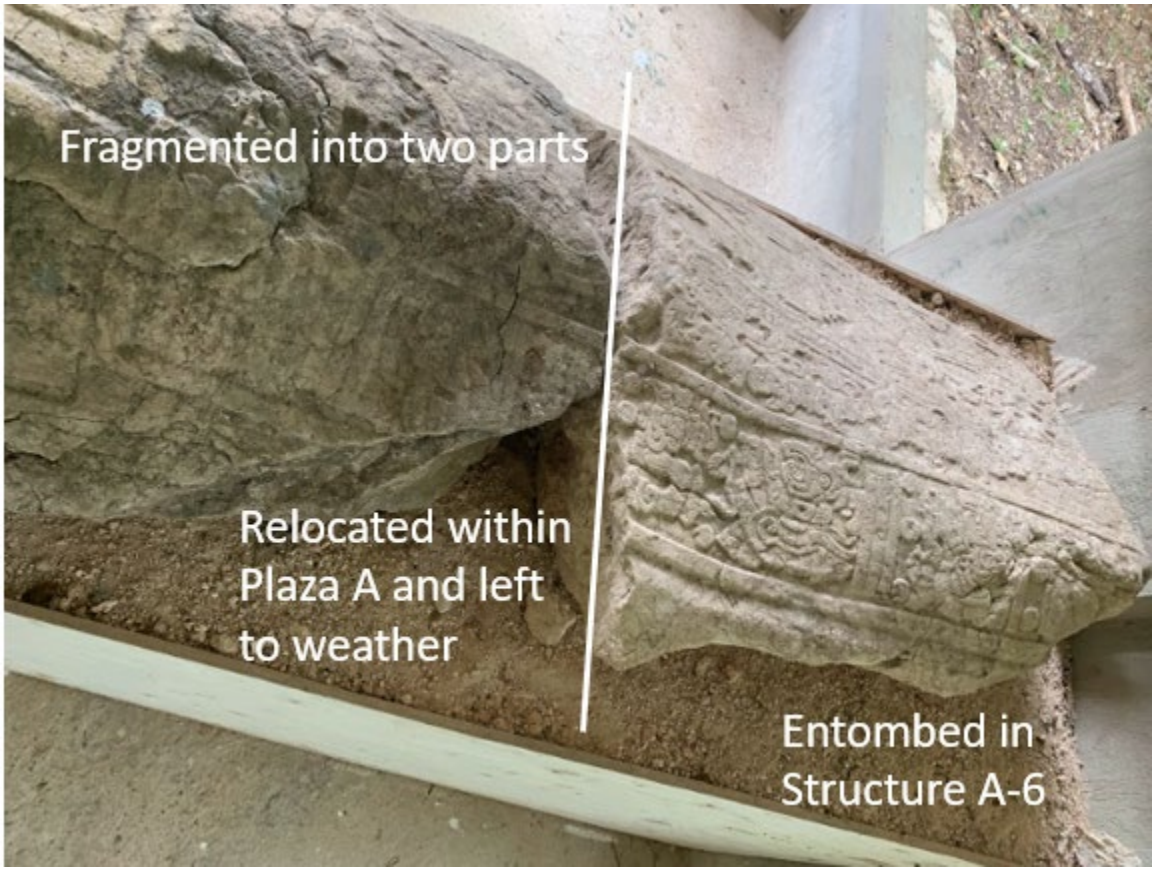


Figure 1-3. Figure depicts the two halves of Stela 20 which were refit together after excavation and relocated to a facility at Caracol for preservation.

As a result, the existing research offered the opportunity to explore the life history of monuments in detail and to examine all the ways people engaged with monuments through time. In addition, Appadurai's (1990) concept of the ideoscape is applicable because the ideoscape lends itself to the concepts of multi-vocality and multi-ideology. Additionally, because spoliation is a new concept to Maya studies, most examples of spolia reuse are limited in scope, providing the opportunity to explore spoliation at regional and local levels.

## Aims, Objectives, and Research Questions

This study aimed to identify and evaluate ways in which spolia have been reused and recycled at regional and local levels, and with varying degrees of multi-vocality. To achieve this goal, I introduced a mixed methods approach that combines pedestrian survey, spatial analysis, and quantitative analysis. My first objective was to first identify the practice of spoliation as something performed by Maya communities across the entire Pan-Maya region through the collection of primary and secondary sources. After establishing a dataset, I performed spatial and quantitative analysis to study specific variables through time. After I identified and discussed how spolia have been reused and recycled at the regional level, I examined evidence for spoliation at five sites in Belize. I performed spatial analysis, pedestrian survey, and in-field analysis at the sites of Baking Pot, Cahal Pech, Caracol, Lamanai, and Baking Pot (Figure 1-4). These strategies will hopefully overlap examples and theoretical perspectives of monumental art and architecture, spoliation, ideology, and power.

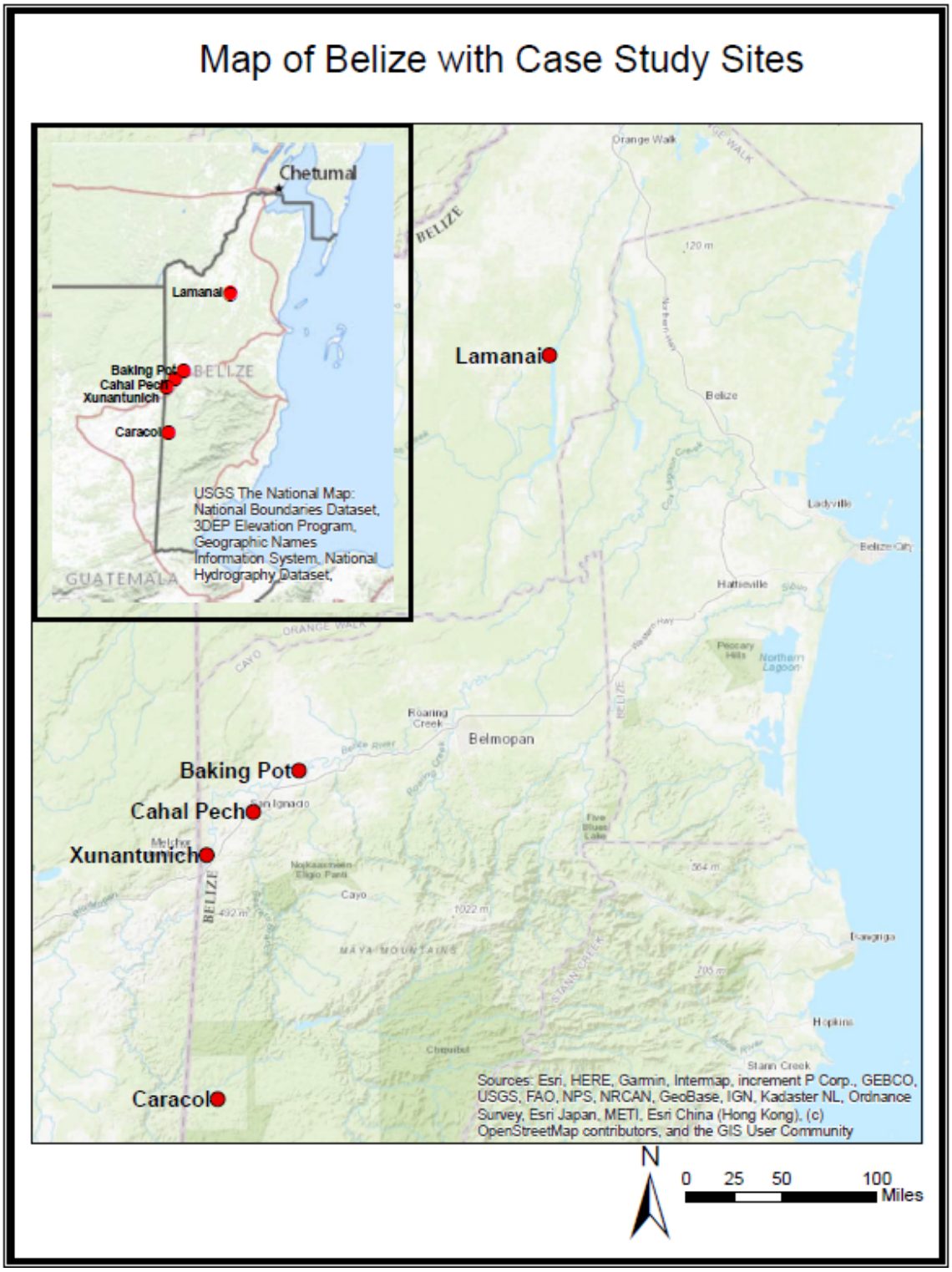


Figure 1-4. Overview map of Belize depicting the five case study sites that were visited and analyzed for this thesis.

A mixed methods approach will be effective at providing multiple lines of evidence to determine how spolia were both multi-vocal and multi-ideological in how they were reused and re-purposed. I aimed to show how Maya elite perpetuated their power through spoliation, and how non-elites avoided elite narratives with the way they reused monuments. Weaknesses to the analysis related to identifying examples of spolia prior to the introduction of the term. This research did not focus on spoliation outside the Mesoamerican region and primarily focused on the Maya Region. Additionally, this thesis will cover few examples dating after European contact with exception to examples of reuse of stelae at a church at Lamanai. The study focused on the major time periods of Maya prehistory: the Preclassic, Classic, Late Classic, Terminal Classic, and Postclassic.

Some key research questions concern the nature of spoliation and how the practice relates to elite and non-elite ideologies. Related questions will change in the meaning of spolia over time. How do spolia relate to monumental architecture? Are changes in spoliation related to changes in ideology? Was spoliation practiced across the entire Maya region? What is the nature of spoliation in the Belize subregion of the Maya Lowlands? Is agency detectable in the reuse of monumental objects? These questions will provide the foundation for how I will investigate the practice of spoliation.

Key existing research in the study of spoliation in Mesoamerica includes the work of Cecil and Pugh (2018), Halperin and Garrido (2020), Joyce et al. (2001), Morton et al. (2019) and Shiratori (2019). Most importantly, Joyce et al. (2001) discusses commoner power and point out the reuse of monuments in avoidance of the object's political intention. Joyce et al. (2001) described the removal of stelae from the site core to a

residential area in Oaxaca and then reused as a metate. It was Joyce et al.'s (2001) research that gave me the idea of creating multi-vocal analysis of spolia, the focus of the thesis, and the categorical analysis of engagement, avoidance, and resistance. Cecil and Pugh (2018), person communication with Awe (2021), and Morton et al. (2019) were all key to understanding the role of fragmentation in Maya ritual and tradition. Many interpretations of monuments being decapitated, mutilated, burned, and destroyed also could be considered not in the lens of non-elite resistance, but as part of the process of termination and fragmentation. To me, termination represented a practice that focused more on the ritual aspect of avoidance than resistance. When an object was terminated, its "termination" served to release the *che'eul* bestowed on the object and was a direct acknowledgement of the object having its power removed. Halperin and Garrido (2020) and Shiratori (2019) discuss how social identity and aesthetics play a role in the use of spolia. It is important to consider the motives of aesthetics to connect the memories of the past.

One of the first Maya monuments studied as spolia were the Naranjo (also known as the Caracol) hieroglyphic stair which has sections that were discovered at Naranjo, Xunantunich, Ucanal and Caracol (Awe et al. 2019; Halperin and Garrido 2020; Martin 2000; Morton et al. 2019; Satterthwaite 1958). The hieroglyphic stair is a classic example of the definition of spolia, where monuments were spoils of war (Figure 2-2). Except for one block, all the panels of the staircase were despoliated from Caracol during the 7th century defeat of that site by Naranjo (Awe et al. 2019, 2020; Halperin and Garrido 2020; Morton et al. 2019). The parts of the stairs were relocated to Naranjo, Ucanal, and Xunantunich, and it is theorized that the three cities had an

alliance against Caracol that was led by Naranjo (Awe et al. 2019, 2020; Doyle 2005). The monumental display is fascinating because the hieroglyphic inscription on the stair tells of a previous conquest of Naranjo by Caracol. So, the Monumental reuse and public display in Naranjo, Ucanal, and Xunantunich is a story laced with revenge, dominance, and mockery.


Figure 1-5. Overview of Hieroglyphic Stairway reset in front of Temple A-9 and on opposite sides of the tomb of Lady Six Sky, at Xunantunich, Belize.

## Research Significance

This study built on an emerging body of knowledge that contributes to macro- and micro-level studies of spoliation. The research contributed to multi-vocality and cohesion among broad patterns and ideologies related to monumentality. The goal of my research is to first benefit Maya communities, Belize, and academia respectively. While elite narratives are important for understanding how the Maya built a social identity, in some ways investigation of non-elite narratives is more useful to how the contemporary Maya play a part in their social identity. Furthermore, ideas from this study can broaden understandings of similar cultural traditions in other parts of the world.

## Limitations

First and foremost this is a pilot project, so the thesis is a preliminary attempt at collecting and analyszing macro level data on spolia in the pan-Maya region. Limited research has focused on monumental reuse and recycling, however, recent application of the theoretical perspectives on spoliation in the Maya area means there are new opportunities to reexamine the archeological record. Compounding problems is the fact that many monumental site cores in the Maya area were stripped and cleared during development as tourist destinations and many examples of spoliation were simply designated as “problematic deposits.” Consequently, many examples of spoliation were ignored or even obliterated from the archeological record.  Additionally, many monuments were despoliated or looted by other countries and museums during the Colonial period with little to no documentation of where they came from. Time was also a limitation to my research. Given more time, I could have identified more examples of spoliation as well as increase my sample size. This would have limited research gaps and could have provided more time to examine regions such as the northern Maya Lowlands that received abbreviated attention from this research.

## Structural Outline of the Thesis

Below, I outline the structure of the thesis and I summarize how each section contributes to the overall narrative of my research.

Chapter 1 introduces the context of the study of spoliation, the research objectives of the thesis, its significance, limitations, and questions that are addressed in the study. Chapters 2-4 are focused on the theory and background of the research. Chapter 2 outlines the theoretical framework and histography of European and Maya

theories of spoliation. Additionally, it outlines what research has been conducted at the case study sites of Baking Pot, Cahal Pech, Caracol, Lamanai, and Xunantunich. In an effort to better understand how elites and non-elites exercised power, Chapter 3 discusses the nature of power; how the Maya interpreted their own power systems and kinship relationships; and how elites and non-elites perpetuated power and ideology. In Chapter 4, the focus returns to monumental architecture to explore symbolism, ideology, and meaning invested into the built landscape. Understanding how elites introduced social roles, structure, and symbology into the built landscape helps to identify examples of spoliation related to non-elite and multi-vocal narratives.

Chapters 5-7 will focus on the mixed methods, and analysis of spolia. Chapter 5 discusses the methods and results of pedestrian survey and in-field analysis of the sites of Baking Pot, Cahal Pech, Caracol, Lamanai, and Xunantunich. The results of that analysis, as well as previously documented examples, are then described to illustrate trends from the five case studies. Chapter 6 presents my spatial analysis at the regional and local level. It includes results of a frequency analysis on all the sources I compiled from the quantitative study. Secondly, it describes how I applied Kernel Density analysis and Mean Center analysis to create a heat map to recognize how spoliation relates to the monumental landscape. Chapter 7 presents the results of my analysis of primary data collected during the summer of 2021, and the study of secondary data compiled from sites across the Maya region.

Lastly, Chapter 8 provides a discussion and conclusion and recaps the focus and results of my research. It also reexamines the initial aims, objectives, and limitations of the study and demonstrates the degree to which I was able to meet those original goals.

The thesis concludes with suggestions for future research opportunities, as well as thoughts on the role of spoliation in ancient Maya culture.

## Chapter 2: Historiography of Spolia

The concepts of spolia have an extensive history in European scholarship (Elsner 2000: Kinney 2006). The word *spolia* was already in circulation during the Middle Ages and Renaissance (Elsner 2000; Kinney 2006). In Raphael's antiquity report for Pope Leo X, he discusses how the Arch of Constantine incorporated spoils from monuments such as Trajan and Antonius Pius (Elsner 2000; Goldwater and Treves1945; Waters 2016). The entire Renaissance period was defined as a rebirth of Classic aesthetics, and there is significant evidence of spoliation in construction across Europe incorporating classical Roman architecture (Waters 2016).

Despite wide early usage, the first book focused on spolia was written many years later in 1764 (Kinney 2006; Marangoni 1764). Marangoni (1764) references the duality of spolia as they relate to pagan and Christian traditions (Kinney 2006). Marangoni's research (Marangoni 1764:5) evaluated how pagans, such as the Greeks, valued objects such as gold, bronze, silver, and iron with reverence towards their gods, and how Christianity appropriated the aesthetics of the pagans and spoliated objects into churches. Duality between paganism and Christianity became a central theme in how spolia has been studied, and the duality narrative persists in the study of spolia in the Yucatan today (Cecil and Pugh 2018; Christenson 2012; Forde 2020; Just, 2005; Wren et al. 2015).

During the 1930s and 1940s, a resurgence of interest in the study of spolia followed the widely read publications of German authors L'Orange and von Gerkan (1939) and Deichman (1940). These articles are important because L'Orange and Deichmann identified spoliation as a deliberate choice of Roman rulers to connect the memory of the past with the present. The aesthetic choice to use spolia has become a central aspect of the concept of spoliation (Brenk 1987; Cecil and Pugh 2018; Kinney 2001; McClary 2015; Vedru 2015). Other transformations in thought include Erwin Panofsky's (1965) idea of the "principle of disjunction", which suggested that many pagan artifacts survived because the meaning of the object was transformed from its original purpose into current or Christian contexts (Kinney 2006). One example of the "principle of disjunction" is the equestrian statue of Marcus Aurelius. During the Middle Ages, the statue was believed to depict the first Christian emperor Constantine or mislabeled as Gothic king Theodoric of Italy from the 4th and 5th centuries (Stewart 2012).

The relationship of spoliation and meaning became more developed with Esch (1969), and Panofsky (1965). Panofsky (1965) introduces the principle that *spolium* can take on ideas distinct from the meaning that an object or building was originally imbued with. Esch (1969) shifted the nature of *spolium* from object survival to cultural practice and examined the meaning of appropriation (Esch 2011). Esch (1969) also established five categories for how spolia could be interpreted. These five categories include *interpretation Christiana* analogous to Panofsky's (1965) "principle of disjunction", aesthetic adornment, convenience, profanation, and legitimation (Bouchard 2020; Kinney 2006; Wood 2020). Esch's seminal article became influential to a developing

body of literature, that, like Esch and others before him, sought to categorize types of spolia (Eaton 2000; Esch 1969; Hamann-Mac Lean 1949; Kinney 2006; Settis 1986; Stocker and Everson 1990). Of these, Settis (1986) categorized spolia under the branches of continuity, distance, and knowledge. One of Settis' (1986) most brilliant insights is when he discusses spolia as citations. Spolia are objects that carry the meaning and in some cases the authority (*autoritas)* of the object's original context even after despoliation (Kinney 2006; Settis 1986). Many themes of spolia were also adapted to art history and broadened the definition of spolia away from solely architectural elements when Poeschke and Brandenburg (1996) defined spolia through the idea of the "language of materials" (Kinney 2006; Poeschke and Brandenburg 1996). Much like the archaeological theory of *chaine operatoire*, Poeschke and Brandenburg (1996) suggested that objects have a traceable social identity and are imbued with context (Dobres 1999).

By the 1980s and 1990s, spolia research had expanded to British and American authors (Brenk 1987; Kinney 1986; Harrison 1989). By the 1980s and 1990s, spolia research had expanded to British and American authors (Brenk 1987; Kinney 1986; Harrison 1989). Much of the theories of the 19-time shifted from literature dominated by the negative aspects of spolia to research on aesthetics, ideology, and functionalism (Alchermes 1994; Brenk 1987; Greenhalgh 1989; Saradi 1997; Ward-Perkins 1999). Brenk (1987) categorized spolia by weaving in the importance of ideology versus aesthetics. Ideology played a more dominant role in what he referred to as the 'cannibalism' of objects. Saradi (1997) emphasized the value of aesthetics with the design of a Byzantine church, which alternated Ionic and Corinthian columns, showing a

deliberate aesthetic and artistic choice with uses of spolia. The 1990s is also one of the first times that a clear connection between the concept of spoliation and Maya archaeology was made in Driessen's (1995) discussion of Crisis architecture. Subsequently, other Maya archaeologists have applied various synonyms of spoliation, such as reuse, recycling, movement, and repositioning, in the study of displaced objects (Joyce et al. 2001; Joyce and Weller 2007; Just 2005; Martin 2000; Plunket and Uruñuela 2002).

Most Mesoamerican studies of spoliation, however, are rooted primarily in the 2000s-present. The first reports that describe spoliation as distinct Mesoamerican phenomena include Barrientos et al. (2016), Christenson (2012), Rodriquez (2015), Kristan-Graham and Amrhein (2015), and Wren et al. (2015). The concepts of spolia, memory, and how objects survive became the subjects of many authors who used analogies to connect ideas between Europe and Mesoamerica (Alcock and Van Dyke 2003; Kristan-Graham and Amrhein 2015).

## Ancient Maya Spolia

A good place to start the study of spoliation in the Maya area is by examining Frederick Catherwood's lithographs of Copan, Honduras (Figure 2-1) that were published in 1844. In Catherwood's (1844) lithographs of Copan, he depicts despoliated heads, a despoliated block of a skull, a circular altar that appears to be spolium from somewhere else on site, and the feet of a statue that also appears despoliated from the original sculpture. Other lithographs by Catherwood also show architectural elements that either were spoliated or simply fell from nearby structures.

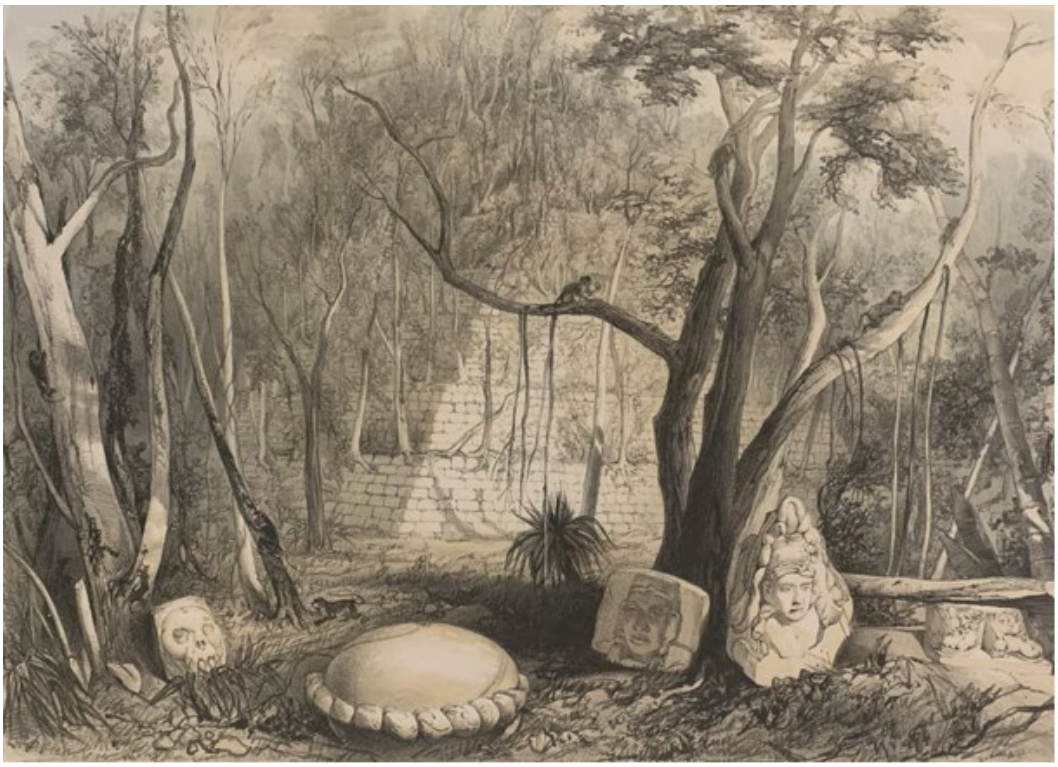

Figure 2-1. Lithograph by Catherwood (1844) depicting several examples of spolia in the foreground near a temple at the ceremonial site core of Copan.

Synonyms are perhaps the best way to explore how spoliation has been discussed in Maya literature in the past. As noted above, various synonyms of spoliation have been applied by Mesoamericanists, including the terms fragmentation, reuse, recycling, moved, removed, altered, modification, relocated, despoliated, fragmentation, and alteration. One of the earliest investigations that noted an odd form of spoliation comes from Austrian archaeologist Teobert Maler (1913) who noted that Stela 4 from Tikal was reset in ancient Maya times, however, the monument was inverted with the head of the ruler placed half buried (Moholy-Nagy 2016). Some early thoughts were that it was related to the Teotihuacan invasion, but as Moholy-Nagy (2016) noted, invasion

is unlikely because it meant Tikal never reset the monument upright for over 600 years after the presumed invasion. She explains the position of the monument by suggesting it was inverted during a termination ceremony (Moholy-Nagy 2016).

Sylvanus Morley (1915, 1920, 1937, 1938), who played a pivotal role in the early development of Maya epigraphy, also made several indirect references to spoliation. His interest in epigraphy naturally focused on the recording of monuments such as stelae, with preserved hieroglyph inscriptions. Morley's investigations at Copan, Uaxactun, Quriqua, Tikal, and other major Maya sites provide some of the best early sources related to the identification, dating and ideology involved in monumental architecture, and spoliation. Another early source that explored ideas related to spoliation were Ricketson and Ricketson's (1937) investigations at Uaxactun. Ricketson and Ricketson (1937) excavations of stelae bases revealed that many monuments were reset, reused, moved, and altered. Ricketson and Ricketson's (1937) recognition of how uses of spolia played active ideological roles in Ancient Maya culture were an important recognition in societal function. Another notable example of related research is the early work of Tatiana Proskouriakoff (1950, 1963) that was vital to understanding hieroglyphs, architecture, and ideology. Proskouriakoff (1950) analyzed multiple cases of stelae alteration and modification, combined with insightful examination of Maya sculpture and ideology. Most notable was her stylistic art history approach to dating monuments.

