MORTUARY PRACTICES AS INDICATORS OF WEALTH AND INEQUALITY AT LOWER DOVER, BELIZE

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B.A. Anthropology Honors Thesis

The University of Pittsburgh
April 2021

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ABSTRACT

Among the essential questions in archaeology is how social inequalities grew and persisted in the past and how individual differences in wealth, power, and access to resources have impacted past communities through time. Among the ancient Maya, the transition from the Preclassic (900 BCE-300 CE) to the Classic period (300-900 CE) witnessed extreme shifts in inequality when polities with larger urban centers, ruled by royal families, superseded small communities headed by local leaders. The Classic site of Lower Dover, located in the Belize River Valley, was no exception as its civic ceremonial center rose within a previously occupied area. This research project uses mortuary analyses to understand the impacts of Lower Dover's rise in inequality within the community. Analyses include both mortuary dimensions (e.g., burial context, treatment of the body, mortuary facilities, grave goods) and bioarchaeological evidence (e.g., sex, age, preservation) from recent investigations at Lower Dover completed by the Belize Valley Archaeological Reconnaissance (BVAR) Project. Analyzing the differential contexts of mortuary treatments, which typically reflect an individual's status during life, will help determine individual social status and wealth.

Temporal comparisons in the overall burial population reflect changing degrees of inequality at Lower Dover from the Preclassic to Classic periods. While the overall amount of grave goods increased through time, suggesting social status changed and became unequal with Lower Dover's increase in power and influence during the Late/Terminal Classic, results show that districts from Lower Dover experienced inequality in different ways. The Tutu Uitz Na district, in particular, witnessed the highest degrees of inequality with the appearance of a distinctly wealthier group of burials (i.e., crypts of intermediate elite adult males). The results from this study generate a better understanding of the shifts in wealth and inequality among the ancient Maya related to other developments during the Preclassic to Classic transition, including population expansion and the establishment of dynastic rulership at Lower Dover.

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ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

First and foremost, I would like to thank my undergraduate thesis committee, Drs. Claire E. Ebert, Margaret Judd, and Marc Bermann. They supported me in my writing and gave me invaluable knowledge to better my thesis but better myself as an archaeologist conducting scientific research and writing. I would especially like to acknowledge and thank Dr. Ebert, my thesis advisor, who has guided me throughout the entire process, and without her guidance and personal support, this thesis would not have been able to come to fruition. Since we met in August of 2020, Dr. Ebert has continuously challenged me and pushed me to think from different archaeological and scientific perspectives, making me a more conscientious researcher. I intend to take the skills I have learned into future jobs and graduate school.

I am also thankful for the graduate students and faculty at the University of Pittsburgh, who, without their direction and encouragement over the past several years, I would never have thought about writing an honors thesis. I would especially like to thank Dr. John Walden for first introducing me to the Belize Valley Archaeological Reconnaissance (BVAR) Project, Dr. Ebert, and the possibility of writing about Lower Dover. Since our introduction in 2019, Dr. Walden has helped me formulate my research question for this thesis and has been an endless resource of support in my academic endeavors. I would also like to thank Dr. Yearwood, who has been an essential part of my support system since becoming an anthropology major; his encouragement and guidance have allowed me to persevere through countless hardships. Graduate students Phillip Mendenhall, Alysha Lieurance, Emma Messinger, Ben Rovito, Ian Roa, Sharon Toth, and Pitt graduate Dr. Alicia Grosso have also been irreplaceable to my time at Pitt and gave me amazing resources and guidance about what it means to be an anthropologist.

I owe an immense amount of gratitude to BVAR and the people involved, including Victoria Izzo, Olivia Ellis, Dr. Ebert, Dr. Walden, Dr. Jaime Awe, Myka Schwanke, and Dr. Julie Hoggarth, who, without the help from I would have no thesis. I would specifically like to thank Dr. Ebert, who permitted the use of the data involved in my project, as well as sharing her own research experiences at Cahal Pech and Xunantunich with me, which granted me greater insight into other ongoing projects with BVAR and how it connected with my research.

I want to give one final, huge thank you to those close to me, my family and friends, my rocks, who, without I would not have the courage to achieve my dreams and finish my undergraduate career writing an honors thesis. My life-long best friend, Angela Cameron, has supported me in every single endeavor unconditionally and without hesitation. She is genuinely one of the strongest women on this planet, and I know she will continue to be my biggest fan as I continue my career in archaeology. My sister and best friend, Tara Bachy, has forcefully been there for me since day one, but by choice, she has always made sure that I have everything I need to succeed and thrive. As the younger sister, I hope this thesis makes you proud. To my mom, Debrah Gimeno, who sacrificed much of her life and comfort to ensure mine could be better and have more chances, I am forever thankful. I would also like to thank my father, Darrin Bachy, who has supported my career in archaeology since I could walk. Finally, to my biggest supporter, my grandmother, Shirley Haber, who has been a constant ray of sunshine and endless support and positivity to my life, you are one of the reasons I persevere.

My final acknowledgment regards the ongoing human rights crisis in the United States of America with the deliberate racial targeting, harassing, marginalizing, and murdering of Black Americans, Asian Americans, Indigenous Americans, Latinx Americans, and all other People of Color (POC) residing in America. I stand in solidarity with the Black Lives Matter (BLM)

movement, which protests racism, police brutality, and the deaths of Black people, including Adam Toledo, Daunte Wright, Tony McDade, Breonna Taylor, Ahmaud Arbery, David McAtee, George Floyd, and countless more. I also stand in solidarity with the Asian Americans and Pacific Islanders (AAPI) community with stopping Asian hate. I acknowledge the violence and injustices being committed against the community, particularly with the recent mass shootings at Young's Asian Spa and Gold Spa in Georgia where six Asian women, Xiaojie Tan, Daoyou Feng, Soon Chung Park, Hyun Jung Grant, Suncha Kim, and Yong Ae Yue, were murdered. White supremacist violence in the United States is an epidemic that has and continues to cost the lives of thousands of Black, Indigenous, and People of Color (BIPOC) lives for hundreds of years. We must actively stand up against these continued injustices and inhumane, vile treatment of minorities in America and use our voices to demand change in the form of protests, informed vote and reaching out to local congress members for better legislation, holding white insurrectionists accountable, and by being active members of the community in support for our BIPOC neighbors.

Chapter 1 INTRODUCTION AND BACKGROUND

This thesis focuses on ancient Maya burial practices and their reflection of wealth and inequality at Lower Dover, Belize, from the Preclassic (900 BCE-300 CE) to the Terminal Classic (600-900 CE) periods (Figure 1.1 and Table 1.1). The dual concepts of life and death played a central role in ancient Maya religion and ideology. Xibalba, or the Underworld, figures prominently in the Maya creation story described in the *Popol Vuh* (Sharer and Traxler 2016: 729), and the Maya used distinct burial practices, customs, and rituals to ensure a successful transfer from this world to the next. Maya burial practices were also linked to an individual's social status, with differences in grave items, grave architecture, and body position often reflecting status during their lifetime (see Scherer 2020). At the site of Lower Dover, located in the central Belize River Valley, the appearance of an apical elite ruling class in the Classic period profoundly changed the population already living in the area (Walden 2021). Previous excavations and survey data indicate that the initial settlement of some households occurred as early as the Middle Preclassic period (900-300 BC; see Walden et al. 2020). During this time, elaborate residential and ceremonial architecture at several districts surrounding what would become the Lower Dover epicenter, including Tutu Uitz Na (Walden et al. 2017), Barton Ramie (Willey et al. 1965), and Floral Park (Driver and Garber 2004), indicates an intermediate elite population likely headed smaller village settlements. Lower Dover as an apical elite center appeared relatively suddenly during the Late Classic (Guerra and Awe 2017), and reconstructions of household wealth and status based on the analysis of artifact assemblages and residential architecture indicate that inequality was magnified with the presence of a ruling regime (Walden 2021).

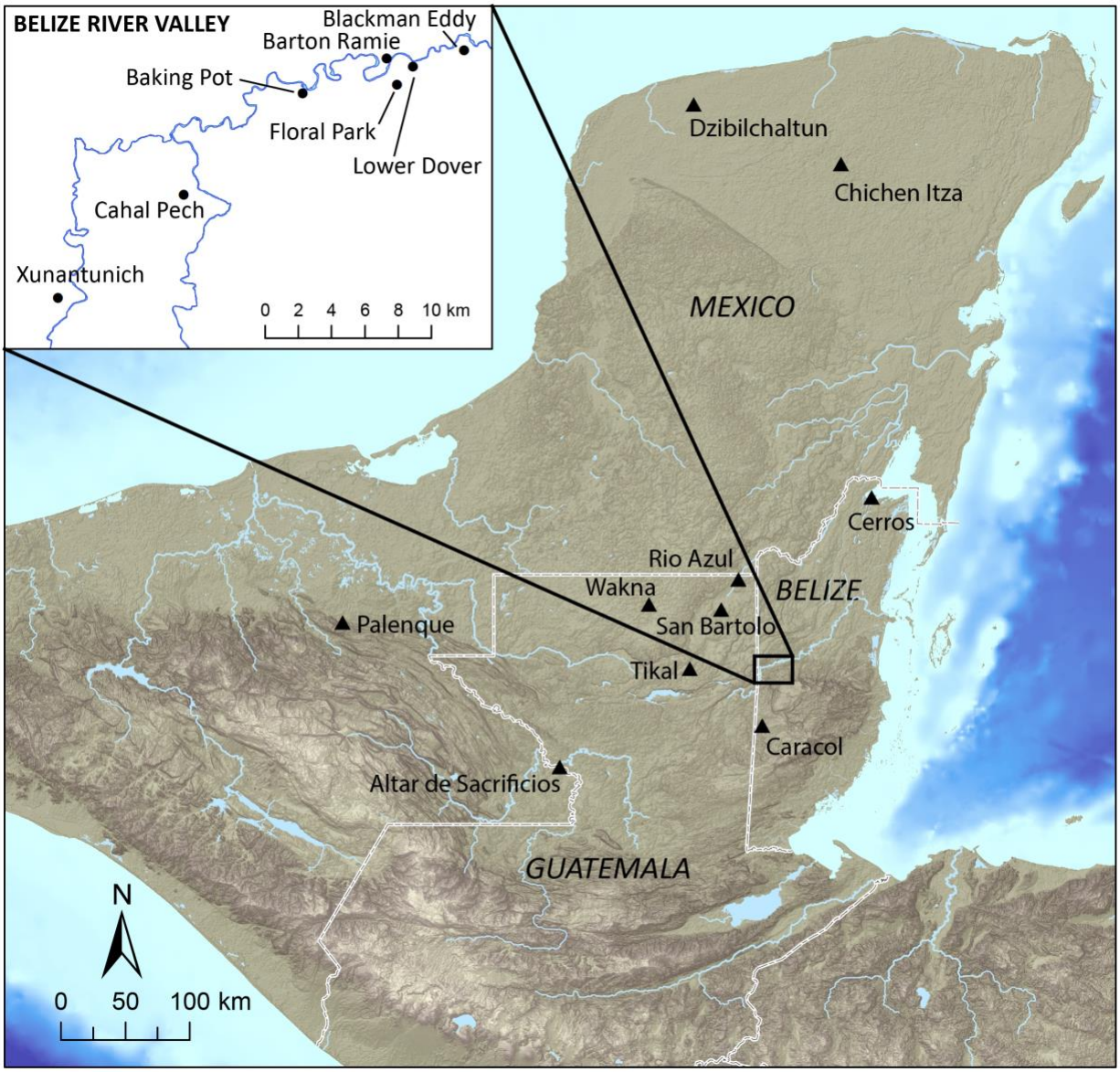

Figure 1.1: Map of the Maya lowlands with major sites discussed in text.

Table 1.1 Chronology for the Maya lowlands.

Time Period	Date Range
Early Preclassic	1200/1000-900 BC
Middle Preclassic	900-300 BC
Late Preclassic	300 BC – AD 300
Early Classic	AD 300-600
Late Classic	AD 600-750/800
Terminal Classic	AD 750/800-900

Based on these observations, the central question addressed in this thesis is ***how did differences in burial practices between the Preclassic/Early Classic period and the Late/Terminal Classic period reflect changes in inequality at Lower Dover during the polity's rise?*** This research question can be further broken into three sub-questions to generate a more detailed view of changes in burial patterns at Lower Dover, Belize:

1. How is inequality expressed through differences in grave goods (wealth vs. utilitarian items) when examined with other features of burials, including grave architecture, burial position, and the sex and age of interred individuals?
2. How does inequality, in association with grave items from the Lower Dover burial population, change from the Preclassic/Early Classic to the Late/Terminal Classic (i.e., before and after the appearance of an apical elite ruling group at Lower Dover)?
3. How does wealth, as reflected in grave good assemblages, change over time at each district (e.g., Barton Ramie, Tutu Uitz Na, and Floral Park) within the Lower Dover polity?

To examine wealth differences through the grave good assemblages at Lower Dover, I undertook analyses of a mortuary database for Lower Dover created by Dr. John Walden. The burial dataset consists of burials recovered from recent Belize Valley Archaeological Reconnaissance (BVAR) Project excavations, excavations between 1954-1956 by the Harvard Peabody Project headed by Gordon Willey, and excavations conducted by M. Kathryn Brown, David Glassman, and James Garber as part of the Belize Valley Archaeological Project (BVAP) between 1994 and 1995. The dataset was constructed and refined with help from other BVAR Project researchers Victoria Izzo and Olivia Ellis.

The analyses undertaken for this project primarily focus on assessing differential burial treatments and including analyses of grave assemblages used here as a proxy for an individual's social status during their lifetime. Wealth items reflect specialized crafts, typically made of rarer materials, such as jade or stingray spines, which were less accessible to lower status individuals. On the other hand, utilitarian items represent grave goods accessible to anyone at the polity and primarily consist of everyday household objects, non-ritual tools, and unslipped and monochrome pottery. Further intra-polity comparisons and analyses are made for districts and neighborhoods within Lower Dover, such as Barton Ramie, Tutu Uitz Na, and Floral Park. Through this research project, I hope to generate a more thorough understanding of Maya mortuary practices and their link to socioeconomic inequality through differential burial treatment of individuals based on their social status and impact.

Mortuary Analysis and Bioarchaeology in the Maya Lowlands

The extraordinary burial treatment of the Classic period Maya rulers was recognized as early as the late 19th century (Gordon 1974). Though many early excavations were more like treasure hunts, when proper excavations did occur, burials were often considered secondary components to the main objects being studied, namely monumental architecture that comprised of royal tombs (Welsh 1988:2). The first systematic attempts to synthesize and analyze bioarchaeological data from the Maya lowlands began in the mid-20th century. In his 1968 tome *Costumbras Funeraries de Los Antigos Mayas*, archaeologist Alberto Ruz Lhuillier synthesized many of the burial practices he observed in the Maya lowlands. Through multiple lines of evidence ranging from iconography, ethnohistory, and ethnography, Ruz Lhuillier (1968) documented patterning in grave goods and burial treatments, as well as their associations with

status differentiation for the Classic Maya. Concurrently, William Rathje (1970) outlined several hypotheses regarding the economic, political, and social implications of Classic Maya lowland burials. His analyses differed from previous synchronic models of Classic socio-political organization based primarily on ethnographic information. Instead, he used diachronic data from burials to systematically test assumptions about socio-political change (Rathje 1970:359). Perhaps the most impactful study in Maya bioarchaeology, however, was W. Bruce Welsh's (1988) well-defined classification system of the structural contexts of burials. Extending A. Ledyard Smith's (1950, 1972) Maya grave typology, which included the categories of simple pits, *chultunob* (underground storage chamber), cists, crypts, and tombs, Welsh (1988) also examined lowland-wide patterning in burial positions (e.g., extended in prone or supine), head and body orientation, and the location of graves. Correlations from his study revealed links between social status, ideology, and change through time that served as the backbone of this thesis. Categories include grave context, the burial architecture, the type of grave, and the number and variety of grave goods interred (i.e., the placement of an individual into a grave or burial) with individuals.

Since the mid-twentieth century, archaeologists have also noted other essential aspects of Maya society that can be determined through bioarcheological analyses. For example, physical anthropologist Earnest Hooton's (1940) analysis of skeletons recovered from the Sacred Cenote at Chichén Itźa dismissed the extravagant myth of the Maya sacrificing virgin females. Instead, archaeologist Guillermo de Anda Alanís found that most of the skulls from the cenote were male, as well as evidence for differential perimortem and postmortem treatment between females and males, supporting that sacrifices to the Sacred Cenote were predominantly male (Buikstra 2007:301). He also noted an abundance of cut marks on bones, suggesting physical violence for

these individuals during their pre-sacrificial lives (Coggins and Shane 1984:184). Hooton's findings laid the foundation for analyses of Maya sacrifice, showing that a person's biological sex was not a determinant factor in choosing sacrificial victims. Work completed by William Haviland with burials from Tikal explored lifeways as depicted through skeletal remains (Haviland 1967; see also Tiesler 2020:107). Based on analyses of the stature of 55 skeletons, he drew three conclusions: 1) Tikal was settled by moderately statured peoples, 2) stature differences between tombs and other burial types may suggest a ruling class, and 3) there was a prevalent sexual dimorphism in height. Haviland also found that there was a level of social inequality between the sexes. Examining 208 burials based on their context, grave goods, and treatment, he also determined that inequality between sexes varied temporally and across social classes but was especially prevalent among the elite class (Haviland 1967:396; 1997:1).

Two final landmark studies that helped develop important ideas about Maya society through bioarchaeological analyses were the works of Frank P. Saul and forensic anthropologist Thomas Dale Stewart. Saul (1972) applied an osteobiographic approach to the skeletal collection from the site of Altar de Sacrificios, focused on creating a life narrative for an individual based on biological information (e.g., sex, age, trauma, pathologies, and overall health) (Hosek and Robb 2019:3). Stewart's (1974) findings regarding cranial modification from Dzibilchaltun, Yucatan, Mexico combined both osteological and physical anthropological methods, granting more detailed and interpretive analyses. Both Saul and Stewart's research projects are important because of their systematic research methods and humanistic approach to bioarchaeology, emphasizing the individual and their condition rather than focusing on the religious or spiritual aspects (Tiesler 2020:107). Though it is common for bioarchaeologists today to consider a combination of humanistic, ritualistic, and religious aspects in Maya mortuary research, Saul and

Stewarts' emphasis on aspects such as cranial morphology and a skeleton's life history provided archaeologists with more holistic information concerning Maya lifeways as reflected through burials. While the goals of combining quantitative typological data and developing life histories through bioarchaeology continue today, Maya bioarchaeologists now incorporate additional datasets in their analyses. These include epigraphic information, increasing the amount of sophisticated archaeometric analyses (e.g., radiocarbon dating and stable isotope geochemistry), and biostatistics applied to answer bioarchaeological questions. Recent analyses of skeletal material have favored the integration of combined cultural and populational data sets and shown direct connections amongst Maya subsistence patterns, gender, paleopathology, social status, age, and social identities (Tiesler 2020:108).

Burial Treatment in Classic Maya Society

Burial Contexts

Pre-Hispanic Maya communities did not maintain formal cemeteries, and instead, the Maya lived amongst their dead. While the burials of non-elite farmers were often placed below house floors (McAnany 2014), public plazas and shrines located within civic-ceremonial epicenters typically contained burials of elites and royalty (Fitzsimmons 2009; Scherer 2002, 2017, 2020). These patterns also vary between sites. At Lower Dover, for example, most burials are documented from house mounds (e.g., Walden 2021; Willey et al. 1965), with only very few recovered from the site's epicenter (Guerra and Awe 2017). However, this disparity in the polity's epicenter is likely caused by sampling bias because most Maya polities tended to hold most of the site's population in their center. As well, the nature of how Lower Dover's core was sampled reduced the likelihood of detecting burials. In both elite and non-elite contexts, there

was an emphasis placed on the eastward direction, associated with the rising of the sun after its passage from the underworld (Chase and Chase 1994:56). Therefore, many burials from Lower Dover and Belize Valley sites are generally interred within eastern shrines or eastern triadic groups (Figure 1.2; Awe et al. 2017).

Figure 1.2: Example of Eastern Triadic shrine from Cahal Pech, Belize (Photo courtesy of Claire Ebert, 2018).

Four primary burial types are recognized by Maya archaeologists, all of which are found in domestic and public spaces (Figures 1.3 and 1.4). Simple pit burials are the most straightforward example. The body was placed directly into the ground or below the floor of a structure with little to no features to demarcate the burial internment from the surrounding area

(Scherer 2020:129). The second type is a cist burial, which are slightly more elaborate, with stones placed around the head and body (Scherer 2020:129; Welsh 1988:16). Welsh (1988) distinguishes cist burials from simple burials because of the use of stones, though they were not completely stone-lined. The third category is crypt burials, which are constructed with partial or complete stone walls with ceilings consisting of capstones or large stone slabs (Welsh 1988:17). Scherer (2020) and Welsh (1988) primarily break crypts into two distinct categories: simple crypts and elaborate crypts, though Welsh also distinguishes "unspecified crypts." Simple crypts are the most common and smaller in size, whereas elaborate crypts were larger with formal masonry walls. Elaborate crypts were typically constructed only for certain elite individuals and are therefore less common (Welsh 1988:17-18; Scherer 2020:129-130).

The final burial type, and most rare, are tombs, which are found exclusively in elite monumental contexts. With an internal height greater than 1m, tombs were usually covered by corbel vaulted roofs, providing metaphors for caves and the watery underworld (Fitzsimmons 2009:71). They were meant to be large enough to accommodate the body of a primary individual, in addition to "remains of human sacrifices, a wealth of objects, as well as mourners, during the initial interment and during subsequent rites of veneration" (Scherer 2020:130). Tombs were also built to be reentered (Scherer 2020:131). Though most tombs date to the Classic period, a few examples from the Late Preclassic period exist at Tikal, San Bartolo, and other locations in the Mirador Basin, such as Wakna, in Guatemala (Estrada-Belli 2011). The Late Preclassic tombs from Tikal and the three tombs from Wakna are associated with triadic complexes (one central building flanked by two smaller structures), like many of the Belize River Valley burials. The widespread presence of tombs by the Early Classic corresponds to a rapid increase in socio-political complexity and inequality across the lowlands.

Figure 1.3: Examples of different burial types from the Belize Valley: A) simple pit burial from Lower Dover settlement with individual in VPLF (ventrally placed, legs flexed) position (SG 1 Burial 3), B) cist burial from the Tzutziiy K'in Group at Cahal Pech, and C) crypt burial from Lower Dover settlement (SG 3 Burial 2) (Photographs courtesy of John Walden and Claire Ebert).

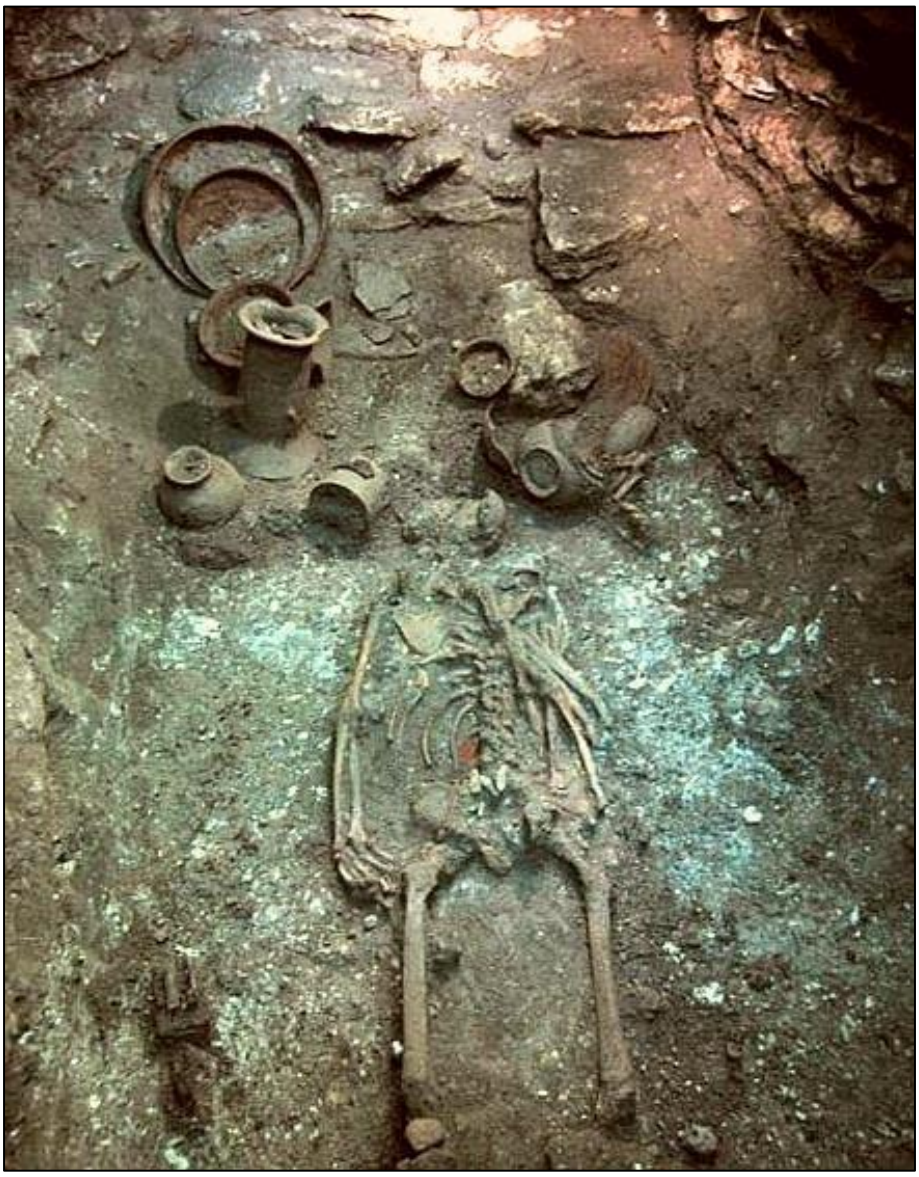

Figure 1.4: Tomb burial at Cahal Pech (Plaza H, Burial 1) (Photograph courtesy of Jaime Awe).

These tombs would eventually be covered by larger pyramidal structures, signaling the intensification of Late Classic royal funerary rituals. Tombs were reserved for only the most principal individuals, generally kings and queens of royal dynasties, and typically located in monumental buildings in open public plazas. It should be noted that tombs have yet to be documented at Lower Dover.

In the Maya region, burials are also common in caves, rockshelters, and other subterranean contexts. Maya ethnographic and ethnohistoric literature, iconography, and epigraphic information document associations between these contexts and Xibalba (Wrobel et al. 2016:98). Scherer (2020:134) distinguishes two different types of cave burials, including those formally interred into the cave floors or disarticulated bones due to secondary burial practices either scattered near the entrance or in piles. At Lower Dover, a rockshelter burial has been documented, containing the remains of a single, primary individual (Romih et al. 2017). More often, however, cave and rockshelter burials do not fit into a neat category or are not obviously marked. Instead, factors such as human and taphonomic disturbances often result in co-mingled assemblages (Wrobel et al. 2014:82). *Cenotes* (water-filled karstic sinkholes) and *chultunob* (underground storage spaces) also possessed burials. An example of a *cenote* burial is from the Great Cenote at Chichén Itzá, where ethnohistoric and taphonomic evidence determined the burial to likely have been a sacrificial offering (Coggins and Shane 1984; see also Scherer 2020:134). At the site of Caracol, *chultunob* were used either for single individuals or collective burials, but are more typical of Preclassic contexts, perhaps representing an early manifestation of later Classic tombs (Chase and Chase 1994a:58).

A final burial category for the Maya lowlands consists of ceramic vessels and humanmade container internments, with the most extravagant kind being funerary urns. For example, at the Late Preclassic site of Cerros, Belize, container burials held the remains of tightly flexed or disarticulated infant skeletons within large ceramic vessels, often topped by a bowl sherd lid (Walker 2016:64). Remains of severed digits and teeth have also been found in small vessels along with the remains of children in Early Classic royal tombs (i.e., finger bowl caches; Chase and Chase 1998), supporting the argument that in this context, children were used

as sacrificial offerings (Scherer 2020:134). Burials in the Belize Valley have also been documented in peri-abandonment deposits, consisting of thousands of broken sherds, lithics, and faunal remains, and are associated with the final activities in ceremonial spaces. Examples have been documented at Baking Pot (Hoggarth et al. 2020), Cahal Pech (Awe et al. 2020), and Lower Dover (Kulig 2015; Romih 2019).

Further context information comes from determining whether a burial is primary or secondary. A primary burial consists of skeletal remains of one or more individuals that are relatively complete and anatomically articulated. In other words, bodies from primary burials were not changed in any way after death or before burial through the removal or disarticulation of elements. On the other hand, secondary burials contain skeletal remains that have been purposefully disarticulated, which may include the removal of the femurs or decapitation or individual elements that are removed and later reinterred. Burials most often contain a single, primary interment, but multiple burials containing only primary, or a combination of primary and secondary remains, are often encountered (Welsh 1988:36). Tomb re-entry was common in elite contexts, where multiple individuals would be placed in a single tomb over the course of decades or centuries (Chase and Chase 1996; Novotny et al. 2018). Internments placed in urns or bowls are considered secondary burials (Welsh 1988:35). At Lower Dover, examples of primary burials include LWD G4-Burial 2 at the Lower Dover site core (Guerra and Arksey 2012), which is a crypt internment of a single, articulated individual, and BR-130 Burial 5 in a single mound formation at the Middle River District (Walden 2021). The latter exemplifies a primary burial because the young adult female found was interred articulated and non-intrusively in a simple pit. Structure 2A from Floral Park provides an example of a secondary burial (Burial 6) because it is a multiple body internment (Individuals 1 and 2) with the remains disarticulated (Brown et

al. 1996:43). Another example of a secondary burial from Floral Park is SG34-Burial 1, Individual 1 since the burial consists of a cranium deposited in a Sierra Red bowl (Figure 1.5; Walden 2021).

Figure 1.5: Secondary burial, SG34-Burial 1, at Floral Park with individual's crania deposited in Sierra Red Bowl (Photograph courtesy of John Walden, 2019).

Burial Contents

Beyond grave architecture, the contents of burials also provide important social, political, and ideological information about the interred individuals. According to Scherer (2020:134), the

focus of Maya burials was the human body. Skeletal remains might range from several teeth to most bones, and from full disarticulation to articulation, with the arrangement of the body being highly variable. For example, in the Belize Valley, burials were most often placed with their heads oriented to the south and laid in a supine position (Freiwald 2011; Welsh 1988:218, 255-264; Willey et al. 1965). More common in other regions of the lowlands, bodies were placed on their side, often with elbows and knees flexed (Welsh 1988), and were aligned with the surrounding architecture, though, from community to community, specific orientations were favored. Other orientations include tightly flexed bodies, bodies resting on their backs or sides, and seated positions in rare instances (Scherer 2020:134-135). Another position is the 'VPLF' (i.e., ventrally placed, legs flexed) position (Donis 2013; Izzo 2018; Wrobel and Graham 2015), which is more common in Postclassic contexts (see Figure 1.3A). The fact that each community had its own favored position indicates that the direction the body was oriented was important. More specifically, it likely means there is variability in Maya mortuary practices that reflect a person's social identity (Scherer 2020:138), though in some cases, body orientation may have been dictated by family preference.

No matter the position, for simple pit and cist burials, bodies were typically placed directly on the burial chamber floor or directly on bedrock/fill. Some royal tombs likely contained woven mats, pelts, or textile blankets placed under the body. In larger mortuary spaces such as elaborate crypts, bodies were sometimes placed atop wooden funerary stands (Fitzsimmons 2009:85). For example, Burial 1 at the Zopilote Group, a terminus complex associated with the Belize Valley site of Cahal Pech, the presence of large, unburned wood fragments below the primary interment may represent a stand (Awe 2013:46). Burials often also contained disarticulated skeletal materials, which is likely caused by two factors. In some

examples, skeletal disarticulation is caused by post-depositional disturbances (e.g., rodent activity, flooding, decomposition displacement, and structural collapse) (Scherer 2015:161-163). The other example includes burial re-entry during ancient times, which may have involved *in situ* manipulation of remains or removal and replacement of elements, which may or may not be associated with the primary interment. Outside of disarticulation, other episodes of re-entry were marked using fire and smoke. This use of fire is not necessarily indicative of cremation (i.e., reduction of skeletal remains to ashes) in other societies, but instead was used to burn fleshed corpses. Though this practice is rare during the Classic period, the evidence that exists likely indicates a connection with sacrifice (Scherer 2020:136).

Other significant contents documented in Maya mortuary contexts are artifacts. The most common artifact found are ceramic vessels (Fitzsimmons 2009:85), including bowls, cylinder vases, and plates, either complete or partial. Occasionally, evidence for perishable containers has been found (e.g., gourds or woven baskets; Newman et al. 2015:162). Depending on the community's burial tradition, vessels could be placed near the head, feet, or along the side of the deceased. The practice of placing an inverted ceramic vessel with a hole in its center over the deceased's head is also prevalent in other Mesoamerican and American southwest indigenous societies (Scherer 2020:136-137). It is widely accepted that vessels were "ritually killed" to release the spirit of the vessel, though Scherer (2015:117) argues the vessel is representative of the earth's surface with the perforation representative of an axis mundi (i.e., earth's axis between the celestial poles) from where the Maize God will be resurrected. In support of the latter, it is also contended that because tripod vessels primarily possess kill holes, the three legs of the vessel are "the three hearthstones of creation" (Scherer 2015:119).

