



## Periodizing things

Tiffany C. Fryer 

Department of Anthropology, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, MI, USA

The notion of ‘material histories’ unfolding in recent scholarship does not just offer a new term for an old idea. While inspired by the works of scholars like Sidney Mintz (1985), Igor Kopytoff (1986), and Michel-Rolph Trouillot (1995), we appear to be entering an intellectual moment characterized by a rekindled attention to how following materials might offer a productively different perspective on history that extends beyond concerns about production, consumption, and commodification—or the material confirmation of text-based historical narratives. These newer strands of scholarship (see Stahl 2010; Joyce 2012; Joyce and Gillespie 2015; Stoler 2016; Bauer 2021) aim to produce more than just histories of materials. Instead, contemporary material histories simultaneously show how material culture becomes bound up in lived socio-historical processes and how historical accounts are themselves material (Stahl 2010). They approach ‘materiality not as stuff, but as medium’ (Joyce 2015b, 188)—the traces through which the enmeshed worlds of humans and nonhumans can be gleaned.

What is more, a material histories approach views space, time, and matter as coproductive. Because ‘spatial stories are also temporal’ (Joyce 2015a, 23), to speak of materials in this way is to presume that they occupy a certain spatiality and temporality. Much scholarship since Kopytoff’s foundational essay, ‘The cultural biography of things,’ positions the material world as comparable to the human world: materials can be said to be birthed, to live, and to die. But as Rosemary Joyce contends, approaching materials biographically misrepresents the trajectories of nonhuman things in the world. She argues that instead of focusing on the anthropomorphic construct of *biographies* we ought to shift our perspective to consider what she calls object *itineraries*. This approach is open-ended and multidirectional, viewing objects holistically by reaching back to consider the matter from which they were formed and reaching forward to consider the transformations they have and might yet undergo (Joyce 2015b; Bauer 2019, 341–46).

While it might seem that this approach is most relevant for conventionally portable objects, it applies to all worldly phenomena and their material extensions (Joyce 2015b, 183–84). To attend to an object’s itinerary—or its ‘route’—is to trace its whereabouts and activities through time and space. Thus, even things that move less through space than through time (such as buildings) can be approached within the itineraries framework. ‘Even when we cannot be sure of the entire route,’ Joyce tells us, ‘seeking to trace a thing’s itineraries forces us to ask where it came from and

where it might be going and *stops us from ignoring the current segment of its itinerary or from treating that segment as discontinuous from its past* (2015a, 29, my emphasis).

Of particular concern to me are the traces of things that underpin colonialism and violent conflict. But, as Ann Stoler warns, speaking of the materialities of colonialism (and other violent processes) as traces might overly sanitize the damaging processes they've been conscripted in: 'the scholarly romance with "traces"', she writes, 'risks rendering colonial remnants as pale filigrees, benign overlays with barely detectable presence rather than deep pressure points of generative possibilities or violent and violating absences. [...] It may sometimes be a trace but more often an enduring fissure, a durable mark' (2016, 5–6). One of those durable marks has been the very way in which we narrate time and the kinds of limitations that this places on our understanding of how particular materials move through the world alongside (or in opposition to) people.

In this short piece, I begin by arguing that material histories that attend to object itineraries have the potential to reframe conventional periodizations of 'the colonial' in Latin America, illuminating both discrete moments in chronological history as well as what I refer to here as the *historical context* of colonial conditions. I then offer an illustration of how careful attention to materials might work in practice. In this case, I zoom in on the messy boundaries between the Late Colonial and Early Republican periods in southeastern Yucatan (roughly from the 1780s to the turn of the 1900s) by examining a common regional architectural form, the *albarrada* (stone wall), and the way that attention to this form has allowed me to tack between multiple scales of colonial history on the Yucatan peninsula.

