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PRECLASSIC MAYA FUNERARY PATTERNS IN NORTHERN BELIZE: AN ANALYSIS OF INTERMENT ATTRIBUTES FROM COLHA, CUELLO, AND K'AXOB

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PRECLASSIC MAYA FUNERARY PATTERNS IN NORTHERN BELIZE: AN ANALYSIS OF INTERMENT ATTRIBUTES FROM COLHA, CUELLO, AND K'AXOB

by

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Dedication

To My Parents:

Rosalinda Guerrero Nerio and Oscar Guerra Obledo

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PRECLASSIC MAYA FUNERARY PATTERNS IN NORTHERN BELIZE: AN ANALYSIS OF INTERMENT ATTRIBUTES FROM COLHA, CUELLO, AND K'AXOB

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The University of Texas at Austin, 2011

Supervisor: Fred Valdez, Jr.

This dissertation presents an analysis of Preclassic period (1000 B.C. – A.D. 250) funerary attributes of three Maya sites in northern Belize, Central America: Colha, Cuello, and K'axob. The dataset is comprised of 133 interments from Colha, 131 interments from Cuello, and 98 interments from K'axob for a total of 362 Preclassic interments. Analysis has been conducted on a suite of 12 variables representative of this dataset and their interrelatedness: age, sex, artifact material type, artifact material form, cranial orientation, burial position or posture, functional designation of architecture in which an interment is placed, presence or absence of indications of burning, presence or absence of red mineral pigmentation, functional designation of artifacts, presence or absence of a cross motif, and presence or absence of a head cover (vessel covering the cranium). This research

project has four main objectives: 1) provide a structured presentation of Preclassic interment data for Colha, Cuello, and K'axob, 2) present a thorough and cogent analysis of the interrelatedness of the suite of variables abovementioned, 3) document any significant trends and anomalies that are evidenced within the funerary attributes of these sites, and finally 4) to offer an interpretation of those patterns and deviations seen within the analysis as they relate to intrasite and intersite social differentiation and dynamics through the Preclassic. The analysis within this volume demonstrates that the elaboration and variation of interment attributes increase over time in Preclassic at the three sites of study. This is paralleled by a development of ritual and ceremonial architecture for public activities. Differential access to materials and forms is indicated throughout the Middle, Late and Terminal Preclassic, with the level of disparity between the apparent elite and non-elite increasing over time. Adult males are generally accompanied by higher numbers and a greater variety of goods than are females and subadults. This indicates a power and/or status differential between the two sexes and age groups, with male adults being the most highly esteemed individuals within the social stratification system. This study demonstrates the dynamic and multifaceted material representations with which Preclassic Maya of Northern Belize expressed their identity in death.

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CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

This dissertation is a data-driven analysis of the Preclassic period (1000 B.C. – A.D. 250) funerary attributes of three Maya sites in northern Belize, Central America: Colha, Cuello, and K'axob (Figure 1.1). The dataset is comprised of 133 interments from Colha, 131 interments from Cuello, and 98 interments from K'axob for a total of 362 Preclassic interments. Analysis has been conducted on a suite of 12 variables representative of this dataset and their interrelatedness: age, sex, artifact material type, artifact material form, cranial orientation, burial position or posture, functional designation of architecture in which an interment is placed, presence or absence of indications of burning, presence or absence of red mineral pigmentation, functional designation of artifacts, presence or absence of a cross motif, and presence or absence of a head cover or vessel covering the cranium.

Through analyzing the trends and disparities in the funerary assemblages of Preclassic decedents from the northern Belize sites of Colha, Cuello, and K'axob, this dissertation endeavors to answer the question: how do varying categories of identity influence social hierarchy and how is this differentiation materialized within the interments of these individuals over time as well as between the three sites? While many variations of identity likely existed within the communities of these sites during the Preclassic, this study examines the social identity and hierarchy of decedents as would have resulted from the normative social categories established by the biological distinctions of sex (male-female) and age (adult-

subadult). Analytical observations regarding tentatively and indeterminately sexed and aged individuals are provided in this dissertation; however the cardinal focus is intended to be on those decedents who have been definitively aged and sexed. It is the author's argument that such a focus will allow for a more full and accurate depiction of the manner in which social identity and differentiation were being materially manifested in the Preclassic funerary assemblages of northern Belize.

Figure 1.1 Map showing the location of the three sites of study

Both local and exotic materials as well as numerous forms of goods are represented in the dataset. What is noticeably absent are all of the organic and perishable material artifacts that may have accompanied decedents. It is possible that 90-95% of all prehistoric material culture was manufactured from perishable materials such as cloth, wood, flora, and fauna (Buttles 2002: 3; Drooker 2001: 4). Recognizing this caveat, the following analysis is presented to the reader as an interpretation of the contextual patterning of Preclassic Maya burials at the three sites of study, and the implications thereof for intrasite and intersite social differentiation.

The sites of Colha, Cuello, and K'axob have been chosen for analysis due to the strong Preclassic component and unique characteristics in each of their site histories. Colha exists as a center of craft specialization focused on lithic production. Cuello is a non-specialized site, but one that experienced a particularly intensive population increase as time progressed. It also represents somewhat of a middle ground between the other two more specialized sites. K'axob is a site focused on wetland agriculture, given its location in the Pulltrouser Swamp area. Therefore, the site selection represents two specialized yet divergent sites in Colha and K'axob and a more neutral site in Cuello. As stated above, all three sites exhibit a strong, definitive Preclassic archaeological component. This study focuses on the Preclassic time period in order to assist in creating a more comprehensive understanding of the funerary customs being practiced in the initial, formative stages of what would

become Maya culture; for these are the foundational actions that created a behavioral and social framework for funerary ritual in later periods at these sites.

RESEARCH OBJECTIVES

This research project has four main objectives: **1)** provide a structured presentation of Preclassic interment data for Colha, Cuello, and K'axob, **2)** present a thorough and cogent analysis of the interrelatedness of the suite of variables abovementioned, **3)** document any significant trends and anomalies that are evidenced within the funerary attributes of these sites, and finally **4)** to offer an interpretation of those trends and disparities seen within the results of analysis as they relate to intrasite and intersite social differentiation and dynamics through the Preclassic.

Valuable, well-crafted work by previous scholars has established that analysis of the burial practices of a culture can provide critical information regarding a population's behaviors, lifeways, social structure, and demographic profile (McAnany 1995, 2004a; Rathje 1970; Robin 1989; Ruz 1968; Thompson 2005; Welsh 1988). It is in this vein of thought that the present analysis is presented; this project is intended to synthesize and analyze the most ostensibly pertinent facets of a large Preclassic Maya funerary dataset with the objective of facilitating a more complete understanding of social dynamics and lifeways in Pre-Columbian northern Belize.

This will be accomplished through the creation of an organized database that contains pertinent information on each Preclassic interment at the sites of study and the conduction of exploratory data analytics including quantitative and frequency analyses. From these analyses, trends and anomalies within the data will be identified and interpreted against the backdrop of the culture history of the respective sites. These trends and anomalies will also be interpreted as they specifically relate to intrasite and intersite social differentiation and power dynamics in the Preclassic.

ORGANIZATION OF THE VOLUME

This dissertation is organized into nine chapters and an appendix, including the present chapter. **Chapter 2** describes the environmental setting for the Maya area as a whole, including the highlands and the lowlands as well as the geographic subzones within these areas. This includes information on geography, physiography, climate, soils, vegetation, crops, and other resources within these zones and subzones. This is followed by a brief summary of the environmental setting of each of the sites of study, which includes information on geography, physiography, soils, vegetation, and resources.

Chapter 3 presents a summary of previous archaeological research at each of the sites of study. This is followed by a brief overview of the culture history of the sites, organized and divided by time period: Middle Preclassic (900 B.C. – 400 B.C.),

Late Preclassic (400 B.C. – A.D. 100), and Terminal Preclassic (A.D. 100 - A.D. 250). Each of these components is delimited to the Preclassic period as that is the focus of the present investigation.

Chapter 4 provides a detailed review of the definitions and methodology employed in the current analysis as well as an overview of the theoretical underpinnings expanded upon in the discussion of the findings of this dissertation (Chapter 9). First a reiteration of the research goals is presented. This is followed by definitions of all the categories and classifications used to organize the Preclassic interment data from Colha, Cuello, and K'axob. An outline explaining the applied methodology and theory is offered, followed by a brief reader's guide.

Chapter 5 is the first chapter in which analysis of the data is contained. A chapter is presented for each time period within the Preclassic. Each chapter is further subdivided, with an analytical results section for each site and for the region, based on the aggregate data. This chapter is dedicated to the Middle Preclassic. The suite of 12 variables within the dataset (age, sex, artifact material type, artifact material form, cranial orientation, burial position or posture, functional designation of architecture in which an interment is placed, presence or absence of indications of burning, presence or absence of red mineral pigmentation, functional designation of artifacts, presence or absence of a cross motif, and presence or absence of a head cover or vessel covering the cranium) are cross referenced against each other to provide a normalized analysis of the data as relative percentages of the whole for the specific sites and the region during the Middle Preclassic. Given the nearly

endless possible permutations of these variables that exist, a decision was made to largely focus on the variables as they relate to age and sex categories of decedents. The analysis was conducted in this manner in order to arrive at a more comprehensive understanding of the funerary attributes of males, females, adults, and subadults at the sites. It is contended that such a method of analysis will better facilitate a conception of the dynamics of the social milieu in the region at the time. Interpretations of the trends and anomalies seen within the results are offered where possible. The chapter is followed by a set of tables illustrating the raw numbers that are presented within the text as a normalized percentage.

Chapter 6 is constructed in the same manner as Chapter 5, but contains information pertinent to the Late Preclassic period.

Chapter 7 is constructed in the same manner as Chapters 5 and 6, but contains information pertinent to the Terminal Preclassic period.

Chapter 8 is constructed in the same manner as Chapters 5, 6, and 7, but contains information on those interments that were not able to be dated accurately enough in order to be placed in one of the preceding data subsets. The overarching temporal designation of 'Preclassic' is assigned to these burials.

Chapter 9 is a summary and discussion of the trends and anomalies seen in the data. The author provides interpretations of those significant patterns revealed through the analysis. Bar graphs are presented in this section to illustrate the overarching trends by material type, sex, age, site and time period. This is followed by a brief discussion and concluding remarks.

The **Appendix** contains a bullet point summary of the dissertation findings regarding trends and disparities within the data pertaining to definitively sexed and definitively aged individuals from Colha, Cuello and K'axob. The appendix is divided into sections for the Middle, Late and Terminal Preclassic.

CHAPTER 2: ENVIRONMENTAL SETTING

An overview of the environmental setting within which the sites of study exist is provided here, in order to place the subsequent analysis in geographic context. The three sites of focus in the present analysis are located in northern Belize, Central America, situated within the larger area of Maya occupation. This larger region is composed of diverse geological and environmental zones, which have been classified as two distinct geographic zones known as the lowlands (northern) and the highlands (southern). The boundaries of these geographic zones are not definite, but rather grade into one another through gradual climate and environmental transitions. Given that environmental conditions also vary within each of these zones, they are further divided into subzones. The lowlands are understood to have three divisions: Southern Transitional, Central or Peten, and Northern Yucatecan. The highlands have been divided into two areas: Northern Metamorphic and Southern Volcanic.

HIGHLANDS

The highlands are divided into the northern metamorphic and southern volcanic areas. The geologically active southern volcanic area is a place where three continental plates meet and produce volcanoes; they average 800 meters in elevation. The climate across the highlands is generally warm with annual average temperatures between 15°C and 25°C. The upper slopes of these active volcanoes

extend above 3,000 meters in elevation and are subject to far colder temperatures with periodic frosts and snowfall. The highlands see a dry season (January – April) as well as a rainy season (May – December). Rainfall totals generally increase as one travels northward. Average rainfall within the highlands is between 2,000 and 3,000 mm per year. Precipitation totals are far lower in areas of the interior such as the Motagua Valley and the central Chiapas depression. Average annual rainfall in there areas is less than 1,000 mm.

Though deforestation has taken its toll, a mix of evergreen and deciduous forest still exists in the highlands. Tree varieties such as oaks, laurels, sweet gum, dogwood and pine are still present in the area. It is noted that pines tend to be the predominant species, occasionally mixed with cypress or juniper, the further up in elevation one travels. While many large Maya centers were settled on the valley floors of the highlands early on, as time progressed there was a transition toward relocation on hilltops and plateaus surrounded by ravines, thus allowing site inhabitants more defensible locales (Sharer and Traxler 2006).

SOUTHERN HIGHLANDS

The southern highlands exist as a chain of active volcanoes running in an east-west direction, paralleling the Pacific coast. Given the juncture of three continental plates in the southern highlands, the area experiences frequent earthquakes and volcanic activity. The highest peak within this range is 4,220 meters in height. North of this chain of volcanoes is an older volcanic area that has

become crested by thick deposits of lava and ash. The rivers flowing through the area have eroded portions of these crests to form *barrancas* or deep gullies with very steep sides. Several basins within the southern highlands contain lakes (Sharer and Traxler 2006).

The Rio Motagua river system is the principal hydrological system of this area. Tributary rivers flow northward while the Motagua itself follows the volcanic range eastward to the Gulf of Honduras in the Caribbean Sea. To the west is the Grijalva River system that cuts through the central depression of Chiapas and flows into the Gulf of Mexico. One of the chief resources provided by the volcanic southern highlands is obsidian, which is found throughout the Maya area. The most prominent sources based on recovered artifacts are El Chayal, which is located on the edges of the Motagua Valley just northeast of the Valley of Guatemala, and Ixtepeque, which lies approximately 85 kilometers to the southeast. Material resources for groundstone implements such as manos and metates are also sourced from the southern highlands in the form of basaltic rocks such as andesite (Sharer and Traxler 2006).

NORTHERN HIGHLANDS

The northern highlands are located north of the juncture of the geological plates and the Motagua and Grijalva valleys. Elevations exceed 3,000 meters in height and peaks are largely composed of Paleozoic and Cenozoic metamorphic deposits. The Chiapas highlands and the Altos Cuchumatanes of Guatemala lie to the

west. They are followed by the Sierra de Chuacus and Sierra de las Minas. These ranges have been mined for mineral resources throughout the time of Maya occupation in the area. Chief among the resources that lie within these formations are jadeite and serpentine, which the ancient Maya mined and quarried. Significant deposits of these materials are located in the southern areas of the Sierra de las Minas in the central Motagua Valley of Guatemala.

Cenozoic limestone formations appear the further northward one travels. This karstic environment is seen to have isolated hills surrounded by alluviated plains as well as numerous underground caverns and mountainside springs. Soils in the northern highlands are far less rich than in the southern highlands, though pockets of richer alluvial soils exist in many of the valleys and basins in the area. The Usumacinta river system is the principal drainage system of the northern highlands. The Usumacinta and its tributaries trend northwest into the southern lowlands and through to the Gulf of Mexico (Sharer and Traxler 2006).

LOWLANDS

The lowlands are a karstic landscape that extends from the northern highlands through Guatemala and Belize as well as Mexico's Yucatan Peninsula. This geographic zone comprises the largest spatial area of the Maya region. Elevations within this zone are below 800 meters, except for the peaks of the Maya Mountains in southern Belize. The lowlands area is usually divided into a southern, central and

northern area. The central lowlands are also known as the Peten, given their correlation with the Peten region of Guatemala.

The climate in the lowlands is generally hot; however this setting is host to a variety of different sub-environments given differences in elevation, precipitation, drainage, soil quality and vegetation that are seen over the area. Rainfall in the lowlands as a whole generally decreases as one travels from south to north; this is coincident with a decrease in the height and density of tropical forest cover as one travels northward. Multistory canopies typify the lowlands, with the uppermost canopy reaching between 40 and 70 meters in height and being largely represented by ceiba, mahogany, sapodilla and numerous other species.

The lower secondary canopy reaches heights between 25 and 50 meters in height while a tertiary canopy extends 15 to 25 meters in height. Both the secondary and tertiary canopy contain a variety of trees such as the breadnut, allspice and avocado. All of these trees would have been resources of the ancient Maya, providing lumber for building purposes, dyes for crafting, and foodstuffs for subsistence (Sharer and Traxler 2006).

The amiable habitat provided by these forests would have supported a wide variety of creatures, including prized species such as the jaguar, quetzal, and ocellated turkey. Feathers of birds such as the quetzal would have been prized for their brilliant green color and would have been utilized by the ancient Maya in the assembly of headdresses, crests, capes and shields as well as other personal ornaments. While empirical evidence of such feathers are not preserved in any of

the interments examined within this study, iconographic evidence of such is readily seen in the Bonampak murals and Wall Panel 3 at Piedras Negras. Additionally, the limestone foundation of the lowlands would have provided building materials as well as material for carved monuments such as mortar and plaster, once reduced to lime via burning. Limestone was easily quarried with stone tools, which the Maya employed. Furthermore, several significant outcrops of chert exist in the limestone bedrock in this area (Sharer and Traxler 2006). These outcrops would have provided the source material the Maya needed for manufacture of various practical tools (bifaces, blades, etc) and prestige items (eccentrics) (Meadows 2001).

SOUTHERN LOWLANDS

The southern lowlands are generally warm to hot with average temperatures ranging between 25°C and 35°C. Elevations are seen to lie between 800 and 1,000 meters. Both temperature and elevation increase as one travels from the southern boundary of the southern lowlands northward. Average annual rainfall in this area is between 2,000 and 3, 000 mm. The dry season typically does not last long in areas with the highest rainfall, typically only one or two months, and usually occurring between March and May. Tropical rainforest trees and plants dominate much of the southern lowlands, while mangrove and other swamp species predominate in the coastal areas of this region. As stated above, the southern lowlands exhibit a karstic landscape with the potential for pockets of deep and nutrient rich soils along the

banks of its rivers. The principal drainage system for the southern lowlands is the Usumacinta River system and its tributaries.

SOUTHERN/CENTRAL LOWLANDS

The Maya Mountains are at time attributed to the southern lowlands and at times to the central lowlands. Regardless of which geographic zone one assigns this mountain range, its placement within southern Belize provided an accessible supply of multiple valuable raw materials for individuals in northern Belize and other locales, as is explained below. This chain of mountains has elevations exceeding 1,000 meters in height. Numerous mineral materials are sourced from the Maya Mountains including basalt, granite, slate, hematite and pyrite. Thus, locals were provided with an alternate sourcing site to the highlands for these materials (Dixon 1956; Dunham 1996).

The highlands are further away from sites such as Colha, Cuello and K'axob in northern Belize and therefore site inhabitants would have incurred a higher economic and social cost for the attainment of these goods due to the long distance travel and necessity to establish and maintain social networks with those individuals controlling these resources in the highlands. Just east of the Maya Mountains is a narrow coastal plain that is cut by various streams that flow into the Caribbean. Sites along this plain bear evidence of salt manufacturing, especially during the Terminal Classic (McKillop 2002; Valdez and Mock 1991). Indications also exist of the harvesting of marine resources from these sites (McKillop 1984).

CENTRAL LOWLANDS

The central lowlands are also known as the Peten. It is within this central lowland area that Colha, Cuello and K'axob exist. This area includes Guatemala's Department of Peten, northern Belize and the central eastern portion of the Yucatan Peninsula in Mexico (Buttles 2002: 57). The Rio Hondo, New River and Belize River and their tributaries are responsible for the large part of the drainage within the northeast central lowlands. These rivers trend northeast and flow into the Caribbean. The principal drainage system of the northwest central lowlands is comprised by the Rio Candelaria and Rio Mamantel, which flow into the Gulf of Mexico.

The southern border for this section of the lowlands is the Usumacinta. Rainfall decreases the further north from this river one travels and the topography generally becomes less severe compared to the higher elevations in the south. The physiographic features of this area are extremely diverse, ranging from forest, grasslands and lakes to seasonal swamps. The average annual rainfall here is less than in the southern lowlands, totaling only 2,000 mm. Typically the majority of this precipitation is seen between May and January; the dry season lasts from February to May (Sharer and Traxler 2006).

Given the karstic environment and the decreased rainfall, the central lowlands are somewhat more arid than those to the south, with smaller rivers and a slight scarcity of surface water during the dry season. Notwithstanding this fact, the central lowlands exhibit tropical forests are comparable to those of the south.

Within the central lowlands exists a complex of approximately fourteen lakes; the rainy season fills many of these to the level that they are interconnected for several months out of the year. The largest of these lakes is Lake Peten Itza, which is located within the center of the basin where this chain of lakes exists. An open savanna is seen south of these lakes. Tree growth is sparse and the compact red clay soil is unfit for agriculture. According to Sharer and Traxler "although research indicates that at least some Peten savanna lands were occupied in ancient times, poor soil and low densities of remains of ancient occupation suggest that this area was not heavily populated in the past" (2006: 47). It has also been suggested that the transition from forest to savanna in this area was caused by humans (Vaughan et al 1985: 82). This was likely due to heavy deforestation during the Late Classic (Brenner et al 2002; Leyden 2002). Brenner et al. do propose an alternate vector of climate drying, which may also have adversely affected forest density or perhaps augmented the affect of the human variable on the deforestation process (2002: 152).

Elevations in this open savanna are relatively low, approximately 150 meters. A range of limestone hills surround the savanna and these peaks rise to an average elevation of 300 meters; they are covered by a thick tropical forest. North of the chain of fourteen Peten lakes one sees an increased frequency of bajos situated in mixed forest vegetation. The northern boundary of the Peten is delimited by yet another drainage area – El Mirador basin. Several economically important material resources occur in the central lowlands, including large naturally occurring

outcrops of high quality chert or flint near Colha in northern Belize (Hester and Shafer 1984).

NORTHERN LOWLANDS

The northern lowlands are comprised of the area roughly corresponding to the northern half of the Yucatan Peninsula. Average annual rainfall in the northern lowlands area is less than 2,000 mm. Seasonality consists of a well defined wet season (June – December) and a dry season (January – May). Rainfall is less than 500 mm per year in the drier areas of the northern lowlands, which are found in northwestern-most part of Yucatan. A series of low elevation hills known as the Puuc Hills are seen here.

Despite the very hot temperatures in this geographic zone, it was an optimal climate for the cultivation of cotton and other crops. This high production level of cotton allowed the Yucatan to be a chief producer of woven textiles throughout Pre-Columbian and early Colonial times. (Sharer and Traxler 2006: 49). There is also evidence for salt production on the northern coast of the Yucatan Peninsula (Andrews 1983).

In the northernmost portion of the northern lowlands, there exist caves and *chultunes* as well as the Ring of Cenotes. These physiographic features are indicative of the karstic environment characteristic of the lowlands (Dunning et al 1998). Cenotes would have been valuable sources of water in the more arid sections of the northern lowlands. Rainfall totals decrease as one moves from south to north and a

transition from tall dense forests of the central lowlands transitions to scrub brush vegetation. Virtually no surface streams and very few lakes appear in the northern lowlands. The soil in this area is also quite shallow compared to those seen in the central lowlands. The east coast of the Yucatan Peninsula sees the growth of an abundance of palmetto while further inland mahogany, Spanish cedar, sapodilla, and other hardwoods proliferate. These hardwood trees thrive due to the higher rainfall totals in the northeastern Yucatan. Xerophytic flora such as agave and cacti proliferate in the northwestern-most area of the peninsula where drier conditions prevail (Sharer and Traxler 2006: 49).

SITE SPECIFIC ENVIRONMENTAL SETTINGS

As abovementioned, all three sites of focus for this study lie within the Central Lowlands. This means that they reside in a karstic landscape that is characterized by forest and seasonal bajos. These sites receive average annual rainfall of roughly 2,000 mm. Typically, the majority of this precipitation is seen between May and January; the dry season lasts from February to May.

COLHA: ENVIRONMENTAL SETTING

Colha is located in northern Belize approximately 20 kilometers west of the Caribbean Sea and 75 kilometers north of Belize City. The site spans roughly six square kilometers (Hester et al 1979; 1982). As stated above, the site is located within the central lowlands on a karstic plain. Bisecting the site is Rancho Creek, a

relatively small stream that empties into the wetland area of Cobweb Swamp directly east of Colha. Evidence from the swamp suggests the presence of cultigens at Colha as early as 3500 B.C. as well as significant manipulation of the swamp landscape for agricultural purposes in the Middle and Late Preclassic (Buttles 2002: 61, 68-69).

Data from Cobweb Swamp also indicates that the high site population at Colha during the Late Preclassic contributed to deforestation and soil erosion that would have begun to impact the agricultural modifications inhabitants made to the site. Loose clay deposits would have begun to wash over the established fields and irrigation channels (Jacob 1992: 39). There appears to be a temporary termination of occupation at the site in the Terminal Classic circa A.D. 900 based on pollen analysis, which shows a decrease in disturbance taxa indicative of human occupation in an environment (Jacob 1992: 70). This is corroborated by indications of occupation termination seen in the ceramic assemblage (Valdez 1987; 1994).

After a period of time during which reforestation of the site likely occurred (Shaw and Mangan 1994), occupation is again seen at the site (Buttles 2002: 69). The site is considered to be within a swampy flood plain region physiographically characterized by upland forest, swamp forest and sawgrass marsh (Dunning et al 1998: 93; Jacob 1992: 33). Colha is positioned on and surrounded by naturally occurring outcrops of high quality chert to which site inhabitants would have had ready access (Hester and Shafer 1984). Chert is a silicate based stone that naturally develops in nodule forms within limestone and is evident throughout the Yucatan

peninsula. Nodules as large as one meter in width and almost one half meter thick have been discovered at the site (Tobey et al 1994: 268). The prevalence of this high quality raw material undoubtedly placed Colha in an advantageous position in regards to economic trade relations during and beyond the Preclassic.

CUELLO: ENVIRONMENTAL SETTING

Cuello is situated on a low interfluvial ridge that lies between the Rio Hondo and the Rio Nuevo, roughly 5 kilometers west of Orange Walk in northern Belize and approximately 25 kilometers northwest of Colha (Robin 1989). During the Late Preclassic, which would have been the period of maximum occupancy for the site, the population is estimated at a peak of 2, 600 inhabitants. The site extends 1,200 meters southwest, 750 meters south, 600 meters west and 500 meters north from the ceremonial center. A northeast to southwest concentration of mounds is apparent. This is ostensibly the result of the local topography (Hammond et al 1991: 8).

Palynological tests indicate that maize is present at the site from the early Middle Preclassic as were nance and squash. Pines were abundant all through the Preclassic, with a particular spike in their presence in the late Middle to early Late Preclassic. High levels of charcoal from both temperate hardwoods and pine trees are present indicating the use of multiple sources for firewood and timber. The mollusk assemblage indicates that the interfluvial ridge on which Cuello sits may have been partially surrounded by shallow lakes at the beginning of the Late

Preclassic. Sawgrass marshes and bajos would have been abundant at the site (Miksicek et al 1991: 77-84).

K'AXOB: ENVIRONMENTAL SETTING

K'axob is located in the New River valley of northern Belize where its mollisols are well suited to maize farming. Data from the site indicates a heavy Preclassic preoccupation with the harvesting of wetland resources as well, including small fish, turtles and freshwater gastropods (McAnany 2004b: 8). In addition to maize, paleoecological evidence indicates that K'axob residents were cultivating cotton and other economic crops (Jones 1991).

Regarding faunal resources, an abundance of fish are seen to be available in the early Middle Preclassic with lower presence of mammals and turtles. The late Middle Preclassic sees a decrease in the availability or utilization of fish resources and a compensatory increase in the presence of rodents. Turtles also appear to have been more readily exploited. The Late Preclassic brings resurgence in the utilization of fish and decline in turtle usage. Birds appear to be a readily available resource in the Late Preclassic as well. The Terminal Preclassic sees slightly more usage of turtles but moderate quantities of all other fauna (Masson 2004: 396).

CHAPTER 3: PREVIOUS ARCHAEOLOGICAL RESEARCH & CULTURE HISTORY

This section presents a brief review of prior archaeological research at Colha, Cuello and K'axob; projects that were focused obtaining a better understanding of the Preclassic in northern Belize. A summary of the culture history of each site during the Preclassic is also presented.

COLHA

PREVIOUS ARCHAEOLOGICAL RESEARCH

The northern Belize site of Colha was originally documented in 1973 by Norman Hammond during the British Museum-Cambridge University Corozal Project (Hammond 1973). During these initial investigations, the site was surveyed, tested and mapped (Figures 3.1-3.2). The return of the Corozal Project to the site in 1975 involved continued survey and mapping efforts. At this time and into the following year, surface collections and testing revealed extensive amounts of chert debitage that was indicative of concentrated lithic tool production at the site. Ceramic data was also obtained which indicated an extended occupational sequence for Colha (Hammond 1973, 1982; Wilk 1973, 1975, 1976). Wilk reports that prior to the discovery of Colha, a site presenting such an intensive level of craft specialization had not been reported (1976). Clearly the site inhabitants had been able to readily exploit the naturally available, high quality chert outcrops that lay under and

around the site. Given the magnitude of discoveries and the archaeological potential of the site, it was clear that further investigation was warranted. Due to their knowledge of lithic technology, Thomas Hester and Harry Shafer were appointed to head up these research efforts (Hester et al 1979: 2). Thus the Colha Project was initiated in 1979 and continued for 14 seasons. The excavations were directed by Thomas Hester, Harry Shafer, Robert Heizer, R.E.W. Adams, Jack Eaton, and Giancarlo Ligabue and were a mutual research effort of the University of Texas at San Antonio, Center for Archaeological Research, Texas A&M University, and the Centro Studi e Ricerche Ligabue a Venezia (Hester et al 1979). Maps of the site and the ceremonial site center can be found below.

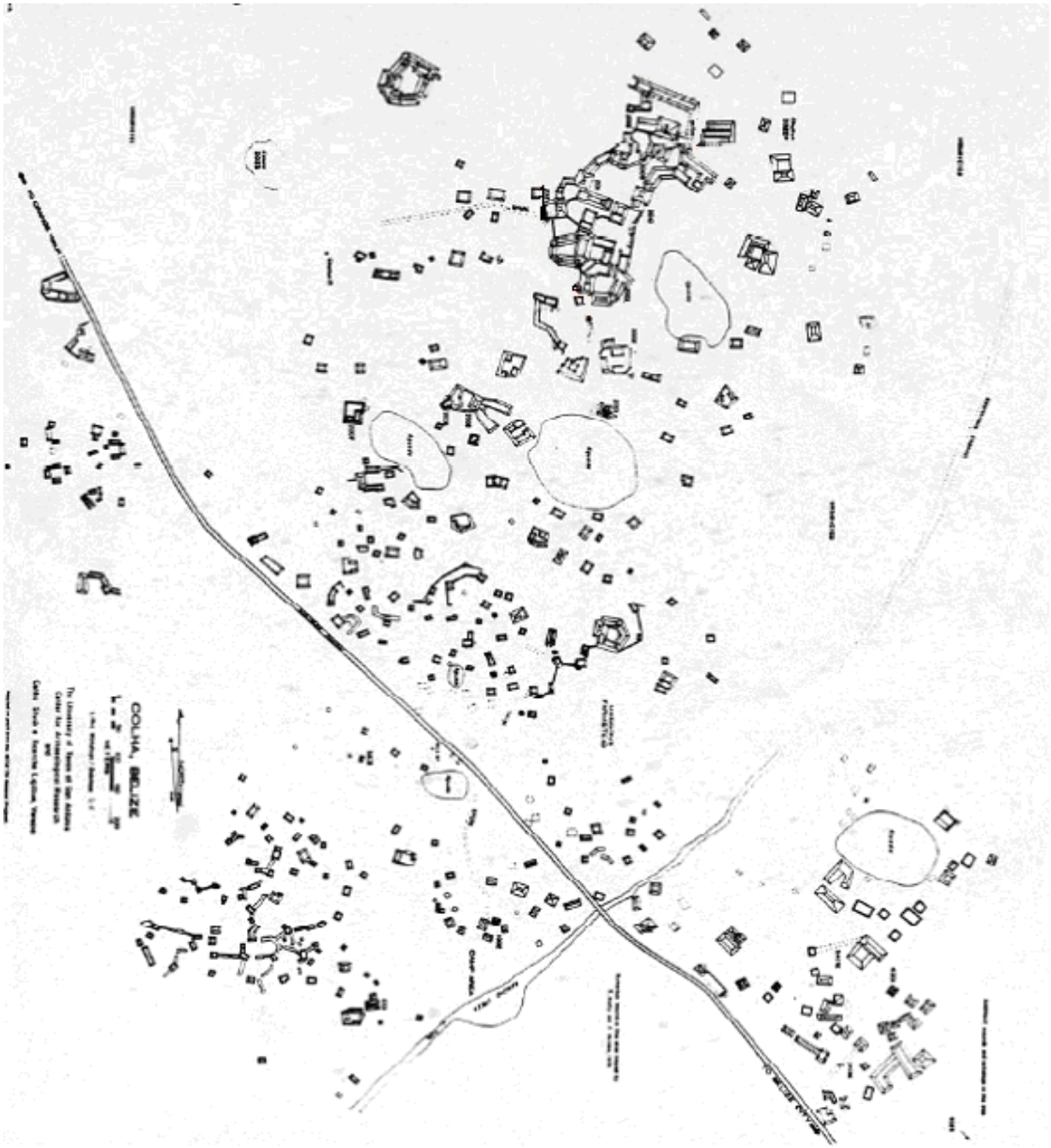


Figure 3.1: Site map of Colha (adapted from Hester, Shafer, and Eaton 1982)

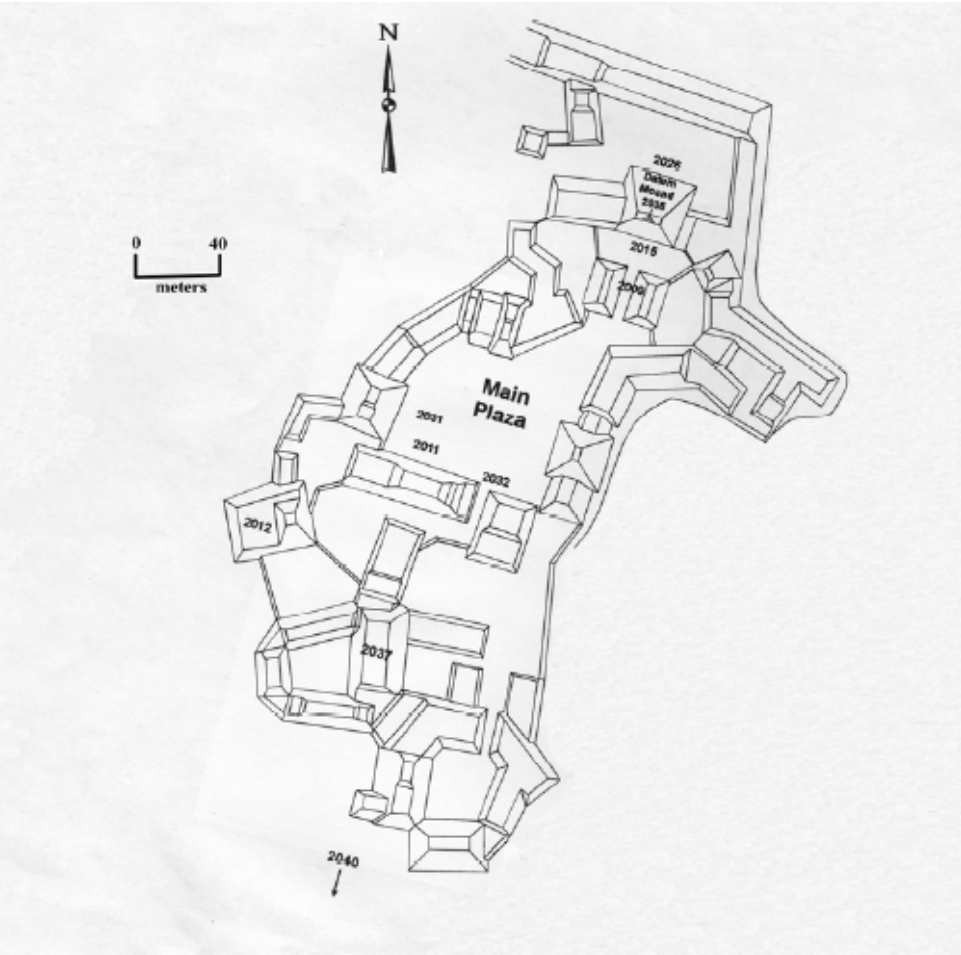


Figure 3.2: Colha monumental site center map (adapted from Hester, Shafer, and Eaton 1994)

The inaugural season of the project focused on concerted investigation of the numerous lithic workshops at the site. It was hoped that these activity areas would provide a fuller understanding of craft specialization at the site and the role of Colha in the economic network of northern Belize. It was also intended to develop a classification system for the recovered lithic materials (Hester et al 1979). As a

result of the first season's efforts, a preliminary ceramic chronology was developed (Adams and Valdez 1979) and it was made clear that lithic production at the site was extremely organized and quite extensive during the Late Preclassic (Hester et al 1979).

The 1980 season, which was the second at the site, saw continued excavations of the lithic workshops with an added focus of investigation into residences (both elite and domestic), a ballcourt, and a temple platform. Daniel Potter (1980) was responsible for investigations into the western periphery of the ceremonial core of the site at Operation 2012. Potter's findings indicated that the most intensive activity in this area of the site was in the Middle to Late Preclassic ,though use extended into the Late Classic. Investigation revealed a possible shrine and large amounts of broken ceramic vessels at the base of one of the structures, suggesting concentrated ritual or ceremonial activity at this location. Excavations were also conducted at the nearby Operations 2009 and 2011 (Eaton 1980; Eaton and Kunstler 1980). Survey at the site was also continued and expanded, resulting in the documentation of multiple Preceramic sites (Ladyville, Lowe Ranch, Sand Hill, and others) under the Colha Regional Survey (CRS) (Shafer et al 1980a, 1980b).

The CRS continued in 1981 during the third season as did investigation into craft specialization and lithic technology at the site (Gibson 1982; Hester 1982; Kelly 1980; Shafer 1982). During this season data was obtained to establish a lithic chronology for northern Belize as well as to refine and solidify the ceramic chronology at the site from Preclassic to Postclassic times (Valdez and Adams 1982;

Hester 1982). There are ten complexes within the Colha ceramic sequence that correspond to a time frame of approximately 900 B.C. to A.D. 1400. The Preclassic is represented by four of these complexes as follows: Middle Preclassic - Bolay Complex 900 B.C. – 600 B.C. and Chiwa Complex 600 B.C. – 300 B.C.; Late Preclassic – Onecimo Complex 300 B.C. – 100 B.C.; Terminal Preclassic – Blossom Bank Complex 250 B.C. – A.D. 250.

Additional findings in the 1981 season from Operation 2012 revealed Late Preclassic caching and burial activity indicating the reuse of grave spaces. Data indicated that previous occupants of these interments would be moved aside and the new primary occupant would be ceremoniously placed within the space. Given the recovery of 17 total Preclassic burials from Operation 2012, Potter (1982) postulated that this location was a preferred interment area, perhaps a cemetery and that the associated building, Structure 27 was possibly a mortuary structure. Radiocarbon dates from this third season indicated that the earliest occupation at Colha dated to 900 B.C. This was corroborated by the ceramic chronology developed by Valdez and Adams (1982). It was also found that the mass production of lithic tools during the Late Preclassic was likely linked to a period of intensive agricultural development at the site (Hester et al 1982). Shafer extrapolated these findings into studies of the trade relationships that existed between Colha and sites such as Tikal, Palenque and Copan, where tool use is indicated but local production is not (Shafer 1994).

The 1983 season focused on gaining a better understanding of the transition from the Late Classic to Early Postclassic in addition to numerous other research questions (Hester 1983, 1985, 1994). Investigation of Operation 2012 continued in order to better understand the occupation of the site during the Middle and Late Preclassic and the functional shift of the space from domestic to ritual. Operation 2031 was also a location of focus given that is was the largest plaza of the Colha ceremonial core. It was proposed that the buildings surrounding this plaza were shrines, elite residences, or buildings of a civic and/or religious nature (Anthony and Black 1994).

During the 1980 season, test excavations into Operation 2011 had evidenced a Preclassic component at a fairly shallow depth. Operation 2031 (formerly 2011) became the focus of exposing as extensive an area of Preclassic occupation as possible. The results of these excavations showed that underneath the main plaza existed a structure built atop a terraced platform and related to cooking features. Interments were discovered on this platform between the foundation wall of the structure and an outer terrace wall (Hester 1983). Operation 2031 was an extensive undertaking, with 34 square meters of this area being excavated. This data, in concert with the findings from Operation 2012 revealed a far more complete picture of the Middle Preclassic at Colha. Materials recovered provided data for the time period of approximately 900 – 600 B.C. through the Late Preclassic. The four interments encountered during the 1983 season all exhibited attributes indicative of high social status. This determination was made based upon the presence of

prestige items such as a non-local effigy vessel and jade celt, combined with the sophisticated architecture of the terraced platform (Anthony and Black 1994).

After a number of seasons focused on other research goals, the 1989 season of the Colha Project saw a return of attention to the Preclassic. Investigations during this season were delimited to Operation 2031 to further explore the Middle and Late Preclassic components that were present (Anthony 1987; Sullivan 1991). Additional interments were discovered at this time, bringing the total number of burials discovered at Operation 2031 between the 1983 and 1989 seasons to 26.

PRECLASSIC CULTURE HISTORY

The Preclassic time period is understood at to occur from 900 B.C. – A.D. 250. This period is represented at Colha by the Middle Preclassic (900 B.C. – 400 B.C.), Late Preclassic (400 B.C. – A.D. 100) and Terminal Preclassic A.D. 100 – A.D. 250). As stated above, the Preclassic is represented by four ceramic complexes: Middle Preclassic [Bolay Complex 900 B.C. – 600 B.C. and Chiwa Complex 600 B.C. – 300 B.C]; Late Preclassic [Onecimo Complex 300 B.C. – 100 B.C.]; Terminal Preclassic [Blossom Bank Complex 250 B.C. – A.D. 250]. Comprehensively, the Preclassic exists as a time of foundation and expansion for Colha and the region of northern Belize. Development in the social, economic and cultural components of the site is seen during this time; these are progressions that laid the foundation for the florescence of the Classic period.

Middle Preclassic 900 B.C. – 400 B.C.

Occupation at Colha is first indicated in the early Middle Preclassic between 900 B.C. - 600 B.C. Potter et al (n.d.) indicate that this period was characterized by groups of small dispersed households. These groups of individuals would have shared a community identity and practiced a common ideology. These inhabitants would already have been exploiting the wetland agriculture and faunal subsistence possibilities available to them, based on evidence from Cobweb Swamp and the faunal assemblage (Jacob 1992; Shaw 1991). Bolay complex ceramics would have predominated at this time. Predominant forms would have been tecomates, bottles and vessels with flat bases and flared sides (Valdez 1994). Ritual caching is first evidenced in this time period (Buttles 2002: 77). Objects and materials indicative of trade begin to appear during this time and continue through subsequent time periods.

The late Middle Preclassic occurred between 600 B.C. – 400 B.C. and was characterized by Chiwa complex ceramics. Common forms of this complex are strap handled spouted vessels also known as "chocolate pots" and effigy bottles (Adams and Valdez 1980). Analysis of the settlement patterns from this time indicate that the groups of households established in the early Middle Preclassic became more integrated and likely represented a low-level chiefdom society. Evidence suggests that the social profile of the community became more diversified at this time and that inhabitants of Colha had established spatially distinct activity areas such as the

possible formal cemetery complex at Operation 2012 (King 2000; Hester and Shafer 1994a, 1994b; Potter 1994).

There is an expansion of evidence regarding trade items at this time, with an increase in the quantity and variety of both raw and finished materials and forms including greenstone, obsidian, shell, and basaltic groundstone. These items were likely acquired through a reciprocal exchange system (Shafer 1994) that would have been predicated on the distinct capability of Colha residents to easily produce high quality chert tools from the natural resources readily available to them. Adams (1991: 135) has suggested that a large amount of the imported items, especially greenstone, would have been considered prestige goods and as such would have been acquired by the ruling lineage or Colha elite. These individuals would have utilized these exotic goods as a means of reifying their elevated status within the community. Though obsidian is not found within interments at this time, it is present at the site. San Martin Jilotepeque and El Chayal are the dominant sources, with a trace of Ixtepeque obsidian being found (Brown, Dreiss, and Hughes n.d.). Interments do however preserve evidence of the use of cacao through residue left in three spouted vessel within Operation 2012 (Powis et al. 2002).

Throughout the Middle Preclassic, lithic production appears to have been conducted as a cottage level industry (Hester and Shafer 1994: 26). Typical forms from this time are blades, bifaces and trimmed flakes and/or unifaces. Numerous subforms exist under each of these classifications (Potter 1991). Abundances of shell beads are found within Middle Preclassic interments. Evidence for

manufacture exists in the form of beads located in association with burin spalls, which would have been used for drilling (Potter 1980: 181, 1991: 24). Domicile construction for this period is characterized by circular or apsidal low walled structures that likely supported perishable superstructures. The numbers and structural complexity of these buildings are seen to increase over the Middle Preclassic (Anthony 1987; Anthony and Black 1994; Sullivan 1991).

The late Middle Preclassic sees the construction of large open platforms at Operation 2012, which had, prior to this point, supported domestic residences (King and Potter 1994: 71). This is likely indicative of a transition toward a focus on ritual activity in this area and possibly represents an elite residential area or perhaps an elite cemetery (Shafer personal communication in King 2000: 100).

Late Preclassic 400 B.C. – A.D. 100

A population increase is seen during the Late Preclassic at Colha. This is accompanied by a progression in the complexity of the settlement pattern and cultural, social, economic and ideological components of the site as well (Hester and Shafer 1994). Colha likely covered one square kilometer and had a population of roughly 600 at this time (Eaton 1982: 12). This increase in population is also evidenced in the technology present at the site, with an increased focus on craft specialization and the construction of monumental architecture. The number of lithic workshops increases during this period while temple structures, large open formal plazas and a ball court also appear. These developments suggest the

presence of a social force coaxing or coercing the general population to become a labor pool to assist in these building and craft efforts. Such a dynamic would indicate a level of social stratification characteristic of an elite class comprised of one or more ruling lineages at the site. Adams (1982: 61) postulates that during the Late Preclassic and continuing into the Terminal Preclassic, the site and its ruling class were fully to semi-autonomous.

Data from Cobweb Swamp corroborates the idea of a population increase in the Late Preclassic. Palynological records indicate a spike in the number of cultigens and disturbance species present while the deposition of clay deposits within established irrigation channels in the wetland fields speak to soil erosion due to deforestation. The deforesting of the areas surrounding the site was likely necessary due to an expanding number of site inhabitants as well as the need to develop agricultural areas capable of sustaining this burgeoning population (Jacob 1992; Jones 1991). With the increase in population and lithic craft specialization, Colha became an economically important and viable center within the Preclassic trade network (Hester and Shafer 1994; Potter et al n.d.; Shafer and Hester 1983). King (2000) notes the increase in spatial segregation of activities in domestic/residential and ritual/ceremonial areas.

Long distance trade goods are more diverse and numerous in the Late Preclassic than in the Middle Preclassic. As during the prior period, these items would likely have been acquired through a system of exchange predicated on the value of the lithic tools and symbols of power (eccentrics) (Meadows 2001) being

produced at Colha. Obsidian is found in interments during this time period, with the dominant source being Ixtepeque (Brown et al n.d.). Shafer and Hester (1983) indicate that the progression of trade relations is likely linked to the control exerted by a growing elite population. King (2000: 159) also contends that the Late Preclassic lithic production scheme appears more organized and controlled, likely speaking to the greater involvement of Colha elite. Also, the closeness of lithic workshops to ritual/ceremonial activity areas indicates that lithic specialists may have held positions of high regard (Hester and Shafer 1994; Potter 1994; Valdez 1994).

Ritual/ceremonial contexts are increasingly evident in the Late Preclassic with the introduction of monumental architecture including the main plaza, a ball court and elite residences (Potter 1980, 1982; Eaton 1982; Eaton and Kunstler 1980). In fact, "by the Late Preclassic no evidence exists for domestic or residential use of the Operation 2012 ceremonial structure, thereby solidifying it as an area of importance and a place of ritual activity" (Buttles 2002: 82). This is corroborated by the increase in caching and burial complexes during this time period. Interments are increasingly found in a variety of contexts with a greater diversity of grave good materials and forms (Buttles 2002: 82-83). While the reason for this transition is undetermined, it is clear that the core of Colha is undergoing a transformation toward a ritual and ceremonial activity hub.

Terminal Preclassic A.D. 100 – A.D. 250

The Terminal Preclassic at Colha is represented by the Blossom Bank ceramic complex. As during the prior period, the diversity of artifact materials and forms is indicative of Colha's involvement in a flourishing trade network likely controlled by the site elite. Obsidian at the site is now predominantly sourced to El Chayal (Brown et al n.d.). In addition to obsidian, greenstone and shell artifacts continue to exist in the site assemblage. Buttles (2002: 85) notes that the lithic assemblage of the Terminal Preclassic is identical to that of the Late Preclassic and that lithic workshops still evidence use by crafters and specialists. Interestingly, according to Meadows (2001), bifacially flaked stone symbols or eccentrics are largely found in Terminal Preclassic deposits.

The transition from private, domestic areas to one of a public, ceremonial function is noted in Operation 2031, indicated by a paving episode over the surface of the plaza (Anthony 1987; Anthony and Black 1994; Sullivan 1991). Sullivan (1991: 34-35) has presented evidence for the possible intentional ritual termination of a Late Preclassic structure at a time coincident with the paving event. Ancillary structures that are square or rectangular in form as described by Anthony (1987) have been found in Operation 2031. Buttles notes that this is "quite a divergence from the apsidal to round form that dominated the Preclassic: (2002: 85). These structures may have been a storeroom and a shrine or temple (Anthony 1987).

The high frequency of caching is still evident at the site. Interments are also still found in various structures. Caches are largely recovered from Operations 2031 and

2012. As Potter (1994) indicates, the significant number of caches found at Operation 2012 reifies the ceremonial and ritual importance of this structure during the Preclassic, especially the Terminal Preclassic. Illustrative of the ritual significance of the caches being placed here is the intricately composed blood letting cache, Strat 55 (Potter 1994).

Operation 2031 where the main plaza is located also appears to be a locus of intensified ceremonial activity. This is exemplified by the interment of a mass burial complex containing several disarticulated individuals that may be representative of sacrificial victims or ancestors (Buttles 1992; Wright n.d.a., n.d.b.). Despite this fervor of ritual activity indicated by the intensified caching, Colha experiences a period of relative poverty in numbers and diversity of artifacts and ritual contexts in the subsequent Early Classic. Prior to this temporary denouement, the development of writing and mathematical systems are noted (Adams 1991). Glyphs indicative of the writing system are found on the interior base of two different Laguna Verde Incised cache vessels (Valdez 1987: 130-131). Writing during the Terminal Preclassic is only noted at a minimal number of other sites such as Rio Azul (Adams 1999; Valdez et al 2001) and Nakbe (Hansen 2001).

CUELLO

PREVIOUS ARCHAEOLOGICAL RESEARCH

The site of Cuello was originally identified during a survey project directed by Norman Hammond in the Corozal District of Belize – the Corozal Project. This

regional survey was conducted on behalf of the British Museum and Cambridge University. This minor ceremonial center was identified as a profitable research location for information on the Preclassic Maya (Hammond 1973). Test excavations were first conducted at the site in 1975, with more intensive excavation beginning in 1976 (Hammond 1991a).

The test excavations conducted in 1975 were on Platform 34, which exhibited a small pyramid (Structure 35) on its western side. The data indicate that this platform dates to the Late Preclassic and was constructed atop a Middle Preclassic Patio group (Hammond 1980a, 1980b). The site was largely mapped ruing this initial field season, with structures further north and south of the main site core mapped in 1976 (Figure 3.3). The very western periphery of the site was mapped in 1980, though the zone east of the ceremonial core of the site was not mapped due to its entanglement in thick *huamil* forest. Off-mound testing by Wilk and Wilhite shows that occupation was not solely restricted to those areas noted with house mounds. The site would have experienced its population climax in the Late Preclassic with roughly 2,600 inhabitants (Hammond et al 1991: 9).

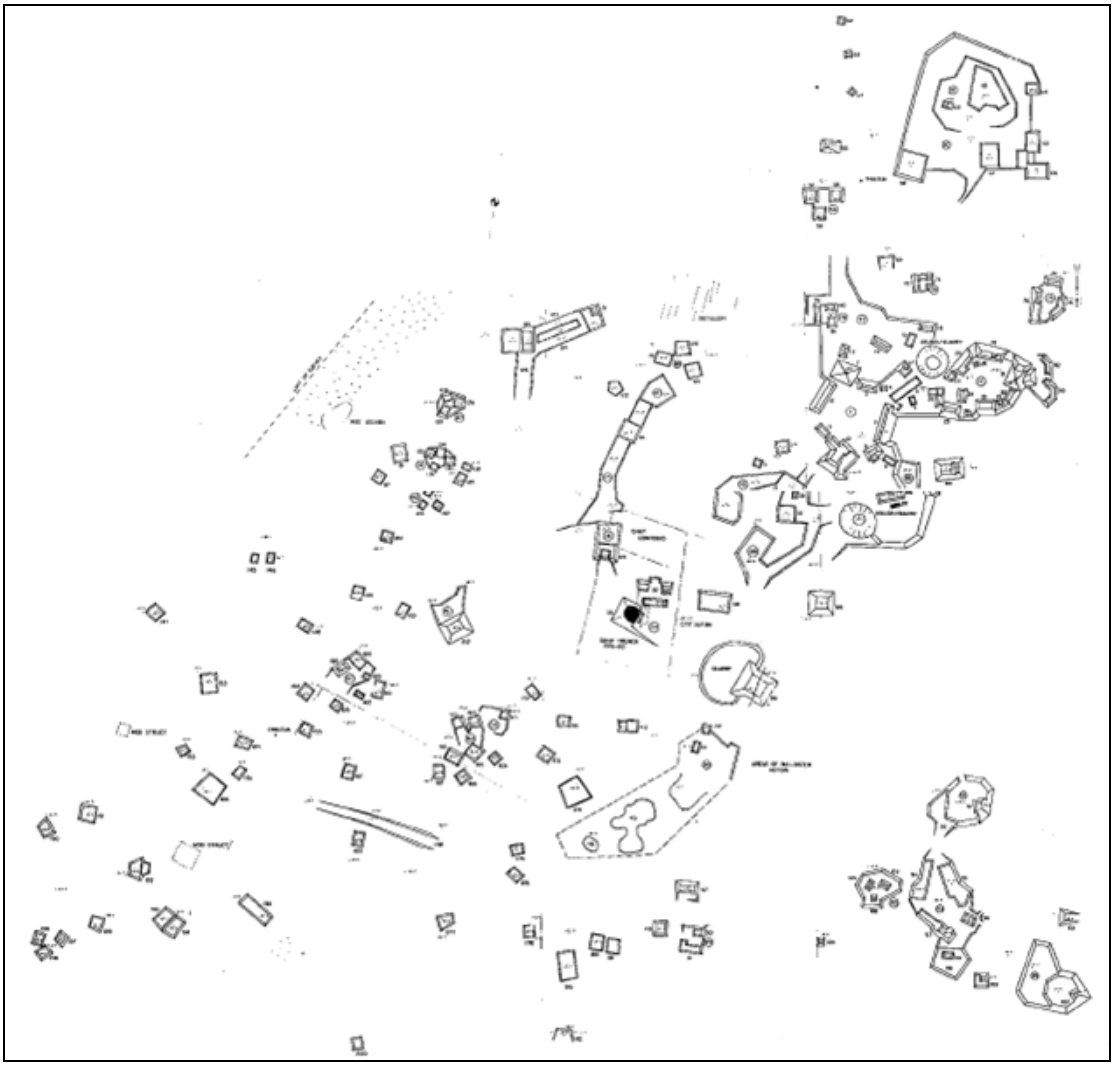


Figure 3.3: Site map of Cuello (adapted from Hammond 1991: Fig 2.2)

Initial excavations at Platform 34 yielded numerous plaster floors, and occupational and fill layers along with numerous interments. Radiocarbon dating of recovered charcoal put the initial construction date of the platform in the early Middle Preclassic. The second round of excavations of this platform in 1976 showed a continuous usage and build up of the platform from the early Middle Preclassic through the 'Terminal Late Preclassic' (Hammond et al 1991: 13-14). As

abovementioned, numerous interments were found throughout the construction phases of this platform structure. It should also be noted that Hammond does not distinguish a ceramic complex for or attribute any data specifically to the Terminal Preclassic (250 B.C. – A.D. 250). This time period is instead aggregated with the Late Preclassic at the site, with the later portion being termed the Terminal Late Preclassic. This combined time period of 300 B.C. – A.D. 250 is represented by Cocos/Chicanel ceramics.

Subsequent seasons of excavation in 1978-80 and 1987 returned to Platform 34 with the goal being an extensive excavation of the western half of this construction (Robin 1989). Project findings from these investigations point to the establishment and development of a ruling elite class (Gerhardt 1985, 1988); this is indicative of a level of stratification similar to what was seen at Colha during this time. Other goals of the project during these seasons were to confirm and solidify the site chronology provided by charcoal samples and ceramics and gather information on the subsistence strategies of site inhabitants (Hammond et al 1991: 14).

The 1978-1979 seasons were largely spent on the extensive stripping of the surface of Platform 34 in order to arrive at its earlier architectural components. The total area excavated reached almost 3,000 square meters. The platform was rich with materials, with the final floor exhibiting numerous lip-to-lip bowl caches. Cache contents sometimes included a jade bead. An exploratory trench in the northeastern portion of the platform showed that all earlier constructions lay at the southern end. Structure 35, the small pyramid sitting atop Platform 34, was determined to have a

final construction phase dating to the Classic period; though its architectural foundation dated at least as early as the Terminal Late Preclassic. Excavations also show that the abundance of Middle Preclassic architecture at the site were low platforms that likely had a domestic or residential function. In the Late Preclassic, these structures were replaced by higher platforms in the ceremonial core of the site, with the eventual placement of three successive pyramids resulting in the final form of Structure 35 (Hammond 1980a, 1980b, Hammond et al 1991: 15; Hammond and Gerhardt 1990). Over 100 interments and 20 buildings were discovered during the course of the Platform 34 excavations (Hammond et al 1991: 15).

The 1980 season excavations in the area of the North Square and South Square revealed more evidence of Late Preclassic ritual activity (Hammond 1980a, 1980b, 1991a). Numerous apparently domestic buildings with multiple interments within them were found in the North Square while South Square excavations indicated a plain stela placed in from of Structure 35, numerous caches and a mass burial of 15 individuals (Hammond 1982). Another mass burial was located in the Middle Preclassic courtyard fill (Hammond 1985).

Lastly, a return was made to the North Square in 1987 with the goal of determining the function of the buildings on the north side of the patio, solidifying the chronology that had been established and gaining a broader understanding of the ecology and economy of earlier occupations at the site. The excavations showed that the back areas of all phases of late Middle Preclassic buildings had been removed during a ritual termination event prior to the construction of Platform 34.

The achievement of the remaining research goals was left for future research seasons (Hammond et al 1991: 16).

PRECLASSIC CULTURE HISTORY

The Preclassic at Cuello is divided into the Middle and Late periods. These divisions are represented by three ceramic complexes as follows: Swasey/Bladen [early Middle Preclassic 900 B.C. – 600 B.C.], Lopez/Mamom [late Middle Preclassic 600 B.C. – 300 B.C.], Cocos/Chicanel [Late Preclassic 300 B.C. – A.D. 250].

Middle Preclassic 900 B.C. – 300 B.C.

The Middle Preclassic at Cuello is typified by Swasey/Bladen complex ceramics early on and Lopez/Mamom ceramics in the latter half of the time period. Wilk and Wilhite indicate that the settlement pattern indicates a trend toward the reuse of building sites over long periods of time. Further, they suggest that Cuello had a "dispersed village community with an egalitarian social organization" (1991: 126, 129); though it must be noted that evidence for the elaborate burial of children at Platform 34 with prolific amounts of shell jewelry does exist at the end of the Bladen complex (1991: 242). Such an occurrence speaks to the possibility of ascribed status within the community of Cuello. While earned status undoubtedly existed as a concept, the fact that a child who would not have had a lifetime of achievements from which to earn elevated social standing was interred in such a manner is a clear indication that another conception of social differentiation is at

work. Wilk and Wilhite (1991: 237) note that Bladen type ceramics are still in production and use in the late Middle Preclassic. Interestingly, burials placed in the early part of the late Middle Preclassic (Lopez phase) contain a high number of Bladen ceramics, implying a certain degree of conservatism regarding funerary ritual during this time.

Regarding population, Wilk and Wilhite propose an early Middle Preclassic community size of 53-66 households with a mean residency of 5.6 individuals. This would equate to 296-370 inhabitants at the site during this time. A population rise is proposed for the late Middle Preclassic with 102-127 households and 571-711 total individuals (1991: 242). This population increase is coincident with the continuous use and building up of the Platform 34 area and its transition from a domestic area to one of exclusive ritual and ceremonial focus.

Cuello was a participant in the long distance trade network that was active in northern Belize from the beginning of the Middle Preclassic. McSwain (in Hammond 1991: 243) contends that the chert and chalcedony industry at the site was a combination of the local quarrying and processing of these materials as well as the importation of finished tools from Colha.

Local industries for groundstone, bone, shell and ceramics are seen in the Middle Preclassic. Groundstone forms such as *manos* and *metates* would have been manufactured most often from limestone – a material that was readily available given the karstic plain on which the site rests. Ceramic vessels have a considerably steady range of forms through time, though McSwain notes an increased production

of large-capacity bowls that may indicate the need or desire for holding more servings of food and drink. Bone awls and needles as well as other tools exist here as they did at Colha; personal adornments such as bone tubes, pendants and beads are also seen. Shell was also processed at the site; whole shells likely being acquired from the coast via an intermediary and then made into finished forms (Hammond 1991: 243).

Late Preclassic 300 B.C. – A.D. 250

The Late Preclassic at Cuello is represented by Cocos/Chicanel ceramics. As stated above, the Late Preclassic at the site combines the periods conceived of as Late and Terminal Preclassic from Colha. No distinction is made between the two within the literature for Cuello.

According to Wilk and Wilhite, there is a "predilection for burial in large platforms such as Platform 34" in the Late Preclassic. Only one of these platforms was of an exclusively residential or domestic function (1991: 126). By the end of the Preclassic, there was definite evidence for social stratification present in the settlement pattern. It is noted that a small number of households had been established on large plastered platforms, which indicates a substantial labor investment. However, the majority of households still existed within perishable structures built directly on the ground. The architectural evidence is congruous with a community in which land rights and access to prestige goods from long distance trade would have been relegated by a ruling class of elite lineages. Wilk and Wilhite

suggest that kin groups established and legitimized their power at Cuello through ancestral cults and manipulation of kinship ties (1991: 129-130).

An impressive population increase is proposed by Wilk and Wilhite (Hammond 1991: 242) for the Late Preclassic, with 335-419 households and a population of 2,200-2,6000 individuals. This population increase is seen across northern Belize, including Colha and K'axob. Along with this population explosion is an increase of the import of Colha finished tools into Cuello (McSwain in Hammond 1991: 243). This would have correlated with the Late Preclassic increase in lithic production output seen at the Colha workshops as discussed above. McSwain also notes the existence of three distinct tool kits: domestic, cultivation and possibly ceremonial. These tool kits are well established by Late Preclassic times after being conceptualized in the Middle Preclassic (Hammond 1991: 243). Obsidian was rare at Cuello; there is no indication of a local obsidian industry based on the paltry number of recovered cores. This material is used thriftily given its scarcity at the site. Furthermore, the industries for groundstone, bone, shell and pottery that are seen in the Middle Preclassic are elaborated and intensified in the Late Preclassic (Hammond 1991: 243).

K'AXOB

PREVIOUS ARCHAEOLOGICAL RESEARCH

Prior to 1981, K'axob existed as an underdeveloped, privately-owned property in northern Belize. This property was seasonally worked by local milpa farmers who cultivated small plots of land. In a 1970, flight over the area between Pulltrouser Swamp and the New River where K'axob is located, Norman Hammond observed that a minor ceremonial center likely existed at that spot. Nine years later, in 1979, the first season of the Pulltrouser Swamp project occurred.

Pulltrouser Swamp is a Y-shaped swamp in northern Belize; the site of K'axob partly lies between the arms of the swamp as well as along its eastern border. This investigation was lead by Peter D. Harrison and B. L. Turner who were addressing questions of settlement and wetland features through examination of the western side of the swamp; reconnaissance of other areas of the swamp was not conducted. K'axob, which lies in the center of the arms of the swamp and on its eastern border, was therefore missed (Turner and Harrison 1983). Upon the 1981 season, Patricia McAnany joined the project as a graduate student and was tasked to reconnoiter the eastern side of the swamp. Here the team discovered two pyramid plazas that were surrounded by almost one hundred residential units. The site was mapped and test excavations were conducted in order to begin building a picture of the site chronology (Figure 3.4). Materials recovered from the test excavations indicated the existence of Preclassic constructions underneath the southern pyramid plaza (McAnany 2004: 13).

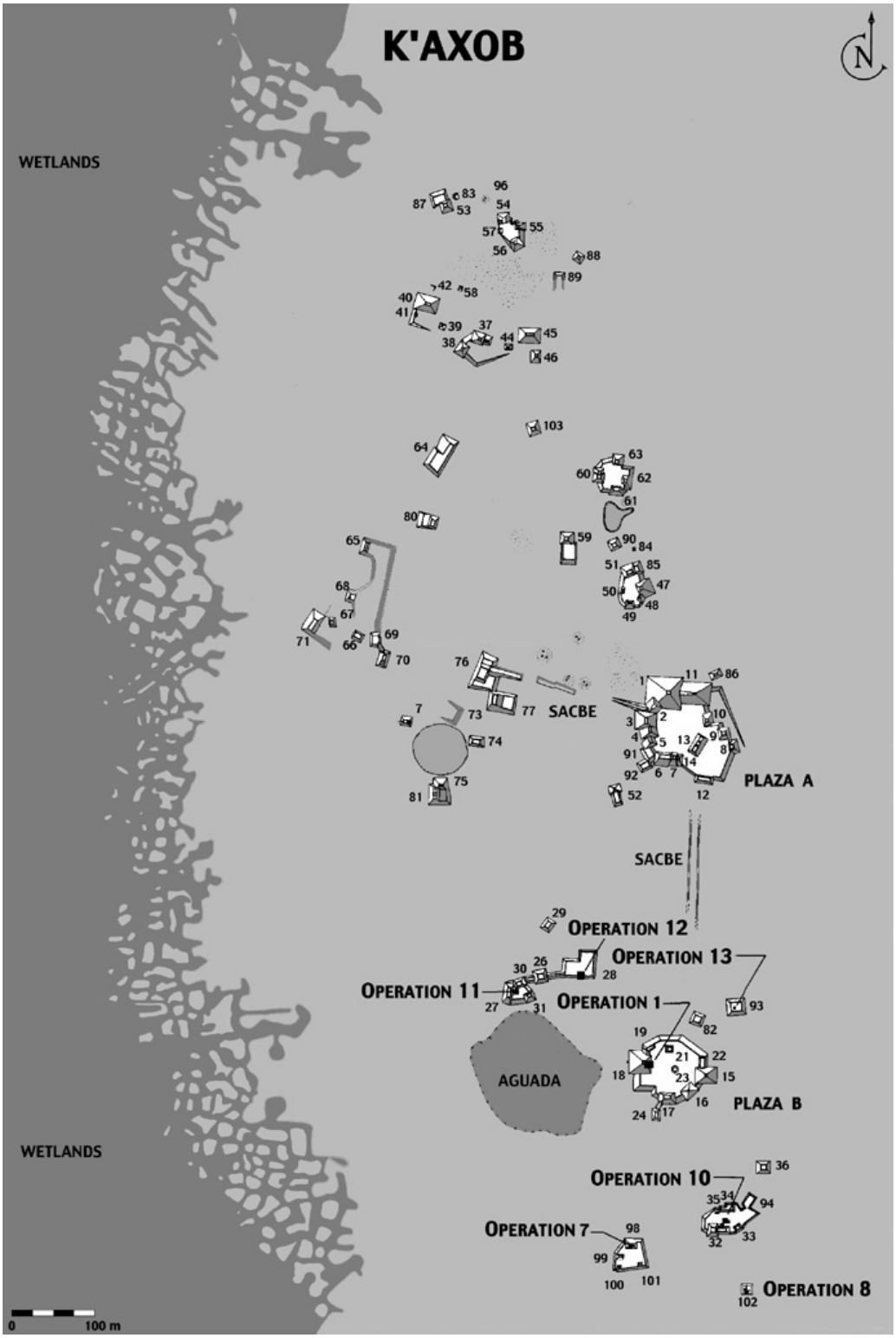


Figure 3.4: Site map of K'axob (after McAnany 2004a)

In 1990 Patricia McAnany again returned to the site; however in this venture she was the principal investigator of the K'axob Project – a Boston University sponsored field school. Thomas W. Killion was co-director of excavations in the southern portion of the site for the first three seasons. During the 1990 season, work was begun on an updated map and a topographic map of the site. This mapping process was accomplished after five seasons. Excavations at Operations 1, 7 and 8 revealed indications of intricate mortuary rituals and evidence of ancestor veneration. In addition to investigation of the funerary archaeology of K'axob, goals during this season also included fleshing out and solidifying the ceramic chronology being established by Sandra L. Lopez Varela and McAnany.

The next season of the K'axob Project occurred in 1992, with Marilyn Masson as the field director. Excavations at all three of the above operations continued; while Operation 1 remained open work on 7 and 8 was concluded by the end of the field season. Investigations were also opened at Operations 10, 11, 12, and 13. The final season of fieldwork focused on the Preclassic occurred in 1993. Excavations were completed at Operations 1, 11 and 12. All fieldwork after this point was focused on the Classic period and the wetlands surrounding the K'axob (McAnany 2004c: 13).

PRECLASSIC CULTURE HISTORY

The Preclassic at K'axob is divided into the Middle, Late and Terminal periods. These divisions are represented by ceramic complexes as follows: Early and Late Facet Chaakk'axx [Middle Preclassic 800 B.C. – 400 B.C.], Early and Late

Facet K'atabche'k'ax [Late Preclassic 400 B.C. – A.D. 50], Terminal Facet K'atabche'k'ax [Terminal Preclassic A.D. 50 – A.D. 250].

Middle Preclassic 800 B.C. – 400 B.C.

The Middle Preclassic at K'axob is represented by Early and Late Facet Chaakk'axx ceramics. This ceramic complex is characterized by the Joventud Red type. The above dates provided are those that correspond to the ceramic chronology as reported in McAnany 2004. K'axob participated in the long distance trade network that was active during the Preclassic in northern Belize, as did Colha and Cuello. McAnany notes that the site was particularly active in the acquisition of ground, polished and chipped stone tools. Also of note is the indication of either foreign temper or foreign finished ceramics, based on paste composition analysis of the pottery. Although, the archaeological record does show that K'axob inhabitants relied more on local clay resources as time went on (2004c: 11-12).

Shell at the site is abundant and also indicative of involvement in the northern Belize trade network. McAnany does mention that while marine shell is present at K'axob from the earliest Middle Preclassic levels, there is also plethora of locally procured freshwater shells, such as mother-of-pearl bivalves. Interestingly, it appears that the material culture of the site has a far greater component of long distance trade items during the Middle Preclassic than in the Late Preclassic. As McAnany says, "one of the definitive differences between the Middle and Late Formative artifacts of K'axob is the emphatically local nature of artifacts of the latter

period" (2004c: 12). Materials from excavation indicate that as segments of the northern Belize trade network fluctuated or collapsed, site inhabitants became increasingly self-reliant and more accustomed to utilizing local wetland and river resources (McAnany 2004c: 12).

Beginning in the Middle Preclassic and extending through the remainder of K'axob's existence, domiciles were continuously refurbished, expanded and reused. They also served as interment locations upon the death of a family member. Despite the observations of Landa (Tozzer 1941), which suggest that upon interment of an individual within a house it was subsequently abandoned, it appears that the residents of K'axob utilized domiciles as opportunistically as did the population of Colha and Cuello. Decedents were interred under the floor of the residence and the occupants continued to go about their activities of daily living within the structure. During the Middle Preclassic, two foundational burials are placed in Operation 1 (Burials 1-43 and 1-46, male and female respectively). The male is interred with numerous shell beads and two ceramic vessels as well as other goods while the female was not accompanied by anything so lavish. Rather, her assemblage is predominated by unmodified faunal remains and lithic microdebitage. As McAnany notes, this disparity in accompaniments clearly indicates a status difference between these two individuals. However, both were interred at the base of Operation 1 in two separate pits, where later a domicile of impressive size was erected. It appears that these two interments may be dedication burials of a sort,

placed to embed the significance of this location within the social memory of site residents (McAnany 2004d: 27).

The structure built in this location underwent many renovations and refurbishments over time, changing in layout and appearance through the different time periods. The majority of structures during the Middle Preclassic; however, appear to have domestic functions based on the presence of middens and sherd-lined pits in association with them.

Late Preclassic 400 B.C. – A.D. 50

The Late Preclassic at K'axob is characterized by Early and Late Facet K'atabche'k'ax ceramics. The *k'atabche'* portion of the ceramic complex name is word play on the Yucatec Mayan word for cross, given that several vessels from Operation 1 in this time period exhibit the cross motif that is discussed later in this volume. The domicile that was constructed over the dual burial placed in Operation 1 in the Middle Preclassic experiences a major transformation in the Late Preclassic. A rectangular platform and apsidal structure are built in this spot and peppered with caches and burials. Interments placed within the structure appear to have richer grave goods than those buried just outside its perimeter. This is possibly indicative of a more deliberate social stratification system being implemented at K'axob and the recognition of the building in Operation 1 as a ritual structure for ceremonial purposes rather than a domicile (McAnany 2004d: 58). An increase in

population is seen in the Late Preclassic as is a trend toward more locally sourced grave goods, as abovementioned.

Terminal Preclassic A.D. 50 – A.D. 250

Terminal Facet K'atabche'k'ax ceramics represent the Terminal Preclassic at K'axob. Mammiform tetrapodal vessels are a common form seen in this ceramic complex (McAnany 2004c: 13-15). Domestic features within Operation 1 are scarce at this time (56). This suggests that Operation 1 became the ritual-ceremonial core of the site and domestic functions were moved to the perimeter of this area. Caching remains common in this time period. Use of the newly established ritual site center at Operation 1 continues in this time period. Provided that the same lineage was occupying this space over the intervening years, it is possible that by the Late Preclassic authority was highly institutionalized and became even more so in the present period of the Terminal Preclassic. McAnany suggests that if this is the case, this lineage may be the group responsible for the construction of plaza B and its accompanying pyramids, which form the Early Classic ceremonial core of K'axob. The population of K'axob experiences another apparent increase during this time period.

CHAPTER 4: RESEARCH STRUCTURE: METHODOLOGY & THEORY

RECAPITULATION OF RESEARCH OBJECTIVES

As stated above, this research project has four main objectives: 1) provide a structured presentation of Preclassic interment data for Colha, Cuello and K'axob, 2) present a thorough and cogent analysis of the interrelatedness of the suite of variables abovementioned, 3) document any significant trends and anomalies that are evidenced within the funerary attributes of these sites, and finally 4) to offer an interpretation of those patterns and deviations seen within the results of analysis as they relate to intrasite and intersite social differentiation and dynamics through the Preclassic. The analysis presented in this dissertation is based upon the available, known data from these three sites for the Preclassic period.

DEFINITIONS AND CLASSIFICATIONS

It should be noted that the terms *grave* and *burial* are used following the definitions of A.L. Smith (1950) in which: "The term *burial* includes everything connected with an interment, i.e., grave, skeletal material, and associated objects. The term *grave* is used as a general heading for the various types of resting places prepared to receive the dead…"

<u>SEX:</u>

The sex of the individual is presented as given in the original literature. Possible classifications include male, possible male, female, possible female, and indeterminate.

AGE:

Information regarding the age classifications used by the original investigators at the sites of focus is presented below. This is followed by the author's synthesis and consolidation of these categories for a more uniform application of age classifications to a disparate dataset.

Age Categories at Colha:

Age categories were developed by Frank Saul and Julie Saul using the standard techniques (Brothwell 1975: 51-65; Bass 1971; Ubelaker 1978: 41-67; Saul and Saul 1989) combined with knowledge derived from their previous studies of Maya skeletons (e.g. Saul 1972; Saul and Saul 1984), other ancient skeletons, and smaller numbers of modern skeletons from forensic cases.

Table 4.1: Colha Age Categories (after Saul and Saul 1991)

OLD ADULT OA	55+
MIDDLE ADULT TO OLD ADULT MA-OA	45-55
MIDDLE ADULT MA	35-54
YOUNG ADULT TO MIDDLE ADULT YA-MA	30-40
YOUNG ADULT YA	20-34
ADULT A	20+ indeterminate

Table 4.2: Colha Age Categories (after Thompson 2005: Derived from osteological formation standards)

OLD ADULT OA	50+
YOUNG ADULT YA	25-49
JUVENILE	13-24
CHILD	3-12
INFANT	0-2

Age Categories at Cuello:

Age categories were developed by Frank Saul and Julie Saul using the standard techniques (Brothwell 1975: 51-65; Bass 1971; Ubelaker 1978: 41-67; Saul and Saul 1989) combined with knowledge derived from their previous studies of Maya skeletons (e.g. Saul 1972; Saul and Saul 1984), other ancient skeletons, and smaller numbers of modern skeletons from forensic cases.

Table 4.3: Cuello Age Categories (after Saul and Saul 1991)

OLD ADULT OA	55+
MIDDLE ADULT TO OLD ADULT MA-OA	45-55
MIDDLE ADULT MA	35-54
YOUNG ADULT TO MIDDLE ADULT YA-MA	30-40
YOUNG ADULT YA	20-34
ADULT A	20+ indeterminate

Age Categories at K'axob:

At present, sex and age determinations are somewhat preliminary according to McAnany (2004a). This is due in part to the humid burial environment, which results in a fragile, fragmentary and eroded quality for K'axob skeletons. McAnany notes that standard osteological techniques were applied (Buikstra and Ubelaker 1994), and sex was determined by morphological differences, with a primary reliance on the skull. A preliminary division of males and females was based on the robusticity of long bones. Age was determined for juveniles by tooth formation and eruption standards. For adults, age was estimated within broad age categories based on a preliminary ranking of tooth wear. Young adults would be in their twenties, while older adults would be over fifty at death. All age and sex determinations are tentative, pending the results of ongoing analyses (McAnany 2004a).

Table 4.4: K'axob Age Categories (after McAnany 2004a)

OLD ADULT OA	50+
MIDDLE ADULT MA	30-50
YOUNG ADULT YA	20-29
JUVENILE J	Based on tooth formation and eruption standards

Table 4.5: Age Categories of the Present Research Based Upon the Above Prior Standards

OLD ADULT OA	50+
MIDDLE ADULT MA	35-49
YOUNG ADULT YA	20-34
ADULT OF INDETERMINATE AGE	20+ Indeterminate
JUVENILE	13-19
CHILD	3-12
INFANT	0-2
INDETERMINATE	Unknown if individual is an adult or sub-adult

CRANIAL ORIENTATION:

The orientation of a decedent's cranium is noted according to the cardinal or intercardinal direction provided by the original investigator. When the orientation is unknown, a value of 'Indeterminate' is assigned. When lack of cranial material renders a determination of orientation inapplicable, a value of 'N/A' is assigned.

BURIAL POSITION:

Given the immense variety of burial postures seen in the Preclassic between the three sites of focus, the author has organized these designations into four summary categories: flexed, extended, disarticulated, and indeterminate. All individuals with any flexure to their interment position (e.g.: seated, fetal position, etc) are categorized as 'Flexed.' All individuals with no flexure to their posture (e.g.: extended supine, extended right side, etc) are categorized as 'Extended.' All

individuals noted by the original investigator to be disarticulated and all skull burials are categorized as 'Disarticulated.' All individuals noted by the original investigator to have an indeterminate burial position and those noted as 'secondary' with no details regarding whether they have been interred in a disarticulated pile or laid out in an attempt to replicate and extended or flexed position are categorized as 'Indeterminate.'

Table 4.6: Grave Good Material Categories*

BONE	Specimens manufactured from either faunal or human bone.
CERAMIC	Specimens manufactured from clay (possibly cleaned of inclusions or with the addition of foreign material i.e. temper). Items are formed, finished, decorated and then fired.
CHALCEDONY	Specimens manufactured from this type of quartz mineral.
FAUNA	Specimens that exist as unmodified faunal remains.
GREENSTONE*	Specimens manufactured from this type of green sodium aluminum silicate mineral, with no further analysis done to determine whether they are jade or another variety of greenstone.
GREENSTONE (JADE)*	Specimens manufactured from this type of green sodium aluminum silicate mineral and identified through trace element analysis as jade.
GROUNDSTONE	Specimens manufactured from a lithic material that exhibit evidence of a smooth surface caused from grinding.
MINERAL	Specimens manufactured of a variety of solid, inorganic, naturally occurring substances.
NB COLHA CHERT	Specimens manufactured from chert found in the Colha area.
OBSIDIAN	Specimens manufactured from this hard, glasslike volcanic rock.
NON-NB COLHA CHERT	Specimens manufactured from chert not found in the Colha area.
SHELL	Specimens manufactured from any species of shell.
UNIDENTIFIABLE	Specimens manufactured from an unknown material.
N/A	No grave goods exist for this interment.

*Note: The reader should make note that greenstone objects noted as jade in the literature have been given the designation Greenstone (Jade). Where not explicitly stated, the generic category of Greenstone has been applied. These materials will be analyzed as two separate categories. Within the text, the author specifies "greenstone (jade)" or "jade" at all times when discussing data in relation to items of this specific material type. Instances where the discussion refers to "greenstone" or "greenstone (non-jade varieties)" refers to those items manufactured from any greenstone other than true jade, as noted in the table above. Also note that "NB" is the author's shorthand designation for "Northern Belize."

Table 4.7: Grave Good Form Categories

ADORNMENT	Miscellaneous decorative items	MODIFIED GROUNDSTONE	Any variety of items manufactured from groundstone that does not exhibit a finished, definable form
BAR	Roughly rectangular pyramidal item that is solid but may exhibit perforations	MODIFIED LITHIC	Any variety of items manufactured from lithic material that does not exhibit a finished, definable form

Table 4.7, continued

BEAD	Any variety of shaped items that have been worked in some manner and have been drilled to create a central perforation through the middle of the object body	MODIFIED SHELL	Any variety of items manufactured from shell material that does not exhibit a finished, definable form
CELT	Roughly rectangular pyramidal item with possibly beveled edges	MUSICAL INSTRUMENT	Manufactured from clay in any variety of geometric, anthropomorphic or zoomorphic shapes and fashioned in a manner intended to produce musical notes
CORE TOOL	Parent material from which lithic tools would be fashioned	N/A	No goods exist for this interment
CRAFTING TOOL	Items used in the production of other artifacts	NET SINKER	Solid item manufactured from clay that may exhibit notching and was likely used in the fishing industry

Table 4.7, continued

CUTTING TOOL	Sharp or blade-edged items used for cutting tasks	PENDANT	Items manufactured from a variety of materials and exhibiting one or more holes intended for suspension of the object
DISK	Roughly circular in shape and possibly exhibiting a perforation; used for any number of functions such as gaming pieces, fishing activities, vessel tops and personal adornment.	PIN	Items typically manufactured from bone that exhibit a "wide proximal end that tapers to a pointed distal section" (Buttles 2002:229)
EARFLARE	Ornament worn in an opening created in the earlobe of an individual	PUBIC SHIELD	Item fashioned as a covering or adornment for the pelvic region of an individual
ECCENTRIC	Symbolic flaked stones that likely held ritual or ideological significance	RING	Circular item fashioned from bone or clay for the purpose of personal adornment

Table 4.7, continued

FAN HANDLE	Manufactured to hold fans likely made of organic material	TINKLER	Typically a bell shaped adornment made from shell that may exhibit incisions or perforations along the body of the object; may have been worn as pendants or attached to belts and garments, which would have produced a distinctive sound with each movement of the individual (Buttles 2002:187-190)
FIGURINE	Anthropomorphic or zoomorphic item manufactured from clay	TOOL	Any variety of tools with unidentifiable forms and functions
GORGET	Chest or pectoral adornment	TUBE	Hollow, cylindrical objects that may exhibit finishing such as carving or polishing and are typically crafted from bone

Table 4.7, continued

GRINDING TOOL	Any of a variety of tools used to grind and process foodstuffs or sharpen a cutting implement	UNMODIFIED BONE	Any item of osteological material that shows no evidence of having been worked and exists in its natural state
MINERAL	Any variety of solid, inorganic substances	UNMODIFIED SHELL	Any item of shell material that shows no evidence of having been worked and exists in its natural state
MODIFIED BONE	Manufactured from bone and exhibiting any variety of signs of having been worked (i.e. polishing, carving, etc), but not having a finished, definable form	VESSEL	Any item of a variety of shapes that is typically manufactured from clay and has a primary function as a receptacle
MODIFIED GREENSTONE	Any variety of items manufactured from greenstone that does not exhibit a finished, definable form	VESSEL FRAGMENT	Any sherd or other fragmentary element of a vessel

Note: Following the methodology of Buttles (1992, 2002), the author has established form and subform categories. Buttles' studies deal with small finds from a variety of contexts while the present study looks at all goods within Preclassic interment contexts. Therefore, not all of the classifications developed by Buttles are applicable to the present study and additional categories have been incorporated. A

list and brief explanation of the forms classifications used in this study is presented above. A listing of all those subforms that have been assigned to each form category is given below. Note that subform classifications have been derived from the original materials this study is based on. Readers are referred to those primary works for further details regarding the parameters for these classifications.

Table 4.8: Grave Good Subform Categories

ADORNMENT	Ornament
BAR	Bar
BEAD	Anthropomorphic Bead
	Barrel Shaped Bead
	Bead (Indeterminate Shape)
	Bead Blank
	Bead Fragment
	Carved Bead
	Cylindrical Bead
	Disk Bead
	Irregular Bead
	Modified Whole Shell Bead
	Oblate Bead
	Oval Bead
	Peanut Shaped Bead
	Spherical Bead
	Subspherical bead
	Tubular Bead
	Whole Modified Shell Bead
	Whole Shell Bead
CELT	Celt
CORE TOOL	Core/Core Tools
CRAFTING TOOL	Awl
	Needle
	Polishing Stone
	Polishing Stone?

Table 4.8, continued

CUTTING TOOL	Biface
	Biface Fragment
	Blade
	Blade
	Blade Fragment
	Macroblade (small)
	Macroblade Fragment
	Macroblade Fragment (medial)
	Non-diagnostic Biface
	Oval Biface
	Reworked Biface
	Stemmed Dagger
	Stemmed Macroblade
	Stemmed Macroblade (fragment)
	Tranchet Bit
	Unifacial Tool
	Unstemmed Macroblade
DISK	Disk
	Unperforated Disk (small)
	Unperforated Disk (large)
EARFLARE	Earflare
ECCENTRIC	Eccentric (large)
	Eccentric (small)
FAN HANDLE	Fan Handle
FIGURINE	Female Figurine
GORGET	Gorget
GRINDING TOOL	Grinding Stone
	Mano
	Metate
	Metate (Turtle-Back)
	Metate Fragments
	Metate?

Table 4.8, continued

MINERAL	Hematite (Ground)
	Hematite (Unmodified)
	Mica (Fragment)
	Red Ochre (Ground)
	Red Ochre (Prepared Fragments)
	Red Ochre (Small Solid Roll)
	Red Ochre (Unmodified Lumps)
MODIFIED BONE	Carved
	Fragment
	Indeterminate
	Polished
	Smoothed
MODIFIED GREENSTONE	Blank
	Flake/Flake Fragment
MODIFIED GROUNDSTONE	Large Stone (fragment)
MODIFIED LITHIC	Angular Debris/Fire Shatter
	Block
	Flake/Flake Fragment
	Indeterminate
	Non-diagnostic Fragment
MODIFIED SHELL	Blank
	Modified Whole
	Other
	Whole Modified (polished)
MUSICAL INSTRUMENT	Zoomorphic Ocarina
N/A	N/A
NET SINKER	Notched Net Sinker
	Spherical Notched Net Sinker
PENDANT	Anthropomorphic Pendant
	Claw-Shaped Pendant
	Modified Whole Pendant
	Pendant
	Sherd Pendant
	Zoomorphic Pendant
PIN	Pin

Table 4.8, continued

PUBIC SHIELD	Pubic Shield?
RING	Ring Fragments
	Rings
TINKLER	Tinkler
TOOL	Unidentified Tools
	Yuntun
TUBE	Carved Tube
	Decorated Tube
	Plain Tube
	Tube
	Tube?
UNMODIFIED BONE	Armadillo - Indeterminate Bone Fragment
	Armadillo - Scute
	Bird - Indeterminate Bone Fragment
	Bird - Long Bone and Other Fragments
	Bird - Long Bone Fragment
	Bird/Rodent - Long Bone Fragment
	Canid - 1st Molar
	Canid - 2nd Molar (right)
	Canid - Canine
	Canid - Incisor
	Canid - Indeterminate Bone Fragment
	Canid - Indeterminate Tooth
	Canid - Premolar
	Carnivore - Incisor
	Carnivore - Indeterminate Tooth
	Catfish - Dorsal Spine
	Catfish - Indeterminate Spine
	Catfish - Pectoral Spine
	Catfish - Pectoral Spine (right)
	Clam - Shell Fragment
	Coral (Unmodified)
	Crab - Claw
	Deer - Auditory Bulla
	Deer - Cranial Fragment

Table 4.8, continued

UNMODIFIED BONE (CONTINUED)	Deer - Indeterminate Tooth Fragment
	Deer - Phalange
	Dog - Indeterminate Tooth
	Fish - Cranial Fragment
	Fish - Cranium
	Fish - Dorsal spine
	Fish - Dorsal Spine
	Fish - Dorsal Spine Fragments
	Fish - Indeterminate Bone Fragment
	Fish - Indeterminate Spine
	Fish - Indeterminate Tooth
	Fish - Maxilla
	Fish - Otolith
	Fish - Premaxilla
	Fish - Preoperculum
	Fish - Spine Fragment
	Fish - Vertebra
	Fish - Vomer
	Frog - Long Bone Fragment
	Frog - Long Bones
	Indeterminate Vertebrata
	Mammal - Carved Bone Fragment
	Mammal - Indeterminate Bone Fragment
	Mammal - Indeterminate Tooth
	Mammal - Indeterminate Tooth (unerupted)
	Mammal - Indeterminate Tooth Fragment
	Mammal - Long Bone
	Mammal - Long Bone Fragment
	Mammal - Long Bone Fragment (burned)
	Mammal - Long bone fragment (modified)
	Mammal - Rib

Table 4.8, continued

UNMODIFIED BONE (CONTINUED)	Mammal - Tooth root
	Mammal? - Bone fragment
	Reptile - Long Bone Fragment
	Rodent - Carpal/Tarsal
	Rodent - Femur (right)
	Rodent - Incisor
	Rodent - Indeterminate Bone Fragment
	Rodent - Long Bone
	Rodent - Long Bone (ulna)
	Rodent - Long Bone Fragment
	Rodent - Rib
	Rodent - Tooth
	Rodent - Ulna
	Rodent Incisor
	Rodent Long Bone Fragment
	Rodent/Bird - Long Bone Fragment
	Shark - Vertebra
	Snail - Shell (terrestrial)
	Snail - Shell Fragment
	Snake - Rib
	Snake - Vertebra
	Turtle - Indeterminate Bone Fragment
	Turtle - Shell Fragment
	Unidentifiable
	Unidentifiable
	Unidentifiable - Bone Fragment
	Unidentifiable - Bone Fragment (modified)
	Unidentifiable - Long Bone Fragment
	Unidentifiable - Long Bone Fragment (burned)

Table 4.8, continued

UNMODIFIED SHELL	Unmodified Whole
VESSEL	Amphora
	Anthropomorphic Spouted Jar
	Anthropomorphic Vessel/Figurine
	Bottle Shaped Vessel
	Bowl
	Bowl with Handles
	Bowl?
	Bucket
	Chocolate Pot
	Cuspidor Bowl
	Cylindrical Vase
	Cylindrical Vessel
	Dish
	Effigy Jar
	Jar
	Miniature Jar
	Neck Jar
	Olla
	Plate
	Spouted Jar
	Spouted Vessel
	Tecomate
	Tripod Cylindrical Vase
	Tumbler
	Vase
	Vessel (Indeterminate Shape)
	Zoomorphic Bowl
	Zoomorphic Jar
	Zoomorphic Pot
	Zoomorphic Vessel (Indeterminate Shape)
VESSEL FRAGMENT	Appliqué Fragment
	Sherd
	Vessel Support?
	Zoomorphic Vessel Foot

Table 4.9: Artifact Function Categories

PRACTICAL-UTILITARIAN	Specimens manufactured of a material and produced in a form that is indicative of utilitarian or everyday, practical usage (such as locally procured materials and mundane forms).
PRACTICAL-UTILITARIAN?	Specimens manufactured of a material and produced in a form that is possibly indicative of utilitarian or everyday, practical usage (such as locally procured materials and mundane forms).
PRESTIGE-CEREMONIAL	Specimens manufactured of a material and produced in a form that is indicative of ceremonial usage and/or of consumption by an elite segment of the population for prestige purposes (such as materials that are procured from long-distance trade or are superfluous to practical concerns of survival; such as personal adornments).
PRESTIGE-CEREMONIAL?	Specimens manufactured of a material and produced in a form that is possibly indicative of ceremonial usage and/or consumption by an elite segment of the population for prestige purposes (such as materials that are procured from long-distance trade; or are superfluous to practical concerns of survival; such as personal adornments).
N/A	No grave goods exist for this interment.

Buttles (2002 citing Hayden 1998: 11) notes, "practical technologies are the solutions to practical problems of survival and comfort" while prestige technologies are a means "to solve a social problem or accomplish a social task such as attracting productive mates and allies or bonding members of social groups together via displays of success." A primary component in the manifestation of prestige technologies is the availability of surplus labor (Buttles 2002: 38). As discussed in Chapter 5 below, the commandeering of a community's extremely finite surplus labor resource for the creation of items representative of elevated status would have been a right or privilege bestowed to those individuals operating as part of the site elite. These individuals would have possessed the social power to command the population in such a manner and would also have been privileged with the economic ability to obtain the exotic materials from which these goods were often manufactured as well as to warrant their ownership of the items after their creation. Hayden (1998:33) advises that prestige technologies are not fixed and the possibility exists for their eventual transformation into practical technologies. This process is in fact seen in the transition from the favoring of shell to obsidian as a material marker of status by adult males during the shift from the Middle to Late Preclassic, as discussed below in Chapters 5, 6, and 9.

Note that the author has marked spouted vessels, vases, and cylindrical vessels as possible prestige goods, given that they deviate from the expected practical forms of dishes, bowls, tecomates, etc. Vessels with 'kill holes', a cross motif and those that are used as head covers, placed over the cranium of a decedent,

have been marked as definite prestige-ceremonial items. Bone pins and needles are possible prestige technologies given that they were likely included as personal adornment on the body or in the hair of a decedent. Bone items would have begun as practical materials and then have been transformed into prestige items based on the craftsmanship invested into forming a finished product (Buttles 2002). This is not a comprehensive designation of 'prestige' for all bone items, as utilitarian items such as bone awls are seen.

Regarding faunal remains, the majority of such items are encountered at K'axob. It should be noted that unmodified faunal remains occur in both the practical and prestige assemblages during all periods of the Preclassic. For the purposes of this study, fish, frogs, turtles and snakes/reptiles have been classified as prestige items due to the fact that, as Masson states, fragments of these species have been recovered from ritual caches at Early K'atabchek'ax K'axob. Masson also notes that deer remains are included in ritual caches; however these are late term fetal and newborn remains (2004: 391). The deer remains in the data of this project are not specified to be from animals of this young age and have therefore not been classified as prestige items. The author has further classified the following fauna as indicative of prestige based on their exotic nature and/or small size, which would not have likely provided a primary subsistence resource: clams, coral, crabs, armadillos, birds, sharks. Masson notes that the bird remains at K'axob are all of very small species, none of which were game animals, such as turkeys, that would have provided a substantial amount of meat (388).