More specific types of grave goods consist of personal adornments worn, ranging from jewelry to masks to other items that may have been used during life. These are most frequently encountered in royal or elite graves, with the common types being made from marine shell, jade, and other imported materials. For example, Burial 7 from Structure B1 at Cahal Pech contained 12 jade beads, three jade celts, two jade bar pendants, a jade effigy pendant, and three jade ear flares (Figure 1.6). This particularly lavish tomb also included a shell inkpot with red, black, yellow, and blue pigment and one complete and seven fragmented styluses, in addition to several other ceramic, bone, and shell objects, suggesting that this individual may have been a scribe during their life (Awe 2013:43). Elite or high-status bodies would also frequently be speckled or painted pigment, especially with red cinnabar and specular hematite (Batta et al. 2013; Chase and Chase 1998), which may be symbolic of blood and associated with life force concepts (Fitzsimmons 2009:82). Though most frequent amongst the elite, personal adornments made from shells and objects made of commonplace, perishable materials (e.g., leather, cloth, and wood), have also been found in commoner burials.

Though it is difficult to reconstruct the clothes, the Maya wore (or were buried in), joint positioning often suggests that the dead were dressed in cotton skirts and garments they wore in their daily lives. In some cases, the dead would even be adorned with costumes. At the site Xunantunich, in the Belize Valley, a recently excavated Classic period tomb in Structure A9 included evidence for a cape made of a jaguar or puma pelt based on the presence of feline knucklebones on top of the interred skeleton's phalanges (Awe et al. 2019:63). The presence of textiles layered throughout tombs has also been noted at sites like Tikal and Palenque, where sequential layering of artifacts indicates that they were separated by perishable cloth or pelts (Fitzsimmons 2009:84). Needles and pins have also been occasionally found that were likely

used to close burial shrouds and bundles or were representative of women's weaving kits. Stone tools and their remnants, including chert flakes and obsidian, are found inside and outside burial chambers. Examples of stone implements range from simple projectile points to large obsidian blades and eccentric flints (Scherer 2020:137).

Figure 1.6: Examples of jade artifacts (top) and shell inkpot (bottom) from Cahal Pech, Burial B1-7 (from Awe 2013: Figs. 11 and 12).

Though not exclusive to royal burials, items such as personalized bloodlettings kits (e.g., rope, blood-letter handle, obsidian blade) and stingray spines were most commonly found in

Classic royal burials and were often found with other grave goods such as bone artifacts and obsidian blades. At the sites of Tikal and Río Azul in Guatemala, stingray spines were placed in the interred individual's hand during the Early Classic period, likely associated with bloodletting ceremonies (Fitzsimmons 2009:88; Haines et al. 2008). The act of bloodletting as a powerful Maya ritualistic practice and its use by Maya royalty reinforces the connection between sociopolitical power and ritualistic/ceremonial influence. Therefore, when bloodletting kits are buried with royal and elite individuals, it likely shows their continued power into the afterlife. Maya royal tombs also contained adornments only used after death, such as mosaic masks made from jade, shell, obsidian, or other precious materials. The masks were not functional during life as they did not have eye openings. Two widely accepted interpretations are that the masks primarily served a purpose during funerary rites or as a visage for mourners (Scherer 2020: 137). An example of a royal funerary mask is from King Pakal's tomb in the Temple of the Inscriptions at Palenque (Chiapas, Mexico), where a mosaic jadeite mask was partially covering the skull (Tiesler and Cucina 2006:7).

Examining Social Status through Bioarchaeology & Settlement Hierarchies

Before social status can be examined, it is crucial to note the importance of self and personalized social identity among the Maya. Social identity is not inherent and instead is based on human interactions. Ardren (2015:14, 19) suggests that the lives and identities of the ancient Maya were structured along a continuum of choices regarding social identities, and those choices were always intertwined with the material world. The shared understanding of a person's role within their community, and the expectations that went along with it, shaped Maya labor organization, structured individual responsibility for ceremonies and rites of passage, and how

people dressed. Overall, social identities were the fundamental way that ordered life within Classic Maya society (Ardren 2015:160). Overall, social identities were fundamental for the organization and ordering of life within Classic Maya society but also essential in determining how people were treated after death.

Social stratification, or the division of people into categories based on factors such as wealth, rank, family, and marriage, was common during the Classic period. Sharer and Traxler (2006) break Maya social stratification into two primary categories: elite and non-elite. The elite dictated sociopolitical and economic processes and often had more access to resources than non-elites. During the Classic, some archaeologists also argue for the possibility of the rise of a middle-class category (Chase and Chase 1992), which consists primarily of wealthy commoners (Sharer and Traxler 2006:691; see also Walden et al. 2019).

Several lines of evidence have been used to distinguish social identity linked to status among the Maya. For example, epigraphic analyses indicate that Maya polities possessed designated ranks and roles, primarily through ascribed status or birthright (Martin 2020; Martin and Grube 2008; Sharer and Traxler 2006:89). Elites are often distinguished through their attire or special insignias (Martin 2020:67). Martin describes that the titular identities of rulers (*kuhul a'jaw*, divine kings) and their immediate subordinates (i.e., the noble class) create a "human architecture" of the Classic Maya. Nobles, functionaries, and courtiers also possessed titles but mostly appeared as the king's attendants and aides in scenes depicted on stone monuments, murals, and ceramic vessels, though the highest ranks commissioned in some areas their own monuments (Martin 2020:69, 85). Non-ruling elites acted as intermediaries for royalty, acting agents of their authority, and part of the apparatus of economic and social control; however, secondary lords were considered to be "owned" by their kings (e.g., Martin 2020:85, 99).

Despite this "ownership," secondary elites still seemed to have a substantial amount of agency because the ruler's power was contingent on the compliance of these elites (Walden et al. 2019). Examples of duties for the noble class included but was not exclusive to bureaucratic administration, priestly responsibilities, military service, work as emissaries and negotiators, managers of the construction and renewal of public works, tribute-collectors, supplier of courtly needs, and logistical planners for religious and ceremonial events (Martin 2020:85).

Settlement hierarchies are another way that status is assigned to a specific household's inhabitants. The presence of settlement hierarchies consisting of centrally located royal palaces surrounded by peripherally located lower-status households has been well documented for many Classic period sites and represent a continuum of graded social categories (e.g., Caracol, Chase and Chase 2004; Belize Valley, Walden et al. 2019). The construction of monumental buildings (e.g., pyramidal temples) within formal ceremonial complexes occurred across many parts of the Maya lowlands as early as the Middle to Late Preclassic, implying larger-scale centralized labor organization by higher status individuals (Doyle 2012:356). The appearance of central places such as cities also created a place where people from the hinterland areas move to, adapting to a new way of life, tied into the increasing social complexity and centralized political authority of the time (Burham et al. 2020). Subsistence activities and craft production were primarily undertaken at the household and community levels, suggesting that political and economic centralization was limited (Burham et al. 2020:64); the multiple social identities of craft producers and artisans also shaped economic activities (McAnany 2010).

Walden and colleagues (2019) offer a systematic way of describing the Belize Valley settlement hierarchy, including Lower Dover and its hinterland neighborhoods. The regional settlement system is divided into six tiers. Tier 1 is considered the elite polity capital, inclusive

of major centers, such as Lower Dover. Tiers 2, 3, and 4 make up the intermediate elite centers, with Tier 2 representing a single "large, multi-component centers," within each polity, and multiple "medium-sized center[s] with a single plaza and an ancestral triadic shrine" (Tier 3), and "high-status commoner households" with ceremonial architecture (Tier 4) (Walden et al. 2019). The Tier 2 site associated with Lower Dover is Floral Park, while the Tier 3 sites include Tutu Uitz Na, BR-180/168, and Plaza F. Tier 5 includes large high-status commoner households with some limited ceremonial functions. BR-147 from Texas District is a good example of a Tier 5 compound (Walden 2021:20; Walden et al. 2019). While not explicitly described by Walden and colleagues (2019), Tier 6 sites include low-status commoner households, with the residence SG11 (Acbalamna) from the Tutu Uitz Na District being an example.

For the purposes of this study, burials were assigned to social categories based on the scheme developed by Walden et al. (2019), including apical elites, intermediate elites, and commoners independently of grave assemblages. Individuals buried in the Lower Dover site core were assigned apical elite status based on their archaeological context in the monumental epicenter. Rituals performed in site cores likely played a significant role in promoting shared values and identities and were central in structuring social, political, economic, and religious life (Burham et al. 2020:64). During these shared ritual experiences, rigid social structures eased and instead promoted a sense of solidarity. In some cases where shared experiences were held, sharing ritual knowledge rather than keeping it a secret may have also helped promote social cohesion among different social groups. Architecturally speaking, the combined effort for constructing monumental ceremonial centers is also central to the shared experience practice. Rituals, however, are not always based on shared experiences as seen through rulers, and sub-royal elites drew power from dominating and appropriating ritual practices (Burham et al.

2020:64-65). Outside of the Lower Dover site core, individuals interred in monumental architecture or eastern triadic shrines at Tier 2 or 3 sites were assigned as intermediate elites. Commoner burials included those found at Tier 4-6 sites. Although this method is not infallible, it was the simplest and most complete way of assigning "status" due to differential preservation, looting, and destruction of monuments and burials across the Lower Dover polity.

Traditional archaeological interpretations of stratification have also focused on analyzing burial contexts and associated mortuary rituals to understand the relationship between wealth and status differentiation (Binford 1971; Tainter 1978; Rosenswig et al. 2020). In this study, differential burial treatment will serve as a proxy for an individual's social status in life. The burial population at Lower Dover should reflect the status organization of the living, ancient society as defined by settlement and artifact analyses. Burial status will be assessed through analyses of grave type, grave context (located within public architecture vs. domestic space), and presence or absence of exotic grave goods. Tomb construction and associated grave goods represent the quantity and quality of resources invested in burials, especially for high-status individuals.

Archaeologists have created several hypotheses to explain the nuances of how and what variables from mortuary treatments say about status. For example, Lewis Binford (1971) suggests that the diversity of mortuary practices correlates with the complexity of the social hierarchy being analyzed. In other words, the degree to which mortuary rites are performed for an individual and how much it interferes with the daily life of the community is directly associated with the deceased individual's social image, or their "scale of identity" (Binford 1971:21). It is likely then that the more important a person's identity is in life (i.e., the higher

their social rank), the greater the burial treatment they will receive in terms of architectural investment and quality of grave goods.

Joseph Tainter (1978) also highlighted two important criteria for analyzing social dimensions in mortuary contexts. The first constitutes the spatial arrangement of the body, which relates to social stratification and energy expended, which is an indicator of rank grading. The second is the measurement of social dimensions on "true interval or ratio scales," linking mortuary practices to the concepts of change and variability (Tainter 1978:136-137). It is then arguable that the more energy expended for a burial, the higher status an individual is, and that diachronic shifts should be visible archaeologically as societies became more complex through time. Robert Rosenswig and colleagues (2020) examined Postclassic Maya social organization through mortuary contexts from the site of Freshwater Creek in northern Belize. They found that mortuary practices at Freshwater Creek were interrelated with social organization. Mortuary behavior affirmed claims to land and depicted social ranking based on grave elaboration, the number of resources used for the interment, and the use of ancestral burial locations (Rosenswig et al. 2020). This data, therefore, allows archaeologists to make inferences about organizational types and social complexity. Also prevalent in their burial data was a Postclassic change in burial customs, indicating the creation of cemeteries for the deceased. In this case, they suggest that the formation of cemeteries implies an inherited monopolization of resources where status can also be inferred (Rosenswig et al. 2020). Consequently, higher status individuals were likely more capable than lower status individuals at monopolizing resources and likely had more cemetery burials during this time. We can develop correlates expected for mortuary treatment concerning social class at Lower Dover based on these data (Table 1.2). However, these expectations were not always met due to problems such as burial location not always matching assigned grave

goods. Future research can seek to avoid this issue by seeking other explanations that link mortuary treatment to social status.

Table 1.2: Expectations of mortuary treatment at Lower Dover based on social status.

Social Status	Grave Location	Grave Type	Grave Goods
Apical Elite (Tier 1)	Eastern Triadic Shrines in Lower Dover Site Core, palatial and other monumental architecture, central axis of site core, elite courtyard	Tombs, elaborate crypts	Polychrome vessels, jade adornments and other jade goods, bloodletting kits (stingray spines, obsidian blades), inlaid teeth, funerary masks, wooden biers, obsidian and chert eccentrics, marine shell and other exotic fauna
Intermediate Elite (Tiers 2-4)	Eastern Triadic Shrines in intermediate elite centers	Crypts and cists	Polychrome and plain ware vessels, small jade items, local faunal, marine shell, ground stone
High Status Commoner (Tier 5)	Eastern shrines, beneath house floors, in fill	Cists	Plainware vessels, faunal remains/tools, marine and freshwater shell
Low Status Commoner (Tier 6)	Beneath house floor, in fill	Simple pit	Plain ware sherds, chert, freshwater shell

Lower Dover, Belize

The Belize Valley of west-central Belize is well known as the birthplace of settlement pattern surveys and where Gordon R. Willey and his colleagues conducted their pioneering research project at Barton Ramie from 1954 to 1956 (Willey et al. 1965). The site of Lower Dover is located along the southern bank of the Belize River directly across from Barton Ramie and approximately 6 km downriver from the neighboring major center of Baking Pot and 4 km west of the major center of Blackman Eddy (Figure 1.7). Prior to Lower Dover's initial documentation in 2010, researchers working in the Belize Valley proposed a locational model

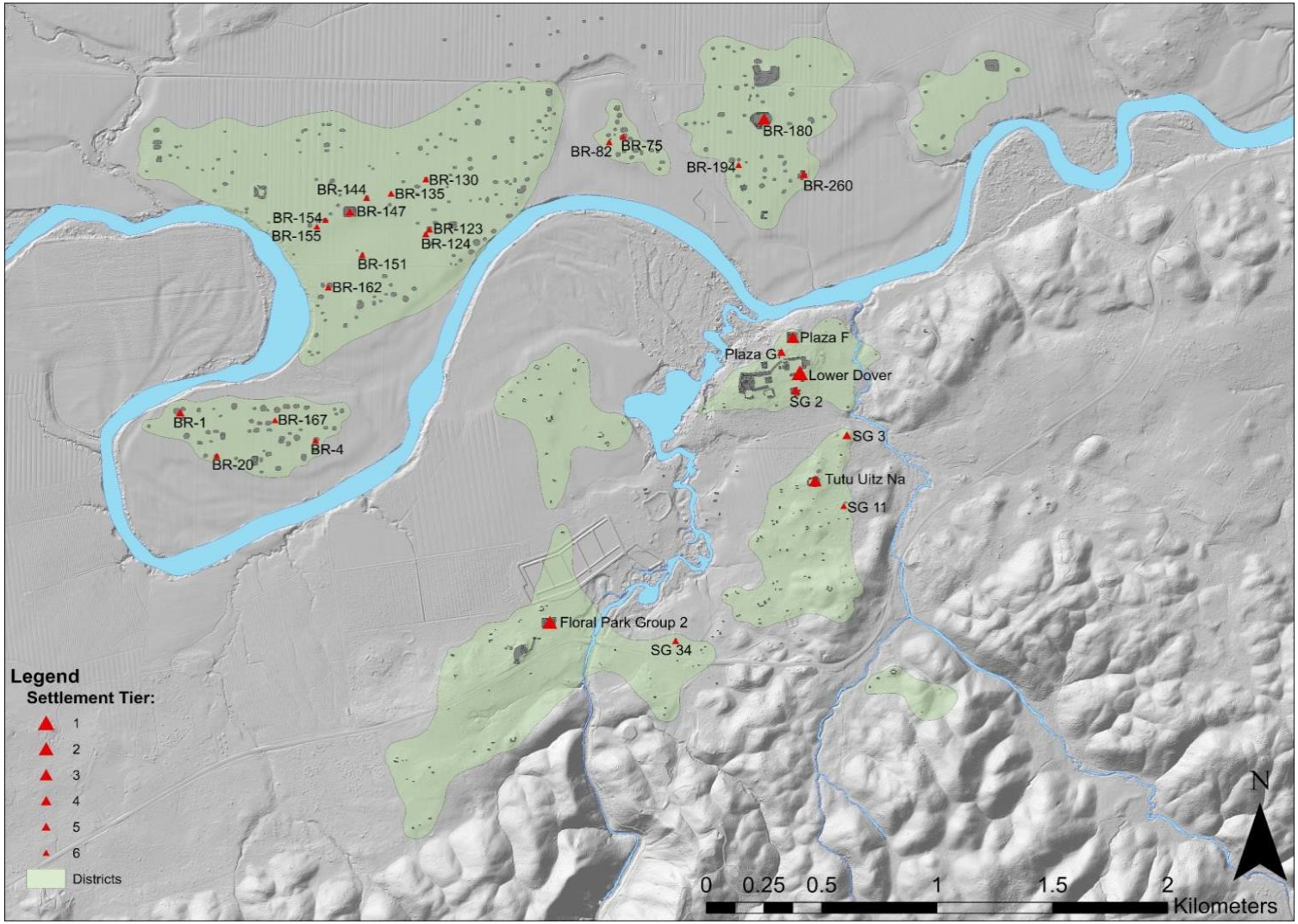

Figure 1.7: Map of Lower Dover showing locations of burials discussed in text (map by John Walden, 2020).

suggesting that the major centers were equidistantly located with smaller centers located at overlapping spheres of political control (Driver and Garber 2004; see also Guerra and Awe 2017:241). The updated model would fall out of use again with the discovery of Lower Dover and further research completed by the BVAR Project.

Lower Dover, named after the Reynolds family's Lower Dover Field Station in the modern village of Unitedville (Cayo District), sits south of the Belize River between Little Barton Creek to the east and Big Barton Creek to the west (Wölfel et al. 2009:5). Though the site's monumental site core and settlement were not formally documented until 2010, Dr. Philip Reeder, who had visited the field station in 2008, postulated that the collapsed architecture on the property represented a medium-sized ceremonial center like other centers in the Belize River Valley (e.g., Cahal Pech, Blackman Eddy, and Baking Pot; Guerra and Awe 2017:241; Wölfel et al. 2009:6). In 2012, the BVAR Project conducted the first archaeological excavations at the site to determine its construction history and document connections to other Belize River Valley major centers (Guerra and Awe 2017:242).

The Lower Dover site core consists of two large primary architectural groups (Figure 1.8). Plaza A to the east contains 12 structures and a ballcourt to the west. On the eastern side of Plaza A sits a triadic complex, which in the Belize Valley typically served as a site's mortuary shrine (Awe et al. 2017). Plaza B comprised at least 17 structures that surrounded an elite palace complex (Guerra and Awe 2017:242). Several other large elite patio groups (Plaza C, D, E, F, G, and H) surround the main architectural groups. Initial excavations at Lower Dover revealed that most construction in the site core took place during the Late to Terminal Classic periods (600-900 CE) and was completed in one or two construction episodes.

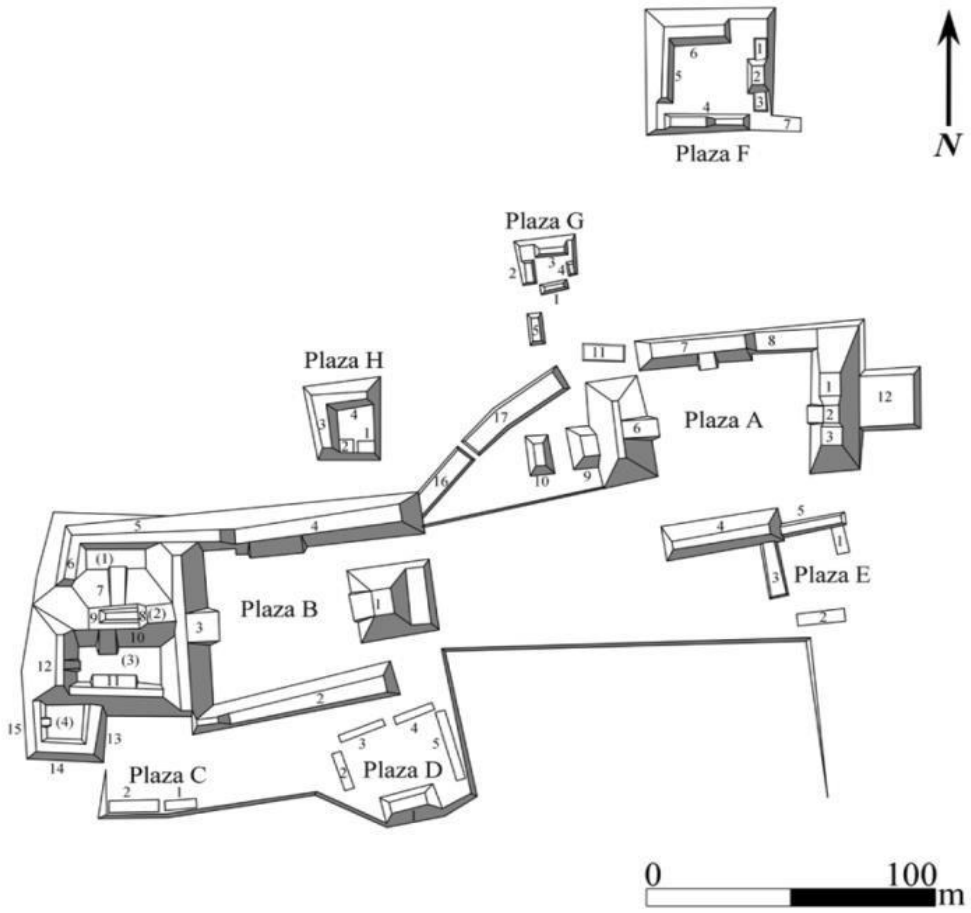

Figure 1.8: Map of Lower Dover site core (after Guerra and Awe 2017).

Therefore, researchers have suggested that the site's epicenter was rapidly built in the Late Classic period, likely as the nearby Preclassic center of Blackman Eddy experience a slight political decline (Guerra and Awe 2017). Artifact analyses indicated that the people of Lower Dover obtained exotic raw materials from diverse regions of the Maya lowlands and interacted with other Belize Valley communities (Guerra and Awe 2017:247).

Nine burials are associated with the Lower Dover site core and palace. Structure B1 contained a single secondary burial (LWD-B1 Burial 1) placed into the fill of the building. The

skeleton was poorly preserved and consisted of several teeth along with a drilled incisor and several forearm fragments. No grave goods were present for this burial. Structure F2 contained two primary burials in a possible crypt, LWD-F2 Burial 1 and LWD-F2 Burial 2, both located beneath the staircase of the structure (Guerra and Romih 2017). There is little to no data reported on the skeletal remains from LWD-F2 Burial 2; however, it is interesting to note that the grave goods included 300 *Oliva* and other marine shell beads. LWD-F2 Burial 1 had better skeletal preservation since several long bones were discovered. The burial's grave goods consisted of a piece of carved marine shell in a flower shape, chert debitage, and Late Classic ceramic sherds.

Two primary burials were also excavated from the summit of Structure G4, LWD-G4 Burial 1, and LWDG4 Burial 2 (Guerra and Arksey 2012). Burial 1 was categorized as a pit burial due to extremely poor skeletal preservation and a lack of grave goods. Burial 2 was a crypt burial that contained jade inlaid teeth, a small olla and cylindrical vase, and 25 shell beads.

Courtyard 1 possesses a single primary burial in the plaza, making up loose bone in the fill. The final location in the Lower Dover site core with a burial is Courtyard 2, which has a primary burial of an older adult male, LWD-CT2 Burial 1. The burial, located in a peri-abandonment deposit, was in the VPLF position with the head oriented south. Eight VPLF burials dating to the Late-Terminal Classic period have been identified at Lower Dover, as well as one in the Lower Dover palace (i.e., LWD- CT2 Burial 1; Walden 2021:35; Watkins et al. 2017:138, 157).

A rockshelter burial has also been documented at the Lower Dover site core. RS2 Burial 1 was the burial of an adult male located immediately to the west of Lower Dover Group G, a high-status commoner residential group located just north of the Lower Dover site core (Figure 1.9). The burial consisted of a simple pit cut into the floor of the rockshelter (Romih

2018:172174), and the individual was buried in a tightly flexed supine position. The remains also indicated cut marks on the mid-shaft of the posterior surface of the left and right fibula. Associated grave goods consisted of jute, sherds, and chert debitage.

Figure 1.9: Photograph of Rockshelter 2 Burial 1 (Romih et al. 2017:Fig. 3).

Lower Dover Periphery

Settlement survey and spatial analyses have also been applied to document intermediate elite and commoner residences surrounding the Lower Dover epicenter, many of which contained burials (Walden 2021; Walden et al. 2017). Intermediate elite groups include large, multi-component intermediate elite centers (Tier 2) and medium-sized centers with a single plaza and an ancestral triadic shrine (Tier 3; Walden et al. 2019). Many of these intermediate elite groups began their occupational histories in the Middle/Late Preclassic and were well established communities when the Lower Dover epicenter was formed in the Early Classic. The Late Classic settlement of Lower Dover is divided into 13 clusters, including ten districts and three outlying neighborhoods that were unintegrated into districts. The three largest districts centered on Tutu Uitz Na, Floral Park, and the Texas District of Barton Ramie (BR 180/168), which were headed by intermediate elite households. Commoner neighborhoods typically consisted of four to ten low-status commoner households clustered around a single high-status commoner household. High-status commoner households (Tiers 4 and 5) represented the residence for a neighborhood head and generally possessed more extensive patios, more structures, and eastern mortuary shrines (Walden et al. 2019). High-status commoner head households also had greater access to material wealth, with higher proportions of ritual items and feasting related paraphernalia than other commoner households (Walden 2021:14, 15). Low-status commoner neighborhoods (Tier 6) included smaller clusters of residences situated in high-status commoner settlements. Burials at Lower Dover have been documented across all tiers of settlement from the Preclassic through the Terminal Classic.

Tutu Uitz Na

Tutu Uitz Na (roughly translating to "*jute* sacred mountain house"), named after the freshwater shell deposit beneath the intermediate elite household at the district's center, is composed of commoner neighborhoods entered around SG 3, SG 42, SG 51, and SG 26/27. The district's minor center, originally recorded as "Plaza F" by Wölfel and colleagues (2009), consists of four main structures around a large central plaza (Figure 1.10). Structure E2 served as the site's eastern triadic shrine, which was initially constructed during the Late Preclassic period. Excavation of Structure E2 revealed an elaborate funerary assemblage that contained at least seven elite inhumations dating from the Late Preclassic through Terminal Classic periods (Walden 2021).

After initial Middle Preclassic construction, two burials, SG1-Burial 7 and SG1-Burial 5, were placed during the Late Preclassic (Biggie et al. 2019). SG1-Burial 7 contained an adult individual placed directly on the bedrock in an extended position with the head oriented south. Grave goods interred with the individual included an intact Early Classic Minanha Red bowl (containing burned residue and charcoal), placed just east of the right femur, a shell bead, an obsidian blade, and a carved shell. SG1-Burial 5 was a crypt burial containing the remains of an adult individual in an extended prone position with their head oriented south. A layer of chert debitage was placed over the crypt, with a cache of 36 obsidian blades and a Sierra Red ceramic bowl immediately north of the crypt atop the bedrock. Despite SG-Burial 7 and SG1-Burial 5 being aged as adults, both were indeterminate for sex due to their overall poor preservation. During the Late Classic period, SG1-Burial 1 was deposited. The burial contained an adult male in an extended prone position with his head oriented south (Petrozza 2015:50-65; Petrozza and Biggie 2015:31-36), a typical mortuary pattern in the Belize Valley. Grave goods included three

obsidian blades, a river clam pectoral, a miniature Belize Red jar, two drilled antlers, and marine shell pendants, suggesting a reasonably high status for this individual.

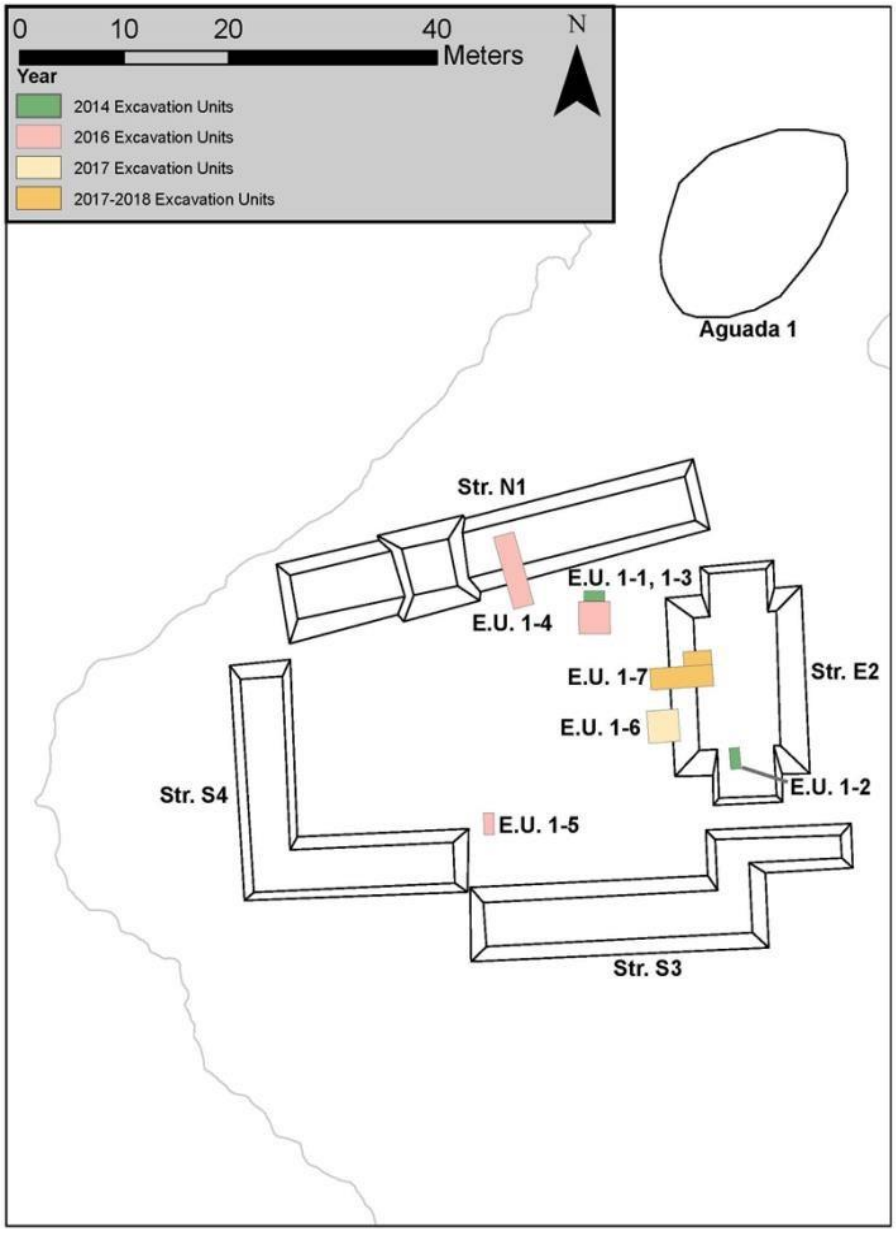

Figure 1.10: Plan of Tutu Uitz Na (SG 1) with excavations (from Biggie et al. 2018: Fig 2).

Around the time of abandonment in the Terminal Classic period (750-900 CE), a deposit containing multiple internments (SG1-Burial 2, -Burial 3, -Burial 4, -Burial 5, and Burial 6), including one secondary burial, SG1-Burial 3, was cut into the terminal floor of Structure E2. SG1-Burial 4 stands out as the wealthiest internment in this deposit and for the entire eastern triadic structure at Tutu Uitz Na (Biggie et al. 2019). The burial consisted of an adult male in a seated position, with the individual's right ankle and foot placed in the raised heel position (Looper 2009; see also Walden 2021:34). Scherer (2015:89-91) argues that a single flexed leg is iconic in Maya iconography for dance, and the placement of the dead in a dancing position likely indicates a desire for the individual's resurrection or celebration of life over death. Burial 4's grave goods were also extensive, including five vessels, an andesite and olivine celt, a chert biface from the northern Belize chert bearing zone around Colha, a chert scraper, 24 *Oliva* shell tinklers, and marine shell (Biggie et al. 2019). The individual also had very poor health, with an infection observable, with perimortem trauma also documented through the severing of the vertebrae. Overall, the burial deposit at Structure E2 was likely associated with the final occupation phase, and the central individual was SG1-Burial 4, who likely represented the head of the Tutu Uitz Na household.

