IN THE SHADOW OF THE GIANT:

UNDERSTANDING THE ROLE OF PLAZA G AT LOWER DOVER, BELIZE

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ABSTRACT

In the Shadow of the Giant:
Understanding the Role of the Elite Household Plaza G,
at Lower Dover, Belize

Since 2010, the Belize Valley Archaeological Reconnaissance Project (BVAR) has conducted intensive research at the site of Lower Dover, located directly across the Belize River from the minor center of Barton Ramie. Project research questions at Lower Dover have focused both on the monumental architecture of the site core, and on plazuela groups in the periphery of the site's epicenter. One such peripheral patio group, classified as Group G, consists of five mounds that enclose a small plaza just north of the center's ballcourt. This thesis presents the results of my investigations on Group G at Lower Dover. Results of my research indicate that Group G is an intermediate elite household that developed before and during the construction of the Lower Dover site core(dates). I compare the development of this household with that of the site center and discuss the potential relationships between site cores and adjacent patio groups.

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Life is too short to do the things you don't love doing

-Bruce Dickinson-

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For *Dad*...

and *Bruce Dickinson*

CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

The focus of this thesis is the investigation of a small *patio* or courtyard group adjacent to the site core of Lower Dover in the Belize River Valley. I examine the developmental stages of this small, intermediate *plazuela* group in relation to the Lower Dover site core, which dates from the Late to Terminal Classic (500 AD- 900/1000 AD) period. I will examine multiple theoretical approaches (i.e. behavioral archaeology, developmental cycle model, and resilience theory) to analyze and interpret the function of the patio group.

Household archaeology has inherently drifted away from understanding the daily activities of the house to studying interactions of groups of people with the landscape. In doing so, household archaeology has become an anchor for interpretative studies in order to comprehend people, and their practices (Robinson 2003). *Households* are considered an ensemble of people that reside in either 'dwellings' or 'residential compounds' and allocate daily activities or decision making of the household (Ashmore and Wilk 1988; Webster and Gonlin 1988; Blanton 1994; Berman 1995). In past decades, archaeological investigations primarily focused on monumental structures and elite residences. That focus has now shifted to settlements and households located on the periphery of major centers. Households allow a glimpse into the cultural settings of daily activities making them particularly ideal for studying the function of peripheral settlements (Schrag 2008). Maya commoners have historically been neglected due to research biases that favored the collection of prestige goods for museums. Households are, therefore, fundamental for understanding basic human activities of Maya social communities and settlements.

Belize River Valley

Located in the Cayo District of western Belize, the Belize River Valley has alluvial river terraces that represent the most fertile soils in the region (Kirke 1980). Archaeological investigations by the Belize Valley Archaeological (BVAR) Project concluded that the Belize River Valley has one of the longest histories of human occupation in the eastern Maya lowlands (Awe et al. 2014). The Upper Belize River Valley also has highly dense settlements with major centers that spaced roughly 10 km apart (Ford and Fedick 1990, Awe 1992). Intensive archaeological investigations have been conducted throughout the Belize River Valley at major centers such as, Xunantunich, Actuncan, Buena Vista, Cahal Pech, Baking Pot, Lower Dover, and Blackman Eddy (Figure 1.1).

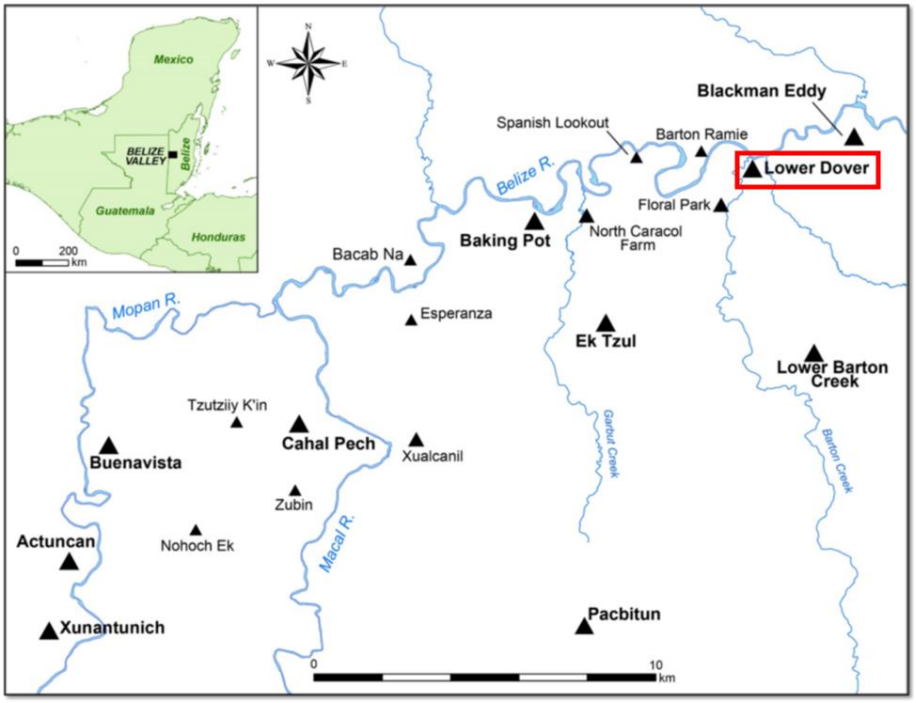

Figure 1. 1: Map of the Upper Belize River Valley courtesy of the BVAR Project.

Ongoing investigations of the Lower Dover site core have tentatively determined that all of the monumental architecture was rather quickly constructed during the Late to Terminal Classic

periods (Guerra and Awe 2017). The late and rapid construction of Lower Dover sharply contrasts with other major centers in the valley which were built over extended periods of time, beginning as far back as the end of the Early Preclassic (1200 – 900 B.C.) period (e.g. Cahal Pech, Blackman Eddy and Barton Ramie across the Belize River from Lower Dover).

Lower Dover

Lower Dover is situated on the southern bank of the Belize River, approximately three km west of the site of Blackman Eddy, six km east of the site of Baking Pot, and across the river from Barton Ramie. The site is bordered on the north by the Belize River and flanked by two tributaries of the latter waterway; Lower Barton Creek on the east and Upper Barton Creek to the west (Guerra and Awe 2017; Guerra and Morton 2011). The ceremonial center of Lower Dover consists of nine formal and two informal plaza groups with 56 structures (Figure 1.2), including one ballcourt, and a possible *aguada*, or reservoir, just north of Plaza A (Guerra and Collins 2015).

Figure 1. 2: LiDAR image of Lower Dover monumental epicenter courtesy of Jaime Awe and Claire Ebert.

Preliminary survey and initial excavations began at Lower Dover during the 2010 BVAR field season (Guerra 2011; Guerra and Awe 2017). Rafael Guerra and Shawn Morton (2011) conducted a preliminary survey of Lower Dover, which included mapping the monumental site core and its immediate periphery. Subsequent excavations focused on the ceremonial plazas in an effort to determine an overall site chronology. The 2010 field season also included excavations of the site's *eastern triadic complex* (Plaza A) and ballcourt under the supervision of Patrick Wilkinson (Wilkinson and Hude 2010). Since then, continued investigations of the site core (Guerra and Awe 2017) and immediate periphery (Petrozza 2015; Walden 2017) suggest that the construction of the site's epicenter occurred over a relatively short period of time during the Late and Terminal Classic periods.

Research Questions

In the summer of 2017, the BVAR Project decided to continue excavations at Plaza G. The purpose of those investigations, and the focus of this thesis, are to better understand the form and function of this patio group as it relates to the Lower Dover site core. In an effort to determine the latter, and to ascertain the relationship between Plaza G and the epicenter of Lower Dover, my research specifically addresses the following questions:

1). What was the function of Plaza G at Lower Dover? Did the plazuela/courtyard serve ritual or domestic purposes?

2). If Plaza G served domestic purposes, can we determine what relationships existed between its inhabitants and those of the site core?

3). Previous investigations within the site core of Lower Dover suggest that the center developed rapidly during the Late to Terminal Classic period. Does Plaza G reflect a similar developmental sequence with that of the site core?

Chapter two will contextualize the cultural setting of the ancient Maya and provide background on previous settlements and household research across the Maya lowlands, and regionally within the Belize River Valley.

CHAPTER TWO: BACKGROUND

The ancient Maya occupied a geographically diverse landscape in Mesoamerica. Paul Kirchhoff first defined Mesoamerica as a culture area that did not begin to develop until the domestication of maize in the early archaic period (Nichols and Pool 2012). The landscape includes lush rainforest jungle in the lowlands to snow covered volcanic peaks in the highlands. The culture area of Mesoamerica stretches over 3,000 kilometers (Figure 2.1), and includes all or part of the modern countries of Belize, Mexico, Honduras, Guatemala, and El Salvador (Nichols and Pool 2012). The Maya inhabited the Southern eastern region of Mesoamerica, particularly the Yucatan Peninsula, and extending south through Belize, Guatemala, and western Honduras and El Salvador.

Figure 2. 1:Map of Mesoamerica. http://www.latinamericanstudies.org/mayas.htm

Before the development of monumental architecture and the establishment of hereditary inequality, the predecessors of the Maya were modest hunting and gathering bands. These early predecessors occupied both the lowlands and highlands during what is called the Paleoindian period from 13,000-7,000 BC (Coe 2011). At the end of the Pleistocene Ice Age, during the Archaic period, hunting and gathering gave way to horticultural traditions and eventually to farming. It was not until the Preclassic period (B.C. 2000-250 AD), however, that farming became fully established and permanent sedentary villages developed. The Late Preclassic period also witnessed major cultural advancements, including the construction of monumental

architecture, carved stone monuments, painting of murals, astronomy and calendars and early writing (Coe 2011). The Maya eventually reached their apogee during the Classic Period, lasting from A.D. 250- 900.

Settlement Research in the Maya Area

Settlement pattern investigation in the Maya Lowlands began relatively early and goes back to early Colonial times (Ashmore and Willey 1981) when Spanish explorers briefly documented and visited lowland Maya ruins such as Copan and Palenque. In the early nineteenth century other early explorers, such as J.L. Stephens and Frederick Catherwood, explored and documented sites in Honduras, Guatemala, Chiapas and the Yucatan (Ashmore and Willey 1981). Pioneering amateur archaeologist Edward H. Thompson, who was residing in the Yucatan at the time, investigated small mound groups within the neighborhood of Labna and other Yucatecan centers (Ashmore and Willey 1981). Thompson noted the predominant number of small mound groups and correlated their resemblance to platforms on which present day Maya Indians of the Yucatan constructed their dwellings (Ashmore and Willey 1981; Thompson 1892).

In the 1950s, Gordon R. Willey played a seminal role in the development of Maya settlement research. Indeed, Willey et al's (1965) introduction of settlement pattern studies at Barton Ramie in Belize represents the first major archaeological investigations aimed at researching the remains of Maya settlements rather than focusing on large urban centers (Sharer and Traxler 1996; Willey *et* al. 1953). Because of Willey's pioneering investigations, settlement pattern studies has become a major focus of archaeological research in the Maya area today (Ashmore and Wilk 1988; Willey *et* al. 1965; Vogt and Leventhal 1983). The methodology for conducting this type of research, however, has been revolutionized with the

recent introduction of remote sensing techniques and laser technology. With new advances in technology settlement research has a new ally.

The application of a new technology called light detection and ranging (LiDAR) is capable of penetrating the thick forest canopies and vegetation in the lush jungles of Central America (Chase et al. 2012). In 2009 a new paradigm of settlement research in Western Belize was employed by the use of remote sensing LiDAR. The advancement of LiDAR technology has allowed Maya archaeologists to detect new sites and patterns on the ground, thereby, enabling a greater understanding of the spatial dynamics of Maya populations (Chaser et al. 2014). Lidar was first engaged in April 2009 over 200 km2 area of the archaeological site of Carcoal, Belize (Chase et al. 2010; Chase et al. 2012; Chase et al. 2017). Due to the success of LiDAR in a small portion of western Belize, in April and May of 2013, an additional 1,057 km2 was scanned to understand the social complexity of the archaeology in the Maya area (Chase et al. 2017).

The Study of Households in the Maya Area

Since the early 1970s, archaeologists working in both the Maya Lowlands and the Central Highlands of Mexico have contributed significantly to the research of household archaeology (Wendt 2005). Households are associated with all societies and they represent the smallest social unit of human organization (Vogt and Leventhal 1983). In Mesoamerica, households are ubiquitous throughout the geographic landscape. In the construction of Mesoamerica's early villages (1350 - 850 B.C.),

Figure 2. 2: Model of traditional Maya household. http://www.mexicolore.co.uk

permanently constructed houses became the most prevalent structure type, comprising single-room buildings with thatched-roofs and wattle-and-daub walls (Flannery 1976**)** (Figure 2.2). The household was also a place of membership that was constructed upon kinship based on marriage and descent within the confines on the social unit (Wilk and Netting 1984).

Household archaeology is the study of social organization at its basic level (Ashmore and Wilk 1988). Households can serve as an indicator of evolutionary change in social organization (Ashmore and Wilk 1988). The remains of households are the most common and predominate structures surrounding archaeological sites (Ashmore and Wilk 1988). In households, individuals express culture through economic relationships, ritual, and ideologies (Wilk and Rathje 1982). For example, Richard Wilks ethnographic research of the Kekchi Maya in southern Belize indicated that the Kekchi were unspoiled by modernization and this insight provide a modern analog for household behavior (Wilk 1991).

In the Maya region, household archaeology has been an important research topic since the 1920s (Carballo et al. 2011; Hendon 2001). Household archaeology has been a topic of interest precisely because households are a level at which adaptation can be studied (Wilk and Rathje 1982). Material cultural signatures of production, distribution, transmission, and reproduction have been observed at all Maya lowland sites (Wilk and Rathje 1982). Hendon (2001) uses a 'house societies' model to analyze and reconstruct Classic Maya society. The "house societies model" focuses on a fluid social identity. The beliefs and customs in a society can have multiple and contested interpretations because of their fluidity. Previous research focused on monumental architecture at ceremonial centers that consequently excluded the study on non-elite contexts or the lives of everyday people. The study of house groups therefore, attempts to add to the dialogue of how Maya commoners lived.