Perhaps the first written report focusing entirely on spoliation in the Maya world was Satterthwaite's (1958) 'The Problem of Abnormal Stela Placements at Tikal and Elsewhere." What Satterthwaite (1958) referred to as 'abnormal' stela placement in many ways can be considered synonymous with spoliation. Furthermore, the idea of

abnormality also parallels queer theory in that there is a definable normative ideology (Halperin 2003). For instance, Stela 23 or the “Lady of Tikal” is an interesting example of what Satterthwaite referred to as an “abnormal” stela, because it was not located in the ceremonial core, but in a residential area. The placement in a residential area suggests that it was relocated. Secondly, the monument was fractured in two and the upper half of the monument was reset in the residential area (Satterthwaite 1958:75; Shiratori 2019). Two additional and so-called “abnormal” stelae are Stela 17 from Coba and Stela 17 from Uaxactun that were reset backwards with the carved surface facing the building instead of the plaza/audience. Satterthwaite postulated that monuments were moved, re-used, and modified for three main reasons: practical reasons, reused in ceremonial function, and for purposeful fragmentation/termination (Morton et al 2019; Satterthwaite 1958).

Satterthwaite’s (1958) report was soon followed by Baker’s (1962) article that focused on ideas related to the practice of spoliation. Baker’s (1962) analysis examined alteration and modification of wood lintels and stone stelae. Baker (1962) insinuated that monuments were often modified, and altered, re-carved, and moved throughout time. Additionally, he provides several examples of monumental reuse and recarving such as stela 21 of Uaxactun, Stela 5 of Xultun, Stela 6 of Yaxchilan, which were recarved in situ, with stylistically older carvings subsurface and later stylistic carvings above ground (Baker, 1962; Maler, 1903; Morley, 1937; Ricketson and Ricketson, 1937). Other monuments show evidence of alteration, or removal of stylistic elements such as Lintel 2 from Tikal, Stela 5 of Xultu'n, Stela 12 from Piedras Negras, Stela 11 from Tikal, or Stela 23 from Naranjo (Morley 1937, 1920; Proskouriakoff 1950).

The 1970s and 1980s introduced new case studies from sites such as Lamanai, Naachtun, Altar de Sacrificios, Seibal, Dzibilchaltun, Tikal, and Mayapan (Andrews V and Fash 1992; Jones and Satterthwaite 1982; Pendergast 1981; L. A. Smith 1982; Umberger 1987). Like Satterthwaite's (1958) examples from Coba and Uaxactun, Pendergast (1981) also documents a similar reset of a stela facing back towards Structure N9-59 (the Mask Temple) at Lamanai. In one example of fragmentation, Jones and Statterthwaite (1982) write of a stela that had its carved surface chipped away, later fragmented, and loosely deposited in multiple pieces in Temple 34 at Tikal. At Ceibal, Smith (1982) also describes Stela 22, which had been fragmented then had its upper half reset in an upright but inverted position.

The 1990s are a pivotal point in the study of spoliation and Maya architecture, because it is one of the first times that a connection between spoliation, crisis architecture, and Maya culture is woven into the same discussion (Driessen 1995). Crisis Architecture is a drastic architectural response to social conditions (Driessen 1995). Driessen (1995) outlines three main side effects of crisis architecture: decrease in energy input in production and maintenance, change in original function, and change of original plan. While Driessen (1995) does not directly recognize spoliation as a Maya cultural phenomenon, he identified the possible relationship between Maya societal collapse and the practice of spoliation as two related concepts. Other examples of spoliation from the 1990s included ball court marker 3 from Ballcourt 2 at Caracol, which was moved from the ball court and placed facedown (Chase et al., 1991). Fash (1992, 1991) documented a peculiar example of a stela which was intentionally burned to the point that it fractured and then dispersed into structure 10L-26 at Copan.

In the 2000s, many more examples of spoliation were documented across the Maya lowlands, though these were described by the various synonymous terms previously noted. One important example by Just (2005), who outlined multiple examples of spoliated and “recycled’ monuments at Naranjo, Tikal, Copan, Calakmul, and Tonina, is described in a subchapter of his report that he titled movement and reorientation. Just (2005) argued that monuments were often used for the consolidation of power, but then acknowledges that some monuments were moved from cite cores, pilfered, or inverted. Martin’s (2000) study of monuments at Tikal also provides many interesting interpretations of spoliation.  In his article, At the Periphery: The Movement, Modification and Re-use of Early Monuments in the Environs of Tikal, he demonstrates a specific interest in the phenomena of spoliation, and documents cases of stelae moved regionally from Tikal. Many Tikal monuments were smashed and used as construction fill. While much of his argument is tied to foreign Teotihuacan invasion, others have postulated that Teotihuacan influence was not a result of invasion, but from hegemonic influence and stylistic representation (Ferguson 2007; Moholy-Nagy 1962; Hoffmeister 2009; Taube 1992).

Other scholars across Mesoamerica have also recently reported on the practice of spoliation, but generally apply synonyms for the term spoliation (Hansen et al. 2008; Joyce et al. 2001; Joyce and Weller 2007; Just 2005; Martin 2000; Plunket and Urunuela 2002). Joyce et al (2001) introduced the concept of commoner power with monumental reuse. Others argue that monuments throughout Mesoamerica are continually reused, modified, and bestowed with meaning reflective of current ideologies and interpretations (Alcock and Van Dyke 2003; Barrett III 1999; Schele and Freidel

1990). One example, Rio Viejo Monument 17, was a carved monument first used domestically as a metate, and later incorporated into a residential wall. Hansen (2008) documents several cases of Formative period monuments moved locally and regionally, and then found in association with late classic ceramics and termination/burning rituals.

During the Colonial period, Wren et al. (2015) postulated that the spoliation and re-carving of a stela into a baptismal font from Tonina was symbolic of domination and adaptation of the Maya religion to Christianity. Christensen (2012) documented how many early Mesoamerican temples were despoliated for the construction of Christian churches.

Currently, some of the leading researchers on the study of spoliation in the Maya area are Halperin (2019; Halperin and Garrido 2020), Cecil and Pugh (2018), Landry (2018), Morton et al. (2019) and Shiratori (2019). Halperin (2019) has argued that spoliation was a deliberate aesthetic that connected memory and ideology of the past, and sometimes as a sense of revisionary power. Some aesthetic choices appear deliberate choices to connect ideas of changes in social principles and balancing of power. Cecil and Pugh (2018) examined how spolia may have related to mana and ritualistic incorporation to draw on the spiritual power and agency of spoliated objects. Cecil and Pugh (2018) emphasized the spiritual importance of animism through the ritual practice the Tzeltal Maya, call *ch'ulel*. *Ch'ulel* is a shamanistic concept that binds the spirit to objects (Cecil and Pugh 2018:158). In connecting spaces and objects, *ch'ulel* in turn links earth to the heavens and underworld.

Morton et al. (2019) also incorporates a ritualistic nature to spoliation and despoliation through fragmentation. Fragmentation is the process of releasing the

*ch'ulel* or the spirit imprinted on an object (Morton et al. 2019, see also Cecil and Pugh 2018:158). Ritual fragmentation is often related to closing ceremonies at termination, and later acts as tributes after site cores are abandoned (Cecil and Pugh 2018; Helmke et al. 2017; Palka 2014; Morton et al. 2019). Morton et al. (2019) also argued that fragments of ritually charged objects can imbue sacrality to the contexts where they are moved to. Lastly, Shiratori (2019) discusses spoliation and reuse as a form of ancestor veneration and which played a pivotal role in social memory (Alcock and Van Dyke 2003). The way Maya controlled ritual behavior is an expression of how they understood their landscape and identity (Shiratori 2019).

*Spoliation, Monumentality, and Caves*

The alteration, modification, caching, and reuse of speleothems was an important tradition in Maya culture (Brady et al. 1997; Griffith and Jack 2005). Brady et al (1997) documented a speleothem stela that was relocated from a cave, reset in the site core of Yaxchilan, and then carved. Similarly, Brady et al (1997) reported two additional stela that were reset at Dos Pilas. McAnany (2012) documented two stelae fragments and several speleothems that appear to have been relocated and recycled during the Late Classic to the circular structures at Augustine Obispo, and Samuel Oshon site in eastern Belize. Researchers at Cahal Pech (Awe et al., 2009; Cheetham et al. 1994) also documented a modified speleothem sculpture within a burial chamber that was discovered in a temple at the end of a causeway. At Actun Tunichil Mucnal, Awe and his colleagues (2005) also recorded two slate monuments that were held upright by spoliated speleothems (also see Awe and Helmke 2005; Helmke 2017). Similar monuments were recorded at the caves of Laberinto de las Tarántulas, and Actun

Chechem Ha. (Awe and Helmk 2005; Helmke, 2017; Helmke and Brady 2009; Moyes 2006). At Cahal Pech, Awe (2021) also uncovered a Preclassic period cache that contained two cave pearls that had been removed from a nearby cave and deposited in Str. B4, and Ferguson (1999) uncovered a large fragment of a speleothem that was cached at the center of the playing alley of Ballcourt 1.

## Examples of Spolia from Case Studies at Lamanai, Cahal Pech, Xunantunich, Caracol, and Baking Pot.

### *Lamanai*

While many Maya cities waned during the Terminal Classic period, Lamanai managed to persist to some degree into the Postclassic. Pendergast (1981) documented multiple examples of spolia from Lamanai and reported that nearly all the stelae at the site had been moved, and most had evidence of being reset. Helmke (personal communication with Awe 2021) documented a case where a stela was abandoned as it was despoliated from the site core. During the early Colonial period at Lamanai, Spanish missionaries built a church on the south end of the Lamanai site core. Interestingly, several stelae were relocated by the Maya to the church and reset within the church near the cloister (Graham 2011). As mentioned before, Pendergast (1981) also documented a spoliated stela reset on a platform, but instead of facing toward the courtyard, it was set facing the temple of the masks (N10-59). During the Postclassic, all the Plaza 3 courtyards within the palace complex was infilled with large limestone boulders (Graham 2004). Underneath all the fill, there was a monument fragment deposited near a stairway offset on the east stairway into the courtyard.

(Personal communication with Jorge Kan 2021; Graham 2004). Several altars and stelae were also found placed into the floor of the courtyard (Graham 2004).

*Xunantunich*

The site of Xunantunich also has many examples of documented spoliation and alteration. As previously mentioned, two inscribed panels, that were originally part of the Caracol hieroglyphic stair, were discovered in front of Structure A-9 (Awe et al. 2020a). The two panels represent the largest sections of the hieroglyphic stair that was removed from Caracol by Naranjo following the defeat of the former (Awe et al. 2020; Helmke and Awe 2016a, 2016b; Martin 2017). Helmke et al. (2010) documented that the Terminal Classic monuments all have their eyes gouged out and appear mutilated, such as Stela 9. Structure A-1 also appears to have been built from the facing stone and fill of the nearby structures during the Terminal Classic (Awe et al. 2020a). The temple subsequently divided the main courtyard into two segregated plazas (Jamison and Leventhal 1997). A wall further emphasized the division restricting access between the two plazas (Awe et al. 2020; Leventhal et al. 2004). Another example are two monumental granite spheres placed near group B. These large granite spheres were transported from the Maya mountains (personal communication with Awe 2021). The granite sphere's placement is seemingly out of place and likely represents spoliation. Helmke et al. (2010) also documented multiple other monuments that were fragmented and left in secondary contexts, including Altar 1, Panel 1, and Panel 2.

*Cahal Pech*

Investigations at Cahal Pech have documented multiple examples of spoliation. Awe et al. (Awe 2020b) and Morton et al. Morton et al. (2019) discussed that nearly all

the stela and altars on the site were moved, repositioned, and relocated. Additionally, there is an example of a Preclassic stela (Stela 9) that was interred in a tomb and may have been analogous to ancestor veneration (Awe et al. 2009). Another monumental tomb in Plaza H, dated to the Terminal Classic period, was built from despoliated building material from other nearby architecture (Awe et al. 2020b).

*Caracol*

Research within the ceremonial core of Caracol has also recorded peculiar examples of spoliation. One such example is Ballcourt marker three of Ballcourt B which was relocated from the playing alley and transported and deposited inverted to the north of the Ballcourt (Chase et al 1991). In Plaza A, Awe (in Morton et al. 2019) discovered the upper half of Stela 20 buried beneath the central stairway of Structure A8. The lower half of the Early Classic monument was left fragmented and exposed to the elements in the courtyard. Morton et al. (2019) suggested the entombment of the upper half of Stela 20 may have been associated with ancestor veneration and legitimization of dynastic rule and kinship.

Stela 3 was another monument fragmented into two separate halves. The lower half was moved from the east side of A-8 and abandoned in the process of its relocation near Reservoir B (Beetz and Satterthwaite Jr. 1981; Morton et al. 2019; Satterthwaite 1958). The upper half was re-erected on the east side of A-8 (Beetz 1980). Similarly, Beetz and Satterthwaite Jr. (1981) documented that Stela 2 was found fragmented into several pieces in front of A-1, with the largest fragment suspected of being re-erected. Altar 7 was paired with Stela 14 in Courtyard A-2, but the sequences of the two monuments do not match. Beatz et al.  suggested the altar had likely been relocated to

be paired with Stela 14 later. Beatz et al (1981) also documented that Altar 19 was originally placed with Stela 7 in front of A13. However, the altar was repaired with Stela 11.

### *Baking Pot*

Baking Pot is the least documented site among the case studies. Despite this situation, there are several examples of spoliation that have been recorded at the site (Morton et al. 2019). One of the first examples was a large speleothem that was discovered as a cache in the center of the playing alley of the north ballcourt (Ferguson 1999). More recently, Hoggarth et al. (2020) documented multiple examples of fragmentation and termination activities in Group 2 of the site core, including the fragmented *Komkom* vase (Davis 2018; Helmke et al. 2017; Hoggarth et al. 2020). Other investigations documented an uncarved stela and two altars near the terminus shrine (Audet 2006; S. Fox 2018). To the east of the site core, Hoggarth (2012) also documented the occupation and reuse of several residential structures. From these residential structures, there was evidence that one structure was originally built with a low-quality limestone, and then rebuilt with a high-quality limestone likely imported or reused from elsewhere.

## Summary

While the theorical application of spoliation is relatively new in the vocabulary of Maya studies, it has an extensive rich historiography of synonymatic themes. The Maya participated in the practice of spoliation and maintained similar concepts from the European roots of the word. Ideas such as social memory, ideology, aesthetics, citations to the past, domination, and connections to power all maintain analogous

representations. However, Maya ideology as related to ancestor veneration, animism, ritualism, termination, and concepts of power provide distinct stylistic examples of how spolia were used in Mesoamerica. One thing that is clear is that spoliation around the world is closely related to the disintegrate of structural power and is symbolic of ideological change.

# Chapter 3: Ancient Maya Power Relations and Ideology

When beginning the process of writing on power relations I began with a dichotomous model of commoners and elites which focused on the exercise of power from a commoner's perspective. It soon became clear that a dual power model does not serve the complexity of the multi-directional relationship of power dynamics (Inomata 2001; Martin and Grube 2008; Tilley 1984). Power relations are inseparable from ideology. Because ideology is not binary, understanding Maya power requires an understanding of a greater multi-directional model. One such model is presented by Apparadai (1990), who employed the idea of an ideoscape. The concept of an ideoscape suggests that there are multiple ideologies in interchange with the dominant ideology (Appadurai 1990). While many authors have focused on power from a top-down perspective (Fash 1991; Houston and Stuart 1996; Martin and Grube 2008; McAnany 2013a; Schele and Mathews 1999). There have been a several examples of how multi-directional understandings of power have related to the ancient Mesoamerica (Gonlin and Lohse 2007a; Harrison 2006; Joyce et al. 2001; Joyce and Weller 2007). Both monumental construction and the practice of spoliation are topics that span class boundaries and offers the opportunity to dissect their intersections (Inomata 2001).

## Maya Conceptions of Power

Some of the earliest concepts of Maya power embedded in attempts to understand the rise and fall of the Maya (Gordon 1899; Mason 1880; Roys 1920; Walsh 1916). Gordon (1899) and others used analogy to the classics to understand the Maya ruins and the evident power that they represented (Walsh, 1916). By 1920s several books of the *Chilam Balam* were partially translated providing a host of primary data

about the Maya particularly during the Postclassic phase (Mason 1927; Roys 1920). Early conceptions of Maya power understood the Maya as a peaceful people despite the *Chilam Balam* detailing elite political struggles and warfare (Lothrop 1939; Mason 1927). The power of the Maya was dissected into first and foremost, literacy, astrological achievements, and monumental architecture (Hammond 1930; Mason 1927; Walsh 1916). Some of the first translations deciphered words such as *ajau or ajaw* (king or lord) (Perry 1893). The title *ajau* could also act hierarchically for humans and deities such as in the usage of the word *y-ahau-ku-na or,* The temple of the principal lord or god (Perry 1893). From the early narratives, the importance of titles illustrated how the Maya conceived their world through hierarchy and everyone was subordinate to the *ajau* (Perry 1983).

By the 1940s and 1950s. perhaps the most important book to the entire Maya world, The *Popol Vuh,* was retranslated by Recinos (2010) and disseminated into the scholarly community (Goetz and Morley 1950; Moyes et al. 2021; Recinos 2010; Schultze-Jena 1944; Spence 1928). The *Popol Vuh* is a primary text, which conveyed the creation story for the Maya, was latent with symbolism, and iconography of power and hierarchy. But also, equally important to the story line are the roles of social deviance, resistance, and ideologies counter even to the divine as the Hero Twins trick their way through the narrative of the Popol Vuh (Goetz and Morley 1950). Power in the Popol Vuh was not limited to conceptual power, but religiously demonstrated and used by beings (Girard and Girard 1979). Additionally, a being's power could be suppressed, released, or taken (Cecil and Pugh 2018; Girard and Girard 1979). Many of the symbols of power and connections to the gods from the Popal Vuh become foundational to how

power is expressed through art, architectural and ritual hierarchy (Fash 1991; Sanchez 2005; Tate 1992).

Advances in the decipherment of hieroglyphics provided deep insight into monumental writing and how those words displayed power (Berlin 1958; Kelley 1962; Lounsbury 1973; Mathews and Schele 1974; Proskouriakoff 1960, 1961, 2011; Schele 1982, 1987; Schele and Miller 1983). Certain themes were consistent across Maya sites where there was an emphasis on monumentalism for the dynastic *ajaw*, calendrical proclamations, and the ajaw preforming rituals (Kelley 1962; Proskouriakoff 1960, 1963). The decipherment of the word monumental stela also is loaded with metaphor Stela or *te-tun'* is metaphoric for the setting of a *te* or tree and tun or stone and both wood and stone were likely used as stelae (Freidel and Schele 1988). The symbolism of tree and stone are rooted in creation, rebirth, power, and structure. The world tree is at the center stage of the creation story in the Popal Vuh (Goetz and Morley 1950) and the 'stone trees' can be highly symbolic of linking rulers with the power of creation, and rebirth and the central focus of the sociopolitical landscape (Freidel and Schele 1988).

*Royal Titles, and Hegemony*

During the Preclassic period, we see the first use of the word *ajaw (king* or lord) (Graña-Behrens 2018). During the Classic period we see an increasing use of new titles, such as *K'uhul ajaw (divine lord or godly king)* (Houston and Stuart 1996:225; Jackson and Stuart 2001:217,225). Other titles include Ix ajaw (lady lord), Ch'ok ajaw young lord, B'aah ch'ok ajaw (head young lord), *sajal* (a secondary man), *itz'aat* (wise man) (Graña-Behrens 2018). Additionally, there were four cardinal directional titles called *Kalomte* (Gayol n.d.). The *Kolomte* titles were assigned to the most powerful

territorial leaders and represent the ideological organization of the Maya landscape (Gayol n.d.).

In the Late Classic the titles become even more extravagant such as *k'uhul kanu'l ajaw*, 'godly *Kanu'l* king, which is a title which connects the king to supernatural events and landscapes such as the cave (*Kanu'l*) where the Maize god was defeated and resurrected (Skaggs et al. 2017). One title, *wayaab* or the dreaming place, was associated with a cult from the Late Classic period that could commune with other worlds and ancestors in a dream world (Beliaev 2004). Place names were even incorporated into the names of rulers binding king and dominion over landscape Helmke (2012). For a full list of kingly titles see Graña-Behrens (2018). Even more interesting, some titles referred to shared rulership such as *e joo' ajawal* or "five rulership" or *wuk pet* or "seven circle" (García Campillo 1995; Graña-Behrens 2018). The shared Maya titles hint at a noticeable trend toward shared power, less centralized rulership, and the Mutepal council systems. These shared rulership titles echo back to Godlhamer and Shils (1939) observation that as a leader concentrates more power, the leader must rely on a greater number of subordinates or it can cause power to diffuse (García Campillo 1995; Graña-Behrens 2018).

*Monumentalism*

Although this section will be expanded in chapter 4, I want to emphasize the role of monumental architecture and art and Maya relationship with power. The Maya were considered the kings of time (Rice 2008; Sanchez 2005), and monumental architecture and stela were often records of time and memorial (Houston and Stuart, 1996). Furthermore, stelae were symbolic of ritual and time and were often dedicated on

“period ending” dates (Houston and Stuart 1996; Morley 1920: 577). At the center of ritual and the keeping of time is the Maya king who often appears in ritual such as bloodletting (Sanchez 2005; Stuart 1984; Tate 1992). Stelae rarely depict more than the king unless it is in domination over a captor (Awe lecture 2021). These images were used to emphasize the authority of the kings as the keeper of time, the head of state ritual, conduits to the gods, and as powerful warrior (Sanchez 2005). Furthermore, there is something to be said about the act of inscribing an event in stone and the permanence of its intended memory (Sanchez 2005; Stuart 1996). Lastly, the consideration of intended audience emphasized social roles, and often highlighted domination over other elites and the intended audience was the elites themselves (Sanchez 2005).

In many ways, the stela is an animistic representation of the very kings themselves which is emphasized by the entombment of many spoliated stela such as Caracol stela 20, Stela 9 from Cahal Pech, and Tikal stela 33 among many others (Awe et al. 2009; Coe 1990; Morton et al. 2019), and by the practice of fragmentation or releasing the *che’uel/* power/essence that the object was imbued with (Cecil and Pugh, 2018; Morton et al. 2019). Monumental architecture also was used to propagate hierarchy, heredity, and kin relationship (Sanchez 2005). Similarly, the resetting/ reuse of spoliated monuments can be viewed as an intentional effort to connect the hierarchical, heredity and memory of the embodied power of a previous king to the current ruler (Brenk 1987; Deichmann 1940; Kinney 2001; L’Orange and von Gerkan 1939).

*Kinship, Houses, Ancestor Veneration, and Multi-directional Relationships of Power*

Through ethnographic genealogical investigation, Vogt (1964, 2012), Coe (1965), and Carrasco (1961) described a modern model in Chiapas called the “cargo system.” Vogt (1961) suggested that the cargo system could have evolved from Classic period Maya systems of positional rotation. The Cargo system is a working civic hierarchical model where the community designates offices to male individuals. The model is hierarchical with fewer council member, judges, and ceremonial leaders but are rotational. All the positions are occupied for one year (P. Carrasco 1961; Coe 1965). Individuals gain power through sponsorship of festivals and can jockey for higher positions after they are relieved of office. All the males are obligated to participate and through interdependence of the social system and obligation it ties the community together (Haviland 1966).

Vogt (1961) postulated that it was a classless system but based on archeological data from elite burials, individuals buried in tombs were physically taller and healthier than individuals not entombed. Suggesting that there is a definite hierarchical mortuary practice from members of elites with non-rotational positions (Haviland 1966). Furthermore, data suggests that dynastic control during the Classic period was hereditary (Proskouriakoff 1960, 1963; Kelley 1962). However, Vogt (1964) suggested that lower positions may have been rotational including temple guards, rural priests, and other positions. Lower position was supported by Willey’s (1956) view that the peasant class of the Maya of the Belize River Valley were prosperous. Coe 1965 similarly denoted patterns of rotational power sharing in Landa’s (Tozzer 1941; 1898:26-27) account of Postclassic settlement. Landa reported a quadripartite system where

power was divided among four groups (defined by cardinal directions) and once every 4 years a group would select a *principal).* Similarly, Roys (1933: 139–140) documented that the *Second Chronicle of Chumayel* from Chichen Itza, made up of four quarters (*can tzucul*) associated with the four directions and during a Katun 4 Ahau (probably 1224-1244) the area was depopulated. Mayapan also used a quadripartite system (Coe, 1965).

Another model for socio-political structure piggy backs on the idea of hereditary ties. Roys (1943:57–64) wrote of a 16th century system with a hereditary and patrilineal office who would govern a region. The system combined permanent and rotational positions. Landa (Tozzer 1941:122; Coe 1965) reported of two hereditary priests called *nacoms* who acted in ritual and military roles who would hold office for 3-year periods. Roys (1943) described a system with four classes. Nobles who held the higher-ranking offices and military positions, the commoners who were free workers arrayed between upper and lower classes, serfs who worked private lands for nobles, and slaves.

Other researchers have explored the role of kinship in sociopolitical arrangement and the importance of ancestor veneration (Gillespie 2000; Hage 2003; Marcus 1973; McAnany 2013a; Rhoads 2002). Lineage in Maya society has always been of importance in linking descendants with ancestors (Gillespie 2000). The role of hereditary power becomes of particular importance during the Classic period and ancestor veneration provided a mechanism to link ancestral power with descendants (Gillespie 2000; Marcus 1973; McAnany 2013). The manifestation of institutionalized power produced increased pressure to maintain hereditary power (Trader-Leigh 2002).

Other scholars argued that royal hereditary power was manifested patrilineally (Carmack 1981; Haviland 1992; Hopkins and Josserand 1988; Schele and Freidel 1990; Sharer and Golden 2004). However, others have argued idealized rules for linage are problematic (Carsten and Hugh-Jones 1995; Fox 2018; Hage 2003). For example, Hage (2003) argued that there's considerable evidence for matrilineal cross-cousin marriage systems and that commoners were bilateral (Fox and Robin 1983; Roys, 1940). Marcus (1993) argued that hieroglyphic evidence suggested that women of royal houses married men of non-royal elites. Multi-directional power was also evident in hieroglyphic evidence of political alliances where marriage was used to secure dynastic power among royal elites (Hage 2003; Martin and Grube 2008). Coe (1965) argued that social power of elites was both patrilineal and matrilineal and that linages were traceable.

Gillespie (2000) contended that 'house" model (Lévi-Strauss 1982:176) may be of greater applicability to the Maya than "lineage" models and that lineage models were under conceptualized and inadequate at capturing the complexity of kinship. Lévi-Strauss (1987) defined the house as a separate entity from class categories in which autonomy of a house was defined by ideological motives and obligations distinct from other entities in society (Gillespie 2001). Furthermore, Hendon (1991) suggested that kinship went beyond socio-political divisions and even low-status individuals were considered kin (Gillespie 2000). The house model also more appropriately connects the practice of ancestor veneration among non-elite kin groups.

