
3 LIFE AT THE EDGE OF THE MAYA WORLD: LATE CLASSIC PERIOD CERAMICS FROM BURIALS AND CACHES AT SANTA RITA COROZAL, BELIZE

Arlen F. Chase and Diane Z. Chase

Late Classic ceramics in northern Belize are characterized by several regional traditions. As defined by Duncan Pring, northern Belize exhibited minimally two regional traditions during the Late Classic Period. Excavations at Santa Rita Corozal carried out between 1979 and 1985 focused on the Postclassic Period. While the Postclassic remains that were recovered in these investigations have been published, the materials relating to the Late Classic Period have been only cursorily reported. The materials that were recovered and that date to the Late Classic Period at Santa Rita Corozal permit the framing of this part of northern Belize relative to the rest of the Late Classic Maya world. With the hindsight of some three decades, this paper presents the materials recovered in Santa Rita Corozal's primary deposits dating to the Late Classic Period and uses these materials to infer broader political and economic patterns.

Introduction

Coastal Late Classic northern Belize is key to understanding the Classic Period Maya lowlands. Located on a trade crossroads to the interior, being connected to the central Peten heartland via the Rio Hondo and to developments in central Belize via the New River, a wide array of externally made items may be found at sites within this area. Thus, an examination of archaeological remains from the Late Classic era at any center in this region has the ability to shed light both on the rootedness of the ancient people and also on broader connections and traditions that were maintained by cities within northern Belize. The archaeological investigations at Santa Rita Corozal are particularly relevant to understanding the role of northern Belize in the broader Maya world.

Santa Rita Corozal had been known for its Postclassic remains since the very beginning of the nineteenth century when Thomas Gann (1900) first published the results of his forays into the ancient mounds on the north and west sides of the modern city of Corozal, Belize. His original and subsequent publications (Gann 1900, 1911, 1914, 1918; Gann and Gann 1939) documented elaborately modeled ceramic vessels and figurines relating to Postclassic ritual deposits, but very little about the associated archaeological remains and buildings. In order to better contextualize these materials, the Corozal Postclassic Project carried out four intensive field seasons at Santa Rita Corozal that spanned 1979 through 1985 (D. Chase 1981,

1985a, 1985b, 1986, 2004). While extensive Postclassic (ca. A.D. 900-1532) remains were encountered and documented (D. Chase 1982a, 1984, 1990, 1992; D. Chase and A. Chase 1986, 1988, 2008), these excavations also revealed extensive Preclassic (ca. B.C. 1000- A.D. 250) deposits that went back to the beginnings of Maya civilization (A.S.Z. Chase et al. 2018; D. Chase and A. Chase 2006) and spectacular Early Classic (A.D. 250-550) deposits (D. Chase and A. Chase 2005) that amplified the site's position on a watery trade route that incorporated Corozal Bay (D. Chase and A. Chase 1989). However, it is the Late Classic (A.D. 550-900) deposits that were recovered from the site – and that have never been formally presented – that are the subject of this study.

Santa Rita Corozal Late Classic Burials

A total of 20 burials and two caches dating to the Late Classic Period were recovered during Corozal Postclassic Period investigations at Santa Rita Corozal from 1979 through 1985. These burials are located throughout the site, suggesting that there was a dispersed Late Classic population at Santa Rita (Figure 1), estimated elsewhere as being some 2,438 people (D. Chase 1990: table 10.1), less dense than the later Postclassic settlement. The two caches were each of single vessels placed within building cores. While there is some variation in the Late Classic burials, the majority consisted of extended individuals with heads to the north (N =13; 2 others are extended supine with head to the east) accompanied by a single ceramic