House mounds yield a plethora of information about social structure, craft production, status or wealth (Hendon 2006). Hendon views identity and agency as important for how individuals affiliate themselves with groups larger than or different from the household. In her case study of Copan, Hendon recorded several elite compounds in the site's periphery, suggesting that occupation in the outlying settlements was more complex that previously assumed. These studies, therefore, suggest that many non-epicentral settlement groups are not just occupied by poor residents, but also include a mixture of intermediate class elite. These individuals living in the outlying settlements also maintained social identities and practices that paralleled those of the elite in epicenters, but at a much smaller scale.

Settlement patterns in the Maya lowlands is a term and concept used to refer to the ancient Maya of their total configuration over the landscape (Willey 1956; Ashmore and Willey 1981). For instance, Figure 2.3 demonstrates configuration of the landscape based upon scattered houses or residential groups surrounding Lower Dover's epicenter.

The residents of Mesoamerica have erected a plethora of domestic units, which can span from, wattle-and-daub structures to planned urban apartment compounds like Teotihuacan apartment compounds in Mexico (Carballo et al. 2011). For many investigators, there has been a departure from exclusively studying monumental public buildings to addressing issues of statues, identity, and production across the socioeconomic gamut (Blanton 1994; Carballo et al 2011). The overall result of investigations has produced substantial knowledge about the social and economic classes of how Mesoamerican once lived.

Barton Ramie

In 1953, Gordon Willey began his pioneering work in settlement research at Barton Ramie (Figure 2.4) in the alluvial plains of the Belize River Valley. Barton Ramie was occupied

from as early as the Middle Preclassic (300 BC-AD 300) and endured throughout the Postclassic period (AD 900-1500; Walden, Biggie and Ebert 2016). The minor center of Barton Ramie lies directly across the Belize River from the Maya polity of Lower Dover. Driver and Garber (2004) suggest that between the Preclassic and Late Classic period, Barton Ramie was affiliated with Blackman Eddy. This situation appears to have changed in the Late to Terminal Classic period, when Lower Dover assumed the role of administrative center for Barton Ramie (Guerra and Awe 2017). Willey demonstrated a model for Maya houses that was based upon the following criteria: construction of simple houses on long-lasting platforms domestic artifacts; and the principle of abundance (Leventhal 1965). The principle of abundance as projected by Thompson (1892) pertains to the remains of small mounds that were identified as houses (Thompson 1892; Ashmore and Willey 1981; Haviland 1982; Chase and Chase 2014).

Willey and his colleagues proposed a three-tiered model based upon housemounds, *plazuela* groups, and major ceremonial centers based on the grouping of house mounds at Barton Ramie (Leventhal 1983; Awe, Hoggarth, and Helmke 2014). Also, the vast number of mounds within a settlement area should be predominantly encompassed by domestic structures (Leventhal 1965). Willey's work at Barton Ramie provided in-depth information on the study of household and settlement archaeology in the Maya Lowlands. Willey defined household archaeology as including all the inhabitants of an area regardless of their social status. Household and settlement archaeology has been used to illustrate how specific a site epicenter can be composed of monumental civic architecture, which also fits into a wider habitation pattern (Hendon 2001).

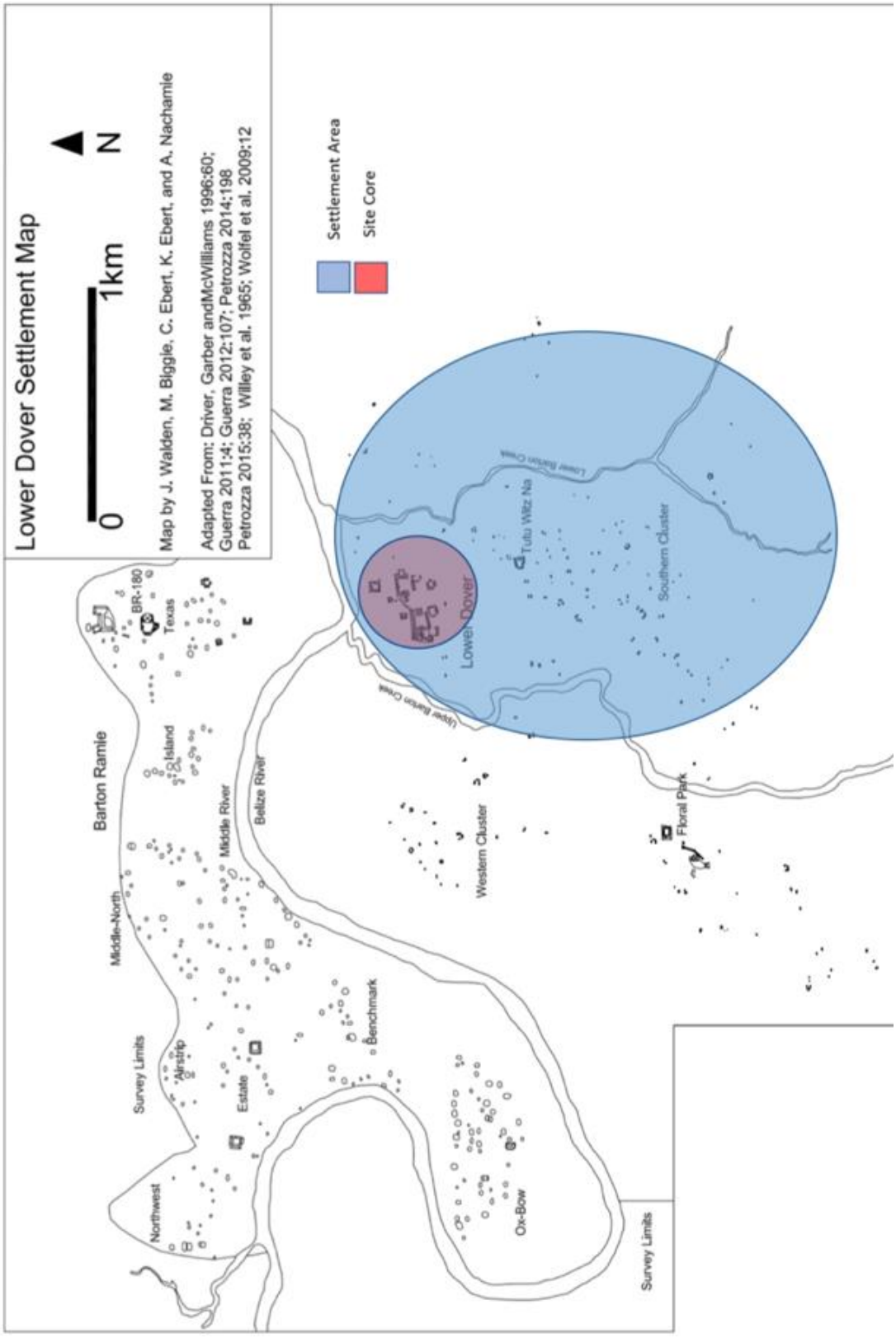

Figure 2. 3Settlement Area of Lower Dover adopted by J. Walden, M. Biggie, C. Ebert, and A. Nachamie.

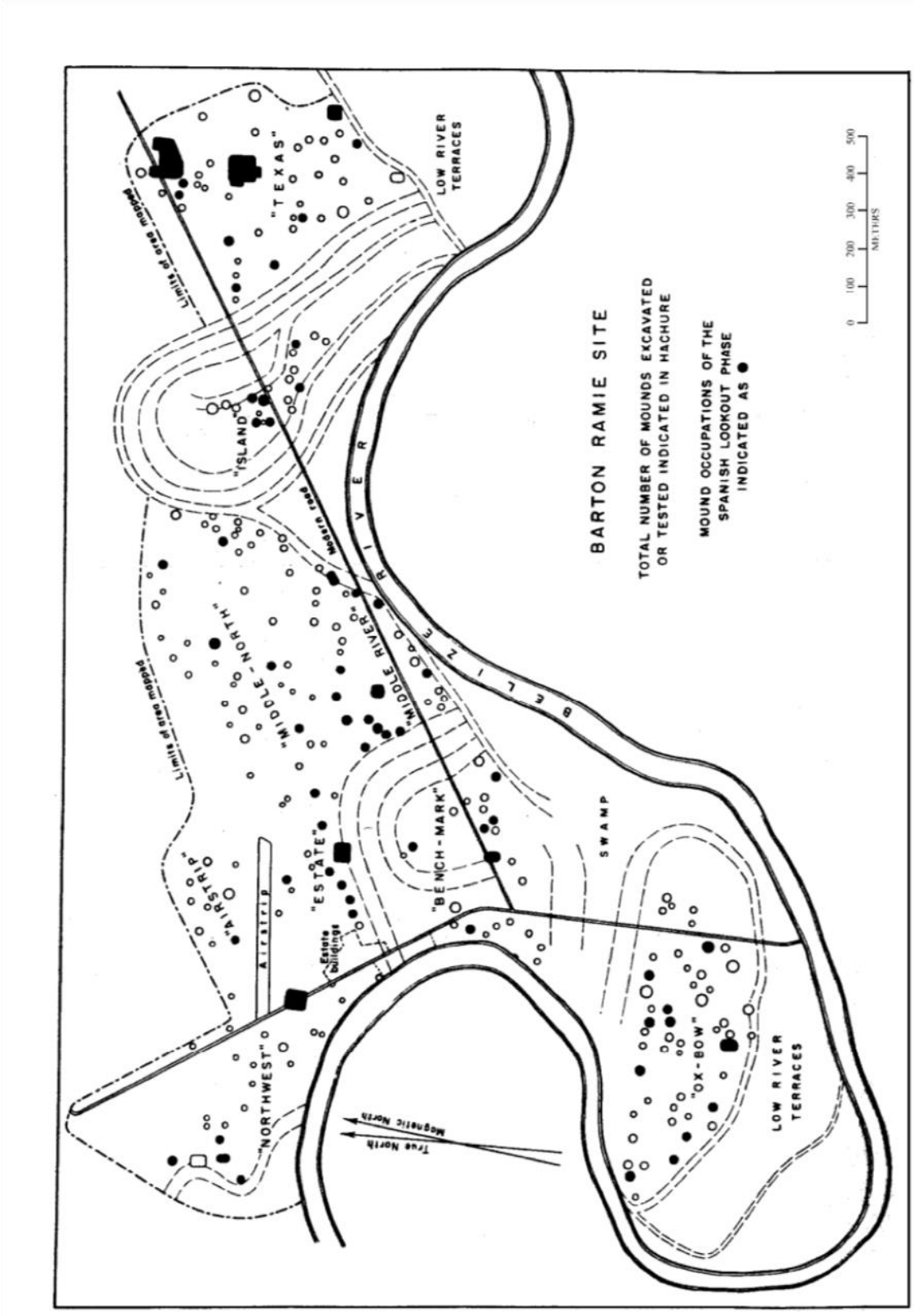

Figure 2. 4: Site of Barton Ramie by Willey et al. 1965. Adopted by Andrew Kinkella 2000.

CHAPTER THREE: THEORECTIAL APPROACHES

In this chapter, I explain the theoretical framework through which I seek to understand Group G at Lower Dover. I particularly explore behavioral archaeology (Schiffer 1971) and the developmental cycle model (Goody 1958; Fortes 1958; Haviland 1988), and resilience theory (Thomas and Turck 2009) and the advantages they provide for understanding past human societies. In a general sense, household archaeology informs us about a group's social universe, which is far more than previous studies of household form and function (Robin 2003) actually did. In Maya studies specifically, household research helps us to understand daily activities of how people once lived, their status, and affiliations.

Behavioral Archaeology

Behavioral Archaeology is an integral part of understanding household behavior. Behavioral archaeology stresses the importance of the relationship between material culture and human behavior despite time or space (Schiffer 1972). Reid et al. (1975) outlines the four strategies for behavioral archaeological research. 1)The first strategy is interested in material culture from the past to understand human behavior in the past. 2)The second strategy uses material items from the present to understand past human behavior. For instance, ethnographic studies of contemporary cultures are used for interpreting past human behavior reflected in the archaeological record. Through the archaeological analysis of settlements, midden contents and architecture can provide a link to behaviors, to household interpretation and cultural activities (Alexander 1999). Contemporary Maya households in traditional communities allow a glimpse into what life might have been like in the past. 3)The third strategy uses material items from the past to interpret the present. For example, numerous studies of past societal collapse are used for

predicting the decline of contemporary states. In addition, studies of social inequality in the past can speak to social inequalities in the present. 4) Finally, the fourth strategy aims at understanding human behavior in the present using material culture from the present. All together the strategies that are illustrated can provide information about processes in the past and human behavior, which can also provide new paths of research and perception (Reid et al. 1975). The Tucson Garbage Project conducted by the University of Arizona exemplifies the fourth strategy. In this project, researchers collected trash from modern neighborhoods to understand present human behavior. This provides an excellent example of researchers using an archaeological approach to understanding contemporary human behavior. Together, these strategies not only provide information about human behavior and processes in the past, but also provide new lines of research and insight (Reid et al. 1975). LaMotta and Schiffer (2001) lay out the structural framework for explaining behavioral variability on multiple scales, which is equated with behavioral archaeology.

In the 1970s there was a shift from archaeological thought, which placed an emphasis on understanding human adaptions (Processualism), towards a new theoretical framework whose goals were to explain human behavior. This new behavioral archaeology cross-cut the spatial and temporal boundaries of "cultural systems" (La Motta and Schiffer, 2001). Behavioral archaeologists examine how variations in object-person relationships manifest as human behavior. Processual archaeologists view the archaeological record as a system rather than a behavior. In addition, Behavioral archaeologists "person-object relationship" concept allows for a much closer level of individual action to be acknowledged, whereas processualists completely exclude individual action. Schiffer rejects processual archaeology and their view of the archaeological record as a transparent record of the past of an ancient society. Schiffer's

argument suggests that sites and artifacts undertake different processes.