Commoner residences from the Tutu Uitz Na District that contained burials were SG3 (Mamna), a high-status commoner neighborhood head household, and SG11 (Acbalamna), a low-status commoner residence. SG3 contains two male burials (Walden et al. 2018). SG3-Burial 1 was interred extended with his head oriented to the south during the Late Preclassic, followed by SG3-Burial 2, which was also interred extended with the head oriented south, in the Late Preclassic. Complete skeletons were present for both burials, allowing for a more exact age range. Both individuals were older adults, with the individual from Burial 1 being above 50 years

of age and the individual from Burial 2 being 30-55 years of age. Burial 1 possessed no grave goods, whereas Burial 2 had a couple of vessels placed next to the individual's head. A secondary burial was documented at SG11, where it was interred during its initial construction phase during the Early Classic (Walden et al. 2018:202-203).

Barton Ramie

Barton Ramie is located north of the Lower Dover site core, across the Belize River. Initial excavations were conducted at a large scale by Willey and colleagues from 1954-56 when most of the site's burials were documented (Willey et al. 1965). The Texas District, a part of the Barton Ramie settlement is focused on the elite residential compound, BR-168, and the elite eastern triadic shrine, BR-180 (Walden 2021: 85, 95). Like Tutu Uitz Na and Floral Park (described below), the population of the Texas District remained stable throughout the entirety of the Early Classic period, and commoner households within the district were relatively affluent throughout their history (Walden 2021:87-88). A total of 120 burials have been documented for Barton Ramie. The most common burial type is simple pit interments of commoners, making up approximately 89% of total graves. Another commonality found was in the hierarchical tier ratings. Low-status commoner (Tier 6) graves constitute 112 graves, mainly from the Barton Ramie site area. This statistic shows that most of the burial population from Barton Ramie were composed of low-status commoners (93%) who used similar interments. According to Freiwald's (2011) isotopic analysis, 15% of sampled individuals at Barton Ramie were non-local, with two individuals originating from the Macal Drainage, like the female adult burial (Burial 9) at Structure 2A at Floral Park (Walden 2021:72). Though the VPLF position is not documented for these particular burials from the Texas District, it is important to note that five burials in residential contexts at Barton Ramie also adhered

to the VPLF positions found at Lower Dover and Tutu Uitz Na (Willey et al. 1965:114-118, 202, 242; Walden 2021).

BR-180 is located on the eastern flank of the Barton Ramie settlement, north of the Lower Dover civic-ceremonial center. The BR-180 precinct consists of three structures, with its most prominent structure being an eastern triadic shrine (Walden et al. 2020). Mortuary activity began during the Late-Terminal Preclassic (BCE 300-300 CE), with the placement of an elite burial, BR-180 Burial 3. BR-180 Burial 3 was an adult male interred extended, prone, with the head oriented to the south, in a "half crypt," and notably in his left hand was an adornment (likely a necklace) consisting of 166 snake vertebrae (Roa et al. 2020; Walden et al. 2020:158; Figure 1.11).

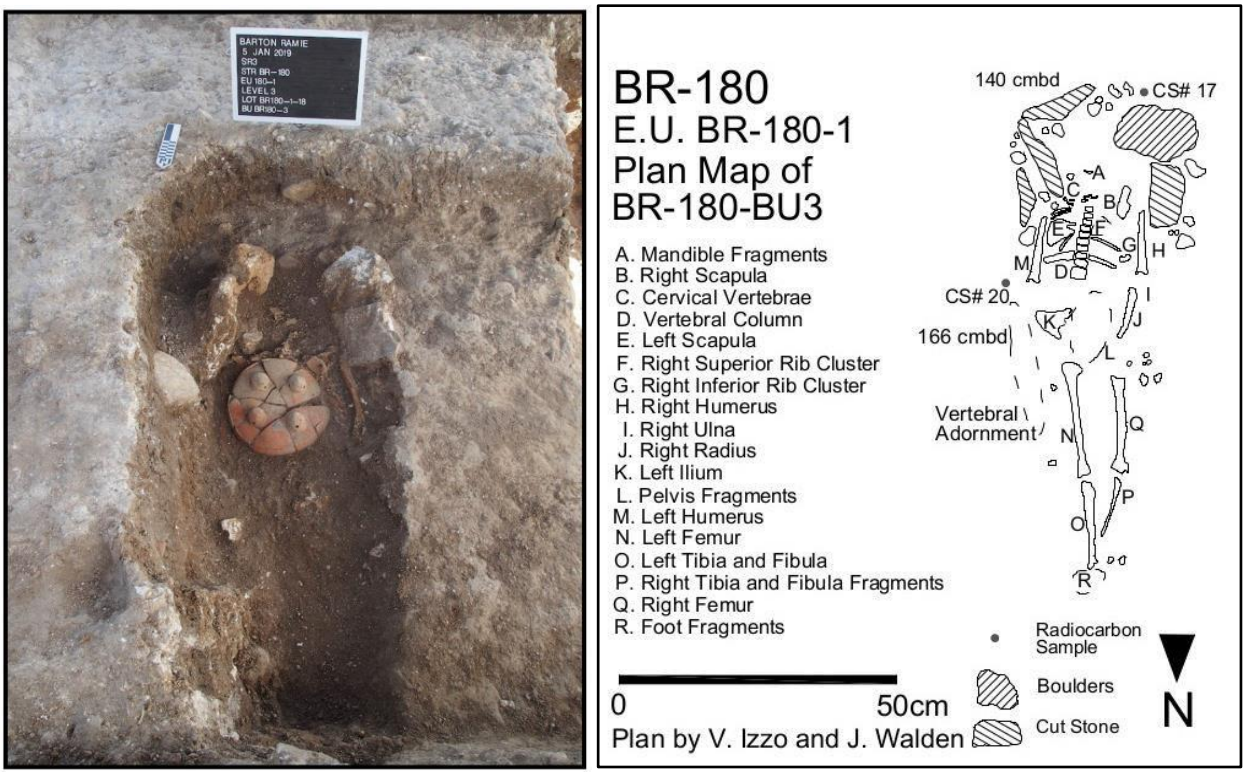

Figure 1.11: Photograph and plan map of BR-180 Burial 3 (from Walden et al. 2020: Fig. 8).

The third construction phase, which dates to the Terminal Preclassic (BCE 150-300 CE), contained two burials (BR-180 Burial 1 and BR-180 Burial 2). Both burials were poorly preserved, though their heads were oriented south (Walden 2021:94-96). Underneath the individual in BR-180 Burial 1 were six river clamshells, which, according to Willey and colleagues (1965:504), was a common trend with burials at Barton Ramie. Contrasted, BR-180 Burial 2 contained a wealth of grave goods, including ceramics (vessels included a Gavilan Black-on-Orange dish and Aguacate Orange v. Privaccion pedestal base basin), a large, polished jade bead fragment, and a carved piece of jade jewelry (Walden et al. 2020:167).

BR-194, a sizeable southern structure on the south-western side of the Texas District, was located within a large, rather high-status commoner patio group that also consisted of BR-195, BR-197, and BR-198. The structure contained six burials (BR-194-Burial 1, -Burial 2, -Burial 3, -Burial 4, -Burial 5, and -Burial 6) with Burials 1-4 located in the same layer of fill, and Burial 5 at a slightly higher elevation. Burials 2 and 3 were interred together at the base of the structure and contained several grave goods similar to Burial 1, though Burial 1 notably contained two serpentine beads. Burials 4 and 5 did not have associated grave goods (Walden 2021:102-104). Another structure, located on the southern side of the Texas District, is BR-260. When Willey and colleagues (1965) conducted their excavations, unlike other settlement groups at Barton Ramie, BR-260 was not plowed and was therefore mapped as a patio group. BR-260 contained five burials (BR-260 Burial 1, -Burial 2, -Burial 3, -Burial 4, and -Burial 5). The latest burial, BR-260 Burial 1, was intrusively cut through Floor 2 at some point during the Late Classic period, as shown through the second excavation pit on the western side of the structure. Conversely, Burials 2, 3, and 4 were deposited in the easternmost pit. All the burials, except for Burial 1, which had a single bone spatulate implement, and Burial 5, which had no grave goods,

came with a wealth of items (Walden 2021:105-107; Willey et al. 1965:269). According to Willey and colleagues (1965), BR-260 Burial 2 possessed grave goods such as a Vaca Falls bowl, a Benque Viejo Polychrome bowl, and a Sotero Red-brown miniature jar. Excavations of BR-260 revealing this high volume of wealth, ritual, and feasting items reflect that the group represents very high-status commoner neighborhood heads (Walden 2021:105-107).

Other notable burials from Barton Ramie include BR-1 Burial 6 from Mound BR-1 and BR-123 Burial 23 and Burial 30 from Mound BR-123. BR-1 Burial 6 consisted of an adult skeleton interred in a seated position and faced west (Figure 1.12). This burial contained a

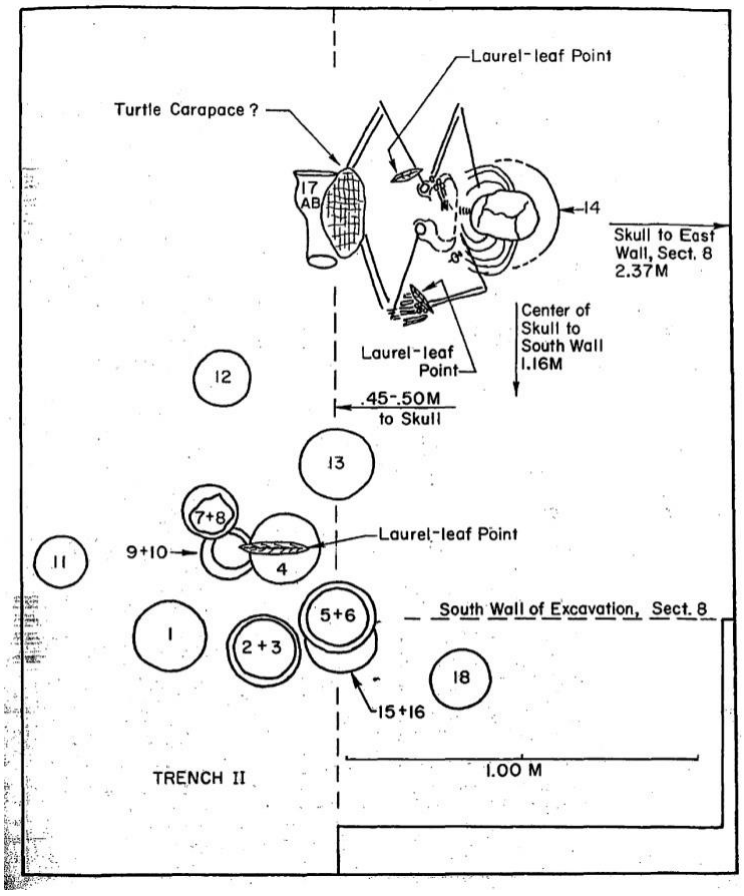

Figure 1.12: Plan map of BR-1 Burial 6 (from Willey et al. 1965:Fig. 32).

large quantity of grave goods, containing 20 ceramic vessels (many being from the Terminal Classic Spanish Lookout phase), nine pieces of chert/obsidian, seven faunal remains, a turtle carapace, and three shells, indicating the individual was likely of higher, elite status, not only because of the quantity but because of the present wealth items (Willey et al. 1965:82).

BR-123 Burial 22, similar to BR-1 Burial 6, was interred extended and prone with the head oriented to the south, though facing downward. In contrast, the burial was of a young individual between 9 to 15 years old. Their grave goods included three vessels identified as Rubber Camp, Belize Red, and Macal Orange-Red types, a tapered stem blade, 50 tubular dentalium shells, echinoderm spines, and a pipe-shaped ear ornament or labret (Willey et al. 1988:120-121). Burial 22's young age, along with a wealth of burial items, likely indicates some level of ascribed status. BR-123 Burial 30, which was interred in the same position as Burial 22, contained an adult male with his cranium and right side significantly disturbed. Accompanying grave goods included three Floral Park phase vessels identified as Aguacate Orange, a Guacamallo Red-on-Orange, and a Chiquibil Modeled types, a small jadeite bead, two shell disk *adornos,* and 40 disk beads of spondylus shell (Willey et al. 1988:123). Like BR-1 Burial 6 and BR-123 Burial 22, BR-123 Burial 30's grave goods indicate a wealthy, higher-status individual.

Floral Park

The Floral Park district has a lower commoner settlement density but possesses large intermediate elite architecture (Walden et al. 2019). The reason for Floral Park's strategic settlement location, in comparison to BR-180/168 from the Texas District and Tutu Uitz Na, is probably due to the site's point on a bedrock that controls a dominant view and a crossing point over Upper Barton Creek. The commoner households of Floral Park were very affluent during

the early stages of the district's development but would change drastically in the Late Classic period.

The Floral Park intermediate elite center was first surveyed by Willey and his colleagues (1965) and contained three architectural groups: a small terminus group, two temple pyramids, and a sizeable elite residential compound. Excavations conducted by Garber and colleagues in the 1990s documented several burials (Brown et al. 1996; Driver and Garber 2004; Glassman et al. 1995). In Structure 2A, a small eastern mortuary shrine, a total of nine burials containing ten individuals were documented. Burials 1 and 2 were in a circular platform constructed on the summit of Structure 2A (Freiwald 2011:409; Walden 2021:69-71). The orientation of Burial 1 was could not be determined due to poor skeletal preservation, leaving only elements of the tibia, femur, and humerus shaft. Skeletal or burial information was not reported for Burials 2 and 3. Burials 4-8 were interred during the second construction phase, with skeletal remains ranging from a single bone (e.g., a single femur) to nearly complete skeletons (Brown et al. 1996:43). Burial 4 (femoral shaft) and 5 (tibia fragment, femoral fragment, and one parietal) were found in an appendage in Structure 2A. Burial 6 contained two individuals, with the primary burial consisting of long bones from a young adult and a secondary burial of another individual (Freiwald 2011:390). Both Burial 7 (a femur) and Burial 8 (several small cranium fragments) were found within the building's architectural fill. The third construction phase occurred during the Terminal Classic period and contained Burial 1, Burial 2, and Burial 9. Burial 9 is a primary cist burial of a probable adult female. Overall, the burial artifact population of Floral Park is relatively meagre compared to other intermediate elite centers such as Tutu Uitz Na and BR-180/168.

Burials were also present at SG34 (Jolna) and SG35 (Haabna), associated with the Floral Park District of Lower Dover. SG34 is a large commoner settlement group (Tier 6) located east of the Floral Park minor center. The burial at this site consisted of three individuals (SG34 Burial 1 Individual 1, Individual 2, and Individual 3), including an adult male 35-45 years of age (Individual 1), whose cranium was placed in a fragmentary Sierra Red bowl. A cache of bones located southwest of the crania consisted of the remains of two other adult individuals, one with undeterminable sex (Individual 2) and the other a male individual (Individuals 3) (Levin et al. 2020:168-190). All three individuals were interred in the structural deposit on top of the Middle Preclassic *jute* deposit. SG35 was likely a middle-status commoner household that possibly housed a specialist ritual practitioner based on the presence of a tooth cache from the initial construction phase during the Terminal Preclassic to Early Classic period (Garcia et al. 2020). During the Terminal Preclassic initial construction phase, the platform of SG35 contained 15 human teeth intermingled in the fill. The teeth came from at least two individuals, one a subadult and the other an adult, and the teeth likely represent a dedicatory offer to the structure (Garcia et al. 2020).

Chapter 2 METHODS

Lower Dover Burial Database

This project aims to contextualize and analyze burial data from Lower Dover, Belize, to understand social inequality patterns through time. Burials recorded in the dataset used for this study come from excavations by Gordon Willey and colleagues conducted in the 1950s (Willey et al. 1956), excavations by Brown and colleagues (1996), and from research completed by the Belize Valley Archaeological Reconnaissance (BVAR) Project between 2010-2019. There are a total of 159 burials in the dataset, including burials from the Lower Dover site core, and the surrounding Tutu Uitz Na, Barton Ramie, and Floral Park districts (Appendix A).

There are 13 burials from the Lower Dover site core, 12 burials from Tutu Uitz Na, 120 burials from Barton Ramie, and 14 burials from Floral Park. The burial information for the Lower Dover site core derives from Rafael Guerra's ongoing doctoral dissertation project through the University of New Mexico, though the database relies on published site reports for information about site core burials. A majority of Tutu Uitz Na's data is derived from John Walden's (2021) dissertation through the University of Pittsburgh, as well as Michael Petrozza's Master's thesis (2015) through Texas State University. Most of the burial information from the Floral Park center in the dataset comes from 1995 excavation reports by Brown and colleagues (1996). Data from two burials, FPK-2 Burial 1 and Burial 2, come from the 1994 BVAR field reports by Glassman and colleagues (1995). Commoner burials from Floral Park come from Walden's excavations. There are multiple sources from which the Barton Ramie data was derived. Commoner burials were included in Gordon Willey's 1965 excavation report, whereas all the intermediate elite burials were documented as part of Walden's (2021) dissertation (e.g.,

BR-180 Burial 1, BR-180 Burial 2, and BR-180 Burial 3). Though Barton Ramie is categorized into sub-neighborhoods (e.g., Middle River Neighborhood, Island Neighborhood, Oxbow Neighborhood, and Texas District), it was analyzed as a single district for this study.

The overall dataset reports information by burial context rather than by individual, with 25 different variables reported (Table 2.1). However, when completing analyses, the dataset was reorganized by individuals when appropriate. This measure was taken to ensure that categories and grave good analyses are interpreted by the associated individual, allowing interments with multiple individuals to be analyzed independently rather than as one group.

Table 2.1: Lower Dover burial database structure.

Dataset Variable	**Description**
Burial Number	Ex: BR-1 Burial 1 Descriptor includes polity, structure location, burial number for specific location, and individual number where applicable (e.g., FPK-2 Burial 6 Individual 1)
Location	Ex: Tutu Uitz Na Name of polity-level districts where burial is located
Social category	Ex: Commoner, Intermediate Elite, or Elite Interred individual's assigned social class based off burial location, grave architecture, age, and grave goods (following Walden et al. 2019)
Structure	Ex: BR-1 (Western Structure) Structure designation where burial is found including structure number and structure type where applicable (e.g., eastern triadic shrine, courtyard, rockshelter)
Provenience	Ex: "South of Floor A" Exact description of where burial is located within a structure, typically using cardinal directions
Temporal Phase	Time period when burial was interred quantified into two categories: Preclassic/Early Classic and Late/Terminal Classic
MNI	"minimum number of individuals" – accounts for the number of possible individuals in the burial
Sex	Determinable sex of an individual; broken into three categories female, male, and indeterminate
Age (Years)	Ex: 30-55 yrs Age range of individual in years and months
Age Category	General age category of individual based on a spectrum from subadult, young adult, adult, middle adult, older adult

Dataset Variable	Description
Burial Type	Determines if the individual was interred initially or directly (primary), or if they were interred later or if there are multiple individuals per burial (secondary)
Grave Architecture	Simple, cist, crypt, tomb
Intrusive	Yes or no scaling for if burial was interred into an already existing structure/mound/burial (yes) or not (no). Question marks indicate this is unclear in literature.
Percent Complete	Proportion/percentage of entire skeleton present in burial as reported by original investigators
Skeletal Preservation	Description of how well the skeletal remains preserved based on a scale from very poor to medium-good
Articulated	Is the skeleton found all together/in proper order
Position	Arrangement individual was placed when interred based on four different categories: Extended, Flexed/Double-flexed, Seated and VPLF
Prone/Supine	Lying position of individual. If the individual is facing downwards, they are prone; if they are facing upwards, they are supine. This category is applicable for extended, flexed, double-flexed, and VPLF positions.
Head Facing	Ex: "Head to south" Cardinal orientation for which an individual's head is facing
Body Orientation	Cardinal direction for which an individual's entire body is pointing
Grave Goods	Ex: carved bone tool; feline animal teeth Description of artifacts and ecofacts that were purposefully interred with the burial. Also marks if individual has dental filing or inlays (e.g., jade inlays, filing of upper canines)
Wealth Items	Count of grave items that reflect higher social status and wealth. Items are more inaccessible and made of higher quality materials
Utilitarian Items	Count of grave items that reflect lower social status or everyday items that most people at Lower Dower own/use
Total Grave Assemblage	Count of how many grave goods each individual in a burial is associated with for analyses
Reference	Literature references for information used in categories

Several variables in the dataset were created to organize burials by temporal phase, burial pattern and location, osteological data, and grave good assemblage information. A "social category" variable records an interred individual's social position in terms of three categories: commoners, intermediate elites, and apical elites. Apical elite individuals represent the ruling or

highest class that maintained power over the polity during the Classic period. These individuals were interred in the Lower Dover site core (Tier 1 center). An intermediate elite category exists to distinguish between higher status individuals and represents elites below the ruling class or Maya royalty that still maintain a significant amount of power and were interred at Tier 2 and 3 sites (Walden et al. 2019). Commoners represent the lowest social class at Lower Dover, beneath elite and intermediate elite individuals, representing the mass amount of people (Walden et al. 2019). Commoner status was assigned to burials from Tier 4-6 sites at the Lower Dover polity.

There are three grave architecture categories recorded in the dataset, including simple burials, cists, and crypts, as reported by the excavators (following Scherer 2020; Welsh 1988). Formal tomb architecture is present at other Classic period sites in the Belize Valley, but since none were present at the Lower Dover polity, tombs as a category of analyses were not included in this study. Simple burials consisted of individuals interred directly into a pit in the ground, the floor, or into the fill of architecture. Cists were determined by the presence of stones placed on or around the interred individual. Crypts were categorized by the partial or complete walling of an interment with stone, along with a stone slab lid. It was determined that simple pits were typically representative of lower status individuals, followed by cists and crypts associated with higher status burials.

Four primary body position categories (i.e., extended, flexed, seated, and VPLF) are present for this dataset and were assigned following Welsh (1988). The extended position is characterized by individuals laid flat with legs straight and the arms either crossed over the chest or resting to the sides. Flexed burials represent individuals interred with their legs at an angle, reflecting a crouching state. VPLF, or ventrally placed, legs flexed, burials have individuals buried near or on their abdominal area with their legs bent (Izzo 2018; Wrobel and Graham 2015).

Extended and flexed burials are also broken down into two subcategories, supine and prone. Individuals interred supine are placed on their backs, whereas prone individuals are buried on their fronts. The final body position category is the seated position, which cannot be broken into supine or prone, and represents individuals who are interred at an angulation that represents someone sitting. Individuals with indeterminable body positions or positions that did not conform to these major categories were left blank for the body position category.

Burials were also broken into two groups by age: adults and subadults. Adults represent individuals over 18 years of age, and subadults are any individual below 18 years of age, including children and infants. Age was sometimes reported by subcategories, such as old adult, middle adult, and young adult; however, these subcategories were excluded from the present analyses due to a small sample size of adults with determinable or reported age ranges and inconsistencies in the age ranges that these categories represent. Subadults subcategories (e.g., child and infant) were also left out when performing analyses because of the small sample sizes and lack of consistent age subcategorizations in the literature. Due to better preservation of several graves, some individuals were given a quantitative age range in the dataset. If age could not be determined for an individual, they were labeled as "indeterminate." Individuals that were able to be assigned sex were categorized into females and males, and if sex was undeterminable, the individual was labeled as indeterminate. Osteological analyses have not been performed for all individuals in the dataset, and in these cases, entries for age and sex are left blank.

Grave Assemblage Analyses

Calculations using the dataset include the quantification of grave goods (wealth items versus utilitarian items) and proportion of grave goods, including wealth and utilitarian items by

social category, grave architecture category, body position category, age, and sex. These calculations were completed for two time periods at Lower Dover, the Preclassic/Early Classic (300 BCE-600 CE) and the Late/Terminal Classic (600-900 CE). The first temporal category, the Preclassic/Early Classic, represents the time before the rise of Lower Dover as an influential and powerful political polity, whereas the second temporal phase, the Late/Terminal Classic, represents the period after the rise of an apical elite class at Lower Dover. The reason for dividing temporal categories is to analyze a possible change in status through time concerning the appearance of Lower Dover on the political landscape of the Belize Valley. Calculations were also divided spatially, with analyses based on the aforementioned categories at the entire polity level and within each neighborhood/district. Floral Park is the only district without burials from the Preclassic/Early Classic since the secondary burial previously cited from SG 34 and the tooth cache from SG 35 were removed from analyses as grave goods could not be assigned to a single individual (see below). Therefore, analyses for this part of the Lower Dover polity focus on burials only during the Late/Terminal Classic.

Artifact proportion and changes in proportions were determined per individual rather than per burial where possible as several burials had multiple interments. Frequencies of burial items were calculated for three categories:

1. Total grave goods interred with an individual.
2. Number of wealth items interred with an individual versus total grave assemblage.
3. Number of utilitarian items interred with an individual versus total grave assemblage.

Separating grave goods into wealth and utilitarian categories acts as a metric of status and represent differentiation between higher status and lower status and lower value treatments. It was assumed, going into analyses, that higher status individuals were more likely to possess a

higher proportion of wealth items in comparison to utilitarian items. This assumption is made on the basis that wealth items represent objects made from rare materials, represent high-quality craftmanship, and are typically not widely distributed throughout the population. Wealth items include polychrome ceramic vessels, jade items, and marine shell jewelry (Table 2.2). Although there is overlap between the wealth and utilitarian categories with materials, there is no overlap with artifact types. For instance, obsidian was not considered a wealth item except when used to create specialized items (e.g., bloodletters) or used in ceremonial contexts since it is found in abundance in domestic contexts across the Lower Dover polity. In contrast to individuals who have a larger proportion of utilitarian items or only were interred with utilitarian items, it is assumed those individuals are of lower status. Utilitarian items include undecorated or plainware pottery, chert items, and ground stone tools.

Calculations were conducted to compare grave assemblages by social class, grave architecture, burial position, and age and sex across neighborhoods at the Lower Dover to depict differences in wealth and status across the polity. Aside from Floral Park, intra-polity comparisons can also be made for changes diachronically from the Late Preclassic/Early Classic to the Late/Terminal Classic.

Table 2.2: Wealth and utilitarian items found in Lower Dover grave assemblages.

Artifact Class	Wealth Items	Utilitarian Items
Ceramic	Complete vessels: Bichrome, polychrome, and incised; ceramic drums	Complete vessels: Monochrome and unslipped vessels
	Fragmentary vessels: cylinder jar fragments; *incensario* fragments (counted as one vessel); polychrome, biochrome, and decorated sherds	Fragmentary vessels: unslipped or monochrome sherds; figurine fragments
Shell	Marine shell (*Spondylus* sp.) jewelry including beads, perforated discs, pendants, and rosettes; marine shell scrapers; carved shell fragments; turtle carapace (probable drum); *Oliva* tinklers	River clam shell (*Nephronias* sp.); jute shell (*Pachychilus* spp.)
Faunal	Feline teeth; bone jewelry including carved tubes, pendants, and earspools/labrets; bone needles and fragments; bone spatulates; snake vertebrae necklace; drilled antlers	Bone awl
Lithic	Jade and jadeite pendants and earspools; Serpentine celts; obsidian blade blood letters; incised slate axe and mace; Colha chert biface	Spindle whorls (limestone and groundstone); limestone spheres, obsidian blade fragments; pebbles; chert points and scrapers; mano and metate fragments

Chapter 3 RESULTS

Mortuary data from the three districts at Lower Dover (Barton Ramie, Floral Park, and Tutu Uitz Na) and the site's monumental epicenter was used to answer the central research question of how status changed from the Preclassic/Early Classic (Period 1) to the Late/Terminal Classic (Period 2), before and after the rise of the Lower Dover polity. At the polity level and within each neighborhood, four types of analyses were carried out:

1. Calculations of differences in wealth and utilitarian items by social category (commoner, intermediate elite, and apical elite) versus grave architecture (simple, cist, crypt, and tomb).
2. Calculations of differences in wealth and utilitarian items by social category versus body positions (extended, flexed, seated, and VPLF burials).
3. Calculations of differences in wealth and utilitarian items by social category versus sex (for adults only).
4. Calculations of differences in wealth and utilitarian items by social category versus age (adult and juvenile).

Wealth and utilitarian items were used as proxies for status, with higher status individuals considered likely to possess more wealth items as grave goods, including polychrome ceramics, marine shell beads and pendants, jade objects, and *Oliva* tinklers (see Table 2.2). According to their context in the Lower Dover site core or surrounding districts, burials were also divided within temporal categories to examine a change in status of those occupying Lower Dover through time. The two temporal categories assigned – Preclassic/Early Classic and Late/Terminal Classic – reflect the periods before and after the appearance of the Lower Dover

polity. My sample includes substantially more burials (n=101) during the Late/Terminal Classic (Period 2) compared to the amount (n=30) from the Preclassic/Early Classic (Period 1).

The Burial Population at the Lower Dover Polity

Grave Architecture Analyses

Though 159 burials have been reported from Lower Dover (including Barton Ramie, Tutu Uitz Na, and Floral Park), several were removed from the present analyses for various reasons. Nine burials from Willey's 1954-1956 excavations were not included since grave architecture type for those burials were not reported. Several burials also contained the remains of more than one individual. If a primary interment could be identified, analyses are associated with this individual, and secondary interments were disregarded. If a primary interment could not be identified, the burial was treated as a single interment. Burials without temporal associations were also removed from the analyses (n=6). These restrictions resulted in a total number of 131 burials considered for grave assemblage versus grave architecture comparisons.

Figure 3.1 and Table 3.1 present the results of calculations of differences in grave items between social categories by grave architecture for the entire Lower Dover polity for all periods. Results indicate that the burial population was interred with slightly more wealth items (54%) than utilitarian items (45%). Simple burials, in which individuals of all social hierarchy levels were interred, contained approximately equal proportions of wealth items (49%) and utilitarian items (51%). While there were no elite individuals interred in cist burials, commoners interred in cists are characterized by higher proportions of wealth to utilitarian items, reflecting a pattern similar to that of the overall Lower Dover burial population. In contrast, intermediate elites buried in cists were only interred with wealth items (n=4). Aside from SG3 Burial 2, which

contains a higher status commoner, intermediate elites were the only social class interred in crypt burials, which contained the highest proportions of wealth items (68%) to utilitarian items (32%). Commoners in crypts reflect equal proportions of wealth and utilitarian items in their associated assemblages. On the other hand, apical elite individuals (referred to here simply as "elite") buried in crypts contained higher proportions of utilitarian items (56%) compared to wealth items (44%). These results for apical elites are likely biased by the small sample size of grave goods within crypt burials overall for elites (total n=9), in addition to the small number of elite burials from Lower Dover overall. Due to the bulldozing of monumental structures such as BR-180, an elite eastern mortuary shrine, our knowledge of Lower Dover elite burials is limited.

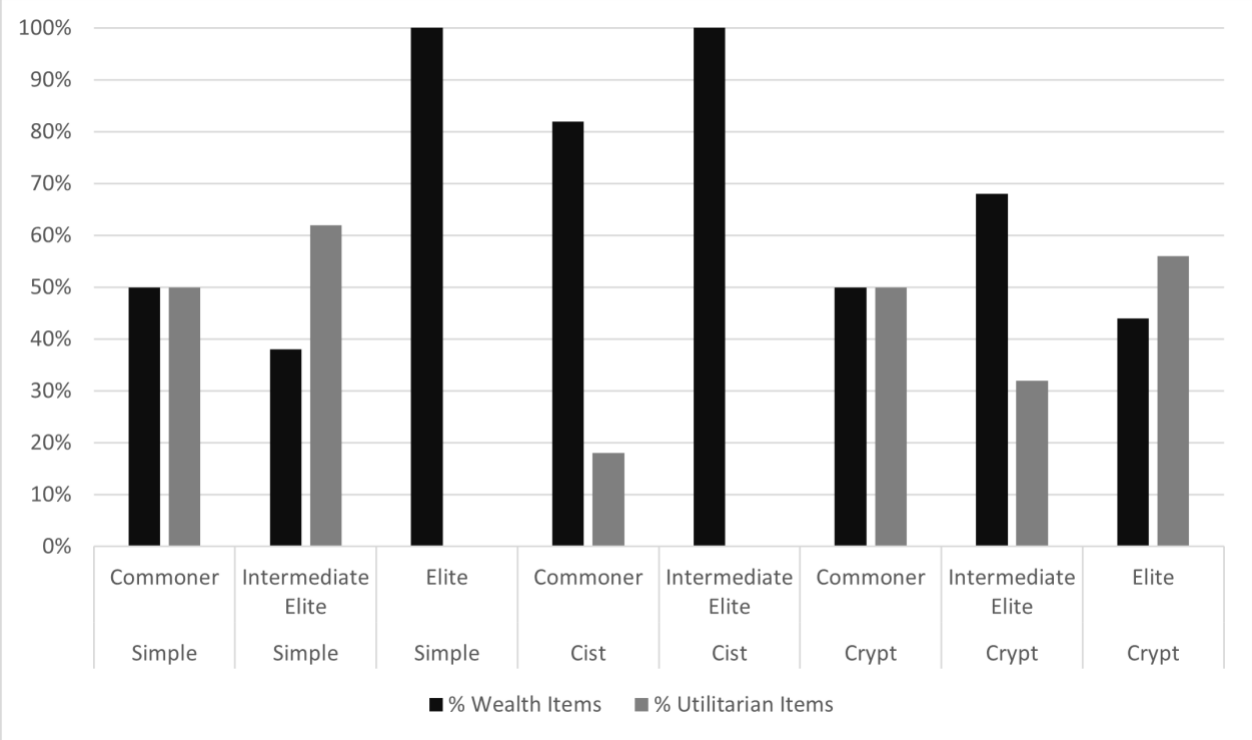

Figure 3.1: Proportion of wealth and utilitarian items by grave architecture and social category at Lower Dover for all time periods.

