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The present drains the past to irrigate the future. (Henri Bergson, cited in Marquardt 1994:203)

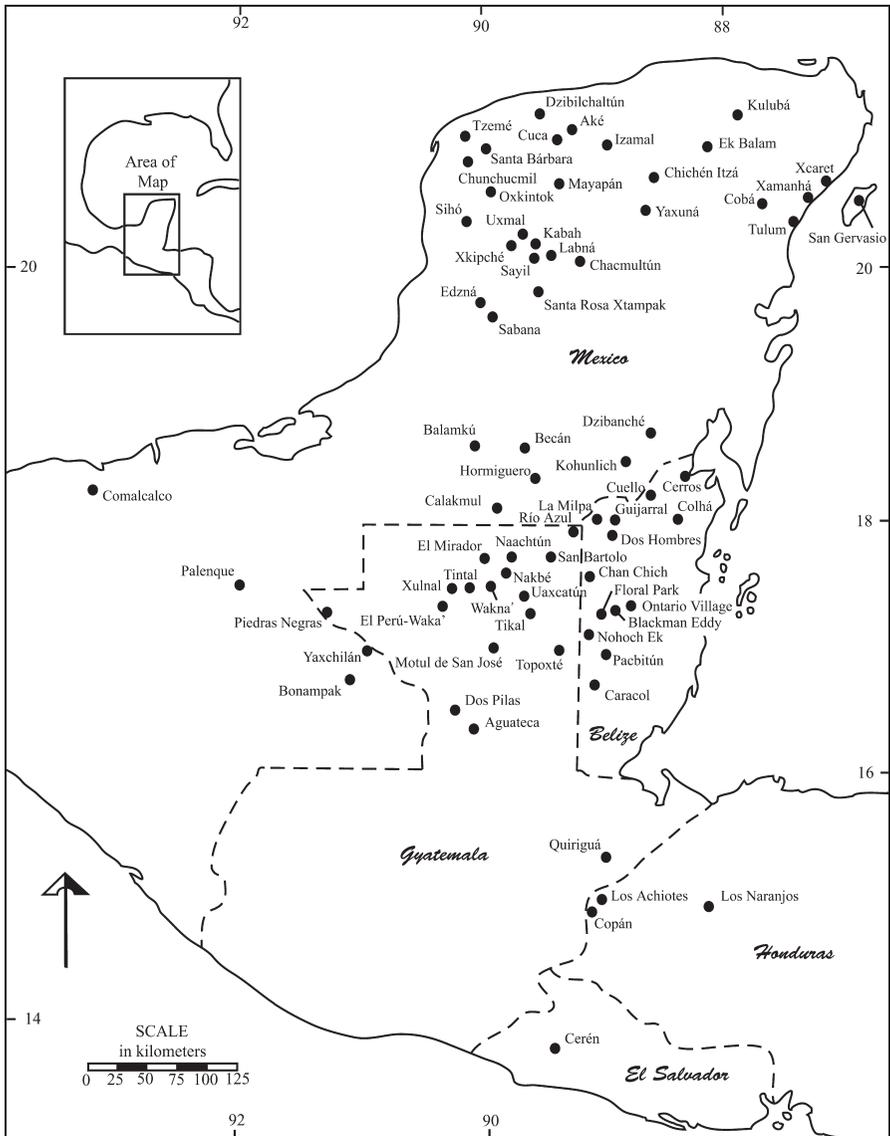
Issues of identity, power, and tradition, among other important themes of social inquiry, are inextricably tied to the individual's or society's perception of the past. As Connerton (1989) has noted, the experience of the present is largely dependent on the knowledge of the past. The recent work of Bradley (1987, 1993, 1994, 1998) and others (Driscoll 1998; Foxhall 1995; Geary 1994; Hingley 1996; King 1996; Petts 2002; Richards 1996; Roymans 1995; Umberger 1996; Van Dyke and Alcock 2003a; Williams 1997, 1998; see also Bowie 1974; Morgan 1983) has made this point abundantly clear and opened the investigation of ancient cultural constructions of more ancient pasts as worthy of archaeological inquiry.

In practice, however, the study of the past in the past is methodologically problematic. One of the greatest difficulties concerns questions of human cognition. How can we understand how people perceived their past and simultaneously constructed myth and history? In societies with extensive historical documentation, perceptions of the past can be partially glimpsed, often in colored and distorted forms from select voices. A well-known example of this problem involves the writings

of early antiquarians in Britain concerning the nature and origin of megaliths (Trigger 1989). From these documents we can see how a segment of eighteenth-century British society differentially interpreted this part of the British past. Although megaliths were probably never stripped of meaning throughout their existence (Bender 1992; see also Thomas 1996:59–64), perceptions of them were drastically transformed over time. By the eighteenth century some antiquarians asserted that sites such as Avebury were the tombs of mytho-historic British kings, while others began to propose greater antiquity for these monuments. The analysis of such perceptions indicates that all documents relating to the past eventually become potential data for the study of the past in the past. As Bradley (2002:148; see also Bhreathnach 1995) has pointed out, the early archaeologist Petrie (1839) made use of the Dindgnai Temrach, a twelfth-century A.D. text interpreting the even older site of Tara, Ireland, to aid in his survey of the site. This example demonstrates not only a case of an early archaeologist studying the past in the past but the fact that archaeological work itself eventually becomes a fairly reliable source of past perception for future archaeologists and historians.

For prehistoric societies and those for which historical documentation is fragmentary and limited, such as the Precontact Maya considered in this work, it is exceedingly difficult to interpret the intentions and perceptions of people long deceased. We are afforded little or no explicit information concerning these aspects of the past and are left to explore the data we generate from sites and artifacts. This lack of explicit evidence does not mean we should not investigate the question of the past in the past. As Bradley (2002) has demonstrated, a variety of archaeological data—including settlement patterns, mortuary practices, and votive caches—can be used to interpret what ancient peoples thought about the places, artifacts, and monuments of the past. Archaeological data do not always provide for clear or sure interpretations, but progress toward an understanding of the past in the past can be made.

In this volume, the authors explore how the ancient lowland Maya used and perceived abandoned buildings. The chapters explore a diverse range of issues surrounding this topic, as well as a wide range of geographical (Belize; Petén, Guatemala; Honduras; and Yucatán and Campeche, Mexico [Figure 1.1]) and temporal (Formative, Classic, Postclassic, Historic, and Modern) contexts. In the remainder of this chapter, we address many of the theoretical issues the debate concerning the role of abandoned structures in Maya society engenders. Turning to the three key concepts of abandonment, landscape, and memory, we set out theoretical issues relevant to this topic. We then discuss some important issues and questions archaeologists face as they approach this and similar topics before concluding with an outline of the volume.



