

THE FORMATIVE CERAMIC FIGURINE COLLECTION FROM THE SITE OF
CAHAL PECH, CAYO, BELIZE

by

Christina L. Zweig

A Thesis Submitted in
Partial Fulfillment of the
Requirements for the Degree of

Master of Sciences
in Anthropology

at

The University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee

May 2010

THE FORMATIVE CERAMIC FIGURINE COLLECTION FROM THE SITE OF
CAHAL PECH, CAYO, BELIZE

by

Christina Zweig

A Thesis Submitted in

Partial Fulfillment of the

Requirements for the Degree of


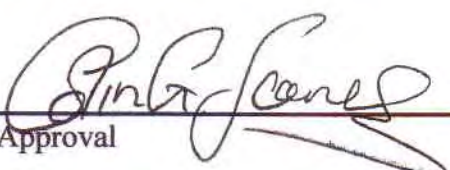
Master of Sciences

In Anthropology

at

The University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee

May 2010

	5/6/10
Major Professor	Date
	5/6/10
Graduate School Approval	Date

ABSTRACT

THE FORMATIVE CERAMIC FIGURINE COLLECTION FROM THE SITE OF CAHAL PECH, CAYO, BELIZE

by

Christina L. Zweig

The University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee, 2010
Under the Supervision of Dr. R. Jason Sherman

This thesis presents the results of my analysis of 389 Middle and Late Formative ceramic figurine fragments from Cahal Pech, a medium-sized lowland Maya center located in the Belize River Valley. The figurines from Cahal Pech are significant because there is no comparable collection from the Belize Valley. Most importantly, figurine studies throughout Mesoamerica have shown that they can give us insights into various dimensions of status recognized in the Formative, such as gender, age, or socially recognized stages of life, like marriage. This thesis has four main objectives. The most fundamental of these is to provide general information about the figurine collection from Cahal Pech. The second objective is to examine the forms and stylistic attributes of the Cahal Pech figurines to show how they may exhibit indicators of gender or other forms of social status, such as, age, or life stages, such as puberty or marriage. The third objective is to place this analysis in a broader context by discussing studies of Formative hand-modeled figurines from other regions of Mesoamerica. Finally, I consider how the

figurines from Cahal Pech relate to the ceremonial and social changes that occurred at the site during the Formative period.

Of the 389 figurine fragments included in this analysis, the majority are anthropomorphic and solid. Typically hollow fragments are parts of musical instruments, but not always. Appendages are the most common anatomical elements. Head and torso fragments, which are highly variable, are important carriers of stylistic information.

During the Formative period, hand-modeled figurines increased in frequency at Cahal Pech, and their decline coincides with the introduction of monumental architecture in the Late Formative. The ritual function of the Cahal Pech figurines is strongly indicated by their treatment and disposal. The act of termination was significant and is likely the reason that so many figurines are found in fragmentary state. They likely served a ritual purpose that was more private or small-scale. Their presence in construction fill suggests they were discarded with rubbish as ceremonial trash.

Toward the end of the Formative period there was a formalization of public/ceremonial space and ritual at Cahal Pech. There may have been less focus on domestic and small group ritual and a new emphasis on more public and formalized ceremonies and ceremonial spaces. Given these changes, figurines likely became less of a ritual focus, thus accounting for their disappearance in the Classic period



Major Professor

5/6/10

Date

© Copyright by Christina L. Zweig, 2010
All Rights Reserved

TABLE OF CONTENTS

List of Figures	Page ix
List of Tables	Page xi
Acknowledgements	Page xii
 CHAPTER ONE. INTRODUCTION	 1
Introduction	1
Research Objectives	2
Methodology	3
Outline of Thesis	4
Summary	6
 CHAPTER TWO. MESOAMERICAN FIGURINE STUDIES	 9
Formative Olmec Figurines	9
San Lorenzo	14
Tres Zapotes	16
San Andrés	19
Central Mexico	20
Vaillant's Figurine Typology	20
Tlatilco	21
Chalcatzingo	21
West Mexico	25
La Pintada	25
Oaxaca	26
Chiapas	27
Chiapa de Corzo	27
Maya Highlands	28
Kaminaljuyu	28
Maya Lowlands	31
Uaxactún	31
Seibal	32
Altar de Sacrificios	33
Cuello	34
Summary	34
 CHAPTER THREE.	
CAHAL PECH: NATURAL AND CULTURAL SETTINGS	37
Landscape and Natural Setting	37
The Belize Valley	38
Cahal Pech	42

Social Changes at Formative Cahal Pech	44
Site Core Formative Sequence	46
Peripheral Groups Formative Sequence	49
Belize Valley Formative Transformation	55
 CHAPTER FOUR. CAHAL PECH FIGURINE COLLECTION	 58
Introduction	58
Methods	58
General Analysis	60
Zoomorphic and Musical Instrument Fragments	62
Anthropomorphic Fragments	63
Appendages	63
Torsos	68
Heads	74
Head Elements	75
Hair	75
Face	75
Ears	77
Provenience	79
Head Fragment Analysis	83
Ancestral Veneration	90
Termination	92
Summary	97
 CHAPTER FIVE. CAHAL PECH FORMATIVE TRANSFORMATION	 99
Ritual Transformation	99
Ritual Contexts	100
Residential/Domestic Contexts	100
Communally Built Structures	106
Monument-Related Offerings	109
Other Ritual Areas	111
Termination and Renewal	112
Dedicatory Offerings/Caching	113
Termination Deposits	114
Discussion	115
Summary	117
 CHAPTER SIX. CONCLUSIONS	 119
Introduction	119
General Observations	119

Gender Representation	121
Regional Comparison	124
Significance in Formative Cahal Pech	126
 REFERENCES	 128
APPENDIX A: Specimen Form	140
APPENDIX B: Head Fragment Photographs and Descriptions	143
APPENDIX C: Specimen Inventory: Provenience	204
APPENDIX D: Specimen Inventory: Ceramic and Form Information	218

LIST OF FIGURES

Figure 2. 1	Map of Mesoamerica and Formative period sites.....	10
Figure 2. 2	Map of the Maya area and Formative period sites (redrawn from Awe 1992: Figure 1).....	30
Figure 3. 1	Map of the Belize River Valley (redrawn from Chase and Garber 2004: Map 1).....	39
Figure 3. 2	Cahal Pech site map including the site core and periphery groups (redrawn from Powis et al. 1999: Figure 2).....	41
Figure 3. 3	Cahal Pech site core (redrawn from a plan created by R. Guerra and C. Helmke with survey by D. Cheetham; Awe and Schwanke 2006: Figure 1).....	43
Figure 3. 4	Plan of the Tolok Group (redrawn from Awe 1992: Figure 52).....	51
Figure 3. 5	Plan of the Cas Pek Group (redrawn from Awe 1992: Figure 53).	52
Figure 3. 6	Plan of Zopilote Group (redrawn from Cheetham et al. 1993: Figure 1)..	53
Figure 3. 7	Plan of Tzinic Group (redrawn from Awe 1992: Figure 46).....	54
Figure 3. 8	Plan of Zubin group (redrawn from Awe 1992: Figure 51).	55
Figure 4. 1	Measuring methods for (a) head fragments, (b) appendage fragments, and (c) torso fragments (illustrations by Melissa Branfman)	60
Figure 4. 2	Complete figurine specimens including (I-24) an ocarina in bird form and (C-1) a seated dwarf figure.....	62
Figure 4. 3	Sample of the Type A appendages.....	65
Figure 4. 4	Sample of the Type B appendages.	65
Figure 4. 5	Sample of the Type C appendages.	66
Figure 4. 6	Sample of the Type D appendages.....	66
Figure 4. 7	Sample of probable female torsos.	72
Figure 4. 8	Sample of probable male torsos.....	72
Figure 4. 9	Sample of abdomens.	73
Figure 4. 10	Lower torso examples including male (T-46) and probable female examples.	73
Figure 4. 11	Examples of (H-17) concave and (H-81) convex foreheads (illustrations by Melissa Branfman)	74
Figure 4. 12	Example of eye forms: (H-34) dual-ovate impressions with central punctation and (H-51) tripunctation.....	77
Figure 4. 13	Bar chart showing the frequency of fragments found in association with structures in the site core and periphery groups of Cahal Pech and Pacbitun.....	81
Figure 4. 14	Frequencies of figurines with provenience information (n= 389 fragments).....	82
Figure 4. 15	Photographs and illustrations of fragment T-5.	94
Figure 4. 16	Head fragment H-24.....	95
Figure 5. 1	Structure B-4 fragment frequencies with chronological context with form distinctions.....	102

Figure 5. 2	Platform B ritual deposits (redrawn from Garber and Awe 2008: Figure 3.....	105
Figure 5. 3	Figurine fragment T-68.	107
Figure 5. 4	Modified figurine fragments T-35 and L-45 (illustrations by Melissa Branfman).	110

LIST OF TABLES

Table 3. 1	Figurine frequencies with chronological associations from Structure B-4 and associated plaza units.	49
Table 4. 1	Frequencies of fragments identified as anthropomorphic, zoomorphic, instrument, and unidentifiable.	61
Table 4. 2	Frequencies of solid and hollow fragments.	61
Table 4. 3	Frequencies of different anatomical forms.	61
Table 4. 4	Appendage type frequencies and percentages.	64
Table 4. 5	Appendage type and incision frequencies (flexed and crab claw types are considered as "other").....	67
Table 4. 6	Depictions of breasts on torso fragments.	69
Table 4. 7	Waist form frequencies and percentages.	69
Table 4. 8	Belly form frequencies and percentages.....	70
Table 4. 9	Hip form frequencies and percentages.	70
Table 4. 10	Eye form frequencies and percentages.	76
Table 4. 11	Frequencies for stylistic mouth formations.	76
Table 4. 12	Nose form frequencies and percentages.	77
Table 4. 13	Ear form frequencies and percentages.....	78
Table 4. 14	Earplug variety frequencies and percentages.....	78
Table 4. 15	Presence of ear incisions with frequencies and percentages.	78
Table 4. 16	Cahal Pech and Pacbitun site core and periphery group figurine fragment frequencies.	80
Table 4. 17	Frequencies and percentages of figurines with provenience information.....	82
Table 4. 18	Frequency and percentages of head and torso fragments that indicate a clean break line along the figurine's neck.	93
Table 5. 1	Structure B-4 fragments with contextual information and form distinctions.	102

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This research was made possible by the support of the Belize Valley Archaeological Reconnaissance Project. I would like to thank Dr. Jaime Awe for presenting and allowing me the opportunity to work with the figurine collection from Cahal Pech. I wish to extend my gratitude to Myka Schwanke for her gracious hospitality and for being so accommodating. I would like to thank Julie Hoggarth and the BVAR staff for their support and assistance during the 2009 field season, and a special thanks to field student Melissa Branfman for producing and contributing her illustrations. To the members of my committee, Dr. Jean Hudson, Dr. Laura Villamil, and chair Dr. R. Jason Sherman, I appreciate all of your guidance and support.

More personally I would like to recognize my parents, Dr. John E. Zweig and Mrs. Margaret Zweig. They have helped support me in so many different ways and have made it possible for me to continue my education and go abroad. Without them my passion for learning and experiencing culture and life on a global scale would not have come to fruition.

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

The ancient Maya figurine tradition has a very long history. The thousands of figurines that have been found vary widely in subject matter, manufacturing techniques, and apparent function. The manufacturing techniques ranged from hand-modeling, to a combination of modeling/mold-use, to mass production of mold-made figurines. The hand-modeled figurines, which are diverse and individualistic, are the most common ritual artifacts in Early and Middle Formative villages. In particular, many small female figurines date to the Middle Formative period. Archaeological investigations in Mesoamerica have unearthed figurines in burials, caches, household areas, and middens.

This thesis presents the results of my analysis of 389 Middle and Late Formative ceramic figurine fragments from Cahal Pech, a medium-sized lowland Maya center with one of the earliest lowland pottery traditions (Cunil, 1100-800 B.C.) identified in the Belize Valley (Awe 1992). The first major archaeological investigations at Cahal Pech began in the late 1980s, and research at the site has continued to the present day. These investigations have included stratigraphic excavations in the site core as well as in various peripheral architectural groups. As a result, we have a clear picture of the chronological sequence of the site's development.

The assemblage of figurines recovered at Cahal Pech has grown over the years. The quantity of hand-modeled Formative period figurine fragments from the site is now quite impressive. The collection is curated under the authority of Dr. Jaime Awe, Director of Belize's Institute of Archaeology and of the Belize Valley Archaeological Reconnaissance Project. While the fragments have been commented on in previous

reports and papers since the initial investigations at Cahal Pech in the late 1980s and early 1990s, a more comprehensive analysis of the growing collection had not yet been undertaken. The figurines from Cahal Pech are significant because there is no comparable collection from the Belize Valley. Most importantly, figurine studies throughout Mesoamerica have shown that these artifacts can give us insights into various dimensions of status recognized in the Formative, such as gender, age, or socially recognized stages of life, like marriage.

Cahal Pech and many other Lowland Maya sites underwent significant change in the Formative period, including population increase and intensified construction and renovation. There were changes in architectural quality and styles, including the development of non-domestic architecture that served ceremonial or public functions. There was increasing social differentiation and inequality reflected in subsistence and mortuary treatment. Craft specialization became more apparent, as did the presence of pan-Mesoamerican symbolism and exotic goods indicating trade and other forms of social interaction with other regions. During the Middle and Late Formative periods hand-modeled figurines increased in frequency, at Cahal Pech, but they are essentially absent in Classic period contexts. In the course of social and ceremonial changes the figurines' role in Formative period Maya society was likely affected.

RESEARCH OBJECTIVES

This thesis has four main objectives. The most fundamental of these is to provide general information about the figurine collection from Cahal Pech. My study was the first systematic and detailed analysis performed on the collection since Cheetham's (1993)

preliminary cataloging. The initial collection reported by Awe (1992) included 187 fragments; however the collection has grown since that time. My analysis includes 389 fragments, which constitute the majority of the existing assemblage from the site. The second objective is to examine the forms and stylistic attributes of the Cahal Pech figurines to show how they may exhibit indicators of gender or other forms of social status, such as, age, or life stages, such as puberty or marriage. The third objective is to place this analysis in a broader context by discussing studies of Formative hand-modeled figurines from other regions of Mesoamerica. Finally, I consider how the figurines from Cahal Pech relate to the ceremonial and social changes that occurred at the site during the Formative period.

METHODOLOGY

In analyzing the Cahal Pech figurine collection, I collected primarily descriptive data for each artifact. The primary data on figurine manufacture consisted of ceramic paste and slip description, form (solid and hollow), and general measurements of length, width, and thickness. The form of each fragment was also classified as anthropomorphic, zoomorphic, musical instruments or unidentifiable. The forms were further separated based on anatomical characteristics: head, torso, appendage, musical instrument apparatus (e.g., mouthpiece), and unidentifiable. Further descriptive and stylistic data were recorded on individual specimen forms (see Appendix A) as well as in an extensive photographic inventory. Pictures were taken of every fragment included in the analysis, and several were also drawn (see Appendix B for all head fragments). The preservation of the figurines' provenience information was also a priority during this project. The

information stored with the fragments was inconsistent throughout the collection. Therefore an inventory was generated documenting the provenience, current identification code, prior catalogue number, and basic visual information (ceramic description, form, size) of each fragment (see Appendices C and D).

OUTLINE OF THESIS

Chapter 2 introduces some examples of Formative figurines from other regions of Mesoamerica. The figurine studies that are reviewed include those conducted in the Olmec area, Central and West Mexico, Oaxaca, Chiapas, and examples from the highland and lowland Maya areas. While some reports are more complete than others, the information they contain allows us to compare patterns at Cahal Pech with those from other regions and demonstrates that ceramic figurines were produced in mass quantities in a variety of forms across Mesoamerica.

Chapter 3 provides general descriptions of the Belize River Valley's environment and the site of Cahal Pech. The site is strategically located on a hilltop within a diverse environment and near a river system that provided a natural transportation and communication route between the Caribbean Sea and the Petén heartland of Guatemala. Many of the structures at the site have also been tested or excavated, making it possible to reconstruct the 1800-year occupational history of Cahal Pech.

Chapter 4 describes the ceramic figurine collection in detail and provides a more detailed analysis of the head fragments. Iconographic elements present on the figurine fragments are discussed, and how they may or may not be used in distinguishing representations of social status on the figurines. One of the leading questions regarding

Formative Mesoamerican figurines is their function, which has been difficult to ascertain due to uncertainties in what they actually represent. For instance, gender distinctions for figurines are often obscure, and many iconographic elements displayed on figurines are not fully understood, making it difficult to determine the identity of the people/entities being depicted. Chapter 4 also includes a discussion of the possible role that figurines played in ancestor veneration and the likelihood that some figurines were ritually terminated by being deliberately broken.

Chapter 5 examines the Formative transformation at the site of Cahal Pech. The different contexts in which the figurines were found, and the disposal or termination of these artifacts, are discussed. The function of the figurines and what they represent remains elusive due to the contexts and condition in which they were found. Many Formative figurines are found in secondary or tertiary contexts, such as construction fill or middens, and they are usually fragmented in such a way that reconstruction is not possible. However, in some cases figurines or fragments are found in special contexts such as caches and burials.

Many significant changes occurred at sites in the Belize Valley during the Formative period: population increased, architectural styles and functions changed, construction intensified, and social stratification increased in archaeologically recognizable ways. During the late Middle Formative the frequency of figurines increased at Cahal Pech, but they subsequently decreased with the introduction of monumental architecture in the Late Formative. By the Early Classic, figurines became quite rare, surviving primarily as heirlooms. In chapter 5 the Formative transformation that occurred at Cahal Pech is discussed with attention to architectural changes and

evidence for a new emphasis on more community-focused and larger-group ritual as opposed to more private domestic ritual.

The intention of this analysis is to contribute to a better understanding of the Formative Maya in the Belize Valley through this unique and sizeable collection. Chapter 6 includes a review of the research objectives and my interpretations of the findings.

SUMMARY

The figurine collection from Cahal Pech provides a unique opportunity for understanding Formative Maya social identities, social roles, ritual activities, and means of symbolic expression. Other sites in the Belize Valley have figurines that are similar to the ones found at Cahal Pech, but these other assemblages are considerably smaller. This analysis highlights the defining characteristics of the Cahal Pech collection, reveals interesting patterns, and provides a foundation for intersite comparisons.

Identifying figurine representations, particularly gender, has remained uncertain and often figurines are labeled simply as female fertility idols. In the case of figurines from Cahal Pech, anatomical attributes are not used to indicate gender. The body forms are extremely generic and often neuter, and depending on how gender is interpreted from body types, the identification of female and male figures may vary. Head fragments—the most stylistically elaborate and variable parts of most figurines—appear to be the foci for socially encoded information and indicators of status represented on the figures. The producers of the figurines either were not concerned with displaying gender through anatomical means, or gender is represented in a form that we are unable to recognize.

There is social information encoded on these figurines that we have not yet learned to interpret.

The majority of the fragments from Cahal Pech were found in secondary or tertiary contexts, but there have also been several recovered from special contexts, including an Early Classic stela cache (Conlon and Awe 1991: 11), a child burial (Powis 1995: 74), and an elaborate configuration of multiple deposits (Garber and Awe 2008: 185-188).

Researchers have frequently argued that the fragmented condition of the figurines is evidence of ritual termination, but clear evidence supporting this hypothesis has often been lacking. Several of the fragments from the Cahal Pech collection do show evidence of purposeful destruction—including neatly broken off heads, punctations around the neck to aid in decapitation, and deformation of the face itself. While this does not indicate that all figurines were ritually terminated, it does suggest that this activity occurred with some frequency.

Figurines appear in the earliest (i.e., Cunil) contexts at Cahal Pech, and they became most common during the late Middle Formative and early Late Formative periods. During the late Middle Formative there was a gradual increase of construction within the site's core and periphery groups, the first lime-plaster formal patio at the site was constructed, non-domestic round platforms were established, and an increase in population occurred throughout the valley (Awe 1992). The round platforms functioned as burial shrines and as important ritual loci (Aimers et al. 2000). Burial orientations also became uniform, beginning a regional pattern that persisted in the valley until the end of the Classic period (Healy et al. 2004: 121). The ceramic and faunal evidence indicates feasting during the Middle Formative, and "pan-Mesoamerican" iconography suggests

that ideology and foreign connections may have been used to initiate a system of social ranking (Cheetham 1998).

During the Late Formative, construction at Cahal Pech continued to increase, and new building platforms were built along with raised platforms, more round structures, and terraced structures. The Terminal Late Formative witnessed an increase in rectangular platforms rather than apsidal ones, and the population continued to increase. Overall, there are indications of growing social and economic complexity during the Formative period at Cahal Pech, as well as a maturing ritual complex. I suggest that the figurines produced and used at Cahal Pech were part of this ritual complex and this dynamic transformation—a proposition that I consider more fully in later chapters.

CHAPTER 2

MESOAMERICAN FIGURINE STUDIES

Some of the most common ritual artifacts found in Formative period villages throughout Mesoamerica are small, solid ceramic figurines. This chapter provides an overview of figurine studies that have been conducted in the Olmec Gulf Coast area, Central Mexico, Oaxaca, and the Maya region.

FORMATIVE OLMEC FIGURINES

Follensbee (2000) conducted a systematic study of gender in Olmec art, including ceramic figurines from the sites of San Lorenzo, La Venta, and Tres Zapotes (Figure 2.1). The general chronology of the figurines placed them in the Early Formative (1500-900 B.C.), Middle Formative (900-300 B.C.), and Late Formative (300 B.C. – A.D. 300) periods. Follensbee defined three general categories for the figurines: relatively naturalistic, somewhat abstracted, and grotesque. The relatively naturalistic category comprises 92% of the 1,539 figurines included in her study (Follensbee 2000: 35). The somewhat abstracted figurines, which comprise less than 4% of the assemblage, are more geometric in terms of their body shape. The grotesque bodies are highly abstracted and compact figures, including chubby dwarves or babies.

The postures recorded for naturalistic figures include standing with legs apart; standing; seated or lying down with legs apart but bent inward at the knee; seated with legs together or crossed at the ankles; seated with legs crossed; or seated with legs apart. The arms or hands occasionally are crossed or rest on the lap, knees, or stomach, but are usually missing. The arm and leg combinations result in many different poses. It is also

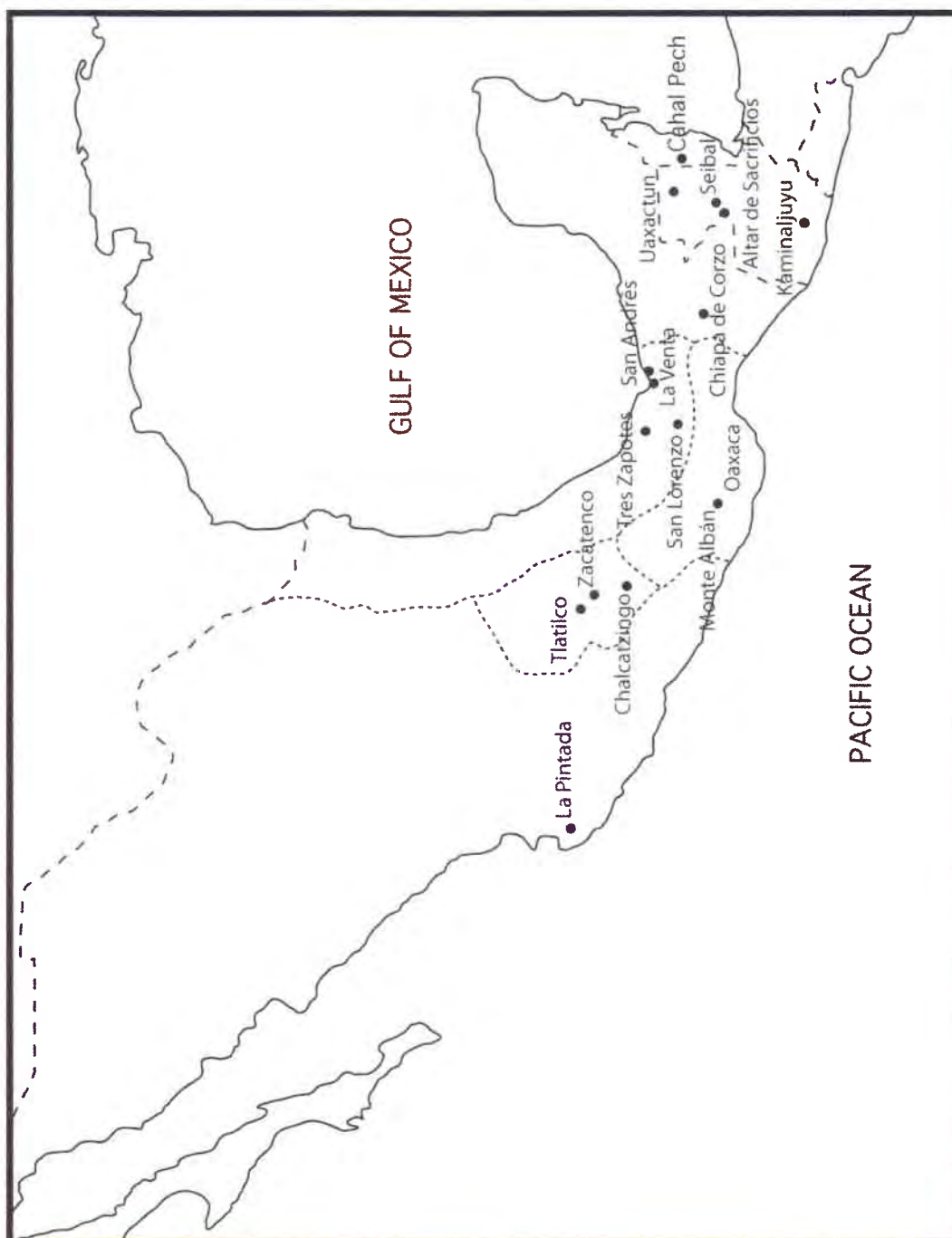


Figure 2.1 Map of Mesoamerica and Formative period sites.

possible that some figurines were adorned with perishable clothing (Follensbee 2000: 77-85, 149-51).

Depictions of genitalia were not common on the lower torsos, and the most identifiable female figurines have prominent breasts. Age is sometimes indicated on female figurines by the depiction of sagging breasts (Follensbee 2000: 38). There are also figurines with breasts and large, distended bellies, representing late-stage pregnancy. However, most of the figures are slender and non-pregnant, and prominent breasts are an uncommon feature. Follensbee (2000: 35-40) describes the most common indicators for female gender as pinched waists, flaring hips and thighs, tapering limbs, a pubic-Y or triangle, and shapely cleavaged buttocks.

The relatively naturalistic figurines are most commonly nude and some are depicted with molded garments; the most rudimentary of these is a pubic flap or apron, a simple garment consisting of a belt or cord with a flap that hangs down in the front. Some garments cover the front and back with a cord at the waist indicated by incised lines. Skirts of various lengths are also common. Follensbee (2000: 45-46) notes that the low slung positioning of garments on the torso are associated with female gender. Other garments depicted on naturalistic figurines include simple round pellets that may represent pectoral mirrors, short capes, vests/tunics, fillet or beaded necklaces, and round ear ornaments.

The somewhat abstract figurines are almost always clothed, and most have a belt at or above the natural waist. A loincloth that wraps underneath the crotch frequently accompanies the belt. Another garment associated with the belt is the hip cloth. Because

in Mesoamerica the wrapped loincloth generally appears as a male gendered garment, Follensbee (2000:46) interprets these figures as strongly gendered.

The figurine heads are highly stylized and vary considerably, but they nevertheless show consistent patterns according to Follensbee. The smooth bald heads on the baby-faced figurines may represent shaven heads, or they may have been adorned with perishable headdresses. Follensbee (2000: 47) notes that more complete examples of female figurines do sometimes have these same bald heads. The majority of the heads do display a hairstyle or headdress, the most common at all three sites being a simple inverted U-shape element that frames the face. The top of this element may be either squared or rounded, and the surface may be smooth but is often vertically striated, suggesting that it represents hair rather than a turban or other headdress. The U-shaped hair form is often adorned with additional pieces that may also be striated, such as a central bun or crest, a single bun to the side, or a symmetrical pair on both sides. Another style common in all three sites and time periods consists of a central hairpiece or pair of pieces, along with sidepieces that may extend down. The hair may be parted or stylized as a partially shaved head, as hair buns also sometimes occur singly on an otherwise bald head. A final common and variable style is a multilayered coiffure that may represent hair wrapped around the head in a natural sort of turban.

Follensbee (2009: 88) classifies the majority of the bodies as female, and she assumes that the majority of the heads would be female as well. There were also a small number of heads connected to the torsos. Follensbee (2009: 83, 87-88, Figures 4.4a, 4.4b, 4.7b) argues that these common hairstyles are highly likely to be female coiffures. A minority of heads have headdresses as opposed to hairstyles. The former are

differentiated from hairstyles by their larger and often projecting geometric forms. Some figurines from La Venta wear a helmet-like headdress with a squared frame around the face and a central crest on the top. Some of these figures have facial hair, and these are undeniably male.

The male figurine bodies tend to be more geometric and ambiguous. Figures are most often covered with elaborate garments and accoutrements that serve to define gender. The most common male garment is a wide and sometimes multi-layered belt worn at or above the natural waist, usually accompanied by a loincloth that wraps underneath the crotch and is sometimes combined with a hip cloth or short skirt. Both males and females wear earplugs, capes or vests, and round pectorals.

To summarize, the female characteristics found on Olmec ceramic figurines include the pubic-Y or triangle, flaring hips and thighs, tapering limbs, pinched waist, and shaped buttocks. There are rare depictions of pregnancy or old age and female chests are usually depicted only minimally, with modestly rounded forms and a W-shaped edge or line beneath them. Breasts only occasionally appear full and rounded. Female figurines are most often nude or wear very little. Those female garments that are recognizable include the pubic apron, low-slung beaded belt, and low-slung skirt; the placement of these elements low on the hips seems to be significant. Other apparel found on female figurines includes round pectorals, short capes or vests, beaded necklaces, and breast bands. Female hairstyles can include a completely bald head or single buns on an otherwise shaved head. The most common hairstyle is a rounded or squared coiffure that frames the face in an inverted U-shape. This is often vertically striated and frequently adorned with crests or buns. Other female coiffures include multiple buns and crests on

what may be a partially shaven head, and hair wrapped around the head creating an elaborate turban effect.

Follensbee (2000: 85) suggests that figurines were primarily used in household rituals, probably for curing and prevention of disease. The poses suggest that the figurines were set up, possibly in ritualistic scenes. Their fragmentary state indicates that they were broken during or after the rituals. Follensbee also suggests that because these were household rituals, and because the vast majority of the figurines are female, it is highly likely that women were involved in the production and use of these images, and that women were the main participants in the ritual activities.

San Lorenzo

San Lorenzo was one of the initial Olmec urban centers, rising to prominence in 1200 B.C. and flourishing for another three hundred years. It is also one of three adjacent Olmec archaeological sites in southern Veracruz (Figure 2.1) known as San Lorenzo Tenochtitlán. Mathew Stirling carried out initial excavations at the site from 1946 to 1970. Coe and Diehl (1980) developed the first ceramic typology for the site, including the ceramic figurines. Most of the figurines were found in construction fill originally obtained from household debris, and most were fragmented. The fragments included solid and hollow forms, the latter separable into small and large categories. The majority of the fragments were identified as anthropomorphic, and while animal effigies were relatively rare in the collection, they did occur in every phase. Coe and Diehl (1980: 260) separated the figurines into four general categories: fat figurines, dwarves, one-eyed

gods, and ball players. All four categories were described as “strikingly sexless” individuals (Coe and Diehl 1980: 260).

The fragments dating to the Early Formative Chicharras phase have single or double slit trough-like eyes that are not punched, and the head fragments look “Olmec in appearance” (Coe and Diehl 1980: 263). The dwarf fragments have large heads with single slit eyes, ear ornaments, and forward leaning deformed torsos. The most complete figurine from this phase is a seated pregnant woman with slightly outspread legs, a short skirt, and hands and arms cradling her belly (Coe and Diehl 1980: 264, Fig. 308).

Figurine heads from the San Lorenzo A phase, also in the Early Formative, are described as being traditionally Olmec in style, with a bald head and double-slit eyes, highly arched eyebrows, thick frowning lips, and triangular flat noses (Coe and Diehl 1980: 264). There are also turban-like and other head coverings seldom evident in earlier phases. Some of the heads also exhibit cranial cinching, which may indicate deformations or possibly separate head elements (e.g., headdresses). Coe and Diehl (1980: 264) also demonstrate the difficulty of identifying elements that occur on the heads of the figurines; they describe the bun-like element found on some figurines as a bun, hair, or a small hat. MacNeish et al. (1970: 136) called this element a hairlock. The solid-head figurines continue to feature elements such as tight-rolled brim caps and turbans, and there are heads described as having ornaments on the sides resembling mouse ears (Coe and Diehl 1980: 267). There are also examples of trench and punctate eyes, punctate nostrils, and straight mouths.

The solid dwarf figurines have headdresses that cover the top and sides of the head, with a cylindrical stovepipe-shape projection rising from the center. Coe and Diehl

(1980: 267, Fig. 331) show a dwarf figurine with earplugs, a side flap-covering hat, a band with three nodules/buns on the center and sides of the head, and a helmet-like headdress. The one-eyed gods are human heads with one stylized, empty eye socket; the other eye is covered with prominent rectangular eyelashes. The mouths are downturned and the noses nondescript.

In general, the Olmec heads can be either hollow or solid, with thick downturned mouths, highly arched eyebrows, large ears, almond-shaped eyes, thick noses, and often a bald head or a headdress such as a turban. The “non-Olmec” heads are described as having double-punched and incised eyes, single-punched and incised eyes, rounded rectangular eyes made by incision and punctation, or incised eyes (Coe and Diehl 1980: 272).

There are relatively few Olmec figurines dating to the Middle Formative Nacaste phase. Most of these have irises formed by large punctations, solid heads, pointed noses, rounded cheeks, projecting lips, and head coverings, including one with a smooth cap with a central bun (Coe and Diehl 1980: 276, Fig. 367). Figurines from the subsequent Palangana phase (also Middle Formative) have rounded faces, rounded lips, tripunctate eyes, and a smooth cap or hair with dual buns (Coe and Diehl 1980: 278, Fig. 379).

Tres Zapotes

Tres Zapotes, located in southern Veracruz (Figure 2.1), emerged as a regional center in the Middle Formative, around the decline of San Lorenzo Tenochtitlán. As one of the largest Olmec sites it continued as a regional center during the Late Formative and further into the Classic period. Two studies on figurines from Tres Zapotes were carried

out by Drucker (1943) and Weiant (1943). The earliest and most common figurines from the site were hand-modeled. Most of the figurines are anthropomorphic, solid, and decorated simply with bits of appliqué and punctate or incised features. There are a few hollow figurines; the complete examples seem to be whistles or small effigy pots. So few of the figurines occur intact that it seems they were broken intentionally. The figurines are interpreted to be mostly female (Drucker 1943: 77).

Drucker classified the heads based on execution and style. There are punctate forms, and modeled and incised forms. The punctate forms were divided into types A-F, and all of these types are fairly similar with only slight variation. The eye execution includes two semi-lunar impressions whose ends point downward with deep central perforations as the pupils. Type D eyes vary somewhat, and most often they are indicated by straight or slightly curved slits. Type F also differs in that the eyes and mouth are incised slits. Other facial characteristics include perforated nostrils, protruding lips parted by a horizontal incision, and sometimes punctations at the corners of the mouth. The ears may or may not be represented, and earplugs are invariably present. Few have nose or cheek plugs, and some also exhibit facial hair.

The headdresses are varied and two types predominate: an elongated turban, and a low headdress with a crescent-shaped ornament hanging over the forehead. Other head elements include elaborate turbans and hair that is sometimes shown as bangs across the forehead and hanging down over the ears. Other variations include hoods and small conical hats.

The solid figurine bodies do not vary as much as the heads, but there are several distinct styles of representation. The bodies seem disproportionately small for the heads,

and less effort was spent in making them relative to the faces and headdresses. While some of the torsos are flat with a slender waist and breasts that are not emphasized, others have swollen breasts and abdomens suggesting pregnancy. When apparel is present it is appliquéd and restricted to necklaces and pubic covers. Brief skirts are occasionally represented. The postures documented include standing and seated with the legs crossed or extended. The feet are not usually indicated but sometimes are represented in simplified form, and the arms are often stubby in appearance.

Weiant (1943) typed the figurines differently, but described some of the same details. The turban-like headdresses vary. The eyes are executed with deep circular punctations at the center with triangular perforations at either side, and typically with a downward slant so that the eyes have the shape of an inverted V. Nostrils are indicated by circular perforations and the lips protrude slightly and look somewhat parted with circular perforations at the corners of the mouth. There are a few cases where the ears are not shown, but when they are present they have from one to three transverse incisions. In other cases the ears are only indicated by small circular earplugs.

The headdresses Weiant (1943:86, Plate 9) shows for the class of Transitional Types are reminiscent of headdresses seen later on monuments. The figurine bodies were placed into five general types. The first, the bifurcated-leg type, is described as having abnormally short legs and feet indicated only by incisions. The simple, unadorned, standing type is described as having a high and narrow waist that is sometimes exaggerated, and the breasts are rarely accentuated. The seated figurines have very full breasts, and the nude figures with crossed legs often have the body leaning forward with the hands placed on the knees. The fourth kind is unique in that there is a tripod support

on the figure to help it stand upright. The legs are rough conical stumps and a third is bulkier and less regular in form. It extends backward from the base of the torso to complete the tripod. The fifth type is called the club-legged steatopygous type.

San Andrés

San Andrés is located in the modern state of Tabasco along the now extinct Río Barí which flowed north of the ceremonial center of La Venta (Figure 2.1). San Andrés was occupied during the Middle Formative, contemporaneous with La Venta. The figurines from this site were recovered around domestic areas and date from 1350-350 B.C., with the majority found in levels dating from 700-500 B.C. Derilo Tway (2004) carried out an analysis on 291 figurines, all of which were fragmentary with the one exception of a complete infant or dwarf figure. There are significantly more solid figurines than hollow, and Derilo Tway (2004: 23) says that they resemble figurines from the sites of La Venta and Chiapa de Corzo. The figurines were divided into three style classes derived from Drucker's (1952) study of figurines from La Venta. Style 1 includes punctations delineating features on the figurine heads. Style 2 includes a combination of incised grooves or slit eyes with appliqué. Two eye treatments, simple groove or slits and slits with punctations, were associated with this class. Style 3 included a technique where the clay was modeled or sculpted to form a facial feature. The postures identified in Derilo Tway's analysis are extended (standing) and seated. Some of the extended figurines probably could not have stood upright; the small size of the feet suggests that the figurines would have been too top-heavy to have stood on their own. The seated

postures include cross-legged and extended legs. The figurines from San Andrés and San Lorenzo have pubic coverings (a belt with a loincloth) or a pubic-Y is depicted.

CENTRAL MEXICO

Vaillant's Figurine Typology

Vaillant (1930) created a typology for figurines from Central Mexico. Type C, the most common figurine type found in the Valley of Mexico, was subdivided into eight groups based on variations in the presentation of features and in the composition of the clay. Vaillant describes C1 figurines as having small trunks, erect posture, heads that are relatively large in proportion to the body, and eyes, noses, and mouths indicated by fillets of clay (Vaillant 1930: 98-99, Plate 10). Plate 10 in his study shows several different eye forms, including dual impressed eyes, coffee-bean eyes, and coffee-bean eyes with dual impressions. There are also several hairstyles and headdresses shown, including singular and multiple buns, turbans, headbands, crests, and parted hair. Type C2 figurines likewise have eyes that are raised and formed by impressions and they exhibit similar varieties of hairstyles and headdresses. Vaillant's Plate 13 (1930: 105) shows typical C1-C2 eye treatments, but the face shape is more squared. One eye form present on plate 13 is dual impressed downturned at the corners, forming an upside-down V shape. Vaillant focused primarily on the head fragments to create these types, and not as much information was provided for the different body types. The eyes on type C8 figurines, which are executed with incisions, are reminiscent of figurines from the Veracruz lowlands.

Tlatilco

Tlatilco is a highland central Mexican site located on the western shore of Lake Texcoco (Figure 2.1). It now lies beneath the modern town of the same name, in the Mexican Federal District. The site flourished during the Middle Formative period and is most famous for its burials and the contents found in them. In particular, the figurines from Tlatilco, described by Porter (1953), are one of the most outstanding cultural characteristics of the site. The majority of the large, hollow figurines considered typical of Tlatilco date to the Middle Zacatenco phase. Another style mentioned is distinctively "Olmec," including both large hollow figurines of the Gualupita-Olmec style and small solid seated ones (Porter 1953: 23).

The figurines found at Tlatilco were predominately mortuary offerings. Of 160 burials, 53 yielded figurines. One burial (number 23) contained a total of 68 figurines. They exhibit various forms of apparel, ornamentation, body paint, and hairstyles. The figurines vary in form, from small and solid to large and hollow, and the postures include seated, standing, and reclining. Special forms include women carrying children, animals, and even humorous acrobats. A concept of duality can be seen in anthro/zoomorphic combinations, or figures with two heads or two faces on one head (Porter 1953: 43).

Chalcatzingo

The site of Chalcatzingo, a major center in central Mexico (Figure 2.1) during the Early to Middle Formative, has yielded a large number of Formative figurines. Grove and Gillespie (1991: 55) describe the artifacts found at Chalcatzingo as having a mixture of Gulf Coast and Central Mexican features. The Chalcatzingo figurines form two major

groups: stylized and generally nondescript human figures, and well made figurines with carefully executed faces and headdresses. Most of the heads in the large assemblage had been broken at the neck area, a pattern so regular that it strongly indicates purposeful breakage (Harlan 1987: 252). Early Formative figurines from Chalcatzingo functioned as mortuary offerings, while in the Middle Formative figurines were used in daily activities and thrown away (Guillén Cyphers 1988). Discarded figurines were concentrated in and around residential structures. The figurines were most frequently associated with structure floors, burial fill, and ceremonial features, and were less common in general fill (Gillespie 1987: 264). In terms of the number of figurines (head type only) per cubic meter excavated, the figurines were not evenly distributed throughout the site (Gillespie 1987: 265).

The figurines from Chalcatzingo are either recognizably female (with breasts or swollen abdomens) or have a sexless appearance. Male genitalia are not depicted. Other than turbans, clothing is rare in the assemblage, but sandals are sometimes depicted. The figurines may have been dressed in perishable materials. Some ballgame players may also have been depicted with pads on knees, hips, and thighs (Harlan 1987: 262).

Cyphers Guillén (1988) classified 92% of the figurines from Chalcatzingo as female. A number of the female figurines appear to depict three stages of pregnancy, perhaps an indication of female transition rites associated with puberty, marriage, and pregnancy.

Type C8 figurines from Chalcatzingo, similar to those described by Vaillant (1930), were considered portrait figurines by Grove and Gillespie (1991) because of their realistic facial detail and high degree of variation/individuality. There were a number of

specific face and headdress combinations, and many distinct “portraits” were identified. Grove and Gillespie interpreted these “portraits” as lineage heads and suggested that they were probably used in ancestor veneration. While the C figurines from Vaillant’s typology generally have protruding “coffee bean” eyes formed by fillets of clay, eyes on C8 figurines are made by incising and gouging directly into the face. Pupils are shown with a deep punctation in the inside corner (creating a cross-eyed appearance), and eyebrows are indicated by lightly incised lines. The well-modeled figurines exhibit a wide range of variation in terms of the execution of facial features. Harlan (1987: 253) suggests that the variation is patterned, and that there is a correlation between the individuals portrayed and headdress shapes. More recently, Harlan (2008) has indicated that although C8 figurines are the dominant type at Chalcatzingo (and more common there than at other settlements), they still represent much less than half of the total figurine heads from the site. He says that the portraits are more likely to belong to a unified representational style depicting group identity.

Although many figurines from Chalcatzingo fit into Vaillant’s typology, some were dissimilar enough from Valley of Mexico types that new type distinctions were made. These new distinctions included types Ch1, Ch1-1 through Ch1-5, and Ch 2. The attributes on these figurines include various eye, mouth, nose, and hair forms; turban types; embellishments and buttons; ear and neck ornaments; arm positions; pregnancy types; and hand, breast, navel, leg, and clothing forms. The apparel includes waistbands, pubic covers, kneepads, sandals, and various other clothing and ornament elements. Harlan (1987: 261) found that some parts of the figurines conveyed more information than others. Features on and around the head are highly variable (e.g., hairstyles,

headgear, and stylization in facial characteristics), yet there is also a high degree of redundancy in the variability.

Turbans may have been important in conveying information, considering the large variety of ways that the turbans are wrapped and the consistent associations between wraps and ornamentation or embellishment. Ear ornaments are not as variable. While variation in eye forms may have been symbolic, it may also have reflected traditions of manufacture (Harlan 1987: 261). The depictions of nose, mouth, and other anatomical parts of the head seem least likely to convey social (or symbolic) information.

It appears that over time the attributes on figurines found in the elite and non-elite areas of Chalcatzingo began to vary. Harlan's interpretation is that this reflects the emergence of elite individuals who attained control of the religious system. Harlan (1987: 263) discusses the role of aesthetics, arguing that if aesthetic qualities are "patterned with respect to social groups or any other feature of the prehistoric community, then some part of the redundancy must be imputed to it." If the figurines functioned within an ideological system, then constraints of the ideology would be a source of variability. There is a possibility that figurines were produced by households for their own use, but Harlan (1987: 262) assumes an ideotechnic function for the Chalcatzingo figurines, and speculates that while craft specialists may have formed and fired the figurines, religious specialists would have been responsible for the symbolic content.