Those animals that have been classified as being of a practical nature are all unidentifiable species (including mammal bones of unidentified origin), rodents, canids, and snails. Masson notes that mammal bones included within interments are possibly the result of the use of secondary fill from nearby animal processing sites and that rodents are likely present in interments as the result of intrusion during or after burial of the individual (389-396). The author has classified snail as practical fauna, using the same logic that Masson does regarding post-burial intrusion activities by these animals. Also, while Shaw (1991) does note that there is a possibility of the use of dogs for feasting purposes in the development of power hierarchies in the Late Preclassic at Colha, the author has classified these fauna as practical due to lack of a substantial body of canid osteological material within interments. While there are indeterminate bone fragments and teeth of canids present, these are not definitively defined as dogs (canids can also include foxes and related species) and these body parts are not of a size indicative of feasting purposes, such as long bones would be.

GRAVE GOODS NUMBERS:

The quantity of a particular good that is present within an interment, associated with a specific individual is listed in the database, per the information provided by the original investigator. When quantities are not explicitly listed by the investigator, but a multiple quantity is connoted (e.g.: several jade beads were present) the author has assigned a value of '2.' This is following with the standard established by Robin (1989), which ensures that the good is represented as being

present in multiples; however the quantity present is underestimated at worst (i.e.: more than 2 may be present) but not overestimated.

HEAD COVER:

The designation of whether or not an interment contains a head cover is based on a presence-absence binary logic. If a vessel is present, covering the decedent's cranium in some manner, a value of 'Yes' is assigned. If no vessel is present, a value of 'No' is assigned. Note that if there are multiple vessels associated with an individual who is interred with a head cover, only that vessel that is placed over the cranium will receive a designation of 'Yes.' All other vessels noted for that individual in the database will have an assigned value of 'No.'

BURNING:

The designation of whether or not evidence of burning within an interment is noted on the goods or osteological material is based on a presence-absence binary logic. If burning is noted, a value of 'Yes' is assigned. If no evidence of burning is present, a value of 'No' is assigned. Note that if there are multiple goods associated with an individual who is interred with evidence of burning, only those goods designated as having evidence of burning will be assigned a value of 'Yes.' All other goods noted for that individual in the database will have an assigned value of 'No.'

RED MINERAL PIGMENTATION:

The designation of whether or not evidence of red mineral pigmentation is noted on grave goods or osteological material within an interment is based on a presence-absence binary logic. If red mineral pigmentation is noted, a value of 'Yes'

is assigned. If no evidence of pigmentation is present, a value of 'No' is assigned. Note that if there are multiple goods associated with an individual who interred with evidence of red mineral pigmentation, only those goods designated as having evidence of burning will be assigned a value of 'Yes.' All other goods noted for that individual in the database will have an assigned value of 'No.'

CROSS MOTIF:

The designation of whether or not an interment contains a vessel with a cross motif is based on a presence-absence binary logic. If such a vessel is present, a value of 'Yes' is assigned. If no such vessel is present, a value of 'No' is assigned. Note that if there are multiple vessels associated with an individual who is interred with a cross motif vessel, only that vessel with the motif will receive a designation of 'Yes.' All other vessels noted for that individual in the database will have an assigned value of 'No.'

Headrick (2004: 367) notes that, "when a person dies in the small Mexican town of Huaquechula, Puebla, there is a tradition of first making a cross-shaped design of sand and lime on the floor" (Carmichael and Sayer 1991:95). This presents a loose level of continuity of symbology and association of this symbol with funerary ritual. However, Headrick (1991) also notes that Roman Catholic influences and that religion's use of a cross-symbol may also be the basis for this ethnographic example, given the contact pre-Columbian populations had with Christian populations. This means that the true origin of the significance of the symbol and ceremony may lie in syncretism, "in which the act pulls from both great traditions and seamlessly blends

them into a potent concoction that defiantly resists our attempts to pry apart its divergent origins" (2004: 367).

While scholars may be unable to derive a singular, true origin for the ethnographic observation of the use of crosses in contemporary mortuary rituals among Mexican populations, it is known that the cross was a symbol utilized by the pre-Columbian population of K'axob. "In Mesoamerica the cross was elaborated, modified, and historically manipulated; further, it crossed geographical and cultural boundaries" (368). There are seven vessels from K'axob that exhibit a cross motif, with all being from the K'atabche'k'ax ceramic complex. Analysis shows that these vessels were exclusively associated with adults, which may indicate that they were reserved for individuals with achieved status (369). Kent Reilly (1994) has argued that the cruciform pattern found on the Humboldt Celt may represent a depiction of a cosmological view of the world in the Middle Preclassic. As Headrick notes, the celt "depicts a ruler wearing cosmological symbols on his body" as well as "three clouds surrounding an eye, which is a common Mesoamerican symbol for stars," possibly the three hearthstones of creation that many textual and ethnographic sources indicate are in the constellation Orion" (Headrick 2004: 369; Freidel, Schele, and Parker 1993). "Below this are a set of symbols arranged in a cruciform shape that extend from a circle marked by a cross. […] The cross in the center would represent […] the center of the universe[,] while the four other clusters of symbols surrounding the cross may be very early glyphs for the four cardinal directions" (2004: 369)

The Humboldt Celt, on which the abovementioned imagery is found, is a looted item and therefore does not have a definitive provenience; however it is believed to have originated in Central Mexico. Headrick notes that "near the bottom of the celt is a u-shape with outflaring rims that precisely describes the shape of a bisected bowl in profile. This bowl [she] would argue, is conceptually the same as the quadripartite bowls found at K'axob" (370-371). "Of critical importance is the recognition that the bowl and the cross functioned as one of the fundamental symbol sets by which kings [and elite] proclaimed themselves the center [of the site and the world]" (374). The reader is referred to Headrick's chapter in K'axob: Ritual, Work, and Family in an Ancient Maya Village, edited by Patricia McAnany (366-378) for further art historical interpretation of the iconography of the celt and its relation to cosmological and religious views of the Preclassic Maya.

Understood in this manner, this iconography combined with the inclusion of multiple secondary burials with the principal occupants of Burials 1-1 and 1-2 during the Terminal K'atabche'k'ax period may indicate a possession and display of ritual and practical power by the elite at K'axob. During the Terminal K'atabche'k'ax, authority at the site went through a process of centralization and the structure at Operation 1 became a locus for the physical manifestation of this progression in the form of: repeated interments of individuals who are likely from the same family group, the inclusion of multiple secondary interments who likely represent sacrificial victims and the progressive buildup of pyramidal structure 18 at this location (Headrick 2004: 369).

ARCHITECTURE:

The 1) type, 2) locational details, 3) whether the structure would have been more public or private, and 4) the prospective function of the space have been determined as best as possible from the literature. Occurrences where function is not explicitly stated in the literature, but evidence weighted in the direction of either 'residential/domestic' or 'ritual/ceremonial', the appropriate category is assigned to that record with a tentative designation (?) following it.

Cuello

Table 4.10: Cuello Architecture Type Categories

CEREMONIAL PLATFORM	a structure designated as a platform with ceremonial functions in the literature (Robin 1989; Hammond 1991)
CEREMONIAL PLATFORM?	a structure with possible ceremonial or domestic function, but with more indications of having a ceremonial function
MAIN PLAZA (PLATFORM 34)	the main plaza floor that evolved from the patio floors of previous constructions phases; becomes the locus for ceremonial activity and ritual interments in the LPC
RESIDENTIAL – DOMESTIC	a structure designated as a platform or other construction with residential or domestic functions in the literature (such as cooking/washing pits)
RESIDENTIAL – DOMESTIC?	a structure with possible domestic or ceremonial function, but with more indications of having a domestic function

Locational Details:

Transcribed from the literature to better locate the interment in space for the reader.

Table 4.11: Cuello Architecture Public-Private Categories

PUBLIC	All non-domestic/residential types, including those with tentative non-domestic/residential designations
PRIVATE	All domestic/residential types, including those with tentative domestic/residential designations

Table 4.12: Cuello Architecture Space Function Categories

DOMESTIC	for all private spaces of a residential/domestic type
DOMESTIC?	for all private spaces of a tentative residential/domestic type
RITUAL/CEREMONIAL	for all public spaces of a non-domestic/residential type that are definitively identified as loci of public ceremony
RITUAL/CEREMONIAL?	for all public spaces of a non-domestic/residential type that are not definitively identified as loci of public ceremony

Colha

Table 4.13: Colha Architecture Type Categories

MAIN PLAZA	the main plaza floor that was a locus for both public ceremonial activity and elite residential/domestic functions in the LPC
RESIDENTIAL-DOMESTIC	a structure designated as a platform or other construction with residential or domestic functions in the literature (such as cooking/washing pits); an interment in a residential space away from the main plaza area
SPECIALIZED BURIAL PLATFORM	a structure designated as a locus for concentrations of elite interments during the MPC and LPC (note that while this type is designated as public and ritual/ceremonial due to it's prominent central position in the site, it was a burial locus for elite individuals and therefore may have had restricted access in some manner if/when public ceremonies were not taking place)

Locational Details:

Transcribed from the literature to better locate the interment in space for the reader

Table 4.14: Colha Architecture Public-Private Categories

PUBLIC	All non-domestic/residential types
PRIVATE	All domestic/residential types

Table 4.15: Colha Architecture Space Function Categories

DOMESTIC	for all private spaces of a residential/domestic type
DOMESTIC WITHIN RITUAL/CEREMONIAL	for all private spaces located in a public forum (such as the elite residences located in the main plaza)
RITUAL/CEREMONIAL	for all public spaces of a non-domestic/residential type
RITUAL/CEREMONIAL?	for all public spaces of a non-domestic/residential type that are not definitively identified as loci of public ceremony

K'axob

Table 4.16: K'axob Architecture Type Categories

RESIDENTIAL	Domestic

Locational Details:

All interment locational details noted as '(Residence)' given that all were excavated from domestic/residential settings.

Table 4.17: K'axob Architecture Public-Private Categories

PRIVATE	All domestic/residential types

Table 4.18: K'axob Architecture Space Function Categories

DOMESTIC	for all private spaces of a residential/domestic type (of which all K'axob interments were)

Per the designations listed by McAnany (2004a), the only architectural type is residential; all structures are marked as private residences; locational details are provided based on the literature and a domestic function is assigned per the excavation data. It should be noted that while the culture history of K'axob during the Late Preclassic indicates a more pronounced development of social stratification and the likely ritualistic use of the structures within Operation 1 (McAnany 2004d: 58), Rebecca Storey, who conducted the analysis of remains from the site, has designated all interments as being recovered from domestic contexts. While this deviates from the conjectures regarding the ritualistic function of architecture in Operation 1 during this time period, Storey's designations have been preserved.

METHODOLOGY AND RESEARCH QUESTIONS

FREQUENCY ANALYSIS

[Provides information regarding the frequency of various characteristics of the funerary assemblage]

- Tells frequency of unique instances of inclusion of artifact characteristics (i.e. material, form, subform, etc) interred with individuals
- Note that the inclusion of more than one material type with single individual may result in higher total counts in the Frequency Table than in a simple matrix of sex by time period for a site because each interment with multiple good types is essentially being counted once per material type while in a simple matrix, each interment is counted once per unique individual.
- Thus, Frequency Tables show the percentage of the inclusion rate of a particular artifact characteristic (i.e. material, form, subform, etc) with a particular demographic segment of the interred population (i.e. sex, age, etc) in relation to all artifacts included with individuals in a time period at a site. Note that these percentages are relative to the counts of 'one per each material type in each interment.'
- Therefore, arranged in a '% of column' layout, a Frequency Table will provide information on how many interments included a particular

artifact characteristic and how many individuals of a particular demographic are associated with that artifact characteristic

- However, arranged in a '% of row' layout, a Frequency Table will provide information on how many individuals of a particular demographic are associated with an artifact characteristic in comparison to all other demographic segments of the interred population for which analysis is conducted. Note that for the purposes of this study, brief interpretations have been offered regarding analysis of all sexes and ages; however more detailed analyses have focused on definitively sexed individuals (males and females) and two broader more inclusive age categories (adults and subadults).
- <u>Frequency analysis will assist in answering the following questions:</u>

  Note that analysis will provide answers to these questions regarding the data found at a particular site during a specific time period; however the comparison of results for these analyses will allow for building a more comprehensive understanding of spatial and temporal trends and changes.

  - What material and form types were most commonly deposited or more often included with males/females and with adults/subadults?
  - Are clues regarding larger trends of material economy over time and their related cultural implications elucidated?

- What material and form types are most often associated with burning?
- Are burnt artifacts more commonly associated with males/females and with adults/subadults?
- What material and form types are most often associated with red pigmentation?
- Are red pigmented artifacts more commonly associated with males/females and with adults/subadults?
- What function of artifact is most often associated with males/females and with adults/subadults?
- What material and form types are most often associated with each category of function?
- Are cross motif vessels most often associated with males/females and with adults/subadults?
- What form type is most often used as a head cover?
- Are head covers more often associated with males/females and with adults/subadults?

QUANTITATIVE ANALYSIS

[Provides information regarding the number of various characteristics of the funerary assemblage]

- Tells actual numbers and relative percentages thereof, of artifact characteristics (i.e. material, form, subform, etc) interred with individuals
- Quantitative analysis will assist in answering the following questions: Note that analysis will provide answers to these questions regarding the data found at a particular site during a specific time period; however the comparison of results for these analyses will allow for building a more comprehensive understanding of spatial and temporal trends and changes.
    - What material and form types were deposited in the highest and lowest quantities with males/females and adults/subadults?
    - Are clues regarding larger trends of material economy over time and their related cultural implications elucidated?
    - What are the relative quantities of burned versus unburned artifacts and how do these numbers correspond with sex and age categories?

        - What are the relative quantities of pigmented versus unpigmented artifacts and how do these numbers correspond with sex and age categories?
        - What are the relative quantities of particular artifact function categories and how do these numbers correspond with sex and age categories?

SIMPLE MATRIX

[Provides information on the number or percentage of various demographic characteristics of the interred population]

- Tells the exact number and percentage of individuals represented by each sex and age category. Note that each unique individual is counted once.
- Construction of this simple matrix will assist in answering the following questions:
    - What percentage of the population was of a certain sex and/or age?
    - What percentage of the population was found in a certain time period and/or in a particular type of architecture?
    - What percentage of the population was interred with a certain cranial orientation and/or body position?

In line with the approach taken by Robin (1989: 34), the Preclassic interment data from Colha, Cuello and K'axob is analyzed only according the above methods. Statistical tests are not warranted given that correlations are easily observed without further manipulation of the data. The reader should note that, as described above, the methodology applied to the data in this dissertation is exploratory data analysis (EDA) accomplished through the use of pivot tables. EDA was conducted in an effort to suggest hypotheses regarding observed trends and disparities within the data and to establish a baseline understanding of the future data collection and/or synthesis efforts that are necessary for a more comprehensive, rigorous statistical analysis to be of value. Due to the time constraints upon the current project, a more stringent statistical treatment of the data has been allocated for future research endeavors.

THEORETICAL APPROACH

This dissertation presents an analysis of the data and answers to the above research questions largely from an economic perspective. Explicitly stated, the present research is based on the theoretical position that those materials placed within interments that are of an exotic nature or are characterized by a form indicative of a non-utilitarian function would have held a greater connotation of value and resultantly been viewed as prestige goods. Those individuals more likely to be interred with such goods would have been assigned or have earned an elevated status in comparison to their peers, likely due to a lineage history of such

status. Individuals who possessed these goods would have thereby been understood as the privileged or elite among society.

This argument is predicated upon Hayden's (1998) postulates of the transformation of surplus labor into prestige technologies and the categories of "ascribed" and "achieved" status as put forth by Linton (1936) and Foladare (1969). Hayden (1998) has determined that there are two general types of technologies that societies employ: practical and prestige. Practical technologies are engineered with goals of survival in mind; in essence, these are the objects man creates in order to survive and thrive in the natural environment. Prestige technologies, however, are crafted with the express intention to generate a material representation of the possessor's wealth, power and success, which will allow the individual to be more socially viable, desirable and potent. According to Hayden, these prestige objects are created through the allocation of a community's surplus labor resources to the acquisition of exotic and rare materials or goods, the local creation of labor-intensive items, or the production of practical technologies for the exchange of prestige technologies from a foreign locale. It follows that those individuals with the ability to command and control the surplus labor resources of a community would be persons of elevated status, respected by the general population.

While practical or utilitarian goods represent material manifestations of "solutions to practical problems of survival and comfort" (Buttles 2002: 38), prestige goods represent solutions to social problems or to "accomplish a social task such as attracting productive mates and allies or bonding members of social groups

together via displays of success" (Hayden 1998: 11). Prestige goods occur in a variety of forms and material types, with a large portion of these being manufactured from exotic materials. Within the current study, exotic materials are understood to be those that are not locally derived; this includes but is not limited to long distance trade goods such as obsidian, jade and other greenstones, and marine resources.

As discussed above in Chapter 2 and below in Chapters 5, 6, 7, and 9 long distance trade goods acquired by lowland sites from the highlands would have represented a higher economic and social cost of attainment due to the long distance of travel and the necessity to establish and maintain economic and social networks with those individuals controlling these resources. The inherently higher cost of these goods would be manifested in their relative scarcity in comparison to other goods types, which would result in their possession by only a select number of individuals; thus, these goods would have prestige connotations. Those individuals with the ability to acquire such rare items and retain possession of them upon death, as evidenced through the inclusion of these items in their funerary assemblage, would have been displaying their economic viability and social success through ownership of such goods.

Practical materials that have been significantly processed or finished in order to elevate their significance can also be interpreted as prestige goods. As Buttles (2002) notes, this is the case with certain items manufactured from bone. While bone is a practical raw material, through craft production it can be transformed into

a prestige item of personal adornment. Thus, while bone might be manufactured into a practical or utilitarian good such as an awl, the opportunity also exists for the crafting of bone into a polished and/or carved bone tube for use in jewelry. Trachman indicates that "costume ornaments and other personal adornment […] is a fundamental mechanism for reproducing and communicating role distinctions and positioning among interacting members of a group" (2007: 54; see also Dietler and Herbich 1998: 242; Joyce 1999; Sorensen 2000). Thus, items of personal adornment would have been used as markers of the social strata present within the community; distinguishing those individuals more privy to prestige items, including exotic materials, that were extraneous to practical needs of survival.

These circumstances speak directly to Hayden's theory regarding the dedication of surplus labor to the acquisition of foreign materials and the intensive labor investment in local goods. As abovementioned, the power to control the surplus labor resources of a community likely fell to those individuals viewed as "elite." The origination for this elevated status, authority, and access to prestige goods may lie in the 'principle of first occupancy' (Hageman 2004; Hart 1983; Hyde 2011; McAnany 1995; Waldron 1988).

Initial access to long distance trade items and other prestige goods representative of enhanced economic and social success may have been a derivative of the "special rights" of "first occupants" as defined by Hart (1983) and Waldron (1988) and elaborated upon by Hyde (2011). "Special rights" are those rights acquired by the first individual(s) to lay claim to an area of land, otherwise known

as the "principle of first occupancy." The foundational individuals and households that first reach and are primarily established upon a piece of land are understood to have rights to that land above all other individuals (Hyde 2011: 149-150). "Rights to private property are acquired through actions and transactions that people undertake on their own initiative [...and are] based on the actions of individuals" (Hyde 2011: 152 citing Waldron 1988). Thus, foundational households and the individuals who comprise them are vested with ownership and primacy over the area they settle. McAnany (1995) indicates that the ancient Maya applied the principle of first occupancy to those choice agricultural lands to which they were the first to arrive. Given that Maya subsistence strategies were based on farming activities, the ownership of prime agricultural lands would have been desirable. As population size increased, this resource would have become increasingly scarce, placing those foundational occupants in positions of elevated economic viability and resulting in economic and social stratification (Hyde 2011: 153).

The land and the physical household structure erected upon it would be a social marker and architectural indicator of the endeavors of primary occupants. Thus, the plot of land would have been instilled with "meaning beyond its physical worth. The land becomes a symbol for the lineage itself [;] a physical site of group identity" (Hyde 2011: 154; see also Hageman 2004; McAnany 1995).

The interment and veneration of ancestors within these structures further reifies these areas as loci of historical primacy and served to facilitate the maintenance of the increasing social and economic stratification within the

community. Hyde (2011: 155) notes that, "veneration of the ancestors builds a connection to the past, whereby the descendants legitimize claims to land and resources *even if not related by blood*" (original emphasis). Thus, while the lineage group occupying a household may not have retained consanguinity throughout the duration of site occupation, individuals associated with this space were acculturated to the practice of ancestor veneration as a means of claiming descent from the original, primary occupants and thereby contributing to the social reproduction and legitimization of economic and social stratification.

This is seen at Colha Operation 2012 where the original dispersed settlements of the early Middle Preclassic eventually converged to witness the development of a formal cemetery complex (Hester and Shafer 1994; King 2000; Potter 1994). Also, monumental architectural developments in the Late Preclassic such as large open platforms and a ball court indicate that a social hierarchy was already in place at the site to some degree. These large scale architectural projects would have required the coordination of an extensive labor force; a task likely accomplished by individuals in the upper social and economic strata of the community whose authority would derive from their association with primary occupant ancestors.

A similar progression of events is seen at K'axob within Operation 1, where two foundational burials (Burial 1-43 male and Burial 1-46 female) were placed in the Middle Preclassic. While a clear status difference exists, with the male decedent being accompanied by a more extensive collection of burial furniture, it appears that

these interments were placed in an effort to embed this location with a sense of social significance (McAnany 2004b: 7). Given these interments, the subsequent construction of a large structure atop this area, and the repeated subsequent refurbishments and continued use of this area, it is likely that these interments represent the primary or first occupants of this area of land. Their burial in this location and the continued use of the area by their descendants, consanguineous or not, speaks to the social reproduction of the social and economic advantages afforded by their 'first occupant' status.

A somewhat similar situation is seen at Cuello within Platform 34 where two Late Preclassic mass burials are placed. The majority of decedents placed within these burials are disarticulated body bundles that have been neatly and compactly wrapped. This suggests that the individuals were mostly or entirely excarnate or de-fleshed prior to burial. While it is possible that these individuals represent ancestors, Gerhardt and Hammond (1991) contend that the bundles may possibly represent sacrificial victims. However, much like at Operation 1 at K'axob, the two mass burials at Cuello each exhibit two primary, deliberately placed occupants. Robin et al (1991) and Robin (1989) note that these interments appear to be constructed in a purposeful and significant manner where the primary occupants are the focus of the burial group and the accompanying body bundles are placed around them. The exact meaning of these mass burials is unknown and these four centrally placed decedents may not necessarily represent primary occupants in the sense of the 'principle of first occupancy,' though given that they are the physical

and social focus of the interments, they likely held an elevated significance within the Late Preclassic Cuello community.

The "first occupants" of Colha, Cuello, and K'axob as well as their descendants, therefore may have been privy to an elevated, elite status within their community. This status would have been achieved by the primary inhabitants through their travel to and occupation of the area; however this social standing would have simply been conferred or ascribed to their offspring and other members of their lineage by virtue of association and consanguinity. In essence, based on Linton's (1936) definitions of status, while the first occupants achieved their status through efforts and endeavors of their own volition, their descendants were ascribed this status by no virtue of their own. It was necessary to find methods to preserve the elite status ascribed to a lineage network as time progressed. Thus, the powerful individuals within the community convinced or coerced the population to devote their surplus labor resources to the acquisition and creation of prestige technologies. Drawing on Foladare's (1969) explanation of the maintenance and transition of status, I argue that these prestige technologies were effectively the positive sanctions needed to maintain the ascribed category of "elite." Legitimization and maintenance of access to prestige goods would also have been facilitated through social reproduction strategies and practices such as ancestor veneration (McAnany 1995; Moore 1988, 1994; Trachman 2007). These theories are examined in more detail in Chapter 9, within the discussion section, which is

devoted to an interpretation of the data and their reflection of the material manifestation of social differentiation in the Preclassic.

Recapitulated, the present research argues that through the primary arrival to and occupation of the sites in question, a select group of individuals achieved special rights to the resources and land present in the area. These rights were conceived of as a heightened or elite status. This status was passed on to members of their lineage through ascription. Elite members of the communities then sought ways to maintain their status and to display their wealth and power. A primary outlet for this desire was the command and control of surplus labor within their community to the creation and acquisition of prestige technologies. The possession of these items by the site elite represented the transformation of control over a valuable resource, such as labor, into a tangible commodity. Thus, prestige objects became representative of the success and power of the elite. These items were used to maintain the status they had inherited by virtue of their ancestors. Furthermore, social reproduction strategies such as ancestor veneration and the continual use, rebuilding and refurbishment of structures built upon their ancestral lands would codify the historical significance of place and the importance of the lineage.

READER'S GUIDE - SUMMARY OF FINDINGS

The following section presents a brief guide to some of the more significant trends and disparities evidenced within this dissertation. These patterns are more fully explored in the discussion and conclusion of this volume; however this

preliminary notation is intended to direct the reader more deliberately toward those trends of interest while reading the body of the paper.

Across the three sites of study, there is an escalation in the complexity and variation of interment attributes as the Preclassic progresses. Each site witnesses a coincident elaboration of ritual and ceremonial architecture. The ceremonial activity foci of each site are their site centers – the Main Plaza at Colha, Platform 34 at Cuello and Operation 1 at K'axob. All three begin, seemingly with a residential focus, in the early Middle Preclassic and progress to dedicated ritual activity spaces by the Terminal Preclassic.

Throughout the Preclassic, a status differential is evidenced between adult males and other demographic groups at the sites, such as females and subadults. The number of interred adult males placed within the ritual architectural contexts abovementioned escalate steadily through time, consistently outnumbering females and subadults. This interment pattern is reflective of a cultural predisposition to place adults males within contexts that offer an enhanced level of preservation, given the quality of architectural construction, as well as association with a more esteemed and public ceremonial context in opposition to a private domestic context. The tangible and contextual associations afforded to adult males as well as the patterns of grave goods seen within their funerary assemblages throughout the Preclassic speak to an elevated status of these individuals examined in contrast to the remainder of the population.

As will be discussed more fully in the concluding section of this volume, several general patterns of interest in the material composition of Preclassic funerary assemblages become evident through analysis. Among these are the increasingly networked nature of the material economy of both Colha and Cuello; allowing access to and integration of more copious amounts of rare, exotic materials such as jade and other greenstones as well as marine shell and red mineral pigments like hematite and ochre. This is paralleled by an escalating insularity of the material economy at K'axob in which locally sourced materials were increasingly favored as the Preclassic progressed. This is evidenced in the proliferation in the quantities of worked bone objects as well as ceramics and locally sourced stones, such as NB Colha chert and chalcedony.

Interestingly, there is also an increase in the number of interments that exhibit evidence of burning as the Preclassic progresses, primarily at K'axob. As is examined in detail below, these indications of burning are seen to be coincident with large amounts of ceramic sherds and the presence of complete ceramic vessels bearing a cross motif. Within the concluding section of this dissertation, I more fully discuss the potential implications of these material markers, which may coexist as a suite of indicators representative of funerary ritual for elite adult males.

A disparity of note within the data pertains to the distribution of NB Colha chert across the three sites during the Middle Preclassic. Artifacts manufactured from this material appear in higher numbers at K'axob, with lesser amounts found at Cuello, and finally no NB Colha chert items found with definitively sexed and aged

individuals at the source site of Colha. This is an inverse distribution trend from what would be expected, which would place the bulk of this material at the resource origin and tapering quantities the further removed from the origin one traveled. However, as evidenced in this Middle Preclassic pattern, the opposite is seen. I argue that this is likely related to the value of the material the further away from the source one traveled. Much like the exoticism attached to jade and non-jade greenstone derived from the Maya Mountains and the Highlands by inhabitants of the Lowlands, NB Colha chert likely held the same exotic qualities for residents of sites that were removed from the chert outcrops surrounding Colha. The further from the outcrops one resided, the more enhanced the rarity and exoticism of the material may have been.

Further, there are fluctuations in the amounts of jade and shell seen in male and female interments as the Preclassic progresses, with numbers being higher within the female funerary assemblage as the transition from the Middle to Late Preclassic occurs. This is seen by an increase in the number of worked bone objects as well as ceramics within the funerary assemblage of males. This trend is particularly evidenced at Colha. I contend that this is likely due to the evolving connotation of prestige attached to these varying materials over time and elaborate this argument in relation to Hayden's postulates on prestige technology (1998) and Foladare's (1969) synthesis of Linton's (1936) views on status.

Lastly, there is a dearth of obsidian within Preclassic interments across the three sites. This material is seen to be absent from the interments of definitively

sexed males and females from Colha, as well as excluded from all Middle Preclassic interments. Those quantities that are placed within the funerary assemblages of Late and Terminal Preclassic inhabitants of Cuello and K'axob are seen to be relatively paltry in number compared to obsidian goods found in other contexts at the site. I develop an argument regarding the possible heirlooming of obsidian objects, which would have kept them largely removed from funerary contexts in an effort to preserve their utility as well as the symbolic value connoted by their rarity and exoticism. Further worth would be implied by ownership of such an heirloom by virtue of its antiquity and prior possession by powerful, successful and wealthy ancestors.

All of the abovementioned trends and disparities are more fully discussed in the concluding section of this dissertation. Possible interpretations for each pattern are given, based on the theoretical approach used in this study. Bar graphs of these material patterns are also presented in the discussion in order to more fully and clearly illustrate the patterns across time and between the three sites.

CHAPTER 5: MIDDLE PRECLASSIC

COUNT OF INDIVIDUALS BY SEX (Table 5.1)

ALL SITES

Across the region during the Middle Preclassic, there are a total of 17 males, 9 females, 5 possible females, 1 possible male, and 29 indeterminates. Indeterminately sexed individuals dominate the population, with 47.54% being of this classification. Males account for 27.87% of the population and females only 14.75%. Regarding tentatively sexed individuals, possible males account for 1.64% of the population and possible females account for 8.20%. The data reflects that indeterminately sexed individuals are the most prevalent among the recovered decedents. However, considering only definitively sexed individuals, males are found almost two times more frequently than females. This indicates that males were subject to preferential preservation either as a result of cultural or natural factors, or a combination of both (Saul and Saul 1991: 135).

COLHA

During the Middle Preclassic at Colha, there are 5 male, 1 female, 4 possible female, 1 possible male and 18 indeterminate interments. Clearly, indeterminate individuals predominate, comprising 62.07% of the population sample from this time period. Recovered males are more prevalent than females, with 17.24% of the population being male and only 3.45% female. Considering tentatively sexed individuals, possible female individuals comprise 13.79% of the interred individuals

and possible males round out the last 3.45% of the population. Examining only definitively sexed individuals, male individuals are 3.3 times more numerous than females. It appears that Middle Preclassic Colha males were preferentially preserved. Saul and Saul (1991) have alluded that this may be due to cultural factors or natural factors. Males may have been preferentially selected for burial in those locations that afforded better preservation.

CUELLO

Males comprise 40% of the population, with females representing only 25%. Possible female individuals account for 5% of the recovered individuals and indeterminately sexed decedents account for 30%. This means that there were two times more males (8) than females (5) recovered at Cuello. One possible female was recovered while 6 indeterminately sexed individuals were recovered. As at Colha, males appear to be preferentially selected for preservation by either cultural or natural factors.

K'AXOB

At K'axob during the Middle Preclassic, 4 males were recovered compared to 3 females and 5 indeterminately sexed individuals. This means that 33.33% of the recovered population was male, 41.67% indeterminate and just 25% female. Again, as at both Cuello and Colha, males at K'axob are apparently preferentially selected for preservation by either one or a combination of factors. These variables or factors may have a cultural or natural nexus or combination of both.

COUNT OF INDIVIDUALS BY AGE (Table 5.2)

ALL SITES

Overall, a total of 61 individuals were recovered for the Middle Preclassic, with 36 being adults, 15 subadults, and 10 indeterminates. This means that out of the total sample, 59.02% were adults, 24.59% subadults and 16.39% indeterminates. The pattern of preferential adult preservation that was seen at each site during the Middle Preclassic is clearly reflected as a regional pattern. Adults were preserved over twice as often as subadults. This may be due to the more fully formed and robust quality of adult bones in comparison to those of subadults, which would afford them greater chances of preservation. Or perhaps this may be linked to a higher level of status attained during life by adults than subadults; resulting in their interment in favored locations with better preservation conditions. Clearly cultural or natural reasons for this process exist (Saul and Saul 1991: 135).

COLHA

During the Middle Preclassic at Colha, 14 adults, 5 subadults and 10 indeterminates were recovered. This means that out of a total of 29 individuals, 48.28% were adults, 17.24% were subadults and 34.48% were indeterminately aged due to a lack of diagnostic osteological evidence. Clearly, adults, much like males, were preferentially preserved in comparison to subadults by either cultural or natural factors or a combination thereof.

CUELLO

At Cuello, a total of 20 individuals were recovered during the Middle Preclassic, with 15 of these decedents being adults and 5 subadults. This means that 75% of the recovered deceased population was adults and 25% were subadults. Much as at Colha, adults were clearly preferentially interred in locations that afforded them better preservation. Whether this is due strictly to cultural or natural factors or a combination of both is unknown.

K'AXOB

At K'axob, 58.33% of individuals were adults and 41.67% were subadults. This means that out of a total of 12 recovered decedents, 7 were adults and 5 were subadults. While this margin of difference between the recovered numbers of deceased from each age group is smaller than at either Colha or Cuello, it is clear that adults are still being preferentially preserved.

COUNT OF INDIVIDUALS BY BURIAL POSITION AND SEX (Table 5.3)

ALL SITES

Across the three sites during the Middle Preclassic, 6.56% of individuals were interred in a disarticulated state while 27.87% were of an indeterminate position. Approximately 49% of individuals were interred in an extended position while 14.75% were interred in a flexed position. Males were predominantly interred in extended positions, with over 47% of these decedents exhibiting such a placement. Equal numbers of individuals were in flexed and indeterminate

positions, while the least common burial position for a male in the Middle Preclassic was a disarticulated state. Females were also most commonly interred in an extended position, with more than 55% of individuals being placed in this manner. Indeterminately positioned and flexed females each represent 11.11% of the population while 22.22% were interred in a disarticulated position. Comparatively, males were interred four times more often in flexed and indeterminate positions and almost twice as often in extended positions. Females were interred twice as often as males in disarticulated positions.

COLHA

Overall, the majority of individuals were found in extended burial positions (51.72%), with 27.59% being placed in an indeterminate position. Nearly 14% of individuals were interred in a flexed position while disarticulated decedents were the least common. Males were most commonly interred in an extended position (60%) with the remaining individuals being equally likely to be interred in a flexed or disarticulated position. Females were only interred in indeterminate positions. Males were the only individuals interred in flexed, extended, and disarticulated positions and females were the only individuals interred in indeterminate positions.

CUELLO

Overall, 40% of individuals were found in extended positions, while 30% were interred in flexed positions. Indeterminately positioned individuals account for 20% of the population and only 10% were disarticulated. Males were interred in extended positions half of the time and were found in flexed positions next most

often. No males were found in disarticulated positions. Females were found most often in extended and disarticulated positions, with flexed individuals being the least common. Twice as many males were found in extended positions as were females while over three times as many males were interred in flexed positions as were females.

K'AXOB

The majority of individuals were found in extended positions while the remainder of individuals were interred in indeterminate positions. Extended and disarticulated positions are not seen at K'axob in the Middle Preclassic. Males were interred in indeterminate burial positions 75% of the time and in extended positions the remaining 25%, while females were only interred in extended positions. Females were three times as likely to be found in extended positions as were males.

COUNT OF INDIVIDUALS BY BURIAL POSITION AND AGE (Table 5.4)

ALL SITES

Across all sites during the Middle Preclassic, almost half (49.18%) of the individuals are seen to have an extended burial position, with 27.87% having an indeterminate position. Flexed positions are seen in 16.39% of interments while only 6.56% of individuals were interred in a disarticulated state. Adults are seen to follow this trend with over half of these decedents being interred in extended positions and just over twenty percent being placed in indeterminate positions.

Flexed positions are seen as the third most common adult interment position while only just over eight percent of adults were buried in a disarticulated state. Subadults do not follow the site trend due to 40% of these individuals being found in indeterminate positions. One third of subadults are interred in flexed positions and just fewer than 27% are interred in flexed positions. No subadults are seen to have been interred in disarticulated states. Almost four times as many adults are found in extended positions as are subadults while flexed positions are 1.5 times more frequent among adults. Indeterminate burial positions are only 1.3 times more frequent in the adult population however disarticulated interments are seen exclusively among adult decedents.

COLHA

At Colha during the Middle Preclassic, extended burial positions are the most common with over one half of the interred population exhibiting such placement. This is followed by indeterminate, flexed and finally disarticulated interment positions. Adult interments mirror this site-wide trend with well over half (57.14%) being interred in extended positions, 21.43% in indeterminate positions, 14.29% in flexed positions and only 7.14% being interred in a disarticulated state. Subadults deviate from this trend, with 80% of the population being evenly split between flexed and indeterminate burial positions. The remaining 20% are interred in extended positions. Adults are more often interred in all position types than are subadults, except for flexed positions; equal numbers of both age categories are found in flexed burial positions.

CUELLO

At Cuello during the Middle Preclassic, the most common burial position seen is extended (40%). This is followed by flexed, indeterminate and finally those individuals interred in a disarticulated state. Adults seem to mirror this trend with 46.67% being found in extended positions, 26.67% in flexed positions and 13.33% in either an indeterminate position or disarticulated state. Eighty percent of subadult interments are seen to be evenly split between indeterminate and flexed interment positions, with 20% being buried in extended positions. Comparatively, adults are seen to have higher incidences of al interment positions except for indeterminate placements, of which there are equal numbers of adults and subadults.

K'AXOB

Middle Preclassic burial positions at K'axob are seen to be split between two categories, with 58.33% being extended and 41.67% being indeterminate. Both adults and subadults follow this trend, with the majority of each group being interred in extended positions and the remainder in indeterminate positions. Comparatively, adults are seen to have higher incidences of both burial positions.

COUNT OF INDIVIDUALS BY CRANIAL ORIENTATION AND SEX (Table 5.5)

ALL SITES

Considering all sex categories of recovered individuals for the Middle Preclassic at Colha, Cuello, and K'axob, 39.34% of decedents had an indeterminate

cranial orientation while 11.48% did not have cranial material present, thus rendering a determination of cranial orientation impossible. Of the remaining individuals, 9.84% of decedents each had either a southern or eastern cranial orientation. A western cranial orientation was present in 8.20% of body placements and 4.92% of decedents each had a southwestern, southeastern or northwestern orientation. The remaining 6.56% of the population had cranial orientations equally divided between possibly north, possibly northwestern, possibly southern, and northern.

Clearly, the predominant cranial orientations across the population of the three sites during the Middle Preclassic were southern and eastern. Among males specifically, the most popular cranial orientation was western (17.65%). Equal amounts of males were found with southern and eastern cranial orientations (11.76%). Females were equally as likely to have a southern, southwestern and southeastern cranial orientation. The majority of possible females and indeterminate individuals had an indeterminate cranial orientation while 100% of possible females had a western orientation. Considering significant differences in orientations between definitively sexed males and females, males have a higher number of all cranial orientations than females except for southeast, south, southwest and possibly north. Females are the only individuals to have a southeastern, southwestern or possibly northern orientation, while equal numbers of males and females were found with southern oriented crania.

COLHA

At Colha during the Middle Preclassic, the majority of decedents had an indeterminate cranial orientation, with the most popular directional orientation being southern, which was found in 13.79% of the population. Male interments follow this trend, with 40% being of indeterminable cranial orientation while the remaining 60% of the population was split evenly between southern, western, and northwestern orientations. Interestingly, 100% of females had a southern cranial orientation at this time. Between males and females, males had a higher number of all cranial orientations except for southerly oriented, of which there were equal numbers of males and females.

CUELLO

During the Middle Preclassic at Cuello, 30% of individuals were of an indeterminate cranial orientation while 15% did not have enough cranial material present for investigators to determine an orientation. Of those individuals with an orientation, equal percentages (10%) of orientations of south, east, southeast, and west were seen. The remaining 15% of the population was even split between northwest, north and possibly north. Twenty-five percent of males had an indeterminate cranial orientation. The same percentage also had either a western or eastern cranial orientation. The remaining individuals were seen to have northern and southern orientations. Interestingly, 40% of females did not have enough cranial material present in their interments for investigators to determine a cranial orientation. The remaining 60% of females were equally as likely to have a

southern, southeastern, or possibly northern cranial orientation. Equal numbers of males and females were seen to have southern cranial orientations; however possibly northern and southeastern orientations were exclusive to females while western, eastern and definitive northern orientations were exclusive to males.

K'AXOB

During the Middle Preclassic at K'axob, a third of individuals did not have enough cranial material present for investigators to definitively determine a cranial orientation. Of the remaining individuals, the most popular orientation was southwestern, with 16.67% of decedents displaying this orientation. Seventy-five percent of males did not have enough cranial material present for an orientation to be determined. The remaining individuals were all of a possibly southern cranial orientation. Two thirds of females had a southwesterly cranial orientation and the remaining one third had a southeasterly orientation. Comparatively at K'axob, southwest and southeast facing crania were exclusive to females while the tentative southern orientation was exclusive to males.

COUNT OF INDIVIDUALS BY CRANIAL ORIENTATION AND AGE (Table 5.6)

ALL SITES

Across the three sites during the Middle Preclassic, nearly 40% of individuals had an indeterminate cranial orientation. This means that there was not enough diagnostic cranial material present in the interments of these individuals to allow investigators to determine a cranial orientation of the body. Just over 11% of

individuals did not have any cranial material present and therefore an attempt at the determination of a cranial orientation was not applicable. Of those individuals who had determinable cranial orientations, 9.84% had either an eastern or southern orientation. Western cranial orientations were seen in 8.20% of the population overall, with other positioning of decedents being less prevalent. Regarding adults, 25% of individuals have an indeterminate cranial orientation. Of note, 13.89% of adult individuals have either an eastern, southern or western orientation with other directions being less frequent. Forty percent of subadults have indeterminate cranial orientations, with the most prevalent determinable orientation being northwest (20%). Indeterminately aged individuals are overwhelmingly seen to have indeterminate cranial orientations (90%), with 10% having an eastern orientation. Comparatively, adults have a higher incidence of all cranial orientations than do subadults, with the exception of northwest and possibly northwest. These two cranial orientations are exclusive to subadults.

COLHA

During the Middle Preclassic at Colha, the predominant cranial orientation is southern, with 13.79% of the population exhibiting this positioning. However, it should be noted that well over half (58.62%) of decedents during this time period have indeterminate cranial orientations. Adults are seen to have a 35.71% incidence of indeterminate cranial orientation; however 21.43% of adults have either a southern or western orientation. The subadult population is largely characterized by indeterminate orientations, with 60% exhibiting this placement. The remaining

40% of individuals in this age category are evenly split between southern and northwestern cranial orientations. Comparatively, adults have higher numbers of each cranial orientation seen at the site during this time period except for northwestern orientations, which are exclusively seen in subadult interments.

CUELLO

Indeterminate cranial orientations account for 30% of the population in the Middle Preclassic at Cuello. Fifteen percent of individuals did not have cranial material present, which rendered determination of a cranial orientation inapplicable. Ten percent of individuals are seen to have either a southern, western, eastern or southeastern cranial orientation. Adults are largely seen to have indeterminate cranial orientations (26.67%), while 13.33% did not have cranial material present, rendering an orientation inapplicable. Southern, western, and eastern cranial orientations were also each seen in 13.33% of the adult population. Subadult interments are largely of indeterminate orientations (40%), with the remaining 60% being evenly split between N/A or inapplicable orientations, southeastern and northwestern. Comparatively, adults are seen to have higher incidence of all cranial orientations with the exception of southeastern and northwestern. Equal numbers of adults and subadults are seen to have southeastern cranial orientations while northwestern orientations are exclusively found in subadult interments.

K'AXOB

One third of interments at K'axob during the Middle Preclassic did not have cranial material present, which rendered a cranial orientation inapplicable. The most common definitive orientation seen was southwestern (16.67%). Adults at the site predominantly did not have any cranial material present, making orientation determinations inapplicable (42.86%). Southwest, east, southeast and possibly south orientations were each seen in 14.29% of the adult population. Subadults were even split between five different orientation categories, with 20% of the population being N/A, southwestern, indeterminate, northwestern and possibly northwestern. Comparatively, adults represent three times as many interments in which a determination of cranial orientation was inapplicable due to lack of cranial material. Equal numbers of adults and subadults were found with southwestern orientations while all other orientations were either held exclusively by adults or subadults. Eastern, southeastern, and possibly southern orientations were only seen in adult interments. Northwest, possibly northwest and indeterminate orientations were seen only in subadult interments.

COUNT OF ARTIFACTS BY MATERIAL TYPE AND SEX OF INDIVIDUAL (Table 5.7)

ALL SITES

Frequency Table (% of Column)

In the Middle Preclassic, across all three sites, ceramics are the most frequently included grave good with definitively sexed individuals, occurring in

24.72% of all interments. Shell is 1.29 times less likely to be included as part of the Middle Preclassic funerary assemblage, though still appears in 19.10% of interments. Both NB Colha chert and chalcedony appear in almost 8% of interments, while non-NB Colha chert, unidentifiable lithic material, unmodified faunal remains and greenstone (jade) each occur in 5.62% of interments. Groundstone and bone artifacts each appear in 4.49% of interments while mineral artifacts are only present in 2.25%.

Between the three sites of study, only 3.37% of interments are placed without an accompanying funerary assemblage. The male funerary assemblage across the three sites is typified by the inclusion of ceramics and shell, with these material types appearing in 24.14% and 17.24% of male interments, respectively. Chalcedony items show up in 8.62% of male interments, while NB Colha chert, unmodified faunal remains and greenstone (jade) are each included in 6.9% of male interments. Non-NB Colha chert, unidentifiable lithic material, and bone artifacts are each present in 5.17% of male burials while the remaining artifact material classes (groundstone, greenstone, mineral, and those interments without goods) each account for 3.45% of the male interments.

Females, like males, are most typically included with ceramic and shell artifacts (25.81% and 22.58%), while NB Colha chert shows in only 9.68% of female interments. Chalcedony, non-NB Colha chert, unidentifiable lithic material, and groundstone each occur in 6.45% of female burials while unmodified faunal remains, greenstone (jade), bone, greenstone (non-jade varieties), and those

interments without goods each account for 3.23% of female burials. During the Middle Preclassic, no female interments are seen to be interred with mineral artifacts of any kind.

Quantitative Table (% of Column)

During this time, shell accounts for the majority of recovered artifacts (73.12%). All other artifact material classes are far less represented, with the next most populous class, ceramics, being 6.12 times less prolific than shell. Ceramics account for 14.88% of the recovered goods, while other practical material classes represent between 0.42% and 7% of the total items.

The data shows that prestige goods such as greenstone (jade) (.21%), bone (.13%), and greenstone (non-jade varieties) (.08%) and mineral (.08%) each account for a very small percentage of the recovered artifacts from interments across these three sites. Clearly, access to prestige goods in general, and long distance trade items such as greenstone specifically, were not very prevalent in the region at this time. As discussed above in Chapter 4, this study employs the definition of Hayden (1998) and categorizes prestige technology as those items that are created for the display of wealth, success and power. According to Hayden, prestige technologies are manufactured with the goal of "solv[ing] a social problem or accomplish[ing] a social task such as attracting productive mates, labor, and allies or bonding members of social groups together via displays of success" (1998: 11). He suggests that the primary objective in the creation and possession of such prestige technologies is the utilization of as much surplus labor as possible in an

effort to draw admiration for the "economic, aesthetic, technical, or other skills of the possessor" (1998: 11).

The transformation and embodiment of such a profound amount of social and economic resources within a singular or small number of tangible objects clearly would have connoted a very lofty significance for such goods. It follows then that possession of these items, which were representative of the social authority to command the investment of surplus labor into a prestige commodity and the economic viability and wherewithal to attain these goods, would have been restricted to a limited number of individuals. The surplus labor of a community is a finite resource and would have been selectively allocated and directed by those individuals dominating the social hierarchy toward the production of a select number and type of goods deemed representative of their stature within the community. These rare and symbolically potent goods would resultantly be wielded in life by the site elite and likely interred with these individuals upon their death. Thus, it can be inferred that those individuals within the current data sample who are interred with goods appearing to be of a prestige nature were likely those persons operating in the upper tiers of the community's social hierarchy.

The majority of artifacts recovered with males were shell (75.75%). All other material classes are present in comparatively lesser quantities, especially the prestige goods mentioned above. This same pattern holds true for females, with their assemblage being comprised of 61.57% shell, and lesser quantities of other

materials, including prestige materials. A more detailed look at the number of prestige goods interred with males versus females can be seen below.

Frequency Table (% of Row)

Across the three sites, males are interred more frequently than females with all material categories, except groundstone which occurs in an equal number of male and female interments. Interesting points reflected in this analysis are that males are the only individuals to be included with mineral artifacts of any kind and are 4 times likelier to be interred with unmodified faunal remains than females. Males are also 4 times likelier to be placed with greenstone (jade) than females, as well as 3 times likelier to be accompanied by bone artifacts. Also of note is that males are found in interments without the accompaniment of grave goods twice as often as females.

Quantitative Table (% of Row)

While males and females have similarly high percentages of shell artifacts in relation to other material classes (Males - 75.75%, Females 61.58%), it is interesting to note that male individuals were in fact interred with approximately 5 times more shell artifacts than females. Additionally, male individuals are interred with more grave goods on average than females, with definitively sexed males accounting for 81.45% of the total grave goods in the Middle Preclassic, compared to the 18.55% of total artifacts being associated with interred females. This means that in total, in the Middle Preclassic, across Colha, Cuello and K'axob, males are interred with approximately 4 times the number of grave goods that females are buried with. Still

considering only definitively sexed decedents, it is important to note that interred males possess higher percentages of each grave good material class than females, except for groundstone.

Groundstone is found in equal numbers in male and female interments. Also, males are only accompanied by 1.29 times more non-Northern Belize Colha chert than females, a far more subdued contrast in comparison to quantities of the other material classes. As stated above, males and females were interred with equal numbers of groundstone artifacts, an interesting finding given the association of such artifacts with household production activities and the processing of foodstuffs - tasks that would likely have been more often conducted by females (Sullivan 1991: 9-10).

Similarly, both sexes are interred with similar percentages of non-Northern Belize Colha chert - with males having only approximately 1.29 times more grave goods of this material class than females. The artifact subforms within this material class included cores/core tools and flakes/flake fragments. This may reflect that chert tool production from non-Colha resources was being practiced by or associated with both sexes, though perhaps slightly more by and/or with males. Also of note is that while males are accompanied by twice the amount of non-jade greenstones as females, they are accompanied by 7 times more jade. Given the high economic and social value, placed on jade over 'social jades' (non-jade greenstones), adult male individuals would likely have had priority access to these items based on their higher social status (Buttles 2002: 240-242).

Scholars such as Adams (1991), Hammond et al (1977) and Hammond (1991b) have shown that greenstones of all varieties, including jade, were a material of great value in Mesoamerica. A value hierarchy likely also existed for the different varieties of greenstone. Lange (1986) and Chenault (1988) have both proposed that varying types of greenstone, including true jade, were designated a value based on a schema that included consideration of the material color and quality as well as the degree of craftsmanship invested into the good. Thus, items manufactured from greenstones ranking higher on such a schema would have an increased likelihood of being interred with male decedents or those of a higher rank within the community.

Buttles indicates that "Colha as a mass producer of lithic tools and a source of chert would have had a commodity that could be exchanged for jades" (1992: 171). Such a pattern is noted to some degree with regard to non-jade greenstones during the Middle Preclassic, with Colha interments containing two thirds of all recovered greenstone artifacts and Cuello and K'axob each representing only one sixth of recovered greenstone items. However, jade is found predominantly at Cuello (88.89% of all jade objects) than Colha (11.11%) or K'axob (0%). As Buttles does note, the exchange of chert for jade is likely "especially true during the Late Preclassic period, a time in which Colha was mass producing lithic tools" (Buttles 1992: 171; Hester 1982; Shafer 1982). As will be shown in the subsequent analytical section of this volume, which focuses on the Late Preclassic, this does appear to be true. During this time, Colha interments represent 57.50% of the recovered jade items and 70.37% of greenstone objects found at all three sites. Clearly Colha was

becoming more integrated over time into a long distance exchange network by which exotic greenstones and jade would have been acquired. Also, as will be more fully examined in Chapter 9, the intensified lithic production of Colha during the Late Preclassic is a potential indicator of the excess production of locally sourced practical goods for the exchange of prestige technologies from other sites (per Hayden 1998).

Overall

Overall, males were interred with higher numbers of goods than females in the Middle Preclassic in Northern Belize. This includes their more routine access to prestige materials and the resultant higher frequency and number of these materials in male interments. Also, during this time period, the regional funerary assemblage was typified by ceramic and shell artifacts, with all other material classes being far less represented in frequency and number. As Robin (1989: 5) notes, burials, their location, treatment and the behavioral practices reflected in the goods placed within them are indicators of the "status, wealth, and power of an individual in life."

Trends for male and female funerary assemblages have been discussed in detail above. Regarding non-definitively sexed individuals across the three sites during the Middle Preclassic, Possible males are found equally as often with shell, bone and ceramic artifacts. Possible females are found with shell most frequently while bone and ceramic are included less frequently. Indeterminates are interred

with no grave goods at all almost as often as they are interred with ceramics. Shell is also frequently included with these unsexed individuals.

Ceramics are interred equally as often with males as with indeterminates while both are interred nearly as often with shell. Indeterminates are interred with unidentifiable lithic material, non-NB Colha chert and groundstone more often than definitively sexed individuals; however they also comprise the overwhelming majority (75%) of those interments without grave goods. Regarding specific numbers, the funerary assemblage accompanying Indeterminates is predominated by shell (58.52%), with other material categories being represented in far fewer quantities. The predominance of shell is also seen in the interments of possible males and possible females, with these assemblages being comprised 98.43% and 81.22% by shell. Interestingly, Indeterminates are found with almost twice the amount of non-NB Colha chert as males and three times as much groundstone as males and females. Also of note is that possible female interments account for 73.33% of the bone artifacts recovered across the Colha, K'axob and Cuello during the Middle Preclassic.

<u>COLHA</u>

Frequency Table (% of Column)

Analysis shows ceramic artifacts to account for 30.77% of the total occurrences of artifacts in interments at Colha in the Middle Preclassic. Ceramics are 1.33 times more likely to be included with an individual of either sex than shell, 2

times more likely than bone and 4 times more likely than any of the remaining material classes. Additionally, analysis shows that female interments during this time period at Colha are equally likely to include instances of items manufactured from ceramic, shell or bone with no instances of unmodified faunal remains or greenstone of any kind. There are also no female interments that are interred without goods during this time period. Male interments are equally likely to include instances of bone, unmodified faunal remains and greenstone of any kind. Instances of shell are twice as likely as these four material classes to occur in male interments in the Middle Preclassic while ceramic goods are three times as likely to occur in male interments during this time. Ten percent of male interments from this period exist unaccompanied by funerary artifacts.

Quantitative Table (% of Column)

Considering only definitively sexed individuals, only 6 artifact material categories are represented at Colha in the Middle Preclassic - shell, ceramic, unmodified faunal remains, greenstone (jade), greenstone, and bone. Analysis shows that shell accounts for 97.47% of the total grave goods at Colha in this time period. Shell occurs in quantities approximately 66 times higher at Colha in the Middle Preclassic than ceramic, which is the next most prevalent artifact material class. It is also approximately 232 times more prevalent than bone artifacts and approximately 464 times more prevalent than unmodified faunal remains, jade or other greenstones. Clearly, shell was numerically the most significant grave good material class found at Colha during this time.

Frequency Table (% of Row)

Based on frequency analysis, males are 3 times more likely to be included with ceramic grave goods and twice more likely to be accompanied by shell than females. Males and females are equally likely to have been interred with bone artifacts at Colha in the Middle Preclassic, however males are the only sex to see the inclusion of greenstone and unmodified faunal remains in their funerary assemblages. Males are also the only sex to exhibit any interments absent of the inclusion of any grave goods. Overall, male interments account for 75% of those Middle Preclassic Colha interments that contained grave goods while females account for only 25% of those interments exhibiting funerary assemblages. Considering all interments of definitively sexed males and females including those interred without grave goods, males account for 76.92% of interments and females for 23.08%

Quantitative Table (% of Row)

Definitively sexed males and females are found with equal percentages of bone artifacts, and similar percentages of ceramic artifacts, with males having approximately 1.33 times more grave goods manufactured from ceramic located in their interments. Male interments also contained approximately 1.91 times more shell goods than females and are the only individuals accompanied with unmodified faunal remains and artifacts manufactured from greenstone during this time at Colha. Additionally, male interments that contain grave goods contain a combined percentage of artifacts that reflects approximately twice the number of artifacts

present in female interments. Comprehensively, males comprise the majority of Middle Preclassic interments at Colha and are accompanied by the majority of artifacts interred with decedents during this time period.

Overall

As Buttles notes, "items acquired through system(s) of trade first appear during the early Middle Preclassic and continue into the late Middle Preclassic" (2002: 72). The above material analysis of goods placed with decedents echoes this statement. Overall, shell predominates within the funerary assemblages of Colha in quantity, while ceramics are the most frequently occurring material class. Ceramic and shell are the two material classes most commonly interred with males and females, though shell does numerically dominate each assemblage. As Buttles notes, during both the early and late Middle Preclassic, the pattern of including shell disk beads as grave goods appears at Colha as well as Cuello and K'axob (Buttles 2002; Hammond 1991; Isaza Aizpurua 2004; Isaza Aizpurua and McAnany 1999) (Figures 5.1-5.2).

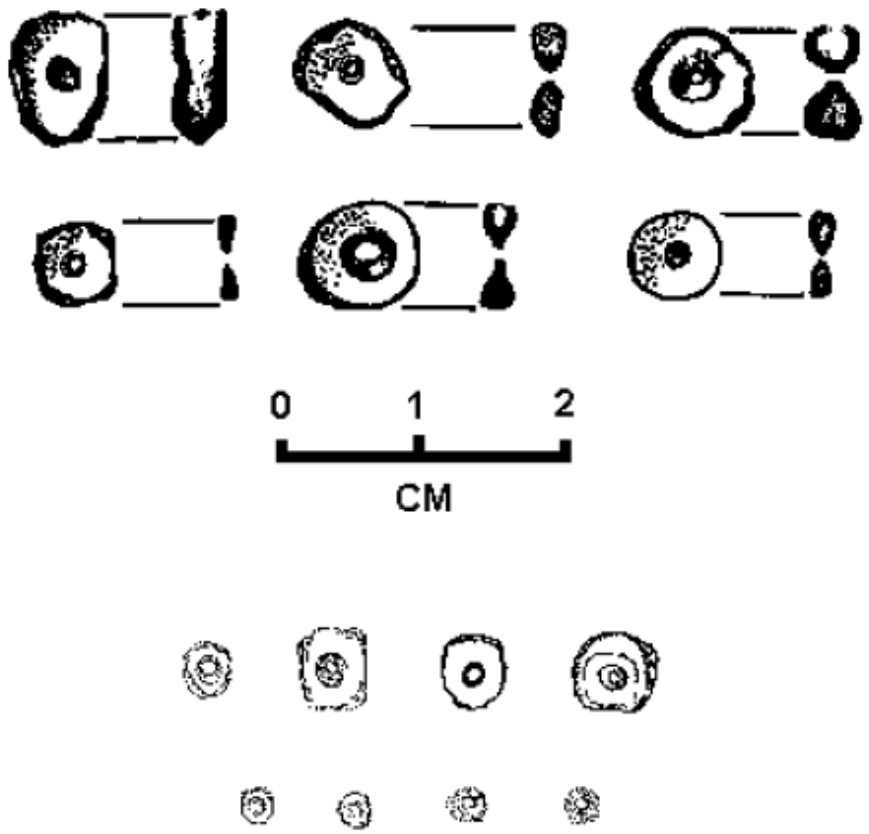


Figure 5.1: Disk shell beads recovered from Middle Preclassic Colha (after Buttles 1992, 2002: Fig. 6.1; Dreiss: 1982)

Figure 5.2: Middle Preclassic irregular shell beads from K'axob (after McAnany 2004: Photo 0011)

The trend toward inclusion of prolific numbers of shell beads occurs at sites beyond the focus of this study, including a single early Middle Preclassic burial from Altun Ha that held 373 shell disk beads (Buttles 2002; Pendergast 1979: 173). Based on the findings presented in the entirety of this study as well as those indicated from the work of Buttles, Isaza Aizpurua, McAnany and Pendergast, a cultural predisposition toward the interment of decedents with shell beads was present during the Middle Preclassic in the Northern Belize region. Shell would have been a raw material acquired from both freshwater and long distance marine resources and formed into both practical and prestige objects (Buttles 2002: 159; Buttles

1992; Dreiss 1982, 1994; Feldman 1994; Stock 1979). Colha males are accompanied by every material category more frequently and in higher numbers than their female counterparts, except for the category of bone which occurs in equal numbers and frequencies with both sexes. On the whole, males are accompanied by roughly two times the number of artifacts that females are.

Those artifact material categories that occur in higher numbers in male burials over female burials are items that would have been obtained from long distance trade (greenstone, shell) or possibly have supernatural connotations (Masson 2004: 391). Both sexes have similar numbers of the practical technology class of ceramics and interestingly, both have equal numbers of bone items. Grave goods manufactured from bone represent worked items produced from a practical or utilitarian material into an item of personal adornment that had prestige connotations (Buttles 2002: 326). The inclusion of such items with both males and females may speak to the lesser designation of prestige assigned to this material than those obtained through long distance trade in the Middle Preclassic. Items of higher value such as those manufactured from greenstone would likely have been secured by ruling lineages or clans in an effort to legitimize and highlight their status and elevated position with the social hierarchy of the site (Adams 1991: 135; Buttles 2002: 73).

The above analyses show that in the Middle Preclassic at Colha, males are more often associated grave goods of any material class and especially with those artifact material classes that would likely have been associated with prestige or

ceremonial connotations, thus allowing one to infer that males at Colha held positions of higher social status than their females counterparts in the Middle Preclassic.

The foregoing analysis considered only definitively sexed individuals in an effort to gain a clearer, more detailed picture of the social milieu during the Middle Preclassic at Colha. What follows below is a brief review of data highlights for all individuals including those of tenuous and indeterminate sex classifications. Tenuous and indeterminate sex classifications are the result of an insufficient diagnostic osteological material being preserved and/or recovered from an interment.

Considering all sex classifications, the addition of the groundstone is seen as a recovered artifact material class. Regarding frequency, all occurrences of groundstone are found with indeterminate individuals. Ceramics are most often placed with indeterminate individuals (53.33%) and males (20%) while shell is more frequently found with indeterminates and possible females. Occurrences of unmodified faunal remains are found equally as often with males and indeterminates, while indeterminates and possible females have the highest frequencies of bone artifacts in their funerary assemblage (37.50% and 25% respectively). Males and possible females are equally likely to be interred with greenstone while, despite the incorporation of all occurrences of artifacts with all individuals, Males are still the only sex to have been interred with any artifacts of greenstone (jade). Interestingly, nearly 91% of all interments without goods belong

to indeterminates, with the remainder belonging to definitively sexed males. Indeterminates, possible males and possible females account for 74% of the interments at Colha during this time period. More specifically regarding the assemblages found with unsexed and tenuously classified individuals, indeterminates are more often interred with no grave goods. When these individuals were accompanied by goods, ceramics are the most frequent material class found with them.

Possible males are interred with shell, bone and ceramic equally as often, with no goods of any other material class. Possible females are most often interred with shell, bone and ceramic artifacts like possible males; however their funerary assemblage also shows the inclusion of greenstone objects. Regarding actual numbers of artifacts, males are still found with the predominance of shell goods, however indeterminates are not far behind, accounting for 23.80% of the shell found during this time period. Indeterminates are found with as many unmodified faunal remains as definitively sexed males and are in fact interred with the preponderance (64.86%) of the ceramic artifacts, as well as 100% of all groundstone from this time period. Possible females account for 75% of the greenstone artifacts of non-jade varieties that are found at Colha and account for the majority (78.57%) of the bone artifacts recovered.

Overall, definitively sexed males still possessed the majority of artifacts (26.58%) recovered from the site during this time, however Indeterminates were not far behind with 24.96% of the artifacts being associated with these individuals.

Possible females and possible males have similarly high numbers of grave goods that included in their interments, with their assemblages respectively representing 18.21% and 16.32% of the total goods from this time period. Regarding the makeup of the funerary assemblages of indeterminates, possible males and possible females, all are found with upwards of 80% of their assemblage being shell. Possible males, in fact, are generally accompanied by assemblages composed of 98.43% shell. All other artifact material classes are far less represented in the grave goods of indeterminate and tenuously sexed individuals. Clearly, the inclusion of all sex categories affects the relative frequency and numerical distribution of grave good artifact material classes at Colha during the Middle Preclassic.

CUELLO

Frequency Table (% of Column)

In regards to the frequency analysis of grave goods included with definitively sexed males and females in the Middle Preclassic at Cuello, ceramic objects account for approximately 37% of the instances of the presence of grave goods within an interment. As at Colha, shell goods are present in roughly 23% of those graves that exhibit goods. Greenstones occur in slightly more Middle Preclassic interments at Cuello than at Colha, with 16.67% of Cuello interments containing greenstone items, versus 15.38% at Colha. Artifacts manufactured from bone, however, occur in approximately 4.6 times more interments at Colha than at Cuello. This indicates that funerary objects fashioned from bone were possibly designated with more

economic or ideological worth at Colha or perhaps that bone objects included in these interments were simply more well-preserved and less subject to destructive taphonomic processes than those bone items interred with individuals at Cuello.

Also striking is the absence of unmodified faunal remains from any of the Middle Preclassic Cuello interments, compared to the 7.69% of graves in which they were present at Colha. Interestingly, four artifact material categories are found at Cuello during the Middle Preclassic that are not found at Colha. These material classes are: mineral, groundstone, Northern Belize Colha chert (NB Colha Chert), and chalcedony. All four of these material types are found in 3.33% of Cuello interments in the Middle Preclassic.

The most striking part of this finding is that NB Colha chert is found in Middle Preclassic interments 50 kilometers away at Cuello, yet not in graves closer to its origin at Colha. One possible explanation for this is that since Colha was an industrial community with a high prevalence of this particular material type, it would not have been accorded enough economic or ideological esteem to warrant its inclusion in funerary assemblages intended to accompany the decedent in the afterlife. The situation would have been slightly different at Cuello, however, for while this resource was not necessarily acquired through long distance trade, it was still a trade item that would have been somewhat prized, especially when crafted into symbolic items such as eccentrics (Meadows 2001).

Approximately 6.67% of interments containing definitively sexed males or females did not include goods of any material class. In regards to the occurrence of

various material classes with males and females, analysis shows that male decedents are most often interred with ceramics, with 35% of male decedents being accompanied by one or more ceramic object. Shell is the second most common good to be included with males, found in 20% of the interments, and followed by greenstone (jade), which is found in 15% of interments with males. Interestingly, however, there are no instances of other types of greenstone in graves with male decedents during the Middle Preclassic at Cuello. Mineral, bone, groundstone, NB Colha chert and chalcedony material classes are each found in 5% of male interments during this time period. Five percent of male interments are also absent of any grave goods during this time period.

This analysis shows that males are accompanied by ceramic artifacts 1.75 times more often than shell, while they are interred with shell 1.33 times more often than greenstone (jade). Male individuals are accompanied by greenstone (jade) 3 times more often than bone. Lastly, the male funerary assemblage at Cuello at this time contains the remaining material classes in equal frequencies. Female interments at Cuello have a higher incidence of ceramics than other material types, with 40% of these graves containing one or more ceramic objects. Approximately one third (30%) of female decedents are accompanied by grave goods manufactured from shell. This means that female interments at Cuello during the Middle Preclassic are 1.33 times more likely to contain ceramic than shell. Interestingly, female interments do not include five of the other grave goods classes that are seen in male interments (mineral, groundstone, NB Colha chert, bone, and chalcedony).

They are, however, accompanied by greenstone (jade) and other greenstones, each present in 10% of interments. Regarding greenstone (jade), male interments are 3 times likelier to include this material class; this seems to indicate a significant skewing toward the inclusion of jade in male over female interments. Females are included with other greenstones 10% of the time, as mentioned above, while male interments do not include any greenstones besides jade.

Viewed in combination, female interments are 1.33 times likelier to include greenstone of any kind than are male interments. However, the inclusion of lesser greenstones, also called 'social jades' (Buttles 2002: 240-242) with females indicates that these goods, while still being items indicative of prestige, would have been less economically and socially prized than true jade. Ten percent of female interments are without funerary goods of any kind while only 5% of males are interred without goods. Viewing the raw numbers of decedents without grave goods shows that only one male and one female were interred without goods, however in relation to the total number of interments of each sex, females are interred without goods at a higher frequency than males. This finding implies that during the Middle Preclassic at Cuello, female decedents were twice as likely as males to not be afforded the economic or social advantage necessary to have materials interred with them upon death.

Quantitative Table (% of Column)

Regarding the numerical data, shell is by far the most prevalent good seen in Middle Preclassic interments at Cuello. It accounts for 85.11% of the recovered

objects from graves of this time period while ceramic, the next most populous material type, constitutes less than a tenth of the number of goods present (9.57%). Greenstones account for a combined total of 2.84%, representing a small portion of the total funerary objects from this time period. Greenstone (jade) appears at a higher percentage (2.48) and is over 7 times more prevalent than other greenstones (0.35%). Mineral and bone material class artifacts each account for 0.71% of the number of recovered goods while chalcedony, groundstone and NB Colha chert each represent 0.35% of the retrieved artifacts.

Regarding specific breakdowns of goods in the assemblages of males and females, items rediscovered from male interments are predominated by ceramics with 40% of the specimens being of this material class. Shell goods are the second most prevalent, accounting for 34% of the retrieved items. Greenstone (jade) is the only variety of greenstone to be found in male interments and explains 12% of the number of retrieved items. Mineral and bone inclusions each account for 4% of the assemblages included with males while groundstone, chalcedony, and NB Colha chert each only represent 2% of the recovered artifacts. The numerical breakdown for female interments shows that an overwhelming majority of the objects included in these graves are manufactured from shell (96.12%). All other artifact material classes present in the Middle Preclassic at Cuello account for far less percentages of the female funerary assemblage than do shell specimens. Ceramics account for 3.02% of goods recovered from female interments, while jade and other greenstones account for a combined percentage of 0.86% of the retrieved items.

Both jade and other varieties of greenstone are equally represented in female interments, numerically considering. All other artifact material classes present in the Middle Preclassic at Cuello (groundstone, mineral, NB Colha chert, bone, chalcedony) are absent from female interments.

Frequency Table (% of Row)

Based on this frequency analysis, males are 1.75 times likelier than females to be interred with ceramics and 1.33 times likelier to be interred with items manufactured from shell. All instances of the inclusion of mineral, NB Colha chert, bone, chalcedony, and groundstone occur in male interments. Interments of both sexes are equally likely to have been placed without any accompanying goods. Regarding greenstones, males are 3 times likelier than females to be interred with an object manufactured from jade, while females are the only sex to be interred with instances of other non-jade varieties of greenstone. This indicates that while females were accorded the economic and social privilege to be interred with prestige items, males were far likelier to be accompanied by the more highly prized varieties of these materials (jade) in contrast to the lesser esteemed 'social jade' varieties. (Buttles 2002: 240-242).

Quantitative Table (% of Row)

Based on the numerical analysis of the data, females were interred with over 13 times the amount of shell artifacts that males were. This analysis shows that females are accompanied by approximately 13 times (13.12) more shell artifacts than males. Females were also the only individuals to be interred with greenstone of

non-jade varieties or 'social jade'. Male decedents were interred with higher quantities of all other artifact material classes found in Middle Preclassic interments at Cuello than females. These artifact material categories include: ceramic, greenstone (jade), bone, mineral, NB Colha chert, chalcedony and groundstone. Males were interred with nearly 3 times the amount of ceramic objects as females and 6 times the number of greenstone (jade) items. In all other artifact material categories (groundstone, mineral, NB Colha chert, bone, and chalcedony) males were the only individuals to be interred with these materials during this time period at the site. Interestingly, overall percentages see males accounting for only 17.73% of the recovered grave goods while female interments provided the remaining 82.27% of items.

Overall

Based on the above data and analysis, males during the Middle Preclassic at Cuello are clearly afforded a significantly higher level of association with grave goods of almost all material classes, both practical and prestige (based on frequency analysis); though females are associated with higher quantities of shell and greenstone (non-jade varieties). More frequent association with prestige items (shell, mineral, bone, greenstone (jade)) is seen by males than females. Interestingly, however, quantities of prestige items manufactured from shell are found in significantly higher quantities with females. Items manufactured from shell were typically items of personal adornment such as shell bracelets and necklaces. The presence of higher quantities of shell beads and forms associated with personal

adornment in female graves may indicate that during the Middle Preclassic at Cuello, females were more predisposed based on cultural standards to vestige themselves with adornments of shell. Overall, the funerary assemblage of males during the Middle Preclassic at Cuello is composed of ceramic and shell objects with some presence of other material classes (greenstone (jade), mineral, bone, groundstone, chalcedony, NB Colha chert).

Both practical and prestige items typify this funerary assemblage. Practical material classes of ceramic, groundstone, NB Colha chert and chalcedony are found with these individuals, with ceramic being found exceedingly more frequently than all other practical materials. Regarding prestige materials, shell, greenstone (jade), mineral, and bone objects are found in the typical Middle Preclassic male funerary assemblage, with shell predominating the assemblage being followed in quantity by greenstone (jade). All other prestige materials occur in much more minute categories within the typical male assemblage. Overall, the overwhelming quantity of the typical female funerary assemblage during the Middle Preclassic at Cuello is composed of the prestige material of shell. All other material classes, both prestige and practical are far more underrepresented compared to shell, with the next most populous material class, ceramic, being almost 32 times less likely to be included in any quantity within the funerary assemblage of females during this time period.

This data and analysis indicates that females were afforded access to prestige items that would have been acquired through long-distance trade avenues, such as marine shell from the coast and greenstones from the Maya Mountains; however

compared to males, they were typically less often included with prestige items of any material type. Further, those prestige material types that were found in higher abundances within female interments would have been procured from resources closer to the site (i.e. - marine shell from the coast) than other prestige items such as greenstone (from the higher cost-distance locale of the Maya Mountains). This can be seen in the fact that marine shell resources could be obtained from origins approximately 50-70 KM away, whereas any greenstone materials would have been transported or acquired from sources over 200 KM from the site. The higher cost of attainment associated with greenstone would have contributed to the high inclusion rate of greenstone with males and a much lower inclusion rate with females. Also, males were interred with those greenstone varieties that were more highly valued (jade) than others, while the greenstone interred with females was equally divided between jade and other greenstones.

Despite the presence of greenstones within female interments, this material type was still included in meager amounts in comparison to that allocated to male interments. Also, in spite of the high volume of shell artifacts females were interred with, Middle Preclassic males at Cuello were still overall more frequently interred with prestige as well as practical goods. By the time Landa was writing about the Maya, they had 32 different words for jade or greenstone (Buttles 2002).

Based on the inclusion of tenuously classified and indeterminately sexed individuals, the data shows that no possible males were found at Cuello during the Middle Preclassic, and non-NB Colha chert becomes apparent as a material class

included at the site at this time. Given that details of the male and female assemblages have been discussed above, what follows is a brief recapitulation of highlights resulting from the incorporation of all sexes in the dataset. Indeterminates are found with ceramics roughly half as often as definitively sexed Males and are found equally as often with shell artifacts. Indeterminately sexed individuals are the only instances of interments including non-NB Colha chert goods and their interments are equally as likely as males to contain goods of groundstone. Mineral artifacts are interred twice as often with Indeterminates as males while greenstone (jade) accompanies males three times more often than it does Indeterminates. Interestingly, possible females are equally as likely as Males to be interred without grave goods while Indeterminates are twice as likely as both of these sex categories to be buried with no funerary assemblage.

The funerary assemblage of Indeterminates most frequently includes artifacts of shell and ceramic with other artifact material classes being less often represented. Of note is that the possible female burial assemblage includes no instances of any artifact class, meaning that all individuals bearing this tenuous sex classification were interred without goods. Regarding specific numbers of goods, indeterminates are found with a preponderance of shell during this time (41.75%). Only definitively sexed females are found with a higher percentage (54.13%). Indeterminates are found with all of the non-NB Colha chert recovered from this time period, while Indeterminates are found with 20% more mineral artifacts than are definitively sexed Males. The Indeterminate assemblage at this time is composed

of approximately 91% of shell. All other material classes interred with these unsexed individuals are included in much smaller quantities.

K'AXOB

Frequency Table (% of Column)

Analysis shows that during the Middle Preclassic at K'axob ceramic and shell were interred equally as often as part of the typical funerary assemblage for a decedent; each being found in 15.22% of interments. The same case is true for items of chalcedony and NB Colha chert, each being found in 13.04% of graves. Items manufactured from unidentifiable lithic material and non-NB Colha chert are each included in 10.87% of interments, while groundstone is found in 6.52%. Unmodified faunal remains occur in 8.7% of interments, while the remaining artifact material classes appear much less prevalently. Greenstone (non-jade varieties), bone, and mineral funerary goods occur in only 2.17% of interments of definitively sexed individuals in this time period.

Focusing more explicitly on those goods most often found with the two sexes, ceramics, shell and chalcedony artifacts occur equally as frequently in the male assemblage, with each being seen in 14.29% of male interments. NB Colha chert, non-NB Colha chert, artifacts of unidentifiable lithic material, and unmodified faunal remains are each found in 10.71% of male burials, while items of groundstone, greenstone, bone and mineral are each found in 3.57% of male burials.

The female funerary assemblage during the Middle Preclassic at K'axob has a slightly different profile, with ceramics, shell, and NB Colha chert each occur in

16.67% of interments. Chalcedony, non-NB Colha chert, items of unidentifiable lithic material and groundstone each show up in 11.11% of interments while unmodified faunal remains are only found in 5.56% of female interments. Items manufactured from greenstone, bone, and mineral are absent from the female funerary assemblage. As stated above, the omission of such prestige goods from female interments likely speaks to the higher attainment cost and social value attached to these items. Given the patriarchal and hierarchical nature of Maya society, male individuals would have been those likelier to enjoy positions of higher status and therefore more routine access to long distance trade items during their lifetime. Thus, in death, males would be interred more frequently and with a higher number of prestige goods representative of their social privilege while alive.

Quantitative Table (% of Column)

This analysis shows that during the Middle Preclassic at K'axob, shell artifacts account for the overwhelming majority (68.25%) of items recovered from interments and are almost 4 times more numerous than the next most prevalent material class of ceramics. Ceramics represent 17.45% of the recovered grave goods while unmodified faunal remains account for 8.33%. All other artifact material classes appearing in Middle Preclassic K'axob interments are far more underrepresented.

While far less prevalent in comparison to all other artifact material classes found at K'axob, NB Colha chert represents 2.65% of the total number of recovered artifacts, a much higher percentage than that recovered from Cuello and Colha

during this time period, especially given that no artifacts manufactured from this material type were found within interments at Colha at this time. It is interesting to see that the frequency/number of recovered NB Colha chert objects increases with distance from Colha. This is shown in the fact that no NB Colha chert grave goods are reported for the Middle Preclassic from Colha itself, but this material class represents 0.35% of the total recovered artifacts from Cuello approximately 15 KM away and 2.65% of the total recovered artifacts from K'axob, which lies an even further distance of approximately 25 KM away. It is interesting to see this inverse relationship between proximity to the resource origin and frequency and numbers of artifacts included in interments. One would ordinarily expect that the highest number or frequency of artifacts of a particular material class would appear in a pattern reflecting a direct, positive relationship or correlation in relation to distance from the resource origin. Interestingly, the distribution of NB Colha chert in Middle Preclassic interments appears to display the inverse of the expected relationship.

One interpretation of this unexpected pattern is that, given the abundance of the source material at the site of origin (Colha), minimal prestige value, or any value other than practical, would have been attached to NB Colha chert. The focus on this material at the site would have been for practical purposes of tool manufacture and production. The further away from the material source origin one reached, however, the more prestige value may have been ascribed to it given the economic (time, distance, labor) and cultural (creation of trade ties with neighboring sites) costs associated with its procurement. Thus, an increase of prestige tied to a material

class and its derivative products, would likely impact the cultural motivation to include objects of this type with members of the community who had either earned or been ascribed a higher degree of status.

Regarding other material classes found in Middle Preclassic K'axob interments, unidentifiable lithic material objects comprise 1.34% of the total assemblage, while chalcedony specimens account for 1.27%. All other artifact classes are far less represented in quantity, with non-NB Colha chert comprising .52% of the total assemblage, groundstone .10% and the remaining categories of mineral, greenstone (non-jade varieties) and bone each representing .03% of the total Middle Preclassic funerary assemblage at the site. The analysis shows that as at Colha and Cuello, shell is the predominating artifact material category recovered from Middle Preclassic interments.

Speaking to the more specific numerical breakdown of Middle Preclassic male and female funerary assemblages, shell dominates the male assemblage, comprising 74.05% of the total number of goods found with males, while ceramics constitute the majority of those items found with females (55.27%). For males, ceramics are the next most common artifact material type found, with these objects constituting 13.14% of the total number of artifacts associated with male decedents in the Middle Preclassic. As one can see from the data, while ceramics were the second most numerous artifact type accompanying males, there were still 5.6 times more individual shell artifacts than ceramics included in male interments. Unmodified faunal remains account for 8.04% of the total number of artifacts

recovered with males in the Middle Preclassic at the site, NB Colha chert comprises 2.18% and chalcedony 1.16% of the total goods. The remainder of artifact material categories in the male funerary assemblage are represented in far lesser quantities, with unidentifiable lithic material artifacts comprising only 0.95% of the total goods and non-NB Colha chert accounting for 0.33%. All other artifact material categories represented in the male funerary assemblage for this time period (groundstone, mineral, bone, greenstone) each account for only 0.04% of the total goods. It does not appear that prestige goods, obtained as the result of long distance trade or otherwise obtained (i.e. practical material of bone worked into a prestige item of personal adornment), comprised a significant portion of the male assemblage aside from high frequency of shell objects.

The material profile of the female funerary assemblage is somewhat different. As stated above, the assemblage is dominated by ceramics (55.27%), with shell being the second most populous artifact material category (17.25%) and being over 3 times less frequent than ceramic items. Unmodified faunal remains represent 10.86% of the total goods recovered from female interments. The lithic material categories of NB Colha chert, unidentifiable material, non-NB Colha chert, and chalcedony each account for 2%-7% of the female funerary assemblage. Groundstone represents less than one percent (0.64%) of the total goods accompanying female decedents, while none of the prestige artifact material classes of mineral, greenstone, or bone are found with females. The lack of a high number of prestige goods with females, including a paltry amount of shell, indicates that they

were not afforded the social privilege necessary to be interred with such objects upon death. The lack of these goods with females and the exceedingly scanty presence with males is reflected at Colha and Cuello also during the Middle Preclassic, with the exception of greenstone (jade) comprising 12% and mineral 4% of the male funerary assemblage at Cuello during this time period.

Overall, this data would lead one to surmise that general access to exotic goods via long distance trade was somewhat limited across the region during the Middle Preclassic. Those materials that were acquired at a high economic and/or cultural cost, as discussed above, would have been assigned prestige associations and those individuals with a higher status within the community, whether ascribed or earned, would have had preferential access to these items. The higher occurrence of these materials, however minimal the quantities, with males over females indicate that males were afforded more social privilege than females during the Middle Preclassic. Upon death, these individuals were interred with items representative of their status during life, hence their burial with prestige goods among other items in their assemblages.

Frequency Table (% of Row)

Based on this data and focusing on definitively sexed males and females interred at K'axob in the Middle Preclassic, it is clear that 11 artifact material categories appear. These are shell, ceramic, chalcedony, non-Northern Belize Colha Chert (non-NB Colha Chert), Northern Belize Colha Chert (NB Colha chert), unidentifiable lithic, unmodified faunal remains, mineral, greenstone, bone, and

groundstone. Analysis shows that during the Middle Preclassic at K'axob male decedents were 1.33 times likelier than females to be accompanied by goods manufactured from shell and ceramic. Additionally, male interments were twice as likely as those of females to include chalcedony objects, as well as 1.5 times likelier to contain items manufactured from non-Northern Belize Colha chert (non-NB Colha chert) and other unidentifiable lithic materials.

Unmodified faunal remains were 3 times likelier to be found in male interments. Male and female interments were equally likely to contain items manufactured from NB Colha chert while female interments were 2 times likelier to contain groundstone objects. Among the prestige artifact material classes found in interments at the site at this time are mineral, greenstone, and bone. Interestingly, all instances of inclusion of these materials occur in association with male interments. It should also be noted that all instances of greenstone at this time appear to be varieties other than jade. Based on the analysis, it appears that no interment of a definitively sexed male or female individual was without a funerary assemblage during the Middle Preclassic at K'axob. Also, male interments accounted for 60.87% of graves found with goods while female interments represent 39.13%. This indicates that interments of males with the accompaniment of grave goods were approximately 1.6 times more frequent than that of females.

Quantitative Table (% of Row)

Analysis shows that at K'axob during the Middle Preclassic males were accompanied by every artifact material type in higher quantities than females,

except for items manufactured from groundstone. The data shows that males are interred with almost 38 times more shell than females. Males were buried with 97.42% of the total shell at the site while female interments represent only 2.58% of this total. This indicates that during this time period males were afforded the social and economic privileges associated with the wearing of items hewn from shell. Upon their death, these objects of personal adornment were interred with the individuals who had worn them during life.

Clearly, males were interred with higher quantities of shell and all other prestige goods (greenstone, bone, mineral, unmodified faunal remains). In fact, analysis shows that during this time, males were the only individuals to be interred with objects of greenstone (non-jade varieties), bone, and mineral. While females are interred with a small percentage of prestige items, in the form of personal adornments manufactured from shell, they evidently were not esteemed highly enough in the cultural milieu of Middle Preclassic K'axob to be afforded accompaniment in death by large amounts of this material type or even the presence long-distance trade items such as greenstone, and more locally procurable resources such as prestige goods manufactured from bone, mineral, and unmodified faunal remains.

Regarding practical material types, males are accompanied by higher quantities of every material, except for groundstone as mentioned above. Males are seen to be interred with approximately 4.5 times the amount of chalcedony and almost 3 times the amount of NB Colha chert that females are. Interred quantities of

unidentifiable lithic material and non-NB Colha chert are somewhat more evenly placed with males and females, with unidentifiable material being only 1.73 times more populous in male interments and non-NB Colha chert 1.29 times more prevalent. Ceramic goods are also found in higher quantities with males, approximately twice the number that is found with females.

Groundstone is the only artifact material class found more prevalently with females than males, with females being accompanied by 2 times more groundstone than males. This may be indicative of the domestic nature of a high number of groundstone implements and their association with tasks such as processing foodstuffs, tasks that would have been more frequently practiced by females than males. Thus, upon death when individuals were interred with items indicative of their identity in life, females were more often interred with groundstone than males due to the likelihood of their more common participation in tasks of domesticity. Interestingly, the data reveals that no individuals of either sex were interred without grave goods. This does differ from both Cuello and Colha in the Middle Preclassic where males (both sites) and females (Cuello only) were interred sans goods. Overall, males account for 89.77% of the recovered goods from the Middle Preclassic, while females represent only 10.23% of this total. This means that males were accompanied by 8.78 times more goods than females at K'axob during this time period.

Overall

Overall, males are accompanied by almost 9 times as many grave goods as females and are interred with higher numbers of each category of grave good except for groundstone. Females were buried with twice as much groundstone as males, as mentioned above. Regarding frequency, males are also more often interred with every material class except groundstone. The typical K'axob assemblage during the Middle Preclassic is typified in frequency and number by shell and ceramic artifacts. This holds true for the male and female assemblages. As at Colha and Cuello, prestige material categories are far more underrepresented than practical materials, with the exception of shell. Based on the above analysis, it is clear that procurement networks for long distance trade items were already established between K'axob (Northern Belize) and other regions. McAnany (2004b: 8) notes that access to such goods was in fact more open during the Middle Preclassic than in later times.

Based on the inclusion of all non-definitively sexed individuals, it does not appear that there were any tenuously sexed individuals, but there were a certain number of individuals who were unable to be sexed. Indeterminates are found with ceramics equally as often as Females and with shell, groundstone and non-NB Colha chert equally as often as Males. Males and Indeterminates are found with equal numbers of groundstone, both twice as few as those accompanying Females. Indeterminates are interred with roughly twice the quantity of non-NB Colha chert as definitively sexed individuals and a similar amount of chalcedony artifacts as Males. These unsexed individuals are equally as often interred with shell, NB Colha

chert and unidentifiable lithic material artifacts. They are also accompanied as frequently by chalcedony and non-NB Colha chert as ceramics. Interesting, the indeterminate funerary assemblage at K'axob during the Middle Preclassic is predominated by unmodified faunal remains and NB Colha chert. All other artifact material classes interred with Indeterminates are represented in far less numbers.

COUNT OF ARTIFACTS BY MATERIAL TYPE AND AGE OF INDIVIDUAL
(Table 5.8)

ALL SITES

Frequency Table (% of Column)

During the Middle Preclassic, adults are most frequently accompanied by ceramics and shell, with other goods being represented three or more times less often. Subadults are interred equally as often with ceramic of shell. Subadults are also equally as likely to be interred with NB Colha chert as they are to be buried with no goods at all. The overwhelming majority of Indeterminates are unaccompanied by a funerary assemblage (61.54%). They are accompanied by ceramic and bone equally as often (15.38%) and by greenstone 7.69% of the time. No other grave good material types are found in indeterminate burials.

Quantitative Table (% of Column)

Overall, the Adult assemblage is largely comprised of shell goods (74.24%). The next most populous material type is ceramics, but these goods occur in quantities over six times less numerous than shell. The assemblage of the subadult

is also dominated by shell (45.74%), with a large ceramic component as well (23.30%). NB Colha chert accounts for 11.65% of the goods recovered from subadult interments, while unmodified faunal remains comprise 10.23%. No greenstone (non-jade varieties) or bone artifacts are found with subadults. Indeterminates across the three sites are primarily accompanied by bone artifacts (41.67%), ceramic (33.33%), and greenstone (25%). No other artifact material classes are found with these individuals during the Middle Preclassic.

Frequency Table (% of Row)

Considering the different age groups found in Northern Belize during the Middle Preclassic, numerous categories are represented, as shown in the raw data. For the purpose of analysis, the general overarching categories of Adult, Subadult and Indeterminate have been utilized. All those individuals with an age range from Young Adult to Old Adult as well as adult individuals of an indeterminate age have been categorized as Adults. All individuals with an age range from Infant to Juvenile as well as subadult individuals of an indeterminate age have been categorized as subadults. All individuals for whom insufficient diagnostic osteological material was present and/or recovered for aging purposes are categorized as indeterminates. This should likely be placed prior to the Age analysis section.

Adult interments have more frequent inclusion of all artifact material types across the three sites during the Middle Preclassic. Interestingly, adults and subadults each account for 25% of the interments found with no funerary assemblage while indeterminates account for the remaining 50%. Also of note is

that across the interments at these three sites, there are no instances of greenstone or bone artifact in subadult interments. This emphasizes the less esteemed place of juveniles compared to their elders within the social hierarchy of Middle Preclassic society. Similarly, greenstone (jade) and unmodified faunal remains are found in much higher frequencies within adult interments than within subadult interments.

Quantitative Table (% of Row)

Adults are accompanied by higher numbers of all grave good material classes except for greenstone (non-jade varieties), which are found in equal numbers with Adults and Indeterminates. Adults also account to almost 93% of the total number of goods recovered from interments across the three sites. Subadults represent 7% of this total and indeterminates represent 0.24%. Adults are interred with over 21 times more shell artifacts than are Subadults and over 12 times more chalcedony.

Overall

Overall, the assemblages of adults and subadults are predominated by shell goods in quantity during the Middle Preclassic. No goods of bone or non-jade greenstone were found with subadults, likely indicating their less frequent access to these materials due to either lesser status during their lifetime compared to their elders, the lack of being in an economically viable position to acquire these materials or a combination of these factors. Despite these disparities in the types and quantities of goods present with individuals of different ages, adults and subadults were still equally likely to be interred with no funerary assemblage whatsoever during the Middle Preclassic.

COLHA

Frequency Table (% of Column)

Analysis shows that the typical adult assemblage more frequently included items of ceramic (33.33%), shell (30%) and bone (20%) than all other material classes represented at the site during the Middle Preclassic. Groundstone, unmodified faunal remains and greenstone (jade and non-jade varieties) are each found in only 3.33% of Adult interments. Also, only 3.33% of Adult interments were placed with no accompanying goods. Subadults are most often interred with ceramics, with 50% of their interments containing one of more ceramic goods. Interestingly, 33.33% of subadult interments are accompanied by no funerary assemblage. Subadult individuals are accompanied by shell only half as often as Adults (16.67%). The majority (61.54%) of Indeterminates are interred with no funerary assemblage. Bone and ceramic artifacts are found equally as often with these individuals, while greenstone (non-jade variety) is found two times less frequently than these two material classes.

Quantitative Table (% of Column)

The overwhelming majority of artifacts included with Adults are manufactured from shell (93.65%). All other artifact material classes are far less represented, with the next most populous class, bone, accounting for only 3.30% of the goods interred with Adults. The subadult funerary assemblage is composed only of ceramic artifacts (62.5%) and shell (37.5%). No other artifact material classes are represented in the interments of these individuals. Indeterminates accompanied by

higher percentages of bone, ceramic and greenstone (41.76%, 33.33% and 25% respectively) with no other material classes represented.

Frequency Table (% of Row)

Based on this analysis, Adults are interred more frequently than both subadults and Indeterminates with all artifact material classes in the Middle Preclassic at Colha. Adults are found more than three times as often with ceramic goods and nine times as often with shell goods than are subadults. Interestingly, Indeterminates are found with greenstone equally as often as Adults. Also of note is the fact that Adults individuals are the only decedents accompanied with any goods of groundstone, unmodified faunal remains and greenstone (jade). Regarding interments found with no accompanying grave goods, Indeterminates account for 72.73% of these burials while Subadults represent 18.18% and Adults comprise 9.09%.

Quantitative Table (% of Row)

Regarding actual numbers of goods, adults are found with higher numbers of each material class except for greenstone. Seventy-five percent of all greenstone (non-jade variety) artifacts are included in indeterminate burials while 35% occur in adult interments. Adult burials contain nearly 100% of the shell artifacts recovered from the site during this time period, and do in fact contain 100% of all groundstone, greenstone (jade) and unmodified faunal remains. Overall, Adults account for 98.29% of the recovered artifacts.

Overall

Overall, Adults are interred with the majority of goods found at the site at this time. Shell predominates their funerary assemblage in quantity, while ceramic is most the most frequently included good. Subadults have a less varied funerary assemblage than adults, with all goods recovered from their assemblages being manufactured from either ceramic or shell. Long distance trade items manufactured from greenstones are only interred with adults. Based on the data, adults were afforded positions of higher social esteem than subadults, which is reflected in the much higher inclusion rates of all material categories with adults, especially shell and greenstones.

<u>CUELLO</u>

Frequency Table (% of Column)

Adults are interred most frequently with ceramic and shell artifacts. Roughly 34% of adult interments contain ceramic while almost 23% contain shell. The data shows that 11.43% of adult interments contain greenstone (jade), while 8.57% contain no funerary assemblage at all. All other goods represented in Adult assemblages at this time are seen in far lesser frequencies. Subadult interments most frequently contain shell goods (30%) while 20% of the interments contain ceramics. Interestingly, 20% of subadult interments are also found with no funerary assemblage. Mineral artifacts, greenstone (jade) and groundstone are included

equally as often in these interments (10%), but no other material classes found during this time period are represented in subadult assemblages.

Quantitative Table (% of Column)

The overwhelming majority of artifacts recovered from adult interments are shell (85.67%), with all other material classes appearing only sparsely in the funerary assemblage. The subadult assemblage is composed of 91.61% shell and much smaller quantities of other material classes. Thus, the data shows that both age categories are accompanied largely by shell. Also, the next most numerous artifacts occurring with both adults and subadults are ceramics. Ceramics are over nine times less numerous than shell in Adult burials and over 16 times less numerous in subadult interments.

Frequency Table (% of Row)

Only adult and subadult individuals are found at Cuello during the Middle Preclassic. Adults are found more frequently than subadults with all artifact material classes except groundstone, which occurs equally as often with both age groups. Interestingly, adults are found 4 times as often with greenstone (jade) as subadults. They are also found with all occurrences of non-NB Colha chert, greenstone (non-jade varieties), bone, chalcedony, and NB Colha chert. The funerary assemblage of the subadult during the Middle Preclassic at Cuello is clearly much less diverse than that of adults. Adults were 1.5 times likelier to be interred with no grave goods than were subadults.