1.1 Map of the Maya Area with Sites Mentioned in the Volume.

ABANDONED STRUCTURES AND THE PAST IN THE LOWLAND MAYA PAST
 Archaeological examinations of architectural contexts in the Maya area, and in Mesoamerica in general, frequently focus on the construction, use, modification, and abandonment of masonry structures. Post-abandonment cultural processes,

however, are often ignored or relegated to interpretational categories generally perceived to be of lesser academic value (e.g., stone robbing). Although we have an increasingly large dataset of architectural contexts in Maya archaeology, as well as a developed tradition in settlement pattern archaeology (e.g., Ashmore 1981a, 1981b; Freidel and Sabloff 1984; Kurjack 1974; Kurjack, Garza Tarazona de González, and Lucas 1979; Puleston 1973, 1983; Pyburn et al. 1998; Tourtellot 1988a, 1988b; Webster and Freter 1990a, 1990b; Willey et al. 1965), it is difficult to find explicit discussions of abandoned structures within the context of continued site or regional occupation. More often than not, the act of abandonment is framed as the end. If occupation persists in the general area, settlement patterns are sometimes compared and contrasted, but rarely is the old settlement pattern integrated in such studies as part of subsequent occupation. Only when abandonment episodes are periods of hiatus is the old incorporated into discussions of the new. Such instances, in both domestic and civic contexts, demonstrate that construction loci could be reused or reoccupied, but rarely are the periods of hiatus or final post-abandonment treated as primary research questions in the Maya area (but see Willey 1974).

Given the wide range of post-abandonment activities now known to archaeologists, we should be careful to document the multiple processes related to abandonment and post-abandonment behavior. In addition to natural processes (see Schiffer 1987), many types of human activities could have occurred at abandoned structures in the past. For instance, ritual activity could have taken place at structures abandoned by their builders (e.g., Barrera Rubio et al. 2003; Hansen, Howell, and Guenter, Chapter 2, this volume). Domestic loci could have become burial grounds (e.g., Bradley 2002). Long-abandoned sacred structures could have been reinterpreted and subverted by the construction of new monuments and temples (e.g., Daniel 1972; Holtorf 1997). The acknowledgment of such behavior underscores the importance of considering abandoned structures as a primary research question.

Importantly, the memory of buildings could affect their reuse and perception. For instance, some twelfth-century A.D. Seljuk sultans chose to reoccupy and refurbish Roman buildings in southern Turkey instead of building new palaces because these impressive landmarks were part of the storied Anatolian elite history with which the sultans chose to associate themselves (Redford 2000:85–87). In contrast, King Edward I of England ordered the Roman ruins of Caerleon dismantled because they served as a symbolic locus of Welsh resistance. The ruins had been linked to King Arthur in Welsh mythology and were deemed a threat to English rule (Bradley 2002:121–122; Howell 2000). Similar examples can be found in the Maya area. At Piedras Negras, for example, intrusive Late Classic rulers reused and transformed the South Group Court, the sociopolitical heart of the Formative set-

tlement, as their main stage of ritual practice to legitimate their political status in front of the local population by claiming ancient dynastic ties (Child and Golden, Chapter 3, this volume). On the other hand, at El Perú-Waka', Terminal Classic people performed termination rituals at the main Late Classic ancestor shrine aimed at eradicating dynastic ties of the Late Classic rulers and consequently desecrating and obliterating their social memory (Navarro Farr, Freidel, and Arroyave Prera, Chapter 5, this volume).

These examples demonstrate the need to understand and examine both memory and place. The creation of place through everyday practices and rituals is intertwined with processes of remembering and forgetting. Through these processes, memories—individual and social—are created and transformed that in turn affect the perception of place. Given that abandoned structures are often part of community life, they must also play some role in the processes of remembrance and forgetting. Past material culture does not simply capture and fix memories. Rather, because of its materiality and continued existence, material culture constantly affects social practice and in turn generates new meanings through time (Blake 1998; Curtoni, Lazzari, and Lazzari 2003). Thus the ongoing incorporation of past material culture, including abandoned structures, in the social practices of later times continuously creates layers of meanings and memories that link past, present, and future (Rowlands 1993).

Evidence indicates that sites in the Maya lowlands were rarely, if ever, characterized by 100 percent use of all structures. The “100 percent occupancy” model is best characterized by artist renditions of Maya centers in *National Geographic*. This artistic paradigm, more symptomatic of popular envisionments of Maya centers than of actual archaeological research, portrays site centers with smoke from hearths emanating from brightly plastered and painted temples, palaces, and houses with not one ruin in sight (Figure 1.2). Such scenes do not capture the reality of occupational histories at most Maya sites. More realistic scenes are depicted in a series of paintings commissioned by the University of Pennsylvania Tikal Project that envision Tikal as both a lived-in and a decaying space that was transformed throughout the Classic period (Figure 1.3). Despite the popular belief that the Maya were incessant builders who continually modified the houses and temples they constructed, many examples can be cited in which buildings were purposely abandoned and left to fall into ruins during both robust periods of occupation as well as periods of demographic decline. These decaying buildings would have greatly impacted the landscapes of the ancient Maya who lived among them.

Such a view leads us to question what role abandoned structures played in the lives of the ancient Maya. Why were structures abandoned in functioning communities? How were they used and perceived by later Maya? The answers to these questions may be almost as variable as the many documented contexts from

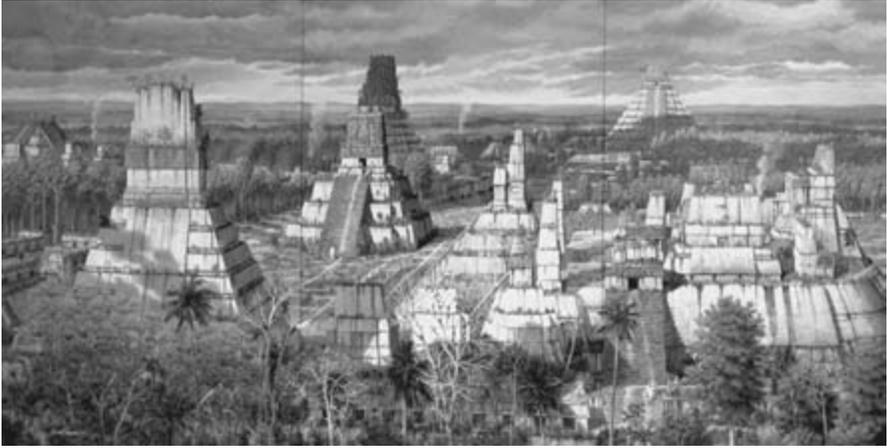
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1.2 Painting of El Mirador, Guatemala. Painted by T. Rutledge; Courtesy, *National Geographic*.

ancient Maya homes and civic structures, but they are crucial for understanding Maya conceptions about the past as well as how they constructed their present.