### Material histories and settler time

My own scholarship has sought ways to better articulate how political violence materialized across the *longue durée* of the colonial encounter in Mexico. Although I am interested in the colonial condition broadly, my work has taken an event called the Caste War of Yucatan as an important entry point. The Caste War is a difficult conflict to characterize, having been labeled variously as a race war, a civil war, a social war, a peasant agrarian uprising, a Maya uprising, an anticolonial insurrection and more. Calling the conflict an anticolonial insurrection, which I have tended toward, is perhaps one of the most difficult descriptions to defend because it is a label incongruent with the conventional periodization of Mexican history. The Colonial period is typically understood to have ended with Mexico's (and Yucatan's) independence from Spain in 1821. The Caste War began in 1847, missing the Colonial period's benchmark by over a quarter century and, thus, falling squarely within the Early Republican period.

Yet, joined by a growing number of scholars whose work intersects Latin American and Indigenous Studies (Castellanos 2017; Speed 2017), I hold the position that Mexico remains a settler colonial state, continuing to operate as a colonizing entity through its uneasy transition from one of Spain's most important colonies (New Spain) to a nation-state (which, because of the Caste War, would eventually incorporate the former colony of Yucatan) and into the present. Some scholars have described this condition as one of *internal* colonialism (González Casanova 2006), but I adhere to the notion of settler colonialism because it situates the structural phenomenon within

a global arena of similar colonizing efforts that seek to replace the native—whether through genocidal elimination, displacement and isolation, or cultural appropriation and coerced integration.

There is heated debate about the applicability of the ‘settler colonial’ concept to the contours of non-Anglophone colonialism throughout Latin America. While some readers may see the move to use a settler colonial framework to characterize Mexico (and more specifically pre-Independence Yucatan) as a simple attempt to impose a theory developed largely in the US and Australia onto a Latin American context, it is not. By positioning Latin American contexts as exceptional, we may in fact be missing some of the most robust forms of settler colonialism ever developed. As Bianet Castellanos (2017) reminds us, *colonialismo* in the Iberian colonial context already implies settlement (and by extension displacement or replacement of the Native). For those scholars who are inclined to think the reliance on Native labor in the Yucatan (and elsewhere) exempts it from characterization as ‘settler colonial’, I argue that the investment in policies to *despoblar*—to reduce, missionize, and concentrate Maya and other Indigenous peoples in the centuries following Spanish invasion—is entirely consistent with settler colonial logics of land dispossession as well as physical and cultural elimination. Chickasaw scholar Shannon Speed illustrates this point particularly well:

One reason Latin America has been thought to be characterized by colonialism of the non-settler variety is the perception that, while colonial processes in the Anglophone north focused on land dispossession and the correlated elimination of the native, in the south the focus was on resource extraction and the corresponding marshalling and control of indigenous labor [... But] colonialism in much of Latin America has in fact been characterized by both land dispossession and labor extraction, to which indigenous peoples were simultaneously subjected. Indigenous land dispossession was a fundamental aspect of colonialism, combined with various regimes of labor extraction. In places like Mexico and Central America, such labor regimes (*encomienda*, *repartimiento*, *hacienda*) were often the very mechanisms that dispossessed indigenous peoples of their lands, forcing them to labor in extractive undertakings on the very land that had been taken from them. That dynamic, in turn, necessitated distinct processes of racialization from those in other parts of the world, and entailed a far more radical abrogation of their sovereignty. (2017, 784)

How settler colonialism operates during a given historical period warrants nuanced attention but, at least in the case of Mexico, confining ‘the colonial’ to the pre-independence period grossly mischaracterizes the history of the last 200 years. How then do we engage the materialities of colonialism as artifacts of and in history? What are the socio-political ramifications of doing so?