Quantitative Table (% of Row)

Adults are found with higher quantities of all artifact material classes than are subadults, except for groundstone which is found in equal numbers with both. As mentioned above, various material classes are found in adult interments that are not found in subadult interments. Among the goods that are common between the two age categories, the largest discrepancy lies with greenstone (jade), which is found in quantities 7 times higher with adults than subadults. Overall, adult interments account for more than two times the number of artifacts found in interments of subadults.

Overall

The data shows that Adult interments represent the majority of recovered artifacts in the Middle Preclassic at Cuello. Assemblages for adults and subadults were both predominated in quantity by shell artifacts, though ceramic was the most frequently occurring material in adult interments. Clearly subadults had a much less diverse funerary assemblage than did Adults during the Middle Preclassic at Cuello. While some subadult interments did contain items of greenstone (jade), it was still included in quantities 3 times higher with Adults.

<u>K'AXOB</u>

Frequency Table (% of Column)

Ceramics, shell, and chalcedony are found equally as often in adult interments (14%). Unidentifiable lithic material, non-NB Colha chert, and NB Colha

chert are found equally as often in adult interments (12%). Ten percent of adult interments contain unmodified faunal remains while groundstone, bone, greenstone, and mineral artifacts are represented less frequently. The subadult assemblage most frequently includes NB Colha chert and shell, with ceramics and unidentifiable lithic material being found slightly less frequently in these burials. Non-NB Colha chert and chalcedony are each found in 10% of subadult interments while unmodified faunal remains and groundstone each occur in 5% of the interments of this age category. No instances of bone, greenstone or mineral artifacts are found in subadult interments.

Quantitative Table (% of Column)

Analysis shows that approximately 66% of the adult funerary assemblage was composed of shell goods. Ceramics account for 15.27% and unmodified faunal remains for 10.22%. The other artifact material categories represented in the Adult funerary assemblage are present in far lesser quantities relative to these three materials. The subadult funerary assemblage is composed somewhat differently, with the ceramics accounting for the majority of goods (34.33%), followed by NB Colha chert (20.40%). Unmodified faunal remains constitute nearly 18% of the assemblage while shell goods comprise only 13.43%. Unidentifiable lithic material, non-NB Colha chert, chalcedony, and groundstone are found in far lesser quantities within the subadult funerary assemblage.

Frequency Table (% of Row)

Only adult and subadult individuals are found at Cuello during the Middle Preclassic. The data reflects that Adults were found with a higher frequency of all grave good materials than were subadults. Particularly of interest is the fact that the sole occurrences of bone, greenstone, and mineral artifacts occur with Adults. Additionally, unmodified faunal remains occur almost five times more frequently with Adults than subadults.

Quantitative Table (% of Row)

Adults are found with higher quantities of all grave goods material categories than are subadults. Adults were found with almost 99% of the shell recovered from the site and more than 90% of the unmodified faunal remains and chalcedony found in interments. Overall, subadults account for only 5.93% of the total number of goods recovered from K'axob during the Middle Preclassic. Again, it should be noted that subadult funerary assemblages did not contain any artifacts manufactured from bone, greenstone or mineral.

Overall

Overall, the adult funerary assemblage is more diversified than the subadult assemblage, with the inclusion of goods made of bone, greenstone and mineral. Adults are accompanied by all material types in higher frequencies and greater numbers. The most striking differences between the two assemblages are the far greater numbers of shell artifacts included with Adults and the higher frequency of the interment of unmodified faunal remains with individuals in this age category as

well. The greater occurrence of shell with adults as well as the fact that goods of bone, greenstone and mineral were only included with them alludes to the higher social positions Adults likely held, compared to subadult individuals. Adult decedents would have had a greater chance to earn status during life and therefore be interred with materials representative of this.

COUNT OF ARTIFACTS BY MATERIAL TYPE, FORM TYPE AND SEX OF INDIVIDUAL (Table 5.9)

ALL SITES

Frequency Table (% of Column)

Of the ceramics included with females, complete ceramic vessels are the most frequently occurring good, with 15.79% of female interments containing such an item. Vessel fragments occur in 7.89% of female interments while ceramic figurines occur in only 2.63%. Regarding shell found in the female funerary assemblage, shell beads occur in 18.42% of female interments, while unmodified shell occurs in 7.89% of these contexts and shell rings within 2.63%. Modified lithics (such as flakes, debris and fire shatter) manufactured from chalcedony, NB Colha chert, non-NB Colha chert, and unidentifiable lithic material each appear in 5.26% of female interments during the Middle Preclassic.

Also of interest is that across the three sites, the only form of bone artifact included with females is modified human bone, which includes subforms such as carved, polished and smoothed fragments. Similarly, pendants are the only form of

greenstone (jade) included with females across the three sites during the Middle Preclassic. Buttles notes that while the "functional term pendants is used, it is possible that some of these specimens could have been sewn onto clothing or were part of composite adornments" (2002: 265).

Both modified human bone fragments and jade pendants each occur in 2.63% of female interments during this time period. The good most frequently interred with males during the Middle Preclassic are complete ceramic vessels, which occur in 17.74% of male interments. Of note, however, is that not a single male interment during this time period contains a ceramic figurine. Beads are the most common shell artifact found with males (14.52%), though disks and whole as well as fragmented unmodified shells are also seen. Among the chalcedony goods, celts occur in 1.61% of male interments; however modified lithic forms occur in nearly 7%. Bone artifact forms in male interments include beads, crafting tools and tubes (each found in 1.61% of male interments); however there are no instances of modified human bone fragments as there are in female interments. The only instances of the inclusion of either ground or unmodified mineral artifacts (such as red ochre and hematite) are seen with males during this time period. Interestingly, while the only form of greenstone (jade) interred with females is pendants, the male assemblage includes more varied forms. In addition to pendants, beads, and celts of jade are also included with males in the Middle Preclassic.

Quantitative Table (% of Column)

Regarding the make up of male and female funerary assemblages during the Middle Preclassic, the predominant artifact recovered with males are shell beads (75.27%). As abovementioned, the trend toward the inclusion of prolific amounts of shell beads is seen at Colha, Cuello and K'axob during the Middle Preclassic. Additionally, this pattern is seen at sites such as Altun Ha, which fall outside the parameters of the present analysis yet are collocated in Northern Belize with the former three sites. Buttles introduces and interesting proposition in that shell beads may have been interred with decedents as part of a funerary ritual process and not items worn during life (2002: 199). The possibility of the daily and/or ceremonial wearing of goods manufactured from shell beds during one's lifetime also exists. It must be remembered that shell beads would have been individual elements within a larger composite adornment. Evidence indicates that beads were fashioned into anklets, bracelets, necklaces and other forms of jewelry (Buttles 2002: 164).

The next most populous artifact form occurring with males are ceramic vessel fragments, which account for 11.55% of the recovered artifacts. Females are interred mostly with shell beads as well, with 58.05% of their funerary assemblage being composed of these artifacts. Ceramic vessel fragments are also the second most populous artifact category accompanying females, comprising 24.15% of the goods. All other artifact forms occurring in the Middle Preclassic across Colha, Cuello and K'axob occur in far fewer quantities than shell beads and ceramic vessel fragments.

Frequency Table (% of Row)

Analyzing those goods interred with definitively sexed males and females, ceramic vessels are included approximately twice as often with males as with females. In fact, males are interred more frequently that are females with almost every artifact form, save a few exceptions. Females are the only individuals to be interred with ceramic figurines, shell rings, non-NB Colha chert core tools, modified human bone and modified groundstone. Females are also interred equally as often as are males with NB Colha chert cutting tools as well as greenstone (jade) pendants. Additionally, females are interred 1.5 times more frequently with unmodified shell.

Males are the only individuals to be interred with disks manufactured from shell, celts manufactured from chalcedony and NB Colha chert, bone beads, crafting tools, and tubes, mineral pigment deposits and greenstone (jade) beads and celts. Males are also interred with unmodified faunal remains four times more often than are females. It should be noted that "red ocher can be obtained locally from hematite nodules in limestone, and also from the Guatemalan Highlands" (Robin 1989: 27). Red mineral pigments were used on osteological remains as well as grave goods during the Preclassic in Northern Belize. The color red is symbolic of resurrection and rebirth in men according to Ruz (1965).

Quantitative Table (% of Row)

Examining only definitively sexed individuals, it appears that males were interred with 81.45% of the goods during the Middle Preclassic and females were

interred with the remaining 18.55%. Males are the only decedents buried with shell disks, NB Colha chert celts, chalcedony celts, bone beads, crafting tools and tubes as well as mineral deposits, and greenstone (jade) beads and celts. In addition to these forms, male interments contain higher numbers of almost every other artifact form. Exceptions to this are shell rings, which occur exclusively with females and unmodified shell, which occurs in quantities almost two times higher with females than with males. Isaza and McAnany (1999) and Schele and Miller (1986) have written on the possible ideological association of shells with water, liminal surfaces and aspects of creation mythology. Perhaps females in Middle Preclassic Maya society were more closely tied to such associations in their activities of daily living and ritual obligations. Females are also interred with 100% of the recovered ceramic figurines from this time period as well as all non-NB Colha chert core tools and all modified groundstone. Female interments contain 100% of the modified human bone artifacts.

Overall

Across the three sites, complete ceramic vessels are the good most frequently interred with definitively sexed individuals; they occur in 17% of interments. Among shell goods, beads are the most frequently included form in the Middle Preclassic while modified lithics of chalcedony, NB Colha chert, non-NB Colha chert, and unidentifiable lithic material are seen more frequently than any other lithic forms. All forms of bone artifacts occur equally as frequently during this time period. Greenstone (jade) beads and pendants are the most frequently occurring

forms of jade found with definitively sexed individuals during the Middle Preclassic. Males are interred more frequently with most forms than are females. Males are also the only individuals to be interred with shell disks, lithic celts, bone beads, crafting tools and tubes as well as mineral pigment deposits and jade beads and celts. Interestingly, females are seen with all occurrences of ceramic figurines, modified groundstone and modified human bone as well as non-NB Colha chert core tools and shell rings.

Analysis implies that ceramic figurines were items associated more with females than males during the Middle Preclassic. However, it should be noted that while ceramic figurines appear to be associate more with females than with males in the Middle Preclassic, this is based on the occurrence of a singular figurine interred with an adult female. This is not a significant enough sample from which to render a meaningful interpretation regarding the significance of ceramic figurines in relation to varying social categories such as men and women or adults and juveniles. Irrespective of the sex of the individual with whom this figurine is interred, it is possible to propose a likely significance for this item. For instance, Ringle (1999: 190) indicates that figurines are the most prevalent artifact with ritual connotations that are found in the Middle Preclassic at many southern lowland sites. He notes that female figures are the predominant form that is found; however male figurines do also exist. According to Ringle, early studies of figurines by Rands and Rands (1965) led to suppositions that these goods may be related to a fertility cult. This

reinforces the ritualistic functional designation tentatively assigned to figurines by Ringle and other scholars (Hendon 1999; Joyce 1999; Marcus 1999).

Hendon (1999: 118) likens figurines to caches and burials in their ability to signify ritual behavior in the Middle Preclassic. She notes that figurines were found in residential compounds before and during the creation of specialized architecture for ritual functions. Marcus (1999: 70) also notes that the use of figurines was involved in rituals practiced by women in Formative period Oaxaca. She proposes that small solid figurines may have been used by women in ritual attempts to communicate with recent ancestors. The female form of many of these figurines may indicate women's preference to attempt to commune with female ancestors (1999: 80). Interestingly, Marcus also indicates that the postures and gestures in which figurines were formed as well as where in the burial they are placed can give clues regarding "positions of authority and subordination" (1999: 89). Further detailed study of figurines within interments regarding their form, posture, gestures and position within the grave would greatly augment this argument.

It appears that less ornate forms of other artifact material classes are those that strictly occur with females versus males. For instance, modified groundstone versus fully worked grinding tools and modified human bone fragments as opposed to carefully crafted bone beads and tools are seen as artifact forms included only with females. Male and female funerary assemblages are somewhat similar in that both contain high frequencies of complete ceramic vessels and worked shell beads. Regarding quantities of goods, males are accompanied with higher numbers of most

artifact forms except for items such as shell rings, ceramic figurines, non-NB Colha chert core tools, and modified human bone; these forms accompany only females during the Middle Preclassic. Additionally, females are found with almost twice the number of unmodified shells as are males. Interestingly, males and females are both accompanied mostly by shell beads and ceramic vessel sherds comprise the second most numerous artifacts in their assemblages.

Concerning the inclusion of all tenuously and unsexed individuals during the Middle Preclassic, the most frequently occurring goods are complete ceramic vessels and shell beads, which each occur in 16.22% of the total interments during this time period. All other artifact material forms occur in much smaller frequencies. Possible males during the Middle Preclassic have a very limited funerary assemblage, with complete ceramic vessels, shell beads, and bone gorgets being the only types of goods included with these individuals. Possible females are most often interred with shell beads and are interred equally as often with complete ceramic vessels and bone beads (22% of the time). Approximately 11% of possible female interments contained greenstone beads. Indeterminate graves contained a more varied funerary assemblage than either possible males or possible females, with 13.07% of their interments containing ceramic vessels and 12.33% containing shell beads. All other artifact forms accompanying Indeterminates are included in lesser frequencies.

Interestingly, indeterminate individuals are the only decedents interred with instances of ceramic disks, ceramic musical instruments and pendants, shell

pendants, shell tinklers, modified shell, groundstone celts and groundstone crafting tools as well as bone pins during the Middle Preclassic. Possible males are mostly accompanied by shell beads with 98.43% of their assemblage being comprised of these artifacts. The remainder of goods recovered with these decedents were complete ceramic vessels and bone gorgets. Possible female funerary assemblages are also composed mostly of shell beads (81.22%), with bone beads representing 15.49% of their goods and the remainder being represented by complete ceramic vessels and greenstone beads (non jade varieties). Indeterminate individuals are accompanied by high amounts of shell as well, with 54.81% of their assemblage being shell beads. Unmodified faunal remains comprise 13.21% of their assemblage and modified NB Colha chert accounts for 9.14%. All other artifact forms present in the indeterminate assemblage occur in far lesser quantities. Interestingly, possible males are the only decedents to be interred with bone gorgets and possible females account for nearly 92% of the recovered bone beads from the three sites during this time period. Also of note is that indeterminately sexed individuals are the only decedents to be interred with shell pendants and tinklers as well as other slightly worked modified shell. Additionally, their interments contain all of the ceramic disks, musical instruments and pendants, bone pins, and groundstone celts and crafting tools found across Colha, Cuello, and K'axob during the Middle Preclassic.

COLHA

Frequency Table (% of Column)

Complete ceramic vessels and shell beads are the artifact forms most frequently included with definitively sexed individuals during the Middle Preclassic at Colha. Males are most frequently interred with complete ceramic vessels (30% of the time) and shell beads (20%). Unmodified faunal remains, greenstone beads, bone tubes and greenstone (jade) celts are each included in 10% of male interments. Females are most frequently interred with only four artifact forms; equal frequencies of ceramic vessels and figurines, shell beads, and modified human bone.

Quantitative Table (% of Column)

Almost 98% of the goods recovered from interments of definitively sexed individuals during the Middle Preclassic at Colha were shell beads. All other artifact forms are comparatively represented in minute quantities. Shell disk beads are the predominant artifacts found in both male and female funerary assemblages, with 97.43% and 97.55% of the assemblages being represented by this form, respectively. Comparatively, only small numbers of all other artifact forms are found in interments from this time period.

Frequency Table (% of Row)

Based on the analysis of Colha data, it appears that males were more frequently interred with most of the artifact forms more frequently than are females. Male decedents are interred with 75% of all instances of complete ceramic vessels and 100% of all unmodified faunal remains, greenstone beads, bone tubes

and greenstone (jade) celts. Vessels seen at this time are bowls and indeterminately shaped receptacles. The only unmodified faunal remains seen are indeterminate fish bone fragments. Regarding greenstone disk beads, according to Buttles, the inclusion of such items near the crania of individuals is a trend seen in the late Middle Preclassic at Colha and may be indicative of an developing system of class differentiation (1992: 204). Females during this time are the only individuals interred with ceramic figurines and modified human bone artifacts. The figurine recovered was in a form representative of a female. Males are twice as likely to be interred with shell disk beads as are females. All interments placed without a funerary assemblage are males.

Quantitative Table (% of Row)

Regarding actual quantities of artifacts, males are interred with higher numbers of each artifact form found at Middle Preclassic Colha except for ceramic figurines and modified human bone, which are found exclusively with females. Males are found with almost twice as many shell beads and complete ceramic vessels as are females.

Overall

Males are generally interred with all grave good forms more frequently than females except for ceramic figurines and modified human bone, which are found exclusively with females. Based on the above analysis, it is clear that females had a less diverse funerary assemblage than males, with only four distinct artifact forms being included in their interments (ceramic vessels and figurines, shell beads,

modified human bone). Males are accompanied by higher actual numbers of all artifact forms except for those noted above as being interred only with females. Both male and female interments from the Middle Preclassic at Colha are largely predominated by shell beads, with nearly 98% of each assemblage being comprised of these goods. As Buttles notes, "the variety of shell species represented at Colha […] indicated that trade was occurring with coastal areas. Whether this trade was direct or indirect is unknown" (Buttles 1992: 136; see also Buttles 1991; Dreiss 1982). Clearly long distance trade relationships had been established in some form during the Middle Preclassic. It is through these social and economic networks that exotic, prestige materials found their place within Colha interments. An expansion of such networks is seen in the subsequent Late Preclassic, which brings evidence of obsidian from the volcanic highlands areas far further away.

Based on the inclusion of all tenuously sexed and unsexed individuals in the analysis, possible males are seen to have a very limited funerary assemblage, with only three forms being represented: complete ceramic vessels, shell beads, bone gorgets. All three occur in equal frequencies. Possible females are most often accompanied by shell beads (37.50%). Twenty-five percent of possible female interments include complete ceramic vessels; an equal percentage includes bone beads.

Greenstone beads are found in 12.50% of interments. Three disk beads fashioned of greenstone were located in the cranial area of the decedents they accompanied, which may indicate placement of these objects within the mouths of

the interred. Such a placement of these items is a funerary practice noted throughout the Maya area, even being mentioned in the writings of Bishop Diego de Landa (Buttles 2002: 288; Tozzer 1941). Indeterminate interments most frequently include complete ceramic vessels (20%), shell beads (10%) and bone tubes (10%). Lesser frequencies of ceramic disks and pendants, modified shell, bone beads, groundstone grinding tools and bone pins are also apparent. Possible males are the only decedents to be interred with bone gorgets at the site during this time period while Indeterminates are the only individuals with instances of ceramic disks and pendants, modified shell, groundstone celts and grinding tools and bone pins in their assemblages.

Also, possible females are interred twice as often as Indeterminates with bone beads. Possible males and possible females are interred with equal frequencies of greenstone beads; these artifact forms are not found with any other demographic group. Regarding actual quantities of goods, possible males are interred with overwhelming amounts of shell beads, with 98.43% of the goods recovered from their graves falling into this category. Possible female interments also include a large amount of shell beads (81.22%), with 15.49% of their assemblage being comprised of bone beads. Indeterminate funerary assemblages are also dominated by shell (87.67%), with minimal quantities of other goods. Of note is the fact that possible females are interred with 3 times more greenstone beads than definitively sexed males. Possible females are also interred with 94.29% of the bone beads recovered from the site during this time.

CUELLO

Frequency Table (% of Column)

Males are most frequently interred with complete ceramic vessels (35%) and shell beads (20%). Greenstone (jade) beads are present in 10% of male interments. The same trend holds true for female interments with 33.33% of them containing ceramic vessels and 25% containing shell beads. Jade beads are absent from female interments. All other artifact forms present at the site at this time are represented in far lower frequencies.

Quantitative Table (% of Column)

The overwhelming majority (83.33%) of artifacts recovered form Cuello during the Middle Preclassic were shell beads. The next most populous artifact form of complete ceramic vessels occurs in numbers almost nine times less prevalent than shell beads. The male funerary assemblage is composed of 40% complete ceramic vessels and 34% shell beads. Meanwhile, goods interred with females were comprised of 93.97% shell beads and only 3.02% complete ceramic vessels. All other artifact forms are represented in much smaller quantities in male and female interments at this time.

Vessels seen with both sexes are predominantly bowls and vessels of indeterminate shapes. More specialized forms such as anthropomorphic spouted jars, chocolate pots and a bowl with handles exist in singular occurrences and are exclusively placed with males. Three spouted vessels or chocolate pots were also found at Colha within late Middle Preclassic interments, each exhibiting the

chemical signature of cacao (Powis et al 2002). However these vessels were associated with indeterminately sexed individuals. The shell beads seen with females are largely disk and tubular beads while those with males are irregular and indeterminate in shape. The greenstone and jade beads found with females and males respectively are also of indeterminate shapes. A singular claw-shaped pendant and a zoomorphic pendant are found with male decedents. Males are also found with celts of NB Colha chert and chalcedony as well as a crafting tool (awl) manufactured from bone.

Frequency Table (% of Row)

All artifact forms are included with males in higher frequencies with four exceptions. All instances of unmodified shell and shell rings, as well as greenstone beads are found with females while greenstone (jade) pendants are found in equal frequencies with both sexes. All instances of chalcedony and NB Colha chert celts, groundstone grinding tools, bone crafting tools, mineral pigment deposits, and greenstone (jade) beads are included with males. Groundstone at Cuello is a utilitarian long distance trade item that would have been acquired from the Maya Mountains, 150 kilometers away (Robin 1989: 43-45).

Quantitative Table (% of Row)

Interestingly, females are interred with 92.77% of the shell beads recovered at Cuello during the Middle Preclassic. Additionally, females are the only individuals to be accompanied by shell goods of any other form. Females are also the only individuals interred with greenstone beads; however males are buried with higher

quantities of all other artifact forms. Males are interred with approximately 3 times as many complete ceramic vessels and twice as many greenstone (jade) pendants as are females. Jade was found at Cuello since the early Middle Preclassic and is indicative of a long distance trade partnership with sites as far away as the Motagua Valley of the Guatemalan highlands (350 KM) (Robin 1989; Hammond et al 1977). Males are also interred with all of the celts, grinding tools, crafting tools, mineral deposits and greenstone (jade) beads recovered from the site. While Truncer (n.d.) stated that there is no correlation between burial furniture, its position and the demographic characteristics of decedents; it is clear based on the above analysis that there are particular artifact forms that are far more frequently found with males as well as certain forms that are exclusive to the interments of these decedents.

Overall

Complete ceramic vessels and shell beads were the most frequently included items at Cuello. Robin notes that there is no indication of a specialized funerary ceramic assemblage at Cuello during the Preclassic (1989: 7). Males were generally interred more frequently with all artifact forms than were females, except for those forms noted above as being exclusively interred with females. Females are buried with almost 93% of the shell beads recovered from Cuello at this time. Males are interred with higher numbers of all artifacts except for greenstone beads and jade pendants. Males are predominantly interred with ceramic vessels, with a slightly

lower number of shell beads while females are interred with more shell beads than any other artifact form.

Regarding the inclusion of all unsexed and tenuously sexed individuals, ceramic vessels were the most frequently interred artifact at Cuello during the Middle Preclassic (28.57%). This is followed closely by shell beads (20.41%). No Possible males exist in the interred population from this time period. However, possible females and Indeterminates are present. Tentatively sexed females are interred with no funerary assemblage whatsoever. Ceramic vessels and shell beads are the most frequent goods included in indeterminate interments (18.75%). Mineral deposits occur in 12.50% of indeterminate graves, while other goods are represented less frequently. Indeterminates are the only individuals interred with ceramic musical instruments, shell pendants and disks, non-NB Colha chert modified lithics, and groundstone celts. Indeterminates are also included with twice the frequency of mineral deposits as are definitively sexed males. Shell beads make up 85.99% of the goods recovered from Cuello during this time period. All other goods are represented in far lesser quantities. The interments of Indeterminates follow this pattern with approximately 90% of the goods in their funerary assemblage being shell beads. The next most numerous good, complete ceramic vessels, is over 17 times less prevalent.

K'AXOB

Frequency Table (% of Column)

Different from Cuello and Colha, ceramic vessel fragments are the most frequently included grave goods with definitively sexed individuals at K'axob (12.96%). The funerary assemblage of males follows this pattern, with 12.50% of male interments having ceramic vessel fragments present. Chalcedony modified lithics are present in an equal percentage of male interments. Female interments however are more frequently seen to include ceramic vessel fragments and shell beads, with 13.64% of their interments containing these goods. Male interments contain shell beads, NB Colha chert modified lithics, non-NB Colha chert modified lithics, unidentifiable lithic material modified lithics, and unmodified faunal remains in equal frequencies (9.38%). Unmodified shell, NB Colha chert modified lithics, non-NB Colha chert modified lithics and unidentifiable material modified lithics are found equally as frequently in female interments (9.09%).

Quantitative Table (% of Column)

Shell beads comprise 67.10% of the total goods recovered from Middle Preclassic K'axob burials. These beads are almost four times more prevalent than ceramic vessel fragments, which are the next most populous artifact form. Male funerary assemblages follow this trend, with 73.51% of their goods being shell beads and 13.06% being ceramic vessel fragments. Approximately 8% of the male assemblage is composed of unmodified faunal remains. Shell beads found with males are largely seen to be discoid and cylindrical in form. Those complete ceramic

vessels placed with males are only in the form of bowls. A variety of unmodified faunal remains exist in male interments, though most were unidentifiable as to species.

The majority of NB Colha chert, chalcedony and non-NB Colha chert lithics interred with males are seen to be flakes and flake fragments as well as angular debris and fire shatter. However, examples of NB Colha chert oval biface and unstemmed macroblades are seen. Though, this tool and flake inclusions may likely be due to the use of midden deposits from nearby workshops as burial back fill (McAnany and Peterson 2004: 301-304). Greenstone beads discovered with males are spherical in shape while bone beads are of an indeterminate form. Female interments have a somewhat different funerary assemblage profile with 54.63% of the goods recovered from female graves being ceramic vessel fragments. Shell beads and unmodified faunal remains each represent 10.86% of the female funerary assemblage. All other goods in the male and female funerary assemblages are found in far lesser quantities.

While males were largely interred with discoid and cylindrical shell beads, those shapes found more often with females are oblate and irregular. No beads of any other material class appear to be found with Middle Preclassic females at K'axob. Complete ceramic vessels within female interments include bowl as well as tecomate forms. Meanwhile, dorsal spines from fish are the most prevalent unmodified faunal remain accompanying females. As with males, female decedents are also accompanied by large amounts of microdebitage in reference to the NB

Colha chert, chalcedony and non-NB Colha chert material categories. While oval bifaces of NB Colha chert and non-NB Colha chert core tools are found with females, there are no unstemmed macroblades within their interments. This may be due to the more prominent association of tools of that form with males or may in fact simply be the result of backfilling processes as abovementioned. Clearly, the analysis shows that males were more closely associated with shell beads. This alludes to the likelihood that males would more often adorn themselves with goods made of shell beads during life and therefore were accompanied by these goods in death.

Frequency Table (% of Row)

During the Middle Preclassic at K'axob, males and females are found with equal frequencies of complete ceramic vessels, shell beads, unmodified shell, NB Colha chert cutting tools, and groundstone grinding tools. Males are found more frequently with a number of artifact forms including vessel fragments, chalcedony and NB Colha chert modified lithics, non-NB Colha chert modified lithics, unidentifiable material modified lithics, and unmodified faunal remains. Females are found with all instances of non-NB Colha chert core tools and modified groundstone. Males are the only individuals to be interred with shell disks, greenstone beads, bone beads, and mineral pigment deposits.

Quantitative Table (% of Row)

Males are accompanied by higher numbers of all artifact forms except for unmodified shell, complete ceramic vessels, non-NB Colha chert core tools,

groundstone grinding tools and modified groundstone. Females are found with roughly 1.5 times more unmodified shell than are males and are the only individuals to be accompanied by modified groundstone and non-NB Colha chert core tools. Males and females are accompanied by equal numbers of groundstone grinding tools and ceramic vessels. Shell disks are only seen to be interred with males and 98.34% of the shell beads recovered from K'axob at this time are also interred with males. Approximately 6.5 times more unmodified faunal remains are found with males than with females. All instances of greenstone beads, bone beads, and mineral deposits are seen with males.

Overall

Males are generally accompanied by the majority of all artifact forms in a higher frequencies than are females with the exception of ceramic vessels, shell beads, unmodified shell, NB Colha chert cutting tools, and groundstone grinding tools, which are all found in equal frequencies with both sexes, and those forms interred exclusively with females (non-NB Colha chert core tools and modified groundstone). The inclusion of high amounts of lithic material including tools is not unusual, given that burial fill was often sourced from nearby middens. The ritual scattering of microdebitage within interments also explains a portion of the large quantities of lithics seen in K'axob interments over time. It is also noted that golden Northern Belizean chert was used for this ritual scattering. "The color yellow, *k'an* in Yucatec Mayan, is the color of ripe maize, so, metaphorically, the scattering of golden microdebitage may have been akin to a scattering of 'durable' maize kernels

or pollen" (McAnany and Peterson 2004: 301-304). Shell beads and ceramic vessel fragments are the most frequent good included in female interments while the same is true of ceramic vessel fragments and chalcedony modified lithics in male interments.

Quantitatively, shell beads dominate the male assemblage, while the majority of goods found with females were ceramic vessel fragments. Males are generally accompanied by higher numbers of artifact forms at the site, except for those forms noted above to be interred exclusively with females as well as the forms found in equal numbers with both sexes. Males had an overwhelming percentage of the shell beads recovered at the site compared to females, which alludes to the possible wearing of shell adornments more by males than females during the Middle Preclassic at K'axob.

No tentatively sexed males or females are present in the interment population sample at K'axob during the Middle Preclassic. However, there are indeterminately sexed individuals. These decedents are most frequently interred with unidentifiable material modified lithics and NB Colha chert modified lithics (14.81%). Shell beads, chalcedony modified lithics, and non-NB Colha chert modified lithics are found equally as frequently in indeterminate interments (11.11%). Indeterminates are the only individuals to be found with shell tinklers and groundstone crafting tools at this time. They are also more frequently interred with NB Colha chert and unidentifiable material modified lithics than are definitively sexed males or females. Indeterminates are interred with higher

numbers of chalcedony, non-NB Colha and NB Colha chert modified lithics than either males or females. Unmodified faunal remains account for 32.52% of the total goods interred with Indeterminates. NB Colha chert modified lithics were the next most populous grave good form with 22.49% of the artifacts falling under this category. Chalcedony modified lithics account for 11.55% of the goods recovered from the interments of these decedents, with all other artifact forms represented accounting for much smaller percentages of the funerary assemblage.

COUNT OF ARTIFACTS BY MATERIAL TYPE, FORM TYPE AND AGE OF INDIVIDUAL (Table 5.10)

ALL SITES

Frequency Table (% of Column)

Shell beads and complete ceramic vessels are each found in 17.42% of Adult interments, with all other artifact forms being represented in lesser frequencies. Indeterminate individuals are most frequently interred with complete ceramic vessels (15.38%), though the majority of these decedents (61.54%) are interred with no goods at all. Subadults are most frequently interred with shell beads; 15% of interments of these individuals contain shell beads. Ceramic vessels are present in 12.50% of subadult interments, with other goods being represented in lesser frequencies.

Quantitative Table (% of Column)

The funerary assemblage of Adults is predominated by shell beads, with 73.26% of the goods recovered from these interments falling under this category. The next most populous artifact form is complete ceramic vessels; however these items occur in quantities over seven times less prevalent than shell beads. Ceramic vessels account for 33.33% of the indeterminate funerary assemblage, while bone beads and greenstone beads each account for 25% of the recovered goods. Bone tubes account for the remaining 16.67% of goods recovered with Indeterminates; none of the individuals in this age category were accompanied by shell beads. The majority of items interred with subadults are shell beads (38.92%). The next most populous category of ceramic vessel fragments accounts for 19.60% of the goods recovered with individuals in this age category. 70.68% of the total goods recovered from Middle Preclassic interments are shell beads.

Frequency Table (% of Row)

Across the three sites during the Middle Preclassic, Adults are accompanied three times as often as Indeterminates by bone and greenstone beads as well as bone tubes. Adults are the only individuals to be accompanied by bone crafting tools, pins and gorgets, modified human bone, ceramic disks, pendants and figurines, chalcedony celts, jade celts and pendants, groundstone crafting tools, modified groundstone, NB Colha chert celts, non-NB Colha chert core tools, shell disks and rings and unmodified shell. Subadults are the only individuals to be interred with ceramic musical instruments, groundstone celts, shell pendants and

tinklers and modified shell. Clearly, Adults were interred with a larger variety of artifact forms in higher frequencies than were subadults. This is evidence for the supposition that Adults were afforded higher social and economic esteem than their juniors and therefore had more ready access to goods of all materials and most forms.

Quantitative Table (% of Row)

The analysis shows that adults are clearly interred with a more diverse array of artifact materials and forms than are indeterminates and subadults. There are numerous artifact forms such as bone crafting tools, gorgets and pins as well as ceramic disks and figurines that occur exclusively with Adults. In total, there are 17 artifact forms that occur exclusively with Adults and with neither subadults nor Indeterminates. In comparison, there are only four artifact form categories that occur exclusively with subadults. Clearly, Adults were more privy to a higher number of exclusive artifact material forms during the Middle Preclassic. This is likely due to the more developed economic foothold an individual would have with increased age and time operating in the social milieu of Northern Belize. Additionally, older individuals would have had more opportunity than their juniors to earn status that would afford them burial with more specialized and exotic goods.

Overall

Overall, Adults are included with higher frequencies of a more diverse array of artifact forms than are subadults. Adults are accompanied equally as often by ceramic vessels and shell beads, which are the most frequent goods interred with

these individuals, while the most frequent artifact forms interred with Subadults are shell beads. Quantitatively, the overwhelming majority of artifacts recovered from Middle Preclassic interments were shell beads. The funerary assemblages of Adults and Subadults follow this trend, with the majority of items being interred with both of these age groups being shell beads. Adults had more ready access to a more diverse array of artifact material forms than did either subadults or indeterminates. This is likely due to adults holding higher positions of social esteem within their communities, possibly due to higher earned status as the direct result of age and accomplishments over their lifetime. Thus, that social esteem in translated into a more diverse and prolific funerary assemblage during the Middle Preclassic.

COLHA

Frequency Table (% of Column)

Adults are most frequently interred with shell beads (25.71%) and ceramic vessels (22.86%). All other goods are represented in lesser frequencies within Adult interments. Indeterminates are largely buried without funerary assemblages, however when goods are included with these individuals, they are most frequently interred with ceramic vessels (15.38%). While 28.57% of Subadults are interred with no grave goods, 42.86% are interred with ceramic vessels and 14.29% each with shell beads and modified shell. Overall at the site, complete ceramic vessels are the most frequently occurring grave good (23.64%), closely followed in frequency

by shell beads (18.18%). While Adults are frequently interred with prestige goods manufactured form bone and greenstone, Subadults are not.

Quantitative Table (% of Column)

The majority of artifacts interred with Adults at Colha during the Middle Preclassic are shell beads (93.65%). The next most populous category is bone beads, but these only account for 2.78% of the total goods from Adult interments. Complete ceramic vessels account for 62.5% of the goods interred with Subadults and 25% is comprised of shell beads while 12.5% is the result of the inclusion of modified shell as grave goods.

Frequency Table (% of Row)

Adults are found more frequently with every artifact type than are Subadults, except for a single instance of modified shell with a subadult. No instances of modified shell are found with adult individuals. Additionally, Adults are the only individuals found with instances of bone gorgets and pins, modified human bone, greenstone (jade) celts, ceramic pendants disks and figurines, unmodified faunal remains and groundstone grinding tools and celts. There are no artifact material categories at Colha during the Middle Preclassic that occur exclusively with Subadults beyond the modified shell mentioned above. Indeterminate individuals are buried equally as frequently with greenstone beads as are Adults. They are also accompanied by one quarter of the instances of bone tubes and one third of bone bead occurrences while the majority and remainder lie with adults.

Quantitative Table (% of Row)

Adults are fund with tremendously higher quantities of all grave good forms except for a single instance of modified shell that was found with a Subadult; this artifact form is absent from Adult interments. Interestingly, Indeterminates are found with three times as many greenstone beads as are Adults. Adults are interred with 100% of all of the recovered goods from multiple artifact form categories including: bone gorgets and pins, modified human bone, ceramic disks, figurines and pendants, unmodified faunal remains greenstone (jade) celts, groundstone celts and groundstone grinding tools. None of these artifact forms are found with either Subadults or Indeterminates.

Overall

Overall, Adults are found more frequently with all artifact forms than are Subadults, except for modified shell. This is especially evident with prestige goods manufactured from greenstone and bone such as celts, beads, gorgets and tubes. Adults have high frequencies of each of these forms, however they are all absent from Subadult interments. Generally, the overwhelming majority of artifacts included in the Adult funerary assemblage at Colha during the Middle Preclassic are shell beads. Subadults are accompanied largely by complete ceramic vessels with a much smaller percentage of their assemblage being comprised by shell beads.

CUELLO

Frequency Table (% of Column)

Adults are most frequently interred with complete ceramic vessels (31.58%) and shell beads (21.05%). All other artifact forms present in Adult interments exist in lower frequencies, such as jade beads and pendants and mineral pigments which each occur in only 5.26% of Adult interments. Subadults are most often accompanied by shell beads and ceramic vessels, with 18.18% of these decedents being interred with these goods. Ceramic musical instruments, groundstone celts, jade beads, mineral pigment deposits and shell pendants are each interred in 9.09% of Subadult interments.

Quantitative Table (% of Column)

The overwhelming majority of artifacts interred with Adults are shell beads (83.84%). All other artifact forms are interred in much lower numbers with Adults than are shell beads. Subadults are primarily interred with shell beads, with 90.91% of their assemblage being composed of these items. All other artifact forms are represented in comparatively lower quantities.

Frequency Table (% of Row)

Adults are found more frequently with the majority of artifact forms present in interments at Cuello during the Middle Preclassic. There are only three form categories that occur more frequently with Subadults. Ceramic musical instruments, groundstone celts and shell pendants are the only forms that occur in higher frequencies with Subadults than with Adults; in fact all occurrences of these forms

are exclusive to Subadult interments. Adults are interred with prestige goods such as greenstone beads and jade beads and pendants more frequently than Subadults. Additionally, adults are the only individuals interred with shell disks and rings, unmodified shell, chalcedony celts, NB Colha chert celts, non-NB Colha chert modified lithics, groundstone grinding tools, greenstone beads, bone crafting tools and greenstone (jade) pendants.

Quantitative Table (% of Row)

Adults are interred with higher numbers of all artifact forms except for ceramic musical instruments, groundstone celts, and shell pendants, which are exclusively included in Subadult assemblages. Adults are interred with four times more greenstone (jade) beads than are Subadults and are the only age group to be interred with jade pendants and greenstone (non-jade varieties) beads. Adult interments account for almost 70% of the total goods recovered from Middle Preclassic Cuello interments.

Overall

Adults have a more diverse array of goods included in their funerary assemblage than do Subadults. This includes higher frequencies of prestige goods such as greenstone beads and jade beads and pendants as well as mineral pigment deposits. Subadults are most often accompanied by shell beads and ceramic vessels while Adults are primarily interred with ceramic vessels. Adults are interred with higher numbers of prestige goods such as greenstone (jade) beads and pendants as

well as greenstone beads. Both Adults and Subadults are interred with much higher quantities of shell beads than any other artifact form.

K'AXOB

Frequency Table (% of Column)

Adults are most frequently interred with chalcedony modified lithics (11.86%). Ceramic vessel fragments, shell beads, NB Colha chert modified lithics, unidentifiable material modified lithics and non-NB Colha chert modified lithics occur equally as frequently in Adult interments (10.17%). Greenstone beads are interred with 1.69% of Adults in Middle Preclassic K'axob. Subadults are most frequently interred with ceramic vessel fragments, shell beads and NB Colha chert and unidentifiable material modified lithics. Each of these forms occurs in equal frequencies in Subadult interments (13.64%). There are no occurrences of greenstone within Subadult interments.

Quantitative Table (% of Column)

The majority of artifacts recovered from Middle Preclassic K'axob interments are shell beads (61.12%). The next most populous artifact form are ceramic vessel fragments, however these account for only 16.22% of the total goods. Adult funerary assemblages follow this site trend with 64.82% of the goods accompanying these decedents being shell beads, with 15.08% being ceramic vessel fragments. Interestingly, Subadult funerary assemblages buck this trend, with 34.33% of the goods included with these individuals being ceramic vessel fragments and 18.91%

being NB Colha chert. Unmodified faunal remains comprise 17.91% of the total goods found in subadult interments.

Frequency Table (% of Row)

Adults are interred with all artifact forms in higher frequencies than are Subadults, except for groundstone grinding tools, NB Colha chert cutting tools, and shell tinklers. Subadults and Adults are interred with grinding tools in equal frequencies while Subadults are interred with cutting tools twice as often as their elder counterparts. All instances of shell tinklers are found with Subadults. All instances of bone beads, complete ceramic vessels, greenstone beads, groundstone crafting tools, modified groundstone, mineral pigment deposits, non-NB Colha chert core tools, shell disks and unmodified shell occur exclusively with adults. Clearly higher frequencies of prestige goods crafted from bone and shell, and greenstone are found with adults.

Quantitative Table (% of Row)

Adult assemblages account for 94.07% of the total goods recovered from Middle Preclassic K'axob interments. These assemblages contain higher number of all artifact forms except for grinding tools manufactured from groundstone, NB Colha chert cutting tools, and shell tinklers. Tinklers are found exclusively with Subadults while grinding tools are found in equal numbers with both age categories. Subadults are found with 20% more NB Colha chert cutting tools than are Adults. Most prestige artifact forms, such as bone beads, greenstone beads, and mineral deposits occur exclusively with Adults.

Overall

Subadult interments are largely absent of prestige goods during the Middle Preclassic at K'axob, as there are no instances of greenstone artifacts within these graves. Adults are found with higher frequencies of prestige goods manufactured from shell, greenstone and bone than are Subadults. Interestingly, all occurrences of shell tinklers occur in Subadult interments. Adult funerary assemblages at the site are largely composed of shell beads with a moderate presence of ceramic vessel fragments; however Subadult assemblages are predominated by vessel fragments with a much smaller number of shell beads. Ultimately, adults are interred with higher quantities of prestige goods than are subadults.

INTERMENTS WITH ARTIFACTS OF VARYING FUNCTIONS BY SEX AND AGE OF THE INDIVIDUAL (Table 5.11)

ALL SITES

During the Middle Preclassic, 41.58% of interments contained prestige-ceremonial goods, 25.74% contained practical-utilitarian goods, 15.84% were absent of a funerary assemblage, 9.90% had possible prestige-ceremonial goods and 6.93% contained possible practical-utilitarian goods. Interestingly, the tendency seems to be toward the inclusion of artifacts with a possible ceremonial or ritual connotation versus those with a practical or utilitarian nature; however this may be a bias introduced by the author based on categorization of goods into one class or another. Considering definitively sexed individuals, it appears that males were more

often (57.58%) interred with goods with possible and definite prestige-ceremonial functions while 36.36% were interred with goods of possible and definite practical-utilitarian nature.

Prestige-ceremonial goods were present in 52.94% of female interments and 41.18% contained goods with practical-utilitarian functions. Comparatively, both types of goods were found in nearly twice as many male interments as female interments. Adults are interred with prestige goods nearly 58% of the time and with practical goods roughly 37% of the time. Subadults are interred with prestige goods 45% of the time and with practical goods 35% of the time. Twenty percent of subadults and 5.80% of adults are interred with no funerary assemblage. Analysis shows that adults are included with prestige goods almost 4.5 times more often than are subadults and they are included with practical goods roughly 3.5 times more often than are subadults. Clearly, there is a cultural tendency to include prestige goods more often with adult males than with individuals of other demographics.

COLHA

At Colha, 42.11% of the interments in the Middle Preclassic contained prestige-ceremonial goods, 13.16% had possible prestige-ceremonial goods, 10.53% had practical-utilitarian goods and 5.26% had possible practical-utilitarian goods. Over 28% of interments had no funerary assemblage whatsoever. Based on this analysis, there appears to be a predisposition toward the inclusion of goods with prestige and/or ceremonial associations in interments. At Colha, definitively sexed

males and females were only interred with items that have been categorized in the present study as prestige-ceremonial goods.

Based on these classifications, it is shown that male interments contained prestige goods almost five times more often than did female interments. Clearly there is a cultural predisposition to bury Middle Preclassic Colha males with prestige items that females did not have as ready access to. Prestige goods are included in 76.19% of adult interments and 40% of subadult interments while practical goods occur in 19.05% of adult graves and in 20% of subadult graves. Subadults are left with no funerary assemblage 40% of the time while only 4.76% of adults are unaccompanied by grave goods. Adult interments are eight times likelier to include prestige goods than subadult interments and four times likelier to include practical goods. There is a clear tendency at Colha to include prestige goods far more frequently with adult males than with any other demographic group.

CUELLO

At Cuello, nearly half (48.39%) of interments contained prestige-ceremonial goods, while 16.13% had no funerary assemblage and 35.48% contained practical-utilitarian goods. As at Colha, there appears to be a predisposition for Middle Preclassic inhabitants to include artifacts of a ritual or ceremonial nature with decedents. Considering definitively sexed individuals, 50% of both male and female interments contained prestige goods. Only 7.14% of male interments and 12.5% of

female interments were without goods. Practical goods were included in 42.86% of male and 37.5% of female graves.

This means that male interments were roughly twice as likely to contain prestige and practical goods as were female interments. A cultural predisposition to include more prestige items and more goods in general with male decedents is seen at Cuello, though the dichotomy between the inclusions of prestige goods with male versus female decedents is not seen as strongly here as it is at Colha. Forty-eight percent of adult interments contain prestige goods while 40% contain practical goods. Fifty percent of subadult interments contained prestige goods and 16.67% contained practical goods. Roughly one third of subadults and 12% of adults were interred without goods. Adults were four times likelier to be interred with prestige goods than were subadults and ten times likelier to be interred with practical goods.

While the dichotomy is not as clear cut at Cuello, it appears that this site follows the trend seen at Colha, with adult males being more likely to be interred with prestige goods and females and juveniles being less likely to be accompanied by these goods. Based on the types and numbers of goods interred with both sexes and all ages, it is likely that at least the early part of the Middle Preclassic at Cuello was representative of "a system of hereditary wealth as both young and old, male and female have 'wealthy' grave assemblages" (Robin 1989: 47). The above analysis is reflective of such a system, given the high prevalence of prestige goods with males and females as well as adults and subadults. The fact that both sexes are

represented at the site as well as old and the old and young alike possibly indicates a family-type residential group according to Robin.

K'AXOB

At K'axob, 34.38% of interments contain either prestige-ceremonial or practical-utilitarian goods, while 15.63% contain either possible prestige-ceremonial or possible practical-utilitarian goods. It appears that unlike at Colha and Cuello, the distribution of artifacts at K'axob in the Middle Preclassic is fairly evenly split between goods with ritual and/or ceremonial connotations and those with practical and/or utilitarian uses. Male interments contain prestige goods 53.85% of the time and practical goods 46.15% of the time where as the occurrence of prestige and practical goods are equally as frequent in female interments. Thus, males are 1.5 times likelier than females to be accompanied by practical goods and almost twice as likely to be accompanied by prestige goods. As at Colha and Cuello, a preference is seen for included prestige goods with males more than females, however the dichotomy is not as clear at K'axob in the Middle Preclassic as it is at Colha. Roughly 52% of K'axob adults are interred with prestige goods and 48% with practical goods. Subadults are interred with prestige goods 44.44% of the time and with practical goods 55.56% of the time. Comparatively, adults are interred with prestige goods three times more often than subadults and roughly twice as often with practical goods. K'axob Middle Preclassic interments exhibit the trend seen at

both Cuello and Colha where adult males are more often interred with prestige goods than either females or juveniles.

NUMBERS OF ARTIFACTS OF VARYING FUNCTIONS WITHIN INTERMENTS BY MATERIAL TYPE AND FORM TYPE (Tables 5.12-5.14)

ALL SITES

In order to prevent skewing of the data based on the sheer amount of shell beads present in Middle Preclassic interments, the following analysis considers the relative frequencies of materials and forms of prestige and practical goods via frequency analysis rather than quantitative or numerical analysis. Shell beads in fact account for 92.72% of all prestige goods and 70.70% of the total goods (both practical and prestige) that were recovered from the three sites during this time period. Basing counts of artifact function by material and form off of raw numbers such as this would heavily skew the analysis and portray all other artifact forms as occurring at this time to be less significant to the assemblage than they are. As stated above, though numerous, shell beads were almost always likely to be strung together to form one or few composite objects of personal adornment. Therefore, analyzing frequencies of occurrences is advisable. Also, for the purposes of this more detailed analysis, which considers artifact function categories in relation to all material and form types at the three sites of study, groupings have been made of the different artifact functions. Definite and possible prestige-ceremonial goods have been simply grouped under the heading of prestige-ceremonial and definite and

possible practical-utilitarian goods have been grouped under the heading of practical-utilitarian. The prestige category is largely composed of shell objects, with shell beads being the most common. Shell occurs in 40% of interments with roughly 31% of those instances being shell beads. Ceramic goods such as pendants, musical instruments and specialized vessels like miniature jars account for nearly 23% of the instances of prestige goods in the Middle Preclassic.

Buttles notes that ceramic figurines were quite prevalent throughout the entire Maya region and begin to appear in large quantities during the early Middle Preclassic. There does, however, appear to be an abrupt drop in numbers of these goods as time progresses, beginning in the Late Preclassic. While figurines do remain present in the archaeological record through the Postclassic, they are extremely rare at the majority of sites during the Classic period. Musical instruments such as ocarinas and whistles are similarly prevalent throughout the Maya area (2002: 109-112). Unmodified faunal remains of animals of an exotic nature and those with potentially supernatural connotations account for 13.79% of prestige good occurrences. Also of note are bone objects. As Buttles (2002) explains, bone would have begun as a practical technology, but through the working of this material into an object of personal adornment it would have been transformed into a prestige item. Bone represents 8.97% of prestige good occurrences in the Middle Preclassic with personal adornment items such as beads, gorgets, pins and tubes.

Overall, greenstone objects (both jade and non-jade varieties) account for 8.28% of the inclusions of prestige goods in Middle Preclassic interments –

indicating that long distance trade items such as greenstone were not as readily available and therefore likely more highly prized. The value that would have been tied to these materials can be understood as a representation of the high status of the individual with whom these items were interred. Practical goods across the three sites are largely represented by modified lithics and lithic tools as well as ceramic vessels and vessel fragments. The most frequently occurring lithics are NB Colha chert implements and Non-NB Colha chert implements followed by unidentifiable lithic material, chalcedony and groundstone. Unmodified faunal remains account for roughly one eighth of the prestige good inclusions in the Middle Preclassic.

COLHA

Instances of prestige goods at Colha are dominated by bone objects, which account for 26.67% of occurrences of prestige items in interments. Shell goods represent 24.44% of prestige good instances, with the majority of these being beads. Ceramics represent a third of prestige good occurrences, with the majority being vessels and only a small number being represented by figurines and pendants. Interestingly, unmodified faunal remains account for fewer than 3% of prestige good instances. Greenstones account for 8.89% of prestige good occurrences at Colha – an indication of the rarity of these materials and the high value placed on them, which would have resulted in their use as status markers by those individuals of high social ranking in this Middle Preclassic community. Practical good

occurrences at Colha are dominated by ceramic vessels (40%), with 30% frequency of groundstone implements and ceramic disks.

CUELLO

Shell dominates the occurrences of prestige goods at Cuello (42.55%), with the majority of these being beads. Ceramics comprise 29.79% of prestige good instances, with most of these being vessels and a small number of them being musical instruments. Of note is the fact that greenstone objects account for 14.89% of the prestige artifact inclusions found at Cuello; six percent more than at Colha. This would likely indicate that the Middle Preclassic population of Cuello had more ready access to long distance trade items manufactured from greenstone than did the inhabitants of Colha. Given this, one can infer from this that Cuello may have been a more senior or developed trading partner with communities in the Maya Mountains and other locations from where these objects would have been acquired. The Cuello practical funerary good assemblage is most frequently characterized by ceramic vessels (83.33%), with groundstone, bone, and non-NB Colha chert accounting for equal percent frequencies of the remaining goods.

K'AXOB

Shell accounts for 50.94% of prestige artifact inclusions with beads being the predominant form. Of note is that greenstones account for only 1.89% of prestige good inclusions in Middle Preclassic K'axob interments. Much as at Colha, a dearth

of this resource is seen. Clearly Cuello stands as the leader in the acquiring of this long-distance trade item. Interestingly, unmodified faunal remains account for nearly 36% of the instances of prestige goods included in interments at this time. While this may be due to a lack of the recording of such instances at Colha and Cuello it is also likely due to the deliberate inclusion of these objects with decedents at K'axob. Practical goods at K'axob are more evenly distributed between material classes than either Colha or Cuello, with NB Colha chert implements being the most frequent (23.33%), followed by unmodified faunal remains (20%) and modified lithics fashioned from unidentifiable material. Groundstone, ceramics, and non-NB Colha chert account for the less frequent practical goods seen in the K'axob assemblage.

NUMBER OF INTERMENTS WITH HEAD COVER OVER THE CRANIUM OF THE DECEDENT BY SEX AND AGE OF THE INDIVIDUAL AND BY MATERIAL, FORM AND SUBFORM TYPE (Tables 5.15-5.18)

ALL SITES

Twenty-two ceramic vessels used as head covers occur in only 21 interments across the three sites during the Middle Preclassic. This means that overall, 74.07% of the population in Northern Belize were interred without head covers. At all three sites during this time period, decedents were almost three times likelier to be interred without a head cover. It must be remembered that as abovementioned, a head cover is a ceramic vessel of a particular form placed over the cranium of the decedent. Only those vessels noted as being so placed are deemed 'head covers'

within the present analysis. Females account for 23.81% of the instances of interments with head covers while males comprise 38.10%. Roughly 4.6% of individuals with a head cover are possible females and possible males while 28.57% are indeterminately sexed individuals.

Based on site specific data briefly detailed below, it appears that males were slightly more predisposed (1.6 times likelier) than females to being interred with a head cover. Adults account for 76.19% of those individuals with a head cover and subadults account for 19.05%. As with other grave goods indicative of status, individuals with a head cover tend to be adult males. Overall, ceramic bowls account for 68.18% of the vessels used as head covers while 18.18% are vessels of indeterminate shapes and the remaining percentage (13.64%) are ceramic dishes.

COLHA

Nine instances of the placement of a head cover over the cranium of a decedent occur at Colha during the Middle Preclassic. One third of these individuals are indeterminately sexed while one third are definitively sexed males. The remaining 33% of occurrences is equally divided between females, possible females and possible males. Adults comprise two thirds of the individuals with head covers while subadults account for 22.22%. Ceramic vessels of indeterminate shapes account for 44.44% of those artifacts used as head covers, one third were ceramic bowls and the remaining 22.22% were ceramic dishes.

CUELLO

Nine instances of the placement of a head cover over the cranium of a decedent occur at Cuello during the Middle Preclassic. The research of Pyburn and Kosakowsky during the 1980 field season at Cuello compared the attributes of funerary and refuse ceramic vessels. It was noted that those vessels included within interments were generally of a larger average diameter. It is postulated that this was reflective of their purpose for covering and containing the remains of decedents (Pyburn and Kosakowsky n.d.; Robin 1989: 7). One third of individuals with a vessel over their cranium are females, 22.22% are indeterminates and 44.44% are males. Adults account for 77.78% of the instances of head covers while subadults comprise 22.22%. All those ceramic vessels used as head covers in Middle Preclassic Cuello were in the form of bowls.

K'AXOB

Three instances of the placement of a head cover over the cranium of a decedent occur at K'axob during the Middle Preclassic. These occurrences are divided equally, with one third being female, one third being male and one third being indeterminately sexed individuals. All individuals with a head cover placed over their cranium are adult individuals. Ceramic bowls account for 75% of those vessels used as head covers in Middle Preclassic K'axob, while 25% were ceramic dishes.

INTERMENTS WITH A CROSS MOTIF VESSEL WITHIN THE FUNERARY ASSEMBLAGE BY SEX AND AGE OF THE INDIVIDUAL AND BY MATERIAL, FORM, AND SUBFORM TYPE

ALL SITES

There are no vessels with a cross motif at any site during the Middle Preclassic.

INTERMENTS EXHIBITING EVIDENCE OF BURNING BY SEX AND AGE OF THE INDIVIDUAL (Tables 5.19-5.21)

ALL SITES

During the Middle Preclassic, 9 separate interments exhibit evidence of burning while 61 do not. This means that only 12.86% of interments exhibited burning while 87.14% did not. While burning of materials may have been practiced during funerary ritual, evidence of this during the Middle Preclassic in Northern Belize is scanty at best. Note that as abovementioned, interments denoted as exhibiting indications of burning activities are only those instances where burning of grave goods, osteological remains or other materials associated with interments is explicitly noted in the data resources used in this analysis. Considering definitively sexed individuals, over 80% of both males and females were interred with no evidence of burning; only fewer than 20% of each sex were buried with evidence of burning activities. Males were 1.5 times more likely to be interred with evidence of funerary ritual involving burning activities during the Middle Preclassic in Northern Belize. Overall, 85.71% of adult interments did not exhibit burning

while 83.33% of subadult interments did not. No indeterminately sexed individual interments had evidence of burning activities. This means that only 14.29% of adult interments and 16.67% of subadult interments had evidence of burning activities that were likely related to funerary ritual. Adults were twice as likely as subadults to be interred in graves with evidence of burning activities.

COLHA

At Colha, only one interment in the Middle Preclassic shows evidence of burning, with 29 having no signs of burning activity. Thus, 96.67% of the interments of this time period did not show evidence of burning activities during funerary ritual. The one interment that did exhibit evidence of burning is of an indeterminately sexed individual. Burning is evidenced on the single unperforated ceramic disk. Disks such as this may have been used for a variety of purposes such as gaming tokens and tops or stoppers for vessels (Buttles 2002: 142) Only 6.67% of adults interments showed evidence of burning activities. No subadult or indeterminate interments presented evidence of burning.

CUELLO

No interments at Middle Preclassic Cuello exhibit definitive evidence of burning activities that may have taken place during funerary ritual.

K'AXOB

During the Middle Preclassic at K'axob, 12 interments had no signs of burning while eight did. This means that burning activities during funerary ritual are only evident in 40% of K'axob burials at this time, with 60% presenting no signs of such activities. Of the definitively sexed individuals who were interred in graves with evidence of burning, 60% were male and 40% were female. This means that males were 1.5 times likelier than females to be interred with evidence of funerary ritual that involved burning activities. However, it should also be noted that the majority of each sex were interred in graves with no evidence of burning. At K'axob, 41.67% of adult interments displayed evidence of burning activities while 37.5% of subadult interments exhibited the same. Comparatively, adults were 1.7 times likelier to be interred with evidence of burning activities that may have been related to funerary ritual than were subadults.

TOTAL NUMBER OF BURNED ARTIFACTS BY MATERIAL TYPE AND FORM TYPE
(Table 5.22)

ALL SITES

Across all three sites, there are 38 instances of burned materials located within interments in the Middle Preclassic. Seven artifact material types comprise these instances of burning: NB Colha chert (95 modified lithics, 5 cutting tools), chalcedony (68 modified lithics), unidentifiable lithic material (42 modified lithics), non-NB Colha chert (12 modified lithics), groundstone (1 piece of modified

groundstone, 1 grinding tool), ceramic (1 disk), shell (1 bead). The majority of these incidences of burning are modified lithics manufactured from various materials. NB Colha chert modified lithics and cutting tools account for 28.95% of these instances of burning, with 26.32% being modified lithics manufactured from unidentifiable material. Chalcedony modified lithics represent 23.68% of these occurrences. Non-NB Colha chert modified lithics comprise 10.53% of the burned inclusions while modified groundstone and grinding tools represent 5.26%. Interestingly, ceramics (disks) and shell (beads) each only represent 2.63% of the instances of burning within interments across the three sites during the Middle Preclassic. Analysis shows that the majority of items that exhibited evidence of burning were lithic flakes, debris and fire shatter. Also, one must consider that this evidence of burning on lithic material may not be indicative necessarily of ritual intended to honor the decedent, but could simply be a byproduct of lithic tool manufacturing that is present in the interment. Overall, funerary ritual involving burning activities does not seem to have been a predominant practice in Middle Preclassic Northern Belize.

COLHA

The single instance of burning present at Colha during the Middle Preclassic is on a ceramic disk. Given that ceramic disks may have been used in a variety of functions including jar tops and stoppers (Buttles 2002: 142), it is possible that this disk was used as a topper on a vessel containing materials burned during the funerary ritual accompanying the interment of this individual.

CUELLO

No Middle Preclassic Cuello interments exhibit evidence of burning.

K'AXOB

Based on analysis of the interment data the majority of funerary goods displaying evidence of burning come from K'axob. Clearly, the assemblage of burned goods is predominated by modified lithics of varying materials. Over 97% of the incidences of burning are comprised of burned lithics. Approximately 2.7% of occurrences are comprised of shell; however this is in fact a single occurrence of a shell bead that exhibited burning. Given that there is only one instance of burning at Colha and none at Cuello during the Middle Preclassic, the cumulative data presented above for all three sites is essentially a reflection of the incidences of burning at K'axob during this time. There are 37 instances of burned materials located within interments in Middle Preclassic K'axob. Six artifact material types comprise these instances of burning: NB Colha chert (95 modified lithics, 5 cutting tools), chalcedony (68 modified lithics), unidentifiable lithic material (42 modified lithics), non-NB Colha chert (12 modified lithics), groundstone (1 piece of modified groundstone, 1 grinding tool), and shell (1 bead).

The majority of these incidences of burning are modified lithics manufactured from various materials. NB Colha chert modified lithics and cutting tools account for 29.73% of these instances of burning, with 27.03% being modified lithics manufactured from unidentifiable material. Chalcedony modified lithics

represent 24.32% of these occurrences. Non-NB Colha chert modified lithics comprise 10.81% of the burned inclusions while modified groundstone and grinding tools represent 5.41%. Interestingly, shell only represents 2.70% of the instances of burning within interments at the site during the Middle Preclassic; these shell artifacts were crafted in the form of beads. Analysis shows that the majority of items that exhibited evidence of burning were lithic flakes, debris and fire shatter. Also, one must consider that this evidence of burning on lithic material may not be indicative necessarily of ritual intended to honor the decedent, but could simply be a byproduct of lithic tool manufacturing that is present in the interment. Overall, funerary ritual involving burning activities does not seem to have been a predominant practice in Middle Preclassic at K'axob.

INTERMENTS EXHIBITING EVIDENCE OF RED MINERAL PIGMENTATION
(Tables 5.23-5.25)

ALL SITES

During the Middle Preclassic across the three sites of study, only five or 7.69% of interments exhibited evidence of red pigment in some form. Considering definitively sexed individuals, no female interments during the Middle Preclassic contained evidence of the use of red pigment. Only 15.79% of male interments contained red pigment with the overwhelming majority (84.21%) being absent of this material. Access to red pigment in the form of hematite or ochre would not have been readily available, thus, from an economic viewpoint, it would likely have been

considered a prestige good. According to Buttles, “specular hematite was prized by the Maya for its reflective quality, at times utilized for mirror mosaics” (2002: 313) (Figures 5.3 a-d).

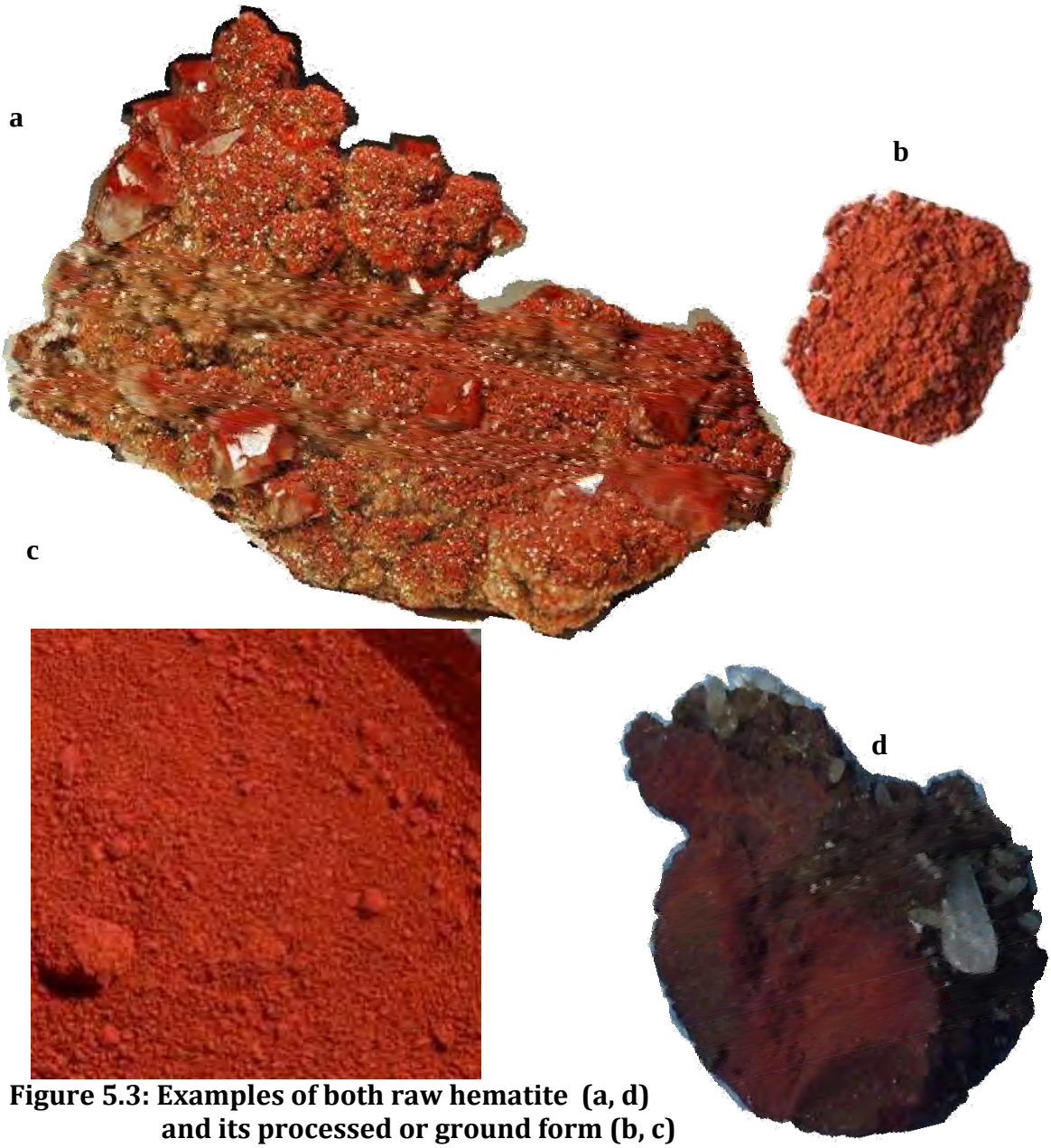


Figure 5.3: Examples of both raw hematite (a, d) and its processed or ground form (b, c)

a) Adapted from http://www.lehighminerals.com
b) Adapted from http://www.groundindiamart.com
c) Adapted from http://www.groundvnexport.biz
d) Adapted from http://www.gwydir.demon.co.uk

The inclusion of this prestige good exclusively with males indicates that males held a generally higher social status compared to their females counterparts and that this social esteem afforded them more ready access to goods of a rare and exotic nature. Considering the definite age categories of adult and subadult, it appears that only 10.26% of adults and 6.25% of subadults were interred with some form of red pigment. Comparatively, this means that adults were interred four times as often with red mineral pigments than were subadults. Based on the analysis, males and adults were allowed priority access to prestige goods such as red pigments derived from minerals like ochre and hematite, thus resulting in the higher number of instances of pigment in interments of decedents fitting this age and sex profile.

COLHA

At Colha, one out of 30 total interments showed evidence of the use of red pigment within the grave. As stated above, no female interments contained red pigment. However, at Colha 16.67% of male interments did contain pigment, while 83.33% did not. This site trend follows the regional trend of the association of males with prestige goods such as red mineral pigments and the inclusion of those materials in their interments. The single interment at Colha that did exhibit red pigment was an adult burial. This follows the regional trend of adult males being more likely to be interred with prestige goods due to their higher social status than their female and juvenile counterparts.

CUELLO

During the Middle Preclassic at Cuello, 3 out of 19 interments exhibited red pigment within the grave. Out of the three sites of study, Cuello had the highest number of interments with the presence of red pigment. Nearly 13% of male interments at Cuello contained red pigment. Again, as at Colha, female interments were absent of this material. Only 12.5% of adults and 16.67% of subadults have red pigment within their interments. Comparatively, adults are twice as likely as subadults to be interred with goods including red mineral pigments. Thus, Cuello follows the pattern established at Colha of adult males being more privy to prestige goods.

K'AXOB

Only one interment at K'axob displays the use of red pigment while 12 do not. This one interment is a male individual and accounts for 20% of the interred male population being associated with red pigment. The single interment at K'axob that contains red pigment was of an adult, thus conforming with the trend of adult males having more ready access to prestige goods such as mineral pigments including hematite and ochre.

TOTAL NUMBER OF PIGMENTED ARTIFACTS BY MATERIAL TYPE, FORM TYPE AND SUBFORM TYPE (Table 5.26)

ALL SITES

The majority (44.44%) of artifacts associated with red pigment are the minerals themselves, being most frequently represented by raw and/or unmodified and modified versions of hematite and red ochre. Ceramic vessels represent 33.33% of the incidences of red pigment, with 11.11% of these occurrences being miniature jars and 22.22% being vessels of indeterminate shapes. Lastly, greenstone (jade) objects comprise 22.22% of the red pigment instances, with claw-shaped and zoomorphic pendants each representing 11.11% of these occurrences. It is likely that ceramic vessels may have been containers for holding deposits of the prepared pigments and thus are associated with these minerals in funerary contexts. The pendants, likely placed on the decedent as personal adornments, would have been pigmented by contact with any funerary treatment of the body involving decoration with these ground minerals.

COLHA

All of the goods associated with red pigment at Colha in the Middle Preclassic are ceramic vessels of indeterminate shape. This single vessel was possibly a repository some amount of mineral pigment to be used during funerary ritual or may have been dusted with the pigment during the ritual process.

CUELLO

At Cuello, 42.86% of all occurrences of mineral pigments associated with grave goods are explained by the minerals themselves; in these cases the minerals are not specifically associated or placed on a grave good of a different material class. Ceramic vessels represent 28.57% of the incidences of goods exhibiting pigmentation as do greenstone (jade) pendants. The miniature ceramic jar that is associated with red pigmentation was likely a carrying vessel for this substance while the greenstone (jade) pendants and the indeterminately shaped vessel were likely grave goods dusted with the pigment during the funerary ritual process. Clearly, both ceramics and jade objects were subject to red mineral pigmentation equally as often.

K'AXOB

The only presence of red pigment at K'axob during the Middle Preclassic is a section of unmodified hematite that was included in one of the interments.

COUNT OF INTERMENTS WITHIN VARYING ARCHITECTURE SPACE FUNCTIONS BY SEX AND AGE OF THE INDIVIDUAL (Tables 5.27-5.29)

ALL SITES

Across all three sites during the Middle Preclassic, 35 individuals are interred in domestic settings, 18 in possibly ritual/ceremonial contexts, six in domestic

setting located with larger ritual/ceremonial areas and finally two located in dedicated ritual/ceremonial contexts. This means that over half (57.38%) of individuals were located in domestic contexts, 29.51% in possible ritual/ceremonial, 9.84% in domestic setting within ritual/ceremonial areas and only 3.28% within definite, dedicate ritual ceremonial contexts. Considering definitively sexed individuals, an overwhelming number of females (88.89%) were interred in domestic settings, with the remaining 11.11% of these individuals being interred in possible ritual/ceremonial contexts. Males are seen to have a slightly more varied distribution regarding burial contexts. Well over half (64.71%) are seen to be located in domestic contexts, with 17.65% being placed in possibly ritual/ceremonial settings, 11.76% in definite ritual/ceremonial areas and 5.88% in domestic settings within larger ritual/ceremonial contexts.

Comparatively, males have a higher incidence of interment in all contexts than do females. While males are 1.3 times likelier to be interred in domestic settings, the more important data lies in a comparison of the difference in the number of their interments in ritual contexts versus that of their female counterparts. Males are three times likelier to be interred in possible ritual/ceremonial contexts and are the only sex to be interred in dedicated, definitive ritual/ceremonial areas as well as domestic settings within ritual/ceremonial areas.

Clearly, cultural factors were at work during the Middle Preclassic that favored the interment of males in ritual areas of the site that would have had

(possibly public) ceremonial functions. Females are seen to be largely relegated to domestic settings. Over 63% of adults and over 66% of subadults were interred in domestic settings during the Middle Preclassic. Approximately 22% of adults are seen to be buried in possible ritual/ceremonial contexts, roughly 11% in domestic settings within ritual/ceremonial areas and almost 3% in dedicated ritual/ceremonial contexts. Subadults are also seen in these contexts, with 13.33% being interred in either a domestic setting within a ritual/ceremonial area or a possible ritual/ceremonial area. Only 6.67% of subadults are seen in definite ritual/ceremonial contexts. Adults are seen to be included in higher numbers in each burial setting except for dedicated ritual/ceremonial contexts where adults and subadults appear in equal numbers.

COLHA

At Colha during this time period, 17 individuals were interred in possibly ritual/ceremonial contexts, 6 within domestic settings inside ritual/ceremonial areas, 4 in definite domestic contexts and only 2 in dedicated ritual/ceremonial areas. This means that nearly 60% of individuals were interred in possibly ritual/ceremonial contexts, with over 20% being located in domestic settings within ritual/ceremonial areas, 13.79% in dedicated domestic areas and only 6.90% in definite ritual/ceremonial contexts. It is during the late Middle Preclassic that indications of spatially distinct activity areas as well as a formal cemetery complex within Operations 2006 and 2012 appear. During this same time period, expansive

open platforms were constructed at Operation 2012 (Buttles 2002: 76). Clearly a shift from egalitarian, exclusively domestic architecture had been made and ritual/ceremonial and monumental structures were being erected. Considering definitively sexed individuals interred during the Middle Preclassic, males are seen to be interred in high quantities in definite and possible ritual ceremonial contexts (80%) and domestic settings within ritual/ceremonial areas (20%).

Females are exclusively located in possible ritual ceremonial areas during this time period; however males are twice as likely to be interred in these contexts. Clearly, a cultural predisposition for males to be interred in ritual/ceremonial contexts more often and in higher numbers than females exists at the site at this time. Half of the interred adult population is interred in possible ritual/ceremonial areas, 28.57% in domestic settings within ritual/ceremonial areas, 14.29% in domestic contexts and 7.14% in dedicated ritual/ceremonial areas.

Subadults on the other hand appear only in three different architectural contexts, with 40% appearing in either a possible ritual/ceremonial area or domestic setting within a ritual/ceremonial area and the remaining 20% being interred in dedicated, definitive ritual/ceremonial areas. Adults are interred in higher numbers in all architectural contexts except for definitive ritual/ceremonial areas, which house equal numbers of adults and subadults. Analysis seems to show that males and adults were cultural categories afforded higher social esteem during the Middle Preclassic at Colha and therefore more likely to be interred in ritual and/or ceremonial contexts.

CUELLO

Only two interments contexts are seen at Cuello during the Middle Preclassic. Nineteen individuals are interred in domestic settings and only one in a possible ritual/ceremonial setting. Thus, 95% of individuals were located in domestic contexts with only 5% being in potentially ritual/ceremonial areas. It appears that early Cuello architecture was largely domestic in function and ceremonial architecture did not develop at the site until the Late Preclassic (Cartwright et al 1991: 116).

The overwhelming majority (87.50%) of males are interred in domestic contexts while only 12.5% are interred in possible ritual/ceremonial contexts. Females are exclusively interred in domestic contexts. As at Colha, cultural vectors are likely at work, influencing the predisposition of males to be interred in architectural settings that have ritual or ceremonial connotations. Over 93% of adults were interred in domestic contexts, with only 6.67% being interred in possible ritual/ceremonial settings. All subadult interments were located in domestic contexts. As at Colha, males and adults were favored for interment in architectural locations with ritual and/or ceremonial significance. Robin and Hammond note that interments were "placed in house platforms during initial construction, use, and at abandonment, indicating opportunistic placing of domestic burials and continued use of the platform afterwards" (Robin et al 1991: 205). This speaks to the continued use of such structures by family groups in the Middle Preclassic.

K'AXOB

At K'axob, only a single interment context is seen, with 12 (100%) of the population being interred in domestic settings. All males and females are interred in domestic settings during the Middle Preclassic at K'axob. Unlike Cuello and Colha, no interments of either sex are seen in ritual and/or ceremonial contexts. All adults and subadults were interred in domestic contexts due to all burials from K'axob being located in housemounds. However, it should be noted that much as at Cuello, the central architectural structure in the Middle Preclassic at K'axob (Plaza B in Operation 1) became the focus of building and cultural activity and was likely successively occupied by members of a lineage who used time and place to legitimize and reify their authority and more ready access to various goods and other benefits of the economic sphere. McAnany identifies a Middle Preclassic male and female (Burials 1-43 and 1-46) as the central focus of Operation 1 (2004: 27). This means that these individuals would have been interred as a sort of construction initiation event, meant to mark the location as an important lineage stronghold.

Table 5.1: Count of Individuals by Sex

Time Period	Site	Indeterminate	Male	Female	Male?	Female?	Grand Total
Middle Preclassic	Colha	18	5	1	1	4	29
	Cuello	6	8	5	0	1	20
	K'axob	5	4	3	0	0	12
Middle Preclassic Total		**29**	**17**	**9**	**1**	**5**	**61**
Grand Total		**29**	**17**	**9**	**1**	**5**	**61**

Table 5.2: Count of Individuals by Age

Time Period	Site	Adult	SubAdult	Indeterminate	Grand Total
Middle Preclassic	Colha	14	5	10	29
	Cuello	15	5	0	20
	K'axob	7	5	0	12
Middle Preclassic Total		**36**	**15**	**10**	**61**
Grand Total		**36**	**15**	**10**	**61**

Table 5.3: Count of Individuals by Burial Position and Sex

Time Period	Site	Position Category	Position Detail	Female	Female?	Indeterminate	Male	Male?	Grand Total
Middle Preclassic	Colha	Disarticulated	Disarticulated	0	0	1	1	0	2
		Disarticulated Sum		0	0	1	1	0	2
		Extended	Supine	0	1	0	0	0	1
			Supine, Extended	0	3	7	3	1	14
		Extended Sum		0	4	7	3	1	15
		Flexed	Flexed; Seated	0	0	1	0	0	1
			Seated, Knees Up	0	0	1	0	0	1
			Semi-flexed	0	0	1	1	0	2
		Flexed Sum		0	0	3	1	0	4
		Indeterminate	Indeterminate	1	0	7	0	0	8
		Indeterminate Sum		1	0	7	0	0	8
	Colha Total			1	4	18	5	1	29
	Cuello	Disarticulated	Secondary; Disarticulated	2	0	0	0	0	2
		Disarticulated Sum		2	0	0	0	0	2
		Extended	Primary; Extended	1	0	0	0	0	1
			Primary; Extended Supin	1	0	0	0	0	1
			Primary; Supine	0	0	0	1	0	1
			Primary; Supine Extended	0	0	1	3	0	4
			Secondary; Supine Extended	0	0	1	0	0	1
		Extended Sum		2	0	2	4	0	8
		Flexed	Primary; Flexed	1	0	2	0	0	3
			Primary; Seated	0	0	0	1	0	1
			Primary; Supine Flexed	0	0	0	1	0	1
			Secondary; Flexed	0	0	0	1	0	1
		Flexed Sum		1	0	2	3	0	6
		Indeterminate	Primary; Indeterminate	0	1	2	1	0	4
		Indeterminate Sum		0	1	2	1	0	4
	Cuello Total			5	1	6	8	0	20
	K'axob	Extended	Extended	3	0	2	1	0	6
			Extended & Secondary	0	0	1	0	0	1
		Extended Sum		3	0	3	1	0	7
		Indeterminate	Indeterminate	0	0	1	0	0	1
			Secondary	0	0	1	3	0	4
		Indeterminate Sum		0	0	2	3	0	5
	K'axob Total			3	0	5	4	0	12
Grand Total				9	5	29	17	1	61

Table 5.4: Count of Individuals by Burial Position and Age

Time Period	Site	Position Category	Position Detail	Adult	Indeterminate	SubAdult	Grand Total
Middle Preclassic	Colha	Disarticulated	Disarticulated	1	1	0	2
		Disarticulated Sum		**1**	**1**	**0**	**2**
		Extended	Supine	1	0	0	1
			Supine, Extended	7	6	1	14
		Extended Sum		**8**	**6**	**1**	**15**
		Flexed	Flexed; Seated	0	0	1	1
			Seated, Knees Up	1	0	0	1
			Semi-flexed	1	0	1	2
		Flexed Sum		**2**	**0**	**2**	**4**
		Indeterminate	Indeterminate	3	3	2	8
		Indeterminate Sum		**3**	**3**	**2**	**8**
	Colha Total			**14**	**10**	**5**	**29**
	Cuello	Disarticulated	Secondary; Disarticulated	2	0	0	2
		Disarticulated Sum		**2**	**0**	**0**	**2**
		Extended	Primary; Extended	1	0	0	1
			Primary; Extended Supin	1	0	0	1
			Primary; Supine	1	0	0	1
			Primary; Supine Extended	3	0	1	4
			Secondary; Supine Extended	1	0	0	1
		Extended Sum		**7**	**0**	**1**	**8**
		Flexed	Primary; Flexed	1	0	2	3
			Primary; Seated	1	0	0	1
			Primary; Supine Flexed	1	0	0	1
			Secondary; Flexed	1	0	0	1
		Flexed Sum		**4**	**0**	**2**	**6**
		Indeterminate	Primary; Indeterminate	2	0	2	4
		Indeterminate Sum		**2**	**0**	**2**	**4**
	Cuello Total			**15**	**0**	**5**	**20**
	K'axob	Extended	Extended	4	0	2	6
			Extended & Secondary	0	0	1	1
		Extended Sum		**4**	**0**	**3**	**7**
		Indeterminate	Indeterminate	0	0	1	1
			Secondary	3	0	1	4
		Indeterminate Sum		**3**	**0**	**2**	**5**
	K'axob Total			**7**	**0**	**5**	**12**
Grand Total				**36**	**10**	**15**	**61**

Table 5.5: Count of Individuals by Cranial Orientation and Sex

Time Period	Site	Cranial Orientation	Female	Female?	Indeterminate	Male	Male?	Grand Total
Middle Preclassic	Colha	Indeterminate	0	1	14	2	0	17
		Northwest	0	0	0	1	0	1
		Southwest	0	1	0	0	0	1
		West	0	0	1	1	1	3
		South	1	1	1	1	0	4
		East	0	1	2	0	0	3
	Colha Total		**1**	**4**	**18**	**5**	**1**	**29**
	Cuello	Indeterminate	0	1	3	2	0	6
		North	0	0	0	1	0	1
		North?	1	0	0	0	0	1
		N/A	2	0	1	0	0	3
		Northwest	0	0	1	0	0	1
		Southeast	1	0	1	0	0	2
		West	0	0	0	2	0	2
		South	1	0	0	1	0	2
		East	0	0	0	2	0	2
	Cuello Total		**5**	**1**	**6**	**8**	**0**	**20**
	K'axob	Indeterminate	0	0	1	0	0	1
		N/A	0	0	1	3	0	4
		South?	0	0	0	1	0	1
		Northwest	0	0	1	0	0	1
		Southeast	1	0	0	0	0	1
		Southwest	2	0	0	0	0	2
		East	0	0	1	0	0	1
		Northwest?	0	0	1	0	0	1
	K'axob Total		**3**	**0**	**5**	**4**	**0**	**12**
Grand Total			**9**	**5**	**29**	**17**	**1**	**61**

Table 5.6: Count of Individuals by Cranial Orientation and Age

Time Period	Site	Cranial Orientation	Adult	Indeterminate	SubAdult	Grand Total
Middle Preclassic	Colha	Indeterminate	5	9	3	17
		West	3	0	0	3
		Southwest	1	0	0	1
		South	3	0	1	4
		Northwest	0	0	1	1
		East	2	1	0	3
	Colha Total		**14**	**10**	**5**	**29**
	Cuello	Indeterminate	4	0	2	6
		North	1	0	0	1
		North?	1	0	0	1
		N/A	2	0	1	3
		West	2	0	0	2
		Southeast	1	0	1	2
		South	2	0	0	2
		Northwest	0	0	1	1
		East	2	0	0	2
	Cuello Total		**15**	**0**	**5**	**20**
	K'axob	Indeterminate	0	0	1	1
		N/A	3	0	1	4
		South?	1	0	0	1
		Southwest	1	0	1	2
		Southeast	1	0	0	1
		Northwest	0	0	1	1
		East	1	0	0	1
		Northwest?	0	0	1	1
	K'axob Total		**7**	**0**	**5**	**12**
Grand Total			**36**	**10**	**15**	**61**

Table 5.7: Count of Artifacts by Material Type and Sex of Individual

Time Period	Site	Material	Male?	Male	Indeterminate	Female?	Female	Grand Total
Middle Preclassic	Colha	Ceramic	2	4	24	4	3	37
		Shell	188	303	257	173	159	1080
		Fauna	0	1	0	0	0	1
		Bone	1	1	7	33	1	43
		Greenstone (Jade)	0	1	0	0	0	1
		Greenstone	0	1	0	3	0	4
		N/A	0	0	0	0	0	0
		Groundstone	0	0	4	0	0	4
	Colha Total		**191**	**311**	**292**	**213**	**163**	**1170**
	Cuello	NB Colha Chert	0	1	0	0	0	1
		Ceramic	0	20	11	0	7	38
		Shell	0	17	172	0	223	412
		Chalcedony	0	1	0	0	0	1
		Bone	0	2	0	0	0	2
		Non-NB Colha Chert	0	0	1	0	0	1
		Greenstone (Jade)	0	6	1	0	1	8
		Greenstone	0	0	0	0	1	1
		N/A	0	0	0	0	0	0
		Groundstone	0	1	1	0	0	2
		Mineral	0	2	3	0	0	5
	Cuello Total		**0**	**50**	**189**	**0**	**232**	**471**
	K'axob	NB Colha Chert	0	60	76	0	21	157
		Unidentifiable	0	26	24	0	15	65
		Ceramic	0	361	22	0	173	556
		Shell	0	2035	45	0	54	2134
		Fauna	0	221	106	0	34	361
		Chalcedony	0	32	38	0	7	77
		Bone	0	1	0	0	0	1
		Non-NB Colha Chert	0	9	16	0	7	32
		Greenstone	0	1	0	0	0	1
		Groundstone	0	1	1	0	2	4
		Mineral	0	1	0	0	0	1
	K'axob Total		**0**	**2748**	**328**	**0**	**313**	**3389**
Grand Total			**191**	**3109**	**809**	**213**	**708**	**5030**

Table 5.8: Count of Artifacts by Material Type and Age of Individual

Time Period	Site	Material	Adult	Indeterminate	SubAdult	Grand Total
Middle Preclassic	Colha	Ceramic	28	4	5	37
		Shell	1077	0	3	1080
		Fauna	1	0	0	1
		Bone	38	5	0	43
		Greenstone	1	3	0	4
		Greenstone (Jade)	1	0	0	1
		Groundstone	4	0	0	4
		N/A	0	0	0	0
	Colha Total		**1150**	**12**	**8**	**1170**
	Cuello	Ceramic	30	0	8	38
		NB Colha Chert	1	0	0	1
		Shell	281	0	131	412
		Chalcedony	1	0	0	1
		Bone	2	0	0	2
		Non-NB Colha Chert	1	0	0	1
		Greenstone	1	0	0	1
		Greenstone (Jade)	7	0	1	8
		Groundstone	1	0	1	2
		N/A	0	0	0	0
		Mineral	3	0	2	5
	Cuello Total		**328**	**0**	**143**	**471**
	K'axob	Ceramic	487	0	69	556
		NB Colha Chert	116	0	41	157
		Shell	2107	0	27	2134
		Fauna	325	0	36	361
		Unidentifiable	51	0	14	65
		Chalcedony	71	0	6	77
		Bone	1	0	0	1
		Non-NB Colha Chert	25	0	7	32
		Greenstone	1	0	0	1
		Groundstone	3	0	1	4
		Mineral	1	0	0	1
	K'axob Total		**3188**	**0**	**201**	**3389**
Grand Total			**4666**	**12**	**352**	**5030**

Table 5.9: Count of Artifacts by Material Type, Form Type and Sex of Individual

Time Period	Site	Material	Form	Male?	Male	Indeterminate	Female?	Female	Grand Total
Middle Preclassic	Colha	Shell	Bead	188	303	256	173	159	1079
			Modified Shell	0	0	1	0	0	1
		Bone	Bead	0	0	2	33	0	35
			Tube	0	1	4	0	0	5
			Gorget	1	0	0	0	0	1
			Modified Human Bone	0	0	0	0	1	1
			Pin	0	0	1	0	0	1
		Ceramic	Vessel	2	4	16	4	2	28
			Disk	0	0	7	0	0	7
			Figurine	0	0	0	0	1	1
			Pendant	0	0	1	0	0	1
		Greenstone	Bead	0	1	0	3	0	4
		Groundstone	Grinding Tool	0	0	3	0	0	3
			Celt	0	0	1	0	0	1
		Greenstone (Jade)	Celt	0	1	0	0	0	1
		Fauna	Unmodified Bone	0	1	0	0	0	1
		N/A	N/A	0	0	0	0	0	0
	Colha Total			**191**	**311**	**292**	**213**	**163**	**1170**
	Cuello	Shell	Bead	0	17	170	0	218	405
			Ring	0	0	0	0	3	3
			Unmodified Shell	0	0	0	0	2	2
			Pendant	0	0	1	0	0	1
			Disk	0	0	1	0	0	1
		Ceramic	Vessel	0	20	10	0	7	37
			Musical Instrument	0	0	1	0	0	1
		Greenstone (Jade)	Bead	0	4	1	0	0	5
			Pendant	0	2	0	0	1	3
		Mineral	Mineral	0	2	3	0	0	5
		Bone	Crafting Tool	0	2	0	0	0	2
		Groundstone	Grinding Tool	0	1	0	0	0	1
			Celt	0	0	1	0	0	1
		NB Colha Chert	Celt	0	1	0	0	0	1
		Greenstone	Bead	0	0	0	0	1	1
		Non-NB Colha Chert	Modified Lithic	0	0	1	0	0	1
		Chalcedony	Celt	0	1	0	0	0	1
		N/A	N/A	0	0	0	0	0	0
	Cuello Total			**0**	**50**	**189**	**0**	**232**	**471**
	K'axob	Shell	Bead	0	2020	18	0	34	2072
			Unmodified Shell	0	13	5	0	20	38
			Tinkler	0	0	22	0	0	22
			Disk	0	2	0	0	0	2
		Ceramic	Vessel Fragment	0	359	20	0	171	550
			Vessel	0	2	2	0	2	6
		Fauna	Unmodified Bone	0	221	106	0	34	361
		NB Colha Chert	Modified Lithic	0	58	74	0	20	152
			Cutting Tool	0	2	2	0	1	5
		Chalcedony	Modified Lithic	0	32	38	0	7	77
		Unidentifiable	Modified Lithic	0	26	24	0	15	65
		Non-NB Colha Chert	Modified Lithic	0	9	16	0	6	31
			Core Tool	0	0	0	0	1	1
		Groundstone	Grinding Tool	0	1	0	0	1	2
			Modified Groundstone	0	0	0	0	1	1
			Crafting Tool	0	0	1	0	0	1
		Mineral	Mineral	0	1	0	0	0	1
		Greenstone	Bead	0	1	0	0	0	1
		Bone	Bead	0	1	0	0	0	1
	K'axob Total			**0**	**2748**	**328**	**0**	**313**	**3389**
Grand Total				**191**	**3109**	**809**	**213**	**708**	**5030**

Table 5.10: Count of Artifacts by Material Type, Form Type and Age of Individual

Time Period	Site	Material	Form	Adult	Indeterminate	SubAdult	Grand Total
Middle Preclassic	Colha	Shell	Bead	1077	0	2	1079
			Modified Shell	0	0	1	1
		Bone	Bead	32	3	0	35
			Tube	3	2	0	5
			Gorget	1	0	0	1
			Modified Human Bone	1	0	0	1
			Pin	1	0	0	1
		Ceramic	Vessel	19	4	5	28
			Disk	7	0	0	7
			Figurine	1	0	0	1
			Pendant	1	0	0	1
		Greenstone	Bead	1	3	0	4
		Groundstone	Grinding Tool	3	0	0	3
			Celt	1	0	0	1
		Greenstone (Jade)	Celt	1	0	0	1
		Fauna	Unmodified Bone	1	0	0	1
		N/A	N/A	0	0	0	0
	Colha Total			**1150**	**12**	**8**	**1170**
	Cuello	Shell	Bead	275	0	130	405
			Ring	3	0	0	3
			Unmodified Shell	2	0	0	2
			Pendant	0	0	1	1
			Disk	1	0	0	1
		Ceramic	Vessel	30	0	7	37
			Musical Instrument	0	0	1	1
		Greenstone (Jade)	Bead	4	0	1	5
			Pendant	3	0	0	3
		Mineral	Mineral	3	0	2	5
		Bone	Crafting Tool	2	0	0	2
		Groundstone	Grinding Tool	1	0	0	1
			Celt	0	0	1	1
		NB Colha Chert	Celt	1	0	0	1
		Greenstone	Bead	1	0	0	1
		Non-NB Colha Chert	Modified Lithic	1	0	0	1
		Chalcedony	Celt	1	0	0	1
		N/A	N/A	0	0	0	0
	Cuello Total			**328**	**0**	**143**	**471**
	K'axob	Shell	Bead	2067	0	5	2072
			Unmodified Shell	38	0	0	38
			Tinkler	0	0	22	22
			Disk	2	0	0	2
		Ceramic	Vessel Fragment	481	0	69	550
			Vessel	6	0	0	6
		Fauna	Unmodified Bone	325	0	36	361
		NB Colha Chert	Modified Lithic	114	0	38	152
			Cutting Tool	2	0	3	5
		Chalcedony	Modified Lithic	71	0	6	77
		Unidentifiable	Modified Lithic	51	0	14	65
		Non-NB Colha Chert	Modified Lithic	24	0	7	31
			Core Tool	1	0	0	1
		Groundstone	Grinding Tool	1	0	1	2
			Modified Groundstone	1	0	0	1
			Crafting Tool	1	0	0	1
		Mineral	Mineral	1	0	0	1
		Greenstone	Bead	1	0	0	1
		Bone	Bead	1	0	0	1
	K'axob Total			**3188**	**0**	**201**	**3389**
Grand Total				**4666**	**12**	**352**	**5030**

Table 5.11: Interments with Artifacts of Varying Functions

¢l·ōfŜ p¢MMY Interments with Artifacts of Varying Functions

Time Period	Site	Artifact Function	Grand Total
Middle Preclassic	Colha	Practical-Utilitarian	4
		Prestige-Ceremonial	16
		Prestige-Ceremonial?	5
		Practical-Utilitarian?	2
		N/A	11
	Colha Total		**38**
	Cuello	Practical-Utilitarian	11
		Prestige-Ceremonial	15
		N/A	5
	Cuello Total		**31**
	K'axob	Practical-Utilitarian	11
		Prestige-Ceremonial	11
		Prestige-Ceremonial?	5
		Practical-Utilitarian?	5
	K'axob Total		**32**
Grand Total			**101**

Note that goods of varying functions may be found within a single interment therefore this is not a count of interments but rather a count of those interments that contain goods of the specified function.