Kin groups and ancestor veneration are social mechanisms that bind social identity, provide structural hierarchy, and were publicly displayed through rebuilding temples, memorial shrines, and repositioning stelae in the Late Classic (Cecil and Pugh,

2018; Gillespie 2000; Morton et al. 2019; O'Neil 2009). O'Neil (2009) argued that objects such as temples, stelae, and ceramics can be imbued with *che'eul*. Cecil and Pugh (2018) suggested that ritual objects such as spolia possessed *che'eul*, that animated power/force and connected ancestors to its descendants in acts of ritual. By terminating or fragmenting the object it released the *che'eul* or power of the animated object (Cecil and Pugh 2018). As the object is removed from its ideological context its memory and power are also removed and transfigured into a new ideological context and memory (Alcock and Van Dyke 2003; Kinney 2006).

Before discussing how commoners have been studied among the Maya, I want to first note some of the criticisms to a two-class or bivariate understanding of the Maya social structure as being composed of commoners and elites. Inomata (2021) points out that royals, elites, and nobles are all grouped as a distinct category, while commoners are separated as the "rest of society." Elites are often targeted for research because they were a  minority that were able to manage social institutions and  effectively create greater influence on the whole of society (Chase and Chase 1992; Marcus 1983), First, the top-down view limits the breadth and complexity of the Maya and the introduction of the word *commoner* has confused Maya stratification system and limited how multi-variate and multi-dimensional power can be (Foucault 1988a; Gal 1995; Marcus 2007; Yaeger et al. 2004). Like the Kin or household models, stratification may have been both horizontal and vertical and may have been less stratified than western definitions (Chase 1986; Gillespie 2000, 2001; Gonlin and Lohse 2007a).

*Commoner Theories and New Perspectives*

Attempts to understand power from the bottom-up and non-normative power also impacted Maya and Mesoamerican studies (Joyce et al. 2001; Joyce and Weller 2007; Sabloff and Rathje 1975; Yaeger et al. 2004). Marcus (1983) argued that researchers neglected Maya commoners due to bias towards elite narratives that resulted in a limited interpretative understanding. Studies on non-normative roles provided new perspectives and new investigative angles that drove researchers to a deeper understanding of Maya culture and power (Blackmore 2011a, 2011b; Joyce et al. 2001; Joyce and Weller 2007; Tuszyńska 2015).

Furthermore, Lohse and Valdez (2004) note that the study of commoners has also been limited to specific areas such as settlement studies (Ashmore and Willey 1981, Pugh 2003), domestic archaeology (Blackmore 2011a, 2011b; Hendon 1991; Palka 1997), subsistence (Somerville et al. 2013), and economy (D. Z. Chase 1986; VandenBosch 1999) and have not attempted to incorporate multiple perspectives. However, commoners can also be viewed from the point of view of reliance and agency, where they were able to adapt to social climates, practice economic agency, and function within and outside of ideoscape and the hegemonic pressures of the elite (Gonlin and Lohse 2007b; Joyce et al. 2001; Schaefer n.d.; Yaeger et al. 2004). Ardern and Miller (2020) suggest that social identity is replicated through children, and the power to subvert, avoid, or resist social normativism.

The economic organization does not seem to follow ridged hierarchical rules in comparison to the social structure (D. Z. Chase 1986; Guderjan 2007; Schaefer n.d.; VandenBosch 1999). For example, Vandenbosch et al. (2010), suggested that there

was a heterogeneity among lithic samples at domestic households. Vandenbosch et al.'s (2010) suggests little elite management of lithic samples in the Xunantunich hinterland. Chase (1986:362) similarly notes that seeing class divisions among residence near Caracol were difficult. He also suggests that strict western categorical divisions may not be the best representation of Maya socio-political arrangement (Chase 1986). Other sites, such as Blue Creek in northern Belize, showed evidence of both elites and non-elites having access to typically defined exotic/elite objects. Obsidian and Jade were dispersed throughout the population and was not limited to elite residences (Guderjan 2007; Schaefer n.d.). Vogt (1961) thereby showing that some roles of power may have been rotational.

One reason why commoner power is particularly useful in the case of spolia is that trying to understand spoliation from the elite perspective would negate the full significance beyond ideological power such as its use in ritual (Cecil and Pugh 2018; Morton et al. 2019; O'Neil 2009). As power diminishes spolia plays a greater role in how the architectural landscape is used (Kinney 2006). Spolia were not just objects of survival, and spoliation was a cultural practice performed by non-elites and elites alike and should be examined through the meaning of the object's appropriation (Esch 2011; Joyce et al. 2001).

### *Engagement, Resistance, and Avoidance*

Joyce et al. (2001) has suggested that commoners practiced their own form of power and agency derived from three categorical variables, engagement, avoidance, and resistance. Engagement is the most direct form that commoners and elites participate in an ideology. Together through cooperation elites and commoners

constructed a societal ideology and common memory. Commoners practiced in the ideology in a variety of ways though the joint effort of monumental construction, practice of state ritual, and other socio-economic activities (Schaefer n.d.).

Avoidance was practiced by individuals in abstention from the maintenance of the dominant identity. Apparadai (1990) described the ideological environment as an ideoscape, where counter ideologies often run-in sync with the dominant ideologies. Joyce (2001) argued that one example of avoidance and commoner power was through monumental architectural reuse in non-dominant ideological forms. In a cited example, a stela from Rio Verde that was relocated to a residential area and used as a metate. One of the best applications of understanding the ideoscape can be seen in Martin and Grube's (2008) model of interactions with of all the ideologies (Appadurai 1990). In Martin and Grube's (2008) model you see a complex network of interaction between Maya cities based on epigraphic evidence of polities interacting with another in either a negative or positive fashion (Figure 2-1). It depicts alliances, kinship, and marital ties, and opposing ideologies on a macro scale.

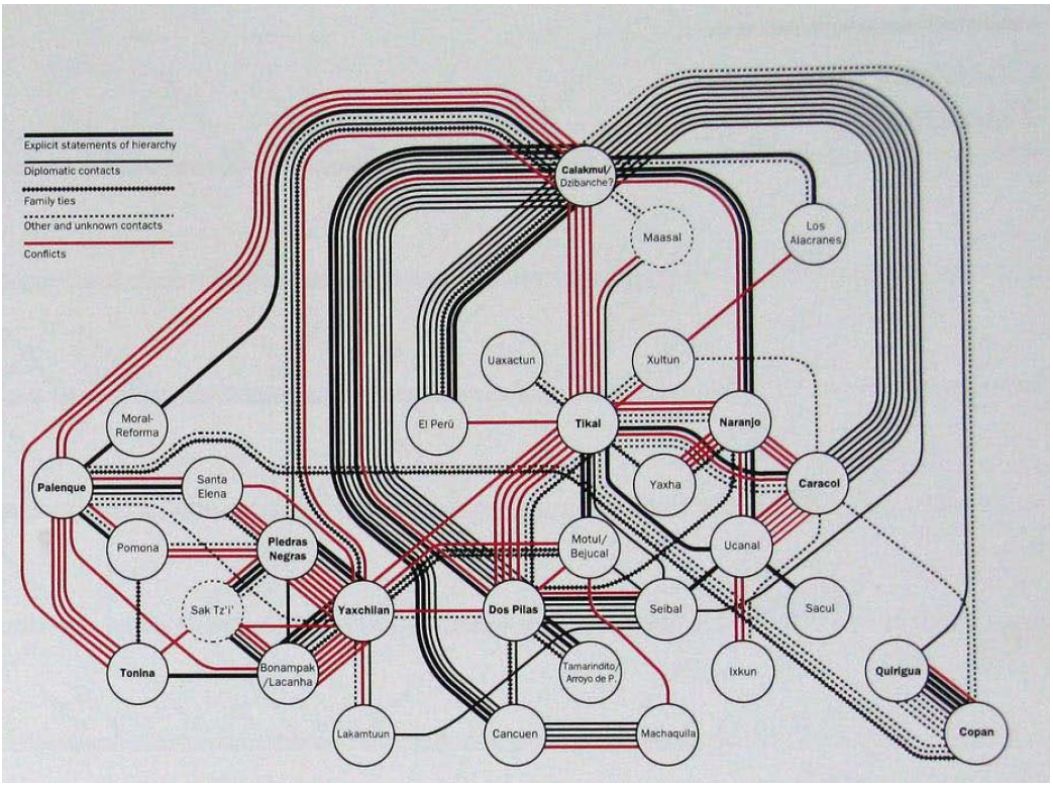


Figure 3-1 Image depicting the complexity of how multi-directional, and multi-ideological the Classic Maya political Landscape was. Courtesy of Simon Martin (Martin and Grube, 2008:21)

Lastly, resistance was practiced indirectly or directly to challenge the overarching narrative, ideology, or memory (Joyce et al. 2001; Joyce and Weller 2007). Scott (1990) suggested that commoners often resisted the dominant ideology through “hidden transcripts” The “hidden transcript” is a subversive form of resistance and avoidance through withholding labor, tributes, ritual practice that is held privately, and bypassing authority. More “public transcripts “relate to the ways the dominant ideology is expressed such as architecture, writing, and public ritual. Another form of resistance uses the dominant ideology against itself (Scott 1990). The best example relates to how the commoners can use the dominant ideology to show how an elite has not fulfilled his obligatory social contract. For example, if a divine king fails to sustain the social contract

of supporting his people, both elites and non-elites can challenge the system through the dominant ideology (Joyce et al. 2001: Scott 1990). Criticisms of Scott's (1990) position suggest that participation in the ideology is multi-directional. Gal (1995) argued that elites and non-elites must censor themselves and participate in what Scott (1990) calls "hidden transcripts." Elites often must censor themselves just as much as subordinates must when negotiating the social contract Gal (1995).

## Historiography of Social Power

To better understand how Maya and Mesoamerica research has portrayed power, a historiographical approach to social power can provide greater context to how spolia relates to power negotiation. A historiographical study of social power begins with four prominent theorists Thomas Hobbes (Hobbes and Missner 2016; Read 1991), Joseph de Maistre (Berlin and Berlin 2013; de Maistre 2013) Max Weber (1919, 2009), and Karl Marx (Butler 1993; Marx 1843, 1867a, 1867b, 1920, 1920, 2021; Marx and Engels, 2011; Rattansi, 1982) First, de Maistre's (2013) writing arose out of critique to the French revolution. The dialogue of the role of the executioner, points to the relationship of the execution within society and his role and assigned power. The executioner is a societal outcast but at the same time "all subordination rests on the executioner (2013)." For Maistre, all of society rests on the prescription of power. The executioner is only as powerful as the perception that they represent justice and order. Therefore, domination is relational to the perception of power and through hierarchical roles that order is maintained (Berlin and Berlin 2013). Marx (1843, 1867a, 1867b, 1920, 1920, 2021; Marx and Engels, 2011) similarly wanted to understand how power

was maintained but turned his attention to how elites maintained power through economic control of the proletariat by the elites.

Marx's theories showed the significance of economics in the structure of bourgeoisie society, and how it was used to manage the proletariat. Marx's ideas have been heavily influential in studies of social and class power (Bourdieu 2011; Gramsci et al. 1992; Kautsky and Simons 1909; Plekhanov 2018). Bourdieu's idea of social capital, for example, demonstrated power, ideology, and classism are economically linked (Bourdieu 2011). Bourdieu (2011) also drew from Weber's (2009) theory of domination when discussing notions of "Power over." Bourdieu's idea of social capital is another way to demonstrate how individuals are granted the legitimate authority dominate others. Weber's (2009) model is similar to Hobbes's (Hobbes and Missner 2016) ideas of legitimation of rule. Hobbes believed that the authority to dominate others came out of the common interests of many for the justification of power (Read 1991). For Hobbes, a leader is given power when they are persuasive enough to achieve the goal that the group aims to achieve (Read 1991). Weber also explored the relationship of dominant to subordinate and how power is legitimized through that relationship. A focus on legitimacy is important to considering spoila because the ways power is given, reciprocated, and institutionalized (Foucault 1988a; Goldhamer and Shils 1939; Gramsci et al. 1992).

*Socialism and Revolution*

From the theories of Marx, Weber and Hobbes, the 19th and 20th centuries saw a new understanding of how power is legitimized and a proletariat socialist movement questioning institutional power. Engels (Engels 1880) focused on egalitarian models

and ideologies of power, public power, and revolution. These concepts are the fundamental concepts of socialist writings and future studies of power. Kautsky and Simons (1909: 12) for example, explored how dominant groups developed ideological mechanisms to ensure power and actively “hold the proletariat down”. Other Socialist writings discuss power from the perspective of the economic subordinate or laborer (Plekhanov 2018; Spargo 1912) and embody ideas of revolution and communal power. Socialist theories were foundational for questioning institutionalism, and how the proletariat could resist dominant power through resistance (Plekhanov 2018). Later, Scott (1991) focused on the role of resistance in Commoner power. Joyce et al (2001) broadened the scope to also include commoner power through engagement, avoidance, and resistance and the role of how reuse was used as a form of commoner power. Georgi Plekhanov (2018) was the first to use the word hegemony to describe a need for class hegemony among the proletariat. The theory of Hegemony was the most influential ideas to develop out of the socialist movement (Gramsci et al. 1992).

Gramsci was the general secretary for the Italian communist party who was one of the biggest contributors to the socialist idea of hegemony (Bates 1975). Gramsci suggested that hegemony was the ability of the political elite to propagate their world view and legitimize elite rule (Bates 1975; Gramsci et al. 1992). Gramsci points to the political failure of the Communist party as an inability to influence the masses over the political leaders of the fascist party (Gramsci et al. 1992). Hegemony came from the Ancient Greek word *Hegemon* which leaders-maintained control with indirect influence while the subjected maintained a degree of autonomy (Ives 2004). Like many of the socialist intellectuals, Gramsci was concerned with how the bourgeoisie maintained

power over the proletariat, particularly with the ideas of subjugation, apathy, consent, and coercion. Gramsci's influential writings impacted studies across the humanities and became a theoretical framework for many scholars writing about sociopolitical Mesoamerica (Fischer and Dickens 2003; Joyce et al. 2001; Lopiparo 2001; Moyes 2006; Newman 2019).

*Measurable Power Theories and Structural Power*

From Gramscian theories of hegemony, there is a theoretical shift in how power was discussed. A phenomenon occurred across the human sciences which began to use statistics as the prime method for testing theory. Probability models such as game theory, and logical operational criteria allowed power to be measurable and quantifiable and understood in innovative ways (Emerson 1962; French Jr. 1956; Goldhamer and Shils 1939; Von Neumann 1928, 1944; Zander et al. 1959; Zeuthen 2018). Game theory opened many questions regarding power relations because it provided operational criteria that allowed for probabilistic outcomes and created a measurable variable for power (Simon 1953; Von Neumann 1928, 1944; Zeuthen 2018). The power of statistics and probability began to dominate the social science as an argumentative tool (Cartwright and Zander 1953; Emerson 1962; Hunter 1953; Rosen 1959; Zander et al. 1959). Goldhamer and Shils (1939) developed a dynamic model concerning the degree of power and status. According to Godlhamer and Shils (1939), as a leader concentrates more power, the leader must rely on a greater number of subordinates which can cause power to diffuse. Similarly, Dahl (1957) and Zander et al (1959) utilized probability to determine how a desired outcome is based on the amount of power one

wields and is perceived for an individual. For the Maya, monumentalism was often used to enforce perceived power of an individual (Awe 2008).

Another interesting turn in the literature occurred when authors began to incorporate structural power into their probability models (Cartwright and Zander 1953; Emerson 1962; Hunter 1953; Rosen 1959; Zander et al. 1959). Authors such as Feinberg (1953), Cartwright, and Zander (1953), and Rosen (1959) argued how individual power is relational to the power of group or social structure. Rosen (1959) contended that perceived social power of an individual is heavily influenced by whom they perceived to have equal or greater power than their own. Rosen's (1959) suggests that the higher in the hierarchical structure in which a boy is raised provided a greater perceived power which in turn provided greater realized power (Rosen and D'andrade 1959). In Emerson's (1962) power-dependence theory, he suggests that structural power is dependent role-prescriptions, and group norms. Though this process "roles are defined and enforced through consolidation of power" and legitimized through group norms (Emerson 1964: 34). These concerns with group relations, structural power, and the development of power inspired Foucault and new methods to understand power.

*Foucault, and Non-normative Conceptions of Power*

Michael Foucault challenged notions of normative power and exposed the irrationality of structural power through genealogical investigation (Bevir 1999; Rossi 2004). Foucault's approach can generally be viewed as non-normative and multi-directional analysis of institutionalism (Bevir 1999, 1999; Bird 1989; Flyvbjerg n.d.; Foucault 1975, 1980, 1988a). Foucault's unconventional views on power also inspired a host of critics (Fraser 1989; Habermas 1987; N. Hartsock 1990; Keenan 1987; Taylor

1985). Hartsock (1990) discussed power relations and how social scientists have failed to provide a theoretical voice for feminism, minority, colonized and for other oppressed. Hartsock's critique points out the short comings of Foucault's analysis of power by showing that network or capillary understanding power can blame the minority and balancing of power can come from more ways than resistance (Hartsock 1990). However, as Hartsock and others suggest, Foucault was instrumental in opening dialogues for feminism, queer theory, and commoner theory (Butler 1993b, 1993a; Joyce et al. 2001).

*Non-Normative Theories on Power*

Non normative theories on power such as queer, feminist, and commoner theory provided social scientists with a fresh academic lens for understanding power and domination (Butler 1993a, 1993a; Foucault 1980; Joyce et al. 2001). These theories critiqued decades of top-down analysis of power (Butler 1993a; Foucault 1988b; Giddens 1979; Hartsock 1990; Scott 1986; James 1990; Wolf 1990). In other words, a non-normative position allows for a deeper understanding of social reality and the complexity of society. (Butler 1993b; Harding 1987; Hartsock 1990; Hartsock 1983; Wolf 1990). Survivance, and resilience provided subordinate researchers with the opportunity to examine sociopolitical relationships in a much more realistic and dynamic manner (Appadurai 1990; Gonlin and Lohse 2007a; Joyce et al. 2001; Wolf 1990; Yaeger et al. 2004).

While Hartsock (1990) critiqued Foucault's idea of power as being construed as a network or capillary system. Similarly, Appadurai (1990) demonstrated that ideologies and power are dynamic and that all societies contain dominant, non-normative, counter,

and subordinate ideologies in a complex network that he describes as an ideoscape. Scott (1990) attempted to show how subordinate groups use “hidden transcripts,” to demonstrate how subordinates resist hegemonic ideologies. Gal (1995), critiques Scott’s (1990) work “*The Art of Resistance*” because it falls short in its ability to capture the complexity of dominant-weak relationships by limiting the discussion to a binary relationship. For Gal (1995), even the elite are subject to the role that they are given and must also maintain ‘hidden transcripts” and sensor themselves. However, Scott (1990) and Gal (1995) both agree that commoner theory is an attempt to understand how subordinates think outside the performance of the public transcripts.

*Post Modernism*

For postmodernists, ideas of power shift from analysis of universal truths to specific non-centralized ways to examine power (Butler 1993b; Foucault 1988b; Hutcheon 1991). Additionally, power is fluid and in flux between social regulation and social emancipation (Santos 2010). Postmodernism suggests that truth is institutional and ideological. Zizek (2007) stated that ideology is entirely based on a participant’s tolerance. In truth, for the post-modernist everything is ideological (Hutcheon 1991). Therefore, power is ideologically based in a socio-relational construct of the role we are given (Ellis and Coward 1977:69; Gal 1995; Hutcheon 1991). In this way, we are mere actors in a societal performance (Butler 1993a; Ellis and Coward 1977; Gal 1995). Additionally, power is not innate. Power is the outcome or effect of social relationships, and those relationships are multi-directional (Gal 1995; Latour 1986; Murdoch and Pratt 1993).

## Summary

Commoner power is not entirely governed by the dominant-subordinate behavior; it is multi-directional. Power much like societal roles is bestowed by perceived group norms and is established through ideology. Ideology and power can be described as capillary and are much more complicated than the normative understanding of the dominant Maya ideology. Maya conceptions of power show complex networks of kin, household groups, and macro and micro communities which interact in roles that were often fluid. Consolidated power has greater inherent risk. As rulers consolidated greater degrees of power, they were forced to share power which led to more dispersed systems of power during the Terminal and Postclassic periods. Lastly, commoners embody reliance and agency which is often defined by tolerance. Commoners adapted to social climates, practiced economic agency, and functioned within and outside the hegemonic pressures of the elite.

# Chapter 4: Monumental Architecture and Ideology

Early monumental architectural efforts were usually constructed for gods, cosmology, mortuary, ancestor veneration, kings, and elites (Trigger 1990). Monumental architecture requires group participation and a socio-defined ideology to which a group orders their world (von Schwerin 2014). Monuments reinforce shared group narratives, social roles, displayed for an intended audience, and are, to varying degrees, communal (Awe 2008; Sanchez 2005). The Maya built environment was comprised of *sacbe* (raised causeways), temples, plazas, platforms, ball-courts, reservoirs, palaces, tombs, caches, stelae, altars, patios, and shrines (Webster 1998). It is just as much the massive temples as it is the plaza spaces that balance environment and construction (Harrison 2006; Houston 1998; Webster 1998)

## Ideology of Natural and Built Architecture

In many ways, the built environment mimicked the natural land architecture (Akbar et al. 2021; Turner II and Lawrence 2012). In the *Popol Vuh*, mountains and caves were the homes of the gods and the Maya communed and interacted with the natural environment much like they did with the built environment (Christenson 2012; Goetz and Morley 1950). Modern Yucatec perceive their environment as “domesticated” vs “wild” (Smith 2000; Stone 1995). Temples mimicked mountains and caves, plazas mimicked the valleys, reservoirs mimicked cenotes, and building facades personified

nature (Fash and Fash 1996; Turner II and Lawrence 2012; Webster 1998). The ambient spaces were easily transformed into markets or filled with temporary wooden structures or scaffolding during periods of construction (Chase 2017; Webster 1998). The blending of the natural and built environment helps form the Maya worldview. The worldview is a "picture of the way things are in sheer actuality, their concepts of nature, of self, of society... their most comprehensive ideas of order" (Geertz 1973: 127).

## Maya Built Environment and Spatial Overwriting

Monumental structures are imbued with symbolism and meaning and serve as vessels for memory that mold social identity as communities redefine their position through time (Carrasco and Hull 2002; Gallareta Cervera 2010; Knapp 2009; McAnany and Houston 1998a). Scarborough (1991:129) described Maya architecture as transitory *and* has an undeniable permanence (Sanchez 2005; Stuart 1996; Webster 1998). The communities that inhabited and interacted with the built landscape redefined, reinforced, and reshaped meaning and memory through time (Alcock and Van Dyke 2003; Halperin 2021; Halperin and Garrido 2020; Joyce et al. 2001; Just 2005; Olin 2003; Rubertone 2008). Intergenerational relationships between communities and construction episodes create a dynamic feedback loop that is multi-directional in nature and constantly strengthens or reshapes memory (Gallareta Cervera 2010; Knapp 2009; Scarborough 1991). Most Maya temples went through multiple building episodes (Lucero 1999; Schele and Mathews 1999). "Through special overwriting, built monuments regardless of scale and artistry construct certain memories at the expense of others (Rubertone 2008)." Creating an ideological consensus allows monumental architecture to be routinely reshaped and reconstructed by each builder

(Lucero 1999; Rubertone 2008; Schele and Mathews 1999). The monument reshapes meaning for the people, and the people reshape meaning for the monument (Gallareta Cervera 2010; McAnany and Houston 1998a; Miller 1998; Rubertone 2008).

## The Creation Story and Monumentality

Monumental architecture is the energy investment in both the real and metaphysical senses (Webster 1997). Examining the K'iche Maya origin story of the *Popol Vuh*, monumental architecture recreates symbolism related to the Maya origin story (Goetz and Morley 1950; Guderjan and Snider 2021; Moyes et al. 2021). The temples embody the multi-layered cosmos, they are the *witz* or mountains, and caves, and the plazas below are the primordial sea (Freidel 1993; Guderjan and Snider 2021). Additionally, the stelae represent stone trees or *te-tun* (D. A. Freidel and Schele 1988). The calabash tree is at the center of the Maya origin story when Xquic, the daughter of one of the lords of the Xibalba, visits the calabash tree with Hun Huhnapu's decapitated head (Goetz and Morley 1950). Xquic is impregnated with the first maize children from her visit with the head of Hun Hunapu (Goetz and Morley 1950).

Guderjan and Snider (2021) suggested Maya life recreated all elements of the creation story through symbolism of the Maya cosmos. Ideological symbolism was employed using sacred geometry, astrology, and geographic directionality (Freidel et al. 2017). For example, the Maya replicated symbols of the layers of the heavens and the underworld in the 13, and 9 doorways and colonnades adorning many monumental structures (Awe 2008; Freidel et al. 2017; Lucero 2010; Schele and Freidel 1990:67). Other temple facades employ symbols of the natural and supernatural, such as anthropomorphic supernatural, *witz* monsters, sky dragons, Kukalkan, creation imagery,

crocodiles, turtles, cleft figures, flower and mat, war imagery, Maya kings, Maya deities, and jaguar masks, to blend ideology, creation, and legitimization (Awe, 2008; Schele, 1998). Many monumental structures, such as in the pan Maya region, were also aligned to astrological events such as solstices and equinoxes (E-groups) and tracking astrological events such as Venus (Aveni 1981; Awe 2008; Freidel et al. 2017). Monuments and caches were also aligned on the axis-mundi alignment and directionality, which helped to establish memory of a landscape and imbue it with meaning (Baker 1962; Knapp 2009; Satterthwaite 1958).

## Quadripartite Ideologies and Spatial Orientation

The Maya developed a quadripartite earthly division with four colors representing the cardinal directions (Guderjan and Snider 2021; Marcus 1973). At the center of the two axeis is the local axis-mundi (Ashmore 2016; Ashmore and Sabloff 2002; Kostićov 2020; Martin 2012; Taube 2003). Brotherston (1976), and Ashmore (2002), suggested that portrait stelae were specifically placed on the north side of the twin monuments at Tikal, because the placement of the stelae between the east and west represent the “place between” where ancestors could commune during the time when the sun and the heavens are at its greatest strength. Directionality was employed in iconographic objects, such as cross-shaped flints, to monumental special organization and settlement patterns (Astor-Aguilera 2010; Baker 1962; Pugh 2003). Powerful Maya kings also adopted directional titles known as *kalomte' or chajom*, further emphasizing the importance of directionality and how the Maya defined geographic boundaries through title and power (Mathews 2020; Proskouriakoff 1963:153). Directionality and color were

not just an elite concept, Robin (2002) discovered a cache of four different colored cardinally placed river cobbles at a small household (Gonlin and Lohse 2007).