Table 3.1: Wealth and utilitarian items by grave architecture and social category at Lower Dover for all time periods.

Grave Architecture	Social Category	Wealth Items (n)	Wealth Items (% assemblage)	Utilitarian Items (n)	Utilitarian Items (% assemblage)	Total Assemblage (n)
Simple		**74**	**49%**	**78**	**51%**	**152**
99	Commoner	67	50%	68	50%	135
10	Intermediate Elite	6	38%	10	62%	16
4	Elite	1	100%	0	0%	1
Cist		**13**	**87%**	**2**	**13%**	**15**
3	Commoner	9	82%	2	18%	11
3	Intermediate Elite	4	100%	0	0%	4
Crypt		**35**	**61%**	**22**	**39%**	**57**
4	Commoner	4	50%	4	50%	8
6	Intermediate Elite	27	68%	13	32%	40
2	Elite	4	44%	5	56%	9
Total		**122**	**54%**	**102**	**45%**	**224**

Another pattern documented at the polity level is the absence of tombs, perhaps suggesting a lack of resources (including labor and raw materials) for apical elite rulers at Lower Dover to construct vaulted tomb architecture, though this is unlikely. It is important to note that this finding likely represents sampling bias because rulers had the capability of getting stonemasons to decorate the Lower Dover palace and front room of Structure B1 (the largest building at the site) with corbel vaults, which require more resources and energy than tombs to construct. Elite individuals at Lower Dover were more commonly interred in crypts, though there is a lack of definitive trends in grave assemblage over time due to the small sample size (n=3) of these burials at the polity level.

Simple burials were the most common type of burial at Lower Dover across time (n=113) and contained the remains of commoner (n=99), intermediate elite (n=10), and apical elite individuals (n=4). Commoner simple burials overall possessed nearly equal proportions of wealth and utilitarian items, with 67 wealth items (50%) and 68 utilitarian items (50%). Intermediate elite simple burials had lower proportions of wealth (38%) versus utilitarian items (62%). While there were four simple elite burials considered for the present analyses, only one wealth item was present in their assemblage, rendering the detection of patterning impossible. However, the data from commoner and intermediate elite burials suggest a trend towards an increase in the proportion of wealth items versus utilitarian items as social class declines. In other words, intermediate elite simple burials have a lower percentage of wealth items (38%) than commoners (50%). Conversely, the proportion of utilitarian items to wealth items increases with simple commoner burials possessing the highest percentage of utilitarian items (50%) and intermediate elites with the second-highest percentage (62%). These patterns are the opposite of

what we would expect to find, and the high number of commoner burials potentially biases patterns compared to other social categories.

Cist burials (n=6) composed the smallest portion of present grave architecture types and, unlike simple and crypt burials, only had commoner (n=3) and intermediate elite individuals (n=3). The lack of apical elite individuals may indicate that it was uncommon for the ruling class to be interred in cists in the Lower Dover polity. Commoner cist burials had a lower proportion of wealth items (n=9; 82%) than intermediate elite cist burials (n=4; 100%). Considering all cist burials, they had an overall higher proportion of wealth items (n=13; 87%) than utilitarian items (n=2; 13%) for all time periods. Cist burials also had the overall lowest total grave items in their respective assemblage (n=15), significantly lower than the total grave assemblages for crypts (n=57) and simple burials (n=152), which may bias patterns regarding interpretations because of low sample sizes for cist burials.

Crypt burials were the second most common burial type (n=12) at Lower Dover, making up approximately 9% of the total burials, whereas simple burials make up 86% of the analyzed sample. As with simple burials, crypts included commoner (n=4), intermediate elite (n=6), and elite burials (n=2). For all periods, commoner and elite crypt burials had nearly identical proportions of wealth items to utilitarian items despite the presence of more commoner crypt burials than elite crypt burials in the Lower Dover burial population. Intermediate elite crypt burials have the greatest amount of wealth items (n=27; 68%) when considering the analyzed burial population at Lower Dover and also have a higher quantity of wealth items per burial (n=5) than simple commoner burials (n=1). Intermediate elite crypt burials, such as SG-1 Burial 1, notably have wealth items such as obsidian blades (n=3), drilled antlers (n=2), and marine shell pendants (n=5).

Burial Position Analyses

A total of 113 burials included individuals interred in determinable body positions. Four primary types of burial positions present: extended (*n*=89), flexed (*n*=4), seated (*n*=8), and VPLF (*n*=12), and their reports can be found in Figure 3.2 and Table 3.2.

All social categories were present for each burial position except for seated burials, which were not associated with apical elite individuals. Apical elite individuals (*n*=5) instead were more typically found interred in VPLF, extended, and flexed positions, and in general, had the scarcest burial population and typically were not interred with grave goods, except for extended burials. In contrast, commoners (*n*=96) were more typically placed in extended positions, and because of this high frequency of commoners in the overall burial population, commoner extended burials also possessed the greatest amount of grave goods (*n*=141) of any social class. Intermediate elite flexed burials had the highest proportion of wealth items (87%) compared to utilitarian items (13%), though it should be noted that only 15 grave items were present, making the overall sample size small, consistent with being the least common body position. Overall, the other burial position categories (extended, seated, and VPLF) had a relatively even proportion of wealth items to utilitarian items, with all having more wealth items.

Individuals interred in the extended position are laid flat with their legs straight and arms at the sides or crossed over the chest. The extended position can also be broken down into two subcategories, supine (individual placed on back) or prone (individual placed on front). A total of 71 individuals were interred in an extended prone position, and ten burials had individuals buried in an extended supine position. Commoners were the only social class for the extended position to have a higher proportion of wealth items (56%) compared to utilitarian items (44%).

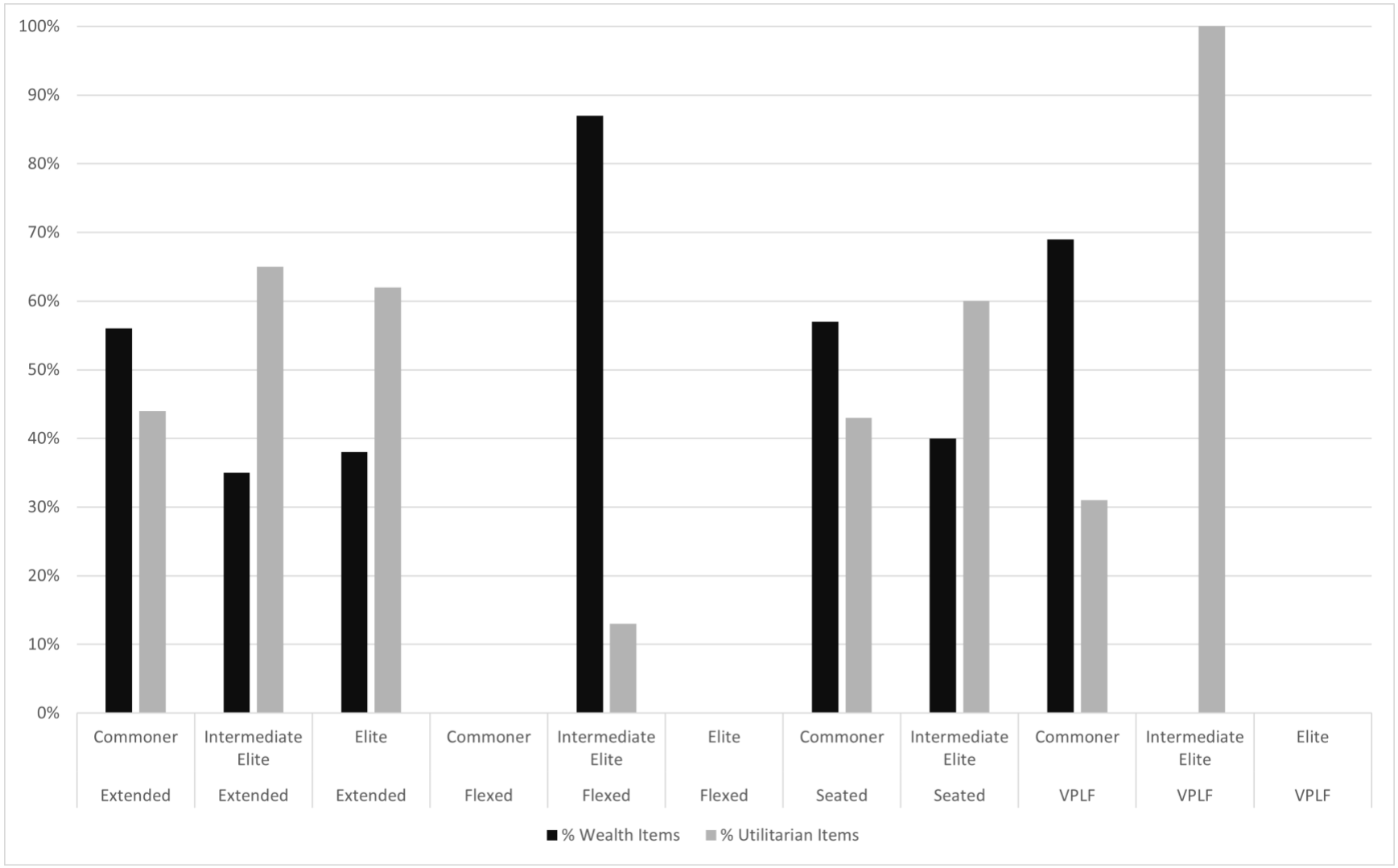

Figure 3.2: Proportion of wealth and utilitarian items by burial position and social category at Lower Dover for all time periods.

Table 3.2: Wealth and utilitarian items by burial position and social category at Lower Dover for all time periods.

Burial Position	Social Category	Sum of Wealth Items	% Wealth Items	Sum of Utilitarian Items	% Utilitarian Items	Sum of Total Grave Assemblage
Extended		***89***	***53%***	***80***	***47%***	***169***
79	Commoner	79	56%	62	44%	141
7	Intermediate Elite	7	35%	13	65%	20
3	Elite	3	38%	5	62%	8
Flexed		***13***	***87%***	***2***	***13%***	***15***
1	Commoner	0	0%	0	0%	0
2	Intermediate Elite	13	87%	2	13%	15
1	Elite	0	0%	0	0%	0
Seated		***31***	***54%***	***26***	***45%***	***57***
7	Commoner	27	57%	20	43%	47
1	Intermediate Elite	4	40%	6	60%	10
VPLF		***9***	***60%***	***6***	***40%***	***15***
9	Commoner	9	69%	4	31%	13
2	Intermediate Elite	0	0%	2	100%	2
1	Elite	0	0%	0	0%	0
Total		***142***	***55%***	***114***	**45%**	***256***

Unlike commoners, intermediate elite (n=7) and apical elite (n=3) individuals interred in an extended position had more utilitarian items than wealth items.

In the flexed position, the interred individual's legs are bent at an angle and can reflect a crouching state and can also be prone or supine. Examples include BR-130 Burial 3 (commoner), FPK-2 Burial 4 (intermediate elite), RS1 Burial 1 (apical elite), and SG-1 Burial 6 (intermediate elite). None of the four flexed burials at Lower Dover were determinably prone, but two of the burials were supine. BR-130 Burial 3 and RS1 Burial 1 represent the one commoner, and one elite interred flexed burials, both of which possessed no grave goods. FPK-2 Burial 4 was one of two intermediate elite flexed burials and possessed the two utilitarian items. SG-1 Burial 6 was the second intermediate elite buried in a double-flexed position, with both arms and legs bent. Despite the burial's 13 wealth items, which would technically make it the wealthiest of the flexed burials, all 13 items consisted of bone spatulates and scrapers, which are not overt status markers but still elevated above utilitarian items. Both intermediate elite flexed burials make up the greatest overall proportion of wealth items (87%) to utilitarian items (13%), suggesting that flexed positions could be associated with differential status.

Individuals buried in a seated position are meant to reflect the angulation and orientation of someone sitting. As mentioned previously, apical elite individuals are absent for the seated category. While relatively rare at Lower Dover, there were more commoner (n=7) than intermediate elite (n=1) seated burials. Seated commoners overall had a higher proportion of wealth items (57%) than utilitarian items (43%), unlike the seated intermediate elite that had a higher proportion of utilitarian items (60%) than wealth items (40%).

The VPLF position (ventrally placed, legs flexed) refers to a position in which the individual is interred near or on their abdominal area with the legs bent at an angulation, not

straightened out. Commoners (*n*=9) were more commonly placed interred in the VPLF position, followed by intermediate elites (*n*=2) and a single elite burial, though this position is also rare at Lower Dover. Like the flexed elite individual interred in RS1 Burial 1, LWD-CT2 Burial 1, an elite in the VPLF position, does not possess any grave goods. Both burials are from the Lower Dover site core, suggesting these uncommon burial positions may be associated with elite individuals. The intermediate elite VPLF burials did not possess any wealth items and only had two utilitarian items (two miniature Garbutt Creek vessels) in total. Commoner individuals interred in the VPLF position overall had a greater proportion of wealth items (69%) to utilitarian items (31%), though these figures are based on a relatively small assemblage of grave items (*n*=13).

Biological Sex Analyses

Biological sex was reported for a total of 68 adult individuals from the Lower Dover polity (*n*=36 males and *n*=32 females), with 12 adults being indeterminate (Walden 2021; Willey et al. 1965). Sex determinations were not reported for 64 individuals, most of which were documented by Willey from his 1954-56 excavations (Willey et al. 1965). For the present analyses, if a primary interment with a sex determination could not be identified, the burials were removed from the analyses. This removal is necessary because it is not possible to assign the assemblage to a specific individual.

Figure 3.3 and Table 3.3 illustrate calculations of proportions of wealth and utilitarian items by sex for adults between social classes across time. Commoners (*n*=30) and intermediate elites (*n*=2) were the only social classes for which female burials were documented, whereas males were identified as commoner (*n*=28), intermediate elite (*n*=6), and elite (*n*=2) individuals.

When considered as a whole, male burials overall had a higher proportion of wealth items (56%) compared to utilitarian items (44%). On the other hand, female burials possessed higher proportions of utilitarian items (59%) than wealth items (41%). Nevertheless, the distribution of wealth and utilitarian items between female and male commoner burials is relatively equal, suggesting the discrepancy between proportions of wealth items for female and male grave assemblages are skewed by intermediate elite male burials.

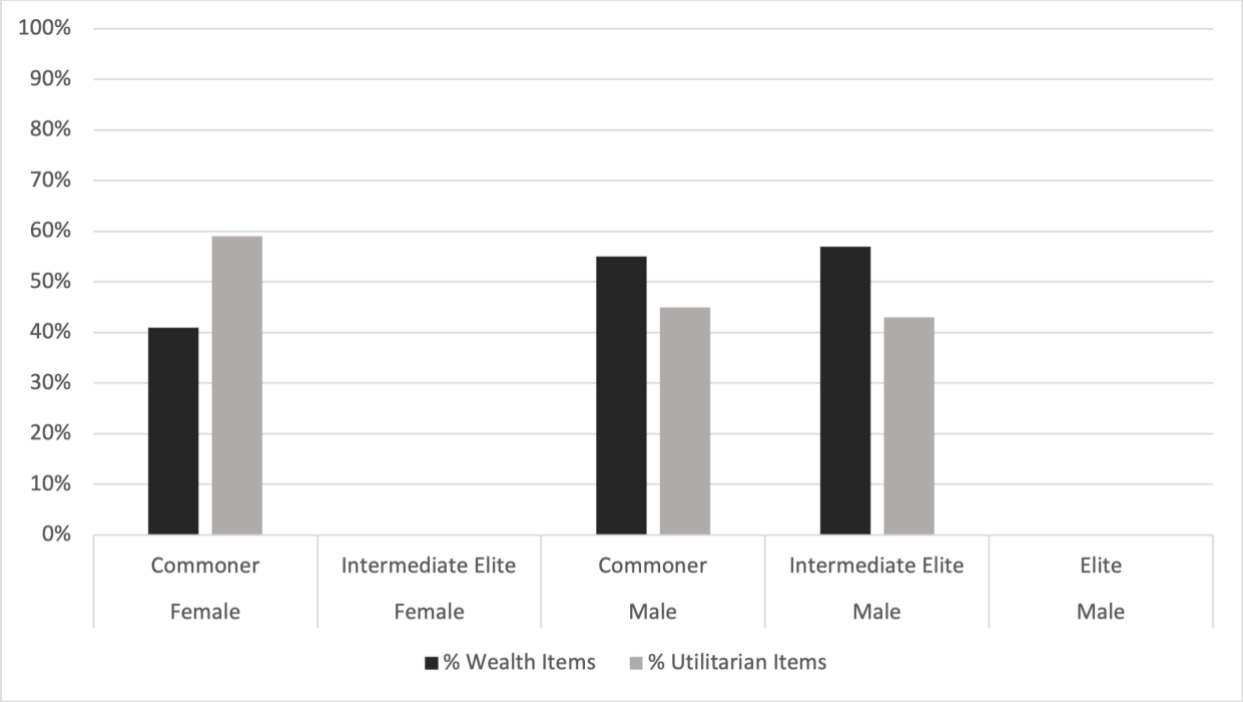

Figure 3.3: Proportion of wealth and utilitarian items in total grave assemblage by sex and social category at Lower Dover for all time periods.

Each social class has a distinct distribution of wealth and utilitarian items for male burials. Elite male burials were not interred with any grave items, whereas commoner (*n*=21) and intermediate elite (*n*=26) male burials have a greater proportion of wealth items than utilitarian items. Despite

Table 3.3: Wealth and utilitarian items by sex and social category at Lower Dover for all time periods.

Sex	Social Category	Wealth Items (n)	Wealth Items (% assemblage)	Utilitarian Items (n)	Utilitarian Items (% assemblage)	Total Assemblage (n)
Female		***11***	***41%***	***16***	***59%***	***27***
30	Commoner	11	41%	16	59%	27
2	Intermediate Elite	0	0%	0	0%	0
Male		***47***	***56%***	***37***	***44%***	***84***
28	Commoner	21	55%	17	45%	38
6	Intermediate Elite	26	57%	20	43%	46
2	Elite	0	0%	0	0%	0
Total		***58***	***52%***	***53***	**48%**	***111***

Despite male commoner burials having more wealth items, their distribution between wealth items (55%) and utilitarian items (45%) is nearly even. Intermediate elite male burials have the greatest number of wealth items (n=26; 57%) out of any social class or sex, making up 45% of the total wealth items found for burials with determinable sex. Despite this information about intermediate elite males and female intermediate elites not possessing grave goods, intermediate elite females were still likely wealthy, but males having more wealth items may suggest differential burial treatment between sexes. Adult male intermediate elites also have different burial treatments compared to adult male commoners. This information likely indicates that intermediate elite males received higher status treatment than adult female individuals. In terms of gender between commoners, there possibly could have been less gendered differential burial treatment between commoners.

The overall distribution of wealth (n=11; 41%) and utilitarian items (n=16; 59%) for female commoners is relatively even, indicating female commoners were buried with similar proportions of wealth and utilitarian items. Female commoner burials, however, only had an average of two grave goods per burial. Intermediate elite females in the Lower Dover burial population did not directly possess any grave goods. For example, SG1-Burial 3, a secondary burial where the female individual was interred in the terminal fill of SG1 Str. E2, a monumental structure located in the Tutu Uitz Na Center. Since this burial was not the only individual found in the structure's fill, all grave goods associated with the fill of SG1-E2 were not directly correlated with any specific individual.

Age Analyses

A total of 128 burials could be aged from the Lower Dover sample. Age is broken into two categories when analyzing the burials, adult (n=108) and subadult (n=20), with subadults categorized as individuals under 18 years of age. Overall, subadults possess a greater proportion of utilitarian items (64%) than wealth items (36%), unlike adults who tend to be buried with more wealth items (55%) than utilitarian items (45%). Commoner burials, regardless of age, were the most prevalent social class, making up 84% of adults and 100% of subadults. Commoner and intermediate elite adult burials overall have a higher proportion of wealth items (54% and 57%, respectively) to utilitarian items (46% and 43%, respectively). Unlike these burials, elite adult burials did not possess any grave goods. These data are present in Figure 3.4 and Table 3.4. Though there may not have been significant differences between adult female commoners and adult male commoner burial treatment, there is a big difference in burial treatment between adult commoners and subadult commoners. This information likely indicates that aspects of status at the Lower Dover polity are age dependent.

The Burial Population at the Lower Dover Polity through Time

Preclassic/Early Classic

The proportions of wealth and utilitarian items by social class versus grave architecture were also examined through time. A total of 30 burials containing a total of 63 grave goods were assigned to the Preclassic/Early Classic (Period 1). Simple (n=20), cist (n=3), and crypt burials (n=7) were present for this period. Similarl to the patterns documented for the entire Lower Dover polity burial population, wealth items (n=31; 49%) and utilitarian items (n=32; 51%)

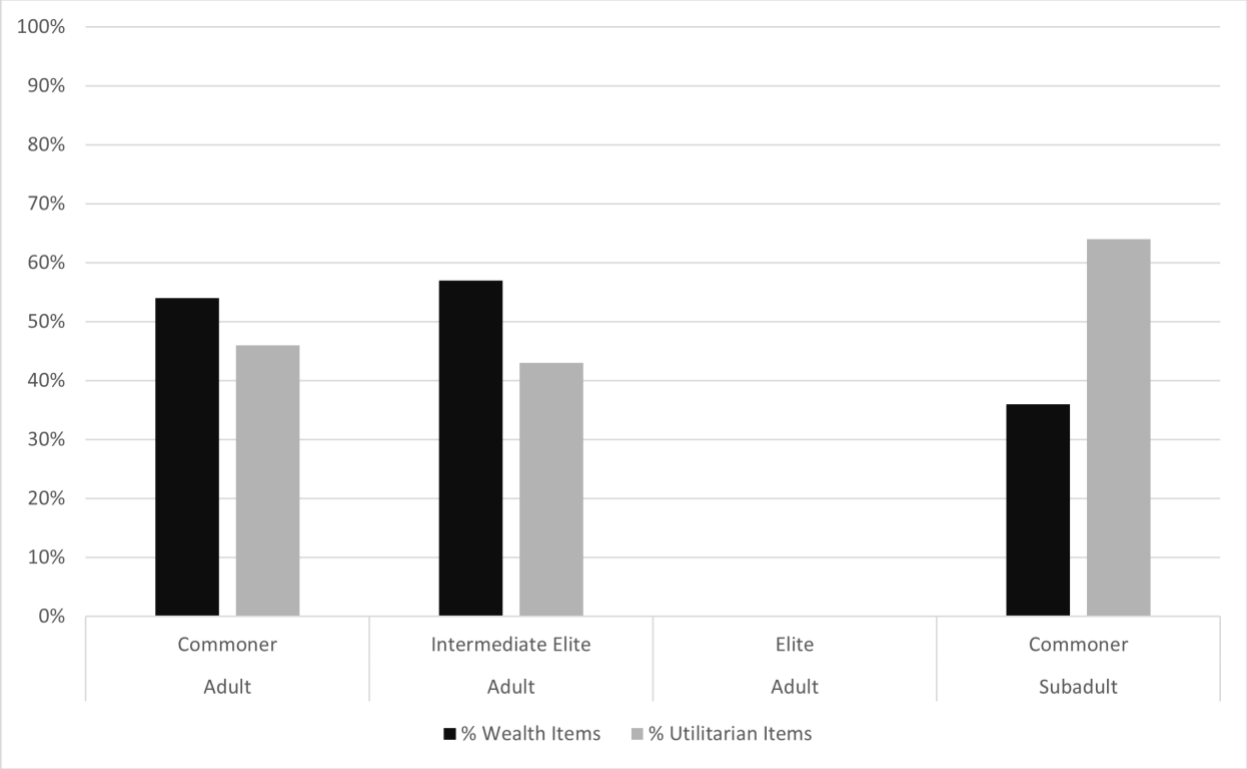

Figure 3.4: Proportion of wealth and utilitarian items by age and social category at Lower Dover for all time periods.

Table 3.4: Wealth and utilitarian items by age and social category at Lower Dover for all time periods.

Age	Social Category	Wealth Items (n)	Wealth Items (% assemblage)	Utilitarian Items (n)	Utilitarian Items (% assemblage)	Total Assemblage (n)
Adult		***133***	***55%***	***108***	***45%***	***241***
91	Commoner	98	54%	82	46%	180
15	Intermediate Elite	35	57%	26	43%	61
2	Elite	0	0%	0	0%	0
Subadult		***5***	***36%***	***9***	***64%***	***14***
20	Commoner	5	36%	9	64%	14
Total		***138***	***54%***	***117***	**45%**	***255***

were distributed relatively evenly between burials overall, though there are still fewer wealth items for this period. Cist burials possessed the highest frequency of wealth items, while other burials, such as intermediate elite and simple elite burials and commoner crypt burials, do not contain any wealth items. Commoner crypt burials (n=2) were the only burial type only to be interred with only utilitarian items. However, simple commoner burials had the highest percentage of utilitarian items (63%) compared to wealth items (27%).

There were no flexed burials present, and only one seated burial (BR-123 Burial 13, commoner) and two VPLF burials (BR-123 Burial 20 and LWD-CT2 Burial 1). The seated commoner, BR-123 Burial 13, and the VPLF commoner, BR-123 Burial 20, had equal proportions of wealth items to utilitarian items; however, BR-123 Burial 13 only possessed four grave items, and BR-123 Burial 20 only had two grave goods, making for a minimal sample size. Extended burials were the most common type during the Preclassic/Early Classic period. The intermediate elite extended burials and one elite extended burial had higher proportions of wealth items (53% and 67%, respectively) compared to utilitarian items (47% and 33%, respectively). Commoners interred in the extended position were the only social class with a higher proportion of utilitarian items (57%) than wealth items (43%).

A total of 21 burials with sex estimations date to the Preclassic/Early Classic (Period 1). Of these burials, four are female, and 17 are male. For females, only commoner burials were present. During the Preclassic/Early Classic, the female commoner burials possessed a lower proportion of utilitarian items (40%) than wealth items (60%) in comparison to the Late/Terminal Classic. However, the sample size of grave items is very small (n=5), making it difficult to draw conclusions. Male burials represented commoner (n=14), intermediate elite (n=2), and elite (n=1) individuals. Other than the elite male who was not interred with any grave

goods (LWD-CT2 Burial 1; Guerra 2021; Watkins et al. 2017), commoner male burials overall possessed higher proportions of wealth items compared to utilitarian items. It is interesting to compare commoner and intermediate elite male grave assemblages because intermediate elite males have a far higher percentage of utilitarian items (80%) than wealth items (20%) than commoner males, though this difference may be due to variability in sample sizes.

Only 23% of the overall aged burial population (25 adults and four subadults) is present at Lower Dover during the Preclassic/Early Classic. Adult commoner burials dating to this time possessed more utilitarian items (n=19, 54%) than wealth items (n=16, 46%). Subadult commoners only had utilitarian items as grave goods during the Preclassic/Early Classic. Two subadults, BR-1 Burial 26 and BR-154 Burial 5, were interred without grave goods.

Late/Terminal Classic

A total of 101 burials, which contained 158 grave goods, are assigned to the Late/Terminal Classic (Period 2), significantly higher than the total grave assemblage and burials compared to the Preclassic/Early Classic (Period 1). This likely indicates that during the temporal shift from the Preclassic/Early Classic to the Late/Terminal Classic, the population increased with the rise of the Lower Dover polity. It is interesting to note the differences between cist burials between temporal phases. Cist burials, which compose 3% of the Late/Terminal Classic burial sample, contained no grave items. In contrast, three cist burials assigned to the Preclassic/Early Classic possessed 15 grave items (24% of Period 1 assemblage). This pattern may indicate that the individuals interred in cists during the Late/Terminal Classic were less affluent than those from the Preclassic/Early Classic. Unlike the Preclassic/Early Classic again, intermediate elite crypt burials have a lot of wealth items per person (avg. 10 per

individual), making intermediate elites interred in crypts during the Late/Terminal Classic wealthier than intermediate elites from the Preclassic/Early Classic. There also seems to be a gradual increase in the percentage of overall wealth items from the Preclassic/Early Classic (49%) to the Late/Terminal Classic (56%).

All burial position categories were present during the Late/Terminal Classic; however, not all social classes were present for each position type. The absence of some social classes may be caused by a lack of recordation in the literature of some of the burials. For instance, a flexed commoner burial, BR-130 Burial 3, has its temporal phase labeled as "unknown," though the likely reason for its "absence" is a lack of record-keeping, as BR-130 Burial 3 comes from Willey's 1964-1965 excavations (Willey et al. 1965: 552). Elites are also not present for the VPLF category.

During the Late/Terminal Classic, seated commoner burials and VPLF commoner burials had a higher proportion of wealth items (58% and 73%, respectively) compared to utilitarian items (42% and 27%, respectively). These represent higher proportions of wealth items in commoner burials than during the Preclassic/Early Classic, though this trend can likely be attributed to the increase of both seated commoner burials and VPLF commoner burials during the Late/Terminal classic phase. Extended commoner burials also had a higher proportion of wealth items (55%) to utilitarian items (45%) during the Late/Terminal Classic. Conversely, unlike the extended elite burial, LWD-G4 Burial 2, from the Preclassic/Early Classic, the extended elite burial, LWD-F2 Burial 2, from the Late/Terminal Classic, has a higher proportion of utilitarian items (67%) to wealth items (33%). Though identical to LWD-G4 Burial 2 in terms of body positioning, LWD-F2 Burial 2 has an exceedingly small sample size of grave goods (n=3).

Biological sex could be assigned for 47 burials for the Late/Terminal Classic, 28 which were female burials and 19 males. Both the burial population and total grave assemblage from the Late/Terminal Classic are significantly larger than those during the Preclassic/Early Classic. For instance, the Late/Terminal Classic makes up 69% of the total burial population, and the grave assemblage makes up 67% of the total grave assemblage for sexed individuals over all periods. Unlike in the Preclassic/Early Classic, there are more female burials than male burials. Intermediate elite females also appear during the Late/Terminal Classic, though they are interred with no grave goods. Female commoner burials during this period have fewer wealth items (n=8; 36%) compared utilitarian items (n=14; 64%). In direct opposition to the Preclassic/Early Classic, intermediate elite males have higher proportions of wealth items (68%) than utilitarian items (32%).

A total of 81 adults and 16 subadults are present in the Late/Terminal Classic sample. A trend that does not change with the transition from the Preclassic/Early Classic to the Late/Terminal Classic is adult intermediate elite burials having a higher proportion of wealth items to utilitarian items; though, during the Late/Terminal Classic, adult intermediate elites have the highest proportion of wealth items (60%) to utilitarian items (40%). Commoner adult burials also have a higher proportion of wealth items (57%) to utilitarian items (43%) during the Late/Terminal Classic, unlike the Preclassic/Early Classic adult commoners. Another change between temporal phases is that subadult commoner burials possess both wealth (n=5) and utilitarian (n=7) items.

The Burial Population at Barton Ramie

Grave Architecture Analyses

At Barton Ramie, a total of 106 burials had distinctive grave architecture, including simple (*n*=98), cist (*n*=4), and crypt (*n*=4) burials, with simple burials (92%) making up vast the majority. There are no elite burials at Barton Ramie, making intermediate elites the highest social class, and simple, cist, and crypt burials are always present. Calculations based on Barton Ramie's wealth and utilitarian items by grave architecture and social class are presented in Figure 3.5 and Table 3.5. In the overall burial population, there is a nearly even distribution of wealth items (*n*=82, 51%) compared to utilitarian items (*n*=79, 49%). Most of the grave goods documented at the site were from commoner burials interred in simple pits (*n*=131, 81%), and only commoners were interred in simple burials at Barton Ramie. Commoners had a relatively even distribution of wealth items (49%) compared to utilitarian items (51%), likely indicating the overall grave assemblage proportions are skewed primarily by simple commoner burials.

Cist burials included commoners (*n*=3) and an intermediate elite (*n*=1) interment, which contained a relatively small sample size of grave goods (*n*=15). Commoners interred in cists have a greater proportion of wealth items (*n*=9, 82%) compared to utilitarian items (*n*=2, 18%), whereas the single intermediate elite interred in a cist, BR-180 Burial 2, only possessed wealth items (*n*=4). Crypts also contained commoner (*n*=2) and intermediate elites (*n*=2) burials and have an identical sample size of grave goods (*n*=15) to cist burials. Commoner crypt burials had a higher proportion of wealth items (*n*=4, 67%) to utilitarian items (*n*=2, 33%), whereas intermediate elite crypt burials had a greater proportion of utilitarian items (*n*=8, 89%) to wealth items (*n*=1, 11%).