Table 5.12: Interments with Artifacts of Varying Functions by Sex of the Individual

Table 5.12: Interments with Artifacts of Varying Functions by Sex of the Individual

Time Period	Site	Function	Function Details	Female	Female?	Indeterminate	Male	Male?	Grand Total
Middle Preclassic	Colha	N/A	N/A	0	0	10	1	0	11
		N/A Total		**0**	**0**	**10**	**1**	**0**	**11**
		Prestige-Ceremonial	Prestige-Ceremonial	1	4	6	4	1	16
			Prestige-Ceremonial?	0	1	3	1	0	5
		Prestige-Ceremonial Total		**1**	**5**	**9**	**5**	**1**	**21**
		Practical-Utilitarian	Practical-Utilitarian	0	0	4	0	0	4
			Practical-Utilitarian?	0	0	2	0	0	2
		Practical-Utilitarian Total		**0**	**0**	**6**	**0**	**0**	**6**
	Colha Total			**1**	**5**	**25**	**6**	**1**	**38**
	Cuello	N/A	N/A	1	1	2	1	0	5
		N/A Total		**1**	**1**	**2**	**1**	**0**	**5**
		Prestige-Ceremonial	Prestige-Ceremonial	4	0	4	7	0	15
		Prestige-Ceremonial Total		**4**	**0**	**4**	**7**	**0**	**15**
		Practical-Utilitarian	Practical-Utilitarian	3	0	2	6	0	11
		Practical-Utilitarian Total		**3**	**0**	**2**	**6**	**0**	**11**
	Cuello Total			**8**	**1**	**8**	**14**	**0**	**31**
	K'axob	Prestige-Ceremonial	Prestige-Ceremonial	3	0	4	4	0	11
			Prestige-Ceremonial?	1	0	1	3	0	5
		Prestige-Ceremonial Total		**4**	**0**	**5**	**7**	**0**	**16**
		Practical-Utilitarian	Practical-Utilitarian	3	0	4	4	0	11
			Practical-Utilitarian?	1	0	2	2	0	5
		Practical-Utilitarian Total		**4**	**0**	**6**	**6**	**0**	**16**
	K'axob Total			**8**	**0**	**11**	**13**	**0**	**32**
Grand Total				**17**	**6**	**44**	**33**	**1**	**101**

Note that goods of varying functions may be found within a single interment therefore this is not a count of interments but rather a count of those interments that contain goods of the various specified function. Note that N/A denotes those interments absent of goods.

Table 5.13: Interments with Artifacts of Varying Functions by Age of the Individual

Table 5.13: Interments with Artifacts of Varying Functions by Age of the Individual

Time Period	Site	Function	Function Details	Adult	Indeterminate	SubAdult	Grand Total
Middle Preclassic	Colha	N/A	N/A	1	8	2	11
		N/A Total		**1**	**8**	**2**	**11**
		Prestige-Ceremonial	Prestige-Ceremonial	12	2	2	16
			Prestige-Ceremonial?	4	1	0	5
		Prestige-Ceremonial Total		**16**	**3**	**2**	**21**
		Practical-Utilitarian	Practical-Utilitarian	2	1	1	4
			Practical-Utilitarian?	2	0	0	2
		Practical-Utilitarian Total		**4**	**1**	**1**	**6**
	Colha Total			**21**	**12**	**5**	**38**
	Cuello	N/A	N/A	3	0	2	5
		N/A Total		**3**	**0**	**2**	**5**
		Prestige-Ceremonial	Prestige-Ceremonial	12	0	3	15
		Prestige-Ceremonial Total		**12**	**0**	**3**	**15**
		Practical-Utilitarian	Practical-Utilitarian	10	0	1	11
		Practical-Utilitarian Total		**10**	**0**	**1**	**11**
	Cuello Total			**25**	**0**	**6**	**31**
	K'axob	Prestige-Ceremonial	Prestige-Ceremonial	7	0	4	11
			Prestige-Ceremonial?	5	0	0	5
		Prestige-Ceremonial Total		**12**	**0**	**4**	**16**
		Practical-Utilitarian	Practical-Utilitarian	7	0	4	11
			Practical-Utilitarian?	4	0	1	5
		Practical-Utilitarian Total		**11**	**0**	**5**	**16**
	K'axob Total			**23**	**0**	**9**	**32**
Grand Total				**69**	**12**	**20**	**101**

Note that goods of vaying functions may be found within a single interment therefore this is not a count of interments but rather a
count of those interments that contain goods of the various specified functions. Note that N/A denotes those interments absent of goods

Table 5.14: Numbers of Artifacts of Varying Functions within Interments by Material Type and Form Type

Table 5.14: Numbers of Artifacts of Varying Functions within Interments by Material Type and Form Type

Time Period	Site	Function	Function Detail	Material	Form	Grand Total
Middle Preclassic	Colha	Prestige-Ceremonial	Prestige-Ceremonial	Bone	Bead	34
					Gorget	1
					Modified Human Bone	1
					Pin	1
					Tube	5
				Bone Total		42
				Ceramic		
					Vessel	14
				Ceramic Total		18
				Greenstone	Bead	4
				Greenstone Total		4
				Greenstone (Jade)	Celt	1
				Greenstone (Jade) Total		1
				Groundstone	Celt	1
				Groundstone Total		1
				Shell	Bead	1079
					Modified Shell	1
				Shell Total		1080
			Prestige-Ceremonial Total			1142
			Prestige-Ceremonial?	Bone	Bead	1
				Bone Total		1
				Ceramic	Pendant	1
					Vessel	7
				Ceramic Total		8
				Fauna	Unmodified Bone	1
				Fauna Total		1
			Prestige-Ceremonial? Total			10
		Prestige-Ceremonial Total				1153
		Practical-Utilitarian	Practical-Utilitarian	Ceramic	Vessel	7
				Ceramic Total		7
				Groundstone	Grinding Tool	3
				Groundstone Total		3
			Practical-Utilitarian Total			10
			Practical-Utilitarian?	Ceramic	Disk	7
				Ceramic Total		7
			Practical-Utilitarian? Total			7
		Practical-Utilitarian Total				17
	Colha Total					1169
	Cuello	Prestige-Ceremonial	Prestige-Ceremonial	Ceramic	Musical Instrument	1
					Vessel	19
				Ceramic Total		20
				Chalcedony	Celt	1
				Chalcedony Total		1
				Greenstone	Bead	1
				Greenstone Total		1
				Greenstone (Jade)	Bead	5
					Pendant	3
				Greenstone (Jade) Total		8
				Groundstone	Celt	1
				Groundstone Total		1
				Mineral	Mineral	5
				Mineral Total		5
				NB Colha Chert	Celt	1
				NB Colha Chert Total		1
				Shell	Bead	405
					Disk	1
					Pendant	1
					Ring	3
					Unmodified Shell	2
				Shell Total		412
			Prestige-Ceremonial Total			449
		Prestige-Ceremonial Total				449
		Practical-Utilitarian	Practical-Utilitarian	Bone	Crafting Tool	2
				Bone Total		2
				Ceramic	Vessel	18
				Ceramic Total		18
				Groundstone	Grinding Tool	1
				Groundstone Total		1
				Non-NB Colha Chert	Modified Lithic	1
				Non-NB Colha Chert Total		1
			Practical-Utilitarian Total			22
		Practical-Utilitarian Total				22
	Cuello Total					471
	K'axob	Prestige-Ceremonial	Prestige-Ceremonial	Bone	Bead	1
				Bone Total		1
				Ceramic	Vessel	5
				Ceramic Total		5
				Greenstone	Bead	1
				Greenstone Total		1
				Mineral	Mineral	1
				Mineral Total		1
				Shell	Bead	2072
					Disk	2
					Tinkler	22
					Unmodified Shell	38
				Shell Total		2134
			Prestige-Ceremonial Total			2142
			Prestige-Ceremonial?	Fauna	Unmodified Bone	91
				Fauna Total		91
			Prestige-Ceremonial? Total			91
		Prestige-Ceremonial Total				2233
		Practical-Utilitarian	Practical-Utilitarian	Ceramic	Vessel	1
					Vessel Fragment	550
				Ceramic Total		551
				Chalcedony	Modified Lithic	77
				Chalcedony Total		77
				Groundstone	Crafting Tool	1
					Grinding Tool	2
					Modified Groundstone	1
				Groundstone Total		4
				NB Colha Chert	Cutting Tool	5
					Modified Lithic	152
				NB Colha Chert Total		157
				Non-NB Colha Chert	Core Tool	1
					Modified Lithic	31
				Non-NB Colha Chert Total		32
				Unidentifiable	Modified Lithic	65
				Unidentifiable Total		65
			Practical-Utilitarian Total			886
			Practical-Utilitarian?	Fauna	Unmodified Bone	270
				Fauna Total		270
			Practical-Utilitarian? Total			270
		Practical-Utilitarian Total				1156
	K'axob Total					3389
Grand Total						5030

Table 5.15: Number of Interments with Head Cover over the Cranium of the Decedent

Time Period	Site	Head Cover	Grand Total
Middle Preclassic	Colha	Yes	9
	Colha Total		**9**
	Cuello	Yes	9
	Cuello Total		**9**
	K'axob	Yes	3
	K'axob Total		**3**
Grand Total			**21**

Table 5.16: Number of Interments with Head Cover over the Cranium of the Decedent by Sex of the Individual

Time Period	Site	Head Cover	Female	Female?	Indeterminate	Male	Male?	Grand Total
Middle Preclassic	Colha	Yes	1	1	3	3	1	9
	Colha Total		**1**	**1**	**3**	**3**	**1**	**9**
	Cuello	Yes	3	0	2	4	0	9
	Cuello Total		**3**	**0**	**2**	**4**	**0**	**9**
	K'axob	Yes	1	0	1	1	0	3
	K'axob Total		**1**	**0**	**1**	**1**	**0**	**3**
Grand Total			**5**	**1**	**6**	**8**	**1**	**21**

Table 5.17: Number of Interments with Head Cover over the Cranium of the Decedent by Age of the Individual

Time Period	Site	Head Cover	Adult	Indeterminate	SubAdult	Grand Total
Middle Preclassic	Colha	Yes	6	1	2	9
	Colha Total		**6**	**1**	**2**	**9**
	Cuello	Yes	7	0	2	9
	Cuello Total		**7**	**0**	**2**	**9**
	K'axob	Yes	3	0	0	3
	K'axob Total		**3**	**0**	**0**	**3**
Grand Total			**16**	**1**	**4**	**21**

¢l·õťŜ p◊MyŶ Number of Head Cover Vessels by Material ¢èŁJŜ, FoℕŶ ¢èŁJŜ l·yŘ {dzõŤ2ℕŶ ¢èŁJŜ

Time Period	Site	Head Cover	Material	Form	Subform	Grand Total
Middle Preclassic	Colha	Yes	Ceramic	Vessel	Bowl	3
					Dish	2
					Vessel (Indeterminate Shape)	4
	Colha Total					**9**
	Cuello	Yes	Ceramic	Vessel	Bowl	9
	Cuello Total					**9**
	K'axob	Yes	Ceramic	Vessel	Bowl	3
					Dish	1
	K'axob Total					**4**
Grand Total						**22**

¢l·ōfŜ pΦмφY Interments Exhibiting Evidence of Burning

Time Period	Site	Grand Total
Middle Preclassic	Colha	1
	Colha Total	**1**
	K'axob	8
	K'axob Total	**8**
Grand Total		**9**

¢l·ōfŜ pΦнлY Lnterments Exhibiting Evidence of Burning by Sex ƧT ŭKŜ LyŘΛØΛŘdzl·f

Time Period	Site	Female	Indeterminate	Male	Grand Total
Middle Preclassic	Colha	0	1	0	1
	Colha Total	**0**	**1**	**0**	**1**
	K'axob	2	3	3	8
	K'axob Total	**2**	**3**	**3**	**8**
Grand Total		**2**	**4**	**3**	**9**

Table 5.21: Interments Exhibiting Evidence of Burning by Age of the Individual

Time Period	Site	Adult	SubAdult	Grand Total
Middle Preclassic	Colha	1	0	1
	Colha Total	**1**	**0**	**1**
	K'axob	5	3	8
	K'axob Total	**5**	**3**	**8**
Grand Total		**6**	**3**	**9**

Table 5.22: Total Number of Burned Artifacts by Material Type and Form Type

Time Period	Site	Material Exhibits Evidence of Burning	Material	Form	Grand Total
Middle Preclassic	Colha	Yes	Ceramic	Disk	1
			Ceramic Total		**1**
	Colha Total				**1**
	K'axob	Yes	NB Colha Chert	Modified Lithic	95
				Cutting Tool	5
			NB Colha Chert Total		**100**
			Chalcedony	Modified Lithic	68
			Chalcedony Total		**68**
			Unidentifiable	Modified Lithic	42
			Unidentifiable Total		**42**
			Non-NB Colha Chert	Modified Lithic	12
			Non-NB Colha Chert Total		**12**
			Groundstone	Modified Groundstone	1
				Grinding Tool	1
			Groundstone Total		**2**
			Shell	Bead	1
			Shell Total		**1**
	K'axob Total				**225**
Grand Total					**226**

Table 5.23: Interments Exhibiting Evidence of Red Mineral Pigmentation

Time Period	Site	Grand Total
Middle Preclassic	Colha	1
	Colha Total	**1**
	Cuello	3
	Cuello Total	**3**
	K'axob	1
	K'axob Total	**1**
Grand Total		**5**

Table 5.24: Interments Exhibiting Evidence of Red Mineral Pigmentation by Sex of the Individual

Time Period	Site	Indeterminate	Male	Grand Total
Middle Preclassic	Colha	0	1	1
	Colha Total	**0**	**1**	**1**
	Cuello	2	1	3
	Cuello Total	**2**	**1**	**3**
	K'axob	0	1	1
	K'axob Total	**0**	**1**	**1**
Grand Total		**2**	**3**	**5**

Table 5.25: Interments Exhibiting Evidence of Red Mineral Pigmentation by Age of the Individual

Time Period	Site	Adult	SubAdult	Grand Total
Middle Preclassic	Colha	1	0	1
	Colha Total	**1**	**0**	**1**
	Cuello	2	1	3
	Cuello Total	**2**	**1**	**3**
	K'axob	1	0	1
	K'axob Total	**1**	**0**	**1**
Grand Total		**4**	**1**	**5**

Table 5.26: Total Number of Pigmented Artifacts by Material Type, Form Type, and Subform Type

Time Period	Site	Material Exhibits Evidence of Pigmentation	Material	Form	Subform	Grand Total
Middle Preclassic	Colha	Yes	Ceramic	Vessel	Vessel (Indeterminate Shape)	1
			Ceramic Total			**1**
	Colha Total					**1**
	Cuello	Yes	Ceramic	Vessel	Miniature Jar	1
					Vessel (Indeterminate Shape)	1
			Ceramic Total			**2**
			Greenstone (Jade)	Pendant	Claw-Shaped Pendant	1
					Zoomorphic Pendant	1
			Greenstone (Jade) Total			**2**
			Mineral	Mineral	Hematite (Ground)	1
					Red Ochre (Ground)	1
					Red Ochre (Prepared Fragments)	1
			Mineral Total			**3**
	Cuello Total					**7**
	K'axob	Yes	Mineral	Mineral	Hematite (Unmodified)	1
			Mineral Total			**1**
	K'axob Total					**1**
Grand Total						**9**

Table 5.27: Count of Interments within Varying Architecture Space Functions

Time Period	Site	Architectural Space Function	Grand Total
Middle Preclassic	Colha	Ritual/Ceremonial	2
		Domestic	4
		Ritual/Ceremonial?	17
		Domestic within Ritual/Ceremonial	6
	Colha Total		**29**
	Cuello	Domestic	19
		Ritual/Ceremonial?	1
	Cuello Total		**20**
	K'axob	Domestic	12
	K'axob Total		**12**
Grand Total			**61**

Table 5.28: Count of Interments within Varying Architecture Space Functions by Sex of Individual

Time Period	Site	Architectural Space Function	Female	Female?	Indeterminate	Male	Male?	Grand Total
Middle Preclassic	Colha	Ritual/Ceremonial	0	0	0	2	0	2
		Domestic	0	0	4	0	0	4
		Ritual/Ceremonial?	1	2	11	2	1	17
		Domestic within Ritual/Ceremonial	0	2	3	1	0	6
	Colha Total		**1**	**4**	**18**	**5**	**1**	**29**
	Cuello	Domestic	5	1	6	7	0	19
		Ritual/Ceremonial?	0	0	0	1	0	1
	Cuello Total		**5**	**1**	**6**	**8**	**0**	**20**
	K'axob	Domestic	3	0	5	4	0	12
	K'axob Total		**3**	**0**	**5**	**4**	**0**	**12**
Grand Total			**9**	**5**	**29**	**17**	**1**	**61**

Table 5.29: Count of Interments within Varying Architecture Space Functions by Age of Individual

Time Period	Site	Architectural Space Function	Adult	Indeterminate	SubAdult	Grand Total
Middle Preclassic	Colha	Ritual/Ceremonial	1	0	1	2
		Domestic within Ritual/Ceremonial	4	0	2	6
		Ritual/Ceremonial?	7	8	2	17
		Domestic	2	2	0	4
	Colha Total		**14**	**10**	**5**	**29**
	Cuello	Ritual/Ceremonial?	1	0	0	1
		Domestic	14	0	5	19
	Cuello Total		**15**	**0**	**5**	**20**
	K'axob	Domestic	7	0	5	12
	K'axob Total		**7**	**0**	**5**	**12**
Grand Total			**36**	**10**	**15**	**61**

CHAPTER 6: LATE PRECLASSIC

COUNT OF INDIVIDUALS BY SEX (Table 6.1)

ALL SITES

Across all three sites during the Late Preclassic, there are a total of 93 males, 90 indeterminately sexed individuals, 36 females, 24 possible males and 15 possible females. Males are the most numerous, accounting for 36.05% of the population. Indeterminately sexed individuals represent 34.88% of interred individuals and females only 13.95%. Possible males represent 9.30% of the recovered individuals and possible females account for 5.80% of the population. Analysis shows that definitively sexed males are approximately 2.6 times more numerous than females. This is an escalated relative frequency compared to the Middle Preclassic, which indicates that those natural and/or cultural vectors influencing the preferential preservation of males over females were still in operation and perhaps more so in the Late Preclassic in Northern Belize.

COLHA

During the Late Preclassic at Colha, there are 31 males, 31 indeterminately sexed individuals, 15 females, 6 possible males and 5 possible females. As Thompson notes, "the temporal distribution reveals [a] significant increase in the number of both inhumations and individuals from the Middle to the Late Preclassic" at Colha. Thompson postulates that this may be correlated with the escalation of the production of lithic tools at the site during the Late Preclassic. Further, this increase

in interred individuals points to the shift to the use of a designated cemetery area from the Middle to Late Preclassic. This may "signify the change of the main plaza from one of domestic usage to one of ceremonial and ritual significance" (Thompson 2005: 638-639; Anthony and Black 1994). Late Preclassic Colha is postulated to have had a size of 1 square kilometer and a population count of 600 (Eaton 1982: 12).

Buttles indicates that the "ability to support a growing community and workforce enabled Colha to engage in craft-specialization and erect public monumental architecture [,]" such as numerous lithic workshops, temple structures with platforms, a ballcourt and formal plazas. The labor and logistical support necessary for construction and production efforts such as these indicate the possible manifestation of an elite ruling class (Buttles 2002: 78). It is suggested by Adams (1982: 61) that at this time the site and its elite were independent or semi-independent; ultimately signifying their relative autonomy in social and economic networks created and maintained for the acquirement of long distance and exotic trade goods.

Based on the numbers of individuals seen during the Late Preclassic at Colha, both males and indeterminately sexed individuals each account for 35.23% of the population while females represent 17.05%. Possible males and possible females represent a much smaller portion of the population, accounting for 6.82% and 5.68%, respectively. Based on definitively sexed individuals, males are roughly twice as numerous as are females. This is a slight decrease in relative frequencies

compared to the Middle Preclassic; however it is clear that male individuals are still being preferentially preserved.

CUELLO

The interred Late Preclassic population of Cuello is composed of 46 males, 34 indeterminately sexed individuals, 13 possible males, 9 females and 7 possible females. This means that 42.20% of the population was males, 31.19% indeterminate, 11.93% possible males, 8.26% females and 6.42% possible females. It should be noted that 44 of the above individuals were interred in two separate Late Preclassic mass burials; one with 32 individuals and the other with 12 individuals.

It is postulated that the numerous male decedents seen in the mass burial of 32 individuals may in fact represent captives from another site, taken for sacrifice at the dedication of Cuello Platform 34. While some of the defleshed body bundles could have represented ancestors, this is not likely, for "the lifelike postures in which some burials were found, kneeling or cross-legged holding a vessel, contrast so dramatically with the more usual extended supine, crouched or tightly flexed burials, that entry of these individuals into the circular grave pit while still alive cannot be ruled out (Hammond et al 1991: 42, Gerhardt and Hammond 1991: 112). Analysis shows that males were approximately five times more prevalent than females, a large increase in relative frequencies from the previous time period. Thus, it is clear that as yet unidentified variables influencing the preferential preservation

of males at Cuello are still very much in effect. As Saul and Saul note, "the mixture of both sexed and all ages in single-phase sets of burials in individuals buildings suggests normal family interment"; however the "mass burials, in their lack of subadults as well as female, indicate selection for adult males" and it is likely that they are sacrificial events (Saul and Saul 1991: 135-136).

Robin et al. (1991) indicate that these mass interments were "constructed in a meaningful, non-random way" with two individuals placed first in each mass burial as a central focus of the group. Both pairs of central figures were accompanied by human body bundles placed in their laps. All additional individuals included within these mass burials were placed around these pairs of central figures. While the exact significance of these mass interment events are unclear, it is almost certain that these four initial decedents were the physical and social focus of the burials, likely being members of a local ruling lineage (1991: 211; Robin 1989: 102).

Cuello is posited to be a "small and unimportant community for its entire existence, with a population of less than 2,500 at its height and a political reach of only a few kilometers" (McSwain 1991: 192). Despite this, Hammond indicates that the site would not have operated in isolation but would have been part of larger exotic and prestige good trade networks as were Colha and K'axob. As McSwain says, it is clear that Cuello likely had a trade relationship with Colha 27 kilometers to its southeast, given the immense numbers of NB Colha chert tools that were found at the site. This is a partnership or commodity flow that would have begun in the

Middle Preclassic and virtually exploded in the Late Preclassic in regards to the numbers of NB Colha chert goods being found at Cuello (1991: 192-193).

Despite this literal mountain of evidence, the exact nature of the relationship is unclear. The possibility also exits of Cuello inhabitants procuring their own material from the chert bearing zone, which extends far north of Colha, and producing tools within their own site. McSwain proposes that "given the variety of forms in which the fine brown and gray cherts appear in the Cuello assemblage and the increasing presence of those materials at Cuello through time, it seems unlikely that access to chert sources was controlled by Colha […]" (1991: 194-195). The author proposes that it is more likely that both of these factors were at work, with Cuello inhabitants able to procure their own chert but still receive tools via trade network relationships with Colha.

K'AXOB

The Late Preclassic population at K'axob is represented by 25 indeterminately sexed individuals, 16 males, 12 females, 5 possible males and 3 possible females. Indeterminates represent 40.98% of the population, males 26.23%, females 19.67%, possible males 8.20% and possible females 4.92%. This means that in the interred Late Preclassic population at the site, males occur only 1.33 times more often than females. There is no change in the relative frequencies of males and females between the prior and current period; however the greater

prevalence of males still indicates a certain degree of preferential preservation acting upon the interred population.

COUNT OF INDIVIDUALS BY AGE (Table 6.2)

ALL SITES

During the Late Preclassic, a total of 258 individuals are interred across the three sites of study. This represents a population over four times larger than that of the Middle Preclassic. Of these individuals, 199 are adults, 48 are subadults and 11 are indeterminately aged. Thus, 77.13% of the population is adults, 18.60% are subadults and only 4.26% are indeterminates. Adults are over four times more numerous than subadults; a two fold increase from the prior period.

COLHA

The Late Preclassic population is dominated by adults (70), with 11 subadults being found and 7 indeterminately aged individuals. Adults account for 79.55% of the population, subadults for 12.5% and indeterminates for 7.95%. This shows that adults are encountered over six times more often than subadults. This is nearly a two fold increase from the 2.8 times more adults seen in the Middle Preclassic.

CUELLO

Eighty eight adults are found at Late Preclassic Cuello with 17 subadults, and four indeterminately aged individuals. Adults account for 80.73% of the population, subadults for 15.60% and indeterminately aged individuals represent 3.67%.

During this time period at Cuello, adults occur over five times more often than subadults compared to only three times as more often during the prior period. Saul and Saul note that subadults and older adults are far less represented in the dataset, which may be due to the higher degree of fragility inherent in their remains or possibly differential interment practices (Saul and Saul 1991: 156).

K'AXOB

Only adults and subadults are found at K'axob during the Late Preclassic. Of these individuals, 41 are adults and 20 are subadults. Adults comprise 67.21% of the interred population and subadults account for the remaining 32.79%. Thus, adults were approximately twice as likely to be interred and preserved than were subadults. This represents a 0.7% increase in differential preservation of adults from the prior period.

COUNT OF INDIVIDUALS BY BURIAL POSITION AND SEX (Table 6.3)

ALL SITES

Analysis shows that across the three sites of study during the Late Preclassic, the most popular burial positions were flexed with 32.95% of individuals found in such placements. Disarticulated interments were also common (31.40%), followed by indeterminate burial positions (23.26%) and finally extended positions. The high number of disarticulated interments during the Late Preclassic may be indicative of an increase in the power held by ruling lineages and a degree of competition for that

power (Harrison-Buck 2004: 84). The inclusion of disarticulated individuals as body bundles and in other forms may represent the interment of ancestors and an attempt to establish and legitimize positions of authority through such a demonstration of a lineage dating back to earlier, more foundational times at the site.

A clear transition is seen to a preference for flexed positions, whereas extended positions were most common in the Middle Preclassic. Females do not adhere strictly to the site trend. While 41.67% of females are found in flexed positions, 22.22% are extended, 19.44% disarticulated and 16.67% indeterminate. Male interments appear to follow the site trend with 38.71% being interred in flexed positions, 34.41% disarticulated, 15.05% indeterminate and 11.83% extended. Higher numbers of males are found interred in each of these burial position categories, indicating that overall males were more likely to be interred in a location and manner that would differentially preserve male decedents.

COLHA

Overall, disarticulated interments are the most common at Colha (51.14%), followed by indeterminate (29.55%), flexed (14.77%), and finally extended (4.55%) burial positions. Males deviate slightly from this trend with disarticulated interments being most common (48.39%), followed by flexed (25.81%), indeterminate (22.58%) and extended (3.23%). Female interments seem to follow the site trend with disarticulated interments being the most frequent (46.67%),

followed by equal numbers of indeterminate and flexed (20% each) and finally extended (13.33%). Late Preclassic Colha males appear to have higher numbers of each interment position than do females, with the exception of extended interments. Females are found in extended burial positions twice as often as are males. Given that the ratio of males to females at the site during this time period is 2:1, it is likely that there was a deliberate reason of cultural significance spurring the higher inclusion rate of females in extended burial positions over all others.

CUELLO

Across the site, 45.87% of individuals were interred in flexed positions, 33.03% in disarticulated positions, 11.93% extended and 9.17% indeterminate. Male interments adhere to this trend with 47.83% being flexed, 36.96% disarticulated, 13.04% extended and 2.17% indeterminate. Female interments deviate slightly from this trend given that there are no females interred in disarticulated or indeterminate states at Cuello in the Late Preclassic. However 88.89% of females are interred in flexed burial positions and 11.11% in extended positions. Males appear in all interment position categories in higher numbers than do females with no distinction of a cultural preference for a particular burial position for females as evidenced at Colha and mentioned above.

K'AXOB

Only extended, flexed and indeterminate burial positions are seen at K'axob during the Late Preclassic. There do not appear to be any clearly defined disarticulated interments. Overall, indeterminate burial positions are the most common at the site (39.34%), followed by flexed (36.07%) and extended (24.59%). Males follow this site trend with 37.50% of their interments being placed in indeterminate positions, 37.50% in flexed positions and 25% in extended positions. Females show a slightly different trend with 41.67% of their interments being extended, 33.33% flexed and 25% indeterminate. Males are found in higher numbers in both indeterminate and flexed positions; however females are found nearly 7% more in extended positions. As at Colha, there appears to be a cultural preference for interring female decedents in extended burial positions during the Late Preclassic.

COUNT OF INDIVIDUALS BY BURIAL POSITION AND AGE (Table 6.4)

ALL SITES

Over the three sites of study during the Late Preclassic, flexed and disarticulated burial positions are the most commonly occurring for adults (34.67% each). Extended interments account for 13.07% of the adult population while 17.59% are placed in an indeterminate position. Subadults are largely interred in indeterminate positions (37.50%), followed by flexed (33.33%), disarticulated (18.75%) and extended (10.42%). Indeterminately aged individuals predominantly

occur in indeterminate burial positions (63.64%), followed by disarticulated states (27.27%) and extended positions (9.09%). No indeterminate individuals occur in flexed positions. Adults have the highest incidences of each burial position category during the Late Preclassic. It should be noted that there is a shift from the emphasis on extended burial positions in adult interments in the Middle Preclassic to flexed and disarticulated states in the Late Preclassic.

COLHA

At Colha during the Late Preclassic, the majority (52.86%) of adults are found in disarticulated states, a shift from the predominance of extended burial positions seen in the Middle Preclassic. Indeterminate burial positions are seen in 25.71% of adult interments while 15.71% are flexed and 5.71% are extended. Subadults also largely present in a disarticulated state, with 54.55% of decedents in this age category falling under this burial position classification. While no subadults are found in extended positions, 27.27% are found in indeterminate positions and 18.18% in flexed placements. All indeterminately aged individuals who are not found in indeterminate burial positions (71.43%) are found in disarticulated states (28.57%). Adults are found with higher incidences of all interment positions during the Late Preclassic at Colha.

CUELLO

Nearly half (45.45%) the adult individuals at Cuello are founding flexed positions, 36.36% in disarticulated states, 11.36% in extended positions and 6.82% in indeterminate positions. The high number of flexed interments mirrors the shift seen at Colha from extended interments in the Middle Preclassic to flexed in the Late Preclassic. Subadults are found with high incidences of flexed burial positions (58.82%), followed by disarticulated (17.86%), and equal numbers of indeterminate and extended (11.76%). One half of all indeterminately aged individuals found at Cuello in the Late Preclassic are in indeterminate burial positions, with the remaining half evenly split between disarticulated and extended placements. Adults have higher numbers of occurrences of all interment positions than do subadults or indeterminately aged individuals.

K'AXOB

Similar to Cuello and Colha, the majority of adults interred at K'axob in the Late Preclassic are in a flexed position 43.90%) with 29.27% being extended and 26.83% indeterminate. Subadults are largely found in indeterminate positions (65%), while 20% are flexed and 15% are extended. Higher incidences of adults in extended and flexed positions is seen; however subadults are found in indeterminate positions nearly 10% more than are adults.

COUNT OF INDIVIDUALS BY CRANIAL ORIENTATION AND SEX (Table 6.5)

ALL SITES

During the Late Preclassic 45.74% of the interred population were found with an indeterminate cranial orientation while 7.36% did not have cranial material present, rendering a determination of orientation inapplicable. A slightly higher percentage (7.75%) had a western cranial orientation. Northern orientations are seen in 5.81% of the population, southern in 5.04% and eastern in 2.71%. Intercardinal orientations and tentative orientations also occur during this time period though will not be focused on in detail here.

Females are found 27.78% of the time with an indeterminate cranial orientation while 13.89% did not have cranial material present. Northern orientations are seen in 8.33% of the female population while 5.56% have a western orientation. Southern orientations are also seen in 5.56% of females and eastern orientations in only 2.78%. Possible females are largely interred with indeterminate cranial orientations (53.33%), with 13.33% being northern, 6.67% western, southern and eastern. Indeterminate individuals follow a similar pattern, with 46.67% being of an indeterminate orientation, 7.78% west, 5.56% north, 3.33% south and 1.11% east. Analysis shows that 16.67% of indeterminate individuals did not have cranial material present, rendering the determination of an orientation inapplicable. Males are discovered to have largely indeterminate cranial orientations (45.16%), with 10.75% being west, 5.38% north and south and 4.30% east.

Males are discovered with no cranial material 3.23% of the time. Possible males have an indeterminate cranial orientation 66.67% of the time with no individuals having a north, west or east orientation. 8.33% of possible males are found with a southern cranial orientation and 4.17% were recovered with no cranial material, thus rendering a determination inapplicable. Males are found with higher incidences of all cranial orientations than are females. Nearly four times as many males as females have an eastern cranial orientation, while 13% more males have a northern orientation. Males are 2.5 times likelier to have a southern cranial orientation and 5 times likelier to have a western orientation.

COLHA

Again focusing on those individuals interred with cardinal cranial orientations, females are found with west, south and east cranial orientations each 6.67% of the time. Sixty percent of females had indeterminate cranial orientations. All possible females had indeterminate orientations as did possible males. Indeterminately sexed individuals were found with indeterminate cranial orientations 87.10% of the time, with 3.23% of these decedents having a southern cranial orientation. Males are largely found with indeterminate cranial orientations (70.97%) while 9.68% are found with eastern orientations, 6.45% with western and 3.23% with southern orientations. None of the Late Preclassic population at Colha was interred with a north cranial orientation. Comparatively, males had higher

incidences of all cranial orientations than did females except for southern orientations of which equal numbers of both sexes were found.

CUELLO

Twenty two percent of females had northern cranial orientations during the Late Preclassic at Cuello while 11.11% had a southern orientation. No females had a western, eastern or indeterminate cranial orientation. Possible females were largely found with an indeterminate cranial orientation (42.86%) while 14.29% were found with either a western or northern cranial orientation. Indeterminate individuals were found with an indeterminate orientation 26.47% of the time, with a western orientation 17.65%, north 11.76%, south 5.88% and east 2.94%. Cranial material was not present in 14.71% of indeterminately sexed individual interments, rendering the determination of an orientation inapplicable. Males are found with an indeterminate orientation 39.13% of the time, west 13.04%, south 6.52%, north 4.35% and east 2.17%. Males are also found with no cranial material 2.17% of the time. Possible males are interred with indeterminate cranial orientations 69.23% of the tie while 7.69% have southern orientations. No possible males have any other cardinal orientation. Lack of cranial material in 7.69% of possible male interments was also seen, which rendered orientation determinations for these individuals inapplicable. Males during the Late Preclassic at Cuello are interred with every cranial orientation more often than are females, with the exception of a northern

orientation. Equal numbers of males and females are seen to have a northern cranial orientation.

K'AXOB

Equal numbers of females are found with indeterminate, north, and west cranial orientations (8.33% each). No females are found with south or east orientations. Possible females at K'axob are found with northern cranial orientations 33.33% of the time and with southern and eastern orientations equally as often. Indeterminate individuals are seen to lack cranial material 40% of the time, rendering determinations of orientations inapplicable while 24% have indeterminate orientations. Four percent each have a north or west cranial orientation. Males are seen to have a northern orientation 18.75% of the time during the Late Preclassic with equal numbers (12.50%) have western and indeterminate orientations. Southern orientations are characteristic of 6.25% of males while none have an eastern orientation. Lack of cranial material is seen with 12.5% of males. Possible males have an indeterminate orientation 20% of the time and a southern orientation equally as often. No other cardinal orientations are seen for possible males. Overall, males have higher incidences of all cranial orientations than do females, with the exception of eastern orientations which are not present with either sex.

COUNT OF INDIVIDUALS BY CRANIAL ORIENTATION AND AGE (Table 6.6)

ALL SITES

Over the three sites of study during the Late Preclassic, 47.24% of adults have indeterminate cranial orientations. Considering those individuals with cardinal orientations, 7.54% are west, 6.03% south, 5.53% north and 3.02% east. Lack of cranial material in 5.03% of adult interments made the determination of cranial orientation inapplicable. Various intercardinal and tentative cranial orientations exist for adult interments as well as individuals in other age categories; however only definite cardinal orientations are examined here. Percentages communicated are relative to all orientations seen during this time period. Subadults have an indeterminate cranial orientation one third of the time while 14.58% of subadults did not have cranial material present, rendering a determination of orientation inapplicable. Western orientations are seen in 10.42% of subadults while 8.33% are north, and 2.08% south. No subadults have eastern cranial orientations. Indeterminately aged individuals are largely found with indeterminate cranial orientations (72.73%). Cranial material is absent in 18.18% of indeterminately aged individual interments, resulting in no orientation determination. No indeterminately aged decedents have west, north or south cranial orientations; however 9.09% have eastern orientations. Comparatively, adults have higher incidences of all cranial orientations than do subadults or indeterminately aged individuals.

COLHA

Colha Late Preclassic adults are largely found with indeterminate cranial orientations (77.14%) while 5.71% are east, and 4.29% each of west and south. Subadults are not found with any cardinal direction cranial orientations. The majority (72.73%) of subadults are found with indeterminate cranial orientations and the remainder with southeast orientations. All indeterminate individuals at Colha have indeterminate cranial orientations. There are no individuals with definitive north cranial orientations during the Late Preclassic at the site. Adults have higher incidences of all cranial orientations than do subadults or indeterminately aged individuals.

CUELLO

Indeterminate cranial orientations predominate in the adult population at Late Preclassic Cuello (39.77%). Western orientations are seen in 9.09% of adult interments while 6.82% are either north or south and 1.14% is east. There was a lack of cranial material in 5.68% of adult interments rendering orientation determinations inapplicable. Western orientations are most common among subadults (29.41%). Indeterminate orientations follow with 17.65%; an equal number of northern orientations are found (17.65%). No subadults had eastern cranial orientations; however 5.88% have southern orientations. Half of indeterminate individuals did not have cranial material present and therefore a cranial orientation determination could not be made. The remaining half of

decedents in this age category is split evenly between indeterminate and eastern cranial orientations. Adults have higher numbers of occurrences of each cranial orientation except east, of which there are present equal numbers of adults and indeterminates.

K'AXOB

Indeterminate cranial orientations occur in a number equal to northern orientations and those interments lacking cranial material (12.20%). Western orientations are found in 9.76% of adult interments while 7.32% are southern orientations and 2.44% are eastern. One quarter of subadults have indeterminate cranial orientations while 35% lacked cranial material, rendering orientation determinations impossible. Five percent of subadults had northern cranial orientations but none had eastern, southern or western orientations. Adults are included with higher incidences of all cranial orientations. There are, however, more subadults who lacked cranial material, rendering an orientation determination impossible.

COUNT OF ARTIFACTS BY MATERIAL TYPE AND SEX OF INDIVIDUAL (Table 6.7)

ALL SITES

Frequency Table (% of Column)

The arrival of the Late Preclassic in Northern Belize sees the inclusion of all twelve of the artifact material classes present in the Middle Preclassic, with the addition of small quantities of obsidian. In the Late Preclassic, across all three sites, ceramics are the grave good included most frequently with definitively sexed individuals, occurring in 30.86% of all interments, a roughly 6% increase in frequency from the Middle Preclassic. NB Colha chert, the next most frequently occurring artifact material class, is 2.6 times less likely to be included as part of the Late Preclassic funerary assemblage, appearing in only 11.72% of interments. This is an approximate 3% increase in frequency from the Middle Preclassic.

Shell is seen in only 9.38% of interments in the Late Preclassic, which is roughly a 10% decline from the prior period. Chalcedony is found in just under 6% of interments, an approximately 2% decrease from the Middle Preclassic. Unidentifiable lithic material occurs in 5.08% of interments while non-NB Colha chert and unmodified faunal remains each occur in 4.30% of interments. This marks a roughly half percent decrease in frequency of unidentifiable lithics and an approximate 1.3% decrease in the latter two material categories. Greenstone (jade) is found in only 3.13% of interments and bone in 2.73%, a two percent decrease from earlier occurrences of each artifact material class. Greenstone of non-jade varieties sees an approximate one percent decrease in frequency, with this material

occurring in only 2.34% of interments. The newly appearing material class of obsidian is found in very few interments (1.56%), while mineral artifacts are only present in 2.25%. Groundstone is present in only 1.17% of interments, more than a three percent decrease in frequency from the Middle Preclassic. Lastly, there is a roughly 1.5% decrease in the frequency of mineral deposits included within graves, with only 0.78% of Late Preclassic interments exhibiting this material class. During this time period across the three sites of study, 17.19% of interments are placed without an accompanying funerary assemblage compared to only 3.37% in the Middle Preclassic.

Analysis indicates that while instances of the inclusion of practical goods fashioned from ceramics and Colha chert increased slightly, overall fewer individuals are being placed with grave goods in the Late Preclassic, especially with those artifacts that are considered prestige goods. This may be indicative of the transition of Northern Belizean Maya society toward a more structured, hierarchical organization that would have relied more heavily on social differentiation related to status. This status earned or ascribed to individuals in life would be reflected in their funerary artifacts in death, as it was in the Middle Preclassic. Thus, the decreased frequency of most artifact material types, especially prestige goods, points to the fact that higher positions of status and power would have been held by a more restricted number of individuals in the Late Preclassic.

The male funerary assemblage across the three sites is typified by the inclusion of ceramics and NB Colha chert, with these material types appearing in

31.03% and 12.07% of male interments, respectively. Shell items show up in 8.62% of male interments, while chalcedony appears in 5.17%. Unidentifiable lithic material is included in 4.02% of male interments while non-NB Colha chert, unmodified faunal remains bone and greenstone (jade) are each included in 3.45% of male interments. Greenstone and obsidian are in 1.72% of male interments while groundstone and mineral deposits occur in 1.15%. Nearly 20% of males were interred without grave goods in the Late Preclassic.

Comparatively between the Middle Preclassic and Late Preclassic, males are found with lower frequencies of all artifact material classes, especially prestige goods, with the exception of ceramics and NB Colha chert. The increased frequency of these practical material classes, as well as the higher number of male interments buried with no goods, in combination with lower frequencies of prestige goods, speaks to the likelihood of a restricted power nexus being formulated in the Late Preclassic within each of the sites.

Females are most typically included with ceramic, shell and NB Colha chert artifacts (30.49%, 10.98%, and 10.98%), while unidentifiable lithic material appears in only 7.32% of female interments. Chalcedony, non-NB Colha chert, and unmodified faunal remains each occur in 6.10% of female burials while greenstone is seen in 3.66% and greenstone (jade) is in 2.44% of female interments. The remaining artifact material classes (bone, obsidian, and groundstone) are each found in 1.22% of female graves. Approximately 12% of female interments are seen to be without any grave goods whatsoever. Comparatively, the frequency of

different materials included with females is very similar in the Middle and Late Preclassic. The most notable differences are a roughly 12% decrease in the frequency of shell and a nearly 5% increase in the frequency of ceramics. Interestingly, there is a roughly one percent decrease in the frequency of jade, three percent increase in the appearance of unmodified faunal remains and a more than 5% decrease in instances of groundstone. It appears that during the Late Preclassic, while roughly 9% more female interments are placed without goods, there is a modest increase in the appearance of prestige goods manufactured from shell that are placed with females, compared to the Middle Preclassic.

Quantitative Table (% of Column)

During this time period, ceramics account for the majority of recovered artifacts (52.85%). Unmodified faunal remains are the next most populous material class, representing 21.68% of the regional assemblage. All other artifact material classes are far less represented, with the next most populous class, shell, being 6.23 times less prolific than ceramics. Shell represents 8.48% of the assemblage while NB Colha chert represents 8.28%. The remaining practical material classes of chalcedony, unidentifiable lithic material, non-NB Colha chert and groundstone represent between 0.07% and 3.13% of the assemblage. The data shows that prestige goods such as greenstone (jade) (.87%), bone (.42%), and greenstone (non-jade varieties) (.20%), obsidian (0.10%), and mineral (0.07%) each account for a very small percentage of the recovered artifacts from interments across these three sites. Clearly, access to prestige goods in general, and long distance trade items such

as greenstones and obsidian specifically, were not very prevalent in the region at this time. The majority of artifacts recovered with males were ceramics (52.36%) and unmodified faunal remains (20.48%). All other material classes are present in comparatively lesser quantities, especially the prestige goods mentioned above. This same pattern holds true for females, with their assemblage being comprised of 53.66% ceramics and 23.67% unmodified faunal remains with lesser quantities of other materials, including prestige materials. A more detailed look at the number of prestige goods interred with males versus females can be seen below.

Frequency Table (% of Row)

Across the three sites, males are interred more frequently than females with all material categories, except greenstone, which occurs in an equal number of male and female interments. Interesting points reflected in this analysis are that males are the only individuals to be included with mineral artifacts of any kind and are approximately 6 times likelier to be interred with bone artifacts than females. Males are also 3 times likelier to be placed with greenstone (jade) than females, as well as 3 times likelier to be accompanied by obsidian artifacts. Also of note is that males are found in interments without the accompaniment of grave goods over three times more often than females.

Quantitative Table (% of Row)

While males and females have similarly high percentages of ceramic artifacts in relation to other material classes (Males – 52.36%, Females – 53.66%), it is interesting to note that male individuals were in fact interred with approximately

1.6 times more ceramics than females. Additionally, male individuals are interred with more grave goods on average than females, with definitively sexed males accounting for 62.61% of the total grave goods in the Late Preclassic, compared to the 37.39% of total artifacts being associated with interred females. This means that in total, in the Late Preclassic, across Colha, Cuello and K'axob, males are interred with approximately 1.7 times the number of grave goods that females are buried with.

Still considering only definitively sexed decedents, it is important to note that interred males possess higher percentages of each grave good material class than females, except for greenstone and greenstone (jade). Greenstone is found in equal numbers in male and female interments while greenstone (jade) is found in quantities nearly twice as high in female interments as in those of males. Males are interred with over 3 times the shell that females are and roughly twice as much NB Colha chert and unidentifiable lithic material. Also, males are interred with twice the amount of groundstone artifacts, an interesting note given the association of such artifacts with household production activities and the processing of foodstuffs - tasks that may have been more often conducted by females (Sullivan 1991: 9-10).

Over 94% of bone artifacts are found in male interments and 100% of all mineral artifacts are placed with male decedents as well. It is interesting to see that, as noted above, while greenstone (jade) is included more frequently with males, higher quantities of this material are interred with females. Simultaneously, obsidian is seen as a new inclusion in the Late Preclassic assemblage and it occurs

thrice as frequently with males as with females as well as in quantities three times higher. Obsidian, volcanic glass acquired from trade ties with communities approximately 375-450 KM away, would have been a prime replacement for shell as a focus and symbol of status. Though not present in Colha interments, the inclusion of obsidian is seen in Late Preclassic interments of both K'axob and Cuello.

As stated above, this material is absent from interments of the Middle Preclassic. The emergence of obsidian within the funerary assemblage suggests an increased pursuit of resources from more far flung locations than those from which exotic materials such as marine shell and jade or greenstone would have been acquired. The presence of this volcanic glass at Cuello, primarily within adult male interments, occurs with a simultaneous increase in the numbers of jade goods, red mineral pigment indications, and worked bone personal adornments/accoutrements found at the site. Though these goods do not necessarily exist as a suite of material markers of status, they are indicative of the allocation of surplus labor toward long distance travel for the acquisition of such materials, save the worked bone items. These objects are representative of the intense investment of surplus labor into the manufacture of a prestige good; the many hours of careful craftsmanship that are necessitated for the creation of such an article indicate the higher motives of elites, eager to possess items that encapsulated and represented their wealth and power.

Both the exotic and rare prestige goods, such as jade and obsidian, as well as the locally-sourced worked bone items appear to indicate a method of materially

representing the social identity of adult males as individuals of elevated status within the social hierarchy of this community, for they tend to be found in abundance with adult males more so than any other demographic group. A more detailed discussion of these goods and their significance in relation to social status is found in Chapter 9 of this text.

Overall

Overall, males were interred with higher numbers of goods than females in the Late Preclassic in Northern Belize. This includes their more routine access to prestige materials and the resultant higher frequency and number of these materials in male interments, with the abovementioned exception of greenstones. Also, during this time period, the regional funerary assemblage was typified by ceramic s and unmodified faunal remains, with all other material classes being far less represented in quantity.

Obsidian is seen as a replacement for greenstones insofar as indicators of status based on the accompaniment of decedents with long distance trade goods. Trends for male and female grave goods have been discussed above in detail. Regarding non-definitively sexed individuals across the three sites during the Late Preclassic, 25% of possible males are found with ceramics while nearly as many male interments (22.92%) are found with no grave goods whatsoever.

Shell is found only in 12.5% of possible male interments and NB Colha chert in just less than 11%, with all other artifact material classes being found less frequently with these decedents. While greenstones are found in 4.16% of possible

male interments, the new prestige good du jour (obsidian) is not found with any of these individuals. Possible females are most often found with no funerary assemblage (25%), with ceramic being the most frequently included grave good found with these individuals. Nearly 18% of possible female interments contain shell and 10.71% contain jade; however all other artifact material classes are found somewhat less frequently.

No obsidian is found with possible females. Indeterminately sexed individuals are most frequently interred with ceramics (23.16%) while 20.334% are found without an assemblage. Shell goods are found in 10.73% of indeterminate interments, with the remaining artifact material classes being less frequently represented. Obsidian occurs in only 0.56% of indeterminate interments. Other interesting notes are that possible male interments account for one third of the instances of mineral deposits during the Late Preclassic while definitively sexed males represent the other two thirds and possible female interments represent 25% of the instances of jade. Indeterminate interments account for approximately 35-45% of the instances of shell, chalcedony, NB Colha chert, non-NB Colha chert, unidentifiable lithic material, groundstone and unmodified faunal remains. These decedents are also found with half of the instances of greenstone (non-jade varieties) during the Late Preclassic. Clearly, indeterminately sexed individuals are included with high frequencies of a number of the artifact material classes found during this time period.

Regarding actual quantities of goods, possible male interments are predominated by ceramics (73.18%) with all other materials being far less represented. Ceramics are also the most numerous good found in possible female interments; however shell is also present in high quantities (40.30% and 23.88%, respectively). Indeterminate assemblages are largely populated by ceramics (36.38%) and NB Colha chert (29%), with high amounts of shell (15.47) as well.

Comparatively, highlights from the analysis include the fact that possible males were found with 40% of the mineral artifacts interred during the Late Preclassic and possible females were interred with 22.22% of the groundstone. Indeterminately sexed individuals include high percentages of a number of material classes compared to individuals within other sex categories; this includes bone (70.18%), greenstone (66.67%), NB Colha chert (54.50%), groundstone (44%), shell (33.98%), chalcedony (33.94%), obsidian (33.33%), and unidentifiable lithic material (32.11%). Based on the high numbers of similar materials included with definitively sexed males over females, the likelihood exists that a majority of these indeterminate individuals were in fact males.

COLHA

Frequency Table (% of Column)

Analysis shows that nearly 35% of interments at Late Preclassic Colha are included with no funerary assemblage. Among those with goods, ceramic is the most frequently included material (31.34%), with NB Colha chert occurring in 17.91% of

interments. Definitively sexed males are most frequently found with no funerary assemblage (31.91%). However, in those male interments with goods, their patterning follows the trend of high frequencies of ceramics and NB Colha chert (29.79% and 23.40%). There are low frequencies of greenstones (jade and non-jade varieties) in male interments (6.39% combined), an equally high frequency of bone artifacts. Interestingly, there are no unmodified faunal remains found with males. Forty percent of female interments are placed without a funerary assemblage while 35% include ceramics. All other artifact material classes present at Colha in the Late Preclassic each occur in 5% of female interments, except for greenstone (non-jade), which is absent from female interments.

Quantitative Table (% of Column)

Considering only definitively sexed individuals, 7 artifact material categories are represented at Colha in the Middle Preclassic - Shell, Ceramic, Unmodified Faunal Remains, Greenstone (Jade), Greenstone, NB Colha chert and Bone. Analysis shows that ceramics account for 31.90% of the total grave goods at Colha in this time period. Greenstone (jade) is the next most prevalent artifact material class and occurs in quantities approximately 1.6 times lower than ceramics. Shell and NB Colha chert each represent 18.97% of the total funerary assemblage found at Colha during the Late Preclassic, with bone accounting for nearly 7% of the goods, greenstone for 2.59% and unmodified faunal remains for only 0.86% of the assemblage. Clearly, the grave good assemblage has a different quantitative presentation in the Late Preclassic compared to the Middle Preclassic. While shell

predominated the Middle Preclassic assemblage in numbers so large that the next most prevalent class was 66 times less numerous, the Late Preclassic assemblage reflects more of a balance. There is still a minimal representation of prestige goods in the form of greenstones (non-jade varieties), though jade accounts for nearly 20% of the assemblage. No obsidian is present in the Late Preclassic assemblage of Colha. Considering only definitively sexed individuals, male interments are predominated by ceramics (45%) and NB Colha chert (35%).

The prestige material of greenstone (jade and non-jade varieties) represents only 6.67% of the total goods recovered from male interments, though this is 10 times higher of a quantity than that found in Middle Preclassic male interments. Female interments do not follow this pattern and are instead predominated by greenstone (jade) (39.29%) and shell (37.50%). Ceramics account for 17.86% of the female assemblage at Colha, with all other materials being represented in far lesser quantities. While the female assemblage does contain a high quantity of jade, no items of other greenstones are present.

Frequency Table (% of Row)

Males are interred with all instances of greenstone (non-jade) and are interred more frequently than are females with NB Colha chert (11 times more frequently). Bone artifacts occur three times more frequently with males and ceramics twice as frequently. Equal frequencies of shell and jade are seen in male and female interments, though female interments in fact contain higher actual quantities of these items. While male interments contain higher frequencies of most

of the artifact material classes found at Colha during the Late Preclassic, females are found with higher numbers of key prestige items, as abovementioned.

Quantitative Table (% of Row)

Based on analysis, males and females are fairly equally matched regarding the number of grave goods with which they are interred (51.72% and 48.28%, respectively). Females are found with all instances of unmodified faunal remains and more than 95% of the jade artifacts recovered from the site during this time period. More than 95% of the shell is also found in female interments. Roughly twice as many males as females are interred with no grave goods, while males are interred with nearly three times as many ceramics as are males. Bone artifacts are largely found in male interments, with 87.50% of the total shell good being placed with male decedents. Also, 95.45% of NB Colha chert artifacts and 100% of greenstone artifacts are placed with males. It is interesting to see that while males are interred with all of the greenstone (non-jade) found at the site during this time, females are interred with the overwhelming majority of both hade and shell – both prestige goods. This is in stark contrast to the trends seen at the site during the Middle Preclassic where male interments contained virtually all occurrences of all goods manufactured from prestige materials.

Overall

Overall, males are found more frequently with all artifact material classes during the Late Preclassic, with the exceptions of jade, shell, and unmodified faunal remains. Quantitatively, the male assemblage is dominated by ceramics and NB

Colha chert while the female assemblage is largely comprised of jade and shell. The high inclusion of NB Colha chert in the male assemblage is an interesting finding, given the absence of this material as a grave good during the Middle Preclassic.

Female interments have higher quantities of jade and shell than do male interments – a distribution that may speak to the increased social importance of females in Late Preclassic Colha society, if the economic and social value placed upon these materials remained consistent from the prior period. Although, the likelihood does exist that the increase in ceramics and NB Colha chert as well as worked bone goods within male interments is the elite corollary of an attempt to transition the social value formerly placed upon jade and shell to items that were sourced more locally. Hayden (1998) has proposed that the conception of what constitutes a prestige technology is fluid and dependent upon local dynamics to a large extent.

It is possible to argue that changes in the availability of shell resulted in a relative overabundance of this material in comparison to other materials that were utilized in the manufacture of grave goods. Such a case of overabundance might be the result of a greater exploitation of local aquatic resources, which could have occurred in isolation or in combination with a simultaneous increase in the acquisition of marine resources. Dreiss (1994) does indicate that while a variety of shell species are present in the Colha assemblage, the preponderance is of a marine origin. This indicates the import of a large amount of shell from the coast and also

provides clues as to the continued existence and possible augmentation of long-distance trade with coastal inhabitants.

The above evidence regarding shell as well as the documented increase in the diversity of materials present in the Late Preclassic assemblage (Buttles 1992, 2002) indicates a heightened solidification of established trade route networks and the social relationships framing them, compared to the Middle Preclassic. Such a fortification of the economic and social foundation for long distance trade would have facilitated the potential for an increase in the availability of jade and other greenstones. The potential overabundance of shell resulting from increased local exploitation, increased numbers of imported marine resources, or both, and the possible increase in the availability of jade and other greenstones may have detracted or contributed to the devaluation of these materials at this time. The possibility would then exist for site elite to turn to more locally sourced materials as a means of self-aggrandizement. Upon inspection of the data, it appears that only a minority of ceramic and NB Colha chert grave goods within male interments at Colha during this time were of a prestige form, such as miniature spouted vessels and chert "eccentrics." However, those items of bone that were placed with males are carved tubes that would have been used as personal adornment (Figure 6.1).

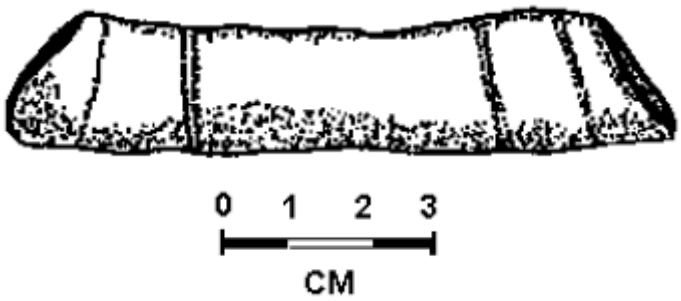


Figure 6.1: Late Preclassic decorated bone tube recovered from a Colha interment (adapted from Buttles 2002: Fig. 7.3)

As noted above, Buttles (2002, citing Hayden 1998: 11) has shown that items originating from practical materials could, through a significant degree of applied craftsmanship, become prestige technologies. Such appears to be the case with bone objects during the Late Preclassic – they emerge as the novel material markers of status for this period. The relative rarity of finely worked bone, in combination with the possible devaluation of jade and shell, would result in the increased presence of worked bone as funerary offerings in male interments while permitting the devalued commodities of jade and shell to be more abundantly included with females at Colha in the Late Preclassic. This proposed transition in the value schema of goods at Colha and their transformation from true prestige goods to lesser-valued items, or even items of a practical connotation, is touched on by Hayden when he notes, "the cheapening of the symbols of power essentially forces successful aggrandizers to look for, or to develop ever more costly prestige items" (1998: 33).

The above analysis considered only definitively sexed individuals in an effort to gain a clearer, more detailed picture of the social milieu during the Late Preclassic at Colha. Below is a brief review of data highlights for individuals of tenuous and indeterminate sex classifications. The overwhelming majority of possible males (83.33%) are found with no funerary assemblage. All those who are found with goods are interred with ceramics. Possible females are also largely interred with no grave goods (66.67%), while 16.67% of their interments contain either ceramics or NB Colha chert artifacts. Over half (52.78%) of indeterminate interments occur without goods. The most frequent goods found with indeterminately sexed individuals are ceramics and greenstone, which are each found in 13.89% of the interments. NB Colha chert and bone artifacts are found in lower frequencies in indeterminate interments. Indeterminates are found with over 70% of the instances of greenstone during this time period, one third of the occurrences of bone and half of the instances of shell. Quantitatively, the indeterminate assemblage is dominated by shell (62.81%), the possible male assemblage includes only ceramics and the possible female assemblage is equally split between ceramics and NB Colha chert. Indeterminate interments represent 85.03% of the shell, 82.98% of the bone and 84.21% of the greenstone recovered from Colha during the Late Preclassic.

CUELLO

Frequency Table (% of Column)

Ceramics are the most often interred grave goods overall during the Late Preclassic at Cuello, with 45.59% of interments containing at least one ceramic object. In total, 30.88% of interments during this time period do not contain a funerary assemblage. All artifact material categories aside from ceramic are represented in far lower frequencies, with shell, jade, bone, mineral pigment, obsidian, NB Colha chert, non-NB Colha chert, greenstone, and groundstone each being found in only 1.0-4.5% of interments. Ceramics are the most frequent good interred with males and females. One third of males are interred with no goods, while 18.18% of females have no funerary assemblage. All other artifact material classes are represented in far lower frequencies in the male and female assemblage.

Quantitative Table (% of Column)

Regarding the numerical data, ceramics account for 64.77% of the goods recovered from Cuello during this time. Greenstone (jade), the next most populous artifact material class, occurs in quantities seven times fewer than ceramics and accounts for only 9.09% of the assemblage. Males and females both are largely interred with ceramics, with 62.67% and 76.92% of their respective assemblages being comprised of ceramic goods. The other material classes present at Cuello during the Late Preclassic occur in far fewer numbers within the assemblages.

Frequency Table (% of Row)

Based on this frequency analysis, it is clear that males were interred with higher frequencies of almost all artifact material classes except greenstone (non-jade), NB Colha chert and obsidian. Obsidian goods were included in equal frequencies and quantities with males and females while all instances of greenstone and NB Colha chert are seen with females. Male interments contain higher frequencies of all prestige goods found at the site during this time period, with the exception of items manufactured from non-jade varieties of greenstone.

Quantitative Table (% of Row)

Based on the analysis, males were included with all instances of greenstone (jade), shell, bone, non-NB Colha chert, groundstone, and mineral artifacts. Also, male interments contain 82.46% of the ceramics recovered from Late Preclassic Cuello. Female interments contain all NB Colha chert and greenstone (non-jade) artifacts found, while equal numbers of obsidian goods are found in male and female interments. Interestingly, 90.48% of the interments without goods are male burials. Despite this, male interments account for 85.23% of the total goods recovered from Late Preclassic graves, while female interments account for only 14.77%. Ultimately, females were 9.5 times less likely to be accompanied by grave goods of any kind.

Overall

Overall, males are found with higher frequencies and numbers of all artifact material classes except for greenstone, obsidian and NB Colha chert. This is a pattern different from that seen at Colha during this time period, where females

were overwhelmingly interred with higher quantities of prestige goods such as jade and shell. The analysis of the Cuello data indicates that the social hierarchy established in the Middle Preclassic that esteemed males over females is preserved in the Late Preclassic, though some changes are indicated at Colha as abovementioned. The continued social dominance of males is seen in the higher frequencies and numbers of prestige goods included in male interments over female interments.

Based on the inclusion of tenuously classified and indeterminately sexed individuals, the data shows that possible males are found as frequently with ceramics as they are with no funerary assemblage whatsoever (35.29%). Possible females are equally as likely to be interred with ceramics or shell or to be unaccompanied by goods (27.27%). Indeterminate interments are most frequently populated by ceramics (45%), with 32.5% of indeterminates being unaccompanied by goods. Possible males account for one third of the occurrences of mineral pigments within Late Preclassic interments and one quarter of the instances of greenstone while possible females account for one third of jade instances and one quarter of the occurrences of shell. Indeterminate interments represent half of the occurrences of greenstone, groundstone and NB Colha chert seen in Late Preclassic Cuello interments and one third of the shell and bone. Quantitatively, the possible male assemblage is dominated by ceramics (53.33%), with the next most populous material type being shell, which only represents a fifth of the goods interred with possible males. Possible females are largely interred with ceramics as well

(47.06%), with high numbers of shell as well (41.08%), and the remaining percentage of goods being comprised of jade artifacts. Indeterminate assemblages are 63.53% shell, with ceramics representing 28.24%. Interestingly, possible male interments account for 40% of the mineral pigment remains found at Late Preclassic Cuello and 25% of the recovered greenstone. Indeterminate individual interments account for 75% of the shell goods from this time period, 66.67% of the groundstone and NB Colha chert and 50% of the greenstone artifacts. Overall, given the fact that definitively sexed males at Cuello are accompanied by higher frequencies and numbers of most artifact material classes, it is likely that the majority of indeterminately sexed individuals at the site are in fact males.

K'AXOB

Frequency Table (% of Column)

Analysis shows that ceramics are the most frequently included grave good with definitively sexed individuals during the Late Preclassic at K'axob. Ceramics are found in 22.31% of the interments from this time period while 15.70% of interments contain shell artifacts. NB Colha chert items are seen in 14.05% of graves with chalcedony in 11.57% and unidentifiable lithic material artifacts in 10.74% of interments. All other artifact material classes occur in lower frequencies. Regarding the male assemblage specifically, ceramics are the good found most frequently with male decedents (21.43%), followed in rate of recurrence by shell (15.71), NB Colha chert (14.29%), chalcedony (12.86%) and items manufactured from unidentifiable

lithic material (10%). Other artifact material classes found within the male assemblage occur in lower frequencies. The prestige goods of jade and obsidian each occur in only 2.86% of male interments and greenstone artifacts of non-jade varieties are seen with 1.43% of male decedents. The female assemblage is also dominated by ceramics with 23.53% of interments containing one or more ceramic objects. Shell is found in 15.69% of female interments while 13.73% contain items made from NB Colha chert. There are no occurrences of obsidian goods in female interments and only 1.96% of graves contain jade. There are, however, instances of greenstones of non-jade varieties in 3.92% of female interments.

Quantitative Table (% of Column)

The overall Late Preclassic K'axob assemblage is predominated by ceramics (53.21%), with roughly half as many items (22.81%) being represented by unmodified faunal remains. Shell accounts for only 8.14% of the total goods seen in the site assemblage of definitively sexed individuals. NB Colha chert represents 8.12% of the assemblage while all other goods are found in fewer numbers. Greenstone of jade and non-jade varieties represents only 0.20% of the total assemblage from the site at this time and obsidian accounts for only 0.05% (Figure 6.2). Clearly, there was not an overwhelming presence of long-distance trade items insofar as quantity. Despite these limited quantities, the distribution of the majority of these highly prized goods with males indicates that Late Preclassic males at K'axob were seen to be deserving of the status these materials represented. It is likely that these males controlled or at least operated in the social and economic

networks that would have access to goods derived from long distance trade networks. Thus, in death, these individuals were interred with items representative of the status they enjoyed in life. Overall, these prestige goods comprise a small part of the male assemblage, with ceramics being the most populous artifact material class found (52.22%), followed by unmodified faunal remains, which account for 21.64% of the goods recovered with male decedents. Just less than 11% of the male funerary assemblage was comprised of shell objects. Females are largely accompanied by ceramics as well, with 54.84% of their goods being a ceramic vessel or object. Nearly one quarter (24.74%) of the total goods in the Late Preclassic K'axob female assemblage are unmodified faunal remains while only 4.04% are shell.

Figure 6.2: El Chayal Late Preclassic obsidian blade fragments from K'axob (adapted from McAnany 2004a: Photo 0164)

Frequency Table (% of Row)

Males have higher frequencies of all artifact material classes with three exceptions: non-NB Colha chert, groundstone, and greenstone. Male and female interments were equally likely to include non-NB Colha chert and groundstone artifacts, while female interments were twice as likely to contain items made from greenstone (non-jade varieties). As abovementioned, all instances of bone and obsidian occur in male interments. Greenstone (jade) occurs twice as frequently in male interments while all other artifact material classes occur between approximately 1.2 and 1.8 times more frequently in male interments at K'axob during the Late Preclassic.

Quantitative Table (% of Row)

Analysis shows that definitively sexed males are included with higher numbers of all artifact material classes found at K'axob during the Late Preclassic with the exception of groundstone and greenstone. Equal numbers of groundstone are found with males and females while quantities of greenstone three times higher are found with females than with males. Interestingly, all occurrences of bone and obsidian are found with males. The higher occurrence of obsidian with males than females parallels the trend seen at Cuello where higher numbers of prestige goods were found with males than with females, though both sexes were found with equal numbers of obsidian at that site. Males are also found with three times as much greenstone (jade) as are females and with over four times as many shell artifacts.

Males and females are found with very similar numbers of non-NB Colha chert and chalcedony while males are found with nearly twice as many ceramics and artifacts manufactured from unidentifiable lithic material as are females. Overall, males account for 57.85% of the total goods recovered from Late Preclassic K'axob interments and females account for 42.15% of the recovered items. No definitively sexed individuals at K'axob were interred without a funerary assemblage during this time period.

Overall

Overall, males are accompanied by almost twice as many grave goods as females and are interred with higher numbers of each category of grave good except for groundstone and greenstone. Females were buried with equal numbers of groundstone items as male were and with three times as many greenstone artifacts, as mentioned above. Regarding frequency, males are also more often interred with every material class except groundstone, greenstone and NB Colha chert. The K'axob assemblage during the Late Preclassic is typified in frequency and number by ceramic artifacts. This holds true for the male and female assemblages. Similar to Colha and Cuello, prestige material categories are less well represented than practical materials.

Also interesting is the trend held up across the three sites that shows ceramics to have taken the place of shell as the most frequent and quantitatively significant artifact material type included in interments. In addition to this shift, a transition to the use of obsidian from the volcanic highlands as a prestige good to

supplement and replace greenstones is seen in the Late Preclassic, especially at Cuello and K'axob. One possible explanation for these shifts is offered by Buttles (2002: 37) in her interpretation of the design theories of technological systems as presented by Hayden (1998). As Buttles notes, Hayden's theories indicate that "prestige technologies are not static and they may eventually transform into practical technologies" (Buttles 2002: 37; Hayden 1998: 33). Therefore, what once was a marker of social esteem and authority in the Middle Preclassic may have fallen into disuse as time progressed and new materials and forms were introduced. However, it should also be noted that obsidian as well as jade were generally scarce materials throughout the site's existence; perhaps indicating a limited trade network established with the Maya Mountain and Highland areas.

Interestingly, higher overall quantities of NB Colha chert are seen in the Late Preclassic across the region than in the Middle Preclassic. Considering only NB Colha chert found in definitively sexed interments between these two time periods, 80.24% of the chert is found in Late Preclassic interments. K'axob interments account for the overwhelming majority of the evidence for the inclusion of NB Colha chert in both periods (98.78% in the Middle Preclassic and 93.09% in the Late Preclassic); however an increase is seen in the inclusion of this chert at its origination point of Colha, where inclusion percentages jump from 0% to 6.61% over the course of these two time periods.

Based on the inclusion of all non-definitively sexed individuals, analysis shows a few interesting trends. Possible female interments account for one quarter

of the inclusions of jade artifacts and one fifth of the groundstone item inclusions during the Late Preclassic at K'axob. Indeterminate interments account for one third of the obsidian instance in the dataset and high frequencies of multiple other artifact material categories such as chalcedony (45.45%), unmodified faunal remains (38.10%), NB Colha chert (41.03%), shell (34.21%), ceramics (34.62%), unidentifiable (45.16%), non-NB Colha chert (41.67%) and groundstone (40%). These individuals are also accompanied by high numbers of these high-frequency items, with percentages ranging from approximately 17%-55%, compared to individuals in other sex category designations. Based on the higher frequencies and numbers of these goods with indeterminate individuals, it is likely that some or all of these decedents were in fact males. The possible male funerary assemblage is dominated by ceramics (73.38%) with all other goods being represented in lesser quantities. Possible females are also largely found with ceramics as are indeterminately sexed individuals (38.94% and 41.16%, respectively). The funerary assemblages of tentatively and indeterminately sexed individuals in the Late Preclassic does not deviate greatly from that seen to be included with definitively sexed individuals, except for a high inclusion of NB Colha chert artifacts with Indeterminates.

COUNT OF ARTIFACTS BY MATERIAL TYPE AND AGE OF INDIVIDUAL
(Table 6.8)

ALL SITES

Frequency Table (% of Column)

Ceramics are the most frequently occurring grave good during the Late Preclassic across the three sites of study, with at least one ceramic object occurring in 27.11% of interments. Interments without a funerary assemblage account for 19.25% of interments within the region during this time period. NB Colha chert and shell artifacts occur in 11.20% and 10.61% of interments, respectively, with other practical artifact material classes occurring in lesser frequencies.

Prestige goods occur in very few interments, with greenstone being present in only 2.75% and greenstone (jade) within 2.36%. Bone, groundstone, obsidian and mineral pigment inclusions within the funerary assemblage each occur within very few interments (0.5-2%). During the Late Preclassic, adults are most often accompanied by ceramics, with 27.98% of adult interments containing at least one ceramic object. Just fewer than 20% of adults are interred without any funerary materials whatsoever. Shell is seen in 9.84% of adult graves, while other prestige materials are seen in much lower frequencies: jade (3.11%), greenstone (2.85%), bone (2.59%), obsidian (1.30%) and mineral (0.78%) with these decedents. Subadult interments are seen to have a similar frequency of ceramics (25.23%), with 13.51% of decedents in this age category not being accompanied by grave goods. Shell goods are found in 13.51% of subadult interments, while NB Colha

items are found with 11.71% of decedents in this age category. Other practical material classes are present in decreasing frequencies, with non-NB Colha chert being the least frequent practical good to be included in the subadult assemblage (7.21%). The only prestige material class represented in the subadult assemblage aside from shell is greenstone, which is found in 2.70% of interments.

Quantitative Table (% of Column)

In general, the adult assemblage is dominated by ceramics (57.15%), with the next most populous artifact material class (fauna) being 3.6 times less numerous than ceramics. Shell artifacts account for 9.32% of the adult funerary assemblage with NB Colha chert comprising 8.79% of the total artifacts recovered with adults. Prestige goods aside from shell are included in far lower quantities with adults, with none of these material categories being accounting for more than 0.7% of the goods included with adults. The subadult assemblage is largely comprised of ceramics (35.90%), with a fairly equal amount of NB Colha chert being present (35.65%). Shell represents 12.24% of the grave goods recovered from subadult assemblages in the Late Preclassic, with other practical materials occurring in far lower numbers. Aside from shell, analysis shows that the only prestige good included with subadults was greenstone, which represents 1.16% of the subadult assemblage. No other prestige materials are found with subadult decedents.

Frequency Table (% of Row)

As during the Middle Preclassic, the overarching categories of Adult, SubAdult and Indeterminate have been used in this analysis. Adults have more

frequent inclusions of all artifact material types across the three sites of study during the Late Preclassic. Adults also account for the majority of interments found with no funerary assemblage (76.53%), with subadults comprising 15.31% of these interments and Indeterminates the remaining 8.16%.

Overall, Indeterminates are not found with a significant relative frequency of any of the artifact material classes in comparison to those found with Adults and Subadults. Adults are found 2 to approximately 4 times more frequently than are subadults with goods manufactured from ceramic, shell, chalcedony, NB Colha chert, non-NB Colha chert, unidentifiable lithic material, unmodified faunal remains, groundstone and greenstone of non-jade varieties. Adult interments are the only locations where instances of mineral pigments, greenstone (jade) and obsidian are found. The exclusive inclusion of these prestige materials within Adults interments indicates that Adults were afforded positions of higher social esteem than were Subadults and thus were interred with objects representative of this status upon death. Long distance trade items such as jade and obsidian would have been highly prized due to their rarity and relative cost resulting from the distance traveled to acquire them and the social and/or economic relationships that would need to be fostered in order for acquisition.

Quantitative Table (% of Row)

Adults are found with higher relative quantities of all artifact material classes than are either subadults or indeterminates with the exception of bone artifacts, which are found in higher numbers with indeterminates and greenstone (non-jade)

items, which are found in higher numbers with subadults. While indeterminates are found with 61.40% of the bone artifacts interred across the three sites in the Late Preclassic, Adults are found with only 38.60% and subadults with no artifacts manufactured from this material. Regarding greenstone, 51.85% of these items were recovered from subadult interments while only 48.15% are from adult graves.

The overwhelming majority (92.29%) of unmodified faunal remains are found in adult interments. Adults are also interred with approximately 5 to 8 times more ceramics, chalcedony, unidentifiable lithic material and NB Colha chert than are subadults. Adults are also interred with approximately 2 to 4 times more groundstone and shell than are subadults. Both age categories are interred with relatively similar amounts of NB Colha chert, with Adults being found with only approximately 10% more items manufactured from this material. Adult interments account for 81.29% of the total goods recovered from Northern Belize during the Late Preclassic, while subadult interments comprise 16.42% of the total assemblage and indeterminately sexed individuals account for only 2.28% of the recovered goods.

Overall

Overall, the assemblages of adults and subadults are predominated by ceramic goods in quantity during the Late Preclassic. No goods of jade, bone, obsidian or mineral were found with subadults, likely indicating their less frequent access to these materials due to lesser status during their lifetime compared to adults, the lack of being in an economic position to acquire these materials or a

combination of these factors. Despite the clear inclusion of prestige materials in higher quantities with adult decedents, individuals in this age category are also nearly five times likelier than subadults to have been interred with no funerary goods.

COLHA

Frequency Table (% of Column)

Based on analysis, the typical Late Preclassic adult assemblage at Colha more frequently included ceramics (24.73%) and NB Colha chert (15.05%) than all other material classes including both practical and prestige classes. Shell and greenstone (jade) are each found in only 2.15% of adult interments, with unmodified faunal remains being present in only 1.08% of interments. Subadults are most often interred with ceramics (28.57%) and greenstone (14.29%). The only other material classes appearing in subadult interments during this time period are shell and NB Colha chert, which each occur in 7.14% of interments. Analysis shows that the majority of indeterminately sexed individuals (62.5%) are interred with no funerary assemblage while the same is true for 43.01% of adults and 42.86% of subadults.

Quantitative Table (% of Column)

Shell is the most populous artifact material category included across the site during the Late Preclassic, with 45.94% of the assemblage being composed of this artifact class. Bone artifacts are the second most numerous, with 14.69% of the site assemblage being comprised of this material. The assemblage of indeterminate

individuals follows this pattern, with 72.46% and 20.96% of their assemblage being represented by shell and bone, respectively. However, the assemblages of both adults and subadults deviate from this trend. The adult assemblage is largely comprised by ceramics (30.77%), NB Colha chert (20%), jade (17.69%), and shell (16.92%). Bone artifacts represent 9.23% of the adult funerary assemblage, while greenstone accounts for 4.62% of the total goods. Unmodified faunal remains comprise the smallest part of the adult assemblage, with 0.77% of the goods falling under this material category. Interestingly, the subadult assemblage is dominated by greenstone artifacts, with over half 56.52% being represented by goods manufactured from this material class. Just less than one quarter (21.74%) of all goods are ceramic items while 17.39% are manufactured from shell. The only other artifact material class included with subadults is NB Colha chert, which accounts for 4.35% of their assemblage.

Frequency Table (% of Row)

Analysis shows that adults are interred more frequently than both subadults and indeterminates with all artifact material classes in the Late Preclassic at Colha. Adults are found nearly six times as often with ceramic goods and fourteen times as often with NB Colha goods than are subadults. Interestingly, Indeterminates are found with shell and NB Colha chert equally as often as are subadults. Also of note is the fact that Adults individuals are the only decedents accompanied by goods manufactured from bone and jade as well as with unmodified faunal remains. Regarding interments found with no funerary assemblage, adults account for

78.43% of these burials while subadults represent 11.76% and indeterminates comprise 9.80%.

Quantitative Table (% of Row)

Regarding actual numbers or percentages of goods, Adults are found with higher numbers of each material class except for greenstone, shell and bone. All artifacts manufactured from jade and all unmodified faunal remains are found with adults. Adults are also found with nearly 87% of the ceramics and nearly 71% of the NB Colha chert items recovered from Late Preclassic Colha. However, greenstone is included with subadults in quantities slightly more than twice as high as with adults. Interestingly, indeterminately sexed individuals are included with 74.47% of the bone and 82.31% of the shell recovered from Late Preclassic interments at the site. Given that adults are included with higher percentages of both of these artifact material classes than are subadults, it is very likely that indeterminate individuals included with high numbers of these artifacts are in fact adults. Adults account for 40.63% of the total goods recovered from Colha during this time period while subadults represent only 7.19%. Interestingly, indeterminate individuals are accompanied by the majority, 52.19% of all goods recovered in the Late Preclassic at Colha.

Overall

Overall, between subadults and adults, the majority of artifact material classes are interred more frequently and in higher numbers with adults. The exception to this is the inclusion of greenstone artifacts in roughly twice the number

within subadult interments as within adult interments. While larger amounts of greenstone prestige goods were included with subadults compared to adults, it must be noted that all instances of the likely higher valued jades were found with adults. Also, prestige items manufactured from shell were found in quantities roughly six times higher in adult interments.

CUELLO

Frequency Table (% of Column)

Adults are most frequently interred with ceramics (42.34%), while 31.53% of adult graves are encountered with no grave goods whatsoever. Shell is found in 7.21% of adult interments and greenstone (jade) in 5.41%, with other material classes being represented in lower frequencies. The subadult assemblage is also most frequently populated by ceramics (47.62%), with 23.81% of the interments containing no goods at all. Shell artifacts are present within 19.05% of subadult interments and 4.76% contain either greenstone of non-jade varieties or groundstone. Interestingly, three quarters of indeterminately sexed individuals lie in interments with no grave goods. The 25% of individuals in this age category who were accompanied by grave goods were interred with ceramics only.

Quantitative Table (% of Column)

The majority of the goods included with adults are ceramics (61.65%), with shell, which is the next most populous good in this assemblage, accounting for only 13.53% of the goods or being 4.5 times less numerous. Regarding prestige goods

aside from shell, greenstone (jade) represents 8.27% of the goods recovered from adult interments while bone (5.26%), mineral pigments (3.76%), greenstone (2.26%), and obsidian (1.5%) are also present in low quantities. As indicated above, subadults are found with an overwhelming amount of shell; 76.06% of the goods recovered with individuals in this age category are manufactured from this material. The next most numerous artifact material type included with subadults is ceramics, which represents only 19.72% of the assemblage and is nearly four times less abundant than shell. Prestige materials aside from shell are not present in the subadult assemblage with the exception of greenstone items of non-jade varieties, which comprise 1.41% of the assemblage.

Frequency Table (% of Row)

The adult funerary assemblage at Cuello during the Late Preclassic is far more diverse than that of subadults, which was also the case during the Middle Preclassic. All artifact material classes are included more frequently with adults than with subadults except for groundstone items, which occur equally as frequently with adults and subadults. Analysis shows that the only instances of bone, greenstone (jade) non-NB Colha chert, mineral, obsidian, and NB Colha chert artifacts are with adults. Adult interments also account for 81.03% of those that are found with ceramics and three quarters of those found with non-jade greenstone items. Shell artifacts are found twice as frequently in adult interments as in that of subadults. This analysis would seem to indicate that adults at Cuello during the Late Preclassic were far more privy to goods of nearly all kinds, especially prestige items

such as obsidian, jade, and mineral pigments. This would likely have been due to adults having attained positions of greater economic viability and social status in their lifetimes compared to their subadult counterparts.

Quantitative Table (% of Row)

Adults are found with higher quantities of all artifact material classes than are subadults with the exception of groundstone and shell. Subadults are found with twice the amount of groundstone and three times as much shell as are adults. Adults were the age group associated with higher quantities of shell in the Middle Preclassic, therefore the association of more of this material with subadults in the Late Preclassic indicates a definitive shift in the depositional pattern associated with these artifacts. Clearly, cultural processes were at work that resulted in shell becoming more closely associated with juveniles during this time period at Cuello. Shell is seen to be dramatically decreased in quantity in the Late Preclassic compared to the earlier period. This relative paucity of shell may indicate that it was no longer a highly prized prestige material and therefore not heavily sought out by the inhabitants of Cuello. Individuals who were not within the adult age category may have therefore had more open access to this resource resulting in the inclusion of higher numbers of shell goods in subadult assemblages while adults more actively pursued other markers of status such as obsidian.

Overall

The data shows that adult interments during the Late Preclassic at Cuello account for twice the amount of grave goods as do subadult interments.

Assemblages for the two age categories differed greatly, with shell predominating within the subadult assemblage while ceramics were the most plentiful good found with adults. Clearly, adults had a far more diverse funerary assemblage than did subadults during this time period at the site. While some subadult interments did contain items manufactured from greenstone, this material was still included in higher numbers with adults as were all other prestige artifact material types.

K'AXOB

Frequency Table (% of Column)

Ceramics are the most frequently included good found in the adult assemblage during the Late Preclassic, with 20.88% of adult interments having at least one ceramic object. Shell is present in 15.38% of adult interments. NB Colha chert is founding 14.84% of adult graves, with all other practical materials occurring in lesser frequencies. Regarding prestige goods besides shell, greenstone (jade) is found in 2.2% of interments while non-jade varieties are present in 1.65% as is obsidian. Bone artifacts are seen only in 0.55% of adult interments. Ceramics are also most often included in subadult interments (18.42%), with 15.79% of subadults being accompanied by NB Colha chert and 14.47% by chalcedony. Shell and unidentifiable lithic material each appear in 13.16% of interments while non-NB Colha chert is in 10.53%. Unmodified faunal remains are included in only 7.89% of subadult interments and groundstone appears in a paltry 1.32% of graves. No items of jade, greenstone, obsidian or bone are seen with subadults, thus indicating

that adults were more frequently interred with prestige items, likely due to their higher status within the society given their longer tenure within the community than their juvenile counterparts. The sheer advantage that age offers is time to either earn or be ascribed status that will translate into the inclusion of prestige goods and/or higher frequencies of all material types within an interment.

Quantitative Table (% of Column)

Analysis shows that 57.65% of the adult funerary assemblage was composed of ceramics. Unmodified faunal remains account for 16.50% of the total goods and shell for 9.05%, while NB Colha chert represents 8.69% of the assemblage. The other artifact material categories represented in the adult funerary assemblage are present in far lesser quantities relative to these materials. The prestige materials of jade, greenstone, obsidian and bone occur in minute quantities of 0.05%-0.10% of the funerary assemblage for adults. The subadult funerary assemblage is somewhat different, with NB Colha chert accounting for the majority of goods (38.57%), followed by ceramics (37.22%). Shell artifacts comprise 8.07% of the assemblage while unmodified faunal remains comprise only 7.09%. All other material categories are seen in lower numbers, with the noted absence of any goods manufactured from jade, greenstone, obsidian or bone.

Frequency Table (% of Row)

Analysis shows that at K'axob during the Late Preclassic, adults were interred with all artifact material types in higher frequencies than subadults. It appears that subadults were the only individuals to be interred without a funerary

assemblage. Conversely, items of bone, greenstone (jade), obsidian, and greenstone were exclusively interred with adults. Groundstone artifacts were placed with adults four times more frequently than with subadults. Shell, ceramics, unmodified faunal remains, NB Colha chert, unidentifiable lithic material, non-NB Colha chert and chalcedony were all included with adults 2 to 3 times more often than with subadults.

Quantitative Table (% of Row)

Adults are found with higher quantities of grave goods of all material categories than are subadults. Aside from those materials mentioned above that were exclusively interred with adults, other material types stand out as being very highly associated with adult interments. Unmodified faunal remains are found in quantities 12 times higher with adults, while ceramics are found approximately eight times more with adults than subadults. All other artifact material categories are found in quantities approximately 4 to 6 times higher with adults. Artifacts manufactured from NB Colha chert are only found in numbers 1.2 times as high in adult burials as in subadult burials.

Overall

Overall, adults are accompanied by a more diversified funerary assemblage than are subadults, given the inclusion of prestige items fashioned from bone, obsidian, greenstone and jade with adults. Adults were interred with higher frequencies and quantities of every artifact material class during the Late Preclassic at K'axob than were subadults. Interestingly, groundstone is included more

frequently and in higher numbers with adults at K'axob and with subadults at Cuello. It should be noted however, that those groundstone objects most frequently interred with subadults at both sites are tools intended for grinding and other purposes. Adults are the only individuals to be interred with groundstone celts, which may have been used for non-utilitarian purposes.

COUNT OF ARTIFACTS BY MATERIAL TYPE, FORM TYPE AND SEX OF INDIVIDUAL (Table 6.9)

ALL SITES

Frequency Table (% of Column)

Males are most frequently interred with ceramic vessels (20.21%) and vessel fragments (11.92%), while females are most often buried with ceramic vessels (23.71%) and modified lithics manufactured from NB Colha chert (7.22%). All other artifact forms included in male and female interments are included in much lower frequencies within their respective assemblages. Obsidian cutting tools, the newest prestige good in the Late Preclassic compared to items contained in the Middle Preclassic assemblage, is contained only in 1.55% of male interments and 1.03% of female interments. This analysis indicates that obsidian was not present in any quantity during the Late Preclassic that would have allowed the inclusion of large amounts or high frequencies of this good.

Quantitative Table (% of Column)

The predominant artifact forms recovered with males are ceramic vessel fragments (49.70%) and unmodified faunal remains (20.48%). The female funerary assemblage is also composed of high quantities of both vessel fragments (51.33%) and unmodified faunal remains (23.67%). Unmodified shell accounts for 9.25% of the male assemblage and NB Colha chert modified lithics comprise 7.82% of the goods. Modified lithics of NB Colha chert represent 6.72% of the female funerary assemblage. All other artifact forms are represented in far fewer numbers within the male and female funerary assemblages in northern Belize in the Late Preclassic.

Frequency Table (% of Row)

Aside from those goods abovementioned as exclusively occurring with males or females during this time period, males are included with all artifact forms in higher frequencies than are females, save for the category of greenstone beads. Beads manufactured from non-jade greenstones are found 1.5 times more frequently with females than with males. Regarding prestige goods, obsidian cutting tools are included three times more often with males and greenstone (jade) beads are seen twice as often in male interments as in female interments. Ceramic vessel fragments are seen 3.8 times more often in male interments than in female interments. Equal frequencies of non-NB Colha chert modified lithics are found with both sexes. All other artifact forms are seen more to occur more often with males, anywhere from 1.2 to 2 times more frequently with male decedents than with females.

Quantitative Table (% of Row)

Analysis of data for definitively sexed individuals shows that males were interred with 62.61% of the goods during the Late Preclassic and females were interred with the remaining 37.39%. Males are the only individuals to be buried with shell adornments, modified shell (Figure 6.3), and pendants as well as ceramic beads and rings, NB Colha chert tools, non-NB Colha chert cutting tools, groundstone celts and crafting tools, modified greenstone, bone crafting tools, fan handles and tubes, mineral pigments, and greenstone (jade) pendants. Additionally, male interments contain higher numbers of almost every other artifact form.

There are eleven exceptions to this: greenstone (jade) and shell beads, shell gorgets, ceramic disks and net sinkers, NB Colha chert core tools, chalcedony core tools, non-NB Colha chert core tools, groundstone grinding tools, greenstone beads, and bone earflares. These eleven forms occur in higher quantities with females; the latter nine forms in fact occur exclusively with females during this time period. McSwain et al (1991: 199) note that greenstone and jade items would have been imported to sites such as Cuello in finished forms from their sources (Motagua Valley and other locales), given that there is no evidence for jade working at the site.

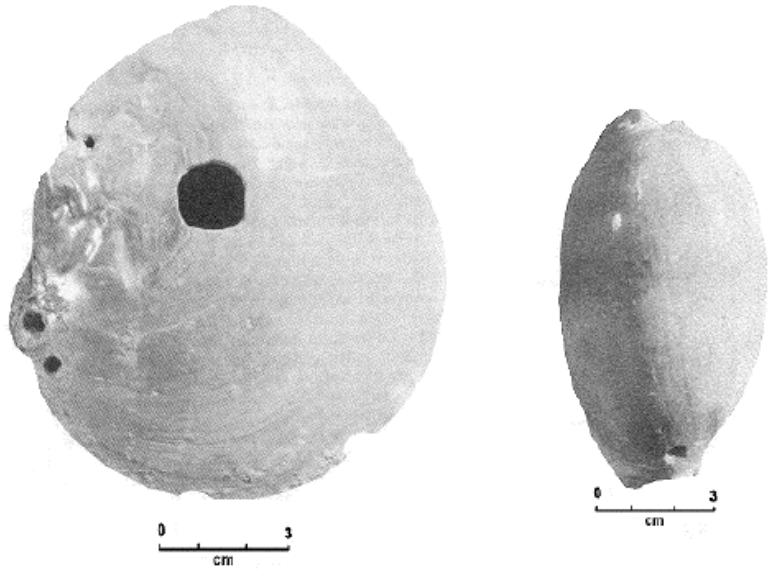


Figure 6.3: Whole modified shell from Late Preclassic Colha (after Buttles 2002: Fig. 6.8; Dreiss 1994)

Overall

During the Late Preclassic across the three sites of study, complete ceramic vessels are the good most frequently interred good with definitively sexed individuals; they occur in 17.83% of all interments. Shell beads are the most frequently included shell artifact form while NB Colha chert modified lithics occur in more interments than any other lithic form of any material. Greenstone (jade) pendants and beads (Figures 6.4-6.7) are included in 2.04% (combined) interments while non-jade greenstones (Figures 6.8 a-e) occur in 2.38% (combined) of interments. Males are interred more frequently with most artifact forms than are females, including those forms exclusively found with males as abovementioned. The manifestation in the Middle Preclassic that less ornate forms of artifact material

classes are those that strictly occur with females versus males does not seem to hold in the Late Preclassic. Those classes of artifact forms occurring exclusively with either sex are all of a nature that involves significant processing or use of the material base in order to derive the form. Regarding quantities of goods, males are accompanied with higher numbers of most artifact forms except for shell and jade beads as well as those artifact forms found exclusively with females. Males are found with approximately 1.7 times as many grave goods overall as are females.

Brief highlights of the data for tentatively and indeterminately sexed individuals are below. Possible males are most often interred with complete ceramic vessels (17.54%), though 19.30% of these individuals are interred with no grave goods whatsoever. Possible females are unaccompanied by a grave good assemblage 20.59% of the time. Complete ceramic vessels are included in 14.71% of possible female interments and shell beads are included in 11.76%. Indeterminate individuals are not interred with goods 17.31% of the time; however when these individuals are interred with goods it is most often a complete ceramic vessel (13.46%). Possible males are the only individuals included with greenstone celts. Fifty percent of the recovered ceramic net sinkers are found with possible females and the remaining 50% with definitively sexed females. Indeterminate individuals are interred with all instances of shell tinklers and pubic shields, NB Colha chert eccentrics, unidentifiable material cutting tools, greenstone pendants, and bone beads, disks, pins, and bars during the Late Preclassic in Northern Belize.