WEST MEXICO

La Pintada

The site of La Pintada is located in the Tomatlan River Basin in the central coastal plain of Jalisco, Mexico (Figure 2.1). The Jaliscan coastal cultures maintained a Formative level of development well into the Classic period. Mountjoy (1991) performed a formal analysis of 892 figurine fragments from La Pintada, all but three of which were anthropomorphic. He mentions that the figurines had similarities with the Middle Preclassic Type C figurines from the central Mexican highlands (Mountjoy 1990: 86). Figurines were found in mixed deposits of domestic refuse, and none were discovered in burials (Mountjoy 1991: 95). The figurines were found in abundant quantities (102 figurines in 36 cubic meters) and this may be an indication that they had some common use in daily life during the Formative period. All but one of the figurines were broken, and Mountjoy found that it was not possible to discern whether this occurred prior to or after discard, although the heads were commonly broken from the torso. The postures that were documented include extended and seated. Commonly the hands of the figurines are resting or placed over the chest, stomach, or legs, or hanging naturally to the sides. There is a lack of representation of action in the assemblage. Mountjoy (1991: 93) believes that there was a canonization of expression to which the artisans believed they should conform, and which may have been related to the use or significance of the figurines in Formative culture.

OAXACA

Figurines from Oaxaca have been found in three primary contexts: residences, burials, and deliberately arranged scenes in households. Most of the figurines found with Formative burials in the Valley of Oaxaca occurred with women. Household midden debris is the most common secondary context from which figurines have been recovered (Marcus 1998: 7-9). In fact, small solid figurines were more abundant in ordinary houses and household debris than in any other context. Most of the Formative figurines from Oaxaca and neighboring areas depict human females. Less common are figurines depicting males, humans wearing costumes, and animals (Marcus 1998: 3).

The Oaxacan figurines have relatively standardized facial features, while the hairstyles may be very ornate and individualized, perhaps reflecting differences of status/rank such as age and marital status. Hairstyles depicted on figurines may indicate female life stages. Marcus (1998) discusses the importance of hairstyles for women in Mesoamerican societies, and ethnohistoric evidence for the social information encoded in prehispanic hairstyles. Very young girls would wear simple hairstyles, and when women reached a marriageable age they would wear more elaborate styles. Married women would then retreat to simple hairstyles.

The attention devoted to hairstyles, garments, and other accessories may relate to age-grades, marital statuses, rank, title, and social personae. Marcus (1998: 46-47) found that the most complex examples of women's hairstyles came from Tierras Largas phase (1400-1150 B.C.) heads. Within a still essentially egalitarian society, the women used specific hairstyles to signal membership in various life categories (e.g., too young to marry, of age to marry, married without children, married with children, and so forth).

Marcus suggests that the importance of displaying the life stages of women may have decreased through time, as hereditary rank became increasingly important and variables such as ornaments and body position came to play a more prominent role in signaling information about the person.

CHIAPAS

Chiapa de Corzo

Chiapa de Corzo was a major ceremonial center beginning in the Early Formative. Located in the Grijalva Valley of central Chiapas (Figure 2.1 and 2.2), it is notable for one of the earliest Long Count dates (on Stela 2) and its strategic placement along commercial routes between the Gulf and Pacific. In his report on the ceramic artifacts from Chiapa de Corzo, Lee (1969) classified the figurines into four styles, each with multiple varieties. The report includes information collected on a total of 1,344 whole or fragmentary specimens. The data comprise mainly types and styles, with little to no information regarding the contexts in which these specimens were found. While the torsos were only separable into two categories, the heads exhibited the most elaboration and decoration, and represented four different styles: (1) facial features and head or hair decorations indicated by punctuation and appliqué; (2) similar features and decoration created with incisions or broad groove punctations and appliqué units; (3) features produced by modeled relief or sculpting, with punctations (both round and slit) sometimes used for emphasis; and (4) rare mold-made figures.

Figurines classified as I-Chiapa-A have eyes formed by opposed triangular punctations with a central pupil punctation, a style frequently seen in the Cahal Pech

sample. Large, round, punctate earplugs almost always cover the ears in the I-Chiapa-A figurines. Their mouths are slightly open, while the lips usually project directly forward and the teeth are never shown. In all cases there is a cowl appliquéd to the top and sides of the head, framing the face. Hairdos or headdresses are not elaborate or varied in style.

Other types of hairstyle/headdress range from single punctated knobs at the top of the head to three symmetrically spaced knobs. Other hair treatments described by Lee (1969: 7-23) include various styles of incised marks; tonsuring; hair indicated on the center and sides of the head with smooth tonsured areas in between; a hair cowl, either plain or with punctated decorations; symmetrically spaced appliqué fillet knobs crossing the head; drag-incised hair detail; topknot bound with a band; centrally located forelock; and appliqué fillets. Minor variations also occur within these types.

The figurine bodies generally feature generic torsos, but some do depict more naturalistic anatomical qualities such as breasts and genitalia. A few include apparel that looks like skirts extending from the waist to somewhere between the knee and thigh. The shoulders appear to be broad, and the waists vary considerably, from very constricted, to slightly rounded bellies, to more projected abdomens that may indicate pregnancy. The postures include seated and extended, and most appendages are very simplistic and generic, although a few are much more elaborate.

MAYA HIGHLANDS

Kaminaljuyu

The site of Kaminaljuyu is located in the Guatemalan highlands on the western margins of present-day Guatemala City (Figure 2.1 and 2.2). Michael Coe (2005: 52) has

described Kaminaljuyu as one of the greatest of all archaeological sites in the New World. With settlement established by 1000 B.C., it developed into an extremely important site due to its role in trade and its close proximity to obsidian and jade sources. Kidder (1965) studied the Formative pottery figurines from Kaminaljuyu, which generally were not buried with the dead nor associated with ceremonial deposits or caches. In addition to the figurines found in excavation, a fair number were brought forth by farmers and other people involved in modern development activities (Kidder 1965: 148). Most are anthropomorphic, usually shown standing and less commonly seated.

While most of the figurines from Kaminaljuyu are fragmentary, Kidder (1965: 150) says that there is no clear evidence that the figurines were deliberately broken and he supports this interpretation by saying most of the fragments were independent finds and had worn edges. Kidder (1965: 150) argues that the pieces seem to have been thrown on the rubbish that accumulated day to day. Nearly all of the Formative figurines from Kaminaljuyu represent females, with depictions of pregnant abdomens, breasts, and vulva. There were no corresponding male parts depicted.

On the head fragments there are depictions of eyes, nose, mouth, ears, hairstyles, headdresses, and ornaments. The three principal body positions are standing, seated with legs extended, and seated with crossed legs. The arms are held stiffly outward, or bent down at the elbow and often close to or touching the body. The hands are usually flattened with only incisions indicating fingers, and the feet are seldom represented.

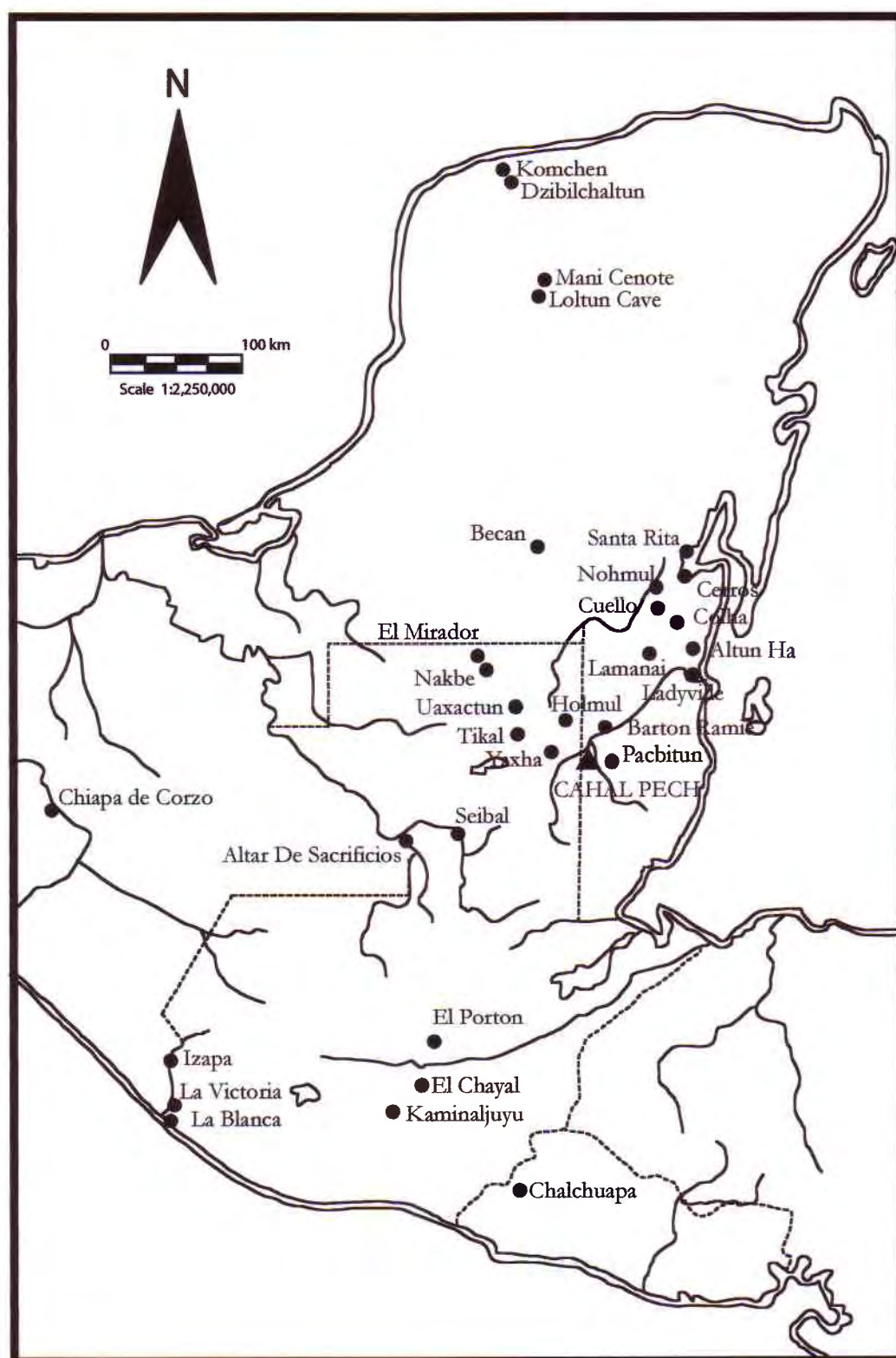


Figure 2.2 Map of the Maya area and Formative period sites (redrawn from Awe 1992: Figure 1).

MAYA LOWLANDS

Rands and Rands (1965) indicate that lowland Maya figurines from the Preclassic were always handmade, usually solid, and most often female. The noses, lips, earplugs, and headdresses of the figures are often small appliqué pellets that have been variously modeled or impressed. The eyes are usually circular punches, although sometimes these are found within larger almond-shaped impressions.

Uaxactún

The site of Uaxactún, located in the Petén Basin of Guatemala (Figure 2.2), underwent a florescence during the later Formative period, along with the neighboring rival sites of El Mirador and Tikal. Ricketson supervised excavations at Uaxactún in the earlier part of the twentieth century, contributing greatly to developing knowledge of the Preclassic and Early Classic Maya. There are descriptions of figurine fragments included in the report by Ricketson and Ricketson (1937). Figurine fragments were found in abundance throughout the midden material below the plaza floors at Uaxactún. They were rarely found in surface deposits, and none were found complete. The smaller figurines are solid, but parts of the larger ones are hollow. Those bodies or appendages that are hollow have a vent to prevent cracking. However, few of the figurines are completely hollow.

In general, the heads from Uaxactún were not found attached to torsos, and some of the heads are solid while others are built up around a core. The heads are disproportionately large, relative to the bodies, and are usually set well down on the shoulders without a neck. The eyes, with only a few exceptions, are formed by the

impression of an elliptical groove with a round hole punched in the middle with a sharp instrument. In most cases, the nose is broad and triangular with nostrils not generally indicated. The lips are full and usually everted with the mouth half open. Earplugs are almost always present. Headdress forms include a crescent headdress that frames the face; crescent with fillet; round cap; cap with crest; and a topknot headdress with vertical band.

Both male and female figures are present and usually nude, although it is speculated by Ricketson and Ricketson (1937: 213) that a few specimens may have clothing depicted in the clay. When the figures are nude the sex organs are not depicted. Higher quality specimens show the breasts, abdomen, back, and buttocks well modeled. The nipples and navels are represented by deep punctations, and the shoulders are broad and heavy in proportion to the rest of the figure. The figurines are relatively thick and in most cases the back is concave and the abdomen convex. Figurines are either upright or seated, and the hands are usually indicated by slight concavity on the inner side at the end of the arm. There are two kinds of legs: straight, boot-shaped legs and feet, and legs with exaggeratedly plump calves.

Seibal

Seibal is located in the Petén along the Pasión River (Figure 2.2). It was first settled in the Middle Formative and reached its florescence in the Late Formative period. The site experienced a decline in the Proto-Classic, and it was not until the Late Classic that Seibal again became an important ceremonial center. Willey et al. (1975) suggest that stylistically the Formative figurines from Seibal resemble Middle Preclassic figurines

from both the Guatemalan highlands and lowland Maya sites. The Seibal assemblage includes both female and male figures, but it is not clear how this was determined.

Altar de Sacrificios

The site of Altar de Sacrificios is located near the confluence of the Pasión and Salinas Rivers, which form the Usumacinta River (Figure 2.2). The site has a long sequence of occupation with some of the earliest settlement in the Maya Lowlands, although the site did not reach its peak development until the Late Classic. The Formative figurines found at Altar de Sacrificios date largely to the Middle Formative period. The fragments were primarily found in house sites or domestic refuse contexts (Willey 1972: 13). Most appear to be females with an emphasis on sex characteristics and hairstyles. Given this, as well as the domestic contexts in which they were found, Willey (1972: 7) suggests that the figurines were fertility fetishes, curing fetishes, household deities, or possibly playthings for children. The torsos are generally nude with solid, broad shoulders and flat bodies. One body found in a late Middle Formative context still had the head attached and is considered female because of the presence of breasts. The eyes on this female figurine consist of oval impressions made by double gouging of the wet clay with the semi-ovate end of a small implement. The nose and lips are appliqué features and are very pronounced. The forehead is topped by a turban-like appliqué band with a central knot or ornament. The entire band and the topknot have been indented with small punctations. The ear ornaments are not appliqué but simply indicated with a circle and dot. The back of the figurine head and body is quite flat, although not completely smooth.

Cuello

The site of Cuello is located in northern Belize, five km west of the town of Orange Walk (Figure 2.2). Excavations at the site supervised by Norman Hammond since the 1970s have revealed a cultural sequence spanning from the Early Formative to the Late Classic periods. The research conducted at Cuello has greatly contributed to our knowledge of the foundations of Maya civilization.

The modeled clay figurines from the site occur in a variety of forms. However, they are all small, and Hammond (1991: 177) suggests they were used in a personal or private manner and that their functions may have ranged from decorative to ritual. The eyes are described as almond-shaped and punched, with an even deeper punched, circular pupil. The ears are plain projecting flanges and hair is shown on the front, side, and back of the head by a raised margin and semi-parallel incisions. The postures vary, with some figures being seated with arms set away from the body.

SUMMARY

Hand-modeled ceramic figurines were some of the most abundant ritual objects in Formative period Mesoamerica. While they occurred in the Early Formative, they became particularly common during the Middle Formative period. The majority of the figurines are found in fragmentary condition and come from mixed deposits associated with household refuse and construction fill. Figurines do appear in mortuary contexts at some sites, such as Early Formative Chalcatzingo and Formative Tlatilco. Marcus (2009: 35-39) discusses other Formative figurines found in mortuary contexts at sites such as Gualupita (Morelos, Mexico); Nexpa (Morelos, Mexico); and Hacienda Blanca,

Tomaltepec, and Fábrica San José (all in the Valley of Oaxaca). At San José Mogote, Oaxaca, a group of figurines (Feature 63) was found buried as a group in an arranged scene underneath a house floor. At La Venta, stone figurines were found in a dedicatory deposit located in a public area (Offering 4). Such examples of Formative period figurines found in special deposits are particularly significant because figurines are rarely found in primary contexts.

Most of the Formative ceramic figurines have been interpreted as representing females, in some cases possibly representing different life stages (e.g., at Chalcatzingo and Oaxacan sites). The body forms are mostly generic and usually nude, though some have garments and accessories formed in the clay. More attention was focused on the figurines' heads, which generally demonstrate more variety in hairstyles, head garments, and other ornamentation. Earplugs are depicted across Mesoamerica but they are not consistently present within sites, which may indicate differences in status, such as age (Joyce 2000). Various figure postures occur at all the sites, with no apparent preference for any posture in particular. Overall, with the exception of some figurines from Tlaltitlco, there is no action being represented by the figurines; their poses are generally quite static.

Researchers have often relied on anatomical clues in determining the sex and gender of figurines. However, the figures are often nude and without clay garments, and the body forms are often ambiguous or neuter. It is possible that perishable garments were used to adorn some figurines, making the presence of anatomical sexual indicators unnecessary because the social coding of gender would be present in the apparel. Marcus (2009: 45) mentions the use of textiles (miniature clothing) with complete figurines at the

site of Cerro Azul, located on the desert coast of Peru (see Marcus 1987: Fig. 21a and 22d). While the bodies of these figurines are sexless, their apparel indicates their gender. The Peruvian figurines even had necklaces of seeds strung on cotton thread.

While the torsos of Mesoamerican figurines often appear quite plain, with limited accessories and apparel, in some regions there is much more attention paid to the figurines' heads. The greater variety and detail evident on the heads suggests that they carry more socially encoded information about status and identity. Thus, analyses focused on figurine heads could lead to a better understanding of the function of these objects.

It seems likely that the anthropomorphic ceramic figurines from the Formative period served multiple functions ranging from decorative to ritual/religious. The diversity of the figurines found throughout Mesoamerica suggests that their roles and meanings may have varied between cultures, villages, and even individual households. These figurines conveyed various kinds of information at different times and in different contexts. Nevertheless, a review of figurine studies from across Mesoamerica reveals several notable patterns, including an association between figurines and domestic contexts/activities, as well as the disappearance of figurines with the emergence of more complex social organization.

CHAPTER 3

CAHAL PECH: NATURAL AND CULTURAL SETTINGS

LANDSCAPE AND NATURAL SETTING

The country of Belize, located on the Caribbean coast of the Yucatán Peninsula, comprises a portion of the Maya lowlands (Figure 2.2). Geologically Belize may be separated into northern and southern halves approximately at the latitude of the town of San Ignacio. The northern portion is composed of Cenozoic limestone and marls, and with the exception of hills along the western border, it is generally low in relief. The southern portion of Belize is generally hilly to mountainous, with the principal feature being the Maya Mountains. Tropical forests cover most of the country, except for the coastal plain and areas in the north that are open savanna with occasional pine barrens. Open pine forests cover the Mountain Pine Ridge, a dissected granite plateau at the northwest edge of the Maya Mountains southeast of San Ignacio. The climate is tropical with average annual temperatures around 80°F, and rainfall varying from 160 inches in the south to 50 inches in the north. There are two distinct seasons, with May to December being rainy and January through April being dry.

The Belize River, one of the more navigable streams in the country, crosses the country in an east/northeast direction (Figure 3.1). The river has two principal tributaries, the Macal (the eastern branch) and the Mopan (the western branch). These tributaries converge about two km north and downstream of the town of San Ignacio. The Belize River flows past the archaeological sites of Baking Pot, Spanish Lookout, Barton Ramie, and Roaring Creek. Beyond Roaring Creek and Orange Walk the river continues through

extensive swamps and sandy savanna lands of the coastal plain, then curves eastward and empties into the Caribbean near Belize City.

THE BELIZE VALLEY

The Belize Valley is located in western Belize. It may be divided into two topographical subregions, the “upper Belize Valley” and the “central Belize Valley.” The upper Belize Valley is an upland area of hills and steep slopes above or west of the convergence of the Macal and Mopan Rivers. The central Belize Valley consists primarily of broad alluvial flatlands and bordering hills that occur along the western sector of the Belize River from the juncture of the Macal and Mopan Rivers to an area south of the modern capital of Belmopan. At this point, the river descends into low-lying marshy swamps and savanna that stretch another 30 km to the Caribbean Sea. Survey (Willey et al. 1965) has shown that the ancient Maya population was concentrated densely along the banks of the Belize River above the point where it enters the broad savanna plain. Most of the housemounds occur on the alluvial soil of the river terraces above the normal flood levels. The Belize River is a natural transportation and communication route between the Caribbean Sea and the Petén heartland in Guatemala. The major Maya site of Naranjo is only 30 km southwest of Barton Ramie; Holmul is the same distance to the northwest; and Tikal and Uaxactún are located 70 and 75 km to the west, respectively.

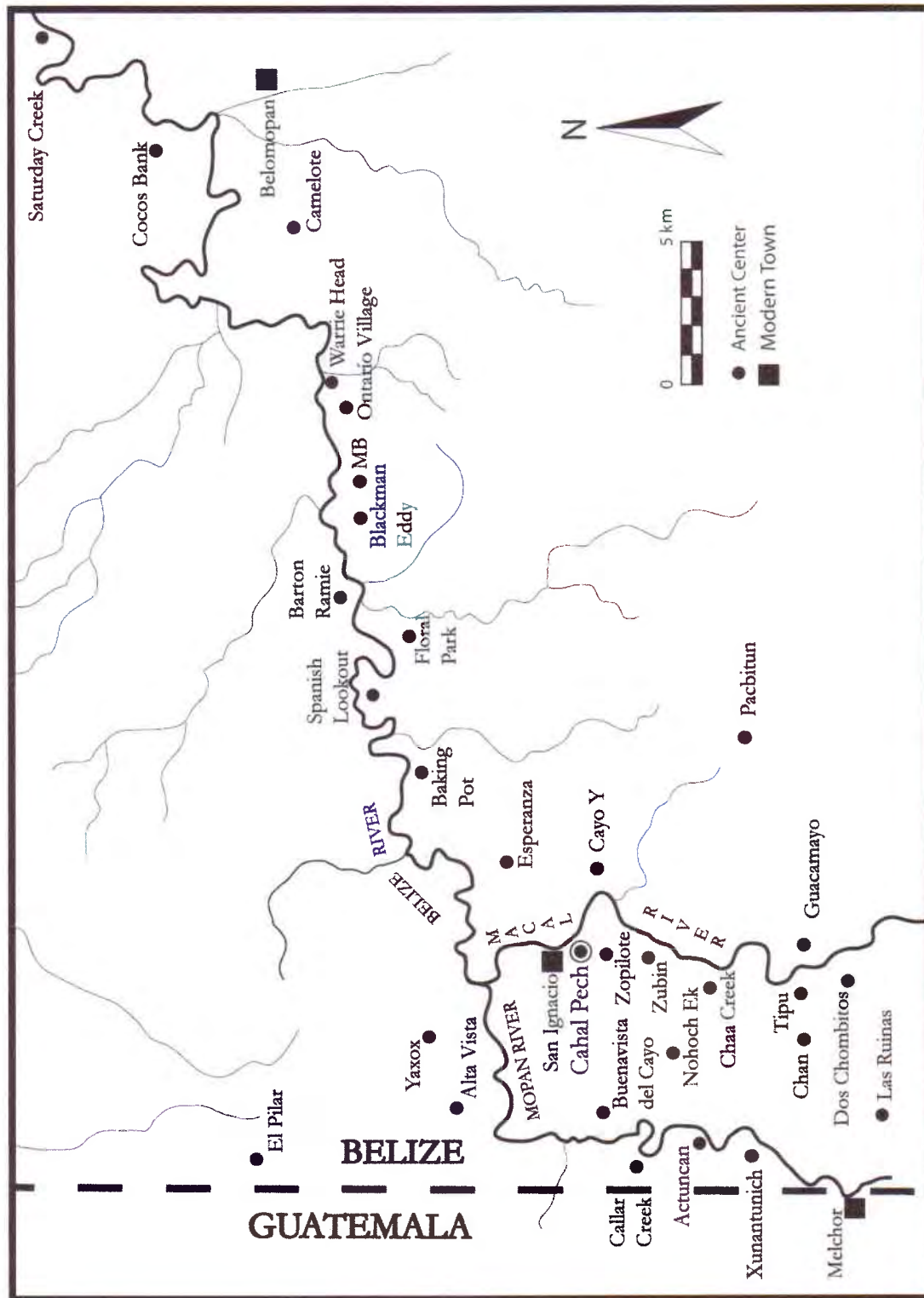


Figure 3.1 Map of the Belize River Valley (redrawn from Chase and Garber 2004: Map 1).

The cultural historical sequence in the valley was very long, and there are compositional differences between the sites on the Belize River in the central Belize Valley and the sites above the confluence of the Macal and the Mopan Rivers in the upper Belize Valley (Chase and Garber 2004: 4-5). The sites in the central Belize Valley are clustered on the sides of the Belize River and consist of many small mounds widely distributed over the landscape, while the upper Belize Valley sites are more concentrated in their settlement and exhibit larger-scale architecture. There is evidence of Archaic period occupation in Belize (Lohse et al. 2006), but the cultural history of the people known as the Maya in the Belize Valley began in the Middle Preclassic or Middle Formative period. The ceramic sequence dates back to approximately 1000 B.C. Within the valley there are several medium-size and small centers with continuous rural settlement between them. The larger sites generally consist of multi-plaza groups with large non-domestic structures and range-type buildings, and several sites have carved or plain monuments. The larger centers include Blackman Eddy, Baking Pot, Pacbitun, Cahal Pech, El Pilar, Buena Vista, and Xunantunich. The minor centers include Floral Park, Barton Ramie, Yaxox, Bacab Na, Nohock Ek, and Negroman (Tipu) (Awe 1992: 53). The largest centers in the vicinity of Cahal Pech are Buena Vista and Xunantunich.

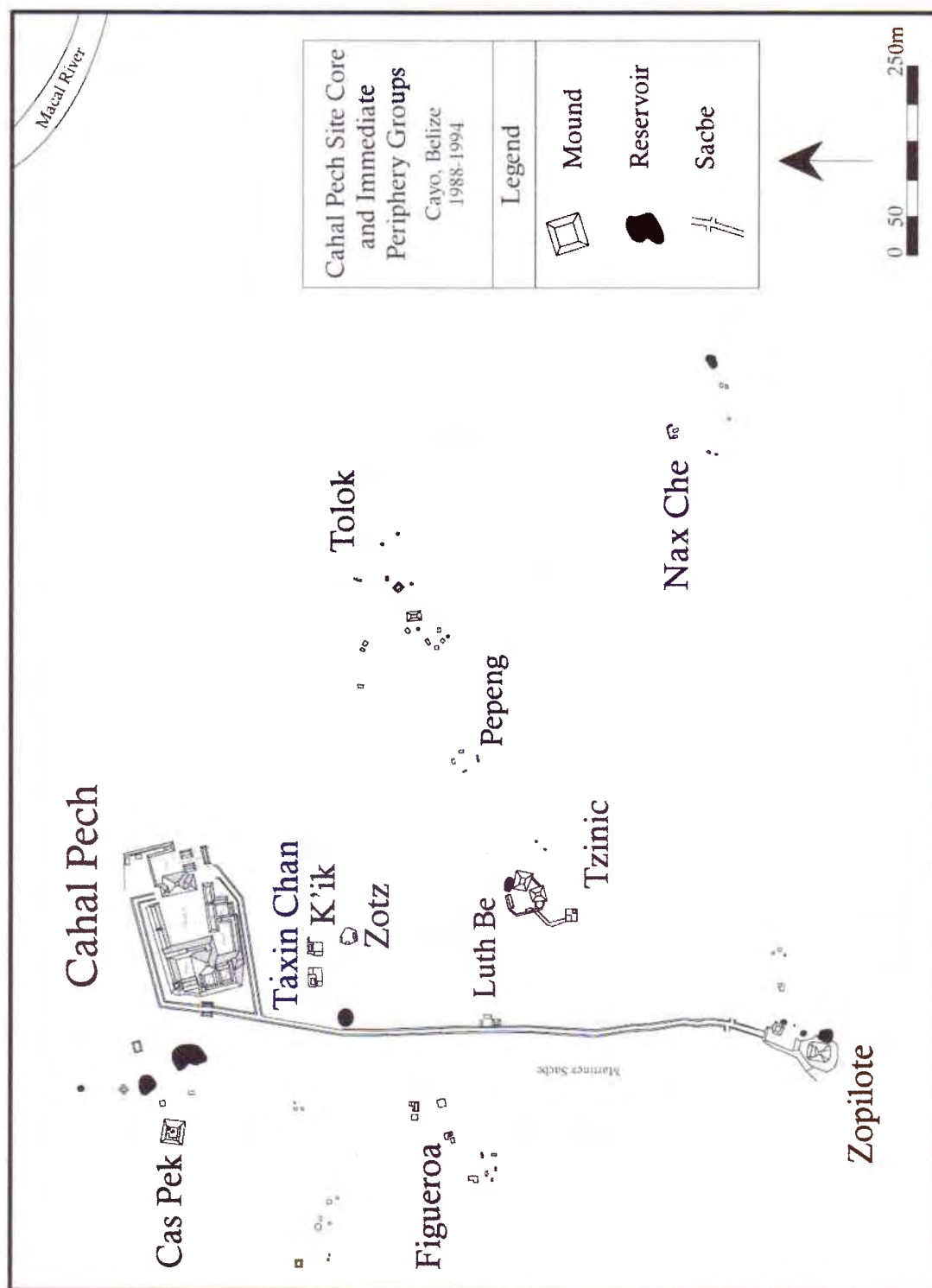


Figure 3.2 Cahal Pech site map including the site core and periphery groups (redrawn from Powis et al. 1999; Figure 2).

CAHAL PECH

Cahal Pech is a medium-sized center located two km south of the confluence of the Macal and Mopan Rivers. One of the earliest lowland pottery traditions (Cunil, 1200-900 B.C.) identified in the Belize River Valley has been documented at Cahal Pech (Awe 1992). There is also evidence of early occupation, with the establishment of a village by the early Middle Formative period.

Cahal Pech (Figure 3.2) was officially reported in the 1950s, but research at the site core and in the immediate periphery was minimal until the mid 1980s. In 1988 the first major archaeological project was conducted in response to extensive looting and the expansion of the modern city of San Ignacio, Cayo. The three priorities of this research were to (1) map the architecture of the site core, (2) explore the structures and plazas in the core, and (3) conduct comprehensive mapping and testing of the architectural groups and isolated structures in the surrounding area (Awe 1992; Goldsmith 1993). The site core (Figure 3.3), located on top of a steep hill overlooking the Belize River Valley and with a southern view of the Maya Mountains, has 34 large masonry structures with an acropolis covering a 1.5-hectare area. The architecture includes temple pyramids, single and multistoried range structures, large public plazas, small elite courtyards, and two ballcourts, in addition to reservoirs, a sacbe, and one carved and seven plain stelae (Awe et al. 1990, 1991; Awe and Healy 1994; Ball and Taschek 1991; Healy et al. 2004). Most of the 34 structures in the core area have been tested, making it possible to reconstruct the 1800-year occupational history of Cahal Pech.

Due to the Mesoamerican tradition of constructing new structures on top of older ones, it can be difficult to uncover early deposits at Maya sites. At Cahal Pech

stratigraphic excavations were carried out on Structure B-4 (Awe 1992: 106-143; Cheetham 1995) in addition to a series of large-scale, horizontal excavations and smaller test pits in Plaza B (Cheetham 1996). These investigations uncovered Cunil (ca. 1100-800 B.C.), Kanluk (early Middle Formative; ca. 800-650 B.C.), and Umbral (late Middle Formative; ca. 650-300 B.C.) ceramics. These phases are equivalent to the early and late Jenney Creek Ceramic Complexes at Barton Ramie (Gifford 1976).

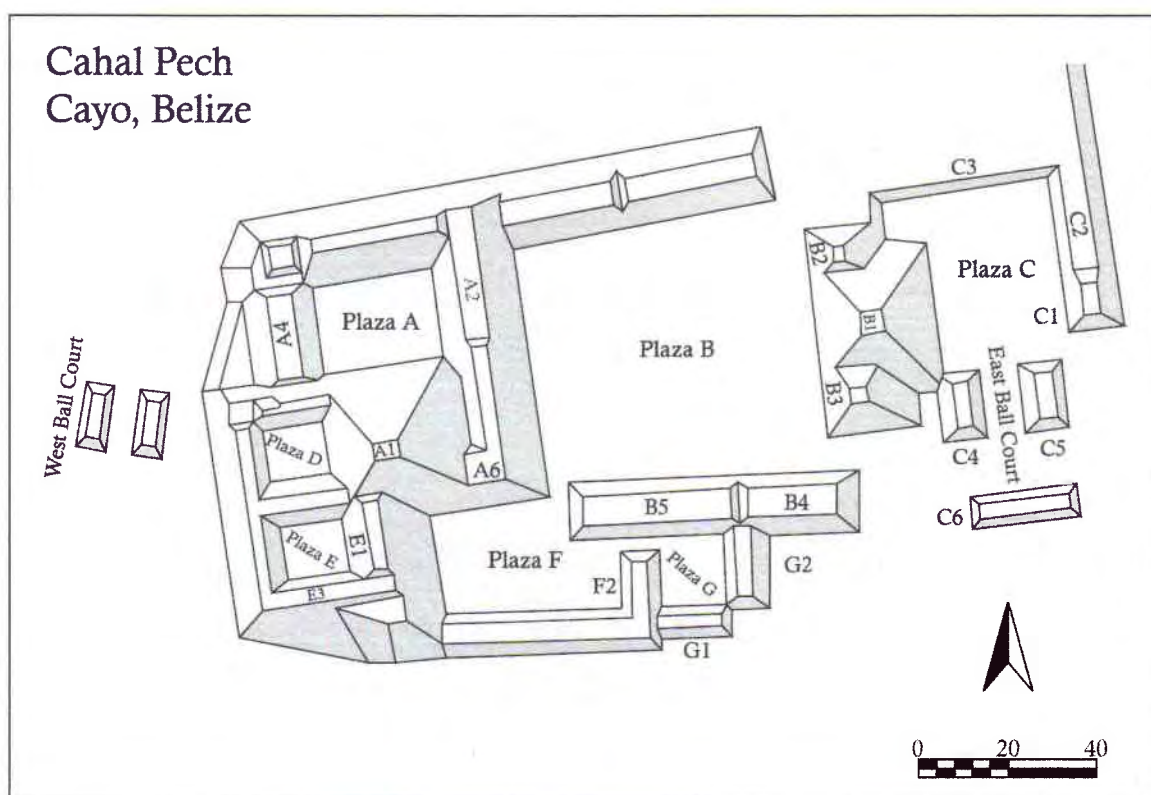


Figure 3.3 Cahal Pech site core (redrawn from a plan created by R. Guerra and C. Helmke with survey by D. Cheetham; Awe and Schwanke 2006: Figure 1).

SOCIAL CHANGES AT FORMATIVE CAHAL PECH

The inhabitants of Cahal Pech maintained a mixed subsistence pattern from the Cunil through the late Middle Formative. Their diet included cultivated plants such as maize, beans, and squash; products of the coyol palm, ramon, and fig trees; terrestrial game (deer and agouti); marine fish (parrotfish and grouper); small quantities of freshwater fish (catfish); and abundant amounts of freshwater clams and snails (Healy et al. 2004: 119). Isotopic evidence indicates that maize was a staple crop by the late Middle Formative, but the variable nature of the isotopic data also suggested that during the late Middle Formative there was an appearance of distinct social classes. The distribution of C-4 foods (i.e., maize and imported marine fish), unlike the wild plant foods, game, and freshwater fish, appears to have been limited (White et al. 1996). Some of the populations at Cahal Pech were not enjoying the full range or quantities of crops being consumed by the rising elite (Powis et al. 1999: 373). Early Middle Formative and late Middle Formative spouted vessel fragments constitute evidence of ritual feasting, as do high frequencies of faunal remains (Healy et al. 2004: 121).

Although there is osteological evidence for pathologies and ill health, during the Formative period overall skeletal pathologies and dental defects were quite limited and rarely severe, suggesting relatively good health and nutrition when compared to the Classic period (Healy et al. 2004: 120; Song 1995, 1996).

The burials from the Formative period indicate repetitive ritual activity. The human remains from the Cunil and early Middle Formative levels were burned and may represent some form of mortuary treatment. This changed in the late Middle Formative. Burials from these levels were all extended in a supine position with their head to the

south. The types of burials from this phase included simple and cist burials. Only cist burials contained grave goods, and their construction would have required more energy expenditure than the simple burials (Awe 1994). This indicates differentiation in status through burial treatment. The set orientation of internment became a pattern that persisted in the valley until the end of the Classic period (Healy et al. 2004: 121).

Some of the Cunil pottery and other artifacts at Cahal Pech bear pan-Mesoamerican motifs. One example, recovered from a late Cunil phase offering on the floor of structure B-4/ 10c-sub, was a small polished jadeite “flame eyebrow” and fang. These parts would have fit into a larger mosaic, suggesting early Maya connections to the Gulf Coast Olmec (Awe 1992: 307-308; Cheetham 1998). The creation of such long-distance connections may have been one strategy adopted by an emerging elite at Cahal Pech.

Marine shell and obsidian are among the exotic materials found at Cahal Pech. The shell was primarily *Strombus* sp. from the Caribbean coast, and the obsidian used at the site came from three sources in the Guatemala Highlands. The obsidian artifacts found at Cahal Pech included both flakes and blades, but stratigraphic Formative period deposits at Cahal Pech and other lowland Maya sites revealed a flake to bladelet sequence with prismatic blades largely replacing flakes by the late Middle Formative (Awe and Healy 1994: 197-198). Local leaders may have enhanced their prestige by controlling and manipulating exotic products, knowledge, and symbols obtained through long-distance exchange networks (Cheetham 1998).

SITE CORE FORMATIVE SEQUENCE

Approximately 75 percent of all mounds tested at the site of Cahal Pech yielded evidence of late Middle Formative construction or architectural modification (Awe 1992: 356). It was also during the Formative period that the hand-modeled figurines increased in frequency at the site. Structure B-4 within the site core (Figure 3.3) yielded the highest frequency of figurine fragments, compared to other structures at Cahal Pech, and provides the most detailed and lengthy stratigraphic sequence at the site with thirteen building platforms, the first ten of which were built in the Cunil (1200-900 B.C.), early Middle Formative (800-650 B.C.), and late Middle Formative (650-300 B.C.) periods. These sequences are discussed in several reports and papers (Awe 1992; Cheetham 1992, 1995, 1996; Healy et al. 2004), and they are still being refined through further investigations. The construction sequence provided in Healy et al. (2004) is used in this thesis.

The earliest level in Structure B-4 was a living surface composed of a very compact, dark, and greasy deposit with abundant chert debitage but no ceramics except for minute trampled sherds on the topmost surface. This early level has been interpreted as a preceramic occupation (Cheetham 1995: 27).

The first construction phase documented in the B-4 sequence (13-sub) was composed of packed marl and earth intermixed with ashy loam. A single posthole indicated a superstructure, but its layout is unknown. The configuration of the platform suggested the building was round or apsidal. The next construction phase (12-sub) was also formed from packed marl and circular in plan with two small steps. The shape of this platform likewise suggested a circular superstructure. The third platform (11-sub)

contained a raised and leveled area that acted as a riser, differentiating the patio from the building platform. This was the earliest architecture at the site coated in lime plaster. The following structure (10-sub) was comprised of four late Cunil lime-plastered building platforms. The second platform (10b-sub) contained a rectilinear interior floor and 10c-sub was the most elaborate of the Cunil phase residences in the sequence. It was constructed directly over 10b-sub and its superstructure was a more carefully finished rectilinear structure painted with red stripes (Awe 1992: 120). Other Cunil phase residences were discovered below Plaza B (Cheetham 1996). Cheetham (1995: 20) estimates eight residential units would have existed on the hilltop, forming a small village of 35-70 people, based on the spatial arrangement of the Cunil phase residential units and the space available on the hilltop. Only five figurine fragments in this analysis were found in Cunil levels from Structure B-4 (Table 3.1). The residential function of Structure B-4 ended with the Cunil phase, and a series of five small temples were constructed in the early Middle Formative and late Middle Formative.

During the early Middle Formative, Plaza B was leveled and coated in plaster. This became the site's first formal ceremonial plaza. Plaza B was no longer a residential area and small temples bordered the plaza, along with an E-Group arrangement (Structures B-1, B-2, and B-3) that may have been constructed at this time, but was certainly in place by the late Middle Formative (Healy et al. 2004: 109).

In the second half of the early Middle Formative (Kanluk phase, 850-650 B.C.) building platforms continued to represent the predominant form of architecture at Cahal Pech, but there was an overall increase in the height of structures, improvements in building materials, and the introduction of the first recognizable public building

(Structure B-4\5th, a relatively large rectilinear platform). There were 35 figurine fragments found in early Middle Formative levels from Structure B-4 and associated plaza units (Table 3.1).

It was during the late Middle Formative that the construction and inauguration of civic-ceremonial architecture increased. Plaza B was plastered and elevated, and its surrounding buildings (B-1, B-2, and B-3) were reconstructed, multiple times. Structure B-4 was reconstructed on at least three occasions. The late Middle Formative levels from Structure B-4 produced at least 70 figurine fragments, and 82 more came from levels dating from the late Middle Formative through the early part of the Late Formative (Table 3.1).

During the Late Formative, in the early facet Xakal phase (350-100 B.C.), architectural activity at the site reached one of its two apexes (the second did not occur until the Late Classic). Awe (1992) indicates that nearly half of the structures investigated at Cahal Pech were initially constructed, renovated, or modified during this time. Building platforms, raised plazas, round structures, and terraced platforms were popular; there was a preference for rectangular forms with thick plaster floors and perishable superstructures. The floors in Plazas A and B were all part of the same courtyard until the end of the early facet Xakal phase. At that time, Plaza F was added to the site core; Structure A-2/sub 2 marked the first time Plazas A and B were divided into two separate courtyards; and B-4/10th and B-4/11th, along with Structure A-1 (sub1), became the first examples of monumental architecture at the site (Awe 1992: 213-216).

During late facet Xakal phase (100 B.C.-350 A.D.) the population continued to increase, as did the preference for rectilinear as opposed to apsidal forms. Communal

effort represented by the monumental architecture was apparent at the site (Awe 1992: 217). Thirty-three of the figurine fragments I analyzed were found in Late Formative levels of Structure B-4 or Plaza B. No fragments in the sample from the site core were associated with contexts dating later than the Late Formative.

Table 3.1 Figurine frequencies with chronological associations from Structure B-4 and associated plaza units.

<i>Time Period</i>	<i>Structure B-4</i>	<i>Plaza B</i>	<i>Total</i>	<i>Percentage</i>
Cunil	5	0	5	2.2
EMF	27	8	35	15.6
LMF	50	20	70	31.1
LMF-ELF	79	3	82	36.4
Late Formative	25	8	33	14.7
Total	186	39	225	100.0

(EMF: Early Middle Formative, LMF: Late Middle Formative, ELF: Early Late Formative)

PERIPHERAL GROUPS FORMATIVE SEQUENCE

The periphery groups at Cahal Pech consist of mound clusters that vary in size, configuration, complexity, and presumably function. The periphery groups occupied during the Formative period include Cas Pek (Awe et al. 1992b; Lee 1996; Lee and Awe 1995), Tolok (Powis 1992, 1993, 1996; Powis and Hohmann 1995), Tzinic (Conlon 1992; Conlon and Awe 1991), Zubin (Iannone 1993, 1995), and Zopilote (Cheetham 2004). Ceramic data indicate that Cas Pek, Tolok, Zubin, and Zopilote were founded in the Cunil phase, though no architecture dating to this period has been found yet (Healy et al. 2004: 110). By the late Middle Formative most of these settlement groups had small-scale domestic and civic architecture as well as small reservoirs or storage chambers (*chultunob*).

There were four round structures at the site of Cahal Pech during the late Middle Formative period. These structures were located in Structure B-4/7th in the site core, Structure 2/2nd in the Zotz Group, and Structures 14 and 15 in the Tolok Group. Structure 15 was abandoned by 500 B.C. and replaced by the larger Structure 14. Within Structure 14 there were four non-dedicatory caches, four Late Formative burials, and five Late Classic Burials (Aimers et al. 2000: 77). The round structures at Cahal Pech fulfilled a ceremonial rather than a utilitarian role within the community. Each of these open-air platforms contained numerous special deposits, and they seem to have been used for family- or community-oriented ritual performances (Aimers et al. 2000: 83). They also served as lineage or burial shrines and as places of communication between the Maya and their ancestors (Aimers et al. 2000: 81). This function persisted from their initial construction in the late Middle Formative to their abandonment in the Late Classic.

Middle Formative deposits at Cahal Pech contained abundant amounts of worked marine shell. More than 200 small shell disk beads were recovered from Cunil through late Middle Formative deposits in the site core and the periphery groups (Healy et al. 2004: 116). Evidence for heavy investment in shell ornament production was found in the settlement group of Cas Pek. There was abundant marine shell refuse, numerous small chert drills, and finished shell disk beads (Lee 1996; Lee and Awe 1995). All of the figurine fragments from Cas Pek with preserved provenience information came from late Middle Formative through early Late Formative contexts.