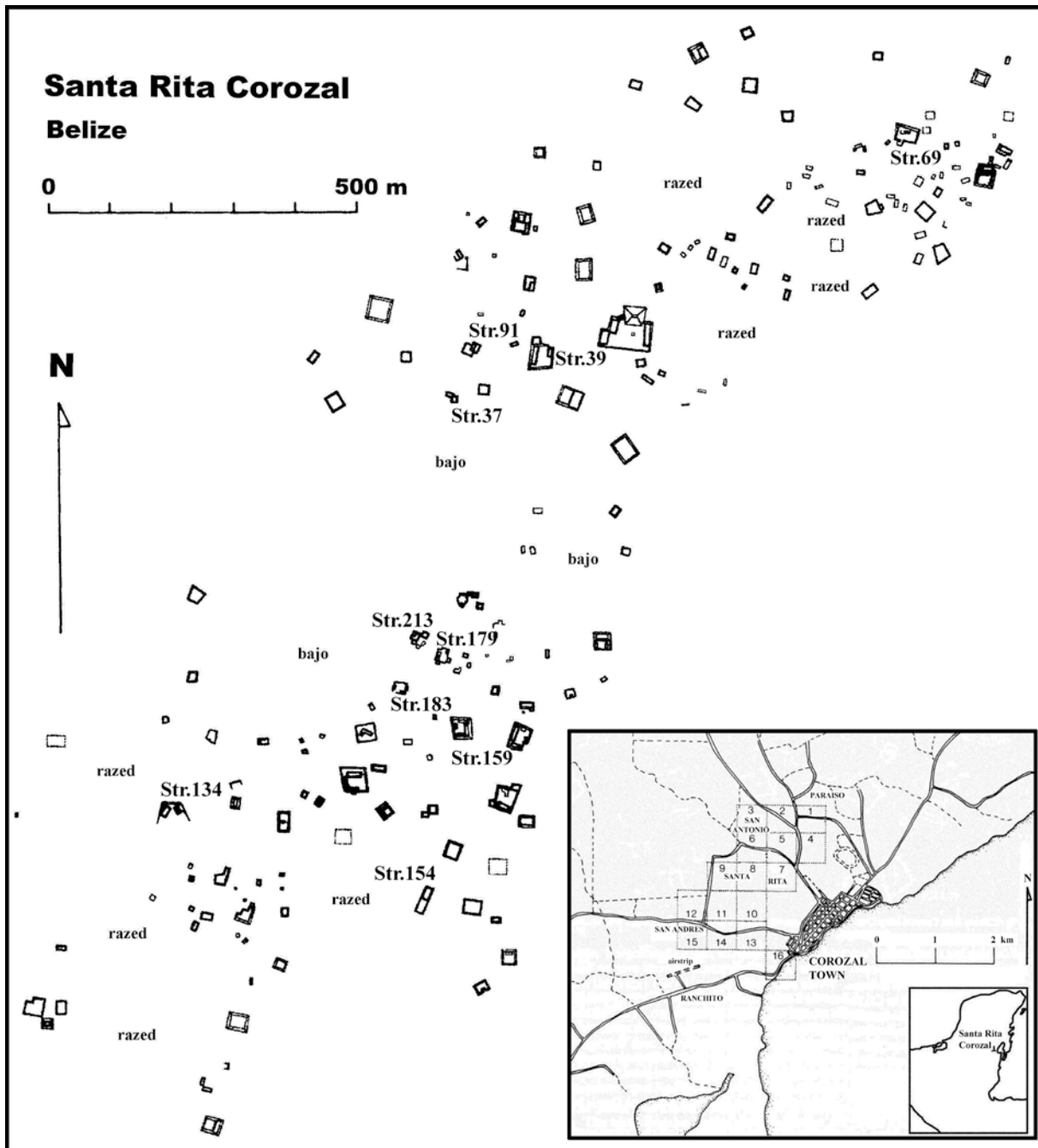


Figure 1. Map of Santa Rita Corozal with locations of Late Classic structure deposits indicated.

vessel. Most individuals have their heads covered by inverted ceramic vessels in two basic forms: either a dish or a bowl.

Structure 69 (Operation 4) was located in the northeastern section of Santa Rita Corozal, marking the western side of a structural group. The building was axially excavated with a 15 m by 1.5 m trench (D. Chase and A. Chase 1988:

17) and yielded two flexed burials, both with their heads to the north. One of these interments was accompanied by a dish (Figure 2c) that was inverted over the individual's head and dates to the early part of the Late Classic Period.

Structure 39 (Operation 20) was situated in north-central Santa Rita Corozal and was designed to investigate a building on the eastern



Figure 2. Dishes from Late Classic burials at Santa Rita Corozal: a. Molino Black; b., c., e., f. Miguel Orange Polychrome; d. Xaibe Buff Polychrome.

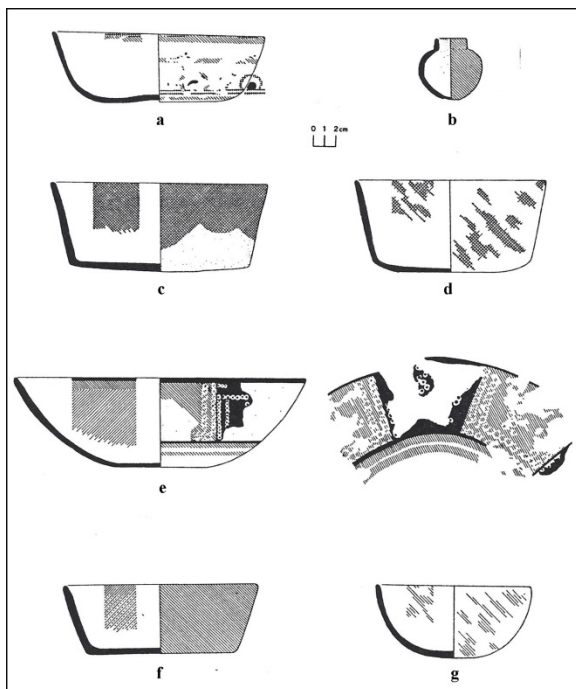


Figure 3. Late Classic Bowls from burials and caches at Santa Rita Corozal: a. Saxche Orange Polychrome; b, f., g. Veracal Orange; c., d. Molino Black; e. probably Zacatel Orange Polychrome.

side of a raised platform. An axial trench placed through this structure recovered two Late Classic deposits (D. Chase and A. Chase 1988: 36). One was a ceramic vessel placed in the core of the construction as a cache (Figure 3f) and the second was a Terminal Classic ceramic bowl inverted over the head of an individual at the eastern edge of the excavation.

Structure 91 (Operation 21) was located in north-central Santa Rita Corozal and focused on an isolated structure that was axially trenched with a 9 m by 1.5 m trench (D. Chase and A. Chase 1988:38). Three burials dating to the Late-Terminal Classic Period were recovered here. Two of these interments were in stone-lined cists; one was accompanied by a single bowl inverted over the skull (Figure 4b); the other extended individual did not have a ceramic vessel, but intruded into a third interment consisting only of a skull covered by an inverted vessel that had been “killed” with a hole being placed through its base (ostensibly to release the essence of either the vessel or covered skull) (Figure 4d; see also A. Chase and D. Chase 1987: Figs. 7b and 9b). Given the location of the skull at the edge of the excavation and the dating of the bowl, it is possible that it was associated with an unexcavated extended body running to the west of the excavation; however, no additional bones from this interment were recovered within the excavation limits.