Indeed, the impetus to periodize in this way bears significant political weight. For example, in the historic core of the town of Tihosuco—the cradle of the Caste War and site of much of my field research over the last decade—there are over sixty buildings known locally as *casas coloniales* (colonial houses; Fryer and Diserens Morgan 2021, 90–94). When Mexico declared Tihosuco a national historic zone in 2019, these houses were the justification. This honor, viewed contentiously by many in the Tihosuco community, recognized Tihosuco as the only place in the state of Quintana Roo with such a collection of Spanish colonial-style homes (*ibid.*). These buildings were severely damaged during the war and remained unoccupied for several years until it was seen as safe to inhabit these postwar spaces again. Our research suggests that many of them were likely

constructed in the years immediately following independence from Spain rather than during the Colonial period as their name suggests. Still, they are very much colonial in what they signify: built from wealth accumulated through land and labor extraction, fortified and imposing, and representative of a Spanish elite ideal. And it is in this signification that the Mexican federal government apparently finds historical and cultural value.

The regional politics of periodization are further highlighted by the fact that conventional accounts typically end the Caste War in 1901 with the highly performative capture of the former insurrectionist sanctuary and stronghold Noj Kaj (Chan) Santa Cruz (today know as Felipe Carrillo Puerto, located about 80 km south of Tihosuco, and acting as its governing municipality). But for whom the war ended in 1901 has only rarely been asked (see Sullivan 1989; Badillo Sánchez 2022). Even the current Mexican President, Andrés Manuel López Obrador, traveled to Tihosuco in May 2021 to issue a formal apology for the centuries of exploitation and abuse Maya peoples suffered at the hands of Spain and an independent Mexico, including the offenses that contributed to the eruption of the war in 1847. Although he acknowledged ongoing inequalities, his narrative largely cast the offenses as injuries perpetrated long ago for which an apology was overdue.<sup>1</sup> This kind of narrative historical positioning distracts from the settler colonial relationship still being propagated by López Obrador's administration.

As Native Studies scholar Mark Rifkin (2017) insists, forcing Indigenous experiences into settler temporalities risks relegating Indigenous life to an anachronistic 'past' by denying the ways that those experiences continue to materialize in the present. Material histories, as proposed throughout this forum, can help us to approach these messy conditions in ways that unsettle the dominance of conventional periodizations and destabilize the process-event relationship. While my research makes use of some traditional periodizations of Mexican history, my commitment to analyzing the nation as a settler colonial state means that I have often found it necessary to consider how the same categories of material may persist across distant chronological moments and what the implications of such a recognition might be. This is a significant consideration for archaeologists and material historians working in colonial Latin America. As Stacie King and Elizabeth Konwest note, 'not all sites that date to the "colonial" era are necessarily going to include diagnostic colonial goods [... and] what we think of as "prehispanic" artifact forms or materials were likely used well into the Colonial period and beyond' (2019, 91). I would add that the many materials that postdate the 'Colonial' era still constitute *de facto* artifacts of a colonial condition.

What, then, does it mean to count these things and sites as indicative examples of life under colonialism? Is it enough that a place or a thing date to the Colonial period for it to be considered representative of some aspect of the colonial condition? And what of those places and things that might easily be categorized as colonial save for their failure to date to the conventional 'Colonial period'? While these questions may appear abstract, they have significant bearing on the formation of collective identity in settler societies, generally, and in this case, among Maya living in Quintana Roo today.

### **Moment, event, context**

Here it is worth zooming out and considering the distinctions between chronological moments, events, and historical contexts. Linearly organized, chronological moments

dominate modern historical frameworks creating what social theorist Anne McClintock (1995, 36–42) has called ‘panoptical time’: a configuration of time in which everything that has ever happened can be accounted for, organized, and spatiotemporally isolated. Periodization—whether narrated as the ‘Early Republican period’ or ‘the 18th century’—is a means of organizing panoptical time.

Historical contexts, on the other hand, are better understood as pluri-temporal, conditional, and existing at the scale of structure or process. In archaeology, context is a concept with particular valences that are useful here: it signifies the specificity and relationality of the co-occurrence of materials in space and time. In their co-presentation of materials originating in disparate time periods or places, contexts may defy singular chronological ascription while still lending themselves to understanding particular circumstances or environs. Historical contexts may be best represented by their compounded temporalities, whereby the durabilities of prior social processes—material and discursive—find themselves interlaced with the chronological moment. Hence the distinction between the term ‘colonial’ when used to refer to the Colonial period (as chronological moment) versus the ‘colonial’ in settler colonialism (as historical context).