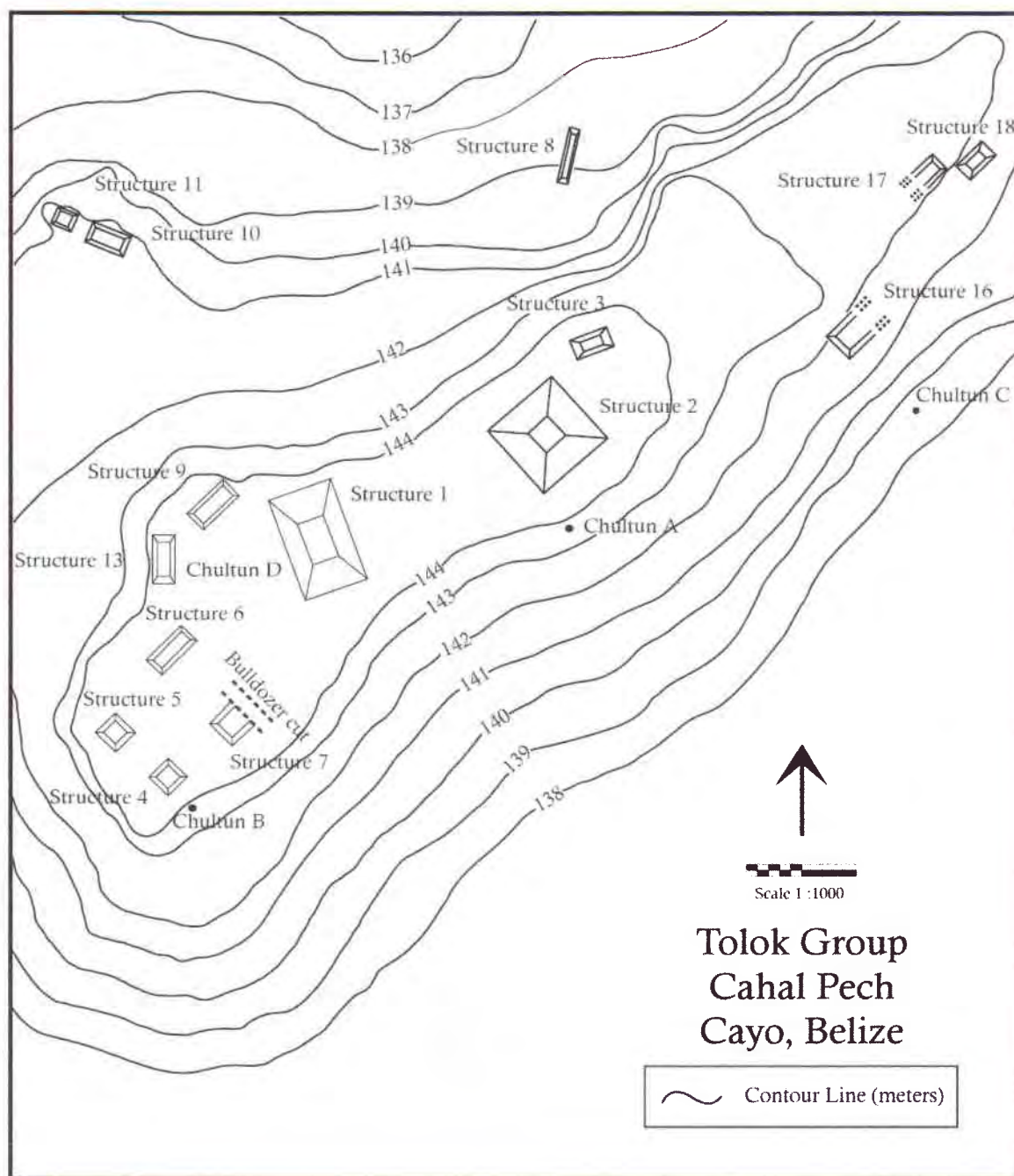


Figure 3.4 Plan of the Tolok Group (redrawn from Awe 1992: Figure 52).

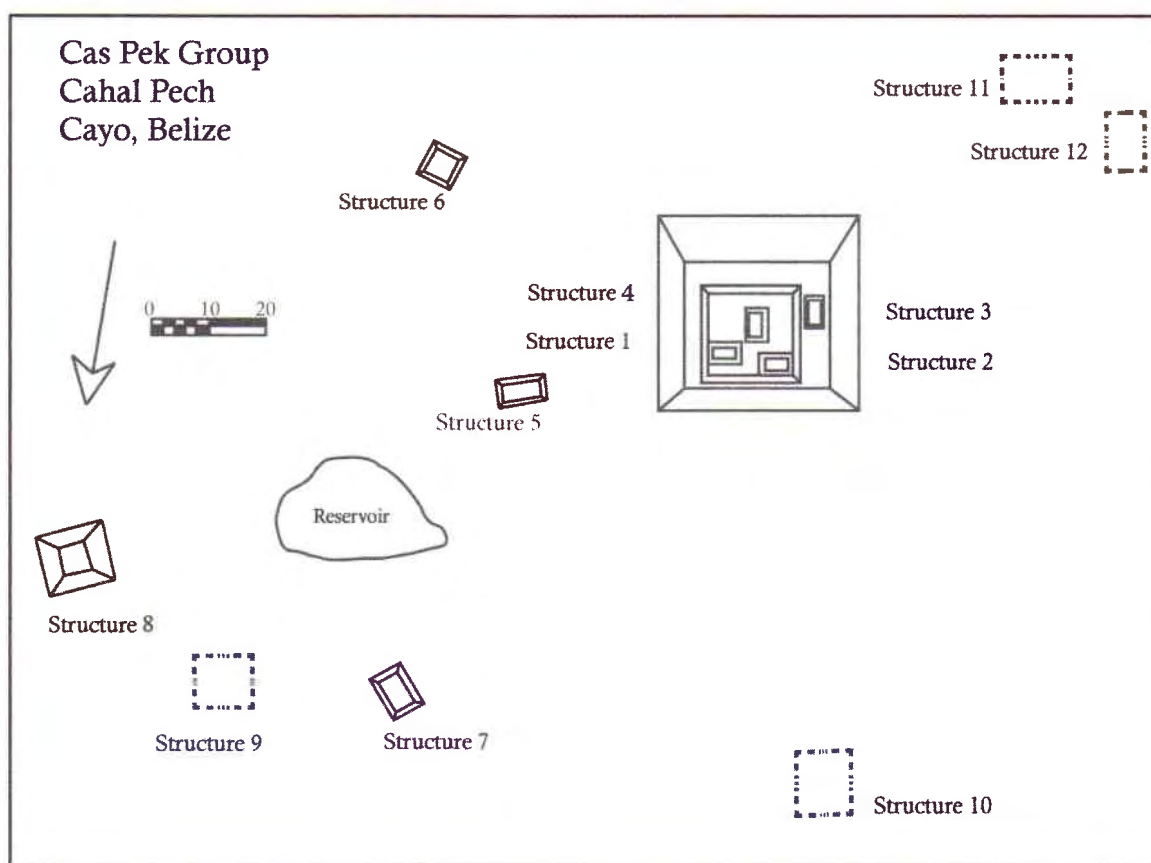


Figure 3.5 Plan of the Cas Pek Group (redrawn from Awe 1992: Figure 53).

The Zopilote group, the largest nonresidential cluster of architecture at Cahal Pech, is located at the terminus of the Martinez causeway. There were four Middle Formative temples, and each was the tallest temple at Cahal Pech during its time. A final late Middle Formative building was quite large and probably associated with the only carved monument (Stela 9) known at Cahal Pech. This monument was the “primary burial” in a Late Classic interment, Tomb 2, in Structure A-1. The depiction on Stela 9 is a human figure inside the mouth of a highly stylized feline characterized by multiple scrolls and a bifurcated tongue. The monument appears to have been ritually terminated by purposeful defacement, and it is broken into two large pieces (Cheetham 2004: 135).

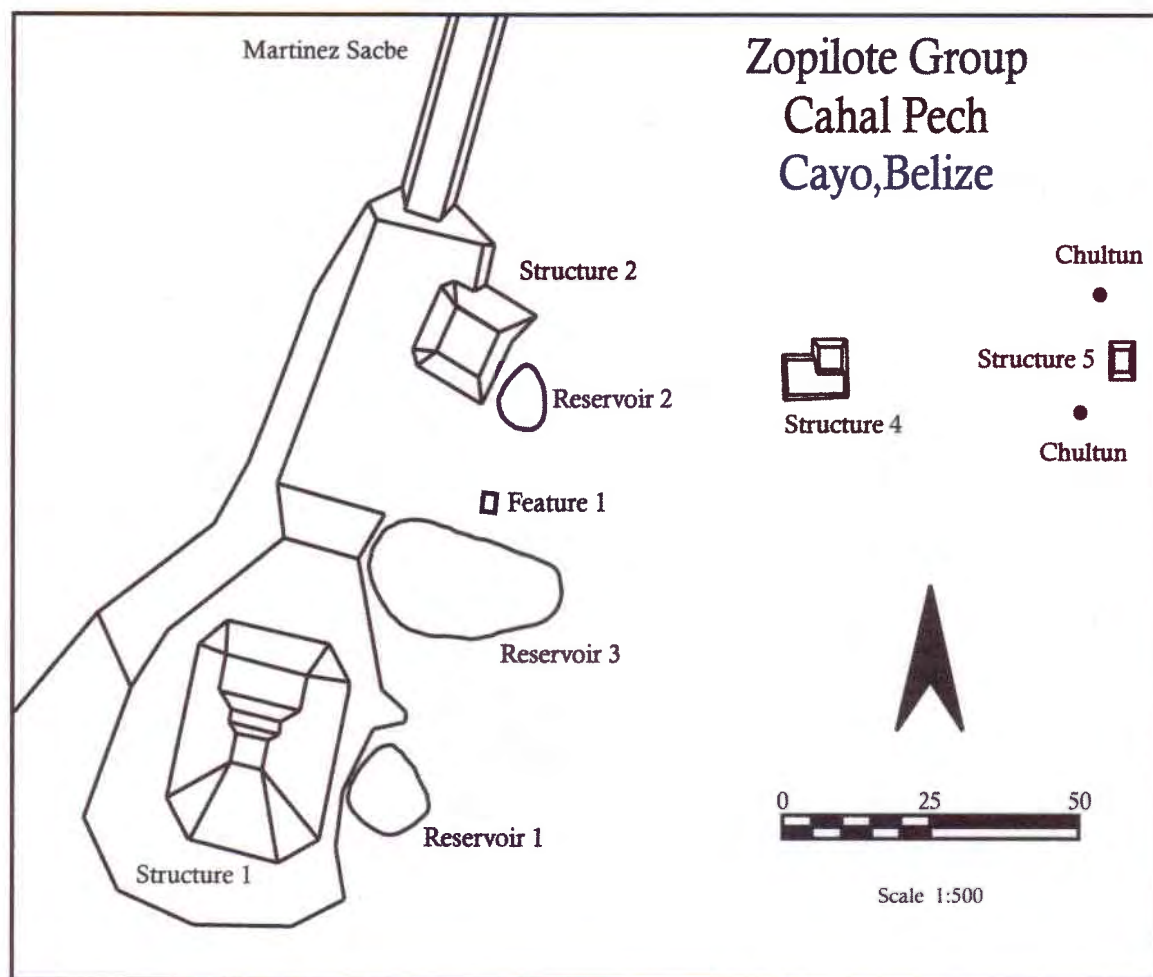


Figure 3. 6 Plan of Zopilote Group (redrawn from Cheetham et al. 1993: Figure 1).

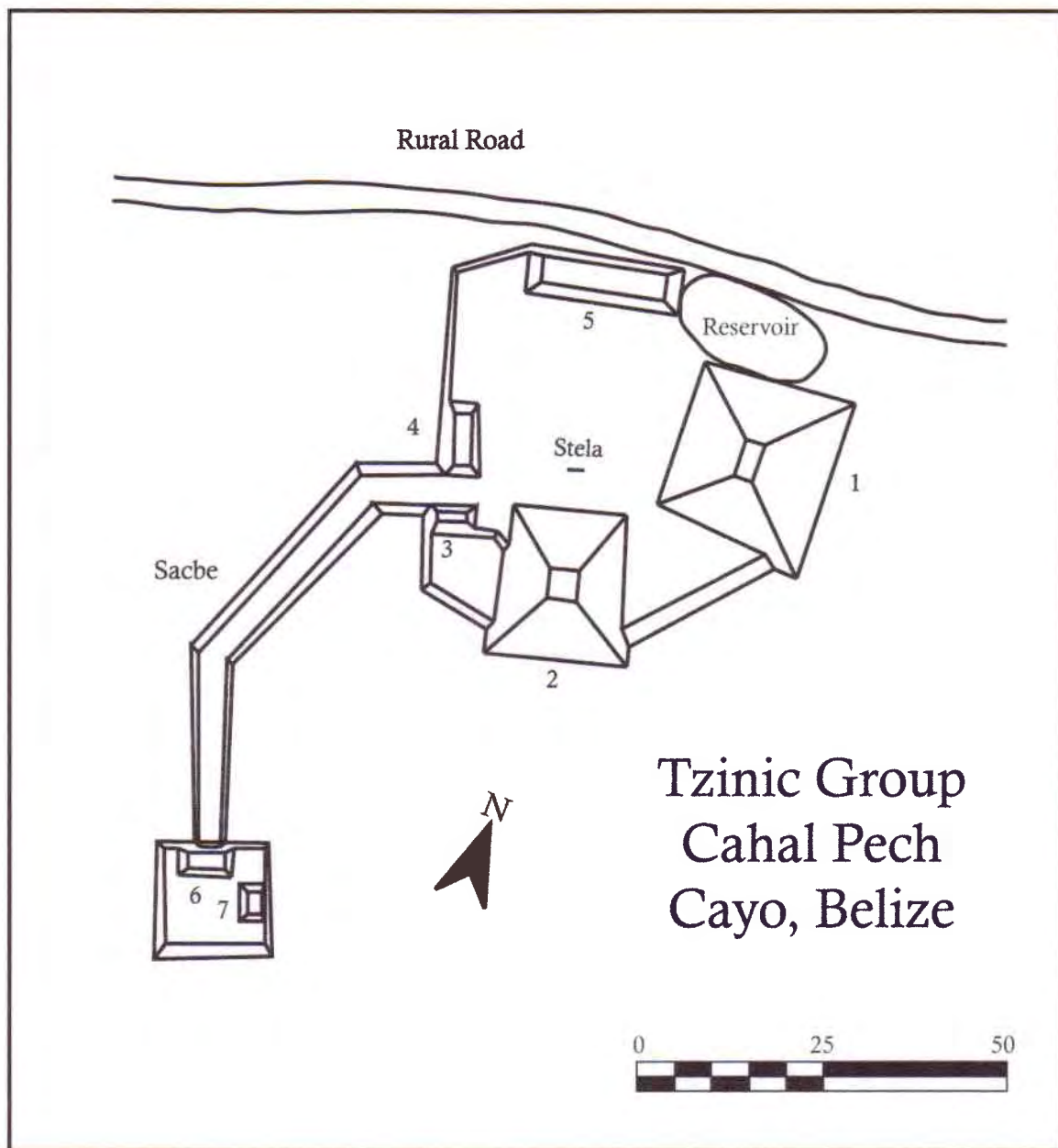


Figure 3.7 Plan of Tzinic Group (redrawn from Awe 1992: Figure 46).

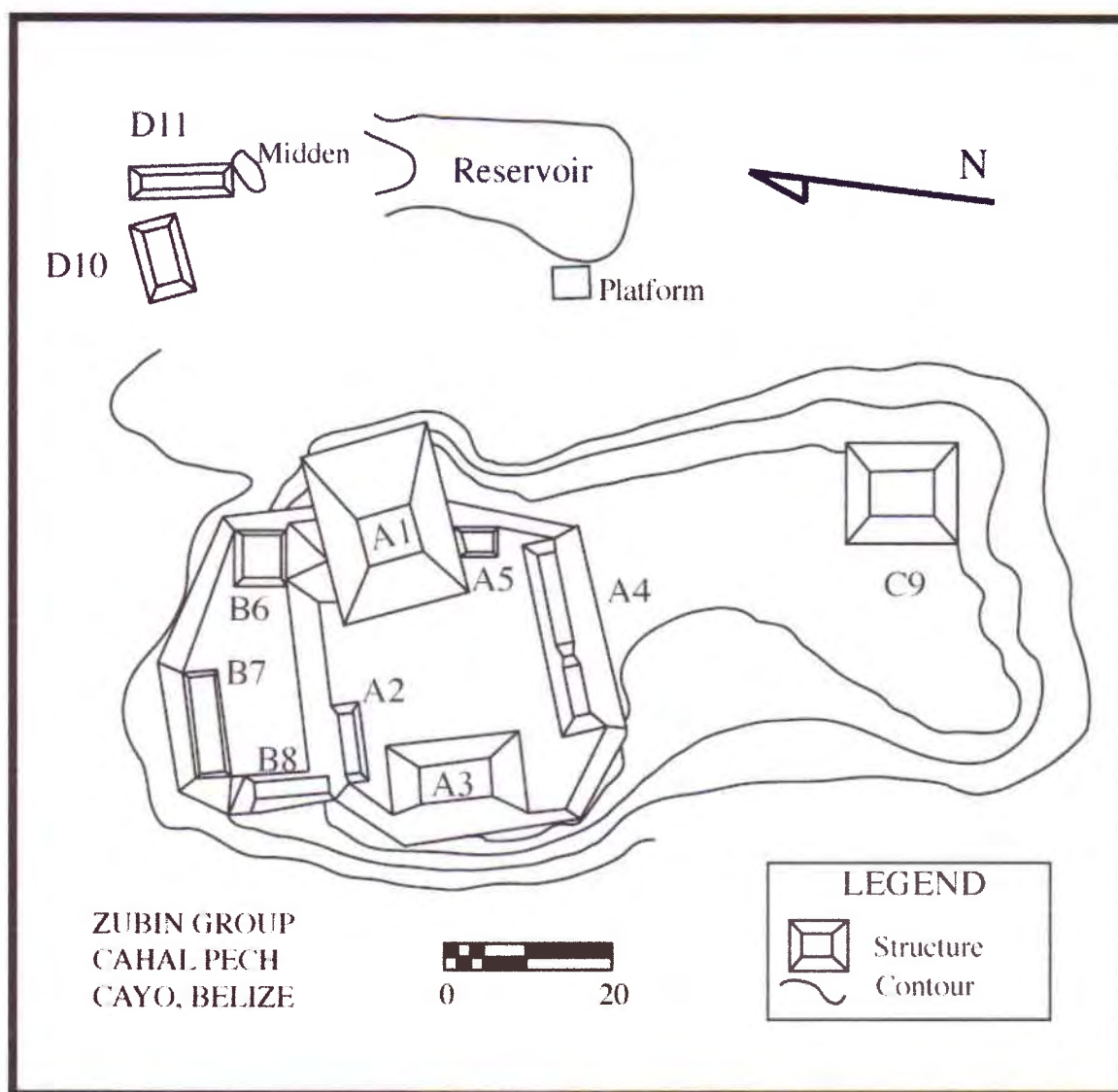


Figure 3.8 Plan of Zubin group (redrawn from Awe 1992: Figure 51).

BELIZE VALLEY FORMATIVE TRANSFORMATION

Many significant changes occurred at sites in the Belize Valley during the Formative period. The population increased, architectural styles and functions changed, there was an overall increase in construction, and social stratification became increasingly evident. There is evidence from other sites in the valley of similar Formative sequences comparative to Cahal Pech.

The site of Blackman Eddy (Figure 3.1), located approximately 20 km north of the modern town of San Ignacio, has a documented occupation sequence that began at the end of the Early Formative around 1100 B.C. and continued through the Late Classic period around A.D. 900. Unauthorized bulldozing at the site exposed Structure B1's construction history of thirteen Middle Formative construction phases, five considered domestic and seven public. There was also evidence for extensive ritual deposits (Garber et al. 2004: 26).

There was an increase in architectural complexity and in associated labor investments following the Kanocha phase (1100-900 B.C.) with structures characterized by lime plaster floors and simple stone masonry. The emergence of social differentiation toward the end of the Kanocha phase was indicated by increased labor and quality of architecture along with the presence of exotic materials and iconography on ceramic vessels (Garber et al. 2004: 27-36). The exotic materials included greenstone, obsidian, and marine shell. Kanocha phase ceramics also exhibit pan-Mesoamerican symbols (e.g., kan cross and avian serpents). Evidence of feasting indicates that communal rituals may have functioned as integrative activities that formed social bonds and allowed the redistribution of goods through local exchange networks (Garber et al. 2004a: 36). Architectural construction became more refined in the early facet Jenney Creek phase (900-700 B.C.). There was extensive use of lime-plaster and trimmed block masonry and public structures were constructed. Dedicatory and termination deposits became common, and served new ceramic types appeared (Garber et al. 2004: 37). In the Late Jenney Creek phase (700-350 B.C.) there was increased construction activity along with the earliest indication of sculpted architectural decoration (Structure B1-4th).

The sites of Blackman Eddy and Cahal Pech have similar Formative sequences as demonstrated by lengthy stratigraphic deposits. Other sites in the valley may not have comparable deposits, but other evidence indicates similar Formative developmental sequences. The early Middle Formative Cunil pottery that bears pan-Mesoamerican imagery at Cahal Pech and Blackman Eddy has also been identified at other sites in the valley, including Pacbitun, Xunantunich, Barton Ramie, and Floral Park (Healy et al. 2004: 113). Also present elsewhere in the valley are the special-function round structures. Such late Middle Formative structures have been found at Barton Ramie (BR-44 cut 4), San Lorenzo/ Xunantunich (Structure 7 in SL-3), and El Pilar (EP-9) (Aimers et al. 2000).

At the site of Buena Vista del Cayo, the earliest evidence of occupation dates to the early facet Kanluk ceramic phase. The site would have consisted of single farmsteads or hamlets at that time. There were no burials or human remains found. There was also no evidence of masonry or plastered masonry architecture. By the Late Formative, the site included plastered masonry, formal plazas, a ball court, and a substantial and elaborate residential platform complex (Ball and Taschek 2004: 152-156). Although development at Buena Vista was not as intense as at the sites of Cahal Pech or Blackman Eddy, it does indicate that similar changes were occurring across the valley.

Around the terminal Early Formative (ca. 1200 B.C.) much of the Belize Valley was being settled by sedentary agriculturalists, and by 600 B.C. there was evidence of long-distance exchange (Awe 1992: 364-368; Awe and Healy 1994), construction of monumental public architecture (Awe 1992: 205-213), evidence of growing social inequalities (Awe and Cheetham 1993), and increasing levels of economic specialization (Sunahara and Awe 1994).

CHAPTER 4

CAHAL PECH FIGURINE COLLECTION

INTRODUCTION

The assemblage of Formative figurines recovered at the site of Cahal Pech has grown over the years. The collection was initially reported to contain 187 fragments (Awe 1992), and Cheetham (1993) subsequently created a catalogue that contained five additional specimens, for a total of 192 fragments. The assemblage has continued to grow since that time. My analysis documents 389 fragments, including 381 from the site core and periphery groups of Cahal Pech, and eight fragments from the site of Pacbitun. The latter site is located within the Belize Valley and the eight fragments were stored with the Cahal Pech collection from a previous Belize Valley Archaeological Reconnaissance (BVAR) project. These fragments should represent a regional variety, hence they were included in this analysis. However, there are also fragments documented by Awe and Cheetham that are not included in this analysis. BVAR provided me with this particular sample of 389 fragments. Additional figurine fragments from Cahal Pech may be stored elsewhere by other archaeological projects.

METHODS

My analysis of the Cahal Pech figurine assemblage consisted primarily of collecting descriptive data for each artifact. The primary data on figurine manufacture included ceramic paste and slip, form (solid or hollow), and measurements of length, width, and thickness (Figure 4.1). Given the fragmentary nature of the figurines, in some cases it was difficult or impossible to take all of the desired measurements. Each fragment was classified as anthropomorphic, zoomorphic, musical instrument (when not

clearly anthropomorphic or zoomorphic), or unidentifiable. The forms were further separated based on anatomical characteristics: head, torso, appendage, musical instrument apparatus (e.g., mouthpiece), or unidentifiable. Descriptive and stylistic data were collected on individual specimen forms (see Appendix A) and via photographs. Pictures were taken of every fragment included in this analysis, and several illustrations were made (see Appendix B for head fragments). The preservation of the figurines' provenience information was a priority during the analysis. Thus, an inventory was generated in order to document the provenience, current identification code, prior catalogue number, and basic visual information (e.g., ceramic description, form, and size) of each figurine fragment. Appendix C contains a provenience inventory and Appendix D contains an inventory of ceramic descriptions, forms, and measurements.

An identification system was developed to label the artifacts because several systems had been used over time for cataloging purposes and a uniform reference system was needed. Each fragment was given an alphanumeric code consisting of a letter followed by a hyphen and a number. The letters designate the type of fragment (H = head, L = appendage, T = torso, I = instrument, C = complete, and U = unknown). The numbers are arbitrary and were assigned in the order that the fragments were analyzed. As the system relies on interpretation of fragment types, it may change in the future.

Specimen forms were drafted to record information about the fragments. This information included identification codes, provenience, measurements, paste description, form description, and stylistic information. The complete form is included in Appendix A. The forms will be combined with the photographs that were taken to form a catalog that will be useful for any future research.

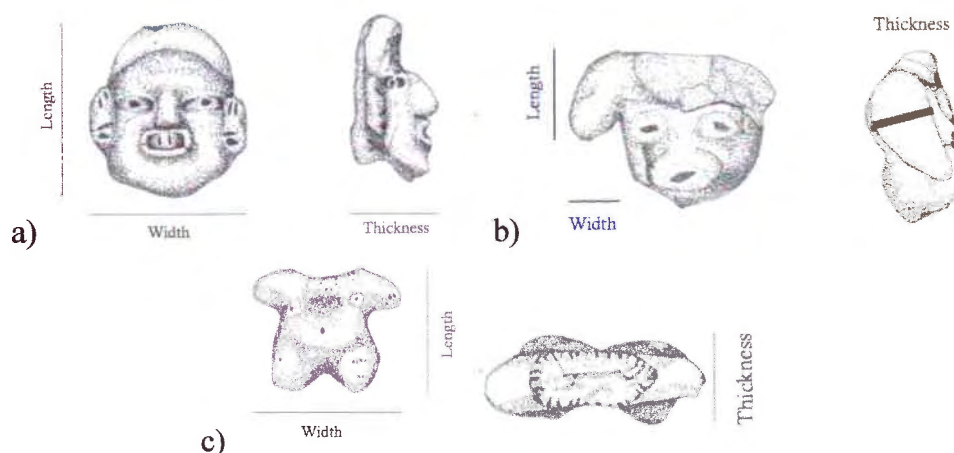


Figure 4.1 Measuring methods for (a) head fragments, (b) appendage fragments, and (c) torso fragments (illustrations by M. Branfman).

GENERAL ANALYSIS

Of the 389 specimens included in this analysis, the majority are anthropomorphic and solid (Tables 4.1 and 4.2). Typically hollow fragments are parts of musical instruments, but not always (Table 4.1). As might be expected, appendages are the most common anatomical elements (Table 4.3). There are also quite a few head and torso fragments (Table 4.3), which are very important carriers of stylistic information.

All of the specimens in the collection were hand modeled out of clay. The paste colors range from dark brown to a very clean white, and the pastes range from very hard to very ashy and brittle. The paste types are consistent with Awe's (1992) descriptions and are comparable to ceramic wares from the Cunil, Middle, and Late Formative Periods.

The figurines are extremely fragmentary. Most of the appendages and heads are not attached to torsos, although occasionally they are. The only complete specimens in the sample (Figure 4.2) include a small depiction of a dwarf (C-1) and an ocarina (I-24). None of the fragments appear to be adorned with garments, and all seemed to be nude.

Table 4. 1 Frequencies of fragments identified as anthropomorphic, zoomorphic, instrument, and unidentifiable.

<i>Form</i>	<i>Frequency</i>	<i>Percentage</i>
Anthropomorphic	295	75.8
Zoomorphic	10	2.6
Zoomorphic Instrument	6	1.5
Instrument	24	6.2
Unidentifiable	54	13.9
Total	389	100.0

Table 4. 2 Frequencies of solid and hollow fragments.

<i>Form</i>	<i>Frequency</i>	<i>Percentage</i>
Solid	355	91.3
Hollow	34	8.7
Total	389	100.0

Table 4. 3 Frequencies of different anatomical forms.

<i>Anatomy</i>	<i>Frequency</i>	<i>Percentage</i>
Appendage	137	35.2
Head	108	27.8
Torso	75	19.3
Mouthpiece	7	1.8
Complete	2	0.5
Unidentifiable	60	15.4
Total	389	100.0

Most of the aesthetic elements, and the most stylistic variability, occur on the head fragments, while there is only minor variability in anatomical details on torso and appendage fragments. Because of the generic and plain qualities of the torsos, such fragments may be underidentified, thus accounting for the higher frequency of head fragments relative to torsos (Table 4.3).

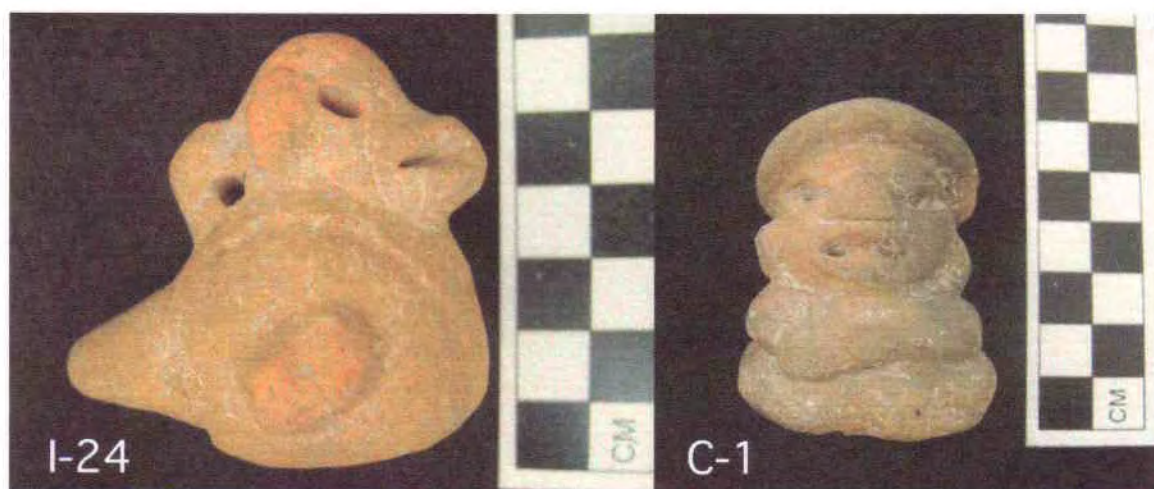


Figure 4.2 Complete figurine specimens including (I-24) an ocarina in bird form and (C-1) a seated dwarf figure.

ZOOMORPHIC AND INSTRUMENT FRAGMENTS

The following is a brief description of the fragments from the Cahal Pech sample that were classified as zoomorphic or as musical instruments. There is much overlap between the two categories; this is why they are included together. All of the fragments classified as zoomorphic are heads, while the instrument category contains instruments with zoomorphic heads and instrument parts such as mouthpieces, resonating chambers, and tonal holes.

Ten fragments were categorized as zoomorphic (with no evidence of a musical function), while 30 were identified as instrument fragments. Of the 30 instrument fragments, 6 had zoomorphic qualities (Table 4.1). The distinction was made by the presence of a hollow chamber, tonal holes, or mouthpiece. Several different animal forms are present, including birds, a feline, a frog, a primate, a dog or coyote, an armadillo, and some unknown forms. The frog's head (Z-4) is very naturalistic in appearance. The primate depiction (Z-6) is interpreted as a howler monkey. One of the questionable forms with large projecting ears and nose (Z-7) may be an anteater, bat, or tapir. One of the complete figurines is a zoomorphic whistle in the shape of a bird (I-24) (Figure 4.2). Further information on ancient Maya instruments may be found in Benton (2010).

ANTHROPOMORPHIC FRAGMENTS

Appendages

Appendages are the most common form of fragment, and very few have ornamentation. Of the 137 fragments that were identified as appendages, four different types were distinguished. The most common types are C and D (Table 4.4). Fragments in the "Other" category include one fragment that is a severely flexed limb, as well as a few examples that looked like crab claws. Some of these claw-looking fragments may have served as spires on censers.

Type A fragments (Figure 4.3) have an hourglass shape. The foot base is ovoid and concave, with the long axis running from the front to the back of the foot. The ankle

is constricted front-to-back, as indicated by the positioning of the knee. This form serves to define the foot, and may have helped the figurine to stand on its own.

Table 4. 4 Appendage type frequencies and percentages.

<i>Appendage Type</i>	<i>Frequency</i>	<i>Percentage</i>
A	7	5.1
B	7	5.1
C	41	29.9
D	42	30.7
Other	5	3.6
Unidentifiable	35	25.6
Total	137	100

Type B fragments (Figure 4.4) have an S-curve shape, formed by a bend at the knee and a curve at the ankle. Some fragments have a flattened side along the length of the appendage—perhaps indicating a seated posture, with a flattened base the figure would have sat on—while others do not. The latter may have served as arms or legs. The legs often include the thigh and are particularly wide. Many have highly tapered ends. Arms also have dramatic changes in thickness.

Type C appendages (Figure 4.5) are slightly curved extensions and quite generic. They vary in size and degree of curvature. Some may be an extended limb with the curve at the end representing a hand. Others are very short and slightly curved along their entire length. These are difficult to distinguish as arms or legs because they are so generic.

Type D appendages (Figure 4.6) are extended, and many appear to be lower limbs. One fragment, identified as L-136, is particularly interesting because it is hollow and has a hole that may have functioned as a vent during the firing process.



Figure 4.3 Sample of the Type A appendages (photograph by C. Zweig).



Figure 4.4 Sample of the Type B appendage (photograph by C. Zweig).



Figure 4.5 Sample of the Type C appendages (Photograph by C. Zweig).



Figure 4.6 Sample of the Type D appendages (Photograph by C. Zweig).

Incisions are evident on 29 (21.2%) of the appendage fragments. The incisions primarily indicate fingers or toes on the distal end of the appendage fragments. On 55 (40.1%) of the appendage fragments there are no incisions, while in 53 cases (38.7%) the presence of incisions could not be determined with certainty. The presence of incisions within the groups is detailed in Table 4.5. Type D has the highest occurrence of incisions, while no type B fragments are incised.

Postures were determined by observing the torsos and the lower appendages. Two general postures, seated and extended (standing), are evident in the collection. In Figure 4.10 there are examples of torsos demonstrating a seated posture (T-6, T-12, T-31, T-35). More specific seated styles were also identified. Several leg fragments with flattened bases indicate a seated posture, and their shape suggests a bound angle pose, in which the legs do not cross and the soles of the feet meet. Among Type B fragments, L-6 and L-125 (Figure 4.4) are examples of this positioning. Fragment C-1 (Figure 4.2) is a good example of a folded-legs pose, with folded legs crossed at the ankles.

Table 4. 5 Appendage type and incision frequencies (flexed and crab claw types are considered as “other”).

	Incision			
	Present	Absent	Indeterminate	Total
Type A	3	3	1	7
Type B	0	5	2	7
Type C	2	3	9	41
Type D	17	15	10	42
Other	3	2	0	5
Information Not Available	4	0	31	35
Total	29	55	53	137

Torsos

I began my analysis with the assumption that the most straightforward gender attributes on the figurines would be male or female anatomical elements. However, during the analysis the task of identifying gender proved to be extremely difficult due to the ambiguous nature or absence of physical clues of gender identity. Initially, my gender assignments were very conservative. Of the 389 fragments, I identified only 15 (3.9%) as female and one (0.25%), a fragment with phallic representation (T-46, Figure 4.10), as male. This assignment of gender was based on the presence of breasts and/or genitalia. Needless to say, this procedure was insufficient. Only 14 (18.9%) of the torso fragments had breasts, while 18 (24.3%) had pectorals but no breasts (Table 4.6). Forty-two (56.8%) of the torso fragments were not complete enough to categorize in this manner.

The Mesoamerican figurine studies discussed in Chapter 2 focus on anatomical (primary and secondary sexual) characteristics as a basis for assigning gender to figurines (e.g., Derilo Tway 2004; Drucker 1943; Follensbee 2000; Gillespie 1987; Harlan 1987; Kidder 1965; Marcus 1998; Ricketson 1937; Weiant 1943; Willey 1972). Some studies (Derilo Tway 2004; Drucker 1943; Follensbee 2000; Marcus 1998) also mention gendered apparel depicted in the clay, such as a loincloth, which lessens the difficulty in assigning gender to figurines. However, in the Cahal Pech sample, sex-linked anatomical characteristics (e.g., genitals, a pubic-Y, breasts, pregnancy) are rarely depicted in an obvious manner. It is also unfortunate that in the sample apparel is not depicted in the clay. The absence or subtleties of these sexual and gendered characteristics made it necessary to alter my approach to the identification of gender in the Cahal Pech sample.

Table 4. 6 Depictions of breasts on torso fragments.

<i>Form</i>	<i>Frequency</i>	<i>Percent</i>
Present	14	18.9
Not Present	18	24.3
Information Not Available	42	56.8
Total	74	100.0

Clearly, additional characteristics were needed to assign gender, so I decided to focus on other aspects of the torso, including the waist, abdomen, and hips. The categories for waists include constricted, straight, rounded, and not available (Table 4.7). There were 34 fragments with waists that could be classified. The majority of these are constricted. Three belly categories were defined: rounded, flat, and not available (Table 4.8). Hips were classified as curvy, straight, or not available (Table 4.9). However, very few fragments included hips that could be classified. Figure 4.7 includes examples of probable female torsos and Figure 4.8 includes examples of probable male torsos. Figure 4.9 shows a sample of abdomens and Figure 4.10 shows a sample of lower torsos that may include both male and female torsos.

Table 4. 7 Waist form frequencies and percentages.

<i>Form</i>	<i>Frequency</i>	<i>Percent</i>
Constricted	24	32.4
Straight	8	10.8
Rounded	2	2.7
Information Not Available	40	54.1
Total	74	100.0

Table 4. 8 Belly form frequencies and percentages.

<i>Form</i>	<i>Frequency</i>	<i>Percentage</i>
Rounded	15	20.3
Flat	15	20.3
Information Not Available	44	59.5
Total	74	100.0

Table 4. 9 Hip form frequencies and percentages.

<i>Form</i>	<i>Frequency</i>	<i>Percentage</i>
Curvy	19	25.7
Straight	3	4.1
Information Not Available	52	70.3
Total	74	100.0

If female figurines are assumed to have constricted waists, rounded bellies, and curvy hips, while male figurines have straighter waists, flatter bellies, and narrow hips, then there would appear to be a higher frequency of female representations in the Cahal Pech sample. However, the figurines are more abstract, and many of them could be considered ambiguous. Moreover, in the process of conducting the analysis, a number of questions arose in my mind. Could some figurines represent gender-neutral identities? Can it be assumed that because sexual characteristics are absent from a figurine, it is male?

The figurine studies reviewed in Chapter 2 focus on anatomical indications of figurines' sex and gender. However, figures are often nude and lack clay garments, anatomical distinctions are rarely made, and the body forms are often ambiguous or neuter. Blomster (2009: 121) analyzes identity and gender in Early Formative figurines from Oaxaca and argues that on many of them it was not necessarily critical to show

primary and secondary sexual characteristics, “which challenges our assumptions both about the links between sex and gender and about the importance of male-female dichotomies.” The lack of physical representation of sexual attributes may demonstrate that female gender was not based solely on reproductive roles. Blomster (2009:129) addresses the idea of ambiguous sexual representations and questions the notion that an “ambiguous gender” is represented or that figurines must be forced into a male or female category. He suggests instead that sex or gender was not important in social identity or representation, or that gender may have been indicated but in ways not associated solely with biological sex. Missing costume elements or implements may have signaled gender identity.

To a certain extent, the task of assigning gender is always subjective, and using anatomical characteristics as a basis for identifying the gender of the Cahal Pech figurines was not effective. The producers of the Cahal Pech figurines did not seem to be concerned with representing gender in an anatomical way. As the most stylistic detail was portrayed on the head fragments, these seemed to be the main focus of identity representation on the figurines. Either gender was not a primary concern, or it is portrayed in a form that we cannot easily decipher. Indeed, there may be much social information encoded in these figurines that we do not yet understand.



Figure 4.7 Sample of probable female torsos.



Figure 4.8 Sample of probable male torsos.



Figure 4.9 Sample of abdomens.



Figure 4.10 Lower torso examples including male (T-46) and probable female examples.

Heads

All of the zoomorphic fragments have heads. The collection also includes 90 anthropomorphic head fragments, which I will focus on in this analysis. Appendix B contains photographs and short descriptions of all anthropomorphic head fragments. As noted above, most of the stylistic information was encoded in the head fragments; far more detail was present on heads than on other parts of the body. The degree of detail and stylistic variability evident on the head fragments suggests that they were the primary vehicles via which identities were conveyed.

There are noticeable trends in the shapes of the head fragments. The most common form (56.7%) is flattened front to back, with the widest point being from ear to ear. Several (16.7%) of the head fragments have a round, more spherical form. The remaining fragments (26.7%) could not be classified according to head shape. Notably, many (22.2%) of the flattened heads have a concave forehead; in contrast, 12 (13.3%) have flat foreheads, 10 (11.1%) have convex foreheads, and 48 (53.3%) could not be classified (Figure 4.11).



Figure 4.11 Examples of (H-17) concave and (H-81) convex foreheads (illustrations by Melissa Branfman) .

Head Elements

There are 32 fragments (35.6%) that feature some kind of element on the crown of the head. For the purpose of this analysis, head elements include adornments, accessories, or coiffures that are present but may not be specifically identified. Nine (10.0%) do not have any elements, 41 (45.6%) could not be classified, and 8 (8.9%) have a smooth head. It is not clear whether the smooth head is indicative of a head element, such as a cap, or possibly a tonsured or shaved head. Thus, such fragments were separated from heads that definitely lacked elements.

Hair

There are 24 fragments (26.7%) with hair indicated by striations or incisions, 23 (25.6%) with no indication of hair, and 43 (47.8%) that could not be classified. Some fragments also have bun or knot elements. Eighteen (20%) of the fragments have a single bun element, 5 (5.6%) have multiple buns, 21 (23.3%) do not have any bun elements, and 46 (51.1%) could not be classified.

Face

Noses are evident on 46 (51.1%) of the fragments that include a face (Table 4.12). Of those, 29 (32.2%) have no nostrils, while 17 (18.9%) do. There were 44 (48.9%) fragments that could not be coded for nose presence/absence or form. Most commonly, the eyes were composed of a dual-ovate impression with a single central punctation (Figure 4.12). This style is somewhat naturalistic and gives dimension to the eyes. The other eye form styles include tripunctate (Figure 4.12) and miscellaneous forms (see Appendix B: H-35, 50, 60, 61, 74, 80, 83, 86). Table 4.10 includes eye form frequencies and percentages.

Just over half (54.4%) of the head fragments have mouths. Among these, several different mouth styles are evident (frequencies are shown in Table 4.11). All of the mouths with teeth are stylistically similar, with the front two incisors being the only teeth shown. The teeth are sometimes three-dimensional, with one incision in the middle. Tripunctate-style mouths occur on the faces with the tripunctate eyes (e.g., Figure 4.12).

Table 4. 10 Eye form frequencies and percentages.

<i>Eye Forms</i>	<i>Frequency</i>	<i>Percentage</i>
Dual-ovate Impressions with Central Punctations	32	35.6
Tripunctate	4	4.4
Miscellaneous	8	8.9
Information Not Available	46	51.1
Total	90	100.0

Table 4. 11 Frequencies for stylistic mouth formations.

<i>Mouth Form</i>	<i>Frequency</i>	<i>Percentage</i>
Open	13	14.4
Open-Lips Present	9	10.0
Open-Lips and Teeth Present	20	22.2
Open-Teeth Only	1	1.1
Tripunctations	2	2.2
Not Available	45	50.0
Total	90	100.0

Table 4. 12 Nose form frequencies and percentages.

<i>Nose Form</i>	<i>Frequency</i>	<i>Percentage</i>
Nose Present: No Nostrils	28	31.1
Nose Present: Nostrils	17	18.9
Nose Absent	1	1.1
Information Not Available	44	48.9
Total	90	100.0

**Figure 4. 12** Example of eye forms: (H-34) dual-ovate impressions with central punctation and (H-51) tripunctation.

Ears

Representations of ears also vary considerably. Some figurines have ears with or without earplugs, while others only have earplugs and no ears (Table 4.13). There is some variety in the earplugs when they are present. Some are appliquéd rings; others are just shown by punctations in the ears (Table 4.14). Some of the ears also have ear

incisions (e.g., H-17 in Figure 4.11), which vary in number and direction (Table 4.15).

Most of the incisions are horizontal. Their precise number is often unclear due to the fragmentary nature of some of the ears. H-34 (Figure 4.12), H-57 (see Appendix B), and H-89 (see Appendix B) had vertical incisions present on the ears.

Table 4. 13 Ear form frequencies and percentages.

<i>Ear Form</i>	<i>Frequency</i>	<i>Percentage</i>
Present: Ear Plugs	25	27.8
Present: No Ear Plugs	5	5.6
Absent: Ear Plugs	5	5.6
Absent: No Ear Plugs	2	2.2
Informative Not Available	53	58.9
Total	90	100.0

Table 4. 14 Earplug variety frequencies and percentages.

<i>Ear Plug Variety</i>	<i>Frequency</i>	<i>Percentage</i>
Perforated	5	5.6
Not Perforated	13	14.4
Appliqué	11	12.2
Nodules	1	1.1
Information Not Available	60	66.7
Total	90	100.0

Table 4. 15 Presence of ear incisions with frequencies and percentages.

<i>Ear Incisions</i>	<i>Frequency</i>	<i>Percentage</i>
Present	18	20.0
Absent	13	14.4
Information Not Available	59	65.6
Total	90	100.0

PROVENIENCE

It is not only important to look at the figurine fragments themselves, but also to consider the contexts in which they were found. The information about the figurine fragments' provenience was inconsistent. The more recently excavated fragments had very good and detailed information, while some of the fragments that were excavated in the initial investigations at Cahal Pech were missing contextual information. Some of the fragments could only be associated with a specific group at the site while others could be linked to specific excavation lots, levels, and associated features.

As noted earlier, eight (2.1%) of the 389 fragments I analyzed came from the site of Pacbitun (Figure 3.1). These particular fragments were included in the analysis because they are stored with the Cahal Pech assemblage from a previous BVAR project, and they should represent a regional variety. The site core of Cahal Pech was represented by 238 fragments (63%) excavated in Groups A, B, C, and G. The majority of the fragments (234, or 60.2%) came from Group B; two (0.5%) came from Group C; and one fragment (0.3%) came from each of Groups A and G (Table 4.16).

There were 142 fragments (37%) that came from the periphery groups (Table 4.16), including Cas Pek (48 fragments, or 12.3%), Tolok (58 fragments, or 14.9%), Tzinic (10 fragments, or 2.6%), Zopilote (8 fragments, or 2.1%), and Zubin (18 fragments, or 4.6%). All of these groups had documented Formative Period occupation. There was also one fragment whose context was specified only as the site of Cahal Pech, with no other description for its provenience.