## Architectural Animism

The multi-directional relationship between the monument and community is more than just object and subject (Harrison-Buck 2012). The ideoscape of the Maya is animistic and alive with cosmic meaning (Ashmore 2009). The memory and *che'eul* (essence or power) imbued life into monuments (Cecil and Pugh 2018; Knapp 2009). The monuments were in many ways personifications of the rulers that commissioned them and those who were entombed within (Harrison-Buck 2012; Turner II and Lawrence 2012). Furthermore, some structures also personified the god and the layers of the cosmos (Awe 2008; Schele 1998). By including elements of caves and sacred mountains, it essentially invited the gods to dwell in the monuments (Cecil and Pugh 2018). Much like the story of the *Popol Vuh*, where the K'iche Maya traveled until they settled on a *Witz* or Mountain inhabited by the gods (Awe 2008; Goetz and Morley 1950; Moyes et al. 2021; von Schwerin 2014). Many sites bear the name *witz,* including Xunantunich, *Kat Witz* or Clay Mountain (Awe 2008; Awe and Helmke 2005). Monuments were also animated through rituals, such as the use of incensarios, which burned incense and breathed out clouds of smoke, much like cloud formation around mountains or at the mouth of caves (Cecil and Pugh 2018; Harrison-Buck 2012; Lucero, 2010; Taube 2003:113).

## Divisions of Space

Monumental architecture is often divided between public and private spaces (Awe 2008). Awe (2008) illustrated how plazas in Cahal Pech, Xunantunich, and

Caracol create restrictive and semi-restrictive access that limited public from private spaces, which reinforced hierarchical power. Temples and plazas also manifest hierarchy by limiting access (Awe 2008). Pugh (2003) demonstrated at Mayapan how hierarchical preference was not necessarily associated with constructing households closest to the site core, as Landa suggested, but with location to the east (Chase, 1981; Tozzer 1941). Together, these examples demonstrate how spatial segregation limited interaction between social classes and reinforced class differences (Freidel 1981).

Examination of the intended audience of a monument also suggests specific narratives and ideologies (Sanchez 2005). Public monuments, like stelae in open plazas, convey continual hierarchical reinforcement as the broadest communities see, perform ritual, and interact with rulers' portraits (Andrews 1976). Furthermore, those hierarchical images were often displayed with deities and ancestors used to reinforce power and connection with powerful ancestors (McAnany 2013b; McAnany and Houston 1998b). Other monuments, such as lintels and stairways, mosaics, and other monuments with restricted access, tend to express different meanings, such as the ruler in charge of ritual, placed in a position elevated above subordinates, and expressing military prowess (Sanchez 2005). Those images were encoded with specific messages with the ruler in military costume, leading ritual, and performing supernatural acts that distinguish the leader role in a role of power (Jones and Satterthwaite 1982; Sanchez 2005).

## Ancestor Veneration and Monuments

Monumental architecture was often a record of time and memorial, and the very medium of stone carries permanence (Houston 1998; Stuart, 1996; Webster 1998). The

permanence of monuments helped establish a record of ancestors and memorialized the ritual practice of ancestor veneration (Hendon 1991; Houston 1998; Sanchez 2005; Stuart 1984, 1996). The practice of ritual provided a current ruler with legitimacy by virtue of the ritual knowledge of all previous rulers (McAnany 2013b). The ritual communion with ancestors was practiced through bloodletting, intoxicants, and offerings. Bloodletting was practiced by elites and non-elites. However, the monumental display elevated the ruler by granting him special privilege to commune with deities and ancestors (Stuart 1984; Walton 2021).

## Personification and Ancestor Veneration

Monuments were animistic representations of the very kings themselves (Awe et al. 2009; Coe 1990; Morton et al. 2019). Mortuary tombs become personifications for the ruler buried within the structures (Awe et al. 2009). Stelae were sometimes entombed as if they were the rulers themselves, such as Caracol stela 20, Stela 9 from Cahal Pech, and Tikal stela 33 among many others (Awe et al. 2009; Coe 1990; Morton et al. 2019).

One example of ancestor veneration with multiple iterations is Stela 31 from Tikal (O'Neil 2009). Stela 31 was a depiction of Sihyoj Chan K'wiil, and on the side of the monument was his father Yax Nuun Ahiin which is a direct display of ancestor veneration (O'Neil 2009). The largest fragment of Stela 31 was reset, which suggests there was a concerted effort in the past to connect the power of a past ruler with the present (Just 2005; O'Neil 2009). Lastly, it was reset within the funerary temple of Sihyoj Chan K'wiil II, further connecting ancestor and kinship (Martin and Grube 2008). Other monuments, such as lintel 25, a statue of Bird Jaguar both from Yaxchalin, and

images from Structure 11 at Copan, and the La Mojarra Stela, depict mirrored images (Palka 2002; Schele and Freidel 1990; Schele and Miller 1983; Sharer and Morley 1994). Palka (2002) suggested that mirrored monuments were intentionally reversed for otherworldly audiences, such as ancestors, and deities. Maya art also shows the use of mirrors to connect with the spiritual realm (Hendon 1991; Rogers 2019; Taube 1992). Maya kings and shamans wore mirrors, such as stela 31 of Tikal, or had mirror bearers, such as the wood sculpture of a mirror bearer held in the Metropolitan Museum of Art (2017; Stuart 1996; Taube 1992). The mirrors which may have served for divination scrying, and portals to another world (Rogers 2019).

## Display of Power and Time in Art

At the center of ritual and time is the Maya king who often appears in ritual performance such as bloodletting (Sanchez 2005; Stuart 1984, 1996; Tate 1992). The Maya kings and shamans were able to employ the use of time to support the ideology and control the narrative through hieroglyphics and record keeping (Rice 2008; Sanchez 2005). Maya kings were able to legitimize their rule by presenting themselves as the controllers of time and cosmic order (Rice 2008). The Monuments the kings commissioned are inseparable from ritual and time and were often dedicated to “period ending” dates (Morley 1920:577; Stuart 1996).

Observation of Maya art power is also represented from left to right, with the eye guided to the most dominant individual on the right (Palka 2002). Power in art is similar to Maya hieroglyphic texts, in which the reader is guided to the right (Palka 2002). Additionally, Maya art usually has the most dominant individual in a scene facing the observing audience, with subordinates facing toward the leader (Awe 2021). Stelae

rarely depict more than the king unless it is in dominance over a captor or leading over others (Newsome 2001). In some cases, high ranking nobles will also face the viewing audience, but the pose likely relates to a diffusion of power (García Campillo 1995; Graña-Behrens 2018). Additionally, dominant figures will use their right hand in ritual and display, where subordinates are more likely to use the left hand in front of the ruler (Palka 2002). Lastly, dominant figures are oriented above all others in the scene by being physically larger and elevated (Awe 2021).

## Commoner Ideology and Monumental Architecture

Tate (1992) suggests that both elites and non-elites upheld the worldview or ideoscape through a "tradition-directed" ontology, which seems to be upheld to varying degrees until the end of the Classic period. Monumental architecture requires group participation and a socio-defined ideoscape to which a group orders their world (von Schwerin 2014). Tate (1992) examined how everyone has a social interest in the upkeep of the worldview through tradition. Elites did not dupe commoners into constructing monumental architecture, they were social agents and played an active role in shaping the landscape (Pauketat 2001; Trigger 1990).) Gramsci et al. (1992) suggested that the relationship between elites and commoners is a “comprise equilibrium,” which is a multi-directional understanding of how elites and non-elites would have participated in the construction of monumental architecture (Gonlin and Lohse 2007a; Pauketat 2001). Gonlin and Lohse (2007a) described commoners as multi-vocal and multi-ideological, similar to Appadurai's (1990) concept of the ideoscape. Through religious adoration and shared ideological beliefs, elite and non-elite communicate an interest in monumental construction (Tate 1992).

Marcus (1973) expanded the view that elites are typically described as prime movers, agents, and ideological focus. As such, the role of commoners as agents with distinct ideological groupings has been discounted by researchers (Gonlin and Lohse 2007a). The role of monumental architecture as a form of dominance is only part of the life history of the structure (Parris and Ponce n.d.). Žižek (2011) noted, "architecture is the exemplary case of how ideology is at work precisely where you do not think it will find it". Particularly, spolia are vital to the life history of a monument and how the ideology of the object can be adapted by commoners and elites alike (Baker 1962; Holtorf 2002; Joyce et al. 2001; Satterthwaite 1958). Spolia are reflective of how and ideology are challenged through reinterpreted meaning (Brenk 1987; Kinney 2006; Knapp 2009). When communities use monuments in ways that contradict, resist, or are in avoidance of intended ideology and meaning. Discovering contradictions is the best opportunity to see non-elite ideologies at play (Halperin 2021; Halperin and Garrido 2020; Joyce et al. 2001; Joyce and Weller 2007).

## Modifying the Monumental Landscape

Monumental architecture reinforces cultural narratives, ideologies, structure, civic function, and hierarchical power (Awe 2008; Knapp 2009). To this end, the spolia related to the perpetuation of power will be reused to support dominant narratives, ideologies, and structure (Brenk 1987; Deichmann 1940; Kinney 2006; L'Orange and von Gerkan 1939; Satterthwaite 1958). Additionally, if the monuments' civic function mimicked the function the object served in its first life cycle the monuments reuse was likely focused on the perpetuation of power. Elite reuse is most visible in the archaeological record in the practice of resetting a monument, reusing building material

for an elite project, or relocating an object to serve a dominant ideology (Baker 1962; Halperin 2021; O'Neil 2009; Satterthwaite 1958). Schele and Mathews, (1999) described how the Maya reused, enlarged, and built on structural remains of temples from the Preclassic through the Postclassic periods. Like an onion, temples often bear multiple consecutive layers that are frequently well preserved, as rulers built their prestige and memory onto the structures and themselves (Lucero 1999; Schele and Mathews 1999). Likewise, the process of building on top of the previous structure allowed to connect the ruler with the power of previous rulers, providing the platform to reshape memory, and elevate the ruler's position toward the ancestors and deities (Rubertone 2008).

However, in the Terminal Classic to Early Postclassic period, commoners and cities controlled by other Polities experienced greater socio-political freedom, as elite hegemony and ideologies collapsed (Gonlin and Lohse 2007; Joyce et al. 2001; Joyce and Weller 2007). Through the study of monumental reuse and spoliation, it is possible to visualize expansive commoner and community agency during these periods. Cities like Xunantunich emancipated themselves from the control of dominant cities, such as Naranjo (Awe et al., 2020; Halperin and Garrido, 2020; Helmke et al., 2010; Yaeger and LeCount, 2010). Under Naranjo's dominance, they were not allowed to produce carved monuments, but by the end of the late classic period Xunantunich began producing carved stelae of local kings (Awe et al., 2020; Helmke et al., 2010).

Other sites saw a greater degree of monumental reuse unrelated to elite motivations (Halperin and Garrido, 2020; Joyce et al., 2001; Morton et al. 2019). Cahal Pech saw stelae and altars moved from the Plazas to locations all around the site, away

from the ideologically defined places of commemoration (Awe et al. 2009; Morton et al. 2019).

## Summary

Monumental architecture and the role of commoners should be scrutinized for the assumptions and oversimplified explanations regarding the social structuring, community building, artistic expression, and legitimacy of power and ideology (Gonlin and Lohse 2007a). Monumentality is a multi-directional, multi-vocal, and multi-ideological process of community building and practiced through “compromise equilibrium” (Gonlin and Lohse 2007a; Gramsci et al. 1992; Tate 1992). Monuments were not static, they were moved, reused, dismantled, fragmented, buried, and spoliated (Brenk, 1987; Kinney 2006). Likewise, ideology, memory, and power were reshaped, spatially overwritten, and transformed throughout time to serve the residing community (Halperin 2021; Halperin and Garrido 2020; Joyce et al. 2001; Just 2005).

# Chapter 5: Survey Methods, and Site Use Interpretation

I conducted my site surveys between May 19th- June 17th. During my research season in Belize, I visited all five of my case study sites—Cahal Pech, Caracol, Baking Pot, Lamanai, and Xunantunich—at least one time. I visited some case study sites several times, while others, those that were more difficult of access, were only visited once. `` My surveys were performed during the monsoon season, so weather varied from raining and overcast, to partly cloudy and sunny. Ground visibility was moderate at most site cores, with some areas obscured by jungle growth. For my documentation, I did not employ subsurface testing or surface artifact collection.

I collected all my data with a notebook, Ipad and Sony A6000 Camera. In-field analyses included feature documentation, and narrative descriptions. The assistance and knowledge of Jorge “Tiliko” Can, and Jaime Awe were invaluable throughout the process of survey. Spatial data was collected using an Ipad with an accuracy of between 1-10m and processed in ArcGIS. Spatial data was recorded using the North American Datum 83 (NAD83) coordinate system. Some data was also digitized using previous site records and investigations.

Criteria for documenting spolia include documenting any monuments, monument fragments, or monumental constructions with evidence of interment, fragmentation, relocation, alteration, or resetting. All examples observed were photographed and recorded. The notes taken by hand were then digitized each night and added to my case study notes. Afterwards, previously documented examples were cross referenced with my new findings for any data overlap. Finally, all site maps were post processed

using ARCGIS Desktop, Lidar Data when available, and digitized by using previous site maps and site data.

## Caracol

The site of Caracol is located in the Maya Mountains in West-Central Belize (Figure 5-1). The site was inhabited from the Late Formative period through the Terminal Classic period (Awe 2008). I was only able to spend one day at Caracol, and my experience left an impression of a vast and vernacular city plan with labor intensive monumental architecture. At the heart of Caracol is the imposing triadic temple named Caana. Because of Caracol's long history of archaeological work, research has documented several examples of spoliated monuments throughout the ceremonial core

and expanding outward.

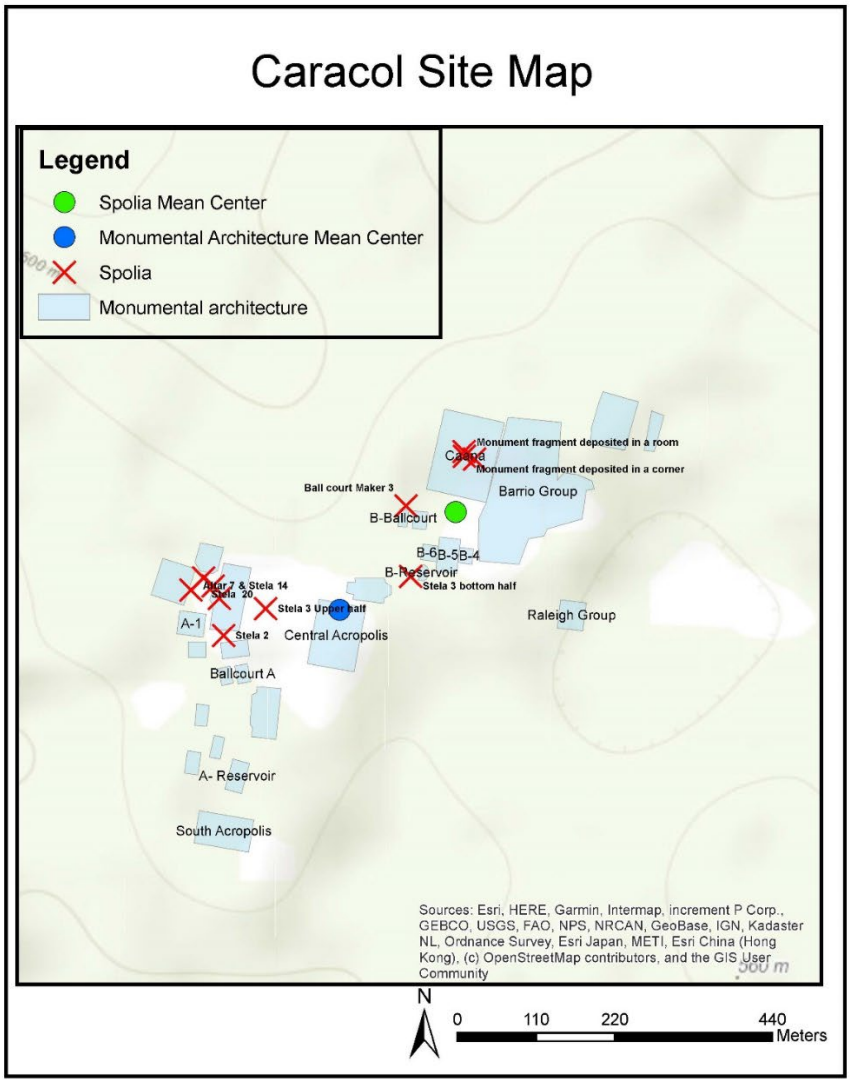


Figure 5-1. Site map of Caracol depicting the layout of spolia and monumental architecture.

*Survey Results*

During my visit, I relocated several spoliated monuments, and I documented monumental fragments placed on the top of the Triadic Temple. Other monuments were easier to rediscover, such as Ballcourt marker three of Ballcourt B, which was relocated from the playing alley and transported and deposited inverted to the north of the Ballcourt (Chase et al. 1991). In Plaza A, Awe (in Morton et al. 2019) discovered the upper half of Stela 20 buried beneath the central stairway of Structure A8. The lower half of the Early Classic monument was fragmented and exposed to the elements in courtyard A. Morton et al. (2019) suggested that, like the case of Cahal Pech Stela 9, the entombment of the upper half of Caracol Stela 20 may have been associated with ancestor veneration and legitimization of dynastic rule and kinship. Stela 3 was another monument fragmented into two separate halves. The lower half was moved from the east side of Structure A-8 and abandoned in the process of its relocation near Reservoir B (Beetz and Satterthwaite Jr. 1981; Morton et al. 2019; Satterthwaite 1958: 60). The upper half was re-erected on the east side of A-8 (Beetz 1980). Similarly, Beetz and Satterthwaite Jr. (1981) documented that Stela 2 was found fragmented into several pieces in front of A-1, with the largest fragment suspected of being re-erected. Altar 7 was paired with Stela 14 in Courtyard A-2, but the monument's sequences do not match. Beetz and Satterthwaite Jr. (1981) suggested the altar had likely been relocated to be paired with Stela 14 later. Beetz and Satterthwaite Jr. (1981) also documented that Alter 19 was originally placed with Stela 7 in front of A13. However, the altar was paired with Stela 11.

Altar 16 was relocated from a hypothetical location to Structure B19 located on top of Caana, sometime after its dedication date of 10.0.0.0.0, and was not relocated with any known paired stela (Beetz and Satterthwaite Jr. 1981). Similarly, during my investigations, I documented several other fragments on the top of Caana, suggesting that the largest structure was used even after abandonment as a place of pilgrimage, and offerings, including monumental fragments, were cashed and deposited on the top level of the triadic temple. Many of the Caracol monuments were recently relocated to a shelter near the main office at the entrance to the site. Fiberglass replicas have been created for many of the relocated monuments, giving a feel and context for the protected monuments.

*Discussion*

Previous excavation and survey and current observation documented extensive monumental spoliation and reuse. Based on the descriptions of previous investigators and my documentation, spolia served both the perpetuation of power, ideological avoidance, and contextual reshaping. Examples such as Altars 7, and 19 being repaired, and Stela 2 and 3 being re-erected, suggest that monuments were used to perpetuate Classic Maya ideologies of power. While monuments such as the bottom half of stela 3, Ballcourt marker 3 of Ballcourt B, Altar 19, and the monumental fragments found on top of Caana reveal an ideological context that played a function that was not in line with the perpetuation of elite power. The juxtaposition of reuse on Caana demonstrates how fluid monumental landscapes are, and how many discernible ideological patterns are observed at Caracol, Belize.

## Lamanai

Lamanai has an extended occupation beginning in the Preclassic period and extends past the Spanish conquest (Pendergast 1981, 2006) It was a strong political center sprawled along the shore of the New River Lagoon (Figure 5-2). The site core migrated and expanded southward through time, with Preclassic and Early Classic construction to the north and Classic and Postclassic construction to the south. Its monumental architecture, palaces, and ceremonial structures hold evidence of expansion, maintenance, and reuse spanning nearly two millennia all the way into the early Historic period.

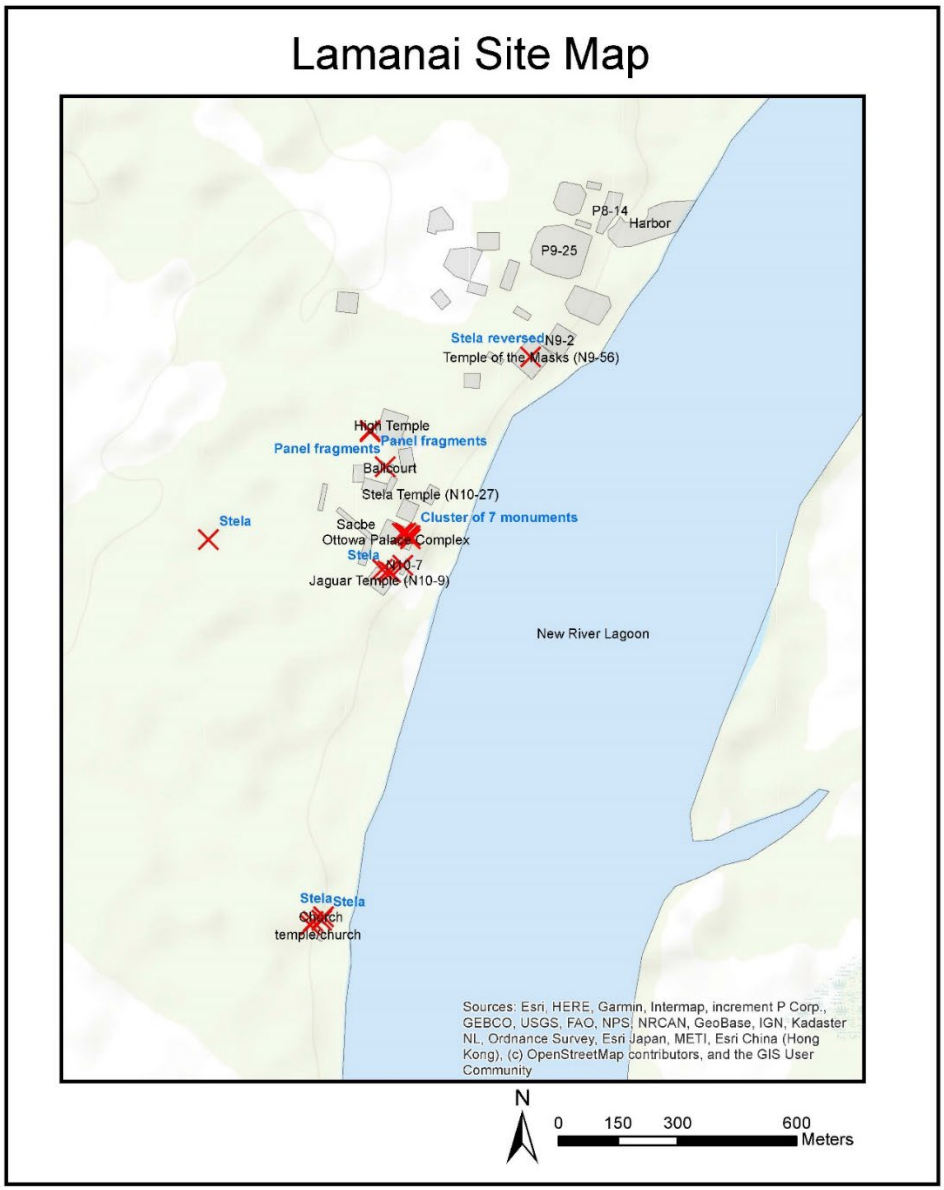


Figure 5-2. Site map of Lamanai depicting the layout of spolia and monumental architecture.

*Survey Results*

I spent a single day exploring the site core of Lamanai with Tiliko Can and Dr. Awe. Tiliko Kaan is Maya and Chief Conservator for Belize. Together, we re- identified both previously documented spolia and some undocumented examples. Spolia and monumental reuse are prevalent throughout the site, with stelae rearranged throughout the Classic, Terminal Classic, and Postclassic periods (Graham 2004; Morton et al. 2019; Pendergast 1981, 2006, 2013; Satterthwaite 1958). Through our investigations, we observed several documented examples of spolia, as well as several examples of undocumented cases related to all these periods.

Within the palace complex (Str. N10–28), multiple examples of spoliation date from the Terminal Classic or Postclassic period. Tiliko Can (person communication 2021), informed me that during the Postclassic period, the entire temple was filled with large limestone boulders. The boulders and packed dirt fill created a level surface for the courtyard in line with the bench, instead of the stepped courtyard. Buried beneath the rubble were multiple examples of spolia and monumental rearrangement. For example, on the east end of the structure, there is a stela fragment that appears reverently placed near the north staircase (Figure 5-7). The object itself suggests an example of fragmentation and an offering. The monument likely dates to the Postclassic infilling of the courtyard. On the northeast section of the palace, there are two sets of altars and stelae placed on either side of a residential entrance (Figure 5-4 and Figure 5-5).

Figure 5-3. Overview of monument fragment placed in the corner of the strairside onset in the palace complex at Lamanai.