Events articulate between chronological moments and historical contexts by creating multiscale narrative assemblages that bundle together occurrences and their materials. Sociologist Robin Wagner-Pacifici has recently argued that even though we talk about events in ways that make them feel exceptional, ‘all events are *made* by active agents using specific mechanisms’ (2017, 8; emphasis original). It is this emphasis on tracing the material ‘making’ of the event that connects back to this forum’s wider focus on *material history*. At least at their most ambitious, material histories can serve to disrupt the domination of panoptical time, to question the sweeping generalizations that sometimes obscure historical context, and make clear how events—whatever their scale—are made.

### Tracing material histories in Yucatan

To explore these ideas further in a more concrete fashion, I focus on one material—rough-cut limestone rocks—to talk about the structuring of southeastern Yucatecan society in the wake of Spanish colonialism. More specifically, I consider the assemblages of those rocks found across the peninsula that have formed, in a sense, the largest recovered artifact category in my study area: the *albarrada*, a common form of residential and agricultural boundary wall made by piling up limestone rocks without mortar (a technique sometimes called ‘dry-laid’; Figure 1). Importantly, the Yucatan Peninsula is a limestone landscape generally not exceeding 150 m above sea level and covered by jungle, making limestone one of the most prevalent natural resources. These geological characteristics have important implications for how political violence materialized in specific chronological moments, as well as how it makes material certain historical contexts (such as those often mentioned by my collaborators in Tihosuco: *la época colonial, el tiempo de esclavitud, la repoblación*, and even *hoy*).

The present-day town and *ejido* of Tihosuco, Quintana Roo, where I have variously worked and lived for several years, was the *cabecera* of the Tihosuco Parish during the Colonial and early Republican periods. It became the cradle of the Caste War when the first attack was made by Maya insurrectionary leader, Cecilio Chi, on its northern