The contextual information provided with the sample indicates that there were particular structures at Cahal Pech that contained higher frequencies of fragments than

others (Table 4.13). In the site core Structure B-4 had the highest frequency overall, with 186 fragments (47.8%). Additionally 40 fragments (10.3%) came from Plaza B, which had associations with the construction sequence of Structure B-4. In the Cas Pek group Structure 1 yielded 48 fragments (12.3%), and Structure 1 from the Tolok group had 22 fragments (5.7%). Sixteen fragments (4.1%) from Tolok had no more specific provenience information. The rest of the structures each had only 10 fragments (2.6%) or less (0.3%). This uneven distribution may reflect the greater intensity of research in particular areas, and/or issues of preservation (e.g., the effects of surrounding modern developments on peripheral settlement groups). Understanding the distributional patterning would require further investigation.

Table 4. 16 Cahal Pech and Pacbitun site core and periphery group figurine fragment frequencies.

<i>Group</i>	<i>Frequency</i>	<i>Percentage</i>
A	1	0.3
B	234	60.2
C	2	0.5
Cas Pek	48	12.3
G	1	0.3
Pacbitun-B	7	1.8
Pacbitun-C	1	0.3
Tolok	58	14.9
Tzinic	10	2.6
Zopilote	8	2.1
Zubin	18	4.6
Unknown	1	0.3
Total	389	100.0

Figurine Fragment Provenience Information

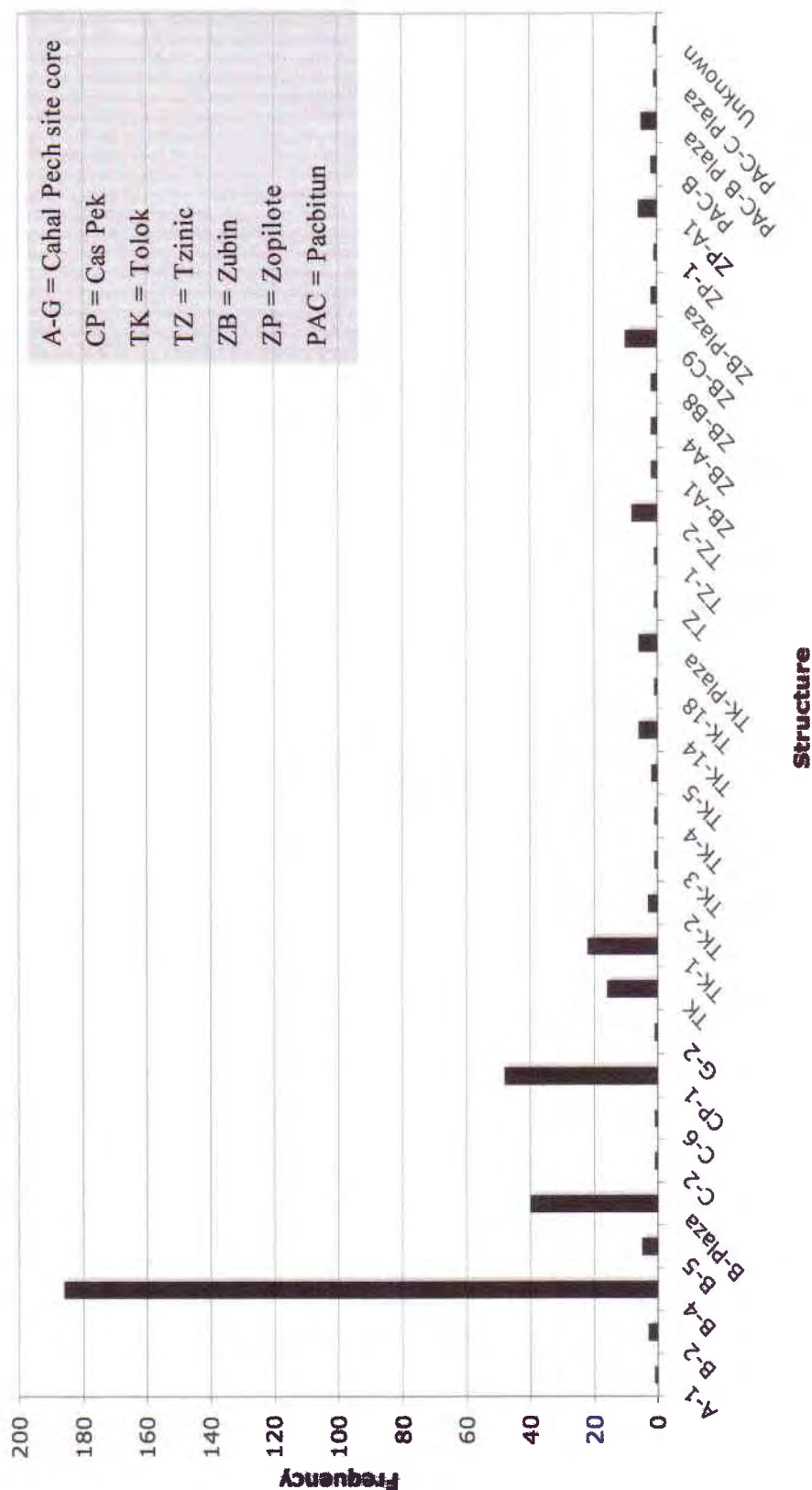


Figure 4. 13 Bar chart showing the frequency of fragments found in association with structures in the site core and periphery groups of Cahal Pech and Pacbitun (n = 389).

Table 4. 17 Frequencies and percentages of figurines with provenience information.

<i>Time Period</i>	<i>Frequency</i>	<i>Percentage</i>	<i>Valid Percentage</i>
Cunil	6	1.5	2.0
EMF	40	10.3	13.6
MF	7	1.8	2.4
LMF	75	19.3	25.4
LMF-ELF	105	27.0	35.6
LF	60	15.4	20.4
Formative	1	0.3	0.3
Early Classic	1	0.3	0.3
Total	295	75.9	100.0
Missing	94	24.1	
Total	389	100.0	

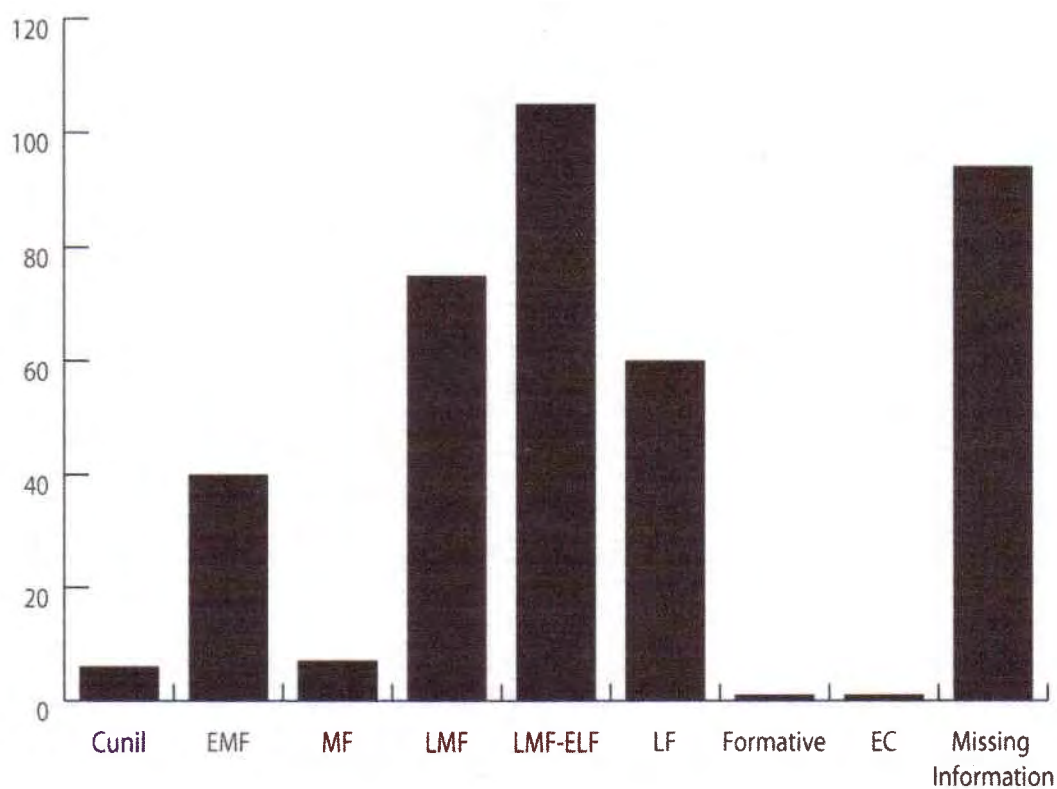


Figure 4. 14 Frequencies of figurines with provenience information (n= 389 fragments).

HEAD FRAGMENT ANALYSIS

Over the course of the analysis, it became apparent that the most detail and stylistic variation occurred on the head fragments, while the second most occurred on the torso fragments. As mentioned in Chapter 2, Harlan (1987) also noticed this pattern in the collection from Chalcatzingo. He noted that some parts of the figurines carried the bulk of the informational load, and the main information bearers seemed to be a series of features on and around the head (Harlan 1987: 261). Vaillant (1930) recognized this as well when he based his main typological distinctions on the figurines' heads. Harlan (1987) recognized that the depictions of turbans might have been among the most important because of the large variety of ways in which they were wrapped, and the consistent association between the wraps and ornamentation or embellishment. He also argued that ear ornaments likewise may have had higher symbolic content, though they were not as variable. The position of the limbs on the figurines from Chalcatzingo may carry meaning, and details on the torsos may sometimes distinguish gender; but much like the Cahal Pech collection, depictions of clothing are rare and many of the torsos are either recognizably female or sexless (Harlan 1987: 261-62). While other figurine studies have differentiated types based on eye and head forms (Vaillant 1930), little has been said about what are on top of the heads—namely, hairstyles and headdresses. The head fragments in the Cahal Pech sample that have headdresses and hairstyles seem most variable. Thus, variation in these elements may be one of the most significant ways in which information about social differentiation was conveyed.

Marcus (1998: 31-38) conducted an extensive analysis of the hairstyles and head garments present on figurines from Oaxaca. She examined what social information was

encoded in the hairstyles and what that could tell us about the figurines. Among the sixteenth-century Maya, marital status could be communicated by hairstyle. Unmarried Yucatec women wore their hair in “horns,” and married women would part their hair in the middle and braid it. Yucatec women also wore a cotton cloth above the braid to cover their head, neck, and chest. “They are often depicted on many Formative figurines, where they have often been misidentified as ‘helmets’ or ‘bunned helmets’” (Marcus 1998: 31). Marcus also discusses differences in hairstyles among the Nahua (Aztecs). In contrast to the Yucatec, married Nahua women styled their hair into horns. The unmarried girls would wear their hair long and unbraided, while at other times girls had cropped hair. Mixtec women created many distinctive hairstyles by adding ribbons, headbands, and ornaments. Married Zapotec women wore their hair braided, while unmarried girls had more diverse and elaborate hairstyles.

During the Cahal Pech analysis, an issue arose that was similar to a question posed by Marcus: How is hair and cloth differentiated in the Formative figurines? Marcus determined that hair would be represented by the presence of striations, and appliqué strips may signify cloth. The overall arrangement of the hairstyle was another important variable. Marcus used various terms to describe and classify the Formative hairstyles. A *chignon* is a large bunch or coil of hair worn at the nape of the neck or at the back of the head. A *chignon quadrille* is a woman’s topknot, a *chignon* at the top of the head. A *zulu knot* is a section of hair that has been twisted or tied into a knot; multiple of these may appear on the head. The last form enumerated by Marcus is the presence of tonsuring (shaving), which can be either partial or full. She describes one type seen on male figurines as the “tonsured cacique” (Marcus 1998: 50, 61, Figure 8.24).

The head fragments from the Cahal Pech sample exhibit elements that may be interpreted in various ways. The fragments with smooth heads could depict tonsuring or shaving, but they also could depict a helmet or cap (e.g., Figure 4.12: H-34). One hat style that is clearly depicted, a conical hat that rests further back on the head, can be seen on C-1 in Figure 4.2. Another style of head element that appears to be a form of hat is what looks like a fitted cap with a wide brim. It is evident on two fragments (see Appendix B: H-29, H-66). Another accessory depicted on the head fragments are headbands (see Appendix B, H-5). These occur as single or double bands and are often appliquéd around the head.

More common elements seen in the Cahal Pech sample of head fragments are buns or knots. These occur as single or multiple elements, and they vary in stylistic presentation. They can be plain, or they may have incisions, striations, or punctations. The most naturalistic example, seen on H-12 (see Appendix B), looks like a coil of twisted hair. However, more often depictions only have vertical or horizontal incisions. The sample of figurine fragments does not include any portrayal of long or loose hair. When hair is portrayed, it is knotted in buns or depicted as very short. For example, short hair is indicated on H-21 (see Appendix B) by punctations that cover the entire scalp area and go no lower than the nape of the neck.

Previously it was mentioned that Marcus (1998) found it difficult to distinguish representations of cloth and hair on figurines. She determined that striations would indicate hair, that appliquéd strips may indicate cloth, and that the overall hairstyle arrangement should also be considered. The hairstyles depicted on figurines from Oaxaca are more elaborate than the possible hairstyles depicted in the Cahal Pech sample,

and while the figurines from both regions share similarities, the designation of hairstyles and accessories is more difficult to determine for the Cahal Pech material. This is due to the lack of well-defined techniques, such as incision and appliqué, and perhaps also poor preservation.

Several of the figurine heads from Cahal Pech were similar to those found elsewhere in Mesoamerica. Vaillant's (1930) typology of figurines primarily from Central Mexico included numerous headpieces and head styles that were also found in the Cahal Pech collection. The centered bun/knot occurred in Vaillant's types C1, C3, C4, C5, D1, D2, and L as well as in his groups from Guatemala and El Salvador (Vaillant 1930: 98-150; Plates 10, 11, 13, 14, 15, 19, 31, 32, 35). Vaillant's figurines also feature multiple knots, off-centered single knots, headbands, smooth heads (caps or tonsured heads), and broadband style hats. The knots occurred with or without incised lines that were either vertical or horizontal. Similar forms can also be seen in the Oaxaca figurines shown throughout Marcus's (1998) study. Formative figurines from San Andrés, a secondary site on the periphery of La Venta, demonstrate similar hair and headdress styles, including center topknots, off-center knots, multiple knots, parted hair, and smooth heads or helmets (Derilo Tway 2004).

One of the most difficult challenges in analyzing the Cahal Pech sample was determining whether there were hairlines depicted, as opposed to a unique head shape, headgear, or hair. There often is a distinction between the forehead and the crown of the head, either by incision or in form (with concave foreheads that curve forward). In Vaillant's typology, some of the types show more defined separation between the head and the headgear. For example, Type C5 includes heads with a narrow forehead and a

smooth cap clearly differentiated from the head (Vaillant 1930: Plate 15, Number 1). This differentiation is subtle in the Cahal Pech sample. There are a few examples that obviously have hair and not a headpiece (see Appendix B: H-6, H-10, H-21, and H-84). They all show hair on the head but there is still a defining line between the hair and the forehead. This makes interpretation difficult when classifying head styles and pieces.

There are stunning similarities between several Cahal Pech specimens and other fragments in Mesoamerica. The head fragment H-5 (Appendix B) from Cahal Pech has a unique style of centered bun/knot with a headband overlapping it. There is a fragment from Tlapacoya (Vaillant 1930: 105, Plate 13) that has the same hair configuration. A figurine shown in Marcus (1998: 58, Figure 8.18) is similar to a fragment from Cahal Pech (H-12, Appendix B). The topknot on the Oaxacan figurine is very much like the topknot on H-12, with swirling lines indicating the hair.

Whereas the turban appeared in every Mesoamerican figurine study mentioned in Chapter 2, there are no turbans documented in the Cahal Pech sample thus far. Also, in other studies the depiction of garments and apparel in the clay appears more common, while apparel is absent in the Cahal Pech sample. The significance of this absence is unknown, but it is possible that the figurines were dressed in perishable garments.

One quality present in the Cahal Pech sample but not noted in other Mesoamerican figurine studies is the depiction of teeth. The depiction of the front two teeth was not mentioned or presented in the figurine studies reviewed in Chapter 2 and is possibly a unique feature of the Cahal Pech sample.

The classification of ruler portraits was considered when interpreting the figurines at Cahal Pech. As noted in Chapter 2, Grove and Gillespie (1991: 55) distinguished two

major groups in the Formative figurines from Chalcatzingo: (1) stylized and generally nondescript human figures, and (2) well made figurines with carefully executed faces and headdresses which most likely represent attempts at realistic portraiture. They found that the portrait figurines fell into the C8 type from the Vaillant (1930) scheme. The C8 portrait figurines are characterized by realistic facial detail and a great deal of variation. Many have specific face and headdress combinations. In total, Grove and Gillespie identified 20 portraits from the Chalcatzingo collection.

The figurine head fragments from Cahal Pech do have somewhat realistic detail and a good deal of stylistic variation, but they do not fit the C8 type description. Harlan's (1987) description of the C8 type includes eyes made by incising and gouging directly onto the face. The pupils are almost always shown by a deep punctation in the inside corner, giving the figurines a cross-eyed appearance, and the eyebrows are portrayed by lightly incised lines. None of the figurines from the Cahal Pech sample demonstrate crossed eyes, nor are eyebrows a significant feature. However, Harlan (1987: 252, 257-258) describes a type (Ch1) specific to Chalcatzingo with eyes executed similarly to Cahal Pech figurines. He notes that "no figurines with this eye treatment have been published from the Valley of Mexico collections" (Harlan 1987: 258). He thought it might have been a regional variation because it was not common to Central Mexico. The eye treatment was executed with two gouges forming the lateral edges of each eye, and a pupil between these was created by another smaller gouge or a punctation (Harlan 1987: 257). This style is the same as the dual-ovate and single punctation treatment used on the majority of the Cahal Pech collection. In Marcus (1998: 133, Fig. 11.28, Specimen 10) there is a head fragment that has this same eye style, and she describes it as "unusual both

in the eye form and head shape.” Thus, this eye form is common to Cahal Pech figurines, but not those from Central Mexico or the Valley of Oaxaca.

The head fragments from the Cahal Pech sample have the most detail and stylistic variability. There is consistency in facial depictions. Faces have all basic facial elements of eyes, nose, and mouth. There is consistency with the style of eyes with the majority representing dual-impressed single central punctation execution (Table 4.10). There is also some variation with the mouth and teeth depictions (Table 4.11). The ears demonstrate variation with incisions and earplug depictions (Tables 4.13 and 4.14). The most stylistic variation is present on top of the figurine heads (hairstyles, headdresses, and other head elements). Turbans were depicted more frequently in other Formative figurine assemblages, but were absent in the Cahal Pech sample. At the same time, other stylistic themes in the head/hair treatment of figurines are found across Mesoamerica (e.g., tonsured heads, U-shape depictions, single/multiple buns, and broad rimmed hats).

Like hairstyles, the variable depictions of ears and teeth on figurines may have encoded social information. Joyce (2000) examines the production of adulthood in ancient Mesoamerica, looking specifically at childhood and transitions in the life course within Aztec society. She notes an emphasis within Aztec texts on the physical discipline of the body of the child to produce a properly decorous adult, and argues that there was social value placed on the reproduction of embodied identification with tradition (Joyce 2000: 474). The transformation of children into properly socialized adults involved life cycle rituals that often included preparation for, or provision of, new forms of body modification (Joyce 2000: 476). One example of such a ritual included the piercing of a child's ears, and eventually the insertion of earplugs during the teen years (Joyce 2000:

477). Body ornaments were symbolically important as media that transformed and displayed age status (Joyce 2000: 478). Clothing and hair treatment were also part of bodily and gendered materiality in lifecycle transitions. Houston, Stuart, and Taube (1998: 20) argues that body modification (scars and tattooing) dates back to the Preclassic period, though they may have taken different forms in the Classic period.

ANCESTRAL VENERATION

The function and purpose of Formative figurines in Mesoamerica has been speculated upon, and they have frequently been associated with fertility rites. Another interpretation considered by several scholars is the role of figurines in ancestral veneration. Marcus's (1998) study focused on women's roles and the practice of ancestral veneration in Formative Oaxaca. Through veneration, ancestors continue to take part in village activities even after death, and living descendants consult with them through ritual. "Much of this ritual takes place in and around the household, and is directed by women" (Marcus 1998: 3). McAnany (1995: 33) also includes domestic ritual in the practice of ancestral veneration and mentions that in the Postclassic women played important roles in attending to and "feeding ancestors of a household." She believes there is a strong association between females and ancestral shrines/tombs.

Diego de Landa's accounts (Tozzer 1941: 129-31) indicate that the Yucatec Maya carved wooden images of their ancestors and placed them in domestic shrines and larger-scale ritual contexts. This was an important part of ancestral veneration among the Yucatec Maya, and Landa's observations emphasized the heirloom quality of these

representations and the fact that they were inherited property. Speaking of women,

Landa commented:

They were devout and pious, and also practiced many acts of devotion before their idols, burning incense before them and offering them presents of cotton stuffs, of food and drink and it was their duty to make the offerings of food and drink which they offered in the festivals of the Indians (Tozzer 1941: 128).

Marcus (1998) addresses the question of commonality and facelessness in ethnographic examples from China and Japan. There are distinctions made between individually named ancestors who are still connected with authority or continuity of the household, and ancestors who are not so named or connected. Such concepts are reminiscent of the treatment of the dead in Mesoamerica. More recently deceased persons may be buried under or near the residence, but after some time, they may be relocated. To address the issue of how figurines can be of a generic type while still representing specific ancestors, Marcus (1998:19) introduced the idea of geneonymy or “calling of an ancestor by name.” Although the ancestor needs a tangible venue (a figurine) to return to, it does not need to be a realistic depiction of the specific ancestor, because in death there is a loss of individuality and the ancestor takes on a status different from that of the living. The use of the ancestor’s name imbues the artifact with the spirit and animates the object. Some of the qualities of the figurines suggest that stylistic attributes and ornamentation are more important than realistic depictions of individuals’ faces.

This type of ancestral ritual is most appropriate for ancestors who have not moved on to a position of significance for the entire community or region. “In a system in which deceased men move gradually toward the position of publicly honored (and remote) ancestors, the corpus of recent ancestors still honored in the household becomes

increasingly female” (Marcus 1998: 21). This may help explain why there are so many female figurines, and why small solid figurines gradually disappeared during the Terminal Formative and Classic periods.

TERMINATION

The figurines from Cahal Pech were mostly found in a fragmented state with the exception of two figurines (Figure 4.2: C-1 and I-24), and most of the appendages and heads do not occur with the torsos. While some researchers have attributed the fragmentary nature of the figurines to ritual termination, the act of ritual termination has rarely been conclusively demonstrated. There are figurine fragments in the Cahal Pech sample that indicate evidence of intentional destruction (Figure 4.14). The evidence includes a number of fragments with clean breakage along the neckline, punctations around the neckline, and defacement.

There are several fragments in the Head and Torso groups that have clean (rather than jagged or haphazard) breaks where the neck would be (e.g., Figures 4.7 and 4.8). Two torso fragments (see Figure 4.13, T-5 and Figure 4.8, T-61) show clear evidence of decapitation. Fragment T-5, a relatively complete torso, is a complex specimen. It is very simplistic, with rounded, short appendages and a flattened appearance. The ends of the limbs are weathered, but there are indications of incised fingers and possibly toes. The figure’s waist is constricted, and the hips are somewhat rounded. At the hips there appear to be creases in the groin. There are breasts depicted as very small raised areas with small punctations for nipples, and they are slightly eroded. There is also a punctation in the abdomen for a navel. The other punctations on the figure are quite

intriguing. The breakage at the neck shows evidence of small punctations that go entirely around the neck. Although, they could have been used to decorate the figurine during production, it seems more likely that they served as an aid in decapitating the figurine. This was also seen in fragment T-61, a complete torso with a left arm still attached. This fragment was identified as a male because of its defined pectorals and lack of breasts. The figure is seated with the arms attached to the legs. Around the neck of this fragment there are small punctations that suggest the figurine was intentionally—and carefully—decapitated.

Table 4. 18 Frequency and percentages of head and torso fragments that indicate a clean break line along the figurine's neck.

<i>Clean Break at Neck</i>	<i>Frequency</i>	<i>Percentage</i>
Yes	45	27.8
No	15	9.2
Indeterminate	102	63.0
Total	162	100.0

There are other markings on T-5 that seem significant. Below the neck and on the chest of the fragment is a circle of six punctations, and on the back, also below the neck, there is a circle of four punctations. These two circles are at even positioning on the front and back. On the figure's left leg there is a line of four punctations. These punctations may represent body mutilation or other forms of body decoration, but they may also have a more significant meaning. They may be related to an incised circle on the back of the head of fragment H-27 (see Appendix B) but a precise interpretation is difficult at this point.

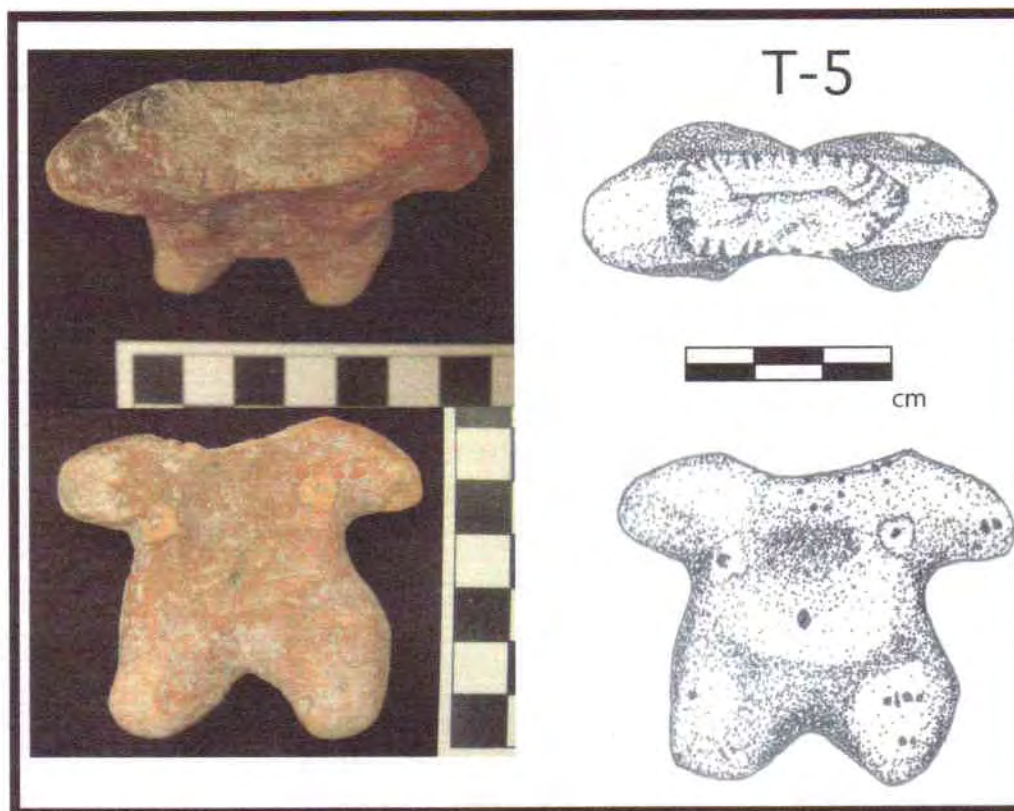


Figure 4.15 Photographs and illustrations of fragment T-5 (illustration by M. Branfman).

On fragment H-24 (Figure 4.14) there are signs of defacement intended to terminate the identity of the figurine. Unfortunately, the crown of the head is deteriorated and the ears are missing, two areas that are significant in displaying status identity. The face of the figurine is haphazardly scratched, reminiscent of defaced monuments seen in Mesoamerica (Grove 1981). Significantly, defacement of Classic Maya monuments typically focused on the eyes and faces of the lords depicted, the apparent loci of their personal identity (Houston, Stuart, and Taube 2006: 100).



Figure 4. 16 Head fragment H-24.

Many Formative Mesoamerican figurines have been found in fragmentary states. These have often been interpreted as ritually terminated without much justification for this reasoning. As noted in Chapter 2, at Kaminaljuyu the figurines are mostly fragmented with no clear evidence of deliberate destruction, and they were probably thrown away in refuse deposits (Kidder 1965: 150). For the majority of the figurines from La Pintada (Jalisco, Mexico), it is not possible to discern whether the fragmentation

occurred before or after their discard, but the heads were commonly broken from the torso (Mountjoy 1991: 95). The collection from Chalcatzingo was also very fragmented.

Harlan (1987: 252) comments that most of the figurines are broken at the neck area, "a pattern so regular that it strongly indicates purposeful breakage." Grove (1984: 86) also mentions that these figurines were intentionally broken, and that the breakage was probably the action that terminated a figure's social function. Awe (1994: 13) also concludes that the Cahal Pech figurines were terminated by the act of decapitation. He draws upon a Lacandon creation story that mentions when the youngest son (Ah T'up) of the creator (Hachacyum) made

some clay figurines which came to life. His brothers were provoked and shot at and killed them, but they came alive again. After this happened about five times, the brothers beheaded them, whereupon they stayed dead (Thompson 1965: 28; 1970: 344).

The act of decapitation appears to have been a successful method for releasing the spirits of objects the Maya considered animate.

In ancient Maya cosmology and religion much importance was attributed to the cyclical nature of termination and renewal. The act of termination was significant in many rituals, which may account for the fragmentary nature of many Formative figurines. Moreover, the human body played a very significant role in Mesoamerican cosmology, the human life cycle serving as a metaphor for continuous regeneration (López Austin 1988: 8). Dedication and termination rituals surrounding the construction or changing of a house or residence were analogous to human rites of passage marking death and rebirth (Van Gennep 1972: 23-24). This idea of architectural renewal and destruction is discussed in more detail in Chapter 5.

The ancient Maya perceived an animistic world; linked to this is the anthropomorphization of other animate and inanimate forms (Mock 1998: 9). People could imbue objects with a *ch'ul*, or life-force (Freidel, Schele, and Parker 1993: 182), and release the "soul" by terminating the object and cutting off the connection to the Other World. The destruction of objects used in termination or dedication rituals may relate to the perceived need to empty them of their power once the act is over (Mock 1998: 10).

Events of chaos or crisis perceived as dangerous by the Maya occur throughout the life cycle: birth, puberty, marriage, and death. The rites of separation, transition, and incorporation were meant to ensure the well being of a person, group, and society. Landa described the New Year festival in connection to the *Uayeb*, the lost five-day rites of the Maya of Yucatan, a time of social disorder and chaos. On the first day of *Pop*,

They renewed on this day all the objects which they made use of, such as plates, vessels, stools, mats, and old clothes, and the stuffs which they wrapped up their idols. They swept out their houses, and the sweepings and the old utensils they threw out on the waste heap outside of town; and no one, even he in need of it, touched it (Tozzer 1941: 151-52).

SUMMARY

The assemblage of Formative period figurines recovered from Cahal Pech is the largest in the Belize Valley. This was the first detailed analysis of the collection, and it has provided a better sense of the figurines' importance at the site and their physical characteristics. Interpreting the social identities represented by these figurines is an ongoing challenge. The figurine bodies tend to be anatomically generic, often with ambiguous clues to gender. The head fragments demonstrate the most variability; all of the other body parts are much less variable. The head fragments convey the bulk of

encoded information, the exact meaning of which remains elusive. As Houston et al. (2006: 68) have pointed out, "in Maya imagery, name glyphs frequently appear in the headdresses of the lords. This has been observed to be a pan-Mesoamerican phenomenon, going back to the Olmec period." The head seems to be a container of identity for the Maya, including not just the name but also the social status of the individual. When these social codes are better understood, the identities of the Cahal Pech figurines may be revealed.

If social identity was focused in the heads of the figurines, their decapitation and subsequent termination becomes even more logical. This would have released the spirits of the objects the Maya considered to be animate. Awe (1994: 13-14) supports the figurines' use in ancestral veneration, arguing that "after figurines were used in invocation ceremonies, the heads were purposefully broken off so that the spirits of the ancestors who inhabited the effigies during ritual events could subsequently be released at the termination of the ceremony." Figurines were probably used for a variety of purposes, but the evidence is strong that the Cahal Pech figurines were used as effigies in practices associated with ancestral veneration.

CHAPTER 5

CAHAL PECH FORMATIVE TRANSFORMATION

In this chapter I present the archaeological evidence for social and ritual development in the Formative period at Cahal Pech. The Formative figurine assemblage from Cahal Pech was part of a developing ritual complex. During the Formative period there were changes in architectural styles and construction frequency, an increase in the quality of structures, and formalization of space and ritual. Some areas considered domestic were developed for a primarily ritual purpose, and changes in religion led to an emphasis on spaces devoted to performance. The changes in Maya ideology, leadership, and religion rendered certain arenas and objects obsolete. There may have been less focus on domestic and small group ritual as social differentiation increased. As domestic space and the rituals conducted in it gave way to more public and formalized ritual, figurines likely became less significant, thus accounting for their rapid decline in the Early Classic period.

RITUAL TRANSFORMATION

There are still many questions regarding the complexity and nature of lowland Maya ritual and religion during the Formative period. Hand-modeled figurines were the most abundant ritual objects in the Formative period. They are primarily associated with domestic contexts, and they appear to signify activities that occurred at a nonpublic and household level. Such related behaviors and rituals were gradually accepted among groups of households or larger corporate entities (Blomster 2009: 120). "Ritual serves as the point of articulation between religion and the rise of complex culture, and religious

ideology was often employed to ensure the acceptance of social conventions and the operation of the social system by emerging Formative period elite” (Awe 1994: 2). There were different kinds of ritual activity that occurred throughout the Formative period in the Belize Valley, and such activity certainly played a role in fostering social and political change.

RITUAL CONTEXTS

The figurines from the Cahal Pech collection (mostly fragments) were recovered from construction fill contexts. Their primary functions have often been identified as ceremonial or ritual in nature, and the majority of the collection likely represents ceremonial trash. There is a cycle of termination and renewal that seems core to ancient Maya belief and ritual, and if figurines were primarily domestic objects, they may have been removed, terminated, and disposed of as “trash” when buildings they were kept in were terminated and renewed. Ritual residues, including figurines, have also been recovered from three kinds of contexts within ceremonial deposits at Cahal Pech: residential structures, communally built structures, and monument-related offerings.

Residential/Domestic Contexts

During the Formative period, Maya households often served as arenas for ritually charged activity and a focus for communication of ritual belief (Pendergast 1998). During the Cunil phase, Structure B-4, located in Plaza B of Cahal Pech’s site core, served as a residence or domestic structure. Several caches were found in multiple phases of Structure B-4 with the earliest dating to the first half of the Cunil phase. This

early cache contained the lower jaw of a crocodile, which may have been part of a mask. Another cache from a late Cunil structure (Structure B-4/10c-sub, before it was deliberately burned) contained over 120 objects, including some made of exotic materials (Awe 1992: 339-343). These may have served as dedication or termination offerings.

Structure B-4 contained the highest frequency of figurine fragments reported in this analysis. These included 196 fragments with enough provenience information to be ordered in a chronological sequence. The frequencies are presented in Table 5.1 and Figure 5.1. The largest frequencies are from late Middle Formative and late Middle Formative to early Late Formative contexts. In the early Middle Formative, Plaza B became a formal ceremonial plaza and B-4/5th was a rectilinear, nonresidential platform. In the Late Middle Formative, Plaza B was plastered and elevated, and Structure B-4 was reconstructed at least three times. There was a significant decrease in figurine fragment frequency in the Late Formative when the site reached one of two construction apexes and monumental architecture was constructed (the B-4/10th and 11th platform with plaster masks). The terminal architecture (B-4/12th) was constructed during the early part of the Late Classic period (Awe 1992: 142-143).

It is unclear at this point whether the higher frequency of figurine fragments from late Middle Formative and late Middle Formative through early Late Formative contexts was a result of increased figurine production or of increased construction activity. Fill was generally composed of daily rubbish, so an increase in construction activity/fill might naturally increase the number of discarded figurines. The pronounced decline in figurine frequencies in the Late Formative may also indicate that the emergence of monumental architecture, and the activities associated with those structures, was

accompanied by a decrease in activities involving hand-modeled figurines. These patterns would be better investigated through volumetric study.

Table 5. 1 Structure B-4 fragments with contextual information and form distinctions (LFX=late facet Xakal ceramic phase).

<i>Time Period</i>	<i>Heads</i>	<i>Torsos</i>	<i>Appendages</i>	<i>Zoomorphs</i>	<i>Instruments</i>	<i>Unknown</i>	<i>Total</i>
Cunil	1	1	1	0	2	0	5
EMF	10	4	10	0	1	4	29
LMF	16	8	22	0	2	8	56
LMF-ELF	18	15	23	3	8	13	80
LF	5	8	9	0	0	2	24
LFX	2	0	0	0	0	0	2
Total	52	36	65	3	13	27	196

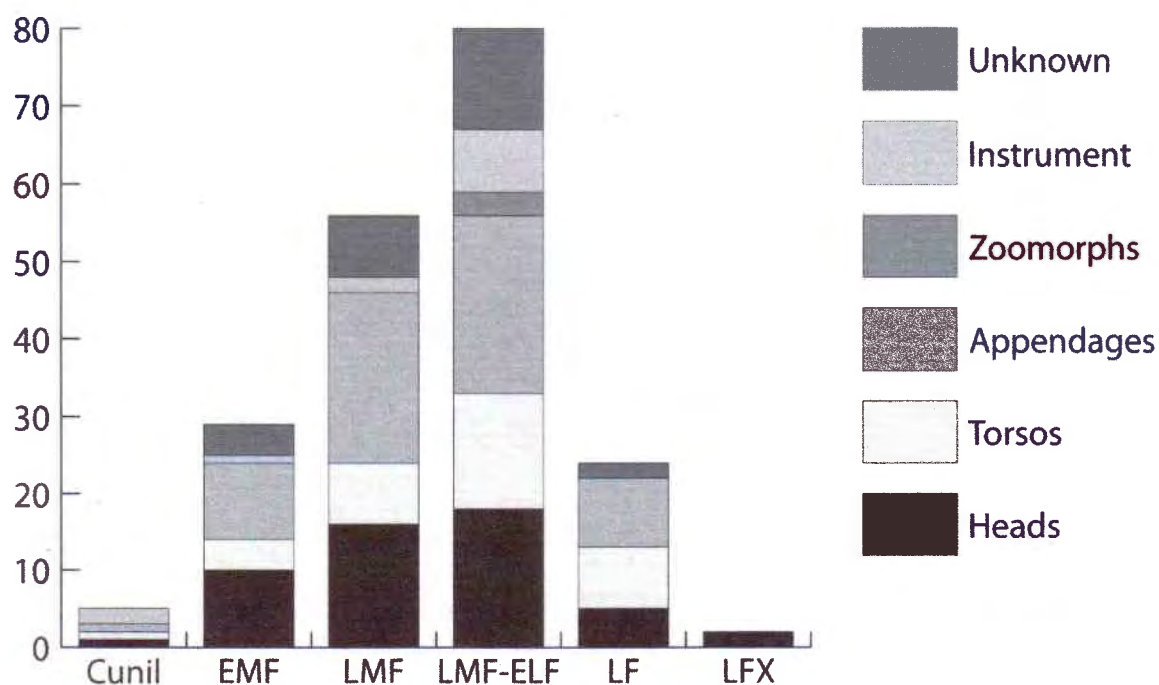


Figure 5. 1 Structure B-4 fragment frequencies with chronological context with form distinctions (n=196) (LFX=late facet Xakal ceramic phase).

Several deposits containing figurine fragments have also been documented in the Zubin settlement group. The construction phases for Structure C-9 are comparable to the sequence found in the site core at Cahal Pech. The structure was possibly domestic in function in C9-7th. This level contained ceramics from the Kanluk complex and was dated to 750 - 650 B.C. (Iannone 1995: 44). At this stage, it was comparable to B-4/5th in terms of its large size, relative complexity, and the presence of figurine fragments within the fill. Although a domestic function for the building cannot be determined with certainty, “what is clear is that with C9-7th this locus began to take on increasing ritual significance” (Iannone 1995: 53). Two figurine fragments (see Appendix B, H-62 and Figure 4.8, T-61) were “discovered in an apparent cache-like arrangement, having been placed within the C9-6th fill, directly in front of the earlier C9-7th building platform retainer wall” (Iannone 1995: 46). Iannone (1995: 52-53) discussed in his report the connection to ancestral veneration because of the presence of a burial, and ritual deposits with jade teeth and figurine fragments, in addition to the figurines found in the fill of the structure. Elsewhere in the Zubin group, in Plaza A Floor 3, a deposit dating to 350-275 B.C. was found. This Late Formative deposit contained two figurine appendages (L-77 and L-79, see Figure 4.5), a distal section of an obsidian blade, and a snapped obsidian blade (Awe 1992: 28).

More recent investigations conducted in Plaza B of the site core at Cahal Pech (Garber et al. 2006, 2007; and Garber and Awe 2008) have revealed a series of Middle Formative structures with associated features and ritual deposits that lay directly on top of the initial Early Formative occupation. One of those features was Platform B. At each corner of this platform was a ritual deposit (Figure 5.2). Together these deposits

represent a complex ritual program that reflects various aspects of ancient Maya ideology, including vertical layering, horizontal partitioning, death, resurrection, and cosmic order (Garber and Awe 2008: 186).

A limestone slab-covered crypt with a ceramic bowl containing a fragmented but complete human skull and six greenstone beads was located at the southeast corner of Platform B. Directly north was a crypt burial that contained a headless body lying directly on bedrock (Garber et al. 2007: 172). The skull in the ceramic bowl is speculated to have come from the decapitated skeleton. The northeast corner contained a layered cosmogram cache consisting of a base of three slate bars, a headless ceramic figurine, and a tightly clustered arrangement of thirteen polished greenstones. The northwest corner also contained a layered cosmogram deposit with thirteen obsidian chips beneath a ceramic figurine head, and above them three elongated, river-rolled pebbles. In the southwest corner of Platform B, the uppermost portion of the platform was destroyed due to Late Classic constructions. However, in the fill corresponding to the southwest corner a large Middle Formative ceramic figurine head was found. The investigators suggest that the deposition of the figurine head was part of the ritual program involving the deposits found in the other three corners of the platform (Garber and Awe 2008: 188).

The caches in the north corners of the platform represent two phases of the Maya creation. Three stones, a common creation symbol, centered the cosmos and allowed the sky to be lifted. Then the "First Father," the Maize God, entered the sky and made the "House of the North" with eight partitions and raised "The World Tree." The Maya thought of the north direction as a house erected at creation with the World Tree penetrating its central axis. The eight partitions of the First Father's cosmic house

correspond to the eight divisions of the cosmos. On earth they become the *kan tzuk* and *kan xuk* (“four partitions” and “four corners”) (Freidel, Schele, and Parker 1993: 59-107).

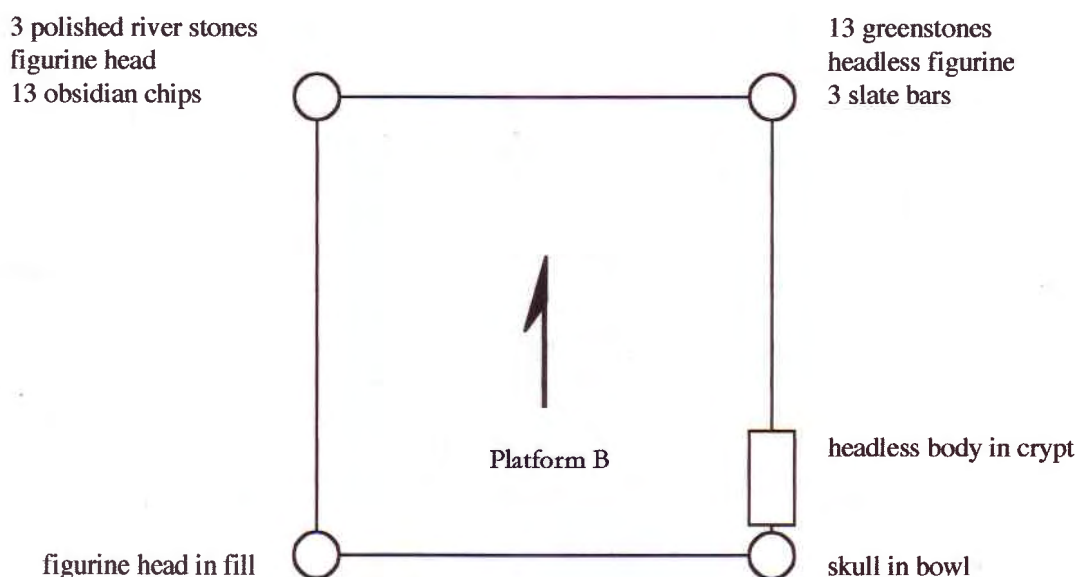


Figure 5. 2 Platform B ritual deposits (redrawn from Garber and Awe 2008: Figure 3).

The deposit in the northwest corner of Platform B represented the “Three-Stones” placed at “Lying-Down-Sky,” the place of creation prior to the raising of the World Tree that lifts the sky, separating it from the earth. The obsidian chips symbolized the thirteen layers of the Otherworld, and the figurine head underneath the three river pebbles represented the first central place (Garber and Awe 2008: 187).

The northeast corner represented the “Raised-Up-Sky-Place” and the world after the World Tree was erected. The headless figurine was placed above the three slate bars and beneath an arrangement of thirteen greenstones, the thirteen layers of the Upper World. The investigators interpreted the figurine as a representation of the resurrected headless individual within the crypt at the southeast corner (Garber and Awe 2008: 187).

In Classic period hieroglyphic texts, Maya rulers often associated themselves with creation in order to strengthen their ties of descent and their dynastic lines (McAnany 1995: 39). Garber and Awe (2008: 187-189) suggest the purpose of the ritual was to symbolically resurrect and place the individual in the sky, the place of the revered ancestors. While the identity of the individual is not established the authors suspect a mythical ancestor and the Platform B deposits may have been intended to link the headless individual with ancestors, the divine, and creation.

Communally Built Structures

Communally built structures containing ritual residues in the Belize Valley include round platforms/structures. Specifically, round structures in the Belize Valley and other sites in Belize may have served as stages for performances related to ancestral veneration.