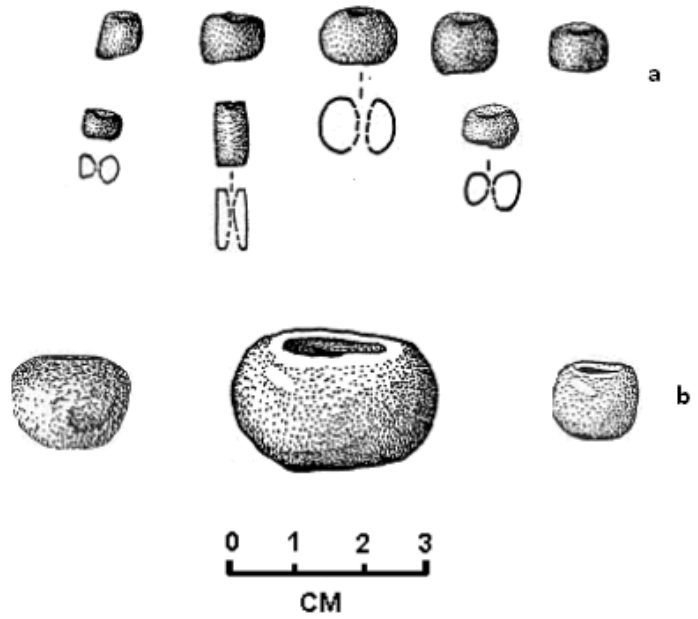
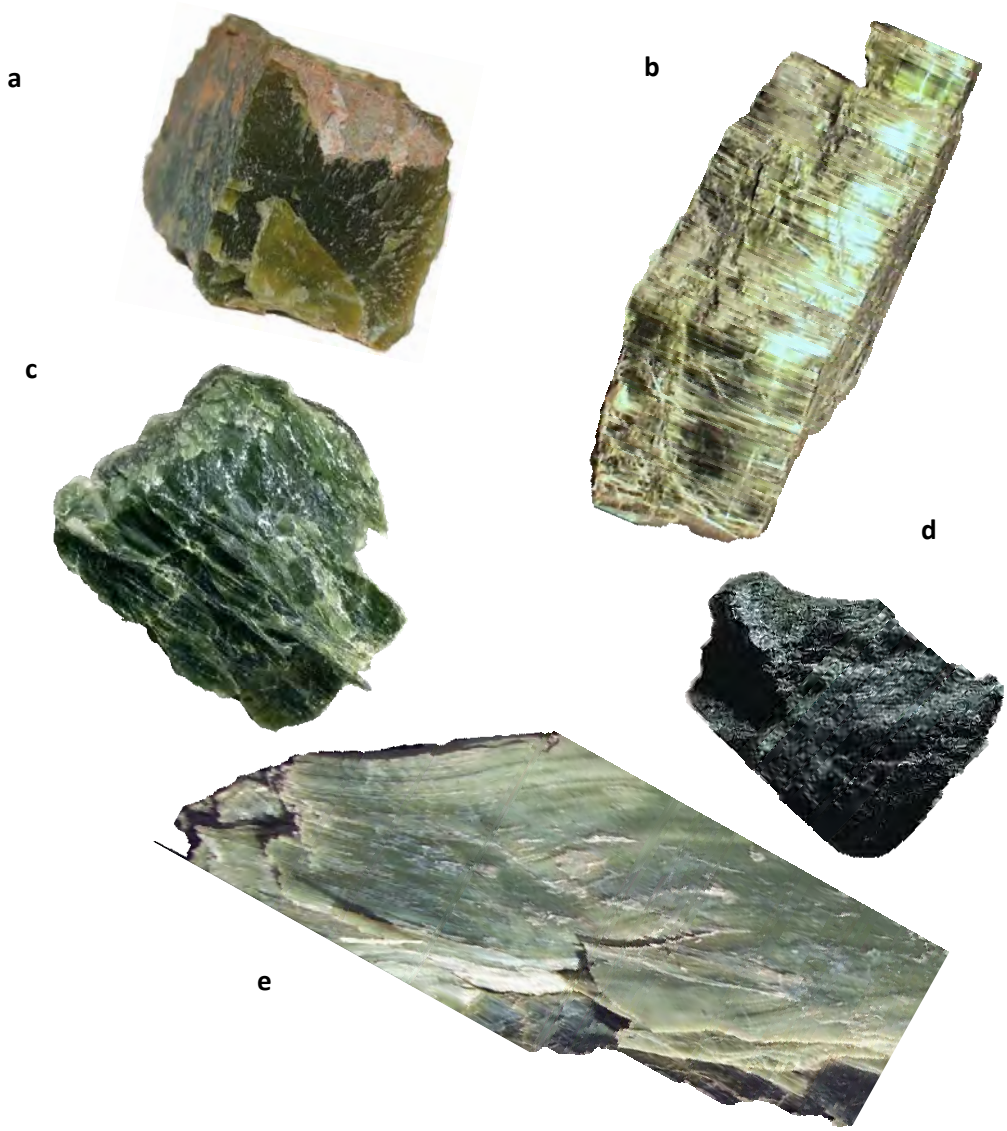


Figure 6.4: Late Preclassic (a) and Terminal Preclassic (b) polished greenstone beads from Colha (after Buttles 1992: 141, 2002: Fig. 8.1; Eaton and Kunstler 1980: 127; Hester 1983: 15)

Figure 6.5: Raw jade (jadeite) (adapted from http://t2.gstatic.com/images)

Figure 6.6: Raw jade (jadeite) (adapted from http://www.em.gov.bc.ca/Mining/Geoscience/MINFILE/Jade/PublishingImages/jadepic2.jpg)

Figure 6.7: Late Preclassic jade bead from K'axob (adapted from McAnany 2004a: Photo 0164)



Figures 6.8 a-e: Raw serpentine (one of many types of non-jade greenstone)

a) Adapted from http://geology.com/minerals/photos/serpentine-76-b.jpg
b) Adapted from http://www.galleries.com/minerals/silicate/serpenti/serpenti.jpg
c) Adapted from http://www1.newark.ohio-state.edu/Professional/OSU/Faculty/jstjohn/Minerals/Small%20serpentinite.jpg
d) Adapted from http://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/thumb/3/34/SerpentineUSGOV.jpg/220px-SerpentineUSGOV.jpg
e) http://www.geohiking.com/serpentine3.jpg

COLHA

Frequency Table (% of Column)

Nearly one third (32.86%) of definitively sexed individuals are interred without grave goods in the Late Preclassic at Colha. Males are unaccompanied by a funerary assemblage in 31.25% of instances and females are interred without goods 36.36% of the time. Those male interments that do contain goods are most frequently populated with ceramic vessel fragments (20.83%) and NB Colha chert tools (18.75%). Female interments are most frequently accompanied by complete ceramic vessels (31.82%), with all other artifact forms being represented in lesser frequencies.

Quantitative Table (% of Column)

One third of the male assemblage if comprised of ceramic vessel fragments and 30% is constituted by NB Colha chert tools. Complete ceramic vessels and bone tubes each account for 11.67% of the total goods recovered with males while shell and jade pendants each account for 1.67%. Greenstone beads and NB Colha cutting tools each represent 5% of the male assemblage. Dishes and jars are the more prevalent complete ceramic vessel forms found with males, though incidences of jars, buckets and tecomates are also seen. No jade or shell beads of any shape are found with males, though a pendant fashioned from each material as well as a small number of greenstone beads of an indeterminate shape are placed with male decedents. Nearly forty percent (39.29%) of the female assemblage is composed of greenstone (jade) beads and 35.71% is represented by shell beads. Complete

ceramic vessels account for 16.07% of the goods. Unmodified faunal remains, bone earflares, shell gorgets, ceramic disks, and NB Colha chert cutting tools each comprise 1.79% of the female assemblage. The former four of these artifact forms are exclusive to female interments. Interestingly, the only unmodified faunal remain present with a female is a single rodent incisor. This incisor is likely the evidence of a rodent intruder to the burial once it was laid in the earth and not of a ritual offering for the decedent. Regarding ceramic vessels, dishes and receptacles of indeterminate shapes are those forms most commonly found with females. Meanwhile, tubular beads are the most prevalent form of jade with females, followed by those of a discoid shape. Shell disk beads are approximately four times more prevalent within female interments than are those of a tubular shape.

Frequency Table (% of Row)

Aside from the cases of goods that are exclusively interred with one sex or the other, males are interred more frequently (66.67% of the time) with NB Colha chert cutting tools than are females (33.33%). However, females are interred with complete ceramic vessels approximately 17% more often than are males. Males account for 65.22% of those interments without a funerary assemblage and females comprise the other 34.78%.

Quantitative Table (% of Row)

Males are interred with all instances of shell pendants, ceramic vessel fragments, NB Colha chert cutting tools, greenstone beads, bone tubes and greenstone (jade) pendants. Females are the only individuals interred with shell

beads and gorgets, ceramic disks, unmodified faunal remains, bone earflares and greenstone (jade) beads. While NB Colha chert cutting tools are found in quantities three times higher with males than females, roughly 13% more ceramic vessels are interred with females during the Late Preclassic at Colha.

Overall

Overall, there is a decrease in the use of shell beads as grave goods during the Late Preclassic at Colha and an increased use of greenstone beads with the emergence of the use of jade beads. The inclusion of NB Colha chert is seen in the Late Preclassic, where it was absent in the period prior. Tubes manufactured from bone are exclusively seen with males. Such objects are reminiscent of fan handles depicted in the Dresden Codex and are associated with rulership in this context (Robin 1989; Thompson 1954; Truncer n.d.).

Possible males are most frequently interred with no goods (83.33%). The remainder of individuals in this classification are interred with complete ceramic vessels. Possible females are left without goods two thirds of the time, with the remaining 33.33% of interments containing either ceramic vessel fragments or NB Colha chert tools. Indeterminate individuals are interred with no funerary assemblage 44.19% of the time. They are interred with complete ceramic vessels and greenstone beads 9.30% of the time while other goods occur in lesser frequencies throughout the interments of these indeterminately sexed individuals. Interestingly, high numbers of many of the artifact form categories are interred with Indeterminates. Two thirds of the shell pendants and ceramic disks occur with these

individuals while 100% of shell disks, NB Colha chert eccentrics, greenstone pendants and bone beads, bars and pins occur with them as well. Regarding eccentrics also known as flaked stone symbols, it has been suggested that these artifacts served as dynamic symbols of power and authority (Buttles 2002: 83; Meadows 2001). These postulations can be further extrapolated to deduce that those individuals with whom these objects were interred were members of the elite ruling class at Colha during this time and would have been involved in the network of trade relations revolving around exotic and prestige goods at this time. Also of interest is that while there is a decrease of the numbers of shell artifacts interred with definitively sexed individuals during this time period, nearly 86% of the recovered shell artifacts from Colha are found with indeterminate individuals.

CUELLO

Frequency Table (% of Column)

Males are most frequently interred with complete ceramic vessels (41.38%), with the inclusion of all other goods appearing far less relatively frequent. The same trend holds true for female interments (25%) as well as possible males and females and indeterminately sexed individuals. All other artifact forms present at the site at this time are represented in far lower frequencies. This is especially true for prestige artifact forms, which do not rise in inclusion frequency above 5%.

Quantitative Table (% of Column)

The majority (60.23%) of artifacts recovered form Cuello during the Late Preclassic were complete ceramic vessels. The next most populous artifact form of greenstone (jade) beads occurs in numbers almost seven times less prevalent than ceramic vessels (9.09%). The male funerary assemblage is composed of 57.33% complete ceramic vessels and 10.67% greenstone (jade) beads. Ceramic vessels placed with males are overwhelmingly seen to be in the form of bowls; though other forms such as buckets, ollas, dishes, jars and plates occur. More specialized ceramic vessels including chocolate pots are also seen. The majority of jade beads found with males are of an indeterminate shape, though tubular beads are also represented.

This is the same case with shell beads, which are largely of an indeterminate shape, though discoid forms are also seen. Goods interred with females were comprised of 76.92% ceramic vessels and no jade beads. There was however an equal quantity (7.69%) of NB Colha chert and obsidian cutting tools as well as non-jade greenstone tubular beads. Bowls and ollas are the predominant vessel shapes placed with females, though small numbers of buckets and plates are also present. No specialized forms such as chocolate pots are interred with females as they were with males. The obsidian cutting tools present in the female assemblage are blades whereas those in the male assemblage were macroblade fragments. No other goods are included with females.

Frequency Table (% of Row)

All artifact forms are included with males in higher frequencies save for two artifact forms found exclusively with females, which are abovementioned and obsidian cutting tools. NB Colha chert cutting tools and greenstone beads occur exclusively with females. Equal frequencies of obsidian cutting tools are seen in male and female interments. Interestingly, 90.48% of those individuals who are interred without a funerary assemblage are males. Only 9.52% of these individuals are females.

Quantitative Table (% of Row)

Males are interred with 85.23% of the total goods recovered from Cuello during the Late Preclassic and females are interred with the remaining 14.77%. Analysis shows that males are interred with higher quantities of all artifact forms except for NB Colha chert cutting tools, greenstone beads, and obsidian cutting tools. Females are the only individuals interred with the chert cutting tools and beads while obsidian cutting tools are found in equal numbers with both males and females. Males are the only sex interred with shell adornments and beads, ceramic rings and vessel fragments, non-NB Colha chert cutting tools, groundstone celts, bone fan handles, mineral pigments, and jade beads. Clearly males were interred with higher numbers of artifacts during this time period as well as higher numbers of artifact forms indicative of prestige and status such as jade beads, bone fan handles and shell beads.

Overall

Overall, complete ceramic vessels were the most frequently included items at Cuello during the Late Preclassic. Robin (1989) notes that these vessels are largely locally made monochrome items that are of a practical nature, such as bowls, large buckets and dishes. Males were generally interred more frequently with all artifact forms than were females, except for those forms noted above as being exclusively interred with females and obsidian cutting tools which were found in equal frequencies with both sexes. Regarding quantities, males are interred with nearly six times as many grave goods as are females. Males are exclusively associated with a number of artifact forms abovementioned that are manufactured from prestige materials. Analysis indicates that males were privy to positions of greater economic viability and social status, thus allowing them access to long distance trade items for use in life, which would have been subsequently interred with these individuals in death.

Brief notes regarding highlights of data trends seen in tentatively and indeterminately sexed interments are below. Possible males are the only individuals included with shell disks as well as all instances of greenstone celts during this time at Cuello. All occurrences of shell pendants are seen with possible females while pubic shields manufactured from shell, NB Colha chert modified lithics, groundstone grinding tools and bone disks occur exclusively with indeterminately sexed individuals. The most frequent good included with possible males and females as well as indeterminate individuals is complete ceramic vessels. These vessels account

for the largest number of goods in the assemblages of possible males and females; however the most populous grave good form recovered with indeterminately sexed individuals were shell beads.

K'AXOB

Frequency Table (% of Column)

As at Cuello and Colha, complete ceramic vessels are the most frequently included grave goods with definitively sexed individuals at K'axob. The funerary assemblage of males deviates slightly from this pattern, with 13.79% of male interments containing ceramic vessel fragments and 11.49% containing ceramic vessels. NB Colha chert modified lithics are also present in 11.49% of male interments. Female interments also adhere to the overall site pattern with 15.63% of their interments containing complete ceramic vessels. NB Colha chert modified lithics are the next most frequently occurring artifact form in female interments. These goods are present in 10.94% of female interments.

Quantitative Table (% of Column)

Ceramic vessel fragments comprise 52.42% of the total goods recovered from Late Preclassic K'axob burials. These vessel fragments are approximately 2.3 times more prevalent than unmodified faunal remains, which are the next most populous artifact form. Male funerary assemblages follow this trend, with 51.59% of their goods being ceramic vessel fragments and 21.64% being unmodified faunal remains. Bowls and dishes are the most prevalent complete ceramic vessels found

with males, although a singular instance of a zoomorphic jar is also seen. Ceramic beads of a cylindrical form are seen with males but not females. Indeterminate bone fragments from unidentified mammals are the most prevalent unmodified faunal remains accompanying male decedents, though a large number of fish spines are also seen. Shell beads of a discoid shape are the most common within the male assemblage, followed by those of an irregular shape. Singular instances of an oblate and a carved shell beads are also seen.

Lithic items placed with males and manufactured from NB Colha chert, chalcedony, unidentifiable material, and non-NB Colha chert are largely microdebitage, though some bifaces, macroblades and blades are present. As mentioned above, the presence of these items within K'axob interments is likely attributable to the use of midden deposits from nearby lithic workshops for the burial backfill process (McAnany and Peterson 2004: 301-304). Equal numbers of tubular and spherical jade beads are found, and though no beads from non-jade greenstones are placed with males a single greenstone bead blank is observed.

The only crafting tool made from bone that is found with a male decedent is in the form of what is likely a needle. All obsidian tools found with males are blades as all groundstone placed with them are polishing stones. Female interments also follow this trend with 53.80% of the goods recovered from female graves being ceramic vessel fragments. Unmodified faunal remains represent 24.74% of the female funerary assemblage. Regarding ceramic vessels, bowls are the most prolific form accompanying females, though dishes, spouted jars, simple jars and cylindrical

vessels are also included in the female collection. Notched net sinkers occur exclusively with females while the most prevalent unmodified faunal remains within their interments are fish spines, followed by bone fragments from unidentified species.

Discoid shell beads are the most prolific shell bead form found with females, though those that are irregular in shape as well as carved are also present. As with males, while some formal tools including bifaces and macroblades are present in the female assemblage, the majority of lithic artifacts fashioned from NB Colha chert, chalcedony, unidentifiable material and non-NB Colha chert are microdebitage such as flakes and flake fragments, angular debris and fire shatter. Spherical jade beads are the only bead shape of this material found with females while tubular shapes predominate within the non-jade greenstone bead collection accompanying these individuals.

Frequency Table (% of Row)

During the Late Preclassic at K'axob, males and females are found with equal frequencies of complete ceramic vessels, non-NB Colha chert modified lithics and greenstone (jade) beads. Males are found with higher frequencies of all other artifact forms except those noted above to be interred exclusively with definitively sexed females. Males are generally included with higher frequencies of those materials that can be considered prestige goods such as modified greenstone, obsidian cutting tools and jade pendants.

Quantitative Table (% of Row)

Males are accompanied by higher numbers of all artifact forms except for ceramic net sinkers and vessels, NB Colha chert core tools, chalcedony core tools, groundstone grinding tools, and greenstone beads. All of these artifact forms are found exclusively with females except for complete ceramic vessels, which were found in equal numbers with males and females. All instances of modified shell, shell pendants, ceramic beds, groundstone crafting tools, modified greenstone, bone crafting tools, greenstone (jade) pendants, and obsidian cutting tools are seen exclusively with males. Additionally, males are found with unmodified shell approximately 4.8 times more often than are females. Overall, males account for 62.42% of the artifacts recovered from K'axob during this time while females represent the remaining 37.58% of goods.

Overall

Males are generally accompanied by all artifact forms in higher numbers except for those forms exclusively interred with females as well as those found in equal numbers with both sexes (ceramic vessels). K'axob, Colha and Cuello all have ceramic vessels as the most predominant artifact form in interments of definitively sexed individuals considered as a single group at each site. Quantitatively, complete ceramic vessels at K'axob and ceramic vessel fragments at Cuello dominated the grave good assemblages. Colha saw the inclusion of greenstone (jade) beads slightly outnumber all other goods when the assemblages of definitively sexed individuals were being considered.

Possible males are primarily interred with ceramic vessel fragments with 73.01% of their assemblage being comprised by this artifact form. Vessel fragments also comprise the largest portion of the possible female assemblage (32.74%). Indeterminate individuals have 40.44% of their assemblage comprised of ceramic vessel fragments and 33.14% by NB Colha chert modified lithics. Interestingly, the possible female funerary assemblage accounts for 80% of the ceramic net sinkers recovered during the Late Preclassic at K'axob; definitively sexed females account for the remaining 20%. Also, indeterminately sexed individuals are seen with the only instances of shell tinklers (Figure 6.9) and cutting tools manufactured from unidentifiable lithic material.

Figure 6.9: Shell tinklers from Late Preclassic K'axob (after McAnany 2004a: Photo 0007)

COUNT OF ARTIFACTS BY MATERIAL TYPE, FORM TYPE AND AGE OF INDIVIDUAL (Table 6.10)

ALL SITES

Frequency Table (% of Column)

Complete ceramic vessels are by far the good most frequently included with adults, with 19.73% of adult interments containing at least one ceramic vessel. Ceramic vessel fragments were in fact the next most frequently occurring good; 8.84% of adult graves contained these artifact forms. Analysis shows that 17.01% of adult interments are placed with no funerary assemblage. Subadult interments most frequently include complete ceramic vessels (12.88%), with 11.36% of individuals in this age category being unaccompanied by any goods whatsoever. Ceramic vessel fragment are the next most frequent good interred with subadults; such goods are placed in 10.61% of interments of these individuals.

Quantitative Table (% of Column)

The funerary assemblage of adults is dominated by ceramic vessel fragments with 54.71% of the goods recovered with these individuals falling under this category. Unmodified faunal remains are the next most common artifact form found with adults; however they represent only 15.79% of the assemblage and are therefore approximately 3.5 times less prevalent within adult interments. The indeterminate individual funerary assemblage is overwhelmingly characterized by shell beads, with 72.02% of the goods recovered with these decedents being of this form. Subadults are largely interred with NB Colha chert modified lithics (35.32%), with

34.08% of their grave goods being ceramic vessel fragments. A number of other artifact forms are included with both adults and subadults during the Late Preclassic, as has been evidenced above; however these are included in much smaller relative quantities.

Frequency Table (% of Row)

During the Late Preclassic, adults are interred with most artifact forms in higher frequencies than are subadults or indeterminately aged individuals. Exceptions to this are ceramic disks, shell disks, shell tinklers, shell pubic shields, NB Colha chert core tools, NB Colha chert eccentrics, groundstone grinding tools and other tool forms, and bone beads, bars and pins. Ceramic disks are found in equal frequencies in adult, subadult and indeterminately aged individual interments. Shell disks, NB Colha chert core tools, and groundstone grinding tools and other tool forms are found in equal frequencies within adult and subadult interments. Aside from those 22 artifact form classes noted above that occur exclusively with adults, significantly higher frequencies of a number of other forms including ceramic vessels and vessel fragments, unmodified shell, NB Colha chert modified lithics and cutting tools, unmodified faunal remains and greenstone beads occur with adults than any other age group.

Adults are interred with complete ceramic vessels over five times more often than are subadults, 2.5 times more often with unmodified shell, 4.3 times more often with chert cutting tools, 2.6 times more often with unmodified faunal remains and greenstone beads. In sum, the higher frequency of interment of a wider array of

goods with adults corroborates the above finding that these individuals were afforded more ready access to all goods in general and prestige goods specifically. Indeterminate individuals are the only decedents to be accompanied by NB Colha chert eccentrics and bone beads, bars and pins. Subadults are the only individuals accompanied by shell tinklers and pubic shields manufactured from shell.

Quantitative Table (% of Row)

Based on the analysis, adults appear to have a somewhat more diverse funerary assemblage during the Late Preclassic through the inclusion of a more diverse array of artifact materials and forms than are seen with indeterminately aged individuals and subadults. Numerous artifact forms including shell gorgets, ceramic beads, rings and net sinkers, certain forms of lithic tools manufactured from NB Colha chert, unidentifiable lithic material, non-NB Colha chert and groundstone, greenstone pendants, celts and modified greenstone, bone disks, crafting tools, earflares, fan handles and tubes as well as mineral pigments, jade pendants and beads and obsidian cutting tools occur exclusively with adults. In total, there are 22 artifact forms that occur exclusively with adults and with neither subadults nor indeterminately aged decedents. In comparison, there are only two artifact form categories that occur exclusively with subadults, which are shell pubic shields and shell tinklers. Subadults are interred with twice as many groundstone grinding tools as are adults while individuals of both age categories are interred with equal numbers of other forms of groundstone tools. Subadults are also included with 1.4 times more greenstone beads of non-jade varieties than are adults. Analysis shows

that adults were interred with higher numbers of a wider variety of exclusive artifact material forms during the Late Preclassic.

The greater diversity of the adult assemblage indicates that older individuals would have higher economic viability and more ready access to goods, especially prestige artifact forms. This would likely have been due to economic and social networks adults would have had more time to construct than their juvenile counterparts by virtue of more time spent living within the Late Preclassic community. These networks and relationships would have been translated into material manifestations of higher amounts of goods in general and prestige goods in particular. Adult interments account for 81.29% of the total grave goods recovered across the three sites from the Late Preclassic and subadult graves represent 16.42%, with indeterminately aged individuals accounting for the remaining 2.28%.

Overall

Overall, adults are included with higher frequencies of a much more diverse array of artifact forms than are subadults. The subadult funerary assemblage only has two artifact forms that are exclusive to this age group (shell pubic shields and shell tinklers), whereas adult interments during the Late Preclassic contain twenty one different artifact form classes that are entirely distinct from those included with subadults. Clearly, adults in northern Belize during this time period were more highly esteemed than their juvenile counterparts.

COLHA

Frequency Table (% of Column)

Analysis shows that 41.67% of adults were interred without a funerary assemblage. The subadult assemblage most frequently includes complete ceramic vessels (23.53%) followed in frequency by greenstone beads (11.76%). Indeterminately aged individuals are also interred with no grave goods 41.67% of the time. Adults are most frequently interred with complete ceramic vessels, with these goods appearing in 13.54% of adult interments. Ceramic vessel fragments are the next most common form seen with adult decedents (11.46%) followed by NB Colha chert tools (10.42%).

Quantitative Table (% of Column)

During the Late Preclassic, the adult assemblage is not heavily skewed toward one good or another. Relatively equal percentages of ceramic vessel fragments (16.92%), greenstone (jade) beads (16.92%), shell beads (15.38%), NB Colha chert tools (15.38%), and complete ceramic vessels (13.08%) appear in the adult assemblage. Smaller quantities of other goods including NB Colha chert cutting tools and bone tubes are present, as well as very minute quantities of other prestige forms such as bone earflares, jade pendants and greenstone pendants. The subadult assemblage is largely composed of greenstone beads (56.52%). The second most prevalent good is complete ceramic vessels, which represents 17.39% of the subadult assemblage. Indeterminates are overwhelmingly interred with shell beads (72.46%).

Frequency Table (% of Row)

Adults are found more frequently with most artifact forms, with the exception of those forms abovementioned that occur exclusively with subadults and indeterminately aged individuals. Adults are interred with ceramics vessels approximately 3.2 times as often as are subadults and nearly four times more often with NB Colha chert cutting tools. Greenstone beads occur twice as often in adult interments as within those of subadults. Overall, adults account for 78.43% of the individuals interred with no funerary assemblage, subadults comprise 11.76% and indeterminately aged decedents the remaining 9.80%.

Quantitative Table (% of Row)

Late Preclassic adults at Colha are found with higher quantities of the majority of artifact forms interred at the site, though subadults are in fact interred with higher numbers of three different artifact form classes. Among those artifact forms found in greater quantities within subadult interments are: shell pendants and disks and greenstone beads. Subadults are found with twice the number of greenstone beads and shell pendants as are adults. All instances of shell disks occur with subadults. Adults are the only individuals found with shell gorgets, ceramic vessel fragments, unmodified faunal remains, NB Colha chert tools, greenstone pendants, bone earflares and tubes as well as jade pendants and beads. Interestingly, indeterminately aged individuals are buried with the only instances of NB Colha chert eccentrics and bone beads, bars and pins. The overwhelming quantity of shell beads found at Colha at this time is also included with individuals

in this age category (85.21%). Overall, adult interments contain 40.63% of the goods interred at Colha during the Late Preclassic, with indeterminate graves representing 52.19% of the total assemblage and subadults the remaining 7.19%.

Overall

Overall, adults at Colha during the Late Preclassic are interred more frequently and with higher number of the majority of artifact forms appearing at the site at this time. Exceptions to this are those goods found exclusively with subadults (shell disks) and those simply found in equal frequencies with subadults and adults (ceramic disks, shell pendants and beads and greenstone beads). In sum, it appears that while adults at Colha are still interred with more varied and higher numbers of goods indicative of elevated status, subadults are increasingly likely to display a more diverse funerary assemblage with the more frequent presence of prestige items in comparison to subadult interments in the Middle Preclassic.

CUELLO

Frequency Table (% of Column)

Fitting with the results of quantitative analysis, adults are most frequently interred with complete ceramic vessels (40.35%), with all other artifact forms appearing in far lower frequencies. Analysis shows that 30.70% of adults are interred with no funerary assemblage whatsoever. As abovementioned, the only good included with indeterminately aged individuals are complete ceramic vessels. Twenty five percent of indeterminate graves contain ceramic vessels; however the

remaining three quarters of individuals in this age category are interred with no artifacts. Subadults are most frequently interred with complete ceramic vessels (37.50%). While shell beads are the most quantitatively prolific good included in subadult interments, these goods occur with only 12.50% of these individuals. Nearly 21% of subadults are interred with no goods whatsoever.

Quantitative Table (% of Column)

The majority of artifacts interred with adults during this time period at Cuello are complete ceramic vessels (58.65%). Shell beads and greenstone (jade) beads are the second most prevalent artifact forms included with adults at this time, both accounting for 8.27% of the assemblage. All indeterminately aged individuals who are interred with goods during the Late Preclassic at the site are buried only with ceramics. The subadult assemblage is dominated by shell beads. These goods comprise 67.61% of the artifacts recovered with individuals in this age category. Complete ceramic vessels are the next most prevalent artifact in the subadult assemblage and represent 16.90% of the assemblage. Despite comprising nearly one fifth of the subadult grave good assemblage, complete ceramic vessels are still over four times less prolific than shell beads.

Frequency Table (% of Row)

Adults during the Late Preclassic are interred with all artifact forms in higher frequencies than are indeterminately aged individuals and subadults, with the exception of ceramic vessel fragments, pubic shields crafted from shell and groundstone grinding tools. The latter two are exclusively found with subadults

while ceramic vessel fragments are found in equal frequencies with adults and subadults.

Quantitative Table (% of Row)

Adults are interred with higher numbers of all artifact forms except shell beads and pubic shields, ceramic vessel fragments, complete ceramic vessels, and groundstone grinding tools. All instances of pubic shields manufactured from shell are found with subadults, while shell beads are interred in quantities over four times higher with subadults than with adults. Ceramic vessel fragments are included in equal quantities with individuals from both age categories. All groundstone grinding tools are included with subadults. Indeterminate interments are largely absent of grave goods, with only minute quantities of ceramic vessels appearing with these individuals.

There 13 artifact forms interred exclusively with adults: shell pendants and disks, ceramic rings, NB Colha chert cutting tools and modified lithics, non-NB Colha chert cutting tools, groundstone and greenstone celts, bone disks and fan handles, mineral pigment deposits, jade beads and obsidian cutting tools. A number of these forms are manufactured from prestige materials including those fashioned from bone, jade, greenstone, obsidian and minerals. Clearly adults at Cuello during this time period were more highly linked to artifact materials and forms obtained from long distance trade and rare resource locations.

Overall

Overall, there is a shift from the Middle to Late Preclassic in the profile of the adult funerary assemblage at Cuello. Large quantities of shell beads are gradually eliminated and replaced by high numbers of ceramic vessels. This transition does not hold true for the subadult assemblage, which is still largely comprised of shell beads. Both the adult and subadult funerary assemblage become more diversified in the Late Preclassic, with the inclusion of chalcedony and obsidian goods as well as more diversified forms of those materials that continue to be seen as holdovers from the Middle Preclassic. There is also a definite increase in the quantities of prestige items such as greenstone beads that are included with subadults. While the distribution of prestige goods is still skewed toward inclusion in adult interments, it appears that perhaps there is transition toward an elevated status of subadults compared to the prior time period.

K'AXOB

Frequency Table (% of Column)

Regarding frequencies of artifact forms interred with adults, the distribution is not particularly skewed towards one good. Similarly high frequencies are seen of complete ceramic vessels (12.12%), ceramic vessel fragments (11.69%), and NB Colha chert modified lithics (11.69%). A comparable case is seen regarding the frequencies of goods in subadult assemblages. Similar frequencies are seen of complete ceramic vessels (14.29%), NB Colha chert modified lithics (13.19%),

chalcedony modified lithics (12.09%), and modified lithics manufactured from unidentifiable lithic material (10.99%). All other goods included within adults and subadults are included in much lower frequencies compared to the above mentioned artifact forms.

Quantitative Table (% of Column)

The majority of artifacts recovered from Late Preclassic K'axob interments are ceramic vessel fragments (53.54%). The next most populous artifact form are unmodified faunal remains, however these account for only 14.96% of the total goods. Adult funerary assemblages follow this site trend with 56.81% of the goods accompanying these decedents being ceramic vessel fragments and 16.50% being unmodified faunal remains. Interestingly, subadult funerary assemblages do not follow this trend, with 38.30% of the goods included with these individuals being NB Colha chert modified lithics and 36.77% being ceramic vessel fragments. Obsidian cutting tools account for only 0.07% of the adult funerary assemblage. Other prestige good are represented in equally small numbers within adult interments.

Frequency Table (% of Row)

Adults are interred with all artifact forms in higher frequencies than are subadults, with few exceptions. Shell pendants, NB Colha chert core tools and groundstone tools appear to be interred in equal frequencies within adult and subadult interments. Subadults are the only individuals accompanied by shell tinklers. Overall, higher frequencies of those artifact forms indicative of elevated

status are interred with adults. This includes instances of those forms that are found exclusively with adult individuals as abovementioned, such as shell beads, greenstone beads, modified greenstone, and jade pendants and beads.

Quantitative Table (% of Row)

Adult assemblages account for 83.69% of the total goods recovered from Late Preclassic K'axob interments. Subadults account for the remaining 16.31%. All artifact forms appear in greater numbers with adults than with subadults except for shell tinklers, NB Colha chert core tools, and groundstone tools. Shell tinklers are found exclusively with subadults. Both NB Colha chert core tools and groundstone tools are found in equal numbers with adults and subadults. Adults are found with higher numbers of all other artifact forms encountered at K'axob during the Late Preclassic. This includes 12 artifact form classes that are found exclusively with adults. These are: ceramic beads and net sinkers, cutting tools manufactured from unidentifiable lithic material, non-NB Colha chert core tools, groundstone crafting and grinding tools, greenstone beads and modified greenstone, bone crafting tools, jade pendants and beads as well as obsidian cutting tools. While some of these artifact forms are of a practical and/or utilitarian nature, several items such as greenstone beads, jade beads and pendants and obsidian cutting tools are indicative of a certain degree of prestige given their derivation from long distance trade networks.

Overall

Overall, subadult interments are largely absent of prestige goods during the Late Preclassic at K'axob, with the exception of multiple forms of shell goods. Adult interments are the locations where the highest frequencies and numbers of prestige goods are found, with all instances of jade and greenstone goods as well the majority of shell occurring in these contexts. Unlike at Colha and Cuello, there does not seem to be a transition toward the increased inclusion of prestige items with subadults during the Late Preclassic at K'axob. This is clearly evidenced in the escalation of the inclusion of greenstone beads within subadult interments at Colha and Cuello while these highly valued goods are absent from similar contexts at K'axob.

Also, though only moderate amounts of shell were found with children at K'axob during this time, it is important to note that in Prehispanic Mesoamerica shells were seen as symbols of water, life and fertility (Andrews IV 1969; Fearer and McLaughlin Gill 1982; Novella 1995). Noting this fact, the transition from the Chaakk'ax to the early part of the K'atabche'k'ax saw the inclusion of "unmodified gastropod and bivalve pendants primarily with child interments such as burials 1-27 and 11-7. […] Data from these deposits suggest that worked shells were used as markers of identity for children as well as adults since the Middle [Preclassic]" (Isaza Aizpurua 2004: 345; Isaza and McAnany 1999:124). The fact that similar items were included with adults as well as children indicates that offspring of elite individuals may have been ascribed status based on their lineage and were buried

with goods reflecting this status, as it is almost certain that these young individuals could not have achieved this status or prominence through actions of their own during their short lifetimes. "The Early Chaakk'ax child interment, burial 1-35, associated with a necklace composed of miniature *Oliva* tinklers, marked the beginning of a long tradition of unique votive offerings placed with selected children and/or adolescent burials" (Isaza Aizpurua 2004: 351).

Examples of this include Burials 1-18, 1-27, 11-7, and 1-14, which collectively included carved shell beads, pendants and a pubic shield. "Variation in the quantities of shell beads and unique shell adornments included in the [Preclassic] burials attests to the diversity of identities of varying status that existed during the Chaakk'ax and K'atabche'k'ax complexes. Changes in the crafting and ritual use of worked shell during the Terminal K'atabche'k'ax and Early Nohalk'ax complexes correspond with the architectural transformations of the site" (351). Clearly, shell was being used as a representation of prestige and identity at K'axob during the Late Preclassic. As abovementioned, the placement of shell with children speaks to the existence of ascribed status at the site during this time period.

INTERMENTS WITH ARTIFACTS OF VARYING FUNCTIONS BY SEX AND AGE OF THE INDIVIDUAL (Tables 6.11-6.13)

ALL SITES

The Late Preclassic sees an increase in the number of interments containing goods of each artifact function classification from the number seen in the Middle Preclassic. Analysis shows that 31.72% of interments contained prestige-ceremonial goods and 29.30% included practical-utilitarian goods. More than one quarter of Late Preclassic interments (26.34%) were absent of a funerary assemblage. Goods of a possible prestige-ceremonial function were seen in 6.45% of interments while 6.18% of interments contained goods of a possible practical-utilitarian function. Taking into account definitively sexed individuals, 39.79% of interments contained practical-utilitarian goods, 37.17% had prestige-ceremonial items and 23.04% were absent of grave goods. Male and female interments generally follow this pattern, with 38.93% of male interments having practical-utilitarian goods, 35.11% containing prestige-ceremonial items and 25.95% being unaccompanied by grave goods.

An equal number of female interments contain practical-utilitarian and prestige-ceremonial items (41.67%) while 16.67% of female interments are placed with no funerary goods. Comparatively, a higher number of male interments contain goods of both practical and prestige natures (67.11% and 64.79%, respectively) than do female interments. The majority of interments unaccompanied by funerary assemblages are also male (72.27%). Considering definitively aged decedents,

38.46% of adult interments contain prestige items, 35.31% have practical goods and 26.22% are unaccompanied by a funerary assemblage. Subadults follow the same pattern with 40.54% of their interments containing prestige goods, 39.19% including practical items and 20.72% being placed without a funerary assemblage. In comparison, a higher number of adult interments contain goods of a prestige (78.57%) as well as practical (77.69%) nature than do subadult interments. More adult interments are also interred with no grave goods (83.33%). Based on the above analysis, adult males are more likely to be interred with both practical and prestige goods than are any other demographic in the Late Preclassic population. Given the higher number of adults and males in the interred population during this time period as discussed above, this might be expected; however this analysis confirms those expectations with empirical evidence and shows that unanticipated deviations are not seen.

COLHA

The majority of interments at Late Preclassic Colha did not contain a funerary assemblage (51.52%). Of those that did, 23.23% had practical-utilitarian goods, 20.20% contained prestige-ceremonial items, possible utilitarian artifacts were in 3.03% and 2.02% had possible prestige goods. Overall, the number of interments without grave goods increases nearly five fold while those with practical goods increases roughly six fold from the Middle to Late Preclassic.

Interestingly, interments containing prestige goods occur only 1.25 times more often in the Late Preclassic than in the prior period. This indicates that while the numbers of interred individuals increased, the majority of them would have not been in social or economic positions affording them access to prestige, long distance trade items. The relative number of individuals enjoying access to rare, highly prized goods and resources to those who did not would have been far lower in the Late Preclassic than Middle Preclassic, indicating that the economic and social power held by these individuals would have been a more centralized, tightly controlled nexus of authority. Considering definitively sexed individuals, 41.67% of males were unaccompanied by grave goods, 38.89% were placed with practical goods and 19.44% with prestige goods. Females were interred with out grave goods 44.44% of the time while 27.78% were buried with prestige items; the same percentage was buried with practical goods.

Comparatively, males were accompanied by practical items roughly 2.8 times more often than were females and by prestige items approximately 1.4 times more than females. The Middle Preclassic saw males interred with prestige items four times more often than were females, therefore it appears that during the Late Preclassic at Colha the power divide between the two sexes may have been equalizing to a certain extent. Adults are mainly interred with no funerary goods (51.28%), while 26.92% of their interments contain practical goods and 21.79% contain prestige goods. Subadults are also largely interred with no funerary assemblage (46.15%), while 30.77% have prestige items and 23.08% have practical

goods. In comparison, adults have far rates of inclusion of goods of both practical and prestige natures. Adults are seven times likelier to be interred with goods of a practical nature and 4.25 times likelier to be interred with prestige goods. Clearly, a sharp divide remains in social status and economic viability between adult and subadults in the Late Preclassic, with adults having an increased probability of obtaining goods manufactured from long distance, prestige materials.

CUELLO

Late Preclassic interments at Cuello include prestige-ceremonial items 41.27% of the time while 24.60% contain practical-utilitarian goods. No funerary assemblage is present in 34.13% of Cuello interments at this time. Between the Middle and Late Preclassic, the numbers of interments containing practical goods increase by a factor of 2.8 while those with prestige goods increased by a factor of approximately 3.5. There is not as large of a difference between the increase of interments containing practical and prestige goods as is seen at Colha. This may indicate that while the elite class at Colha may have been expanding slightly but remaining small and centralized; the elite at Cuello were escalating in number more rapidly and were more numerous relative to the plebian population.

Looking at definitively sexed individuals, equal percentages of males were found with prestige items as were found unaccompanied by grave goods (35.85%) and 28.30% were interred with practical goods. Equal percentages of females were interred with practical and prestige goods (41.67%) while 16.67% were interred

with no funerary assemblage. Between males and females, it appears that males are interred more often with both practical and prestige items than are females. Males are interred with practical items three times more often than are females and with prestige items 3.8 times more often.

At Colha, analysis indicates that the power gap between males and females may have been equalizing to a certain extent; however here at Cuello data shows that that is not the case, with males still being interred with prestige goods at a rate far higher than females. Thus, while the elite population of Colha was becoming a slightly larger but closer-knit community of males and females wielding similar amounts of authority, the Cuello elite were rapidly increasing in number but remained largely comprised of male individuals. Adults are interred with prestige goods 39.81% of the time and with practical goods 26.21% of the time. No grave goods are present in 33.98% of adult interments. Subadult interments largely contain prestige items (52.63%) with 21.05% containing practical goods and 26.32% having no goods whatsoever. Comparatively, adults have higher rates of inclusion of both practical and prestige goods than do subadults. Adults are over four times more likely than subadults to be interred with prestige goods and 6.75 times more likely to be interred with practical goods. These findings mirror those at Colha during the Late Preclassic.

K'AXOB

During the Late Preclassic at K'axob, 37.41% of interments contain practical-utilitarian goods, 31.29% have prestige-ceremonial items, 14.97% exhibit possible prestige-ceremonial goods and 13.61% have possible practical-utilitarian goods. No funerary assemblage is present in 2.72% of interments. Comparatively, there is an approximate five fold increase between the Middle and Late Preclassic of those interments containing practical goods and an increase by a factor of 4.2 in those containing prestige goods. It appears that at K'axob, the number of individuals with access to prestige goods is increasing over time in a fashion more similar to Cuello than Colha. Both the common and elite population are expanding, with the elite population who have access to long distance, prestige items being a widely populous class unlike the restricted power nexus apparent at Colha at this time. Looking at definitively sexed individuals, 52.38% of male interments contain practical goods and 47.62% have prestige goods while 50% of female interments each contain practical and prestige items. Compared to each other, male interments contain goods of both functions slightly more often than do female interments; including practical goods 1.46 times more often and prestige goods 1.33 times more often.

While the elite population of K'axob seems to be expanding in a manner similar to Cuello in relation to the common population, it appears that the equalization of the power gap between males and females is occurring similar to what is indicated at Late Preclassic Colha. Adult interments at K'axob during this time include practical goods 50.48% of the time and prestige goods 49.52% of the

time. No adult interments are found without grave goods. Subadults are largely interred with practical goods (52.38%) followed by prestige goods (38.10%) while 9.52% of subadult interments do not have any goods whatsoever. Comparatively, adults have higher rates of inclusion of both prestige and practical goods within their interments than do subadults; containing prestige goods 3.25 times as often and practical goods 2.4 times as often. This indicates that the divide in power between adults and subadults is still very present at Late Preclassic K'axob, but was not as defined as analysis point toward for Colha and Cuello.

NUMBERS OF ARTIFACTS OF VARYING FUNCTIONS WITHIN INTERMENTS BY MATERIAL TYPE AND FORM TYPE (Table 6.14)

ALL SITES

As with the Middle Preclassic analysis, the majority of the following subsections focus on relative frequencies of prestige artifact forms to avoid the skewing that would be introduced to the data if the analysis were based on raw numbers. While shell beads are not as prolific in this time period, ceramic vessel fragments quantitatively represent over half (50.07%) of the total goods recovered from all three sites during the Late Preclassic. Given that many of these fragments are likely the result of the ritual smashing of whole vessels, they may have at one point constituted one or few items. Thus, to avoid the inevitable skew the raw numbers would introduce, frequencies are considered in the analysis below, except

where the author has explicitly noted that raw numeric values or quantities are being considered.

Regarding the frequencies of prestige and practical artifact forms, practical-utilitarian artifacts have an inclusion frequency of 56.99% across the three sites of study and prestige-ceremonial items have a frequency of 43.01%. Within the prestige-ceremonial classification of artifacts, shell is the most recurrent material type, accounting for 31.21% of incidences of prestige goods. Among the shell items, the most common form is shell beads, which comprise 14.97% of the total prestige goods instances across the three sites. Unmodified shell represents 8.92% of prestige good occurrences, pendants account for 2.55%, and modified shell for 1.91%. All other shell artifact forms represent less than 1% of the prestige good assemblage. These forms include shell adornments, pubic shields, disks, gorgets and tinklers. Ceramic goods comprise 25.80% of the prestige artifact incidences, with ceramic vessels being the most common form (23.89%), followed by ceramic vessel fragments (1.28%). Both ceramic rings and beads each account for 0.32% of the total prestige occurrences in the Late Preclassic.

Unmodified faunal remains that are assigned a possible prestige function represent 23.25% of all instances of prestige goods. The reader should recall the classification of unmodified faunal remains with practical and prestige associations as outlined earlier in this volume under the section entitled 'Research Structure.' Greenstone (jade) items including beads (5.73%) and pendants (0.64%) account for 6.37% of the all prestige item occurrences while greenstone items of non-jade

varieties including beads (4.14%), pendants (0.32%), celts (0.32%), and modified greenstone (0.32%) represent 5.10% of the prestige goods found. Bone objects explain 4.78% of the prestige assemblage with tubes representing 1.91% of the objects, fan handles 0.96% and all other forms each representing 0.32% of the prestige assemblage. These forms include bone bars, crafting tools, disks, earflares, beads and pins.

Obsidian represents only 1.59% of all prestige good occurrences with the only form present being cutting tools such as blades and blade fragments. Mineral pigment deposits comprise 0.96% of the prestige assemblage and NB Colha chert eccentrics make up 0.64% of the goods. Groundstone celts represent 0.32% of the prestige assemblage. The largest portion of practical good occurrences are represented by ceramics (28.85%) with 15.38% being complete ceramic vessels, 12.26% vessel fragments, 0.72% disks and 0.48% net sinkers. Lithic goods comprise 56.97% of the practical assemblage with the most common forms being modified lithics such as flakes, fire shatter and debris (43.99%), cutting tools (6.73%), core tools (2.16%), other tool forms (2.88%), crafting tools (0.72%) and grinding tools (0.48%). The lithic assemblage is composed of NB Colha chert (23.08%), chalcedony (12.98%), unidentifiable lithic material (11.78%), non-NB Colha chert (7.45%) and groundstone (1.68%).

Unmodified faunal remains of animals such as dogs and unidentified species comprise 14.18% of the practical assemblage. Brief quantitative highlights of the data are below. In sum across all three sites, there are 5342 total practical grave

goods and 2019 prestige items. Regarding practical goods, ceramic vessel fragments are the most numerous form type, representing 61.48% of recovered goods. It is possible that the smashing of ceramic vessels during funerary ritual represented the death of the spirit believed to live within the object and ritually terminate the grave space (Harrison-Buck 2004: 79-83). Modified lithics manufactured from NB Colha chert 17.05% of all collected artifacts and unmodified faunal remains represent 8.67% of the assemblage.

Interestingly, unmodified faunal remains are the most numerous prestige good interred with Late Preclassic decedents, accounting for 27.49% of the assemblage. Unmodified shell represents 26.84% of all recovered goods, ceramic vessel fragments represent 19.91% of the assemblage and shell beads represent 12.73% of all prestige goods. The rarest prestige items in quantity are also those that were least frequently included as abovementioned. These forms include: bone bars, disks, and earflares, ceramic beads, greenstone celts, pendants and modified greenstone, groundstone celts, shell gorgets and shell tinklers. Each of these forms occurs only once across all interments during the Late Preclassic from all three sites of study.

COLHA

Regarding frequencies, prestige-ceremonial goods account for 48.89% of the total artifacts instances from Late Preclassic Colha and practical-utilitarian items represent 51.11%. Thus, practical goods are interred with decedents 1.05 times

more often than prestige goods. Of the recovered prestige goods, bone artifacts account for 22.73% of the assemblage, ceramics for 20.45%, shell for 20.45%, greenstone for 20.45%, greenstone (jade) for 11.63%, and NB Colha chert for 4.55%. Within the material category of bone, there are five forms represented: tubes, bars, beads, earflares and pins. Bone tubes (13.64%) are nearly 5 times more prolific than all other forms (2.27% each). Shell beads (11.36%) are the most frequently occurring shell form, with pendants (4.55%), disks and gorgets (2.27% each) also being represented. Only two forms of greenstone are present, beads (18.18%) and pendants (2.27%), representing a total of 20.45% of the assemblage. Complete vessels are the only ceramic form present in the prestige category and account for 20.45% of the assemblage, with forms such as bowls, buckets and dishes as well as spouted jars being seen. Many of the bowls, buckets and dishes classified as prestige items would have been used as head covers. It should also be noted that in frequency as abovementioned, ceramic vessels seem to have largely replaced shell beads as the grave good of choice in the transition from the Middle to Late Preclassic. As Bartlett notes, "bead adornment is present in depictions of elites on ceramics dating to the Classic period […] and can be seen on figurines, including a Postclassic incensario fragment found at K'axob (Bartlett 2004: 266). Clearly, beads of clay/ceramic, greenstone, and other materials were being utilized as objects representative of high social standing, to some degree. Given the appearance of the above examples in later periods, it is logical to propose that beads in the Late Preclassic and earlier held similar connotations.

Quantitatively speaking, however, shell beads are still the most numerous form, representing 57.03% of the 249 prestige goods interred at Colha during this time. Greenstone (jade) beads have a frequency of 9.09% and pendants have a frequency of 2.27%. NB Colha chert eccentrics represent 4.55% of the prestige assemblage. The most frequently interred practical artifact form at Late Preclassic Colha are ceramics (56.52%), with ceramic vessels accounting for 26.09%, vessel fragments representing 23.91% and ceramic disks comprising 6.52%. Quantitatively, ceramic vessel fragments are in fact the most numerous artifact form, accounting for 30.99% of 71 artifacts, followed by NB Colha chert tools, which represent 28.17%. NB Colha chert cutting tools (19.57%) and other tools forms (21.74%) represent a total of 41.30% of the practical assemblage while unmodified faunal remains constitute 2.17%.

CUELLO

Prestige goods occur more frequently at Cuello, accounting for 69.60% of the total assemblage while practical goods represent 30.40%. Therefore, prestige goods are roughly 2.3 times more frequently interred with decedents at Late Preclassic Cuello than are practical goods. Ceramics represent 52.87% of the prestige good incidences, with shell accounting for 20.69%, greenstone (jade) for 10.34%, bone for 4.60%, greenstone for 4.60%, mineral pigments for 3.45%, obsidian for 2.30%, and groundstone for 1.15%. Only two ceramic forms are represented: complete vessels (51.72%) and rings (1.15%). Shell beads (9.20%), modified shell (3.45%),

shell adornments (3.45%), pubic shields (2.30%), disks (1.15%) and pendants (1.15%) are also seen. All greenstone (jade) artifacts present are in the form of beads. Bone is present in the form of fan handles (3.45%) and disks (1.15%). Greenstone of non-jade varieties shows up in two forms; beads (3.345%) and celts (1.15%). Red mineral pigments comprise 3.45% of the prestige good instances while obsidian cutting tools account for 2.30%. The only form of groundstone in the prestige assemblage is celts (1.15%).

The practical assemblage is divided between lithics and ceramics, with the former being more frequently included (89.74%) as a grave good than the latter (10.53%). The lithic component of the assemblage is represented by NB Colha chert (5.26%), non-NB Colha chert (2.63%), and groundstone (2.63%). Ceramics vessels comprise 84.21% of the practical assemblage and vessel fragments account for 5.26%. Cutting tools of the NB and non-NB Colha chert represent 5.26% of the assemblage while NB Colha chert modified lithics comprise 2.63%. Groundstone grinding tools round out the last 2.63% of the practical-utilitarian good assemblage. Quantitatively, ceramic vessels are the most prolific good at the site at this time, explaining 79.17% of all 48 recovered practical goods. Meanwhile, shell beads are the most prevalent prestige goods placed with decedents, accounting for 37.58% of the 157 prestige items placed with decedents.

K'AXOB

Practical-utilitarian goods represent 64.47% of the total instances of burial furniture at Late Preclassic K'axob and prestige-ceremonial goods account for 35.53%. Prestige goods are represented by seven different material types with varying frequencies: unmodified faunal remains (38.89%), shell (38.80%), ceramic (14.21%), greenstone (jade) (3.28%), obsidian (1.64%), greenstone (1.64%), and bone (0.55%). Five shell artifact forms are represented in the prestige assemblage, with beads being the most common (18.58%), followed by unmodified shell (15.30%), pendants (2.73%), and modified shell (1.64%). Shell tinklers only account for 0.55% of the total prestige good occurrences from Late Preclassic K'axob. Ceramic vessels represent 11.48% of the assemblage while vessel fragments comprise 2.19% and beads only account for 0.55% of the goods. Two forms of greenstone (jade) artifacts are present with beads (2.73%) being more frequently interred than pendants (0.55%).

The only form of obsidian present is cutting tools (blades, blade fragments, etc). Two forms of greenstone of non-jade varieties are also present, with greenstone beads representing 1.09% of the assemblage and modified greenstone such as bead blanks accounting for 0.55%. All bone objects present are crafting tools (0.55%). Unmodified faunal remains such those with possible ritual associations comprise 39.89% of the prestige object incidences. The practical good assemblage at K'axob is represented by NB Colha chert (22.59%), ceramics (18.07%), unmodified faunal remains (17.47%), chalcedony (16.27%), unidentifiable lithic material

(14.76%), non-NB Colha chert (9.04%), and groundstone (1.81%). Modified lithics represent a combined frequency of inclusion of 54.82% while cutting tools represent 5.12%, and core tools are 2.71%. Groundstone grinding tools are 0.30% of the assemblage, crafting tools are 0.90% and other tool forms are 0.60%. Ceramic vessel fragments are the most frequently occurring form (11.45%) of ceramics present, followed by complete vessels (6.02%) and net sinkers (0.60%). Quantitatively, unmodified faunal remains are the most numerous prestige goods at the site during this time period, representing 34.78% of the 1613 prestige goods. Unmodified shell accounts for 33.60% of these goods and vessel fragments represent 24.92%.

NUMBER OF INTERMENTS WITH HEAD COVER OVER THE CRANIUM OF THE DECEDENT BY SEX AND AGE OF THE INDIVIDUAL AND BY MATERIAL, FORM AND SUBFORM TYPE (Tables 6.15-6.18)

ALL SITES

Sixty vessels and 400 vessel fragments were used as head covers in 58 interments across the three sites during the Late Preclassic. Overall, 80.41% of the population in northern Belize was interred without head covers while 19.59% of the population was. At all three sites during this time period, decedents were over four times likelier to be interred without a head cover. Females account for 24.14% of the instances of interments with head covers while males comprise 32.76%. Possible females account for 5.17% of occurrences, possible males for 10.34% and indeterminately sexed individuals for 27.59%. Adults are 82.76% of those

individuals interred with a head cover, subadults account for 15.52% and indeterminately aged individuals for 1.72%. Of the 60 vessels used as head covers, 66.67% are bowls, 11.67% are buckets, 11.67% are dishes, 3.33% are vessels of indeterminate shapes and 1.67% is explained by each of the remaining forms: chocolate pots, jars, ollas, plates. The 400 vessel fragments were used in two separate interments, one included 293 fragments and the other had 107 fragments. Both instances of the use of ceramic vessel fragments as head covers occur at K'axob.

COLHA

There are seven individuals (7.61% of the interred population) that have a head cover in Late Preclassic Colha. Of these individuals, 42.86% are female and 28.57% are male. Indeterminately sexed individuals and possible males each represent 14.29% of occurrences. There are no possible females interred with head covers. Adults represent 85.71% of individuals with a vessel or fragments over placed over their head and 14.29% are subadults. Analysis shows that females are 1.5 times likelier to have a head cover than are males and adults are 6 times likelier to display this artifact than are subadults. This is an interesting transition, given that head covers were more often seen with males during the Middle Preclassic as abovementioned. Only ceramic vessels are used as head covers at Colha, with 28.57% being bowls, 28.57% are dishes, 28.57% are vessels of indeterminate shapes and 14.29% are buckets.

CUELLO

There are 35 individuals interred with a head cover during the Late Preclassic at Cuello. This means that 27.34% of the population was interred with a ceramic vessel or fragments covering their cranium. Males represent 37.14% of these individuals and females account for 14.29%. Possible males explain 8.57% of the occurrences, possible females account for 5.71% and indeterminately sexed individuals represent 34.29%. Of these individuals, 74.14% are adults, 20% are subadults and 2.86% are indeterminately aged individuals. Males are approximately 2.6 times likelier to be interred with a head cover than females and adults are 3.7 times likelier to have such a grave good than are subadults. At Cuello as at Colha, only vessels are used as head covers. Bowls comprise 67.57% of the occurrences, buckets represent 16.22%, dishes are 5.41% and the remaining forms each account for 2.70% (chocolate pots, jars, ollas, and plates).

K'AXOB

Sixteen individuals at Late Preclassic K'axob are interred with a head cover, meaning 21.05% of the population exhibited this feature. Of these individuals, 37.50% are female, 25% are male, 18.75% are indeterminately sexed, 12.50% are possible males and only 6.25% are possible females. Additionally, 93.75% of these individuals are adults and 6.25% are subadults. Analysis shows that while adults were largely favored to be interred with a head cover, females were 1.5 times likelier than males to exhibit such an artifact. This favoring of head covers in female

interments is also seen at Colha during the Late Preclassic and is an interesting shift from the predominance of head covers in male interments during the Middle Preclassic across all sites. However it should be noted that at K'axob in particular during the Middle Preclassic, there were equal numbers of both sexes interred with head covers. The two instances of the use of ceramic sherds as head covers occur at K'axob with 293 used in one interment and 107 in another. In those instances where a ceramic vessel was used, 81.25% are bowls and 18.75% are dishes.

INTERMENTS WITH A CROSS MOTIF VESSEL WITHIN THE FUNERARY ASSEMBLAGE BY SEX AND AGE OF THE INDIVIDUAL AND BY MATERIAL, FORM, AND SUBFORM TYPE (Tables 6.19-6.22)

K'AXOB

There are only three vessels with a cross motif, one in each of three interments, present during the Late Preclassic. All three occurrences of cross motif vessels during the Late Preclassic occur at K'axob. Of the individuals who are accompanied by these vessels, 66.67% (2) are males and 33.33% (1) is a possible male. Thus, only 2.11% of males and 4% of possible males were accompanied by cross motif vessels during the Late Preclassic. All of these individuals are adults. All artifacts that bore a cross motif were ceramic vessels. Two were ceramic dishes and one was a bowl. Relative to the interred population of K'axob, only 4.69% of individuals were interred with cross motif vessels.

All three of these individuals are adults. Headrick postulates that individuals interred with cross motif vessels would have held a particular amount of elevated status within the community, partially given the repeated interment of ancestors in the locations where these vessels were found. This would have created a material and social foundation of power that eventually evolved into the construction of a large pyramidal structure in this location. The motif itself is seen as a symbol of power partly due to its association with "the three cosmological zones of the lower, middle and celestial realms" and the use of such iconography by rulers to declare themselves the center of these coincident spheres of existence and possible links to far older Olmec iconography (Headrick 2004: 369-375). This is further discussed in Chapter 7.

Figure 6.10: Cross motif Vessels 13 and 14 from K'axob; recovered from interments 1-25 and 1-29, each placed with a Late Preclassic adult male (after McAnany 2004a: Photo 0350

INTERMENTS EXHIBITING EVIDENCE OF BURNING BY SEX AND AGE OF THE INDIVIDUAL (Tables 6.23-6.25)

ALL SITES

During the Late Preclassic, 34 interments exhibit evidence of burning while 256 do not. Thus, percentages similar to the Middle Preclassic are seen with 88.28% of interments having no indication of burning activities and 11.72% having evidence of such activities. Only 14.63% of females and 14.68% of males lay in interments with evidence of burning activities. Burning is also indicated in 14.68% of possible male interments, 11.76% of possible female interments and 8.25% of indeterminately sexed individual interments. Considering definitively sexed individuals, males account for 72.73% of those interments where burning is indicated and females represent the remaining 27.33%. Thus, males are over 2.6 times likelier to be interred in a grave with evidence of burning than are females. No indeterminately aged individuals are interred with indications of burning activities; however 12.44% of adults and 11.11% of subadults are. This means that adults account for 82.35% of those individuals interred with evidence of burning and subadults comprise the remainder (17.65%). While the specific activities that would have produced the evidence of burning are not the focus of this analysis, it is clear that adult males were far more predisposed than the rest of the population to be associated with postmortem rituals involving fire.

COLHA

Only 11.22% of Late Preclassic Colha interments exhibit evidence of burning. There are no possible male or indeterminately sexed interments that show evidence of burning; however 6.67% of female interments, 16.67% of possible female interments, and 22.50% of male interments do in fact show indications of burning activities. Considering definitively sexed individuals, 90% of those individuals within interments exhibiting evidence of burning are male and only 10% are female. During this time at the site, no indeterminately aged or subadult individuals are associated with evidence of burning; however 13.75% of adult interments are. Clearly, funerary rites involving fire were a cultural practice more closely associated with adult males than with any other demographic at Colha in the Late Preclassic. It should be noted that while Operation 2012 Subop 5 is counted as a single occurrence of burning activities, multiple disarticulated individuals are placed within this interment and more than one individual may in fact be associated with the funerary rituals evidenced by the charcoal and soot that remains. The author agrees with Thompson (2005: 642) that the indications of burning at Colha do not appear to be significant given their infrequent occurrence and that the burning found in Operation 2012 Subop 5 may in fact be indicative of rituals connected to ancestor veneration.

CUELLO

As during the Middle Preclassic, no interments at Cuello during the Late Preclassic show indications of burning activities that may have been associated with funerary ritual.

K'AXOB

During the Late Preclassic at K'axob, 22.33% of interments exhibit evidence of burning while 58.25% do not. This represents a nearly threefold increase in the number of interments that show indications of burning from the prior period. While 25% of possible females and indeterminately sexed individuals are included with evidence of burning activities, 28.57% of possible males, 29.41% of females and 30.43% of males are seen with similar evidence. Considering definitively sexed individuals, males account for 58.33% of those interments where burning is evidenced; females makeup the remaining 41.67%. This means that males are approximately 1.4 times likelier to be interred with evidence of funerary rites involving fire. Nearly 30% of adults and approximately 23% of subadults are interred with indications of burning activities. This means that 73.91% of interments with instances of burning are adult individuals and 26.09% are subadults. Thus, adults are 2.8 times likelier to be interred with evidence of burning.

TOTAL NUMBER OF BURNED ARTIFACTS BY MATERIAL TYPE AND FORM TYPE (Table 6.26)

ALL SITES

During the Late Preclassic, there are 129 instances of artifacts exhibit evidence of burning. Seven artifact material types are represented: NB Colha chert (709 modified lithics, 8 cutting tools, 2 core tools), chalcedony (154 modified lithics, 5 core tools), unidentifiable lithic material (142 modified lithics, 1 cutting tool), non-NB Colha chert (71 modified lithics, 1 core tool), ceramic (20 vessel fragments, 1 vessel) shell (2 beads), groundstone (1 grinding tool). Of the total incidences of burning, 30.23% are NB Colha chert items, 24.81% are of chalcedony, 20.93% are of unidentifiable lithic material, 13.95% are manufactured from non-NB Colha chert, 8.53% are fashioned from ceramic, 0.78% is of groundstone and 0.78% is of shell. Regarding shell, and groundstone, only one artifact form is present for each material type. Thus, all burned shell items are beads and all those of groundstone are grinding tools.

Complete ceramic vessels and ceramic vessel fragments exhibit evidence of burning with vessel fragments being approximately 10 times likelier to be included within interments as objects representative of burning activity. This may indicate that funerary rituals involving fire and ceramic vessels typically included the ceremonial smashing of the vessel at some stage in the activity. Chalcedony modified lithics are roughly 5.4 times more likely to be the focus of burning activities than are core tools manufactured from the same material. NB Colha chert

modified lithics, cutting tools and core tools show indications of burning, with modified lithic forms being 3.6 times likelier to be burned than cutting tools and 14.5 times likelier than core tools. Non-NB Colha chert modified lithics are nearly 17 times more likely to show evidence of burning than are core tools of the same material. Modified lithics made of unidentifiable lithic material are nearly 26 times likelier than cutting tools of the same material to be burned during funerary rites.

COLHA

All artifacts exhibiting evidence of burning at Colha during the Late Preclassic are manufactured from ceramic. Ceramic vessel fragments (20) account for 90.91% of instances while the occipital cranial material of female decedent with a vessel over her cranium accounts for the remaining 9.09% or single instance. As stated above, it is likely that those funerary rites involving burning activities and ceramic vessels also involved the ritual breakage of that vessel at a certain point within the ceremony, thus resulting in such a high number of ceramic vessel fragments.

CUELLO

As during the Middle Preclassic, no interments at Cuello during the Late Preclassic show indications of burning activities that may have been associated with funerary ritual.

K'AXOB

As during the Middle Preclassic, the majority of funerary goods displaying evidence of burning come from K'axob. Clearly lithic artifacts dominate the assemblage of goods that exhibit indications of burning activities, with 99.15% of incidences being modified lithics, cutting tools, core tools and grinding tools of chalcedony, NB Colha chert, non-NB Colha chert, unidentifiable lithic material and groundstone. The remaining 0.85% of occurrences of burnt grave goods at K'axob is comprised of shell beads. Quantitatively, lithic and groundstone artifacts that exhibit indications of burning account for 1094 of those interred with Late Preclassic K'axob decedents. Shell beads account for only two of these goods.

INTERMENTS EXHIBITING EVIDENCE OF RED MINERAL PIGMENTATION
(Tables 6.27-6.29)

ALL SITES

During the Late Preclassic only 3.04% of interments show evidence of the inclusion of red mineral pigments. This is a roughly two and a half fold decrease from the Middle Preclassic. Only 7.89% of female interments contain red mineral pigments while 4.17% of male interments and 1.11% of indeterminately sexed interments also do. No possible male or possible female interments contain deposits of red mineral pigments. Of those interments that exhibit mineral pigments, 50% are occupied by males, 37.50% by female sand 12.50% by indeterminate individuals. The only age category seen within interments containing pigments are

adults. The majority of adult interments do not contain mineral pigments; however 3.92% do. Thus, based on the cumulative data from the three sites of study, the inclusion of red mineral pigments with decedents in the Late Preclassic continues to be more frequently associated with adult males than any other demographic in northern Belize.

COLHA

Analysis shows that 3.36% of Late Preclassic Colha interments contain mineral pigments; this is a fourfold increase from the Middle Preclassic. No possible males or possible females are interred with pigments; however 12.5% of females, and 3.23% each of males and indeterminately sexed individuals are interred with these materials. Of these interments, 50% are occupied by females, 25% by males and 25% by indeterminate individuals. Adults are the only age category to be interred within contexts containing pigments; 5.63% of adult interments do in fact contain red mineral pigments. Interestingly, at Colha, the inclusion of red mineral pigments appears to be more closely associated with adult females than any other demographic. This bucks the trend of mineral pigments being largely associated with adult males in the Middle Preclassic.

CUELLO

Based on analysis, only 1.5% of Late Preclassic Cuello interments contained red mineral pigments. This is a nearly one and a half fold decrease from the Middle

Preclassic. The only individuals interred in contexts with red mineral pigments are adult males. Analysis shows that 4.17% of males and 2.22% of adults are associated with these pigments at the site. The data from Cuello fits with the regional trend as well as the trend seen in the Middle Preclassic of red mineral pigment deposits being associated more closely with adult males than any other sex or age group.

K'AXOB

During the Late Preclassic at K'axob, only 2.63% of interments contained mineral pigments; this is a roughly 1.3% increase from the Middle Preclassic. Only definitively sexed adults are interred with these materials. The data shows that 7.69% of females and 5.88% of males are interred with mineral pigments. This results in an equal number of male and female interments at the site during this time period that include red mineral pigments. Only 4.65% of adult interments contain these pigments; no subadults are interred in contexts associated with these materials.

TOTAL NUMBER OF PIGMENTED ARTIFACTS BY MATERIAL TYPE, FORM TYPE AND SUBFORM TYPE (Table 6.30)

ALL SITES

Of those occurrences of red mineral pigments in Late Preclassic interments, equal frequencies are found with goods manufactured from shell and ceramics as

well as instances of the pigments themselves unassociated with any other artifact material. An equal number of instances are also found associated with the osteological material of certain individuals. Thus, the 25% of red mineral pigment instances that are found associated with ceramic are evenly divided between bowls and tecomates (12.5% each). Unmodified lumps of red ochre and a small solid roll of the same material also each account for 12.5% of the instances of pigments in Late Preclassic interments. One quarter of the occurrences of mineral pigments occur directly on osteological material while 12.5% are associated each with irregular shell beads and shell pendants. Overall, osteological remains, ceramics, and shell are treated with red mineral pigments equally as often as one another. There is not one artifact material type or form that exhibits a stronger association with red mineral pigments.

COLHA

Fifty percent of the instances of red mineral pigment inclusion in interments at Colha are directly associated with osteological material. The individuals who exhibit red staining on their bones are an indeterminately sexed individual and a definitively sexed female. Twenty five percent of the instances of pigment in interments occur on ceramic tecomates and 25% occur associated with shell pendants.

CUELLO

At Cuello, 100% of the instances of the inclusion of red mineral pigments within interments are evidenced by the pigments themselves and not tied to any specific grave good. Instances are equally divided between a small solid roll of red ochre and at least two unmodified lumps of the same material.

K'AXOB

Instances of the inclusion of red mineral pigments in Late Preclassic K'axob interments are equally split between ceramic bowls and irregular shell beads.

COUNT OF INTERMENTS WITHIN VARYING ARCHITECTURE SPACE FUNCTIONS BY SEX AND AGE OF THE INDIVIDUAL (Tables 6.31-6.33)

ALL SITES

Across the three sites of study during the Late Preclassic, 107 individuals are interred in domestic settings, 97 in dedicated ritual/ceremonial contexts, 27 in domestic setting located with larger ritual/ceremonial areas, 14 in possible ritual/ceremonial contexts and finally 13 located in possible domestic contexts. Thus, 41.74% of individuals are located in domestic contexts, 37.60% in ritual/ceremonial areas, 10.47% in domestic within ritual/ceremonial contexts, 5.43% in possible ritual/ceremonial areas and 5.04% in possible domestic settings. A dramatic increase in the number of individuals interred in definitive ritual/ceremonial areas is seen from the Middle Preclassic to the Late Preclassic.

Whereas 37.60% of Late Preclassic individuals are seen in these contexts only 3.28% of Middle Preclassic decedents were located in similar contexts. Thus, the present analysis reaffirms the development and expansion of ritual and ceremonial architecture and spaces in Northern Belize during the transition from the Middle to Late Preclassic; a transition that has been explored at length by various scholars (Coe 1959; Hammond 1991; Robin 1989; McAnany 2004a; Buttles 1992, 2002; Thompson 2005; Sharer 1994; Sharer and Traxler 2006). It is also important to note that the construction of such spaces would have necessitated labor and material resources, likely controlled, coerced or coaxed from the general population by a smaller group of higher status individuals comprising a power nexus within the community.

Regarding the level of power consolidation present during the Preclassic, Sharer has noted that minimal numbers of elite residences exist, which would suggest a more loosely organized social hierarchy for the time period (1992: 134). Considering definitively sexed individuals, nearly half (49.46%) of males are located in ritual ceremonial contexts while 38.71% are interred in domestic settings. Equal numbers of males are interred in possible domestic and possible ritual/ceremonial contexts (4.3%), with 3.23% being placed in domestic areas within ritual/ceremonial contexts. Females are predominantly located in domestic settings (55.56%), with 16.67% interred in domestic contexts within ritual/ceremonial areas. Possible ritual/ceremonial areas are seen as the interment location for 13.89% of females while 11.11% are interred in definite ritual/ceremonial contexts

and 2.78% in possible domestic settings. Males are located in higher numbers in all contexts except possible ritual/ceremonial areas and domestic contexts within ritual/ceremonial areas. Females are approximately 1.3 times more likely to be interred in possible ritual/ceremonial areas than are males and 2 times likelier to be placed in domestic areas with ritual/ceremonial contexts. Males are 11.5 times likelier to be interred in definite ritual/ceremonial contexts compared to females. This considerable disparity in distribution of the sexes within this architectural context indicates that males were culturally selected for interment in loci of religious and ceremonial activity and implies that they held a greater importance in public activities. Further, these interment locations are likely indicative of the social status earned by or ascribed to these males that would have distinguished them sufficiently from the remainder of the population to warrant their interment in non-mundane and/or domestic contexts.

Adults are predominantly located in ritual/ceremonial contexts (40.20%) and domestic settings (38.19%). Domestic areas within ritual/ceremonial contexts contain 11.06% of adults, 5.53% are located in possible ritual/ceremonial contexts and 5.03% in possible domestic contexts. Subadults are overwhelmingly interred in domestic contexts with 62.50% of these decedents located in a household area. Just under one quarter (22.92%) of subadults are interred in ritual/ceremonial contexts, 8.33% in domestic settings within ritual/ceremonial areas, 4.17% in possible domestic contexts and 2.08% in possible ritual/ceremonial areas. Comparatively, adults are interred in higher numbers within all architectural contexts during this

time period. Adults are approximately 2.5 times likelier to be interred in a domestic context than are subadults and 5 times likelier to be interred in a ritual/ceremonial context. This disparity corroborates findings from the above analysis of goods interred with individuals in these two age categories, which showed that adults were privy to more ready access to goods indicative of prestige and wealth. Therefore, their interment in specialized architecture intended for ritual and ceremony is consistent with these findings.

COLHA

Over 43% of Late Preclassic Colha individuals are interred in definite ritual/ceremonial contexts (43.18%). Domestic settings within ritual/ceremonial areas account for 30.68% of interments, 15.91% are located in possible ritual/ceremonial areas and 10.23% in domestic contexts. There is a clear increase in the number of individual interred in definite ritual/ceremonial contexts at Colha between the Middle (6.90%) and Late Preclassic (43.18%). Males at Colha are primarily located in ritual/ceremonial areas (58.06%), followed by domestic contexts (19.35%), possible ritual/ceremonial areas (12.90%) and domestic settings within ritual/ceremonial areas (9.68%). Females are most often located in domestic areas within ritual/ceremonial settings (40%), followed by possible ritual/ceremonial areas (33.33%) and definite ritual/ceremonial areas (26.67%). Males are interred more often in domestic and definite ritual/ceremonial areas (4.5 times as often); however females are interred more often in possible

ritual/ceremonial settings (1.25 times as often) and domestic contexts within ritual/ceremonial areas (twice as often). Forty percent of adults are interred in ritual/ceremonial contexts, 31.43% in domestic settings within ritual/ceremonial areas, 15.71% in possible ritual/ceremonial areas and 12.86% in domestic contexts. Subadults are most often located in ritual/ceremonial areas (54.55%) and domestic settings within ritual/ceremonial areas (33.36%), with 9.09% occurring in possible ritual/ceremonial contexts. Despite the inclusion of subadults in a variety of ritual/ceremonial contexts, adults are still interred in higher numbers in each architectural type seen at Colha in the Late Preclassic.

CUELLO

Ritual/ceremonial contexts contain 54.13% of Late Preclassic Cuello interments while 33.94% are in domestic settings, and 11.93% in possible domestic settings. As at Colha, there appears to be a sharp rise in the number of individuals included in ritual/ceremonial contexts from the Middle (0%) to Late Preclassic (54.13%). Clearly, interment within domestic platforms was not as commonplace during the Late Preclassic as was burial within large, ceremonial platforms (Wilk and Wilhite 1991: 128). Males are primarily interred in ritual/ceremonial contexts (60.87%) followed by domestic contexts (30.43%) with 8.70% of male decedents in possible domestic contexts. Females are only interred in two architectural contexts – domestic (88.89%) and possible domestic areas (11.11%). Males are interred in domestic settings nearly twice as often as females and in possible domestic settings

four times more often. No females are interred in ritual/ceremonial contexts at Cuello in the Late Preclassic. Clearly this analysis corroborates the findings of grave goods analysis that depicts males as individuals of higher status within the Late Preclassic community compared to their female counterparts. Adults are primarily interred in ritual/ceremonial contexts (59.05%) followed by domestic settings (29.55%) and possible domestic settings (11.36%). Subadults are included in ritual/ceremonial contexts (29.41%), domestic contexts (58.82%) and possible domestic contexts (11.76%) as well. Adults occur in these contexts more frequently than subadults, with the greatest disparity being seen in ritual/ceremonial contexts where adults are interred approximately 10.5 times more often than subadults. Robin et al (1991: 222) note that Cuello decedents interred in ritual/ceremonial contexts had far more grave goods placed with them than did individuals interred within domestic contexts. It is noted by Robin that interments located within ritual or public contexts at this time are contain far more grave goods, especially of prestige materials, than do those placed in domestic contexts (1989: 101).

K'AXOB

As during the Middle Preclassic, only a singe architectural context is seen for interments in the Late Preclassic. All 61 individuals are interred in domestic contexts. Considering individuals in all sex categories at K'axob during this time, indeterminates account for 40.98% of the population, males for 26.23%, females for 19.67%, possible males for 8.20% and possible females for 4.92%. Adults account

for 67.21% of the interments during this time while subadults represent 32.79% of the decedents. McAnany notes that according to Joyce Marcus (1999: 70), "on a local scale, the emergence of political hierarchies can diminish the role of the domicile as a venue for ritual activities (2004: 23). Thus, while the interments of this time period are seen to have come from domestic contexts, it is likely that these spaces were looked upon as venues for ancestor worship and related activities; rite likely attended by an extended group of those individuals comprising the lineage of the domicile residents.

Table 6.1: Count of Individuals by Sex

Time Period	Site	Indeterminate	Male	Female	Male?	Female?	Grand Total
Late Preclassic	Colha	31	31	15	6	5	88
	Cuello	34	46	9	13	7	109
	K'axob	25	16	12	5	3	61
Late Preclassic Total		90	93	36	24	15	258
Grand Total		90	93	36	24	15	258

Table 6.2: Count of Individuals by Age

Time Period	Site	Adult	SubAdult	Indeterminate	Grand Total
Late Preclassic	Colha	70	11	7	88
	Cuello	88	17	4	109
	K'axob	41	20	0	61
Late Preclassic Total		199	48	11	258
Grand Total		199	48	11	258

Table 6.3: Count of Individuals by Burial Position and Sex

Time Period	Site	Position Category	Position Detail	Female	Female?	Indeterminate	Male	Male?	Grand Total
Late Preclassic	Colha	Disarticulated	Disarticulated	5	4	13	13	5	40
			Disarticulated; Secondarily Deposited	2	0	1	2	0	5
		Disarticulated Sum		7	4	14	15	5	45
		Extended	Supine, Extended	2	0	1	1	0	4
		Extended Sum		2	0	1	1	0	4
		Flexed	Fetal position, bundled	0	0	1	0	0	1
			Fetal Position; On Back	0	0	1	0	0	1
			Flexed	0	0	0	0	0	0
			Flexed L Leg; Beneath Individual A	0	0	0	1	0	1
			Legs Flexed	0	0	0	1	0	1
			Seated	1	0	0	5	0	6
			Seated, Flexed	1	0	0	0	0	1
			Seated, Legs crossed	1	0	0	0	0	1
			Seated?	0	0	0	1	0	1
		Flexed Sum		3	0	2	8	0	13
		Indeterminate	Indeterminate	3	1	14	7	1	26
		Indeterminate Sum		3	1	14	7	1	26
	Colha Total			15	5	31	31	6	88
	Cuello	Disarticulated	Secondary; Disarticulated	0	0	0	3	4	7
			Secondary; Disarticulated Body Bundle	0	1	4	12	3	20
			Secondary; Excarnate	0	0	1	0	0	1
			Secondary; Part of body bundle consisting of 4 individuals (Burials 41-44)	0	2	0	2	0	4
			Secondary; Skull Burial	0	0	4	0	0	4
		Disarticulated Sum		0	3	9	17	7	36
		Extended	Primary; Extended	0	0	2	1	0	3
			Primary; Prone	0	0	0	2	0	2
			Primary; Prone Extended	1	0	0	0	0	1
			Primary; Supine Extended	0	1	2	3	0	6
			Secondary; Supine Extended	0	0	1	0	0	1
		Extended Sum		1	1	5	6	0	13
		Flexed	Primary; Flexed	2	1	3	4	1	11
			Primary; Flexed Semi-reclining	1	0	0	3	0	4
			Primary; Flexed?	0	0	0	0	1	1
			Primary; Seated	0	0	0	1	0	1
			Primary; Seated Flexed	2	0	5	6	1	14
			Primary; Seated Flexed?	0	0	0	1	0	1
			Primary; Seated Kneeling	1	0	0	0	0	1
			Primary; Seated Legs Crossed	1	1	2	5	1	10
			Primary; Semi-reclining	0	0	1	1	0	2
			Primary; Semi-reclining Flexed	1	0	0	0	0	1
			Primary; Supine Flexed	0	0	0	1	0	1
			Secondary; Flexed	0	0	0	0	1	1
			Secondary; Supine Flexed	0	0	2	0	0	2
		Flexed Sum		8	2	13	22	5	50
		Indeterminate	Indeterminate	0	0	2	0	0	2
			Primary; Indeterminate	0	1	5	1	1	8
		Indeterminate Sum		0	1	7	1	1	10
	Cuello Total			9	7	34	46	13	109
	K'axob	Extended	Extended	4	0	4	4	2	14
			Extended & Secondary	1	0	0	0	0	1
		Extended Sum		5	0	4	4	2	15
		Flexed	Flexed	2	1	2	2	1	8
			Seated	2	2	5	4	1	14
		Flexed Sum		4	3	7	6	2	22
		Indeterminate	Indeterminate	0	0	1	0	0	1
			Secondary	3	0	13	6	1	23
		Indeterminate Sum		3	0	14	6	1	24
	K'axob Total			12	3	25	16	5	61
Grand Total				36	15	90	93	24	258

Table 6.3: Count of Individuals by Burial Position and Sex

Table 6.4: Count of Individuals by Burial Position and Age

Time Period	Site	Position Category	Position Detail	Adult	Indeterminate	SubAdult	Grand Total
Late Preclassic	Colha	Disarticulated	Disarticulated	33	2	5	40
			Disarticulated; Secondarily Deposited	4	0	1	5
		Disarticulated Sum		37	2	6	45
		Extended	Supine, Extended	4	0	0	4
		Extended Sum		4	0	0	4
		Flexed	Fetal position, bundled	0	0	1	1
			Fetal Position; On Back	0	0	1	1
			Flexed	0	0	0	0
			Flexed L Leg; Beneath Individual A	1	0	0	1
			Legs Flexed	1	0	0	1
			Seated	6	0	0	6
			Seated, Flexed	1	0	0	1
			Seated, Legs crossed	1	0	0	1
			Seated?	1	0	0	1
		Flexed Sum		11	0	2	13
		Indeterminate	Indeterminate	18	5	3	26
		Indeterminate Sum		18	5	3	26
	Colha Total			70	7	11	88
	Cuello	Disarticulated	Secondary; Disarticulated	7	0	0	7
			Secondary; Disarticulated Body Bundle	20	0	0	20
			Secondary; Excarnate	1	0	0	1
			Secondary; Part of body bundle consisting of 4 individuals (Burials 41-44)	3	1	0	4
			Secondary; Skull Burial	1	0	3	4
		Disarticulated Sum		32	1	3	36
		Extended	Primary; Extended	2	1	0	3
			Primary; Prone	2	0	0	2
			Primary; Prone Extended	1	0	0	1
			Primary; Supine Extended	5	0	1	6
			Secondary; Supine Extended	0	0	1	1
		Extended Sum		10	1	2	13
		Flexed	Primary; Flexed	10	0	1	11
			Primary; Flexed Semi-reclining	4	0	0	4
			Primary; Flexed?	1	0	0	1
			Primary; Seated	1	0	0	1
			Primary; Seated Flexed	9	0	5	14
			Primary; Seated Flexed?	1	0	0	1
			Primary; Seated Kneeling	1	0	0	1
			Primary; Seated Legs Crossed	8	0	2	10
			Primary; Semi-reclining	2	0	0	2
			Primary; Semi-reclining Flexed	1	0	0	1
			Primary; Supine Flexed	1	0	0	1
			Secondary; Flexed	1	0	0	1
			Secondary; Supine Flexed	0	0	2	2
		Flexed Sum		40	0	10	50
		Indeterminate	Indeterminate	0	2	0	2
			Primary; Indeterminate	6	0	2	8
		Indeterminate Sum		6	2	2	10
	Cuello Total			88	4	17	109
	K'axob	Extended	Extended	11	0	3	14
			Extended & Secondary	1	0	0	1
		Extended Sum		12	0	3	15
		Flexed	Flexed	7	0	1	8
			Seated	11	0	3	14
		Flexed Sum		18	0	4	22
		Indeterminate	Indeterminate	0	0	1	1
			Secondary	11	0	12	23
		Indeterminate Sum		11	0	13	24
	K'axob Total			41	0	20	61
Grand Total				199	11	48	258

Table 6.4: Count of Individuals by Burial Position and Age

Table 6.5: Count of Individuals by Cranial Orientation and Sex

Time Period	Site	Cranial Orientation	Female	Female?	Indeterminate	Male	Male?	Grand Total
Late Preclassic	Colha	Indeterminate	9	5	27	22	6	69
		East?	0	0	0	1	0	1
		Southeast	2	0	2	0	0	4
		Southwest	1	0	0	2	0	3
		West	1	0	0	2	0	3
		South	1	0	1	1	0	3
		Northeast	0	0	1	0	0	1
		East	1	0	0	3	0	4
	Colha Total		**15**	**5**	**31**	**31**	**6**	**88**
	Cuello	Indeterminate	0	3	9	18	9	39
		North	2	1	4	2	0	9
		N/A	0	0	5	1	1	7
		East?	0	0	0	1	0	1
		Northwest	4	0	1	4	1	10
		Southeast	0	0	4	2	0	6
		Southwest	0	1	0	4	1	6
		West	0	1	6	6	0	13
		South	1	0	2	3	1	7
		Northeast	1	0	2	3	0	6
		East	0	0	1	1	0	2
		Southwest?	1	0	0	1	0	2
		West?	0	1	0	0	0	1
	Cuello Total		**9**	**7**	**34**	**46**	**13**	**109**
	K'axob	Indeterminate	1	0	6	2	1	10
		North	1	1	1	3	0	6
		North?	1	0	0	2	1	4
		N/A	0	0	10	2	0	12
		East?	1	0	0	0	0	1
		South?	1	0	0	1	1	3
		Northwest	1	0	1	0	0	2
		Southeast	1	0	1	2	0	4
		Southwest	2	0	1	1	1	5
		West	1	0	1	2	0	4
		South	0	1	0	1	1	3
		Northeast?	2	0	0	0	0	2
		Northeast	0	0	1	0	0	1
		East	0	1	0	0	0	1
		Northwest?	0	0	2	0	0	2
		Southeast?	0	0	1	0	0	1
	K'axob Total		**12**	**3**	**25**	**16**	**5**	**61**
Grand Total			**36**	**15**	**90**	**93**	**24**	**258**

Table 6.6: Count of Individuals by Cranial Orientation and Age

Time Period	Site	Cranial Orientation	Adult	Indeterminate	SubAdult	Grand Total
Late Preclassic	Colha	Indeterminate	54	7	8	69
		East?	1	0	0	1
		West	3	0	0	3
		Southwest	3	0	0	3
		Southeast	2	0	2	4
		South	3	0	0	3
		East	4	0	0	4
		Northeast	0	0	1	1
	Colha Total		**70**	**7**	**11**	**88**
	Cuello	Indeterminate	35	1	3	39
		North	6	0	3	9
		N/A	5	2	0	7
		East?	1	0	0	1
		West	8	0	5	13
		Southwest	5	0	1	6
		Southeast	3	0	3	6
		South	6	0	1	7
		Northwest	10	0	0	10
		East	1	1	0	2
		Northeast	5	0	1	6
		Southwest?	2	0	0	2
		West?	1	0	0	1
	Cuello Total		**88**	**4**	**17**	**109**
	K'axob	Indeterminate	5	0	5	10
		North	5	0	1	6
		North?	4	0	0	4
		N/A	5	0	7	12
		South?	3	0	0	3
		East?	1	0	0	1
		West	4	0	0	4
		Southwest	4	0	1	5
		Southeast	3	0	1	4
		South	3	0	0	3
		Northeast?	2	0	0	2
		Northwest	1	0	1	2
		East	1	0	0	1
		Northeast	0	0	1	1
		Northwest?	0	0	2	2
		Southeast?	0	0	1	1
	K'axob Total		**41**	**0**	**20**	**61**
Grand Total			**199**	**11**	**48**	**258**

Table 6.7: Count of Artifacts by Material Type and Sex of Individual

Time Period	Site	Material	Male?	Male	Indeterminate	Female?	Female	Grand Total
Late Preclassic	Colha	NB Colha Chert	0	21	13	2	1	37
		Ceramic	1	27	6	2	10	46
		Shell	0	1	125	0	21	147
		Fauna	0	0	0	0	1	1
		Bone	0	7	39	0	1	47
		Greenstone (Jade)	0	1	0	0	22	23
		Greenstone	0	3	16	0	0	19
		N/A	0	0	0	0	0	0
	Colha Total		**1**	**60**	**199**	**4**	**56**	**320**
	Cuello	NB Colha Chert	0	0	2	0	1	3
		Ceramic	8	47	24	8	10	97
		Shell	3	8	54	7	0	72
		Bone	0	6	1	0	0	7
		Non-NB Colha Chert	0	1	0	0	0	1
		Greenstone (Jade)	1	8	0	2	0	11
		Greenstone	1	0	2	0	1	4
		Obsidian	0	1	0	0	1	2
		N/A	0	0	0	0	0	0
		Groundstone	0	1	2	0	0	3
		Mineral	2	3	0	0	0	5
	Cuello Total		**15**	**75**	**85**	**17**	**13**	**205**
	K'axob	NB Colha Chert	93	203	512	12	107	927
		Unidentifiable	33	65	70	12	38	218
		Ceramic	1006	1245	631	44	787	3713
		Shell	170	253	102	25	58	608
		Fauna	36	516	110	6	355	1023
		Chalcedony	16	66	75	4	60	221
		Bone	0	3	0	0	0	3
		Non-NB Colha Chert	17	26	29	6	25	103
		Greenstone (Jade)	0	3	0	2	1	6
		Greenstone	0	1	0	0	3	4
		Obsidian	0	2	2	0	0	4
		N/A	0	0	0	0	0	0
		Groundstone	0	1	2	2	1	6
	K'axob Total		**1371**	**2384**	**1533**	**113**	**1435**	**6836**
Grand Total			**1387**	**2519**	**1817**	**134**	**1504**	**7361**

Table 6.8: Count of Artifacts by Material Type and Age of Individual

Time Period	Site	Material	Adult	Indeterminate	SubAdult	Grand Total
Late Preclassic	Colha	Ceramic	40	1	5	46
		NB Colha Chert	26	10	1	37
		Shell	22	121	4	147
		Fauna	1	0	0	1
		Bone	12	35	0	47
		Greenstone	6	0	13	19
		Greenstone (Jade)	23	0	0	23
		N/A	0	0	0	0
	Colha Total		**130**	**167**	**23**	**320**
	Cuello	Ceramic	82	1	14	97
		NB Colha Chert	3	0	0	3
		Shell	18	0	54	72
		Bone	7	0	0	7
		Non-NB Colha Chert	1	0	0	1
		Greenstone	3	0	1	4
		Greenstone (Jade)	11	0	0	11
		Groundstone	1	0	2	3
		Obsidian	2	0	0	2
		N/A	0	0	0	0
		Mineral	5	0	0	5
	Cuello Total		**133**	**1**	**71**	**205**
	K'axob	Ceramic	3298	0	415	3713
		NB Colha Chert	497	0	430	927
		Shell	518	0	90	608
		Fauna	944	0	79	1023
		Unidentifiable	178	0	40	218
		Chalcedony	181	0	40	221
		Bone	3	0	0	3
		Non-NB Colha Chert	83	0	20	103
		Greenstone	4	0	0	4
		Greenstone (Jade)	6	0	0	6
		Groundstone	5	0	1	6
		Obsidian	4	0	0	4
		N/A	0	0	0	0
	K'axob Total		**5721**	**0**	**1115**	**6836**
Grand Total			**5984**	**168**	**1209**	**7361**

Table 6.9: Count of Artifacts by Material Type, Form Type and Sex of Individual

Table 6.9: Count of Artifacts by Material Type, Form Type and Sex of Individual

Time Period	Site	Material	Form	Male?	Male	Indeterminate	Female?	Female	Grand Total
Late Preclassic	Colha	Shell	Bead	0	0	122	0	20	142
			Pendant	0	1	2	0	0	3
			Disk	0	0	1	0	0	1
			Gorget	0	0	0	0	1	1
		Bone	Bead	0	0	31	0	0	31
			Tube	0	7	4	0	0	11
			Pin	0	0	3	0	0	3
			Bar	0	0	1	0	0	1
			Earflare	0	0	0	0	1	1
		Ceramic	Vessel Fragment	0	20	0	2	0	22
			Vessel	1	7	4	0	9	21
			Disk	0	0	2	0	1	3
		NB Colha Chert	Tool	0	18	0	2	0	20
			Cutting Tool	0	3	9	0	1	13
			Eccentric	0	0	4	0	0	4
		Greenstone (Jade)	Bead	0	0	0	0	22	22
			Pendant	0	1	0	0	0	1
		Greenstone	Bead	0	3	15	0	0	18
			Pendant	0	0	1	0	0	1
		Fauna	Unmodified Bone	0	0	0	0	1	1
		N/A	N/A	0	0	0	0	0	0
	Colha Total			**1**	**60**	**199**	**4**	**56**	**320**
	Cuello	Ceramic	Vessel	8	43	22	8	10	91
			Vessel Fragment	0	2	2	0	0	4
			Ring	0	2	0	0	0	2
		Shell	Bead	1	6	48	4	0	59
			Modified Shell	1	0	3	2	0	6
			Adornment	0	2	1	0	0	3
			Pubic Shield	0	0	2	0	0	2
			Disk	1	0	0	0	0	1
			Pendant	0	0	0	1	0	1
		Greenstone (Jade)	Bead	1	8	0	2	0	11
		Bone	Fan Handle	0	6	0	0	0	6
			Disk	0	0	1	0	0	1
		Mineral	Mineral	2	3	0	0	0	5
		Greenstone	Bead	0	0	2	0	1	3
			Celt	1	0	0	0	0	1
		NB Colha Chert	Modified Lithic	0	0	2	0	0	2
			Cutting Tool	0	0	0	0	1	1
		Groundstone	Grinding Tool	0	0	2	0	0	2
			Celt	0	1	0	0	0	1
		Obsidian	Cutting Tool	0	1	0	0	1	2
		Non-NB Colha Chert	Cutting Tool	0	1	0	0	0	1
		N/A	N/A	0	0	0	0	0	0
	Cuello Total			**15**	**75**	**85**	**17**	**13**	**205**
	K'axob	Ceramic	Vessel Fragment	1001	1230	620	37	772	3660
			Vessel	5	14	11	3	14	47
			Net Sinker	0	0	0	4	1	5
			Bead	0	1	0	0	0	1
		Fauna	Unmodified Bone	36	516	110	6	355	1023
		NB Colha Chert	Modified Lithic	91	197	508	12	101	909
			Cutting Tool	2	6	3	0	5	16
			Core Tool	0	0	1	0	1	2
		Shell	Unmodified Shell	161	233	78	21	49	542
			Bead	6	18	19	4	9	56
			Pendant	3	1	2	0	0	6
			Modified Shell	0	1	2	0	0	3
			Tinkler	0	0	1	0	0	1
		Chalcedony	Modified Lithic	15	66	73	3	58	215
			Core Tool	1	0	2	1	2	6
		Unidentifiable	Modified Lithic	33	65	69	12	38	217
			Cutting Tool	0	0	1	0	0	1
		Non-NB Colha Chert	Modified Lithic	17	26	29	6	24	102
			Core Tool	0	0	0	0	1	1
		Greenstone (Jade)	Bead	0	2	0	2	1	5
			Pendant	0	1	0	0	0	1
		Groundstone	Crafting Tool	0	1	1	1	0	3
			Tool	0	0	1	1	0	2
			Grinding Tool	0	0	0	0	1	1
		Obsidian	Cutting Tool	0	2	2	0	0	4
		Greenstone	Bead	0	0	0	0	3	3
			Modified Greenstone	0	1	0	0	0	1
		Bone	Crafting Tool	0	3	0	0	0	3
		N/A	N/A	0	0	0	0	0	0
	K'axob Total			**1371**	**2384**	**1533**	**113**	**1435**	**6836**
Grand Total				**1387**	**2519**	**1817**	**134**	**1504**	**7361**

Table 6.10: Count of Artifacts by Material Type, Form Type and Age of Individual

Table 6.10: Count of Artifacts by Material Type, Form Type and Age of Individual

Time Period	Site	Material	Form	Adult	Indeterminate	SubAdult	Grand Total
Late Preclassic	Colha	Shell	Bead	20	121	1	142
			Pendant	1	0	2	3
			Disk	0	0	1	1
			Gorget	1	0	0	1
		Bone	Bead	0	31	0	31
			Tube	11	0	0	11
			Pin	0	3	0	3
			Bar	0	1	0	1
			Earflare	1	0	0	1
		Ceramic	Vessel Fragment	22	0	0	22
			Vessel	17	0	4	21
			Disk	1	1	1	3
		NB Colha Chert	Tool	20	0	0	20
			Cutting Tool	6	6	1	13
			Eccentric	0	4	0	4
		Greenstone (Jade)	Bead	22	0	0	22
			Pendant	1	0	0	1
		Greenstone	Bead	5	0	13	18
			Pendant	1	0	0	1
		Fauna	Unmodified Bone	1	0	0	1
		N/A	N/A	0	0	0	0
	Colha Total			**130**	**167**	**23**	**320**
	Cuello	Ceramic	Vessel	78	1	12	91
			Vessel Fragment	2	0	2	4
			Ring	2	0	0	2
		Shell	Bead	11	0	48	59
			Modified Shell	3	0	3	6
			Adornment	2	0	1	3
			Pubic Shield	0	0	2	2
			Disk	1	0	0	1
			Pendant	1	0	0	1
		Greenstone (Jade)	Bead	11	0	0	11
		Bone	Fan Handle	6	0	0	6
			Disk	1	0	0	1
		Mineral	Mineral	5	0	0	5
		Greenstone	Bead	2	0	1	3
			Celt	1	0	0	1
		NB Colha Chert	Modified Lithic	2	0	0	2
			Cutting Tool	1	0	0	1
		Groundstone	Grinding Tool	0	0	2	2
			Celt	1	0	0	1
		Obsidian	Cutting Tool	2	0	0	2
		Non-NB Colha Chert	Cutting Tool	1	0	0	1
		N/A	N/A	0	0	0	0
	Cuello Total			**133**	**1**	**71**	**205**
	K'axob	Ceramic	Vessel Fragment	3250	0	410	3660
			Vessel	42	0	5	47
			Net Sinker	5	0	0	5
			Bead	1	0	0	1
		Fauna	Unmodified Bone	944	0	79	1023
		NB Colha Chert	Modified Lithic	482	0	427	909
			Cutting Tool	14	0	2	16
			Core Tool	1	0	1	2
		Shell	Unmodified Shell	467	0	75	542
			Bead	45	0	11	56
			Pendant	4	0	2	6
			Modified Shell	2	0	1	3
			Tinkler	0	0	1	1
		Chalcedony	Modified Lithic	177	0	38	215
			Core Tool	4	0	2	6
		Unidentifiable	Modified Lithic	177	0	40	217
			Cutting Tool	1	0	0	1
		Non-NB Colha Chert	Modified Lithic	82	0	20	102
			Core Tool	1	0	0	1
		Greenstone (Jade)	Bead	5	0	0	5
			Pendant	1	0	0	1
		Groundstone	Crafting Tool	3	0	0	3
			Tool	1	0	1	2
			Grinding Tool	1	0	0	1
		Obsidian	Cutting Tool	4	0	0	4
		Greenstone	Bead	3	0	0	3
			Modified Greenstone	1	0	0	1
		Bone	Crafting Tool	3	0	0	3
		N/A	N/A	0	0	0	0
	K'axob Total			**5721**	**0**	**1115**	**6836**
Grand Total				**5984**	**168**	**1209**	**7361**

Table 6.11: Interments with Artifacts of Varying Functions

Time Period	Site	Artifact Function	Grand Total
Late Preclassic	Colha	Practical-Utilitarian	23
		Prestige-Ceremonial	20
		Prestige-Ceremonial?	2
		Practical-Utilitarian?	3
		N/A	51
	Colha Total		**99**
	Cuello	Practical-Utilitarian	31
		Prestige-Ceremonial	52
		N/A	43
	Cuello Total		**126**
	K'axob	Practical-Utilitarian	55
		Prestige-Ceremonial	46
		Prestige-Ceremonial?	22
		Practical-Utilitarian?	20
		N/A	4
	K'axob Total		**147**
Grand Total			**372**

Note that goods of varying functions may be found within a single interment therefore this is not a count of interments but rather a count of those interments that contain goods of the specified function.