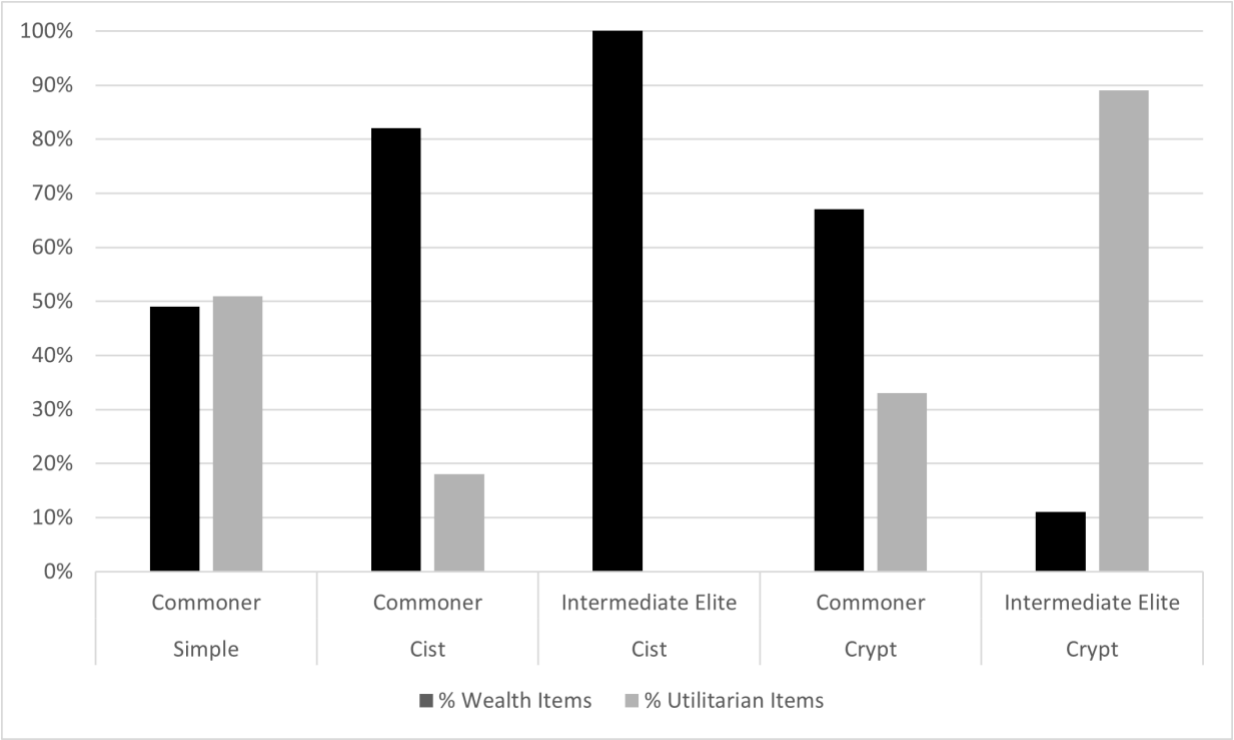

Figure 3.5: Proportion of wealth and utilitarian items by grave architecture and social category at Barton Ramie for all time periods.

Table 3.5: Wealth and utilitarian items by grave architecture and social category at Barton Ramie for all time periods.

Grave Architecture	Social Category	Wealth Items (n)	Wealth Items (% assemblage)	Utilitarian Items (n)	Utilitarian Items (% assemblage)	Total Assemblage (n)
Simple		***64***	***49%***	***67***	***51%***	***131***
98	Commoner	64	49%	67	51%	131
Cist		***13***	***87%***	***2***	***13%***	***15***
3	Commoner	9	82%	2	18%	11
1	Intermediate Elite	4	100%	0	0%	4
Crypt		***5***	***33%***	***10***	***67%***	***15***
2	Commoner	4	67%	2	33%	6
2	Intermediate Elite	1	11%	8	89%	9
Total		**82**	**51%**	**79**	**49%**	**161**

Burial Position Analyses

A total of 97 burials had individuals with determinable burial positions. There are four different types of burial positions present: extended (*n*=80), flexed (*n*=1), seated (*n*=7), and VPLF (*n*=9). Flexed, seated, and VPLF burials only contained commoners, whereas extended burials included both commoner (*n*=77) and intermediate elite (*n*=3) interments. Analyses of wealth and utilitarian items from Barton Ramie by burial position and social class for all time periods are included in Table 3.6 and Figure 3.6. Individuals interred in the extended position made up the majority of the burial sample (*n*=140, 70%) and possessed a slightly higher proportion of wealth items (51%) to utilitarian items (49%) but was overall nearly equal. Unlike commoners, intermediate elites interred in the extended position had a higher proportion of utilitarian items (62%) compared to wealth items (38%); though, both the burial population size (*n*=3) and grave good assemblage sample size (*n*=13) for extended intermediate elites are much smaller compared to extended commoners (*n*=77 burials and *n*=127 grave items).

Biological Sex Analyses

For all periods at Barton Ramie, biological sex could be estimated for 58 individuals, with a majority being female (*n*=30) and the minority being male (*n*=28). Female burials included only commoner individuals, whereas male burials including both commoner (*n*=26) and intermediate elite (*n*=2) individuals. Female commoner and male intermediate elite burials had higher proportions of utilitarian items (59% and 89%, respectively) to wealth items (41% and 11%, respectively).

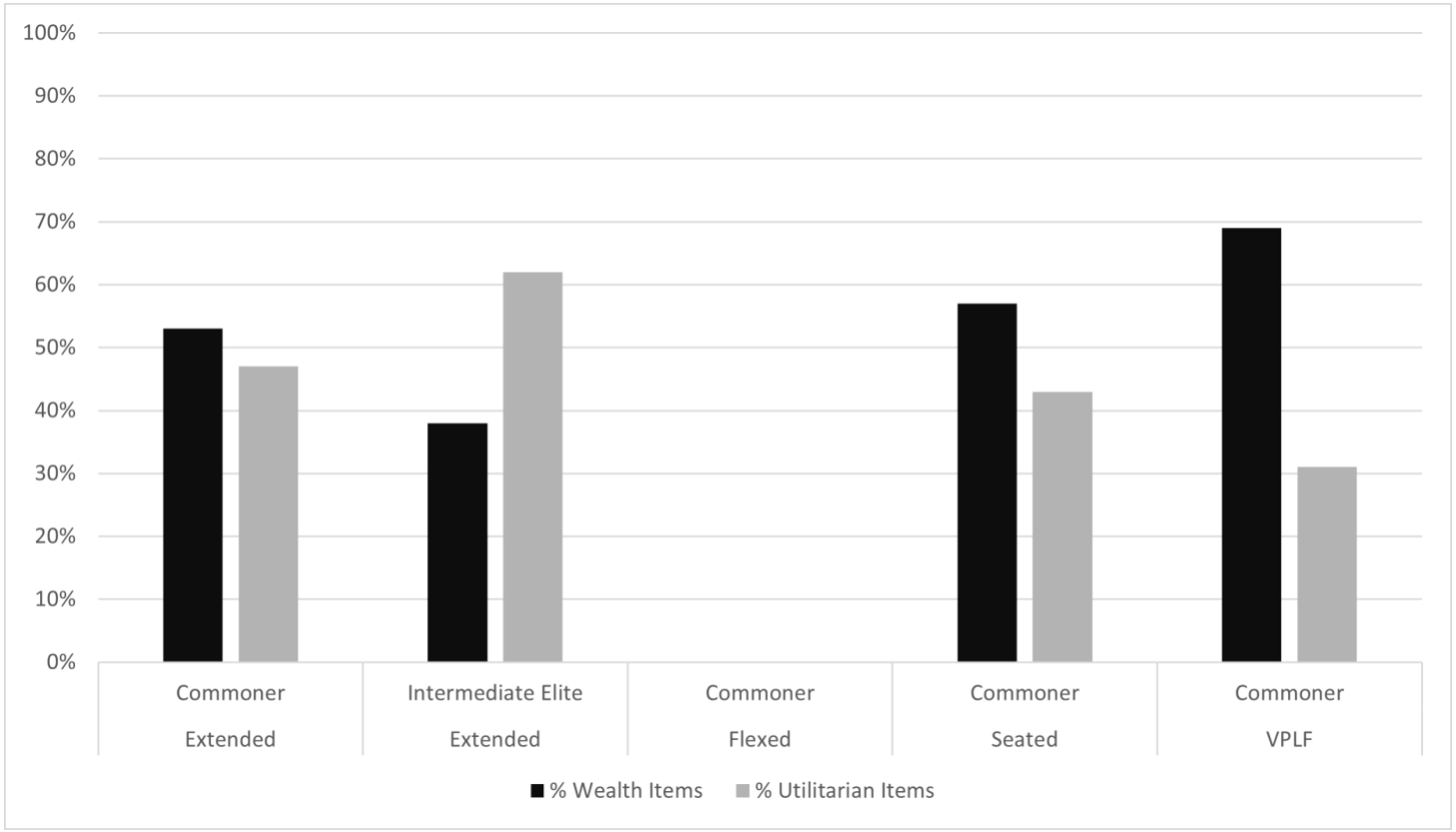

Figure 3.6: Proportion of wealth and utilitarian items by burial position and social category at Barton Ramie for all time periods.

Table 3.6: Wealth and utilitarian items by burial position and social category at Barton Ramie for all time periods.

Burial Position	Social Category	Wealth Items (n)	Wealth Items (% assemblage)	Utilitarian Items (n)	Utilitarian Items (% assemblage)	Total Assemblage (n)
Extended		***72***	***51%***	***68***	***49%***	***140***
77	Commoner	67	53%	60	47%	127
3	Intermediate Elite	5	38%	8	62%	13
Flexed		***0***	***0%***	***0***	***0%***	***0***
1	Commoner	0	0%	0	0%	0
Seated		***27***	***57%***	***20***	***43%***	***47***
7	Commoner	27	57%	20	43%	47
VPLF		***9***	***69%***	***4***	***31%***	***13***
9	Commoner	9	69%	4	31%	13
Total		***108***	***54%***	***92***	**46%**	***200***

Female and male commoners possessed similar numbers of utilitarian items (*n*=16 and 15, respectively), though male commoner burials had a higher proportion of wealth items (58%) than utilitarian items (42%).

Age Analyses

Both subadults (*n*=20) and adults (*n*=92) are present at Barton Ramie for all periods. All subadults were assigned commoner status, whereas adult burials contain commoners and intermediate elites. Data regarding age in conjunction with wealth and utilitarian items at Barton Ramie for all time periods are given in Table 3.7 and Figure 3.7. Overall, there is a higher proportion of wealth items (*n*=108, 53%) to utilitarian items (*n*=97, 47%) despite intermediate elite adults and commoner subadults having higher proportions of utilitarian items (62% and 64%, respectively) than wealth items (38% and 36%, respectively). This difference shows that commoner adults dictate most of the overall proportion, which is further reinforced by commoner adult burials making up 93% of the total grave assemblage.

The Burial Population at Barton Ramie through Time

Preclassic/Early Classic

During the Preclassic/Early Classic, commoner burials were placed in simple pits (*n*=17) or cists (*n*=2) (Table 3.8). Commoners interred in simple pits have a greater proportion of utilitarian items (70%) compared to wealth items (30%), the opposite pattern seen in the commoner cist burials, linking burial architecture to wealth. All three intermediate elite burials from this period (BR-180 Burial 1, BR-180 Burial 2, and BR-180 Burial 3) were buried in an

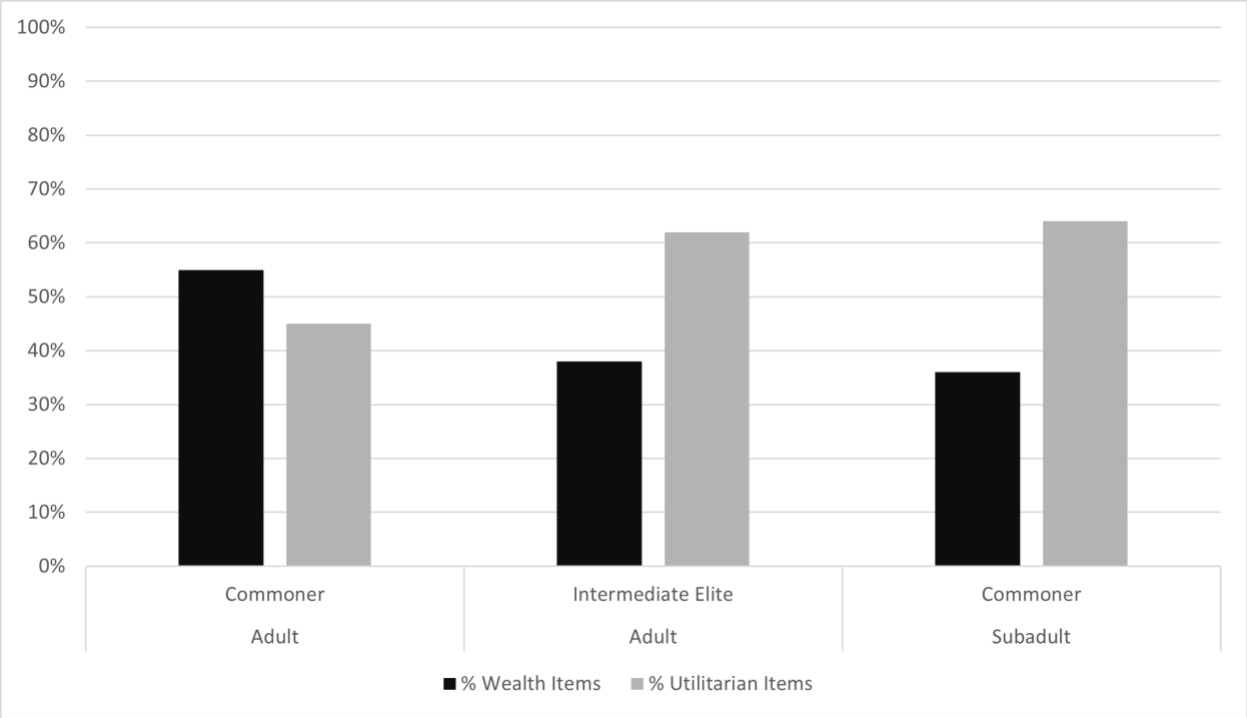

Figure 3.7: Proportion of wealth and utilitarian items by age and social category at Barton Ramie for all time periods.

Table 3.7: Wealth and utilitarian items by age and social category at Barton Ramie for all time periods.

Age	Social Category	Wealth Items (n)	Wealth Items (% assemblage)	Utilitarian Items (n)	Utilitarian Items (% assemblage)	Total Assemblage (n)
Adult		***103***	***54%***	***88***	***46%***	***191***
89	Commoner	98	55%	80	45%	178
3	Intermediate Elite	5	38%	8	62%	13
Subadult		***5***	***36%***	***9***	***64%***	***14***
20	Commoner	5	36%	9	64%	14
Total		***108***	***53%***	***97***	**47%**	***205***

eastern triadic structure. BR-180 Burial 2, the intermediate elite individual interred in a cist, and all items found in the individual's burial were wealth items.

When considering body position, there are no categories present during the Preclassic/Early Classic that have a higher proportion of wealth items than utilitarian items (Table 3.9). Both the seated commoner, BR-123 Burial 13, and the VPLF commoner, BR-123 Burial 20, have an even distribution of wealth items (50%) to utilitarian items (50%), but both also have very small sample sizes of grave goods (n=4 and 2, respectively). Extended commoners and extended intermediate elite burials have higher proportions of utilitarian items (54% and 58%, respectively) compared to wealth items (46% and 42%, respectively).

Only 31% of the total sexed burial population is present during the Preclassic/Early Classic, though nearly half (49%) of the total grave assemblage is present with the Preclassic/Early Classic burials (Table 3.10). During the Preclassic/Early Classic, there were more male burials (n=14) than female burials (n=4), with females having a higher proportion of wealth items (60%) than utilitarian items (40%) but had a significantly smaller grave assemblage (n=5) than during the Late/Terminal Classic. Male burials accounted for most grave goods (n=30, 86%), with male commoner burials (n=21, 60%) having more grave items overall than male intermediate elite burials (n=9, 26%). Two male intermediate elite burials, BR-180 Burial 1 and BR-180 Burial 3, are present during the Preclassic/Early Classic at Barton Ramie.

During the Preclassic/Early Classic, both adults (n=19) and subadults (n=4) are present (Table 3.11). Commoner adults possessed the greatest number of grave items (n=33) when compared to intermediate elite adults (n=13) and commoner subadults (n=2). Commoner adults also had a slightly higher proportion of utilitarian items (n=17, 52%) than wealth items (n=16, 48%).

Table 3.8: Wealth and utilitarian items by grave architecture and social category at Barton Ramie during the Preclassic/Early Classic.

Grave Architecture	Social Category	Wealth Items (*n*)	Wealth Items (% assemblage)	Utilitarian Items (*n*)	Utilitarian Items (% assemblage)	Total Assemblage (*n*)
Simple		***7***	***30%***	***16***	***70%***	***23***
17	Commoner	7	30%	16	70%	23
Cist		***13***	***87%***	***2***	***13%***	***15***
2	Commoner	9	82%	2	18%	11
1	Intermediate Elite	4	100%	0	0%	4
Crypt		***1***	***11%***	***8***	***89%***	***9***
2	Intermediate Elite	1	11%	8	89%	9
Total		**21**	**45%**	**26**	**55%**	**47**

Table 3.9: Wealth and utilitarian items by burial position and social category at Barton Ramie during the Preclassic/Early Classic.

Burial Position	Social Category	Wealth Items (*n*)	Wealth Items (% assemblage)	Utilitarian Items (*n*)	Utilitarian Items (% assemblage)	Total Assemblage (*n*)
Extended		***18***	***44%***	***23***	***56%***	***41***
14	Commoner	13	46%	15	54%	28
3	Intermediate Elite	5	42%	8	58%	12
Seated		***2***	***50%***	***2***	***50%***	***4***
1	Commoner	2	50%	2	50%	4
VPLF		***1***	***50%***	***1***	***50%***	***2***
1	Commoner	1	50%	1	50%	2
Total		**21**	**45%**	**26**	**55%**	**47**

Table 3.10: Wealth and utilitarian items by grave architecture and social category at Barton Ramie during the Preclassic/Early Classic.

Grave Architecture	Social Category	Wealth Items (*n*)	Wealth Items (% assemblage)	Utilitarian Items (*n*)	Utilitarian Items (% assemblage)	Total Assemblage (*n*)
Simple		***7***	***30%***	***16***	***70%***	***23***
17	Commoner	7	30%	16	70%	23
Cist		***13***	***87%***	***2***	***13%***	***15***
2	Commoner	9	82%	2	18%	11
1	Intermediate Elite	4	100%	0	0%	4
Crypt		***1***	***11%***	***8***	***89%***	***9***
2	Intermediate Elite	1	11%	8	89%	9
Total		**21**	**45%**	**26**	**55%**	**47**

Table 3.11: Wealth and utilitarian items by age and social category at Barton Ramie during the Preclassic/Early Classic.

Age	Social Category	Wealth Items (n)	Wealth Items (% assemblage)	Utilitarian Items (n)	Utilitarian Items (% assemblage)	Total Assemblage (n)
Adult		***21***	***46%***	***25***	**54%**	***46***
16	Commoner	16	48%	17	52%	33
3	Intermediate Elite	5	38%	8	62%	13
Subadult		***0***	***0%***	***2***	**100%**	***2***
4	Commoner	0	0%	2	100%	2
Total		**21**	**44%**	**27**	**56%**	**48**

Subadults only possessed utilitarian items, though the total number of items in these burials is small (*n*=2). Two subadult burials, BR-154 Burial 5 and BR-1 Burial 26 did not possess any grave goods.

Late/Terminal Classic

There are no intermediate elites present during the Late/Terminal Classic, making commoners the only social class present (Table 3.12). This high presence of commoners at Barton Ramie is likely due to the eastern triadic shrine being bulldozed, destroying many burials. In contrast with the Preclassic/Early Classic, all burial categories at Barton Ramie during the Late/Terminal Classic have a higher proportion of wealth items than utilitarian items. During the Late/Terminal Classic, simple commoner burials compose the vast majority (96%) of the burial population (*n*=84). These burial types possessed a relatively even distribution of wealth items (53%) and utilitarian items (47%) compared to the Preclassic/Early Classic, with saw much higher frequencies of utilitarian items in simple commoner burials.

When body position is considered, VPLF burials had the greatest proportion of wealth items (73%) to utilitarian items (27%), but this is likely skewed by its small sample size of grave goods (*n*=11) (Table 3.13). Extended commoner burials exhibit relatively even distributions of wealth (55%) and utilitarian items (45%), likely reflecting that most are also in simple burials. Seated burials (*n*=6) were the least populated burial category for the Late/Terminal Classic. While these burials make up only 8% of the total burial population for the Late/Terminal Classic at Barton Ramie, these burials possessed 28% of the total grave assemblage, including 25 wealth items and 18 utilitarian items.

Table 3.12: Wealth and utilitarian items by grave architecture and social category at Barton Ramie during the Late/Terminal Classic.

Grave Architecture	Social Category	Wealth Items (n)	Wealth Items (% assemblage)	Utilitarian Items (n)	Utilitarian Items (% assemblage)	Total Assemblage (n)
Simple		***57***	***53%***	***51***	***47%***	***108***
81	Commoner	57	0%	51	47%	108
Cist		***0***	***0%***	***0***	***0%***	***0***
1	Commoner	0	0%	0	0%	0
Crypt		***4***	***67%***	***2***	***33%***	***6***
2	Commoner	4	67%	2	33%	6
Total		**61**	**54%**	**53**	**45%**	**114**

Table 3.13: Wealth and utilitarian items by burial position and social category at Barton Ramie during the Late/Terminal Classic.

Burial Position	Social Category	Wealth Items (n)	Wealth Items (% assemblage)	Utilitarian Items (n)	Utilitarian Items (% assemblage)	Total Assemblage (n)
Extended		***54***	***55%***	***45***	***45%***	***99***
63	Commoner	54	55%	45	45%	99
Seated		***25***	***58%***	***18***	***42%***	***43***
6	Commoner	25	58%	18	42%	43
VPLF		***8***	***73%***	***3***	***27%***	***11***
8	Commoner	8	73%	3	27%	11
Total		**87**	**57%**	**66**	**43%**	**153**

Table 3.14: Wealth and utilitarian items by sex and social category at Barton Ramie during the Preclassic/Early Classic.

Sex	Social Category	Wealth Items (n)	Wealth Items (% assemblage)	Utilitarian Items (n)	Utilitarian Items (% assemblage)	Total Assemblage (n)
Female		***3***	***60%***	***2***	**40%**	***5***
4	Commoner	3	60%	2	40%	5
Male		***12***	***40%***	***18***	**60%**	***30***
12	Commoner	11	52%	10	48%	21
2	Intermediate Elite	1	11%	8	89%	9
Total		**15**	**43%**	**20**	**57%**	**35**

Table 3.15: Wealth and utilitarian items by age and social category at Barton Ramie the during Late/Terminal Classic.

Age	Social Category	Wealth Items (n)	Wealth Items (% assemblage)	Utilitarian Items (n)	Utilitarian Items (% assemblage)	Total Assemblage (n)
Adult		***82***	***57%***	***62***	**43%**	***144***
71	Commoner	82	57%	62	43%	144
Subadult		***5***	***42%***	***7***	**58%**	***12***
16	Commoner	5	42%	7	58%	12
Total		**87**	**56%**	**69**	**44%**	**156**

Unlike the Preclassic/Early Classic, most of the burial sample is female (*n*=26, 65%), and the minority is male (*n*=14, 35%) (Table 3.14). Concurrently, females also had the greatest proportion of grave goods (*n*=22, 59%) in comparison to males (*n*=15, 41%); however, they possessed fewer wealth items compared to males (36% and 67%, respectively). This shift from the Preclassic/Early Classic to Late/Terminal Classic suggests that males may have gained more wealth and prestige through time.

Age was estimated for 87 burials with both adults and subadults present (Table 3.15). Unlike during the Preclassic/Early Classic, commoner adults had a higher proportion of wealth items (*n*=82, 57%) to utilitarian items (*n*=62, 43%). Subadults possessed both wealth and utilitarian items during the second temporal phase, with an overall higher proportion of utilitarian items (*n*=7, 58%) compared to wealth items (*n*=5, 42%).

The Burial Population at Tutu Uitz Na

Grave Architecture Analyses

A total of 10 burials with definitive grave architecture were documented at Tutu Uitz Na. The only grave architecture categories present are simple graves (*n*=4) and crypts (*n*=6) (see Figure 3.8 and Table 3.16). The simple pit interments were intermediate elites, but both commoners and intermediate elites were interred in crypts at Tutu Uitz Na. Individuals interred in crypts overall possess more grave goods (*n*=33) than those interred in simple graves (*n*=12), and when the overall burial population is considered, there is a higher proportion of wealth items (67%) than utilitarian items (33%).

It should also be noted that due to the overall small grave assemblage (*n*=45) from this district, each social/grave category has a small sample size, except for intermediate elites interred

in crypts, who possess 69% of the total amount of grave goods present at Tutu Uitz Na. For simple burials, intermediate elites had a greater proportion of utilitarian items (*n*=8, 67%) than wealth items (*n*=4, 33%). In contrast, intermediate elite crypt burials had more wealth items (*n*=26, 84%) than utilitarian items (*n*=5, 16%) and commoner crypt burials only possessed utilitarian items (*n*=2).

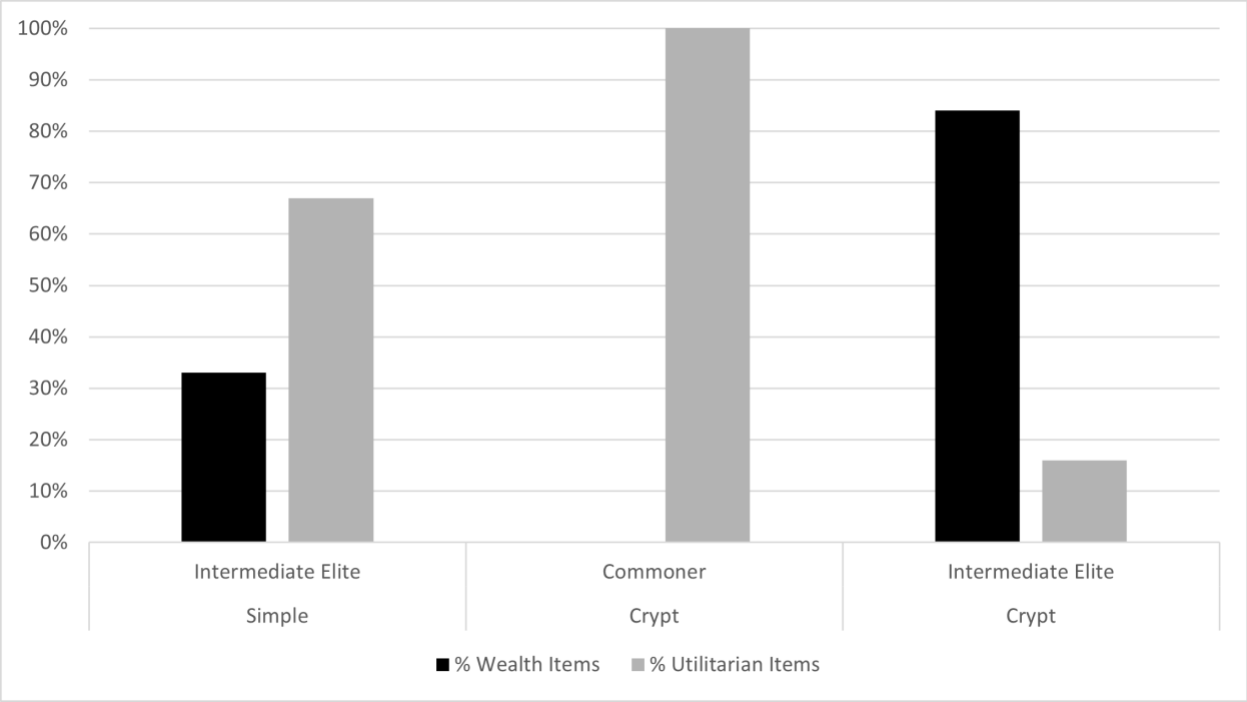

Figure 3.8: Proportion of wealth and utilitarian items by grave architecture and social category at Tutu Uitz Na for all time periods.

Table 3.16: Wealth and utilitarian items by grave architecture and social category at Tutu Uitz Na for all time periods.

Grave Architecture	Social Category	Wealth Items (n)	Wealth Items (% assemblage)	Utilitarian Items (n)	Utilitarian Items (% assemblage)	Total Assemblage (n)
Simple		***4***	***33%***	***8***	***67%***	***12***
4	Intermediate Elite	4	33%	8	67%	12
Crypt		***26***	***79%***	***7***	***21%***	***33***
2	Commoner	0	0%	2	100%	2
4	Intermediate Elite	26	84%	5	16%	31
Total		***30***	***67%***	***15***	**33%**	***45***

Burial Position Analyses

At Tutu Uitz Na, a total of nine burials reflect four different categories of burial positions: extended (*n*=5), flexed (*n*=1), seated (*n*=1), and VPLF (*n*=2). Over half the burials (*n*=5) only have one category of grave item (i.e., wealth or utilitarian) present. For instance, commoners in the extended position (*n*=2) and intermediate elite VPLF burials (*n*=2) only possess utilitarian items, whereas the intermediate elite in the flexed position, SG-1 Burial 6, only possesses wealth items (*n*=13). Further information and analyses for wealth and utilitarian items by burial positions at Tutu Uitz Na can be found in Figure 3.9 and Table 3.17. The burials that possess both wealth items and utilitarian items have distinct proportions. Intermediate elite extended burials have more wealth items (*n*=13, 72%) than utilitarian items (*n*=5, 18%), unlike the intermediate elite seated burial, SG-1 Burial 4, which has more utilitarian items (*n*=6, 60%) than wealth items (*n*=4, 40%).

Age and Sex Analyses

Only adult burials (*n*=10) were present at Tutu Uitz Na, and of these, biological sex was assigned to seven individuals. Both females and males are present; however, there is only one (intermediate elite) female burial, SG-1 Burial 3, and no grave goods were interred. Male burials consisted of commoners (*n*=2) and intermediate elites (*n*=4), with the intermediate elite male burials having the greatest total sum of grave goods (*n*=37). Intermediate elite males also overall had more wealth items (*n*=25, 68%) than utilitarian items (*n*=12, 32%), whereas commoner males only had utilitarian items (*n*=2).

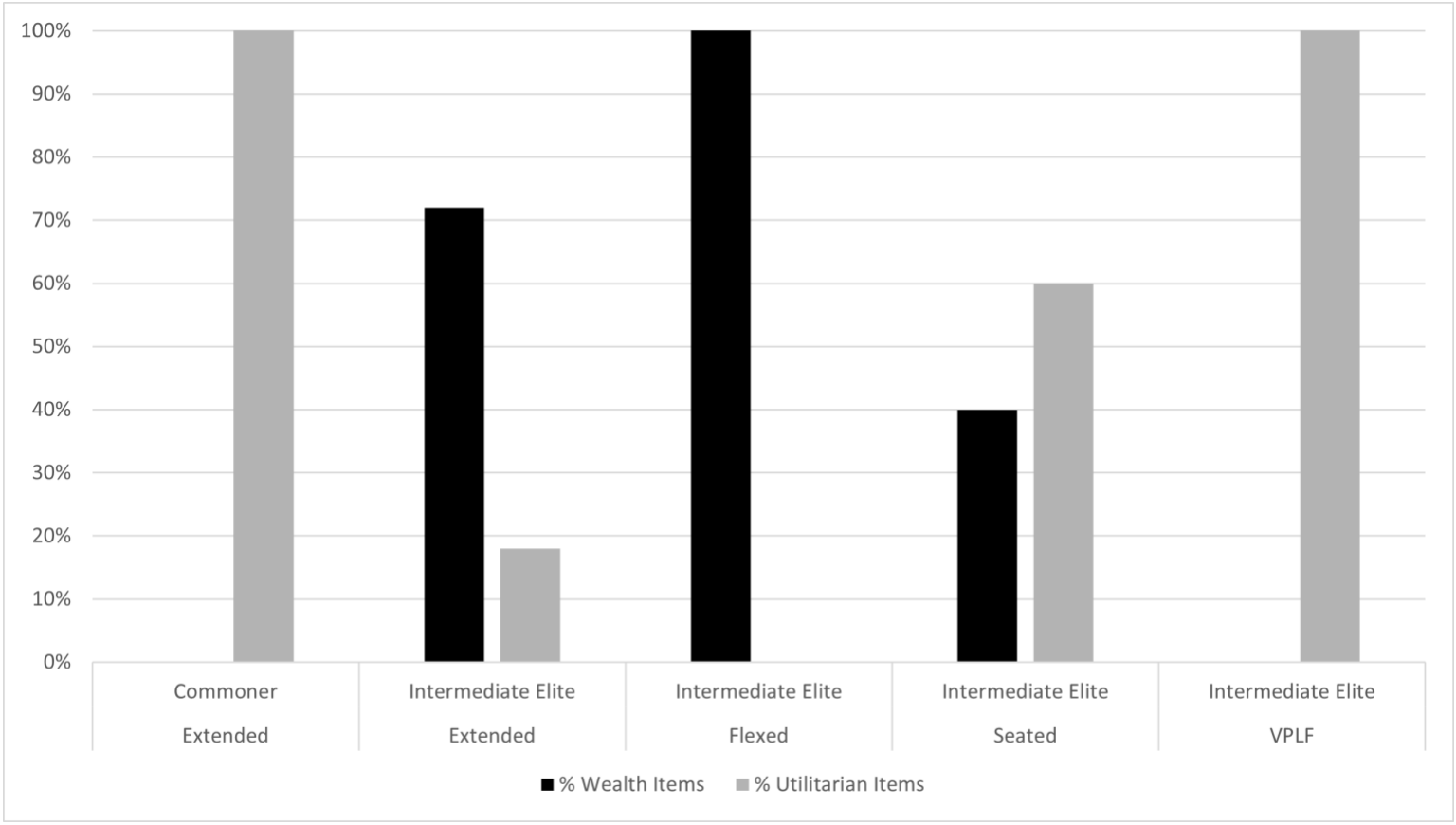

Figure 3.9: Proportion of wealth and utilitarian items by burial position and social category at Tutu Uitz Na for all time periods.