ABANDONMENT, REUSE, AND REOCCUPATION

To begin to understand the role of abandoned structures in ancient lowland Maya society, we must start with the definition of abandonment. Recent archaeological work on abandonment (Cameron 1991; Cameron and Tomka 1993; Inomata and Webb 2003a; LaMotta and Schiffer 1999) demonstrates that there is no clear and simple definition of this process. Instead, abandonment can take several forms, each of which can have specific implications for the continued use and perception of structures. In some cases abandonment may appear to be self-evident. The disoccupation and subsequent burning of sites in the Petexbatún region of Guatemala in the eighth century A.D. is a prime example (Inomata 1997, 2003). In this case, no archaeological evidence of subsequent ancient Maya use after the rapid and violent abandonment of these sites has been recovered. Other examples of rapid abandonment familiar to Mesoamerican archaeologists are Cerén (McKee 1999; Sheets 1992, 2000, 2002; Sheets et al. 1990) and Tetimpa¹ (Mauricio Gómez 2002; Plunket and Uruñela 1998, 2003; Uruñela and Plunkett 1998, 2004), where volcanic activity forced the residents to abandon both sites in a short period of time. In most cases, though, abandonment is less straightforward.



1.3 Painting of Tikal, Guatemala, Commissioned by the University of Pennsylvania Project. Painted by Russell Hoover; Courtesy, Russell Hoover.

Inomata and Webb (2003b:3) have noted that much of the abandonment literature follows Schiffer's definition of this process. In his terms (Schiffer 1987:89), abandonment is the "process whereby a place—an activity area, structure, or entire settlement—is transferred to archaeological context." We find this definition problematic for the simple reason that it portrays abandonment as a final cultural event whereby a "place" enters a sealed archaeological record.² The diversity of abandonment behavior, however, reveals that abandonment processes are more complex than envisioned by Schiffer's definition. Tomka's (1993; see also Lightfoot 1993; Schlanger and Wilshusen 1993) study of transhumant agro-pastoralists in Bolivia, for example, outlines three different types of abandonment: seasonal, episodic, and permanent. Seasonal abandonment in particular illustrates that while a locale may be abandoned for a time, material culture may not enter a static archaeological record. These different processes of abandonment leave distinctive signatures in the archaeological record that archaeologists should attempt to retrieve and distinguish.

In the Maya lowlands, where residential mobility probably declined during the Middle Formative, other types of abandonment do not necessarily fit Schiffer's (1987) definition. For instance, at Chunchucmil (Magnoni, Hutson, and Stanton, Chapter 8, this volume), Terminal Classic platforms were constructed next to decaying Early Classic house structures and other features (e.g., civic-ceremonial architecture, walls, and causeways) that formed part of a previously dense urban center. While the Early Classic urban settlement had been abandoned, the space continued to be utilized by later residents. A particularly problematic twist on such

a situation would be the continued use of an abandoned house as a trash dump by a group of people who decided to build a new house ten m away. While the house has been abandoned and is no longer used as a residence, it is still utilized by its former residents. Clearly, changing the function of a structure does not make it abandoned. Sleeping structures can become areas used for storage without being abandoned (see Deal 1998:123–126). Yet when we find Postclassic altars or offerings on top of temples that have been completely unoccupied for centuries (e.g., Sullivan et al., Chapter 4, this volume; Hansen, Howell, and Guenter, Chapter 2, this volume) or cases where full-scale construction resumed at a civic structure after a several-century hiatus (e.g., Hansen, Howell, and Guenter, Chapter 2, this volume), we might reconsider how the concept of abandonment can be retooled to account for such behavior.

These are important problems because abandonment is not a black-and-white issue. For example, was La Quemada, Zacatecas, abandoned during the Early Postclassic (Nelson 2003)? The answer to such a question depends on whether one considers a small reoccupation of a site by non-descendants an abandonment or a certain kind of abandonment (see Chapter 7, where Manahan explores similar issues at Copán, Honduras). Or, if the Early Postclassic residents of La Quemada, however sedentary they may have been, were descendants of the Epiclassic inhabitants of the site, do we consider the site to have been *largely* abandoned after A.D. 1000, when many of the principal civic structures appear to have been in ruins? Degrees of abandonment, or stages in abandonment and reoccupation processes, can frustrate cut-and-dried conceptions of what constitutes the meaning of abandonment. In this volume, we have left the issue of how abandonment is defined as a subject to be explored in the individual chapters, but we wish to draw attention to the issue here.

In addition to the definitional issues raised earlier, several other points regarding abandonment need to be kept in mind. First, the scale of abandonment is important (Cameron and Tomka 1993). Individual structures, entire sites, or regions may be abandoned. The issue of scale can have profound implications for interpretations of the use and perception of abandoned structures by later peoples in prehistory. Second, the context of abandonment is critical. The reasons for abandonment (e.g., warfare, death of a family member, or pest problems) can potentially impact the further use and perception of a structure. Special care should be taken to address both issues when examining the later use and perception of places that have been abandoned.

Although the subject of abandonment is vital to the authors of this volume, the central theme is continued human behavior around, and perceptions of, abandoned structures. Consideration of these activities and perceptions can be organized in several ways. One particularly useful distinction is between reuse and

reoccupation (Brooks and Yellen 1987:89; see also Wandsnider 1992). In Brooks and Yellen's (1987) terms, reuse is the reutilization of previously established facilities within a given space. Reoccupation is the repeated use of a space that makes use of such facilities. This distinction is important to keep in mind as the scale of analysis is increased to include multiple structures. We would add, however, that both of these terms imply abandonment. Therefore, a third distinction could be made: altered function. Structures may be continuously occupied but have changes in function. Such changes may appear to indicate abandonment in some areas where chronology is difficult to assess.

Finally, to understand continued human behavior at, and perception of, abandoned structures and sites, it is important to consider the actions of the people who abandoned those structures, as well as of those who later decided to reuse or reoccupy them. First, we should keep in mind that all cultural remains are the result of social actions and meaningful relationships between people and material objects (Thomas 1993). Second, we know that people operate within established sociocultural frameworks that vary with time and place. As archaeologists or historians, we should pay attention to these locally and temporally derived social practices, since they can illuminate the cultural contexts in which past agents acted. Structures not only undergo physical changes over time (e.g., maintenance, consolidation, expansion, and destruction), but their meanings also vary according to the events in which they take part and the changing contexts in which people encounter them. These changing contexts are the results of conscious and unconscious choices people have made through time. For example, both consecration and desecratory termination rituals were carried out by individuals or groups of individuals within the parameters of sociocultural norms that would have guided ritual behavior at a specific place and time (as many of the book's chapters illustrate). Thus by looking closely at the patterning of material culture and the configuration of space, we can elucidate the habits and actions of these past agents, as well as the meanings attached to them.

LANDSCAPE AND PLACE

A sense of place is formed through the sedimentation of symbolic and emotional meanings, memories and the attachments to people and things, which arise out of past practices and their underlying power relations. (Erdoğu 2003:9)

Structures, in their various states of construction, use, and decay, are part of ever-changing landscapes. Yet while the concept of landscape has drawn much attention from archaeologists over the years, the use of this term has varied among different schools of thought (see Ashmore and Knapp 1999; Derks 1997; Hirsch 1995;

Lemaire 1997; Thomas 1993). For example, landscape was approached from an environmental standpoint during the 1970s (e.g., Aston and Rowley 1974), while more recently it has been studied through an experiential lens by phenomenologists (e.g., Children and Nash 1997; Cummings, Jones, and Watson 2002; Thomas 1996; Tilley 1994, 1999; see also Tuan 1978, 1979). In this volume, we use the term *landscape* as a cultural phenomenon (cf. Bender 1993a). While the physical environment constitutes an enormous part of our view of landscapes, our perceptions of them are ultimately constructed in the human mind. It is these constructions that comprise landscape.