Table 6.12: Interments with Artifacts of Varying Functions by Sex of the Individual

Table 6.12: Interments with Artifacts of Varying Functions by Sex of the Individual

Time Period	Site	Function	Function Details	Female	Female?	Indeterminate	Male	Male?	Grand Total
Late Preclassic	Colha	N/A	N/A	8	4	19	15	5	51
		N/A Total		**8**	**4**	**19**	**15**	**5**	**51**
		Prestige-Ceremonial	Prestige-Ceremonial	4	0	8	7	1	20
			Prestige-Ceremonial?	1	0	1	0	0	2
		Prestige-Ceremonial Total		**5**	**0**	**9**	**7**	**1**	**22**
		Practical-Utilitarian	Practical-Utilitarian	4	1	4	14	0	23
			Practical-Utilitarian?	1	0	2	0	0	3
		Practical-Utilitarian Total		**5**	**1**	**6**	**14**	**0**	**26**
	Colha Total			**18**	**5**	**34**	**36**	**6**	**99**
	Cuello	N/A	N/A	2	3	13	19	6	43
		N/A Total		**2**	**3**	**13**	**19**	**6**	**43**
		Prestige-Ceremonial	Prestige-Ceremonial	5	4	17	19	7	52
		Prestige-Ceremonial Total		**5**	**4**	**17**	**19**	**7**	**52**
		Practical-Utilitarian	Practical-Utilitarian	5	2	7	15	2	31
		Practical-Utilitarian Total		**5**	**2**	**7**	**15**	**2**	**31**
	Cuello Total			**12**	**9**	**37**	**53**	**15**	**126**
	K'axob	N/A	N/A	0	0	4	0	0	4
		N/A Total		**0**	**0**	**4**	**0**	**0**	**4**
		Prestige-Ceremonial	Prestige-Ceremonial	10	3	14	14	5	46
			Prestige-Ceremonial?	5	1	8	6	2	22
		Prestige-Ceremonial Total		**15**	**4**	**22**	**20**	**7**	**68**
		Practical-Utilitarian	Practical-Utilitarian	11	2	21	16	5	55
			Practical-Utilitarian?	4	0	8	6	2	20
		Practical-Utilitarian Total		**15**	**2**	**29**	**22**	**7**	**75**
	K'axob Total			**30**	**6**	**55**	**42**	**14**	**147**
Grand Total				**60**	**20**	**126**	**131**	**35**	**372**

Note that goods of varying functions may be found within a single interment therefore this is not a count of interments but rather a count of those interments that contain goods of the various specified function. Note that N/A denotes those interments absent of goods

Table 6.13: Interments with Artifacts of Varying Functions by Age of the Individual

Table 6.13: Interments with Artifacts of Varying Functions by Age of the Individual

Time Period	Site	Function	Function Details	Adult	Indeterminate	SubAdult	Grand Total
Late Preclassic	Colha	N/A	N/A	40	5	6	51
		N/A Total		**40**	**5**	**6**	**51**
		Prestige-Ceremonial	Prestige-Ceremonial	16	1	3	20
			Prestige-Ceremonial?	1	0	1	2
		Prestige-Ceremonial Total		**17**	**1**	**4**	**22**
		Practical-Utilitarian	Practical-Utilitarian	20	1	2	23
			Practical-Utilitarian?	1	1	1	3
		Practical-Utilitarian Total		**21**	**2**	**3**	**26**
	Colha Total			**78**	**8**	**13**	**99**
	Cuello	N/A	N/A	35	3	5	43
		N/A Total		**35**	**3**	**5**	**43**
		Prestige-Ceremonial	Prestige-Ceremonial	41	1	10	52
		Prestige-Ceremonial Total		**41**	**1**	**10**	**52**
		Practical-Utilitarian	Practical-Utilitarian	27	0	4	31
		Practical-Utilitarian Total		**27**	**0**	**4**	**31**
	Cuello Total			**103**	**4**	**19**	**126**
	K'axob	N/A	N/A	0	0	4	4
		N/A Total		**0**	**0**	**4**	**4**
		Prestige-Ceremonial	Prestige-Ceremonial	36	0	10	46
			Prestige-Ceremonial?	16	0	6	22
		Prestige-Ceremonial Total		**52**	**0**	**16**	**68**
		Practical-Utilitarian	Practical-Utilitarian	39	0	16	55
			Practical-Utilitarian?	14	0	6	20
		Practical-Utilitarian Total		**53**	**0**	**22**	**75**
	K'axob Total			**105**	**0**	**42**	**147**
Grand Total				**286**	**12**	**74**	**372**

Note that goods of varying functions may be found within a single interment therefore this is not a count of interments but rather a count of those interments that contain goods of the various specified functions. Note that N/A denotes those interments absent of goods

Table 6.14: Numbers of Artifacts of Varying Functions within Interments by Material Type and Form Type

Time Period	Site	Function	Function (Class)	Material	Form	Grand Total
Late Preclassic	Ceiba	Prestige-Ceremonial	Prestige-Ceremonial	None	Bar	1
					Bead	31
					Ceiffare	1
					Pipe	1
					Plate	11
				Grand Total		47
				Ceramic	Vessel	7
				Ceramic Total		7
				Greenstone	Bead	18
					Pendant	1
				Greenstone Total		19
				Greenstone (Jade)	Bead	21
					Pendant	2
				Greenstone (Jade) Total		23
				NB Ceiba Chert	Core/Flake	4
					Shell	142
					Disk	1
					Core	1
					Pendant	1
				NB Ceiba Chert Total		149
				Shell	Bead	147
				Shell Total		147
			Prestige-Ceremonial Total			247
			Practical-Utilitarian	Ceramic	Vessel	2
				Ceramic Total		2
			Practical-Utilitarian Total			249
			Prestige-Ceremonial Total			249
		Practical-Utilitarian	Practical-Utilitarian	Ceramic	Vessel	22
					Vessel fragment	22
				Ceramic Total		44
				NB Ceiba Chert	Cutting Tool	33
					Tool	20
				NB Ceiba Chert Total		53
			Practical-Utilitarian Total			97
			Practical-Utilitarian Total	Ceramic	Vessel	3
				Ceramic Total		3
				Jade	Unmodified Stone	1
				Jade Total		1
				Stone	Bar	1
				Stone Total		1
			Practical-Utilitarian Total			101
		Prestige-Ceremonial	Prestige-Ceremonial	None	Disc	1
					Fan/Handle	6
				None Total		7
				Ceramic	Ring	7
					Vessel	53
				Ceramic Total		60
				Greenstone	Bead	3
					Disc	1
				Greenstone Total		4
				Greenstone (Jade)	Bead	11
					Disc	1
				Greenstone (Jade) Total		12
				Obsidian	Cutting Tool	1
					Material	1
				Obsidian Total		2
				Shell	Adornment	3
					Bar	30
					Disk	1
					Modified Shell	6
					Pendant	1
					Rock Shield	2
				Shell Total		43
			Prestige-Ceremonial Total			117
		Practical-Utilitarian	Practical-Utilitarian	Ceramic	Vessel	117
					Vessel fragment	8
				Ceramic Total		125
				Greenstone	Cutting Tool	2
				Greenstone Total		2
				NB Ceiba Chert	Cutting Tool	1
					Modified Lithic	2
				NB Ceiba Chert Total		3
				Non-Ceiba Chert	Cutting Tool	1
				Non-Ceiba Chert Total		1
			Practical-Utilitarian Total			131
		Prestige-Ceremonial Total				248
	Ceiba Total					248
	Cuello	Prestige-Ceremonial	Prestige-Ceremonial	None	Cutting Tool	1
					Disc	3
				None Total		4
				Ceramic	Bead	20
					Vessel	20
					Vessel fragment	400
				Ceramic Total		420
				Greenstone	Bead	3
					Modified Greenstone	1
				Greenstone Total		4
				Greenstone (Jade)	Bead	5
					Pendant	1
				Greenstone (Jade) Total		6
				Obsidian	Cutting Tool	4
				Obsidian Total		4
				Shell	Bead	96
					Modified Shell	3
					Pendant	6
					Tinkler	1
					Unmodified Shell	547
				Shell Total		653
			Prestige-Ceremonial Total			1084
		Practical-Utilitarian	Practical-Utilitarian	Ceramic	Vessel	1
				Ceramic Total		1
				Greenstone	Unmodified Stone	8
				Greenstone Total		8
				Jade	Bar Slider	143
					Vessel	5
					Vessel fragment	2
				Jade Total		150
				Ceramic	Bead	5
					Vessel	71
					Vessel fragment	283
				Ceramic Total		359
				Obsidian	Core Tool	2
					Modified Lithic	215
				Obsidian Total		217
				Greenstone	Cutting Tool	1
					Grinding Tool	1
					Tool	6
				Greenstone Total		8
				NB Ceiba Chert	Core Tool	2
					Modified Lithic	10
				NB Ceiba Chert Total		12
				Non-Ceiba Chert	Core Tool	1
					Modified Lithic	120
				Non-Ceiba Chert Total		121
				Unidentifiable	Cutting Tool	1
					Modified Lithic	217
				Unidentifiable Total		218
			Practical-Utilitarian Total			1985
				Stone	Unmodified Stone	1
				Stone Total		1
			Practical-Utilitarian Total			3070
		Prestige-Ceremonial Total				3070
	Cuello Total					3070
Grand Total						3318

Table 6.15: Number of Interments with Head Cover over the Cranium of the Decedent

Time Period	Site	Head Cover	Grand Total
Late Preclassic	Colha	Yes	7
	Colha Total		**7**
	Cuello	Yes	35
	Cuello Total		**35**
	K'axob	Yes	15
		Yes?	1
	K'axob Total		**16**
Grand Total			**58**

Table 6.16: Number of Interments with Head Cover over the Cranium of the Decedent by Sex of the Individual

Time Period	Site	Head Cover	Female	Female?	Indeterminate	Male	Male?	Grand Total
Late Preclassic	Colha	Yes	3	0	1	2	1	7
	Colha Total		**3**	**0**	**1**	**2**	**1**	**7**
	Cuello	Yes	5	2	12	13	3	35
	Cuello Total		**5**	**2**	**12**	**13**	**3**	**35**
	K'axob	Yes	6	0	3	4	2	15
		Yes?	0	1	0	0	0	1
	K'axob Total		**6**	**1**	**3**	**4**	**2**	**16**
Grand Total			**14**	**3**	**16**	**19**	**6**	**58**

Table 6.17: Number of Interments with Head Cover over the Cranium of the Decedent by Age of the Individual

Time Period	Site	Head Cover	Adult	Indeterminate	SubAdult	Grand Total
Late Preclassic	Colha	Yes	6	0	1	7
	Colha Total		**6**	**0**	**1**	**7**
	Cuello	Yes	27	1	7	35
	Cuello Total		**27**	**1**	**7**	**35**
	K'axob	Yes	14	0	1	15
		Yes?	1	0	0	1
	K'axob Total		**15**	**0**	**1**	**16**
Grand Total			**48**	**1**	**9**	**58**

Table 6.18: Number of Head Cover Vessels by Material Type, Form Type and Subform Type

Time Period	Site	Head Cover	Material	Form	Subform	Grand Total
Late Preclassic	Colha	Yes	Ceramic	Vessel	Bowl	2
					Bucket	1
					Dish	2
					Vessel (Indeterminate Shape)	2
	Colha Total					**7**
	Cuello	Yes	Ceramic	Vessel	Bowl	25
					Bucket	6
					Chocolate Pot	1
					Dish	2
					Jar	1
					Olla	1
					Plate	1
	Cuello Total					**37**
	K'axob	Yes	Ceramic	Vessel	Bowl	12
					Dish	3
				Vessel Fragment	Sherd*	2
		Yes?	Ceramic	Vessel	Bowl	1
	K'axob Total					**18**
Grand Total						**62**

*Note that a total of 400 fragments were found within the two interments noted in this table; all other counts represent actual vessel counts.

Table 6.19: Interments with a Cross Motif Vessel within the Funerary Assemblage

Time Period	Site		Grand Total
Late Preclassic	K'axob		3
	K'axob Total		**3**
Grand Total			**3**

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Time Period	Site		Male	Male?	Grand Total
Late Preclassic	K'axob	Yes	2	1	3
	K'axob Total		**2**	**1**	**3**
Grand Total			**2**	**1**	**3**

Table 6.21: Interments with a Cross Motif Vessel within the Funerary Assemblage by Age of the Individual

Time Period	Site		Adult	Grand Total
Late Preclassic	K'axob		3	3
	K'axob Total		**3**	**3**
Grand Total			**3**	**3**

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Time Period	Site	Material	Form	Subform	Grand Total
Late Preclassic	K'axob	Ceramic	Vessel	Bowl	1
				Dish	2
	K'axob Total				**3**
Grand Total					**3**

Table 6.23: Interments Exhibiting Evidence of Burning

Time Period	Site	Grand Total
Late Preclassic	Colha	11
	Colha Total	**11**
	K'axob	23
	K'axob Total	**23**
Grand Total		**34**

Table 6.24: Interments Exhibiting Evidence of Burning by Sex of the Individual

Time Period	Site	Female	Female?	Indeterminate	Male	Male?	Grand Total
Late Preclassic	Colha	1	1	0	9	0	11
	Colha Total	**1**	**1**	**0**	**9**	**0**	**11**
	K'axob	5	1	8	7	2	23
	K'axob Total	**5**	**1**	**8**	**7**	**2**	**23**
Grand Total		**6**	**2**	**8**	**16**	**2**	**34**

Table 6.25: Interments Exhibiting Evidence of Burning by Age of the Individual

Time Period	Site	Adult	SubAdult	Grand Total
Late Preclassic	Colha	11	0	11
	Colha Total	**11**	**0**	**11**
	K'axob	17	6	23
	K'axob Total	**17**	**6**	**23**
Grand Total		**28**	**6**	**34**

Table 6.26: Total Number of Burned Artifacts by Material Type and Form Type

Time Period	Site	Material Exhibits Evidence of Burning	Material	Form	Grand Total
Late Preclassic	Colha	Yes	Ceramic	Vessel Fragment	20
				Vessel	1
			Ceramic Total		21
	Colha Total				21
	K'axob	Yes	NB Colha Chert	Modified Lithic	709
				Cutting Tool	8
				Core Tool	2
			NB Colha Chert Total		719
			Chalcedony	Modified Lithic	154
				Core Tool	5
			Chalcedony Total		159
			Unidentifiable	Modified Lithic	142
				Cutting Tool	1
			Unidentifiable Total		143
			Non-NB Colha Chert	Modified Lithic	71
				Core Tool	1
			Non-NB Colha Chert Total		72
			Shell	Bead	2
			Shell Total		2
			Groundstone	Grinding Tool	1
			Groundstone Total		1
	K'axob Total				1096
Grand Total					1117

¢ł·ōfŜ c◊нтŶ Interments Exhibiting Evidence of Red Mineral Pigmentation

Time Period	Site	Grand Total
Late Preclassic	Colha	4
	Colha Total	**4**
	Cuello	2
	Cuello Total	**2**
	K'axob	2
	K'axob Total	**2**
Grand Total		**8**

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Time Period	Site	Female	Indeterminate	Male	Grand Total
Late Preclassic	Colha	2	1	1	4
	Colha Total	**2**	**1**	**1**	**4**
	Cuello	0	0	2	2
	Cuello Total	**0**	**0**	**2**	**2**
	K'axob	1	0	1	2
	K'axob Total	**1**	**0**	**1**	**2**
Grand Total		**3**	**1**	**4**	**8**

Table 6.29: Interments Exhibiting Evidence of Red Mineral Pigmentation by Age of the Individual

Time Period	Site	Adult	Grand Total
Late Preclassic	Colha	4	4
	Colha Total	**4**	**4**
	Cuello	2	2
	Cuello Total	**2**	**2**
	K'axob	2	2
	K'axob Total	**2**	**2**
Grand Total		**8**	**8**

Table 6.30: Total Number of Pigmented Artifacts by Material Type, Form Type, and Subform Type

Time Period	Site	Material Exhibits Evidence of Pigmentation	Material	Form	Subform	Grand Total
Late Preclassic	Colha	Yes	Ceramic	Vessel	Tecomate	1
			Ceramic Total			1
			Osteological Material	Osteological Material	N/A	2
			Osteological Material Total			2
			Shell	Pendant	Pendant	1
			Shell Total			1
	Colha Total					4
	Cuello	Yes	Mineral	Mineral	Red Ochre (Small Solid Roll)	1
					Red Ochre (Unmodified Lumps)	1
			Mineral Total			2
	Cuello Total					2
	K'axob	Yes	Ceramic	Vessel	Bowl	1
			Ceramic Total			1
			Shell	Bead	Irregular Bead	1
			Shell Total			1
	K'axob Total					2
Grand Total						8

Table 6.31: Count of Interments within Varying Architecture Space Functions

Time Period	Site	Architectural Space Function	Grand Total
Late Preclassic	Colha	Ritual/Ceremonial	38
		Domestic	9
		Ritual/Ceremonial?	14
		Domestic within Ritual/Ceremonial	27
	Colha Total		**88**
	Cuello	Ritual/Ceremonial	59
		Domestic	37
		Domestic?	13
	Cuello Total		**109**
	K'axob	Domestic	61
	K'axob Total		**61**
Grand Total			**258**

Table 6.32: Count of Interments within Varying Architecture Space Functions by Sex of Individual

Time Period	Site	Architectural Space Function	Female	Female?	Indeterminate	Male	Male?	Grand Total
Late Preclassic	Colha	Ritual/Ceremonial	4	1	14	18	1	38
		Domestic	0	1	2	6	0	9
		Ritual/Ceremonial?	5	0	5	4	0	14
		Domestic within Ritual/Ceremonial	6	3	10	3	5	27
	Colha Total		**15**	**5**	**31**	**31**	**6**	**88**
	Cuello	Ritual/Ceremonial	0	5	14	28	12	59
		Domestic	8	1	13	14	1	37
		Domestic?	1	1	7	4	0	13
	Cuello Total		**9**	**7**	**34**	**46**	**13**	**109**
	K'axob	Domestic	12	3	25	16	5	61
	K'axob Total		**12**	**3**	**25**	**16**	**5**	**61**
Grand Total			**36**	**15**	**90**	**93**	**24**	**258**

Table 6.33: Count of Interments within Varying Architecture Space Functions by Age of Individual

Time Period	Site	Architectural Space Function	Adult	Indeterminate	SubAdult	Grand Total
Late Preclassic	Colha	Ritual/Ceremonial	28	4	6	38
		Domestic within Ritual/Ceremonial	22	1	4	27
		Ritual/Ceremonial?	11	2	1	14
		Domestic	9	0	0	9
	Colha Total		**70**	**7**	**11**	**88**
	Cuello	Ritual/Ceremonial	52	2	5	59
		Domestic	26	1	10	37
		Domestic?	10	1	2	13
	Cuello Total		**88**	**4**	**17**	**109**
	K'axob	Domestic	41	0	20	61
	K'axob Total		**41**	**0**	**20**	**61**
Grand Total			**199**	**11**	**48**	**258**

CHAPTER 7: TERMINAL PRECLASSIC

COUNT OF INDIVIDUALS BY SEX (Table 7.1)

ALL SITES

There are 28 individuals interred across the three sites of study during the Terminal Preclassic. There are a total of 12 indeterminately sexed individuals, 10 males, 4 possible males, 1 female and 1 possible female. This marks a more than nine fold decrease in the interred population between the Late Preclassic and the current period. Given these numbers, it is clear that indeterminately sexed individuals are the most populous demographic, accounting for 42.86% of the total number of individuals. Males comprise 35.71% of the population, possible males account for 14.29% of individuals and females and possible females each represent 3.57% of the total interred decedents. Based on this analysis, it can be seen that male individuals are 10 times more prevalent within the Terminal Preclassic landscape of northern Belize than are females. As in the Middle and Late Preclassic, there are likely cultural variables as well as natural preservation factors that are preferentially preserving the male population.

COLHA

Only indeterminately sexed individuals occur at Colha during the Terminal Preclassic. There are three such individuals for this time period. This demonstrates

a decided decrease from 31 indeterminate individuals in the Late Preclassic as well as the 31 males, 15 females, 6 possible males and 5 possible females seen during that period.

CUELLO

There are no recovered individuals present for the Terminal Preclassic at Cuello. This is clearly quite divergent from the population of 20 seen during the Middle Preclassic and the population high of 109 individuals seen during the Late Preclassic.

K'AXOB

During the Terminal Preclassic at K'axob, there are 10 males, 9 indeterminately sexed individuals, 4 possible males, 1 female and 1 possible female. This equates to a total of 25 individuals. Forty percent of these individuals are males, 36% are indeterminates, 16% are possible males, and females and possible females each comprise 4% of the population. Males are ten times more prevalent than females, indicating differential preservation as the result of natural or cultural factors or a combination thereof.

COUNT OF INDIVIDUALS BY AGE (Table 7.2)

ALL SITES

Across the three sites during the Terminal Preclassic, there are 26 adults, 1 subadult and 1 indeterminately aged individual. This means that adults account for 92.86% of the population at this time while subadults and indeterminates each account for 3.57%. Thus, adults are 26 times more prevalent within the Terminal Preclassic interred population of northern Belize than are subadults.

COLHA

There are only 2 adults and one indeterminately aged individual that were recovered from Terminal Preclassic Colha. This means that 66.67% of the interred population was adults and 33.33% were indeterminates. No subadults are found in the interred population of Colha at this time.

K'AXOB

The Terminal Preclassic at K'axob sees the interment of 24 adults and 1 subadult, for a total of 25 individuals. Thus, 96% of the population is adults and only 4% are subadults. No indeterminately sexed individuals are present at K'axob at this time. This population of 25 is much lower than the Late Preclassic population of 61, thought it is an increase from the Middle Preclassic population count of 12 individuals.

COUNT OF INDIVIDUALS BY BURIAL POSITION AND SEX (Table 7.3)

ALL SITES

Based on analysis, during the Terminal Preclassic the majority of individuals (67.86%) had indeterminate burial positions while 17.86% were placed in extended positions and 14.29% in flexed positions. There do not appear to be any individuals interred in disarticulated states. While there are secondarily interred individuals in the population sample, these decedents have an indeterminate burial orientation based on the totality of available information and are therefore classified as indeterminates. All females are located in indeterminate positions while equal numbers of males are found in extended and flexed positions (20% each), with the majority (60%) being indeterminate. Possible females are all buried in extended positions while three quarters of possible males are placed in indeterminate positions, and 25% in flexed postures. Three quarters of indeterminate individuals are placed in indeterminate burial positions while 16.67% are extended and 8.33% are flexed. It is interesting to note that while males were interred in flexed and extended positions during this time period, females (including possible females) were restricted to extended postures.

COLHA

Two thirds of the indeterminately sexed individuals at Colha are interred in indeterminate burial postures during this time period. The remaining third of indeterminate individuals are placed in flexed postures. Again, it must be noted that

only indeterminately sexed individuals were recovered from Terminal Preclassic Colha.

K'AXOB

Given that the majority of individuals found during the Terminal Preclassic are from K'axob interments, the comments regarding analysis of data over the three sites that are discussed above holds fairly true for the site specifically. All females were interred in indeterminate postures while all possible females were placed in extended burial positions. Sixty percent of males were interred in indeterminate positions while the remaining 40% were equally divided between flexed and extended positions. Seventy five percent of possible males are found in indeterminate positions and 25% in flexed postures. Indeterminately sexed individuals are found both in indeterminate burial postures (77.78%) and extended positions (22.22%). Interestingly, definitively sexed males account for two thirds of the total number of individuals found in flexed burial postures. Including tentatively sexed individuals, females account for 20% of all individuals interred in extended positions.

COUNT OF INDIVIDUALS BY BURIAL POSITION AND AGE (Table 7.4)

ALL SITES

During the Terminal Preclassic, the majority of individuals recovered from the three sites of study (67.86%) were interred in indeterminate burial positions.

Extended burial postures were the next most common, with 17.86% of all individuals exhibiting this positioning. Flexed positions were the least popular interment posture with 14.29% of individuals falling into this category. Considering adult individuals specifically, 65.38% of them were found in indeterminate burial positions, with 19.23% in extended postures and only 15.38% in flexed positions. Subadults and indeterminately aged individuals, on the other hand, exhibit much less variability in their interment postures. Both 100% of all indeterminately aged and subadult individuals recovered from the Terminal Preclassic were found in indeterminate burial positions. Comparatively adults represent 89.47% of those individuals found in indeterminate positions and subadults and indeterminate individuals each represent 5.26% of this distribution.

COLHA

Analysis shows that during the Terminal Preclassic at Colha, equal numbers (50%) of adults were interred in flexed and indeterminate burial positions. All indeterminately aged individuals recovered from the site at this time were found in indeterminate placements. Occurrences of indeterminate burial positions are equally split between the two age categories.

K'AXOB

Two thirds of adults recovered from Terminal Preclassic K'axob were placed in indeterminate burial positions, with 20.83% shown to be in extended positions

and 12.50% in flexed postures. Subadults are interred only in indeterminate burial positions. Between the two age categories, adults are interred more frequently in both extended and flexed burial positions, accounting for 100% of each of these postures. Of those individuals placed in indeterminate positions, adults account for 94.12% of the distribution and subadults for 5.88%.

COUNT OF INDIVIDUALS BY CRANIAL ORIENTATION AND SEX (Table 7.5)

ALL SITES

Analysis shows that across all three sites, only four cranial orientations were present; definitive north, possible north, possible east and possible south. There are also individuals with an indeterminate cranial orientation and those who had no cranial material present, rendering an orientation determination inapplicable. Overall, 39.29% of individuals have an indeterminate cranial orientation, denoting that while cranial material was present, the quantity and level of preservation did not afford investigators the ability to make a determination regarding orientation. Twenty five percent of individuals have a definitive north cranial orientation, 21.43% have a possibly north orientation, and 3.57% have either a possibly east or possibly south cranial orientation. There was 7.14% of the interred population of the Terminal Preclassic for whom cranial orientations were inapplicable. All females in the dataset have a possibly northern cranial orientation. Forty percent of males have a definitively northern cranial orientation and 20% have a possibly northern orientation. Forty percent of males also have an indeterminate cranial orientation.

All possible females have a definitively northern cranial orientation. Possible males have equal numbers of northern, possibly northern, eastern and indeterminate cranial orientations. Lastly, 50% of indeterminately sexed individuals have and indeterminate cranial orientations while 16.67% have a possibly northern orientation and 8.33% have either a definitively northern or possibly southern orientation. An inability to make a determination regarding orientation due to lack of cranial material is present in 16.67% of indeterminate individual cases. Interestingly, possible males are the only individuals interred with possibly eastern cranial orientations while indeterminately sexed individuals are the only ones interred with possibly southern orientations. Indeterminates are also the only individuals to not have cranial material present for a determination of orientation to be made. Definitively sexed males account for the majority of definitively northern cranial orientations (57.14%).

COLHA

All individuals recovered from Terminal Preclassic Colha were indeterminately sexed. Each of these individuals also had an indeterminate cranial orientation. Thus, 100% of the population of the site during this time had indeterminate cranial orientations.

K'AXOB

Terminal Preclassic K'axob interments account for all of the females, males, possible males and possible females found during this time. Therefore, the analysis above holds true in regards to distribution of cranial orientations by sex for individuals in these demographic categories. Females are only found with possibly northern orientations while possible females are only found with definitively northern orientations. Forty percent of males have definitively northern orientations and 20% have possibly northern orientations while 40% of males have indeterminate orientations. Possible males have equal numbers of indeterminate, northern, possibly northern, and possibly eastern orientations. Lastly, given that some indeterminately sexed individuals were interred at Colha, the numbers seen for indeterminates at K'axob are a bit different than the review of all sites discussed above. One third of indeterminately sexed individuals at Terminal Preclassic K'axob have indeterminate cranial orientations, while 22.22% have possibly northern orientations and 11.11% have either a possibly southern or definitively northern orientation. No cranial material was present in 22.22% of indeterminate interments resulting in no determination of cranial orientation being possible.

COUNT OF INDIVIDUALS BY CRANIAL ORIENTATION AND AGE (Table 7.6)

ALL SITES

Adults across all three sites are largely interred with indeterminate cranial orientations (34.62%), while 26.92% are placed in a northern orientation and

23.08% in a possibly northern orientation. Only 3.85% of adults have either a possibly southern or possibly eastern orientation. No cranial material was present in 7.69% of adult interments, resulting in the determination of a cranial orientation being inapplicable. All indeterminately aged individuals were interred with indeterminate cranial orientations and all subadults were interred with an indeterminate orientation as well. Only adults are interred with possibly eastern, definitively northern, possibly northern and possibly southern cranial orientations. They are also interred more often with an indeterminate cranial orientation than are either subadults or indeterminately aged individuals who each comprise 9.09% of individuals found with an indeterminate orientation.

COLHA

Adult and indeterminately aged decedents are the only individuals interred at Colha during the Terminal Preclassic. No subadults are found at this time. All interred individuals are found with indeterminate cranial orientations. No other cranial orientations are present at the site at this time. Adults comprise two thirds of the instances of individuals interred with indeterminate orientations and indeterminately aged individuals represent the remaining third.

K'AXOB

Only adults and subadults were found at Terminal Preclassic K'axob; no indeterminately aged individuals were recovered from excavations. Of these

individuals, it appears that subadults were interred only with indeterminate cranial orientations. A number of adults were also interred with indeterminate cranial orientations, with 29.17% of adult interments from the site at this time exhibiting this placement. The same percentage of individuals (29.17%) also had a definitively northern cranial orientation while 25% were interred with a possibly northern cranial orientation. Equal percentages (4.17%) of adults had either a possibly southern or possibly eastern cranial orientation. No cranial material was present in 8.33% of adult interments, resulting in the inapplicability of a determination of cranial orientation. Comparatively, adults were the only individuals interred with all cranial orientations except those individuals found with indeterminate orientations. Adults comprise 87.50% of those individuals while subadults represent the remaining 12.5%.

COUNT OF ARTIFACTS BY MATERIAL TYPE AND SEX OF INDIVIDUAL (Table 7.7)

ALL SITES

Frequency Table (% of Column)

Interestingly, there do not appear to be any instances of the inclusion of red mineral pigments or groundstone objects within Terminal Preclassic interments. Pigments in both raw and processed forms were seen in the prior periods of the Middle and Late Preclassic yet appear to have either fallen out of favor or not been readily enough available to be included within Terminal Preclassic interments. Also, groundstone implements were included in moderate frequencies in the past

periods; however they are absent from the Terminal Preclassic assemblage of definitively sexed individuals. All other artifact material types seen in the Late Preclassic are also seen in the current period.

In the Terminal Preclassic, across Colha, Cuello and K'axob, NB Colha chert is the grave good material type included most frequently with definitively sexed individuals, occurring in 16.98% of all interments, a 5.26% increase in frequency from the Late Preclassic. Unidentifiable lithic material artifacts are the next most frequently occurring material class, appearing in 15.09% of interments. This is an approximate 3 fold increase in frequency from the Late Preclassic.

Shell is seen in 13.21% of interments in the Terminal Preclassic, which is roughly a 4% increase from the prior period. Ceramics are found in an equal number of interments as are artifacts manufactured from shell. This marks an approximately 18% decrease, meaning ceramics are roughly 2.4 times less likely to appear in Terminal Preclassic interments. Chalcedony is found in 11.32% of interments, an approximately two fold increase from the Late Preclassic. Non-NB Colha chert artifacts occur in 7.55% of interments as do greenstone (jade) items. This marks an increase by a factor of 1.75 for non-NB Colha chert and 2.4 for jade artifacts. Unmodified faunal remains occur in 5.66% of interments. This marks a roughly 1.3% increase in frequency of faunal remains in the Terminal Preclassic.

Bone artifacts are found in only 3.77% of interments marking an approximate 1% increase from earlier occurrences of this artifact material class. Greenstone of non-jade varieties sees an approximate 0.5% decrease in frequency

from the Late Preclassic, with this material occurring in only 1.89% of interments. Obsidian is found in very few interments (1.89%), though this is still a roughly 0.30% increase in frequency from the Late Preclassic. The data shows that overall, 1.89% of Terminal Preclassic interments did not contain a funerary assemblage; this is a 15.3% decrease from the Late Preclassic. Analysis indicates that instances of the inclusion of goods of most materials increased slightly in the Terminal Preclassic compared to the preceding period. However, a significant decrease was seen in the number of interments containing ceramics as well as those containing greenstone of non-jade varieties.

This is likely due to the extreme difference in the sample of individuals and their accompanying funerary assemblages between the Terminal Preclassic and the prior period. While 258 individuals exist in the dataset for the Late Preclassic, only 28 individuals are present for the Terminal Preclassic, with the majority of these individuals and grave goods being from K'axob. Such conditions of the dataset introduce a significant amount of skew into the analysis when the data is viewed as a whole across all three sites. The decrease in numbers of non-jade greenstone and ceramic items within interments is very apparent at Colha and Cuello; however this trend is not as pronounced when the K'axob data is examined individually (see discussion in Chapter 9 below). For, while jade and non-jade greenstone quantities do decrease slightly within interments of definitively sexed females, the quantity of non-jades is seen to remain consistent with definitively sexed males while the quantities of jade placed with males more than doubles. The case is the same for

ceramic grave goods. Thus, this apparent precipitous drop in the numbers of these items appears to be the result of data skewing based on the available Terminal Preclassic population sample and the fact that 25 of 28 individuals or over 89% come from K'axob.

Also, as abovementioned, no interments contained items of groundstone or red mineral pigments. There does seem to be an overall increase in the frequency at which prestige goods are included in interments, indicating perhaps that the economic and social privilege associated with these items was becoming more decentralized within the population, if only to a small degree. The male funerary assemblage across the three sites is typified by the inclusion of NB Colha chert, with this material type appearing in 15.69% of male interments. Items manufactured from unidentifiable lithic material, shell and ceramic each appear in 13.73% of male interments while chalcedony is included in 11.76%. Both non-NB Colha chert and greenstone (jade) items appear in 7.84% of male interments and unmodified faunal remains are placed in 5.88%. Bone artifacts occur only in 3.92% of interments while greenstone (non-jade varieties) and obsidian occur in 1.96%. Funerary assemblages are not included in 1.96% of male interments.

Comparatively between the Late Preclassic and Terminal Preclassic, males are found with higher frequencies of all artifact material classes, except ceramics. The slightly increased frequency of both practical and prestige material classes, as well as the drastically lower number of male interments buried with no goods, indicates that the restricted nexus of power that was formulated in the Late

Preclassic may have been going through a period of dissolution. Females are only interred with two artifact material types during the Terminal Preclassic – NB Colha chert and unidentifiable lithic material. No female interments are placed without a funerary assemblage. It appears that during the Terminal Preclassic, there was a large decrease in the number of interred females as well as though there was a social devaluing of these individuals given that they are placed with some of the most easily acquirable and plentiful resources in the region.

Quantitative Table (% of Column)

During this time period, ceramics account for the majority of recovered artifacts (40.57%). NB Colha chert artifacts are the next most common material class, representing 24.90% of the regional assemblage. Shell is the third most populous artifact material class included in Terminal Preclassic interments, with 17.27% of the total recovered artifacts being manufactured from this material. All other artifact material classes are slightly less represented, with the next most populous material class, unmodified faunal remains, being approximately 4.6 times less prolific than ceramics. Faunal remains represent 8.81% of the assemblage while unidentifiable lithic material accounts for 3.33%. Chalcedony represents 2.29% of the recovered goods and bone artifacts account for 1.25%. All other artifact classes account for less than 1% of the total recovered goods from this time period; this includes the prestige material categories of greenstone (jade), greenstone, and obsidian.

Clearly, access to prestige goods in general, and long distance trade items such as greenstones and obsidian specifically, was still limited at this time. The majority of artifacts recovered with males were ceramics (40.77%) and NB Colha chert artifacts (24.67%). Shell represents 17.35% of the artifacts interred with males, unmodified faunal remains account for 8.85% of the assemblage, unidentifiable lithic material for 3.21% and chalcedony for 2.30%. Bone artifacts account for 1.25% of the male assemblage while all other artifact classes represent less than 1% of the recovered goods. Prestige items of jade account for only 0.49% of the assemblage while greenstone of non-jade varieties and obsidian each represent only 0.07% of the goods interred with males during the Terminal Preclassic. As abovementioned, females are interred with only two grave good material classes. NB Colha chert makes up 71.43% of the female assemblage and unidentifiable lithic material artifacts comprise the remainder.

Frequency Table (% of Row)

Across the three sites, males all instances of each artifact material class, with the exception of NB Colha chert and unidentifiable lithic material. Concerning these two categories, males are interred with 88.89% of the NB Colha chert artifacts and females with 11.11%. Male interments account for 87.50% of the inclusions of unidentifiable lithic artifacts and females comprise the remainder of 12.50%.

Quantitative Table (% of Row)

As stated above, male interments represent all inclusions of the majority of artifact material classes seen at Colha, Cuello, and K'axob during the Terminal

Preclassic. In those instances where males do not represent 100% of the recovered artifacts of a material class, females represent a very minute fraction of the assemblage. Female interments represent only 1.39% of the NB Colha chert artifacts recovered in this time period while unidentifiable lithic material artifacts found in female interments represent 4.17% of the total goods found of this material type. In total, males account for 99.51% of all goods recovered from Terminal Preclassic interments.

Overall

Overall, males were interred with far higher frequencies and numbers of goods than females in the Terminal Preclassic in Northern Belize. This includes their more routine access to practical as well as prestige materials. During this time period, the regional funerary assemblage was typified by ceramics, NB Colha chert implements, and shell artifacts with all other material classes being slightly less represented in quantity. Prestige materials including greenstone (jade), greenstone of non-jade varieties and obsidian are seen in miniscule quantities within Terminal Preclassic interments.

The above-discussed trends represent the analysis of data for definitively sexed males and females and their associated grave goods. Regarding non-definitively sexed individuals across the three sites during the Late Preclassic, 16.67% of possible males are found with artifacts manufactured from at least one of each of three materials: NB Colha chert, unidentifiable lithic material, and ceramics.

Just over 11% of possible males are found with shell and chalcedony, with 5.56% of interments of individuals in this sex classification containing artifacts from at least one of the following material types: non-NB Colha chert, greenstone (jade), unmodified faunal remains, bone, and groundstone. No possible male interments contain instances of greenstone or obsidian. There are also no possible male interments interred without a funerary assemblage. Possible female interments contain equal frequencies of five different artifact material types: NB Colha chert, ceramics, shell, chalcedony, and non-NB Colha chert. It does not appear that any possible female interments were buried without a funerary assemblage.

Regarding indeterminately sexed individuals, their interments most frequently include artifacts of NB Colha chert (22.22%), shell (16.67%) and unmodified faunal remains (13.89%). Ceramic and unidentifiable lithic artifacts are each included in 11.11% of indeterminately sexed individual interments. Greenstone is found in 8.33% of indeterminate interments while chalcedony and bone are each founding 5.56%. Non-NB Colha chert is found in 2.78% of indeterminate interments while no individuals of an indeterminate sex are interred with jade, groundstone, or obsidian artifacts. Possible male interments are dominated by NB Colha chert (42.53%) and unmodified faunal remains (24.14%) in quantity, while possible the possible female assemblage is largely composed of ceramics (95.94%), and the indeterminate assemblage is represented by similar quantities of shell (30.93%), NB Colha chert (23.09%), and ceramics (20.82%).

All other artifact material types included with these individuals are included in lower quantities, especially the prestige material classes of bone, jade, greenstone, and obsidian. Interestingly, possible males are interred with all instances of groundstone found during the Terminal Preclassic in northern Belize. Also of note is the fact that indeterminately sexed individuals are interred with three quarters of the instances of greenstone artifacts, which comprise 90.91% of the items manufactured from this material that were recovered across the region in this time period. Given the fact that definitively sexed males were included with a far more diverse funerary assemblage than were definitively sexed females and that the assemblage profiles of possible males and indeterminates closely mirror the male assemblage, it is highly likely that these individuals were in fact males.

COLHA

Frequency Table (% of Column)

This analysis is not applicable to Terminal Preclassic Colha given that only indeterminately sexed individuals were recovered and therefore there is no need to compare the frequencies of artifact material types interred with different sexes.

Quantitative Table (% of Column)

Interestingly, there are only indeterminately sexed individuals present in the interred population of Colha during the Terminal Preclassic. These individuals are overwhelmingly accompanied by shell grave goods, with 91.49% of the artifacts recovered from Terminal Preclassic Colha being manufactured from this material.

Greenstone objects of non-jade varieties comprise 7.09% of the total assemblage and ceramic artifacts account for only 1.42%. It is remarkable to see such a dearth in the diversity of individuals and artifact material types included at the site, given that in earlier periods there were far more varied demographics and goods. While the recovered numbers of individuals may be few and the goods sparse compared to earlier periods, the discussion presented by Buttles (2002) indicates that this may not be representative of activity at the entire site during this time. According to Buttles, the numerous lithic workshops established in prior periods are still in use and caching is very evident throughout the site. Further, ritual architecture construction activities continue in Operation 2031 and the development of writing and mathematical systems is seen (Buttles 2002: 84-87; Adams 1991).

The resurgence in quantities of shell artifacts included with those individuals interred at Terminal Preclassic Colha is reminiscent of the Middle Preclassic period at the site where 92.13% of the assemblage of all definitively, tentatively, and indeterminately sexed individuals was composed of shell artifacts. Shell occurs in quantities roughly twice as high in the current period as during the Late Preclassic. Approximately 1.15% more shell occurs in Terminal Preclassic interments than in those of the prior period. Ceramic objects are over ten times less prolific in the current period than in the prior. This drastic decline in the number of individuals and the numbers and frequencies of a more diverse grave good assemblage likely indicates a period of denouement for Colha.

It should be noted that only three individuals were recovered from Terminal Preclassic Colha. Greenstone artifacts were interred with all three, shell with two and ceramic objects with only one individual. Economic and social networks that would have been the gateways through which goods of practical and especially prestige natures traveled were likely in a state of dissolution and disrepair, resulting in the decreasing likelihood for funerary assemblages of any great quantity or quality to appear during this time period.

Frequency Table (% of Row)

As abovementioned, greenstone artifacts are interred with all three individuals. Shell goods are seen in two of the three interments and ceramic items are included in only a singe grave. Clearly the artifact material type frequencies of Terminal Preclassic Colha are present on an immensely diminished scale compared to earlier periods at the site.

Quantitative Table (% of Row)

This analysis is not applicable to Terminal Preclassic Colha given that only indeterminately sexed individuals were recovered and therefore there is no need to compare the quantities of artifact material types interred with different sexes.

Overall

Overall, based on the data and analysis of the current project, it appears that the Terminal Preclassic was a period of denouement for Colha; however other evidence exists (Brown et al n.d.; Buttles 2002) for a continued economic and cultural florescence at the site. Based on the available interment data, the site is

absent of any osteological remains from this time period that are persevered well enough to be definitively sexed. Only three indeterminately sexed individuals were recovered. There is also a general dearth of goods included with these few individuals, with 129 shell objects comprising the majority of the recovered artifacts. There is an overwhelming lack of diversity in the Terminal Preclassic Colha assemblage, with only three material types being represented, as abovementioned.

K'AXOB

Frequency Table (% of Column)

Considering definitively sexed individuals, analysis shows that NB Colha chert implements are the most frequently interred good at K'axob during the Terminal Preclassic (16.98%), with similarly high frequencies of unidentifiable lithic material goods occurring (15.09%). Both shell and ceramic goods occur in 13.21% of interments at this time while chalcedony is placed in 11.32% of graves and non-NB Colha chert and greenstone (jade) are each in 7.55% of interments. Unmodified faunal remains are present in 5.66% of Terminal Preclassic K'axob interments, bone artifacts are in 3.77% and each of the two remaining material classes (obsidian and greenstone) are found in 1.89% of interments. Funerary assemblages are absent from 1.89% of interments from this period at the site. Males are most frequently interred with NB Colha chert artifacts.

The relative frequency of all other artifact material types in relation to NB Colha chert mirrors the frequencies abovementioned for the site as a whole, given

that males are interred with a more diverse array of goods than females, who are interred with only two material types. Therefore, the distribution of goods with males overwhelmingly guides the site frequencies when artifacts interred with definitively sexed individuals are being considered. Females are interred equally as frequently with items manufactured from NB Colha chert and unidentifiable lithic material. No other artifact material types are found in female interments.

Quantitative Table (% of Column)

Ceramics dominate the Terminal Preclassic K'axob assemblage, representing 40.57% of the items recovered from this time period. NB Colha chert implements account for 24.90% of the assemblage, shell for 17.27%, and unmodified faunal remains for 8.81% of the total goods. Also present in the assemblage are artifacts of unidentifiable lithic material (3.33%), chalcedony (2.29%), bone (1.25%), non-NB Colha chert (0.97%), greenstone (jade) (0.49%), greenstone (non-jade varieties) (0.07%), and obsidian (0.07%). Clearly the majority of prestige items such as greenstone, jade, and obsidian as well as bone are represented in exceedingly minute quantities.

It should be noted however that the quantities of greenstone (jade), bone and obsidian are slightly higher in this period than in the prior. The differences are for jade and obsidian are within a few tenths and hundredths of a percent, respectively; however bone quantities within Terminal Preclassic K'axob interments are 1.17% higher than in the Late Preclassic. Male interments are largely populated with ceramics (40.77%), NB Colha chert (24.67%) and shell (17.35%). Unmodified faunal

remains account for 8.85% of the good interred with males while unmodified faunal remains represent 3.21% of the assemblage, chalcedony represents 2.30% and bone artifacts account for 1.25%. All other artifact material types included with males occur in numbers comprising less than 1% of the male funerary assemblage. These material types include: non-NB Colha chert (0.98%), greenstone (jade) (0.49%), greenstone (0.07%), and obsidian (0.07%). The female funerary assemblage is predominated by NB Colha chert artifacts (71.43%), with the only other material class present in female interments being unidentifiable lithic material (28.57%). Clearly males were interred with a far more diverse array of goods than were females during the Terminal Preclassic at K'axob.

Frequency Table (% of Row)

Males have higher frequencies of all artifact material classes during the Terminal Preclassic at K'axob. All instances of bone, obsidian, greenstone (jade), chalcedony, unmodified faunal remains, shell, ceramics, non-NB Colha chert, and greenstone (non-jade varieties) occur in male interments. Male interments account for 88.89% of the instances of NB Colha chert and 87.50% of the instances of unidentifiable lithic material that are seen within interments of this time period. Among definitively sexed individuals, the only decedents interred without a funerary assemblage at this time are males.

Quantitative Table (% of Row)

Considering only definitively sexed individuals, analysis shows that males are included with higher numbers of all artifact material classes found at K'axob

during the Terminal Preclassic than are females. In fact, males are found with 100% of all artifact material types, with the exception of unidentifiable lithic material and NB Colha chert; however they are still interred with higher quantities of these artifacts than are females. Male interments contain 95.83% of the unidentifiable lithic material interred at the site while females are accompanied by the remaining 4.17%. NB Colha chert primarily occurs in male interments (98.61%), with 1.39% of these artifacts being placed in female graves. Male interments account for 99.51% of all goods recovered from Terminal Preclassic K'axob. Clearly, males were afforded more of an opportunity for interment with goods from both the practical and prestige categories and were buried with higher numbers of material types from across the spectrum of artifact function (ritual-ceremonial/practical-utilitarian). As in earlier time periods, males appear to be the more esteemed demographic at K'axob. It is likely that males at the site would still have been largely in control of the economic and social spheres of life during the Terminal Preclassic. While the Late Preclassic may have been a period of a measured equalization of the power dynamic between males and females, as discussed above, it appears that the Terminal Preclassic redefines the nexus of power with male individuals.

Overall

Overall, males at Terminal Preclassic K'axob are interred with vastly higher numbers and frequencies of all artifact material types. Females are only interred with minute amounts of unidentifiable lithic material and NB Colha chert. Generally, the power dynamic at K'axob during this time period appears to be sharply divided

in the favor of males. While the Late Preclassic data indicated that there may have been a small degree of equalization in power between the two sexes, the divergence in status is clearly reflected in the assemblages of this time period, with males evidently having an far greater access to goods of all kinds, especially prestige goods, resulting in their interments with higher numbers of a more varied assemblage. The data also reflect a slightly different story than that show above for Colha and Cuello. While there is a dearth in the interred population able to be recovered from Colha as well as an enormous decrease in the number and type of materials interred with these individuals, and there are no Terminal Preclassic interment incidences for Cuello, K'axob does not appear to experience this apparent denouement in the same fashion. Females at K'axob are clearly highly socially devalued at this time, thus male interments account for the bulk of the funerary assemblages seen at the site; however there are still a high number of goods and a much more diverse array of materials of both practical and prestige natures than are seen at either Colha or Cuello.

Trends for goods included with definitively sexed individuals have been discussed above. Brief highlights of the data from Terminal Preclassic K'axob are below. Possible males are interred with higher quantities of NB Colha chert than any other material (42.53%), while their collective assemblage is also composed of 24.14% unmodified faunal remains. Possible female interments are tremendously populated by ceramic artifacts, with 95.94% of their assemblage being represented by these items. Indeterminately sexed individuals are accompanied by similarly high

numbers of NB Colha chert (32.56%), ceramics (28.78%), and unmodified faunal remains (26.45%). All instances of groundstone found at Terminal Preclassic K'axob are interred with possible male individuals. The interments that are unaccompanied by a funerary assemblage are equally divided between definitively sexed males and indeterminately sexed individuals.

COUNT OF ARTIFACTS BY MATERIAL TYPE AND AGE OF INDIVIDUAL
(Table 7.8)

ALL SITES

Frequency Table (% of Column)

NB Colha chert goods are the most frequently occurring artifact material class during the Terminal Preclassic, occurring in 18.75% of interments across the region. Shell goods are seen in 14.29% of interments while ceramics and unidentifiable lithic material are each seen in 13.39%. Chalcedony goods are interred with 9.82% of decedents, 8.04% of interments include unmodified faunal remains and 6.25% of interments contain non-NB Colha chert. Greenstone (jade) and bone items are found in equal frequencies across the three sites (4.46%). Greenstone items of non-jade varieties are included in 3.57% of interments while groundstone and obsidian goods are each seen in less than 1% of graves (0.89%). No funerary assemblage is included in 1.79% of Terminal Preclassic interments. Adults are most frequently interred with NB Colha chert, with 19.05% of their interments containing this material.

The next most frequent material class is ceramics, occurring in 14.29% of adult graves. Shell and unidentifiable lithic material occur in equal frequency within adult interments (13.33%). Chalcedony is the next most frequently appearing artifact material class, showing up in 9.52% of adult graves; unmodified faunal remains are present in slightly fewer adult interments (8.57%). Non-NB Colha chert goods are seen in 5.71% of interments with adult decedents while 4.76% of individuals in this age category are placed with jade objects. Both bone and greenstone of non jade varieties occur in 3.81% of adult interments. Both groundstone and obsidian occur in just under 1% of adult interments in the Terminal Preclassic (0.95%). Only 1.90% of adults are interred without the accompaniment of grave goods during this time period. As abovementioned, the only grave good material class interred with indeterminately aged individuals is shell. Also as abovementioned, subadult individuals are found with only six different artifact material classes during the Terminal Preclassic – NB Colha chert, shell, unidentifiable lithic material, chalcedony, non-NB Colha chert and bone. These six material types are found in equal frequencies (16.67%) within subadult interments.

Quantitative Table (% of Column)

Quantitatively, ceramics dominate the Terminal Preclassic funerary assemblage of northern Belize. Ceramic goods represent 39.85% of the total artifacts recovered from the three sites of study during this time period. NB Colha chert items explain 23.11% of the total number of goods at this time while shell corresponds to 18.36% of the assemblage. Unmodified faunal remains describe

10.81% of the total goods interred with decedents. All other artifact material classes are present in much lower quantities, with unidentifiable lithic material accounting for 2.99% of goods, chalcedony for 2.08% and bone artifacts for 1.04%. All remaining artifact material classes are found in quantities representing less than 1% of the total goods seen within interments across the three sites. Non-NB Colha chert accounts for 0.81% of the total goods from this time, while greenstone items represent 0.50% and jade items explain 0.36% of the total goods. Both groundstone and obsidian represent a combined total of 0.10% of the recovered goods in the Terminal Preclassic.

Frequency Table (% of Row)

During the Terminal Preclassic across all three sites of study, adults are found with higher frequencies of all artifact material categories than are subadults or indeterminately aged individuals. Adults are found with all instances of items manufactured from greenstone (jade), obsidian, greenstone (non-jade varieties), groundstone, ceramic, and unmodified faunal remains. Interestingly, all interments absent of a funerary assemblage are also occupied by adults. Nearly all of those interments that contain NB Colha chert are adult graves (95.24%), while individuals in this age category also contain the a higher frequency of unidentifiable lithic material (93.33%), chalcedony (90.91%), shell (87.50%), non-NB Colha chert (85.71%), and bone artifacts (80%). Indeterminately aged individuals are only interred with shell goods during the Terminal Preclassic in northern Belize, accounting for 6.25% of the total interments during this time that contain shell.

Subadult interments contain only six different artifact material classes, representing one fifth of all interments with bone artifacts, 14.29% of those with non-NB Colha chert implements, 9.09% of those interments with chalcedony, 6.67% of instances of unidentifiable lithic material, 6.25% of shell occurrences and 4.76% of those interments containing NB Colha chert. This analysis shows that adults are interred with far higher frequencies and in many cases all instances, of all grave good material classes. This is especially true regarding the prestige materials of greenstone, jade, obsidian, shell, and bone. The vast majority of bone and shell are found in adult interments, as abovementioned, while all instances of the other prestige materials are also located within adult graves.

Quantitative Table (% of Row)

As stated above, adults are found with 100% of the total recovered artifacts that are manufactured from jade, obsidian, greenstone, ceramics, and groundstone as well as all instances of the inclusion of unmodified faunal remains. Nearly all (99.26%) of the shell artifacts recovered from the Terminal Preclassic period are found in adult interments. The overwhelming majority of all recovered goods are also found in adult interments, with 97.46% of NB Colha chert items, 96.97% of unidentifiable lithic artifacts, 95.65% of bone goods and 93.48% of chalcedony implements being recovered with adult decedents. A very high percentage (88.89%) of the non-NB Colha chert goods found in the Terminal Preclassic is also found with adults. Overall, adults are associated with 98.91% of the artifacts interred with decedents during the Terminal Preclassic.

Overall

Overall, adults are interred with far higher frequencies and numbers of all artifact material types than are either subadults or indeterminately aged individuals. All instances of greenstone (jade), obsidian, greenstone of non-jade varieties, unmodified faunal remains, ceramics, and groundstone are found with adults. In addition to being interred with all instances of the prestige materials of jade, obsidian, and greenstone, adults are also interred with higher frequencies and numbers of prestige goods manufactured from shell and bone. Clearly adults during the Terminal Preclassic are interred with materials indicative of a higher level of status and social esteem than are either subadults or indeterminately aged individuals. This mirrors the trend seen in both the Middle and Late Preclassic in which adults were highly favored for accompaniment by prestige goods.

<u>COLHA</u>

Frequency Table (% of Column)

Analysis shows that greenstone objects are the most frequently occurring artifact material type at the site during this time, occurring in 50% of interments. Shell goods appear in one third of graves while ceramics are present within 16.67%. Regarding adults specifically, greenstone objects are the most frequent material type found with these decedents (60%) while shell and ceramic goods each appear in 20% of adult interments. Indeterminately aged individuals are only interred with objects manufactured from shell.

Quantitative Table (% of Column)

Shell is by far the most quantitatively prolific material type, accounting for 91.49% of goods recovered from the site during the Terminal Preclassic. Greenstone objects represent 7.09% of the assemblage and ceramics just 1.42%. Specifically regarding the adult assemblage, 91.37% of the goods interred with these decedents are shell, 7.19% are greenstone and 1.44% is ceramics. As stated above, indeterminately aged individuals are found only with shell grave goods.

Frequency Table (% of Row)

Only adult and indeterminately aged individuals are found at Colha during the Terminal Preclassic. As abovementioned, only three artifact material classes are found at Colha during this time period – shell, greenstone of non-jade varieties and ceramic. Adults are found with all instances of greenstone and ceramics during this time. Occurrences of shell are equally split between adult and indeterminate individuals.

Quantitative Table (% of Row)

As stated above, all occurrences of both greenstone and ceramics are found with adults. The overwhelming majority of recovered shell artifacts are also found with adults. Only 1.55% of shell goods are found with indeterminately aged individuals while the remaining 98.45% are interred with adult decedents. Overall, adult interments provide 98.58% of the total goods recovered from Terminal Preclassic Colha.

Overall

Overall, adults in Terminal Preclassic Colha are accompanied by far higher frequencies and numbers of the three grave good material types seen at the site than are indeterminates. While indeterminately aged individuals are interred with a very minute quantity of shell, their interments are absent of any goods manufactured from the prestige material of greenstone.

K'AXOB

Frequency Table (% of Column)

Analysis shows that NB Colha chert is the most frequently included grave good at K'axob during the Terminal Preclassic (19.81%). Unidentifiable lithic material is included in 14.51% of interments while both shell and ceramic are included in 13.21%. Chalcedony is seen in 10.38% of graves and unmodified faunal remains within 8.49%. Non-NB Colha chert is placed within 6.60% of overall interments while bone artifacts and jade objects are each included in 4.72% of graves. Artifacts of greenstone, groundstone and obsidian each occur in only 0.94% of interments. One fifth of adult interments contain NB Colha chert, while 14% have unidentifiable lithic material and/or ceramics. Thirteen percent of adults are interred with shell goods and 10% with chalcedony. Unmodified faunal remains are seen within 9% of adult interments, non-NB Colha chert within 6% and jade within 5%. Bone artifacts are only in 4% of adult interments while greenstone, groundstone and obsidian each occur in 1% of adult graves. Subadults are found

with equal frequencies (16.67%) of the six material classes with which they are interred.

Quantitative Table (% of Column)

Ceramics account for 42.92% of the goods interred with adults and NB Colha chert items represent 24.32% of the items. Shell goods explain 13.48% of the assemblage and unmodified faunal remains portray 11.67%. al other artifact material classes at the site are represented in far lower quantities within the adults assemblage, with the prestige materials of greenstone and obsidian only representing 0.10% of the assemblage combined. Bone artifacts represent 1.07% of the adult assemblage. Overall, the inclusion of prestige goods is still relatively low in quantity. While the relative number of shell artifacts within the adult assemblage increase from the Late to the Terminal Preclassic, the quantity still does not approach that seen in the Middle Preclassic. Also, while there is a slight increase in the amount of jade within the adult assemblage between the Late and Terminal periods, there are simultaneous decreases in the numbers of greenstone and obsidian interred with adults. Subadults are interred with an assemblage consisting of 59.09% NB Colha chert and 13.64% chalcedony. Clearly, the subadult assemblage is dominated by practical materials, echoing the material manifestation of lower social status of these individuals that was seen in the prior periods. All other artifact material classes included with subadults are interred in far lesser quantities.

Frequency Table (% of Row)

Based on analysis of the Terminal Preclassic K'axob interment data, adults are interred with higher frequencies of all grave good material types seen at the site during this time period. All instances of unmodified faunal remains, ceramics, groundstone, greenstone of non-jade varieties, obsidian, and greenstone (jade) are placed with adults. NB Colha chert goods occur 20 times more frequently with adults than subadults while unidentifiable lithic materials are interred with adults 14 times more often than with subadults. Shell goods are placed with adults 13 times more often than with subadults while chalcedony is included more often with adults by a factor of 10. Non-NB Colha chert is 6 times likelier to occur in an adult interment while bone artifacts are 4 times likelier to be placed with adults.

Quantitative Table (% of Row)

Adults are found with higher quantities of grave goods of all material categories than are subadults. As abovementioned, there are six grave good material classes that are exclusively interred with adults. Adults are interred with an average of 95% of the quantity of the remaining six grave goods classes. Adult interments account for 99.64% of the recovered shell, 97.46% of the NB Colha chert, 96.67% of the unidentifiable lithic material, 95.65% of the bone artifacts, 93.48% of the chalcedony and 88.89% of the non-NB Colha chert found at the site during this time. Subadults are interred with the remainder of artifacts found from these six material categories.

Overall

Overall, adults are accompanied by a more diversified funerary assemblage than are subadults;, given the lack of prestige items fashioned from jade, obsidian, and greenstone with subadults. Adults were interred with higher frequencies and quantities of every artifact material class during the Terminal Preclassic at K'axob than were subadults. Even in instances where subadult interments did contain prestige goods manufactured from shell and bone; their goods represent only 0.36% and 4.35%, respectively of the total number of these materials that were found.

COUNT OF ARTIFACTS BY MATERIAL TYPE, FORM TYPE AND SEX OF INDIVIDUAL (Table 7.9)

ALL SITES

Frequency Table (% of Column)

Males are most often interred with NB Colha chert modified lithics (12.31%) followed by ceramic vessels and unidentifiable material modified lithics (10.71% frequency each). All other materials in the male assemblage appear in frequencies under 10%, with the rarest forms being those of a prestige nature including obsidian cutting tools, greenstone (jade) celts, modified human bone and bone earflares, shell tinklers and shell pendants (all occurring in 1.54% of male interments). It is clear that male interments during the Terminal Preclassic were most frequently seen to include practical items, much like the Late Preclassic where ceramic vessels were the most frequent artifact form associated with males. The

female assemblage contains equal frequencies of NB Colha chert modified lithics and unidentifiable material modified lithics.

Quantitative Table (% of Column)

Ceramic vessel fragments can be seen as the predominant artifact form included with males, with 39.86% of the male assemblage being composed of these items. A high number of NB Colha chert modified lithics are also seen in male interments (24.32%). Unmodified shell accounts for 14.49% of the goods interred with males, unmodified faunal remains represent 8.85% of the assemblage, unidentifiable material modified lithics account for 3.21% of goods, shell tinklers for 2.58% and chalcedony modified lithics for 2.30%, and modified human bone comprises 1.18% of goods. All other artifact forms included with males represent less than one percent of the funerary assemblage of these individuals in the Terminal Preclassic. Based on the data, prestige artifact forms were still included in relatively small quantities compared to practical materials and forms. The female assemblage is dominated by NB Colha chert modified lithics (71.43%) with 28.57% of the assemblage being unidentifiable material modified lithics. This analysis confirms the findings of those above, which indicate that males had a much more diverse funerary assemblage during the Terminal Preclassic, with a tremendously larger amount and higher frequency of more varied goods than were included with females.

Frequency Table (% of Row)

Given that, as abovementioned, males are interred with 20 different artifact form classes that females are not, all instances of those form types appear assigned to males in the frequency analysis table. Regarding those two artifact forms that are found with females, males are still interred with those items more frequently. Male interments account for 88.89% of the instances of NB Colha chert modified lithics; female interments represent only 11.11% of the occurrences of this artifact form. Similarly, male interments account for 87.50% of the incidences of modified lithics crafted from unidentifiable material while female interments represent 12.50%. This means that Terminal Preclassic males were eight times more likely to be interred with NB Colha chert modified lithics and seven times likelier to be accompanied by unidentifiable material modified lithics than were females. Undoubtedly, male interments include all artifact materials and forms at much higher frequencies than do female interments.

Quantitative Table (% of Row)

Considering definitively sexed individuals, analysis shows that males are interred with a tremendously more diverse funerary assemblage than are females. Additionally, those artifact forms that occur in both male and female interments are present with males in exceedingly high numbers compared to females. A number of goods exclusively occur with males. These include shell pendants, beads and tinklers, unmodified shell, ceramic net sinkers, vessels, and vessel fragments, unmodified faunal remains, NB Colha chert cutting tools, chalcedony modified

lithics, non-NB Colha chert core tools and modified lithics, greenstone beads, bone earflares and modified human bone, greenstone (jade) beads, celts and modified greenstone as well as obsidian cutting tools. Males are also the only individuals to be interred without a funerary assemblage during the Terminal Preclassic. Females are only seen to be interred with 1.41% of the NB Colha chert modified lithics recovered from the site and 4.17% of the unidentifiable modified lithics retrieved from this time period. Male interments provide 99.51% of the total goods accompanying definitively sexed individuals while female interments contain the remaining 0.49% of the assemblage.

Overall

Overall, definitively sexed males were included with a wider array of artifact material types and forms than are females. In fact, there are 20 artifact forms that are exclusively interred with males during the Terminal Preclassic. Females are interred only with two artifact forms; despite the inclusion of these goods, their interments are still relatively impoverished in relation to the goods interred with males. It should be noted that within the grave good assemblage interred with definitively sexed individuals, there is a significant decrease in the variation seen in artifact forms of all material classes between the Late and Terminal Preclassic. Largely disappeared are a number of personal adornment forms manufactured from ceramic, shell, and bone such as ceramic beads and disks, shell gorgets and bone tubes and fan handles. While some of these forms do appear in graves of tentatively

and indeterminately sexed individuals, they are absent from the interments of definitively sexed males and females.

Brief highlights of the data for tentatively and indeterminately sexed individuals are below. The possible male assemblage is largely populated by NB Colha chert modified lithics (42.53%) and unmodified faunal remains (24.14%) during the Terminal Preclassic. Possible female individuals are overwhelmingly interred with ceramic vessel fragments with 95.43% of their assemblage being comprised of these artifact forms. Indeterminately sexed individuals have relatively similar percentages of shell beads (27.22%), NB Colha chert modified lithics (22.89%), ceramic vessel fragments (19.79%) and unmodified fauna remains (18.76%) in their assemblage. Possible male individuals are the only decedents during the Terminal Preclassic who are interred with tubes manufactured from bone (Figures 7.1-7.2) and vessel fragments of groundstone. Indeterminately sexed individual interments mark the only incidences of ceramic musical instruments and greenstone earflares. Interestingly, possible males are interred with two thirds of the recovered chalcedony core tools during this time period. Indeterminately sexed individuals are interred with 97.98% of the shell beads deposited in the Terminal Preclassic and 90% of the greenstone beads.

Figure 7.1: Tubular bone with carved scallop design from Terminal Preclassic K'axob (after McAnany 2004a: Photo 0267)

Figure 7.2: Deeply carved bone tube from Terminal Preclassic K'axob (after McAnany 2004a: Photo 0269)

COLHA

Frequency Table (% of Column)

Regarding frequency, ceramic vessels and musical instruments as well as greenstone earflares each occur in 14.29% of Terminal Preclassic Colha interments. Shell and greenstone beads each appear in 28.57% of interments during this time. Again, all occupants of these graves are indeterminately sexed individuals.

Quantitative Table (% of Column)

Indeterminately sexed individuals at Terminal Preclassic Colha are predominantly interred with shell beads, which comprise 91.49% of the recovered goods. These are whole shell beads versus the more refined discoid and tubular beads seen in earlier periods (Figure 7.3).

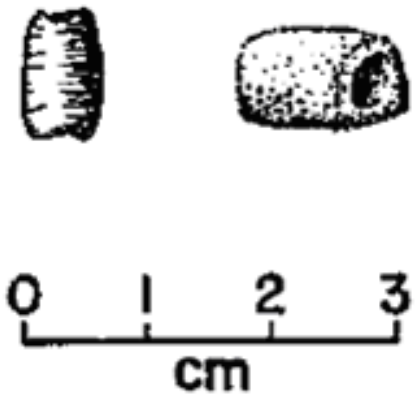

Figure 7.3: Tubular shell beads recovered from Terminal Preclassic Colha (after Buttles 2002: Fig. 6.2; Potter 1982: 109)

Greenstone beads represent 6.38% of goods interred with these decedents. The majority of these beads are discoid in shape, though singular instances of tubular and barrel shaped beads are also seen. The remaining three artifact form classes each represent 0.71% of the funerary assemblage included with indeterminately sexed individuals – greenstone earflares, and ceramic vessels and musical instruments. The vessel is of an indeterminate shape while the musical instrument is a zoomorphic ocarina (Figure 7.4).

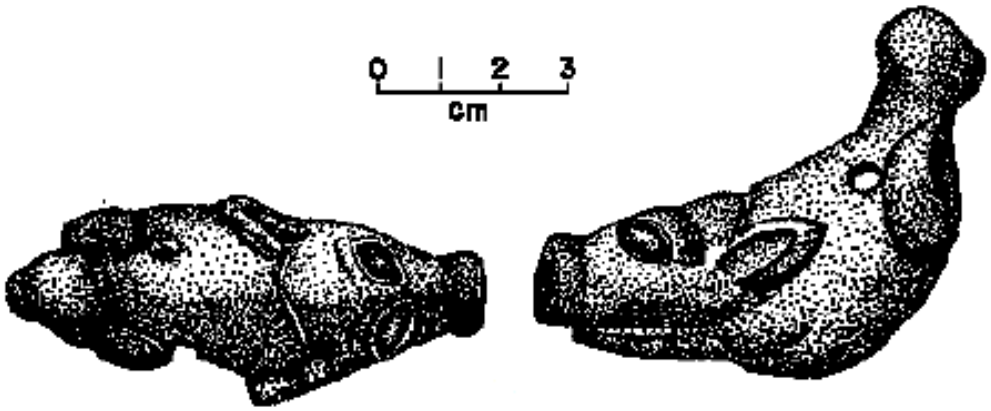

Figure 7.4: Peccary ocarina from Terminal Preclassic Colha (adapted from Buttles 2002: Fig. 5.2)

Frequency Table (% of Row)

Given that there are no other individuals of a different demographic with which to compare indeterminates, frequency row analytics are inapplicable.

Quantitative Table (% of Row)

Only indeterminately sexed individuals were recovered from the Terminal Preclassic at Colha. Given that there are no other individuals of a different demographic with which to compare indeterminates, quantitative row analytics are inapplicable.

Overall

Overall, indeterminately sexed individuals are the only decedents found at Colha during the Terminal Preclassic and are interred with higher amounts of shell beads than any other artifact form. Interestingly, the only practical artifact form that these interments contain is ceramic vessels. All other artifact forms present appear to be of a prestige nature. This includes ceramic musical instruments, shell and greenstone beads and greenstone earflares.

K'AXOB

Frequency Table (% of Column)

Females are interred with both types of modified lithics (unidentifiable material and NB Colha chert) equally as often. Males are most often interred with NB Colha chert modified lithics.

Quantitative Table (% of Column)

Males are largely interred with ceramic vessel fragments and NB Colha chert modified lithics. Bowls are the most prevalent complete ceramic vessel form found with males though dishes, jars, and cylindrical vessels are also seen. Additionally, a

specialized form is seen via the inclusion of a zoomorphic bowl with a male decedent. Whereas females were the only individuals accompanied by net sinkers in the prior periods, there is an instance of a spherical notched net sinker within the male assemblage. As in prior periods, the majority of artifacts manufactured from NB Colha chert, unidentifiable material, chalcedony and non-NB Colha chert are microdebitage (flakes and flake fragments as well as angular debris and fire shatter). The inclusion of bifaces and core tools are also seen; however as discussed above these artifacts are very likely linked to the backfill process in which midden deposits from lithic workshops near the interment site would have been used to fill up the void of the grave (McAnany 2004).

Regarding shell beads, disk beads and specimens that are carved are both present, with discoid forms being twice as prevalent. Bone fragments from unidentified species comprise the largest number of unmodified faunal remains placed with males. Various forms of modified human bone are found accompanying males including carved, polished and smoothed. Tubular jade and greenstone beads are the only bead form of these materials that is observed, though jade flakes, blanks and bead fragments are also present. Jade celts are also placed with males as are obsidian blades.

Prestige goods occur in relatively minute quantities within the male assemblage and are absent from the female assemblage. Females are interred mostly with NB Colha chert modified lithics with a smaller percentage of unidentifiable material modified lithics. The only forms of NB Colha chert modified

lithic that are seen are flakes and flake fragments, while unidentifiable material is observed in these forms as well as angular debris and fire shatter. No other goods are placed with Terminal Preclassic K'axob females.

Frequency Table (% of Row)

During the Terminal Preclassic, males have higher rates of inclusion or frequencies of all artifact forms than do females. Males also account for all instances of individuals interred with no funerary assemblage. Approximately 97% of all grave good inclusions at the site at this time occur in male interments.

Quantitative Table (% of Row)

Given the fact that K'axob is the only site of the three within this study from which definitively sexed individuals were recovered, the analysis presented above for 'All Sites' is ultimately an exact reflection of the interment data for definitively sexed K'axob decedents during this time period. A brief reiteration of the data highlights from the analysis will be included here. Males are exclusively interred with 20 artifact form classes that do not appear in any way with females. They are also interred with far higher numbers of the two artifact forms (unidentifiable and NB Colha chert modified lithics) that are found with females. Male interments account for nearly 100% of all goods recovered at K'axob during this time.

Overall

Overall, males are interred with higher frequencies and numbers of all artifact material and form classes than are females during the Terminal Preclassic at K'axob. There are 20 artifact forms that occur exclusively with males at this time,

including many prestige materials and forms not seen with females. As during the prior periods, males are interred with goods indicative of a higher social status than their female counter parts. While a possible measure equalization of the power gap between the sexes was seen in the Late Preclassic, the divide is sharpened and illustrated in a very clear manner based on the funerary assemblages as described above. There also appears to be a possible trend toward the inclusion of larger, more finely worked or carved items from shell and greenstone at the site during this time (Isaza Aizpurua 2004: 350).

Analysis highlights for tentatively and indeterminately sexed individuals from K'axob during the Terminal Preclassic are below. No artifact form stands out as typifying the funerary assemblage of possible males or females or indeterminately sexed individuals; their assemblages have similar frequencies of a number of different materials and forms. It should be noted that the only instances of groundstone vessel fragments and bone tubes occur with possible males. Indeterminates account for two thirds of the instances of modified human bone within interments from this time period at the site. Quantitatively, possible males are predominantly interred with NB Colha chert while possible female interments are largely populated by ceramic vessel fragments. Two thirds of the chalcedony core tools at the site occur in possible male interments.

COUNT OF ARTIFACTS BY MATERIAL TYPE, FORM TYPE AND AGE OF INDIVIDUAL (Table 7.10)

ALL SITES

Frequency Table (% of Column)

Regarding the frequencies of various artifact forms included within the assemblages of different age groups, there is no one artifact form that dominates either the adult or subadult assemblage. As stated above, the only artifact form found with indeterminately aged individuals are shell beads. Slightly higher frequencies of NB Colha chert modified lithics (15.20%) are found with adults compared to the next most common artifact form (ceramic vessels – 12%); however this does not represent a significant skewing of the frequency toward modified lithics manufactured from Colha chert. The subadult assemblage contains equal frequencies (14.29%) of the seven artifact forms included within them: shell pendants, chalcedony modified lithics and core tools, NB Colha chert modified lithics, unidentifiable material modified lithics, and modified human bone specimens.

Quantitative Table (% of Column)

Analysis shows that the adult funerary assemblage during the Terminal Preclassic is largely populated by ceramic vessel fragments (39.14%) and NB Colha chert modified lithics (22.50%). Unmodified faunal remains make up 10.93% of those goods recovered with adults and 10.24% of goods were unmodified shells. Shell beads account for 6.08% of those goods seen with adults, unidentifiable

material modified lithics represent 2.93%, and shell beads represent 2.01% of the adult assemblage. Chalcedony modified lithics and ceramic vessels represent very small quantities of the total goods associated with adults during the Terminal Preclassic, explaining 1.74% and 1.05% of the adult assemblage, respectively. All other artifact forms included in adult interments account for less than one percent of the total adult grave good assemblage.

Prestige artifact forms such as obsidian cutting tools, jade beads and celts, modified greenstone (jade), greenstone earflares and beads as well as bone tubes and earflares and modified human bone are found in very minute quantities within adult interments relative to all other goods. All instances of goods appearing within indeterminate individual interments are shell beads. The subadult assemblage is predominated by NB Colha chert modified lithics (59.09%). Lesser but equal quantities of unidentifiable material modified lithics, chalcedony modified lithics, and non-NB Colha chert modified lithics are present (9.09%). Still lesser but equal quantities of shell pendants, chalcedony core tools and modified human bone (4.55%) are present in the subadult assemblage.

Frequency Table (% of Row)

As stated above, there are eighteen artifact form types that are found exclusively with adults. Regarding the frequencies of other artifact materials and forms, two thirds of the instances of shell pendants are seen in adult graves while the other third are with subadults. Adults are four times likelier than indeterminate individuals to be placed with shell beads, given that 80% of all occurrences of these

items are with adult decedents. Nine out of ten interments containing chalcedony modified lithics are occupied by adults and the remainder by subadults. Three quarters of incidences of chalcedony core tools are sent with adults and one quarter with subadults. Ninety-five percent of the inclusions of NB Colha chert modified lithics are seen with adults and only with subadults 5% of the time. Two thirds of all modified human bone incidences within interments are associated with adults and the remainder with subadults. Nearly all inclusions of modified lithics crafted from unidentifiable lithic material are found with adults; adult interments contain these artifact forms 93.33% of the time while all other instances occur in subadult interments. Lastly, adults are nearly six times more likely to be interred with non-NB Colha chert modified lithics than are subadults.

Quantitative Table (% of Row)

During the Terminal Preclassic adults are included with eighteen grave goods forms that subadults and indeterminately aged individuals are not. Adult interments contain 100% of all recovered artifacts of the following forms: ceramic musical instruments, net sinkers, vessels, and vessel fragments, NB Colha chert cutting tools, shell tinklers (Figure 7.5), unmodified shell, unmodified faunal remains, bone earflares and tubes, non-NB Colha chert core tools, greenstone earflares and beads, greenstone (jade) celts and beads, modified greenstone (jade), obsidian cutting tools, and groundstone vessel fragments.

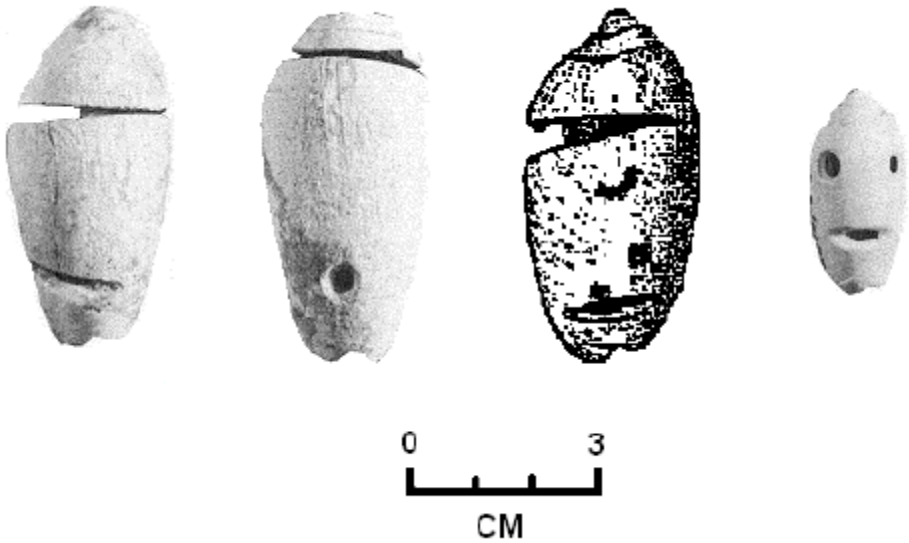

Figure 7.5: Shell tinklers from Terminal Preclassic Colha (after Buttles 2002: Fig. 6.7; Dreiss 1994)

All individuals interred with no funerary assemblage during this time period are also adults. Adult individuals are also interred with higher quantities of all other grave good types than are either subadults or indeterminately aged individuals. Interments occupied by adult decedents contain 97.43% of the modified lithics manufactured from NB Colha chert, 66.67% of all shell pendants and 98.52% of all shell beads. The majority of modified lithics manufactured from unidentifiable lithic material (96.97%) are also found in adult interments. Chalcedony core tools (83.33%) as well as modified lithics of this material (95%) are largely found with adults as are objects crafted from modified human bone (95.24%). The greater number (88.24%) of non-NB Colha chert modified lithics is also found with adults.

Indeterminately aged individuals are only interred with shell beads during the Terminal Preclassic and those items recovered from their interments constitute only 1.48% of the recovered items of this form. Subadults are interred with 2.57% of all NB Colha chert modified lithics and one third of all shell pendants recovered during this time period. A very small quantity (3.03%) of modified lithics crafted from unidentifiable lithic material are from subadult interments. Slightly higher but still minor percentages of other artifact forms are found with subadults: modified human bone (4.76%), chalcedony modified lithics (5%), non-NB Colha chert modified lithics (11.76%) and chalcedony core tools (16.67%). Overall, adults account for 98.91% of those goods recovered from the Terminal Preclassic, subadult interments comprise 1% and indeterminately aged individuals are associated with 0.09% of goods.

Overall

Overall, adults are interred with far higher quantities and frequencies of all artifact materials and forms found during the Terminal Preclassic than are subadults or indeterminately aged individuals. Neither the adult nor subadult assemblage appears to be skewed toward the more frequent inclusion of any one artifact form; however ceramic vessel fragments quantitatively dominate the former assemblage and NB Colha chert modified lithics dominate the latter. The only goods included with indeterminately aged individuals are shell beads. Prestige artifact forms are included in relatively small quantities with adults and are virtually absent from subadult interments with the exception of a small percentage of their

assemblage being comprised of shell pendants and modified human bone (9.09% combined).

COLHA

Frequency Table (% of Column)

As stated above, indeterminately aged individuals are only interred with shell beads at this time. The artifact form most frequently included with adults is greenstone beads, with 33.33% of interments containing these items. The remaining artifact forms of ceramic vessels and musical instruments, shell beads and greenstone earflares (Figure 7.6) are each included in 16.67% of adult interments.

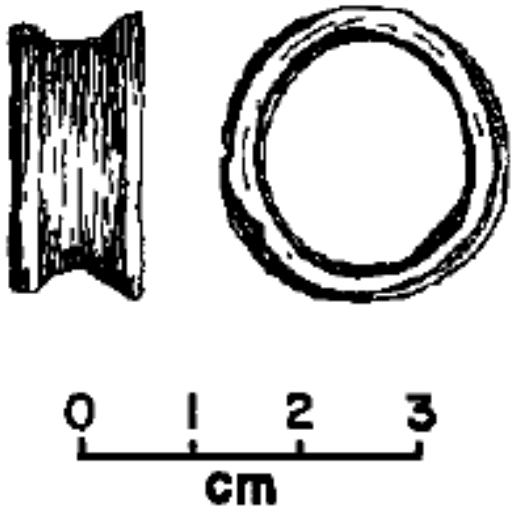

Figure 7.6: Terminal Preclassic ear flare recovered from Colha; possibly manufactured from shark vertebrae (after Buttles 1992, 2002: Fig. 7.5)

Quantitative Table (% of Column)

Analysis shows that indeterminately aged individuals are only interred with shell beads during the Terminal Preclassic at Colha. The adult assemblage is dominated by shell beads as well, with 91.37% of goods interred with these individuals being of this form. Greenstone beads account for 6.47% of the adult assemblage while greenstone earflares and ceramic vessels and musical instruments each account for 0.72% of the goods interred with adults during this time period.

Frequency Table (% of Row)

Adults are found with all instances of each artifact form with the exception of shell beads. This artifact form occurs in equal frequencies within adult and subadult interments. Interments with adult occupants account for 85.71 of the total population at the site during this time. No individuals are interred without a funerary assemblage during the Terminal Preclassic at Colha.

Quantitative Table (% of Row)

Only adults and indeterminately aged individuals are interred at Terminal Preclassic Colha. Adult interments contain 100% of all recovered greenstone earflares and beads as well as ceramic vessels and musical instruments. Shell beads are predominantly interred with adults (98.45%) rather than indeterminately aged individuals (1.55%). This means that shell beads were 63.5 times more prolific within adult interments than within those of subadults. Overall, adult interments

contain 98.58% of the total goods recovered from the site during this time period while indeterminate interments account for the remaining 1.42% of goods.

Overall

Overall, adults are interred with higher quantities and frequencies of all artifact forms found at Colha during the Terminal Preclassic, with the exception of shell beads. These items are seen in equal frequencies in both adult and subadult interments; however the overwhelming majority of them are still included with adult decedents.

K'AXOB

Frequency Table (% of Column)

There are no artifact forms that occur significantly more frequently with either subadults or adults during this time at K'axob. However, the most frequent good type included with adults is NB Colha chert modified lithics – these items occur in 15.97% of adult interments. Both ceramic vessels and modified lithics crafted from unidentifiable lithic material each occur in 11.76% of adult interments, with all other forms appearing in less than 10% of interments with adult occupants. Good type frequencies are equally split (14.29%) between the seven artifact forms appearing with subadults as abovementioned.

Quantitative Table (% of Column)

The adult assemblage at Terminal Preclassic K'axob is largely populated by ceramic vessel fragments with 41.80% of the goods placed with adult decedents

being of this form. NB Colha chert modified lithics are the next most prolific artifact form, representing 24.02% of the adult assemblage. Unmodified faunal remains constitute 11.67% of the adult funerary assemblage while unmodified shell accounts for 10.94%. Modified lithics crafted from unidentifiable lithic material comprise 3.12% of the goods interred with adults, shell tinklers account for 2.15%, chalcedony modified lithics for 1.86% and ceramic vessels for 1.07%. All other artifact forms interred with adults comprise less than one percent of the total number of goods placed with these individuals.

Prestige artifact forms including obsidian cutting tools, greenstone beads, greenstone (jade) beads and celts, modified greenstone (jade), bone earflares and tubes as well as modified human bone fall into this category of meager number of goods. There are no striking increases or decreases in the number of these artifact forms included with adults in the Terminal Preclassic at K'axob compared to the Late Preclassic though the quantities of shell included with adults decrease by roughly half from the prior period. Subadult interments during this time are dominated by NB Colha chert modified lithics, with 59.09% of all goods recovered from these interments being of this material and form.

Frequency Table (% of Row)

Adult interments account for all instances of those seventeen grave goods form categories abovementioned to occur exclusively with adult decedents. Higher frequencies of all other artifact forms are also included with adults versus subadults. Shell pendants and modified human bone are interred twice as often with adults and

chalcedony core tools three times as often with adults than subadults. Nine out of ten interments containing chalcedony modified lithics are occupied by adults. Only 5% of instances of NB Colha chert modified lithics and 14.29% of incidences of non-NB Colha chert modified lithics are seen in subadult interments. Lastly, adults are approximately 14 times more likely to be interred with modified lithics manufactured from unidentifiable lithic material than are subadults.

Quantitative Table (% of Row)

Only adult and subadult decedents are encountered at Terminal Preclassic K'axob. Adults are interred with higher quantities of all artifact forms found at the site at this time than are subadults, with seventeen of the form classes exclusively occurring with adults. These forms are: ceramic net sinkers, vessels and vessel fragments, NB Colha chert cutting tools, shell beads and tinklers, modified shell, unmodified faunal remains, bone earflares and tubes, non-NB Colha chert core tools, greenstone (jade) celts and beads, modified greenstone (jade), obsidian cutting tools, groundstone vessel fragments and greenstone beads. All those individuals interred without a funerary assemblage at Terminal Preclassic K'axob are adults.

Subadults are only interred with seven different artifact form classes: NB Colha chert modified lithics, shell pendants, unidentifiable material modified lithics, chalcedony core tools and modified lithics, modified human bone, and non-NB Colha chert modified lithics. Despite the fact that some goods of these seven forms are interred with subadults, the larger quantity still lie with adult decedents. Adults are interred with twice as many shell pendants, five times more chalcedony core tools,

7.5 times more non-NB Colha chert modified lithics, 19 times more chalcedony modified lithics, 20 times more modified human bone, 32 times more unidentifiable lithic material modified lithics, and roughly 38 times more NB Colha chert modified lithics. Overall adult interments contain 98.94% of goods recovered from Terminal Preclassic K'axob, while subadult interments contain only 1.06% of the goods.

Overall

Overall, adults have a far more diverse funerary assemblage than do subadults. There are seventeen artifact forms that are exclusively interred with adults, while subadults are only interred with seven forms in total. Higher frequencies and numbers of all good materials and forms are found with adult decedents than they are with their juvenile counterparts.

INTERMENTS WITH ARTIFACTS OF VARYING FUNCTIONS BY SEX AND AGE OF THE INDIVIDUAL (Tables 7.11-7.13)

ALL SITES

Analysis indicates that 50% of Terminal Preclassic interments contained goods of a possible or definitively practical-utilitarian nature while 46.77% contained goods of possible or definitive prestige-ceremonial nature. Only 3.23% of interments did not contain a funerary assemblage. The inclusion of goods of a definitive practical nature is slightly more common than those of a definitive prestige nature, with 37.10% of interments containing definitively practical goods and 33.87% containing definitively prestige goods. Comparatively higher

frequencies of all artifact function classifications were seen in the Late Preclassic; however this is likely due to the much higher interred population present during that period. Considering definitively sexed individuals, females are only accompanied by practical-utilitarian goods while 54.55% of male interments contain practical-utilitarian goods and 40.91% contain prestige-ceremonial goods. Funerary assemblages are absent from 4.55% of male interments. Comparatively, males are interred with 100% of instances of prestige goods and are 12 times likelier to be interred with practical goods than are females. Adult interments are more likely to contain practical grave goods (50.85%) than they are to have prestige items (45.76%). Subadult interments are equally likely to contain goods of either function. In comparison, adults are approximately 30 times likelier to be interred with practical goods and 27 times likelier to be interred with prestige goods than are subadults during the Terminal Preclassic.

COLHA

Goods of definite practical and prestige natures are found at Colha during the Terminal Preclassic. Interestingly, prestige goods occur four times more frequently than do practical items. Only indeterminately sexed individuals were recovered from the site for this time period, therefore 80% of their interments contain prestige goods and 20% contain practical goods. Regarding different ages groups, 75% of adult interments contain prestige items and the remaining 25% contain practical goods while the only goods interred with indeterminately aged individuals are of a

prestige nature. Comparatively, adults are interred three times more often with prestige goods than are indeterminately aged individuals.

K'AXOB

During the Terminal Preclassic at K'axob, 38.60% of interments contain practical goods, 29.82% contain prestige goods and 14.04% contain either possible prestige or possible practical goods. Male interments are largely populated by practical goods with 54.55% containing such goods while 40.91% of male interments contain prestige goods. Females at K'axob during this time are only interred with practical burial furniture. Comparatively, males are accompanied by practical goods 12 times more often than are females. Adults are predominantly accompanied by practical goods, with 52.73% of these interments containing goods of this nature while 43.64% contain prestige objects. Subadult interments contain items of both practical and prestige functions equally as often. Adult interments are 29 times likelier to contain practical goods and 24 times likelier to contain prestige goods than are those of subadults.

NUMBERS OF ARTIFACTS OF VARYING FUNCTIONS WITHIN INTERMENTS BY MATERIAL TYPE AND FORM TYPE (Table 7.14)

ALL SITES

In keeping with the standards of analysis used for the Middle and Late Preclassic, relative frequencies of artifact forms in the practical and prestige categories are considered below except where explicitly noted otherwise. While shell beads are not overwhelmingly numerous during this time period as they were during the Middle Preclassic, both ceramic vessel fragments and NB Colha chert modified lithics comprise vast portions of the overall assemblage, represent in 38.72% and 22.84% of the total 2,211 recovered artifacts. Therefore, to avoid the skewing the numbers of these forms would introduce, relative frequencies are considered below.

Practical-utilitarian goods account for 63.45% of occurrences of burial furniture overall and prestige-ceremonial goods represent 36.55%. This means that practical goods occur 1.74 more frequently than do prestige goods. Unmodified faunal remains are the most frequently occurring (20.83) prestige artifact form during the Terminal Preclassic across all three sites. Ceramic vessels are the next most commonly occurring item, accounting for 16.67% of all prestige good occurrences while unmodified shell accounts for 12.50% of all prestige good instances.

Modified human bone as well as greenstone and shell beads are found in equal frequencies (8.33%) during the Terminal Preclassic. Shell tinklers occur at a

5.56% frequency in relation to other prestige artifact forms. Greenstone (jade) beads as well as shell pendants both have a frequency of 4.17% while modified greenstone (jade) is the next most frequently occurring item. Each of the remaining forms (bone earflares and tubes, ceramic musical instruments, greenstone earflares, greenstone (jade) celts, and obsidian cutting tools) occurs at a 1.39% frequency. NB Colha chert modified lithics are the most frequently occurring (22.40%) practical artifact form followed by unmodified faunal remains (19.20%) and modified lithics manufactured from unidentifiable lithic material (18.40%). Chalcedony modified lithics have an inclusion frequency of 11.20% while non-NB Colha chert has a frequency of 7.20%.

Ceramic vessels and vessel fragments are the next most frequently occurring practical artifact forms with inclusion frequencies of 6.40% and 5.60%, respectively. All other practical artifact forms have a frequency under 5%. This includes NB Colha chert cutting tools, chalcedony core tools, ceramic net sinkers, groundstone vessel fragments, and non-NB Colha chert core tools. Based on the above analysis, clearly unmodified faunal remains are the most frequently occurring prestige artifact form and NB Colha chert modified lithics are the most frequently occurring practical artifact form across all three sites during the Terminal Preclassic.

COLHA

During the Terminal Preclassic at Colha, four artifact forms within three material classes are represented in the prestige good assemblage. While shell beads represent 92.14% of the prestige good quantitative total (91.49% of all recovered goods of both practical and prestige natures) and are therefore the most numerous good at the site, greenstone beads are in fact the most frequently included item with decedents of this time period. Greenstone beads have an inclusion frequency of 55.56% compared to a 22.22% rate for shell beads. Both greenstone earflares and ceramic musical instruments each represent 11.11% of the prestige artifact form inclusions during the Terminal Preclassic. The only practical artifact form seen at Colha during this time is ceramic vessels, which comprise the entire practical-utilitarian funerary assemblage. Analysis shows that in total, prestige-ceremonial goods are interred with decedents during the Terminal Preclassic nine times more often than are objects of a practical nature.