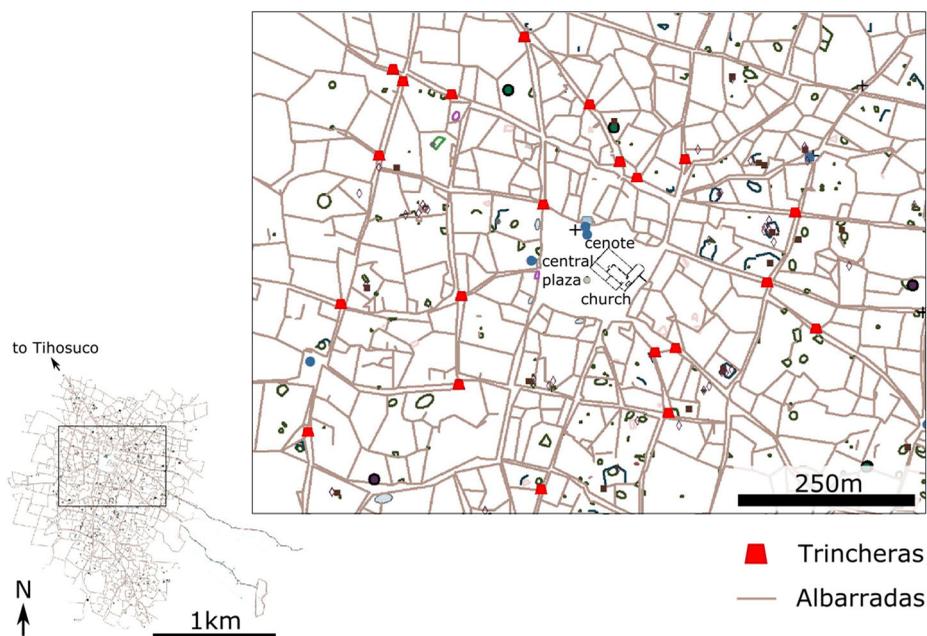


**Figure 1.** Example of a trinchera at Tela'. Note the two parallel albarradas bracketing it. Photo by author.

*visita* (satellite settlement), Tepich. Through a longstanding research partnership with Tihosuqueños, we have been documenting Tihosuco's post-Spanish invasion landscape which includes several hacienda and ranch sites as well as semi-planned towns (Leventhal et al. 2014; Diserens Morgan and Leventhal 2020; Fryer and Diserens Morgan 2021). Each of these sites is formed by its limestone albarradas. They are, quite literally, the building blocks of life in Yucatan's predominantly Maya towns and villages—and according to archaeologist Scott Hutson (2010, 52), they have been for over 1000 years.

One of the best examples of how albarradas were constructed and used during the Colonial and Early Republican periods comes from Tela', one of Tihosuco's historic *visitas*. Tela' is located 8 km southeast of Tihosuco by historic road, and, in contrast to Tihosuco, was never permanently repopulated in the aftermath of the Caste War. We can observe how albarradas worked to define residential spaces (houselots) and created public spaces including streets and plazas. At Tela', there are over 600 albarrada-delimited houselots (Figure 2). Evidence from our archaeological surveys suggests that Tela' was occupied in some capacity since at least the late Postclassic period (i.e. before the first Spanish invasions of the sixteenth century) and was very likely the site of a colonial *congregación* (forced resettlement). That would mean that it had some level of continuous occupation for at least three hundred years before the war induced severe regional depopulation beginning sometime after 1849.

When historical context and chronological moment converge to create events of intense political conflict, seemingly mundane materials can become powerful witnesses to and agents of history. Humble dwelling practices, like the building of fences, shape power relations and often contribute significantly to the materialization of violence during conflict (Lubkemann 2008; McKee 2016). The transformation of albarradas into *trincheras* provides a key example. We found through relational dating techniques, including construction analysis, that albarradas were routinely transformed during the



**Figure 2.** Detail of a plan of Tela', emphasizing the locations of trincheras set in the meshwork of albarradas (as well as the lots and throughways they delimit) that give the town its structure. Map by author.

Caste War into defensive architectures known locally as trincheras—not ditches or trenches, but dry-laid limestone roadblocks and breastworks. Within residential settings like Tela', trincheras interrupt the wide flowing thoroughfares delimited by the albarradas. They block the roads and interrupt fluid movement. Outside of settlements, these trincheras line or are strategically elevated above dirt roads. To date, our team has mapped hundreds of trincheras across the ejido. Without context, though, albarradas and trincheras are nearly indistinguishable. As such, I've become interested in studying trincheras not only as defensive mechanisms or fortifications (which they are) but as markers of how daily life is restructured during chronological moments of overt political violence—and how such restructuring contributes to the sociomaterial transformation of historical contexts.

As a visita, Tela' did not make it into the archives with nearly as much frequency as Tihosuco. But in a stroke of archival luck, it did make an appearance in a few US newspapers in early February 1849. The year prior, the Yucatecan military had reached out to the US government for assistance in their war against '*los indios bárbaros del Oriente*,' which the US denied them save for a volunteer force of 300 soldiers (Kazanjian 2003, 173–213). Mixed up in the fanciful and overtly racist accounts of their defense of Tihosuco alongside the Yucatecan army, these volunteer soldiers left tidbits that probably meant little to their US-based audience but offer one of the few glimpses we have of the possibility of actual combat at Tela' and what may have happened. During the last week of January 1849, several of the volunteer soldiers returned home through New Orleans. Reporters waited for them, recording their statements as they docked. An

Augusta *Chronicle* article from 2 February relayed that ‘the Indians were in overwhelming force, and to impede the course of the advancing column, they threw up barricades of rock and large masses of stone’ until eventually one Col. White captured and burned Tela.<sup>2</sup> On the same day, the *Charleston Courier* ran a similar account declaring that ‘the Indians are in such overpowering force as to make success over them always costly and often doubtful [...] The road [to Tela] was barricaded in some sixty places with rocks and stones piled up across it...’<sup>3</sup> Although the burning these volunteer forces report may mark the moment when Tela’s remaining residents finally left the visita behind, we have yet to encounter any archaeological evidence corroborating this assertion.