Structure 37 (Operation 22) was a platform located in north-central Santa Rita Corozal that was excavated by two areal excavations combined with an axial trench measuring 14 m by 1.5 m (D. Chase and A. Chase 1988: 39-40). Nine burials and two caches were recovered in this investigation. Five of these interments dated to the Late Classic Period and were accompanied by ceramic vessels. One burial was of a flexed individual accompanied by a partial ridged dish inverted in the area of the head (Figure 2a). Three were of supine extended individuals all with heads to the north. The skull of one individual was covered by an inverted polychrome dish with a sea creature depicted in its interior base (Figure 2f); a supine sub-adult had a polychrome bowl (Figure 3a) inverted over the skull; and, the third was not accompanied by a ceramic vessel. Finally, the

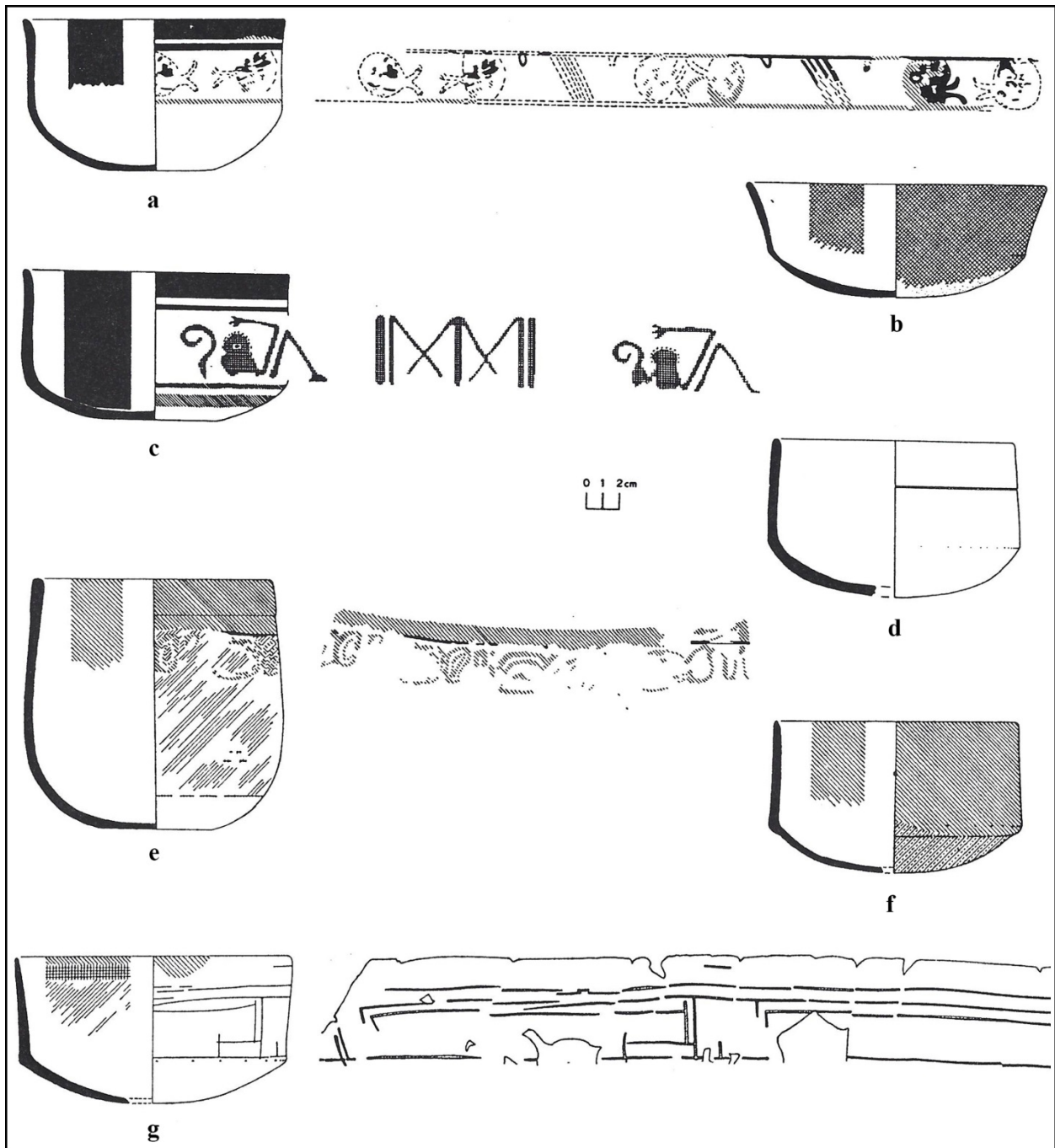


Figure 4. Bowls from burials at Santa Rita Corozal: a., c. Campesino Brown-on-Cream; b. Molino Black; c. Corozal Orange Polychrome; d. Cubeta Incised; e. Kik Red; f. Kik Red (incised version).

disarticulated remains of an individual were accompanied by a miniature jar (Figure 3b).

Structure 179 (Operation 34) appeared on the surface to be a western structure located on a platform, but in reality was an earlier building encompassed within a later Postclassic platform. Penetration of the building yielded two burials

of supine individuals with heads to the west, each accompanied by a single pottery bowl of Terminal Classic date (Figure 4f and 4g); both vessels had been “killed.”

Structure 159 (Operation 19) was located on the western side of a raised platform in the north-intermediate sector of Santa Rita Corozal.

This building was areally excavated and penetrated by two trenches that yielded eleven interments (D. Chase and A. Chase 1988: 42). Three of these interments dated to the Late Classic Period and yielded ceramic vessels. One was a supine individual with head to the north and a deep bowl placed atop the skull (Figure 4e); another was of a supine individual with head to the west and a bowl inverted over the skull (Figure 4a [this individual had cut into an Early Classic supine burial with head to the north]); and, the third was of a supine individual with head to the north and a plate inverted over the skull (Figure 2d).

Structure 183 (Operation 37) was a Postclassic construction situated on the south side of a barely raised platform; it was areally excavated and axially trenched and yielded a mass burial and a figurine cache, both dating to the Late Postclassic (D. Chase and A. Chase 1988: 56-59). A smaller excavation measuring 3.5 m by 2 m was placed into the platform in front of Structure 183 and recovered the Late Classic burial of a supine individual with head to the north accompanied by one whole dish inverted over the skull (Figure 2e; see A. Chase and D. Chase 1987: Fig. 7a and D. Chase and A. Chase 1986: 13) and one other partial vessel west of its torso.