Knapp and Ashmore (1999) have provided a three-scheme division of landscape that usefully arranges the different types of landscapes people perceive. The first category is constructed landscapes. These are landscapes that are physically altered by human action. The building of a house and the creation of petroglyphs constitute actions that bring constructed landscapes into being. The second division is conceptualized landscapes. These landscapes are portions of the physical environment that have not been physically altered, or at least not to a great degree, by human action. In general, these are natural places such as caves and mountains, although many such natural places have been altered by some form of human action (e.g., pathways in caves or agricultural terraces on the lower slopes of mountains). The third and last category is ideational landscapes. These are both “imagined” and “emotional” landscapes that “may provide moral messages, recount mythic histories, and record genealogies” (Knapp and Ashmore 1999:12). Examples of these landscapes include mythic geography and cosmograms.

Each of these categories is important to the study of perceptions of abandoned structures. Yet these categories are not always mutually exclusive. For example, when they are built, structures represent constructed landscapes. What Knapp and Ashmore (1999) do not touch upon, however, is that at some point many vestiges of the ancient world become part of the natural environment. The meanings of structures and monuments can be transformed in such ways as to render them part of conceptualized or even ideational landscapes. For example, while many modern Maya of northern Yucatán realize today that the Precolumbian structures in this area are likely the work of their ancestors (in part because of the introduction of a westernized archaeology over 100 years ago), there is still a sense that many of these buildings are the homes of supernatural creatures. A sense of “otherness” about these buildings remains, which may have its roots in the Late Postclassic (Barrera Rubio et al. 2003). This sense of otherness likely contrasts with the perceptions of such structures several generations after their final construction, for instance, during the Early Classic. The memory of these places is now very different, falling into a liminal zone between constructed and conceptualized landscapes. In other instances, ancient vestiges of the Precolumbian past, such as pyra-

mids or smaller house mounds, can become part of the natural landscape when soil and vegetation reclaim these ruins and erase their cultural characteristics. This naturalization of ruins is especially common in areas where structures can be confused with natural rises in the karstic landscape (e.g., the Puuc hills and portions of Petén and Belize).

Similarly, the distinction between constructed and conceptualized or ideational landscapes or both can become blurred when sacred and mythic geographies overlap with the built and natural environment. An excellent example of this process is reported by Kahn (1990, 1996). Her study focuses on the Wamirian landscape of coastal New Guinea where stones and other natural features mark places where mythological events took place. Mythic geography is conflated with the natural geography, effectively blurring the distinctions between conceptualized and ideational landscapes. Such a process could also easily occur between constructed and ideational landscapes.

Finally, integral to our understanding of landscape is the idea of place (Casey 1993, 1996, 1997; de Certeau 1984; Feld and Basso 1996; Lefebvre 1991; Low 1996; Pred 1990; Robin 2002; Soja 1989, Thomas 2001; Tuan 1973, 1978, 1979). As Tuan (1973, 1978, 1979) has noted, places are subjective meanings of geographic locations.³ This definition of place is opposed to that of space, which is the actual location itself, devoid of meaning (but see Buttimer 1980; Engelstad 1991). Thus since a single space can have multiple meanings, it can also be multiple places (see Greider and Garkovich 1994; Locock 1994; Mack 2004; Meinig 1979). Places themselves can be constructed by both individuals and groups of people. Whereas the perception of a place may ultimately reside within each person, collective or corporate notions of place can be negotiated by members of a society in specific historical contexts (see Mack 2004; Olwig 1999; Silverman 2002; Yelvington 2002). Therefore remembrance, whether historical (written, oral, or symbolic)⁴ or purely cognitive, is an essential element to how places, including abandoned structures, are internalized by members of a society.⁵

MEMORY AND HISTORY

Almost any society preserves statements of some kind concerning events of its past; its awareness of these events is its awareness of its past; and this awareness plays some part in its life in the present. (Pocock 1962:211)

The remembrance of place and the construction of history and myth are key issues to the topic at hand (see Lovell 1998:16). Unless abandoned structures are perceived to be part of the natural environment, they are encompassed by the idea of a cultural past, whether constructed from direct past bodily experience or from

secondary sources, such as oral or written history. The topics of memory (e.g., Connerton 1989; Halbwachs 1925, 1950; Le Goff 1992; Lowenthal 1979; Melion and Küchler 1991; Nora 1989) and, to a lesser degree, forgetting (see Forty and Küchler 1999; Küchler 1987; Woolf 1996) have received considerable attention from social scientists over the years, including the recent emphasis in archaeology on the “past in the past” (Alcock 2000, 2001, 2002; Baker 1985; Bingen 1996; Bradley 2002; Holtorf 1998; Manning 1998; Newman 1998; Parceró Oubiña, Criado Boado, and Santos Estévez 1998; Richards 1996; Stanton and Freidel 2005). A review of this literature provides a basis for several important points germane to the consideration of abandoned structures.

There are two general categories of memory: individual and collective. Individual memory is embodied, as Yelvington (2002:237; see also Lowenthal 1985; Prager 1998) argued, “in a person actively engaged in constructing (embodied) selfhood with reference to its unique past.” This more personal form of memory allows for consideration of the real variation in people’s memory of places. Each individual constructs his or her own memory from unique reference points, no matter how similar or different their perceptual experiences of those places are.⁶ Further, as Lowenthal (1979; see also Gillis 1994) has noted, memory is in constant flux. The construction of historical “facts” and remembered experiences is not a stable process. This is the reality of individual perception. Yet a second form of memory constructs remembrance in a more corporate fashion as people negotiate their memories among each other. This continual negotiation of memories can lead to historical consensus or, more realistically, consensuses reflective of various social relations among groups of people. With the negotiation of historical consensuses and in tandem with similarities in life experiences (e.g., similar acculturation), some sense of collective memory can emerge within the group. This realization has led several researchers to discuss the idea of collective memory, sometimes referred to as social memory (see Burke 1989; Confino 1997; Fentress and Wickham 1992; Foxhall 1995; Geary 1994; Gedi and Elam 1996; Gillis 1994; Gurahian 1990; Halbwachs 1925, 1950; Hamilakis 1999; Jonker 1995; Knapp 1989; Pennebaker, Paez, and Rimé 1997; Van Dyke and Alcock 2003a; Zerubavel 1994, 1995). The distinction between individual and collective notions of the past is important for archaeologists to keep in mind, as the cognitive dynamics of each can be very different (see Bell 1992). We must not confuse the perceptions of a place based on an individual’s personally constructed memories with the negotiated aspects of place people may share. The degree to which these memories, as well as “senses of place,” coincide is not altogether evident in most archaeological data.