Developmental Cycle Model

Social systems maintain themselves through continuous use and replacement. Through a cyclical process domestic groups go through a cycle of development much like the growth cycle of a living organism (Fortes 1958). Essentially, all societies go through a developmental cycle, "where the process of procreation is dispersed by fission of offspring marrying, and is replaced in the social structure by its offspring families of procreation (Goody 1958) William Haviland (1988) proposed a household developmental cycle model integral for comprehending how households respond to transpiring Maya polities (LeCount, Keller, and Blitz 2011). According to Haviland, as household size increased, and the nuclear family expanded, domestic space was increased and modified to accommodate them (Haviland 1998; Tourtellot 1988).

As a matter of fact, Plaza G demonstrates expansion to accommodate the family residing there. For instance, Plaza G exhibits a typical four structure plazulea, but flanking the southwestern structure is an adjacent fifth structure (G5). The developmental cycle model addresses variation amongst household organization and it attributes variation as being at different stages in the uniform trajectory (Ashmore and Wilk 1988). The developmental cycle is not distinguished by marriage rules, but by economic and jural relationships, which are created by marriage, kinship, and descent (Fortes 1958; Ashmore and Wilk 1988).

Resilience Theory

Another theory that can be applied to household research, and which has also frequently been applied to studies of the Classic Maya collapse, is Resilience theory . Derived from ecology, archaeologists and social-scientists use resilience theory to examine human-social systems as related to changes in environment. The core concept of resilience theory is the

adaptive cycle, which views change as being linked across multiple geographic and temporal scales (Thomas and Turck 2009).

Regardless of the depletion of resource, continued drought, and population increase many Maya elite continued to construct large temples and perform costly rituals. Their "maladaptive" responses to stress have been described as a rigidity trap, and these sites have been labeled as "non-resilient." In spite of the decline of southern Maya cities, however, in the Northern Lowlands many sites flourished in the Post-Classic period (900-1500 A.D.) and today there are millions of contemporary Maya still living throughout Mesoamerica. Resilience is generally understood as the amount of change an adaptive system can undergo before ultimately changing its fundamental structure. For household research, it can be a single, or a few large-and-slow adaptive cycles.

Chapter four provides an explanation of the methods through which I operationalize these theoretical perspectives in my investigations of Household Group G at Lower Dover.

CHAPTER FOUR: METHDOLOGY

I previously noted that Behavioral archaeology, the Developmental cycle, and Resilience theory provide a sound theoretical framework for understanding the function of Group G at Lower Dover. In this chapter, I describe the methods used for investigating Plaza G at Lower Dover. I also describe our survey of the site, the excavations conducted at Plaza G, and I discuss the methods used in my ceramic and lithic analysis.

Site Survey in 2010

In 2010, Rafael Guerra conducted an initial survey of the Terminal Classic site of Lower Dover. The purpose of the survey was to determine previous mapping of the site core, which was done by "Ulli" Wolfel and Christian Bruckner in 2009 (Guerra 2010). Ultimately, the purpose of the survey was to discern and define the density of the settlement within the site core. The survey concluded with a 70% remapping of the site core and its immediate periphery. One of the peripheral settlements, designated as Group G, was identified as a plazauela group consisting of five mounds just north of the center's ballcourt. A *plazuela* group is a Spanish term for "small plaza, it refers to small residential structures built around and enclosing a small square or patio.

During the 2011 and 2016 field seasons, the BVAR Project also conducted formal excavations of Plaza G, and it is those investigations that are the focus of this thesis. Plaza G is a small, low-lying patio group located north of the Lower Dover ballcourt (Figures 4.1 and 4.2). The group is composed of four structures organized around a small central plaza (Structures G1-G4), with a fifth (Structure G2) low platform located to the southwest (Collins and Guerra 2016). Initial investigations of Plaza G began in 2011 with excavations focusing on the eastern structure

(Structure G1). The excavators placed a 2x6 m unit along the east-west axis of the structure, revealing two

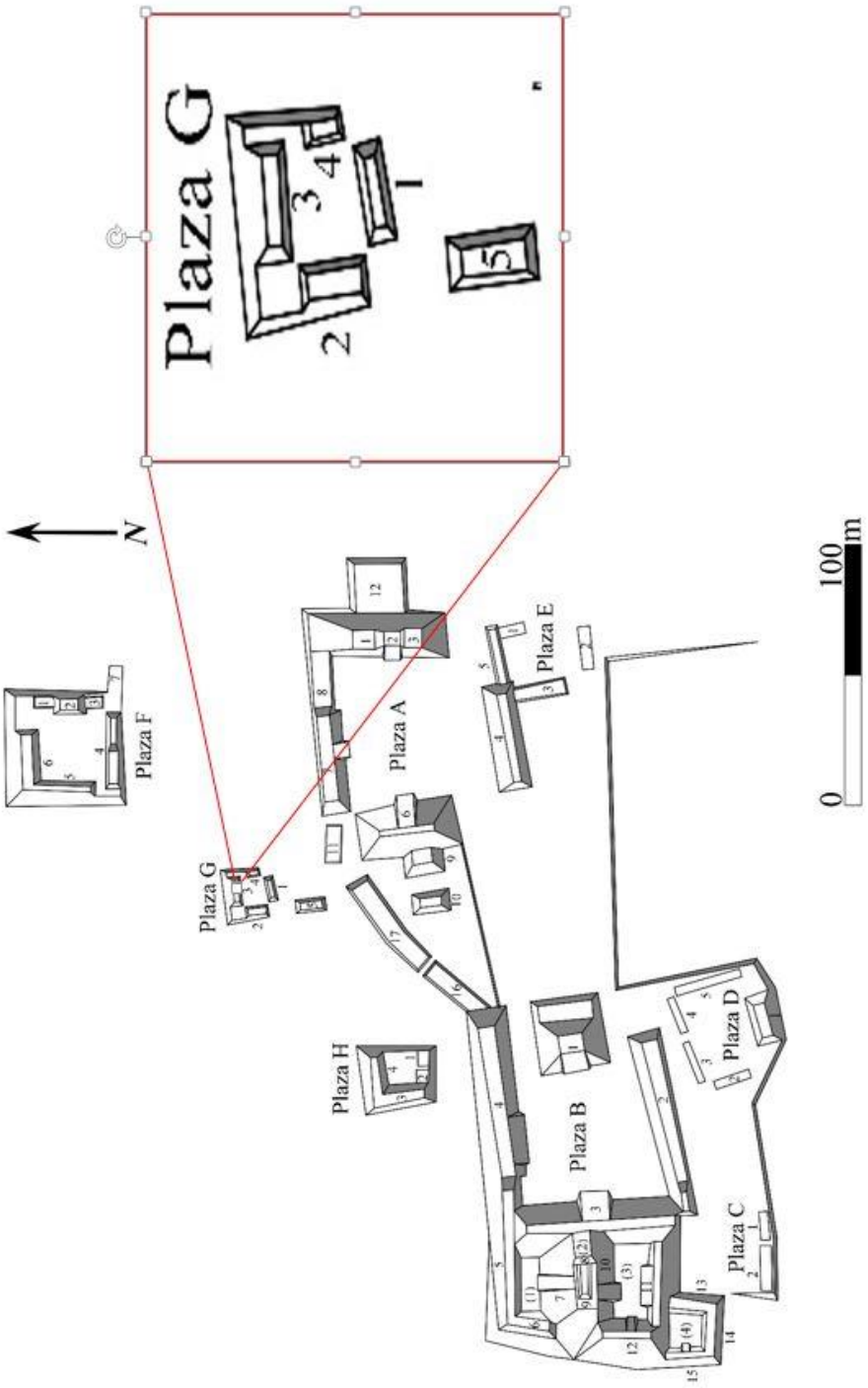

Figure 4. 1: Map of the Lower Dover monumental epicenter, showing the location of Plaza G to other architectural groups

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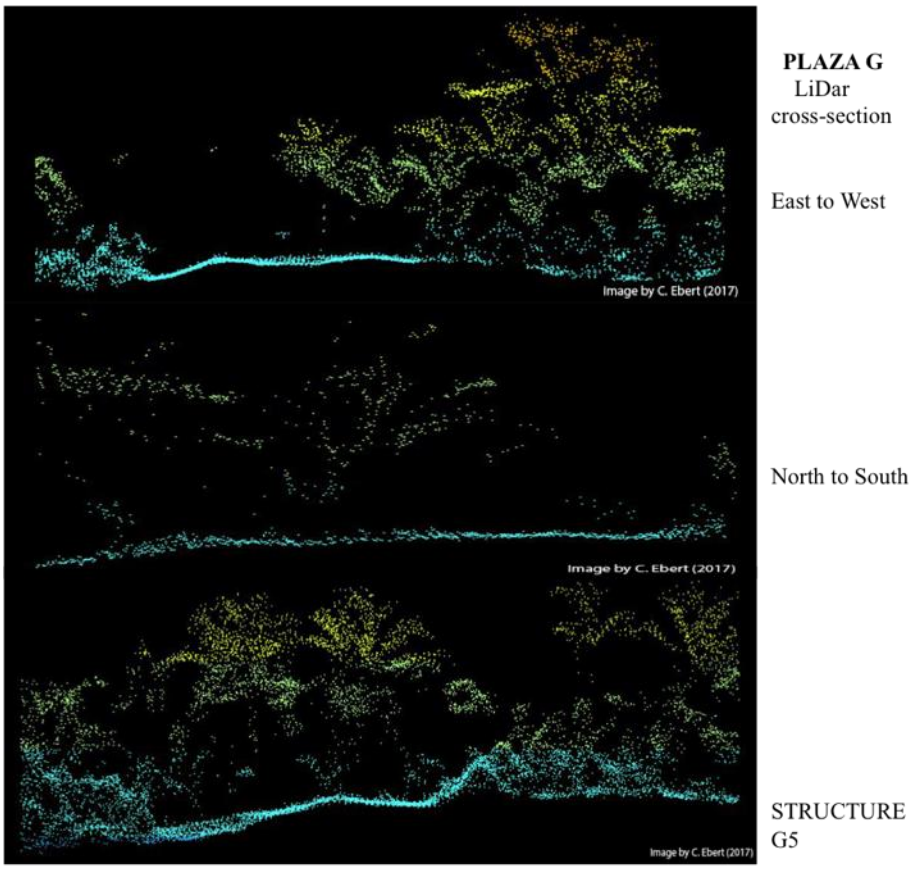

Figure 4. 2:Cross-section of Plaza G based on LiDAR (light detection and ranging) (courtesy of Jaime Awe and Claire Ebert).

architectural phases. Excavations on Str. G1 also exposed a crypt containing the remains of an adult male (Burial G4-002). The crypt was oriented north-to-south and covered by four fragmentary capstones (Guerra and Awe 2017). While the remains were poorly preserved, four drilled incisors with jade inlays were present. Because jade is exotic, and because it is generally associated with the elite, the latter suggests that the interred individual was of high status. Direct Accelerator Mass Spectrometry (AMS) radiocarbon dating of the remains place the burial between 430-590 cal. AD (Guerra et al. 2015), indicating that initial construction of the building occurred as early as the end of the Early Classic (250 AD- 600 AD) or at the beginning of the

Late Classic period (600 AD to 900 AD). Guerra and Awe (2017) suggest that this early date—which represents the earliest absolute date presently recovered from the Lower Dover site core—may indicate that Plaza G was one of the first household groups established within the general area of the site core.

Excavation Methods

The excavation methods used in Plaza G first employed extensive horizontal units to expose the terminal phase of architecture. Subsequently, deep penetrating test units were placed along the central axis of the structure to expose the stratigraphy and occupational history of the buildings. Units were excavated using cultural, rather than arbitrary levels. The collection of artifacts included, Ceramics, Chert, Fresh water shell, Marine Shell, Obsidian, Groundstone, Bifaces, and Jade. All units were illustrated, using the methods of Plan-view and profile maps to give a "top-up" and stratigraphic view of the units excavated.

The first excavations on Group G were conducted in 2011, and focused on the eastern structure, G1, of the plazauela. Preliminary results of these excavations suggested that the building consisted of two architectural phases. The artifact analysis also suggested that the two architectural phases were constructed during the Late Classic and early Terminal Classic period 600-900 A.D respectively (Guerra and Arksy 2011). During the 2016 field season, excavations concentrated on Structure G4, the northern mound in Plaza G. Vertical excavations were oriented north to south and extended from the summit of the structure to plaza level. Their purpose was to determine the chronological sequence of construction (Guerra and Collins 2015) of the mound. Excavation data from the structure suggests that it was constructed in three architectural phases.

In the 2017 field season, the final phase of excavations began on the southern structure. The southern structure is the largest of the four presents in Group G. A horizontal exposure was

placed at the vertical axis of the structure to determine the central stairway of the patio group and expose the terminal architecture. A vertical unit was placed in the center of the structure to determine the chronological sequence of the structure.

Ceramic Analysis

Ceramics were the most ubiquitous artifact type recovered from excavations in Plaza G. After the ceramics were cleaned, they were sorted and separated by diagnostic and undiagnostic features. We then employed a Type-variety-mode method of analyses, and comparisons were made using James Gifford's (1975) ceramic sequences at *Barton Ramie in the Belize Valley*. The reason James Gifford ceramic sequences is most relevant to our research because it establishes a chronological sequence of ceramic types for the Belize River Valley.

Analysis of stone tools

Lithic analysis was conducted from the artifacts recovered from excavations from the previous field seasons of 2011, 2016, and 2017. Lithic artifacts include all stone tool materials that were culturally modified (Andrefsky 2005). For Plaza G, lithic artifacts included finely worked bifaces, projectile points, cores, and discarded pieces of debitage. For example, Stone tools were first sorted based on their raw material. Raw materials identified included chert, granite, jadeite, obsidian, and ground stone (mano and metate). Thereafter, the objects were subdivided based on their mode of production. These types included chipped stone, ground stone, and polished stone artifacts. Although due to time constraints a detail analysis of lithic industries could not be provided in this thesis.