Four round structures dating to the late Middle Formative have been excavated at Cahal Pech. Structure B-4/ 7-sub was partially uncovered in the site core, while the other three were in the periphery clusters (Zotz group Structure 2/ 2-sub, and Structures 14 and 15 from the Tolok group). The latter structures were centrally located within household clusters, and none of the four round structures had any evidence of a superstructure. The Zotz structure had evidence of copal incense residues on its summit. Postdating Structure 14's construction were four caches, four Late Formative burials, and five Late Classic burials.

The round structures in the Tolok group (Structures 14 and 15) were already noted for their ritual significance. Burial 9 was one of the interments associated with

these structures. It was dated to the Early Late Formative (Barton Creek Phase) and was an intrusive feature in Plaza Floor 2. This cist burial contained an individual 2-4 years of age lying prone and extended in a north-south orientation. The lower portion of the body was missing, and the cist was nearly twice as long as the child's upper body. The partial remains of three additional individuals, along with a clump of faunal material, were located at the base of the cranium of the child. The faunal remains included the upper mandible of a parrotfish and bones from two whitetail deer. The other grave goods included a medial fragment of a highly polished greenstone celt, located on the child's right humerus, an unmodified piece of slate near the pelvis, and a torso figurine fragment (Figure 5.3, T-68) beside the cranium of the child (Powis and Hohmann 1995: 74).



Figure 5.3 Figurine fragment T-68.

Such structures have been found at the sites of Barton Ramie, Xunantunich, and El Pilar. Other sites in Belize with similar round structures include Altun Ha, Cuello, Río Azul, Luisville, and Chan Chen. Various researchers have argued that these structures—

which lack superstructures but are associated with many burials and ritual deposits—served a ceremonial function (Aimers, Powis, and Awe 2000; Awe, Aimers, and Blanchard 1999; Hendon 2000). The number of burials from the Tolok round structures constitute convincing evidence that these structures served as ancestral shrines from their initial construction in the Late Middle Formative to their abandonment in the Late Classic. Copal residues found on fire-clouded sections of some floors indicate that incense and other materials were burned on top of the structures. The presence of stairs also indicates that the platforms were being ascended, and their stage-like qualities suggest they were ceremonial platforms. As some have argued (Aimers et al. 2000, Healy et al. 2004, and Hendon 2000), the ceremonial rituals enacted on these stages may have been community-focused. The round structures are not only physically embedded within residential compounds, but also critical to group identity (Hendon 2000). They developed as part of the domestic built environment, providing a way for members of various households to differentiate themselves (Hendon 2000: 300).

Clark (2004) explains that shifts in private and public perceptions of “being” and “belonging,” together with the construction and use of public spaces and formal centers, distinguish community as a place, from community as self-perceived membership in a bounded group with shared symbols and interests. Thus, the construction of a physical container (e.g., structure, plaza, settlement group, ceremonial center) for social interaction and the creation/reinforcement of group identity becomes an advertisement of community resources, organization, and well-being.

Monument-Related Offerings

The Tzinic group provides an example of monument-related offerings. Specifically, a cache was found in association with an uncarved stela that was suspected to have been erected in the second half of the Early Classic period (Awe 1992: 177). An excavation unit penetrated three plaza floors and yielded a figurine fragment (T-35, see Figure 5.4) directly below the butt of the monument. The figurine was seated upright, and there is an association with the individual interred in a large crypt burial located in Structure 2 (Conlon and Awe 1991: 10). The fragment is a modified torso in a seated posture. The upper portion of the existing torso tapers in thickness from front to back, apparently as a result of modification. On the front is another later modification consisting of three punctations. Conlon and Awe (1991: 11) report that eyes and a mouth “had been incised on the upper torso in order to represent a face.” These modifications were executed sometime after the figurine had been made and Awe (1992: 176) comments that the artifact, which would have been produced in the Middle or Late Formative, probably represents an heirloom predating the Early Classic stela. In my analysis I noted a very similar triadic modification on another figurine fragment (L-45, see Figure 5.8) recovered from Structure 4 of the Tolok group. This fragment was interpreted as a leg, and on the foot were three punctations added later. There are several possible ways to interpret this modification. One plausible hypothesis is that the punctations served to reactivate a figurine. If these objects were being reused as heirlooms, reactivating them may have been necessary. As was mentioned previously, three stones were a common symbol of creation among the ancient Maya. It is possible that three punctations were added to fragments of already terminated figurines to

reactivate their “souls” so they could be used in rituals of dedication, such as the deposition of a stela cache.

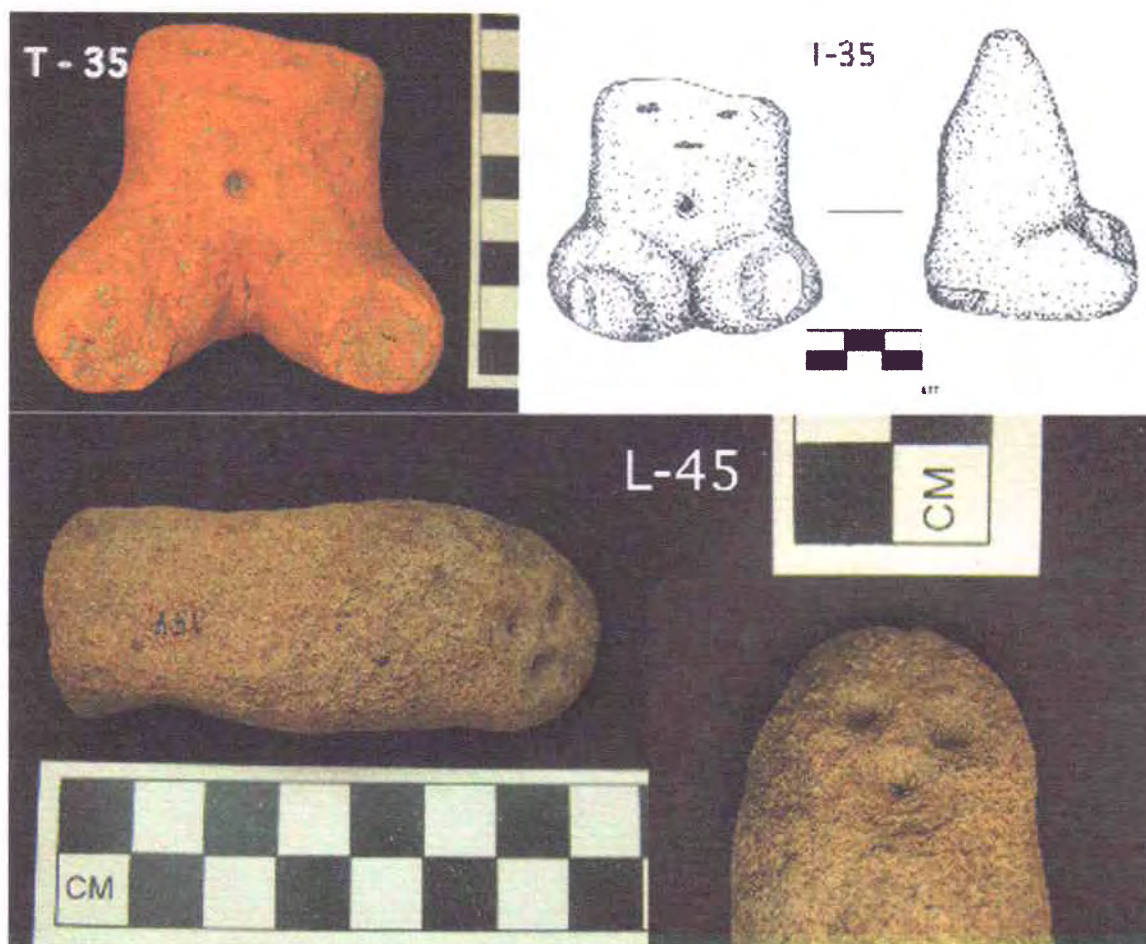


Figure 5.4 Modified figurine fragments T-35 and L-45 (illustrations by Melissa Branfman).

Contemporary examples of objects being animated in Maya ritual may demonstrate continuity from ancient times. In a discussion of contemporary Maya ritual practices involving ensoulment, Stross (1998: 31) states that “products of human manufacture, such as temples, houses, altars, and censers, also require nourishment, encouragement, protection, and respectful treatment—but first they had to be animated or

imbued with life.” He identified seven chief components or processes involved in animating rituals: purifying, cleaning and sweeping, measuring, naming, assigning guardianship, transferring or transmitting “animateness,” clothing the thing, and feeding (Stross 1998: 32-33). He argues that for Mesoamericans the process of creating and animating cultural artifacts was and is analogous to the birth process, while abandoning or destroying such artifacts was related to death.

McGee (1998) describes a Lacandon ritual in which censers known as god pots (*läkil k'uh*) are animated during the incense burner renewal ceremony. Over the course of much preparation described by McGee (1998: 45) a special chant is sung to awaken the god pots. Earlier in the 20th century the Lacandon placed rubber anthropomorphic figurines that symbolized human flesh and blood, but today they place stones from Classic ruins. “It appears that the Lacandon’s placement of items in a god pot as part of its animation ritual is the contemporary equivalent of the ancient Maya’s placement of offerings in the foundations of structures as a part of the ritual surrounding dedication and animation of buildings” (McGee 1998: 43). McGee argues that just as dedication ceremonies “ensouled” ancient Maya ritual places, so too god pots are ceremonially “awakened.”

Other Ritual Areas

The Zopilote group at Cahal Pech is a terminus group with no evidence for residential architecture (Awe 1992; Cheetham 2004). The group includes ceremonial architecture spanning from the Middle Formative through the Classic period (900 B.C.-A.D. 900). Although this group served as an important ceremonial locus for centuries

before the construction of the causeway linking it to the Cahal Pech site core in the Late Formative, only eight figurine fragments have been recovered from the group and none of them are documented as coming from special contexts or associations. The fact that a non-domestic architectural group contains an extremely low frequency of figurines lends support to the hypothesis that these artifacts were domestic ritual objects.

As was noted previously, there are three main contexts in which ritual residues are generally found: residential structures, communally built structures, and monument-related offerings. Ritual residues including deposits containing figurines have been found in all three of these contexts at Cahal Pech. Like residential structures, the communally built round structures embedded within household groups were probably domestic in nature. The majority of figurines were found in these contexts, and only one example is known to be associated with a non-domestic context (stela cache in the Tzinic group). In the case of the Platform B deposits in the site core, the area that contained ritual deposits was being transformed from a domestic to a more ceremonial purpose. It is also interesting to note that the Zopilote group, which dates back to the Middle Formative period, contained no evidence of residential architecture and yielded only a handful of figurine fragments, all of which came from mixed deposits or proveniences. These patterns lend additional support to the hypothesis that Formative figurines were used primarily in domestic activities.

TERMINATION AND RENEWAL

In Chapter 4 I discussed termination as a possible explanation for the fragmentary nature of the Cahal Pech figurines. In this section I revisit the cyclical nature of Maya

ritual and the themes of termination and renewal. Dedicatory and termination ritual remains have been found within ancient Maya architecture. The Maya analogy of bodies and houses equates death with termination and rebirth with dedication in a cyclical pattern. Infants receive a soul just as a new building or object is ensouled to inaugurate its passage into a new life. As a human body is broken down as an act of death, so the owner's ensouled material possessions are mutilated or ritually killed, ensuring closure and a final journey to the land of the dead (Vogt 1998: 27-29).

Walker (1995) describes dedicatory offerings as consisting of whole and still functioning objects that are taken out of ordinary context and placed in archaeological deposits as part of a ritual. Termination deposits result from the intentional destruction or termination of powerful ritual objects and their disposal in specialized contexts. The discarding of ritual objects that have reached the end of their useful lives forms ceremonial trash. Ritual objects frequently enter the archaeological record as ceremonial trash, but are often misidentified as votive offerings. The figurines encountered in the construction fill at Cahal Pech are likely part of ceremonial trash. The burying, caching, and disposal of trash can all serve to establish pathways of sacred space within structures. The materials create an association between the supernatural world and the location of the offering, which is thereby rendered sacred by the deposit (Kunen, Galindo, and Chase 2002: 209).

Dedicatory Offerings/Caching

The Mesoamerican tradition of caching provides material residues of ritual actions that consecrate particular spaces, imbuing them with cosmological meaning

(Kunen, Galindo, Chase 2002: 197). One of the earliest offerings in the Belize area, dating to 1500 B.C., was recovered at the site of Lamanai. It was interpreted as an offering of young corn that may have been tossed from a boat, raft, or platform (Pendergast 1998: 56). At the site of K'axob, also in Belize, a Late Formative cache contained four vessels in a quadripartite arrangement below an ancestral shrine (Mathews and Garber 2004:52). I have also provided several examples in which figurines were included in caches at Cahal Pech (Zubin Structure C-9, Zubin Plaza A, Platform B within the site core, and the Tzinic stela cache).

Termination Deposits

Deposits associated with termination involve the intentional destruction or termination of powerful ritual objects and their disposal in specialized contexts. Termination offerings desanctify spaces by destroying the materials that link the sacred spaces to the cosmos. Termination rites evident at the site of Cerros in Belize included smashing ceramic vessels, burning ceremonial fires, and depositing molded and painted plaster in holes on building staircases (Kunen, Galindo, and Chase 2002: 198). Just as caching whole objects focused sacred power, the reciprocal act was to smash and burn objects to release sacred power prior to scattering or sprinkling the fragments. This reemphasizes the role of terminating figurines. If figurines were animated for use in invocation ceremonies, their termination would have released their "souls."

DISCUSSION

The Formative period was characterized by many interrelated social and ceremonial changes. The architectural renovations frequently undertaken in this period also have ceremonial significance to the ancient Maya. Periodic house renewal and the maintenance of a residence in the exact same location must have been significant (Grove and Gillespie 2002). McAnany (1998: 113) discusses the relationship between architectural renovation, death, and ancestors. Architecture expresses the concept of descent through the continuous use and modification of a structure. McAnany (1995: 115) also states that “the progressive sacrilization of place, i.e., the trajectory from domestic space to a ritual locale, is an architectural expression of a genealogy of place that has been documented elsewhere” (K’axob, Belize and Copan, Group 10L-29).

Previously it was mentioned that the discarding of ritual objects that have reached the end of their useful lives generates ceremonial trash. At the conclusion of the Cunil period Structure B-4 was no longer a residence. In the Middle Formative there were numerous renovations and additions to the structure, and the fill used in these events contained relatively high frequencies of figurine fragments. These figurines may have been removed and terminated with other domestic objects, during the periodic renovations of the structure.

Archaeological evidence of ancient Maya termination ritual includes smashed artifacts, defaced monuments and architecture, and ceramic vessels with “kill holes.” This evidence also includes many of figurine fragments. The majority of figurines recovered from sites of the Early and Middle Formative period in Mesoamerica were purposefully broken, usually by snapping their heads off in an act of decapitation (Grove

and Gillespie 2002). In Chapter 4 the fragmentary nature of the Formative figurines was addressed. Most of the appendages and heads do not occur with the torsos and clean breaks at the neckline are noticeable on the fragments. The fragments T-5 (Figure 4.13) and T-61 (Figure 4.8) from Cahal Pech were mentioned as evidence of purposeful decapitation, and H-24 (Figure 4.14) shows signs of defacement as a means of terminating the identity of the figurine. Terminating anthropomorphic clay representations was replicated when human images were later crafted in stone sculpture and monument defacement occurred. For example, the carved stela from Cahal Pech interred in a Late Classic tomb in the Zopilote group (see Chapter 3) was broken into two portions and defaced. On several Classic Maya monuments, the eyes and faces of the lords depicted were defaced in order to destroy the lords' identities (Houston, Stuart, and Taube 2006).

The ritual interpretation of the Cahal Pech figurines is strongly supported by their treatment and disposal. Large forms (monuments, architecture, and other materials larger than the human form) orchestrate movement, and the diminutive quality of figurines has a reverse effect in that they can be manipulated by people (Faust and Halperin 2009: 3). The figurines from Cahal Pech may have served a ritual purpose on a smaller scale. It seems that the Formative period social and ceremonial changes at Cahal Pech included an increasing focus on corporate group identities and an emphasis on descent. The round platforms at Cahal Pech were communally built structures that functioned as stages for performances related to ancestral veneration. New socioeconomic relationships may have developed between corporate groups, and these relationships may have been maintained through intra/intergroup rituals. There was a shift in ritual focus from private

reverence to more formalized community focused ceremony. Interaction through ritual involved reciprocal or redistributive (e.g., feasting) exchanges between or among groups, which could have served to sustain social bonds.

SUMMARY

The Formative period was characterized by social and ceremonial changes, and the Formative figurine assemblage at Cahal Pech was part of a developing ritual complex. The fragments, mostly recovered from fill contexts, were likely discarded previously as ceremonial trash. Structure B-4 yielded the greatest number of fragments that could be ordered in a chronological sequence. The majority of fragments were recovered from Late Middle Formative and Late Middle Formative to early Late Formative contexts. It appears that the construction of monumental architecture in the Late Formative was associated with a decrease in the frequency of fragments. Figurine fragments were also found in caches (Zubin Structure C-9, Zubin Plaza A, Platform B within the site core, and the Tzinic stela cache), and one was included in a child burial (Tolok, Burial 9).

The Formative figurines from Cahal Pech increased in frequency during the Formative period (with an apex in the late Middle Formative-early Late Formative) and declined through the course of the Late Formative. Only one figurine from this analysis was found in a Classic period context (a Formative figurine deposited in an Early Classic stela cache). It seems that by the Classic period their production had ceased all together. Changes in Maya ideology, leadership, and religion rendered certain arenas and objects obsolete. There may have been less focus on domestic and small-group ritual as larger corporate groups and elite status developed. As domestic spaces and the rituals

performed in them gave way to more community focused and formalized ceremonies and ceremonial spaces, figurines likely became less important, thus accounting for their disappearance in the Classic period.

CHAPTER 6

CONCLUSIONS

INTRODUCTION

The objectives of this study were (1) to collect basic descriptive data on the Formative figurine fragments from Cahal Pech, (2) to examine the extent to which the figurines were representative of gender and other indicators of status; (3) to provide some comparison to other regions in Mesoamerica; and (4) to investigate how the figurines relate to the growing social complexity of the Formative period by observing the archaeological evidence of social and ritual changes at Cahal Pech. The primary intention of this analysis is to contribute to a better understanding of the Formative Maya in the Belize Valley through this unique and sizeable figurine collection. The following sections discuss the overall findings of the analysis and provide interpretations.

GENERAL OBSERVATIONS

There were 389 figurine fragments included in this analysis, with 381 fragments from the site of Cahal Pech and 8 from the site of Pacbitun. The Pacbitun fragments were included because they were stored with the Cahal Pech fragments from a previous archaeological project and reflect regional characteristics of figurines. All of the fragments were hand-modeled and the pastes were consistent with ceramic wares from the Cunil, Middle Formative, and Late Formative periods. All but two figurines were in a fragmented state. As a result 56 fragments (14.4%) in the collection could not be classified. There was a small portion of zoomorphic (Z: 1-10) and musical instrument (I:

1-30) fragments in the collection, but the 295 fragments identified as anthropomorphic were the focus of this analysis.

There appeared to have been four recognizable types of appendages with the most frequent type being a generic rounded and slightly curved appendage. The postures included extended ($n = 12$) and seated ($n = 42$), and multiple seated postures were present. However, posture or pose could not be determined in many cases due to the fragmentary state of the figurines.

Torsos (T: 1-74) took various forms and none of the fragments had evidence of garment depiction. All of the figurines were interpreted as nude and there were few occurrences of sexual anatomical traits such as breasts or genitalia. Pregnancy was also a rare depiction with only two strong possibilities and maybe three or four questionable representations. Bulging bellies were not a common characteristic, but there are some examples of slightly rounded or sloping bellies that were not judged significant enough to represent pregnancy.

The assemblage included 108 head fragments, of which only 90 (including C-1) were anthropomorphic. The anthropomorphic heads were often flattened, but some were rounded and spherical. The primary eye treatment was dual-ovate impressions with a single central punctation (Table 4.10). There were few examples of tripunctation eye treatment and miscellaneous eye treatments. The mouths were commonly open and there was a recognizable pattern of depicting the front two teeth (Table 4.11). The ears were often depicted with earplugs, but some were without ornamentation (Table 4.13). The earplugs would be shown as punctations in the clay or they were appliquéd rings (Table 4.14). Some ears did have incisions that varied in number and orientation (Table 4.15).

The majority of the collection came from the site core in Group B (Table 4.16) and the highest frequency of figurines came from Structure B-4 (Figure 4.13). A fair number also came from the periphery settlement groups (Table 4.16). There are several possible implications of the distribution of fragments at the site, however it is difficult to interpret these patterns due to the secondary/tertiary nature of the contexts in which figurines were found. It is unclear whether the uneven distribution of fragments across the site is due to the concentration of research focus in particular areas of the site, or to issues of preservation including the impact of surrounding modern developments on peripheral settlement groups. Volumetric studies or further examination of provenience information could reveal additional details regarding production and/or patterns of disposal.

A small number of fragments were found in Cunil contexts and the largest frequency of fragments (with provenience information) came from the Middle and Late Formative contexts (Figure 4.14 and Table 4.17). There was only one fragment (Figure 5.4: T-35) that was found in contexts later than the Formative period, but it was produced in the Formative and was probably used as an heirloom object. The production of hand-modeled figurines at Cahal Pech ceased with the end of the Formative period.

GENDER REPRESENTATION

This analysis of the Cahal Pech figurine fragments focused primarily on the anthropomorphic fragments that constitute the majority of the collection. The second objective of this study was to investigate gender representation and to identify other possible indicators of status. In the Cahal Pech sample there was limited useful

information conveyed on the torsos and in the positioning of the appendages. Clothing was not included on the figurines, and with the exception of a few appendages, ornamentation was only present on the head fragments. There was also a lack of anatomical sexual characteristics presented on the figurines, which made gender representation even more difficult to ascertain.

As Follensbee (2009: 79) discusses, in Olmec art the categories of sex and gender have often been based on *argumentum ad ignorantiam*, asserting a conclusion based on the absence of features rather than on the presence of features.

The absence of large rounded breasts and overt female genitalia was assumed to indicate male gender, but the absence of facial hair and any indication of male genitalia was not assumed to imply female gender.

While clothing is not presented in the clay, nudity and particularly visual representations of genitalia are uncommon in Maya art (Houston, Stuart, and Taube 2006: 38-44). My initial criteria for identifying gender on the figurines from Cahal Pech were focused on the torso fragments and on the presence of breasts, pregnant abdomens, and genitalia distinctions. The results of my initial gender classification (Table 4.6) were insufficient, so I considered additional characteristics to help define possible gender distinctions on the torso fragments. Adding qualities like waist, belly, and hip forms increased the number of specimens that could be categorized in terms of gender (Tables 4.7, 4.8, and 4.9). However this approach was still very subjective and insufficient. The bodies of most of the figurines are quite abstract and generic. In the case of the Cahal Pech figurine assemblage, relying solely on anatomical features to identify gender representation is not effective. In figurine studies researchers need to be cautious about basing gender distinctions on androgynous features such as broad shoulders, rounded

bellies, and other ambiguous qualities that can be found on both male and female representations.

It became apparent during the course of this analysis that the bulk of the informational load was carried by certain parts of the figurines, particularly the heads. The head fragments exhibited the most stylistic variability, while the other body parts were much less variable. Likewise, Harlan (1987) recognized the concentration of stylistic information on figurines from Chalcatzingo, and typologies are often based on the stylistic qualities of the heads of figurines (e.g. Vaillant 1930).

Houston, Stuart, and Taube (2006) examine identity among the Classic Maya. The “self” or “entity” was called *baah*, possibly derived from the word “forehead” or “head” (Houston, Stuart, and Taube 2006: 12). The word *baah* refers to the head or face, in addition to the more generalized body, of an individual. In Maya imagery, name glyphs frequently appear in the headdresses of the lords. This has been observed to be a pan-Mesoamerican phenomenon going back to the Olmec period (Houston, Stuart, and Taube 2006: 68). Through such devices, the Maya and other Mesoamerican peoples displayed in tangible, concrete form an aspect of individuation, an advertisement personhood, of how this or that image correspond to one being and that being alone. Evidence suggests that the Maya understood representation in terms of an extendible essence that was shared by images and the beings that were portrayed (Houston, Stuart, and Taube 2006: 74).

Several elements on the head fragments from Cahal Pech were similar to those on figurines in other regions of Mesoamerica, including Central Mexico, the Olmec area, and Oaxaca. This may suggest that these status symbols occurred throughout

Mesoamerica during the Formative period, but may have carried different meanings in different regions. Much remains to be understood concerning the qualities of status that were recognized and represented on figurines during the Formative period. The meaning of apparel would be a particularly important focus of future research.

REGIONAL COMPARISON

The figurine fragments from Cahal Pech were primarily found in construction fill contexts. Other contexts included middens, a burial, a stela cache, and other caches (Chapter 5). At Kaminaljuyu figurines were not found in mortuary or ritual contexts (Kidder 1965). At the site of La Pintada, Jalisco, figurines were not found in mortuary contexts, but the high concentration recovered from excavated deposits suggested they were probably used in daily life (Mountjoy 1991). At Chalcatzingo, the Early Formative figurines were found in mortuary contexts, although this pattern changed in the Middle Formative (Cyphers Guillén 1988). The figurines were used in daily activities and thrown away with the other “trash” concentrated in and around residential structures. In Oaxaca, figurines have been documented in a variety of contexts (Marcus 1998). The three primary contexts included residences, burials, and deliberately arranged scenes located in households. The most common secondary context was household midden debris, and tertiary contexts included the surface of sites, excavation profiles, and mound fill.

The fragmentary nature of the Cahal Pech figurines was consistent with findings in other regions of Mesoamerica, and this has often been attributed to ritual termination of figurines. Many of the fragments were found in fill contexts, where fragmentation

would be expected, but there was also evidence of purposeful destruction found on some of the Cahal Pech fragments. This included clean breaks at the neck, punctations around the neck to aid in decapitation, and defacement. As I noted earlier, in Classic Maya art information regarding the “self” or “entity” was frequently associated with the heads of individuals. This pattern may also apply to the figurine heads, which may convey information about what or who the figurines portray. Defacement, destruction, or decapitation of figurines would then terminate the *k’ul*, or the life force. As Freidel, Schele, and Parker (1993: 177) note, “The contrast between the material object, and the spirit manifested through it, was and is real to the Maya, but so is the union of the two.”

The display of gender on figurines varies between sites and regions in Mesoamerica. As was emphasized previously, gender was not explicitly represented in the Cahal Pech sample. However, other sites in Mesoamerica have yielded figurines that depicted clear male and female anatomical features and gendered apparel, such as loincloths. The figurines from the site of Kaminaljuyu exhibited pregnant abdomens, breasts, and vulvas. The figurines from Chalcatzingo have also been described as representing stages of pregnancy or female transition rites associated with puberty, marriage, and pregnancy. In the Cahal Pech collection, the portrayal of pregnancy is rare and depictions of life stages seem to be lacking.

Particular elements evident on the Cahal Pech head fragments are similar to head elements found in other regions of Mesoamerica. There seems to be consistency in the depiction of certain hair treatments the Formative figurines, including a singular and centered bun/ knot, multiple knots, off centered single knots, headbands, smooth heads as caps, helmets, or tonsured heads, and broadband style hats. These are seen on figurines

from Oaxaca, Chalcatzingo and other Central Mexican sites, and in the Olmec area. Although it is unclear what the head/hairstyles may mean, further investigation into apparel and hairstyles promises to enhance our understanding of Formative figurines in Mesoamerica.

SIGNIFICANCE IN FORMATIVE CAHAL PECH

The Formative period was characterized by social and ceremonial changes, and the Formative figurine assemblage was part of the developing ritual complex at Cahal Pech. The fragments were mostly recovered in fill contexts and likely represent ceremonial trash. Structure B-4 contained the most fragments, and these could be associated with its construction history to form a chronological sequence (Table 5.1 and Figure 5.1). The majority of fragments were recovered from late Middle Formative and late Middle Formative to early Late Formative levels. It appears that with the construction of monumental architecture, figurine fragments decreased in frequency. Fragments were also found in caches (Zubin Structure C-9, Zubin Plaza A, Platform B within the site core, and the Tzinic stela cache), and one was included in a child burial (Tolok, Burial 9).

The ritual function of the Cahal Pech figurines is strongly indicated by their treatment and disposal. The act of termination was significant and is likely the reason that so many figurines are found in a fragmentary state. They likely served a ritual purpose that was more private or small-scale. Their presence in construction fill suggests they were discarded with rubbish as ceremonial trash. It appears that the social and ceremonial changes developed at Cahal Pech included an increasing focus on corporate

group identities with an emphasis on descent. The round platforms at Cahal Pech were communally built structures that functioned as stages for performances related to ancestral veneration. New socioeconomic relationships may have developed between corporate groups, and these relationships may have been maintained through ritual involving the members of the respective groups. There likely was a shift in ritual focus from private veneration to more formalized community-focused ceremony. Interaction through ritual involved exchanges between or among groups that could have been reciprocal or redistributive (e.g., feasting) in nature and that served to sustain social bonds.

Figurines increased in frequency at Cahal Pech during the Middle and early Late Formative periods, but they are absent from Classic contexts with the one exception of a Formative figurine found in an Early Classic stela cache. Apparently the production of figurines had ceased all together by the Classic period. Changes in Maya ideology, leadership, and religion were cause for certain arenas and objects to become obsolete. There may have been less focus on domestic and small group ritual and a new emphasis on more public and formalized ceremonies and ceremonial spaces. Given these changes, figurines likely became less of a ritual focus, thus accounting for their disappearance in the Classic period.

REFERENCES

- Aimers, James J., Terry G. Powis, and Jaime J. Awe
 2000 Preclassic Round Structures of the Upper Belize River Valley. *Latin American Antiquity* 11(1):71-86.
- Awe, Jaime J.
 1992 *Dawn in the Land Between the Rivers: Formative Occupation at Cahal Pech, Belize and its Implications for Preclassic Development in the Maya Lowlands*. Ph.D. dissertation, Institute of Archaeology, University of London.
 1994 Ritual, Religion, and Cultural Complexity in the Middle Formative Belize River Valley. Paper presented at the 12th Maya Weekend "Coming into Sharper Focus: Maya Archaeology in Belize." University Museum, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia.
- Awe, Jaime J., James J. Aimers, and C. Blanchard
 1992 A Preclassic Round Structure at Cahal Pech, Belize. *Progress Report for the Fourth Season (1991) of Investigations at Cahal Pech, Belize*, edited by Jaime J. Awe and Mark D. Campbell, pp. 119-140. Ms., Trent University, Peterborough, Ontario.
- Awe, Jaime J., Cassandra Bill, and Mark D. Campbell
 1990 *The Cahal Pech, Belize Project: A Progress Report of the Second (1989) Season of Investigations*. Ms., Institute of Archaeology, University College London, London.
- Awe, Jaime J., and Mark D. Campbell
 1991 *Report of the Third Season (1990) of Investigations at Cahal Pech, Belize*. Ms., Trent University, Peterborough.
- Awe, Jaime J., Mark D. Campbell, and J. M. Conlon
 1991 Preliminary Analysis of the Spatial Configuration of the Site Core at Cahal Pech, Belize and Its Implications for Lowland Maya. *Mexicon* 13(2):25-30.
- Awe, Jaime J., and David Cheetham
 1993 The Emergence of Cultural Complexity During the Middle Formative Period in the Belize Valley. Paper presented at 26th Chacmool Conference, Calgary, Alberta.
- Awe, Jaime J., and Paul F. Healy
 1994 Flakes to Blades?: Middle Formative Development of Obsidian Artifacts in the Upper Belize River Valley. *Latin American Antiquity* 54(3):1-15.

Awe, Jaime J., and Myka Schwanke

- 2006 Preliminary Investigation of Structure C2, Cahal Pech, Belize. *The Belize Valley Archaeological Reconnaissance Project: A Report of the 2005 Field Season*, edited by Christophe G. B. Helmke and Jaime J. Awe, pp. 135-142. Institute of Archaeology, National Institute of Culture and History, Belmopan.

Awe, Jaime J., Julian Vinuales, Mercedes Velasco, and Robert Novela

- 1992 Investigations at the Cas Pek Group in the Western Periphery of Cahal Pech. *Progress Report of the Fourth Season (1991) of Investigations at Cahal Pech, Belize*, edited by Jaime J. Awe and Mark D. Campbell. Department of Anthropology Trent University, Peterborough, Ontario.

Ball, Joseph W., and Jennifer T. Taschek

- 1991 Late Classic Lowland Maya Political Organization and Central-Place Analysis: New Insights from the Upper Belize Valley. *Ancient Mesoamerica* 2:149-165.

- 2004 Buenavista del Cayo: A Short Outline of Occupational and Cultural History at an Upper Belize Valley Regal-Ritual Center. In *The Ancient Maya of the Belize Valley: Half a Century of Archaeological Research*, edited by James F. Garber, pp. 149-167. University Press of Florida, Gainesville.

Benton, Amy E.

- 2010 An Introduction to Prehispanic Music in the Belize Valley: Musical Instruments in the Archaeological Record. Paper presented at the 2009 Belize Archaeological Symposium, Belize City, Belize.

Blomster, Jeffrey P.

- 2009 Identity, Gender, and Power: Representational Juxtapositions in Early Formative Figurines from Oaxaca, Mexico. In *Mesoamerican Figurines: Small-Scale Indices of Large-Scale Social Phenomena*, edited by Christina T. Halperin, Katherine A. Faust, Rhonda Taube, and Aurore Giguet, pp. 119-148. University Press of Florida, Gainesville.

Chase, Arlen F., and James F. Garber

- 2004 The Archaeology of the Belize Valley in Historical Perspective. In *The Ancient Maya of the Belize Valley: Half a Century of Archaeological Research*, edited by James F. Garber, pp. 1-14. University Press of Florida, Gainesville.

Cheetham, David T.

- 1993 A Preliminary Catalogue of Preclassic Figurines: Cahal Pech Belize. Belize Valley Archaeological Reconnaissance Project.

- 1995 Excavations of Structure B-4, Cahal Pech, Belize: 1994 Operations. *Belize Valley Preclassic Maya Project: Report on the 1994 Field Season*, edited by P.F. Healy and J. J. Awe, pp. 18-44. Occasional Papers in Anthropology 10. Trent University, Peterborough, Ontario.
- 1996 Reconstruction of the Formative Period Site Core of Cahal Pech, Belize. *Belize Valley Preclassic Maya Project: Report on the 1994 Field Season*, edited by P.F. Healy and J.J. Awe, pp. 1-33. Occasional Papers in Anthropology 12. Trent University, Peterborough, Ontario.
- 1998 *Interregional Interaction, Symbol Emulation, and the Emergence of Socio-Political Inequality in the Central Maya Lowlands*. Master's thesis, Department of Anthropology and Sociology, The University of British Columbia, Vancouver.
- 2004 The Role of "Terminus Groups" in Lowland Maya Site Planning: An Example from Cahal Pech. In *The Ancient Maya of the Belize Valley: Half a Century of Archaeological Research*, edited by James F. Garber, pp. 125-148. University Press of Florida, Gainesville.
- Cheetham, David T., Julián Vinuales, Johanna T. Carlsson, Tara Wallis, and Piers Wilson
 1993 Life in Suburbia: Preliminary Investigations of the Zopilote Group, Cahal Pech, Belize. *Belize Valley Archaeological Reconnaissance Project: Progress Report of the 1992 Field Season*, edited by Jaime J. Awe, pp. 152-172. Department of Anthropology, Trent University, Peterborough.
- Clark, John E.
 2004 Mesoamerica Goes Public: Early Ceremonial Centers, Leaders, and Communities. In *Mesoamerican Archaeology*, edited by Julia A. Hendon and Rosemary A. Joyce, pp. 43-72. Blackwell Publishing, Massachusetts.
- Coe, Michael D.
 2005 *The Maya*. 7th ed. Thames and Hudson, New York.
- Coe, Michael D., and Richard A. Diehl
 1980 *In the Land of the Olmec: The Archaeology of San Lorenzo Tenochtitlán*, Vol. 1. University of Texas Press, Austin.
- Conlon, Jim
 1992 Beyond the Castle Walls: A Report of the 1991 Excavations at the Tzinic Group, Cahal Pech, Belize. *Progress Report of the Fourth Season (1991) of Investigations at Cahal Pech, Belize*, edited by Jaime J. Awe & Mark D. Campbell, pp. 69-90. Department of Anthropology, Trent University, Peterborough.

Conlon, J.M., and J.J. Awe

- 1991 The Tzinic Group at Cahal Pech, Belize: Preliminary Comments of the 1990 Season of Investigations. *Report of the Third Season (1990) of Investigations at Cahal Pech, Belize*, edited by Jaime J. Awe and Mark D. Campbell, pp. 4-15. Trent University, Peterborough, Ontario.

Cyphers Guillén, Ann

- 1988 Thematic and Contextual Analyses of Chalcatzingo Figurines. *Mexicon* 10(5):98-102.

Derilo Tway, Maria B.

- 2004 *Gender, Context, and Figurine Use: Ceramic Images from the Formative Period San Andrés Site, Tabasco, Mexico*. Master's thesis, Florida State University.

Drucker, Philip

- 1943 *Ceramic Sequences at Tres Zapotes, Veracruz Mexico*. Bulletin 140, Smithsonian Institution, Bureau of American Ethnology. United States Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C.
- 1952 *La Venta, Tabasco, A Study of Olmec Ceramics and Art*. Bulletin 153, Smithsonian Institution, Bureau of American Ethnology. United States Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C.

Faust, Katherine A., Christina T. Halperin

- 2009 Approaching Mesoamerican Figurines. In *Mesoamerican Figurines: Small-Scale Indices of Large-Scale Social Phenomena*, edited by Christina T. Halperin, Katherine A. Faust, Rhonda Taube, and Aurore Giguet, pp. 1-22. University Press of Florida, Gainesville.

Follensbee, Billie J.A.

- 2000 *Sex and Gender in Olmec Art and Archaeology*. Ph.D. dissertation, University of Maryland, College Park.
- 2009 Formative Period Gulf Coast Ceramic Figurines: The Key to Identifying Sex, Gender, and Age Groups in Gulf Coast Olmec Imagery. In *Mesoamerican Figurines: Small-Scale Indices of Large-Scale Social Phenomena*, edited by Christina T. Halperin, Katherine A. Faust, Rhonda Taube, and Aurore Giguet, pp. 77-118. University Press of Florida, Gainesville.

Freidel, David, Linda Schele, Joy Parker

- 1993 *Maya Cosmos: Three Thousand Years on the Shaman's Path*. W. Morrow, Harper Collins Publishers, New York.

- Garber, James F. and Jaime J. Awe
 2008 Middle Formative Architecture and Ritual at Cahal Pech. *Research Papers in Belizean Archaeology* 5: 185-190.
- Garber, James F., M. Kathryn Brown, Jaime J. Awe, and Christopher Hartman
 2004 Middle Formative Prehistory of the Central Belize Valley: An Examination of Architecture, Material Culture, and Sociopolitical Change at Blackman Eddy. In *The Ancient Maya of the Belize Valley: Half a Century of Archaeological Research*, edited by James F. Garber, pp. 25-47. University Press of Florida, Gainesville.
- Garber, James F., Jennifer L. Cochran, and Jaime J. Awe
 2006 Excavations in Plaza B at Cahal Pech: The 2004 Field Season. *Research Reports in Belizean Archaeology*, Vol. 3, edited by John Morris, Sherilyne Jones, Jaime Awe, and Christophe Helmke, pp. 31-40. National Institute of Culture and History, Belize.
- 2007 The Middle Formative Ideological Foundations of Kingship: The Case From Cahal Pech, Belize. *Research Reports in Belizean Archaeology*, Vol. 4, edited by John Morris, Sherilyne Jones, Jaime Awe, and Christophe Helmke. National Institute of Culture and History, Belize.
- Gifford, James C.
 1976 *Prehistoric Pottery Analysis and the Ceramics of Barton Ramie in the Belize Valley*. Vol. 18, Memoirs of the Peabody Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology, Harvard University, Cambridge.
- Gillespie, Susan D.
 1987 Distributional Analysis of Chalcatzingo Figurines. In *Ancient Chalcatzingo*, edited by David C. Grove, pp. 264-270. University of Texas Press, Austin.
- Goldsmith, Sean
 1993 *Household Archaeology in the Belize Valley: An Analysis of Current Issues*. Master's thesis, The University of Calgary.
- Grove, David C.
 1981 Olmec Monuments: Mutilation as a Clue to Meaning. In *The Olmec and Their Neighbors*, edited by E.P. Benson, pp. 49-69. Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collections, Washington D.C.
- 1984 *Chalcatzingo: Excavations on the Olmec Frontier*. Thames and Hudson Ltd., London.

Grove, David C., and Susan D. Gillespie

- 1991 Chalcatzingo's Portrait Figurines and the Cult of the Ruler. In *The New World Figurine Project*, Vol. 1, edited by Terry Stocker, pp. 55-62. Research Press Provo, Utah.

- 2002 Middle Formative Domestic Ritual at Chalcatzingo, Morelos. In *Domestic Ritual in Ancient Mesoamerica*, edited by P. Plunket, pp. 11-19. Monograph 46, UCLA Cotsen Institute of Archaeology, Los Angeles.

Hammond, Norman

- 1991 *Cuello: An Early Maya Community in Belize*. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.

Harlan, Mark

- 1987 Chalcatzingo's Formative Figurines. In *Ancient Chalcatzingo*, edited by David C. Grove, pp. 252-263. University of Texas Press, Austin.

- 2008 Identity and Diversity in the Anthropomorphic Figurines from Chalcatzingo, Morelos, Mexico. Paper presented at the 73rd Annual Meeting of the Society for American Archaeology, Vancouver, B.C.

Healy, Paul F., David Cheetham, Terry G. Powis, and Jaime J. Awe

- 2004 Cahal Pech: The Middle Formative Period. In *The Ancient Maya of the Belize Valley: Half a Century of Archaeological Research*, edited by James F. Garber, pp. 103-124. University Press of Florida, Gainesville.

Hendon, Julia A.

- 2000 Round Structures, Household Identity, and Public performance in Preclassic Maya Society. *Latin American Antiquity* 11(3):299-301.

Houston, Stephen, David Stuart, and Karl Taube

- 2006 *The Memory of Bones: Body, Being, and Experience Among the Classic Maya*. University of Texas Press, Austin.

Iannone, Gyles

- 1993 Time among the Thorns: Results of the 1992 Field Season at Zubin, Cayo District, Belize. *BVAR Progress Report of the 1992 Field Season*, edited by Jaime J. Awe, pp. 10-44. Trent University, Peterborough Ontario.

- 1995 One Last Time Among the Thorns: Results of the 1994 Field Season at Zubin, Cayo District, Belize. In *BVAR Project Progress Report of the 1994 Field Season*, Vol. 1, edited by Gyles Iannone and James M. Conlon, pp. 11-122. Institute of Archaeology, University of London.

Joyce, Rosemary

- 2000 *Girling the Girl and Boying the Boy: The Production of Adulthood in Ancient Mesoamerica*. *World Archaeology* 31(3):473-483.

- 2002 *Beauty, Sexuality, Body Ornamentation, and Gender in Ancient Meso-America*. In *Pursuit of Gender*, edited by S. Nelson and M. Rosen Ayalon, pp. 81-91. Altamira Press, Lanham.

Kidder, Alfred V.

- 1965 *Preclassic Pottery Figurines of the Guatemalan Highlands*. In *Handbook of Middle American Indians*, Vol. 2. Edited by Robert Wauchope, pp. 146-155. University of Texas Press, Austin.

Kunen, Julie L., Mary Jo Galindo, and Erin Chase

- 2002 *Pits and Bones: Identifying Maya Ritual in the Archaeological Record*. *Ancient Mesoamerica* 13:197-211.

Lee, David

- 1996 *Nohoch Na (The Big House): The 1995 Excavations at the Cas Pek Group, Cahal Pech, Belize*. *Belize Valley Preclassic Maya Project: Report on the 1995 Field Season*, edited by Paul F. Healy and Jaime J. Awe, pp. 77-97. Occasional Papers no. 12, Trent University, Department of Anthropology. Peterborough, Ontario.

Lee, Thomas A., Jr.

- 1969 *The Artifacts of Chiapa de Corzo, Chiapas, Mexico*. In *Papers of the New World Archaeological Foundation*, no. 26, New World Archaeological Foundation.

Lee, David, and Jaime J. Awe

- 1995 *Middle Formative Architecture, Burials, and Craft Specialization: Report on the 1994 Investigations at the Cas Pek Group, Cahal Pech, Belize*. *Belize Valley Preclassic Maya Project: Report on the 1994 Field Season*, edited by Paul F. Healy and Jaime J. Awe. Department of Anthropology, Trent University, Peterborough Ontario.

Lohse, Jon C., Jaime Awe, Cameron Griffith, Robert M. Rosenswig, and Fred Valdez, Jr.

- 2006 *Preceramic Occupations In Belize: Updating the Paleoindian and Archaic Record*. *Latin American Antiquity* 17(2):209-226.

López Austin, A.

- 1988 *The Human Body and Ideology: Concepts of the Ancient Nahuas*, Vol. 1, translated by T.O. de Montellano and B.O. de Montellano. University of Utah Press, Salt Lake City.

McAnany, Patricia A.

- 1995 *Living with the Ancestors: Kinship and Kingship in Ancient Maya Society*. University of Texas Press, Austin.

McGee, R. Jon

- 1998 The Lacandon Incense Burner Renewal Ceremony, Termination and Dedication Ritual among the Contemporary Maya. In *The Sowing and the Dawning: Termination, Dedication, and Transformation in the Archaeological and Ethnographic Record of Mesoamerica*, edited by Shirley B. Mock, pp. 41-46. University of New Mexico Press, Albuquerque.

MacNeish, Richard S.

- 1954 *An Early Archaeological Site near Panuco, Vera Cruz*. Transactions of the American Philosophical Society 44(5).

MacNeish, Richard S., Frederick A. Peterson, and Kent V. Flannery

- 1970 Ceramics. *The Prehistory of the Tehuacan Valley*, Vol. 3, edited by Richard S. MacNeish. University of Texas Press, Austin.