Structure 213 (Operation 26) was actually a Postclassic building that underwent both areal and axial excavation (D. Chase and A. Chase 1988: 47-52). The axial excavation of this northern structure reached into the supporting platform plaza and revealed the earlier burial of a supine individual with head to the north and a small bowl (Figure 3g) inverted over the skull; a spondylus bead also accompanied the interment.

Structure 134 (Operation 12) was a small structure on the eastern side of a platform in the southwest sector of Santa Rita Corozal. The building was penetrated by a 15 m long by 1.5 m wide trench in which 22 burials were recovered (D. Chase and A. Chase 1988: 62-63). Two of these burials could be dated to the Late Classic by their accompanying ceramic bowls; one was supine with head to the north, having a bowl inverted over the forehead of the individual (Figure 3c); the other was flexed with head to the north and the bowl inverted over the skull (Figure 3e).

Finally, Structure 154 (Operation 17) was located in the southwest sector of Santa Rita Corozal and was excavated by an axial trench measuring 21.85 m in length by 1.5 m in width (D. Chase and A. Chase 1988: 63). Two Late Classic deposits were recovered, both containing ceramic vessels. One appears to have been a small dish (Figure 2b) that functioned as a cache and the other was a bowl (Figure 4c) that accompanied a partial interment that had been incorporated into the fill of the building.

Discussion: Burial Patterns

Burial patterns are often used to define cultural traditions and even cultural replacements. Tourtellot (1990: 139-140) argued that the Terminal Classic Bayal populations of Seibal constituted a new population introduced into the Peten of Guatemala based on differences between earlier Late Classic Tepjilote and the later Bayal burials, citing changes in increased physical stature, personal skeletal adornment (appearance of tabular erect skull deformation and the "total cessation of dental mutilation") and burial orientation (extended head to the east as opposed to the earlier flexed head to the north), as well as the introduction of new ceramics. Different sites tended to focus on the placement of specific kinds of ceramic forms within Late Classic burials. For instance, at Tikal Late Classic burials usually consist of a single individual often accompanied by a cylinder, a plate, and a bowl (Haviland 1985:149). At Caracol Late Classic burials often contain multiple individuals with each individual accompanied by a cylinder and a dish or a plate (D. Chase 1998). In contrast to the Late Classic focus on cylinders at Tikal and Caracol, only a single cylinder is noted as being associated with a single early Late Classic burial at Altun Ha (e.g., Pendergast 1982: fig. 119r); other cylinders illustrated for Altun Ha all derive from post-abandonment contexts (Pendergast 1982: figs. 80c, 81b, 93u), perhaps signaling a different population and/or tradition at the site at this point in time. In general, however, cylinders do not appear as common inclusions in most burials found in northern Belize.

Santa Rita Corozal's burial tradition appears to have been fairly continuous from the

Preclassic through the end of the Late Classic Period, being focused on either an extended or flexed individual whose head was usually to the north and often covered by an inverted pottery vessel. While covering the skull with an inverted vessel is noted elsewhere in northern Belize (e.g. Storey 2004 for K'axob), it differs from patterns found in the central Peten and central Belize. For instance, burials at both Tikal and Tayasal in the central Peten are generally extended in a supine position with head to the north and the skull usually resting on a pottery vessel, often a killed bowl, rather than being covered by it (e.g., Becker 1999; Chase 1983; Haviland 2015). In the Belize Valley, Late Classic burials are generally extended in a prone position with head to the south and with very few associated pottery vessels (Willey et al. 1958: 532-533). At Caracol, extended burials can have the head either to the north or the south and be either supine or prone; although pottery is common with interments, it is usually not placed under or over the head of the individual. Thus, the focus on extended supine burials with heads to the north and covered by inverted bowls and dishes appears to be part of a local Late Classic tradition in northern Belize. As at Seibal, Guatemala, this continuous tradition at Santa Rita Corozal is disrupted in the Terminal Classic with the introduction of the burials of supine individuals with heads to the east, although still with inverted vessels over the skulls. Later Postclassic interments break with this tradition; there are no vessels covering heads and burials are in any variety of positions (extended, flexed, and seated upright) and may also consist of multiple individuals (D. Chase 1982a; D. Chase and A. Chase 1988).

Discussion: Ceramics

The Late Classic ceramic materials recovered from Santa Rita Corozal's special deposits suggest that the site participated in a regional tradition that also differed from others in the Maya area. In particular, the ceramic materials differ from forms traditionally utilized elsewhere in Late Classic burials that particularly focused on tripod plates and/or cylinders (e.g., Culbert 1993 for Tikal). By looking at Santa Rita Corozal's special deposits, it is possible to see underlying ties to other parts

of the Maya area. However, these ceramic materials are clearly an independent tradition. Pring (1976:43) noted that two traditions existed in northern Belize during the Late Classic Period, one focused on "a round-sided, ring-based plate or dish, often medially ridged" with interior polychrome decoration and the other focused on monochrome red ceramic vessels. His distinction between these two traditions was largely based on the fact that the dish form and polychrome decorative style were not known from J.E.S. Thompson's work at San Jose (1939). Comparative data for the two forms represented in the Santa Rita Corozal Late Classic ceramic materials relating to the Late to Terminal Classic Periods in northern Belize can also be drawn from a series of other subsequently developed ceramic sequences – Altun Ha (Pendergast 1979, 1982, 1990), Lamanai (Graham 1987), Colha (Valdez 1987), and La Milpa (Sagebiel 2005). These data demonstrate that, besides varied mortuary traditions, northern Belize also participated in different regional ceramic traditions than those found in the central Peten.