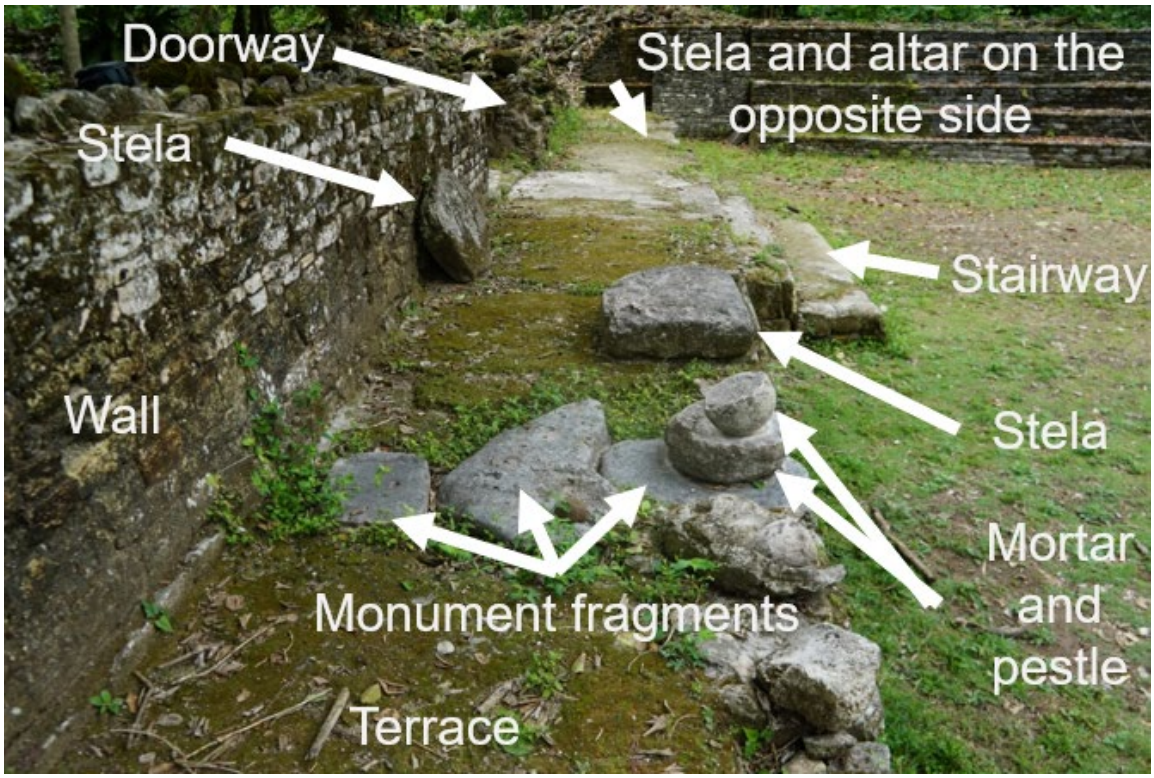


Figure 5-4.Overview of three monument fragments embedded in the terrace and blank two stelae placed near a doorway in the palace complex at Lamanai.

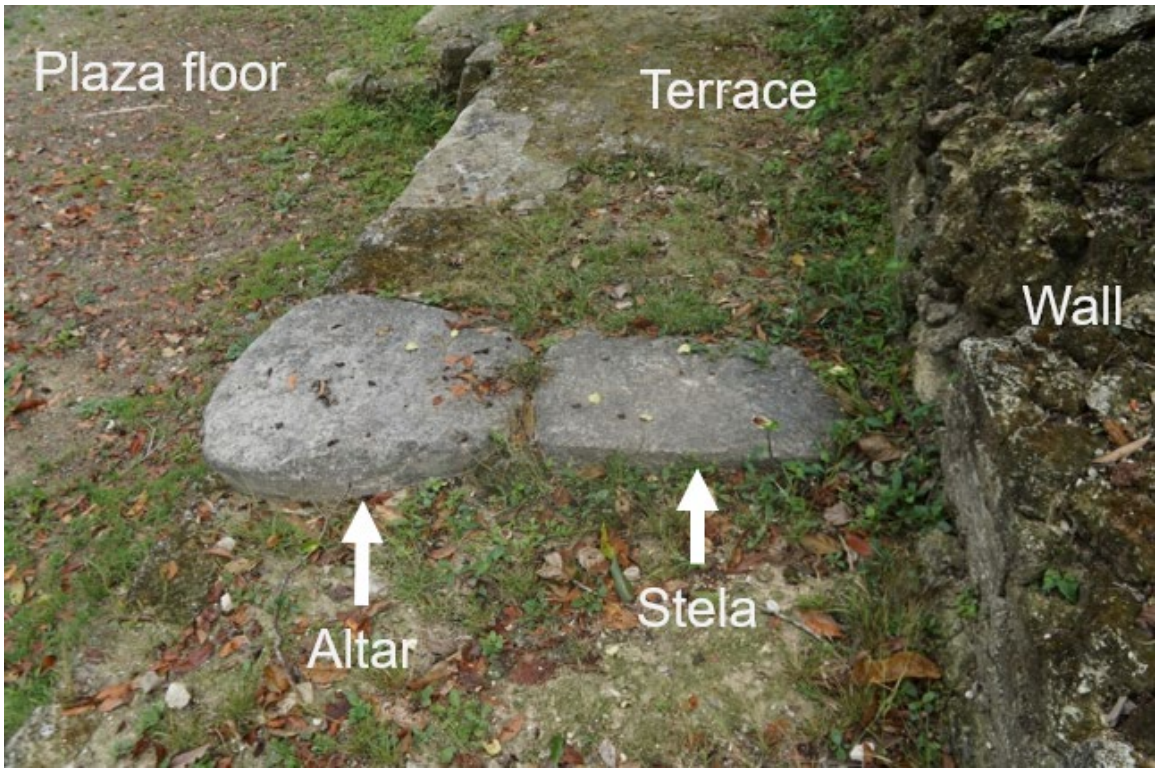


Figure 5-5. Overview of stela and altar embedded into the terrace on the opposite side of the doorway in the palace complex.

Additionally, in the east, there were two large monoliths inset into the top level, and then symmetrically placed on the opposing side of the doorway were three monoliths' stelae/alters also inset into the floor. Because the monuments symmetrically flank the doorway, it is likely that these stelae/altars were placed into the context of the floor to legitimize and hierarchically differentiate that doorway from all the other rooms/corridors in the place complex. The palace complex N10-28 had undergone significant remodeling by the closing of several doorways. Rooms had been closed off, and the main corridor had been subdivided, and platforms for more residential use were added at some point. Lastly, there is an additional stela placed on its side against the wall near the left inset stela/alter.

On the eastern side of the High Temple (N10-43), Tiliko Can (personal communication 2021) guided me to the location of two fragments from a panel abandoned entirely out of context. They have been cut into small blocks, with no significance to how the monument was cut or redistributed off to the side. At least two discernible carved fragments were strewn among other rubble (Figure 5-6 and Figure 5-7). The example illustrates how spoliation can completely sever the original meaning and context of a monumental display. The panel fragments serve to demonstrate how architecture can be representative of ideological change. The symbolism of the original objects has dissipated, and the meaning and nature of the object have lost its intention.

Figure 5-6. Overview of monument fragment found east of the High Temple at Lamanai.

Figure 5-7. Overview of monument fragment found east of the High Temple at Lamanai.

Another example of a spoliated monument comes from in front of the Jaguar Temple. The lower half of a carved stela depicts a standing ruler, but the upper half of the elite has been despoliated or removed (Figure 5-8). The stela illustrates how parts of a monument were intentionally fragmented, with only part of the monument removed from its context. The left half of the monument also bears evidence of fragmentation. Without the context of the upper half, it is impossible to know the ideological implications of the despoliation. The significance of the lower half has lost its context and association with its royal significance. Without glyphs and the upper half of the stela, the memory has been literally severed in half. While the bottom remained displayed, the missing top of the stela begs the question as to why was the stela fragmented? Was it through resistance? Was it related to ritual fragmentation? Was the other half entombed, like the stelae at Cahal Pech and Caracol? Whatever the cause,

the one thing that is evident is that the spolia are symbolic of the denigration of structural power at Lamanai. The despoliation of a political monumental, even though ritual termination, limits the expression of power and legitimacy across the landscape.

Figure 5-8. Despoliated stela in front of Temple of the Jaguars, depicting the lower half an elite.

Pendergast (1981, 2013) documented multiple examples of spoliation from Lamanai and reported that nearly all the stelae from the site had been moved, and most had evidence of being reset. Helmke (personal communication to Awe 2021) documented a case where a stela was abandoned as it was despoliated from the site

core. During the early Colonial period at Lamanai, Spanish missionaries built a church on the south end of the Lamanai site core. Interestingly, several stelae were relocated by the Maya to the church and reset within the church near the cloister (Graham 2008; Pendergast 2006). As mentioned before, Pendergast (1981) also documented a spoliated stela reset on a platform, but instead of facing toward the courtyard, it was set facing the temple of the masks (N10-59). Underneath all the fill, there was a monument fragment deposited near a stairway offset on the east stairway into the courtyard. (Personal communication with Tiliko Can 2021, Graham, 2004) (Figure 5-9). The rearrangement of monuments is also evident near N10-9, and N10-7 (Pendergast 1981). At N10-9, the lower half of a carved stela was dragged onto the slope of the central stairway and an altar was moved in front of N10-7 (Pendergast 1981). Pendergast (2021) documented two uncarved stela that may have been relocated onto two newly constructed stela platforms during the Postclassic in the N10-9 plaza (Pendergast 1981).

Figure 5-9. Monument fragment deposited near the stairside offset as an offering prior to the infill of the courtyard during the Postclassic period.

### *Discussion*

What the practice of spoliation suggests at Lamanai is that there is a kinetic nature to the treatment of stelae and to the memory of monumental reuse. The stelae and other monuments were being relocated and moved frequently through time. Because of Laminai's extended occupation, the site offers the greatest spectrum of ideologies and monumental reuse. Some spolia related to the perpetuation of power, including the resetting of monuments, such as at N10-9 and N10-7 or the stelae within the church. Others are more peculiar, such as the monument reset, but facing back towards the temple of the masks (N10-59), or the monument cut in half in the courtyard of the temple of the Jaguar. Some relate to veneration, and ritual offerings, and some were completely stripped of context. What all the spolia at Lamanai suggest is that the Maya landscape is dynamic and animate, and monumental rearrangement captures stills of political change and the transformation of memory through time.

## Xunantunich

The site of Xunantunich is located on a bluff overlooking the Mopan River. It is home to some of the largest monumental architecture in the Belize River valley (Figure 5-10). Xunantunich was a relatively minor center during the Preclassic repaid when other nearby sites, like Actuncan and Buenavista del Cayo, were flourishing (Horowitz et al. 2020). Xunantunich subsequently rose to the height of its power in the Late Classic period when its neighboring competitors waned and after the decline of regional hegemonic powers such as Naranjo and Caracol (Awe et al. 2020). The site plan of

Xunantunich is somewhat limited by the bluff it was placed on, but the site core is very symmetrical and organized.


Figure 5-10. Site map of Xunantunich depicting the layout of spolia and monumental architecture.

*Survey Results*

My time in Belize afforded me the opportunity to explore Xuantunich's site core. With the help of Dr. Awe and Tiliko Can, I was able to document several cases of spoliated monuments. During the Late and Terminal Classic, the site of Xunantunich witnessed significant alterations to its architectural landscape. A large new temple (Str A-1) was placed in the center of the main plaza, dividing the large rectangular courtyard into two segregated plazas, Plaza A-I and Plaza A-II (LeCount et al. 2002). Structure A-1 was built in a single episode by spoliating nearby monuments (Awe et al. 2020; LeCount 2002; personal communication Awe 2021). Several stelae and altars were also relocated and set in front of A-1 (LeCount 2002). Helmke et al (2010) documented that the Terminal Classic monuments had the eyes of the rulers gouged out and appear mutilated. Awe (2020) suggested that the intentional division of the placement of Structure A-1 was to restrict access between the two courtyards (Jamison and Leventhal 1997). Much later, a spoliated rock wall further emphasized the division by restricting access on the eastern side of the temple ( Awe et al. 2020) (Figure 5-11 ).There are also two main causeways, Sacbe I and Sacbe II, that lead into the site core and terminate at Plaza A-I. 'The division of space between Plaza A-I and A-II was meant to divide and restrict A-II to the north from the general population. The division of space has some interesting implications for how Plaza A-I was utilized during the Late and Terminal Classic period, as opposed to how Plaza A-II was used.

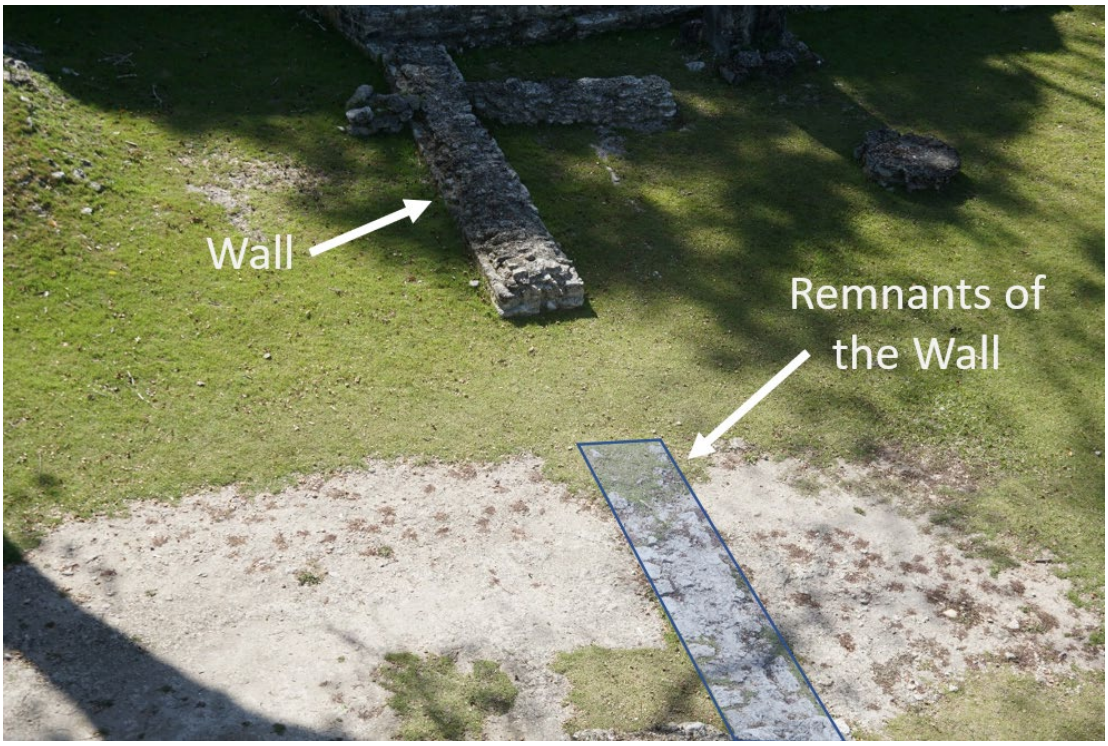


Figure 5-11. Overview photo of the spoliated rock wall dividing Plaza A-1 and A-2 from the Terminal Classic period.

Bordering Plaza A1 to the south, Structure A6, also known as the Castillo, is the largest structure in the site core. The massive Castillo acropolis contains several buildings that served as the royal palaces of the site's elite rulers. Halfway up, the Castillo rests a large monument completely removed from most audiences (Figure 5-12). Why such a large monument was moved and abandoned halfway up the Castillo is difficult to speculate, but likely relates to offering or ritual termination, because it was severed from its original context.

Figure 5-12. Overview of monument fragment abandoned halfway up the largest temple at Xunantunich, the Castillo.

Perhaps the most famous spoliated monuments of the Belize River valley are the two inscribed panels discovered in front of Structure A-9 in Plaza AII (Awe et al. 2020). The two panels represent the largest sections of the hieroglyphic stair removed from Caracol by Naranjo following the defeat of Caracol. Awe et al. (2020) and Helmke and Awe (2016a, b) suggest that the two large panels were spoliated to Xunantunich for its participation, as Naranjo's ally, in the war between the latter and Caracol. Another example of spoliation at Xunantunich are two monumental granite spheres placed near Group B. There is no source of granite in the periphery of Xunantunich which means that these large granite spheres were transported from the Maya Mountains (personal communication with Dr. Jaime Awe 2021). The spheres' location near Group B is seemingly out of place and likely represents spoliation. Helmke et al. (2010) also

documented multiple other monuments fragmented and left in secondary contexts, including Altar 1, Panel 1, and Panel 2. Altar I was originally set along the axis of Structure A-1. The corners were broken off likely during ancient Maya. One of the corners was deposited at the base of Structure A-3 (Helmke 2010; Jamison and Wolff 1994:38). The two panels in from of structure represent the largest sections of the hieroglyphic stair that was removed from Caracol by Naranjo following the defeat of the former (Awe et al. 2020; Helmke and Awe 2016a, 2016b; Martin 2017). Helmke et al. (2010) also documented that the Terminal Classic monuments had the eyes of the rulers gouged out and appear mutilated, such as Stela 9. Structure A-1 also appears to have been built from the facing stone and fill of the nearby structures during the Terminal Classic (Awe et al. 2020a). The second Panel discussed by Helmke was placed in a secondary context halfway up the Castillo.

*Discussion*

Xunantunich is an interesting case study because of its late rise to power in the Late to Terminal Classic periods. Because Xunatunch's late rise to power, the archeological record represented some of the best examples of spoliation and monument reuse. At Xunantunich, stelae were moved from one location to a new contex to further emphasize the perpetuation and power accrued by the elite during the Terminal Classic period. Like the other case studies, there are also stelae that relate to ideological avoidance with the fragmentation and movement of monuments to seemingly out of context locations. It is important not to treat the monumental landscape as a static entity, and the study of spolia tells a dynamic history of monuments and objects after the objects' originally imbued contexts.

## Baking Pot

Baking Pot is the least documented and excavated site among the case studies. The site is in the Belize River Valley, along the Belize River, East of San Ignacio(Figure 5-13). It was inhabited from the Middle Formative period through the Terminal Classic (Hoggarth et al. 2014). I made two separate trips to the site of Baking Pot to contextualize the ancient city. The site plan consists of two separate large groups on a north-south axis connected by a sacbe, with a terminus shrine and sacbe constructed to the southwest of Group B. Because of the open location within the Belize River Valley, Baking Pot is a sprawled-out site plan with a blend of residential and monumental construction.

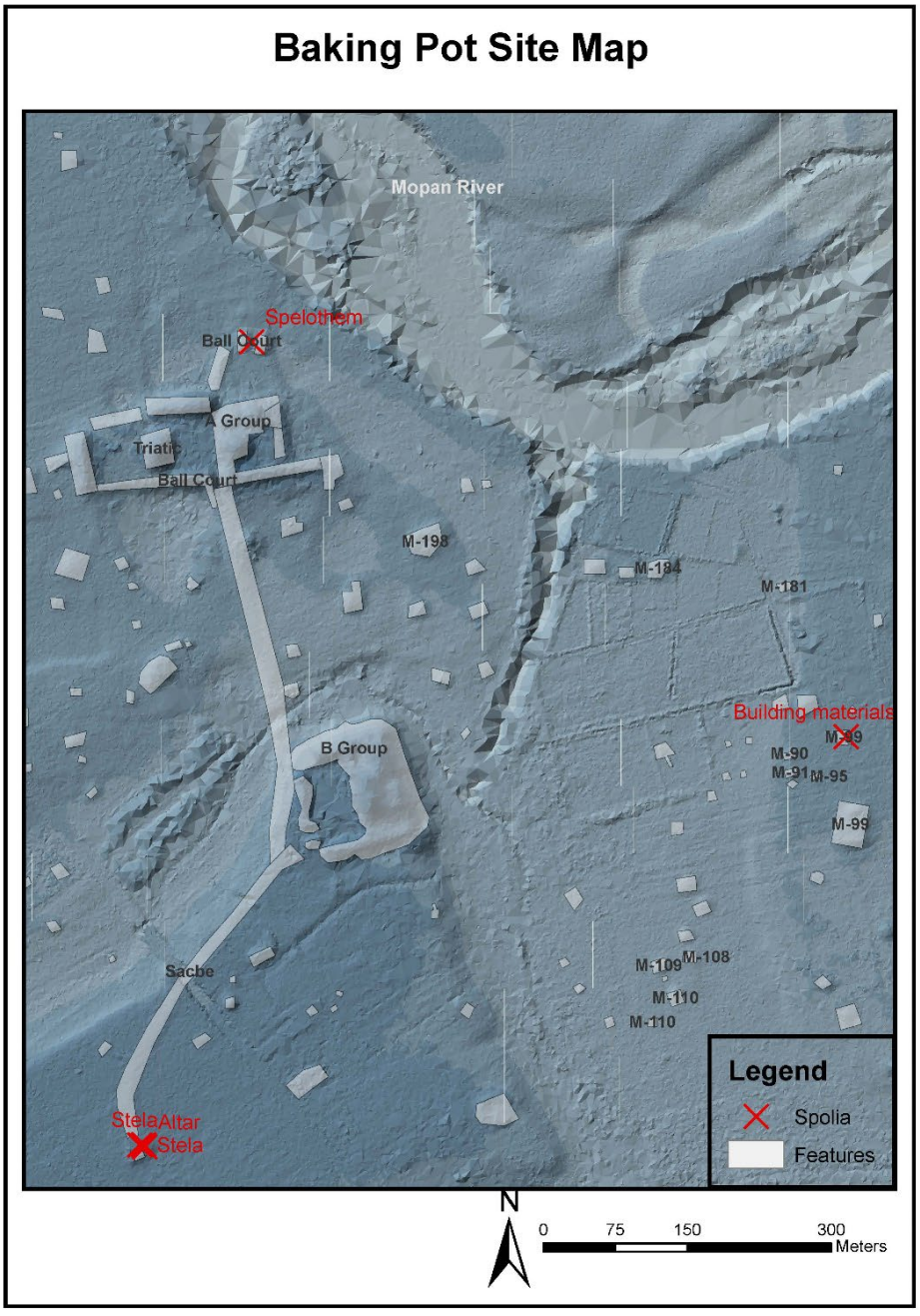


Figure 5-13. Site map of Baking Pot depicting layout of spolia and monumental architecture.

*Survey Results*

Unfortunately, my visits to Baking Pot did not lead to the documentation of any new examples of spolia.

Despite no new discoveries, there are several examples of spoliation recorded at the site (Morton et al. 2019, ). One of the first examples was a large speleothem discovered as a cache in the center of the playing alley of the north ballcourt (Ferguson 1999). More recently, Hoggarth et al. (2020) documented multiple examples of fragmentation and termination activities in Group 2 of the site core, including the fragmented Komkom vase (Davis 2018; Helmke et al. 2017; Hoggarth et al. 2020). Other investigations documented the monumental resetting of an uncarved stela and two altars near the terminus shrine (Audet 2006; Fox 2018). To the east of the site core, Hogarth (2012) also documented the occupation and reuse of several residential structures. From these residential structures, there was evidence that one structure, M-99, was originally built with a low-quality limestone, and then rebuilt with a high-quality limestone likely imported or reused from elsewhere.

*Discussion*

The previously documented examples suggest a fluid ebb and flow of power with spolia related to the perpetuation of power, such as the resetting of two altars and a stela at the Terminus shrine, and examples of dedication, such as the spoliated speleothem. However, termination and fragmentation suggest different narratives of waning power, and domestic reuse of building materials shows an increase in non-elite agency. Baking Pot is therefore a good candidate to understand monumental spoliation in situ.

## Cahal Pech

The site of Cahal Pech is located within San Ignacio city limits. The site is located on an imposing hill in the Belize River Valley (Figure 5-14). The site was inhabited from the late Early Formative through the Terminal Classic period
(Awe 1993, 2013, Awe et al. 2020, Awe et al. 2009, Garber and Awe 2009). The monumental landscape of Cahal Pech has a vernacular flow with corbeled archways leading from large open plazas, an E-group complex, and ball courts to private plazas, temples, and palaces. The site has evidence of spoliated objects from the Formative through the Terminal Classic periods.  Some of these monuments are shifted into areas with the intent of enforcing ideological connections, while others are placed further from monumental architecture.

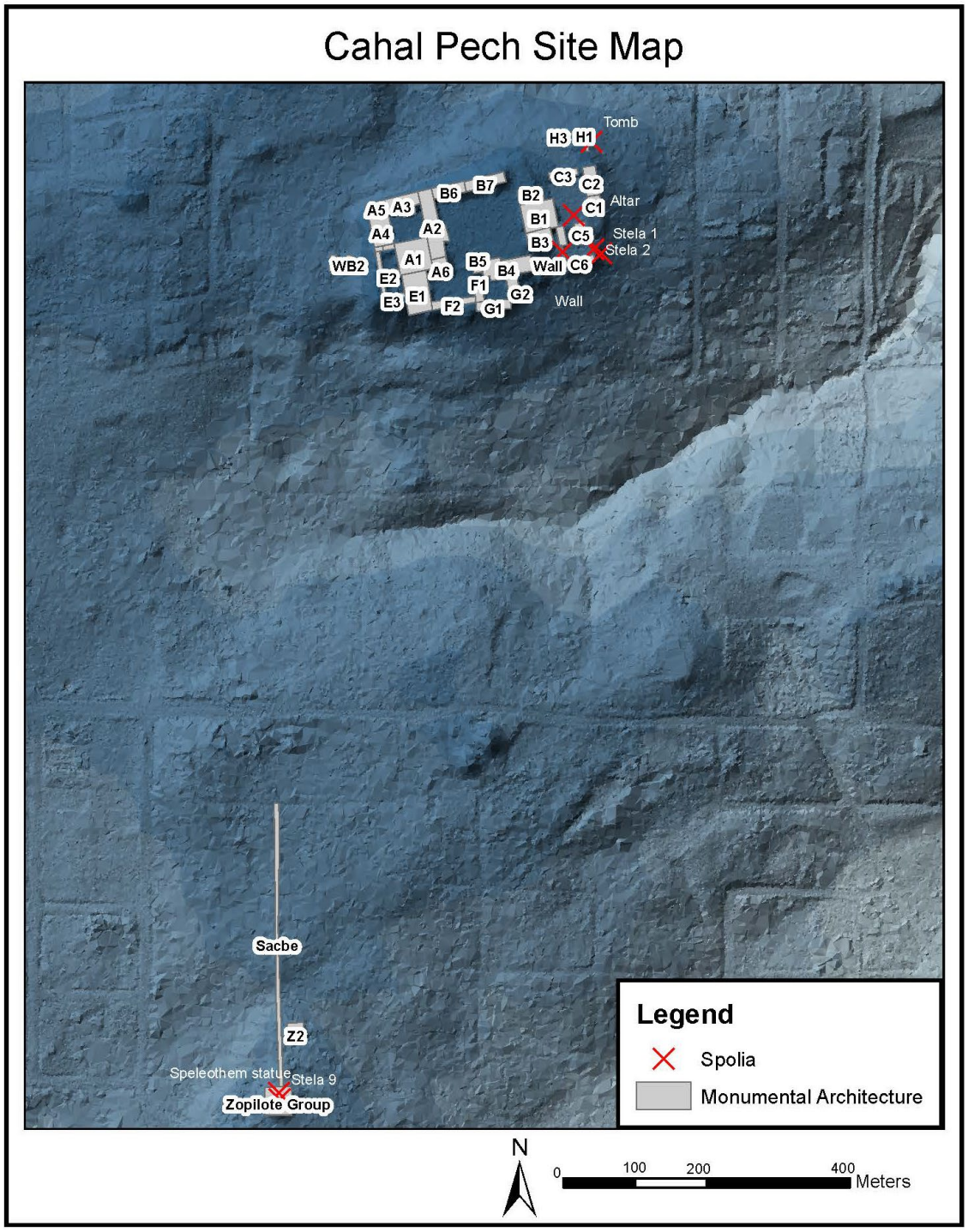


Figure 5-14. Site map of Cahal Pech depicting the layout of spolia and monumental architecture.