What we do have are the heaps of rock forming albarradas and trincheras. Even if a substantial number of Tela’s nearly 3,000 residents had decided to flee the region or died before this day in 1849, enough of them remained alongside forces likely gathered from the Parish’s countryside to be seen as a threat to the Yucatecan army.<sup>4</sup> What was it like to transform this civilian Maya town into a rebel garrison, at least 93 trincheras strong? For one, it was a massive work in limestone. Making anticolonial war with trincheras allowed insurrectionary forces to mobilize the resource most readily available to them where other resources like fire power may have been limited.

More broadly, the move to transform limestone into albarradas and albarradas from dwelling structures into defensive structures was likely one learned generationally through multiple and iterative collective experiences of daily life and violence. Albarradas may thus always have as part of their itineraries the potential to become trincheras. As the war unfolded, trincheras became emblematic of a specifically Indigenous form of war-making that contributed to the calcification of an already racialized geography on the peninsula. They made their way not only into newspaper accounts like the ones mentioned above but into reactive Yucatecan military strategies and popular artworks. For at least fifty years, albarradas-turned-trincheras and the guerilla forms of warfare they represented became a constant reminder of how the Spanish creole-dominated northern regions viewed their southeastern opponents: ‘bárbaros del Oriente’ (Cortés Campos 2013).

## Concluding thoughts

The ubiquitous presence of albarradas throughout Yucatan makes them a rather unremarkable material to follow through space and time. The longevity of their customary use coupled with the difficulty of assigning them absolute dates that could then be arranged into chronological moments makes albarradas less than ideal materials for producing temporally precise histories. While conventionally classified as architectural remains, their malleability presents a challenge for traditional architectural analysis. Albarradas are simultaneously rigid and fluid: they move, transform, and become other than themselves in times of political unrest. They take on an almost symbiotic relationship with their communities, presenting a limestone litmus for the health and wellbeing of those communities under particular historical circumstances.

Albarradas guided our survey of Tela’ and the entire ejido. They helped us delimit the boundaries of haciendas and ranches. As trincheras, they helped us verify whether we were still on the right track when following historic roads that no one had walked in

decades, overgrown by jungle and swept away by rain (Fryer 2022). Indeed, several of my collaborators tell stories about how Tihosuco came to be refounded in the 1930s. In those stories, their grandparents and great-grandparents have gone wondering in the *monte* (forest) looking for land, medicine, and game. Or, they are implicated in the *chicle* trade, traveling through the former rebel territories from their homes in what are today the southern parts of the state of Yucatan, to Belize for exchange. What unites both of these versions of the story are how they followed the old roads guided by *trincheras*. Sometimes, they told me, they would even rebuild ones that had fallen in case they should ever be needed again.

Tihosunqueños continue to turn to the practice of transforming albarradas into *trincheras* in small-scale rebellions against the state government (Canché 2017; Briceño 2021), exploiting their position along a major highway that connects Felipe Carrillo Puerto with Valladolid (two of the largest administrative centers on the peninsula). These recent occurrences in the material histories of the albarrada underscore how material culture—in this case the albarrada—both reflects sociohistorical contexts and brings into being the chronological moment. As such, they allow us a better grasp of how moments and events of political unrest and resistance are made under the settler colonial condition that continues to characterize Mexico's relationship to the Indigenous communities within its modern borders.