Bowls are fairly ubiquitous in the Maya archaeological record. While they have been quantified as being vessels "with height no more than equal but no less than 1/3 of its diameter" (Sabloff 1975:23; Smith 1955:4), their forms vary across the Maya lowlands. The Santa Rita bowls clearly indicate local variations in this form. They differ from the standard hard-break bowl forms with slightly flaring or out-curving sides of the Late Classic central Peten (e.g., Smith 1955: Figs. 60-63); although the majority of Uaxactun Late Classic bowls are shown with flat bases, this form also includes concave bases (e.g., A. Chase 1983: Figs. 2-14c, 3-25a, 5-2i). The Santa Rita bowls also differ from the more rounded and deeper bowls with direct rims that are found at Caracol (e.g., A. Chase and D. Chase 1987: Figs. 15, 36). The Santa Rita ceramics include rounded out-flared polychromes and more standard direct rim, flat-bottom bowls in the earlier part of the Late Classic. The later Late Classic Period bowls at Santa Rita Corozal tend to have direct rims set on rounded bases, often with a distinct break line (Figure 4c, d, f, g). Some of these forms were tradewares (e.g., Achiote Black; form also noted

at Nohmul, D. Chase 1982b: Fig. 1a; Kik Red; form noted from Tayasal, A. Chase and D. Chase 1983: Fig. 21e). One polychrome is a deep bowl or, more properly, a “vase” (“an unrestricted or simple restricted vessel ... with height greater than diameter; Sabloff 1975:23) with a slightly bolstered rim (Figure 4e). There is also a local tradition of bowls with dark brown exterior decoration on a cream background that we previously defined as Campesino Brown-on-Cream (A. Chase and D. Chase 1987). That this form comes from elsewhere in northern Belize can be seen in its occurrence at Saktunja along the Belize coast (labeled as Zacatal Cream-polychrome; Mock 2000: Fig. 6).

Sabloff (1975:23) defines a dish as a vessel “with a height between 1/3 and 1/5 its diameter” and a plate as a vessel “with height less than 1/5 its diameter.” Realistically, the vessels classified as dishes, plates, and bowls sometimes overlap with each other (Figure 5). As used here, dishes generally present a curvilinear section while plates present a section with a hard break leading to a more vertical flared rim that is less than 1/2 the basal diameter (see Figure 2). The ceramic form classified as a dish has a rather interesting distribution in the Maya area and is well represented at Santa Rita Corozal. The form is actually used throughout the Classic Period, but not in all parts of the Maya area. It ultimately derives from the basal-flanged bowl (actually a dish itself; see Figure 2a) that is a hallmark for the Early Classic era (e.g. A. Chase and D. Chase 2018).

The dish form appears in the early part of the Late Classic at both Uaxactun (Tepeu 1) and Tikal (Ik Phase), but usually with feet and a small lateral flange (e.g. Culbert 1993: Figs. 41b5, 42b3, 43a, 43b, 44a2, 44b3, 44c2, 46c4, 47c, 48c, 48d, 50d, 50f; Smith 1955: Figs. 7i [Bu. A23], 36, 72f [Bu. A4], 73a1 [Bu. A3]), constituting a marker for the early Late Classic Period in the Peten of Guatemala. Neither the footed nor un-footed dish form commonly found in the Peten is present at San Jose, Belize (Thompson 1939). At Seibal, a black slipped example of the dish form is illustrated for early Late Classic Burial 45 and footed forms are also noted for Seibal during the early Late Classic Tepejote Phase (Sabloff 1975: Figs. 244a, 248 [Burial 19], 250 [Burial 43]). For Altar de

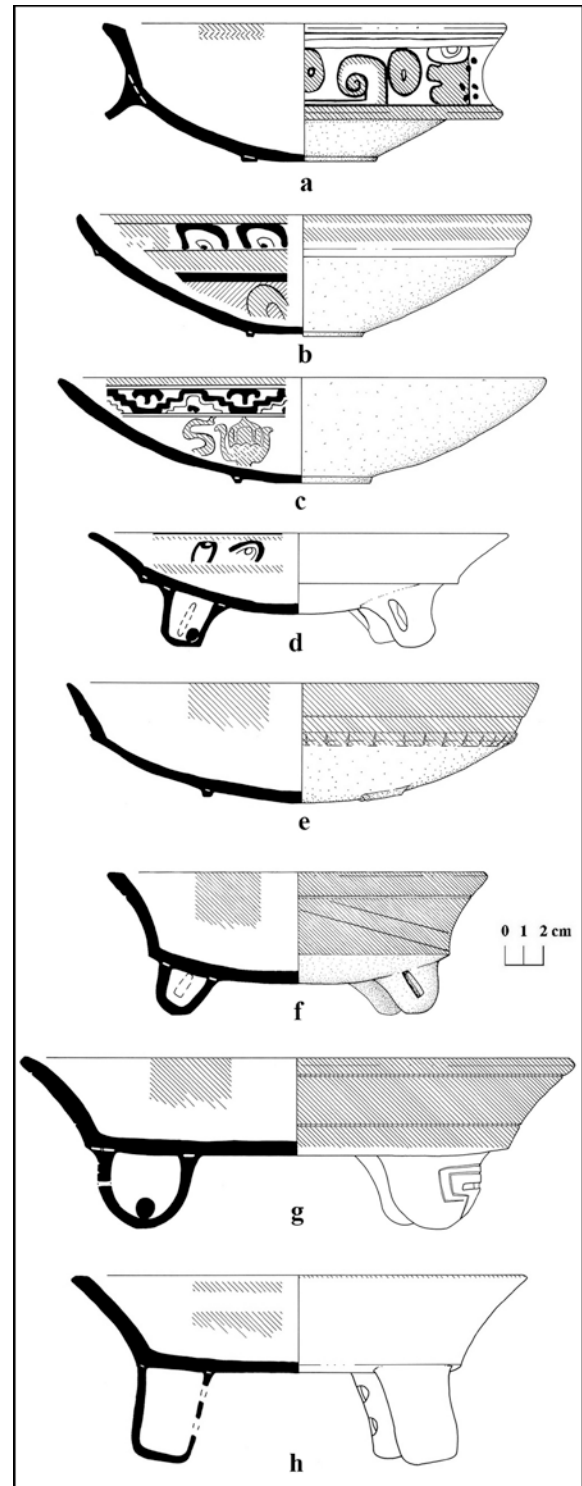


Figure 5. Bowls, Dishes, Plates, and their Gradations (a. Early Classic bowl; b. late Early-early Late Classic dish; d. early Late Classic dish; c., e. Late Classic dishes; f.-h. Late Classic plates): a. Dos Arroyos Orange Polychrome; b. Pajarito Orange Polychrome; c. Machete Orange Polychrome; d. Saxche Orange Polychrome; e. San Pedro Impressed (Belize Red); f., g. Belize Red; h. Palmar Orange Polychrome.