K'AXOB

During the Terminal Preclassic at K'axob, ceramic vessel fragments are the most numerous artifact form, accounting for 41.35% of the total goods recovered and 50.59% of the practical assemblage. NB Colha chert modified lithics are the next most quantitatively populous form, representing 29.85% of the practical assemblage and 24.40% of the total assemblage. Numerically, practical goods (81.74%) are 4.48 times more prolific within Terminal Preclassic K'axob interments

than are prestige goods (18.26%). Regarding frequencies, practical goods occur 1.97 times more often than do prestige goods. The most frequently occurring practical artifact form are NB Colha chert modified lithics (22.58%) followed by unmodified faunal remains (19.35%) and modified lithics manufactured from unidentifiable lithic material (18.55%). Chalcedony modified lithics have an inclusion frequency of 11.29% and non-NB Colha chert modified lithics have a frequency of 7.26%. The remaining lithic forms with frequencies above one percent are NB Colha chert cutting tools (4.03%) and chalcedony core tools (3.23%). Ceramic vessels and vessel fragments each have a 5.65% frequency while all remaining practical artifact forms occur in frequencies less than one percent. These remaining artifact forms are ceramic net sinkers, groundstone vessel fragments, and non-NB Colha chert core tools; each occurring at a 0.81% frequency. Overall, while ceramic vessel fragments are the most numerically prolific good interred at the site, the practical artifact form of NB Colha chert modified lithics occurs most frequently as does the prestige inclusion of unmodified faunal remains.

NUMBER OF INTERMENTS WITH HEAD COVER OVER THE CRANIUM OF THE DECEDENT BY SEX AND AGE OF THE INDIVIDUAL AND BY MATERIAL, FORM AND SUBFORM TYPE (Tables 7.15-7.18)

ALL SITES

During the Terminal Preclassic, there are seven instances of head covers within interments, all occurring at K'axob. Given the fact that there were 25 decedents from the site during this time period, 28% of individuals exhibited a head

cover. Of the individuals exhibiting such a grave good, 42.86% were definitively sexed males, 28.57% were possible males and 28.57% were indeterminately sexed individuals. All of these individuals were adults. This means that 2308% of all males, 33.33% of all possible males and 18.18% of all indeterminately sexed individuals as well as 22.58% of all adults were interred with an item of burial furniture covering their cranium. All seven of the vessels used during the Terminal Preclassic were ceramic bowls.

COLHA

There are no incidences of the use of head covers in Terminal Preclassic Colha interments, therefore this analysis is inapplicable.

K'AXOB

During the Terminal Preclassic, there are seven instances of head covers within interments, all occurring at K'axob. Given the fact that there were 25 decedents from the site during this time period, 28% of individuals exhibited a head cover. Of the individuals exhibiting such a grave good, 42.86% were definitively sexed males, 28.57% were possible males and 28.57% were indeterminately sexed individuals. All of these individuals were adults. This means that 23.08% of all males, 33.33% of all possible males and 18.18% of all indeterminately sexed individuals as well as 22.58% of all adults were interred with an item of burial

furniture covering their cranium. All seven of the vessels used during the Terminal Preclassic were ceramic bowls.

INTERMENTS WITH A CROSS MOTIF VESSEL WITHIN THE FUNERARY ASSEMBLAGE BY SEX AND AGE OF THE INDIVIDUAL AND BY MATERIAL, FORM, AND SUBFORM TYPE (Tables 7.19-7.22)

ALL SITES

There are a total of four cross motif vessels that occur in two separate interments during the Terminal Preclassic. Both interments and all three vessels are seen at the site of K'axob. All three occurrences are seen with possible male individuals who are adults. There are no occurrences of cross motif vessels during this time period with individuals of any other demographic. Of the four ceramic vessels, all are in the form of bowls.

COLHA

There are no vessels with a cross motif at Colha during the Terminal Preclassic, therefore this analysis is inapplicable.

K'AXOB

There are a total of three cross motif vessels that occur in two separate interments during the Terminal Preclassic (Figures 7.7a-c - 7.10). Both interments and all three vessels are seen at the site of K'axob. All three occurrences are seen

with possible male individuals who are adults. There are no occurrences of cross motif vessels during this time period with individuals of any other demographic. Given the three cross motif vessel occurrences with adult possible males in relation to the population totals for the site at this time, one third of all possible males and approximately 8% of all adults at seen to be interred with such goods. Of the three ceramic vessels, two are dishes and one is a bowl. Graphics illustrating and explaining the significance of this cross motif can be found below.

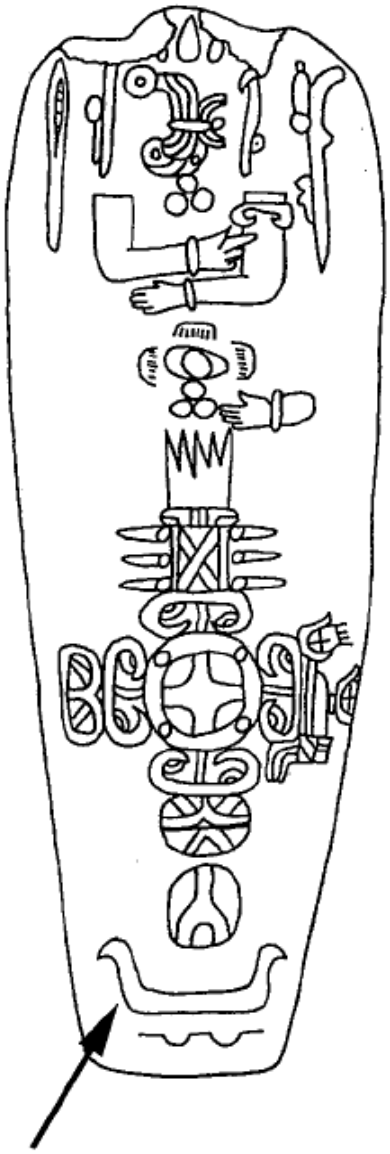

Figure 7.7a: (after Headrick 2004: Fig. 16.3; after Joralemon 1971: Fig. 32)

Depiction of the Humboldt Celt, looted but believed to have come from Central Mexico. Iconography depicts a ruler clad in cosmological symbols; his arms are shown at the top of the celt. Below his arms an eye surrounded by three clouds is shown; a common Mesoamerican representation of stars. The three dots below this are also interpreted as stars, namely three stars in the constellation Orion that are argued to represent the three hearthstones of creation (Friedel, Schele, and Parker 1993). The cruciform arrangement beneath this may represent a Middle Preclassic depiction of the cosmological conception of the world. The center cross may represent the center of the universe, with the four radial clusters of elements possibly signifying early glyphs for the four cardinal directions (Reilly 1994). The U-shaped component at the bottom of the celt possibly represents a bisected bowl with outflaring rims. The painting of the cross motif upon these vessels may be a simplified depiction of this worldview. As such, the X-shape marks the center of the world at the juncture of the four cardinal directions and represents the centrality of the grave location and the decedent's political power. The U-shaped profile of the vessel mimics that of the receptacle base seen on the Humboldt Celt – an origin for the emanation and physical manifestation of this worldview (Headrick 2004). Cross motif vessels are discussed above in Chapter 4 as well as briefly in Chapter 9 below.

Figure 7.7b: Profile view of cross motif Vessel 34 (after McAnany 2004a: Photo 0388)

Figure 7.7c: Profile view of cross motif Vessel 33 (after McAnany 2004a: Photo 0384)

Figure 7.8: Cross motif Vessel 33 from K'axob; recovered from interment 1-2e, placed with a Terminal Preclassic adult possible male (after McAnany 2004a: Photo 0387)

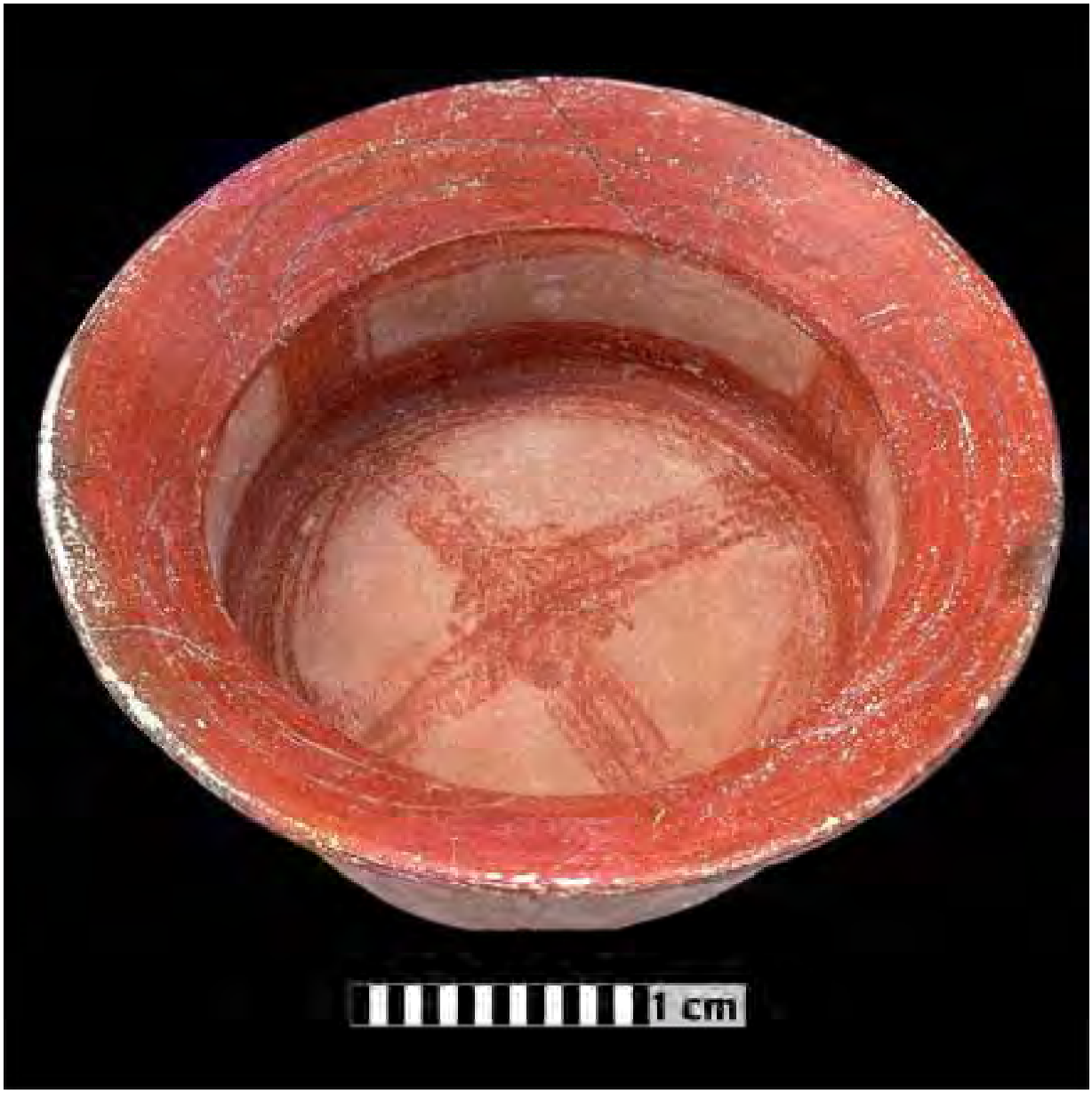

Figure 7.9: Cross motif Vessel 34 from K'axob; recovered from interment 1-2e, placed with a Terminal Preclassic adult possible male (after McAnany 2004a: Photo 0389)

Figure 7.10: Cross motif Vessel 23 from K'axob; recovered from interment 1-1a, placed with a Terminal Preclassic adult possible male (after McAnany 2004a: Photo 0373)

INTERMENTS EXHIBITING EVIDENCE OF BURNING BY SEX AND AGE OF THE INDIVIDUAL (Tables 7.23-7.25)

K'AXOB

All occurrences of burning within an interment occur at K'axob during this time period. Analysis shows that during the Terminal Preclassic, 69.23% of interments across the three sites of study do not contain any evidence of burning. However, 30.77% of interments from this time period do exhibit indications of burning activities. Based on ratios of interments presenting evidence of burning to those that do not, it is 2.25 times more likely for a grave to be absent of any indications of burning activities. This is compared to interments being 7.5 times more likely to not have evidence of burning in the Late Preclassic. Thus, analysis shows that there in an increase in the likelihood of burned artifacts and osteological material within Terminal Preclassic interments compared to the prior period.

Overall, 64.29% of males are interred in contexts with no evidence of burning while 35.71% are buried with such indications. Two thirds of possible male interments are absent of burning evidence while one third see the inclusion of remnants of such activities. Definitively and tentatively sexed female interments are both equally divided between those that show indications of burning and those that do not. Eighty percent of indeterminately sexed individuals are placed within interments void of evidence of burning while only 20% are accompanied by indications of these activities. Males are approximately five times likelier to be interred with evidence of burning than are females, as they comprise 41.67% of

those individuals found in these contexts while females account for only 8.33% of the distribution. Only 30.56% of adults are interred with evidence of burning while 50% of subadults are. However, adults represent 91.67% of the instances of such a context and are therefore 11 times likelier to be interred with evidence of burning than are subadults.

Based on the above analysis, it is clear that males and adults are those individuals who are more likely to be interred with evidence of burning activities that occurred concurrently or after interment of the decedent. It is likely that these activities were funerary rituals surrounding the ceremonial interment of these individuals. As in prior periods, adult males are differentially selected by undefined cultural vectors to be accompanied by funerary rites involving fire. Further research into incidences of interments with evidence of burning activities will aid in the elucidation of Maya funerary customs.

TOTAL NUMBER OF BURNED ARTIFACTS BY MATERIAL TYPE AND FORM TYPE
(Table 7.26)

K'AXOB

During the Terminal Preclassic, the only instances of burning within interments occur at K'axob. There are 36 instances of burned artifacts or groupings of artifacts. These instances are comprised of 434 artifacts that fall into five artifact material classes: NB Colha chert (379 modified lithics, 2 cutting tools), unidentifiable lithic material (34 modified lithics), chalcedony (9 modified lithics, 2

core tools), non-NB Colha chert (7 modified lithics), and groundstone (1 vessel fragment). Of these incidences, one third is groups of modified lithics manufactured from unidentifiable lithic material. One third of instances of burned goods are manufactured from NB Colha chert, with 27.78% of those occurrences being groups of modified lithics and 5.56% being cutting tools. Chalcedony goods account for 22.22% of instances where there are indications of burning with 16.67% of these being groups of modified lithics and 5.56% being core tools. Non-NB Colha chert artifacts are present in 8.33% of instances where there are burned items, with all of these objects being modified lithics.

Lastly, groundstone vessel fragments are present in 2.78% of instances where there are indications of burning. Clearly modified lithics manufactured from unidentifiable lithic material are the artifact form most frequently exhibiting evidence of burning associated with funerary ritual while NB Colha chert modified lithics are the most numerous. Interestingly, there is an absence of burning evidence of ceramics and shell during the Terminal Preclassic while both were evident in the prior period. However, it should be noted that while burned shell was seen at K'axob, the sample was comprised of only two beads. Also, all incidences of burned ceramics occurred at Late Preclassic Colha.

INTERMENTS EXHIBITING EVIDENCE OF RED MINERAL PIGMENTATION (Tables 7.27-7.29)

K'AXOB

Across the three sites of study during the Terminal Preclassic, there are only three interments that exhibit the inclusion of red mineral pigments in some form. All three of these individuals are adult males from the site of K'axob.

TOTAL NUMBER OF PIGMENTED ARTIFACTS BY MATERIAL TYPE, FORM TYPE AND SUBFORM TYPE (Table 7.30)

K'AXOB

Only shell and ceramics are associated with red mineral pigments during the Terminal Preclassic, with all incidences being at K'axob as abovementioned. Ceramic vessels are twice as frequently treated with mineral pigments as are shell pendants. Within these two artifact form categories are ceramic spouted jars and zoomorphic vessels and shell pendants of an indeterminate form. All three artifact subforms appear are equally as frequently treated with mineral pigments.

COUNT OF INTERMENTS WITHIN VARYING ARCHITECTURE SPACE FUNCTIONS BY SEX AND AGE OF THE INDIVIDUAL (Tables 7.31-7.33)

ALL SITES

Across all three sites of study during the Terminal Preclassic, all recovered individuals are found in domestic contexts. This means that all males and females, adults and subadults, and tentatively and indeterminately sexed and aged

individuals were interred within domestic settings upon their death. This is a drastic change from interment contexts seen in the Late Preclassic, which included domestic settings as well as ritual/ceremonial contexts.

COLHA

All individuals recovered from Terminal Preclassic Colha were interred in domestic contexts.

K'AXOB

All individuals recovered from Terminal Preclassic K'axob were interred in domestic contexts.

Table 7.1: Count of Individuals by Sex

Time Period	Site	Indeterminate	Male	Female	Male?	Female?	Grand Total
Terminal Preclassic	Colha	3	0	0	0	0	3
	K'axob	9	10	1	4	1	25
Terminal Preclassic Total		**12**	**10**	**1**	**4**	**1**	**28**
Grand Total		**12**	**10**	**1**	**4**	**1**	**28**

Table 7.2: Count of Individuals by Age

Time Period	Site	Adult	SubAdult	Indeterminate	Grand Total
Terminal Preclassic	Colha	2	0	1	3
	K'axob	24	1	0	25
Terminal Preclassic Total		**26**	**1**	**1**	**28**
Grand Total		**26**	**1**	**1**	**28**

Table 7.3: Count of Individuals by Burial Position and Sex

Time Period	Site	Position Category	Position Detail	Female	Female?	Indeterminate	Male	Male?	Grand Total
Terminal Preclassic	Colha	Flexed	Seated	0	0	1	0	0	1
		Flexed Sum		**0**	**0**	**1**	**0**	**0**	**1**
		Indeterminate	Indeterminate	0	0	2	0	0	2
		Indeterminate Sum		**0**	**0**	**2**	**0**	**0**	**2**
	Colha Total			**0**	**0**	**3**	**0**	**0**	**3**
	K'axob	Extended	Extended	0	1	2	2	0	5
		Extended Sum		**0**	**1**	**2**	**2**	**0**	**5**
		Flexed	Flexed	0	0	0	2	0	2
			Seated	0	0	0	0	1	1
		Flexed Sum		**0**	**0**	**0**	**2**	**1**	**3**
		Indeterminate	Secondary	1	0	7	6	3	17
		Indeterminate Sum		**1**	**0**	**7**	**6**	**3**	**17**
	K'axob Total			**1**	**1**	**9**	**10**	**4**	**25**
Grand Total				**1**	**1**	**12**	**10**	**4**	**28**

Table 7.4: Count of Individuals by Burial Position and Age

Time Period	Site	Position Category	Position Detail	Adult	Indeterminate	SubAdult	Grand Total
Terminal Preclassic	Colha	Flexed	Seated	1	0	0	1
		Flexed Sum		**1**	**0**	**0**	**1**
		Indeterminate	Indeterminate	1	1	0	2
		Indeterminate Sum		**1**	**1**	**0**	**2**
	Colha Total			**2**	**1**	**0**	**3**
	K'axob	Extended	Extended	5	0	0	5
		Extended Sum		**5**	**0**	**0**	**5**
		Flexed	Flexed	2	0	0	2
			Seated	1	0	0	1
		Flexed Sum		**3**	**0**	**0**	**3**
		Indeterminate	Secondary	16	0	1	17
		Indeterminate Sum		**16**	**0**	**1**	**17**
	K'axob Total			**24**	**0**	**1**	**25**
Grand Total				**26**	**1**	**1**	**28**

Table 7.5: Count of Individuals by Cranial Orientation and Sex

Time Period	Site	Cranial Orientation	Female	Female?	Indeterminate	Male	Male?	Grand Total
Terminal Preclassic	Colha	Indeterminate	0	0	3	0	0	3
	Colha Total		**0**	**0**	**3**	**0**	**0**	**3**
	K'axob	Indeterminate	0	0	3	4	1	8
		North	0	1	1	4	1	7
		North?	1	0	2	2	1	6
		N/A	0	0	2	0	0	2
		East?	0	0	0	0	1	1
		South?	0	0	1	0	0	1
	K'axob Total		**1**	**1**	**9**	**10**	**4**	**25**
Grand Total			**1**	**1**	**12**	**10**	**4**	**28**

Table 7.6: Count of Individuals by Cranial Orientation and Age

Time Period	Site	Cranial Orientation	Adult	Indeterminate	SubAdult	Grand Total
Terminal Preclassic	Colha	Indeterminate	2	1	0	3
	Colha Total		**2**	**1**	**0**	**3**
	K'axob	Indeterminate	7	0	1	8
		North	7	0	0	7
		North?	6	0	0	6
		N/A	2	0	0	2
		South?	1	0	0	1
		East?	1	0	0	1
	K'axob Total		**24**	**0**	**1**	**25**
Grand Total			**26**	**1**	**1**	**28**

Table 7.7: Count of Artifacts by Material Type and Sex of Individual

Time Period	Site	Material	Male?	Male	Indeterminate	Female?	Female	Grand Total
Terminal Preclassic	Colha	Ceramic	0	0	2	0	0	2
		Shell	0	0	129	0	0	129
		Greenstone	0	0	10	0	0	10
	Colha Total		**0**	**0**	**141**	**0**	**0**	**141**
	K'axob	NB Colha Chert	37	354	112	3	5	511
		Unidentifiable	9	46	9	0	2	66
		Ceramic	6	585	99	189	0	879
		Shell	5	249	21	2	0	277
		Fauna	21	127	91	0	0	239
		Chalcedony	5	33	6	2	0	46
		Bone	1	18	4	0	0	23
		Non-NB Colha Chert	1	14	2	1	0	18
		Greenstone (Jade)	1	7	0	0	0	8
		Greenstone	0	1	0	0	0	1
		Obsidian	0	1	0	0	0	1
		N/A	0	0	0	0	0	0
		Groundstone	1	0	0	0	0	1
	K'axob Total		**87**	**1435**	**344**	**197**	**7**	**2070**
Grand Total			**87**	**1435**	**485**	**197**	**7**	**2211**

Table 7.8: Count of Artifacts by Material Type and Age of Individual

Time Period	Site	Material	Adult	Indeterminate	SubAdult	Grand Total
Terminal Preclassic	Colha	Ceramic	2	0	0	2
		Shell	127	2	0	129
		Greenstone	10	0	0	10
	Colha Total		**139**	**2**	**0**	**141**
	K'axob	Ceramic	879	0	0	879
		NB Colha Chert	498	0	13	511
		Shell	276	0	1	277
		Fauna	239	0	0	239
		Unidentifiable	64	0	2	66
		Chalcedony	43	0	3	46
		Bone	22	0	1	23
		Non-NB Colha Chert	16	0	2	18
		Greenstone	1	0	0	1
		Greenstone (Jade)	8	0	0	8
		Groundstone	1	0	0	1
		Obsidian	1	0	0	1
		N/A	0	0	0	0
	K'axob Total		**2048**	**0**	**22**	**2070**
Grand Total			**2187**	**2**	**22**	**2211**

Table 7.9: Count of Artifacts by Material Type, Form Type and Sex of Individual

Time Period	Site	Material	Form	Male?	Male	Indeterminate	Female?	Female	Grand Total
Terminal Preclassic	Colha	Shell	Bead	0	0	129	0	0	129
		Greenstone	Bead	0	0	9	0	0	9
			Earflare	0	0	1	0	0	1
		Ceramic	Vessel	0	0	1	0	0	1
			Musical Instrument	0	0	1	0	0	1
	Colha Total			**0**	**0**	**141**	**0**	**0**	**141**
	K'axob	Ceramic	Vessel Fragment	0	572	96	188	0	856
			Vessel	6	12	3	1	0	22
			Net Sinker	0	1	0	0	0	1
		NB Colha Chert	Modified Lithic	37	349	111	3	5	505
			Cutting Tool	0	5	1	0	0	6
		Shell	Unmodified Shell	0	208	14	2	0	224
			Tinkler	4	37	3	0	0	44
			Bead	0	3	3	0	0	6
			Pendant	1	1	1	0	0	3
		Fauna	Unmodified Bone	21	127	91	0	0	239
		Unidentifiable	Modified Lithic	9	46	9	0	2	66
		Chalcedony	Modified Lithic	1	33	5	1	0	40
			Core Tool	4	0	1	1	0	6
		Bone	Modified Human Bone	0	17	4	0	0	21
			Tube	1	0	0	0	0	1
			Earflare	0	1	0	0	0	1
		Non-NB Colha Chert	Modified Lithic	1	13	2	1	0	17
			Core Tool	0	1	0	0	0	1
		Greenstone (Jade)	Modified Greenstone	0	4	0	0	0	4
			Bead	1	2	0	0	0	3
			Celt	0	1	0	0	0	1
		Obsidian	Cutting Tool	0	1	0	0	0	1
		Groundstone	Vessel Fragment	1	0	0	0	0	1
		Greenstone	Bead	0	1	0	0	0	1
		N/A	N/A	0	0	0	0	0	0
	K'axob Total			**87**	**1435**	**344**	**197**	**7**	**2070**
Grand Total				**87**	**1435**	**485**	**197**	**7**	**2211**

Table 7.10: Count of Artifacts by Material Type, Form Type and Age of Individual

Time Period	Site	Material	Form	Adult	Indeterminate	SubAdult	Grand Total
Terminal Preclassic	Colha	Shell	Bead	127	2	0	129
		Greenstone	Bead	9	0	0	9
			Earflare	1	0	0	1
		Ceramic	Vessel	1	0	0	1
			Musical Instrument	1	0	0	1
	Colha Total			**139**	**2**	**0**	**141**
	K'axob	Ceramic	Vessel Fragment	856	0	0	856
			Vessel	22	0	0	22
			Net Sinker	1	0	0	1
		NB Colha Chert	Modified Lithic	492	0	13	505
			Cutting Tool	6	0	0	6
		Shell	Unmodified Shell	224	0	0	224
			Tinkler	44	0	0	44
			Bead	6	0	0	6
			Pendant	2	0	1	3
		Fauna	Unmodified Bone	239	0	0	239
		Unidentifiable	Modified Lithic	64	0	2	66
		Chalcedony	Modified Lithic	38	0	2	40
			Core Tool	5	0	1	6
		Bone	Modified Human Bone	20	0	1	21
			Tube	1	0	0	1
			Earflare	1	0	0	1
		Non-NB Colha Chert	Modified Lithic	15	0	2	17
			Core Tool	1	0	0	1
		Greenstone (Jade)	Modified Greenstone	4	0	0	4
			Bead	3	0	0	3
			Celt	1	0	0	1
		Obsidian	Cutting Tool	1	0	0	1
		Groundstone	Vessel Fragment	1	0	0	1
		Greenstone	Bead	1	0	0	1
		N/A	N/A	0	0	0	0
	K'axob Total			**2048**	**0**	**22**	**2070**
Grand Total				**2187**	**2**	**22**	**2211**

Table 7.11: Interments with Artifacts of Varying Functions

Time Period	Site	Artifact Function	Grand Total
Terminal Preclassic	Colha	Practical-Utilitarian	1
		Prestige-Ceremonial	4
	Colha Total		**5**
	K'axob	Practical-Utilitarian	22
		Prestige-Ceremonial	17
		Prestige-Ceremonial?	8
		Practical-Utilitarian?	8
		N/A	2
	K'axob Total		**57**
Grand Total			**62**

Note that goods of varying functions may be found within a single interment therefore this is not a count of interments but rather a count of those interments that contain goods of the specified function.

Table 7.12: Interments with Artifacts of Varying Functions by Sex of the Individual

Table 7.12: Interments with Artifacts of Varying Functions by Sex of the Individual

Time Period	Site	Function	Function Details	Female	Female?	Indeterminate	Male	Male?	Grand Total
Terminal Preclassic	Colha	Prestige-Ceremonial	Prestige-Ceremonial	0	0	4	0	0	4
		Prestige-Ceremonial Total		**0**	**0**	**4**	**0**	**0**	**4**
		Practical-Utilitarian	Practical-Utilitarian	0	0	1	0	0	1
		Practical-Utilitarian Total		**0**	**0**	**1**	**0**	**0**	**1**
	Colha Total			**0**	**0**	**5**	**0**	**0**	**5**
	K'axob	N/A	N/A	0	0	1	1	0	2
		N/A Total		**0**	**0**	**1**	**1**	**0**	**2**
		Prestige-Ceremonial	Prestige-Ceremonial	0	1	5	7	4	17
			Prestige-Ceremonial?	0	0	5	2	1	8
		Prestige-Ceremonial Total		**0**	**1**	**10**	**9**	**5**	**25**
		Practical-Utilitarian	Practical-Utilitarian	1	1	8	9	3	22
			Practical-Utilitarian?	0	0	4	3	1	8
		Practical-Utilitarian Total		**1**	**1**	**12**	**12**	**4**	**30**
	K'axob Total			**1**	**2**	**23**	**22**	**9**	**57**
Grand Total				**1**	**2**	**28**	**22**	**9**	**62**

Note that goods of varying functions may be found within a single interment therefore this is not a count of interments but rather a count of those interments that contain goods of the various specified function. Note that N/A denotes those interments absent of goods.

Table 7.13: Interments with Artifacts of Varying Functions by Age of the Individual

Table 7.13: Interments with Artifacts of Varying Functions by Age of the Individual

Time Period	Site	Function	Function Details	Adult	Indeterminate	SubAdult	Grand Total
Terminal Preclassic	Colha	Prestige-Ceremonial	Prestige-Ceremonial	3	1	0	4
		Prestige-Ceremonial Total		**3**	**1**	**0**	**4**
		Practical-Utilitarian	Practical-Utilitarian	1	0	0	1
		Practical-Utilitarian Total		**1**	**0**	**0**	**1**
	Colha Total			**4**	**1**	**0**	**5**
	K'axob	N/A	N/A	2	0	0	2
		N/A Total		**2**	**0**	**0**	**2**
		Prestige-Ceremonial	Prestige-Ceremonial	16	0	1	17
			Prestige-Ceremonial?	8	0	0	8
		Prestige-Ceremonial Total		**24**	**0**	**1**	**25**
		Practical-Utilitarian	Practical-Utilitarian	21	0	1	22
			Practical-Utilitarian?	8	0	0	8
		Practical-Utilitarian Total		**29**	**0**	**1**	**30**
	K'axob Total			**55**	**0**	**2**	**57**
Grand Total				**59**	**1**	**2**	**62**

Note that goods of varying functions may be found within a single interment therefore this is not a count of interments but rather a count of those interments that contain goods of the various specified functions. Note that N/A denotes those interments absent of goods

Table 7.14: Numbers of Artifacts of Varying Functions within Interments by Material Type and Form Type

Table 7.14: Numbers of Artifacts of Varying Functions within Interments by Material Type and Form Type

Time Period	Site	Function	Function Detail	Material	Form	Grand Total
Terminal Preclassic	Colha	Prestige-Ceremonial	Prestige-Ceremonial	Ceramic	Musical Instrument	1
				Ceramic Total		**1**
				Greenstone	Bead	9
					Earflare	1
				Greenstone Total		**10**
				Shell	Bead	129
				Shell Total		**129**
			Prestige-Ceremonial Total			**140**
		Prestige-Ceremonial Total				**140**
		Practical-Utilitarian	Practical-Utilitarian	Ceramic	Vessel	1
				Ceramic Total		**1**
			Practical-Utilitarian Total			**1**
		Practical-Utilitarian Total				**1**
	Colha Total					**141**
	K'axob	Prestige-Ceremonial	Prestige-Ceremonial	Bone	Earflare	1
					Modified Human Bone	21
					Tube	1
				Bone Total		**23**
				Ceramic	Vessel	12
				Ceramic Total		**12**
				Greenstone	Bead	1
				Greenstone Total		**1**
				Greenstone (Jade)	Bead	3
					Celt	1
					Modified Greenstone	4
				Greenstone (Jade) Total		**8**
				Obsidian	Cutting Tool	1
				Obsidian Total		**1**
				Shell	Bead	6
					Pendant	3
					Tinkler	44
					Unmodified Shell	224
				Shell Total		**277**
			Prestige-Ceremonial Total			**322**
			Prestige-Ceremonial?	Ceramic	Vessel	2
				Ceramic Total		**2**
				Fauna	Unmodified Bone	54
				Fauna Total		**54**
			Prestige-Ceremonial? Total			**56**
		Prestige-Ceremonial Total				**378**
		Practical-Utilitarian	Practical-Utilitarian	Ceramic	Net Sinker	1
					Vessel	8
					Vessel Fragment	856
				Ceramic Total		**865**
				Chalcedony	Core Tool	6
					Modified Lithic	40
				Chalcedony Total		**46**
				Groundstone	Vessel Fragment	1
				Groundstone Total		**1**
				NB Colha Chert	Cutting Tool	6
					Modified Lithic	505
				NB Colha Chert Total		**511**
				Non-NB Colha Chert	Core Tool	1
					Modified Lithic	17
				Non-NB Colha Chert Total		**18**
				Unidentifiable	Modified Lithic	66
				Unidentifiable Total		**66**
			Practical-Utilitarian Total			**1507**
			Practical-Utilitarian?	Fauna	Unmodified Bone	185
				Fauna Total		**185**
			Practical-Utilitarian? Total			**185**
		Practical-Utilitarian Total				**1692**
	K'axob Total					**2070**
Grand Total						**2211**

Table 7.15: Number of Interments with Head Cover over the Cranium of the Decedent

Time Period	Site	Head Cover	Grand Total
Terminal Preclassic	K'axob	Yes	7
	K'axob Total		**7**
Grand Total			**7**

Table 7.16: Number of Interments with Head Cover over the Cranium of the Decedent by Sex of the Individual

Time Period	Site	Head Cover	Indeterminate	Male	Male?	Grand Total
Terminal Preclassic	K'axob	Yes	2	3	2	7
	K'axob Total		**2**	**3**	**2**	**7**
Grand Total			**2**	**3**	**2**	**7**

Table 7.17: Number of Interments with Head Cover over the Cranium of the Decedent by Age of the Individual

Time Period	Site	Head Cover	Adult	Grand Total
Terminal Preclassic	K'axob	Yes	7	7
	K'axob Total		**7**	**7**
Grand Total			**7**	**7**

Table 7.18: Number of Head Cover Vessels by Material Type, Form Type and Subform Type

Time Period	Site	Head Cover	Material	Form	Subform	Grand Total
Terminal Preclassic	K'axob	Yes	Ceramic	Vessel	Bowl	7
	K'axob Total					**7**
Grand Total						**7**

Table 7.19: Interments with a Cross Motif Vessel within the Funerary Assemblage

Time Period	Site		Grand Total
Terminal Preclassic	K'axob		1
			1
	K'axob Total		**2**
Grand Total			**2**

Table 7.20: Interments with a Cross Motif Vessel within the Funerary Assemblage by Sex of the Individual

Time Period	Site		Male?	Grand Total
Terminal Preclassic	K'axob		1	1
			1	1
	K'axob Total		**2**	**2**
Grand Total			**2**	**2**

Table 7.21: Interments with a Cross Motif Vessel within the Funerary Assemblage by Age of the Individual

Time Period	Site		Adult	Grand Total
Terminal Preclassic	K'axob		1	1
			1	1
	K'axob Total		**2**	**2**
Grand Total			**2**	**2**

Table 7.22: Number of Cross Motif Vessels by Material Type, Form Type, and Subform Type

Time Period	Site	Material	Form	Subform	Grand Total
Terminal Preclassic	K'axob	Ceramic	Vessel	Bowl	2
		Ceramic	Vessel	Bowl	2
	K'axob Total				**4**
Grand Total					**4**

Table 7.23 :Interments Exhibiting Evidence of Burning

Time Period	Site	Grand Total
Terminal Preclassic	K'axob	12
	K'axob Total	**12**
Grand Total		**12**

Table 7.24: Interments Exhibiting Evidence of Burning by Sex of the Individual

Time Period	Site	Female	Female?	Indeterminate	Male	Male?	Grand Total
Terminal Preclassic	K'axob	1	1	3	5	2	12
	K'axob Total	**1**	**1**	**3**	**5**	**2**	**12**
Grand Total		**1**	**1**	**3**	**5**	**2**	**12**

Table 7.25: Interments Exhibiting Evidence of Burning by Age of the Individual

Time Period	Site	Adult	SubAdult	Grand Total
Terminal Preclassic	K'axob	11	1	12
	K'axob Total	**11**	**1**	**12**
Grand Total		**11**	**1**	**12**

Table 7.26: Total Number of Burned Artifacts by Material Type and Form Type

Time Period	Site	Material Exhibits Evidence of Burning	Material	Form	Grand Total
Terminal Preclassic	K'axob	Yes	NB Colha Chert	Modified Lithic	379
				Cutting Tool	2
			NB Colha Chert Total		381
			Unidentifiable	Modified Lithic	34
			Unidentifiable Total		34
			Chalcedony	Modified Lithic	9
				Core Tool	2
			Chalcedony Total		11
			Non-NB Colha Chert	Modified Lithic	7
			Non-NB Colha Chert Total		7
			Groundstone	Vessel Fragment	1
			Groundstone Total		1
	K'axob Total				434
Grand Total					434

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Time Period	Site	Grand Total
Terminal Preclassic	K'axob	3
	K'axob Total	3
Grand Total		3

Table 7.28: Interments Exhibiting Evidence of Red Mineral Pigmentation by Sex of the Individual

Time Period	Site	Male?	Grand Total
Terminal Preclassic	K'axob	3	3
	K'axob Total	3	3
Grand Total		3	3

Table 7.29: Interments Exhibiting Evidence of Red Mineral Pigmentation by Age of the Individual

Time Period	Site	Adult	Grand Total
Terminal Preclassic	K'axob	3	3
	K'axob Total	3	3
Grand Total		3	3

Table 7.30: Total Number of Pigmented Artifacts by Material Type, Form Type, and Subform Type

Time Period	Site	Material Exhibits Evidence of Pigmentation	Material	Form	Subform	Grand Total
Terminal Preclassic	K'axob	Yes	Ceramic	Vessel	Spouted Jar	1
					Zoomorphic Vessel (Indeterminate Shape)	1
			Ceramic Total			**2**
			Shell	Pendant	Pendant	1
			Shell Total			**1**
	K'axob Total					**3**
Grand Total						**3**

Table 7.31: Count of Interments within Varying Architecture Space Functions

Time Period	Site	Architectural Space Function	Grand Total
Terminal Preclassic	Colha	Domestic	3
	Colha Total		**3**
	K'axob	Domestic	25
	K'axob Total		**25**
Grand Total			**28**

Table 7.32: Count of Interments within Varying Architecture Space Functions by Sex of Individual

Time Period	Site	Architectural Space Function	Female	Female?	Indeterminate	Male	Male?	Grand Total
Terminal Preclassic	Colha	Domestic	0	0	3	0	0	3
	Colha Total		**0**	**0**	**3**	**0**	**0**	**3**
	K'axob	Domestic	1	1	9	10	4	25
	K'axob Total		**1**	**1**	**9**	**10**	**4**	**25**
Grand Total			**1**	**1**	**12**	**10**	**4**	**28**

Table 7.33: Count of Interments within Varying Architecture Space Functions by Age of Individual

Time Period	Site	Architectural Space Function	Adult	Indeterminate	SubAdult	Grand Total
Terminal Preclassic	Colha	Domestic	2	1	0	3
	Colha Total		**2**	**1**	**0**	**3**
	K'axob	Domestic	24	0	1	25
	K'axob Total		**24**	**0**	**1**	**25**
Grand Total			**26**	**1**	**1**	**28**

CHAPTER 8: PRECLASSIC

NOTE: Fifteen interments from the dataset have been assigned a broad or generic temporal designation of 'Preclassic.' Interments are present from the sites of Colha and Cuello. None of the interments in this temporal category are derived from K'axob. Those interments from Cuello that reside in this classification are interments #62 and #129 (numbers reported per Cynthia Robin 1989). Interment #129 is assigned this generic temporal designation by Robin (1989:386) due to the lack of ceramic and osteological evidence being recovered from the grave. While present, the ceramics remained unexcavated and the osteological remains were never received for post-excavation analysis. Robin notes that "[o]f the 142 individuals excavated at Cuello, 14 individuals (burials 129-142)" were excluded from her analysis, in part due to the fact that "they lack the chronological definition of the burials from Platform 34 [and that] in many cases a more precise date than 'Classic' or 'Late Preclassic/Early Classic' could not be obtained for these burials" (1989:16).

In the present study, the author has looked at the overarching temporal categories of Middle Preclassic, Late Preclassic and Terminal Preclassic, therefore the assignment of a number of these interments to the 'Late Preclassic/Early Classic' is not particularly problematic. The author has made the judgment to assign those with a possible Late Preclassic component to the dataset of Late Preclassic interments for analysis. Interment #129 is not able to be assigned to any of the

overarching temporal categories used in the present research given the lack of ceramic and osteological analysis for this particular grave. Therefore, the generic classification of Preclassic, as assigned by Robin is utilized.

The second interment existing in this generic classification, within the confines of the present research, is interment #62. Robin notes that this interment possibly dates to the Swasey phase, but that it does not contain ceramic vessels on which to base this judgment. Therefore, this tenuous designation relies on the problematic and ambiguous stratigraphic position of the grave near the perimeter and/or cobble surface of a structure (Str. 324), which is assigned to the early Middle Preclassic. Robin explains that the association of interment #62 with this structure is not definite and that it may well have been associated with earlier construction (40).

Also, Robin relates that there is some debate regarding a definite date range for the Swasey phase and that it may well fall prior to the start of the early Middle Preclassic. Further, carbon dating of collagen samples from the osteological remains of this individual did provide calibrated dates that fall within the Middle Preclassic (calibrated 781-405 BC); however "the Oxford laboratory [that conducted the analysis] suggested that its date may be too late because of low collagen in the sample" (16-18). While Robin sees fit to include this chronologically ambiguous interment within her early Middle Preclassic sample, the author relegates this interment to the generic classification of Preclassic. This is due to the fact that the interment, as abovementioned, can neither be definitively placed within Middle

Preclassic architectural contexts nor do empirical tests provide an unwavering result allocating it to one time period or another, due to the state of preservation of the bone. As Higham, Jacobi and Ramsey (2006) note,

> C14-dated bones that contain a proportion of undegraded collagen generally produce reliable and accurate determinations, which can be validated where appropriate analytical data are collected and adequate purification techniques are applied. C14 dating of bone that is low in collagen is much more challenging and sometimes can result in erroneous determinations. […] For these types of bones, it is crucial that both rigorous purification techniques are applied and adequate screening methods are routinely implemented (193).

These investigators note that the slightest contaminants not removed from a sample may skew the age determination of the remains. Given these significant caveats and that noted by the Oxford laboratory in the original testing, along with the ambiguous architectural association of this interment, burial #62 has been relegated to the generic temporal designation of Preclassic.

Those interments at Colha that fall into the generic 'Preclassic' temporal category are Individuals 1-10 from CH Operation 2012 Subop 3 Burial 1 and the three singly-interred individuals from Operation 2012 Subop 14 Burials 102-104. These interments are assigned an ambiguous chronological designation by the original investigator (Ballinger 1991). The temporal category of 'Preclassic' was also maintained by Thompson (2005), who produced a work compiling Preclassic interments from Colha, Chiapa de Corzo, Kaminaljuyu and Tikal. This classification has been preserved in the present research. Additionally, given the minimal number of goods present in this subset of interments (4), the following analysis will not be

broken down by type (frequency versus quantitative); instead all significant findings from the analysis will be presented in a single subsection.

COUNT OF INDIVIDUALS BY SEX (Table 8.1)

ALL SITES

Between Colha and Cuello, 80% of recovered individuals within these ambiguously dated interments are indeterminately sexed decedents (12). The remaining percentage of individuals is equally divided between males (1), females (1) and possible females (1).

COLHA

At Colha, eleven individuals (84.62%) are indeterminately sexed. One male and one possible individual are found, each representing 7.69% of the interred population.

CUELLO

At Cuello, only one indeterminately sexed individuals and one female are found.

K'AXOB

No ambiguously dated interments are encountered at K'axob, therefore this analysis is inapplicable.

COUNT OF INDIVIDUALS BY AGE (Table 8.2)

ALL SITES

Two thirds of recovered individuals are adults, 20% are subadults and only 13.33% are indeterminately aged.

COLHA

Adults represent 69.23% of the population while subadults comprise 23.08%. Indeterminately aged individuals make up the last 7.69% of the population. Considering raw numbers, nine adults, 3 subadults and 1 indeterminate individual were recovered from these ambiguously dated interments that are from Colha.

CUELLO

There are equal numbers (1) of both adults and indeterminately aged individuals.

COUNT OF INDIVIDUALS BY BURIAL POSITION AND SEX (Table 8.3)

ALL SITES

All interred females are placed in extended burial positions while all possible females are located in indeterminate positions. Males are interred only in indeterminate burial positions as are all indeterminately sexed individuals.

COLHA

All individuals recovered from Colha within these ambiguously dated interments are placed in indeterminate burial postures.

CUELLO

Only females and indeterminately sexed individuals are recovered from Cuello. Females are found only in extended burial positions while indeterminately sexed individuals are placed in indeterminate burial positions.

COUNT OF INDIVIDUALS BY BURIAL POSITION AND AGE (Table 8.4)

ALL SITES

Adults are interred in indeterminate burial positions 90% of the time and in extended positions the remaining 10%. All indeterminately aged individuals are buried in indeterminate burial positions as are all subadults.

COLHA

All individuals at Colha are buried in indeterminate positions.

CUELLO

All adults at Cuello are interred in extended positions while all indeterminately sexed individuals are placed in indeterminate positions.

COUNT OF INDIVIDUALS BY CRANIAL ORIENTATION AND SEX (Table 8.5)

ALL SITES

All female decedents are found with northern cranial orientations while all males have indeterminate arrangements. All possible females have indeterminate cranial orientations; 91.67% of indeterminately sexed individuals have indeterminate orientations as well, with 8.33% having western orientations.

COLHA

All males, possible females and indeterminately sexed individuals from Colha have indeterminate cranial orientations.

CUELLO

All females from Cuello have northern cranial orientations while all indeterminately sexed individuals recovered have western orientations.

COUNT OF INDIVIDUALS BY CRANIAL ORIENTATION AND AGE (Table 8.6)

ALL SITES

Ninety percent of adults are found with indeterminate cranial orientations and the remaining 10% with northern orientations. All subadults are found with indeterminate cranial orientations. The indeterminately aged population is equally divided between those decedents with an indeterminate orientation and those with a western orientation.

COLHA

All individuals at Colha have an indeterminate cranial orientation.

CUELLO

All adults at Cuello have northern cranial orientations while all indeterminately sexed individuals have western cranial arrangements.

COUNT OF ARTIFACTS BY MATERIAL TYPE AND SEX OF INDIVIDUAL (Table 8.7)

ALL SITES

Only three material classes are found among the Preclassic interments of Colha and Cuello: ceramics, shell and greenstone (non-jade varieties). All males are found interred with no funerary assemblage while all females are found with shell goods. Possible females are all found in interments with no grave goods while indeterminately sexed individuals are found with ceramics in 8.33% of occurrences and with no goods the remainder of the time. As stated above, males and possible females are found with no goods whatsoever. The female assemblage is entirely composed of shell items while the indeterminate assemblage is two thirds greenstone and one third ceramics. Overall between Colha and Cuello, greenstone are the most prolific grave good found, accounting for half of the goods founding these ambiguously dated interments. Shell and ceramic goods each represent one quarter of the assemblage.

All instances of ceramics are found with indeterminate individuals as are all occurrences of greenstone objects. Indeterminately sexed individuals represent 83.33% of those interments found with no grave goods while males and possible females each represent 8.33% of these instances. Interestingly, between the two sites definitively sexed males are found with the least number of grave goods. Females are found with all instances of shell but no other prestige or practical goods. Indeterminately sexed individuals are those decedents accompanied by the most diverse funerary assemblage comprised of ceramics and greenstone.

COLHA

Males, indeterminately sexed individuals and possible males are found in these ambiguously dated interments at Colha. All males and possible females are interred with no funerary assemblage. Indeterminate individuals are interred only with greenstone. Decedents within these ambiguous interments are placed with no funerary assemblage 92.31% of the time. Indeterminately sexed individuals are accompanied by greenstone goods only 9.09% of the time while the remainder of interments contain no goods. Indeterminately sexed individuals account for all instances of greenstone. This category of decedents also account for 83.33% of those interments placed without goods. Males and possible females each comprise 8.33% of this total. Overall, indeterminately sexed individuals are the only decedents interred with grave goods. Al items interred with these individuals are manufactured from greenstone.

CUELLO

Only indeterminately sexed individuals and definitively sexed females are among those decedents placed in these ambiguously dated interments. All indeterminate individuals are interred with ceramic objects and all females are placed with shell goods. Overall, occurrences of goods are evenly split between ceramics and shell within these interments. These goods are allocated with indeterminately sexed individuals and definitively sexed females, respectively.

COUNT OF ARTIFACTS BY MATERIAL TYPE AND AGE OF INDIVIDUAL
(Table 8.8)

ALL SITES

Across Colha and Cuello, greenstone objects are the most numerous goods found, accounting for half of the assemblage. Ceramic and shell each represent one quarter of goods found in these interments. All incidences of shell are found with adults and all those of greenstone are found with subadults. Indeterminately sexed individuals are the only decedents found with ceramic items. Subadult interments contain half of the artifacts found from these interments, with adults and indeterminates each being found with one quarter of the total assemblage. Three quarters of those individuals interred with no funerary assemblage are adults, 16.67% are subadults and 8.83% are indeterminately sexed individuals.

COLHA

At Colha, all adults and indeterminately sexed individuals are interred with no funerary assemblage. Only subadults are buried with grave goods, with all items placed with these decedents being manufactured from greenstone. Only one third of subadult interments contain greenstone goods; the other two thirds are void of funerary offerings.

CUELLO

At Cuello, all individuals are interred with grave goods. Adult interments contain all instances of shell and indeterminately aged individuals are placed with all ceramic goods. The total number of goods recovered from these Preclassic interments are equally split between adults and indeterminately aged individuals.

COUNT OF ARTIFACTS BY MATERIAL TYPE, FORM TYPE AND SEX OF INDIVIDUAL (Table 8.9)

ALL SITES

Only a single form of each material type is included in Preclassic interments. As stated above, all males are interred without grave goods as are all possible females. One third of those artifacts placed with indeterminately sexed individuals are ceramic vessels while two thirds are greenstone beads. All goods interred with females are beads manufactured from shell. Greenstone beads are the most numerous good found among these interments, accounting for half of the

assemblage. Indeterminate individuals are interred with no grave goods 83.33% of the time, while those 8.33% of their interments that do exhibit goods contain ceramic vessels. All those goods interred with definitively sexed females are shell beads.

COLHA

At Colha, all males and possible females are interred without a funerary assemblage. Only greenstone disk beads are found within these interments and all are placed with indeterminately sexed individuals. Indeterminate decedents are placed with greenstone beads only 9.09% of the time while 90.91% of their interments exhibit no goods.

CUELLO

At Cuello, all ceramic vessels are placed with indeterminately sexed individuals and all shell beads are placed with definitively sexed females. All vessels are of an indeterminate shape while all shell beads are spherical in form. No interments of either sex are left unattended by a funerary assemblage.

COUNT OF ARTIFACTS BY MATERIAL TYPE, FORM TYPE AND AGE OF INDIVIDUAL (Table 8.10)

ALL SITES

All instances of shell beads are found with adults, while all greenstone beads are placed with subadults. Ceramic vessels are only interred with indeterminately sexed individuals. Adults are interred without a funerary assemblage 90% of the time, with only 10% of their interments containing grave goods. Half of indeterminately aged individuals are interred with ceramic vessels and half are interred with no goods whatsoever. Only 33.33% of subadult interments contain goods (greenstone beads) while two thirds are void of funerary accoutrements.

COLHA

At Colha, all instances of greenstone beads are found with subadult individuals. The remainder of the interred population, both adults and indeterminately sexed decedents, are buried without a funerary assemblage. Only one third of subadult interments contain goods, while the remainder do not exhibit a funerary assemblage.

CUELLO

At Cuello, only ceramic vessels and shell beads are found. Indeterminately sexed individual interments contain all ceramic vessels while all shell beads are placed with adults.

INTERMENTS WITH ARTIFACTS OF VARYING FUNCTIONS BY SEX AND AGE OF THE INDIVIDUAL (Tables 8.11-8.13)

ALL SITES

Of those four goods interred within these fifteen interments, all are of a prestige-ceremonial nature. Two thirds of these occurrences are in graves of indeterminately sexed individuals while one third is with definitively sexed females. The occurrences of prestige goods are evenly split between the interments of adults, subadults, and indeterminately aged individuals. The interments of each age category account for 33.33% of all prestige good incidences at the two sites.

COLHA

All goods found at Colha are of a prestige-ceremonial nature. Every instance of a prestige item at Colha is seen within an interment of an indeterminately sexed individual. Subadults are the only individuals interred with these prestige goods.

CUELLO

All goods found at Cuello are of a prestige-ceremonial nature. Occurrences of goods of this function type are evenly split between female and indeterminate interments. Equal numbers of adult and subadult interments contain prestige goods.

NUMBERS OF ARTIFACTS OF VARYING FUNCTIONS WITHIN INTERMENTS BY MATERIAL TYPE AND FORM TYPE (Table 8.14)

ALL SITES

Of those prestige goods placed with decedents in ambiguously dated interments, half are greenstone beads, 25% are ceramic vessels and 25% are shell beads. While the vessel is of an indeterminate shape, it is deemed to be a prestige-ceremonial item given that it was used as a head cover, inverted over the cranium of the deceased.

COLHA

All instances of prestige goods at Colha are in the form of greenstone beads.

CUELLO

Occurrences of prestige goods at Cuello are evenly split between ceramic vessels and shell beads.

NUMBER OF INTERMENTS WITH HEAD COVER OVER THE CRANIUM OF THE DECEDENT BY SEX AND AGE OF THE INDIVIDUAL AND BY MATERIAL, FORM AND SUBFORM TYPE (Tables 8.15-8.18)

ALL SITES

Between Colha and Cuello, only one of 14 interments exhibits a head cover. This means that 93.33% of the individuals recovered from these ambiguously dated interments did not have a vessel or other artifact placed over their cranium.

COLHA

There are no instances of head covers within Colha interments.

CUELLO

The single instance of a head cover occurs at Cuello. This individual is of an indeterminate sex and age. The ceramic vessel placed over the cranium of this individual is of an indeterminate shape.

INTERMENTS WITH A CROSS MOTIF VESSEL WITHIN THE FUNERARY ASSEMBLAGE BY SEX AND AGE OF THE INDIVIDUAL AND BY MATERIAL, FORM, AND SUBFORM TYPE

ALL SITES

There are no instances of vessels with a cross motif within these fifteen ambiguously dated interments.

COLHA

There are no instances of vessels with a cross motif at Colha.

CUELLO

There are no instances of vessels with a cross motif at Cuello.

INTERMENTS EXHIBITING EVIDENCE OF BURNING BY SEX AND AGE OF THE INDIVIDUAL

ALL SITES

There is no evidence of burning activities in any of the fifteen burials within this data subset. Therefore, all interred individuals from Colha and Cuello that are within ambiguously dated in interments are not accompanied by goods exhibiting indications of burning.

COLHA

No interments exhibit indications of burning.

CUELLO

No interments exhibit indications of burning.

TOTAL NUMBER OF BURNED ARTIFACTS BY MATERIAL TYPE AND FORM TYPE

ALL SITES

There are no interments from the ambiguous 'Preclassic' temporal classification that exhibit indications of burning, therefore this analysis is inapplicable.

INTERMENTS EXHIBITING EVIDENCE OF RED MINERAL PIGMENTATION

ALL SITES

There are no interments within this temporal classification that exhibit evidence of the use of red mineral pigments.

TOTAL NUMBER OF PIGMENTED ARTIFACTS BY MATERIAL TYPE, FORM TYPE AND SUBFORM TYPE

ALL SITES

There are no interments of these fifteen ambiguously dated incidences that contain red mineral pigments, therefore this analysis is inapplicable.

COLHA

No red mineral pigments are found in these interments.

CUELLO

No red mineral pigments are found in these interments.

COUNT OF INTERMENTS WITHIN VARYING ARCHITECTURE SPACE FUNCTIONS BY SEX AND AGE OF THE INDIVIDUAL (Tables 8.19-8.21)

ALL SITES

All individuals recovered from these fifteen ambiguously dated interments were buried in domestic contexts. Therefore, all Colha and Cuello individuals from this temporal category are derived from residential areas.

COLHA

All individuals are interred in domestic contexts.

CUELLO

All individuals are interred in domestic contexts.

Table 8.1: Count of Individuals by Sex

Time Period	Site	Indeterminate	Male	Female	Female?	Grand Total
Preclassic	Colha	11	1	0	1	13
	Cuello	1	0	1	0	2
Preclassic Total		**12**	**1**	**1**	**1**	**15**
Grand Total		**12**	**1**	**1**	**1**	**15**

Table 8.2: Count of Individuals by Age

Time Period	Site	Adult	SubAdult	Indeterminate	Grand Total
Preclassic	Colha	9	3	1	13
	Cuello	1	0	1	2
Preclassic Total		**10**	**3**	**2**	**15**
Grand Total		**10**	**3**	**2**	**15**

Table 8.3: Count of Individuals by Burial Position and Sex

Time Period	Site	Position Category	Position Detail	Female	Female?	Indeterminate	Male	Grand Total
Preclassic	Colha	Indeterminate	Indeterminate	0	1	11	1	13
		Indeterminate Sum		**0**	**1**	**11**	**1**	**13**
	Colha Total			**0**	**1**	**11**	**1**	**13**
	Cuello	Extended	Primary; Supine Extended	1	0	0	0	1
		Extended Sum		**1**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**1**
		Indeterminate	Primary; Indeterminate	0	0	1	0	1
		Indeterminate Sum		**0**	**0**	**1**	**0**	**1**
	Cuello Total			**1**	**0**	**1**	**0**	**2**
Grand Total				**1**	**1**	**12**	**1**	**15**

Table 8.4: Count of Individuals by Burial Position and Age

Time Period	Site	Position Category	Position Detail	Adult	Indeterminate	SubAdult	Grand Total
Preclassic	Colha	Indeterminate	Indeterminate	9	1	3	13
		Indeterminate Sum		**9**	**1**	**3**	**13**
	Colha Total			**9**	**1**	**3**	**13**
	Cuello	Extended	Primary; Supine Extended	1	0	0	1
		Extended Sum		**1**	**0**	**0**	**1**
		Indeterminate	Primary; Indeterminate	0	1	0	1
		Indeterminate Sum		**0**	**1**	**0**	**1**
	Cuello Total			**1**	**1**	**0**	**2**
Grand Total				**10**	**2**	**3**	**15**

Table 8.5: Count of Individuals by Cranial Orientation and Sex

Time Period	Site	Cranial Orientation	Female	Female?	Indeterminate	Male	Grand Total
Preclassic	Colha	Indeterminate	0	1	11	1	13
	Colha Total		**0**	**1**	**11**	**1**	**13**
	Cuello	North	1	0	0	0	1
		West	0	0	1	0	1
	Cuello Total		**1**	**0**	**1**	**0**	**2**
Grand Total			**1**	**1**	**12**	**1**	**15**

Table 8.6: Count of Individuals by Cranial Orientation and Age

Time Period	Site	Cranial Orientation	Adult	Indeterminate	SubAdult	Grand Total
Preclassic	Colha	Indeterminate	9	1	3	13
	Colha Total		**9**	**1**	**3**	**13**
	Cuello	North	1	0	0	1
		West	0	1	0	1
	Cuello Total		**1**	**1**	**0**	**2**
Grand Total			**10**	**2**	**3**	**15**

Table 8.7: Count of Artifacts by Material Type and Sex of Individual

Time Period	Site	Material	Male	Indeterminate	Female?	Female	Grand Total
Preclassic	Colha	Greenstone	0	2	0	0	2
		N/A	0	0	0	0	0
	Colha Total		**0**	**2**	**0**	**0**	**2**
	Cuello	Ceramic	0	1	0	0	1
		Shell	0	0	0	1	1
	Cuello Total		**0**	**1**	**0**	**1**	**2**
Grand Total			**0**	**3**	**0**	**1**	**4**

Table 8.8: Count of Artifacts by Material Type and Age of Individual

Time Period	Site	Material	Adult	Indeterminate	SubAdult	Grand Total
Preclassic	Colha	Greenstone	0	0	2	2
		N/A	0	0	0	0
	Colha Total		**0**	**0**	**2**	**2**
	Cuello	Ceramic	0	1	0	1
		Shell	1	0	0	1
	Cuello Total		**1**	**1**	**0**	**2**
Grand Total			**1**	**1**	**2**	**4**

Table 8.9: Count of Artifacts by Material Type, Form Type and Sex of Individual

Time Period	Site	Material	Form	Male	Indeterminate	Female?	Female	Grand Total
Preclassic	Colha	Greenstone	Bead	0	2	0	0	2
		N/A	N/A	0	0	0	0	0
	Colha Total			**0**	**2**	**0**	**0**	**2**
	Cuello	Ceramic	Vessel	0	1	0	0	1
		Shell	Bead	0	0	0	1	1
	Cuello Total			**0**	**1**	**0**	**1**	**2**
Grand Total				**0**	**3**	**0**	**1**	**4**

Table 8.10: Count of Artifacts by Material Type, Form Type and Age of Individual

Time Period	Site	Material	Form	Adult	Indeterminate	SubAdult	Grand Total
Preclassic	Colha	Greenstone	Bead	0	0	2	2
		N/A	N/A	0	0	0	0
	Colha Total			**0**	**0**	**2**	**2**
	Cuello	Ceramic	Vessel	0	1	0	1
		Shell	Bead	1	0	0	1
	Cuello Total			**1**	**1**	**0**	**2**
Grand Total				**1**	**1**	**2**	**4**

Table 8.11: Interments with Artifacts of Varying Functions

Time Period	Site	Artifact Function	Grand Total
Preclassic	Colha	Prestige-Ceremonial	1
		N/A	12
	Colha Total		**13**
	Cuello	Prestige-Ceremonial	2
	Cuello Total		**2**
Grand Total			**15**

Note that goods of varying functions may be found within a single interment therefore this is not a count of interments but rather a count of those interments that contain goods of the specified function.

Table 8.12: Interments with Artifacts of Varying Functions by Sex of the Individual

Table 8.12: Interments with Artifacts of Varying Functions by Sex of the Individual

Time Period	Site	Function	Function Details	Female	Female?	Indeterminate	Male	Grand Total
Preclassic	Colha	N/A	N/A	0	1	10	1	12
		N/A Total		**0**	**1**	**10**	**1**	**12**
		Prestige-Ceremonial	Prestige-Ceremonial	0	0	1	0	1
		Prestige-Ceremonial Total		**0**	**0**	**1**	**0**	**1**
	Colha Total			**0**	**1**	**11**	**1**	**13**
	Cuello	Prestige-Ceremonial	Prestige-Ceremonial	1	0	1	0	2
		Prestige-Ceremonial Total		**1**	**0**	**1**	**0**	**2**
	Cuello Total			**1**	**0**	**1**	**0**	**2**
Grand Total				**1**	**1**	**12**	**1**	**15**

Note that goods of varying functions may be found within a single interment therefore this is not a count of interments but rather a count of those interments that contain goods of the various specified function. Note that N/A denotes those interments absent of goods.

Table 8.13: Interments with Artifacts of Varying Functions by Age of the Individual

Table 8.13: Interments with Artifacts of Varying Functions by Age of the Individual

Time Period	Site	Function	Function Details	Adult	Indeterminate	SubAdult	Grand Total
Preclassic	Colha	N/A	N/A	9	1	2	12
		N/A Total		**9**	**1**	**2**	**12**
		Prestige-Ceremonial	Prestige-Ceremonial	0	0	1	1
		Prestige-Ceremonial Total		**0**	**0**	**1**	**1**
	Colha Total			**9**	**1**	**3**	**13**
	Cuello	Prestige-Ceremonial	Prestige-Ceremonial	1	1	0	2
		Prestige-Ceremonial Total		**1**	**1**	**0**	**2**
	Cuello Total			**1**	**1**	**0**	**2**
Grand Total				**10**	**2**	**3**	**15**

Note that goods of varying functions may be found within a single interment therefore this is not a count of interments but rather a count of those interments that contain goods of the various specified functions. Note that N/A denotes those interments absent of goods

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Time Period	Site	Function	Function Detail	Material	Form	Grand Total
Preclassic	Colha	Prestige-Ceremonial	Prestige-Ceremonial	Greenstone	Bead	2
				Greenstone Total		2
			Prestige-Ceremonial Total			2
		Prestige-Ceremonial Total				2
	Colha Total					2
	Cuello	Prestige-Ceremonial	Prestige-Ceremonial	Ceramic	Vessel	1
				Ceramic Total		1
				Shell	Bead	1
				Shell Total		1
			Prestige-Ceremonial Total			2
		Prestige-Ceremonial Total				2
	Cuello Total					2
Grand Total						4

Table 8.15: Number of Interments with Head Cover over the Cranium of the Decedent

Time Period	Site	Head Cover	Grand Total
Preclassic	Cuello	Yes	1
	Cuello Total		**1**
Grand Total			**1**

Table 8.16: Number of Interments with Head Cover over the Cranium of the Decedent by Sex of the Individual

Time Period	Site	Head Cover	Indeterminate	Grand Total
Preclassic	Cuello	Yes	1	1
	Cuello Total		**1**	**1**
Grand Total			**1**	**1**

Table 8.17: Number of Interments with Head Cover over the Cranium of the Decedent by Age of the Individual

Time Period	Site	Head Cover	Indeterminate	Grand Total
Preclassic	Cuello	Yes	1	1
	Cuello Total		**1**	**1**
Grand Total			**1**	**1**

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Time Period	Site	Head Cover	Material	Form	Subform	Grand Total
Preclassic	Cuello	Yes	Ceramic	Vessel	Vessel (Indeterminate Shape)	1
	Cuello Total					**1**
Grand Total						**1**

Table 8.19: Count of Interments within Varying Architecture Space Functions

Time Period	Site	Architectural Space Function	Grand Total
Preclassic	Colha	Domestic	13
	Colha Total		**13**
	Cuello	Domestic	2
	Cuello Total		**2**
Grand Total			**15**

Table 8.20: Count of Interments within Varying Architecture Space Functions by Sex of Individual

Time Period	Site	Architectural Space Function	Female	Female?	Indeterminate	Male	Grand Total
Preclassic	Colha	Domestic	0	1	11	1	13
	Colha Total		**0**	**1**	**11**	**1**	**13**
	Cuello	Domestic	1	0	1	0	2
	Cuello Total		**1**	**0**	**1**	**0**	**2**
Grand Total			**1**	**1**	**12**	**1**	**15**

Table 8.21: Count of Interments within Varying Architecture Space Functions by Age of Individual

Time Period	Site	Architectural Space Function	Adult	Indeterminate	SubAdult	Grand Total
Preclassic	Colha	Domestic	9	1	3	13
	Colha Total		**9**	**1**	**3**	**13**
	Cuello	Domestic	1	1	0	2
	Cuello Total		**1**	**1**	**0**	**2**
Grand Total			**10**	**2**	**3**	**15**

CHAPTER 9: TRENDS AND ANOMALIES ACROSS SPACE AND TIME

It must be remembered that it is likely that 90-95% of all prehistoric material culture was manufactured from perishable materials such as cloth, wood, flora and fauna (Buttles 2002: 3; Drooker 2001: 4). The perishable nature of these materials means that they are largely absent from the archaeological record and affect the scope of interpretation possible from the recovered data. Understanding this caveat, the above analysis has focused on those goods extant in the funerary assemblages of Preclassic Maya decedents in an effort to elucidate those trends and anomalies present within the data. The patterns and irregularities seen within the data have been presented above and are recapitulated below in paragraph form as well as in bulleted lists for ease of reference.

The sites of Colha, Cuello and K'axob are the foci of this research due to the significant Preclassic component and unique characteristics in each of their site histories. As abovementioned, Colha exists as a center of craft specialization focused on lithic production. Cuello is a non-specialized site, but did experience a particularly intensive population increase as time progressed and represents somewhat of a middle ground between the other two more specialized sites. K'axob is a wetland agriculture-focused site, given its location in the Pulltrouser Swamp area. The above data and analysis has illustrated that at each of the three sites of study, there is a pattern of preferential preservation of adults and males due to either cultural or natural factors or a combination thereof (Saul and Saul 1991: 135).

This is manifested in a higher number of recovered adult male decedents than any other demographic. These individuals are also the segment of the interred population that exhibits a more frequent accompaniment by a higher number of prestige goods than other individuals. Trends and anomalies for each of the sites are presented below.

DISCUSSION - SUMMARY OF FINDINGS

MIDDLE PRECLASSIC

COLHA

Occupation at Colha is first indicated in the early Middle Preclassic between 900 B.C. - 600 B.C. and according to Potter et al (n.d.), was a period characterized by groups of small dispersed households. These groups of individuals would have shared a community identity and practiced a common ideology. Objects and materials indicative of trade begin to appear during this time and persist through subsequent periods. Analysis of the settlement patterns from the following late Middle Preclassic indicate that the small, dispersed groups of households established in the early Middle Preclassic became more integrated and likely represented a low-level chiefdom. Data suggests that the social profile of the community became more diversified and spatially distinct activity areas such as the possible formal cemetery complex at Operation 2012 were established (King 2000; Hester and Shafer 1994a, 1994b; Potter 1994). There is an increase in evidence

regarding trade items at this time, with amplification in the quantity and variety of both raw and finished materials and forms including greenstone, obsidian, shell, and basaltic groundstone. Increased variety and complexity in funerary goods is complemented by an increase in the number and structural complexity of domicile constructions across the site (Anthony 1987; Anthony and Black 1994; Sullivan 1991). Further, there is an increase in the amount of jade seen with males. While still minimal quantities in comparison to other material types within the male assemblage, it is seen that males are interred with higher numbers of jade and greenstone objects than are females. This holds true for Cuello and K'axob as well during this time period; however Colha may have had a material advantage over these two sites given that inhabitants would have had a readily accessible and exchangeable commodity (Northern Belize Colha chert) to trade for jade and greenstones.

Over the expanse of the three sites, males are interred with twice as much non-jade greenstone as are females; however they are interred with seven times more jade than are females. Clearly the high economic and social value placed on jade over 'social jades' (non-jade greenstones) is evidenced in this assemblage pattern. This good pattern correlates well with the preferential burial treatment given to males. The data and analysis indicates that females were afforded access to prestige items that would have been acquired through long-distance trade avenues, such as marine shell from the coast and greenstones from the Maya Mountains; however compared to males, they were typically less often included with prestige

items of any material type. Further, those prestige material types that were found in higher abundances within female interments would have been procured from resources closer to the site (i.e. - marine shell from the coast) than other prestige items such as greenstone (from the higher cost-distance locale of the Maya Mountains). This can be seen in the fact that marine shell resources could be obtained from origins approximately 50-70 KM away, whereas any greenstone materials would have been transported or acquired from sources over 200 KM from the site. The higher cost of attainment associated with greenstone would have contributed to the high inclusion rate of greenstone with males and a much lower inclusion rate with females. This is true not only for Colha, but also for those funerary assemblage patterns seen at Middle Preclassic Cuello and K'axob.

During the Middle Preclassic at Colha, males are predominantly interred in extend postures with an equal likelihood of their cranium being oriented south, west or northwest. Males are not interred with evidence of burning or cross motif vessels, though three males are buried with vessels covering their crania and there is a single incidence of red mineral pigmentation with one male decedent. Shell beads are the most prolific item found with males at the site. In general, prestige goods such as jade, non-jade greenstones and red mineral pigments each account for under one quarter of a percent of the total recovered goods from Colha as well as Cuello and K'axob. This appears to indicate that prestige goods were not prevalent within the funerary assemblages of the population at large in Northern Belize

during the Middle Preclassic. Males are on average buried more frequently and with higher numbers of prestige goods than are females.

Males are largely interred in potential ritual/ceremonial areas of the site with objects classified in this study as being of a prestige-ceremonial nature. Only a single female is recovered from the site for this time period. While the positioning of her body is unclear, her cranium is oriented southward. As with males, there is no evidence of accompaniment by burning activities or cross motif vessels and shell beads are the most abundant item within her interment. Unlike males, she is unadorned with red mineral pigmentation; however there is a vessel placed over her cranium. There were in fact no females interred with evidence of red mineral pigmentation. Red mineral pigments were used on osteological remains as well as included as grave goods during the Preclassic in Northern Belize. According to Ruz (1965), the color red is symbolic of resurrection or rebirth in men. The single female recovered from the site is interred in a possible ritual/ceremonial area with items exclusively defined as prestige items.

Adults at Colha during this time are mostly seen in extended postures with equal likelihood of their cranium being oriented south or west. Indications of burning and the use of red mineral pigmentation are each seen with only one adult. Adults are most commonly interred with prestige goods in possible ritual/ceremonial contexts. Six are placed with vessels covering their crania, though none are accompanied by cross motif vessels. Shell beads are the most numerous item found with adults. Subadults are primarily interred in flexed positions with

their crania oriented south or northwest and are accompanied by prestige goods within ritual/ceremonial settings. Two subadults are interred with ceramic vessels covering their crania, and complete ceramic vessels are in fact the most prolific item found with individuals in this age category. There are no indications of burning activities, the use of red mineral pigments or cross motif vessels with any subadults.

CUELLO

During the Middle Preclassic, 900 B.C. – 600 B.C., the settlement pattern indicates a trend toward the reuse of building sites over long periods of time. It appears Cuello had a "dispersed village community with an egalitarian social organization" (Wilk and Wilhite 1991: 126, 129). However, one must remember that during this same time period evidence exists for the elaborate burial of children at Platform 34 with prolific amounts of shell jewelry (McSwain 1991: 242). This speaks to the likelihood of ascribed status within the Middle Preclassic community of Cuello. While earned status undoubtedly existed, the fact that a child who would not have had a lifetime of achievements from which to earn elevated social standing was interred with such wealth is a clear indication that another conception of social differentiation is at work.

For this time period at Cuello, males are typically interred in extended postures with their crania oriented west or east. While no males are accompanied by cross motif vessels or evidence of burning activities linked to funerary ritual, there are four male decedents with ceramic vessels covering their crania and three

who are interred with indications of the use of red mineral pigments. Complete ceramic vessels are the most prevalent item included with males, though shell beads also make up a large portion of their assemblage. These individuals are more often interred with prestige goods and found in domestic contexts. Females are largely interred in extended postures or disarticulated states with their crania oriented south, southeast and possibly north as well. There are no female interments exhibiting indications of burning, red mineral pigments or cross motif vessels. Three females are interred with ceramic vessels over their crania. Shell beads are the most quantifiably prevalent good interred with females. In fact, females are interred with thirteen times more shell than are males at the site during this time period. Most females are interred in domestic contexts and accompanied by prestige goods.

Adults at the site during the Middle Preclassic are largely interred in extended postures with their crania oriented south, west or east. No adults are interred with indications of burning or cross motif vessels, though two adults are in fact buried with evidence of the use of red mineral pigments. Seven adults are seen to have ceramic vessels covering their crania. Adults are mostly interred in domestic contexts but accompanied by prestige goods. Shell beads are the most prevalent artifact form interred with these individuals. Subadults are frequently interred in flexed postures with their crania oriented southeast or northwest. No evidence of burning or cross motif vessels accompanies subadults; however one is interred with indications of red mineral pigmentation. Subadults are primarily interred in domestic contexts with prestige goods, with shell beads being the most prolific item.

Two subadults are interred with ceramic vessels placed over their crania. Interestingly, artifacts of NB Colha chert are found in Cuello interments as they are at K'axob. However, no NB Colha chert grave goods are reported for the Middle Preclassic from Colha itself. It is of note that more items of this material type are reported for Cuello (approximately 9 KM away) and K'axob (20 KM away) that for the Colha itself, which is the origin of the material source. It is interesting to see this inverse relationship between proximity to the resource origin and frequency and numbers of artifacts included in interments. The expected pattern is for the highest number or frequency of artifacts of a particular material class to appear in a pattern reflecting a direct, positive relationship or correlation in relation to distance from the resource origin.

The distribution of NB Colha chert in Middle Preclassic interments appears to display the inverse of the expected relationship. The author suggests the possibility that, given the abundance of the source material at the site of origin (Colha), minimal prestige value, or any value other than practical, would have been attached to NB Colha chert. The focus on this material at the site would have largely been for practical purposes of tool manufacture and production. The further away from the material source origin one travels, however, the more prestige value may have been ascribed to it given the economic (time, distance, labor) and cultural (creation of trade ties with neighboring sites) costs associated with its procurement. Thus, an increase of prestige tied to a material class and its derivative products, would likely impact the cultural motivation to include objects of this type with members of the

community who had either earned or been ascribed a higher degree of status. Though one must also consider the possibility that these objects did in fact exist in the archaeological record but may not have been recorded as such.

K'AXOB

As at Colha and Cuello, there are clear indications of status differences between individuals, specifically males and females, based on the disparities in funerary assemblages. During the Middle Preclassic, two foundational burials are interred in Operation 1 (Burials 1-43 male and 1-46 female). The male is interred with numerous shell beads and two ceramic vessels as well as other goods while the female was not accompanied by such lavish goods. Instead, her assemblage is dominated by unmodified faunal remains and lithic microdebitage. McAnany notes that this disparity in accompaniments clearly indicates a status difference between these two individuals. However, it should be noted that both individuals were interred at the base of Operation 1 in two separate pits, where subsequent structures of significant size were erected. These two interments may be dedication burials, placed to embed the significance of this location within the social memory of site residents (McAnany 2004: 27) and thereby perpetuate the power held by the lineage of these decedents.

During this time at K'axob, males are usually found in burial postures that are unclear; however among those which are determinable, extended positions predominate. Southern orientations are the most common determinable cranial

orientation. Three males are found in interments with indications of burning though only one male decedent is found with a vessel over his cranium. One male is also found with red mineral pigments within his funerary assemblage though no male decedents are accompanied by cross motif vessels. Males are exclusively interred in domestic contexts but are more often accompanied by prestige goods. Shell beads are the most prolific item found with these individuals. Females are only interred in extended postures with southwestern cranial orientations being the most common. No females are interred with red mineral pigmentation or cross motif vessels, though there is one with a ceramic vessel over her cranium and two who are interred with evidence of burning activities. Females are interred exclusively in domestic contexts though they are found more often with prestige goods. Ceramic vessel fragments are the most numerous item found with females, though shell beads also comprise a large part of their assemblage.

Shell at the site is plentiful and also indicative of participation in the northern Belize trade network. McAnany notes that while marine shell is present at K'axob from the earliest Middle Preclassic levels, there is also a plethora of locally procured freshwater shells. Interestingly, the material culture of the site has a greater component of long distance trade items during the Middle Preclassic than in the Late Preclassic. As McAnany says, "one of the definitive differences between the Middle and Late Formative artifacts of K'axob is the emphatically local nature of artifacts of the latter period" (2004: 12). Materials from excavation show that as sections of the northern Belize trade network fluctuated or collapsed, K'axob

inhabitants became increasingly self-reliant and more familiar with utilizing local wetland and river resources (McAnany 2004: 12).

Adults are primarily found in extended burial postures with their crania oriented southwest, southeast, east and possibly south. There are no cross motif vessels interred with adults; however five are accompanied by evidence of burning activities, three with vessels covering their crania and one with indications of the use of red mineral pigments. Adults are exclusively interred in domestic contexts though they are more often interred with prestige goods than practical ones. Shell beads are the most prolific item interred with adults at this time. Subadults are typically found in extended positions with their crania oriented southwest, northwest and possibly northwest.

There is a lack of cross motif vessels, ceramic vessels used as head covers, and red mineral pigmentation within subadult interments; however three are interred with evidence of burning. Subadults are interred exclusively in domestic contexts and are more often accompanied by practical goods. Ceramic vessel fragments are the most quantifiably prevalent artifact form placed with these individuals, though NB Colha chert implements also comprise a large portion of their funerary assemblage. Interestingly, at K'axob as well as at Colha and Cuello, there are no instances of greenstone or bone artifacts in subadult interments. This accentuates the less esteemed place of juveniles compared to their elders within the social hierarchy of Middle Preclassic society. Subadults likely had less frequent access to prestige materials due to either lesser status during their lifetime

compared to their elders, the lack of being in an economically viable position to acquire these materials or a combination of these factors.

FUNERARY ATTRIBUTE COMPARISON AND CONTRAST: COLHA, CUELLO, K'AXOB

There are various attributes of interments that are common to all three sites during the Middle Preclassic. Extended burial postures are predominant, with the exception of the prevalence of flexed positions in the subadult populations of Colha and Cuello. The lack of cross motif vessels is seen through out Middle Preclassic interments at all three sites. Indications of burning activities possibly associated with funerary ritual are absent from Colha and Cuello during this time period except for a single occurrence with an indeterminately sexed adult at Colha. However, burning activity appears to be more prevalent at K'axob with males and females as well as adults and subadults each exhibiting some degree of burning within a number of their interments.

The use of ceramic vessels as head covers for decedents is seen with both sex and age categories at all sites except K'axob. No subadults exhibit a vessel covering their crania at this site. In those instances where head covers are present, the general trend is for more males and adults to exhibit such a grave good than do females and subadults. No females or subadults are interred with red mineral pigmentation except for a single occurrence with a subadult at Cuello. Red mineral pigmentation is seen in male and adult interments at all three sites, with Cuello

having the highest incidence of such occurrences for both groups. It appears that Cuello inhabitants had more ready access to red mineral pigment goods, which had a prestige connotation, than did residents of K'axob or Colha. Shell beads are the most prevalent good included with most individuals. Exceptions to this are subadults at Colha who are accompanied by higher numbers of complete ceramic vessels and subadults at K'axob who are placed with ceramic vessel fragments and NB Colha chert tools more frequently.

Complete ceramic vessels and ceramic vessel fragments respectively make up a slightly higher quantity of the assemblage of Cuello males and K'axob females; however it should also be noted that shell beads still comprise a significant portion of their assemblages. Males, females, adults and subadults are more often found with prestige goods during this time at all three sites, with the exception of subadults at K'axob who are more often interred with practical goods. K'axob participated in the long distance trade network that was active during the Preclassic in northern Belize, as did Colha and Cuello. While individuals from both sex and age categories are predominantly interred in domestic settings at K'axob and Cuello, interment within possible ritual/ceremonial contexts is more common at Colha.

LATE PRECLASSIC

COLHA

Based on data from Cobweb Swamp, during the Late Preclassic Colha experienced a high site population, which would have contributed to deforestation

and soil erosion that would have begun to impact the agricultural modifications inhabitants made to the site. Loose clay deposits would have begun to wash over the established fields and irrigation channels (Jacob 1992: 39). It was also found that the mass production of lithic tools during the Late Preclassic was likely linked to a period of intensive agricultural development at the site (Hester et al 1982). The population increase during this period is accompanied by a progression in the complexity of the settlement pattern and cultural, social, economic and ideological components of the site as well (Hester and Shafer 1994). However, this could also be due to an increase in the export of Colha lithics as trade items within northern Belize and the Yucatan. This increase in population is also evidenced in the technology present at the site, with an increased focus on craft specialization and the construction of monumental architecture. King (2000: 159) suggests that the Late Preclassic lithic production scheme appears more organized and controlled, likely speaking to the greater involvement of Colha elite.

Activities in Operation 2012 shifted toward a more ritual function during this period and Operation 2031 became a focus for similar activity at the core of the site. The number of lithic workshops increases during this period while temple structures, large open formal plazas and a ball court also appear. These developments indicate the presence of a social force coaxing or coercing the general population to become a labor pool to assist in these building and craft efforts. This type of power dynamic would indicate a level of social stratification characteristic of an elite class comprised of one or more ruling lineages at the site. These lineages

were likely the descendants of the 'first occupants' of Colha (Hageman 2004; Hart 1983; Hyde 2011; McAnany 1995; Waldron 1988) who then legitimized and maintained access to prestige goods through social reproduction strategies and practices such as ancestor veneration (McAnany 1995; Moore 1988, 1994; Trachman 2007). Adams (1982: 61) postulates that during the Late Preclassic and into the Terminal Preclassic, the site and its ruling class were fully to semi-autonomous.

In the Late Preclassic at Colha, males are predominantly interred in disarticulated states; flexed postures are slightly less prevalent but still popular. Eastern cranial orientations are the most popular for individuals with orientations of a definitive cardinal direction. Nine males are interred with evidence of burning while only a single male decedent is interred with red mineral pigments. There are no males accompanied by cross motif vessels, though there are two who are interred with vessels covering their crania. Ceramic vessel fragments are the most numerous good placed with males. In fact, though males are largely interred in ritual/ceremonial contexts, they are interred twice as often with practical goods as with prestige goods. Females are mostly interred in disarticulated states, though flexed postures are also common. Western, southern and eastern orientations are equally popular among female decedents. Three females exhibited vessels over their crania, two were accompanied by red mineral pigments and one was buried with indications of burning activities. No cross motif vessels were recovered with females. Jade beads are the most prolific good interred with females, though a

similarly high quantity of shell beads is also found in their assemblage. Females are primarily interred in domestic areas within ritual/ceremonial settings and are interred with practical and prestige items equally as often.

Overall, males are found more frequently with all artifact material classes during the Late Preclassic, with the exceptions of jade, shell, and unmodified faunal remains. Quantitatively, the male assemblage is dominated by ceramics and NB Colha chert while the female assemblage is largely comprised of jade and shell. The high inclusion of NB Colha chert in the male assemblage is an interesting finding, given the absence of this material as a grave good during the Middle Preclassic. Female interments ultimately have significantly higher quantities of jade and shell than do male interments – a distribution that may speak to the increase social importance of females in Late Preclassic Colha society as these are long distance trade goods that are of a prestige connotation, which were seen in high quantities with males in the preceding period. Though, as noted above, conceptions of the value of these prestige goods was subject to fluctuation.

Adults are typically seen in disarticulated states with indeterminate cranial orientations. Eleven adults are interred with evidence of burning while six are placed with head covers and four with red mineral pigments. No cross motif vessels are placed with adults at Colha. Ceramic vessel fragments are slightly more numerous than other artifact forms within the adult assemblage. Overall, adults are primarily interred in ritual/ceremonial contexts with more incidences of practical goods than prestige goods. Long distance trade goods and prestige items are more

diverse and numerous in this period than in the Middle Preclassic. As during the prior period, these items would likely have been acquired through a system of exchange based on the value of the lithic tools and symbols of power (eccentrics) (Meadows 2001) being produced at Colha. Subadults are largely interred in disarticulated states with indeterminate cranial orientations. No subadults are interred with evidence of burning, cross motif vessels or red mineral pigmentation; however a single subadult is interred with a ceramic vessel over their cranium. Greenstone beads are the most numerous form interred with subadults; prestige goods in general are found more often with subadults than are practical goods. Subadults are primarily interred in ritual/ceremonial areas.

Overall, the significant increase in population between the Middle and Late Preclassic combined with the substantial increase in the number of individuals who are interred without a funerary assemblage as well as those who are interred with practical materials over prestige goods indicates that there is likely a decrease in those who would have been in the socioeconomic position to access luxury goods. This may speak to an increased centralization and tighter control of the nexus of authority at the site.

CUELLO

The Late Preclassic was the period of maximum occupancy for the Cuello, with a population estimated at a peak of 2, 600 inhabitants. It was also a period of intense ritual activity, with two separate mass burials being placed at the core of the

site (Hammond 1982, 1985). According to Wilk and Wilhite, by the end of the Preclassic, there was definite evidence for social stratification present in the settlement pattern. It is noted that a small number of households had been established on large plastered platforms, which indicates a substantial labor investment; however, the majority of households still existed within perishable structures built directly on the ground. The architectural evidence is congruous with a community in which "special rights" (land rights) and access to prestige goods from long distance trade would have been relegated by a ruling class of elite lineages. Wilk and Wilhite propose that kin groups established and legitimized their power at Cuello through ancestral cults and manipulation of kinship ties (1991: 129-130).

Males are typically interred in flexed postures with indeterminate cranial orientations, though western orientations are popular as well. No males are interred with cross motif vessels or indications of burning, though thirteen males are seen to have head covers and two are interred with traces of red mineral pigments. Complete ceramic vessels are the most prevalent artifact form placed with male decedents. Prestige goods are generally found with males more often than are practical goods and these individuals are more regularly placed in ritual/ceremonial than domestic contexts. Females are largely interred in flexed postures with northern cranial orientations. While no cross motif vessels or indications of burning or red mineral pigmentation are seen with females, five female decedents are interred with ceramic vessels covering their crania. Complete ceramic vessels are

the most prevalent item interred with females; prestige goods in general are found with females equally as often as practical goods. Males are noted to have a much more diverse funerary assemblage than do females. Domestic contexts are the only setting in which females are interred.

Overall, males are found with higher frequencies as well as greater numbers of all artifact material classes except for greenstone and NB Colha chert. This pattern is decidedly different from that seen at Colha during this time period, where females were overwhelmingly interred with higher quantities of prestige goods such as jade and shell. Analysis of the Cuello data indicates that the social hierarchy established in the Middle Preclassic that esteemed males over females is preserved in the Late Preclassic, while at Colha some changes are indicated as abovementioned. The continued social dominance of males is seen in the higher frequencies and numbers of prestige goods included in male interments over female interments.

Adults are mostly buried in flexed and disarticulated positions with indeterminate cranial orientations. No adults are placed with cross motif vessels or evidence of burning; however twenty seven adults are interred with head covers and two adult interments exhibit red mineral pigmentation in some form. Complete ceramic vessels are the most prevalent goods placed with these individuals. Adults are most often accompanied by prestige goods within ritual/ceremonial contexts. Subadults are largely interred in flexed postures with western cranial orientations. No evidence of burning, red mineral pigmentation or cross motif vessels are found with subadults; however seven of these individuals are interred with ceramic

vessels covering their crania. Shell beads are the most quantifiably prevalent artifact form interred with subadults. In fact, prestige good are interred with subadults more often than are practical goods. Subadults are found within domestic contexts slightly more often than within ritual/ceremonial contexts.

The data shows that adult interments during the Late Preclassic at Cuello account for twice the amount of grave goods as do subadult interments. Assemblages for the two age categories differed greatly, with shell predominating within the subadult assemblage while ceramics were the most plentiful good found with adults. Clearly, adults had a far more diverse funerary assemblage than did subadults during this time period at the site. While some subadult interments did contain items manufactured from greenstone, this material was still included in higher numbers with adults as were all other prestige artifact material types. There appears to be a shift from the Middle to Late Preclassic in the makeup of the adult funerary assemblage at Cuello. Large quantities of shell beads are eliminated and replaced by high numbers of ceramic vessels.

This transition does not hold true for the subadult assemblage, which is still largely comprised of shell beads. Both the adult and subadult funerary assemblage become more diversified in the Late Preclassic, with the inclusion of materials such as chalcedony and obsidian as well as more diversified forms of those materials that continue to be seen as holdovers from the Middle Preclassic. There is also a definite increase in the quantities of prestige items such as greenstone beads that are included with subadults. While the distribution of prestige goods is still skewed

toward inclusion in adult interments, it does appear that there is transition toward an escalation of status of subadults compared to the prior time period.

Overall at Cuello, there is not a significant shift in the numbers of individuals interred with practical versus prestige goods; this may indicate that while the elite class at Colha was expanding slightly but remaining highly centralized, the elite at Cuello were escalating in number more rapidly and were more numerous relative to the plebian population. The higher number of males interred with prestige goods than are females indicates that while the Cuello elite were growing in number, the composition of this group was still largely male. This is different from what was seen at Colha where the relatively small power nexus or group at the site seemed to be equalizing in composition between the sexes, with an increased number of females being interred with prestige goods. This equalization of status is indicated if jade and shell did in fact maintain the connotation of prestige they bore in the Middle Preclassic; obsidian may have replaced these materials as the prestige good du jour.

K'AXOB

During the Late Preclassic, the structure built over the dual burial placed in Operation 1 in the Middle Preclassic undergoes a major transformation. A rectangular platform and apsidal structure are built in this spot and interspersed with caches and burials. Burials placed within the structure boundaries appear to have richer burial furniture than those interred just outside its perimeter. This may

indicate a more deliberate social stratification system being implemented at K'axob and the communal understanding and recognition of the building in Operation 1 as a ritual structure for ceremonial purposes rather than a domicile (McAnany 2004d: 58).

Males are placed in indeterminate and flexed burial postures with northern cranial orientations most often. Three males are interred with cross motif vessels while four are buried with head covers. Seven males are interred with evidence of burning activity while only two males are interred with red mineral pigments in some form. Ceramic vessel fragments are the most prolific good found with males. Practical goods in general are found more often with males than are prestige goods. Males are exclusively interred in domestic contexts. Females are typically interred in extended postures with northern cranial orientations, though flexed postures and western orientations are also very common. No females are interred with cross motif vessels, though one female is placed with red mineral pigments in some form, five are interred with evidence of burning, and six with ceramic vessels over their crania. Similar to males, ceramic vessel fragments are the most quantifiably prevalent artifact form interred with females. Unmodified faunal remains also make up a large portion of the female funerary assemblage. Females are interred exclusively in domestic contexts and are placed with practical and prestige goods equally as often.

The K'axob assemblage during the Late Preclassic is typified in frequency and number by ceramic artifacts. This is true for both the male and female assemblages.

Similar to Colha and Cuello, prestige material categories are less well represented than practical materials. Also interesting is the trend held up across the three sites that shows ceramics to have taken the place of shell as the most frequent and quantitatively significant artifact material type included in interments. In addition to this shift, a transition to the use of obsidian from the volcanic highlands as a prestige good to supplement and replace greenstones is seen in the Late Preclassic, especially at Cuello and K'axob. A possible explanation for these shifts is offered by Buttles (2002: 37) in her interpretation of the design theories of technological systems as presented by Hayden (1998). As Buttles notes, Hayden's theories indicate that "prestige technologies are not static and they may eventually transform into practical technologies" (Buttles 2002: 37; Hayden 1998: 33). Therefore, what once was a marker of social esteem and authority in the Middle Preclassic may have fallen into disuse as time progressed and new materials and forms were introduced. However, it should also be noted that obsidian as well as jade were generally scarce materials throughout the site's existence; perhaps indicating a limited trade network established with the Maya Mountain and Highland areas.

Adults are typically interred in flexed positions though extended postures are also common. Equal numbers of indeterminate and northern cranial orientations are seen. All three male decedents interred with cross motif vessels were adults. Fifteen adult decedents are interred with vessels over their crania and seventeen are buried with evidence of burning activities. Only two adult interments exhibit the

use of red mineral pigments. Ceramic vessel fragments are the most quantifiably prevalent artifact form interred with adults. Practical goods are placed with these decedents slightly more than prestige goods; all adults are interred within domestic contexts. Subadults are largely found in indeterminate burial positions though flexed positions were also seen. Over one third of subadults had no cranial material present for a determination of orientation to be made while one quarter had indeterminate orientations. Of those with a determinable orientation, north was the most popular. No subadults are interred with cross motif vessels or red mineral pigments; however one individual is placed with a head cover and six are interred with evidence of burning activities. NB Colha chert modified lithics and ceramic vessel fragments are the most prolific forms found with subadults. The subadult funerary assemblage is largely composed of practical goods, though prestige goods are also common. All subadults are interred within domestic contexts.

Unlike interments at Colha and Cuello, there does not seem to be a transition toward the increased inclusion of prestige items with subadults during the Late Preclassic at K'axob. This is clearly evidenced in the increase of the inclusion of greenstone beads within subadult interments at Colha and Cuello while these highly valued goods are absent from similar contexts at K'axob.

Overall at K'axob, the Late Preclassic power dynamic appears more similar to Cuello than to Colha. Much like at Cuello, the elite population appears to be expanding significantly based on the number of individuals interred with prestige goods. However, despite the increase in site inhabitants with access to long distance

trade prestige goods, the largest segment of this population remains adult males. Therefore, the elite class may be experiencing a growth rate similar to that of Cuello, with a similar composition of a large number of adult males controlling the power.