Table 3.17: Wealth and utilitarian items by burial position and social category at Tutu Uitz Na for all time periods.

Burial Position	Social Category	Wealth Items (n)	Wealth Items (% assemblage)	Utilitarian Items (n)	Utilitarian Items (% assemblage)	Total Assemblage (n)
Extended		***13***	***65%***	***7***	***35%***	***20***
2	Commoner	0	0%	2	100%	2
3	Intermediate Elite	13	72%	5	18%	18
Flexed		***13***	***100%***	***0***	***0%***	***13***
1	Intermediate Elite	13	100%	0	0%	13
Seated		***4***	***40%***	***6***	***60%***	***10***
1	Intermediate Elite	4	40%	6	60%	10
VPLF		***0***	***0%***	***2***	***100%***	***2***
2	Intermediate Elite	0	0%	2	100%	2
Total		***30***	***67%***	***15***	**33%**	***45***

The Burial Population at Tutu Uitz Na through Time

Preclassic/Early Classic

During the Preclassic/Early Classic (Period 1) at Tutu Uitz Na, half of the total burials (*n*=5) are present when looking at grave architecture (Table 3.20). Despite this, only 18% of the total burial population (*n*=8) is present. There is only one intermediate elite simple burial present during the Preclassic/Early Classic, SG-11 Burial 1, from Structure N1 at Tutu Uitz Na, and they possessed no grave goods. Both commoner crypt burials, SG-3 Burial 1 and SG-3 Burial 2, are also present during the Preclassic/Early Classic. The individuals in both of these burials were male. SG-3 Burial 1 was interred with no grave goods, whereas SG-3 Burial 2 was buried with a Sierra Red bowl and a Matamore Dichrome bowl. Commoner crypt burials only had utilitarian items (*n*=2), whereas intermediate elite crypt burials had wealth items (*n*=5) and a single utilitarian item (*n*=1). Only extended burials were present during the Preclassic/Early Classic at Tutu Uitz Na. There is an even distribution of burials for each social class present, but overall, the commoners (*n*=2) and intermediate elites (*n*=2) make up a small sample size.

Late/Terminal Classic

Only intermediate elite individuals were present during the Late/Terminal Classic at Tutu Uitz Na (Table 3.19). Unlike during the Preclassic/Early Classic, there are more simple burials (*n*=3) than crypt burials (*n*=2). Most of the grave items documented in the districts also appear to date to the Late/Terminal Classic (*n*=37, 82%), suggesting that burials overall were wealthier during the Late/Terminal Classic at Tutu Uitz Na. Intermediate elite simple burials during this period reflect the proportions for all periods, having more utilitarian items than wealth items, unlike during the Preclassic/Early Classic.

During the Late/Terminal Classic at Tutu Uitz Na, all four burial position categories (e.g., extended, flexed, seated, and VPLF) were present, but the only social class present was intermediate elites (Table 3.20). Each positional category has one individual present except for VPLF, which has two burials, SG-1 Burial 2 (individual 1) and SG-1 Burial 3. The second temporal phase also had most of the overall grave assemblage (n=37, 82%), indicating that the Late/Terminal Classic burial population was wealthier than the Preclassic/Early Classic population. Continuous with the first temporal phase, intermediate elites in the extended position have more wealth items (n=8, 67%) than utilitarian items (n=4, 23%).

For burial with age estimates at Tutu Uitz Na, only intermediate elites were during the Late/Terminal Classic and possessed 82% of the total grave assemblage. Like Preclassic/Early Classic trends, intermediate elite adults possess more wealth items (n=25, 68%) than utilitarian items (n=12, 32%). Four male burials were present during the second temporal phase, and their grave items (n=37) account for 95% of the total grave assemblage for ageable interments. Intermediate elite males from the Late/Terminal Classic were likely wealthier than commoner males from the Preclassic/Early Classic. One female burial, SG-1 Burial 3, is present during the Late/Terminal Classic and possessed no grave items. All four male burials contained grave goods, with SG-1 Burial 2 containing the least amount (n=2) and SG-1 Burial 6 possessing the most (n=13). This difference in grave items likely indicates differential burial treatment between sexes during the Late/Terminal Classic at Tutu Uitz Na.

The Burial Population at Floral Park

All Floral Park burials included in the present analyses date to the Late/Terminal Classic, and therefore no diachronic analyses are reported (see Table 3.20).

Table 3.18: Wealth and utilitarian items by grave architecture and social category at Tutu Uitz Na during the Preclassic/Early Classic.

Grave Architecture	Social Category	Wealth Items (n)	Wealth Items (% assemblage)	Utilitarian Items (n)	Utilitarian Items (% assemblage)	Total Assemblage (n)
Simple		***0***	***0%***	***0***	***0%***	***0***
1	Intermediate Elite	0	0%	0	0%	0
Crypt		***5***	***63%***	***3***	***37%***	***8***
2	Commoner	0	0%	2	100%	2
2	Intermediate Elite	5	83%	1	17%	6
Total		**5**	**63%**	**3**	**37%**	**8**

Table 3.19: Wealth and utilitarian items by grave architecture and social category at Tutu Uitz Na during the Late/Terminal Classic.

Grave Architecture	Social Category	Wealth Items (n)	Wealth Items (% assemblage)	Utilitarian Items (n)	Utilitarian Items (% assemblage)	Total Assemblage (n)
Simple		***4***	***33%***	***8***	***67%***	***12***
3	Intermediate Elite	4	33%	8	67%	12
Crypt		***21***	***84%***	***4***	***16%***	***25***
2	Intermediate Elite	21	84%	4	16%	25
Total		**25**	**68%**	**12**	**32%**	**37**

Grave Architecture Analyses

During the Late/Terminal Classic, two grave architecture categories were present, simple graves (*n*=6) and cists (*n*=2), indicating no overtly wealthy grave type at Floral Park (Table 22). The only social class present with determinable grave architecture is intermediate elites. Intermediate elite simple burials have an even distribution of wealth items (*n*=2, 50%) to utilitarian items (*n*=2, 50%), whereas intermediate elite cists burials possess no grave goods. Four of the six intermediate elite simple burials (FPK-2 Burial 1, FPK-2 Burial 5, FPK-2 Burial 7, and FPK-2 Burial 8) also possessed no grave goods. Intermediate elites that did possess grave goods (FPK-2 Burial 6 and FPK-2 Burial 4) were a part of a funerary deposit in an eastern triadic structure with multiple interments and had items such as a ceramic nose, a fragmented cylinder jar, a miniature vessel, and an incised piece of slate (Brown et al. 1996: 42, 43).

Burial Position Analyses

Only two burials, FPK-2 Burial 9 and FPK-2 Burial 4, had determinable burial positions at Floral Park. FPK-2 Burial 9 was interred in an extended position with no grave items, whereas FPK-2 Burial 4 was placed flexed and buried with only two utilitarian items (e.g., one miniature vessel and one incised piece of slate).

Age and Sex Analyses

Only adult burials (*n*=4) were identified at Floral Park during the Late/Terminal Classic. Three of the four adult burials did not possess any grave goods, whereas FPK-2 Burial 3 was interred with three obsidian blades, a metate fragment, and ceramic sherds. Of these adults, no males burials and only one female burial, FPK-2 Burial 9, was identified. FPK-2 Burial 9 was not interred with grave goods.

Table 3.20: Wealth and utilitarian items by grave architecture and social category at Floral Park during the Late/Terminal Classic.

Grave Architecture	Social Category	Wealth Items (n)	Wealth Items (% assemblage)	Utilitarian Items (n)	Utilitarian Items (% assemblage)	Total Assemblage (n)
Simple		***2***	***50%***	***2***	***50%***	***4***
6	Intermediate Elite	2	50%	2	50%	4
Cist		***0***	***0%***	***2***	***0%***	***0***
2	Intermediate Elite	0	0%	0	0%	0
Total		**2**	**50%**	**2**	**50%**	**4**

Chapter 4 DISCUSSIONS AND CONCLUSIONS

This research project aimed to use mortuary analyses to explore the impacts of Lower Dover's rise at the end of the Early Classic period on inequality within the polity. Here I readdress the primary research question: ***how did differences in burial practices between the Preclassic/Early Classic period and the Late/Terminal Classic period reflect changes in inequality at Lower Dover during the polity's rise?*** To answer this, I asked the following sub-questions to understand better the socioeconomic change related to inequality in Lower Dover through time:

1. How is inequality expressed through differences in grave goods (wealth vs. utilitarian items) when examined with other features of burials, including grave architecture, burial position, and the sex and age of interred individuals?
2. How does inequality, in association with grave items from the Lower Dover burial population, change from the Preclassic/Early Classic to the Late/Terminal Classic?
3. How does wealth, as reflected in burial assemblages, change over time at each district (e.g., Barton Ramie, Tutu Uitz Na, and Floral Park) within the Lower Dover polity?

To address these questions, I conducted analyses that compared burial assemblages prior to the polity's appearance during the Preclassic/Early Classic and after Lower Dover's apogee in the Late/Terminal Classic. The burial data analyzed in this study comes from excavations completed by Gordon Willey and his team between 1954-1956 (Willey et al. 1965); by the Belize Valley Reconnaissance (BVAR) Project (see Walden et al. 2021), and Brown and colleagues at Floral Park (Brown et al. 1996; see also Glassman et al. 1995). For the purposes of this research, the main categories used to identify changes in wealth associated with different

social classes include grave architecture (following Scherer 2020), burial position (following Welsh 1988), sex, and age per individual in a burial, by district location and temporal phase. The results from the intra-polity burial analyses produce evidence to discuss changes in Lower Dover, Belize. It is crucial to note that several biases appear in the overall dataset due to small sample sizes in some categories (e.g., lack of Preclassic/Early Classic burials at Floral Park, high frequency of commoner burials at Barton Ramie), which skew results in some cases. While sample sizes are detailed in the previous chapter, they are also indicated below when discussing patterning in the results.

The Lower Dover Polity

One of the strongest markers of social inequality within a burial population is grave goods. This study examined the frequencies of wealth and utilitarian items interred as grave goods as a proxy for changes in inequality. Wealth items are categorized as highly inaccessible objects. These items, made from precious materials, display high-quality craftmanship and are limited in production numbers. On the other hand, utilitarian items are everyday objects with high accessibility across the social spectrum. Further information on the categorization of wealth and utilitarian items can be found in Chapter 3. Overall, at the Lower Dover polity, there were more wealth items interred in graves than utilitarian items across the site's occupational history (Table 4.1). While some features marking apical elite burials such as tomb architecture are absent, the higher abundance of wealth items indicates that Lower Dover had some level of affluence. The site of Lower Dover also likely wielded a significant amount of influence for the importation of materials that included jade, obsidian, and in some cases, non-local polychrome pottery.

Table 4.1: Summary of burial trends at Lower Dover.

Site	Overall Trends	Preclassic/Early Classic	Late/Terminal Classic
Lower Dover	• Grave assemblages possess more wealth items (54%) • Simple burials most common grave architecture • No tombs • Extended position most common body position • More males present • Males had more wealth items (56%) • Females had more utilitarian items (59%) • Adults had more wealth items (55%) • Subadults had more utilitarian items (64%)	• Lower overall burial population and grave assemblage • More even distribution of wealth items (49%) to utilitarian (51%) • No flexed burials • Cists had the highest frequency of wealth items (87%) • Intermediate elite males had a higher percentage of utilitarian items (80%) • Subadults do not have wealth items	• Greater overall burial population and grave assemblage • Cists have no grave goods • Higher proportion of wealth items for commoners • Adult intermediate elites have highest proportion of wealth items • Subadults have wealth and utilitarian items
Barton Ramie	• Simple burials most common grave architecture • No elite burials documented • Nearly even distribution of wealth items (51%) to utilitarian items (49%) • Extended position most common body position • VPLF had greatest proportion of wealth items (69%) • Male commoners had the most wealth items (58%) for biological sex burials	• Commoners in cist burials had more wealth items (82%) overall than commoners in simple burials (30%) • All body positions had an even distribution of wealth to utilitarian items • Commoner adults had more grave goods than intermediate elite adults	• No intermediate elites present • All grave architecture categories have more wealth items • VPLF had greatest proportion of wealth items (73%) • More female burials

Site	Overall Trends	Preclassic/Early Classic	Late/Terminal Classic
Tutu Uitz Na	• Only crypts and simple graves present (more crypts) • Crypt burials overall had more grave goods • Extended position most common • Flexed and extended burials both had the most amount of wealth items (43%)	• Smaller overall grave assemblage • Only extended burials present	• Only intermediate elites present • More simple burials than crypt burials • Majority of overall grave items present (82%) • Intermediate elite adults possessed more wealth items (68%)
Floral Park	• Only simple graves and cists present (more simple graves) • Intermediate elites have an even distribution of wealth and utilitarian items • Four of the six intermediate elite burials did not have grave goods • Extended and flexed position present	N/A	N/A

When examining this trend diachronically, fewer wealth items are present during the Preclassic/Early Classic in the burial population, but there is an increase in the proportion of wealth items into the Late/Terminal Classic. This trend may suggest that social statuses changed with the appearance of the Lower Dover center, which is expected as many Maya polities rose in power and influence during the Classic in Mesoamerica. There was also a larger burial population and burial population during the Late/Terminal Classic than the Preclassic/Early Classic, likely reflecting a population increase that coincided with the increase in wealth items placed in burials. For example, as discussed, we see an increase in wealth items (*n*=65, 22%) proportionally from the Preclassic/Early Classic to more wealth items (*n*=231, 78%) in the Late/Terminal Classic.

Other trends are visible through analyses of grave architecture patterns at Lower Dover. With the transition from the Preclassic/Early Classic to Late/Terminal Classic, intermediate elites, a subcategory of elites that was already relatively affluent early in Lower Dover's prehistory, became wealthier. There was also an increase in intermediate elite burials throughout time, with six burials interred during the Preclassic/Early Classic and 17 burials coming from the Late/Terminal Classic. This trend is especially the case with the increase of crypt interments, which suggest the ability to construct relatively formal burials compared to commoner populations. While the affluent are becoming wealthier, individuals interred in cists during the Late/Terminal Classic possessed fewer wealth items in their burials than their Preclassic/Early Classic predecessors, alluding to the possibility of intermediate elites controlling more access to resources, creating an economic disparity. The inequality between grave architecture categories is further reinforced by the circumstance that no elite individuals were interred in cists, and

instead, only people of lower social classes (i.e., intermediate elite, commoners) were interred in cist grave architecture.

Analyses of burial positions show different trends related to changes in social inequality. Elite, intermediate elite, and commoners were interred in extended, flexed, and VPLF positions, except seated positions, which were found only among intermediate elites. Extended burials are most frequent at Lower Dover, primarily associated with commoner interments, followed by the VPLF position. Commoners were more commonly placed interred in the VPLF position, followed by intermediate elites and a single elite burial, though this position is also rare at Lower Dover, as well as seated burials were also more common among commoner populations. Extended, seated, and VPLF positions overall had relatively even proportions of wealth items compared to utilitarian items suggesting that an individual's social class does not strongly influence these positions. Flexed burials are the least common at Lower Dover, but they contained the highest proportion of wealth items compared to utilitarian items. Additionally, there were no flexed burials present at Lower Dover during the Preclassic/Early Classic, perhaps suggesting flexed positions become associated with higher status individuals during the Late/Terminal Classic. It should be noted, only two burials with a total of 15 grave items combined have been documented for flexed burials; they reflect a proportion of wealth items to utilitarian items that suggest differential status treatment.

Examinations of trends in burial patterns related to sex indicated that male burials had a higher proportion of wealth items than utilitarian items, suggesting differential burial treatment between sexes associated with a patriarchally organized social system. Despite this, elite male burials in the Lower Dover population were not interred with any grave goods, though this is likely caused by the bulldozing and looting of many elite graves and architecture. Female

intermediate elite burials were also not interred with any grave goods. Although these factors argue against intermediate elite and elite individuals being more affluent than commoners, especially female burials, these trends likely reflect biases in the data set as sex could only be assigned to approximately 60% of the burial population.

Age was broken into two categories: subadults (individuals below 18 years of age) and adults (individuals 18 years of age and older). As anticipated, subadults possess a greater proportion of utilitarian items, and adults possess a higher percentage of wealth items. Additionally, all subadults were interred in simple burials. This difference in grave items and architecture by age indicates that status at Lower Dover is primarily achieved rather than ascribed. However, some level of status is still ascribed because some subadults were interred with wealth items, even if it was in lesser proportions.

Barton Ramie

Analyses in this study also examined trends at individual districts at Lower Dover because these districts were well established before the rise of the Lower Dover polity. Therefore, analyses of grave assemblages can indicate the impact of the appearance of a ruling class at Lower Dover on other sectors of the population. At Barton Ramie, located north of the Lower Dover epicenter, nearly all burials were placed in simple pits, though this information is likely skewed due to the majority of Barton Ramie's burial population being associated with the commoner social class. There were no elite burials present, marking intermediate elites the highest social class at Barton Ramie. During the Preclassic/Early Classic, commoners interred in simple pits had a higher proportion of utilitarian items, unlike commoner cist burials that had a greater proportion of wealth items, possibly linking burial architecture to wealth at Barton

Ramie. With the transition to the Late/Terminal Classic, there are no longer intermediate elites present in the burial population, making commoners the only social class. This pattern directly opposes the overall Lower Dover transition to wealthier intermediate elites, conceivably meaning that the Barton Ramie district did not gain as much wealth and influence as other districts and neighborhoods within the polity. It is still crucial to address that the likelihood for this pattern is caused by the bulldozing of the Late Classic eastern triadic shrine (BR-180) since the 1950s, which likely destroyed some of the wealthy elite burials at this site. Despite this, all burial categories present during the Late/Terminal Classic have a greater proportion of wealth items, unlike the Preclassic/Early Classic.

The extended position was the only position present at Barton Ramie among commoners and intermediate elites, whereas flexed, seated, and VPLF burials were only associated with commoner interments. These patterns again suggest that burial position was not strongly tied to social class. The intermediate elite extended burials at Barton Ramie possessed a higher proportion of utilitarian items when looking at burial positions, further reinforcing that Barton Ramie intermediate elites were either of lesser affluence than their counterparts elsewhere within the Lower Dover polity or were negatively impacted by the rise of an apical elite class at Lower Dover. During the Late/Terminal Classic, seated burials exhibit high frequencies of wealth items. Though seated burials were infrequent (n=6), they possessed approximately 28% of the total grave assemblage for the Late/Terminal Classic period, possibly linking differential burial position with wealth at Barton Ramie.

Most burials for which sex was estimated at Barton Ramie are female, all of which were assigned to the commoner social class. During the Preclassic/Early Classic, there were more male burials present, though intermediate elite male burials had a lower proportion of wealth

items compared to commoner male burials, opposite of what is expected based on the overall Lower Dover trends. However, With the transition to the Late/Terminal Classic, however, males possess more wealth items, and female burials had the greatest sum of grave goods, indicating a shift in status and wealth through time for both sexes. At Barton Ramie, commoner subadults and intermediate elite adults were present, and both possessed more utilitarian items than wealth items. This trend is the opposite of what is expected to be seen based on intermediate elite adults from the overall Lower Dover patterns, suggesting age was not an important factor in changing inequality at Barton Ramie with the rise of Lower Dover.

Tutu Uitz Na

Small sample sizes are present for Tutu Uitz Na, making definitive conclusions about changes in the grave assemblage reflecting inequality tentative. Only simple graves and crypts were present for the analyses, showing the least amount of grave architecture diversity of any district or neighborhood analyzed in this research at Lower Dover. There was one feature located at Structure SG1 E2 at Tutu Uitz Na that was categorized as a cist burial but was empty (Walden 2021: 30) and therefore left out of this study because of the lack of ascribable categories for an individual. Crypts overall possess more grave goods, reinforcing Scherer's (2020) typology of higher status individuals typically being interred in crypts. Although half of the burials are present during the Preclassic/Early Classic, only 18% of the total grave assemblage is present, displaying a significant disparity in wealth between time periods at Tutu Uitz Na. This pattern is supported by the fact that during the Late/Terminal Classic, only intermediate elite individuals were present and possessed 82% of the overall grave assemblage for burials. These patterns indicate that burials were wealthier during the second temporal phase at Tutu Uitz Na. These

very affluent intermediate elite individuals stand in direct contrast to the intermediate elite individuals from Barton Ramie, who show a decrease in wealth over time, indicating that Tutu Uitz Na was more affluent during the Late/Terminal Classic, with examinations of burial positions reinforcing these patterns. At Tutu Uitz Na, intermediate elite extended burials have the highest proportions of wealth items out of any burial position category. However, the extended position is the most prevalent body position in the Tutu Uitz Na burial population. In contrast, VPLF consists of two burials and flexed and seated only make up one burial each, rendering definitive conclusions based on body positions impossible at this time. During the Preclassic/Early Classic, only extended burials were present, possibly indicating a lack of social differentiation based on burial position at Tutu Uitz Na during the district's early occupation.

There are no subadults reported for the Tutu Uitz Na burial population, prohibiting diachronic analyses of wealth related to age. Conceivably this could be due to many things, such as a lack of subadults interments in a formal burial, poor preservation, or a bias resulting from excavations. Both sex categories are present at Tutu Uitz Na, however. Overall, commoner males only had utilitarian items, while intermediate elite males have more wealth items, reflecting the trends seen in grave architecture and burial positions. There is only one intermediate elite female burial, with no commoner females identified. All this information suggests that adult intermediate elite males interred in crypts in an extended position likely reflect the wealthiest group with the most influence at Tutu Uitz Na.

Floral Park

Fewer conclusions can be drawn for Floral Park since all burials were interred during the Late/Terminal Classic, and the overall small sample size of burials for the district (n=8). The

lack of burials from the Preclassic/Early Classic is likely due to the district appearing later than Barton Ramie and Tutu Uitz. It should be noted that SG 34, a commoner burial with three individuals from the Floral Park district, was removed from analyses because all were secondary individuals that could not be definitively assigned grave goods per individual. Only simple graves and cists are present for grave architecture, revealing no overtly wealthy graves based on grave architecture at Floral Park. Despite this, only intermediate elite individuals are present at Floral Park, who show similar trends to Barton Ramie's lesser affluent intermediate elites. The other analytical variables - burial position, sex, and age - did not produce significant trends or results.

Conclusions and Future Directions

The research completed for this thesis encompassed mortuary analyses of Lower Dover's burial population to understand rises in differential burial treatment and wealth differences within the polity from the Preclassic/Early Classic to Late/Terminal Classic. In response to the research questions listed above, I found that although not every district reflected differences in burial treatment based on a specific type of burial category, most did, and there were some notable changes through time. At Barton Ramie, change in wealth over time was primarily documented for commoner individuals as they made up nearly the entire burial population. Despite their lower status, commoners experienced an increase in wealth from the Preclassic/Early Classic to the Late/Terminal Classic, which likely indicates that everyone at Barton Ramie, regardless of social status, became wealthier over time. On the other hand, wealth items in intermediate elites from Barton Ramie appear to decline over time. Though this seems contradictory, this trend is possibly attributable to the small sample size of intermediate elite

burials at Barton Ramie due to looting and bulldozing, and it can be inferred from the commoners' economic boost that intermediate elites got wealthier over time as well. Another trend noted at Barton Ramie was that seated burials were wealthier when compared to other burial position types. Though this position was found for only 8% of the burial population, these burials comprised 28% of the total grave sample. Since a majority of my sample was from Barton Ramie, the change over time at Lower Dover primarily reflects the trends viewable at Barton Ramie.

Overall, there were slight deviations from the results along with biases that did not meet my expectations of mortuary treatment (see Table 1.2), with notable deviations between grave types for each different social category. For instance, I found that while the primary grave type expected for apical elites are tombs and elaborate crypts, there were no tombs documented at Lower Dover. Instead, several burials identified as elite based on their location in the Lower Dover site core were interred in simple pits or placed within the fill of the architecture. There were also intermediate elites burials that were interred in simple pits, though they were expected to only be in crypts and cists. There were also commoner burials, such as BR-75 Burial 3, that were interred in crypts. These data suggest that architecture and social hierarchies might not be the best indicator of status when assigning social categories to internments.

My study also showed deviation in the type of grave goods associated with specific social status categories compared to what I expected, especially regarding commoners being interred with wealth items such as polychrome vessels, jade adornments, marine shells, and ceremonial obsidian blades. However, these wealth items present in commoner graves are not necessarily surprising, as seen with the transition from the Preclassic/Early Classic to the Late/Terminal Classic, there was a likely increase in commoner access to higher status items. These commoner

individuals are also not interred with very high frequencies of these wealth items compared to some apical elite and intermediate elite individuals, except in rare cases such as the commoner burial BR-1 Burial 6, which was interred with 24 wealth items, including 18 polychrome vessels. For cases where I was confronted with my findings not meeting my initial expectations, I interpreted the results based on the Maya lowland and Belize River Valley literature, as well as archaeological evidence from other sites nearby Lower Dover.

Several patterns did emerge, however, that met with my expectations. Tutu Uitz Na is the paramount example because each burial category possessed a distinctive subcategory - intermediate elite male adults - where wealth was distinctly marked above other individuals. This group appears to become the wealthiest across the entire Lower Dover polity during the transition to the Late/Terminal Classic when they were eventually interred in crypts, the most formal grave architecture type found at Lower Dover. More generally, the intermediate elites of Tutu Uitz Na were already incredibly wealthy compared to commoners in the Late Preclassic/Early Classic and only got wealthier through time, unlike at Barton Ramie, though this may be skewed due to the destruction of the eastern triadic shrine at BR-180. Despite these exciting results for Tutu Uitz Na, the small sample sizes for the overall burial population and grave assemblage make these conclusions tentative. Despite the relative success of drawing dialogues from burial categories at Barton Ramie and Tutu Uitz Na, Floral Park lacks this level of analysis and understanding for most of its burial categories, leaving its wealth and inequality patterns, if any, unknown. Change in wealth over time cannot be viewed for Floral Park since all burials were documented to be from the Late/Terminal Classic. As well, the burial categories for Floral Park cannot add any clear insight to wealth and status at the district.

When viewed as a whole, the grave good assemblage analyses undertaken in this study demonstrate that the Late/Terminal Classic was a wealthier period than the Preclassic/Early Classic. Excitingly, these results correspond with the overall patterns documented in literature about Maya bioarchaeology, where during the Classic period, many polities thrived and rose in power and wealth. Additionally, these patterns also demonstrate other trends witnessed across the Maya lowlands, namely that in some cases, we see extreme inequality appearing at multiple levels of the social hierarchy.

With these results in mind, we can now answer the overarching research question—how do differences in burial practices reflect changes in inequality at Lower Dover from the Preclassic/Early Classic to Late/Terminal Classic in association with the polity's rise? Throughout the Lower Dover polity, especially at Barton Ramie and Tutu Uitz Na, wealth differences based on burial categories such as grave architecture, burial position, sex, and age indicate differential treatment. Conscious decisions were being made for burials, where individuals were interred differently based on their social status. This unequal treatment is reflected in differential architecture, such as crypts at Tutu Uitz Na, or burial positions, such as the seated burials from Barton Ramie. These burials, which represented the interments of higher status individuals, included proportionally more wealth items than utilitarian items. We also see differential burial treatment among commoner populations. For example, wealthier commoners can potentially be identified at Barton Ramie by higher frequencies of wealth items, with lower status commoners interred in pits with no grave goods present. For grave architecture, individuals interred in crypts tend to be the wealthiest and appear to have increased wealth through time.

Regarding burial position, seated burials made up the wealthiest category at Barton Ramie, whereas extended individuals were the wealthiest at Tutu Uitz Na, suggesting that these positions may have been associated more with distinct traditions within each district (possibly related to linage and kinship) rather than a polity-wide status marker. Males were the wealthiest sex overall at the polity, though as previously stated, this does not mean females, especially intermediate elite females, lacked wealth. As expected with age, adults made up the wealthiest of the two categories, mainly since the subadults consisted only of commoners with primarily higher utilitarian item assemblages. Overall, I believe the relationship between status and burial treatment for this sample is skewed and challenging to draw definitive conclusions. However, certain findings, such as interring adults with higher proportions of wealth items than subadults, show that to some extent, differences in status play a significant role in the differential burial treatment that is viewable.

My intent for this research project was to shed light on the lesser-known site of Lower Dover in the Belize River Valley through analyses of its burial population in the hope to stimulate further research from myself and other Maya archaeologists about how social inequality is visible through bioarchaeological and mortuary analyses. My project represents a preliminary step in broader mortuary analyses at Lower Dover. Many gaps in the data due to small sample sizes can easily be filled through further excavations of districts such as Tutu Uitz Na and Floral Park. One shortcoming of this study is that there were no definitive patterns that reflect the wealthiest and most influential individuals at Lower Dover, namely apical elites interred within the site's monumental epicenter.

The present research was also dependent on previously published data and access to the BVAR Project burial database, from which I drew my sample. Future research might focus on

recording additional interments from these contexts when possible and performing additional excavations to gain a larger, more comprehensive sample of burials. Additionally, Lower Dover, situated in the upper Belize Valley of west-central Belize, was surrounded by other large polities. Comparing burial assemblages from sites across the region more broadly will point to larger trends related to the growing inequalities present during the Late/Terminal Classic period. Finally, this type of study could also be extended to include other variables related to social status, including diet, health, gendered patterns, and stress among populations. Future research can also address the way in which social status was categorized (i.e., elite, intermediate elite, and commoner) for this study, including how different aspects of burial treatment might represent different aspects of status or social persona.

Finally, social inequality is not just an ancient issue; structural violence in the form of wealth disparities and unequal access to resources plague countless groups of people worldwide, including many modern Maya communities. Additional work integrated with archaeological research should include anthropological and ethnographic research to cross-examine inequality within the ancient Maya versus contemporary Maya to provide a more holistic perspective on this critical issue. With the approval of the Yucatec, Kekchi, and Mopan Maya living in Belize, these efforts are meant to counteract decades of ignorance towards and marginalization of modern Maya problems and people.