The most obvious form of individual memory is mental recall of past experiences. As Knapp and Ashmore (1999) noted, evidence from cognitive science indicates that such memories appear to be constructed rather than retrieved. Thus the

recalling of memories is not a simple operation of playing back mental recordings. Yet whereas we might identify memory as a mental construct, the process of memory recall is not directly available for archaeological study. Perception and memory alone do not leave material evidence for archaeologists to analyze. Therefore proxy evidence from behavior, which does leave material traces, must be used to understand past memory (see Alcock 2001:328). Such evidence, for instance, might be found archaeologically in the form of texts. Individual memory in the past, however, is not easy to reconstruct (Houston and Taube 2000:263), as individuals are often difficult to identify despite repeated calls for archaeology of the individual (e.g., Hill and Gunn 1977; Hodder 2000). Most archaeologically accessible memories tend to be of a shared sort in which individuals communicated ideas in various media (e.g., ceramics, texts, and iconography)⁷ that were shared among at least several members of their society.

KEY ISSUES TO GUIDE RESEARCH

As we move to a consideration of abandoned structures in the individual chapters, there are several questions to keep in mind. First, how were structures used and perceived prior to their abandonment? We doubt that many archaeologists would question the grand theatrical nature of Maya monumental architecture. Buildings such as palaces and mortuary pyramids, among other structures, were instrumental tools in the creation and maintenance of power (see Demarest 1992). Thus we believe the abandonment of such edifices was of great sociopolitical and often religious importance. Here the issues we deal with may be similar in some ways to the abandonment of domestic structures, but in other ways they are markedly different. Therefore we must be sensitive to how the form, function, and size of buildings eventually affected the ways subsequent generations used and perceived these structures.

Importantly, we must be aware that some architecture was imbued with great meaning despite being unimpressive in form and size. For example, although we may still be far from understanding the variability of domestic structure abandonment, the fact that the ancient Maya often invested substantial resources over long periods of time to build permanent masonry compounds that lasted for centuries suggests that such groups, when abandoned, were not abandoned lightly. Of course, one could make the argument, following Abrams's (1994) research at Copán, that the amount of "energy" invested in such groups was often much less than we think. This argument, however, would miss a vital point recently touched upon by those forwarding the house model (Gillespie 2000a, 2001; Gillespie and Joyce 1997; Hutson, Magnoni, and Stanton 2004; Joyce and Gillespie 2000): Maya architecture consisted of much more than the physical materials used to construct it.

These houses were the ideological centers of blood, household, ancestors, lineage, and identity. The ancient Maya were fastidious in the cultural construction and maintenance of their ancestors, which, as evidence suggests, constituted the nexus of group identity from the Middle Formative onward (McAnany 1995). To take a phrase from Gillis (1994:11) out of its original context, by the Middle Formative “the living had begun to haunt the dead.” In Maya culture the temple, house, and ancestors were all maintained through rituals of group identity, which we believe could not be easily disassociated from the place and its uses and perceptions while a functioning unit. Thus the architecture of the household was an important means for the group and the individual to navigate and manipulate the social, political, and religious spheres that pervaded daily life. As Thomas (2001:175) noted, “[T]he landscape provides a continuous reminder of the relationship between the living and past generations and consequently of lines of descent and inheritance. The continued use of space through time draws attention to the historically constituted connections, which exist between members of a community.”

In regard to the investment of symbolic meaning in Maya architecture, we must consider the work that has been done on consecratory and termination rituals (Mock 1998a; Pagliaro, Garber, and Stanton 2003). Ritual behavior can play a very important role in the definition and manipulation of places and objects. Among the Maya, rituals of dedication, reverential termination, and violent desecration played important roles in the life histories of structures, which the Maya believed had animate life histories. Several of the chapters in this volume touch on these types of ritual behavior, as the seemingly ubiquitous ritual contexts in the Maya area provide vital clues to the use and perception of architecture (see Benavides C., Chapter 9, this volume; Brown and Garber, Chapter 6, this volume; Navarro Farr, Freidel, and Arroyave Prera, Chapter 5, this volume).

Second, what was the context of abandonment? Or, phrased differently, what were the possible reasons for abandonment? We believe the reasons for abandonment may greatly impact the later use and perception of a structure. For example, evidence of violent activity in abandonment contexts may suggest that certain structures evoked feelings of military and political defeat among subsequent generations who continued to live in the area. Burned and sacked structures at Aguateca, Petén, Guatemala (Inomata 1997; Inomata and Stiver 1998; Inomata and Triadan 2000) and Yaxuná, Yucatán, Mexico (Ambrosino, Ardren, and Stanton 2003) are prime examples. At Yaxuná, we know people continued to live at the site following such activity and that violently destroyed structures were purposely avoided (Stanton and Gallareta Negrón 2001). Such situations contrast with examples of post-abandonment ritual activity. In many cases across the Maya area, structures were abandoned without much evidence of the causes of abandonment but with clear evidence of subsequent veneration rituals. In some cases these ritu-

als are linked to ancestor veneration, such as at a domestic shrine at Guijarral, Belize (Sullivan et al., Chapter 4, this volume). In others, important elite structures appear to have been revered in smoking rituals involving *incensarios* or in feasting rituals (Brown and Garber, Chapter 6, this volume; Hansen, Howell, and Guenter, Chapter 2, this volume). Such practices have persisted into modern times with the Lacandón use of God pots along the Usumacinta (see McGee 1998).

A cursory examination of domestic abandonment further illustrates this point. For instance, people can abandon houses because they become infested with pests (see Cameron 1990; McGuire and Schiffer 1983; Schlanger and Wilshusen 1993:90; Seymour and Schiffer 1987). If the new house is nearby, sometimes the old house is used as a trash dump. An inspection of abandoned houses in a modern pueblo in Yucatán (Hutson et al. 2007) or in many other societies around the world can attest to the use of abandoned structures as garbage dumps. In other cases, people abandon houses because an occupant died and they believe it is unsafe to continue to live there (Deal 1985:269, 1998:126–127; Schiffer 1987:92; Tozzer 1941:130; Wauchope 1938:152). These buildings are often avoided with great diligence. The uses and perceptions of the buildings in these examples would obviously differ greatly, at least among the generation or generations that followed the abandonment of the structure and retained some memory of its life history. While the specific details and interpretations of abandonment are always open to debate, it is clear that the context of abandonment could impact the use and perception of abandoned structures in the lives of later Maya.

Third, is the abandonment followed by further occupation, and, if so, how does it differ from the original? We believe archaeologists should acknowledge hiatus periods as periods of abandonment. Any structure, site, or region has the capacity to be reused or reoccupied following abandonment episodes. Clearly, the decision to do so does not negate the hiatus as a period of abandonment and decay. For example, if a structure has a hiatus period of 200 years followed by construction, making the abandoned structure a substructure, the hiatus period should be conceived of as a time when the substructure was in visible ruins. Further, an examination of the reuse of the abandoned structure may yield information regarding the perception of that structure during its period of original use, abandonment, and ultimate reuse.