Analysis of Animal Remains

Faunal remains recovered from Plaza G was minimal. The Belize Valley Archaeological Project zooarchaeological team analyzed and identified all the faunal remains that were present

in the house group. Dr. Chrissina Burke and her team of colleagues analyzed all the faunal remains from the household. The recovery of faunal remains during excavations in Plaza G was not extensive. Majority of the remains recovered could not be identified to a taxon during a conservation analysis. Instead the remains were identified by breakage, polish, rodent gnawing, root etching, and burning that could may be natural or cultural. There were few mammal remains present in Plaza G, the majority of the faunal assemblages consisted of shell, which were separated and analysis from Mammalia remains.

Conclusion

Chapter five will transition into the results of the excavations of Plaza G. I will provide information from our excavations that will infer whether Plaza G was used for domestic or ritual purposes and the primary function on this household group.

CHAPTER FIVE: RESULTS

In the last chapter I provided an overview of the methodological approaches used in our investigation of Plaza G. This chapter discusses the results of those investigations, and of our analyses of the cultural remains recovered in Plaza G,. It also describes how these results inform our interpretation of the function of Group G within the context of the site of Lower Dover.

As I previously noted, Plaza G is located 45m to the northwest of Plaza A, and consists of four main structures (Str. G1-G4) that enclose a small courtyard and a fifth low-lying platform to the southwest (G5). Structure G5, overlooks a rock shelter located 14 meters southwest of Plaza G. Between 2010 and 2017, we excavated all four mounds in the plazauela group.

Plaza G: G1-East

Str. G1 is located on the east side of Group G and was the first mound excavated by the Belize Valley Archaeological Reconnaissance project in 2010. The mound is approximately 10.01 m long, 4.05 m wide, and 1.55 m high. The excavation consisted of a 2x6 meter trench that was placed along the east/west axis of the structure, and which extended from the summit structure to plaza level (Guerra and Arksey 2011). The trench was also sub-divided, from west to east, into three 2 X 2 sub- units labeled G1-1, G1-2, and G1-3, In unit G2-2 and G2-3, at a depth of 5 cm, a shallow crypt with poorly preserved skeletal remains was discovered (Guerra and Arksey 2012; Guerra and Awe 2017). Associated cultural remains included 70 circular shell beads and a ceramic plate and a cylinder vase (Guerra and Awe 2017). The excavation data recovered from G1 suggests that the structure was built directly on bedrock and that it was constructed in one major architectural phase with a possible subsequent modification in the Terminal Classic period (Guerra and Arksey 2011).

Human Remains

The human remains recovered in the eastern structure (G1) is possibly that of an adult male. Direct AMS radiocarbon dating of the remains place the burial between cal AD 430-590 (Guerra et al. 2015), indicating that initial construction of building occurred as early as the end Early Classic or beginning of the Late Classic Period. The crypt was oriented north-to-south and the crypt was lined by four fragmentary cut stones. (Guerra and Awe 2017) (Figure 5.1). Cut stones for tombs are primarily associated with higher status individuals in comparison with simple graves. While the remains were relatively poorly preserved, four drilled incisors and jade inlaid teeth (Figure 5.2) were present, suggesting that the interred individual was of relatively high status. Guerra and Awe (2017) suggest that this early date, the earliest direct date for the Lower Dover site core, may indicate that Plaza G was one of the first household groups within the general area of the site core. The artifact analysis (Figure 5.3) of the burial included 50 shell beads, jade, obsidian blades, speleothem sphere, and a miniature vessel. Ceramics recovered in the excavations included one small olla and a small cyndrical vase. Using the type variety method for the analysis of the ceramics for the Belize River Valley conclude that subsequent modifications to the structure were made during the Spanish Lookout phase (Late and Terminal Classic Periods; Guerra and Arskey 2011).

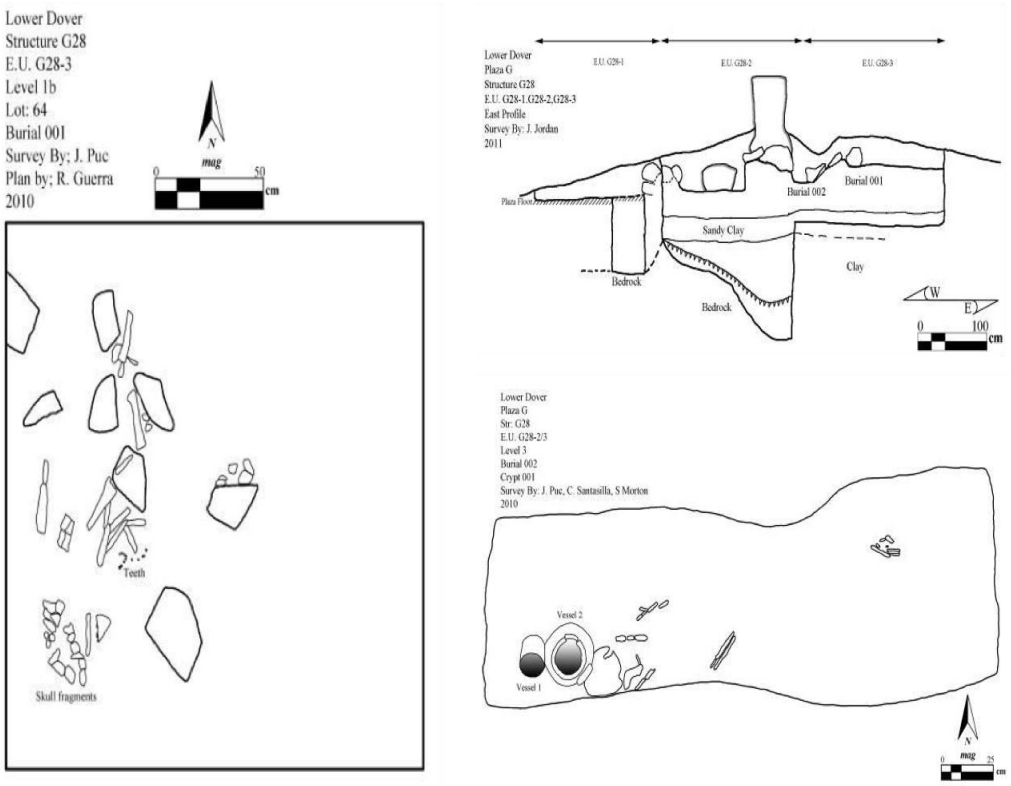

Figure 5. 1:Plan view and profile of Burial 002.

Figure 5. 2:Modified teeth from Burial-002.

Figure 5. 3:Artifacts recovered from Burial-002. From left to right Obsidian Blade-Cave Pearls (speleothem)-Jade Beads- Miniature vessel-Shell beads

Plaza G: G2-South

Located along the south side of Plaza G, structure G2 is the largest mound in the courtyard. The mound is approximately 9.15 m long, 5.07 m wide, and 0.6 m high. To excavate this building, we placed a large unit, measuring 4x6 m, along the north-south axis of the structure. The purpose of this unit was to expose the terminal architecture of the building and to locate a possible central stairway. The large excavation was divided into five discrete units (Units G2-1 through G2-5) to allow for better control in the excavation process. The investigations revealed an outset stairway in addition to the northern wall of the structure. Each was cleared to a depth of approximately 60-100 centimeters in depth. While units focused on the northern portion of the horizontal exposure. An alignment was exposed running east-to-west which stretched across the Structure, G2. Heavy bioturbation affected a portion of the wall

exposed in Units G2-1 and G2-3, with large cut limestone blocks located on the second terrace disturbed by root growth. Nestled within the eastern corner of G2-1 a partial *mano* and *metate* were also recovered from the surface of the plaza floor. Another partial *mano* was also unearthed in unit G2-5 on the plaza floor and against the wall of the building.

After clearing the last phase of architecture, two stratigraphic test units, Units G2-6 and G2-7, measuring 1.5 m by 4 m, was placed vertically across the central axis of the structure. The goals of Unit G2-6 and Unit G2-7 were to descend to bedrock and expose the construction sequence of the building. This would allow us to determine whether Structure G2 was built in a single construction phase, and whether its construction was coeval with Structure G1 or with the site core. Previous excavations at Plaza G indicated that the group was built directly on bedrock. Prior to construction of the main structures, river cobbles and clay were retrieved from the Belize River to level out the entire plaza (Collins and Guerra 2016). Buildings, such as Structure G1 were subsequently erected on top of this levelled out courtyard.

Unit G2-6 was excavated to a depth of 169 cm below the datum, and revealed three occupational. The soil composition consisted of a silty matrix complex and progressed from soft brown to a dark compacted clay loam. The unit was comprised of large cobble stones from the ballast of the plaster floors. The excavations of Unit G2-6 also exposed an alignment of six small limestone blocks running north-south across the unit's southern edge. The function of this feature remains unclear, though it may represent a second terrace on top of the Structure G2 platform. While excavation of Unit G2-6 reached bedrock, no orange clay or large river cobbles were present characteristic of the earliest levels of occupation at Lower Dover were encountered (Guerra and Collins 2017), although a compacted dark clay was present that was used to level out and modify this area to being occupation.

The artifacts recovered from Unit G2-6 consisted mainly of chert and ceramics. High frequencies of fresh water shell were recovered from the unit, perhaps because of easy access to riverine resources from the nearby the Belize River. A jade bead was also recovered, which can indicate that the household was possibly an intermediate elite household. Human remains (one molar) was also recovered from level 4, but unfortunately due to the integrity of the tooth it was not suitable for radiocarbon analyses.

The only architectural evidence to base the structures occupational history is by the presence of plastered surfaces. The first floor had a thick layer of plaster about 25 cm thick. The soil composition was fine a silty layer followed by cobble fill. The second floor was poorly plastered the integrity of preservation was not entirely ideal. The third-floor matrix was becoming more clay like and hard. The floor was relatively thin. The depth difference between the second and third floor was about 30-45 centimeters. Further excavating we encountered a dark brown matrix layer and eventually the soil became lighter and bedrock was reached.

Unit G2-7 was placed in the northern portion of the vertical excavation unit whereas Unit G2-6 is located on the summit of G2. Excavations in Unit G2-7 descended to a maximum depth of 112 centimeters from datum where we encountered bedrock. There was no evidence of plaster floors in this unit it descended all the way to bedrock, without cultural levels being present. The unit was comprised of medium sized cobble stone mixed with an orange clay. The bedrock was extremely shallow there was no indication of modification of the bedrock as previously noted in the other structures of the plaza. The artifacts recovered unit G2-7 included Ceramics, Chert, Jute, Daub, and Obsidian.

Plaza G: G3-West

Located on the west side of Group G, structure G3 is the longest of all the structures in the courtyard. The mound is approximately 11.8 m long, 5 m wide, and 1.02 m high. In 2011, eight 2x2 meter units were placed along the central axis of the structure to expose the terminal phase architecture of the building (Guerra and Arksey 2011). The excavations descended 32 cm from surface to bedrock and revealed two construction phases. From the surface to bedrock is relatively shallow, so only two construction sequence were present on structure G3. Overall excavations of G3 suggest that the building consisted of two distinct architectural phases. There were also several structural modifications to both the terminal and penultimate phases of architecture (Guerra and Arksey 2011). Artifacts associated with the first construction phase included: ceramics, chert, daub. Fresh water shells, obsidian, ceramic net sinker, perforated limestone sphere, ocarina fragment, perforated and carved river cobble. With the second construction phase ceramics, chert, daub, freshwater shell and obsidian. The artifact analysis from G3 suggests that the building was constructed during the Late Classic phase and extended into the early part of the Terminal Classic (Guerra and Arksey 2011

Plaza G: G4-North

Located on the north side of Plaza G, structure G4 is 0.6 meters high by 5.5 meters long and 2.5 meters wide. Approximately 15 meters south of G2, we recorded the mouth of a chultun that was excavated into bedrock. In 2016, we placed a test unit at the summit of the structure to determine the chronological sequence of construction (Collins and Guerra 2016). The unit descended 199 centimeters from the surface to bedrock and exposed three plastered floors corresponding to three building platform. The latter indicated that this structure was constructed in three architectural phase. Artifacts recovered from this structure from levels 1, 3, and 5 consisted of a ceramic ocarina fragment, olivella tinklers, obsidian, petrified wood, quartz, daub,

net sinkers, chert projectile point, and a chert biface (Figure 5.4). River cobbles and orange clay were transported in from the Belize River to level out the plaza prior to construction, due to the sloping of the bedrock (Collins and Guerra 2016). Structure G4 was most likely constructed during the Late to Terminal Classic period this is based upon the only architectural evidence present, plastered surfaces 1, 2, and 3

Figure 5. 4:Artifacts recovered from structure G4

Chultun

In 2012, we excavated the *chultun* located in front of structure G4. Chultunobs are described as small subterranean chambers that are ubiquitous throughout the karstic landscape of the Maya Lowlands. (Perkins 2013; Aylesworth 1993). Chultunob's are usually located where the bedrock is close to the surface. That could be the case for the chultun in Plaza G, the bedrock in the house group is relatively close to the surface. There has been documentation that the chultunob are predominantly associated with domestic architecture and settlements (Perkins 2013). Chultunob are also thought to have served multifunctional purposes, including water cisterns, food storage or refuse deposit (Perkins 2013; Puleston 1965). Our excavation revealed that the chultun contained a single chamber measuring 372cm from the antechamber to the posterior wall of the primary chamber (Perkin 2013). Along the northern posterior wall of the chamber, there is a small shelf-like structure (or cavity) (Figure 5.5) (Perkins 2013).

Figure 5. 5:Shelf-like structure inside the Chultun photo taken by Carrie Perkins.

Perkins, who supervised this excavation, was hesitant to describe the feature as an altar, for use of the word “altar” implies ritual purposes, and we recovered limited artifacts to support this conclusion (Perkins 2013). Indeed, one of the few artifacts recovered in the chultun that could be associated with ritual purposes were fragments of ocarinas. Besides the latter, over 3,000 artifacts were recovered from the chultun. A majority of the artifacts recovered were items such as lithic debitage or non-diagnostic ceramics (Figure 5.6) (Perkins 2013). The ceramics included types that ranged in date from the Late Classic to Terminal Classic period (AD 600-900). Due to the collapse of the antechamber it is possible that several artifacts washed inside the chultun from structure G4 (Perkins 2013). Alternatively, it is possible that these materials were purposely placed inside the chultun when it ceased to be used for practical purposes.