Sacrificos, a red-slipped dish is illustrated from the Chixoy Phase (Adams 1971: Fig. 38g) and footed polychrome dishes are illustrated from his Veremos Phase (Adams 1971: Fig. 37, Chart 7: Form 3a). Adams also illustrates a footed dish from Yaxchilan (Fig. 46h,i). However, he (1971: 119) feels that these footed dishes actually date to the Early Classic Period (Tzakol 3). Because the ceramics that were obtained from the Altar burials (see Smith 1972: Appendix B) were not illustrated, it is difficult to define the full situation at that site. Yet, it is possible to state that the early Late Classic dish forms that appear in the central Peten of Guatemala did not continue into the late Late Classic Period in this portion of the Maya area.

The ceramic sequence at Barton Ramie, so well-articulated by Gifford (1976) in his original tome illustrating how the type-variety-mode system works, is also largely devoid of polychrome Late Classic dishes. This may be due to the extensive use in the Belize Valley of Belize Red ceramics, which form a regional tradition of red-slipped dish forms usually (Belize Red plates are usually associated with three oven-shaped feet). The few polychrome dishes that are illustrated are classified as Saturday Creek Polychrome (Gifford 1976:200, Fig. 115a-j; Willey et al. 1965: Figs. 221e,f,h, 229, 230), and dated to the Tiger Run Complex before A.D. 700. Importantly, Saturday Creek Polychrome is not associated with burials at Barton Ramie. However, Belize Red dishes are included in at least a half dozen burials dating to the Spanish Lookout Phase at Barton Ramie after A.D. 700.

The dish form appears in great quantities at Caracol during the Late Classic Period and signals the site's participation in a very different ceramic tradition. In fact, Caracol's Late Classic ceramics are an amalgam of many of the ceramic traditions found throughout the lowlands, something appropriate for a major Maya city that engaged in extensive external relations. Belize Red types are quite common in burials at Caracol (A. Chase and D. Chase 2012) and often appear with polychrome dishes. The appearance of polychrome dishes in the archaeological record of the Belize Valley is consistent with the time of maximum Caracol influence in this part of the Southern Lowlands.

Intriguingly, the ceramic dish form is well-represented in northern Belize during the Late Classic Period. Based on descriptions by Mock (1997), the dish form was recovered both at Colha and at New River Lagoon (NRL). Mock focuses on the design elements of these plates for their ideological and/or political meanings; although she refers to the dishes as "plates" and labels them as "Palmar Orange-polychrome" dating to the Late to Terminal Classic Period, her descriptions match the dish form. Mock (1997: 173-174) noted that "No complete plates have been recovered at either NRL or Colha, but rim sherds suggest a large plate with an average rim diameter of 40-60 cm. ... Plate bottoms, although few, are distinguished by shallow ring bases (although one plate has small nubbin feet)." While the presence of this form is consistent with its appearance at other sites in northern Belize.

Bullard (1965: Fig. 16) illustrates two examples of the Late Classic dish form from his research at San Estevan in northern Belize carried out in 1962. Pendergast recovered a long sequence of deposits with polychrome dishes at Altun Ha. His earliest interiorly painted dishes date to his Mac Phase or from A.D. 600-650 (Pendergast 1982:41, Figs. 20n, 61b). Other examples of polychrome plates (Pendergast 1982: 210, Fig. 116b) are dated to his Kankin Phase from A.D. 725-750 (this one resembles Pozito Polychrome as described by Pring 1976:43). He (1982: 102, Fig. 61n,o; Fig 80a) also illustrates three large dishes with interior painting that he dates to the Muan Phase from A.D. 800-825. And, some of his large polychrome plates are dated to his Pax Phase or A.D. 850-875 (Pendergast 1982: 128, Fig. 80d), just before the Maya collapse.

We suspect that the extensive use of the dish form in interments both at Caracol and in northern Belize during the Late Classic Period hints at a deeper relationship between these two regions. We also suspect that the dish form appears at Dzibanche and at sites in the southern part of Quintana Roo. The Maya epigraphic record suggests that there was a strong relationship between Dzibanche and Caracol in the early part of the Late Classic Period (Martin and Vasquez 2016; Chase and Chase 2020). It is likely that this relationship involved the

movement of people and their associated traditions. The extensive use of the dish form in culturally meaningful locations like burials both in northern Belize and the Caracol area possibly mirrors underlying social and/or political relationships.

Conclusion

The contextual analysis of ceramics can aid in understanding ancient relationships through the meanings imbued in what kinds of vessels are placed within special deposits and in how they are arranged. These ceramic sub-complexes can be used to demonstrate not only the function of associated features (e.g. A. Chase and D. Chase 2012), but also broader patterns shared across regions. Because of the deeply held cultural meanings that are associated with human interments, burial patterns can be used to show cultural continuity, disjunction, and connections among sites within the Maya lowlands. Ceramic forms associated with interments can then be used to either confirm or negate wider interpretations relative to rituals, economics or socio-political relationships.

The Late Classic Period interments at Santa Rita Corozal demonstrate pan-Maya roots with a distinct local expression. The interment pattern of placing an inverted vessel over the head shows great time depth at the site and is also a regional pattern shared by other peoples in northern Belize, but not in areas beyond this region. The only recognizable shifts in burial patterns appear in the Terminal Classic Period with the introduction of a different head orientation, but still with vessel over the skull potentially indicative of population continuity. However, there is a disruption in burial patterns following the Classic Period tradition at Santa Rita Corozal. During the Postclassic Period burials were often seated upright and there was no covering of the head with a ceramic vessel. From this perspective, the Postclassic peoples at Santa Rita Corozal were likely either a new population or minimally subscribed to a different ideological system.