*Survey Results*

Investigations during the summer of 2021 did not lead to any new spolia discoveries. However, most previously documented examples of spolia were relocated. Awe et al. (2020) and Morton et al. (2019) discussed that nearly all the stela on the site have been moved, repositioned, and relocated. From these, there is a strong distinction between how the monuments were reused. Stela 1, Stela 2, and the altar found in Plaza H suggest a function not for the perpetuation of power (Figure 5-15 and Figure 5-16). These monuments were likely removed from Plaza A, and redeposited in Plaza C. In contrast, the placement of Stela 3-6 in front of Structures B1 B2, B3, and B4 suggests a function related to the veneration and perpetuation of power and authority. A monumental tomb in Plaza H was from the Terminal Classic and was built from despoliated building material from other local architecture (Awe et al. 2009; Awe 1993, 2013; Awe et al. 2020; Garber and Awe 2009). The platform (Structure H1) in which the tomb was constructed was also made from building materials that were despoliated from other structures. Extensive effort went into the tomb. The purpose of recycling for a tomb was to memorialize an elite and for ancestor veneration.


Figure 5-15. Stela 1 and 2 relocated near structure C6, at Cahal Pech.


Figure 5-16.Overview of altar relocated between Plaza H and C, at Cahal Pech.

Additionally, there is an example of a Formative period stela (Stela 9) interred in a tomb in the Zapote group to the south of the main Cahal Pech complex, which also

appears related to ritual and veneration. The internment of the stela indicates that the monument was considered a personification of the actual ruler, and that it was therefore used in ancestor veneration, and to connect the past ruler to the Zapote Group construction. Lastly, in Plaza C, there is a Terminal Classic wall built from the facing stones of Structure C3, which spanned from C3 to the eastern flank of Structure B1. The wall was not built up more than a few courses, so it was not built to segregate or for defensive purposes but may have served as a property boundary (Awe 2021 lecture).

### *Discussion*

Overall, the site of Cahal Pech provides examples of ideological engagement and avoidance. Cahal Pech is abundant with ideological perpetuation in the Terminal Classic prior to the abandonment of the site. Several stelae were reoriented in front of prominent monumental architecture. However, others relate to avoidance through the dismantling of architectural features, the creation of a wall with a domestic function, and the movement of two stelae and an altar away from the public Plaza B.

## Summary

The survey provided me with the opportunity to see, hear, feel, and understand the Maya landscape, and discover and rediscover examples of spolia. All case studies share a narrative of a multi-directional, and multi-vocal landscape where spolia informs its viewers of how the Maya participated, avoided, and resisted political ideologies, and the relationship of how monuments convey meaning and memory. Some cases, such as monumental resetting, share a narrative of the persistence of power and perpetuation of elite ideals from Classic times. Other spoliated monuments were relocated or reused in ways that avoided or resisted the ideologies of elite hegemony. Some also share

evidence of fragmentation and termination of the *Che'uel* or essence that the monument or object was imbued with (Cecil and Pugh 2018). These examples suggest a deliberate acknowledgement of the destruction or deflation of power and memory of the monument.

After collecting all the data from the field, I combined my results with quantitative and spatial analysis from sites across the entire Maya landscape. These results are further elaborated in Chapters 6 and 7.

# Chapter 6: Spatial Analysis

Spatial analysis is one of the core methods for interpreting human behavior and understanding archaeological site use (Conolly and Lake 2006). Geographers first started developing and employing spatial analyses in the 1950s and 1960s (Conolly and Lake 2006). However, it wasn't adopted to archaeology until the 1970s, but its true power was unlocked with computer processing and GIS. GIS stands for the Geographic Information Systems and is a set of computer packages that allow the study of spatial data linked to a specific location on Earth. For this project, I am using ArcMap 10.8.2. The power of GIS applications such as ArcMap is that it allows for the ability to perform both macro and micro level spatial patterning and analyses (Conolly and Lake 2006; Price 2010). For this current project, I utilized Kernel Density and center point mean analyses to detect site patterning at Cahal Pech, Caracol, Baking Pot, Lamanai, and Xunantunich. These sites are all located in the country of Belize. Additionally, I performed regional analyses and a study of spolia from 44 sites across the Maya and Mesoamerican regions.

## *Datasets*

The datasets I collected for this project are a mix of primary and secondary data collected from my visit to Belize during the summer of 2021, and from data collected and reported by Maya scholars (see Table 10-1 in the appendix for the entire list of the dataset and reported frequencies). One of the challenges of collecting the dataset was that use of the term spolia are a recent phenomenon in Maya archaeology. The term has a long historiography among European scholars but was only adopted in the 2000s

in the Maya region (Cecil and Pugh 2018; Christenson 2012; Halperin, 2021; Halperin and Garrido 2020; Morton et al. 2019; Rodríguez 2015; Wren et al. 2015). As such, As I noted previously, Maya scholars have documented examples of spoliation with many other terms, such as fragmentation, reuse, recycling, moved, removed, altered, modification, relocated, despoliated, fragmentation, and alteration. Through careful word searches I've compiled 176 sources and over 1400 documented examples of spolia and monument fragments.

*Producing the Datasets*

To construct the dataset, I also used LIDAR data for Cahal Pech, Baking Pot and Xunantunich (courtesy of Dr. Awe and the BVAR Project, and Dr. Smiley). For Cahal Pech, I used LIDAR data and site maps from Ebert et al (2019) and Awe et al (2017). For Caracol, I used satellite imagery and the site map in Chase and Chase (2017) to digitize the monumental architecture. For Baking Pot, I used LIDAR data and a site map from Hoggarth (2012). For Lamanai I used satellite imagery and site map created by Pendergast (1981). For Xunantunich, I used LIDAR data and the site map from LeCount and Yaeger (2010) to digitize the monumental Architecture and Monuments. Lastly, I used Google Earth and ArcMap to digitize all 44 site locations for the regional study. After I digitized the monumental architecture, I took the data I collected from the field and from research and plotted all the examples of spolia that I could find documented. Additionally, for the regional study, I included frequencies for the ability to do frequency analysis.

*Research Limitations*

Limitations to this study include the limited time I had to collect my 176 sources. While the sample size is not too small, it is only a small part of a greater whole. As more research is aimed at documenting spolia and fragmentation, this research can provide a platform for more ways to explore the dataset. For instance, with my focus mainly on the Terminal Classic period, I believe that efforts could be aimed at other time periods. Lastly, with more time, I would have tried to incorporate more spatial analysis techniques to see if I could discover any other spatial trends.

*Kernel Density, Frequency, and Center Mean Point Analysis*

Kernel Density is a two-dimensional raster function that approximates concentrations and frequencies of objects (Conolly and Lake 2006; Price 2010). One of the greatest values of the kernel density function is that it creates a spatial grid that can create a map effect displaying “hot spots” of greater frequencies on the landscape (Bonnier et al. 2019; Kalinic and Krisp 2018; Price 2010; Sunneborn Gudnadottir 2019; Wheatley and Gillings 2013). Kernel Density will be employed on both regional and micro levels to determine spatial patterning of spolia and how the Maya reused monuments. The objective of this analysis is to determine how spolia are distributed across the landscape. I hypothesize that the kernel density analysis shows how spolia are employed to perpetuate power and in avoidance of elite power. Furthermore, density near site cores is more likely to be used in accordance with the perpetuation of power, while outliers are more likely to represent spolia reused in ways that avoid elite ideologies.

Frequency analysis was performed for the regional study. I created size classes and color coded the site points to visually show the sites with higher frequencies of spolia. The objective of this study is to show first and foremost that spoliation was a practice that the Maya participated in across the entire Maya region. The goal was to record regional trends in the practice of spoliation. Additionally, it provides future researchers with the ability to target areas that have received limited attention regarding the practice of spoliation. The more researchers turn their attention to how sites were used after abandonment, the more we can understand how decedents maintain lifeways.

Center Mean analysis is a nearest neighbor function that averages the distance of all features or points (Price 2010). The application of the mean point can be valuable to determine a measurable center of site use based on monumental architecture. I will perform center point analysis on the monumental architecture and for all the spolia points. I hypothesize that sites with a monumental architectural center mean point nearer to the spolia center mean point will have a greater correlation of spolia related to the perpetuation of Maya Elite power. Sites with greater deviation will document more multi-vocal and multi-ideological examples of spolia.

## Results of Regional and Site Analysis

### *Regional Analysis*

From the 44 sites documented and plotted onto a map of the Maya region, Tikal documented the greatest frequency of spolia with 860 documented examples. Pushila and Mayapan also documented high numbers ranging from 89-243. Eight notable sites in the 8-25 documented examples include Caracol, Dos Pilas, Lamanai, La Milpa,

Pedras Negras, Ucanal, Yaxchilan, Xunantunich. The rest of the 33 sites had between 1-7 documented examples of spolia. The results show gaps in the regional analysis, particularly in the northern Yucatan Peninsula. Some large sites have a small sample or no documented examples, such as Chichen Itza. In contrast, some small sites have a large sample, such as Pusilha. The sites with a greater frequency of spolia are notable for having an occupation that spanned longer into the Terminal Classic and/or Postclassic periods (Ebert et al. 2014).

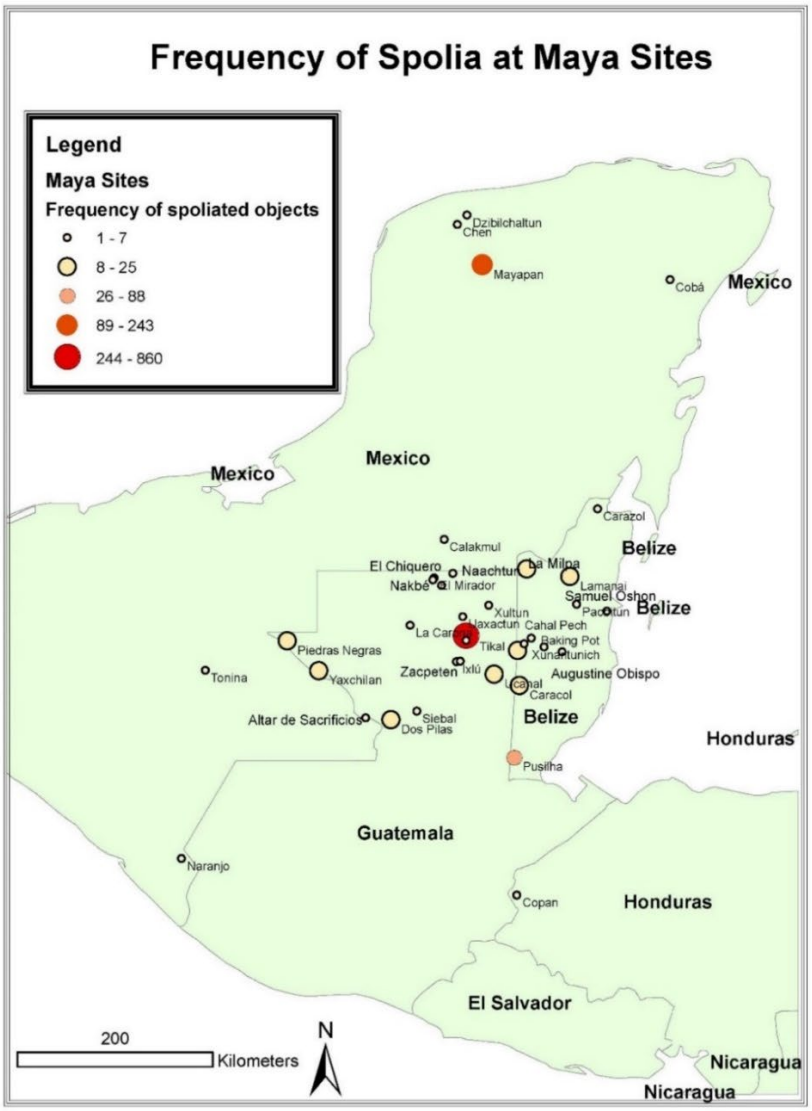


Figure 6-1. Map of the Pan-Maya region showing the distribution and frequency of reported spolia.

*Baking Pot*

The results from the site of Baking Pot documented five (5) examples of spoliation (Figure 6-2). The mean center point for the monumental architecture is located between the A group and a B group. The mean center analysis for the spolia indicated an average near the B group, but these results appear indicative of a small sample size and how spread out the site of Baking Pot is. Because the two points are not near each other, the spatial analysis indicates an outlier. The Kernel Density analysis shows the greatest concentration at the Terminus shrine to the south, with two moved stelae and an altar (Figure 6-2). The burial of a speleothem in the Ball court evokes the narrative of the Popol Vuh, where the Hero Twins play ball in the underworld (Goetz and Morley 1950). The speleothem suggests an underworld connection by connecting the ball court to speleothem's subterranean origin. The spolia from the Terminus Shrine and the ball court both spatially suggest elite ideological engagement, while the building materials in the residential area suggest a non-elite spatial location.

*Cahal Pech*

The results from the site of Cahal Pech documented seven (7) examples of spolia (Figure 6-3). The mean center point of the monumental architecture is in the site core. While the mean center point for the spolia are between the site core and the Zopilote Group. The outliers spatially appear to be the spolia from the site core. The spolia from the Zopilote Group were used in elite ideological engagement. Interestingly, the spolia in the site core were moved to Plaza C in the eastern section of the site core where Awe et al. (2020) previously noted was the location where the last inhabitants of

Cahal Pech lived. The Kernel Density analysis also confirms a hot spot on the eastern portion of the site core and a second cluster in the Zopilote group.

*Caracol*

The results from the site of Caracol documented 11 cases of spolia (Figure 6-4). The mean center point analysis placed the point in the central acropolis between Group A and Group B. The mean center point for the spolia is in front of Caana, the royal palace acropolis of Caracol. The mean center point within the site core indicates that most of the spolia relates to engagement. The Kernel Density analysis shows the main hot spots centered around Group A and Group B. These also indicate that much of the spolia engages with elite ideologies. Some of the spolia that don't seem to fit the elite ideological pattern are the bottom halves of Stela 20 and Stela 3, Stela 2, and Ballcourt marker 3, and the monument fragments placed in rooms on top of Caana. Caracol offers an example of a balance of spolia related to elite ideological engagement and avoidance.

*Lamanai*

The results from the site of Lamanai documented 20 cases of spolia (Figure 6-5). The mean center point analysis placed the monumental architecture point northeast of the High Temple and southwest of the Temple of the Masks. The spolia mean center point is located south of the Temple of the Jaguar. The center point analysis suggests outliers and multiple ideological narratives for monumental reuse. The Kernel Density analysis further exemplifies multi-ideological narratives with five hot spots of spolia. The greatest concentration is in the palace complex and near the Temple of the Jaguar. The analysis shows some monuments that spatially suggest elite ideological engagement,

such as the altar in front of Structure N10-9 and the two blank stelae in front of the Temple of the Jaguar. Additionally, there is also a hot spot located at the church at the north end of the site where monuments were set near the cloister. Other examples of spoliation suggest non-elite narratives, such as the panel fragments west of the High Temple, and the stela to the west carried away and abandoned in the jungle.

### *Xunantunich*

The results from the site of Xunantunich documented 13 cases of spolia (Figure 6-6). The mean center point analysis is placed in the center of the site in front of Structure A-1. The mean center point for the spolia is between the Castillo and Structure A-7. The spolia at Xunantunich largely appears to be centered in the site core. The kernel analysis also demonstrates that spolia primarily related to ideological engagement. Those that do not fit elite narratives were moved spolia, such as the granite spheres, altar fragments in the palace complex, the blank stela abandoned halfway up the Castillo, and the stela west of the site core. I suggest that the stela's reuse was not in support of a continued elite narrative. Overall, Xunantunich appears to have the greatest degree of clustered monuments and associated with the perpetuation of Maya elite ideologies.

## Summary

From this analysis, all five case studies show spatial trends that suggest the perpetuation of elite power, and spolia that do not support elite ideological reuse. Spatial reuse and spoliation suggested all sites experience varying degrees of non-elite agency. Equally so, all case studies show that perpetuators of power persisted at all sites into the Terminal Classic and in some cases into the Postclassic period. The

regional study demonstrated that my sample should be expanded to the Northern Yucatan. However, it does demonstrate that spolia were purposely used by Maya people across the entire region. The Kernel Density analysis emphasized hot spots of spatial patterning around site cores, and the center point analysis helped spatially identify outliers and spolia used in non-elite ideological ways. While this analysis cannot precisely identify motivations, it provided hints at spatial patterning that can answer questions about how spolia related to the landscape, memory, and multi-vocal ideologies.

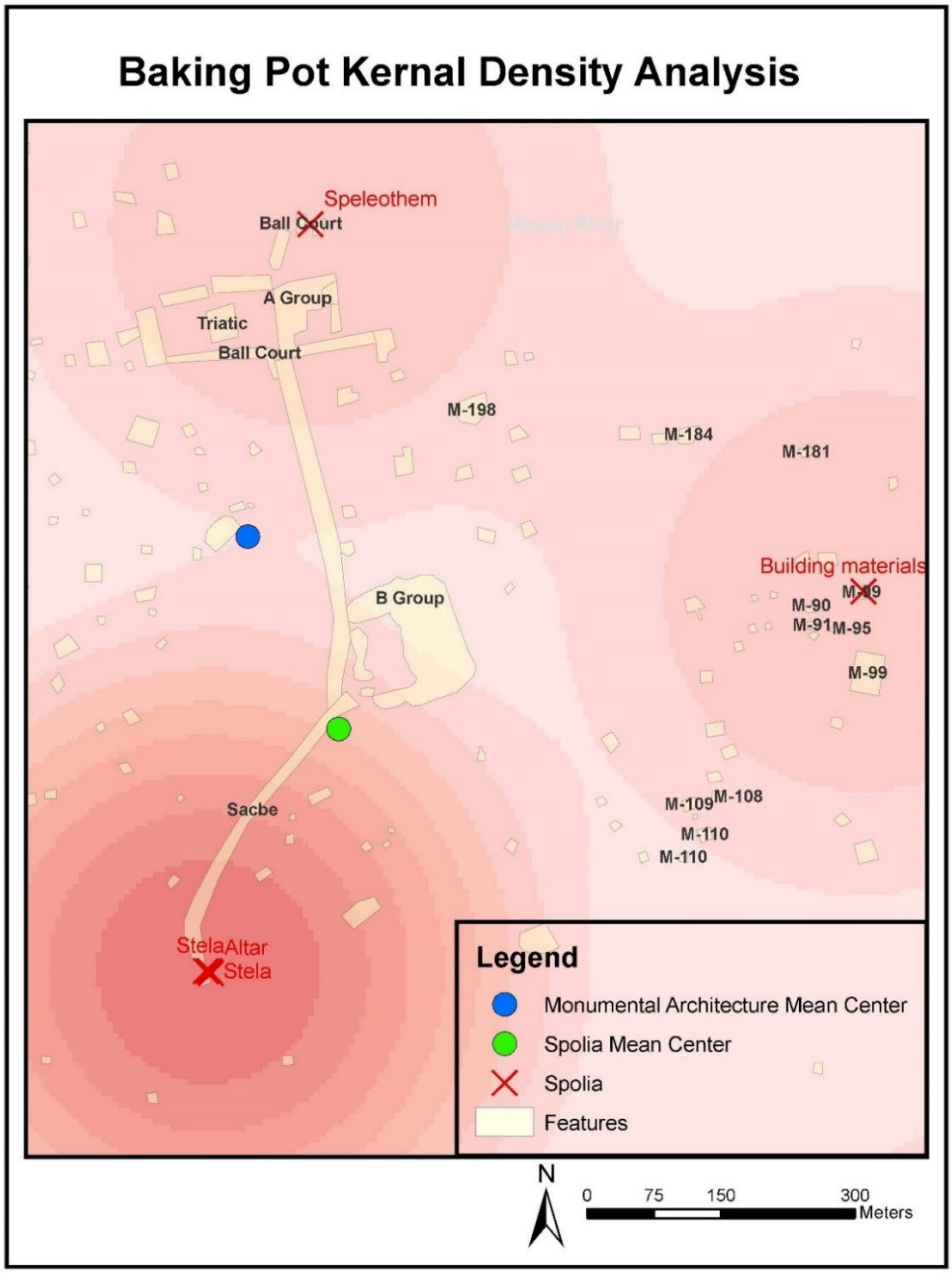


Figure 6-2. Site map of Cahal Pech showing the layout of spolia, monumental architecture mean center, and spolia mean center points.

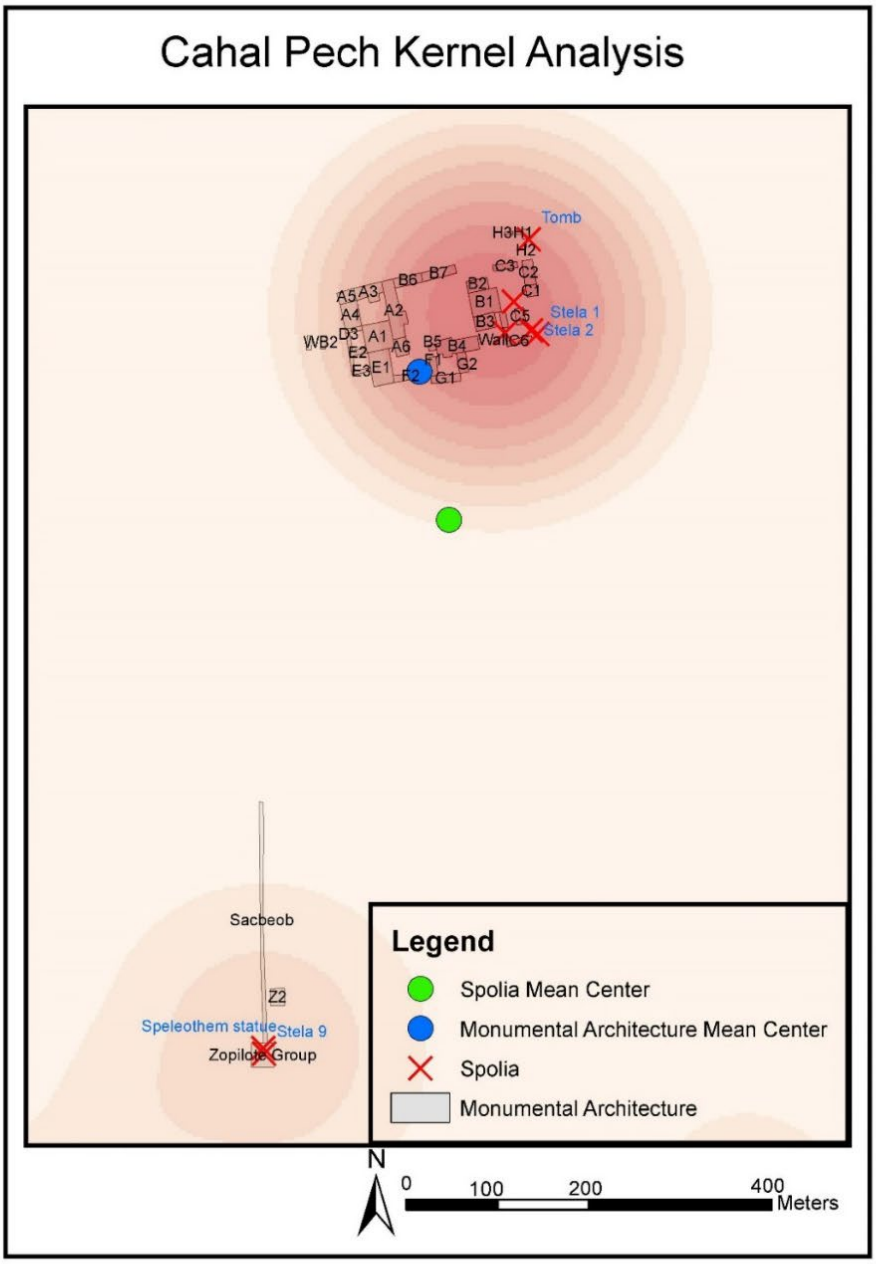


Figure 6-3. Site map of Cahal Pech showing the layout of spolia, monumental architecture mean center, and spolia mean center points.

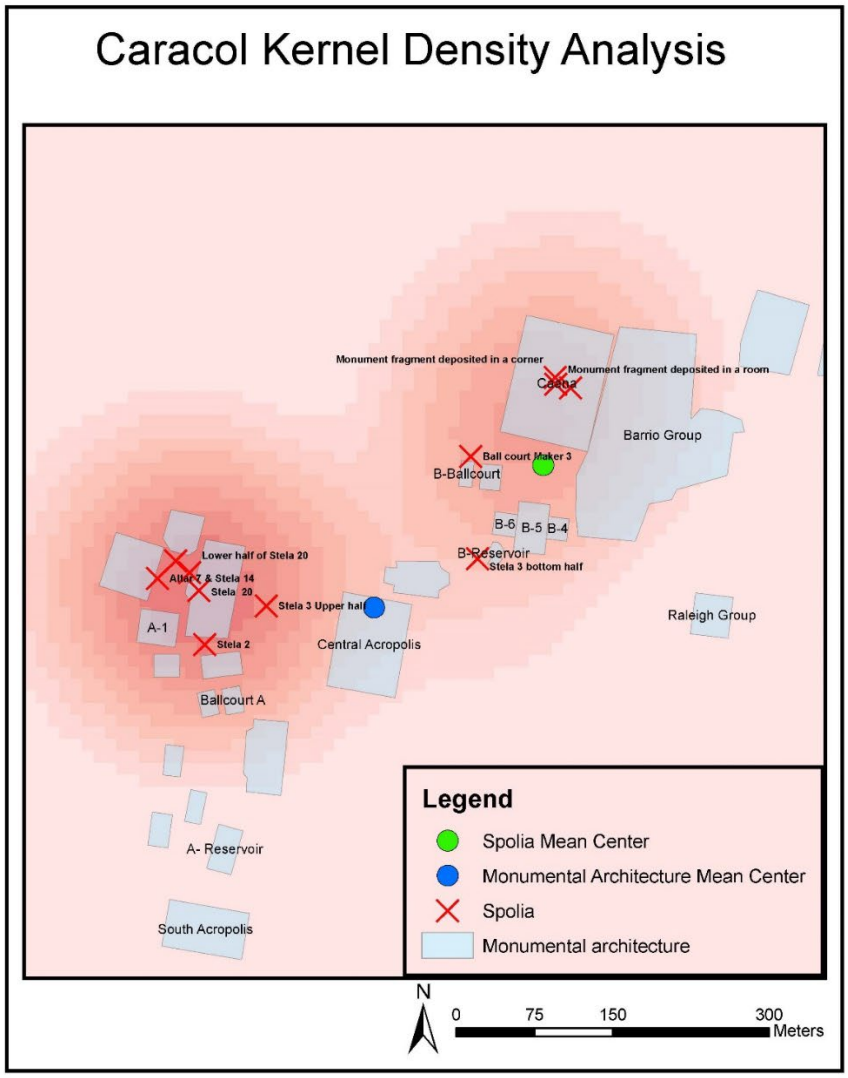


Figure 6-4. Site map of Caracol showing the layout of spolia, monumental architecture mean center, and spolia mean center points.