## Notes

1. The full speech ('Petición de perdón por agravios al pueblo maya. Fin de la Guerra de Castas, desde Quintana Roo') can be watched on López Obrador's YouTube channel: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=YvOhFRF3mew>.
2. Important from Yucatan: engagement between the American volunteers and the insurgent Indians. *Weekly Chronicle and Sentinel* (Augusta, Ga.), 7 February 1849. <https://gahistoricnewspapers.galileo.usg.edu>.
3. Late from Yucatan: battles between the American volunteers and the Indians. *The Charleston Daily Courier*. 2 February 1849. <https://newscomwc.newspapers.com/>.
4. Pre-1849 population based on a transcription of the noticia estadística del Partido de Peto from 1846 (table 12 in Quezada 2010).

## Biographical note

*Tiffany C. Fryer* (PhD. University of Pennsylvania, 2019) is an Assistant Professor of Anthropology at the University of Michigan where she is also a curator of historical and contemporary archaeology in their Museum of Anthropological Archaeology. A historical anthropologist and archaeologist by training, she employs hemispheric frameworks in her analyses of the durabilities of colonialism and other forms of political violence in the Americas. Her recent work has focused more specifically on colonialism in Mexico and the Yucatan as well as the Maya Social War (or Caste War of Yucatan). She is working on a book manuscript that argues for a transtemporal analysis of the war and a materially conscious approach to the theorization of political violence, daily life, and collective memory. She is co-editor of *Coloniality in the Maya lowlands: archaeological perspectives* (2022).

## ORCID

*Tiffany C. Fryer*  <http://orcid.org/0000-0002-7877-9021>

## References

- Badillo Sánchez, Alejandra. 2022. Traces of power: an archaeology of the Porfirian armed forces in the military campaign against the 'rebel' Mayas during the Caste War, 1899–1904. In *Coloniality in the Maya lowlands: archaeological perspectives*, edited by Kasey Diserens Morgan and Tiffany C. Fryer. Louisville: University Press of Colorado.
- Bauer, Alexander A. 2019. Itinerant objects. *Annual Review of Anthropology* 48 (1): 335–52.
- . 2021. Itineraries, iconoclasm, and the pragmatics of heritage. *Journal of Social Archaeology* 21 (1): 3–27.
- Briceño, Rafael. 2021. Montan bloqueo carretero en espera de AMLO: Pobladores de nueve ejidos reclaman indemnización de tierras afectadas en el trayecto del presidente hacia Tihosuco. *NoteCaribe*. <https://noticaribe.com.mx/2021/05/03/montan-bloqueo-carretero-en-espera-de-amlo-pobladores-de-nueve-ejidos-reclaman-indemnizacion-de-tierras-afectadas-en-el-trayecto-del-presidente-hacia-tihosuco/>.
- Canché, Pedro. 2017. Mujeres mayas de Tihosuco y Tepich a Carlos Joaquín, 'Danos trabajo, no mil pesos'. [Maya women from Tihosuco and Tepich to Carlos Joaquin, 'Give Us Work, Not a Thousand Pesos']. *Noticias Pedro Canche*, 7 January 2017. <http://www.noticiaspedrocanche.com/2017/01/07/mujeres-mayas-tihosuco-tepich-a-carlos-joaquin-danos-trabajo-mil-pesos/>.
- Castellanos, M. Bianet. 2017. Introduction: settler colonialism in Latin America. *American Quarterly* 69 (4): 777–81.
- Cortés Campos, Rocío L. 2013. *Entre héroes y bárbaros: el periodismo yucateco durante la guerra de castas*. Mérida: Universidad Autónoma de Yucatán.
- Diserens Morgan, Kasey, and Richard M. Leventhal. 2020. Maya of the past, present, and future: heritage, anthropological archaeology, and the study of the Caste War of Yucatan. *Heritage* 3 (2): 511–27.
- Fryer, Tiffany C. 2022. Confronting violence in the layered landscapes of east central Quintana Roo. In *Coloniality in the Maya lowlands: archaeological perspectives*, edited by Kasey Diserens Morgan and Tiffany C. Fryer, 108–27. Louisville: University Press of Colorado.
- Fryer, Tiffany C., and Kasey Diserens Morgan. 2021. Heritage activism in Quintana Roo, Mexico: assembling new futures through an umbrella heritage practice. In *Trowels in the trenches: archaeology as social activism*, edited by Christopher P. Barton, 81–107. Gainesville: University Press of Florida.
- González Casanova, Pablo. 2006. Colonialismo interno: una redefinición. In *La teoría marxista hoy: problemas y perspectivas*, edited by Atilio Borón, Javier Amadeo, Sabrina González, and Elmar Altvater, 409–34. Buenos Aires: Consejo Latinoamericano de Ciencias Sociales.
- Hutson, Scott R. 2010. *Dwelling, identity, and the Maya: relational archaeology at Chunchucmil*. Lanham, MD: AltaMira Press.
- Joyce, Rosemary A. 2012. Life with things: archaeology and materiality. In *Archaeology and anthropology: past, present and future*, edited by David Shankland, 119–32. London: Berg.
- . 2015a. Things in motion: itineraries of Ulua marble vases. In *Things in motion: object itineraries in anthropological practice*, edited by Rosemary A. Joyce and Susan D. Gillespie, 21–38. Santa Fe, NM: School for Advanced Research Press.
- . 2015b. Transforming archaeology, transforming materiality. *Archaeological Papers of the American Anthropological Association* 26 (1): 181–91.
- Joyce, Rosemary A., and Susan D. Gillespie. 2015. Making things out of objects that move. In *Things in motion: object itineraries in anthropological practice*, edited by Rosemary A. Joyce and Susan D. Gillespie, 3–19. Santa Fe, NM: School for Advanced Research Press.
- Kazanjan, David. 2003. *The colonizing trick: national culture and imperial citizenship in early America*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.
- King, Stacie M., and Elizabeth Konwest. 2019. New materials—new technologies? Postclassic and early colonial technological transitions in the Nejapa region of Oaxaca, Mexico. In *Technology and tradition in Mesoamerica after the Spanish invasion: archaeological perspectives*, edited by Rani T. Alexander, 73–92. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press.