Fourth, how does continued settlement pattern in regard to the location of abandoned structures? An important consideration in determining how people may have used or perceived abandoned structures is the way they organized themselves across the landscape. Did people build next to abandoned structures, or were they purposely avoiding them? Were new communities located away from or close to abandoned towns and cities? These questions have great bearing on how people could have organized their daily activities in areas of abandoned structures and

how these structures would have visually impacted daily routines. At San Gervasio on Cozumel Island, for example, a large Late Postclassic population lived within 500 m of a very large Early Classic acropolis that dominated the landscape but had been in ruins for centuries (see Barrera Rubio et al. 2003; Sierra Sosa 1994; Vargas de la Peña 1992). The proximity of this acropolis created ample opportunity for daily activities, ranging from religious practices to more mundane activities such as weaving or children's play, to have occurred there. Although no evidence of such activities has been reported from the excavations of the acropolis, its visual presence on a daily basis must have impacted people's thoughts and perceptions of it. The acropolis's central location and great size suggest that it would have been a major part of people's experience of the community landscape. In contrast, abandoned structures located away from communities may have been used and perceived in very different ways. Abandoned Early Classic domestic structures in the San Gervasio area may have been located in agricultural fields or in the forest and might not have entered daily awareness.

Fifth, what types of behavior might be missing from our analyses? Identifying all ancient activities is next to impossible. We must realize that we are limited in what we can understand about the use of abandoned structures. To address the issue of function, we are clearly limited in the types of human activities we can archaeologically retrieve. Further, the data we do have may bias our interpretations. For example, we might recover evidence of a Postclassic shrine on top of an Early Classic platform and infer ritual functions for, and supernatural perceptions of, this space during the Postclassic. We may not, however, recover evidence of the children who once played on the platform or of the structure's use as a landmark in the Postclassic. As we all know, such invisible behavior is the nature of archaeological data. Therefore we must remember that we cannot capture the full range of daily life and hence explore the full range of uses of a place.

Along with use, we might also include meanings and metaphors, with this cautionary comment. As Tilley (1999:40–49) has argued, architecture, in whole or in part, can be used as metaphor. Houses, for instance, can be used as metaphors for cosmology or gender relations (see Blier 1987; Bourdieu 1977; Fernandez 1977, 1986; Joyce and Gillespie 2000; Kent 1990; Parker Pearson and Richards 1994; Waterson 1991). Evidence for architectural and place metaphors abounds in the Maya area (see Ashmore 1988, 1989, 1991, 1992; Ashmore and Sabloff 2000, 2002; Brady 1991, 1997; Brady and Ashmore 1999; Freidel, Schele, and Parker 1993; Martin 1971; Pugh 2001; Reese 1996; but see Prem 2000; Michael Smith 2003). Yet while we might recover evidence for architectural metaphors and use these in our understanding of how structures were perceived after their abandonment, other metaphors that could enhance or change our understanding of these perceptions might escape us.

Sixth, what are the time scales involved in the use and later reuse and perception of a structure? Any study of space or place should include a consideration of time (Bender 2002; Foucault 1986; Hägerstrand 1976, 1985; Holmberg, Stanton, and Hutson 2006; Munn 1992; Pred 1977; Wandsnider 1992). Time scales are important since the perceptions of people, both individuals and groups, change over time. Clearly, the effects of 10 versus 500 years of decay of an abandoned structure can have different impacts on people's perceptions of that structure.⁸ While all collective memories and perceptions rely on the communication and negotiation of experiences, generational time scales (cf. Dietler and Herbich 1993:252–253) affect the construction of memories and landscapes in very different ways than daily experience does. Moreover, the length of time the structure was originally used may be an important consideration. With the passage of time, places may accrue further meanings, and, in turn, those meanings may modify the perception of these places. In this sense, a consideration of the biography (cf. Kopytoff 1986; LaMotta and Schiffer 2001; Roymans 1995) of place becomes very relevant to understanding the role of abandoned structures. Differences between having known a structure during its original use and knowing it 500 years after its abandonment could result in very different experiences of it and could have affected its subsequent use and perception. In such ways, the house of the grandfather could eventually become the home of an *alux* (a mischievous creature believed to live in the forest and around Precolumbian Maya ruins), or the house of an important merchant could become part of someone's *milpa* (swidden field). Over long time scales (*longue durée*), landscapes are redefined and transformed in ways that indicate substantial reconfigurations of landscape use and perceptual experience: towns become cities, cities become agricultural fields, agricultural fields become modern malls. Yet we should be aware that with each transformation of a landscape, the old—including abandoned structures—is incorporated into the new.

Seventh, what is the evidence for continued human activity at abandoned structures? Such evidence may range from stone robbing to refuse disposal to ritual use. Through historic times in Yucatán, abandoned buildings have been mined to construct roads and buildings, to grow agricultural products because of the soil-weathering patterns, to serve as platforms for new construction, and to be investigated and restored for tourism and the construction of modern identities (e.g., Maya, Yucatecan, Mexican, or Guatemalan identities [e.g., Benavides C., Chapter 9, this volume]). While some of the issues of use and perception of abandoned structures may have been very different for the ancient Maya, the variability may have been just as great as it is in the present.

Finally, whose perspectives are we reconstructing? By focusing on the perceptions of archaeological places, we introduce multiple perspectives and voices to the narratives of the past. In our investigations of how different actors in the past

and the present imparted and continue to imbue with meaning their cultural and physical surroundings, we should not only include different methodological and theoretical perspectives and integrate different lines of evidence, but we should also encompass all the voices (even though they can be contradictory) of all these past and present actors (cf. Bowser 2004). In this way we can arrive at a much more informed understanding of the perceptions of people in the past.

AN OVERVIEW OF THE VOLUME

The case studies presented in the book's chapters range from human engagement with entire settlements (Benavides C.; Hansen, Howell, and Guenter; Magnoni, Hutson, and Stanton; Manahan) to interactions with specific architectural contexts (Benavides C.; Brown and Garber; Child and Golden; Hansen, Howell, and Guenter; Navarro Farr, Freidel, and Arroyave Prera; Sullivan et al.) from the Middle Formative to the present. Thus more than 3,000 years of human interaction with abandoned buildings across the Maya region are explored in this volume (Figure 1.1). Yet in exploring cases of abandonment, reuse, and reoccupation, the authors touch on a series of related themes, including the establishment of sacred places, reverential and desecratory termination rituals, altered functions and meanings of structures, reinvention of traditions and cultural practices, historical discontinuities, and the manipulation, commemoration, and obliteration of social memories. With these ideas in mind, the authors interpret specific events in their larger socio-cultural contexts at each site and region. Past social agents, rulers and commoners alike, are also closely examined to understand how they consciously and unconsciously imbued with meanings their built environment.