Figure 5. 6:Ceramic Bird vessel fragments. Photo by Carrie Perkins.

Bifaces

A total of ten bifaces were recovered from excavations in structure G2 (Table 5.1) (Figure 5.7). Eight of these were large fragments and two were complete specimens. The presence of the bifaces demonstrates a basic utilitarian tool in a residential setting. The bifaces were predominantly found in the humic layer, just above the surface of the last platform floor. The bifaces demonstrated a range of production stages, some finished while others were roughly made. There forms also resemble what Willey et al. (1965) identify as general utility bifaces at Barton Ramie and which they associated with agricultural activities. The presence of these stone tools therefore suggest that the occupant of Group G were likely involved with farming activities.

Table 5. 1:Biface types from 2017 excavations.

Biface Type	***Frequency***	***Percent***
Fragment	6	60
Point	1	10
Rough	1	10
Whole	2	20
Total	**10**	**100**

Figure 5. 7:Bifaces recovered from Plaza G excavations.

Faunal Analysis

Faunal remains recovered in Plaza G were limited. Many skeletal elements could not be identified to a taxon using conservative analysis, and were instead identified to size class when taxonomic classification was not possible (Table 5). One potential bone awl fragment, one bone needle fragment, and one cut/worked marine shell (*Oliva reticularis*) were present in the assemblage. The natural taphonomy impacting the faunal remains includes breakage, polish, rodent gnawing, root etching, and possibly burning that may be natural or cultural.

Two species of jute were present, with a number of identified specimens (NISP) of 87 *Pachychilus glaphyrus*, and 1,120 *Pachychilus indiorum* making up the majority of jute and overall

materials. A total of 779 jute had the ends broken off culturally or naturally, which could not be differentiated. Of these, 80 were *Pachychilus glaphyrus*, and 699 were *Pachychilus indiorum*. Many jute in the collection also show holes of various sizes in the sides. Because of the shape, number variation, and placement of these holes, they were likely created by natural processes (e.g., root growth through the shell). Some jute also possess various degrees of burning, which may be natural or cultural, including 13 *Pachychilus indiorum*, and three Pachychilus sp. Three marine shell fragments (*Strombus gigas*) were also burned. Other marine shell species in the assemblage include one cut worked *Oliva reticularis*, and four indeterminate marine shell fragments. There is one instance of excavators collecting a complete *Orthalicus princeps* shell, the largest land snail found in Belize and often mistaken for freshwater shell.

Few mammal remains were present, with the majority of the faunal assemblage consisting of shell. Mammalia identified to size class include the following: one thoracic vertebra spinous process, one left proximal femur of an indeterminate small-medium mammalia, one long bone shaft fragment of an indeterminate medium mammalia, two long bone fragments of an indeterminate medium-large mammalia, two long bone fragments and one vertebra fragment of an indeterminate large mammal, and one long bone fragment of an indeterminate mammal. The indeterminate large mammal long bone fragment is burned in the browned burn category. The indeterminate large mammal vertebrae fragment shows naturally caused polish, likely from movements with the surrounding matrix.

Mammalia identified to taxon include: three Baird's tapir (*Tapirus bairdii*) long bone fragments, two left distal scapula fragments cf. Artiodactyla, one first phalanx shaft fragment cf. *Odocoileus virginianus* (white-tailed deer), and one nine-banded armadillo (*Dasypus novemcinctus*) dermal scute fragment. Root etching is present on the *Dasypus novemcinctus* scute

fragment and three *Tapirus bairdii* long bone fragments. The cf. *Odocoileus virginianus* first phalanx shaft fragment shows severe rodent gnawing, and polishing from natural processes.

Table 5. 2:Faunal Remains Recovered from Lower Dover Plaza G.

Taxonomic Category	***NISP****	***%NISP for Structure***
Pachychilus glaphyrus	87	6.68%
Pachychilus indiorum	1120	86.02%
Pachychilus sp.	55	4.22%
Nephonaias sp.	6	0.46%
Oliva reticularis	1	0.08%
Indeterminate Marine Shell	4	0.31%
cf. *Tapirus bairdii*	3	0.23%
cf. Artiodactyla	2	0.15%
Indeterminate Small-Medium Mammalia	2	0.15%
Indeterminate Medium Mammalia	1	0.08%
Indeterminate Medium-Large Mammalia	2	0.15%
Indeterminate Large Mammalia	3	0.23%
Indeterminate Mammalia	1	0.08%
cf. *Odocoileus virginianus*	1	0.08%
Dasypus novemcinctus	1	0.08%
Orthalicus princeps	1	0.08%
Strombus gigas	12	0.92%
Total	**1302**	**100%**

*NISP = Number of Identified Specimens, where identified is to skeletal element

Ceramic Chronologies

A total of 3,036 (Appendix) potsherds were collected by our investigations in Plaza G. Analysis of the pottery assemblages identified the following ceramic types (Table 5.3 and 5.4). Ceramic analysis was determined Unit, Level/Lot, Type, Form, Variety, and Time Period. The ceramic recovered by the investigations in Plaza G included types that are predominantly associated with the Late to Terminal Classic Spanish Lookout phase, and a few specimens that are diagnostic of the Early Classic and Preclassic affiliation periods.

In 2011, excavations in the western structure G3 recovered a ceramic roller stamp. Other excavations in structures G1, G2, and G4 yielded molded carved ceramics and polychrome pottery. Plaza G ceramic artifacts recovered in our excavations reflects a relatively long period of time. The majority of ceramics recovered were primarily utilitarian ware bowls and jars. The presence of molded carved ceramics, and also the presence of polychromes and other fines wares such a Xunantunich Black on Orange and Peten Gloss (Achote Black) indicates that this housegroup enjoyed a certain level of affluence.

Table 5. 3:Ceramic types recovered from Plaza G

Identified Ceramic Types Late/Terminal
Achote Black
Alexanders Unslipped
Belize Red Platon Punctuated
Belize Red
Cayo Unslipped
Cubeta Incised
Dolphin Head
Garbutt Creek
Mediation Black
Mt. Maloney Black
Rubber Camp Brown
Tutu Camp Striated
Vaca Falls Red
Xunantunich Black on Orange
Yalbac Sumdge Brown Pabellon Modeled Carved

Identified Ceramic Types Middle/Late Preclassic/Early Classic
Aguacate Orange
Dos Arroyos Orange Polychrome
Flor Cream
Fowler Orange
Happy Home Orange
Hewlett Bank Unslipped
Minanha Red
Mopan Striated
Pucte Brown
Sapote Striated
Savana Orange
Sierra Red

In the final analysis, all structures were penetrated in plaza G except for the outlier structure, G5. Horizontal and vertical excavations were performed to determine the overall chronological sequence and exposure of terminal architecture. Analysis of ceramic and lithic artifacts revealed the usage of utilitarian artifacts (plainware ceramics, ground stone tools, and bifaces) which are typical of households. The architecture of Plaza G is indicative of late to

terminal phase architecture. Although the plaza can be classified as a higher status household, the architecture suggests a commoner household. In addition, amongst the “humblest” households that consisted of small platforms with wattle-and-daub structures, inhabitants were primarily involved in self-sustaining productive activities (Webster and Gonlin 1988). The quality of artifacts suggests that Plaza G was possibly an intermediate elite plaza that had a direct correlation to the residents of the site core.

CHAPTER SIX: DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

In the last chapter, I provide the results of our investigations of Plaza G. This chapter will discuss the final thoughts and conclusion of our overall investigations of the house group. This is based off the material correlates recovered from Plaza G.

The purpose of our investigations at Group G of Lower Dover were to address the following questions:

1. What is the function of Plaza G at Lower Dover? Did the *plazuela*/courtyard serve ritual and/or domestic functions?

2. If Plaza G served domestic purposes, can we determine what relationships existed between its inhabitants and those of the site core?

3. Previous investigations at other building in the site core of Lower Dover suggest that the center developed rapidly during the Late to Terminal Classic period (Guerra and Awe 2017). Does Plaza G reflect a similar developmental sequence with that of the site core?

Discussion

Archaeological investigations in the Maya Lowlands indicate that residence in or adjacent to site cores was often reserved for people of high status. For example, there is evidence of higher status people in residences adjacent to site cores such as, the Cas Pek Group just west of the Cahal Pech site core, Zopilote a terminus group south of Cahal Pech, and at the neighboring site of Xunantunich, Group B. The presence of these outlier house groups, provide evidence that people of higher status not only thrived in privatized areas of the site core, but outside the centralized areas from the site core. Although small in stature the formal arrangements of the plazuela group can suggest that the group mimics that of the site core.

In order to determine if Group G served as an elite residence we must consider the material correlates present in the patio group. The recovery of materials included jadeite, marine shell, a roller stamp, and fine ceramic wares such as molded carved vessels. The presence of molded carved ceramics displays that elites would own more decorated serving wares than commoners (Lucero 2001; Helmke 2008). Also, another indicator that Group G residence enjoyed intermediate level of affluence is the presence of other fine wares of ceramics such as, polychromes and Xunantunich Black on Orange, and Peten Gloss (Achote Black). The presence of jade inlays alone indicates that the individuals in this household were of elite status. The presence of marine shell jewelry in conjunction with jadeite further corroborates this idea. The dichotomy between elites and commoner has been problematic for decades in the Maya region and while Plaza G is definitely elite in terms of material remains, the small size of the plaza and its distance from the site core seem to suggest otherwise.

In past decades, there has been a lack of representation for all levels of the settlement hierarchy, to fully establish the distinction of multiclass levels (Iannone 1994). A new settlement typology specific for the Belize River Valley is in the process of being reviewed for publication by John Walden and Claire Ebert (Table 6.1). This typology categorizes residential groups based on distinguished features such as, pyramids, eastern triadic shrines, ballcourts, sacebos, and termini structures to name a few. Although still in the prototype this typology will help categorize the different levels of house groups in the Belize River Valley. As such, for Plaza G we can place this group in the Group 4 hierarchy. This is distinguished by the material correlates recovered from the household group and placed Plaza G, as Lower elite/intermediate/high status commoners.

Table 6. 1:Settlement Typology for sites determined by groups.

Group Number	Sites	Distinguishing Features	Inferred Function
Group 1	Baking Pot, Blackman Eddy, Cahal Pech, Ek Tzul, Lower Dover, Lower Barton Creek	Pyramids, ballcourts, palaces, sacbeob, termini, stelae, altars, eastern triadic shrines	Political capital
Group 2	Floral Park, North Caracol Farm, Xualcanil, Zinic (outlier), Zopilote (outlier)	Pyramids, ballcourts, termini, sacbeob, stelae, open plazas	Upper intermediate elite special function groups associated with political capitals
Group 3	Bedran, BR-180/168, Esperanza, Nohoch Ek, Spanish Lookout, Tzutziiy K'in, Tutu Uitz Na, Zubin	Eastern triadic shrines, closed plazas, pyramids	Middle intermediate elites
Group 4	Bacab Na, Cas Pek, Ch'um, Lubul Ha, Manbatty, Melhado, Martinez Group, Zotz, Tolok	Residential features	Lower intermediate elites/high status commoners
Group 5	Atalya, BR-19, BR-96, BR-147, BR-260, Ixim, Yaxtun	Residential features	High Status commoners

Conclusion

Our investigations of Plaza G at Lower Dover indicate that this plazuela likely served as the residence of an intermediate elite household. This determination is based on the material correlates, such as proximity to the site core, quality and formal arrangement of the architecture in the patio group, the presence of exotics such as jadeite, fine ceramic wares such as molded carved pottery, and a roller stamp. All structures of plaza G were intensively excavated. The structures date to the Late to Terminal Classic. The presence of early ceramics in G2 suggests that this structure was constructed first. The recovery of jade from two of the three structures (G2 and G1) indicates that these households had an elite status. The site core yielded molded carved ceramics. The presences of these ceramics could indicate a direct connection between the

elites of Plaza and the elites of the site core. Lithic analysis suggests the Maya were using utilitarian tools (bifaces, blades, flakes, and ground stones) to farm their own goods. Plaza G is nearby the Belize River and Lower and Upper Barton Creek. The proximity of the water sources allows for the procurement fresh water shells, accounted for in the faunal remains. Marine shells were also found in the faunal remains indicating long distance.

Archaeological investigations of households continue to develop in the field of Maya archaeology (Robinson 2003). From Gordon Willey's seminal work in settlement archaeology, a vast handful of Belize Valley archaeological projects have incorporated settlement research into their projects (Awe, Hoggarth, and Helmke 2014). Consequently, settlement studies have opened doors for archaeological investigations to understand the development of past cultures (Ashmore 1981).

Artifact analyses of Plaza G suggest a primarily domestic function; however, the house group seemingly has the longest occupation of any other plazuela groups correlated to the site core. This is based upon the presence of Burial G4-002 the internment of a high-status individual indicating that the group may have served as an elite residence within the site core. While excavated structures in Plaza G were built in two or three phases, the early date associated with Burial G4-002 suggests a long span of occupation for the group compared to the rest of the Lower Dover epicenter. In lieu of earlier dates from any other site core excavations, I tentatively conclude that Plaza G predates the initial construction of the site core. More intensive excavations within the site core could yield a date that suggests an earlier occupation.

Based on our limited knowledge of the polity of Lower Dover to date, Plaza G's earlier occupation suggests that the site likely sprung up around it sometime during the Late Classic

period, however Plaza G's role in that enterprise remains a mystery. As the abandonment of the hinterlands began, opportunistic elites may have settled along the Belize River and the construction of Lower Dover began. It is possible therefore, that Lower Dover acted as a new trading center to utilize and control the three waterways at a time when most other centers in the region are beginning to falter. Well-off commoners and intermediate elites living in the periphery of the site core in contrast, may have banded together as other centers in the valley began to decline to form a new polity—Lower Dover. The well-off commoners, "new money", might have provided the financial means, whereas the intermediate elites, "old money", might have provided the necessary status and linage to legitimize the emergence of the new polity. However, both scenarios are purely speculative until we learn more about Lower Dover sociopolitical role in the valley.