Marcus, Joyce

- 1987 *Late Intermediate Occupation at Cerro Azul, Perú: A Preliminary Report*. Technical Report 20. University of Michigan Museum of Anthropology, Ann Arbor
- 1998 *Women's Ritual in Formative Oaxaca: Figurine Making, Divination, Death and the Ancestors*. Memoirs No. 3. Museum of Anthropology, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor.
- 2009 Rethinking Figurines. In *Mesoamerican Figurines: Small-Scale Indices of Large-Scale Social Phenomena*, edited by Christina T. Halperin, Katherine A. Faust, Rhonda Taube, and Aurore Giguet, pp. 25-50. University Press of Florida, Gainesville.

Mathews, Jennifer P., and James F. Garber

- 2004 Models of Cosmic Order: Physical Expression of Sacred Space Among the Ancient Maya. *Ancient Mesoamerica* 15:49-59.

Mock, Shirley B. (editor)

- 1998 *The Sowing and the Dawning: Termination, Dedication, and Transformation in the Archaeological and Ethnographic Record of Mesoamerica*. University of New Mexico Press, Albuquerque.

Mountjoy, Joseph B.

- 1991 The Analysis of Preclassic Figurines Excavated from the Site of La Pintada in the Central Coastal Plan of Jalisco, Mexico. In *The New World Figurine Project, Vol. 1*, edited by Terry Stocker, pp. 85-97. Research Press Provo, Utah.

Pendergast, David

- 1998 Intercessions with the Gods: Caches and Their Significance at Altun Ha and Lamanai, Belize. In *The Sowing and the Dawning: Termination, Dedication, and Transformation in the Archaeological and Ethnographic Record of Mesoamerica*, edited by Shirley B. Mock, pp. 55-63. University of New Mexico Press, Albuquerque.

Porter, Muriel Noé

- 1953 *Tlatilco and the Pre-classic Cultures of the New World*. Wenner-Gren Foundation for Anthropological Research, New York.

Powis, Terry G.

- 1992 Preliminary Excavations at the Tolok Group: A Settlement in the Southeastern Periphery of Cahal Pech Belize. *Progress Report of the Fourth Season (1991) of Investigations at Cahal Pech Belize*, edited by Jaime J. Awe and Mark D. Campbell, pp. 35-50. Department of Anthropology, Trent University, Peterborough, Ontario.
- 1993 Burning the Champa: 1992 Investigations at the Tolok Group, Cahal Pech, Belize. *BVAR Project Progress Report of the 1992 Field Season*, edited by Jaime J. Awe, pp. 97-115. Trent University, Peterborough, Ontario.
- 1995 From Private Household to Public Ceremony: Middle Formative Occupation at the Tolok Group, Cahal Pech, Belize. *Belize Valley Preclassic Maya Project: Report on the 1994 Field Season*, edited by Paul F. Healy and Jaime J. Awe. Department of Anthropology, Trent University, Peterborough, Ontario.
- 1996 *Excavations of Middle Formative Round Structures at the Tolok Group, Cahal Pech, Belize*. Master's Thesis, Trent University, Peterborough, Ontario.

Powis, Terry G., and Bobbi M. Hohmann

- 1995 From Private Household to Public Ceremony: Middle Formative Occupation at the Tolok Group, Cahal Pech, Belize. *Belize Valley Preclassic Project: Report on the 1994 Field Season*, edited by Paul F. Healy and Jaime J. Awe, pp. 45-94. Occasional Papers in Anthropology No. 10, Trent University, Department of Anthropology, Peterborough, Ontario.

Powis, Terry G., Norbert Stanchly, Christine D. White, Paul F. Healy, Jaime J. Awe, and Fred Longstaffe

- 1999 A Reconstruction of Middle Preclassic Maya Subsistence Economy at Cahal Pech, Belize. *Antiquity* 73:364-76.

Rands, Robert L., and Barbara C. Rands

- 1965 Pottery Figurines of the Maya Lowlands. In *Handbook of Middle American Indians, Archaeology of Southern Mesoamerica, Part One*, edited by Gordon R. Willey, pp. 535-560. University of Texas Press, Austin.

Ricketson, Oliver G., and Edith B. Ricketson

- 1937 *Uaxactun, Guatemala Group E--1926-1931*. Carnegie Institution of Washington, Washington.

Song, Rhan-Ju

- 1995 Bones and Bowls of the Formative Maya: A Preliminary Report on the Human Skeletal Remains from Cahal Pech, Belize, and the Implications for Mortuary Behavior. In *Belize Valley Preclassic Maya Project: Report on the 1994 Field Season*, edited by Paul F. Healy and Jaime J. Awe, pp. 173-197. Occasional Papers in Anthropology No. 10. Trent University, Peterborough, Ontario.

- 1996 The Formative Period Skeletal Assemblage at Cahal Pech. Paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the Society for American Archaeology, New Orleans.

Stross, Brian

- 1998 Seven Ingredients in Mesoamerican Ensoulment: Dedication and Termination in Tenejapa. In *The Sowing and the Dawning: Termination, Dedication, and Transformation in the Archaeological and Ethnographic Record of Mesoamerica*, edited by Shirley B. Mock, pp. 31-40. University of New Mexico Press, Albuquerque.

Sunahara, Kay, and Jaime J. Awe

- 1994 A Slice Through Time: 1993 Investigations at the Cas Pek Group, Cahal Pech. *Belize Valley Archaeological Reconnaissance Project: Progress Report of the Sixth (1993) Field Season*, edited by Jaime J. Awe, pp. 193-210. Institute of Archaeology, University College London, London.

Thompson, J.E.S.

- 1965 Maya Creation Myths. *Estudios de Cultura Maya* 5:13-32.

Tozzer, Alfred M.

- 1941 *Landa's Relación de las Cosas de Yucatán*. Papers of the Peabody Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology 18. Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass.

Vaillant, George Clapp

- 1930 *Excavations at Zacatenco*. Anthropological Papers Vol. 32, No. 1. American Museum of Natural History, New York.

Van Gennep, A.

- 1972 *The Rites of Passage*, translated by M.B. Vizedom and G.L. Caffee. University of Chicago Press, Chicago.

Vogt, Evon Z.

- 1998 Zinacanteco Dedication and Termination Rituals. In *The Sowing and the Dawning: Termination, Dedication, and Transformation in the Archaeological and Ethnographic Record of Mesoamerica*, edited by Shirley B. Mock, pp. 21-30. University of New Mexico Press, Albuquerque.

Walker, William

- 1995 Ceremonial Trash? In *Expanding Archaeology*, edited by James M. Skibo, William H. Walker, and Axel E. Nielson, pp. 67-79. University of Utah Press, Salt Lake City.

Weiant, Clarence W.

- 1943 *An Introduction to the Ceramics of Tres Zapotes Veracruz, Mexico*. Bulletin 139, Bureau of American Ethnology, Washington.

White, Christine D., Fred Longstaffe, and Rhan-Ju Song

- 1996 Preclassic Maya Diet at Cahal Pech, Belize: The Isotopic Evidence. Paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the Society for American Archaeology, New Orleans.

Wiley, Gordon R.

- 1972 *The Artifacts of Altar de Sacrificios*. Papers of the Peabody Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology, Vol. 64, No. 1. Harvard University, Cambridge.

Wiley, 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, Vol. LIV. Harvard University, Cambridge.

Wiley, Gordon R., A. Ledyard Smith, Gair Tourtellot III, and Ian Graham
1975 *Excavations at Seibal, Department of Peten, Guatemala*. Peabody
Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology, Harvard University, Cambridge.

APPENDIX A

SPECIMEN FORM

CAHAL PECH – CAYO, BELIZE
FIGURINE SPECIMEN FORM

I.D. Code _____ Solid / Hollow _____
 Catalog # _____ Paste: _____
 STR. _____ Slip: _____
 Unit _____ Level _____ Form: Human / Animal / Other _____
 This Lot is: _____ Male /Female _____
 Dimensions:
 Length _____ Infant /Child /Adolescent /Adult /Other _____
 Width _____ Head / Torso / Limb: arm or leg / _____
 Thickness _____ Other: _____
 Special Features/ Associated Items: _____

Head

- Hair: Present / Absent
Description _____
- Head Garments: Present / Absent
Description _____
- Face:
 Shape _____
 Ears/Nose/Mouth Present _____
 Description _____
 Eyes _____
 Punctate/Slit/Other _____
 Ridge around upper eye area: Present/Absent _____
 Brow Ridge: Present / Absent _____
 Description _____
- Adornments: Present/Absent
Description _____

Torso

- Clothing: Present/Absent
Description _____
- Breasts: Present/Absent
Description _____
- Waist: Straight / Constricted / Other _____
- Abdomen
 - Navel: Present/Absent _____
 - Vertical Line: Present/Absent _____
 - Postpartum Lines: Present/Absent _____
 - Description _____
- Hips: Straight / Curvy / Other _____
- Adornments: Present/Absent
Description _____

Limbs

- **Arm/Leg**
Description _____
- **Hand/Foot Present**
Description _____
- **Adornments: Present/Absent**
Description _____

Animal

Description_

Instrument

Description_

Notes:

APPENDIX B

HEAD FRAGMENT PHOTOGRAPHS AND DESCRIPTIONS



I.D. Code

Catalog Identification/ Number

Structure, Unit, Level

Solid/ Hollow

Length

Width

Thickness

Paste

Slip

Form

C - 1

CHP07-B4-U9L7B-F106

Structure B-4, Unit 9, Level 7b

Solid

Length: 5.65 cm

Width: 3.95 cm

Thickness: 3.55 cm

Paste: Orange

Slip: Cream

Anthropomorphic

This is a complete figurine and is interpreted as a dwarf. The legs are formed with clay coils that originate from the back, creating the buttocks. The legs wrap around to the front. And are crossed. The arms are clay coils that wrap from back-to-front with the left arm crossed over the right. The head sits on top of the appendage coils. The head is round like a ball with nodules where the ears would be. These are interpreted as earplugs. The eyes are dual ovate impressions with a single central punctation. The nose is wide and rounded with no nostrils or any other detail. The mouth is open with defined lips that do not project further than the nose. There is indication that the incisor teeth were present in the mouth. There is even a dip in the upper lip, otherwise known as the philtrum. There is a hat on top of the head that is conical in shape.



H-1

CHP06-B4-U8L6-F012

Structure B-4, Unit 8, Level 6

Solid

Length: 2.60 cm

Width: 2.70 cm

Thickness: 2.00 cm

Paste: Orange

Slip: none

Anthropomorphic

This fragment is a small head that depicts a full face and may have a tonsured head. There are no earplugs present. There are indentations on both sides for the ears and the eyes are dual ovate impressions with a single central punctation. The nose is triangular and protrudes with dual punctations for nostrils. The mouth is a horizontal line and there are no teeth in the mouth. The face seems raised on the left side and is not symmetrical.



H-2

CHP06-B4-U8L7-F037

Structure B-4, Unit 8, Level 6

Solid

Length: 2.40 cm

Width: 3.55 cm

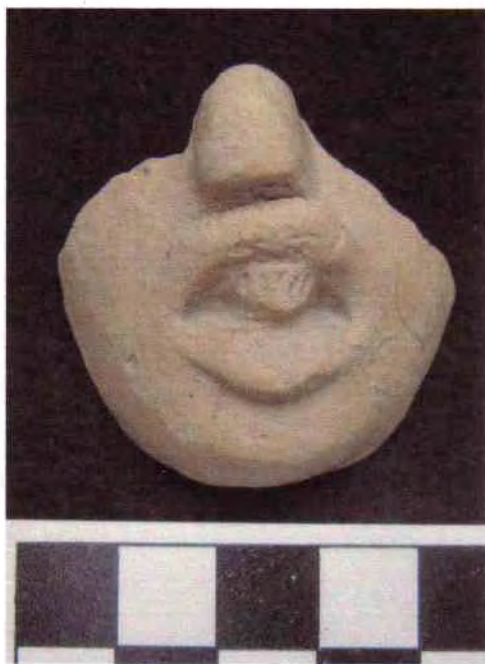
Thickness: 1.90 cm

Paste: Orange

Slip: none

Anthropomorphic

This fragment only has the crown of the head present but it is completely smooth. This may be an example of a tonsured/shaved head.



H-3

CHP06-B4-U8L6B-F026

Structure B-4, Unit 8, Level 6b

Solid

Length: 4.00 cm

Width: 3.80 cm

Thickness: 2.30 cm

Paste: Cream/ Pink

Slip: Cream

Anthropomorphic

This fragment form is the lower portion of a face and includes the nose and mouth. The nose and lips are projected with the lips being plump and rounded. The nose has no nostrils depicted. The mouth is open and there are incised upper teeth. There are at least five incisions depicting upper teeth and no lower teeth.



H-4

CHP06-B4-U8L6-F013

Structure B-4, Unit 8, Level 6

Solid

Length: 3.40 cm

Width: 4.10 cm

Thickness: 1.60 cm

Paste: Orange

Slip: none

Anthropomorphic

This fragment has not preserved well and only the eyes have enough quality. The eyes were executed with dual ovate impressions and single central punctations. There were other facial elements present, but they are too eroded to comment on style.



H-5

CHP06-B4-U8L6-F015

Structure B-4, Unit 8, Level 6

Solid

Length: 5.55 cm

Width: 6.10 cm

Thickness: 2.55 cm

Paste: Cream

Slip: Cream

Anthropomorphic

This fragment only has the forehead and crown of the head still present. There is a line that defines the forehead and crown. This may be indication for a cloth wrap or partial tonsuring. On the center of the head there is a raised area with incisions that indicate hair. The hair continues onto the back of the head slightly. There is also a headband that wraps around the entire head, an appliqué piece.



H-6

CHP06-B4-U8L8-F042

Structure B-4, Unit 8, Level 8

Solid

Length: 8.00 cm

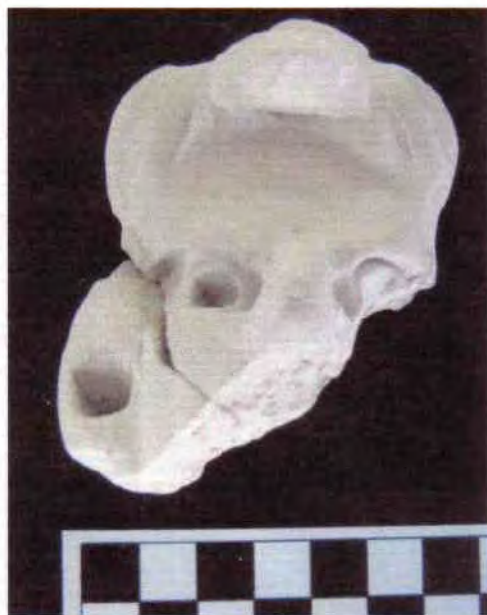
Width: 6.40 cm

Thickness: 4.05 cm

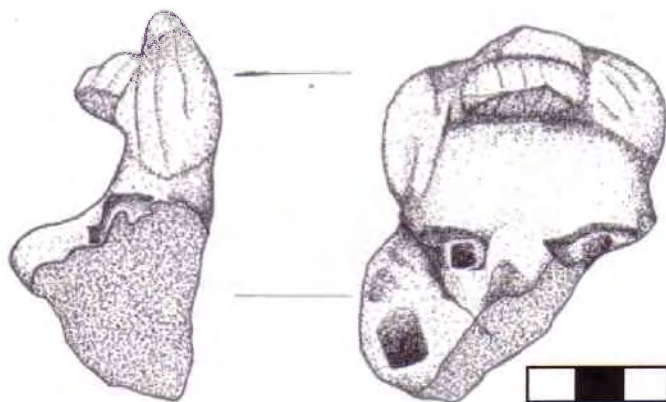
Paste: Cream

Slip: Cream

Anthropomorphic



This partial head fragment includes the upper portion of the head including one eye and one earplug. The head is flat and wide and there are no details on the back of the head. There is more of a smooth transition from the forehead to the crown of the head. There appears to be three hair knots or buns. Hair is indicated by the striations on the buns. The nose projects with no nostrils and the eyes are executed with dual impressions and single central punctations. The earplug and eye punctations are quite large and deep. The earplug punctation does not fully penetrate the clay.





H-7

CHP06-B4-U8L8-F041

Structure B-4, Unit 8, Level 8

Solid

Length: 5.45 cm

Width: 5.10 cm

Thickness: 3.55 cm

Paste: Orange

Slip: Red-Orange

Anthropomorphic

On this fragment most of the features are worn off. There is evidence of a single punctation in the eye. The nose is broken, but triangular in shape. The presence of teeth is unclear, but the mouth is open and the lower lip appears larger than the upper. The back of the head is intact, flat, and somewhat smooth.



H-8

CHP06-B4-U8L6B-F031

Structure B-4, Unit 8, Level 6b

Solid

Length: 4.70 cm

Width: 6.10 cm

Thickness: 4.50 cm

Paste: Orange

Slip: none

Anthropomorphic

This form is the upper portion of a head with a face that is not flat. It has a rounded projection through the nose and mouth area. There is a presence for an ear but it is poorly preserved. There is a projected indication differentiating the top of the head and the forehead. The mouth would have been open and teeth may have been present. The nose is bulbous and triangular. The eyes are executed by dual ovate impressions and single central punctations. There are no details present on the back of the head.



H-9

CHP06-B4-U8L7-F039

Structure B-4, Unit 8, Level 7

Solid

Length: 2.60 cm

Width: 3.00 cm

Thickness: 1.35 cm

Paste: Orange

Slip: Red-Orange

Anthropomorphic

The form is the maxilla portion of the face. Only the nose and the upper lip are present. The back of the fragment suggests this may have been appliquéed or added on to another form. The nose is pointed and has two impressed nostrils in a curled teardrop shape. The upper lip is also present and the breakage suggests incisors may have been present.



H-10

CHP06-B4-U8L6B-F033

Structure B-4, Unit 8, Level 6b

Solid

Length: 3.15 cm

Width: 2.65 cm

Thickness: 1.75 cm

Paste: Cream

Slip: none

Anthropomorphic

This form is a partial face with only one eye present that was formed by dual ovate impressions and a central punctation. There is a shallow line that seems to frame the face and perpendicular incisions that indicate hair.



H-11

CHP06-B4-U8L6C-F035

Structure B-4, Unit 8, Level 6c

Solid

Length: 7.80 cm

Width: 6.40 cm

Thickness: 3.70 cm

Paste: Cream

Slip: Cream/ Light Brown

Anthropomorphic

The form is a partial head fragment. There is definition from the forehead and the hair or headpiece. The figure's left ear remains and projects from the head. There is a punctation on the lower ear that fully penetrates the clay. The left eye was executed by dual ovate impressions and a single central punctation. There is a shallow ridge above the eye. The nose projects and is triangular in shape.



H-12

CHP06-B4-U8L6-F021

Structure B-4, Unit 8, Level 6

Solid

Length: 2.80 cm

Width: 3.80 cm

Thickness: 1.25 cm

Paste: Orange-Brown

Slip: None

Anthropomorphic

The form is a partial head fragment with the crown of the head remaining. The crown is smooth and there is a presence of a topknot/bun. This depiction is more naturalistic with incisions that form a coiled knot appearance.



H-13

CHP06-B4-U8L6B-F027

Structure B-4, Unit 8, Level 6b

Solid

Length: 3.20 cm

Width: 3.55 cm

Thickness: 1.85 cm

Paste: Orange

Slip: None

Anthropomorphic

The form is the upper portion of a head fragment. There is a concave curve that designates differentiation between the forehead and the crown of the head. It is not determined if this definition delineates a tonsured head, a head garment, or other possible representations.



H-14

CHP06-B4-U8L6B-F032

Structure B4, Unit 8, Level 6b

Solid

Length: 3.55 cm

Width: 3.65 cm

Thickness: 3.05 cm

Paste: Orange

Slip: None

Anthropomorphic

This fragment was difficult to find perspective for. One perspective and interpretation I concluded was that this is a head fragment. There are several lines and punctations on the fragment and the orientation is confusing. There is an eye present and this may depict an elaborate head treatment or hairstyle. However, it is unknown what this represents.





H-15

CHP07-B4-PU12L5-F136

Structure B-4, Plaza Unit 12, Level 5

Solid

Length: 5.70 cm

Width: 6.35 cm

Thickness: 3.55 cm

Paste: Orange

Slip: none

Anthropomorphic

The form is a partial head fragment and is missing most of the forehead, partial left eye, and a partial right ear. The eyes were formed by dual ovate impressions and single central punctations. The nose is broken off but there is a triangular base present. The lips project forward and two incisions are present in the mouth. The figure's right ear is broken but there are two incisions visible and a breakage point for the now missing earplug. The left ear also has two incisions and an intact earplug. The chin is defined under the mouth and the back of the head is slightly concave.



H-16

CHP07-B4-U9L6-F088

Structure B-4, Unit 9, Level 6

Solid

Length: 3.30 cm

Width: 3.65 cm

Thickness: 2.30 cm

Paste: Orange

Slip: none

Anthropomorphic

The form is of a partial ear fragment. There are three horizontal incisions and there is breakage that suggests a n earplug was appliqué and has broken off.



H-17

CHP07-B4-U9L6-F094

Structure B-4, Unit 9, Level 6

Solid

Length: 5.80 cm

Width: 4.70 cm

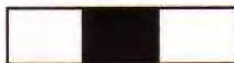
Thickness: 2.70 cm

Paste: Cream

Slip: Cream

Anthropomorphic

This is a complete head fragment that is wide and flattened with a concave forehead. The back of the head is plain. The eyes are formed by dual ovate impressions and central punctations. The nose is eroded and the mouth is open with full lips. The incisor teeth are depicted and there are two small incisions. Both ears are present with earplugs and incisions. The figure's right ear has vertical incisions and the left ear has horizontal incisions. The crown of the head is defined from the forehead by a concave indentation. The crown is smooth and there is a single centrally located bun. There are five vertical incisions on the bun.





H-18

CHP07-B4-U9L7C-F112

Structure B-4, Unit 9, Level 7c

Solid

Length: 4.70 cm

Width: 4.30 cm

Thickness: 1.95 cm

Paste: Orange

Slip: Orange

Anthropomorphic

The form is the lower and left half of a face. The face is smooth where preserved. The nose is partially broken but the nostrils are present as deep punctations. The nose would have projected further than the mouth. The mouth is open and has full lips with no indication that teeth were present.



H-19

CHP07-B4-U9L6-F096

Structure B-4, Unit 9, Level 6

Solid

Length: 2.40 cm

Width: 3.45 cm

Thickness: 1.95 cm

Paste: Orange

Slip: none

Anthropomorphic

The form appears to be the top part of a head fragment, but it is not preserved well and is not very diagnostic.



H-20

CHP07-B4-U9L9-F131

Structure B-4, Unit 9, Level 9

Solid

Length: 9.75 cm

Width: 8.90 cm

Thickness: 4.35 cm

Paste: Cream

Slip: Cream, red pigment?

Anthropomorphic

The form is a relatively complete head fragment. All of the stylization is on the front with nothing depicted on the back of the head. The eyes are formed by dual ovate impressions and central punctations. The nose is eroded but is triangular in shape with no indication for nostrils. The mouth is open with a full bottom lip and there is indication that teeth were present. There are ears present with earplugs that were appliquéd. There are deep punctations in the earplugs that do not fully penetrate the clay. There are also incisions present on both ears. On the figure's right ear there are three vertical incisions and the left ear has three diagonal incisions. On top of the head there is an asymmetrical hat with no other stylizations besides its shape. There is definition between the hat and the forehead designated by a groove in the clay.

H-21

CHP07-B4-U9L6-F092

Structure B-4, Unit 9, Level 6

Solid

Length: 6.30 cm

Width: 5.90 cm

Thickness: 4.85 cm

Paste: Orange

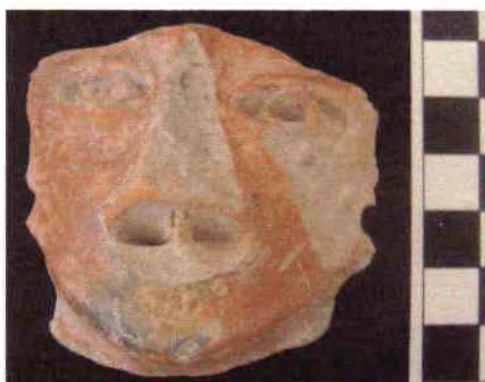
Slip: none

Anthropomorphic



This head fragment is a complete head and depicts an individual with a very cropped hairstyle. The hair is indicated by punctuations on the scalp area around the crown and back of the head. The line at the forehead is defined but on the back there is no definition for a hairline, though the punctuations indicate that the hair stops at the nape of the neck. One interesting feature on this fragment is not only its shape being completely round, but the ears are created in a very naturalistic fashion. The inner ear is depicted as well as a hole for an earplug, but no earplug is indicated. The eyes are formed by dual ovate impressions and a central punctation. There is a browridge above the eyes and contour lines around the nose and mouth. The nose is present with nostrils and the mouth is open with a tongue depicted. The face is more naturalistic than what is seen on other head fragments.





H-22

CHP07-B4-U9L6-F093

Structure B-4, Unit 9, Level 6

Solid

Length: 5.45 cm

Width: 5.95 cm

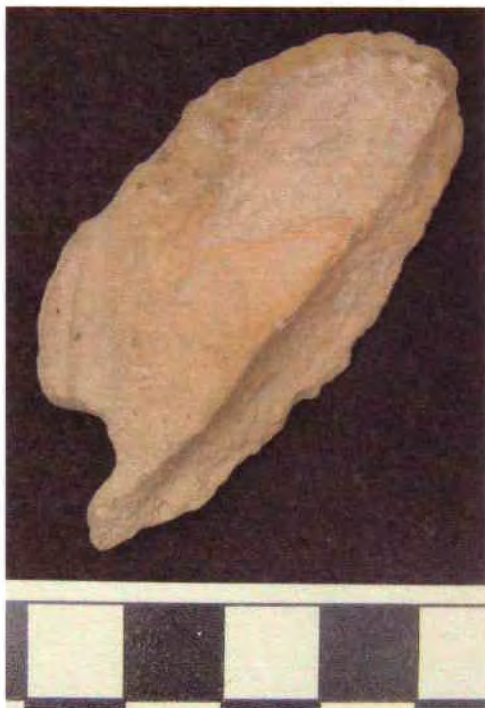
Thickness: 3.15 cm

Paste: Cream

Slip: Orange

Anthropomorphic

The form is a partial head fragment. The eyes are formed with dual ovate impressions and a central punctation. The nose is broken off but had a triangular base. The lips are eroded and were thin. The lips circle around where incisor teeth are depicted in the open mouth. The ears are also broken off but there are rounded spots that indicate earplugs that had penetrating punctations.



H-23

CHP07-B4-U9L7B-F110

Structure B-4, Unit 9, Level 7b

Solid

Length: 6.10 cm

Width: 3.15 cm

Thickness: 1.50 cm

Paste: Cream

Slip: none

Anthropomorphic

This fragment is a partial head. Only part of the crown of the head and one side is preserved. There are striations that may be indicating hair, and it appears at the top center of the head and also on the side in a separate section. The center striations are front-to-back, while the side is up and down. The back of the head is flat and smooth with no stylization.



H-24

CHP07-B4-U9L7C-F118

Structure B-4, Unit 9, Level 7c

Solid

Length: 7.05 cm

Width: 5.25 cm

Thickness: 3.50 cm

Paste: Orange

Slip: Red-Orange

Anthropomorphic

The form is a mostly complete head. The eyes are formed by dual ovate impressions and a central punctation. The nose is triangular in shape and the end is broken off, but there are two deep punctations creating nostrils. The mouth is open and the lips project from the face. No teeth are present in the mouth. The crown of the head, as well as the ears are missing. The face is intentionally scratched up in a haphazardly fashion.



H-25

CHP07-B4-U9L8

Structure B-4, Unit 9, Level 8

Solid

Length: 6.80 cm

Width: 6.55 cm

Thickness: 3.90 cm

Paste: Cream

Slip: none

Anthropomorphic

This is a partial head fragment with no details on the back. The eyes are dual ovate impressions and central punctations. The nose is eroded off but is triangular in shape. There is no indication for nostrils. The mouth is open with full lips and there is indication for incisor teeth. The ears are present with earplugs and appear to be appliquéd. There are horizontal incisions on the ears with three or four on the right and 2 on the left. There are remnants of red pigment on the ears and mouth.

H-26

CHP07-B4-U9L8-F124

Structure B-4, Unit 9, Level 8

Solid

Length: 3.35 cm

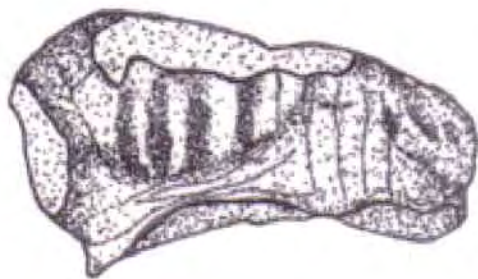
Width: 6.20 cm

Thickness: 2.30 cm

Paste: Orange

Slip: Orange

Anthropomorphic



The form of this fragment is the crown of a head fragment and the headdress is difficult to make out. There is a bun to the figure's right side with four incisions and in the left side there are more incision marks, but this appears to be a later modification. There are many shallow scratches/incisions on the front and back of the fragment. On the back of the fragment there are incisions that make chevron patterns that may be a braided pattern. These shallow scratches are a later modification to the fragment.





H-27

175

Structure B-4, Level 3

Solid

Length: 4.55 cm

Width: 4.60 cm

Thickness: 2.55 cm

Paste: Orange

Slip: none

Anthropomorphic

This head fragment was executed with the tripunctation style. The eyes and the mouth were formed by the tripunctation technique and this gives an appearance of incisor teeth. The nose projects from the face and is rounded with shallow nostrils. The ears are present with plugs and incisions. The earplugs are executed by punctation and fully penetrate the clay. The forehead and the crown of the head are defined by a framing incised line. Hair is indicated by incised lines and creates a squared shape to the head. There is a central bun with at least six incisions and the back of the head is concave in shape with a bun at the nape of the neck. This bun has shallow punctations on it and above this there is an incised circle on the back of the head. This is interpreted as a later modification.



H-28

195

Tolok Group

Solid

Length: 4.45 cm

Width: 4.80 cm

Thickness: 1.90 cm

Paste: Orange

Slip: none

Anthropomorphic

This form is a head fragment that is very eroded and poorly preserved. The form is smooth and tapers toward the top from front to back. There are incisions or indentations along the crown of the head that is interpreted as hair. All other features are gone from the fragment.





H-29

159

Tolok, Structure 3, Unit 1, Level 1

Solid

Length: 3.10 cm

Width: 4.25 cm

Thickness: 2.10 cm

Paste: Buff-Orange

Slip: none

Anthropomorphic

This head fragment only has the crown still preserved. There is a headpiece that looks like a hat with a wide brim around it. The hat is smooth and the appears to be appliquéd.



H-30

156

Structure 2, Unit 1, Level 1

Solid

Length: 3.95 cm

Width: 6.75 cm

Thickness: 1.95 cm

Paste: Orange

Slip: none

Anthropomorphic



This form is a head fragment with only the upper portion present. There is definition between the forehead and the crown of the head and the forehead is concave and sloping. With what remains of the fragment it is discernable that the eyes were punctated and there were incisions above the eye creating an eye ridge. There are no details on the back of the fragment and the head shape is wide and flat.



H-31

169

Tolok, Structure 1, Unit 1, Surface

Solid

Length: 3.40 cm

Width: 4.20 cm

Thickness: 1.25 cm

Paste: Orange

Slip: none

Anthropomorphic

The form for this fragment appears to be the lower portion of a head fragment. It is extremely eroded and there is only shallow and slight evidence for the nose and mouth on the face. The nose is rounded and smooth with no nostrils evident. The mouth is only a wide and shallow horizontal incision. There are no teeth or lips depicted. This fragment may have been appliquéd to a head or may have been a hollow form. The back is rounded, concave, and smooth.



H-32

160

Tolok, Structure 2, Unit 2, Level 2

Solid

Length: 2.25 cm

Width: 2.75 cm

Thickness: 2.70 cm

Paste: Orange

Slip: none

Anthropomorphic

This fragment is considered a head form because the curved groove is reminiscent of the defining feature that distinguishes the forehead from the crown of the head. There is also indication for incisions and punctations where the headdress would have been, but it is eroded enough that this cannot be described more thoroughly. The shape also indicates that the head would have been thicker by the crown area and thinned toward the facial area, which is consistent with other head fragments in the collection.



H-33

CP-94C-078

Structure B-4, Unit PU-94-1, Level 7

Solid

Length: 6.50 cm

Width: 6.15 cm

Thickness: 3.15 cm

Paste: Orange

Slip: none

Anthropomorphic

This fragment is composed of several pieces that have been assembled back together. Most of the features are present. The mouth was formed using appliquéd lips that are full and project. The teeth are incised and the nose is bulbous, but eroded. The ears are not fully formed but there are earplugs in appliqué circles. The eyes are dual impressed with a single central punctation. The forehead is concave with slight definition between the forehead and crown of the head. The crown of the head is smooth with the presence of a bun element that appears on the figure's left side. There are no incisions or punctations present on the bun or on the crown of the head.



H-34

CP-94C-053

Structure B-4, Unit PU-94-1, Level 7

Solid

Length: 6.95 cm

Width: 6.25 cm

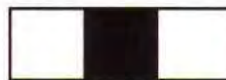
Thickness: 3.55 cm

Paste: Orange-Buffer

Slip: none

Anthropomorphic

This is a complete head fragment. The mouth is open and the lips encircle the mouth. There are two distinctive incisions to form the teeth. The nose is rounded with no nostrils. The eyes were executed by dual impressions and single central punctations. The ears are defined and stick out to the sides. The ears are incised with two vertical parallel incisions and one horizontal incision below. The earplug punctations do not penetrate through the clay. The earplugs are not defined in shape and are only indicated by the punctations. The forehead is concave and there is a defining groove distinguishing forehead from the crown of the head.





H-35

CP-94C-071

Structure B-4, Unit PU-94-1, Level 7

Solid

Length: 5.55 cm

Width: 4.55 cm

Thickness: 2.20 cm

Paste: Orange-Red

Slip: none

Anthropomorphic

This head fragment has a unique appearance in the sample. The fragment consists of an eye framed on two sides with hair. The eye is formed with curved incision lines that are wide and create a large pupil area. The face is framed with an incised line defining the face from the hair. Shallow incised lines make the hair and they appear on one side and the corner that is present. They stop on the other side where it is smooth.



H-36

CP-94C-048

Structure B-4, Unit PU-94-1, Level 7

Solid

Length: 4.00 cm

Width: 6.45 cm

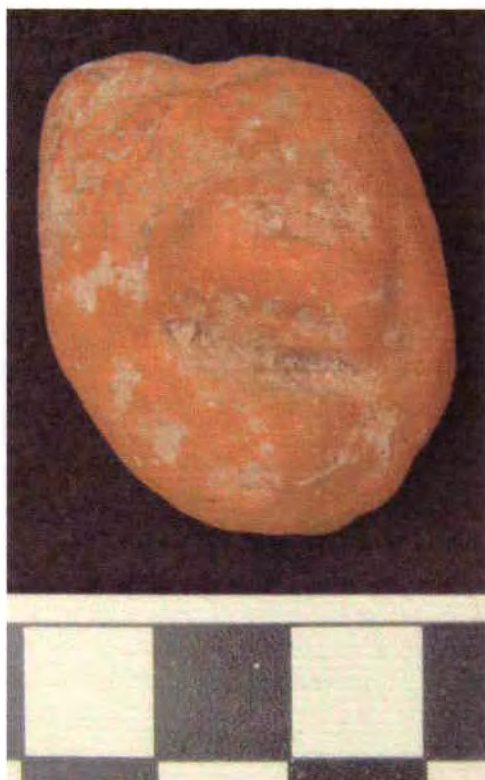
Thickness: 1.95 cm

Paste: Cream

Slip: none

Anthropomorphic

This form includes the top of the forehead and the crown of the head. There is a slight concave portion leading up to the crown. The details of the face are not present and there is possibly a central bun on the crown. The shape indicates this, but due to the ash temper the preservation is not there.



H-37

73

Structure B-2, Level 6

Solid

Length: 3.60 cm

Width: 3.20 cm

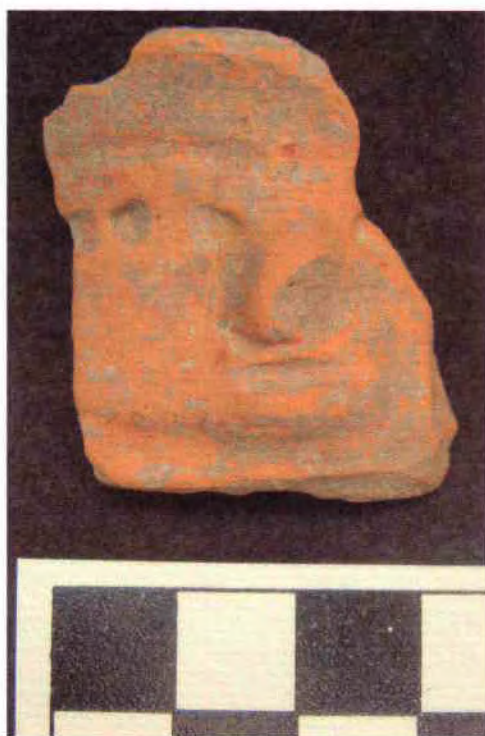
Thickness: 1.95 cm

Paste: Orange

Slip: Orange

Anthropomorphic

This is a lower portion of a head fragment that is very eroded. There is a broken triangular area for where the nose was. The mouth is open and there were five small incisions on the upper (maxilla) area and these were probably teeth.



H-38

CP-95C-079

Cas Pek, Structure 1, Level 11f 2

Solid

Length: 3.85 cm

Width: 3.25 cm

Thickness: 1.40 cm

Paste: Orange

Slip: Orange

Anthropomorphic

This head fragment is unique in shape and style and may have been part of an effigy vessel. The figure's right eye, nose, mouth, and forehead are still present. The mouth is a thick horizontal incision. The nose would have projected out but is broken. The eye is formed by dual impressions and a single central punctation.



H-39

CP-94C-001

Str. B-4/Plaza, PU-94-1, Level 3

Solid

Length: 3.85 cm

Width: 6.20 cm

Thickness: 2.00 cm

Paste: Orange

Slip: none

Anthropomorphic

This form is a head fragment with only the upper crown of the head being present. There is distinction between the forehead and the crown of the head. The hat sits on top of the head and has a wide rim and the center is rounded and higher. The hat does not seem to have been presented on the back of the head, just on the top and the front.

H-40

CP-95C-038

Cas pek, Structure 1, Level 10f

Solid

Length: 4.85 cm

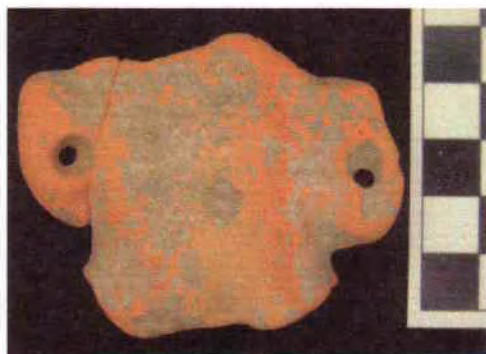
Width: 5.75 cm

Thickness: 3.15 cm

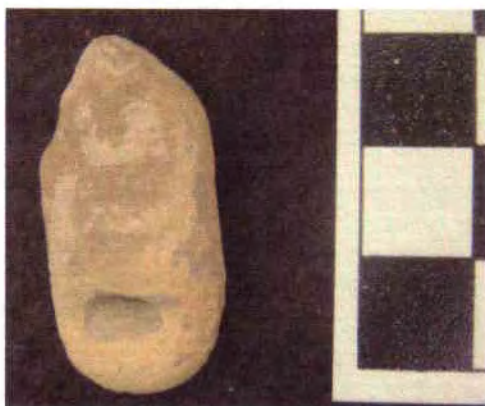
Paste: Orange

Slip: Orange

Anthropomorphic



The form is a head fragment with the top portion missing. What remains are the figure's right eye, ears, mouth, and indication for a nose. The nose has broken off, but there was one originally. The eyes were formed by dual impressions and single central punctations. They look like they may have been encircled and sunken in, but they are very eroded and this is difficult to tell. The left ear has incisions present and both ears have earplugs. The hole fully penetrates the clay. The lips are full and project forward, and the teeth are not present. The back of the head is flat and smooth with only one feature. There is a wide and shallow punctation in the middle and the back of the head. There is no interpretation concluded at this time.



H-41

CP-95C-095

Cas Pek, Structure 1, Level 12d

Solid

Length: 3.10 cm

Width: 1.45 cm

Thickness: 1.50 cm

Paste: Cream

Slip: none

Anthropomorphic

This fragment is a figure's left ear. It is elongated and round with two horizontal incisions and a punctuation for an earplug. The punctuation does not fully penetrate the clay and there is nothing on the back of the fragment.



H-42

CP-95C-090

Cas Pek, Structure 1, Level 12c

Solid

Length: 3.25 cm

Width: 2.00 cm

Thickness: 1.20 cm

Paste: Orange

Slip: Red

Anthropomorphic

The form is a fragment from a face and the only portion remaining is the mouth. This was formed by a horizontal incision and had thin lips.



H-43

CP-95C-004

Cas pek, Structure 1, Surface

Solid

Length: 3.35 cm

Width: 4.40 cm

Thickness: 2.05 cm

Paste: Orange

Slip: none

Anthropomorphic

This head fragment is very crude and eroded. There is a narrowing to one side with small short incisions forming hair. The back of the head is flat and smooth.



H-44

361

Structure C9, Unit C9-5, Level 8

Solid

Length: 4.80 cm

Width: 3.25 cm

Thickness: 2.90 cm

Paste: Orange

Slip: none

Anthropomorphic

This head fragment form has both eyes that were formed by small deep punctations for the pupils and shallow dual impressions. The nose is large and projects forward with two nostrils. The mouth is open and rectangular in shape with no teeth. The ears are no longer present but partial punctations indicate earplugs were present.



H-45

394

Cas Pek, Structure 1, Level 12c

Solid

Length: 4.30 cm

Width: 3.75 cm

Thickness: 1.40 cm

Paste: Orange

Slip: none

Anthropomorphic

This fragment was interpreted as an effigy vessel form. The projecting feature may have been part of a face, but this is not certain.



H-46

206

Zubin, Structure A-1, Unit A1-3, Level 1

Solid

Length: 5.40 cm

Width: 4.75 cm

Thickness: 2.45 cm

Paste: Brown

Slip: none

Anthropomorphic

This fragment is crude and eroded, but features can be distinguished. There were tripunctate style eyes, a nose, and a mouth. The back of the head is smooth and from the base of the head it tapers toward the top.





H-47

CP-94C-039

Structure B-4, Unit PU-94-1, Level 7

Solid

Length: 2.90 cm

Width: 3.35 cm

Thickness: 2.50 cm

Paste: Orange

Slip: none

Anthropomorphic

This form is the lower portion of a head fragment. The mouth is open in an "O" shape and the cheeks are outlined and emphasized. The droopy cheek and the partial eye looks sagging or puffy and may be an older individual or representation.



H-48

CP-94C-100

Structure B-4, Level 8

Solid

Length: 3.35 cm

Width: 4.90 cm

Thickness: 3.00 cm

Paste: Orange

Slip: none

Anthropomorphic

This is a very eroded head fragment with the lower right portion of the face still present. The mouth is open and there is indication that a nose was present.



H-49

CP-94C-051

Structure B-4, Unit PU-94-1, Level 7

Solid

Length: 7.90 cm

Width: 5.90 cm

Thickness: 3.25 cm

Paste: Orange

Slip: none

Anthropomorphic

This head fragment has many elements on it. The mouth is open and encircled by the lips. There is a single vertical incision creating the appearance of incisors. The nose is generic and rounded with no nostrils. The eyes are dual impressed with a single central punctation, and are large in proportion to the face. The ear has two incisions that are quite wide and take up the ear. There is an appliquéd earplug with no penetration through the clay. The forehead is concave with the crown of the head defined from the forehead. The head is smooth with multiple buns. There is a central bun and one on either side of the head. All three buns have vertical striations. There is nothing depicted on the back of the head.



H-50

CP-94C-069

Structure B-4, Unit PU-94-1, Level 7

Solid

Length: 2.30 cm

Width: 2.40 cm

Thickness: 1.05 cm

Paste: Orange

Slip: none

Anthropomorphic

This form is a fragment of an eye. The eye is punctated with dual impressions on either side defining the central pupil punctation. There is a groove above the eyelid and the brow ridge is pronounced. This fragment has very naturalistic qualities, which is unique to the sample.



H-51

355

Level 1

Solid

Length: 3.40 cm

Width: 3.65 cm

Thickness: 2.75 cm

Paste: Orange

Slip: none

Anthropomorphic

This head fragment is more spherical in shape and demonstrates the tripunctate style. The mouth and both eyes are executed with the three punctations and the nose is generic and rounded with no nostrils. There is an incised line that traces around the bottom of the nose. There is a complete and partial hole for earplugs and they puncture through the clay.



H-52

CP-95C-094

Cas Pek, Structure 1, Level 11f 2

Solid

Length: 2.75 cm

Width: 5.35 cm

Thickness: 2.45 cm

Paste: Orange

Slip: none

Anthropomorphic

This form is the lower portion of a head fragment. The figure's mouth and left ear are still present. The ear has three horizontal incisions with an earplug not penetrating through the clay. The mouth is open and there also appears to be shallow incisions on the jaw.



H-53

CP-95C-101

Cas Pek, Structure 1, Level 11g 2

Solid

Length: 3.80 cm

Width: 4.30 cm

Thickness: 1.75 cm

Paste: Cream

Slip: none

Anthropomorphic

This fragment is extremely eroded due to the ash temper. The form indicates it as a head fragment. One side is flattened, similarly to the back of other head fragments. There is a line defining the forehead from the crown of the head. There is also a bun like shape with vertical incisions.



H-54

CP-94C-068

Structure B-4, Unit PU-94-1, Level 7

Solid

Length: 3.75 cm

Width: 6.55 cm

Thickness: 1.10cm

Paste: Cream

Slip: none, red pigment?