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APPENDIX A: Lower Dover Burial Database

Burial Number	Site	Social Category	Structure	Temporal Phase
BR-1 Burial 1	Barton Ramie	Commoner	BR-1 (Western Structure)	Late/Terminal Classic
BR-1 Burial 10	Barton Ramie	Commoner	BR-1 (Western Structure)	Late/Terminal Classic
BR-1 Burial 11	Barton Ramie	Commoner	BR-1 (Western Structure)	Late/Terminal Classic
BR-1 Burial 12	Barton Ramie	Commoner	BR-1 (Western Structure)	Late/Terminal Classic
BR-1 Burial 13	Barton Ramie	Commoner	BR-1 (Western Structure)	Late/Terminal Classic
BR-1 Burial 14	Barton Ramie	Commoner	BR-1 (Western Structure)	Late/Terminal Classic
BR-1 Burial 15	Barton Ramie	Commoner	BR-1 (Western Structure)	Late/Terminal Classic
BR-1 Burial 16	Barton Ramie	Commoner	BR-1 (Western Structure)	Late/Terminal Classic
BR-1 Burial 17	Barton Ramie	Commoner	BR-1 (Western Structure)	Late/Terminal Classic
BR-1 Burial 18	Barton Ramie	Commoner	BR-1 (Western Structure)	Late/Terminal Classic
BR-1 Burial 19	Barton Ramie	Commoner	BR-1 (Western Structure)	Late/Terminal Classic
BR-1 Burial 20	Barton Ramie	Commoner	BR-1 (Western Structure)	Late/Terminal Classic
BR-1 Burial 21	Barton Ramie	Commoner	BR-1 (Western Structure)	Late/Terminal Classic
BR-1 Burial 22	Barton Ramie	Commoner	BR-1 (Western Structure)	Late/Terminal Classic
BR-1 Burial 23	Barton Ramie	Commoner	BR-1 (Western Structure)	Late/Terminal Classic
BR-1 Burial 24	Barton Ramie	Commoner	BR-1 (Western Structure)	Late/Terminal Classic
BR-1 Burial 25	Barton Ramie	Commoner	BR-1 (Western Structure)	Late/Terminal Classic
BR-1 Burial 26	Barton Ramie	Commoner	BR-1 (Western Structure)	Preclassic/Early Classic
BR-1 Burial 3	Barton Ramie	Commoner	BR-1 (Western Structure)	Late/Terminal Classic
BR-1 Burial 4	Barton Ramie	Commoner	BR-1 (Western Structure)	Late/Terminal Classic
BR-1 Burial 5	Barton Ramie	Commoner	BR-1 (Western Structure)	Late/Terminal Classic
BR-1 Burial 6	Barton Ramie	Commoner	BR-1 (Western Structure)	Late/Terminal Classic
BR-1 Burial 7	Barton Ramie	Commoner	BR-1 (Western Structure)	Late/Terminal Classic
BR-1 Burial 9	Barton Ramie	Commoner	BR-1 (Western Structure)	Late/Terminal Classic
BR-123 Burial 10	Barton Ramie	Commoner	BR-123 (Northeastern Structure)	Late/Terminal Classic

Burial Number	Site	Social Category	Structure	Temporal Phase
BR-123 Burial 11	Barton Ramie	Commoner	BR-123 (Northeastern Structure)	Late/Terminal Classic
BR-123 Burial 12	Barton Ramie	Commoner	BR-123 (Northeastern Structure)	Late/Terminal Classic
BR-123 Burial 13	Barton Ramie	Commoner	BR-123 (Northeastern Structure)	Preclassic/Early Classic
BR-123 Burial 14	Barton Ramie	Commoner	BR-123 (Northeastern Structure)	Preclassic/Early Classic
BR-123 Burial 15	Barton Ramie	Commoner	BR-123 (Northeastern Structure)	Late/Terminal Classic
BR-123 Burial 16	Barton Ramie	Commoner	BR-123 (Northeastern Structure)	Late/Terminal Classic
BR-123 Burial 17	Barton Ramie	Commoner	BR-123 (Northeastern Structure)	Late/Terminal Classic
BR-123 Burial 18	Barton Ramie	Commoner	BR-123 (Northeastern Structure)	Late/Terminal Classic
BR-123 Burial 19	Barton Ramie	Commoner	BR-123 (Northeastern Structure)	Preclassic/Early Classic
BR-123 Burial 2	Barton Ramie	Commoner	BR-123 (Northeastern Structure)	Late/Terminal Classic
BR-123 Burial 20	Barton Ramie	Commoner	BR-123 (Northeastern Structure)	Preclassic/Early Classic
BR-123 Burial 21	Barton Ramie	Commoner	BR-123 (Northeastern Structure)	Preclassic/Early Classic
BR-123 Burial 22	Barton Ramie	Commoner	BR-123 (Northeastern Structure)	Late/Terminal Classic
BR-123 Burial 23	Barton Ramie	Commoner	BR-123 (Northeastern Structure)	Late/Terminal Classic
BR-123 Burial 24	Barton Ramie	Commoner	BR-123 (Northeastern Structure)	Late/Terminal Classic
BR-123 Burial 25	Barton Ramie	Commoner	BR-123 (Northeastern Structure)	Late/Terminal Classic
BR-123 Burial 26	Barton Ramie	Commoner	BR-123 (Northeastern Structure)	Late/Terminal Classic
BR-123 Burial 27	Barton Ramie	Commoner	BR-123 (Northeastern Structure)	Late/Terminal Classic
BR-123 Burial 28	Barton Ramie	Commoner	BR-123 (Northeastern Structure)	Late/Terminal Classic
BR-123 Burial 29	Barton Ramie	Commoner	BR-123 (Northeastern Structure)	Late/Terminal Classic
BR-123 Burial 3	Barton Ramie	Commoner	BR-123 (Northeastern Structure)	Late/Terminal Classic
BR-123 Burial 30	Barton Ramie	Commoner	BR-123 (Northeastern Structure)	Preclassic/Early Classic
BR-123 Burial 31	Barton Ramie	Commoner	BR-123 (Northeastern Structure)	Preclassic/Early Classic
BR-123 Burial 32	Barton Ramie	Commoner	BR-123 (Northeastern Structure)	Preclassic/Early Classic
BR-123 Burial 33	Barton Ramie	Commoner	BR-123 (Northeastern Structure)	Late/Terminal Classic
BR-123 Burial 34	Barton Ramie	Commoner	BR-123 (Northeastern Structure)	Preclassic/Early Classic
BR-123 Burial 35	Barton Ramie	Commoner	BR-123 (Northeastern Structure)	Preclassic/Early Classic

Burial Number	Site	Social Category	Structure	Temporal Phase
BR-123 Burial 36	Barton Ramie	Commoner	BR-123 (Northeastern Structure)	Late/Terminal Classic
BR-123 Burial 4	Barton Ramie	Commoner	BR-123 (Northeastern Structure)	Late/Terminal Classic
BR-123 Burial 5	Barton Ramie	Commoner	BR-123 (Northeastern Structure)	Late/Terminal Classic
BR-123 Burial 6	Barton Ramie	Commoner	BR-123 (Northeastern Structure)	Late/Terminal Classic
BR-123 Burial 7	Barton Ramie	Commoner	BR-123 (Northeastern Structure)	Late/Terminal Classic
BR-123 Burial 8	Barton Ramie	Commoner	BR-123 (Northeastern Structure)	Late/Terminal Classic
BR-123 Burial 9	Barton Ramie	Commoner	BR-123 (Northeastern Structure)	Late/Terminal Classic
BR-124 Burial 1	Barton Ramie	Commoner	BR-124 (Southwestern Structure)	Preclassic/Early Classic
BR-124 Burial 2	Barton Ramie	Commoner	BR-124 (Southwestern Structure)	Preclassic/Early Classic
BR-124 Burial 3	Barton Ramie	Commoner	BR-124 (Southwestern Structure)	Preclassic/Early Classic
BR-130 Burial 1	Barton Ramie	Commoner	BR-130 (Single Mound)	Late/Terminal Classic
BR-130 Burial 2	Barton Ramie	Commoner	BR-130 (Single Mound)	Late/Terminal Classic
BR-130 Burial 3	Barton Ramie	Commoner	BR-130 (Single Mound)	Late/Terminal Classic
BR-130 Burial 4	Barton Ramie	Commoner	BR-130 (Single Mound)	Late/Terminal Classic
BR-130 Burial 5	Barton Ramie	Commoner	BR-130 (Single Mound)	Late/Terminal Classic
BR-135 Burial 1	Barton Ramie	Commoner	BR-135 (Single Mound)	Late/Terminal Classic
BR-135 Burial 2	Barton Ramie	Commoner	BR-135 (Single Mound)	Late/Terminal Classic
BR-144 Burial 1	Barton Ramie	Commoner	BR-144 (Single Mound)	Late/Terminal Classic
BR-144 Burial 2	Barton Ramie	Commoner	BR-144 (Single Mound)	Late/Terminal Classic
BR-144 Burial 3	Barton Ramie	Commoner	BR-144 (Single Mound)	Late/Terminal Classic
BR-144 Burial 4	Barton Ramie	Commoner	BR-144 (Single Mound)	Late/Terminal Classic
BR-144 Burial 5	Barton Ramie	Commoner	BR-144 (Single Mound)	Late/Terminal Classic
BR-144 Burial 6	Barton Ramie	Commoner	BR-144 (Single Mound)	Late/Terminal Classic
BR-144 Burial 7	Barton Ramie	Commoner	BR-144 (Single Mound)	Late/Terminal Classic
BR-147 Burial 1	Barton Ramie	Commoner	Patio in front of Structure A (Tallest at 2.80)	Late/Terminal Classic
BR-147 Burial 2	Barton Ramie	Commoner	Structure D (northern)	Late/Terminal Classic
BR-147 Burial 3	Barton Ramie	Commoner	Structure D (northern)	Late/Terminal Classic

Burial Number	Site	Social Category	Structure	Temporal Phase
BR-147 Burial 4	Barton Ramie	Commoner	Structure D (northern)	Late/Terminal Classic
BR-151 Burial 1	Barton Ramie	Commoner	BR-151 (Southeastern Structure)	Late/Terminal Classic
BR-151 Burial 2	Barton Ramie	Commoner	BR-151 (Southeastern Structure)	Late/Terminal Classic
BR-154 Burial 1	Barton Ramie	Commoner	BR-154 (Single Mound)	Preclassic/Early Classic
BR-154 Burial 2	Barton Ramie	Commoner	BR-154 (Single Mound)	Preclassic/Early Classic
BR-154 Burial 3	Barton Ramie	Commoner	BR-154 (Single Mound)	Preclassic/Early Classic
BR-154 Burial 4	Barton Ramie	Commoner	BR-154 (Single Mound)	Preclassic/Early Classic
BR-154 Burial 5	Barton Ramie	Commoner	BR-154 (Single Mound)	Preclassic/Early Classic
BR-155 Burial 1	Barton Ramie	Commoner	BR-155 (Single Mound)	Late/Terminal Classic
BR-155 Burial 2	Barton Ramie	Commoner	BR-155 (Single Mound)	Late/Terminal Classic
BR-155 Burial 3	Barton Ramie	Commoner	BR-155 (Single Mound)	Late/Terminal Classic
BR-155 Burial 4	Barton Ramie	Commoner	BR-155 (Single Mound)	Late/Terminal Classic
BR-155 Burial 5	Barton Ramie	Commoner	BR-155 (Single Mound)	Late/Terminal Classic
BR-155 Burial 6	Barton Ramie	Commoner	BR-155 (Single Mound)	Late/Terminal Classic
BR-162 Burial 1	Barton Ramie	Commoner	BR-155 (Single Mound)	Late/Terminal Classic
BR-167 Burial 1	Barton Ramie	Commoner	BR-162 (Eastern Structure)	Late/Terminal Classic
BR-167 Burial 2	Barton Ramie	Commoner	BR-167 (Eastern Structure)	Late/Terminal Classic
BR-167 Burial 3	Barton Ramie	Commoner	BR-167 (Eastern Structure)	Late/Terminal Classic
BR-167 Burial 4	Barton Ramie	Commoner	BR-167 (Eastern Structure)	Late/Terminal Classic
BR-167 Burial 5	Barton Ramie	Commoner	BR-167 (Eastern Structure)	Late/Terminal Classic
BR-167 Burial 6	Barton Ramie	Commoner	BR-167 (Eastern Structure)	Late/Terminal Classic
BR-180 BU-1	Barton Ramie	Intermediate Elite	BR-180 (Eastern Triadic Structure)	Preclassic/Early Classic
BR-180 BU-2	Barton Ramie	Intermediate Elite	BR-180 (Eastern Triadic Structure)	Preclassic/Early Classic
BR-180 BU-3	Barton Ramie	Intermediate Elite	BR-180 (Eastern Triadic Structure)	Preclassic/Early Classic
BR-194 Burial 1	Barton Ramie	Commoner	BR-194 (Southern Structure)	Late/Terminal Classic
BR-194 Burial 2	Barton Ramie	Commoner	BR-194 (Southern Structure)	Late/Terminal Classic
BR-194 Burial 3	Barton Ramie	Commoner	BR-194 (Southern Structure)	Late/Terminal Classic

Burial Number	Site	Social Category	Structure	Temporal Phase
BR-194 Burial 4	Barton Ramie	Commoner	BR-194 (Southern Structure)	Late/Terminal Classic
BR-194 Burial 5	Barton Ramie	Commoner	BR-194 (Southern Structure)	Late/Terminal Classic
BR-20 Burial 1	Barton Ramie	Commoner	BR-20 (Single Mound)	Preclassic/Early Classic
BR-260 Burial 1	Barton Ramie	Commoner	Structure N2	Late/Terminal Classic
BR-260 Burial 2	Barton Ramie	Commoner	Structure N2	Late/Terminal Classic
BR-260 Burial 3	Barton Ramie	Commoner	Structure N2	Late/Terminal Classic
BR-260 Burial 4	Barton Ramie	Commoner	Structure N2	Late/Terminal Classic
BR-260 Burial 5	Barton Ramie	Commoner	Structure S4	Late/Terminal Classic
BR-4 Burial 1	Barton Ramie	Commoner	BR-4 (Northern Structure)	Late/Terminal Classic
BR-4 Burial 2	Barton Ramie	Commoner	BR-4 (Northern Structure)	Late/Terminal Classic
BR-75 Burial 1	Barton Ramie	Commoner	Central structure in dense cluster	Late/Terminal Classic
BR-75 Burial 2	Barton Ramie	Commoner	Central structure in dense cluster	Late/Terminal Classic
BR-75 Burial 3	Barton Ramie	Commoner	Central structure in dense cluster	Late/Terminal Classic
BR-82 Burial 1	Barton Ramie	Commoner	Central structure in dense cluster	Late/Terminal Classic
FPK-2 Burial 1	Floral Park	Intermediate Elite	2A (eastern structure)	Late/Terminal Classic
FPK-2 Burial 2	Floral Park	Intermediate Elite	2A (eastern structure)	Late/Terminal Classic
FPK-2 Burial 3	Floral Park	Intermediate Elite	2A (eastern structure)	Late/Terminal Classic
FPK-2 Burial 4	Floral Park	Intermediate Elite	2A (eastern structure)	Late/Terminal Classic
FPK-2 Burial 5	Floral Park	Intermediate Elite	2A (eastern structure)	Late/Terminal Classic
FPK-2 Burial 6 Individual 1	Floral Park	Intermediate Elite	2A (eastern structure)	Late/Terminal Classic
FPK-2 Burial 6 Individual 2	Floral Park	Intermediate Elite	2A (eastern structure)	Late/Terminal Classic
FPK-2 Burial 7	Floral Park	Intermediate Elite	2A (eastern structure)	Late/Terminal Classic
FPK-2 Burial 8	Floral Park	Intermediate Elite	2A (eastern structure)	Late/Terminal Classic
FPK-2 Burial 9	Floral Park	Intermediate Elite	2A (eastern structure)	Late/Terminal Classic
SG34-Burial 1 Individual 1	Floral Park	Commoner	S1	Preclassic/Early Classic
SG34-Burial 1 Individual 2	Floral Park	Commoner	S1	Preclassic/Early Classic
SG34-Burial 1 Individual 3	Floral Park	Commoner	S1	Preclassic/Early Classic

Burial Number	Site	Social Category	Structure	Temporal Phase
LWD-A2 Burial 1	Lower Dover Site Core	Elite	A1-2	Late/Terminal Classic
LWD-B1 Burial 1	Lower Dover Site Core	Elite	Str. B1	Late/Terminal Classic
LWD-CT1 Burial 1	Lower Dover Site Core	Elite	Courtyard 1	Late/Terminal Classic
LWD-CT2 Burial 1	Lower Dover Site Core	Elite	Courtyard 2	Preclassic/Early Classic
LWD-F2 Burial 1	Lower Dover Site Core	Elite	Str. F2	Late/Terminal Classic
LWD-F2 Burial 2	Lower Dover Site Core	Elite	Str. F2	Late/Terminal Classic
LWD-G4 Burial 1	Lower Dover Site Core	Elite	Str. G4	Late/Terminal Classic
LWD-G4 Burial 2	Lower Dover Site Core	Elite	Str. G4	Preclassic/Early Classic
RS1 Burial 1	Lower Dover Site Core	Elite	Rockshelter 2	Late/Terminal Classic
SG 11-Burial 11	Tutu Uitz Na	Intermediate Elite	N1	Preclassic/Early Classic
SG 1-Burial 1	Tutu Uitz Na	Intermediate Elite	SG1-E2	Late/Terminal Classic
SG 1-Burial 2 Individual 1	Tutu Uitz Na	Intermediate Elite	SG1-E2	Late/Terminal Classic
SG 1-Burial 2 Individual 2	Tutu Uitz Na	Intermediate Elite	SG1-E2	Late/Terminal Classic
SG 1-Burial 2 Individual 3	Tutu Uitz Na	Intermediate Elite	SG1-E2	Late/Terminal Classic
SG 1-Burial 3	Tutu Uitz Na	Intermediate Elite	SG1-E2	Late/Terminal Classic
SG 1-Burial 4	Tutu Uitz Na	Intermediate Elite	SG1-E2	Late/Terminal Classic
SG 1-Burial 5	Tutu Uitz Na	Intermediate Elite	SG1-E2	Preclassic/Early Classic
SG 1-Burial 6	Tutu Uitz Na	Intermediate Elite	SG1-E2	Late/Terminal Classic
SG 1-Burial 7	Tutu Uitz Na	Intermediate Elite	SG1-E2	Preclassic/Early Classic
SG 2-Burial 1 Individual 1	Lower Dover Site Core	Elite	SG2-E1	Late/Terminal Classic
SG 2-Burial 1 Individual 2	Lower Dover Site Core	Elite	SG2-E1	Late/Terminal Classic
SG 2-Burial 1 Individual 3	Lower Dover Site Core	Elite	SG2-E1	Late/Terminal Classic
SG 2-Burial 1 Individual 4	Lower Dover Site Core	Elite	SG2-E1	Late/Terminal Classic
SG 3-Burial 1	Tutu Uitz Na	Commoner	N1	Preclassic/Early Classic
SG 3-Burial 2	Tutu Uitz Na	Commoner	N1	Preclassic/Early Classic

Burial Number	MNI	Sex	Age (yr)	Age Category	Burial Type	Grave Architecture	Intrusive	Percent Complete
BR-1 Burial 1	1			A	Primary	Simple pit	No	30%
BR-1 Burial 10	1	Female		YA	Primary		No	90%
BR-1 Burial 11	1				Secondary?		No	15%
BR-1 Burial 12	1	Male		YA	Primary	Crypt	No	90%
BR-1 Burial 13	1			Inf	Primary	Simple pit	Yes	90%
BR-1 Burial 14	1			Inf	Primary	Simple pit	No?	90%
BR-1 Burial 15	1			Inf	Primary	Simple pit	No	90%
BR-1 Burial 16	1			A?	Primary	Crypt	No	90%
BR-1 Burial 17	1	Female		OA	Primary	Simple pit	Yes	90%
BR-1 Burial 18	1	Female		Inf	Primary	Simple pit	No	
BR-1 Burial 19	1			Inf	Seconday?	Simple pit	No	
BR-1 Burial 20	1			Ch/Inf	Secondary?	Simple pit	No	
BR-1 Burial 21	1			A?	Primary	Simple pit	No	
BR-1 Burial 22	1	Male		A	Primary	Simple pit	Yes	90%
BR-1 Burial 23	1			A	Primary	Simple pit	Yes	
BR-1 Burial 24	1			Ch	Primary	Simple pit	Yes	
BR-1 Burial 25	1	Female		YA	Primary	Simple pit	Yes?	90%
BR-1 Burial 26	1	Male		Ch	Primary	Simple pit	No	
BR-1 Burial 3	1			A?	Primary	Simple pit	No	30%
BR-1 Burial 4	1			A?	Primary	Simple pit	No	70%
BR-1 Burial 5	1			Ch/Inf	Primary	Simple pit	No	
BR-1 Burial 6	1	Indeterminate		YA	Primary		No	90%
BR-1 Burial 7	1	Female		A	Primary	Cist?	No?	90%
BR-1 Burial 9	1			YA	Primary		No	90%
BR-123 Burial 10	1	Female		OA	Primary	Simple pit	No	90%
BR-123 Burial 11	1			Ch	Primary	Simple pit	No	90%

Burial Number	MNI	Sex	Age (yr)	Age Category	Burial Type	Grave Architecture	Intrusive	Percent Complete
BR-123 Burial 12	1	Female		A	Primary	Simple pit	No	90%
BR-123 Burial 13	1			YA	Primary	Simple pit	Yes	90%
BR-123 Burial 14	1	Male		OA	Primary	Simple pit	No	90%
BR-123 Burial 15	1			Ch	Secondary?	Simple pit	No	
BR-123 Burial 16	1	Female		OA	Primary	Simple pit	Yes	90%
BR-123 Burial 17	1	Male		A	No data	Simple pit		20%
BR-123 Burial 18	1	Male		A	Primary	Simple pit	No	90%
BR-123 Burial 19	1	Male		YA	Primary	Simple pit	No	80%
BR-123 Burial 2	1			Ch	Primary?	Simple pit	No	60%
BR-123 Burial 20	1	Male		YA	Primary	Simple pit	No	90%
BR-123 Burial 21	1	Male		YA	Primary	Simple pit	No	85%
BR-123 Burial 22	1			Ch	Primary	Simple pit	No	90%
BR-123 Burial 23	1	Male		YA	Primary	Simple pit	Yes?	90%
BR-123 Burial 24	1	Female		YA	Secondary?	Simple pit	No	80%
BR-123 Burial 25	1	Male		A	Primary	Simple pit	No	90%
BR-123 Burial 26	1	Female		A	Primary	Simple pit	No	60%
BR-123 Burial 27	1	Female		YA	Secondary?	Simple pit	No	
BR-123 Burial 28	1	Female		YA	Primary	Simple pit	Yes?	90%
BR-123 Burial 29	1	Male		OA	Primary	Simple pit	Yes?	90%
BR-123 Burial 3	1	Female		A	Primary	Simple pit	No	50%
BR-123 Burial 30	1	Male		A	Primary	Cist	No	
BR-123 Burial 31	1	Female		YA	Primary	Cist	No	90%
BR-123 Burial 32	1	Male		A	Primary	Simple pit	No	90%
BR-123 Burial 33	1	Male		A	Primary?	Simple pit	No	
BR-123 Burial 34	1	Female		A	Primary	Simple pit	No	80%
BR-123 Burial 35	1	Male		A?	Primary	Simple pit	No	
BR-123 Burial 36	1			A	Primary	Simple pit	No	

Burial Number	MNI	Sex	Age (yr)	Age Category	Burial Type	Grave Architecture	Intrusive	Percent Complete
BR-123 Burial 4	1	Male		OA	Primary	Simple pit	No	85%
BR-123 Burial 5	1	Female		A	No data		No	
BR-123 Burial 6	1			A	No data			
BR-123 Burial 7	1			A	Primary	Simple pit	No	60%
BR-123 Burial 8	1	Male		OA	No data	Simple pit	No	90%
BR-123 Burial 9	1	Female		OA	Primary	Simple pit	No	90%
BR-124 Burial 1	1			Ch/Inf	Primary?	In a pottery vessel		
BR-124 Burial 2	1	Male		A	Primary	Placed in fill	No	
BR-124 Burial 3	1	Male		Ch	Primary	Simple pit	Yes	90%
BR-130 Burial 1	1			A?	Primary	Simple pit	No	
BR-130 Burial 2	1	Female		YA	Primary	Simple pit	No	90%
BR-130 Burial 3	1			A?	No data			5%
BR-130 Burial 4	1	Female		A	Primary?	Simple pit	No	
BR-130 Burial 5	1	Female		YA	Primary	Simple pit	No	40%
BR-135 Burial 1	1	Indeterminate		YA	Primary	Simple pit	Yes	90%
BR-135 Burial 2	1			A?	Primary		Yes	5%
BR-144 Burial 1	1	Female		YA	Primary?	Simple pit	Yes	20%
BR-144 Burial 2	1	Female		OA	Primary	Simple pit	Yes	90%
BR-144 Burial 3	1	Female		YA	Primary	Simple pit	Yes	90%
BR-144 Burial 4	1			A	Unk	Simple pit	Yes	
BR-144 Burial 5	1	Female		A	Primary	Simple pit	Yes	50%
BR-144 Burial 6	1	Female		YA	Primary	Simple pit	Yes	90%
BR-144 Burial 7	1	Indeterminate		A	Primary	Simple pit	Yes	90%
BR-147 Burial 1	1			A?	Primary	Simple pit	No	
BR-147 Burial 2	3	Female		A	N/A	Simple pit	No	
BR-147 Burial 3	3			A	N/A	Simple pit	No	
BR-147 Burial 4	3			Ch/Inf	N/A	Simple pit	No	

Burial Number	MNI	Sex	Age (yr)	Age Category	Burial Type	Grave Architecture	Intrusive	Percent Complete
BR-151 Burial 1	1			A	Unk	Simple pit	No	
BR-151 Burial 2	1			A	Unk	Simple pit	No	90%
BR-154 Burial 1	1	Male		A	Primary	Simple pit	Yes?	
BR-154 Burial 2	1	Male		A	Primary	Simple pit		
BR-154 Burial 3	1	Female		A	Primary	Simple pit		
BR-154 Burial 4	1	Female		A	Secondary?	Simple pit		
BR-154 Burial 5	1	Indeterminate		Ind	Secondary?	Simple pit		
BR-155 Burial 1	1	Indeterminate		Ind	Secondary?	Simple pit		
BR-155 Burial 2	1	Male		A	Primary	Simple pit		
BR-155 Burial 3	1	Male		A	Primary	Simple pit		
BR-155 Burial 4	1	Female		A	Secondary	Simple pit		
BR-155 Burial 5	1	Female		A	Primary	Simple pit		
BR-155 Burial 6	1			A	Primary			
BR-162 Burial 1	1			A	Primary	Pit	No	
BR-167 Burial 1	1	Indeterminate	2+	Ch	Primary	Simple pit	No	
BR-167 Burial 2	1	Male		A	Primary	Simple pit	Yes	
BR-167 Burial 3	1	Male		A	Primary	Simple pit	Yes	
BR-167 Burial 4	1	Female		A	Primary	Simple pit	Yes	
BR-167 Burial 5	1			A	Primary	Simple pit	Yes	
BR-167 Burial 6	1			SA/A	Primary	Simple pit	Yes	
BR-180 BU-1	1	Male		A	Primary	Half crypt over upper body	Yes	95%
BR-180 BU-2	1	Indeterminate		A	Primary	Cist	Yes	95%
BR-180 BU-3	1	Male		A	Primary	Half crypt over upper body	No	90%
BR-194 Burial 1	1	No data		A	Primary	Simple pit	Yes?	90%?
BR-194 Burial 2	1			SA/A	Primary	Simple pit	Yes?	90%?
BR-194 Burial 3	1			SA/A	Primary	Simple pit	Yes?	90%?
BR-194 Burial 4	1			A	Primary	Simple pit	Yes?	90%?

Burial Number	MNI	Sex	Age (yr)	Age Category	Burial Type	Grave Architecture	Intrusive	Percent Complete
BR-194 Burial 5	1		6+	Ch	Primary	Simple pit	No	90%?
BR-20 Burial 1	1			A	Primary	Simple pit	Yes	90%?
BR-260 Burial 1	1			OA	Primary	Simple pit	Yes	90%?
BR-260 Burial 2	1			A	Primary	Simple pit	Yes	90%?
BR-260 Burial 3	1			A	Primary	Simple pit	Yes	70%
BR-260 Burial 4	1			A	Primary	Simple pit	Yes	90%?
BR-260 Burial 5	1			YA	Primary	Simple pit	Yes	90%?
BR-4 Burial 1	1			A?	Primary	Simple pit	Yes	90%?
BR-4 Burial 2	1			A	Primary	Simple pit	Yes	90%?
BR-75 Burial 1	1			Inf	Primary	Simple pit	No	90%?
BR-75 Burial 2	1	Male		A	Primary	Simple pit	No	90%?
BR-75 Burial 3	1	Male		A	Primary	Crypt	No	90%?
BR-82 Burial 1	1			A	Primary	Simple pit	Yes	90%?
FPK-2 Burial 1	1	Indeterminate		OA	Secondary	Simple pit	Yes	>10%
FPK-2 Burial 2	1	Indeterminate		OA	Primary	Cist		
FPK-2 Burial 3	1	Indeterminate		YA/MA	N/A	Cache/Deposit		
FPK-2 Burial 4	1	Indeterminate			Primary	Simple pit		5%
FPK-2 Burial 5	1	Indeterminate			Secondary	Placed in fill		10%
FPK-2 Burial 6 Individual 1	1	Indeterminate		A	Secondary	Pit/deposit		50%
FPK-2 Burial 6 Individual 2	1	Indeterminate		A	Secondary	Pit/deposit		50%
FPK-2 Burial 7	1	Indeterminate			Secondary	Placed in fill		5%
FPK-2 Burial 8	1	Indeterminate			Secondary	Placed in fill		10%
FPK-2 Burial 9	1	Female		YA/MA	Primary	Cist	Yes	60%
LWD-A2 Burial 1	1				No data	Placed in fill?		1%
LWD-B1 Burial 1	No data			No data	Secondary	Placed in fill	No	20%
LWD-CT1 Burial 1	1			N/A	Primary	N/A	N/A	1%?
LWD-CT2 Burial 1	1	Male		OA	Primary	Simple pit	No	70%?

Burial Number	MNI	Sex	Age (yr)	Age Category	Burial Type	Grave Architecture	Intrusive	Percent Complete
LWD-F2 Burial 1	1				Primary	Crypt?	Yes?	40%
LWD-F2 Burial 2	1				Primary	Crypt		
LWD-G4 Burial 1	1				Primary	Pit?		
LWD-G4 Burial 2	1				Primary	Crypt		
RS1 Burial 1	1	Male		A	Primary	Simple pit		90%
SG 11-Burial 1	1	Indeterminate	<25	YA	Secondary	Placed in fill	Yes?	15%
SG 1-Burial 1	1	Male		A	Primary	Crypt	No	90%
SG 1-Burial 2 Individual 1	3	Male	21-35	YA	Primary	Placed in fill	Yes	40%
SG 1-Burial 2 Individual 2	3	Indeterminate	0-2	SA	Secondary	Placed in fill	Yes	5%
SG 1-Burial 2 Individual 3	3	Indeterminate		A	Secondary	Placed in fill	Yes	5%
SG 1-Burial 3	1	Female	30-55	YA	Secondary	Placed in fill	Yes	95%
SG 1-Burial 4	1	Male	28-35	YA	Primary	Placed in fill	Yes	100%
SG 1-Burial 5	1	Indeterminate		A	Primary	Crypt	No	25%
SG 1-Burial 6	1	Male		A	Primary	Crypt	Yes	30%
SG 1-Burial 7	1	Indeterminate		A	Primary	Crypt	No	25%
SG 2-Burial 1 Individual 1	4				No data	Simple pit		
SG 2-Burial 1 Individual 2	4				No data	Simple pit		
SG 2-Burial 1 Individual 3	4				No data	Simple pit		
SG 2-Burial 1 Individual 4	4				No data	Simple pit		
SG 3-Burial 1	1	Male	50+	OA	Primary	Crypt	Yes	100%
SG 3-Burial 2	1	Male	30-55	OA	Primary	Crypt	No	100%
SG34-Burial 1 Individual 1	3	Male	35-45	A	Secondary	Placed in fill	Yes?	5%
SG34-Burial 1 Individual 2	3	Indeterminate		A	Secondary	Placed in fill	Yes?	4%
SG34-Burial 1 Individual 3	3	Male		OA	Secondary	Placed in fill	Yes?	5%

Burial Number	Skeletal Preservation	Articulated	Position	Prone/Supine	Head Facing	Body Orientation
BR-1 Burial 1	Poor	Yes?	Extended	Prone	Head to south	
BR-1 Burial 10		Yes?	Extended	Prone	Head to south	East
BR-1 Burial 11						
BR-1 Burial 12		Yes	Extended	Prone	Head to south	
BR-1 Burial 13		Yes	Extended	Supine	Head to south	
BR-1 Burial 14	Poor	Yes	Extended	Supine?	Head to south	
BR-1 Burial 15	Poor	Yes	Extended	Supine	Head to south	
BR-1 Burial 16		Yes	Extended	Supine	Head to south	
BR-1 Burial 17			Extended	Supine	Head to south	
BR-1 Burial 18	Poor		Extended		Head to south	
BR-1 Burial 19	Poor					
BR-1 Burial 20	Poor					
BR-1 Burial 21	Poor	Yes	Extended	Prone	Head to south	
BR-1 Burial 22		Yes	Extended	Prone	Head to south	
BR-1 Burial 23		Yes	Extended	Prone	Head to south	
BR-1 Burial 24		Yes	Extended	Prone	Head to south	
BR-1 Burial 25		Yes	Extended	Supine	Head to south	East
BR-1 Burial 26	Poor		Extended		Head to south	West
BR-1 Burial 3	Poor		Extended	Prone	Head to south	
BR-1 Burial 4	Poor	Yes	Extended	Prone	Head to south	
BR-1 Burial 5	Poor		Extended	Prone	Head to south	
BR-1 Burial 6		Yes	Seated	N/A	N/A	Facing West
BR-1 Burial 7		Yes	Seated	N/A	N/A	Facing North
BR-1 Burial 9		Yes	Seated	N/A	N/A	Facing South
BR-123 Burial 10		Yes	Extended	Prone	Head to south	
BR-123 Burial 11		Yes	Extended	Prone	Head to south	