In this first case study, Hansen, Howell, and Guenter review a wealth of data from the Mirador Basin (Guatemala). By integrating ethnographic, epigraphic, and archaeological data and grounding themselves in a cognitive archaeological approach, the authors attempt to reconstruct ancient attitudes toward even more ancient ruins in this important Formative region of the Maya world. The Mirador Basin was a major center of sociopolitical and cultural development for the Maya civilization during the Formative, and an abundance of impressive archaeological remains—from agricultural terraces to enormous pyramids and stone monuments—still mark this landscape. Generations of Maya following the Formative “collapse” of the Mirador Basin interacted with these cultural remains in a variety of manners, including complete avoidance, stone robbing, ritual reburial of abandoned buildings, deposition of offerings and burials, and more permanent reoccupation during the Late Classic. In fact, it was during the Late Classic, after more than 500 years of sporadic human activity with little evidence of permanent settlement in the basin, that a sizable and permanent population dispersed itself amid

the ruins. Reading the epigraphic record, the authors suggest that the Mirador Basin and its ruins were seen as the “spiritual and political heart” of the region by Late Classic lords and rulers of other sites. Hansen and colleagues propose that the original Snake (Kan) polity, back to which many Late Classic rulers traced their dynastic histories, could have been located in the Mirador Basin. If these interpretations are correct, the Mirador Basin could be seen as one of the mythological birthplaces of political dynasties in Mesoamerica.

In Chapter 3, Child and Golden show how the existing built environment at Piedras Negras (Guatemala) was reused and manipulated, as well as how new meanings were ascribed to abandoned structures throughout the centuries. They illustrate how the Early Classic elite reused the abandoned South Group Court, which had been the center of political power from the second half of the Middle Formative to the end of the Late Formative. Yet Classic-period political life was centered at the Acropolis, located in a previously unoccupied portion of the site. The new dynasts, who were either immigrants from central Petén or local lords trying to emulate the architectural characteristics of foreign courts with established dynastic histories, manipulated the existing built environment, such as the South Group Court, to legitimate themselves. By reoccupying and renovating the South Group Court, the oldest public space at Piedras Negras, the possibly intrusive elite was inventing a new tradition for itself while drawing on important elements of the Piedras Negras past and claiming that dynastic tradition was an ancient practice there. Continuing with an analysis of the Terminal Classic, Child and Golden examine a period when Piedras Negras experienced a site-wide population decline and a cessation of monumental construction. At this time, royal architecture was no longer maintained, and ritual space lost its sacred connotations. The authors focus on a few buildings of the Acropolis to illustrate how the architectural space of the previous royal court was reused without reference to the dynastic past. Buildings were desecrated, reassigned new functions and meanings, and demolished to provide building materials for more modest residential structures (see also Navarro Farr, Freidel, and Arroyave Prera, Chapter 5, this volume; Sullivan et al., Chapter 4, this volume). Yet at the same time, the population of Piedras Negras may have continued to try to reference some dynastic past with the construction of a poorly built public building, Str. R-8-1, in the South Group Court, the site’s Middle Formative center.

In Chapter 4, Sullivan and colleagues detail three different examples of human interactions with the built environment at sites in the Three Rivers Region (Guatemala and Belize). Beginning with Str. G-103 at Río Azul, the earliest public building at the site, the authors outline its intentional destruction and ritual burial during the Early Classic (ca. A.D. 392) when Tikal is thought to have conquered Río Azul. This structure and the area around it were never reoccupied; their

resettlement was likely forbidden by the new rulers. The new civic center was relocated to another area of the site, the A-Group. The reconfiguration of public space was a powerful message of political domination from the new rulers to the conquered local elite and population. In the second example, termination rituals are described at the sites of Dos Hombres and Chan Chich, where Terminal Classic people desecrated Late Classic elite residences. The desecration of those residences and the erection of poorly built architectural structures with cut stones robbed from earlier buildings speaks of a significant reconfiguration of space meant to erase past signifiers and assign new meanings to the built environment at the critical transition from the Late to the Terminal Classic (see also Child and Golden, Chapter 3, this volume; Navarro Farr, Freidel, and Arroyave Prera, Chapter 5, this volume). Finally, in the last example, Sullivan and colleagues illustrate how a small shrine at Guijarral, built in a single construction episode, remained unaltered for approximately 200 years while the surrounding domestic structures underwent a series of modifications. The authors suggest that the shrine “served as the reminder to the living of the relationship with the dead, of the debt owed to the ancestors who initially cleared the land and began building houses and fields.” Evidence for periodic feasting at the shrine underscores the significant place this structure held in the formation and maintenance of group memory and consciousness.

In Chapter 5, Navarro Farr, Freidel, and Arroyave Prera focus on a specific context of one of the principal temples at the site of El Perú-Waka’ (Guatemala) during the critical transition between the Late and Terminal Classic. Using insights from behavioral archaeology and agency theory, the authors set out to uncover the layers of meaning embedded in the rich and complex variety of ritual deposits at Str. M13-1. This centrally located building may have been an ancestor shrine and the repository of sacred mortuary bundles. Because of the significant position Str. M13-1 would have held in the social landscape and memory of its inhabitants and especially its elite, this structure became the target of extensive desecratory as well as reverential termination events by local Terminal Classic people, aimed at “erasing the memory of important ancestral lineage ties” of Late Classic rulers. The eradication of kinship ties would have eliminated the basis of power legitimization for the Late Classic rulers, as well as obliterated and desecrated the collective memory of them, thus facilitating the end of divine kingship at El Perú-Waka’. In a different vein, the reverential termination events were likely intended to “heal or pay homage to the ancestral and possibly dynastic memory encapsulated” in the building in an attempt to restore sacred memory of the past dynasty.

In Chapter 6, Brown and Garber review the 2,000-year-long sequence of human activities at Str. B1 at Blackman Eddy (Belize) from the Early Formative to the Terminal Classic to reveal a complex architectural history, including the establishment of sacred place as well as the subsequent reuses, abandonment, and final

termination of the structure. During its long history, Str. B1 underwent numerous architectural rebuilding episodes accompanied by various rituals and other activities. Brown and Garber argue that these activities imbued the ever-changing structure with different meanings and chronicled the transformations of the community of Blackman Eddy. By the Middle Formative, the erection of wide public platforms over late Early Formative domestic structures indicates the establishment of sacred public place. Throughout the Middle Formative, a succession of rebuilding episodes was accompanied by consecratory and termination events carried out with communal feasting. By the Late Formative, new ritual activities had emerged in combination with architectural changes (the appearance of the pyramidal form). These data indicate a dramatic change in the use and perception of Str. B1, as well as which social actors may have been involved in the new activities associated with this structure. Dedicatory caches placed within this public architecture at Blackman Eddy point to the abandonment of communal rituals such as feasting in favor of a more restricted form of ritual (caching behavior) undertaken by a small number of individuals. Communal activities were no longer required for the sanctification of sacred place. Instead, rituals with restricted participation were carried out by individuals with the power and ability to imbue architecture with sacred qualities. Brown and Garber suggest that these changes in ritual activity and the increased architectural labor costs mark the emergence of an elite. By the Terminal Formative, the presence of two stucco mask façades flanking the main staircase of Str. B1-2nd suggests that the formalized institution of kingship was in place. Yet despite a 200-year abandonment of Str. B1 during the late Early Classic and the first part of the Late Classic, people returned to this sacred location to perform specific rituals, indicating that the inhabitants of the site remembered the importance of this place. After a final, hastily built construction, a termination ritual was carried out at Str. B1. This ritual symbolized not only the death of the structure but also the abandonment of the site, creating future memories of Blackman Eddy as a place in ruins for the remaining population in the Belize River Valley.