Anthropomorphic

This fragment is the crown of a head and is poorly preserved due to the ash temper. It is in four pieces but qualities can be distinguished. There is evidence of a bun element and incisions for hair. There is a faint line still present that would have framed the face. There are traces of red pigment in the hair incisions. There is nothing depicted on the back of the head.



H-55

CP-94C-066

Structure B-4, Unit PU-94-1, Level 7

Solid

Length: 2.90 cm

Width: 1.30 cm

Thickness: 1.70 cm

Paste: Orange

Slip: none

Anthropomorphic

This fragment is a single ear and has a single incision above the earplug. The earplug has a ring shape with a punctation that does not penetrate the clay.



H-56

CP-95C-098

Plaza B, Unit PU-10, Level 7

Solid

Length: 5.50 cm

Width: 3.65 cm

Thickness: 1.75 cm

Paste: Cream

Slip: none

Anthropomorphic

This is a poorly preserved head that is in many fragments. One has recognizable characteristics of a mouth and nose.



H-57

PAC-95C-002

Pacbitun, Plaza B, Unit 1, Level 3

Solid

Length: 8.05 cm

Width: 6.95 cm

Thickness: 4.30 cm

Paste: Orange

Slip: none

Anthropomorphic



This head fragment has many features. The mouth is open with projecting lips but no teeth are present. The nose projects as far as the upper lip and shallow impressions create nostrils. The eyes are very shallow dual impressions with a deeper central punctation. There are no eyebrows depicted. The forehead is not concave but tapers in profile to the crown. There is definition between the forehead and the crown. The top of the head is smooth with a central bun that has been broken off. The right ear is larger and longer than the figure's left. On the left ear there are two vertical incisions and a punctation for the earplug. The right ear has two or three vertical incisions and a defined earplug with a hole penetrating the clay.



H-58

153

Tolok, Structure 1, Unit 2, Level 5

Solid

Length: 4.50 cm

Width: 5.40 cm

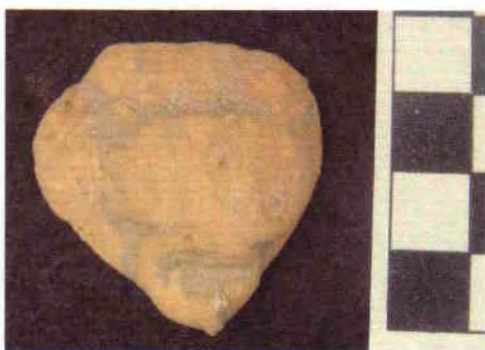
Thickness: 2.65 cm

Paste: Orange

Slip: none

Anthropomorphic

This is a partial head fragment with two eyes and the indication for a nose. The eyes have dual impressions and the single central punctation.



H-59

CP-94C-180

Tolok, Plaza?, PU-1?, Level 4

Solid

Length: 3.55 cm

Width: 3.65 cm

Thickness: 1.60 cm

Paste: Cream

Slip: none

Anthropomorphic

This fragment is poorly preserved and may depict a mouth.



H-60

CP-94C-182

Tolok, Structure 14, Unit PU-2, Level 4
Solid

Length: 3.65 cm

Width: 2.40 cm

Thickness: 2.20 cm

Paste: Orange

Slip: none

Anthropomorphic

This form is questionable but there is one eye formed by a punctation and a horizontal incision for a mouth. Half of the face was broken off and the remaining face was reattached to something odd in shape.



H-61

CP-95C-022

Plaza B, Unit PU-3, Level 8

Solid

Length: 5.05 cm

Width: 6.25 cm

Thickness: 1.90 cm

Paste: Orange

Slip: Orange

Anthropomorphic

This form is likely a fragment from an effigy vessel. There is a face with one closed eye formed by an incised line crossing horizontally. The nose projects and has a triangular shape with no nostrils. The figure's right cheek is pronounced and high. The Maxilla portion of the mouth is present, but there are no lips and three incisions for teeth are present.



H-62

349

Zubin, Structure C-9, Unit C9-5, Level 7

Solid

Length: 10.70 cm

Width: 8.35 cm

Thickness: 4.45 cm

Paste: Orange

Slip: none

Anthropomorphic

This form is a head with the upper torso still attached. The torso includes the figure's left nipple that is formed by a large punctation. There is no neck and the head sits on top of the torso. The mouth is open with projecting lips and the incisors are formed. The nose is projected and rounded with shallow nostrils underneath. The eyes are shallow dual impressions with single central punctations. The eyes are not symmetrical. The ears are incised and the earplugs have punctations that do not penetrate the clay. The top of the head indicates a headdress, hair, or headgear of some sort. The breakage prevents interpretation.



H-63

No catalog number
 Structure A-4, Surface
 Solid
 Length: 4.95 cm
 Width: 4.75 cm
 Thickness: 3.35 cm
 Paste: Orange
 Slip: none
 Anthropomorphic

This form is classified as a head fragment because of its rounded shape and the back is flat and smooth. There are remains of the mouth and a chin, and the break at the neck is clearly defined. There may be an element on top of the head.



H-64

CHP02-B4-U7L6B-F078
 Structure B-4, Unit 7, Level 6b
 Solid
 Length: 3.60 cm
 Width: 5.60 cm
 Thickness: 2.80 cm
 Paste: Orange-Beff
 Slip: Orange
 Anthropomorphic

This is the upper portion of a head fragment with only the forehead and the crown remaining. In profile there is a tapering of the forehead as it approaches the crown. The top of the head is smooth and has a bun with very shallow punctations. There are no details on the back of the head.



H-65

CP-94C-070

Structure B-4, Unit PU-94-1, Level 7

Solid

Length: 8.00 cm

Width: 8.80 cm

Thickness: 2.65 cm

Paste: Cream

Slip: none

Anthropomorphic

This form is a fragmented head. There is a headpiece that varies from others seen in the sample. There were three buns on top of the head with a headband. The eyes are dual ovate impressions with single central punctations. The nose is rounded with nostrils and meets the upper lip. There are tiny incisions for teeth and the remaining ear has horizontal incisions on the remaining ear. The earplug has a circular shape with a central punctation that does not penetrate the clay.



H-66

CP-95C-072

Plaza B, Unit PU-10, Level 7

Solid

Length: 3.70 cm

Width: 6.15 cm

Thickness: 1.85 cm

Paste: Orange

Slip: none

Anthropomorphic

This form is the upper portion of a head with a headband or hat. The clay is appliquéd around the head. This may be another representation of the "Dixie Cup" style or hat. There is definition between the forehead and the crown of the head.



H-67

342

Zopilote, Lower Platform, Unit 8, Level 2

Solid

Length: 3.95 cm

Width: 5.90 cm

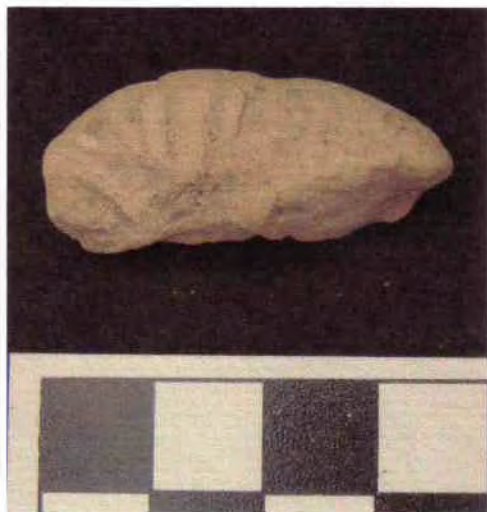
Thickness: 1.40 cm

Paste: Orange

Slip: none

Anthropomorphic

This form is the upper portion of a head with the forehead and the crown of the head. The forehead is concave and the top may have had hair defined. There is a central bun element indicated.



H-68

CP-95C-053

Plaza B, PU-10, Level 6

Solid

Length: 1.45 cm

Width: 3.50 cm

Thickness: 1.35 cm

Paste: Cream

Slip: none

Anthropomorphic

This fragment is the top part of the head. There is a striated bun that seems to be characteristic of other fragments. The striations are on the front and back of the bun and run vertically.



H-69

CP-95C-069

Plaza B, PU-10, Level 7

Solid

Length: 4.10 cm

Width: 5.00 cm

Thickness: 1.60 cm

Paste: Cream

Slip: none

Anthropomorphic

This fragment is identified as a head with a unique shape. It is triangular and there is a rounded framing element made by incisions and may have framed the face. The triangular projection may have been a hat or some sort of head element.



H-70

CP-95C-044

Plaza B, Unit PU-8, Level 5

Solid

Length: 5.80 cm

Width: 2.60 cm

Thickness: 1.20 cm

Paste: Orange

Slip: none

Anthropomorphic

This fragment was the crown of a head and appears to be an appliqué piece. There is an incised central bun and the incisions continue across the entire fragment. This is interpreted as depicting hair.



H-71

CP-95C-055

Plaza B, Unit PU-8, Level 5

Solid

Length: 3.95 cm

Width: 3.25 cm

Thickness: 1.95 cm

Paste: Cream

Slip: none

Anthropomorphic

This head fragment has eyes, a nose, and a mouth present. The nose is situated between the eyes with no nostrils indicated. The eyes are formed by dual ovate impressions and a single central punctation. The mouth is open and is encircled by full lips. There are no features on the crown of the head.



H-72

CP-94C-016

Tolok, Structure 1 (Midden), Bedrock

Solid

Length: 6.35 cm

Width: 3.10 cm

Thickness: 1.40 cm

Paste: Cream

Slip: Orange

Anthropomorphic

This fragment is unique to the sample but has qualities that are similar to other head fragments. There is an incised portion that may represent hair and a possible coil used to depict a band. There is a groove that runs horizontally and the back of the fragment is smooth.



H-73

CHP02-B4-U7L6-F054

Structure B-4, Unit 7, Level 6

Solid

Length: 5.20 cm

Width: 3.40 cm

Thickness: 3.20 cm

Paste: Cream

Slip: Cream

Anthropomorphic

This partial head fragment depicts the figure's left cheek and ear. The back of the head is flat and the face is smooth. The ear has an appliquéd earplug and there are traces of red pigment on the ear.



H-74

CP-94C-154

Tolok, Unit PU-2, Level 5

Solid

Length: 3.75 cm

Width: 4.25 cm

Thickness: 1.50 cm

Paste: Orange

Slip: none

Anthropomorphic

This form is classified as a head fragment and the only element remaining is an eye. It may be reminiscent of the coffee bean eyes seen in other regions of Mesoamerica.



H-75

CP-95C-093

Cas Pek, Structure 1, Level 12d

Solid

Length: 4.15 cm

Width: 3.00 cm

Thickness: 1.50 cm

Paste: Cream

Slip: none

Anthropomorphic

This was classified as a head fragment because it is a figure's left ear. There are horizontal incisions above an earplug. This ear has a particular style to it that is not seen elsewhere in the sample.



H-76

CP-94C-014

Tolok, Structure 1, Unit PU-2, above midden

Solid

Length: 7.35 cm

Width: 6.00 cm

Thickness: 2.95 cm

Paste: Buff

Slip: Orange

Anthropomorphic

This fragment is a head still connected to an upper torso with one arm. It is very eroded and there is indication of a nose and mouth, but they are no longer present. The eyes are eroded but are still present and were executed by the tripunctation technique. The pectoral area is not defined by any features and the arm is very short with a rounded end.



H-77

CHP02-B4-U7L8B-F081

Structure B-4, Unit 7, Level 8b

Solid

Length: 2.00 cm

Width: 2.70 cm

Thickness: 2.40 cm

Paste: Orange

Slip: Orange

Anthropomorphic

This very small fragment was identified as a head fragment because of the form and an incised line that curves. The line is similar to others seen as the definition between the head and the forehead.



H-78

CP-94C-011

Tolok, Structure 1 (midden, Unit PU-2, Bedrock

Solid

Length: 3.85 cm

Width: 4.30 cm

Thickness: 2.55 cm

Paste: Orange

Slip: Orange

Anthropomorphic

This head fragment is very eroded but the lower part of the face is preserved. The mouth is there but a thick line remains. Other details are difficult to distinguish and there may be incisions or scratches on the back of the head, but this may not have been intentional.



H-79

CHP02-B4-U7L8B-F080

Structure B-4, Unit 7, Level 8b

Solid

Length: 2.50 cm

Width: 2.35 cm

Thickness: 1.95 cm

Paste: Orange

Slip: none

Anthropomorphic

The form of this fragment is a left ear. There are two horizontal incisions above an earplug that is rounded with a central punctation that does not fully penetrate the clay.



H-80

Structure C-2, Unit 2, Level 2

Solid

Length: 2.65 cm

Width: 2.35 cm

Thickness: 1.30 cm

Paste: Orange

Slip: none

Anthropomorphic

This fragment was either part of a hollow form or was an appliqué piece. It is a face of a head fragment. The style of this face was created by the use of incised lines. The nose and the chin project the most with the mouth open. There are also vertical incision lines on the forehead and there may have been a possible head garment but only a portion remains.





H-81

Structure C-6, Level 4

Solid

Length: 5.45 cm

Width: 5.05 cm

Thickness: 3.70 cm

Paste: Orange

Slip: none

Anthropomorphic

This form is a head fragment with a variety of features. The head is in the round and not flat like many of the others. The face appears full with a partially open mouth with full lips. The nose projects with no evidence that nostrils were present. The eyes are very narrow and are executed by dual impressions. The center portion is raised and serves as the pupil. The forehead is not concave and is rounded. There is a defined line that frames the face with a single centered bun on the crown of the head. The back of the head has a curved in and indented area.



H-82

This fragment was reclassified.

**H-83**

CP-B4-U7-L9-417

Structure B-4, Unit 7, Level 9

Solid

Length: 6.70 cm

Width: 4.45 cm

Thickness: 3.30 cm

Paste: Orange-Brown

Slip: none

Anthropomorphic

This fragment is a head with several features. The crown of the head could be a single bun style or it may be another head garment. The eyes are dual impressed with a slant punctation. The mouth is open with teeth that are not well preserved. The nose is eroded off and the ears are no longer present.





H-84

CP-B4-U7-L10-415

Structure B-4, Unit 7, Level 10

Solid

Length: 5.80 cm

Width: 5.20 cm

Thickness: 2.90 cm

Paste: Cream

Slip: Cream

Anthropomorphic

This is a complete head fragment. The eyes are formed by dual ovate impressions and single central punctations. There are two horizontal incisions on both ears and there are appliquéd earplugs with punctations that do fully penetrate the clay. The nose is present but slightly eroded. The mouth is open and encircled by the lips with four incisions forming the teeth. There is a defining groove framing the face and the crown of the head is incised with lines indicating hair. There is also a headband that is an appliquéd coil that encircles the entire head and appears on the back, but the hair is not shown on the back. The head is wide with a flattened profile.



H-85

CP-B4-U7-L6-416

Structure B-4, Unit 7, Level 6

Solid

Length: 7.45 cm

Width: 7.15 cm

Thickness: 3.40 cm

Paste: Orange

Slip: Red

Anthropomorphic

This is a partial head that is still attached to the upper torso. This specimen demonstrates the disproportion of the heads to the torsos. The head is large with a smaller body. The torso is plain with no pectoral definition, but the belly does stick out slightly. The mouth is shown open with possibly teeth in the mouth, but no incisions are present. The ear that is remaining shows an earplug. There is a nose present on the face and a partial eye. The eye was executed by dual ovate impressions and a single central punctation.



H-86

CHP06-B4-U8L4-F003

Structure B-4, Unit 8, Level 4

Hollow

Length: 4.50 cm

Width: 4.30 cm

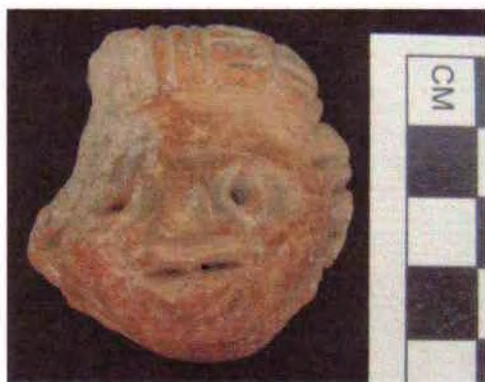
Thickness: 3.80 cm

Paste: Orange

Slip: Orange

Anthropomorphic

This head fragment could be interpreted as anthropomorphic or zoomorphic. It has similarities to the primate depiction in the zoomorphic specimens. It was placed in the anthropomorphic fragments to include the stylistic qualities with the other head fragments. The mouth is a curved horizontal incision with full lips. The nose is very naturalistic and the eyes are similar to the coffee bean eyes. The eyes project from the face that is more defined than other head fragments. There is a widows peak type shape on the crown of the head with a thin incised line outlining this shape further back on the head.



H-87

CHP06-B4-U8L4-F002

Structure B-4, Unit 8, Level 4

Solid

Length: 4.60 cm

Width: 4.55 cm

Thickness: 2.75 cm

Paste: Buff

Slip: Red-Brown

Anthropomorphic

This head fragment is circular in frontal view and somewhat flattened in profile. The mouth is shown as partially open. The nose is rounded with no nostrils. The eyes are deep dual ovate impressions with single central punctations. There is a shallow groove framing the face along the hairline. The crown of the head has alternating incisions and is interpreted as depicting hair. The remaining ear projects slightly with two horizontal incisions and an earplug punctation with the plug not really formed. The back of the head is flat, smooth, and without any detail.



H-88

CHP06-B4-U8L4-F004

Structure B-4, Unit 8, Level 4

Solid

Length: 8.50 cm

Width: 8.35 cm

Thickness: 3.40 cm

Paste: Orange-Brown

Slip: none

Anthropomorphic

This fragment is flat and thick. The lower portion of the face has survived. The eyes have shallow dual ovate impressions and shallow central punctations. The nose is rounded with the outer portion of the nostrils defined. The lips project as far as the nose and the mouth is open with defined tongue and two incisor teeth. There is one ear still present with an earplug and punctation that does not penetrate through the clay.



H-89

CHP06-B4-U8L4-F001

Structure B-4, Unit 8, Level 4

Solid

Length: 7.65 cm

Width: 5.80 cm

Thickness: 3.65 cm

Paste: Cream

Slip: none

Anthropomorphic

This head fragment has a crown that is smooth with a single central incised bun. There is slight definition that frames the face. The eyes are projected in outline and have the style of dual ovate impressions with single central punctation. The nose projects forward with no nostrils and an incision was used to separate the nose from the upper lip. The lips encircle the open mouth and teeth are depicted. The ears are complete and no earplugs are present. Both ears have four incisions. The figure's left ear has diagonal incisions that are all in the same degree of angle. The right ear differs with the top two incisions shown in diagonal and the bottom two are horizontal.

APPENDIX C

SPECIMEN INVENTORY: PROVENIENCE

I.D. #	Site	Group	Str.	E.U.	Level	Lot	S.F. #	Catalog Number
C-1	Cahal Pech	B	B-4	9	7b			CHP07-B4-U9L7B-F106
H-1	Cahal Pech	B	B-4	8	6			CHP06-B4-U8L6-F012
H-2	Cahal Pech	B	B-4	8	7			CHP06-B4-U8L7-F037
H-3	Cahal Pech	B	B-4	8	6b			CHP06-B4-U8L6b-F026
H-4	Cahal Pech	B	B-4	8	6			CHP06-B4-U8L6-F013
H-5	Cahal Pech	B	B-4	8	6			CHP06-B4-U8L6-F015
H-6	Cahal Pech	B	B-4	8	8			CHP06-B4-U8L8-F042
H-7	Cahal Pech	B	B-4	8	8			CHP06-B4-U8L8-F041
H-8	Cahal Pech	B	B-4	8	6b			CHP06-B4-U8L6B-F031
H-9	Cahal Pech	B	B-4	8	7			CHP06-B4-U8L7-F039
H-10	Cahal Pech	B	B-4	8	6b			CHP06-B4-U8L6B-F033
H-11	Cahal Pech	B	B-4	8	6c			CHP06-B4-U8L6C-F035
H-12	Cahal Pech	B	B-4	8	6			CHP06-B4-U8L6-F021
H-13	Cahal Pech	B	B-4	8	6b			CHP06-B4-U8L6B-F027
H-14	Cahal Pech	B	B-4	8	6b			CHP06-B4-U8L6B-F032
H-15	Cahal Pech	B	B-4	PU-12	5			CHP07-B4-PU12L5-F136
H-16	Cahal Pech	B	B-4	9	6			CHP07-B4-U9L6-F088
H-17	Cahal Pech	B	B-4	9	6			CHP07-B4-U9L6-F094
H-18	Cahal Pech	B	B-4	9	7c			CHP07-B4-U9L7C-F112
H-19	Cahal Pech	B	B-4	9	6			CHP07-B4-U9L6-F096
H-20	Cahal Pech	B	B-4	9	9			CHP07-B4-U9L9-F131
H-21	Cahal Pech	B	B-4	9	6			CHP07-B4-U9L6-F092
H-22	Cahal Pech	B	B-4	9	6			CHP07-B4-U9L6-F093
H-23	Cahal Pech	B	B-4	9	7b			CHP07-B4-U9L7B-F110
H-24	Cahal Pech	B	B-4	7	7c			CHP07-B4-U97C-F118
H-25	Cahal Pech	B	B-4	9	8			CHP07-B4-U9L8-F122
H-26	Cahal Pech	B	B-4	9	8			CHP07-B4-U9L8-F124
H-27	Cahal Pech	B	B-4		3			175
H-28	Cahal Pech	Tolok						195
H-29	Cahal Pech	Tolok	3	1	1			159
H-30	Cahal Pech	Tolok	2	1	1	25		156

I.D. #	Site	Group	Str.	E.U.	Level	Lot	S.F. #	Catalog Number
H-31	Cahal Pech	Tolok	1	1	looter's BF	1-5		169
H-32	Cahal Pech	Tolok	2	2			44	160
H-33	Cahal Pech	B	B-4	PU-94-1	7		45	CP-94C-078
H-34	Cahal Pech	B	B-4	PU-94-1	7		23	CP-94C-053
H-35	Cahal Pech	B	B-4	PU-94-1	7		39	CP-94C-071
H-36	Cahal Pech	B	B-4	PU-94-1	7		18	CP-94C-048
H-37	Cahal Pech	B	B-2		6			73
H-38	Cahal Pech	Cas Pek	1		11F2		SF-95-468	CP-95C-079
H-39	Cahal Pech	B	B-4	PU-94-1	3		B4-SF-002	CP-94C-001
H-40	Cahal Pech	Cas Pek	1		10F		SF-95-209	CP-95C-038
H-41	Cahal Pech	Cas Pek	1		12D		SF-95-548	CP-95C-095
H-42	Cahal Pech	Cas Pek	1		12C		SF-95-532	CP-95C-090
H-43	Cahal Pech	Cas Pek	1		SURFACE		SF-95-012	CP-95C-004
H-44	Cahal Pech	Zubin	C-9	C9-5	8		CP-SF/42	361
H-45	Cahal Pech	Cas Pek	1		12C		SF-95-470	CP-95C-081
H-46	Cahal Pech	Zubin	A-1	A1-3	1		A1-SF/31	206
H-47	Cahal Pech	B	B-4	PU-94-1	7		13	CP-94C-039
H-48	Cahal Pech	B	B-4		8		72	CP-94C-100
H-49	Cahal Pech	B	B-4	PU-94-1	7		21	CP-94C-051
H-50	Cahal Pech	B	B-4	PU-94-1	7		35	CP-94C-069
H-51	Cahal Pech				1			355
H-52	Cahal Pech	Cas Pek	1		11F2		SF-95-537	CP-95C-094
H-53	Cahal Pech	Cas Pek	1		11G2		SF-95-576	CP-95C-101
H-54	Cahal Pech	B	B-4	PU-94-1	7		34	CP-94C-068
H-55	Cahal Pech	B	B-4	PU-94-1	7		32	CP-94C-066
H-56	Cahal Pech	B	Plaza	PU-10	7		110	CP-95C-098
H-57	Pacbitun	B	Plaza	1	3		2	PAC-95C-002
H-58	Cahal Pech	Tolok	1	2 EXT	5	96		153
H-59	Cahal Pech	Tolok	Plaza	PU-1	4		25	CP-94C-180
H-60	Cahal Pech	Tolok	14	PU-2	4		27	CP-94C-182
H-61	Cahal Pech	B	Plaza	PU-3	8		38	CP-95C-022

I.D. #	Site	Group	Str.	E.U.	Level	Lot	S.F. #	Catalog Number
H-62	Cahal Pech	Zubin	C-9	C9-5	7		C9-SF/11	349
H-63	Cahal Pech	Zubin	A-4	Surface	Surface		A4-SF/44	
H-64	Cahal Pech	B	B-4	7	6B			CHP02-B4-U7L6B-F078
H-65	Cahal Pech	B	B-4	PU-94-1	7		36	CP-94C-070
H-66	Cahal Pech	B	Plaza	PU-10	7		101	CP-95C-072
H-67	Cahal Pech	Zopilote	lower platform	8	2		SF-94-3	342
H-68	Cahal Pech	B	Plaza	PU-10	6		65	CP-95C-053
H-69	Cahal Pech	B	Plaza	PU-10	7		98	CP-95C-069
H-70	Cahal Pech	B	Plaza	PU-8	5		47	CP-95C-044
H-71	Cahal Pech	B	Plaza	PU-8	5		68	CP-95C-055
H-72	Cahal Pech	Tolok	1	MIDDEN	BEDROCK		9	CP-94C-016
H-73	Cahal Pech	B	B-4	7	6			CHP02-B4-U7L6-F054
H-74	Cahal Pech	Tolok		PU-2	5		18	CP-94C-154
H-75	Cahal Pech	Cas Pek	1		12D		SF-95-537	CP-95C-093
H-76	Cahal Pech	Tolok	1	MIDDEN	above midden		7	CP-94C-014
H-77	Cahal Pech	B	B-4	7	8B			CHP02-B4-U7L8B-F081
H-78	Cahal Pech	Tolok	1	PU-2	BEDROCK		4	CP-94C-011
H-79	Cahal Pech	B	B-4	7	8B			CHP02-B4-U7L8B-F080
H-80	Cahal Pech	C	C-2	2	2			
H-81	Cahal Pech	C	C-6		4			
H-82	Cahal Pech	Tolok	14	10	4		19	CP-94C-170
H-83	Cahal Pech	B	B-4	7	9			CP-B4-U7L9-417
H-84	Cahal Pech	B	B-4	7	10			CP-B4-U7L10-415
H-85	Cahal Pech	B	B-4	7	6			CP-B4-U7L6-416
H-86	Cahal Pech	B	B-4	8	4			CHP06-B4-U8L4-F003
H-87	Cahal Pech	B	B-4	8	4			CHP06-B4-U8L4-F002
H-88	Cahal Pech	B	B-4	8	4			CHP06-B4-U8L4-F004
H-89	Cahal Pech	B	B-4	8	4			CHP06-B4-U8L4-F001
I-1	Cahal Pech	B	B-4	9	6			CHP07-B4-U9L6-F091
I-2	Cahal Pech	B	B-2		13			17
I-3	Cahal Pech	Tolok	1	1	1	7		168

I.D. #	Site	Group	Str.	E.U.	Level	Lot	S.F. #	Catalog Number
I-4	Cahal Pech	Tolok	2	2	4	92		158
I-5	Cahal Pech	Cas Pek	1		10G2		SF-95-503	CP-95C-085
I-6	Cahal Pech	Cas Pek	1		10F2		SF-95-246	CP-95C-640
I-7	Cahal Pech	Cas Pek	1		10F		SF-95-169	CP-95C-093
I-8	Cahal Pech	Tolok	14	10	4		21	CP-94C-172
I-9	Cahal Pech	Cas Pek	1		11B		SF-95-368	CP-95C-050
I-10	Cahal Pech	Tolok	1	MIDDEN	BEDROCK		2	CP-94C-009
I-11	Cahal Pech	B	B-4	7	6			CHP02-B4-U7L6-F070
I-12	Cahal Pech	B	B-4	7	6			CHP02-B4-U7L6-F071
I-13	Cahal Pech	B	B-4	7	12			CHP02-B4-U7L12-F082
I-14	Cahal Pech	B	B-4	8	6			CHP06-B4-U8L6-F009
I-15	Cahal Pech	B	B-4	9	7			CHP07-B4-U9L7-F104
I-16	Cahal Pech	B	Plaza	PU-94-1	8		78	CP-94C-122
I-17	Cahal Pech	B	Plaza	PU-94-1	7		26	CP-94C-060
I-18	Cahal Pech	Cas Pek	1		Surface		SF-95-044	CP-95C-009
I-19	Cahal Pech	Tzinic	2	15	1	15		165
I-20	Cahal Pech	Cas Pek	1		11F2		SF-95-504	CP-95C-086
I-21	Cahal Pech	B	B-4	7	6			CHP02-B4-U7L6-F074
I-22	Cahal Pech	B	B-4	8	6			CHP06-B4-U8L6-F008
I-23	Cahal Pech	Cas Pek	1	1	8		SF-29	234
I-24	Cahal Pech	Tolok	1	MIDDEN	BEDROCK		8	CP-94C-015
I-25	Pacbitun	B	Plaza	1	1		1	PAC-95C-001
I-26	Cahal Pech	B	B-4	9	7c			CHP07-B4-U9L7C-F113
I-27	Cahal Pech	Cas Pek	1		10		SF-95-049	CP-95C-011
I-28	Cahal Pech	Cas Pek	1		11F		SF-95-412	CP-95C-064
I-29	Cahal Pech	B	B-4	7	6			CHP02-B4-U7L6-F069
I-30	Cahal Pech	B	B-4	8	12			CHP06-B4-U8L12-F045
L-1	Cahal Pech	B	B-4	8	6b			CHP06-B4-U8L6b-F024
L-2	Cahal Pech	B	B-4	8	6			CHP06-B4-U8L6-F023
L-3	Cahal Pech	B	B-4	8	6			CHP06-B4-U8L6-F016
L-4	Cahal Pech	B	B-4	8	7			CHP06-B4-U8L7-F036

I.D. #	Site	Group	Str.	E.U.	Level	Lot	S.F. #	Catalog Number
L-5	Cahal Pech	B	B-4	8	8			CHP06-B4-U8L8-F043
L-6	Cahal Pech	B	B-4	8	6			CHP06-B4-U8L6-F011
L-7	Cahal Pech	B	B-4	8	8			CHP06-B4-U8L8-F040
L-8	Cahal Pech	B	B-4	8	6			CHP06-B4-U8L6-F017
L-9	Cahal Pech	B	B-4	8	4			CHP06-B4-U8L4-F006
L-10	Cahal Pech	B	B-4	8	6			CHP06-B4-U8L6-F010
L-11	Cahal Pech	B	B-4	8	6			CHP06-B4-U8L6-F022
L-12	Cahal Pech	B	B-4	8	6			CHP06-B4-U8L6-F019
L-13	Cahal Pech	B	B-4	8	6b			CHP06-B4-U86B-F025
L-14	Cahal Pech	B	B-4	PU-12	5			CHP07-B4-PU12L5-F140
L-15	Cahal Pech	B	B-4	PU-12	5			CHP07-B4-PU12L5-F139
L-16	Cahal Pech	B	B-4	PU-12	5			CHP07-B4-PU12L5-F138
L-17	Cahal Pech	B	B-4	9	7c			CHP07-B4-U9L7C-F116
L-18	Cahal Pech	B	B-4	9	5			CHP07-B4-U9L5-F086
L-19	Cahal Pech	B	B-4	9	7b			CHP07-B4-U9L7B-F108
L-20	Cahal Pech	B	B-4	9	8			CHP07-B4-U9L8-F127
L-21	Cahal Pech	B	B-4	9	6			CHP07-B4-U9L6-F099
L-22	Cahal Pech	B	B-4	9	4a			CHP07-B4-U9L4A-F083
L-23	Cahal Pech	B	B-4	9	6			CHP07-B4-U9L6-F087
L-24	Cahal Pech	B	B-4	9	7b			CHP07-B4-U9L7B-F109
L-25	Cahal Pech	B	B-4	9	8			CHP07-b4-U9L8-F121
L-26	Cahal Pech	B	B-4	9	9			CHP07-B4-U9L9-F130
L-27	Cahal Pech	B	B-4	9	9			CHP07-B4-U9L9-F129
L-28	Cahal Pech	B	B-4	9	7c			CHP07-B4-U9L7C-F114
L-29	Cahal Pech	B	B-4	9	6			CHP07-B4-U9L6-F089
L-30	Cahal Pech	B	B-4	9	8			CHP07-B4-U9L8-F120
L-31	Cahal Pech	B	B-4	9	8			CHP07-B4-U9L8-F123
L-32	Cahal Pech	B	B-4	9	7c			CHP07-B4-U9L7C-F117
L-33	Cahal Pech	B	B-4	9	8			CHP07-B4-U9L8-F125
L-34	Cahal Pech	A	A-1					60
L-35	Cahal Pech	B	B-2		13			18

I.D. #	Site	Group	Str.	E.U.	Level	Lot	S.F. #	Catalog Number
L-36	Cahal Pech	B	B-5		1			58
L-37	Cahal Pech	B	B-5		1			56
L-38	Cahal Pech	Cas Pek	1	3	2		120	192
L-39	Cahal Pech	G	G-2			Lot 17		44
L-40	Cahal Pech	Tolok	1	1		Lots 1-5		166
L-41	Cahal Pech	Tolok						199
L-42	Cahal Pech	Tolok						202
L-43	Cahal Pech	Tolok	5	1	3			205
L-44	Cahal Pech	Tolok						198
L-45	Cahal Pech	Tolok	4	1	1			154
L-46	Cahal Pech	Tzinic	2	2	1			51
L-47	Cahal Pech	Tolok	1	MIDDEN	BEDROCK		3	CP-95C-010
L-48	Cahal Pech	Zopilote	1	7	7		SF-94-5	344
L-49	Cahal Pech	Cas Pek	1		11F		SF-95-408	CP-95C-063
L-50	Cahal Pech	B	B-4	7	6			CHP02-B4-U7L6-F063
L-51	Pacbitun	B	Plaza	1	3		PAC-6	PAC-95C-006
L-52	Cahal Pech	Cas Pek	1		11G2		SF-95-577	CP-95C-102
L-53	Cahal Pech	Zubin	B-8	B8-3	1		B8-SF/23	365
L-54	Cahal Pech	B	B-4	7	6			CHP02-B4-U7L6-F073
L-55	Cahal Pech	Cas Pek	1		11C		SF-95-573	CP-95C-100
L-56	Cahal Pech	Cas Pek	1		10A		SF-95-087	CP-95C-015
L-57	Cahal Pech	Cas Pek	1		10C		SF-95-123	CP-95C-024
L-58	Cahal Pech	B	B-5	7	6			CHP02-B4-U7L6-F062
L-59	Cahal Pech	Cas Pek	1		10G		SF-95-130	CP-95C-028
L-60	Cahal Pech	Cas Pek	1		11F2		SF-95-631	CP-95C-108
L-61	Cahal Pech	Cas Pek	1		Surface		SF-95-005	CP-95C-003
L-62	Cahal Pech	Cas Pek	1		11H		SF-95-610	CP-95C-105
L-63	Cahal Pech	Cas Pek	1		11F		SF-95-413	CP-95C-065
L-64	Cahal Pech	Tzinic	2	2	1			51
L-65	Cahal Pech	Zopilote	A-1	7	5		SF-94-4	343
L-66	Cahal Pech	B	B-5	PU-94-1	4b		5	CP-94C-022

I.D. #	Site	Group	Str.	E.U.	Level	Lot	S.F. #	Catalog Number
L-67	Cahal Pech	Cas Pek	1		12B		SF-95-514	CP-95C-087
L-68	Cahal Pech	Cas Pek	1		11H		SF-95-630	CP-95C-107
L-69	Cahal Pech	Cas Pek	1		Surface		SF-95-013	CP-95C-005
L-70	Cahal Pech	Cas Pek	1		12C		SF-95-472	CP-95C-083
L-71	Cahal Pech	B	Plaza	PU-11	6		66	CP-95C-054
L-72	Cahal Pech	B	B-4	PU-94-1	7		16	CP-94C-042
L-73	Cahal Pech	B	B-4	PU-94-1	7		24	CP-94C-058
L-74	Cahal Pech	B	B-4	PU-94-1	7		28	CP-94C-062
L-75	Pacbitun	B	Plaza	1	4		10	PAC-95C-010
L-76	Cahal Pech	Tolok	1	MIDDEN	BEDROCK		1	CP-94C-008
L-77	Cahal Pech	Zubin	Plaza	AP-12	4		AP-SF/5	353
L-78	Cahal Pech	Tolok	1	MIDDEN	BEDROCK		5	CP-94C-012
L-79	Cahal Pech	Zubin	Plaza	AP-1A	4		AP-SF/4	354
L-80	Cahal Pech	B	Plaza	PU-10	7		99	CP-95C-070
L-81	Cahal Pech	Zopilote	A-1	7	5		SF-94-2	341
L-82	Cahal Pech	B	Plaza	PU-10	7		103	CP-95C-074
L-83	Cahal Pech	Cas Pek	1		12A		SF-95-572	CP-95C-097
L-84	Cahal Pech	B	B-4	7	6			CHP02-B4-U7L6-F064
L-85	Cahal Pech	Zopilote	A-1	7	2		SF-94-7	346
L-86	Cahal Pech	B	B-4	PU-94-1	7		25	CP-94C-059
L-87	Cahal Pech	B	B-4	PU-94-1	7		19	CP-94C-049
L-88	Cahal Pech	Zopilote	A-1	7	2			347
L-89	Cahal Pech	B	B-4	PU-94-1	4a		3	CP-94C-020
L-90	Cahal Pech	B	Plaza	PU-8	4		45	CP-95C-042
L-91	Cahal Pech	B	B-4	PU-94-1	7		47	CP-94C-080
L-92	Cahal Pech	Zubin	C-9	C9-5	8		CP-SF/14	362
L-93	Cahal Pech	Tolok	14	14W 1/B	1-4		SF-13	CP-94C-102
L-94	Cahal Pech	B	Plaza	PU-10	7		107	CP-95C-078
L-95	Cahal Pech	B	Plaza	PU-94-1	7		50	CP-94C-083
L-96	Cahal Pech	Zubin	C-9	C9-5	7		CP-SF/13	352
L-97	Cahal Pech	B	Plaza	PU-10	7		105	CP-95C-076

I.D. #	Site	Group	Str.	E.U.	Level	Lot	S.F. #	Catalog Number
L-98	Cahal Pech	B	B-4	7 ext	6			CHP02-B4-U7L6-F077
L-99	Cahal Pech	B	B-4	PU-94-1	7		46	CP-94C-079
L-100	Cahal Pech	Cas Pek	1		10A		SF-95-139	CP-95C-035
L-101	Cahal Pech	Zopilote	A-1	7	5		SF-94-1	340
L-102	Cahal Pech	B	B-4	PU-94-1	7		57	CP-94C-085
L-103	Cahal Pech	B	B-4	PU-94-1	10		85	CP-94C-136
L-104	Cahal Pech	Zubin	C-9	C9-5	7		CP-SF/44	359
L-105	Cahal Pech	Zubin	C-9	C9-5	9		CP-SF/47	358
L-106	Cahal Pech	B	Plaza	PU-10	7		106	CP-95C-077
L-107	Cahal Pech	B	B-4	PU-94-1	7		27	CP-94C-061
L-108	Cahal Pech	B	B-4	PU-94-1	7		60	CP-94C-093
L-109	Cahal Pech	B	B-4	PU-94-1	8		73	CP-94C-101
L-110	Cahal Pech	B	Plaza	PU-8	4		46	CP-95C-043
L-111	Cahal Pech	B	B-4	7	6			CHP02-B4-U7L6-F052
L-112	Cahal Pech	B	B-4	7	6			CHP02-B4-U7L6-F060
L-113	Cahal Pech	B	B-4	7A	4			CHP02-B4-U7AL4-F046
L-114	Cahal Pech	B	B-4	PU-94-1	7		22	CP-94C-052
L-115	Cahal Pech	B	B-4	PU-94-1	7		20	CP-94C-050
L-116	Cahal Pech	B	B-4	PU-94-1	7		61	CP-94C-094
L-117	Cahal Pech	Zubin	B-8	B8-1	1		B8-SF/5	356
L-118	Cahal Pech	B	Plaza	PU-3	8		114	CP-95C-113
L-119	Cahal Pech	B	Plaza	PU-10	7		76	CP-95C-059
L-120	Cahal Pech	B	B-4	7 ext south	6			CHP02-B4-U7L6-F076
L-121	Cahal Pech	B	Plaza	PU-10	6		64	CP-95C-052
L-122	Cahal Pech	B	Plaza	PU-10	7		77	CP-95C-060
L-123	Cahal Pech	B	B-4	7	6			CHP02-B4-U7L6-F072
L-124	Cahal Pech	B	Plaza	PU-4	4		14	CP-95C-012
L-125	Cahal Pech	B	B-4	7	6			CHP02-B4-U7L6-F056
L-126	Cahal Pech	B	B-4	7	6			CHP02-B4-U7L6-050
L-127	Cahal Pech	B	B-4	7	6			CHP02-B4-U7L6-F059
L-128	Cahal Pech	B	B-4	7	5			CHP02-B4-U7L5-F051

I.D. #	Site	Group	Str.	E.U.	Level	Lot	S.F. #	Catalog Number
L-129	Cahal Pech	B	Plaza	PU-94-1	7		40	CP-94C-072
L-130	Cahal Pech	Tolok	1	MIDDEN	BEDROCK		10	CP-94C-017
L-131	Cahal Pech	Tolok		4 ext	4		17	CP-94C-150
L-132	Cahal Pech	Tolok	14	10	4		22	CP-94C-173
L-133	Cahal Pech	B	Plaza	PU-94-1	7		30	CP-94C-064
L-134	Cahal Pech	Cas Pek	1		12C		SF-95-533	CP-95C-091
L-135	Cahal Pech	Cas Pek	1		Surface		SF-95-001	CP-95C-001
L-136	Cahal Pech	Zubin	C-9	C9-5	8		C9-SF/45	357
L-137	Cahal Pech	Cas Pek	1		10		SF-95-077	CP-95C-014
T-1	Cahal Pech	B	B-4	8	6			CHP06-B4-U8L6-F014
T-2	Cahal Pech	B	B-4	8	8			CHP06-B4-U8L8-F044
T-3	Cahal Pech	B	B-4	8	4			CHP06-B4-U8L4-F005
T-4	Cahal Pech	B	B-4	8	6b			CHP06-B4-U8L6b-F030
T-5	Cahal Pech	B	B-4	8	6b			CHP06-B4-UBL6B-F029
T-6	Cahal Pech	B	B-4	8	6b			CHP06-B4-U8L6B-F028
T-7	Cahal Pech	B	B-4	8	4b			CHP06-B4-U8L4B-F007
T-8	Cahal Pech	B	B-4	8	6			CHP06-B4-U8L6-F018
T-9	Cahal Pech	B	B-4	PU-12	5			CHP07-B4-PU12L5-F141
T-10	Cahal Pech	B	B-4	PU-12	5			CHP07-B4-PU12L5-F137
T-11	Cahal Pech	B	B-4	9	7b			CHP07-B4-U9L7B-F105
T-12	Cahal Pech	B	B-4	9	7b			CHP07-B4-U9L7B-F107
T-13	Cahal Pech	B	B-4	9	4b			CHP07-B4-U9L4B-F084
T-14	Cahal Pech	B	B-4	9	6			CHP07-B4-U9LS-F101
T-15	Cahal Pech	B	B-4	9	6b			CHP07-B4-U9L6B-F103
T-16	Cahal Pech	B	B-4	9	8			CHP07-B4-U9L8-F128
T-17	Cahal Pech	B	B-4	9	8			CHP07-B4-U9L8-F119
T-18	Cahal Pech	B	B-4	9	9			CHP07-B4-U9L9-F132
T-19	Cahal Pech	Cas Pek	1	mixed				163
T-20	Cahal Pech	Cas Pek	1		3 or 4			162
T-21	Cahal Pech	Tolok	Patio	PU-2 ext	1		2	204
T-22	Cahal Pech	Tolok						203

I.D. #	Site	Group	Str.	E.U.	Level	Lot	S.F. #	Catalog Number
T-23	Cahal Pech	Tolok						200
T-24	Cahal Pech	Tolok	1	1	looter's BF			99
T-25	Cahal Pech	B	Plaza	1 or 2	1			1
T-26	Cahal Pech	Tolok						193
T-27	Cahal Pech	Tolok	1	1	1			67
T-28	Cahal Pech	Tolok	1	1	looter's BF			100
T-29	Cahal Pech	Tolok	1	1	looter's BF			155
T-30	Cahal Pech	Tzinic	2	2	4			25
T-31	Cahal Pech	Tzinic	2		1 and 2			21
T-32	Cahal Pech	Tzinic	2					39
T-33	Cahal Pech	Tzinic	1	17	1			170
T-34	Cahal Pech	Tzinic	2	3	3B			144
T-35	Cahal Pech	Tzinic			4	3		14
T-36	Cahal Pech	B	B-4	PU-94-1	7		59	CP-94C-087
T-37	Cahal Pech	B	B-4	7	6			CHP02-B4-U7L6-F068
T-38	Cahal Pech	Cas Pek	1		10K		SF-95-561	CP-95C-096
T-39	Cahal Pech	B	B-5		2		123	
T-40	Cahal Pech	Tzinic	2	2	4			25
T-41	Cahal Pech	Cas Pek	1		10F2		SF-95-426	CP-95C-066
T-42	Cahal Pech	Zubin	A-4	A4-2A	10		A4-SF/38	351
T-43	Cahal Pech	B	B-4	PU-94-1	6		8	CP-94C-028
T-44	Cahal Pech	B	B-4	PU-94-1	7		41	CP-94C-073
T-45	Cahal Pech	B	B-4	PU-94-1	7		12	CP-94C-038
T-46	Cahal Pech	B	B-4	PU-94-1	6		9	CP-94C-029
T-47	Cahal Pech	B	B-4	PU-94-1	10		89	CP-94C-145
T-48	Cahal Pech	B	B-4	7	6			CHP02-B4-U7L6-F057
T-49	Cahal Pech	Tolok	Plaza	PU-2	4		12	CP-94C-099
T-50	Cahal Pech	Zubin	C-9	C9-5	8		C9-SF/43	363
T-51	Cahal Pech	B	B-4	7ext south	6			CHP02-B4-U7L6-F75
T-52	Cahal Pech	B	Plaza	PU-10	7		100	CP-95C-071
T-53	Cahal Pech	B	Plaza	PU-94-1	7		29	CP-95C-063