Yet, the fact that the Classic Period interments at Santa Rita Corozal focused on dishes and bowls rather than cylinders and plates also shows that it had a regional population with traditions that were different from those located

further west. Although this technically falls within the ideological realm, it is likely reflective of broader socio-political relationships in the Southern Lowlands. Given the site's location with access to riverine, sea, and overland trade items, it would have had access to many different ceramic forms and types, meaning that the ones that were used in interments were specifically chosen. Trade goods do appear in the site's interments toward the end of the Classic Period, but are deposited in ways consistent with the site's burial patterns. Thus, the Late Classic ceramics from interments at Santa Rita Corozal demonstrate both the interconnected nature of the Southern Maya lowlands and the ability of local populations to maintain their own identities.

Acknowledgements The archaeological data reported in this article were recovered as a result of excavations carried out by the Corozal Postclassic Project (CPP) at Santa Rita Corozal from 1979 through 1985. The materials recovered during the 1979 and 1980 field seasons formed the core of D.Z. Chase's 1982 Ph.D. dissertation. Subsequent 1984 and 1985 field seasons were funded by grants from the National Science Foundation (BNS-8509304 and BNS-8318531).

References

- Adams, Richard E.W.
1971 *The Ceramics of Altar de Sacrificios*. Papers of the Peabody Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology Vol. 63(1). Harvard University, Cambridge.
- Becker, Marshall J.
1999 *Excavations in Residential Areas of Tikal: Groups with Shrines*. Tikal Report 21. University Museum Monograph 104. The University Museum, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia.
- Bullard, William R.
1965 *Stratigraphic Excavations at San Estevan, Northern Belize*. Occasional Paper 9 in Arts and Archaeology. Royal Ontario Museum, Toronto.
- Chase, Adrian S.Z., Arlen F. Chase, and Diane Z. Chase
2018 Situating Preclassic Interments and Fire-Pits at Santa Rita Corozal, Belize. *Research Reports in Belizean Archaeology* 15: 159-167.

- Chase, Arlen F.
1983 A Contextual Consideration of the Tayasal-Paxcaman Zone, El Peten, Guatemala. Ph.D. Dissertation. Department of Anthropology, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia.
- Chase, Arlen F. and Diane Z. Chase
1983 *La Ceramica de la Zona Tayasal-Paxcaman, Lago Peten Itza, Guatemala*, privately distributed by The University Museum, The University of Pennsylvania, 165 pages (separately bound publication).
1987 *Investigations at the Classic Maya City of Caracol, Belize*. Monograph 3. Pre-Columbian Art Research Institute, San Francisco.
2012 Belize Red Ceramics and Their Implications for Trade and Exchange in the Eastern Maya Lowlands. *Research Reports in Belizean Archaeology* 9:3-14.
2013 Interpreting Form and Context: Ceramic Subcomplexes at Caracol, Nohmul, and Santa Rita Corozal, Belize. In J. Aimers, Ed. *Ancient Maya Pottery: Classification, Analysis, and Interpretation*, pp. 46-73. University Press of Florida, Gainesville.
2018 Sampling and Timeframes: Contextualizing the Protohistoric and Early Classic Periods at Caracol, Belize. *Research Reports in Belizean Archaeology* 15: 3-15.
2020 The Materialization of Classic Period Maya Warfare: Caracol Stranger-Kings at Tikal. In T.W. Stanton and M.K. Brown, Eds. *Contextualizing Maya History and Archaeology: Reflections of the 25th Anniversary of Forest of Kings*. University Press of Colorado, Boulder (in press).
- Chase, Diane Z.
1981 The Maya Postclassic at Santa Rita Corozal. *Archaeology* 34(1): 25-33.
1982a Spatial and Temporal Variability in Postclassic Northern Belize. Ph.D. Dissertation. Department of Anthropology, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia.
1982b The Ikilik Ceramic Complex at Nohmul, Northern Belize. *Ceramic de Cultura Maya* 12: 71-81.
1984 The Late Postclassic Pottery of Santa Rita Corozal, Belize: The Xabalxab Ceramic Complex. *Ceramica de Cultura Maya* 13: 18-26.
1985a Ganned But Not Forgotten: Late Postclassic Archaeology and Ritual at Santa Rita Corozal, Belize. In A. Chase and P. Rice, Eds. *The Lowland Maya Postclassic*, pp. 104-125. University of Texas Press, Austin.
1985b Between Earth and Sky: Idols, Images, and Postclassic Cosmology. In M.G. Robertson and V.M. Fields, Eds. *Fifth Palenque Round Table, 1983, Vol. VII*, pp. 223-233. Pre-Columbian Art Research Institute, San Francisco.
1986 Social and Political Organization in the Land of Cacao and Honey: Correlating the Archaeology and Ethnohistory of the Lowland Postclassic Maya. In J.A. Sabloff and E.W. Andrews V, Eds. *Late Lowland Maya Civilization: Classic to Postclassic*, pp. 347-377. University of New Mexico Press, Albuquerque.
1990 The Invisible Maya: Population History and Archaeology at Santa Rita Corozal. In T.P. Culbert and D.S. Rice, Eds. *Prehistoric Population History in the Maya Lowlands*. Pp. 199-213. University of New Mexico Press, Albuquerque.
1992 Postclassic Maya Elites: Ethnohistory and Archaeology. In D.Z. Chase and A.F. Chase, Eds. *Mesoamerican Elites: An Archaeological Assessment*. pp. 124-135. University of Oklahoma Press, Norman.
1998 Albergando a los Muertos en Caracol, Belice. *Los Investigadores de la Cultura Maya* 6 (1): 9-25 (Universidad Autonoma de Campeche, Campeche).
- Chase, Diane Z. and Arlen F. Chase
1986 *Offerings to the Gods: Maya Archaeology at Santa Rita Corozal*. University of Central Florida, Orlando.
1988 *A Postclassic Perspective: Excavations at the Maya Site of Santa Rita Corozal, Belize*. Monograph 4. Pre-Columbian Art Research Institute, San Francisco.
1989 Routes of Trade and Communication and the Integration of Maya Society: The Vista from Santa Rita Corozal. In H. McKillop and P. Healy, Eds., *Coastal Maya Trade*, pp. 19-32. Occasional Papers in Anthropology Number 8. Trent University, Toronto.
2005 The Early Classic Period at Santa Rita Corozal: Issues of Hierarchy, Heterachy, and Stratification in Northern Belize. *Research Reports in Belizean Archaeology* 2: 111-129.
2006 The Dawn of Maya Civilization: Preclassic Archaeology from Santa Rita Corozal. *Research Reports in Belizean Archaeology* 3: 85-100.
2008 Late Postclassic Ritual at Santa Rita Corozal, Belize: Understanding the Archaeology of a Maya