In a contribution to the study of post-collapse societies, in Chapter 7 Manahan takes an in-depth look at Early Postclassic Copán (Honduras) and the reconfigurations of the built environment of this site by a post-collapse society. The settlement patterns, architecture, and material culture of this post-collapse society are so distinct from the Late Classic occupation at Copán that Manahan argues that Copán was reoccupied by nonlocal people from central and western Honduras. This small Early Postclassic community built a limited number of new residential structures next to, but never on top of, abandoned Late Classic buildings. Yet even though none of the Late Classic residential compounds was re-inhabited by Early Postclassic peoples, parts of the site center such as the Acropolis were reused for

internment of the dead. Further, two temples may have also been used as residences. Of interest is the reuse of carved stone sculptures from Classic-period mosaics, which were incorporated in the new domestic structures. The mismatching of old sculptural elements in newer residential construction suggests a lack of literacy in Classic Maya iconographic symbolism. Thus the post-collapse society transformed these sculptural elements into new symbols that made “a generic reference to an exotic yet powerful past.” Yet these elements were not employed as “direct invocation of the kings who commissioned the monuments and the deities to whom they were dedicated.” Manahan concludes that the Early Postclassic society at Copán manifested its own distinct cultural identity from the Late Classic identity with new patterns in settlement, architecture, and material culture. The post-collapse society chose to reuse the ruins of Late Classic Copán not only for practical purposes (utilizing the highly defensible position of the Acropolis, using building materials, and scavenging artifacts) but as a source of ideological power for its own specific needs as well.

In Chapter 8, Magnoni, Hutson, and Stanton look at the spatial history of Chunchucmil (Yucatán, Mexico) and the engagement people have had with its continuously transforming landscapes through the centuries. Chunchucmil grew to become a sprawling urban center and a dynamic trading site in the middle of the Classic period. Despite being located in a region with limited agricultural potential, this city attracted so many people from the surrounding region that it shows the highest density of population of any Classic-period Maya site. After a major population decline and extensive site abandonment, Late-Terminal Classic people chose to live among the ubiquitous ruins of the earlier city. This small settlement, composed of twenty large platforms, was dispersed in the central 1 square km of the site relatively close to the monumental architecture where the elite and rulers of the earlier city had resided. The authors suggest that by choosing to live close to the ruins of the earlier city, Late-Terminal Classic people were actively creating a sense of place by either recalling and commemorating meaningful past memories or fabricating new ones that incorporated the ancient settlement. After lying in ruins throughout the Postclassic and Colonial periods, Chunchucmil became incorporated in the landscape of the henequen haciendas of the late eighteenth century and their descendant communities. The authors explore the interactions of modern Maya with the archaeological remains now located in their communal lands, as well as the diverging perceptions archaeologists and local peoples have of the ruins in terms of competing notions of heritage and patrimony.

Benavides C., in Chapter 9, reviews the spatial history of Edzná (Campeche, Mexico) from the Middle Formative to the present, investigating how past and contemporary social actors have used, manipulated, and perceived this constantly changing site. The focus on modern uses and abuses of the site and questions of

preservation and cultural patrimony at the national and international levels pair this study with the previous chapter. Since Edzná is one of the largest and most visited archaeological sites in the state of Campeche, Benavides C. first places Edzná in its contemporary context by reviewing the variety of visitors (tourists, students, artists, journalists, professional researchers, archaeological workers) and their varied engagements with the site. Then the author takes us back to the Formative to demonstrate how changes to buildings over time inform us of their ancient uses and perceptions. A key element of the author's argument is that Maya buildings were imbued with an animate identity through dedicatory rituals and could eventually be terminated through the destructive manipulation of material remains. The effort to preserve and protect buildings' identities at Edzná is revealed by the careful covering and burying of Formative and Early Classic structures and their stucco masks beneath more recent buildings. Their buried identities would have become part of the new structure's identity. What we see today at Edzná, however, is not solely the result of what the Prehispanic Maya built and transformed throughout the centuries but also the result of modern archaeological interpretations and reconstructions. Benavides C. illustrates an example of an "imaginative" architectural reconstruction carried out at Casa de la Luna in the 1970s to illustrate our role as archaeologists in shaping perceptions of memory in present-day contexts. He recommends that archaeologists only consolidate in situ architectural remains and use virtual reconstructions for further elaborations. Further, Benavides C. highlights the new roles archaeological ruins have come to play in modern Mexican society. Edzná and other sites form part of the national cultural patrimony, thus playing a significant role in the creation of a national shared identity that traces a past back to Prehispanic times. These sites have come "to symbolize the roots of national essence—the *mexicanidad*."

In the final chapter, Canuto and Andrews provide concluding remarks that highlight the significance of the studies undertaken in this volume. They also review the major topics explored by the authors in the volume, such as abandonment, reuse, and memory. In reviewing these themes, Canuto and Andrews discuss the issue of Maya historicism—how the Maya understood, treated, and interacted with past material culture—in the context of the volume's chapters. Finally, Canuto and Andrews urge, as we do, that the contextualization of archaeological sites in their current physical and social settings, as well as the understanding of the multitude of stakeholders that revolve around archaeological ruins, should be critical components of archaeological research today. In a postcolonial world in which archaeological investigations should no longer solely include the archaeologist's voice, concerns about and interest in the reuse and perception of past material culture offer a way to include a wider variety of perspectives on the narratives of the past.

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NOTES

1. There is some question, however, as to exactly how rapidly Tetimpa was abandoned (Plunket and Uruñela 2003). Residents may have begun to abandon the site shortly before the eruption of the volcano.

2. By this definition, substructures are abandoned, although people may still be living on top of them.

3. These can be physical or even mythical locations.

4. In fact, places and architecture themselves can be considered a form of history (Curtoni, Lazzari, and Lazzari 2003; Küchler 1993; Yelvington 2002:232).

5. Among the Maya, the importance of place has recently been emphasized in the debate over the house model (Gillespie 2000a, 2001; Gillespie and Joyce 1997; Hutson, Magnoni, and Stanton 2004; Joyce and Gillespie 2000; see also Houston and McAnany 2003). What we find to be the essential point of this model is how people can organize themselves around places that are negotiated by the collective. While the model is applicable to the study of small-scale social organizations such as domestic groups, it can easily be applied to larger groups of people such as those organized around entire sites.

6. The issue of *qualia* (see Crick and Koch 1990).

7. None of these media is memory itself (see Forty 1999).

8. The state of decay may affect the perception and use of a structure.