I.D. #	Site	Group	Str.	E.U.	Level	Lot	S.F. #	Catalog Number
T-54	Cahal Pech	B	B-4	7	6			CHP02-B4-U7L6-F061
T-55	Cahal Pech	B	B-4	7	6			CHP02-B4-U7L6-F067
T-56	Cahal Pech	B	B-4	7 ext south	5			CHP02-B4-U7L5-F049
T-57	Cahal Pech	B	B-4	PU-94-1	7		48	CP-94C-081
T-58	Cahal Pech	B	Plaza	PU-3	8		30	CP-95C-016
T-59	Cahal Pech	B	Plaza	PU-10	7		102	CP-95C-073
T-60	Cahal Pech	B	B-4	7	4			CHP02-B4-U7L4-F047
T-61	Cahal Pech	Zubin	C-9	C9-5	7		CP-SF/12	348
T-62	Cahal Pech	Tolok		4 ext	4		15	CP-94C-148
T-63	Cahal Pech	Zubin	A-1	A1-4	6		A1-SF/249	350
T-64	Cahal Pech	B	Plaza	PU-4	5		19	cp-95c-013
T-65	Cahal Pech	Tolok	1	MIDDEN	BEDROCK		6	CP-94C-013
T-66	Cahal Pech	B	B-4	PU-94-1	7		31	CP-94C-065
T-67	Cahal Pech	Tolok		3	5		24	CP-94C-179
T-68	Cahal Pech	Tolok			4		14	CP-94C-121
T-69	Cahal Pech	Tolok	14	10	4		20	CP-94C-171
T-70	Cahal Pech	Tolok	18				23	CP-94C-177
T-71	Cahal Pech	B	B-4	7	5			CHP02-B4-U7L5-F048
T-72	Cahal Pech	Zopilote	A-1	7	4		SF-94-6	345
T-73	Cahal Pech	Tolok		4 ext	4		16	CP-94C-149
T-74	Cahal Pech	B	B-4	7	6			CP-B4-U7L6-414
U-1	Cahal Pech	B	B-4	8	6c			CHP06-B4-U8L6C-F034
U-2	Cahal Pech	B	B-4	8	7			CHP06-B4-U8L7-F038
U-3	Cahal Pech	B	B-4	8	6			CHP06-B4-U8L6-F020
U-4	Cahal Pech	B	B-4	9	6			CHP07-B4-U9L6-F097
U-5	Cahal Pech	B	B-4	9	6			CHP07-B4-U9L6-F098
U-6	Cahal Pech	B	B-4	9	7c			CHP07-B4-U9L7C-F115
U-7	Cahal Pech	B	B-4	9	8			CHP07-B4-U9L8-F126
U-8	Cahal Pech	B	B-4	9	6b			CHP07-B4-U9L6B-F102
U-9	Cahal Pech	B	B-4	9	9			CHP07-B4-U9L9-F134
U-10	Cahal Pech	B	B-4	9	6			CHP07-B4-U9L6-F135

I.D. #	Site	Group	Str.	E.U.	Level	Lot	S.F. #	Catalog Number
U-11	Cahal Pech	B	B-4	9	4b			CHP07-B4-U9L4B-F085
U-12	Cahal Pech	B	B-4	9	7b			CHP07-B4-U9L7B-F111
U-13	Cahal Pech	B	B-4	9	9			CHP07-B4-U9L9-F133
U-14	Cahal Pech	B	B-4	9	6			CHP07-B4-U9L6-F095
U-15	Cahal Pech	B	B-4	9	6			CHP07-B4-U9L6-F100
U-16	Cahal Pech	Tolok	Patio	PU-2 ext	1		13	207
U-17	Cahal Pech	Tolok	Patio	PU-2 ext	1		14	208
U-18	Cahal Pech	Tolok	5	1	2		12	196
U-19	Cahal Pech	Tolok						201
U-20	Cahal Pech	Tolok						197
U-21	Cahal Pech	Tolok	1	1	looter's BF			101
U-22	Cahal Pech	Tolok	1	2	1	28		157
U-23	Cahal Pech	Tolok	1	1	looter's BF	1-5		167
U-24	Cahal Pech	B	B-4	7	6			CHP02-B4-U7L6-F053
U-25	Cahal Pech	B	B-4	7	6			CHP02-B4-U7L6-F058
U-26	Cahal Pech	Cas Pek	1		12C		SF-95-531	CP-95C-089
U-27	Cahal Pech	Tolok		PU-1	4		26	CP-94C-181
U-28	Cahal Pech	B	B-4	PU-94-1	7		58	CP-94C-086
U-29	Pacbitun	C	Plaza	1	2		7	PAC-95C-007
U-30	Cahal Pech	B	Plaza	PU-10	7		70	CP-95C-057
U-31	Cahal Pech	B	Plaza	PU-3	8		34	CP-95C-018
U-32	Cahal Pech	B	Plaza	PU-3	8		36	CP-95C-020
U-33	Cahal Pech	B	B-4	7	6			CHP02-B4-U7L6-F055
U-34	Pacbitun	B	Plaza	1	3		4	PAC-96C-004
U-35	Cahal Pech	B	B-4	PU-94-1	7		49	CP-94C-082
U-36	Cahal Pech	B	B-4	PU-94-1	7		33	CP-94C-067
U-37	Cahal Pech	Cas Pek	1		10C		SF-95-124	CP-95C-025
U-38	Cahal Pech	B	Plaza	PU-94-1	7		15	CP-94C-041
U-39	Cahal Pech	Cas Pek	1		10C		SF-95-125	CP-95C-026
U-40	Cahal Pech	B	Plaza	PU-8	5		48	CP-95C-045
U-41	Cahal Pech	B	B-4	7	6			CHP02-B4-U7L6-F066

I.D. #	Site	Group	Str.	E.U.	Level	Lot	S.F. #	Catalog Number
U-42	Cahal Pech	B	Plaza	PU-94-1	7		14	CP-94C-040
U-43	Cahal Pech	B	Plaza	PU-94-1	4B		4	CP-94C-021
U-44	Cahal Pech	B	Plaza	PU-94-1	8		63	CP-94C-096
U-45	Cahal Pech	Zubin	C-9	C9-5	7		CP-SF/46	360
U-46	Cahal Pech	B	B-4	7	6			CHP02-BE-U7L6-F065
Z-1	Cahal Pech	B	B-4	9	6			CHP07-B4-U9L6-F090
Z-2	Cahal Pech	Cas Pek	1		10F		SF-95-170	CP-95C-037
Z-3	Pacbitun	B		2	4		9	PAC-95C-009
Z-4	Cahal Pech	Cas Pek	1		12B		SF-95-469	CP-95C-080
Z-5	Cahal Pech	B	B-4	7	6b			CHP02-B4-U7L6B-F079
Z-6	Pacbitun	B		1	4		3	PAC-95C-003
Z-7	Cahal Pech	B	Plaza	PU-3	8		35	CP-95C-019
Z-8	Cahal Pech	Tolok	Plaza	PU-2	4		11	CP-94C-057
Z-9	Cahal Pech	Cas Pek	1		10D		SF-95-247	CP-95C-041
Z-10	Cahal Pech	B	B-4	7	6			CP-B4-U7L6-413

APPENDIX D

SPECIMEN INVENTORY: CERAMIC AND FORM INFORMATION

I.D. #	Paste (Color)	Slip	Form	Anatomy	Solid/Hollow	Length (cm)	Width (cm)	Thickness (cm)
C-1	Orange	Cream	Anthropomorphic	Complete	Solid	5.65	3.95	3.55
H-1	Orange	None	Anthropomorphic	Head	Solid	2.60	2.70	2.00
H-2	Orange	None	Anthropomorphic	Head	Solid	2.40	3.55	1.90
H-3	Cream	Cream	Anthropomorphic	Head	Solid	4.00	3.80	2.30
H-4	Orange	None	Anthropomorphic	Head	Solid	3.40	4.10	1.60
H-5	Cream	Cream	Anthropomorphic	Head	Solid	5.55	6.10	2.55
H-6	Cream	Cream	Anthropomorphic	Head	Solid	8.00	6.40	4.05
H-7	Orange	Red	Anthropomorphic	Head	Solid	5.45	5.10	3.55
H-8	Orange	None	Anthropomorphic	Head	Solid	4.70	6.10	4.50
H-9	Orange	Red	Anthropomorphic	Head	Solid	2.60	3.00	1.35
H-10	Cream	None	Anthropomorphic	Head	Solid	3.15	2.65	1.75
H-11	Cream	Cream	Anthropomorphic	Head	Solid	7.80	6.40	3.70
H-12	Orange-Brown	None	Anthropomorphic	Head	Solid	6.60	4.00	3.25
H-13	Orange	None	Anthropomorphic	Head	Solid	3.20	3.55	1.85
H-14	Orange	None	Anthropomorphic	Head	Solid	3.55	3.65	3.05
H-15	Orange	None	Anthropomorphic	Head	Solid	5.70	6.35	3.55
H-16	Orange	None	Anthropomorphic	Head	Solid	3.30	3.65	2.30
H-17	Cream	Cream	Anthropomorphic	Head	Solid	5.80	4.70	2.70
H-18	Orange	Orange	Anthropomorphic	Head	Solid	4.70	4.30	1.95
H-19	Orange	None	Anthropomorphic	Head	Solid	2.40	3.45	1.95
H-20	Cream	Cream	Anthropomorphic	Head	Solid	9.75	8.90	4.35
H-21	Orange	None	Anthropomorphic	Head	Solid	6.30	5.90	4.85
H-22	Cream	Orange	Anthropomorphic	Head	Solid	5.45	5.95	3.15
H-23	Cream	None	Anthropomorphic	Head	Solid	6.10	3.15	1.50
H-24	Orange	Red	Anthropomorphic	Head	Solid	7.05	5.25	3.50
H-25	Cream	None	Anthropomorphic	Head	Solid	6.80	6.55	3.90
H-26	Orange	Orange	Anthropomorphic	Head	Solid	3.35	6.20	2.30
H-27	Orange	None	Anthropomorphic	Head	Solid	4.55	4.60	2.55
H-28	Orange	None	Anthropomorphic	Head	Solid	4.45	4.80	1.90
H-29	Orange on Buff	None	Anthropomorphic	Head	Solid	3.10	4.25	2.10
H-30	Orange	None	Anthropomorphic	Head	Solid	3.95	6.75	1.95

I.D. #	Paste (Color)	Slip	Form	Anatomy	Solid/Hollow	Length (cm)	Width (cm)	Thickness (cm)
H-31	Orange	None	Anthropomorphic	Head	Hollow	3.40	4.20	1.25
H-32	Orange	None	Anthropomorphic	Head	Solid	2.25	2.75	2.70
H-33	Orange	None	Anthropomorphic	Head	Solid	6.50	6.15	3.15
H-34	Orange on Buff	None	Anthropomorphic	Head	Solid	6.95	6.25	3.55
H-35	Orange	None	Anthropomorphic	Head	Solid	5.55	4.55	2.20
H-36	Cream	None	Anthropomorphic	Head	Solid	4.00	6.45	1.95
H-37	Orange	Orange	Anthropomorphic	Head	Solid	3.60	3.20	1.95
H-38	Orange	Orange	Anthropomorphic	Head	Solid	3.85	3.25	1.40
H-39	Orange	None	Anthropomorphic	Head	Solid	3.85	6.20	2.00
H-40	Orange	Orange	Anthropomorphic	Head	Solid	4.85	5.75	3.15
H-41	Cream	None	Anthropomorphic	Head	Solid	3.10	1.45	1.50
H-42	Orange	Red	Anthropomorphic	Head	Solid	3.25	2.00	1.20
H-43	Orange	None	Anthropomorphic	Head	Solid	3.35	4.40	2.05
H-44	Orange	None	Anthropomorphic	Head	Solid	4.80	3.25	2.90
H-45	Orange	None	Unknown	Head	Solid	4.30	3.75	1.40
H-46	Brown-Orange	None	Anthropomorphic	Head	Solid	5.40	4.75	2.45
H-47	Orange	None	Anthropomorphic	Head	Solid	2.90	3.35	2.50
H-48	Orange	None	Anthropomorphic	Head	Solid	3.35	4.90	3.00
H-49	Orange	None	Anthropomorphic	Head	Solid	7.90	5.90	3.25
H-50	Orange	None	Anthropomorphic	Head	Solid	2.30	2.40	1.05
H-51	Orange	None	Anthropomorphic	Head	Solid	3.40	3.65	2.75
H-52	Orange	None	Anthropomorphic	Head	Solid	2.75	5.35	2.45
H-53	Cream	None	Anthropomorphic	Head	Solid	3.80	4.30	1.75
H-54	Cream	None	Anthropomorphic	Head	Solid	3.75	6.55	1.10
H-55	Orange	None	Anthropomorphic	Head	Solid	2.90	1.30	1.70
H-56	Cream	None	Anthropomorphic	Head	Solid	5.50	3.65	1.75
H-57	Orange	None	Anthropomorphic	Head	Solid	8.05	6.95	4.30
H-58	Orange	None	Anthropomorphic	Head	Solid	4.50	5.40	2.65
H-59	Cream	None	Unknown	Head	Solid	3.55	3.65	1.60
H-60	Orange	None	Unknown	Head	Solid	3.65	2.40	2.20
H-61	Orange	Orange	Anthropomorphic	Head	Solid	5.05	6.25	1.90

I.D. #	Paste (Color)	Slip	Form	Anatomy	Solid/Hollow	Length (cm)	Width (cm)	Thickness (cm)
H-62	Orange	None	Anthropomorphic	Head	Solid	10.70	8.35	4.45
H-63	Orange	None	Anthropomorphic	Head	Solid	4.95	4.75	3.35
H-64	Orange on Buff	Orange	Anthropomorphic	Head	Solid	3.60	5.60	2.80
H-65	Cream	None	Anthropomorphic	Head	Solid	8.00	8.80	2.65
H-66	Orange	None	Anthropomorphic	Head	Solid	3.70	6.15	1.85
H-67	Orange	None	Anthropomorphic	Head	Solid	3.95	5.90	1.40
H-68	Cream	None	Anthropomorphic	Head	Solid	1.45	3.50	1.35
H-69	Cream	None	Anthropomorphic	Head	Solid	4.10	5.00	1.60
H-7	Orange	Red	Anthropomorphic	Head	Solid	5.45	5.10	3.55
H-70	Orange	None	Anthropomorphic	Head	Solid	5.80	2.60	1.20
H-71	Cream	None	Anthropomorphic	Head	Solid	3.95	3.25	1.95
H-72	Cream	Orange	Anthropomorphic	Head	Solid	6.35	3.10	1.40
H-73	Cream	Cream	Anthropomorphic	Head	Solid	5.20	3.40	3.20
H-74	Orange	None	Anthropomorphic	Head	Solid	3.75	4.25	1.50
H-75	Cream	None	Anthropomorphic	Head	Solid	4.14	3.00	1.50
H-76	Cream	Orange	Anthropomorphic	Head	Solid	7.35	6.00	2.95
H-77	Orange	Orange	Anthropomorphic	Head	Solid	2.00	2.70	2.40
H-78	Orange	Orange	Anthropomorphic	Head	Solid	3.85	4.30	2.55
H-79	Orange	None	Anthropomorphic	Head	Solid	2.50	2.35	1.95
H-80	Orange	None	Anthropomorphic	Head	Solid	2.65	2.35	1.30
H-81	Orange	None	Anthropomorphic	Head	Solid	5.45	5.05	3.70
H-82	Orange	None	Anthropomorphic	Head	Solid	6.25	4.40	2.30
H-83	Orange-Brown	None	Anthropomorphic	Head	Solid	6.70	4.50	3.30
H-84	Cream	Cream	Anthropomorphic	Head	Solid	5.80	5.20	2.90
H-85	Orange	Red	Anthropomorphic	Head	Solid	7.45	7.15	3.40
H-86	Orange	Orange	Anthropomorphic	Head	Hollow	4.50	4.30	3.80
H-87	Cream	Red	Anthropomorphic	Head	Solid	4.60	4.55	2.75
H-88	Orange-Brown	None	Anthropomorphic	Head	Solid	8.50	8.35	3.40
H-89	Cream	None	Anthropomorphic	Head	Solid	7.65	5.80	3.65
I-1	Cream	Orange	Zoomorphic	Head	Hollow	5.20	3.60	3.80
I-2	Orange	None	Unknown	Unknown	Hollow	3.45	2.40	1.00

I.D. #	Paste (Color)	Slip	Form	Anatomy	Solid/Hollow	Length (cm)	Width (cm)	Thickness (cm)
I-3	Orange	Red	Unknown	Head	Hollow	2.85	2.85	1.60
I-4	Orange	None	Instrument	Unknown	Solid	4.25	3.00	2.25
I-5	Cream	Black	Instrument	Unknown	Hollow	4.75	4.75	1.95
I-6	Orange	None	Instrument	Unknown	Hollow	2.60	1.90	1.60
I-7	Orange	None	Zoomorphic	Unknown	Hollow	3.55	2.95	2.60
I-8	Orange	None	Instrument	Mouthpiece	Hollow	4.00	3.90	1.95
I-9	Orange	None	Instrument	Mouthpiece	Solid	3.95	2.70	1.40
I-10	Orange	None	Instrument	Mouthpiece	Hollow	3.85	3.10	2.05
I-11	Cream	Red	Zoomorphic	Head	Hollow	4.40	2.90	0.70
I-12	Orange on Buff	None	Zoomorphic	Head	Hollow	4.75	4.40	3.65
I-13	Cream	None	Instrument	Unknown	Hollow	2.75	2.90	0.80
I-14	Cream	None	Instrument	Unknown	Hollow	4.40	4.10	1.15
I-15	Brown-Orange	None	Instrument	Unknown	Hollow	2.00	1.85	0.50
I-16	Cream	None	Instrument	Unknown	Solid	3.60	3.05	1.25
I-17	Cream	Cream	Instrument	Unknown	Hollow	2.70	2.25	0.70
I-18	Orange	Red	Instrument	Unknown	Hollow	4.35	4.20	1.65
I-19	Orange	None	Instrument	Mouthpiece	Hollow	4.95	3.75	2.30
I-20	Cream	None	Instrument	Torso	Hollow	4.50	3.10	3.65
I-21	Cream	None	Zoomorphic	Head	Hollow	4.75	3.55	2.05
I-22	Cream	None	Zoomorphic	Head	Hollow	4.10	2.70	0.90
I-23	Brown-Orange	None	Instrument	Mouthpiece	Hollow	2.00	2.80	2.30
I-24	Orange	Orange	Instrument	Complete	Hollow	4.65	4.75	5.20
I-25	Red-Orange	None	Instrument	Mouthpiece	Hollow	2.65	1.75	1.60
I-26	Orange on Buff	Orange	Instrument	Head	Hollow	8.25	6.45	4.45
I-27	Orange	None	Instrument	Unknown	Hollow	2.75	1.80	1.30
I-28	Orange	None	Instrument	Mouthpiece	Hollow	3.00	2.15	2.00
I-29	Orange	None	Instrument	Unknown	Hollow	3.65	2.15	0.35
I-30	Cream	None	Instrument	Unknown	Hollow	5.85	3.95	1.75
L-1	Cream	Orange	Anthropomorphic	Appendage	Solid	3.00	2.25	1.80
L-2	Orange	None	Anthropomorphic	Appendage	Solid	2.80	1.60	1.60
L-3	Orange	None	Anthropomorphic	Appendage	Solid	4.30	2.10	2.30

I.D. #	Paste (Color)	Slip	Form	Anatomy	Solid/Hollow	Length (cm)	Width (cm)	Thickness (cm)
L-4	Orange	Cream	Anthropomorphic	Appendage	Solid	4.10	2.10	2.20
L-5	Brown-Red	Red	Anthropomorphic	Appendage	Solid	6.90	2.15	2.10
L-6	Cream	None	Anthropomorphic	Appendage	Solid	6.60	3.70	2.80
L-7	Cream	None	Anthropomorphic	Appendage	Solid	3.80	1.60	1.65
L-8	Orange	Red	Anthropomorphic	Appendage	Solid	2.70	2.00	1.65
L-9	Cream	Red	Unknown	Appendage	Solid	7.65	3.65	4.50
L-10	Cream	None	Unknown	Appendage	Solid	4.00	2.15	1.90
L-11	Cream	None	Unknown	Appendage	Solid	2.70	2.25	2.70
L-12	Orange	Tan	Anthropomorphic	Appendage	Solid	5.85	3.35	2.30
L-13	Orange	None	Anthropomorphic	Appendage	Solid	2.80	3.80	1.25
L-14	Orange	Red	Anthropomorphic	Appendage	Solid	2.25	2.20	1.30
L-15	Orange	Red	Anthropomorphic	Appendage	Solid	2.65	1.75	1.55
L-16	Orange	Red	Anthropomorphic	Appendage	Solid	4.80	2.55	2.60
L-17	Cream	Tan	Anthropomorphic	Appendage	Solid	4.20	1.10	1.25
L-18	Orange	Red	Anthropomorphic	Appendage	Solid	3.30	1.20	1.25
L-19	Cream	Cream	Anthropomorphic	Appendage	Solid	3.70	2.00	1.85
L-20	Cream	Cream	Unknown	Appendage	Solid	2.80	1.80	1.45
L-21	Cream	None	Unknown	Appendage	Solid	5.40	4.10	2.05
L-22	Orange	Red	Anthropomorphic	Appendage	Solid	6.35	2.95	2.90
L-23	Orange	Red	Anthropomorphic	Appendage	Solid	3.05	2.75	1.90
L-24	Orange	None	Anthropomorphic	Appendage	Solid	2.45	1.60	1.50
L-25	Orange	Cream	Anthropomorphic	Appendage	Solid	2.55	1.50	1.40
L-26	Cream	None	Anthropomorphic	Appendage	Solid	2.55	2.20	2.00
L-27	Orange	Red	Anthropomorphic	Appendage	Solid	4.65	1.75	1.90
L-28	Cream	None	Anthropomorphic	Appendage	Solid	7.60	4.45	2.45
L-29	Orange	Red	Anthropomorphic	Appendage	Solid	3.15	1.75	1.60
L-30	Orange	None	Anthropomorphic	Appendage	Solid	6.75	3.75	3.40
L-31	Cream	None	Anthropomorphic	Appendage	Solid	5.10	1.75	1.70
L-32	Orange	Red	Anthropomorphic	Appendage	Solid	2.05	1.40	1.30
L-33	Orange	None	Anthropomorphic	Appendage	Solid	3.10	1.95	2.00
L-34	Orange	None	Anthropomorphic	Appendage	Solid	4.75	2.45	2.30

I.D. #	Paste (Color)	Slip	Form	Anatomy	Solid/Hollow	Length (cm)	Width (cm)	Thickness (cm)
L-35	Cream	Orange	Anthropomorphic	Appendage	Solid	2.40	1.40	1.60
L-36	Orange on Buff	None	Anthropomorphic	Appendage	Solid	5.95	2.60	2.45
L-37	Orange	Red	Anthropomorphic	Appendage	Solid	8.55	3.80	3.30
L-38	Orange-Brown	None	Anthropomorphic	Appendage	Solid	3.75	3.15	2.25
L-39	Orange	None	Anthropomorphic	Appendage	Solid	5.10	2.50	2.20
L-40	Brown	None	Anthropomorphic	Appendage	Solid	5.75	3.35	2.40
L-41	Orange	Red	Anthropomorphic	Appendage	Hollow	6.20	3.90	4.35
L-42	Orange	None	Anthropomorphic	Appendage	Solid	6.60	3.30	3.35
L-43	Orange	None	Anthropomorphic	Appendage	Solid	4.20	2.30	2.05
L-44	Orange	None	Anthropomorphic	Appendage	Solid	3.20	2.00	1.80
L-45	Brown-Orange	None	Anthropomorphic	Appendage	Solid	6.85	3.00	2.60
L-46	Orange	Orange	Anthropomorphic	Appendage	Solid	2.00	1.50	1.35
L-47	Cream	Red	Anthropomorphic	Appendage	Solid	7.45	4.55	2.60
L-48	Orange	None	Anthropomorphic	Appendage	Solid	5.85	4.05	4.05
L-49	Orange on Buff	None	Anthropomorphic	Appendage	Solid	5.50	2.85	2.25
L-50	Orange	Orange	Anthropomorphic	Appendage	Solid	2.75	1.85	1.70
L-51	Orange	None	Anthropomorphic	Appendage	Solid	2.10	1.65	1.25
L-52	Orange on Buff	None	Anthropomorphic	Appendage	Solid	1.75	1.50	1.05
L-53	Orange	None	Anthropomorphic	Appendage	Solid	2.70	1.60	1.55
L-54	Cream	None	Anthropomorphic	Appendage	Solid	4.00	2.40	2.40
L-55	Cream	Cream	Anthropomorphic	Appendage	Solid	2.90	1.10	1.00
L-56	Orange	None	Anthropomorphic	Appendage	Solid	5.40	3.40	2.55
L-57	Cream	None	Anthropomorphic	Appendage	Solid	4.05	1.50	1.45
L-58	Cream	Cream	Anthropomorphic	Appendage	Solid	4.00	2.45	3.20
L-59	Orange	Orange	Anthropomorphic	Appendage	Solid	6.70	2.95	3.30
L-60	Orange on Buff	None	Anthropomorphic	Appendage	Solid	3.35	2.55	2.40
L-61	Orange	None	Anthropomorphic	Appendage	Solid	1.70	1.55	1.05
L-62	Orange on Buff	None	Anthropomorphic	Appendage	Solid	3.25	1.20	1.15
L-63	Orange	None	Anthropomorphic	Appendage	Solid	2.30	1.45	1.25
L-64	Orange	None	Anthropomorphic	Appendage	Solid	2.00	1.60	1.45
L-65	Brown-Cream	None	Anthropomorphic	Appendage	Solid	2.50	2.20	2.00

I.D. #	Paste (Color)	Slip	Form	Anatomy	Solid/Hollow	Length (cm)	Width (cm)	Thickness (cm)
L-66	Orange	None	Anthropomorphic	Appendage	Solid	5.55	3.80	2.95
L-67	Cream	None	Anthropomorphic	Appendage	Solid	4.25	2.15	2.20
L-68	Orange	None	Anthropomorphic	Appendage	Solid	2.40	1.70	1.35
L-69	Cream	None	Anthropomorphic	Appendage	Solid	2.65	1.80	1.15
L-70	Cream	None	Anthropomorphic	Appendage	Solid	5.45	2.90	2.60
L-71	Orange	None	Anthropomorphic	Appendage	Solid	3.00	2.65	2.45
L-72	Orange	None	Anthropomorphic	Appendage	Solid	4.85	2.50	2.10
L-73	Orange	None	Anthropomorphic	Appendage	Solid	5.20	2.40	2.25
L-74	Orange	None	Anthropomorphic	Appendage	Solid	2.60	1.60	1.55
L-75	Orange	Orange	Anthropomorphic	Appendage	Solid	1.95	2.20	1.80
L-76	Cream	None	Anthropomorphic	Appendage	Solid	5.70	1.85	1.80
L-77	Orange	None	Anthropomorphic	Appendage	Solid	2.65	1.55	1.00
L-78	Cream	Cream	Anthropomorphic	Appendage	Solid	2.50	1.20	0.75
L-79	Orange	None	Anthropomorphic	Appendage	Solid	5.65	2.60	2.30
L-80	Cream	None	Anthropomorphic	Appendage	Solid	2.30	2.05	1.65
L-81	Orange	None	Anthropomorphic	Appendage	Solid	4.40	3.15	2.35
L-82	Orange	None	Anthropomorphic	Appendage	Solid	3.45	1.85	1.65
L-83	Cream	None	Anthropomorphic	Appendage	Solid	2.50	2.00	1.75
L-84	Cream	None	Anthropomorphic	Appendage	Solid	5.15	3.55	2.15
L-85	Orange	None	Anthropomorphic	Appendage	Solid	2.70	1.80	1.50
L-86	Orange	Red	Anthropomorphic	Appendage	Solid	4.55	1.90	1.90
L-87	Orange	None	Anthropomorphic	Appendage	Solid	6.10	2.65	2.40
L-88	Cream	None	Anthropomorphic	Appendage	Solid	5.30	1.85	1.75
L-89	Orange	None	Anthropomorphic	Appendage	Solid	4.85	2.85	2.30
L-90	Orange	None	Anthropomorphic	Appendage	Solid	2.95	2.25	1.90
L-91	Orange	None	Anthropomorphic	Appendage	Solid	1.75	1.50	1.20
L-92	Orange	Red	Anthropomorphic	Appendage	Solid	2.80	1.70	1.50
L-93	Orange	None	Anthropomorphic	Appendage	Solid	2.80	2.00	2.00
L-94	Orange	None	Anthropomorphic	Appendage	Solid	1.75	1.90	1.85
L-95	Cream	None	Anthropomorphic	Appendage	Solid	2.40	1.30	1.10
L-96	Orange	None	Anthropomorphic	Appendage	Solid	3.85	1.45	1.60

I.D. #	Paste (Color)	Slip	Form	Anatomy	Solid/Hollow	Length (cm)	Width (cm)	Thickness (cm)
L-97	Orange	None	Anthropomorphic	Appendage	Solid	2.25	1.90	2.45
L-98	Orange	None	Anthropomorphic	Appendage	Solid	3.35	3.75	2.20
L-99	Orange	None	Anthropomorphic	Appendage	Solid	3.85	2.10	1.70
L-100	Cream	None	Anthropomorphic	Appendage	Solid	3.05	1.60	1.40
L-101	Orange on Buff	None	Anthropomorphic	Appendage	Solid	7.90	3.65	3.15
L-102	Orange	None	Anthropomorphic	Appendage	Solid	5.40	2.90	2.20
L-103	Cream	None	Anthropomorphic	Appendage	Solid	3.15	2.30	2.20
L-104	Orange	Red	Anthropomorphic	Appendage	Solid	3.95	2.60	1.95
L-105	Orange	None	Anthropomorphic	Appendage	Solid	5.25	3.55	3.45
L-106	Orange	None	Anthropomorphic	Appendage	Solid	2.35	2.35	2.10
L-107	Cream	None	Anthropomorphic	Appendage	Solid	2.60	1.80	0.85
L-108	Orange on Buff	None	Anthropomorphic	Appendage	Solid	3.35	1.35	1.45
L-109	Cream	None	Anthropomorphic	Appendage	Solid	5.40	2.40	2.50
L-110	Orange	None	Anthropomorphic	Appendage	Solid	2.95	2.25	1.60
L-111	Cream	Cream	Anthropomorphic	Appendage	Solid	2.55	1.90	2.35
L-112	Cream	None	Anthropomorphic	Appendage	Solid	3.40	2.15	1.50
L-113	Orange on Buff	None	Anthropomorphic	Appendage	Solid	2.65	2.15	1.95
L-114	Orange	None	Anthropomorphic	Appendage	Solid	4.25	2.40	2.95
L-115	Orange	None	Anthropomorphic	Appendage	Solid	1.75	1.40	1.40
L-116	Orange	None	Anthropomorphic	Appendage	Solid	2.40	2.35	2.50
L-117	Cream	None	Anthropomorphic	Appendage	Solid	5.25	1.65	1.65
L-118	Orange	None	Anthropomorphic	Appendage	Solid	3.20	2.05	1.55
L-119	Cream	None	Anthropomorphic	Appendage	Solid	1.75	2.25	1.50
L-120	Cream	Red	Anthropomorphic	Appendage	Solid	4.30	2.30	2.20
L-121	Cream	None	Anthropomorphic	Appendage	Solid	2.15	1.65	1.30
L-122	Orange	None	Anthropomorphic	Appendage	Solid	3.35	2.80	3.15
L-123	Cream	None	Anthropomorphic	Appendage	Solid	2.65	1.80	1.55
L-124	Orange	None	Anthropomorphic	Appendage	Solid	5.70	3.40	2.55
L-125	Orange	Cream	Anthropomorphic	Appendage	Solid	6.85	3.80	2.85
L-126	Cream	None	Anthropomorphic	Appendage	Solid	2.30	1.50	1.40
L-127	Orange on Buff	None	Anthropomorphic	Appendage	Solid	2.10	2.00	1.90

I.D. #	Paste (Color)	Slip	Form	Anatomy	Solid/Hollow	Length (cm)	Width (cm)	Thickness (cm)
L-128	Orange	None	Anthropomorphic	Appendage	Solid	3.75	2.70	2.05
L-129	Orange	None	Anthropomorphic	Appendage	Solid	3.30	2.90	2.10
L-130	Orange	None	Anthropomorphic	Appendage	Solid	4.70	2.35	2.25
L-131	Cream	None	Anthropomorphic	Appendage	Solid	3.30	2.35	1.75
L-132	Orange	None	Anthropomorphic	Appendage	Solid	3.85	2.10	0.90
L-133	Orange	None	Anthropomorphic	Appendage	Solid	3.55	1.90	2.75
L-134	Brown-Orange	None	Anthropomorphic	Appendage	Solid	3.30	1.95	1.65
L-135	Orange	None	Anthropomorphic	Appendage	Solid	2.20	2.20	1.55
L-136	Orange	Orange	Anthropomorphic	Appendage	Hollow	7.60	3.35	3.45
L-137	Orange	None	Anthropomorphic	Appendage	Hollow	3.05	2.80	2.50
T-1	Orange	Red	Anthropomorphic	Torso	Solid	3.20	4.15	2.30
T-2	Orange	Red	Anthropomorphic	Torso	Solid	2.60	2.90	2.95
T-3	Cream	None	Anthropomorphic	Torso	Solid	3.90	5.30	2.80
T-4	Orange	Red	Anthropomorphic	Torso	Solid	5.45	3.45	4.45
T-5	Orange	Red	Anthropomorphic	Torso	Solid	5.25	5.95	2.45
T-6	Orange	Red	Anthropomorphic	Torso	Solid	5.00	3.85	2.95
T-7	Cream	None	Anthropomorphic	Torso	Solid	5.90	5.60	2.50
T-8	Cream	None	Anthropomorphic	Torso	Solid	6.00	8.65	2.40
T-9	Cream	None	Anthropomorphic	Torso	Solid	5.50	3.40	2.30
T-10	Cream	None	Anthropomorphic	Torso	Solid	4.80	5.50	2.15
T-11	Orange	None	Anthropomorphic	Torso	Solid	3.70	4.15	2.20
T-12	Orange	Red	Anthropomorphic	Torso	Solid	6.85	6.35	3.35
T-13	Orange	None	Anthropomorphic	Torso	Hollow	3.15	2.80	2.25
T-14	Cream	None	Anthropomorphic	Torso	Solid	5.20	7.55	2.40
T-15	Orange	Red	Anthropomorphic	Torso	Solid	2.80	2.00	1.95
T-16	Orange	Cream	Anthropomorphic	Torso	Solid	5.60	7.25	3.50
T-17	Orange	None	Anthropomorphic	Torso	Solid	2.70	1.95	2.60
T-18	Cream	None	Anthropomorphic	Torso	Solid	8.15	7.65	3.50
T-19	Orange on Brown	None	Anthropomorphic	Torso	Solid	3.30	3.00	2.20
T-20	Orange	None	Anthropomorphic	Torso	Solid	2.75	2.65	2.20
T-21	Brown	None	Anthropomorphic	Torso	Solid	3.80	3.80	3.15

I.D. #	Paste (Color)	Slip	Form	Anatomy	Solid/Hollow	Length (cm)	Width (cm)	Thickness (cm)
T-22	Cream	None	Anthropomorphic	Torso	Solid	6.25	6.25	3.75
T-23	Cream	None	Anthropomorphic	Torso	Solid	6.15	5.80	2.75
T-24	Cream	Red	Anthropomorphic	Torso	Solid	5.80	5.25	3.20
T-25	Orange	None	Anthropomorphic	Torso	Solid	4.00	4.60	3.00
T-26	Orange	None	Anthropomorphic	Torso	Solid	4.00	3.60	2.55
T-27	Cream	None	Anthropomorphic	Torso	Solid	8.60	4.50	2.10
T-28	Orange	Red	Anthropomorphic	Torso	Solid	4.40	4.70	3.10
T-29	Orange	Red	Anthropomorphic	Torso	Solid	5.65	4.05	2.90
T-30	Cream	None	Anthropomorphic	Torso	Solid	3.10	2.25	2.15
T-31	Orange	Red	Anthropomorphic	Torso	Solid	7.05	5.75	3.85
T-32	Orange	None	Anthropomorphic	Torso	Solid	4.85	4.35	2.30
T-33	Orange	None	Anthropomorphic	Torso	Solid	5.65	4.40	2.95
T-34	Cream	None	Anthropomorphic	Torso	Solid	4.35	4.10	3.00
T-35	Orange	None	Anthropomorphic	Torso	Solid	6.80	7.20	3.60
T-36	Orange	None	Anthropomorphic	Torso	Solid	5.25	5.70	6.45
T-37	Orange	None	Anthropomorphic	Torso	Solid	3.85	3.10	2.15
T-38	Brown-Orange	None	Anthropomorphic	Torso	Solid	3.70	2.65	1.95
T-39	Cream	None	Anthropomorphic	Torso	Solid	5.55	4.70	3.05
T-40	Cream	Cream	Anthropomorphic	Torso	Solid	3.25	2.30	2.40
T-41	Cream	None	Anthropomorphic	Torso	Solid	3.55	3.25	2.25
T-42	Cream	Orange	Anthropomorphic	Torso	Solid	5.80	5.35	2.50
T-43	Orange on Buff	Orange	Anthropomorphic	Torso	Solid	3.90	3.05	2.55
T-44	Orange	Orange	Anthropomorphic	Torso	Solid	3.40	3.05	2.35
T-45	Orange	Orange	Anthropomorphic	Torso	Solid	5.95	7.35	2.30
T-46	Orange	Orange	Anthropomorphic	Torso	Solid	3.50	3.10	2.20
T-47	Orange	None	Anthropomorphic	Torso	Solid	5.05	3.65	2.30
T-48	Cream	None	Anthropomorphic	Torso	Solid	4.90	3.20	3.00
T-49	Orange on Buff	None	Anthropomorphic	Torso	Solid	4.70	6.20	2.10
T-50	Orange	None	Anthropomorphic	Torso	Solid	3.75	3.65	2.30
T-51	Cream	None	Anthropomorphic	Torso	Solid	6.50	3.20	3.40
T-52	Orange	Red	Anthropomorphic	Torso	Solid	5.20	4.85	2.40

I.D. #	Paste (Color)	Slip	Form	Anatomy	Solid/Hollow	Length (cm)	Width (cm)	Thickness (cm)
T-53	Orange on Buff	None	Anthropomorphic	Torso	Solid	6.45	3.70	3.70
T-54	Cream	None	Anthropomorphic	Torso	Solid	3.90	3.35	2.50
T-55	Cream	None	Anthropomorphic	Torso	Solid	3.85	3.80	2.50
T-56	Orange	None	Anthropomorphic	Torso	Solid	4.10	3.00	2.50
T-57	Orange	Orange	Anthropomorphic	Torso	Solid	5.20	4.75	2.75
T-58	Cream	None	Anthropomorphic	Torso	Solid	5.50	5.20	3.00
T-59	Orange	None	Anthropomorphic	Torso	Solid	4.20	4.10	2.55
T-60	Orange	Orange	Anthropomorphic	Torso	Solid	5.80	3.75	3.30
T-61	Orange on Buff	Orange	Anthropomorphic	Torso	Solid	7.90	7.45	3.90
T-62	Cream	None	Anthropomorphic	Torso	Solid	4.85	5.90	1.75
T-63	Cream	None	Anthropomorphic	Torso	Solid	6.80	4.75	2.60
T-64	Orange	None	Anthropomorphic	Torso	Solid	4.20	4.85	2.10
T-65	Orange	None	Anthropomorphic	Torso	Solid	2.55	6.50	3.90
T-66	Orange	None	Anthropomorphic	Torso	Solid	4.10	6.30	3.65
T-67	Cream	None	Anthropomorphic	Torso	Solid	5.20	4.90	2.30
T-68	Cream	None	Anthropomorphic	Torso	Solid	4.30	4.35	2.30
T-69	Cream	None	Anthropomorphic	Torso	Solid	5.35	3.95	2.55
T-70	Brown-Orange	None	Anthropomorphic	Torso	Solid	4.05	7.10	1.90
T-71	Orange	None	Anthropomorphic	Torso	Solid	3.70	2.70	1.75
T-72	Orange	None	Anthropomorphic	Torso	Solid	2.40	2.35	1.50
T-73	Orange	None	Anthropomorphic	Torso	Solid	4.55	2.85	1.70
T-74	Orange	None	Anthropomorphic	Torso	Solid	7.70	5.30	2.55
U-1	Orange	None	Unknown	Unknown	Solid	3.05	1.65	1.80
U-2	Cream	Red	Unknown	Unknown	Solid	2.75	1.00	1.05
U-3	Orange	None	Unknown	Unknown	Solid	2.60	1.70	1.90
U-4	Orange	None	Unknown	Unknown	Solid	3.10	2.65	1.10
U-5	Orange	None	Unknown	Unknown	Solid	2.50	2.10	1.10
U-6	Orange	None	Unknown	Unknown	Solid	2.65	2.30	1.75
U-7	Orange	None	Unknown	Unknown	Solid	2.60	2.00	1.00
U-8	Cream	None	Unknown	Unknown	Solid	3.60	3.10	1.60
U-9	Cream	None	Unknown	Unknown	Solid	2.75	2.35	1.25

I.D. #	Paste (Color)	Slip	Form	Anatomy	Solid/Hollow	Length (cm)	Width (cm)	Thickness (cm)
U-10	Orange	None	Unknown	Unknown	Solid	3.25	2.35	2.25
U-11	Orange on Buff	None	Unknown	Unknown	Solid	3.00	2.60	1.80
U-12	Orange	Red	Unknown	Unknown	Solid	3.55	2.35	2.25
U-13	Orange	Red	Unknown	Unknown	Solid	4.00	2.55	1.75
U-14	Orange	None	Unknown	Unknown	Solid	4.30	3.80	2.45
U-15	Orange	None	Unknown	Unknown	Solid	3.00	3.55	3.10
U-16	Orange	None	Unknown	Unknown	Solid	1.80	2.25	2.10
U-17	Brown-Cream	None	Unknown	Unknown	Solid	3.60	4.65	3.10
U-18	Orange	None	Unknown	Unknown	Solid	4.25	3.65	2.35
U-19	Orange	None	Unknown	Unknown	Solid	5.25	2.40	2.70
U-20	Orange	None	Unknown	Unknown	Solid	4.25	2.90	2.05
U-21	Orange	None	Unknown	Unknown	Solid	3.35	2.45	2.00
U-22	Orange	None	Unknown	Unknown	Solid	4.35	2.50	2.35
U-23	Orange	None	Unknown	Unknown	Solid	4.65	3.85	2.85
U-24	Orange	None	Unknown	Unknown	Solid	4.45	2.75	2.20
U-25	Orange	None	Unknown	Unknown	Solid	2.25	2.60	2.35
U-26	Cream	Orange	Unknown	Unknown	Solid	7.20	5.85	3.25
U-27	Orange	None	Unknown	Unknown	Solid	4.30	2.90	2.50
U-28	Cream	None	Unknown	Unknown	Solid	2.90	1.75	1.55
U-29	Red-Orange	None	Unknown	Unknown	Solid	3.05	2.70	1.65
U-30	Orange	None	Unknown	Unknown	Solid	2.60	1.95	1.50
U-31	Cream	None	Unknown	Unknown	Solid	3.55	1.80	1.55
U-32	Orange	Red	Unknown	Unknown	Solid			
U-33	Cream	None	Unknown	Unknown	Solid	2.50	1.55	1.70
U-34	Orange on Buff	None	Unknown	Unknown	Solid	2.85	1.80	1.20
U-35	Orange	None	Unknown	Unknown	Solid	3.15	2.05	1.55
U-36	Orange	None	Unknown	Unknown	Solid	2.85	2.05	1.45
U-37	Cream	None	Unknown	Unknown	Solid	2.80	1.50	1.05
U-38	Orange	Orange	Unknown	Unknown	Solid	1.30	1.45	1.35
U-39	Cream	None	Unknown	Unknown	Solid	2.55	1.60	0.90
U-40	Orange	None	Unknown	Unknown	Solid	2.55	2.50	2.20

I.D. #	Paste (Color)	Slip	Form	Anatomy	Solid/Hollow	Length (cm)	Width (cm)	Thickness (cm)
U-41	Orange	None	Unknown	Unknown	Solid	1.55	1.85	1.25
U-42	Orange	None	Unknown	Unknown	Solid			
U-43	Orange	None	Unknown	Unknown	Solid	2.45	2.50	2.10
U-44	Orange	None	Unknown	Unknown	Solid	6.45	4.25	2.00
U-45	Orange	Orange	Unknown	Unknown	Solid	4.15	2.75	1.65
U-46	Orange on Buff	None	Unknown	Unknown	Solid	1.95	1.50	0.85
Z-1	Cream	Red	Zoomorphic	Head	Solid	5.25	5.30	5.35
Z-2	Brown-Orange	None	Zoomorphic	Head	Solid	1.90	2.10	2.00
Z-3	Orange on Buff	None	Zoomorphic	Head	Solid	3.25	3.60	2.00
Z-4	Orange	Red	Zoomorphic	Head	Solid	3.85	5.70	1.70
Z-5	Cream	None	Zoomorphic	Head	Solid	5.00	3.05	2.50
Z-6	Orange	None	Zoomorphic	Head	Solid	4.20	2.50	2.70
Z-7	Orange	Red	Zoomorphic	Head	Hollow	3.40	3.90	3.40
Z-8	Orange	None	Zoomorphic	Head	Solid	1.90	2.05	1.75
Z-9	Orange	None	Zoomorphic	Head	Solid	2.00	2.00	1.60
Z-10	Cream	None	Zoomorphic	Head	Solid	4.80	2.30	2.90