All things considered Lower Dover is a relatively new site to archaeologists and will likely yield promising data in the coming decades. We can assume that Plaza G was associated with the site core due to its proximity and the presence of an elite burial and prestige goods which not only determine the status of the individual, but also the household. The jade inlays worn by the individual also demonstrate the family's ability to acquire goods through a long-distance trade connection–the nearest jade source is located on the Motagua River Valley in Guatemala. As excavations continue at Lower Dover more information will become available of the site's function and imprint on the sociopolitical landscape during the Late to Terminal classic period in the Belize River Valley.

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Appendix

Table 1: Plaza G ceramic analysis

UNIT	LEVEL/LOT	CERAMIC GROUP	FORM	FREQ	TYPE	TIME PERIOD
G2-1	1/G2-1-1	Mnt Maloney Black	Body	2	Mount Maloney	Spanish Lookout
G2-1	1/G2-1-1	Happy Home Orange	Bowl	2	Sierra	Barton Creek
G2-1	1/G2-1-1	Cayo	Jar	2	Cayo unslipped	Spanish Lookout
G2-1	1/G2-1-1	Belize	Bowl	2	Belize Red	Spanish Lookout
G2-1	1/G2-1-1	Vaca Falls	Bowl	2	Roaring Creek	Spanish Lookout
G2-1	1/G2-1-1	Garbutt Creek	Bowl	2	Garbutt	Spanish Lookout
G2-1	1/G2-1-1	Belize	Body	2	Belize Red	Spanish Lookout
G2-1	1/G2-1-1	Garbutt Creek	Body	2	Garbutt	Spanish Lookout
G2-1	1/G2-1-1	Dolphin Head Red	Body	2	Dolphin Head	Spanish Lookout
G2-1	1/G2-1-1	Unknown	Jar	2	unknown	Unknown
G2-1	1/G2-1-1	Garbutt Creek	Bowl	2	Garbutt Creek	Spanish Lookout
G2-1	1/G2-1-1	Garbutt Creek	Bowl	2	Garbutt Creek	Spanish Lookout
G2-1	1/G2-1-1	Unknown	Rim	2	unknown	Unknown
G2-1	1/G2-1-1	Cayo	Jar	2	Cayo unslipped	Spanish Lookout
G2-1	1/G2-1-1	Cayo	Jar	2	Cayo unslipped	Spanish Lookout
G2-1	1/G2-1-1	unknown	Jar	2	unknown	Unknown
G2-1	1/G2-1-1	unknown	Jar	2	unknown	Unknown
G2-1	1/G2-1-1	unknown	Strap handle	2	unknown	Unknown
G2-1	1/G2-1-1	unknown	base	2	unknown	Unknown
G2-1	1/G2-1-1	Garbutt Creek	Body	2	Garbutt Creek	Spanish Lookout
G2-1	1/G2-1-1	Garbutt Creek	Bowl	2	Garbutt Creek	Spanish Lookout
G2-1	1/G2-1-1	unknown	unknown	2	unknown	Unknown

G2-1	1/G2-1-1	cayo	jar	2	cayo unslipped	Spanish Lookout
G2-1	1/G2-1-1	cayo	jar	2	cayo unslipped	Spanish Lookout
G2-1	1/G2-1-1	unknown	jar	2	unknown	Unknown
G2-1	1/G2-1-1	Cayo	Jar	2	cayo unslipped	Spanish Lookout
G2-1	1/G2-1-1	Garbutt Creek	Bowl	2	Garbutt Creek Red	Spanish Lookout
G2-1	1/G2-1-1	Unknown	Jar	2	unknown	Unknown
G2-1	1/G2-1-1	Garbutt Creek	Bowl	2	Garbutt Creek Red	Spanish Lookout
G2-1	1/G2-1-1	Garbutt Creek	Bowl	2	Garbutt Creek Red	Spanish Lookout
G2-1	1/G2-1-1	Meditation Black	Bowl	2	Meditation Black	Spanish Lookout
G2-1	1/G2-1-1	Garbutt Creek	Bowl	2	Rubber Camp Brown	Spanish Lookout
G2-1	1/G2-1-1	Belize	Plate	2	Platon punctate-incised	Spanish Lookout
G2-1	1/G2-1-1	Mountain Pine	Plate	2	Mountain Pine Red	Tiger Run
G2-1	1/G2-1-1	Dolphin Head	Plate	2	Dolphin Head Red	Spanish Lookout
G2-1	1/G2-1-1	Belize	Body	2	Belize Red	Spanish Lookout
G2-1	1/G2-1-1	Garbutt	Bowl	2	Rubber Camp Brown	Spanish Lookout
G2-1	1/G2-1-1	Vaca Falls	Plate	2	Roaring Creek Red	Spanish Lookout
G2-1	1/G2-1-1	Belize	Bowl	2	Belize Red	Spanish Lookout
G2-1	1/G2-1-1	Mountain Pine	Plate	2	Mountain Pine Red	Tiger Run
G2-1	1/G2-1-1	Achote Black	Bowl	2	Achote	Spanish Lookout

G2-1	1/G2-1-1	Meditation Black	Bowl	2	Meditation Black	Spanish Lookout
G2-1	1/G2-1-1	Cayo	Jar	2	Cayo unslipped	Spanish Lookout
G2-1	1/G2-1-1	Vaca Falls	plate	2	Roaring Creek Red	Spanish Lookout
G2-1	1/G2-1-1	x	pedstal	2	x	Unknown
G2-1	1/G2-1-1	x	bowl	2	x	Unknown
G2-1	1/G2-1-1	x	plate	2	x	Unknown
G2-1	1/G2-1-1	Garbutt	Bowl	2	Rubber Camp Brown	Spanish Lookout
G2-1	1/G2-1-1	Yalbac	bowl	2	Yalbac Smudge Brown	Spanish Lookout
G2-2	1/G2-2-1	Garbutt	Bowl	2	Garbutt Creek	Spanish Lookout
G2-2	1/G2-2-1	Garbutt	Bowl	2	Garbutt Creek Red	Spanish Lookout
G2-2	1/G2-2-1	Cayo	jar	2	cayo unslipped	Spanish Lookout
G2-2	1/G2-2-1	Cayo	jar	2	cayo unslipped	Spanish Lookout
G2-2	1/G2-2-1	Mountain Pine	Body	2	Mountain Pine Red	Tiger Run
G2-2	1/G2-2-1	Garbutt Creek	Body	2	Garbutt	Spanish Lookout
G2-2	1/G2-2-1	cayo	Body	2	cayo unslipped	Spanish Lookout
G2-3	1/G2-3-1	Minnaha	Body	2	Minanha	Hermitage
G2-3	1/G2-3-1	Dolphin Head	Bowl	2	Dolphin Head Red	Spanish Lookout
G2-3	1/G2-3-1	Minanha	jar	2	Minanha	Hermitage
G2-3	1/G2-3-1	Jones Camp	jar	2	Jones Camp	Tiger Run
G2-3	1/G2-3-1	Dolphin Head Red	Plate	2	Dolphin Head Red	Spanish Lookout
G2-3	1/G2-3-1	Minanha	Medial Ridge	2	Minanha	Hermitage

G2-3	1/G2-3-1	cayo unslipped	jar	2	Cayo	Spanish Lookout
G2-3	1/G2-3-1	cayo unslipped	jar	2	Cayo	Spanish Lookout
G2-3	1/G2-3-1	Belize Red	vase	2	Belize	Spanish Lookout
G2-3	1/G2-3-1	unknown	vase	2	unknown	Unknown
G2-3	1/G2-3-1	Mountain Pine	bowl	2	Mountain Pleasant	Tiger Run
G2-3	1/G2-3-1	Belize Red	bowl	2	Belize	Spanish Lookout
G2-3	1/G2-3-1	Garbutt	bowl	2	Garbutt Creek Red	Spanish Lookout
G2-3	1/G2-3-1	Garbutt	bowl	2	Rubber Camp Brown	Spanish Lookout
G2-3	1/G2-3-1	Acote	bowl	2	Cubeta Incised	Spanish Lookout
G2-3	1/G2-3-1	unknown	bowl	2	unknown	Unknown
G2-3	1/G2-3-1	vaca Falls	Plate	2	Roaring Creek Red	Spanish Lookout
G2-3	1/G2-3-1	Cayo	Jar	2	Alexanders Unslipped	Spanish Lookout
G2-3	1/G2-3-1	unknown	jar	2	unknown	Unknown
G2-3	1/G2-3-1	Mountain Pine	plate	2	Mountain Pine Red	Tiger Run
G2-3	1/G2-3-1	Belize	Bowl	2	Belize Red	Spanish Lookout
G2-3	1/G2-3-1	Tutu Camp	jar	2	tutu camp striated	Spanish Lookout
G2-3	1/G2-3-1	Yalbac	Bowl	2	Yalbac Smudge Brown	Spanish Lookout
G2-3	1/G2-3-1	Garbutt	bowl	2	Garbutt Creek	Spanish Lookout
G2-3	1/G2-3-1	Sierra Red	Bowl	2	Sierra	Barton Creek
G2-3	1/G2-3-1	Hewlett Bank	plate	2	Hewlett	Hermitage
G2-3	1/G2-3-1	Garbutt	Bowl	2	Rubber Camp	Spanish Lookout

G2-3	1/G2-3-1	Dolphin Head	dish	2	Silver Creek Impressed	Spanish Lookout
G2-3	1/G2-3-1	Belize	Bowl	2	Belize Red	Spanish Lookout
G2-3	1/G2-3-1	Belize	Plate	2	Belize Red	Spanish Lookout
G2-3	1/G2-3-1	Belize	Bowl	2	Platon punctate-incised	Spanish Lookout
G2-3	1/G2-3-1	Garbutt	Plate	2	Rubber Camp	Spanish Lookout
G2-3	1/G2-3-1	vaca Falls	Body	2	Roaring Creek Red	Spanish Lookout
G2-3	1/G2-3-1	Belize Red	Plate	2	Belize	Spanish Lookout
G2-3	1/G2-3-1	cayo unslipped	Bowl	2	Cayo	Spanish Lookout
G2-3	1/G2-3-1	Mountain Pine	Plate	2	Mountain Pine Red	Tiger Run
G2-4	1/G2-4-1	Dolphin Head	Plate	2	Silver Creek Impressed	Spanish Lookout
G2-4	1/G2-4-1	Garbutt	base	2	Rubber Camp	Spanish Lookout
G2-4	1/G2-4-1	Cayo	Bowl	2	Cayo unslipped	Spanish Lookout
G2-4	1/G2-4-1	Garbutt	Plate	2	Rubber Camp Variety	Spanish Lookout
G2-4	1/G2-4-1	vaca Falls	Plate	2	Roaring Creek Red	Spanish Lookout
G2-4	1/G2-4-1	Mountain Pine	Plate	2	Mountain Pine Red	Tiger Run
G2-4	1/G2-4-1	Chunhuitz	vase	2	Xunantunich B on O	Spanish Lookout
G2-4	1/G2-4-1	Belize	Bowl	2	Belize Red	Spanish Lookout
G2-4	1/G2-4-1	vaca Falls	jar	2	Roaring Creek Red	Spanish Lookout
G2-4	1/G2-4-1	Mountain Pine	Bowl	2	Mountain Pleasant	Tiger Run

G2-4	1/G2-4-1	Mountain Pine	Plate	2	Mountain Pine Red	Tiger Run
G2-4	1/G2-4-1	Socotz	jar	2	Socotz	Hermitage
G2-4	1/G2-4-1	Minanha Red	jar	2	Minanha	Hermitage
G2-4	1/G2-4-1	unknown	Bowl	2	unknown	Unknown
G2-4	1/G2-4-1	Cayo	jar	2	alexanders Unslipped	Spanish Lookout
G2-4	1/G2-4-1	cayo unslipped	jar	2	Cayo	Spanish Lookout
G2-4	1/G2-4-1	Belize Red	bowl	2	Platon punctate	Spanish Lookout
G2-4	1/G2-4-1	vaca Falls	Plate	2	Roaring Creek Red	Spanish Lookout
G2-4	1/G2-4-1	cayo	Body	2	cayo unslipped	Spanish Lookout
G2-4	1/G2-4-1	Garbutt	Body	2	Garbutt Creek	Spanish Lookout
G2-4	1/G2-4-1	Happy Home Orange	Bowl	2	Sierra	Barton Creek
G2-4	1/G2-4-1	unknown	jar	2	unknown	Unknown
G2-4	1/G2-4-1	vaca Falls	jar	2	Roaring Creek Red	Spanish Lookout
G2-4	1/G2-4-1	Savanna Orange	jar	2	Savana	Jenny Creek
G2-4	1/G2-4-1	Garbutt	Bowl	2	Garbutt Creek	Spanish Lookout
G2-4	1/G2-4-1	Alexanders Unslipped	Bowl	2	Beaver damn	Spanish Lookout
G2-4	1/G2-4-1	cayo	Plate	2	cayo unslipped	Spanish Lookout
G2-4	1/G2-4-1	Sapote Striated	Rim	2	Sapote	Barton Creek
G2-4	1/G2-4-1	vaca Falls	Bowl	2	Roaring Creek Red	Spanish Lookout
G2-4	1/G2-4-1	unknown	jar	2	unknown	Unknown
G2-6	1/G2-6-1	Mountain Pine	Body	2	Mountain Pleasant	Tiger Run
G2-6	1/G2-6-1	Belize	Bowl	2	Belize Red	Spanish Lookout
G2-6	1/G2-6-1	Aguacate orange	Bowl	2	Aguacate	Floral Park