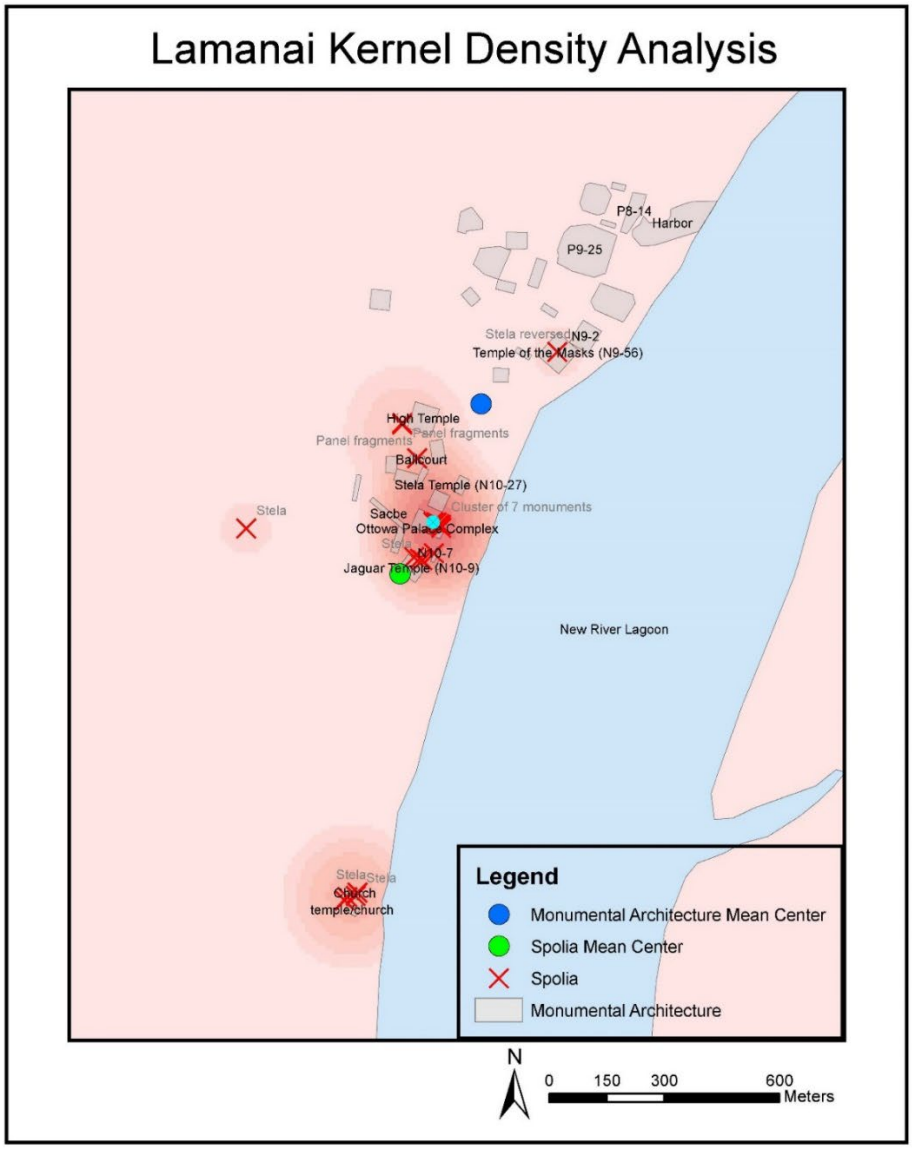


Figure 6-5. Site map of Lamanai showing the layout of spolia, monumental architecture mean center, and spolia mean center points.

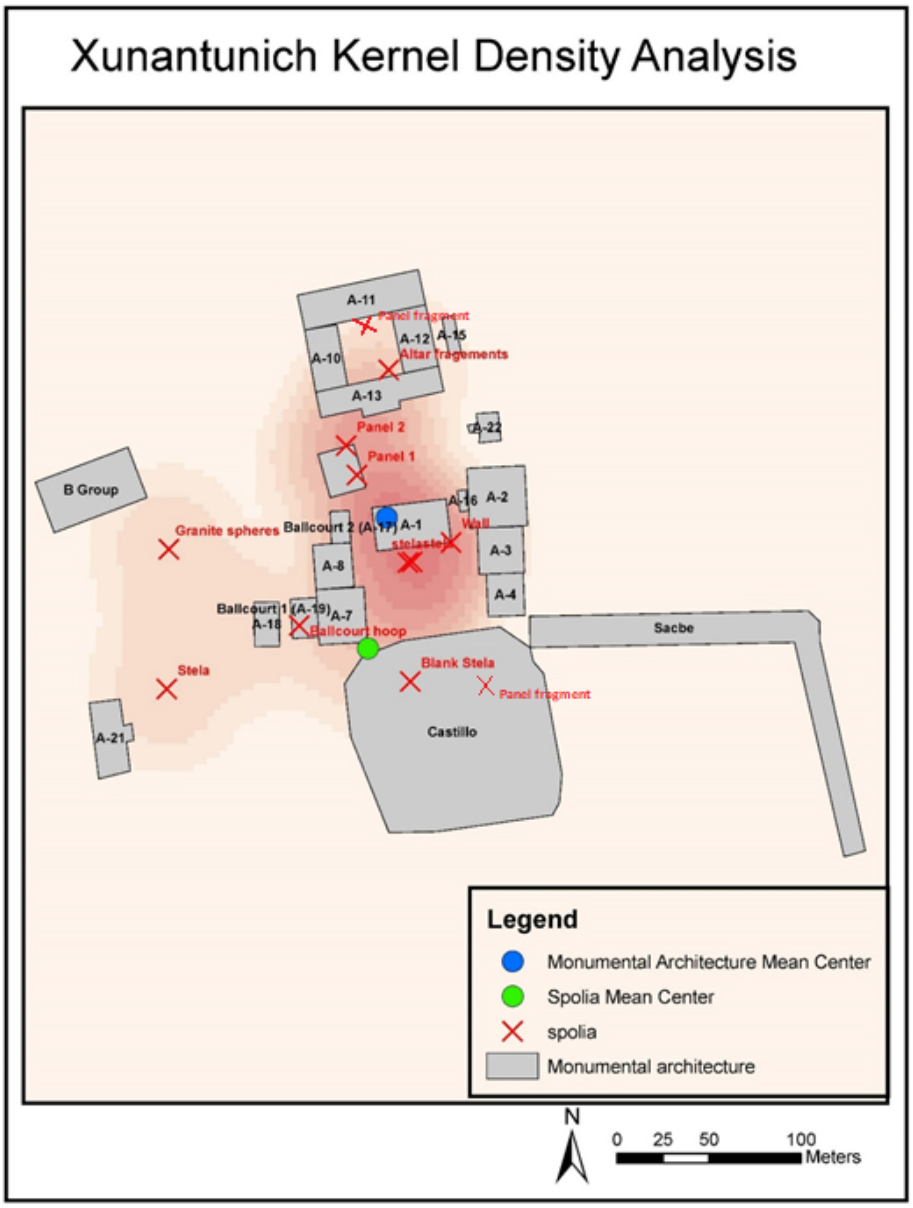


Figure 6-6. Site map of Xunantunich showing the layout of spolia, monumental architecture mean center, and spolia mean center points.

# Chapter 7: Quantitative Analysis of Maya Spoliation through Time

The objectives of this study are to examine the practice and significance of spoliation in ancient Maya society. To address these questions, I first explore the context of spolia with a list of key variables. One of the key variables include whether the spolia were left in situ, moved locally, regionally, or both. The movement of spolia are important because it informs how these objects were used on the landscape. The next variable was to determine if the spolia were fragmented or not, to determine the association of fragmentation and how spolia relates to rituals of termination. Thirdly, I examined how many objects were reset in new contexts, displayed publicly, or cashed, which indicate how the objects were used after being spoliated. Lastly, in attempts to understand commoner agency, I categorized the spolia under engagement, resistance, and avoidance and I did a cross analysis of several variables with to examine how they relate to broad time periods.

Through the application of these methods, I determined how spolia were used across the landscape, and the role of commoners and elites in the practice of spoliation. I predict that it will be possible to determine how spolia were used throughout different time periods, and that in the Late and Terminal Classic period there will be an increase in fragmentation and spoliation. My assumption is that the Late and Terminal Classic will have more examples of fragmentation and spoliation due to an increase in non-elite agency, an increase in elites attempting to solidify power through monumental reuse,

and termination. For instance, if monuments were reset or moved in a place to be publicly displayed, the variables would suggest the perpetuation of power. However, if a monument is completely moved away from a public audience, or used for a different function, it may not relate to activity related to elite ideologies.  Furthermore, I predict greater evidence of resistance and avoidance prior to the Postclassic period.

## Methods

My dataset is a mix of primary data compiled during my fieldwork in Belize during summer 2021, and secondary data collected from published scholarly articles and reports. Because the study of spolia in the Maya world is in its infancy, the first step of my analysis was to connect past literature to the concept of spolia. To do so, I searched synonyms of spolia, including fragmentation, reuse, recycling, moved, removed, altered, modification, relocated, despoliated, and fragmentation. Through this process, I identified 176 separate examples of spolia documented across the Maya world.

The first part of the study was targeted at sequencing monumental spoliation and doing a series of cross analysis to determine spatial and temporal trends through time. These variables included: monuments fragmented or despoliated, monuments that were reset, association with ancestor veneration, were the monuments cached or buried, and were the monuments publicly displayed after spoliation. Secondly, I examined if the spolia were moved regionally or locally or moved both regionally and locally.

My sample size consists of 176 examples of documented spoliation. Documenting frequencies was difficult. Do you count each fragment of a single monument, or do you count the monument as a whole? Unfortunately, not every documented example showed how many fragmented parts were discovered, thus I

decided to count the parts as a whole. My sample included every documented case I could find, but because spoliation is a term not commonly used in Maya archaeology, there are more examples in the literature that are described by synonymous terminology.

Because most of my variables are binary, I categorized whether they embodied the specified variable (Table 7-2 and Table 7-3). The most difficult variables to categorize were engagement, avoidance, and resistance. To do so, I defined monuments that were reset, incorporated into new monuments, or publicly displayed as examples of spolia used in ideological engagement. Avoidance is the broadest category where I inserted terminated/fragmented objects or cached spolia because the monuments had the monuments' power/ *Ch'ulel* released, or because removal from public view erased the ideological context of the memory and/or ideology the object was imbued with (Cecil and Pugh 2018). Lastly, I reserved the resistance category to evidence of intentional despoliation or destruction of a monument. These variables can inform how the Maya population incorporated spolia and inform on the roles of spolia as it related to power and ideology.

Table 7-1. Variables and descriptions.

| Location | Moved Locally | Moved Regionally | Despoliated/ Fragmented | Resistance | Avoidance | Engagement |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| In total, I found spolia from 44 separate site locations | Was the monume nt moved around the site locally? | Was the monument moved from one city to another? | Does the spolia show evidence of fragmentation, termination, or intentional despoliation? | Was the monument intentionally damaged or destroyed in opposition to ideological significance? | Was the monument removed from an ideological context? I've also included fragmentated/ terminated in this category. | Was the monument reused to support elite power? |

Table 7-2. Extended list of variables and descriptions.

| Frequency | Reset | Displayed | Ancestor Veneration | Cached | Temporal Category |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| How many monuments were fragmented? | Was the monument reset? | Was intended audience of the monument? | Does the monument relate to ancestor veneration? | Was the monument buried or cached? | Categorized into Early Classic, Late Classic, Terminal Classic, and Postclassic |

The first analysis is to see how the spolia are moved across the landscape. The movement of monuments through time relates to the hypothesis, that the Late and Terminal Classic will have more examples of fragmentation and spoliation due to an increase in non-elite agency, an increase in elites attempting to solidify power through monumental reuse, and spoliation during termination ritual. A greater degree of localized spoliation is predicted if there are greater spolia related to non-elites. Secondly, I will sequentially test several key variables to see how they relate to how spolia is used over time. Specifically, I will cross examine fragmentation, reset monuments, association with ancestor veneration, were the monuments cached or buried, and if the monuments were publicly displayed after spoliation (Table 7-2 and Table 7-3). Certain trends, such as being reset and public display, are more likely to be performed by Maya leaders to perpetuate the ideology (Baker 1962; Joyce et al. 2001; Satterthwaite 1958). Other variables, such as being cached or buried, terminated, or fragmented, relate to avoidance, where Maya remove monuments from the landscape and release the monuments' power/ *Ch'ulel (*Cecil and Pugh 2018; Joyce et al. 2001; Morton et al. 2019). Lastly, fragmentation can also be associated with resistance, but

the use of resistance category is difficult, because most examples of fragmented spolia are more likely to relate to termination rituals rather than to attacking royal ideology. All these variables will be analyzed to sequentially relate the monuments to the Early Classic, Late Classic, Terminal Classic, and Postclassic.

Below is a list of the quantitative analysis plan.

- The plan first provides descriptive statistics to examine number of cases, number of sites, frequency of cited examples, including mean, median, mode, standard deviation, and the minimum and maximum for frequencies.
- Secondly, I examine the frequency of reported cases for the binary variables.
- Thirdly, I report the total reported cases from each time period. Early Classic, Classic, Late Classic, Terminal Classic, Postclassic
- Fourthly, I provide Person chi-square analysis by cross examining the binary yes/no variables to the variables' respective sequential time period to see if there are statistical associations. Because there is a small sample size for the Early Classic period, I combine it with the Late Classic period for the purposes of the Chi-square analysis. To perform these statistical tests, I used the computer software SPSS Version 26.

## Results

Of the 176 documented cases of spoliation (Table 10-1 in appendix), there were 1417 fragments (mean = 8.13 per site, median = 1, mode = 1) across 44 separate sites in the Maya region. The frequencies were a minimum of 1 and a maximum of 812. The

sample had a standard deviation of 64.82, mostly because of the large outlier of 812 monument fragments recorded from Tikal (Moholy-Nagy 2016). Ninety-one (91) of 176of the monuments show evidence of being reset, 93 of 176 were displayed publicly, 43 of 176 were buried or cached, 125 of 176 were fragmented, 73 of 176 were directly associated with ancestor veneration.

### *Time and Location*

To address the question of time and location, I first performed descriptive statistics to determine how objects were moved through time. I categorized the moved monuments into the following variables: altered in situ, moved locally, moved regionally, and moved both regionally and locally (Figure 7-1). I did not run chi-square because it did not meet expected count assumptions of at least five on 14 counts. Based on the descriptive statistics, 13 (7.5%) were altered in situ, 138 (79.3%) were moved locally, 19 (10.9%) were moved regionally, and four (2.3%) were moved locally and regionally. Of these, 23 (13.2%) had no temporal affiliation, 22 (13.1%) were from the Early Classic, 29 (16.7%) were from the Late Classic, 75 (43.1%) were from the Terminal Classic, and 24 (13.8%) were from the Postclassic period.

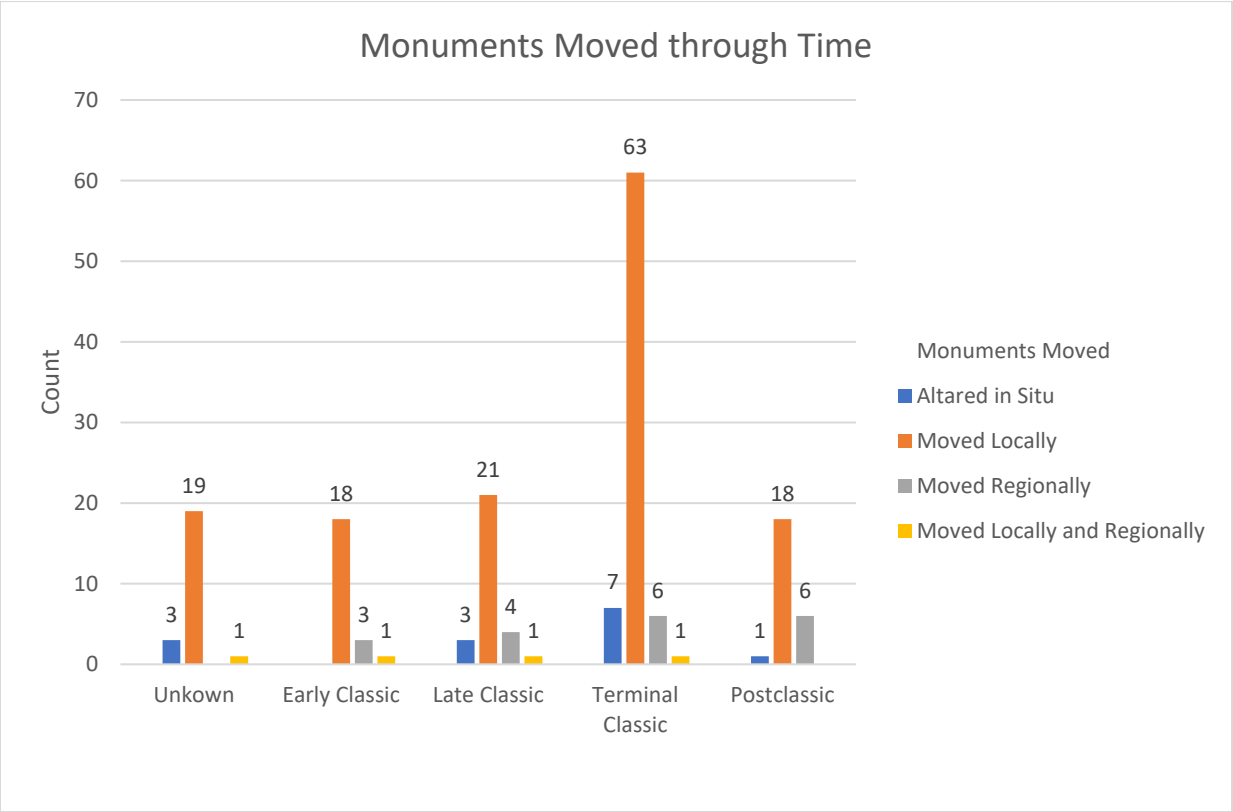


Figure 7-1. Bar chart depicts when and how many of the monuments were moved through time.

## Pearson's Chi-Square Analysis

As part of my study, I ran descriptive statistics and Pearson's chi-square analysis on the following variables:

Fragmented or despoliated, monuments reset, association with ancestor veneration, were the monuments cached or buried, and were the monuments publicly displayed after spoliation, to see how they related the categorical time periods: Unknown, Classic, Late Classic, Terminal Classic, and Postclassic (Figure 7-1).

*Fragmentation through Time*

The first example, fragmentation, did not see statistically significant results ($p$=.715, $df$=4) based on Pearson's chi-square analysis (Table 7-3).

Table 7-3. *Person Chi-square analysis of documenting the occurrence of fragmentation through time*.

| | Value | *df* | Asymptotic Significance (2-sided) |
|---|---|---|---|
| **Pearson Chi-Square** | 2.111[a] | 4 | .715 |
| **Likelihood Ratio** | 2.240 | 4 | .692 |
| **Linear-by-Linear Association** | 1.344 | 1 | .246 |
| **N of Valid Cases** | 176 | | |

a. 0 cells (0.0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 6.20.

*Publicly Displayed Monuments*

My examination of publicly displayed spoliated monuments provided significant results ($p$=.001, $df$=4) (Table 7-4). I then examined the standardized residuals and discovered that during the Late Classic, the standard residual was 2.1, suggesting that there were significantly more spoliated monuments publicly displayed during the Late Classic than expected based on the model.

Table 7-4. *Person Chi-square analysis of documenting the occurrence of publicly displayed monuments through time*.

| | **Value** | ***df*** | **Asymptotic Significance (2-sided)** |
|---|---|---|---|
| **Pearson Chi-Square** | 19.429[a] | 4 | .001 |
| **Likelihood Ratio** | 20.307 | 4 | .000 |
| **Linear-by-Linear Association** | .104 | 1 | .747 |
| **N of Valid Cases** | 176 | | |

a. 0 cells (0.0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 10.49.

*Ancestor Veneration*

Thirdly, I examined ancestor Veneration associated with spoliated monuments with significant results ($p$=.014, $df$=4) (Table 7-5). I then examined the standardized residuals and discovered that during the Late Classic, the standard residual was 2.0, suggesting that there were significantly more spoliated monuments associated with ancestor veneration during the Late Classic than expected based on the model.

Table 7-5. *Person Chi-square analysis of documenting the occurrence of ancestor veneration related to monumental reuse through time*.

| | Value | *df* | Asymptotic Significance (2-sided) |
|---|---|---|---|
| **Pearson Chi-Square** | 12.486[a] | 4 | .014 |
| **Likelihood Ratio** | 12.886 | 4 | .012 |
| **Linear-by-Linear Association** | 7.088 | 1 | .008 |
| **N of Valid Cases** | 176 | | |

a. 0 cells (0.0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 9.23.

*Buried and Cached Spolia*

Fourthly, I examined cashed or buried spolia, which were statistically significant ($p$ <.000, $df$=4), and rejected the null hypothesis (Table 7-6). The Early Classic period had a standard residual of 2.3, suggesting that there were significantly more spolia cashed or buried in the Early Classic period than expected based on the model.

Table 7-6. *Person Chi-square analysis of documenting the occurrence of buried or cached monuments through time*.

| | Value | *df* | Asymptotic Significance (2-sided) |
|---|---|---|---|
| Pearson Chi-Square | 29.992[a] | 4 | .000 |
| Likelihood Ratio | 27.687 | 4 | .000 |
| Linear-by-Linear Association | 2.069 | 1 | .150 |
| N of Valid Cases | 176 | | |

a. 0 cells (0.0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 5.44.

*Reset Monuments*

Lastly, I examined reset monuments and determined the analysis was statistically significant ($p$=.015, $df$=4) (Table 7-7). Based on the standard residual of *1.9,* the Late Classic period had a significant amount of reset monuments than expected based on the model.

Table 7-7. *Person Chi-square analysis of documenting the occurrence of reset monuments through time*.

| | Value | *df* | Asymptotic Significance (2-sided) |
|---|---|---|---|
| **Pearson Chi-Square** | 12.340[a] | 4 | .015 |
| **Likelihood Ratio** | 12.587 | 4 | .013 |
| **Linear-by-Linear Association** | .672 | 1 | .412 |
| **N of Valid Cases** | 176 | | |

a. 0 cells (0.0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 10.24.

## Discussion

Based on the results, there are several interesting conclusions. Firstly, during the Late Classic period, there are statistically significant numbers of spoliated monuments being reset. The results support the hypothesis that during the Late Classic, there were

more ideological perpetuators of power, as the Maya world was in decline and experiencing increasing disintegration of elite control. The results suggest significant engagement in the Late Classic, as the socio-political arrangement attempted to compensate and correct. The results correlate with the thesis that spolia are a symbol of the disintegration of political power. As power diminishes, there is more effort to maintain and reconnect past symbols of strength. Additionally, the increase of documented spolia are highest during the Terminal Classic period (n=66), suggesting that the Maya were actively rearranging the built landscape during the Terminal Classic

The statistical significance of caching and burial of spoliated monuments in the Early Classic period does not necessarily fit the hypothesis. However, what it illustrates is the role of spolia in fragmentation, ancestor veneration, and termination. Additionally, broken, and fragmented monuments are being reused in the Late Classic. The fact that there are statistically significant amounts of cached and buried spoliated monuments during the Early Classic period, to a shift to resetting during the Late Classic, shows a change in how fragmented and spoliated objects are treated. Additionally, during the Late Classic period, there is also a statistically significant amount of publicly displayed spoliated monuments. Again, the public display and resetting are activities we'd expect from elites to perpetuate their power and draw upon the power of past kings. What is interesting is that during the Terminal Classic, these trends shift to non-significant levels, suggesting that spolia were used in ritual and practice by both elites and commoners alike. Also significant is that there are low numbers of spolia in the Postclassic period. It is possible that the results simply reflect the fact that few of the

sites in my sample were occupied into the Postclassic period. More research is required to determine if this is an observable trend outside the selected sample.

## Summary

Overall, the study was able to confirm some aspects of how spolia related to the disintegration of structural power and how sacred spaces were redefined in the Maya lowlands. The analysis was able to take a broad look across the entire Maya region and pinpoint certain times where spolia were reused distinctly and how spolia were reused on the landscape. Additionally, spolia analysis will broaden the discussion for how Maya elite and non-elite understood and reinterpreted sacred place and memory. The Late Classic period saw statistically significant amounts of resetting of monumental architecture, as elites responded to the disintegration of structural power across the pan Maya region. Additionally, the Terminal Classic period experienced a drastic increase in spoliation related to non-elite ritual and activity.

# Chapter 8: Conclusion of Ancient Maya Spoliation

This chapter concludes my study of spolia in Belize and the Maya region by summarizing the key research findings from the survey, spatial, and quantitative analysis. Below, I correlate how well these results reflect the research aims, objectives, and questions of the study. Additionally, I summarize the limitations of the study, and propose further research that can provide additional foundational opportunities for regional and pan-Maya studies for spolia.

## Research Results and Goals Achieved

The purpose of this study was to examine a multi-vocality of examples of spolia and to determine how ideology, power, and agency are reinforced or reinterpreted throughout time. The main objective was to bring a mixed method analysis approach to build a regional and localized understanding of how monuments and architecture were reused by the ancient Maya. The three methods employed for this research included pedestrian survey, GIS spatial analysis, and quantitative analysis. I selected the Maya area for regional analysis, and the sites of Baking Pot, Cahal Pech, Caracol, Lamanai and Xunantunich in Belize for localized regional analysis and comparison.