- Capital City. *Research Reports in Belizean Archaeology* 5: 79-92.
- Culbert, T. Patrick
1993 *The Ceramics of Tikal: Vessels from the Burials, Caches, and Problematic Deposits*. Tikal Report 25A. University Museum, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia.
- Gann, Thomas
1900 Mounds in Northern Honduras. *Nineteenth Annual Report, 1897-1898, Part 2*, pp. 661-692. Bureau of American Ethnology, Smithsonian Inst., Washington, D.C.
1911 Explorations Carried on in British Honduras in 1908-9. *Liverpool Annals of Archaeology and Anthropology* 4: 72-87.
1914 Report on Some Excavations in British Honduras. *Liverpool Annals of Archaeology and Anthropology* 7: 28-42.
1918 *The Maya Indians of Southern Yucatan and Northern British Honduras*. Bulletin 64. Bureau of American Ethnology, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C.
- Gann, Thomas and Mary Gann
1939 *Archaeological Investigations in the Corozal District of British Honduras*. Bulletin 123. Bureau of American Ethnology, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C.
- Gifford, James C.
1976 *Prehistoric Pottery Analysis and the Ceramics of Barton Ramie and the Belize Valley*, Peabody Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology, Memoir 18, Harvard University, Cambridge.
- Graham, Elizabeth
1987 Terminal Classic to Early Historic Period Vessel Forms from Belize. In P.M. Rice and R.J. Sharer, Eds. *Maya Ceramics: Part 1*, pp. 73-98. International Series 345(i). BAR, Oxford.
- Haviland, William A.
1985 *Excavations in Small Residential Groups of Tikal: Groups 4F-1 and 4F-2*. Tikal Report 19. University Museum Monograph 58. The University Museum, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia.
2015 *Excavations in Residential Areas of Tikal – Group 7F-1*. Tikal Report 22. University Museum Monograph 141. University of Pennsylvania Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology, Philadelphia.
- Martin, Simon and Erik Velasquez Garcia
2016 Politics and Places: Tracing the Toponyms of the Snake Dynasty. *The PARI Journal* 17(2): 23-33.
- Mock, Shirley B.
1997 Monkey Business at Northern River Lagoon: A Coastal-Inland Interaction Sphere in Northern Belize. *Ancient Mesoamerica* 8: 165-183.
2000 The Northern Belize Coastal Project, 1999. Report to FAMSI. Available from www.famsi.org/reports/98036/98036Mock01.pdf (accessed May 23, 2019).
- Pendergast, David M.
1979 *Excavations at Altun Ha, Belize, 1964-1970*. Vol. 1. Royal Ontario Museum, Toronto.
1982 *Excavations at Altun Ha, Belize, 1964-1970*. Vol. 2. Royal Ontario Museum, Toronto.
1990 *Excavations at Altun Ha, Belize, 1964-1970*. Vol. 3. Royal Ontario Museum, Toronto.
- Pring, Duncan
1976 Outline of the Northern Belize Ceramic Sequence. *Ceramica de Cultura Maya et al.* 9: 11-51.
- Sabloff, Jeremy A.
1975 *Excavations at Seibal, Department of Peten, Guatemala: Ceramics*. Peabody Museum Memoirs Vol. 13 (2). Harvard University, Cambridge.
- Sagebiel, Kerry L.
2005 Shifting Allegiances at La Milpa, Belize: A Typological, Chronological, and Formal Analysis of the Ceramics. Ph.D. dissertation. Anthropology, University of Arizona, Tucson.
- Smith, A. Ledyard
1972 *Excavations at Altar de Sacrificios: Architecture, Settlement, Burials, and Caches*. Papers of the Peabody Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology 62(2). Harvard University, Cambridge.
- Smith, Robert E.
1955 *Ceramic Sequence at Uaxactun, Guatemala*. 2 volumes. MARI Publication 20. Tulane University, New Orleans.
- Thompson, J. Eric S.
1939 *Excavations at San Jose, British Honduras*, Publication 506, Carnegie Institution of Washington, Washington, D.C.
- Tourtellot, Gair
1990 Burials: A Cultural Analysis. In G.R. Willey, Gen. Ed., *Excavations at Seibal, Department of Peten, Guatemala*, pp. 81-142. Memoir 17(2). Peabody Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology, Harvard University, Cambridge.

Valdez, Fred

1987 *The Prehistoric Ceramics of Colha, Northern Belize*. Ph.D. Thesis, Department of Anthropology, Harvard University, Cambridge.

Willey, Gordon R. William R. Bullard, Jr., John B. Glass, and James C. Gifford

1965 *Prehistoric Maya Settlements in the Belize Valley*. Papers of the Peabody Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology 54. Harvard University, Cambridge.