G2-6	1/G2-6-1	Unknown	Bowl	2	Unknown	Unknown
G2-6	2/G2-6-2	Saturday Creek	Bowl	2	Saturday Creek	Tiger Run
G2-6	2/G2-6-2	Mountain Pine	jar	2	Mountain Pine Red	Tiger Run
G2-6	2/G2-6-2	Mopan Striated	jar	2	Mopan	Hermitage
G2-6	3/G2-6-3	Mountain Pine Red	Bowl	2	Mountain Pine	Tiger Run
G2-6	3/G2-6-3	Teakettle Bank Black	jar	2	Teakettle Bank	Tiger Run
G2-6	3/G2-6-3	Jones Camp Striated	Bowl	2	Jones Camp	Tiger Run
G2-6	4/G2-6-4	Sierra Red	Bowl	2	Sierra	Barton Creek
G2-6	4/G2-6-4	Savanna Orange	jar	2	Savana	Barton Creek
G2-6	4/G2-6-4	Mt Pleasant	Body	2	Mountain Pleasant	Tiger Run
G2-6	4/G2-6-4	Flor Cream	Bowl	2	Flor	Barton Creek
G2-6	4/G2-6-4	Pucte Brown	Lid	2	Pucte	Hermitage
G2-6	4/G2-6-4	Fowler Orange/Red	Bowl	2	Fowler	Hermitage
G2-6	5/G2-6-5	Minanha Red	Bowl	2	Minanha	hermitage
G2-6	5/G2-6-5	Mountain Pine Red	Jar	2	Mountain Pine	tiger Run
G2-6	5/G2-6-5	Garbutt Creek	Bowl	2	Garbutt Creek Red	spanish Lookout
G2-7	1/G2-7-2	Garbutt	Jar	2	Garbutt Creek Red	spanish Lookout
G2-7	1/G2-7-2	Cayo	Bowl	2	Cayo unslipped	spanish Lookout
G2-7	1/G2-7-2	Unknown	Bowl	2	Unknown	unknown
G3-1	1/G3-1-1	Minanha Red	Vase	2	Minanha	hermitage
G3-1	1/G3-1-1	Mountain Pine	Bowl	2	Mountain Pine Red	Tiger Run
G3-1	1/G3-1-1	Belize	Bowl	2	Belize Red	Spanish Lookout
G3-1	1/G3-1-1	Belize	Jar	2	Belize Red	Spanish Lookout
G3-1	1/G3-1-1	Cayo	Body	2	Cayo unslipped	Spanish Lookout

G3-1	1/G3-1-1	Belize Incised Bowl	Bowl	2	Belize Red	Spanish Lookout
G3-1	1/G3-1-1	Belize	plate	2	Platon punctate	Spanish Lookout
G3-1	1/G3-1-1	Belize	Body	2	Belize Red	Spanish Lookout
G3-1	1/G3-1-1	cayo unslipped	Body	2	Cayo unslipped	Spanish Lookout
G3-1	1/G3-1-1	Garbutt Creek	Bowl	2	Garbutt Creek Red	Spanish Lookout
G3-1	1/G3-1-1	Unknown	Jar	2	Unknown	Unknown
G3-1	1/G3-1-1	Mountain Pine	Bowl	2	Mountain Pine Red	Tiger Run
G3-1	1/G3-1-1	Socotz	Bowl	2	Socotz	Hermitage
G3-1	1/G3-1-1	Belize	plate	2	Belize Red	Spanish Lookout
G3-1	1/G3-1-1	unknown	jar	2	unknown	unknown
G3-1	1/G3-1-1	Cayo	jar	2	Cayo unslipped	spanish Lookout
G3-1	2/G3-1-4	Belize	Bowl	2	Belize Red	Spanish Lookout
G3-1	2/G3-1-4	Alexanders Unslipped	jar	2	Alexanders	
G3-1	2/G3-1-4	Cayo	Body	2	Cayo unslipped	Spanish Lookout
G3-1	2/G3-1-4	Mt Pine	Ring base	2	Mountain Pine	Tiger Run
G3-1	2/G3-1-4	dolphin Head	Bowl	2	Incised Dolphin head	Spanish Lookout
G3-1	2/G3-1-4	Unknown	Jar	2	Unknown	Unknown
G3-1	3/G3-1-5	Saturday Creek	Jar	2	Saturday Creek	Tiger Run
G3-1	3/G3-1-5	Meditation Black	Bowl	2		
G3-1	3/G3-1-5	Hewlett Bank	Bowl	2		Hermitage
G3-1	2/EXT1A/G3-1-3	Garbutt	Bowl	2	Garbutt Creek Red	Spanish Lookout
G3-1	3/EXT1A/G3-1-7	Sotero Red/Brown	Vase	2		

G3-1	3/EXT1A/G3-1-7	Zibal Unslipped	Jar	2	Zibal	Tiger Run
G3-1	3/EXT1A/G3-1-7	Mount Pleasant	Bowl	2		Tiger Run
G1-1	1/G1-1-06	Belize	Bowl	2	Belize Red	Spanish Lookout
G1-1	1/G1-1-06	Dolphin Head Red	Bowl	2	Dolphin Head	Spanish Lookout
G1-1	1/G1-1-06	Mountain Pine	Jar	2	Mountain Pine Red	Tiger Run
G1-1	1/G1-1-06	Cayo	Pie crust	2	Cayo unslipped	Spanish Lookout
G1-1	1/G1-1-06	Cayo	Body	2	Cayo unslipped	spanish Lookout
G1-1	1/G1-1-06	Meditation Black	Body	2	Meditation	
G1-1	1/G1-1-06	Unknown	jar	2	unknown	unknown
G1-1	2/G1-1-65	Roaring Creek Red	Bowl	2	Vaca Falls	spanish Lookout
G1-1	2/G1-1-65	Mount Pleasant	Body	2	Mountain Pleasant	Tiger Run
G1-1	2/G1-1-65	Sierra Red	Bowl	2	Sierra	Barton Creek
G1-1	2/G1-1-65	Dolphin Head Red	Bowl	2	dolphin Head	Spanish Lookout
G1-1	2/G1-1-65	Belize Incised Bowl	Plate	2	Belize Red	Spanish Lookout
G1-1	2/G1-1-65	dolphin Head	jar	2	dolphin Head	Spanish Lookout
G1-1	2/G1-1-65	Mt Pleasant	Bowl	2	Mountain Pleasant	Tiger Run
G1-1	2/G1-1-65	Jones Camp	Bowl	2	jones Camp	Tiger Run
G1-1	2/G1-1-61	Saturday Creek	Plate	2	Saturday Creek	Tiger Run
G1-1	2/G1-1-61	Garbutt Creek	jar	2	Garbutt Creek Red	Spanish Lookout
G1-1	2/G1-1-61	zibal Unslipped	Bowl	2	zibal	Tiger Run
G1-1	2/G1-1-61	Hewlett Bank	Bowl	2	Hewlett	Hermitage
G1-2	2/G1-2-62	Saturday Creek	Body	2	Saturday Creek	tiger Run
G1-2	2/G1-2-62	Belize Red	Jar	2	Belize	spanish Lookout

G1-2	2/G1-2-62	Zibal Unslipped	Bowl	2	Zibal	tiger Run
G1-2	2/G1-2-62	Palmar Orange	Plate	2		
G1-2	2/G1-2-62	Minanha Red	Bowl	2	Minanha	Hermitage
G1-2	2/G1-2-62	Roaring Creek Red	Knob Ft	2	Roaring Creek Red	Spanish Lookout
G1-2	2/G1-2-62	Sotero Red/Brown	jar	2	Sotero	Tiger Run
G1-2	2/G1-2-62	Saturday Creek	Plate	2	Saturday Creek	Tiger Run
G1-2	2/G1-2-62	dolphin Head	Jar	2	Dolphin Head Red	Spanish Lookout
G1-2	2/G1-2-62	Achote Black	Bowl	2	Achote	Spanish Lookout
G1-2	2/G1-2-62	Belize Red	Bowl	2	Belize	spanish Lookout
G1-2	2/G1-2-62	Minanha Red	jar	2	Minanha	Hermitage
G1-2	2/G1-2-62	Socotz striated	Bowl	2	Socotz	Hermitage
G1-2	2/G1-2-62	zibal Unslipped	jar	2	zibal	Tiger Run
G1-3	1/G1-3-1	Gallinero	jar	2	Belize	Spanish Lookout
G1-3	1/G1-3-1	tu-tu camp	Body	2	tu-tu camp	Spanish Lookout
G1-3	1/G1-3-1	Saturday Creek	Body	2	Saturday Creek	Tiger Run
G1-3	1/G1-3-1	Sotero Red/Brown	Body	2		
G1-3	1/G1-3-1	Garbutt	Body	2	Garbutt Creek Red	Spanish Lookout
G1-3	1/G1-3-1	Minanha Red	jar	2	Minanha	Hermitage
G1-3	1/G1-3-1	Sierra Red	jar	2	Sierra	Barton Creek
G1-3	1/G1-3-1	unknown	jar	2	unknown	unknown
G1-3	1A/G1-3-64	Sotero Red/Brown	bowl	2	Sotero	Tiger Run
G1-3	1A/G1-3-64	Saturday Creek	bowl	2	Saturday Creek	Tiger Run
G1-3	1A/G1-3-64	Dolphin Head Red	Body	2	dolphin Head	Spanish Lookout
G1-3	1A/G1-3-64	Socotz striated	jar	2	Socotz	Hermitage
G1-3	1A/G1-3-64	Jones Camp	bowl	2	zibal	Tiger Run
G1-3	1A/G1-3-64	Zibal Unslipped	bowl	2	zibal	Tiger Run

G1-3	1/G1-3-63	vaca Falls	Knob Ft	2	roaring Creek Red	Spanish Lookout
G1-3	1/G1-3-63	Mountain Pine	Plate	2	Mountain Pine Red	Tiger Run
G1-3	1/G1-3-63	Dolphin Head Red	Bowl	2	dolphin Head	Spanish Lookout
G1-3	1/G1-3-63	Belize	Bowl	2	Belize Red	Spanish Lookout
G1-3	1/G1-3-63	Sotero Red/Brown	jar	2	Sotero	Tiger Run
G1-3	1/G1-3-63	zibal Unslipped	jar	2	zibal	Tiger Run
G1-3	1/G1-3-63	Ahkutu Molded Carved	jar	2		
G1-3	1/G1-3-63	Mountain Pine Red	Bowl	2	Mountain Pine	Tiger Run
G1-3	1/G1-3-63	Minanha	jar	2	Minanha	Hermitage
G1-3	1/G1-3-63	Saturday Creek	Bowl	2	Saturday Creek	Tiger Run
G1-3	1/G1-3-63	dolphin Head	jar	2	Dolphin Head Red	Spanish Lookout
G1-3	1/G1-3-63	White Cliff	Bowl	2	White Cliff	Hermitage
G1-3	1/G1-3-63	Zibal Unslipped	Jar	2	Zibal	Tiger Run
G1-3	2/G1-3-63	Sierra Red	Bowl	2	Sierra	Barton Creek
G1-3	2/G1-3-63	Belize	jar	2	Belize Red	Spanish Lookout
G1-3	2/G1-3-63	Mountain Pine	Bowl	2	Mountain Pine Red	Tiger Run
G1-3	2/G1-3-63	palmar Orange	jar	2	Palmar	Spanish Lookout
G1-3	2/G1-3-63	Zibal Unslipped	Bowl	2	Zibal	Tiger Run
G1-3	2/G1-3-63	Flor Cream	jar	2	Flor Cream	Barton Creek
G1-3	2/G1-3-63	Yalbac	Body	2	Yalbac Smudge Brown	Spanish Lookout
G1-3	2/G1-3-63	Meditation Black	jar	2	Meditation	Spanish Lookout
G1-3	1/G1-3-61	dolphin Head	Bowl	2	Dolphin Head Red	Spanish Lookout

G1-3	1/G1-3-61	Mountain Pine	Bowl	2	Mountain Pine Red	Tiger Run
G1-3	1/G1-3-61	Belize	Bowl	2	Belize Red	Spanish Lookout
G1-3	1/G1-3-61	Palmar Orange	jar	2	Palmar	Spanish Lookout
G1-3	1/G1-3-61	roaring Creek Red	Jar	2	Roaring Creek Red	Spanish Lookout
G1-3	1/G1-3-61	unknown	Jar	2	Unknown	Unknown
G1-3	1/G1-3-64	dolphin Head	Bowl	2	Dolphin Head Red	spanish Lookout
G1-3	1/G1-3-64	Belize	Jar	2	Belize Red	spanish Lookout
G1-3	1/G1-3-64	Roaring Creek Red	Bowl	2	vaca Falls	spanish Lookout
G1-3	1/G1-3-64	Cayo	Bowl	2	Cayo unslipped	Spanish Lookout
G1-3	1/G1-3-64	unknown	Bowl	2	Unknown	Unknown
G1-3	?/G1-3-67	zibal Unslipped	Bowl	2	Zibal	Tiger Run
G4-1	1/G4-1-62	Zibal Unslipped	Jar	2	Zibal	Tiger Run
G4-1	1/G4-1-62	Mountain Pine	Body	2	Mountain Pine Red	Tiger Run
G4-1	1/G4-1-62	Sierra Red	Bowl	2	Sierra	Barton Creek
G4-1	1/G4-1-62	unknown	Bowl	2	Unknown	Unknown
G4-1	1/G4-1-62	Sotero Red/Brown	Jar	2	Sotero	Hermitage
G4-1	1/G4-1-62	unknown	Jar	2	Unknown	Unknown