- Kopytoff, Igor. 1986. The cultural biography of things: commoditization as process. In *The social life of things: commodities in cultural perspective*, edited by Arjun Appadurai, 64–91. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Leventhal, Richard M., Carlos Chan Espinosa, Eladio Moo Pat, and Demetrio Poot Cahun. 2014. The community heritage project in Tihosuco, Quintana Roo, Mexico. *Public Archaeology* 13 (1–3): 213–25.
- Lubkemann, Stephen C. 2008. *Culture in chaos: an anthropology of the social condition in war*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- McClintock, Anne. 1995. *Imperial leather: race, gender, and sexuality in the colonial contest*. New York: Routledge.
- McKee, Emily. 2016. *Dwelling in conflict: Negev landscapes and the boundaries of belonging*. Stanford: Stanford University Press.
- Mintz, Sidney W. 1985. *Sweetness and power: the place of sugar in modern history*. New York: Penguin Books.
- Quezada, Sergio. 2010. *Campeche a través de las memorias de los gobernadores. Evolución política y administrativa, 1826–1862*. Campeche: Gobierno del Estado de Campeche.
- Rifkin, Mark. 2017. *Beyond settler time: temporal sovereignty and Indigenous self-determination*. Durham: Duke University Press.
- Speed, Shannon. 2017. Structures of settler capitalism in Abya Yala. *American Quarterly* 69 (4): 783–90.
- Stahl, Ann B. 2010. Material histories. In *The Oxford handbook of material culture studies*, edited by Dan Hicks and Mary C. Beaudry, 150–72. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Stoler, Ann L. 2016. *Duress: imperial durabilities in our times*. Durham: Duke University Press.
- Sullivan, Paul R. 1989. *Unfinished conversations: Mayas and foreigners between two wars*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Trouillot, Michel-Rolph. 1995. *Silencing the past: power and the production of history*. Boston: Beacon Press.
- Wagner-Pacifi, Robin. 2017. *What is an event?* Chicago: University of Chicago Press.