Burial Number	Skeletal Preservation	Articulated	Position	Prone/Supine	Head Facing	Body Orientation
BR-123 Burial 12		Yes	Extended	Prone	Head to south	
BR-123 Burial 13	Poor	Yes	Seated	N/A		
BR-123 Burial 14		Yes	Extended	Prone	Head to south	Facing West
BR-123 Burial 15	Poor					
BR-123 Burial 16		Yes	Extended	Prone	Head to south	
BR-123 Burial 17	Poor		VPLF	Prone	Head to south	
BR-123 Burial 18		Yes	Extended	Prone	Head to south	
BR-123 Burial 19		Yes	Extended	Prone	Head to south	
BR-123 Burial 2	Poor	Yes?	Extended	Prone	Head to south	
BR-123 Burial 20		Yes	VPLF	Prone	Head to south	Downward
BR-123 Burial 21		Yes	Extended	Supine	Head to south	
BR-123 Burial 22		Yes	Extended	Prone	Head to south	Downward
BR-123 Burial 23		Yes	VPLF	Prone	Head to south	Downward/West
BR-123 Burial 24	Poor					
BR-123 Burial 25		Yes	Extended	Prone	Head to south	Down/west
BR-123 Burial 26	Poor	Yes	Extended	Prone	Head to south	Downward
BR-123 Burial 27	Poor					
BR-123 Burial 28		Yes	Extended	Prone	Head to south	Face to west
BR-123 Burial 29		Yes	Extended	Prone	Head to south	Face to west
BR-123 Burial 3	Poor	Yes	Extended	Prone	Head to south	
BR-123 Burial 30	Poor	No?	Extended	Prone	Head to south	
BR-123 Burial 31		Yes	Extended	Prone	Head to south	Face to west
BR-123 Burial 32		Yes	Extended	Prone	Head to south	Face down
BR-123 Burial 33	Poor		Extended	Prone	Head to southwest	
BR-123 Burial 34		Yes		Supine	Head to northeast	Northwest
BR-123 Burial 35		Yes?	Extended	Prone	Head to south	
BR-123 Burial 36	Poor	Yes?	Extended	Prone	Head to south	

Burial Number	Skeletal Preservation	Articulated	Position	Prone/Supine	Head Facing	Body Orientation
BR-123 Burial 4		Yes	Extended	Prone	Head to south	Face to west
BR-123 Burial 5						
BR-123 Burial 6						
BR-123 Burial 7	Poor	Yes	VPLF	Prone	Head to south	
BR-123 Burial 8		Yes	Extended	Prone	Head to south	
BR-123 Burial 9		Yes	VPLF	Prone	Head to south	
BR-124 Burial 1	Poor		N/A			n/a
BR-124 Burial 2			Extended	Supine	Head to north	
BR-124 Burial 3		Yes	Extended	Supine	Head to north	Face to west
BR-130 Burial 1		Yes	Extended	Prone	Head to south	
BR-130 Burial 2	Poor	Yes	Extended	Prone	Head to south	
BR-130 Burial 3			Flexed		Head to south	
BR-130 Burial 4			Seated	N/A		
BR-130 Burial 5		Yes	Seated	N/A		
BR-135 Burial 1	Poor	Yes	VPLF	Prone	Head to south	
BR-135 Burial 2			Extended	Prone	Head to south	
BR-144 Burial 1	Poor	Yes?	Extended		Head to south	Face to west
BR-144 Burial 2	Poor	Yes	Extended	Prone	Head to south	Downward
BR-144 Burial 3	Poor	Yes	Extended	Prone	Head to south	Downward
BR-144 Burial 4	Poor	No?				
BR-144 Burial 5	Poor	Yes?	Extended	Prone	Head to south	Downward
BR-144 Burial 6	Poor	Yes	Extended	Prone	Head to south	Downward
BR-144 Burial 7	Poor	Yes	Extended	Prone	Head to south	Downward
BR-147 Burial 1	Very poor		Extended	Prone	Head to south	Facing east
BR-147 Burial 2						
BR-147 Burial 3						
BR-147 Burial 4			N/A			

Burial Number	Skeletal Preservation	Articulated	Position	Prone/Supine	Head Facing	Body Orientation
BR-151 Burial 1	Poor	Yes?	Extended	Prone	Head to south	
BR-151 Burial 2	Poor	Yes	Extended	Prone	Head to south	
BR-154 Burial 1	Poor	Yes	Extended	Prone	Head to north	
BR-154 Burial 2	Poor	Yes	Extended	Prone	Head to north	
BR-154 Burial 3	Poor	Yes	Extended		Head to north	
BR-154 Burial 4	Poor	No				
BR-154 Burial 5	Poor	No				
BR-155 Burial 1	Poor	No				
BR-155 Burial 2	Poor	Yes	Extended	Prone	Head to south	
BR-155 Burial 3	Poor	Yes	Extended	Prone	Head to south	
BR-155 Burial 4	Poor	No	N/A	N/A		
BR-155 Burial 5	Poor	Yes	Extended	Prone	Head to south	
BR-155 Burial 6	Poor	Yes	Extended	Prone	Head to south	Face downward
BR-162 Burial 1	Poor	Yes			Head to south	
BR-167 Burial 1	Poor	Yes	Extended		Head to south	
BR-167 Burial 2	Poor	Yes	VPLF	Prone	Head to south	
BR-167 Burial 3	Poor	Yes	Extended	Prone	Head to south	
BR-167 Burial 4	Poor	Yes	VPLF	Prone	Head to south	
BR-167 Burial 5		Yes	Extended	Prone	Head to south	
BR-167 Burial 6		Yes	Extended	Prone	Head to south	
BR-180 BU-1	Poor	Yes	Extended		Head to south	N/A
BR-180 BU-2	Poor	Yes	Extended	Prone	Head to south	N/A
BR-180 BU-3	Poor	Yes	Extended	Prone	Head to south	N/A
BR-194 Burial 1	Poor	Yes	Extended	Prone	Head to south	Face to west
BR-194 Burial 2	Very poor	Yes	Extended	Prone	Head to south	
BR-194 Burial 3	Very poor	Yes	Extended	Prone	Head to south	
BR-194 Burial 4	Poor	Yes	Extended	Prone	Head to south	

Burial Number	Skeletal Preservation	Articulated	Position	Prone/Supine	Head Facing	Body Orientation
BR-194 Burial 5	Very poor	Yes	Extended	Prone	Head to southwest	
BR-20 Burial 1		Yes	Extended	Prone	Head to south	Face downward
BR-260 Burial 1		Yes	Extended	Prone	Head to south/southeast	Face downward
BR-260 Burial 2	Poor	Yes	Extended	Prone	Head to south/southeast	Face downward
BR-260 Burial 3	Poor	Yes	Extended	Prone	Head to south/southeast	Head to south/southeast
BR-260 Burial 4	Poor	Yes	Extended	Prone	Head to south/southeast	Head to south/southeast
BR-260 Burial 5		Yes	Extended	Prone	Head to south/southeast	Head to south/southeast
BR-4 Burial 1		Yes	Extended	Prone	Head to south	
BR-4 Burial 2		Yes	Seated	N/A	N/A	
BR-75 Burial 1		Yes	Extended	Prone	Head to south	
BR-75 Burial 2		Yes	Extended	Prone	Head to south	
BR-75 Burial 3		Yes	Extended	Prone	Head to south	
BR-82 Burial 1		Yes	VPLF	Prone	Head to south	Face downward
FPK-2 Burial 1	Medium-good	No	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
FPK-2 Burial 2	Poor	Yes				
FPK-2 Burial 3		Yes	N/A	N/A	N/A	
FPK-2 Burial 4		Yes	Flexed	Supine	Head to south	
FPK-2 Burial 5		No	N/A	N/A	N/A	
FPK-2 Burial 6 Individual 1	Medium	No	N/A	N/A	N/A	
FPK-2 Burial 6 Individual 2	Medium	No	N/A	N/A	N/A	
FPK-2 Burial 7		No	N/A	N/A	N/A	
FPK-2 Burial 8		No	N/A	N/A	N/A	
FPK-2 Burial 9		Yes	Extended	Prone	Head to south	
LWD-A2 Burial 1		No	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
LWD-B1 Burial 1	Poor	No	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
LWD-CT1 Burial 1	Poor	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
LWD-CT2 Burial 1	Poor	Yes	VPLF	Prone	Head to south	No data

Burial Number	Skeletal Preservation	Articulated	Position	Prone/Supine	Head Facing	Body Orientation
LWD-F2 Burial 1	Poor	Yes	Extended		Head to south	No data
LWD-F2 Burial 2			Extended	Prone	Head to south	
LWD-G4 Burial 1	Poor				Head to south	
LWD-G4 Burial 2		Yes	Extended		Head to south	
RS1 Burial 1	Good	Yes	Flexed	Supine?	Head to south	South
SG 11-Burial 1	Poor	No	N/A	N/A	Head to south	
SG 1-Burial 1	Medium	Yes	Extended	Prone	Head to north	
SG 1-Burial 2 Individual 1	Good	Yes	VPLF	Prone	Head to west	West
SG 1-Burial 2 Individual 2	Poor	No	N/A	N/A	Head to south	
SG 1-Burial 2 Individual 3	Poor	No	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
SG 1-Burial 3	Poor	Yes	VPLF	Prone	South	
SG 1-Burial 4	Poor	Yes	Seated	N/A	South	
SG 1-Burial 5	Poor	Yes	Extended	Prone	N/A	N/A
SG 1-Burial 6	Poor		Doubled flexed		N/A	N/A
SG 1-Burial 7	Poor	Yes	Extended	Supine	N/A	N/A
SG 2-Burial 1 Individual 1		No	N/A	N/A	N/A	
SG 2-Burial 1 Individual 2		No	N/A	N/A	N/A	
SG 2-Burial 1 Individual 3		No	N/A	N/A	N/A	
SG 2-Burial 1 Individual 4		No	N/A	N/A	N/A	
SG 3-Burial 1	Medium-poor	Yes	Extended	Prone	South	
SG 3-Burial 2	Medium-poor	Yes	Extended	Prone	South	
SG34-Burial 1 Individual 1	Poor	No	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
SG34-Burial 1 Individual 2	Poor	No	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
SG34-Burial 1 Individual 3	Poor	No	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A

Burial Number	Grave Goods
BR-1 Burial 1	2 Belize Red bowls inverted over body
BR-1 Burial 10	4 perforated *Nephronaias* sp. shells
BR-1 Burial 11	1 serpentine bead , 1 jadeite bead , 1 shell disk bead
BR-1 Burial 12	1 Sotero Red-brown vessel; Filing of incisors, canine and premolars
BR-1 Burial 13	Vessels: 2 Dolphin Head Red, 1 Orange-walk Incised, 1 Sotero Red-brown
BR-1 Burial 14	None
BR-1 Burial 15	None
BR-1 Burial 16	1 Teakettle Bank Black vessel, 4 obsidian ceremonial bladelets
BR-1 Burial 17	None
BR-1 Burial 18	None
BR-1 Burial 19	None
BR-1 Burial 20	None
BR-1 Burial 21	None
BR-1 Burial 22	2 bone spatulate objects
BR-1 Burial 23	1 carved bone tube
BR-1 Burial 24	1 Meditation Black vessel
BR-1 Burial 25	None
BR-1 Burial 26	None
BR-1 Burial 3	1 Benque Viejo Polychrome
BR-1 Burial 4	2 Dolphin Head Red vessels
BR-1 Burial 5	13 nerita shells (from same necklace)
BR-1 Burial 6	1 large bowl inverted over head; 18 Vessels: 7 Dolphin Head Red, 4 Yalbac Smudged-brown, 3 Benque Viejo polychrome, 2 Macal Orange-red, 1 Gallinero Fluted, 1 Sotero Red-brown, 1 not classified; 5 chert points; 3 obsidian bladlets; 1 eccentric chert; 3 bone needles, 4 bone tubes, 1 turtle carapace, 1 shell ear ornament, 2 perforated *Nephronaias* shells
BR-1 Burial 7	None
BR-1 Burial 9	Filing of upper canines

Burial Number	Grave Goods
BR-123 Burial 10	Vessels: 2 Yalbac Smudged-brown (1 with cache 9 pebbles), 1 Dolphin Head Red
BR-123 Burial 11	None
BR-123 Burial 12	None
BR-123 Burial 13	Vessels: 1 Aguacate Orange, 1 Actuncan Orange Polychrome; 1 Fowler Orange-Red vessels; 1 jadeite shell effigy pendant
BR-123 Burial 14	None
BR-123 Burial 15	None
BR-123 Burial 16	Vessels: 1 Belize Red, 1 Chunhuitz vessel with charred bean inside, 1 Ttutu Camp
BR-123 Burial 17	1 Rubber Camp Brown vessel; filing of incisors
BR-123 Burial 18	Vessels: 1 Belize Red, 1 Benque Viejo Polychrome, 1 Puhui-zibal Composite, 1 no record; 1 effigy tooth pendant, 1 bone needle frag.
BR-123 Burial 19	Vessels: 1 Aguacate Orange v. Privaccion, 1 Actuncan Orange Polychrome; 1 obsidian bladelet, 1 jadeite bead
BR-123 Burial 2	None
BR-123 Burial 20	Vessels: 1 Aguacate Orange v. Privaccion, 1 Augacate Orange v. Holja
BR-123 Burial 21	None
BR-123 Burial 22	Vessels: 1 Rubber Camp, 1 Belize Red, 1 Macal Orange-Red; 1 tapered stem blade, 50 tubular dentalium shells and echinoderm spines (probably part of one item), 1 pipe shaped ear ornament or labret
BR-123 Burial 23	None
BR-123 Burial 24	1 Belize Red vessel
BR-123 Burial 25	2 feline animal teeth
BR-123 Burial 26	filing of incisors and canines
BR-123 Burial 27	None
BR-123 Burial 28	Two jadeite beads
BR-123 Burial 29	None
BR-123 Burial 3	1 bone tube; jade inlays in 2 upper central incisors and 1 canine
BR-123 Burial 30	Vessels: 1 Aguacate Orange, 1 Guacamallo Red-on-Orange, 1 Chiquibil Modeled; 1 small jadeite bead, 2 shell disk adornos, 40 disk beads of spondylus shell (probably from same item)
BR-123 Burial 31	Vessels: 1 Aguacate Orange v. Privaccion, 1 Ixcanrio Orange Polychrome, 1 Mollejon plain; 1 shell effigy jadeite pendant; filing of canines
BR-123 Burial 32	1 Minanha Red vessel

Burial Number	Grave Goods
BR-123 Burial 33	None
BR-123 Burial 34	None
BR-123 Burial 35	None
BR-123 Burial 36	1 Roaring Creek Red vessel, carbonized seeds (squash?) in vessel
BR-123 Burial 4	1 small obsidian bladelet
BR-123 Burial 5	Vessels: 1 Belize Red and 1 Vaca Falls
BR-123 Burial 6	1 limestone spindle whorl
BR-123 Burial 7	1 bone tube
BR-123 Burial 8	1 obsidian bladelet
BR-123 Burial 9	None
BR-124 Burial 1	1 burial urn lost, most likely Jenney or Barton Creek
BR-124 Burial 2	Vessels: 1 Sierra Red, 1 Happy Home Orange vessel; cylindrical jadeite pendant
BR-124 Burial 3	1 solid handmade human figurine
BR-130 Burial 1	1 Belize Red vessel
BR-130 Burial 2	1 vessel (unknown type); filing of incisors
BR-130 Burial 3	None
BR-130 Burial 4	1 bone object (possibly tube) which disintegrated
BR-130 Burial 5	Vessels: 1 Vaca Falls, 1 Chunhuitz Group
BR-135 Burial 1	None
BR-135 Burial 2	Vessels: 1 Belize Red, 1 Chunthuitz, 1 Benque Viejo Polychrome
BR-144 Burial 1	1 crescent shaped object of limestone
BR-144 Burial 2	None
BR-144 Burial 3	None
BR-144 Burial 4	None
BR-144 Burial 5	1 red ware vessel; filing of upper incisors
BR-144 Burial 6	None
BR-144 Burial 7	None

Burial Number	Grave Goods
BR-147 Burial 1	None
BR-147 Burial 2	Vessels: 4 Belize Red, 13 flints found in vessels consisting of the same cache
BR-147 Burial 3	Vessels: 4 Belize Red, 13 flints found in vessels
BR-147 Burial 4	Vessels: 4 Belize Red, 13 flints found in vessels
BR-151 Burial 1	None
BR-151 Burial 2	None
BR-154 Burial 1	Fragments of 2 vessels: 1 Sierra Red, 1 Jocote Orange Brown
BR-154 Burial 2	1 small, unperforated limestone hemisphere
BR-154 Burial 3	1 small, unperforated limestone hemisphere
BR-154 Burial 4	None
BR-154 Burial 5	None
BR-155 Burial 1	None
BR-155 Burial 2	None
BR-155 Burial 3	None
BR-155 Burial 4	None
BR-155 Burial 5	None
BR-155 Burial 6	None
BR-162 Burial 1	None
BR-167 Burial 1	None
BR-167 Burial 2	None
BR-167 Burial 3	None
BR-167 Burial 4	None
BR-167 Burial 5	Vessels: 1 Kaway Impressed, 1 Benque Viejo Polychrome, 1 unrecorded vessel
BR-167 Burial 6	None
BR-180 BU-1	1 pebble below head, 6 river clam shells
BR-180 BU-2	Vessels: 1 Gavilan Black-on-Orange over back and 1 Aguacate Orange v. Privaccion pedestal base basin; 1 jade ear spool frag., 1 jade frag.

Burial Number	Grave Goods
BR-180 BU-3	1 Gavilan Black-on-Orange vessel over back, 1 compete faunal vertebral adornment in left hand
BR-194 Burial 1	Vessels: 1 Vaca Falls bowl, 1 Yalbac Smudged-brown bowl, 1 Dolphin Head miniature; 1 Macal Orange-red miniature, 2 unlipped miniatures; 5 shell spacer beads (probably from same item); 2 serpentine beads; 1 jadeite
BR-194 Burial 2	Grave goods between both burials include 1 Chunhuitz Orange vessel, 1 bone awl, 1 marine shell rosette disk
BR-194 Burial 3	Grave goods between both burials include 1 Chunhuitz Orange vessel, 1 bone awl, 1 marine shell rosette disk
BR-194 Burial 4	None
BR-194 Burial 5	None
BR-20 Burial 1	Vessels: 1 Quacco Creek, 1 Bullet Tree Red Brown, 1 Sen Felipe Brown; 1 obsidian ceremonial bladelet
BR-260 Burial 1	1 carved bone spatulate object
BR-260 Burial 2	Vessels: 1 Benque Viejo polychrome, 1 Vaca Falls bowl, 1 miniature Sotero Red Brown; 1 waterworn pebble
BR-260 Burial 3	3 Macal Orange-red drums; 1 Jade jaguar pendant, 1 slate monolithic axe with (pseudo)glyphs, 1 slate mace, 1 long serpentine celt, 3 obsidian blades, 3 bone tubes
BR-260 Burial 4	Vessels: 1 crushed Dolphin Head bowl, 1 large sherd from Zibal jar; 5 obsidian ceremonial blades, 1 broken bone awl
BR-260 Burial 5	None
BR-4 Burial 1	2 ground stone spindle whorls
BR-4 Burial 2	None
BR-75 Burial 1	None
BR-75 Burial 2	2 Yalbac Smudged Brown vessels
BR-75 Burial 3	Grave goods as above, but also an ear of maize impressed on cist clay
BR-82 Burial 1	Vessels: 1 Belize Red, 1 Kaway Impressed; 2 perforated *Nephronias* sp. shells, 2 shell disc adornos, 1 shell rosette, 1 shell scraper, 1 shell pendant
FPK-2 Burial 1	None
FPK-2 Burial 2	None
FPK-2 Burial 3	3 obsidian blades, 1 metate frag., ceramic sherds
FPK-2 Burial 4	1 miniature vessel and 1 incised piece of slate
FPK-2 Burial 5	None
FPK-2 Burial 6 Individual 1	1 fragmented cylinder jar and 1 ceramic nose
FPK-2 Burial 6 Individual 2	See above

Burial Number	Grave Goods
FPK-2 Burial 7	None
FPK-2 Burial 8	None
FPK-2 Burial 9	None
LWD-A2 Burial 1	None
LWD-B1 Burial 1	None
LWD-CT1 Burial 1	None
LWD-CT2 Burial 1	None
LWD-F2 Burial 1	1 piece of carved marine shell in flower shape, chert debitage and sherds
LWD-F2 Burial 2	Vessels: 1 Dolphin Head Red plate, 1 Sotero Red Brown vase; 300 Oliva and other marine shell beads
LWD-G4 Burial 1	
LWD-G4 Burial 2	1 small olla and 1 cylindrical vase, 25 shell beads; jade inlays in teeth
RS1 Burial 1	jute, sherds and chert debitage probably from fill (likely not placed as grave goods)
SG 11-Burial 1	None
SG 1-Burial 1	3 obsidian blades, 5 marine shell pendants, 2 drilled antlers, 1 river clam pectoral, 1 miniature Belize Red jar
SG 1-Burial 2 Individual 1	2 miniature Garbutt Creek vessels
SG 1-Burial 2 Individual 2	7 bone pins and a faunal bone awl
SG 1-Burial 2 Individual 3	See above
SG 1-Burial 3	None
SG 1-Burial 4	Vessels: 2 Belize Red, 1 Vaca Falls with kill hole, 2 Dolphin Head Red; 1 olivine celt, 1 Colha biface, 24 tinklers, 1 chert scraper and 1 marine shell bead
SG 1-Burial 5	1 broken Sierra Red bowl with 36 obsidian blades and blade fragments (placed as a single cache) to the north
SG 1-Burial 6	13 faunal spatulas and scrapers
SG 1-Burial 7	1 Sierra Red bowl, 1 shell bead, 1 carved shell, 1 obsidian blade
SG 2-Burial 1 Individual 1	14 *Oliva* tinklers (likely from same item)
SG 2-Burial 1 Individual 2	See above
SG 2-Burial 1 Individual 3	See above
SG 2-Burial 1 Individual 4	See above

Burial Number	Grave Goods
SG 3-Burial 1	None
SG 3-Burial 2	1 Sierra Red bowl and 1 Sierra-Polvero bowl
SG34-Burial 1 Individual 1	Skull in Sierra Red bowl, associated with 3 carved faunal bone tubes
SG34-Burial 1 Individual 2	Red slipped handle
SG34-Burial 1 Individual 3	See above

Burial Number	Wealth Items	Utilitarian items	Total Grave Assemblage	Reference
BR-1 Burial 1		2	2	Willey et al. 1965:545
BR-1 Burial 10	4		4	Willey et al. 1965:545
BR-1 Burial 11	3		3	Willey et al. 1965:545
BR-1 Burial 12		1	1	Willey et al. 1965:545
BR-1 Burial 13	1	3	4	Willey et al. 1965:546
BR-1 Burial 14			0	Willey et al. 1965:546
BR-1 Burial 15			0	Willey et al. 1965:546
BR-1 Burial 16	4	1	5	Willey et al. 1965:546
BR-1 Burial 17			0	Willey et al. 1965:547
BR-1 Burial 18			0	Willey et al. 1965:547
BR-1 Burial 19			0	Willey et al. 1965:547
BR-1 Burial 20			0	Willey et al. 1965:547
BR-1 Burial 21			0	Willey et al. 1965:547
BR-1 Burial 22	2		2	Willey et al. 1965:547
BR-1 Burial 23	1		1	Willey et al. 1965:547
BR-1 Burial 24		1	1	Willey et al. 1965:547
BR-1 Burial 25			0	Willey et al. 1965:547
BR-1 Burial 26			0	Willey et al. 1965:547
BR-1 Burial 3	1		1	Willey et al. 1965:545
BR-1 Burial 4		2	2	Willey et al. 1965:545
BR-1 Burial 5	1		1	Willey et al. 1965:545
BR-1 Burial 6	24	16	40	Willey et al. 1965:545-546
BR-1 Burial 7			0	Willey et al. 1965:546
BR-1 Burial 9			0	Willey et al. 1965:546
BR-123 Burial 10		3	3	Willey et al. 1965:549
BR-123 Burial 11			0	Willey et al. 1965:549

Burial Number	Wealth Items	Utilitarian items	Total Grave Assemblage	Reference
BR-123 Burial 12			0	Willey et al. 1965:549-550
BR-123 Burial 13	2	2	4	Willey et al. 1965:550
BR-123 Burial 14			0	Willey et al. 1965:550
BR-123 Burial 15			0	Willey et al. 1965:550
BR-123 Burial 16		3	3	Willey et al. 1965:550
BR-123 Burial 17		1	1	Willey et al. 1965:550
BR-123 Burial 18	5	1	6	Willey et al. 1965:550
BR-123 Burial 19	3	1	4	Willey et al. 1965:550
BR-123 Burial 2			0	Willey et al. 1965:549
BR-123 Burial 20	1	1	2	Willey et al. 1965:550
BR-123 Burial 21			0	Willey et al. 1965:550
BR-123 Burial 22	3	3	6	Willey et al. 1965:550-551
BR-123 Burial 23			0	Willey et al. 1965:551
BR-123 Burial 24		1	1	Willey et al. 1965:551
BR-123 Burial 25	2		2	Willey et al. 1965:551
BR-123 Burial 26			0	Willey et al. 1965:551
BR-123 Burial 27			0	Willey et al. 1965:551
BR-123 Burial 28	2		2	Willey et al. 1965:551
BR-123 Burial 29	1		1	Willey et al. 1965:551
BR-123 Burial 3	1		1	Willey et al. 1965:549
BR-123 Burial 30	6	1	7	Willey et al. 1965:551
BR-123 Burial 31	3	1	4	Willey et al. 1965:551
BR-123 Burial 32		1	1	Willey et al. 1965:551
BR-123 Burial 33			0	Willey et al. 1965:552
BR-123 Burial 34			0	Willey et al. 1965:552
BR-123 Burial 35			0	Willey et al. 1965:552
BR-123 Burial 36		1	1	Willey et al. 1965:552

Burial Number	Wealth Items	Utilitarian items	Total Grave Assemblage	Reference
BR-123 Burial 4		1	1	Willey et al. 1965:549
BR-123 Burial 5		2	2	Willey et al. 1965:549
BR-123 Burial 6		1	1	Willey et al. 1965:549
BR-123 Burial 7	1		1	Willey et al. 1965:549
BR-123 Burial 8		1	1	Willey et al. 1965:549
BR-123 Burial 9			0	Willey et al. 1965:549
BR-124 Burial 1		1	1	Willey et al. 1965:552
BR-124 Burial 2	1	2	3	Willey et al. 1965:552
BR-124 Burial 3		1	1	Willey et al. 1965:552-553
BR-130 Burial 1		1	1	Willey et al. 1965:553
BR-130 Burial 2		1	1	Willey et al. 1965:553
BR-130 Burial 3			0	Willey et al. 1965:553
BR-130 Burial 4	1		1	Willey et al. 1965:553
BR-130 Burial 5		2	2	Willey et al. 1965:553
BR-135 Burial 1			0	Willey et al. 1965:553
BR-135 Burial 2	1	2	3	Willey et al. 1965:553
BR-144 Burial 1		1	1	Willey et al. 1965: 543
BR-144 Burial 2			0	Willey et al. 1965: 543
BR-144 Burial 3			0	Willey et al. 1965: 544
BR-144 Burial 4			0	Willey et al. 1965: 544
BR-144 Burial 5		1	1	Willey et al. 1965: 544
BR-144 Burial 6			0	Willey et al. 1965: 544
BR-144 Burial 7			0	Willey et al. 1965: 544
BR-147 Burial 1			0	Willey et al. 1965: 544
BR-147 Burial 2	1	1	2	Willey et al. 1965: 544
BR-147 Burial 3			0	Willey et al. 1965: 544
BR-147 Burial 4			0	Willey et al. 1965: 544

Burial Number	Wealth Items	Utilitarian items	Total Grave Assemblage	Reference
BR-151 Burial 1			0	Willey et al. 1965: 235, 544
BR-151 Burial 2			0	Willey et al. 1965: 235, 544
BR-154 Burial 1		2	2	Willey et al. 1965:236-237, 554
BR-154 Burial 2		1	1	Willey et al. 1965:236-237, 554-555
BR-154 Burial 3		1	1	Willey et al. 1965:236-237, 555
BR-154 Burial 4			0	Willey et al. 1965:236-237, 555
BR-154 Burial 5			0	Willey et al. 1965:236-237, 555
BR-155 Burial 1			0	Willey et al. 1965:237-239,555
BR-155 Burial 2			0	Willey et al. 1965:237-239,555
BR-155 Burial 3			0	Willey et al. 1965:237-239,555
BR-155 Burial 4			0	Willey et al. 1965:237-239,555
BR-155 Burial 5			0	Willey et al. 1965:237-239,555
BR-155 Burial 6			0	Willey et al. 1965:237-239,555
BR-162 Burial 1			0	Willey et al. 1965:240,555
BR-167 Burial 1			0	Willey et al. 1965:242,555
BR-167 Burial 2			0	Willey et al. 1965:242,555
BR-167 Burial 3			0	Willey et al. 1965:242,555
BR-167 Burial 4			0	Willey et al. 1965:242,555
BR-167 Burial 5	2	1	3	Willey et al. 1965:242,556
BR-167 Burial 6			0	Willey et al. 1965:242,556
BR-180 BU-1		7	7	Walden et al. 2020:165-167
BR-180 BU-2	4		4	Walden et al. 2020:167-170
BR-180 BU-3	1	1	2	Walden et al. 2020:157-160
BR-194 Burial 1	4	6	10	Willey et al. 1965:153; 556
BR-194 Burial 2	2	1	3	Willey et al. 1965:153; 556
BR-194 Burial 3			0	Willey et al. 1965:153; 556
BR-194 Burial 4			0	Willey et al. 1965:153; 556

Burial Number	Wealth Items	Utilitarian items	Total Grave Assemblage	Reference
BR-194 Burial 5			0	Willey et al. 1965:153; 556
BR-20 Burial 1		4	4	Willey et al. 1965:171, 548
BR-260 Burial 1	1		1	Willey et al. 1965:269
BR-260 Burial 2	1	3	4	Willey et al. 1965:269
BR-260 Burial 3	10	3	13	Willey et al. 1965:269
BR-260 Burial 4	7	1	8	Willey et al. 1965:270
BR-260 Burial 5			0	Willey et al. 1965:272
BR-4 Burial 1		2	2	Willey et al. 1965:159, 548
BR-4 Burial 2			0	Willey et al. 1965:159, 548
BR-75 Burial 1			0	Willey et al. 1965:193, 548
BR-75 Burial 2		2	2	Willey et al. 1965:193, 548
BR-75 Burial 3			0	Willey et al. 1965:193-4, 548
BR-82 Burial 1	7	2	9	Willey et al. 1965:201-2,
FPK-2 Burial 1			0	Glassman et al. 1995; Duffy 2004:65
FPK-2 Burial 2			0	Brown et al. 1996; Duffy 2004:65
FPK-2 Burial 3		5	5	Brown et al. 1996:42-43; Duffy 2004:65
FPK-2 Burial 4		2	2	Brown et al. 1996:42-43; Duffy 2004:65
FPK-2 Burial 5			0	Brown et al. 1996:43; Duffy 2004:65
FPK-2 Burial 6 Individual 1	2		2	Brown et al. 1996:43; Duffy 2004:65
FPK-2 Burial 6 Individual 2	2		2	Brown et al. 1996:43; Duffy 2004:65
FPK-2 Burial 7			0	Brown et al. 1996:43; Duffy 2004:65
FPK-2 Burial 8			0	Brown et al. 1996:43; Duffy 2004:66
FPK-2 Burial 9			0	Brown et al. 1996:43; Duffy 2004:66
LWD-A2 Burial 1			0	Wilkinson and Hude 2011:9-10
LWD-B1 Burial 1			0	Guerra and Romih 2017:129
LWD-CT1 Burial 1			0	Guerra and Collins 2016:231
LWD-CT2 Burial 1			0	Watkins et al. 2017:152-4

Burial Number	Wealth Items	Utilitarian items	Total Grave Assemblage	Reference
LWD-F2 Burial 1	1	2	3	Guerra and Romih 2017:131
LWD-F2 Burial 2	1	2	3	Guerra and Romih 2017:132
LWD-G4 Burial 1			0	Guerra and Arksey 2012:109-112
LWD-G4 Burial 2	2	1	3	Guerra and Arksey 2012:110-111
RS1 Burial 1			0	Romih et al. 2017:172-173
SG 11-BU1			0	Walden et al. 2018:202-203
SG 1-Burial 1	8	4	12	Petrozza and Biggie 2015:31-36
SG 1-Burial 2 Individual 1		2	2	Walden et al. 2018:224; Biggie et al. 2019:207-208
SG 1-Burial 2 Individual 2	6	1	7	Walden et al. 2018:224; Biggie et al. 2019:207-208
SG 1-Burial 2 Individual 3	6	1	7	Walden et al. 2018:224; Biggie et al. 2019:207-208
SG 1-Burial 3			0	Walden et al. 2018:224; Biggie et al. 2019
SG 1-Burial 4	4	6	10	Biggie et al. 2019:200-206
SG 1-Burial 5	2		2	Biggie et al. 2019:193-196
SG 1-Burial 6	13		13	Biggie et al. 2019:208-209
SG 1-Burial 7	3	1	4	Biggie et al. 2019:194-197
SG 2-Burial 1 Individual 1	1		1	Guerra and Collins 2016:234
SG 2-Burial 1 Individual 2			0	Guerra and Collins 2016:234
SG 2-Burial 1 Individual 3			0	Guerra and Collins 2016:234
SG 2-Burial 1 Individual 4			0	Guerra and Collins 2016:234
SG 3-Burial 1			0	Walden et al. 2018:184-185
SG 3-Burial 2		2	2	Walden et al. 2018:181-183
SG34-Burial 1 Individual 1	3	1	4	Levin et al. 2020:168-190
SG34-Burial 1 Individual 2		1	1	Levin et al. 2020:168-190
SG34-Burial 1 Individual 3		1	1	Levin et al. 2020:168-190