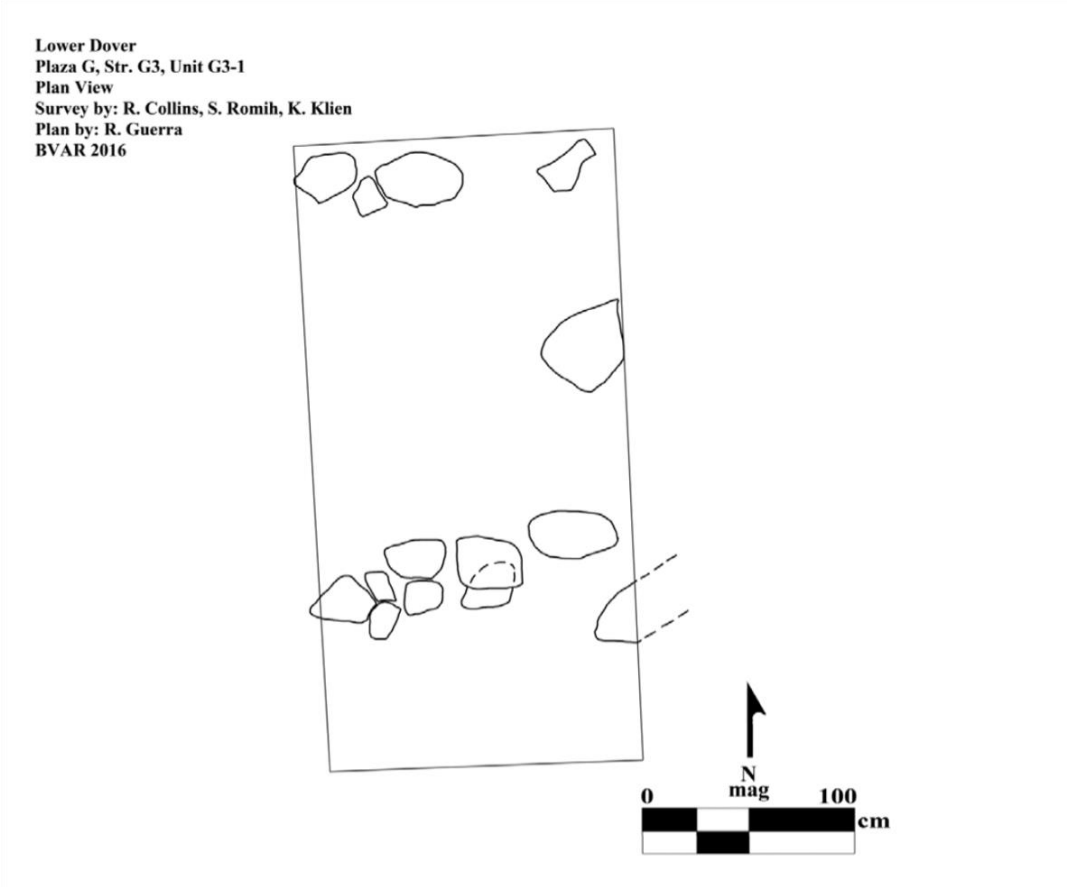

Figure 1: Plan view of Str. G.3

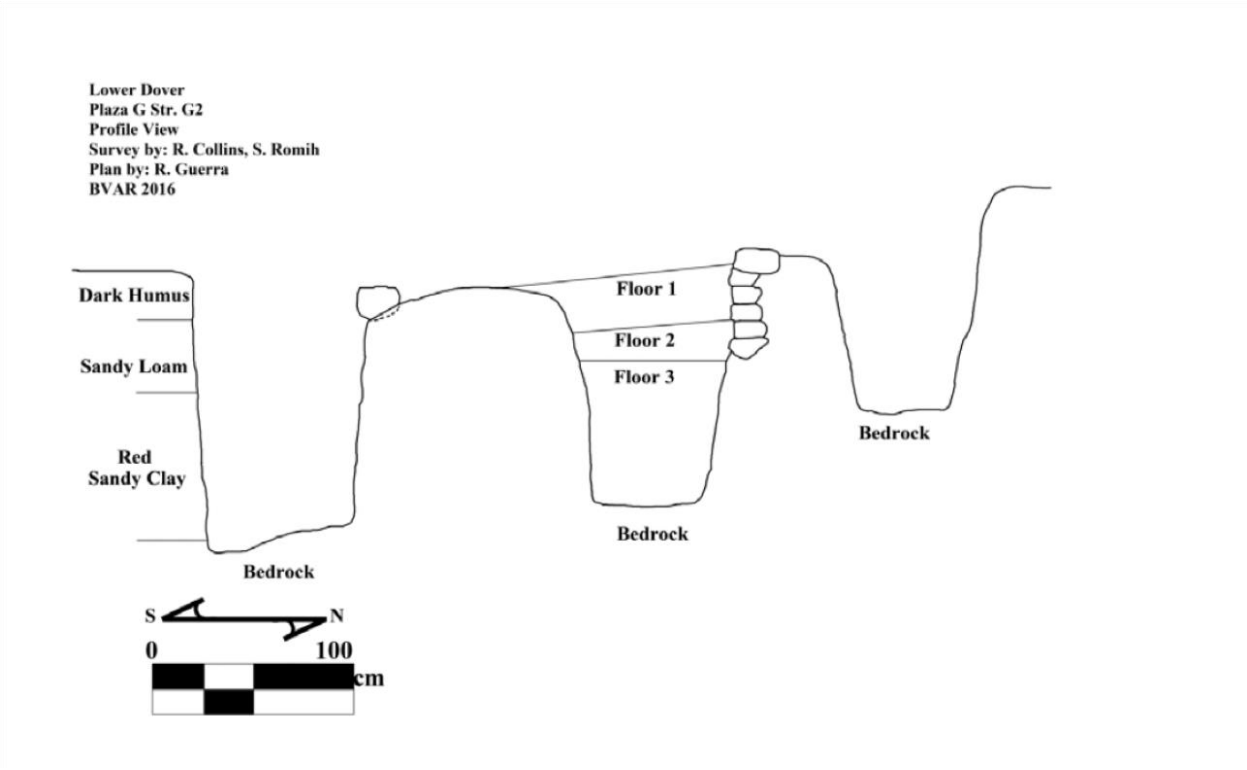

Figure 2: Profile drawing of Str. G-2

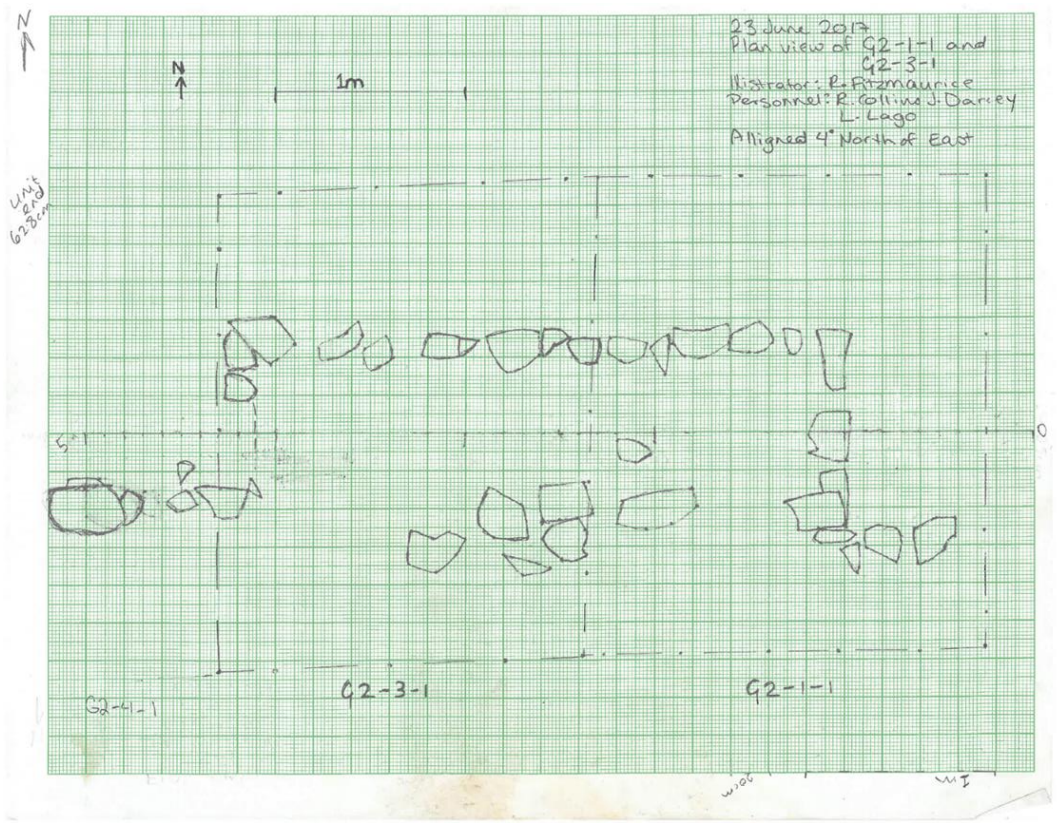

Figure 3: Plan map of G-2

Figure 4 (j-p): Artifact photographs from G-2. J) Shell bead. K) Jade Bead. L) Ocorina fragment. M) Molded carved. N) Biface fragment. O) Biface fragment. P) Worked *olivella* shell

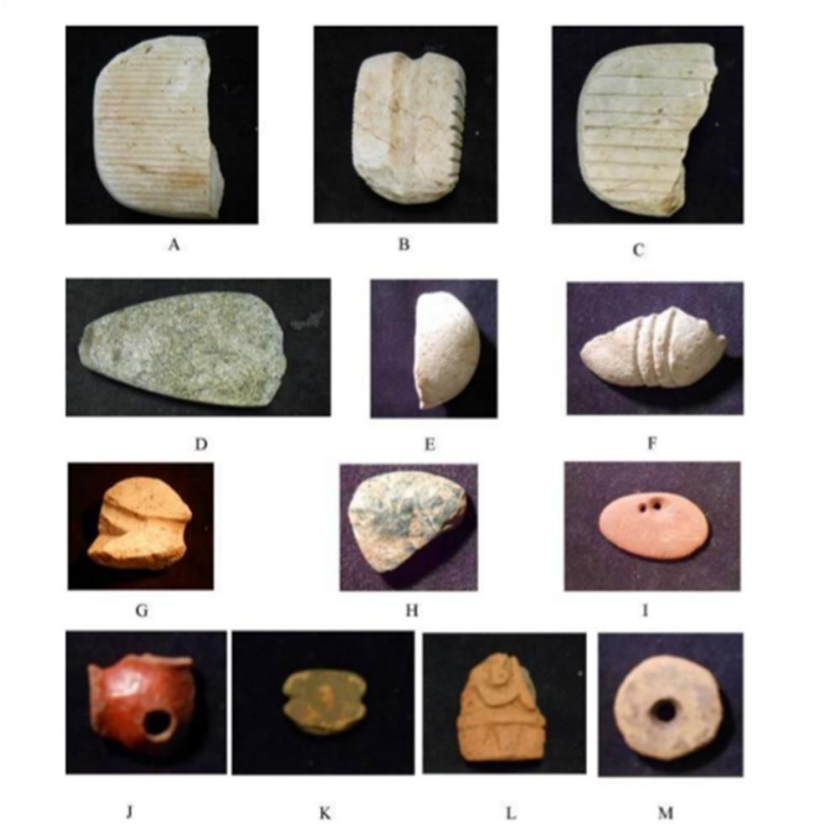

Figure 5 (A-M): Artifact photographs from G-3. (A-C) Bark beaters. D) Celt. (E-F)Worked limestone. G) Ocarina Fragment. H) Adze. I) Perforated granite. J) Miniature vessel. K) Netsinker. L) Molded Carved. M) Spindle whorl.

Figure 6: Molded carved roller stamp.

Figure 7: Zoomorphic ocarina fragment.

Figure 8: Miniature vessel.

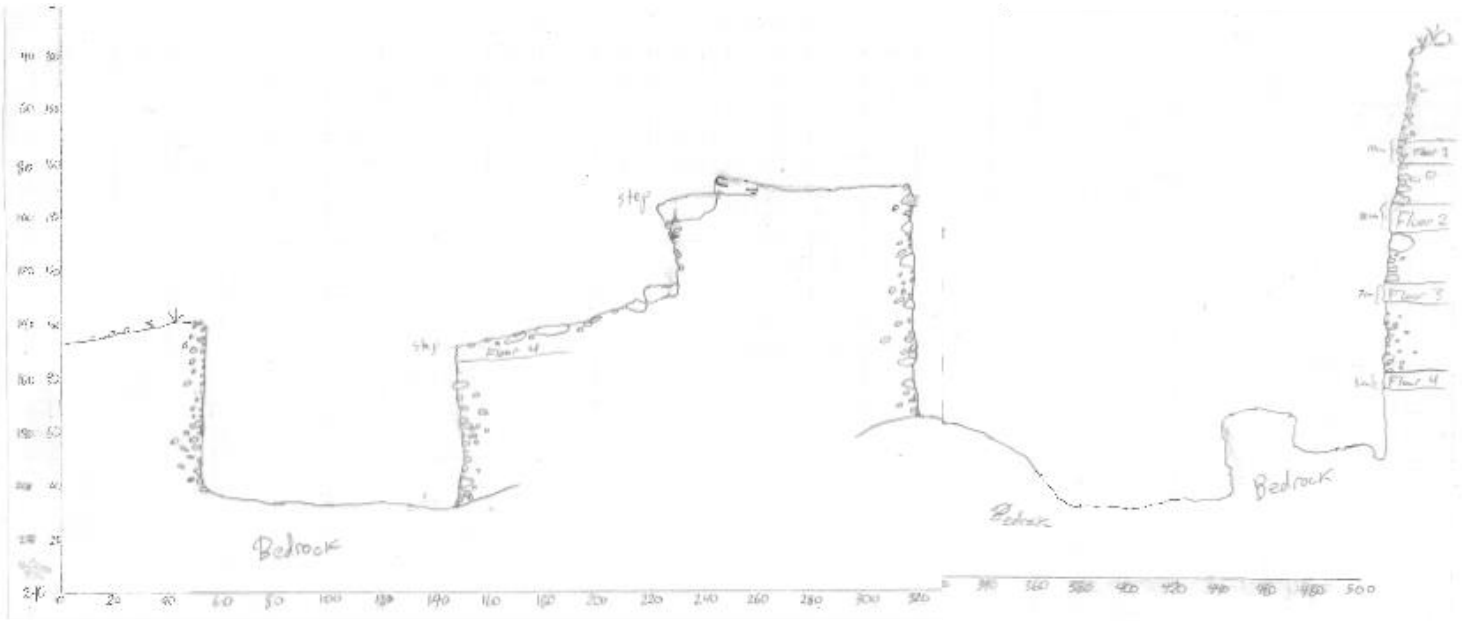

Figure 9: Profile drawing of G-2.