The results from the pedestrian survey observed examples of spolia from all case studies but Baking Pot. The findings indicated that the reuse of monumental architecture demonstrated multi-directional and multi-vocal narratives from elites and non-elites as they participated in the Maya ideoscape. Some reuse was targeted to perpetuate the Classic Maya ideals of elite ideologies. The persistence of power was most visible in the resetting and public display of monuments like Panels 1 and 2 from Xunantunich. Other examples of spolia indicated that the reuse of monuments were in

avoidance of elite values, such as the relocation of Stela 1 and 2 from Cahal Pech to the eastern corner of the site core. These spolia may also represent a shift of elite use of the site to the east. Lastly, multiple examples from Caracol, Cahal Pech, Lamanai, and Xunantunich were ritually deposited and fragmented in termination ceremonies that would have involved elite and non-elite participants. Fragmentation appears to have been a deliberate effort directed toward the release or deflation of power/ *Che'uel* of a monument (Cecil and Pugh 2018).

The outcomes from the spatial analysis demonstrated that all sites had indications of both the reuse of space to perpetuate power or reused in avoidance of elite ideals. Mean center analysis was used to understand where the spolia related to the monumental architecture. Kernel Density analysis projected hot spots of spolia onto the monumental site cores that display spatial patterning and visually demonstrate where and why some monuments were recycled. The results substantiated spatial outliers that could be targeted for exploring non-elite narratives. The regional study attempted to capture how spolia were not localized, but rather demonstrates a pan-Maya tradition. While the results cannot precisely demonstrate ideological motivations, spatial patterning methods can be combined with other methods to deliver a strengthened argument for how monumental reuse can be interpreted. The outcomes provided an understanding of how Maya people reinvigorated and reinterpreted sacred spaces even after abandonment.

The results indicated from the quantitative analysis substantiated some aspects of how spolia related to the disintegration of structural power and how sacred spaces were redefined through time. The first result suggested that during the Late Classic

period, there were statistically significant numbers of spoliated monuments being reset. These findings indicate that the elite expended considerable effort to perpetuate political power, as the Maya world experienced increasing socioeconomic stress and sociopolitical decline. The results correlate with the hypothesis that spoliation is closely linked to the disintegration of power. As power diminishes, there is more effort to appropriate and incorporate past symbols of power to maintain stability and to perpetuate the social order of the past. Secondly, the frequency of documented spolia are highest during the Terminal Classic period (n=66), suggesting that Maya communities began to interact with the built landscape in a new way during the Terminal Classic. The results to supports the hypothesis that Maya communities were transitioning from the power systems of the Late Classic period to a new "world order". Non-elites saw an increase in agency reflected in the use of spolia in ways that did not reflect elite ideologies.

The Early Classic period correlated with statistically significant levels of caching and burial of spoliated monuments. While the results do not necessarily fit into the hypothesis, it demonstrated the role of spolia in fragmentation, ancestor veneration, and termination in Maya culture. During the Classic period, there are also statistically significant amounts of publicly displayed spoliated monuments. Again, the public display and resetting are activities we would expect from elites to perpetuate/ elevate their authority and draw upon the power of past kings. What is interesting is that during the Terminal Classic, these trends shift to non-significant levels, suggesting that spolia were being used more in ritual and practice by both elites and non-elites.

Overall, the study sought to demonstrate how the use of spolia were linked to the to changes in the political structure of ancient Maya society, and how sacred spaces, especially those in site cores, were redefined even after abandonment. The main goal was to demonstrate how the increase of spolia through time related to increased non-elite agency. The mixed method analytical approach applied in this research also proved to be a good tool for identifying primary and secondary sources of a multi-vocal and multi-ideological understanding of Maya monumental reuse.

These research findings are similar to the research discussed by Joyce et al (2001) at Rio Viejo during the Postclassic period, which argues that Terminal Classic and Postclassic people were redefining and reinterpreting sacred spaces and objects. Similarly, Halperin and Garrido's (2019) study at the site of Ucanal observed changes in aesthetics, meaning, and orientations during the Terminal Classic period. Pendergast (1981) found that Postclassic people at Lamanai also reused sacred spaces and modified the monumental landscape. More recently, Awe (2021) suggested that the political system of the Terminal Classic period was defined by a weakened elite who expended considerable effort to rekindle and perpetuate the ideology of the past. As my evidence shows, the increased use of spolia in the Terminal Classic reflects the disintegration of elite Maya power at sites across the country of Belize and throughout the Maya world.

## Limitations and Shortcoming of the Research

My thesis is a pilot project, so as preliminary attempt at collecting and analyzing macro level data on spolia in the pan-Maya region many more examples could be included in future research. One of the challenges of conducting this study is that much

of the previous literature applied terms that were synonymous to spoliation thus it took a fair bit of effort to record examples in earlier published reports. Additionally, many monumental site cores were completely and often indiscriminately stripped of what early researchers referred to as “problematic deposits”. The way monuments were tossed aside resulted with the removal of many examples of spolia from the archaeological record. Another limitation was time to research. Given more time, I would have expanded collection of examples to include more samples from the northern Yucatan and central Maya highlands. Personal limitations include bias in engaging more research from the Early Classic, Late Classic, and Terminal Classic periods. I tried to limit interpretation bias as much as possible by selecting mostly binary variables, but the use of binaries also has its limitations. I may also have introduced bias from interpreting other researcher’s data, which also has its own research agendas and biases. However, I tried to focus on as much factual and scientific interpretation as possible

## Future Research Opportunities

Future research could expand on my data sample or look for other local or regional trends. While this research tried to answer both micro and macro questions, fresh eyes could work with the data to identify other patterns of distribution. Data points that could contribute to further investigations of Preclassic, Postclassic, and Colonial era spolia could benefit from further exploration. A greater sample size at local case studies in Belize would have also contributed to spatial and quantitative analysis. Future research opportunities could also be aimed at broadening the sample in regions such as Northern Yucatan and Central Highlands.

## Research Contributions

This research contributes to an emerging understanding of how the Maya used monumental objects after the primary purpose had dissipated. The study of spoliation is valuable to understand the relationship between power and meaning. The movement of monumental objects examines how both elites and non-elites affect landscapes and ideologies. Additionally, my study has broader implications to understand how Maya people reinvigorated and reinterpreted sacred spaces even after abandonment. Spoliation research is also a theoretical opportunity to explore how pan-Maya traditions coalesced and evolved throughout time, in addition to subregional spatial trends. While this research introduces an emerging understanding of spoliation in Maya culture, I hope this thesis can serve as a foundation for further regional and localized research for the Maya people.

## Closing Statements

In conclusion, this study represents a broad look across the entire Maya region and pinpoints certain times where spolia reused reflects distinct cultural patterns. Additionally, I was able to take a localized approach at the site cores of five Belize sites-- Baking Pot, Cahal Pech, Caracol, Lamanai, and Xunantunich. My spolia analyseis were aimed at broadening the discussion for how Maya elite and non-elite understood and reinterpreted monumental architecture, sacred space, and memory. The Late Classic period saw statistically significant resetting of monumental architecture, as elites responded to the disintegration of structural power across the Maya region. Additionally, the Terminal Classic period experienced a drastic increase in spoliation due to an increase in non-elite ritual and activity. Through mixed method analysis, I believe the

research design achieved the premise of this thesis and demonstrated how an increase in the use of spolia provides a multi-vocal and multi-ideological understanding of how the Maya reused and reinterpreted the sacred monumental landscapes.

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# Appendix I

Table 10-1. Contextual information for all spolia compiled.

| Spolia | Time Period | Location | Source | Count |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Alter 3 fragment | Early Classic | Pacbitun | Skaggs et al. 2017; Morton 2019 | 1 |
| Stela 6 | Early Classic | Pacbitun | Awe and Helmke 2005 | 1 |
| Alter 3 fragment | Late Classic | Pacbitun | Helmke and Awe 2012; Morton 2019 | 1 |
| All the stelae at Xunantunich | Terminal Classic | Xunantunich | Helmke and Awe 2012; Morton 2019 | 1 |
| Tomb | Terminal Classic | Cahal Pech | Morton et al. 2019 | 1 |
| Puuc block walls | Postclassic | Mayapan | Landry 2018 | 200 |
| Ballcourt 1 Hoop | Late Classic | Xunantunich | Awe lecture 2021 | 1 |
| Stele 20 lower half | Terminal Classic | Caracol | Morton et al. 2019 | 1 |
| Stela 20 upper half | Terminal Classic | Caracol | Morton et al. 2019 | 1 |
| Monument fragment | Unknown | Pacbitun | Morton et al. 2019; Skaggs et al. 2017 | 1 |
| Stelae 26 | Late Classic | 24 | Morton et al. 2019; Pendergast 1982 | 1 |
| Lintel 12 | Late Classic | Piedras Negras | Morton et al. 2019; Satterthwaite, 1958:58 | 1 |
| Stela 25 | Unknown | Tikal | Morton et al. 2019; Satterthwaite, 1958:59 | 1 |
| Stela 3 lower half | Late Classic | Caracol | Nash 2019(from sapiens) | 1 |
| Stela 3 upper half | Late Classic | Caracol | Morton et al. 2019; Satterthwaite, 1958:60 | 1 |
| Staircase | Late Classic | Naranjo | Morton et al. 2019; Satterthwaite, 1958:61 | 1 |
| Stela 49 | Unknown | Copan | O'Neil 2012 | 1 |
| Stela | Postclassic | Dos Pilas | Joyce and Weller 2007;168 | 5 |

| Spolia | Time Period | Location | Source | Count |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Wall | Terminal Classic | Dos Pilas | Demarest et al 1997 | 1 |
| Staircase | Late Classic | Naranjo | Morton et al. 2019; Satterthwaite, 1958:61 | 1 |
| Ballcourt marker 3 | Terminal Classic | Caracol | Chase et al. 1991 | 1 |
| Witz mask | Postclassic | Mayapan | Landry 2018 | 1 |
| Puuc motif | Postclassic | Mayapan | Laundry 2018 | 1 |
| Stela 27 | Terminal Classic | Ucanal | Cecil and Pugh 2018 | 1 |
| Puuc facing stones | Postclassic | Mayapan | Laundry 2018:176; Proskouriakoff 1962: 95-96 | 20 |
| Structure Q 151: Puuc spoliation | Postclassic | Mayapan | Laundry 2018 | 20 |
| Monument 3: | Terminal Classic | Ucanal | Halperin and Martin 2020 | 1 |
| Monument 1: | Late Classic | Ucanal | Halperin and Martin 2020 | 1 |
| Stela 8 | Terminal Classic | Calakmul | Halperin and Martin 2020 | 1 |
| Structure a–10, op. 2; structure g–2, op. 7 | Terminal Classic | Ucanal | Halperin and Garrido 2019 | 9 |
| Group 141 | Terminal Classic | Ucanal | Halperin 2019 | 2 |
| Structure 719 seat dividers | Postclassic | Zacpeten | Pugh et al. 2009:194–195 | 3 |
| Stela | Unknown | Mayapan | Cecil and Pugh 2018: 160; Milbrath and Peraza Lope 2003:9–10 | 1 |
| Stela 4 | Unknown | Zacpeten | Cecil and Pugh 2018 | 1 |
| Uncarved stelae | Unknown | Ixlú | Cecil and Pugh 2018 | 1 |
| Three fragments of Altar 1, separated by a blank stela. | Unknown | Zacpeten | Cecil and Pugh 2018 | 3 |

| Spolia | Time Period | Location | Source | Count |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Stela I | Unknown | Santa Elena | Rice and Rice 2016 | 1 |
| Structure 2016 | Late Classic | Ixlú | Rice and Rice 2016 | 2 |
| Two plain stelae were chopped and used as fill | Unknown | Ixlú | Rice and Rice 2016 | 2 |
| King statues | Terminal Classic | Tonina | Wren et al 2015 | |
| M-181 | Terminal Classic | Baking Pot | Hogarth 2012 | 1 |
| Hieroglyphic stairway | Unknown | La Carona | Parris and Ponce 2021 | 1 |
| Panel 6 | Terminal Classic | La Carona | Parris and Ponce 2021 | 1 |
| Hieroglyphic stairway 2 | Terminal Classic | La Carona | Parris and Ponce 2021 | 1 |
| Hombre of Tikal | Early Classic | Tikal | O'Neil 2009 | 1 |
| Structure 10l-26, stela 63 | Unknown | Copan | Just 2005 Fash et al. 1992:108; | 1 |
| Stela 31 | Terminal Classic | Tikal | Just 2005; O'Neil 2009 | 1 |
| Miscellaneous stone 167 | Early Classic | Santa Fe | Jones and Orrego 1987 | 1 |
| Stela 36 | Terminal Classic | Tikal | Just 2005, Martin 2000 | 1 |
| Stela | Early Classic | El Encanto | Martin 2000:59 | 1 |
| Stela 1 | Early Classic | Corosal | Martin 2000:59, Jones and Orrego 1987 1987 | 1 |
| Stela 4 | Terminal Classic | Tikal | Maler 1911:70-7l; Moholy-Nagy 2016 | 1 |
| Funerary temple sculptures | Terminal Classic | Tikal | Just 2005 | 3 |
| Stela 40 | Early Classic | Tikal | O'Neil 2009 | 1 |
| Stela 26 | Late Classic | Tikal | Jones and Satterthwaite 1982:58; O'Neil 2009 | 1 |
| Stela P1 | Unknown | Tikal | Jones and Satterthwaite 1982:58, | 1 |

| Spolia | Time Period | Location | Source | Count |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Stela 6 and Stela 22 | Postclassic | Siebel | Just 2005 | 2 |
| Stela 21 | Unknown | Uaxactun | Ricketson and Ricketson 1937:156, pi. 53b | 1 |
| Stela 10 | Unknown | Dos Pilas | (Houston 1993:83) | 1 |
| Altar 11 | Unknown | Dos Pilas | (Houston 1993:83) | 1 |
| Stela 1 | Late Classic | Uolantun | Martin 2000:55 | 2 |
| Stela 18 and altar 8 | Late Classic | Altar De Sacrificios | Graham 1972:67-74, 100-102; Nelson 1998 | 2 |
| Hieroglyphic stairway 1 | Terminal Classic | Yaxchilan | (Houston 1993:83). | 1 |
| Stela 63 | Early Classic | Copan | Martin 2000:57 | 1 |
| Architectural relief sculpture | Early Classic | Copan | Just 2005 | 1 |
| Ku Ix's step | Early Classic | Copan | Just 2005 | 1 |
| Stela 27 | Late Classic | Yaxchilan | Martin 2000:56-57; Kelly and kelly 2001 | 1 |
| Stela P2 | Late Classic | Tikal | Coe 1990:739 | 1 |
| Stela 19 | Unknown | Dzibilchaltun | Andrews IV and Andrews V 1980:187-188 | 1 |
| Worked stone blocks | Unknown | Lamanai | Yost 2021 | 3 |
| Lamanai alter in ball court | Postclassic | Lamanai | Yost 2021 | 1 |
| Stela 2 | Terminal Classic | Lamanai | Yost 2021; Pendergast 1988 | 1 |
| Dragged stela | Postclassic | Lamanai | Awe Personal communication 2021 | 1 |
| Blank stela | Terminal Classic | Xunantunich | Yost 2021 | 1 |
| Large Granite balls | Unknown | Xunantunich | Awe Personal communication 2021 | 1 |
| Stela | Postclassic | Lamanai | Yost 2021 | 6 |

| Spolia | Time Period | Location | Source | Count |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Facing stones | Terminal Classic | Cahal Pech | Morton et al. 2019 | 1 |
| Stela 2 | Terminal Classic | Cahal Pech | Yost 2021 | 1 |
| Moved stela and alters | Postclassic | Lamanai | Yost 2021 | 7 |
| Alter and stone fragments | Terminal Classic | Caracol | Yost 2021 | 3 |
| Altar fragment | Postclassic | Lamanai | Yost 2021 | 1 |
| Random monument fragments | Unknown | Tikal | Moholy-Nagy 2016 | 812 |
| Stela 9 | Terminal Classic | Cahal Pech | Fox 2018 Awe et al. 2009 | 1 |
| The carved zoomorphic shrine stone | Terminal Classic | Titempa | Plunket and Urunuela 2002 | 1 |
| Monument | Terminal Classic | Titempa | Plunket and Urunuela 2002 | 1 |
| Three monuments others were reused | Terminal Classic | Titempa | Plunket and Urunuela 2002 | 3 |
| Two monuments | Terminal Classic | Titempa | Plunket and Urunuela 2002 | 2 |
| Oval stela (reused as groundstone | Postclassic | Rio Viejo | Joyce 2001 | 1 |
| Rio Viejo monument 17 | Postclassic | Rio Viejo | Joyce 2001 | 1 |
| R´ıo Viejo Monuments 5, 7, 8, and 12 | Postclassic | Rio Viejo | Joyce 2001 | 4 |
| Stela 29 | Unknown | Tikal | shook 1960 | 1 |
| 6 spoliated monuments | Terminal Classic | Tikal | Catherwood 1844 | 6 |
| Stela 11 | Postclassic | Tikal | Maler 1911, Baker 1962 | 1 |
| Lintel 2 | Terminal Classic | Tikal | Baker 1962 | 1 |
| Stela 6 | Late Classic | Yaxchilan | Baker 1962; Maler (1901: 144) and | 1 |

| Spolia | Time Period | Location | Source | Count |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | Morley (1937-38, Vol. 2: 421 | |
| Stela 5 | Late Classic | Xultun | Baker 1962 | 1 |
| Stela 23 | Late Classic | Naranjo | Baker 1962 | 1 |
| Stela 23 | Terminal Classic | Tikal | Shriatori 2019: Satterthwaite 1958 | 1 |
| Stela 13 | Early Classic | Cobá | Shriatori 2019, Pollock (1929:328-329 | 1 |
| Stela 3 | Late Classic | Uaxactun | Peabody museum | 2 |
| Stela 17 | Unknown | Cobá | Shriatori 2019: Satterthwaite 1958 | 1 |
| Stela 17 | Unknown | Uaxactun | Shriatori 2019: Satterthwaite 1958 | 1 |
| Stela 10 | Late Classic | Uaxactun | Shriatori 2019: Satterthwaite 1958 | 1 |
| Stela 1 | Late Classic | Uluton | Shriatori 2019: Satterthwaite 1958 | 1 |
| Stela 19 | Postclassic | Dzibilchaltun | Maldonado Cárdenas, R. (2009) | 1 |
| 12-15 fragments from | Postclassic | Dzibilchaltun | Maldonado Cárdenas, R. (2009) | 12 |
| Stela 1 | Terminal Classic | 5km South of Tikal | Morley 1938 | 1 |
| 8 stelae | Postclassic | La Milpa | Shiratori 2019: Hammond and Bobo 1994 | 8 |
| Stela | Postclassic | Lamanai | Shiratori 2019: Pendergast 1981 | 1 |
| Stela 1 | Terminal Classic | Chen | Shiratori 2019 | 1 |
| Stela 32 | Terminal Classic | Tikal | Moholy-Nagy 1962 | 1 |
| Stela 1 | Late Classic | Nakbé | Craig 2010; Marcus 2012; Oneil 2009 | 1 |
| Several monuments | Terminal Classic | La Milpa | Craig 2010; Hansen et al. 2008 | 17 |
| Monuments 2, and Monument 3 | Terminal Classic | Nakbé | Hansen et al 2008 | 2 |

| Spolia | Time Period | Location | Source | Count |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Formative monument | Terminal Classic | El Chiquero | Hansen et al 2008 | 1 |
| 6 formative statures | Terminal Classic | El Mirador | Hansen et al 2008 | 6 |
| Stela 9 | Postclassic | Lamanai | Pendergast 1988 | 2 |
| Panel 1 | Terminal Classic | Xunantunich | Helmke et al. 2010 | 1 |
| Panel 2 | Terminal Classic | Xunantunich | Helmke et al. 2010 | 1 |
| Alter 1 | Terminal Classic | Xunantunich | Helmke et al. 2010 Morley 1937 | 1 |
| A blank stela and two altars | Terminal Classic | Baking Pot | Fox 2018 | 3 |
| Stela | Terminal Classic | Augustine Obispo | McAnany 2012 | 1 |
| Burned monument fragments | Terminal Classic | Caracol | Chase and Chase 2002 | 1 |
| Stela fragment | Terminal Classic | Samuel Oshon | Fox 2018 | 1 |
| 88 monument fragments | Terminal Classic | Pusilha | Braswell 2007; 2004 | 88 |
| Stockage wall | Early Classic | Dos Pilas | Maya Kingdom | 1 |
| Altar 19 | Early Classic | Tikal | O’Neil 2009 | 1 |
| Marcador | Early Classic | Tikal | O'Neil 2009 | 1 |
| Altar 48 | Early Classic | Tikal | O'Neil 2009 | 1 |
| Throne back | Terminal Classic | Copan | O’Neil 2012 | 1 |
| Lintel reset with an older lintel Yaxchilan Structures 12 | Late Classic | Yaxchilan | O’Neil 2011 | 1 |
| Lintel reset with an older lintel Yaxchilan Structures 22 | Late Classic | Yaxchilan | O’Neil 2011 | 1 |
| Throne 3 | Late Classic | Piedras Negras | Houston 2014 | 1 |
| Throne 2 (Structure K-6a) | Late Classic | Piedras Negras | O'Neil 2012 | 1 |

| Spolia | Time Period | Location | Source | Count |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Throne 1 | Terminal Classic | Piedras Negras | O'Neil 2012 | 1 |
| Panel 3 | Terminal Classic | Piedras Negras | O'Neil 2012 | 1 |
| Stela 31 | Late Classic | Piedras Negras | O'Neil 2012 | 1 |
| Panel 2 | Late Classic | Piedras Negras | O'Neil 2012 | 2 |
| Panel 12 | Terminal Classic | Piedras Negras | O'Neil 2012 | 1 |
| Ballcourt 1 hoops spoliated | Terminal Classic | Xunantunich | awe lecture | 2 |
| Cave Monuments | Terminal Classic | Actun Tunichil Muknal | Awe et al 2021 | 2 |
| Stela 12 | Terminal Classic | Piedras Negras | Baker 1962 | 1 |
| Stela 26 | Terminal Classic | Uaxactun | Baker 1962 | 1 |
| The red stela | Unknown | Tikal | Shook 1958 | 1 |
| Stela 39 | Terminal Classic | Tikal | O'Neil 2009 | 1 |
| Stelae 8, 30, and 31, and an unnumbered fragment associated with stela 3 | Late Classic | Yaxchilan | Tate 1990 | 4 |
| Stela 33 | Terminal Classic | Tikal | Coe 1990 | 4 |
| Altar 17 | Terminal Classic | Tikal | Coe 1990 | 1 |
| Miscellaneous stone 18 | Terminal Classic | Tikal | Coe 1990 | 1 |
| Stela 37 fragment | Early Classic | Tikal | Coe 1990 | 1 |
| Stela P7 and altar 3 | Terminal Classic | Tikal | Coe 1990 | 2 |
| Stela P6 and altar P4 | Terminal Classic | Tikal | Coe 1990 | 2 |
| Stela P4 altar p3 | Late Classic | Tikal | Coe 1990 | 2 |
| Stela 38 fragment | Early Classic | Tikal | Coe 1990 | 1 |

| Spolia | Time Period | Location | Source | Count |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Altar 16 fragment | Early Classic | Tikal | Coe 1990 | 1 |
| Stela P18 | Terminal Classic | Tikal | Coe 1990 | 1 |
| Stela 2/altar 15 | Terminal Classic | Tikal | Coe 1990 | 2 |
| Stela 21 | Terminal Classic | Tikal | Coe 1990 | 1 |
| Stela 14 | Terminal Classic | Tikal | Coe 1990 | 1 |
| Stela 45 | Early Classic | Naranjo | Mitchell 2016 | 1 |
| Stela 13 | Early Classic | Tikal | Moholy-Nagy 2016 | 1 |
| Stela 8 | Early Classic | Tikal | Moholy-Nagy 2016 | 1 |
| Speleothem | Early Classic | Cahal Pech | Griffith and Jack, 2005 | 1 |
| Large speliothem at Ballcourt 1 | Terminal Classic | Baking Pot | Furgeson 1999 | 1 |
| Altar 7 | Postclassic | Caracol | Beetz et al. 1981 | 1 |
| N10-7 alter | Postclassic | Lamanai | Pendergast 1981 | 1 |
| Stelae from stelae platform | Terminal Classic | Mayapan | Milbarth and Lope 2003 | 3 |
| destroyed altar | Terminal Classic | Cahal Pech | Morton et al. 2019 | 1 |
| Stela 2 | Terminal Classic | Caracol | Beetz et al. 1981 | 1 |
| Altar 7 | Terminal Classic | Caracol | Beetz et al. 1981 | 1 |
| Panel fragments | Terminal Classic | Xunantunich | Helmke 2010 | 2 |
| Panel fragments | Terminal Classic | Xunantunich | Helmke 2010 | 1 |
| Stela 14 | Terminal Classic | Caracol | Beetz et al. 1981 | 1 |
| | | | **Total Count** | **1417** |

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FW: Request for use of figure
Inbox

J

Jaime Jose Awe Tue, Mar 22, 10:51 AM (7 days ago)

to me

Scott,

See Simon's response below. You have permission to use the figure for your thesis.

Jaime

Jaime J. Awe Ph.D.
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Northern Arizona University

Flagstaff, AZ  86011
project website: www.BVAR.org

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From: Martin, Simon [simonm3@upenn.edu]
Sent: Tuesday, March 22, 2022 10:34 AM
To: Jaime Jose Awe
Subject: Re: Request for use of figure

Hi Jaime,

Of course, I give my permission, no problem.

Yes, see you in Chicago and, yes, do find the rest of the Komkom Vase!

All best, Simon

On 3/22/22, 1:23 PM, "Jaime Jose Awe" <Jaime.Awe@nau.edu> wrote:

Hi Simon,

Greetings from Arizona. I am writing to ask if you would grant permission to my graduate student to use one of the figures from your and Nikolai's book (Chronicles of the Maya Kings and Queens). My student would like to use the figure in this MA thesis which examines the use of spolia during the Classic period in Belize.  The thesis will not be published so we have no concern for infringing on copywrite.

If you are headed to Chicago for the SAAs, I look forward to seeing you there. This summer, I am hoping to conduct further excavations at Baking Pot with the hope of recovering more fragments of the Komkom Vase. I will let you know how this goes by early July.

All the best,

Jaime

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Northern Arizona University
Flagstaff, AZ  86011
project
website: https://urldefense.com/v3/__http://www.BVAR.org__;!!IBzWLUs!F075CbQtb_eGnemJxJxXttadpqOVqkgAO8dbYM4KAcNZgVjF7XmbWskAqEKf7qVX$

S

Scott Yost <smy4@nau.edu> Tue, Mar 22, 11:24 AM (7 days ago)

to Jaime

Thank you!