FUNERARY ATTRIBUTE COMPARISON AND CONTRAST: COLHA, CUELLO, K'AXOB

During the Late Preclassic, disarticulated burial postures predominate at Colha among definitively sexed and aged individuals. This is different from Cuello and K'axob where flexed postures are more common. At Colha and K'axob, incidences of burning follow the pattern established in the Middle Preclassic with males and adults being accompanied by burnt objects more often than females and subadults. However, there are no incidences of burning within interments of any individuals at Cuello during this time period.

The only site where cross motif vessels appear is K'axob. Three occurrences of these vessels with adult males are seen. Regarding head covers, Cuello interments follow the Middle Preclassic pattern of males and adults being more frequently placed with such goods over their crania than either females or subadults. However, there are deviations from this pattern at Colha and K'axob. At both of these sites, adults with ceramic vessels over their crania still outnumber subadults with similar goods; however males interments are seen to have slightly fewer inclusions of head covers than do female interments.

Females are 1.5 times likelier to have a head cover than are males at both Colha and K'axob. The pattern of red mineral pigments within interments also seems to follow the Middle Preclassic pattern of being more frequently associated with males and adults. There is a slight deviation from this at Colha, though; twice as many females as males are interred with traces of red mineral pigments. This is particularly interesting given the fact that red mineral pigments are a prestige good that signifies rebirth and renewal based on its color (Ruz 1965). It could be that females were more closely associated with the connotations this good held in life and therefore interred with it more often in death. Complete ceramic vessels and ceramic vessel fragments largely replaced shell beads as the predominant artifact form included with the interred population in the Late Preclassic. This is clear at K'axob where males and females as well as adults are interred with higher numbers of vessel fragments than any other good. Subadults at the site deviate only slightly from this pattern, for while large amounts of vessel fragments are included in their interments, NB Colha chert modified lithics are slightly more numerous.

A similar case is seen at the site of Cuello where complete ceramic vessels are the most prolific good placed with males, females and adults. Subadults stray from this pattern more strongly, with shell beads being the predominant good interred with these individuals. At Colha, the male and adult populations are interred with high numbers of ceramic vessel fragments as at K'axob; however females and subadults are more often interred with beads manufactured from jade and greenstone. While males are interred with more of the ceramic and bone objects in

the Late Preclassic as compared to the Middle Preclassic than are females, there still appears to be a significant shift toward the higher rate of inclusion of prestige materials with females at the site during this later time period.

There is a similar case for subadults. The new found prevalence of prestige goods with females and subadults may indicate a transition in the power structure at Colha in the Late Preclassic that would have afforded these individuals more access to the nexus of power held primarily by elite adult males in the past. As in the Middle Preclassic, all K'axob interments were recovered from domestic contexts. At Cuello however, there appears to be a division between locations where concentrations of males and/or adults and females and/or subadults are found. Males and adults are primarily located within definitive, dedicated ritual ceremonial areas while subadults and females are largely interred within domestic contexts. A somewhat similar pattern can be seen at Colha where adults and males are placed in ritual ceremonial areas while females are most often located within domestic areas located within a larger ritual/ceremonial context. Subadults however are found more frequently within dedicated ritual/ceremonial areas. Practical goods are included more frequently with most definitively aged and sexed individuals at both Colha and K'axob during the Late Preclassic; however prestige goods are more commonly placed with decedents of both sexes and all ages at Cuello. This may indicate the more ready access of Cuello inhabitants to trading ties and resources from which these goods would have been acquired or perhaps a degree of change in the distribution of authority and power at the site, allowing more females and youth

the opportunity for earned and ascribed status. Though adult males are still interred with the overwhelming majority of prestige goods.

TERMINAL PRECLASSIC

COLHA

During the Terminal Preclassic, A.D. 100 – A.D. 250, the transition from private, residential areas to one of a public, ceremonial function is noted in Operation 2031 (Anthony 1987; Anthony and Black 1994; Sullivan 1991). While the interment data for this time period suggest a denouement for Colha based on a dearth of individuals and goods, other evidence exists for the continued economic and cultural florescence of the site via long distance trade and lithic production (Brown et al n.d.; Buttles 2002). No definitively sexed males or females are found in the Terminal Preclassic population of Colha. Only three indeterminately sexed individuals were recovered from the site during this time period. All had indeterminate cranial orientations. Two were placed in indeterminate burial positions while one was in a flexed posture. No instances of red mineral pigmentation, burning or cross motif vessels are found with these individuals, nor are any of them interred with ceramic vessels over their crania. Shell beads comprise the overwhelming majority of goods placed with these individuals. In fact, these indeterminately sexed individuals are four times as likely to be interred with prestige goods as with practical items. All three were recovered from domestic contexts. Two of these individuals are adults and one is an indeterminately aged

individual. Adults interments more frequently contain prestige goods than practical goods during this time.

CUELLO

There were no individuals recovered from Terminal Preclassic Cuello.

K'AXOB

During the Terminal Preclassic domestic features within Operation 1 are minimally existent; this suggests that this area became the ritual-ceremonial core of the site and that domestic functions were moved to the perimeter of this area. Presuming that the same lineage was occupying this space over the intervening years, it is possible that authority had become highly institutionalized and during this period.

The majority of males are found in indeterminate burial positions. Flexed and extended positions also occur equally as often in lesser quantities. Northern and indeterminate cranial orientations are equally popular among males. Five males are interred with evidence of burning and three with red mineral pigments. Three males are also seen to have ceramic vessels covering their crania. The three instances of cross motif vessels at the site, which are the only occurrences in the Terminal Preclassic, are with possible males not definitively sexed male decedents. NB Colha chert modified lithics are the most prevalent good interred with males at K'axob during this time period. Overall, males are interred with practical goods more often than prestige goods. All individuals are recovered from domestic contexts. Only one definitively sexed female was recovered from Terminal Preclassic K'axob. She is

found in an indeterminate burial position with a northern cranial orientation. While her interment does exhibit evidence of burning, no cross motif vessels or traces of red mineral pigments are found. This individual is interred in a domestic context without a head cover and is accompanied only by practical goods, primarily by NB Colha chert modified lithics.

Adults at the site are typically found in indeterminate positions. Those with a determinable position are more commonly found in flexed postures. Equal numbers of indeterminate and northern cranial orientations are seen within the adult population. Eleven adults are interred with evidence of burning activities while seven are placed with head covers, three with red mineral pigments and three with cross motif vessels. All adults are recovered from domestic contexts and are primarily interred with practical goods such as ceramic vessel fragments. Only one subadult individual was recovered from Terminal Preclassic K'axob. This individual was interred in an indeterminate burial posture with an indeterminate cranial orientation. While evidence of burning is present within the interment, no traces of red mineral pigment, a head cover or cross motif vessels are found. This individual is recovered from a domestic context and is mainly interred with NB Colha chert modified lithics and ceramic vessel fragments. Prestige and practical goods as general categories occur equally as often, though decedents are largely interred with practical goods. Adults are buried with prestige goods slightly more often than subadults. Females are only accompanied by practical goods while the male funerary assemblage includes both practical and prestige items.

FUNERARY ATTRIBUTE COMPARISON AND CONTRAST: COLHA, CUELLO, K'AXOB

There are far fewer individuals recovered from the Terminal Preclassic than from the prior two periods, with no individuals at all being recovered from Cuello, three indeterminately sexed individuals from Colha, and 25 individuals recovered from K'axob. Of the 25 individuals from K'axob, only ten were definitively sexed males and one a definitively sexed female. Twenty four of these individuals are adults and one is a subadult. Given the paucity of data from this time period, there are no definite discernible trends other than the predominantly indeterminate burial posture of recovered individuals from Colha and K'axob. Interestingly, shell beads are the most prolific item interred with the three individuals reported above from Colha. This is reminiscent of the grave good patterns seen in the Middle Preclassic when shell beads were the most abundant item recovered throughout the region. In contrast, the prevalence of NB Colha chert modified lithics and ceramic vessel fragments at K'axob recalls the Late Preclassic when a shift was seen to the more prolific inclusion of practical materials en masse within interments of both males and females. This observation also falls in line with McAnany's (2004a) assertion that as time progressed, the inhabitants of K'axob relied increasingly on local resources. The incidences of burning, red mineral pigmentation and cross motif vessels follow the pattern established in the Middle and Late Preclassic; occurrences of each are higher with males than females and higher with adults than subadults.

DISCUSSION

Reader's Note: All charts in this section only display data for definitively sexed and aged individuals, who thus fall in the categories of: adult male, adult female, subadult male, and subadult female. These select social categories have been charted in an effort to illustrate those data that may more fully and accurately reflect material markers of status and other indicators of social differentiation within and between the three sites of study over the Preclassic Period. For the reader's reference, the numbers of individuals within the social categories of focus are provided for each site by time period. It should be noted that dramatic disparities in material numbers from the Late Preclassic to Terminal Preclassic may be the result of a skewed sample representative of the low number of recovered individuals from the latter period.

Table 9.1: Count of definitively sexed and definitively aged individuals from the Middle Preclassic

Middle Preclassic	Adult Male	Adult Female	Subadult Male	Subadult Female	TOTAL
Colha	4	1	1	0	**6**
Cuello	8	5	0	0	**13**
K'axob	4	2	0	1	**7**
TOTAL	**16**	**8**	**1**	**1**	**26**

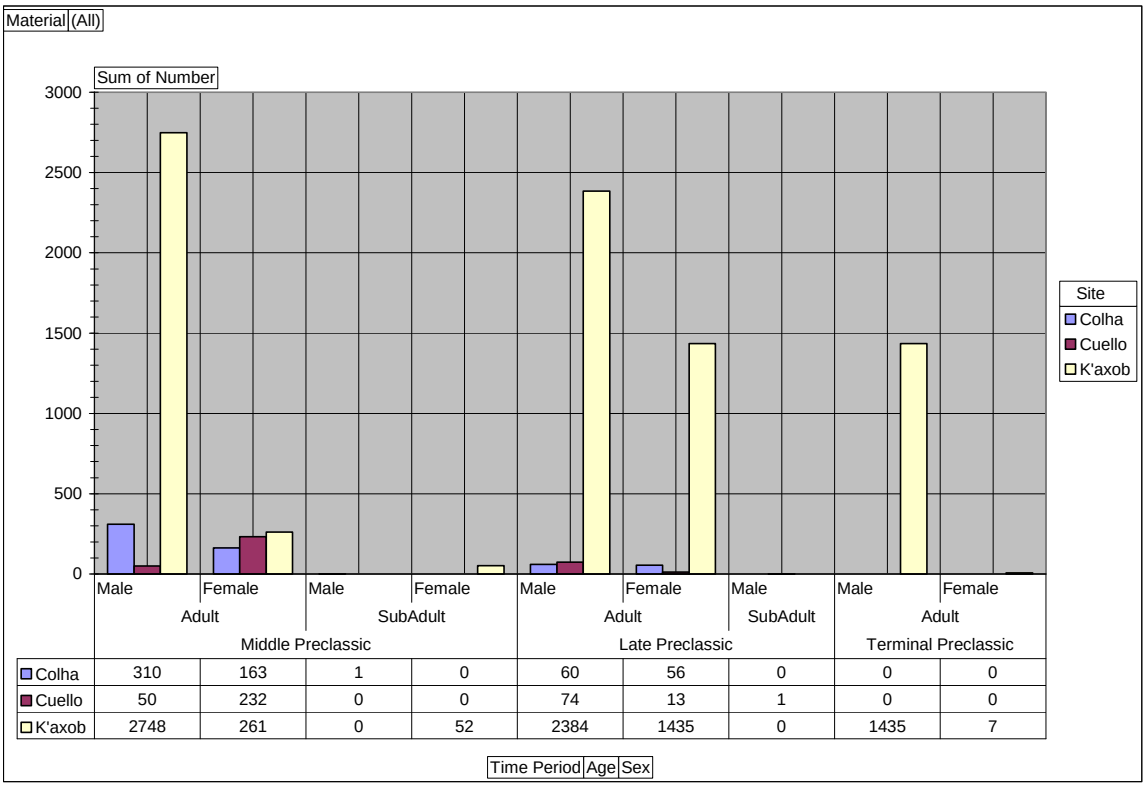
Table 9.2: Count of definitively sexed and definitively aged individuals from the Late Preclassic

Late Preclassic	Adult Male	Adult Female	Subadult Male	Subadult Female	TOTAL
Colha	31	15	0	0	**46**
Cuello	45	9	1	0	**55**
K'axob	16	12	0	0	**28**
TOTAL	**92**	**36**	**1**	**0**	**129**

Table 9.3: Count of definitively sexed and definitively aged individuals from the Terminal Preclassic

Terminal Preclassic	Adult Male	Adult Female	Subadult Male	Subadult Female	TOTAL
Colha	0	0	0	0	**0**
Cuello	0	0	0	0	**0**
K'axob	10	1	0	0	**11**
TOTAL	**10**	**1**	**0**	**0**	**11**

ALL MATERIALS



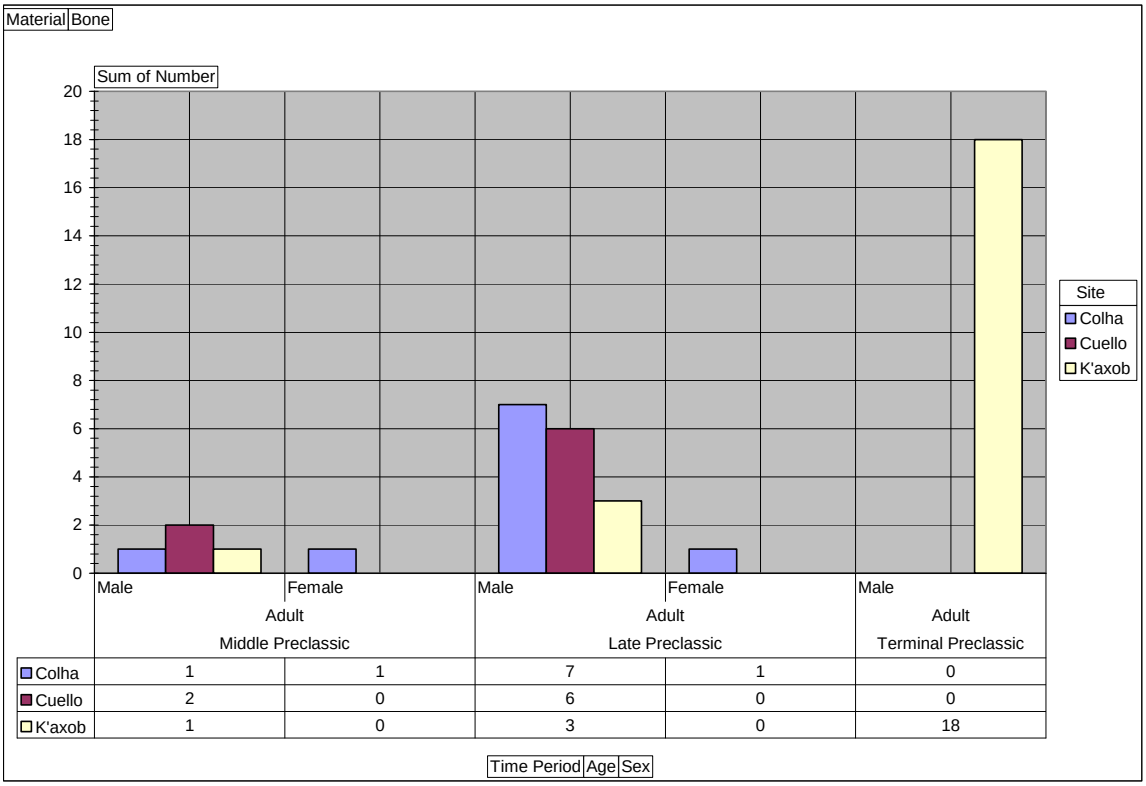
	Middle Preclassic				Late Preclassic			Terminal Preclassic	
	Adult		SubAdult		Adult		SubAdult	Adult	
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Male	Female
Colha	310	163	1	0	60	56	0	0	0
Cuello	50	232	0	0	74	13	1	0	0
K'axob	2748	261	0	52	2384	1435	0	1435	7

Figure 9.1: Distribution of grave goods of all materials

The above chart shows that adult males, specifically those at K'axob are accompanied by the majority of goods throughout the Preclassic. Subadults of both sexes are generally accompanied by a comparatively paltry number of goods throughout this time period. While females appear to generally have far lower numbers of goods than do males, an exception to this is adult females at Middle Preclassic Cuello. Interesting to note is that among females, adult females at K'axob are collectively interred with the preponderance of goods placed with females

during the Preclassic. More nuanced trends and disparities in the data appear when each artifact material category is examined in isolation as seen below.

MODIFIED BONE



	Middle Preclassic Adult Male	Middle Preclassic Adult Female	Late Preclassic Adult Male	Late Preclassic Adult Female	Terminal Preclassic Adult Male
Colha	1	1	7	1	0
Cuello	2	0	6	0	0
K'axob	1	0	3	0	18

Figure 9.2: Distribution of grave goods made of bone

Adult males are found with the preponderance of worked bone objects in the Middle, Late and Terminal Preclassic. This includes items fashioned from both human and faunal bone. Worked bone objects appear to steadily increase in adult male interments from the Middle to Late Preclassic, with a sharp increase in the

Terminal Preclassic relative to the lower number of recovered definitively sexed males. This peak in number occurs solely at K'axob, which also saw the majority of bone in the form of unmodified faunal remains in the Preclassic. I suggest that while there may be preservation differences resulting in disparities between the numbers of bone objects recovered from K'axob, Colha, and Cuello, the greater likelihood lies with the Terminal Preclassic elite adult male inhabitants of K'axob endeavoring to find a material marker of status to socially differentiate themselves, but which was more locally and readily sourced.

McAnany (2004a) has noted that as the Preclassic progressed, K'axob appeared to rely less on the exchange network present in Northern Belize and became more self reliant. The replacement of jades and other sumptuary, exotic goods with worked bone is entirely representative of this trend. By turning to a decidedly practical raw material such as faunal remains, a significant investment of craftsmanship could be invested in the object to transform it into a valued prestige item. Through a process of careful polishing, smoothing and carving, a mundane material could be converted into a prized commodity, made more valuable based upon the worth communicated through its fine working and finishing. Similarly, the bones of recent ancestors could also be curated and worked in the same manner, producing an ideologically symbolic and/or ritually important totem that encapsulated and physically represented the longevity and primacy of the site's ruling lineage.

No definitively sexed subadults are encountered with worked bone goods in the Preclassic. There is also a dearth of worked bone found with adult females at throughout the period. It appears that the numbers of worked bone found with adult males increases from the Middle to Late Preclassic at both Colha and Cuello, with numbers found at Cuello being higher in the Middle Preclassic and higher at Colha in the Late Preclassic.

Overall, it appears that the inclusion of worked bone goods within the funerary assemblages of adult males was used as a material marker of status. This is primarily indicated by the clear delineation in those interments within which worked bone is present and those within which it is absent or present in negligible quantities. Evidently, adult males were utilizing the possession of worked bone objects, as well as other items described below, in life and the placement of the items with them in death as material representations intended to distinguish or differentiate themselves as a social group apart from and above the general population. They were using prestige technologies to proclaim a sense of identity and ownership of their ascribed elite status.

As noted in prior chapters of this text, prestige technologies are understood to be those intended primarily to display the power or wealth of the possessor, unlike practical goods that are meant to address concerns of survival (Hayden 1998). Also, in regards to status distinctions, the author follows the definitions established by Linton (1936) as adapted by Foladare (1969) in which 'ascribed status' is "assigned to individuals without reference to their innate differences or

abilities" and 'achieved status' is "requiring special qualities [and] open to individual achievement" (53). Foladare goes on to say that "society exerts control through sanctions and socialization to prevent change […] in 'ascribed statuses' and to encourage particular directions of change in many 'achieved statuses' (1969: 58).

Given this understanding of prestige technologies and of the two main types of status distinctions that exist within societies, I argue that prestige technologies are essentially positive sanctions the Preclassic elite of K'axob, Colha and Cuello used to prevent change in or rather to maintain the state of the ascribed status of "elite," which differentiated these individuals from the remainder of the population. Routine socialization of individuals in which a common ideology and cultural norms were inculcated would provide an understanding of the significance of the possession of such prestige goods; that they were representative of the wealth, power and success of the possessor. Drawing on Hayden (1998), the creation of prestige technologies required the command and control of the surplus labor resources of a site. Hayden (1998: 12) identifies various methods for the investment of surplus labor into prestige technology including

> the use of surplus labor to travel to distant locations in order to obtain exotic and rare raw materials or objects made in distant locations, to create local labor intensive objects, […] and to produce practical goods that can be exchanged for prestige items elsewhere.

Examples of all three types of the investment of surplus labor into prestige technology can be seen in the current study. Though not a comprehensive log of all such instances, evidence of some of these cases is provided below; these include

references to worked bone as well as other material categories described later in this section of the text.

The use of worked bone objects as material markers of status in the Preclassic, especially at K'axob, is a clear illustration of the investment of surplus labor in the form of fine craftsmanship to create a "local labor intensive" object. This labor investment comes in the form of several hours spent carefully poring over a segment of faunal bone or the revered remains of a recent ancestor in order to smooth, polish and carve the once seemingly mundane material into an object of personal adornment such as earflares or fan handles; an object now imbued with worth based upon the labor investment it represents.

A second example is found in the participation by K'axob, Colha and Cuello in the Preclassic trade network within northern Belize and the larger Mesoamerican circuit, which is evidenced by the presence of non-local materials within funerary assemblages including obsidian and jade. Involvement within the trade network facilitated the acquisition of these exotic and rare materials from sites well removed from northern Belize by hundreds of kilometers, such as the obsidian origin points of El Chayal and Ixtepeque in the Motagua Valley. This long distance travel for sumptuary goods is representative of the investment of surplus labor resources by the site elite into the Preclassic economic exchange network, perhaps explicitly for the acquisition of exotic materials from which to manufacture prestige technologies for themselves and their peers.

A final example comes from the intensive lithic manufacture industry of Preclassic Colha, which speaks to Hayden's point regarding the production of practical goods for the exchange of non-local prestige goods. By the Late Preclassic, Colha lithics such as stemmed macroblades were present throughout the southern Yucatan and the Peten (Hester and Shafer 1994a, 1994b). This export or exchange of practical goods from Colha with other sites would have allowed for the acquisition of commodities such as cacao. Residue of cacao is in fact noted in three spouted vessels from interment contexts at Operation 2012 (Powis et al 2002) (Figure 9.3).

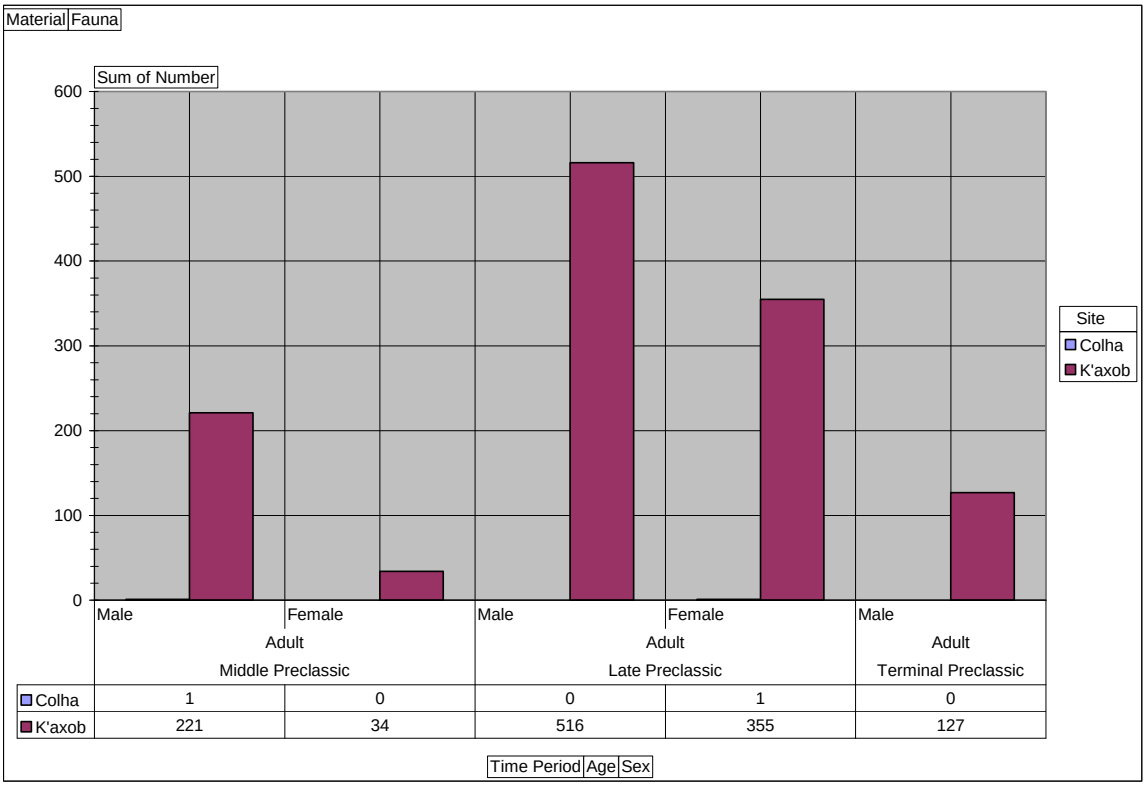
Figure 9.3: Map of material resources in greater Mesoamerica (after Rincon 2007: Fig. 7.6)

Given the above discussion of prestige goods and definitions of status, it follows that the command and control of the finite and variable surplus labor resource utilized for prestige good manufacture would fall to (an) individual(s) of elevated social status who would be esteemed and admired by the non-elite population for their economic and other successes, indicated by their ability to possess prestige technologies. The recruitment or conscription of surplus labor forces for the sourcing and manufacture of prestige technologies was a right, power or privilege engendered from the category of elite status, which was itself an ascribed status. This ascribed status classification of 'elite' was perpetuated or maintained by these same material markers or sanctions of status represented by prestige technologies, establishing a recurrent cycle allowing for the reification and progressive elaboration of the elite class.

While the possibility does exist that elite status evidenced in the current data was achieved rather than ascribed, per the definitions discussed above (Foladare 1969; Linton 1936), this cannot be convincingly or certainly argued without more data. Necessary data includes a detailed study of all osteological material from all three sites for any indications as to occupational specialization (i.e. – malformations or anomalous bone characteristics consistent with a repetitive motion or suite of motions indicative of task performance) and corroborating or supplemental epigraphic or iconographic evidence. This combination of data is not presently available for the Preclassic at these sites, therefore I contend that the more empirically and theoretically sound conclusion is that the social differentiation

generally evidenced across the three sites of study and across artifact material categories is representative of an ascribed or inherited status, which was perpetuated and maintained by consanguineous and non-consanguineous immediate associates of a ruling lineage through the acquisition and manipulation of prestige technologies via command and control of surplus labor resources and related economic networks.

UNMODIFIED FAUNAL REMAINS



	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male
	Adult		Adult		Adult
	Middle Preclassic		Late Preclassic		Terminal Preclassic
Colha	1	0	0	1	0
K'axob	221	34	516	355	127

Figure 9.4: Distribution of unmodified faunal remains

This chart shows that unmodified faunal remains are not found with any interred individuals from Cuello during the Preclassic. Artifacts of this material category include, but are not limited to, the remains of animals deliberately placed within the funerary assemblage of decedents for practical or ideological purposes as well as those animals, such as rats, that may have entered the interment after backfilling was complete (i.e. – they represent taphonomic, secondary disturbance of the interment). As noted above, Masson (2004) has suggested the presence of some of the faunal remains within the K'axob interments may be due to either post-inhumation intrusions or the use of secondary fill from nearby animal processing sites in order to backfill the void of the grave.

Adult males are found with the majority of unmodified faunal remains used as grave goods during the Preclassic, with the preponderance occurring at K'axob and peaking in the Late Preclassic. Quantities of unmodified faunal remains placed with both males and females increase dramatically from the Middle to Late Preclassic. Numbers of these objects that are found with males tend to decrease in the Terminal Preclassic while no adult females are interred with such goods in this latter period.

It would appear that the inclusion of unmodified faunal remains within the funerary assemblage is far more significant to K'axob inhabitants than the populations of Colha and Cuello. However, the possibility also exists that any significant number of faunal remains placed within interments at Colha and Cuello have been lost due to taphonomic processes and decay.

CERAMICS

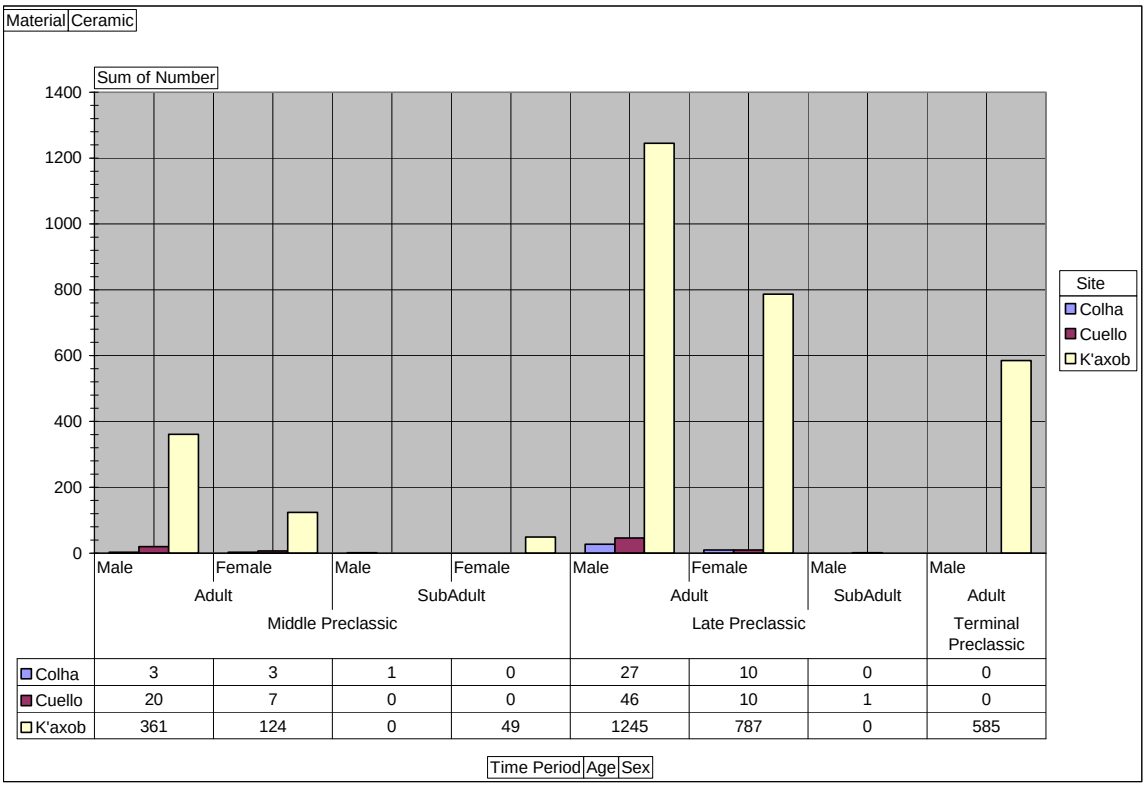


Figure 9.5: Distribution of ceramic grave goods

Similar to worked bone objects, adult males are found with higher numbers of ceramic items throughout the Preclassic than are any other demographic group. These are to include complete vessels of a utilitarian as well as a ritual nature (such as ollas and bowls or effigy vessels and spouted vessels) as well as figurines, pendants, vessel fragments and other forms. The numbers of ceramic objects interred with both adult males and adult females generally increase across space, as one travels from Colha to Cuello and on to K'axob. This is likely due to the higher numbers of ceramic sherds seen in the Late and Terminal Preclassic interments of

K'axob. These numbers also increase for both of these demographic groups across time, from the Middle to Late Preclassic; though the increase across all three sites is far more dramatic for adult males, increasing as much as nine times from the former period to the latter at Colha.

Returning back to examine the large quantities of ceramic vessel fragments found within Late and Terminal Preclassic K'axob interments, it is noted that these interments also frequently exhibit indications of burning. Coincidence of interments with high numbers of vessel fragments and indications of burning may evidence a funerary ritual with behavioral components involving the use of fire and the ceremonial smashing of vessels. Incidences of burning are also seen to occur with a moderate frequency at Colha and Cuello during the Terminal Preclassic, though not in conjunction with mass quantities of vessel fragments as at K'axob.

Stuart (1998: 393) has written regarding fire and censing ceremonies of newly constructed residences that occur among the present day Tzotzil Maya of Zinacantan in Chiapas, MX. This ritual is known as the *Ch'ul Kandela* or "Holy Candle" ceremony and is conducted in order to instill life or an animus or soul into the home before it is occupied. This ceremony is initiated with the placement of a small cross outside the home. This is followed by the burning of candles and incense. Ceremonial prayers as well as the ritual planting of tree branches and the pouring of liquid into the four corners and center of the house. This liquid is typically either chicken broth or liquor and is conceived of as a means of feeding the animus of the structure. Stuart notes that numerous scholars have identified similar

rituals throughout the Maya area (Guiteras-Holmes 1961: 26; Redfield and Villa Rojas 1964: 146-147; Whittaker and Warkentin 1965: 79-84) as well as with the pre-Hispanic Aztec (Duran 1971: 149).

Stuart draws parallels between these ceremonies and Classic period "fire-entering" rituals and censing of buildings based on epigraphic evidence. The written record left by the Classic Maya includes "dedication texts," which were intended to "record or commemorate the ownership or manufacture of venerated things" (374). These scripts are found on objects ranging from the carved lintels of Yaxchilan to primary standard sequences on pottery and on the bones of Ruler A from Burial 116 at Tikal whose remains were inscribed labeling them with declarations of ownership by this individual. Instances of dedication texts as on Yaxchilan Lintel 56 are also seen to be accompanied by glyphs corresponding to the words "fire," smoke," "rattle," and "enter" as well as a "censer" glyph (Figures 9.6-9.8). Interpreted in context, Stuart demonstrates that these texts reveal the Classic Maya practice of a fire or censing ritual intended to consecrate a residential structure, very akin to that practiced by the Tzotzil (374-389).

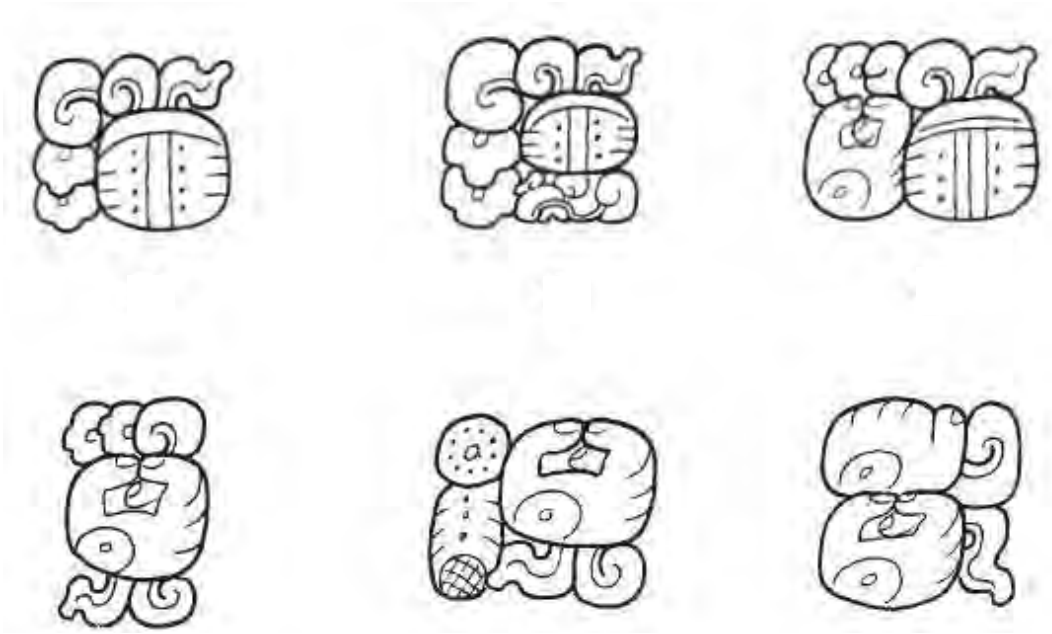


Figure 9.6: Examples of the *och k'ak'* or "rattles"-"fire" glyph combination in relation to the Classic Maya fire-entering and/or tomb renewal ceremony (after Stuart 1998: Fig. 8)

Figure 9.7: A "rattles"-"fire" or *och k'ak'* glyph dedication phrase from a monument at Tonina. The stepped element with a skull inside of it alludes to a "fire-entering" ritual performed in relation to the tomb of a decedent (after Stuart 1998: Fig. 13; redrawn from Yadeun 1993: Fig. 14)

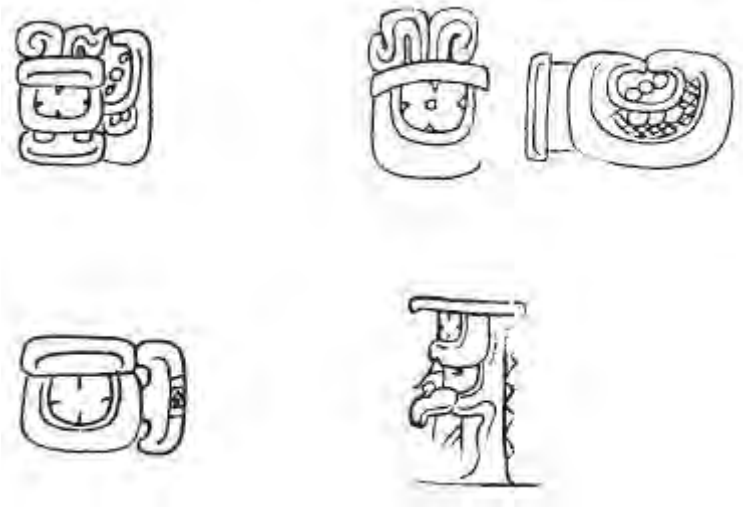


Figure 9.8: Examples of Classic Maya "censing" glyphs (after Stuart 1998: Fig. 11)

However, it should be noted that such a ritual and accompanying glyphs are not restricted to residential contexts. Stuart notes that there is a parallel to be found in Classic Period tomb-renewing ceremonies (1998: 396). Variations in dedication texts exists with glyphs ostensibly representative of the tomb in which a decedent was placed; the glyphs connoting "fire" and an "entering" action remain present. The interpretation rendered is that of a funerary ritual involving the use of fire and likely smoke or censers as well. Evidence for this comes from a variety of sites, including monuments at Tonina and Seibal (396-398). The glyphs from these monuments have been translated by Stuart as, "the fire entered his/her tomb" (397). Physical evidence for such ritual activity also exists in Burial 10 at Piedras Negras, which shows indications of burning in antiquity (Coe 1959: 127). Carved panels from the

site also speak to a censing event regarding tombs. Ceramic *incensarios* evidencing such rituals have been found from the Classic period (Figures 9.9-9.10).

Figure 9.9: Censer/incense burner fragments from Seibal, formed in the image of the Classic Maya Jaguar God of the Underworld (after Stuart 1998: Fig. 25; after Sabloff 1975: Figs. 217-219)

Figure 9.10: Classic Maya censer or *incensario* from Palenque, Chiapas, MX (after http://www.nga.gov/exhibitions/2004/maya/images/censerstand.gif)

Evidence of burning within tombs also occurs at other Classic sites such as Copan (Burials XXXVII-8) and the Margarita burial (Stuart 1998: 399). While the details of these rituals are not known with exactitude, the epigraphy and iconography of the Classic period provide some insight as abovementioned.

I argue that the material and behavioral predecessors for such rituals may be indicated in the funerary data examined within this study. The data reflects a trend toward high numbers of ceramics being placed with adult males at K'axob in the Preclassic, with numbers peaking in the Late Preclassic. Analysis of the forms of these objects shows the preponderance to be ceramic vessel fragments. The incidences of burning seen at the site also largely occur with adult males and within these same graves containing large quantities of vessel fragments.

Numbers of interments with evidence of burning at K'axob are shown to peak in the Late Preclassic, primarily with adult males, as does the trend of the mass inclusion of vessel fragments. Lastly, the numbers of cross motif vessels found within K'axob interments are all found with adult males and possible male individuals in the Late and Terminal Preclassic. It must be recalled that, as abovementioned, the cross motif found at K'axob has been argued to depict an incipient form of the later Maya representation of the universe and the "world tree"; essentially a simplistically stylized depiction of the Maya worldview (Headrick 2004). Instances of these cross motif vessels are seen to co-occur within interments also containing evidence of burning and large quantities of ceramic vessel fragments.

While not directly mirroring the modern day Tzotzil rituals or the Classic period fire-entering ceremony, the abovementioned suite of evidence represents material markers and behavioral indicators that provide a basis for my contention that this pattern seen at K'axob is perhaps a precursor to these later rituals. The cross motif vessels of the Late and Terminal Preclassic are analogous to the small cross used in the Tzotzil ritual. While the possibility exists for the cross to represent later Christian influence, the great validity of the current argument must also be taken into consideration. Similarly, while the originating forms responsible for the high number of vessel fragments within these interments are not necessarily censers, there is an apparent correlation between the appearance of sherds en masse and indications of burning, as well as the cross motif vessels.

I propose that these three elements perhaps existed as a suite of components comprising a Preclassic funerary ritual at K'axob in which adult males who had lived lives of an ascribed elite status would be celebrated in death by the placement of a complete cross motif vessel in the grave, followed by a ritual burning of perishable organic materials and the ceremonial smashing of vessels over their graves. This funerary ritual was likely a dedication of their being to the afterlife and a consecration of the space into which they were being placed. From this ritual, meant to connote status, honor and respect, the roots for the Classic Period fire-entering ceremony and the censing of tombs was born.

NON-JADE GREENSTONE

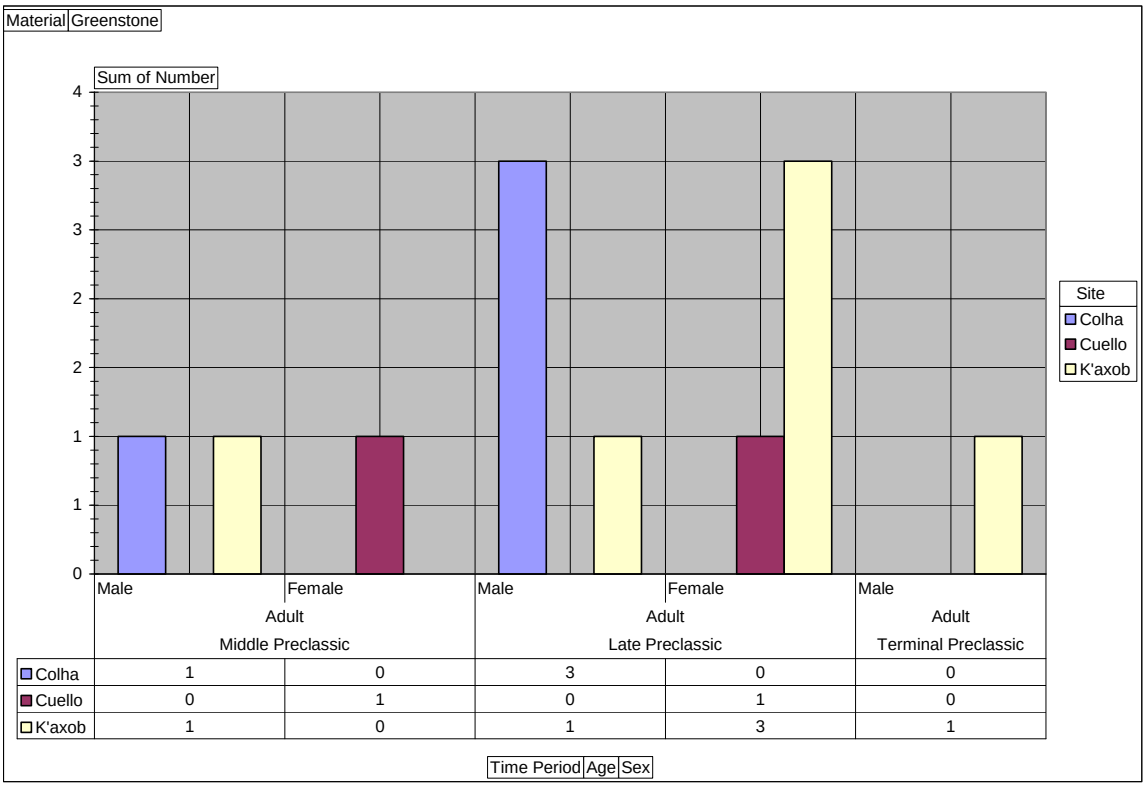


Figure 9.11: Distribution of non-jade greenstone grave goods

While non-jade greenstone grave goods are encountered with subadult individuals in the Late Preclassic, these individuals are not definitively sexed and are therefore not examined in detail here. This chart illustrates the fact that non-jade greenstone artifacts are discovered from Preclassic interment contexts at all three sites of study, though not from all sites during all phases of the period. In the Middle Preclassic, across all three sites, non-jade greenstone is found more often with adult males than adult females, while higher quantities are divided equally between the sexes in the Late Preclassic. Quantities decrease again in the Terminal

Preclassic, with only adult males from K'axob having items of this material in their assemblage. No adult males at Cuello are found with non-jade greenstone in the Middle Preclassic, though a single female is found with a singular object of this substance. Adult males at both Colha and K'axob are interred with goods of this material category during the Middle Preclassic. Upon the transition to the Late Preclassic, no definitively sexed adult males at Cuello are interred with non-jade greenstone. Far more adult males from Colha than K'axob are found with this material. Interestingly, adult females from K'axob are found with more non-jade greenstone items than are adult females from Cuello over the course of the Preclassic.

Based on the data above, it is clear that non-jade greenstone was universally available to all three sites of study during the Preclassic, though placement within the funerary assemblages of different demographic groups was decidedly varied. The universal availability of non-jade greenstone to all three sites indicates that they were all independently engaged in long distance trade in order to obtain this material. Dunham (1996: 328) does note the presence of non-jade greenstone deposits within the Maya Mountains of Belize roughly 150-200 KM from the sites of study. However, Buttles (2002) has noted the lack of material matches between these deposits and those greenstone specimens from Colha and surrounding sites; these specimens are housed at the Department of Archaeology in Belmopan. Therefore, it is unlikely that these non-jade greenstone items are fashioned from materials with origins in the Maya Mountains.

Documented sources of jadeite or true jade do exist in the highlands of Guatemala roughly 350 KM away from the sites of study. Walters (1982) has identified these deposits to exist within the Motagua Valley. While it is certain that non-jade goods are not produced from true jade sources, the likelihood does exist that the origin of these non-jade greenstone items lies in mineral deposits near the Motagua Valley jadeite source. This possibility is predicated on the frequent geological coincidence of jadeite with a range of other minerals such as nephrite, apatite, and amazonite, which approximate jadeite in hardness, density, and color to varying degrees (Guderjan 2007:105).

As abovementioned, the fact that greenstone is present at each of the three sites of study indicates that each Preclassic community had established social and economic relationships with groups in the Motagua Valley in order to facilitate acquisition of the raw material and finished items. While the higher numbers of greenstone items at K'axob over the Preclassic than at either Colha or Cuello appears to reflect the economic and social primacy of K'axob between the three sites, the bulk of non-jade greenstone is in fact recovered from Colha, though largely with indeterminately sexed individuals and therefore not depicted on the above chart.

It is highly likely that the natural chert resources surrounding Colha provided a bevy of available raw material and finished products that inhabitants could trade with communities in the Motagua Valley and other surrounding areas for jade and non-jade greenstones. As has been noted, the local production of

practical goods for the exchange of exotic and rare items is an identified method for the elite of societies to command and control the direction of surplus labor for the acquisition of prestige technologies (Hayden 1998). Utilitarian objects such as bifaces and blades as well as ideologically significant objects including eccentrics or flaked stone symbols (Meadows 2001) and the raw NB Colha chert itself would have been a readily available commodity that site inhabitants could have offered in exchange for sumptuary goods such as greenstone. This is especially true with the intensified lithic production of the Late and Terminal Preclassic. These periods of heightened lithic production (Hester and Shafer 1994a; Potter et al n.d.) correspond well with the increased numbers of greenstone items seen with indeterminately sexed individuals in the Late and Terminal Preclassic. Shafer and Hester (1983) suggest that the intensification of trade relations seen in the later Preclassic, evidenced by jade, non-jade greenstones, and other sumptuary goods, indicates organization and control of the lithic manufacture industry by an expanding elite population at Colha.

JADE

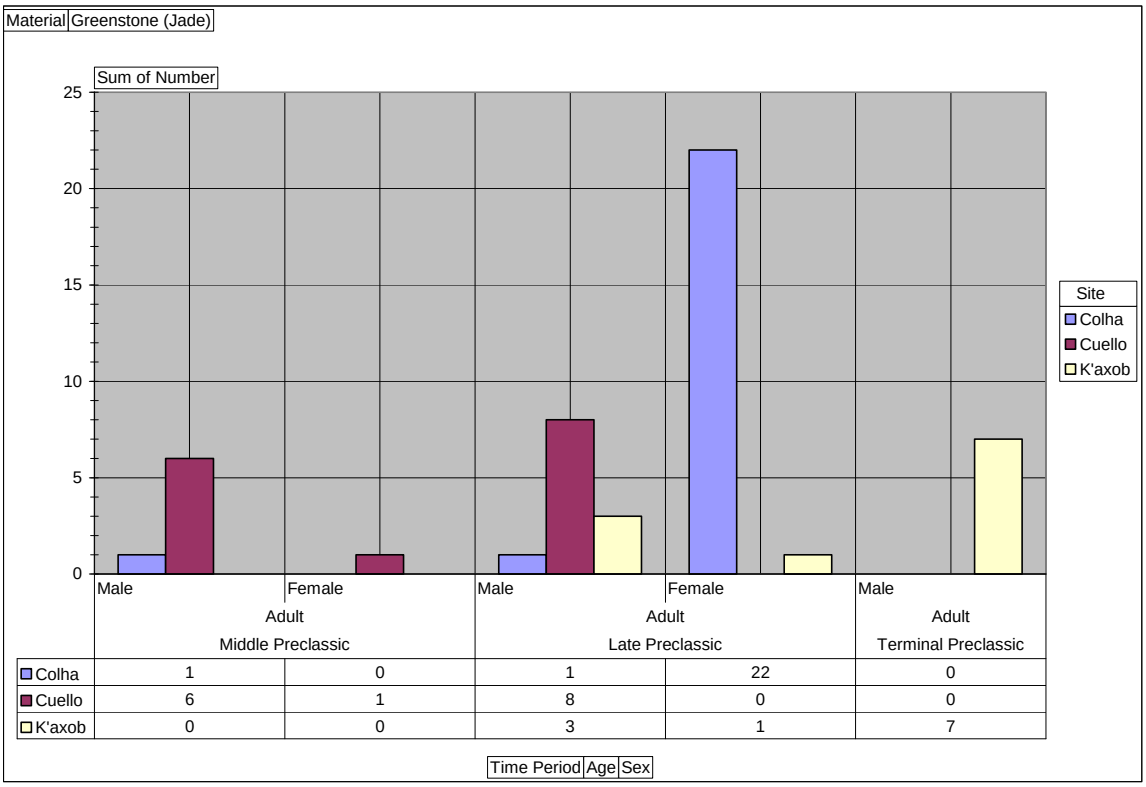


Figure 9.12: Distribution of grave goods made of jade

This chart shows that grave goods manufactured from jade are found with both definitively sexed adult males and females in the Middle and Late Preclassic, though only with adult males, specifically from K'axob, in the Terminal Preclassic. Collective quantities of jade are seen to increase from the Middle to Late Preclassic with a reduction in number in the Terminal Preclassic. While there is no increase in jade found with adult males at Colha from the Middle to Late Preclassic, numbers seen with this demographic at Cuello slightly increase. Jade is seen with adult males at K'axob in the Late Preclassic though it was absent in the Middle Preclassic. Some

jade is seen with adult females at Cuello in the Middle Preclassic, but absent in later periods while it appears with adult females at K'axob in the Late Preclassic, but is absent from prior periods. The number of jade items placed with adult female decedents at Colha rises dramatically from the Middle Preclassic (n=0) to the Late Preclassic (n=22).

As with non-jade greenstone, true jade or jadeite is found within Preclassic interments from all three sites of study. This echoes the abovementioned likelihood that each site had independently established economic trade relations for the exchange of sumptuary goods with the highlands. Having control of an intensely productive lithic manufacture industry, the elite population at Colha in the Late and Terminal Preclassic would have had the social platform upon which to build their relationships with elite peers from sites in the Motagua Valley who likely controlled the mining, production, and distribution of jade. These peer to peer relationships predicated upon the economic value of the inherent resources of each site would allow for a richly productive exchange network. This is evidenced in the jade within the funerary record at Colha. Much like non-jade greenstone, numbers of true jade items occur overall in higher quantities at Colha, likely due to the attractive resource of NB Colha chert and its lucrative exploitation for both practical and ritual good manufacture.

During the Middle Preclassic, Cuello is seen to have a higher relative number of jade items placed with decedents than does Colha. This is likely because at this time, Colha lithic production was still a cottage-level industry producing a modest

amount of goods (Hester and Shafer 1994a: 26). However, with the start of the Late Preclassic came an increase in jade quantities at Colha, perhaps related to the decided intensification of lithic production seen at the site.

Quantities of jade at both of these sites is absent in the Terminal Preclassic, likely resulting from the paltry number of recovered individuals from these locations dating to this time period. Given that the predominant number of individuals from the Terminal Preclassic comes from K'axob, this causes the number of jade items recovered from this site to increase dramatically in comparison to the other two sites. However, as indicated above, this is likely due to the sampling bias in the available recovered decedents from the three sites.

What is definitely worth noting is that more than double the number of jade items is found with adult males at K'axob in the Terminal Preclassic than in the Late Preclassic. This is interesting given the fact that 1.6 times more adult males were recovered from the Late Preclassic (n=16) than from the Terminal Preclassic (n=10). It is possible that this pattern indicates an expansion or development of the elite population to a more focused set of individuals who would have held a tighter control over the import of exotic goods such as jade and thus been interred with higher quantities of these prestige technologies.

Clearly, long distance exchange networks were still very vital to the material expression of identity in the Terminal Preclassic. Only males are found with jade at K'axob in the Terminal Preclassic, a distinct difference from the equal numbers of jade goods found with adult males and adult possible females in the Late Preclassic.

This is likely due to the fact that only one female was recovered from the site for the Terminal Preclassic as well as the possibility that jade had become a more potent material marker of status for the elite males who stringently controlled its acquisition and distribution.

Divergent from the above pattern demonstrating the lack of jade interred with females are the high numbers of jade goods found with adult females in the Late Preclassic at Colha. While quantities of ceramics, NB Colha chert and worked bone increased within adult male interments at that time relative to the quantities found with females, the sharp increase of jade with females is striking. Given the great travel distance the acquisition of jade required as well as the development of elite peer-trade relationships that were necessitated to facilitate trade of this material outside of the highlands, it follows that jade was a sumptuary good with connotations of wealth and elite standing. In other words, jade was a material marker of status. The sharp increase in the amount of jade found with females perhaps indicates that adult females at Late Preclassic Colha had an increased likelihood of inheriting or achieving the status necessary to warrant burial with such costly goods. It is possible that these women were the wives and relatives of elite men and therefore would have inherited or married into (achieved) a social situation that granted them a right to access and possess exotic, prestige technologies such as jade goods. It is also possible that jades and greenstones had become devalued as prestige goods due to the intensified trade relationships with the coast and highlands. A potential overabundance of these once prestigious items

may have spurred elite adult males to seek different material markers of status, such as worked bone, discussed above, and obsidian, which is discussed below.

GROUNDSTONE

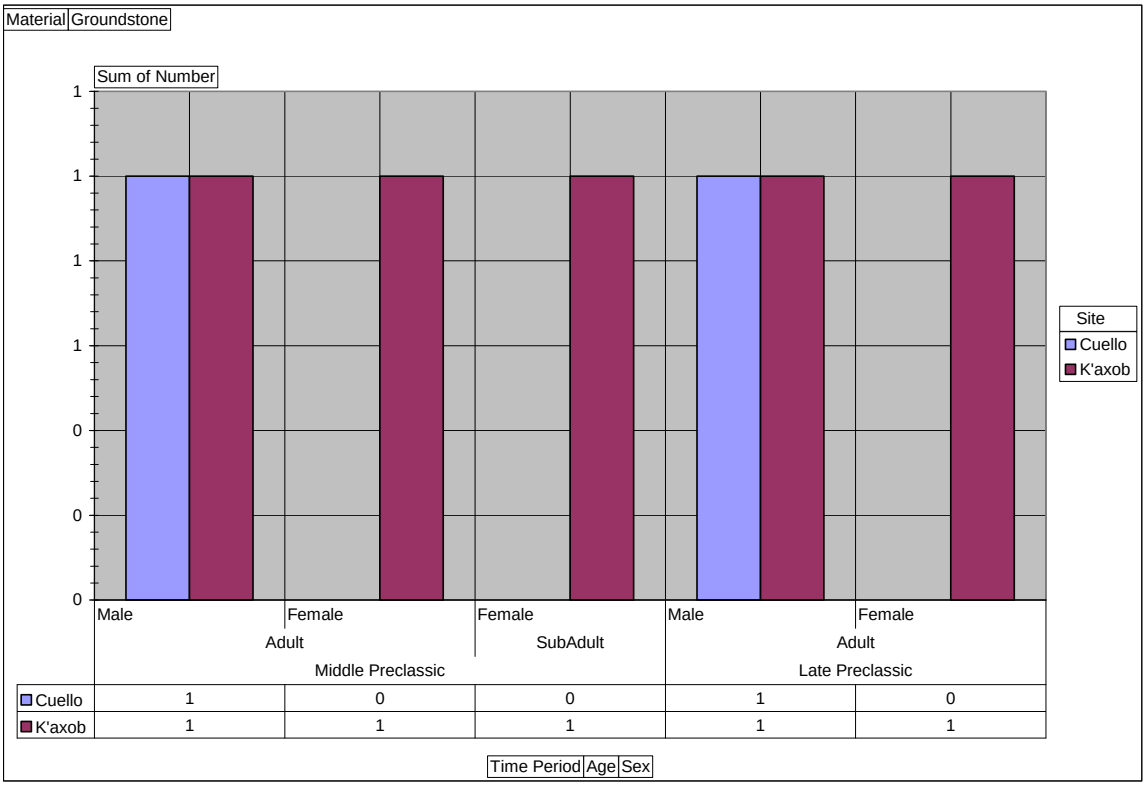


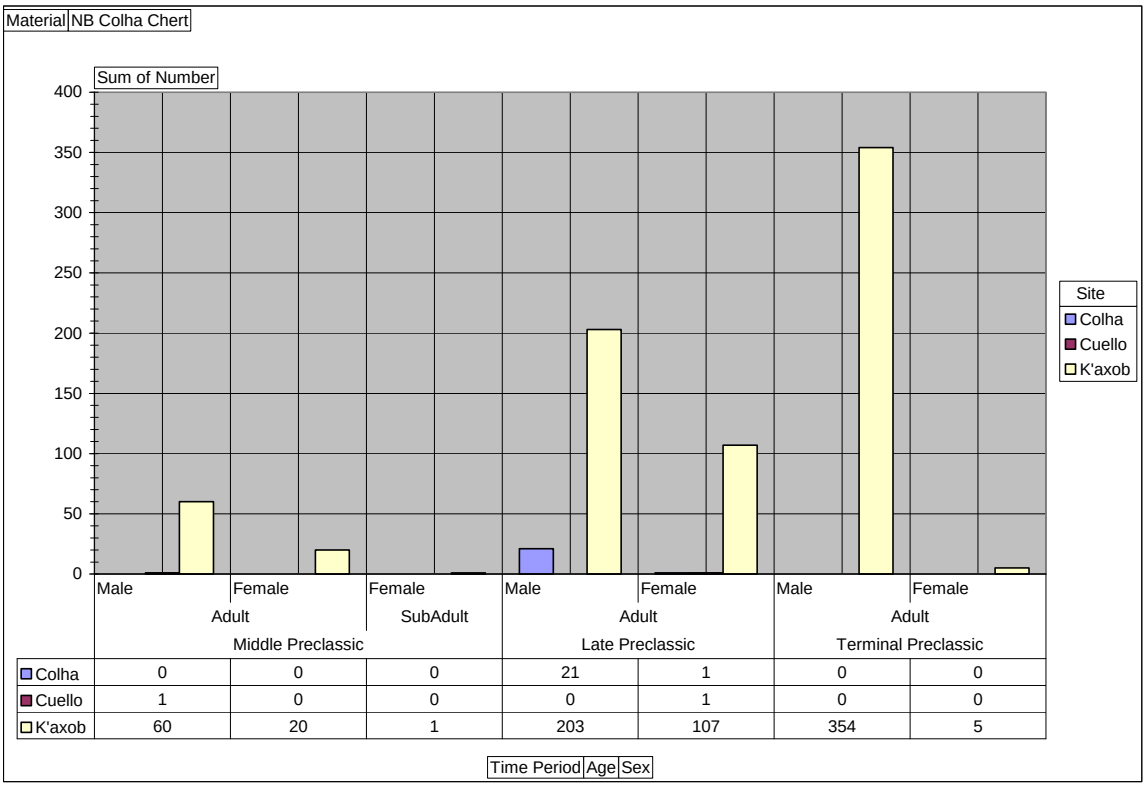
Figure 9.13: Distribution of groundstone grave goods

While not depicted in this chart, higher amounts of groundstone artifacts are found with indeterminately and tentatively sexed individuals than with those definitely sexed and aged individuals noted above. There are no items manufactured from groundstone interred with definitively sexed individuals from Colha at any time during the Preclassic. There also appear to be no definitively sexed adults or

subadults interred with groundstone in the Terminal Preclassic. Equal numbers of groundstone items are found with adult males at Cuello and K'axob in the Middle Preclassic. These quantities remain consistent in the Late Preclassic. Groundstone is found with an adult female and subadult female at K'axob during the Middle Preclassic, though only with an adult female in the following period. Despite these incidences, groundstone goods are not found with females from any other site at any other point during the Preclassic.

Inclusion of groundstone items within the Preclassic funerary assemblage does not appear to be a material marker of status between males and females at K'axob, given that numbers are consistent across time and between these social categories. While no groundstone is found with females at Cuello during the Preclassic, the negligible numbers that are found with males do not connote a deliberate or great focus on the inclusion of this material as a physical means of differentiating individuals across sex and/or gender lines.

NB COLHA CHERT



	Middle Preclassic			Late Preclassic		Terminal Preclassic	
	Male	Female	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
	Adult		SubAdult	Adult		Adult	
Colha	0	0	0	21	1	0	0
Cuello	1	0	0	0	1	0	0
K'axob	60	20	1	203	107	354	5

Figure 9.14: Distribution of grave goods made of NB Colha chert

This chart reflects that NB Colha chert is found from at least one of the sites of study throughout the Preclassic. Collectively, adult males from each phase within the Preclassic are found with a higher number of NB Colha chert items than are females. Objects manufactured from this material are predominantly found with adult males at K'axob throughout the Preclassic. Quantities appear to steadily increase as the period progresses from the Middle to Late and finally Terminal Preclassic. Adult males from Cuello are found without NB Colha chert except for one individual. The same holds true for Cuello females.

Rather unexpectedly, NB Colha chert is absent from Middle Preclassic Colha interments, with the singular abovementioned instance at Cuello and far higher numbers seen at K'axob. This reflects an inverse of the expected distribution trend based on the resource origin lying at Colha. Overall, quantities of NB Colha chert are far lower at the source origin and highest at K'axob, approximately 25 KM away from Colha.

While the above chart focuses on definitively aged and sexed individuals, the above mentioned inverse trend of the highest numbers of NB Colha chert existing at K'axob is not altered or deviated upon consideration of the remainder of individuals and their assemblages. I suggest that this pattern is the result of a combination of economic and cultural vectors possibly at work. One element perhaps influencing the apparent dearth of NB Colha chert within Colha interments is the lack of prestige or fascination that would have been assigned to this material by Colha inhabitants, given its relative overabundance. When the material was carved into an eccentric or flaked stone symbol (Meadows 2001), the focus would then be on the ideological and ritual significance of the item, which would elevate its relative importance. However, given the seemingly infinite supply of high quality chert from outcrops underlying and surrounding the site, Colha inhabitants likely looked upon NB Colha chert as a rather mundane raw material, with intermittent exceptions, as noted above, when it was transformed into an object of ideological value.

Another contributing factor to this 'inverse trend' may be the necessity for high quality agricultural implements by the wetland Preclassic farmers of K'axob.

Given that farming was a mainstay of their economy (McAnany 2004a), it is likely that the pursuit of high quality, durable agricultural implements was a priority. This would have led to the establishment of a strong trade tie with Colha in an effort to maximize the ability of K'axob to acquire and import the necessary quantities of raw and finished NB Colha chert material and forms.

A third component that may have influenced the levels of NB Colha chert seen at K'axob relative to those found at Colha is the possible use and importance of this material in funerary ritual. As noted above, evidence exists for a possible fire-centric funerary rite involving the use of flames or censers, which left indications of burning on goods within the interments of Preclassic K'axob. This fire/censing ritual would have often also included the use of cross motif vessels and high numbers of ceramic sherds from vessels smashed and scattered throughout the interment. Frequently within these interments are also scatterings of large amounts of lithic debitage, often primarily consisting of NB Colha chert. The dense layers of chert found in some of these interments are so thick that they have been described as "blankets" (Storey 2004). It is highly possible that the site elite who were celebrated by these fire-entering funerary rites were also being symbolically laid to rest and protected by these chert "blankets". It should be noted that moderate volumes of lithic debitage from material sources other than NB Colha chert also exist within these interments, though Colha chert is the most voluminous.

NON-NB COLHA CHERT

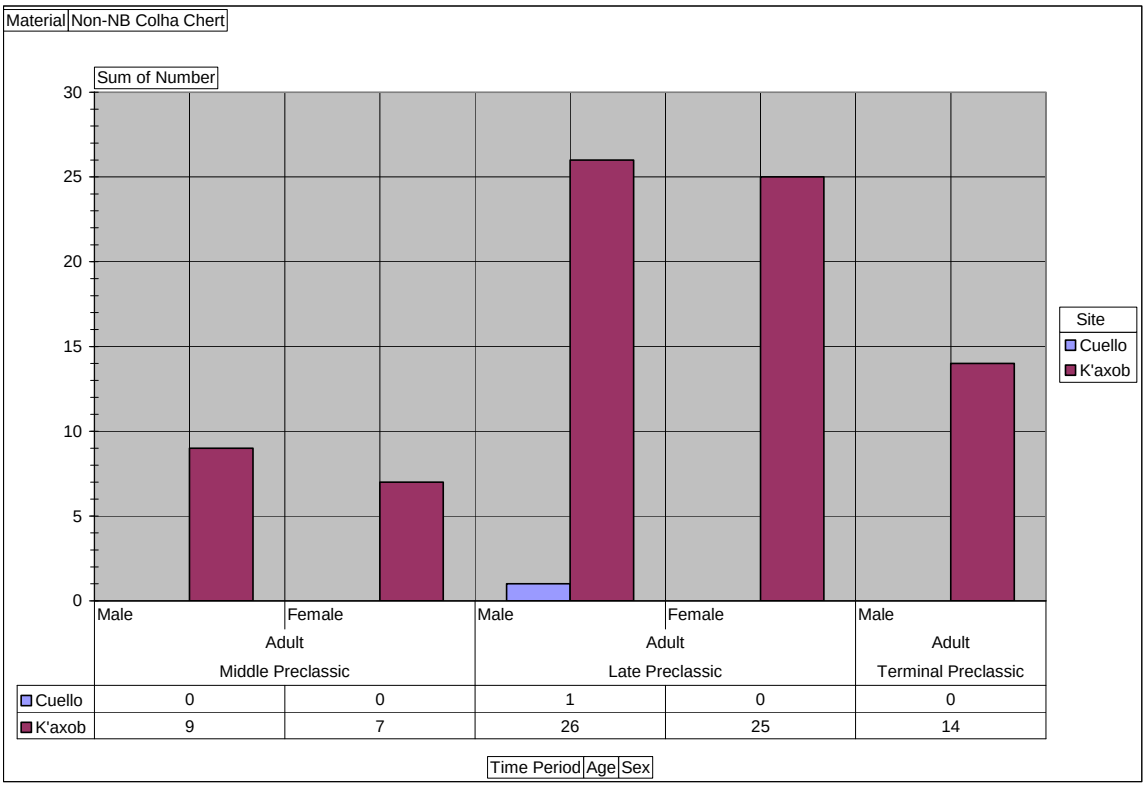


Figure 9.15: Distribution of non-NB Colha chert grave goods

As can be seen in this chart, non-NB Colha chert does not appear within any interments of any demographic group (definitively sexed/aged or not) at Colha during the Preclassic. Adults at K'axob tend to have the highest numbers of non-NB Colha chert within their funerary assemblage, with males having higher numbers of these items than females. These numbers peak in the Late Preclassic. Cuello has negligible numbers of non-NB Colha chert within its Preclassic funerary assemblages, with only one Late Preclassic adult male having a single item of this material.

Non-NB Colha chert does not appear to have been considered a significant material marker of status at Colha in the Preclassic based upon the absence from inclusion within burials. This is very likely due to the abundant resource of NB Colha chert that surrounded the site. With such a high quality resource available in seemingly infinite quantities, the drive for pursuit of far-flung stone resources would not have been a necessity or priority. Items manufactured from this material are also virtually absent from Cuello interments in the Preclassic. Much like Colha, this population did not tend toward the inclusion of voluminous amounts of lithics within funerary assemblages.

The converse is true for K'axob. While the quantities of non-NB Colha chert do not approach the high numbers of NB Colha chert lithics that are seen, the Preclassic interments at the site still contain the preponderance of this material during this time period. Numbers peak with both adult males and females in the Late Preclassic, though adult males do have higher numbers of the material buried with them in all three phases of the Preclassic. It is probable that while non-NB Colha chert was sourced to a limited extent, the clearly defined, strong, and reliable trade relationship established between K'axob and Colha decreased the necessity to aggressively pursue other chert resources.

CHALCEDONY

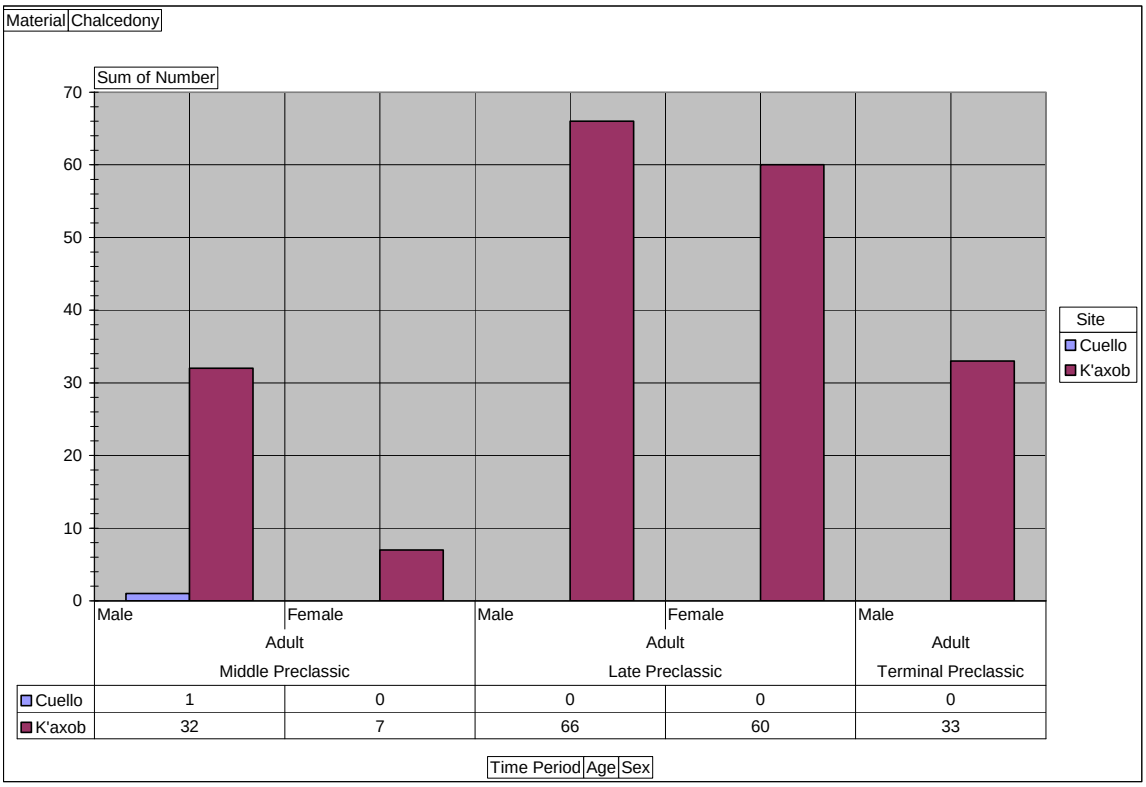


Figure 9.16: Distribution of grave goods made of chalcedony

The above chart shows that only those definitively sexed adults who were inhabitants of Cuello and K'axob are interred with chalcedony artifacts. These artifacts include forms such as bifaces and various forms of lithic debitage. While chalcedony artifacts are found with indeterminately sexed subadults in the Middle, Late, and Terminal Preclassic, this summary analysis focuses on determinately sexed and determinately aged individuals, as shown above. However, it should be noted that the data does not reveal the discovery of any chalcedony artifacts with any demographic group at Colha during the Preclassic. As with artifacts of other

materials, the preponderance is found with adults from K'axob; far more are placed with males than with females. The majority of these items are various forms of lithic debitage. Chalcedony quantities appear to increase from the Middle to the Late Preclassic and decrease again in the Terminal Preclassic. The absence of chalcedony from the interments of Colha and the negligible amounts found at Cuello likely result from a heavy reliance on NB Colha chert. Outcrops of this high quality chert surrounded Colha and were readily available to Cuello and other trading partners in the Preclassic. The inclusion of chalcedony lithic debitage, noted above, within the Preclassic funerary assemblage tends to co-occur with lithic debitage fashioned from NB Colha chert, non-NB Colha chert and unidentifiable lithic material. This suite of materials all contributed to the above referenced lithic "blankets" (Storey 2004) that were found with a number of adult male individuals; these men were possibly the focus of an intricate funerary rite involving fire or censing of the grave area and the smashing of ceramic vessel, which added to the voluminous grave good count represented by lithic debitage from the material sources examined above.

UNIDENTIFIABLE LITHIC MATERIAL

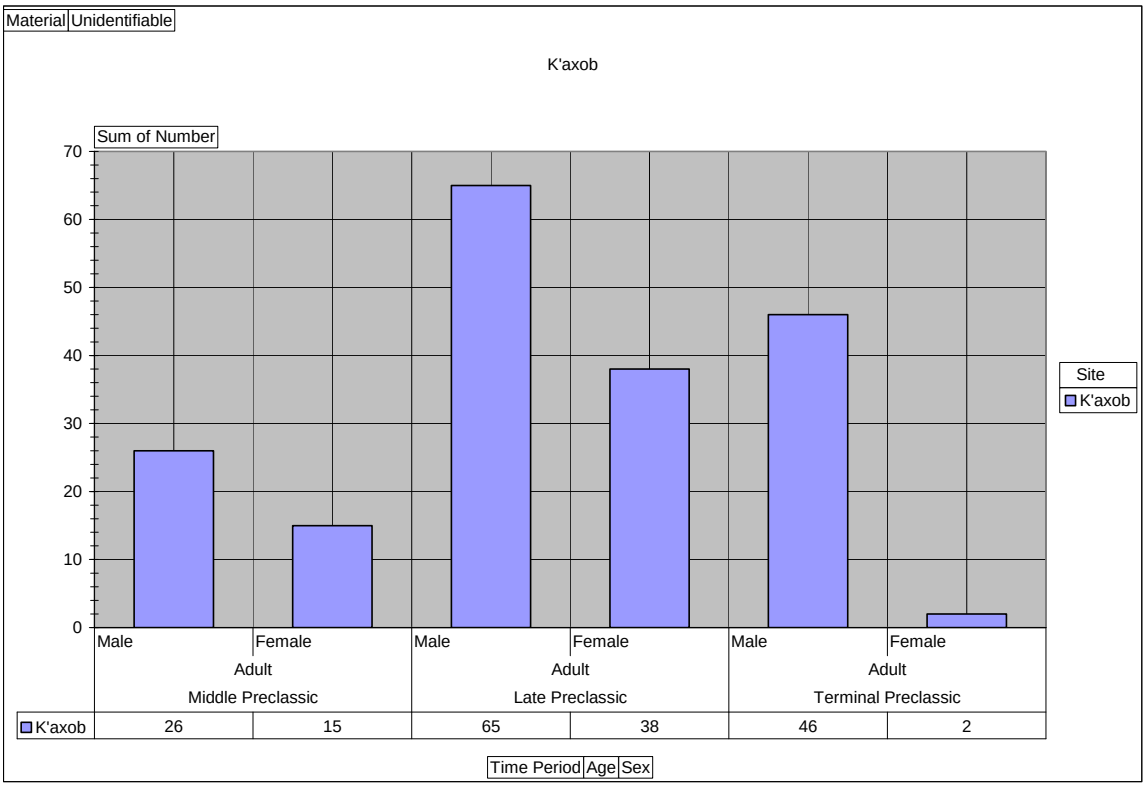


Figure 9.17: Distribution of grave goods made of unidentifiable lithic material

This chart shows that unidentifiable lithic material is only recorded from interments at K'axob during the Preclassic. These items are all various forms of lithic debitage such as flakes, flake fragments, and fire shatter. No definitively sexed subadults are found with items of this material. Both male and female adults do have debitage of unidentifiable lithic material within their interments in the Middle, Late, and Terminal Preclassic; however, adult males have higher quantities of this material than do females in all phases of the time period. Quantities of this material peak in the Late Preclassic.

Given the unknown nature of this lithic material, it is difficult to assign a value or cultural function to it, relative to the other practical and prestige materials within Preclassic K'axob interments. All specimens of this material, except for one biface, are lithic debitage and were likely mixed in with the high quantities of NB Colha chert that blanketed some of the decedents, but not to connote any particular significance. The inclusion of this material within Preclassic K'axob interments does not appear to communicate any specific message of identity, economic value or social status as other materials do.

OBSIDIAN

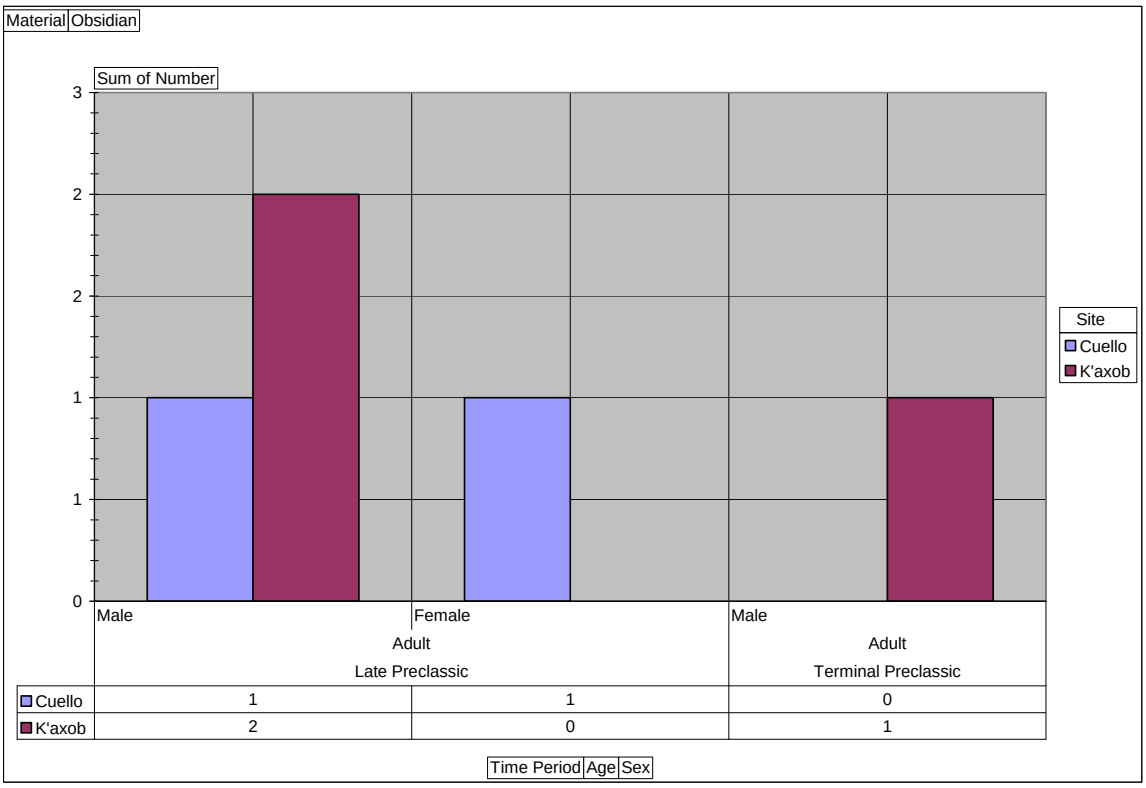


Figure 9.18: Distribution of obsidian grave goods

No obsidian is found within any interments at the three sites of study during the Middle Preclassic. This is to include the interments of definitively and indeterminately sexed/aged individuals. Also of note is the fact that no obsidian is found as a grave good with a subadult individual during this entire time period. Also, while present at the site, obsidian appears to be entirely absent from the funerary record of Colha. Quantities of obsidian are the highest with adult males from K'axob during the Late Preclassic. Adult males and females from Cuello are seen to have and equal number of obsidian goods lay with them during the Late Preclassic, though both are represented by a singular occurrence. Also, a single adult male from K'axob is the only individual to have an obsidian grave good in the Terminal Preclassic.

Given that no obsidian is found within any Preclassic Colha interments, but is present at the site may indicate a number of different possibilities. While the prospect does exist that obsidian was not considered a prestige item indicative of status or economic reach and prowess and was therefore excluded from placement within the Colha Preclassic funerary assemblage, this is not likely. This possibility is unlikely based on the fact that, while not present within interments, obsidian does occur at Colha. Presence of this material at the site increases through the Preclassic (Brown et al n.d.), implying an increase in the level of import and more persistent pursuit of this exotic resource by site inhabitants. While trade between Colha and the volcanic highlands may have been somewhat poor in the Middle Preclassic, resulting in paltry numbers of obsidian objects at the site, it clearly developed as

time progressed. In fact, a small obsidian workshop is noted at Op 2012, though it does appear to date to the Classic or PostClassic (Buttles 2002; Dreiss 1988). Clearly the importance of obsidian and the ability of Colha to acquire it escalated through time. While it may have taken Colha elite a significant duration of time to broker successful exchange agreements with the highlands, by the time the abovementioned obsidian workshop was conducting production activities, small nodules or cores of the material were being imported, thus allowing site inhabitants to produce their obsidian goods locally.

Brown et al (n.d.) note that there was a total of only 148 obsidian specimens recovered from Colha. This total spanned the Middle, Late and Terminal Preclassic and samples originated from contexts to include architectural, midden, ritual, and workshop. The data of the present study confirms that none of these specimens were recovered from interment contexts. Considering the paltry number of obsidian goods that would have been available to Colha inhabitants and the great distance that was traveled to obtain them, obsidian fits absolutely within Hayden's (1998) criteria for prestige technologies, which stipulate in part that a prestige good will exhibit qualities of rarity and exoticism that resultantly engender admiration and competition for this resource. It must also be re-emphasized that the acquisition of prestige goods is understood to be the right and privilege of those individuals with the power to command and control the surplus labor resources of the community to obtain and manufacture these items.

I contend that it is probable for these items to have been excluded from the Preclassic funerary assemblages of Colha because they would have been considered too valuable a resource and too effective a technology to be essentially discarded into an interment. Rather, they would have likely been kept, reused, and transferred between generations or members of a lineage until the later establishment of the Op 2012 obsidian workshop, which would have ostensibly increased availability to a moderate extent. In effect, valuable prestige technologies manufactured from obsidian would possibly have been heirloomed within the confines of a lineage until an increase in resource availability occurred. McAnany (1995) has written on the association of heirlooms with connotations of ancestry, reverence for the decedent and rights of inheritance. I suggest that this heirlooming of obsidian tools could be viewed as the transference of ancestral relics, conferring to the new owner the qualities of ascribed status, wealth and power that were held by the original possessor. In essence, taking ownership of these pieces of inherited property reified and maintained the prominent status of the new possessor; these heirlooms of prestige technology (Hayden 1998) were positive sanctions or incentives (Foladare 1969; Linton 1936) that facilitated the preservation of the site elite and their access to rare and exotic goods through the command and control of surplus labor resources within their purview.

At Cuello, males and females are associated with equal numbers of obsidian goods; however these are each a singular occurrence and are restricted in time to the Late Preclassic. During this phase of the Preclassic, Cuello as a site had a small to

moderate amount of obsidian present within its overall material record (Hammond 1991a). However, a dearth in inclusions within funerary contexts is still seen. A similar situation exists at K'axob when an increase in obsidian is seen at the site in the Late and Terminal Preclassic (McAnany 2004a), yet is still virtually absent from interment contexts. It is probable that at both Cuello and K'axob, a situation of heirlooming obsidian tools was seen, as at Colha. The efficacy of tools made from such a material, combined with its relative rarity, including during times when higher amounts were present at the sites in other contexts, likely led to elite individuals who had the economic wherewithal to acquire obsidian utilizing these items in life and subsequently gifting them to their descendants for reuse prior to death. Many of the obsidian objects that are not evidenced in the burial data were likely these heirloomed pieces; passed on by a lineage head to his descendants and thus allowing these tools fabricated from an exotic, hard-won, and highly prized material to remain in use and under the control of his family.

RED MINERAL PIGMENTATION

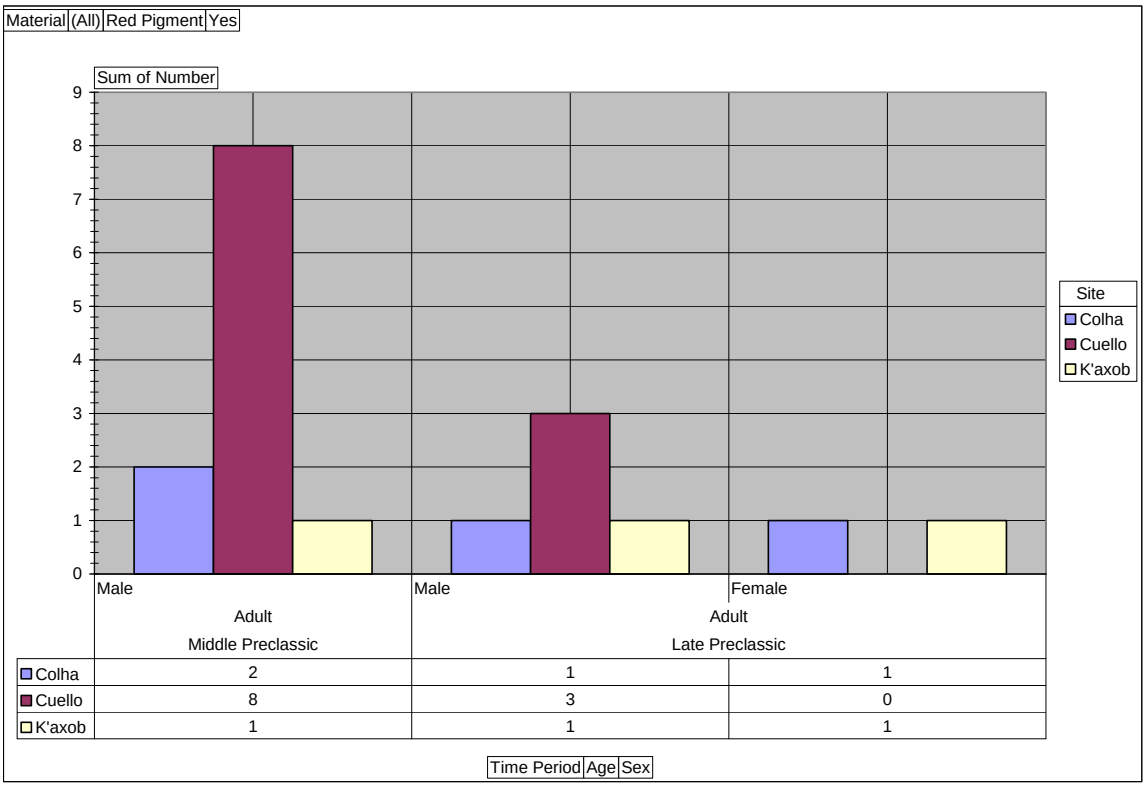


Figure 9.19: Distribution of red mineral pigmentation

The above chart depicts all definitively aged and definitively sexed individuals who were interred with evidence of red mineral pigmentation on their osteological remains, their grave goods or had a processed or raw deposit of this material placed within their funerary assemblage. Based on the available data, it does not appear that any recovered Terminal Preclassic individuals were treated with red mineral pigments.

The single Late Preclassic adult female from Colha shown in the chart above likely held an elevated status within her community given the quality and quantity

of goods placed within her assemblage, including the presence of red mineral pigments. This interment has been noted by Thompson (2002, 2005) as coming from Operation 2031 Subop 5-6 Lot 110. In addition to being interred with with evidence of red mineral pigmentation, her funerary assemblage also included numerous shell and jade beads that were likely part of a necklace. A ceramic effigy vessel in the form of a tapir, a shell gorget and bone objects that likely functioned as earflares were also found with this individual.

She is interred along with two other adults, one male and one female. Neither of these individuals is accompanied by goods. Further, she is accompanied by five crania, which likely resemble reinterred ancestors given that they are secondarily deposited. The combination of the wealth of her goods and accompaniment by these human grave goods speaks to the position of elevated status likely held by this female. This is further solidified by the juxtaposition of her wealth of goods in comparison to the lack of goods with the two adults also interred alongside her.

As discussed below, it is possible that the presence of red mineral pigments in association with this female speak to her inheritance of status from elite parents or her marriage into an elite family. The likelihood also exists, however, that this female was a lineage head in her own right who had earned the privilege of interment with such a prolific amount of lavish goods perhaps through triumphant politicking or the successful establishment of economic relations with a far-flung community.

Overall, there appear to be higher numbers of goods displaying evidence of red mineral pigmentation with adult males at Cuello in the Middle and Late Preclassic. In fact, adult males from both Colha and K'axob have four to eight times less goods with red mineral pigmentation than do their peers from Cuello. Also, the numbers red pigmented goods that are placed with males generally are higher at all three sites during the Middle Preclassic than in the Late Preclassic.

Of note is that there are no females found with red pigmentation in the Middle Preclassic, though there are two instances of pigmented goods in the Late Preclassic; one each from Colha and K'axob. The data does not indicate the presence of pigmented goods being placed with females from Cuello at any time during the Preclassic.

The presence of red mineral pigmentation within the interment of the ancient Maya has been interpreted by Ruz (1965) to represent a rebirth or continued vitality of the deceased individual. He notes this connotation specifically in relation to adult males. In line with Ruz's postulation, adult males are the demographic group most frequently accompanied by red mineral pigmentation in the Preclassic. This connotation of maintained vitality or a resurrection is echoed in Classic Maya ideology as recorded in epigraphic sources. Textual references to the association of the color red with the east and the daily celestial death and rebirth or setting and rising of the sun have been noted (Fitzsimmons 2009: 81). It has also been proposed that there is a correlation between interments with red mineral pigmentation and royal status (Storey 1992).

The context under which bodies or goods could have been subject to pigmentation varies, according to Hall and Carlsen (1987). These two scholars have identified a variety of contexts in which an individual and their goods might be treated with pigments, including the application of the pigments prior to the wrapping or bundling of an individual as well as after they have been placed within their grave or tomb. They cite examples of the evidence of red pigment being painted onto the bodies of royalty prior to their being dressed for burial at Rio Azul. This includes an instance of a bundled individual from Rio Azul Tomb 23 who bore clear evidence of red painting under their wrappings. Rulers such as Pakal of Palenque, Yax Nuun Ayiin of Tikal, and elite from Tonina also exhibit evidence of red mineral pigmentation upon their remains. (Fitzsimmons 2009: 81-82). It is also noted that individuals adorned with pigment at Tonina, Tikal and Rio Azul present indications that the cranial area was perhaps the focus for pigmentation (Fitzsimmons 2009: 83).

This is echoed within the present study in Interment 9 from Middle Preclassic Cuello. This adult male individual exhibited pigmentation on his clavicle, mandible and humerus. Given the primary, seated posture of this individual (Robin 1989), it could be suggested that upon his placement into the grave, his loved ones sprinkled or scattered ground red ocher atop his body, intended for his head, but wafted to areas of his upper body as well, such as his clavicle and humerus. However, it should be noted that Storey (2004) has suggested that possible cut marks on the remains of this individual make his reportedly seated posture

debatable. She suggests that his placement and pigmentation may be more consistent with a secondary burial in the form of a bundle, with the cranium placed atop the tightly wrapped package of his remains (2004: 114). If this was in fact the case, this treatment of the individual's remains and his subsequent pigmentation may represent the honorific treatment of and reverence for his bones by his descendants in an ancestor veneration funerary ritual.

The data of the present study clearly illustrate that the application of red mineral pigments to individuals and their grave goods through either painting or scattering at a time prior to the Classic period royal tomb contexts discussed above. The elevated, royal status of those individuals treated with cinnabar, hematite or ocher during the Classic period allows for the proposition that the status and role of those individuals associated with such pigment in the Preclassic were analogous in degree and type. While the social hierarchy of the Preclassic was seemingly not as intricate or rigid as that of the later Classic period, these few instances of the use of red mineral pigments within interments likely indicates those individuals who stood as the elite of their respective communities.

While locally available, the mining and processing necessary for the use of hematite and similar minerals would very likely have precluded the mass availability of such a material. The acquisition of a sufficient enough amount of these pigments for use in funerary ritual on either the deceased and/or their funerary assemblage would require the recruitment and control of a certain amount of surplus labor. Command and control of these labor forces and the fruits of their

efforts (in the form of hematite, ocher, and cinnabar) would be the right or privilege of the elite population. It follows then that those individuals who were treated with red mineral pigments in the interment process perhaps held an elevated status within their community and represented Preclassic elite.

The data suggests that the elite of Cuello utilized red mineral pigmentation to a greater degree than either Colha or K'axob. Furthermore, no females exhibit the inclusion of red mineral pigments on their person or their goods at Cuello during the Preclassic. The use of these pigments as a privilege restricted to the male population and typically with adults. The exclusivity of the application of red pigments to male interments at Cuello evidences a clear material marker of differentiation between these individuals and the remainder of the population. The data indicates that the adult males of Cuello in the Middle and Late Preclassic held a decidedly higher social status than fellow inhabitants, especially Cuello females who are not interred with goods treated with pigments nor are they pigmented themselves. Interestingly, a single instance of pigmentation is found with an adult female each at Colha and K'axob in the Late Preclassic.

Given the connotation of high status and preeminence among the population that the presence of red pigment portrays, it follows that these two females are associated with the elite site lineages of their respective communities in some way. A great likelihood resides in the possibility that these women married into a ruling family at their site during the Late Preclassic or perhaps were the elder consanguineous females of their lineage. Were their elite status to come from

marriage into the family of the site ruling lineage, their status would be 'achieved,' per the discussion above of Foladare (1969) and Linton (1936). These women would have been able to attain elite status through individual achievement – the attraction of an elite male mate who would have drawn them into the ruling family group through marriage. However, given the lack of epigraphic, iconographic or other evidence to corroborate such a scenario, the possibility must also be acknowledged that these women were perhaps born to a father of elite status, likely an ascribed or inherited status, and were accordingly afforded elite status themselves. I contend that, if the elite status of these two females was contracted through consanguineous relation with an elite individual, such as their father, the greater likelihood lies with the father's status being an ascribed rather than achieved status.

Achieved status, understood according to Foladare (1969) and Linton (1936) is that which requires "special qualities" and results from "individual achievement." Were a male to achieve an elevated status through his own volition, such as through being a successful warrior in Preclassic combat, his status would not necessarily exist as a station or rank transferrable to his kin and descendants. Conversely, a male who was ascribed an elevated status assigned "without reference to [his] innate differences or abilities" (Foladare 1969: 53; Linton 1936) has a greater likelihood of existing as a member of a pre-established group of noble standing, thus having elite status conferred upon him simply by being born unto parents belonging

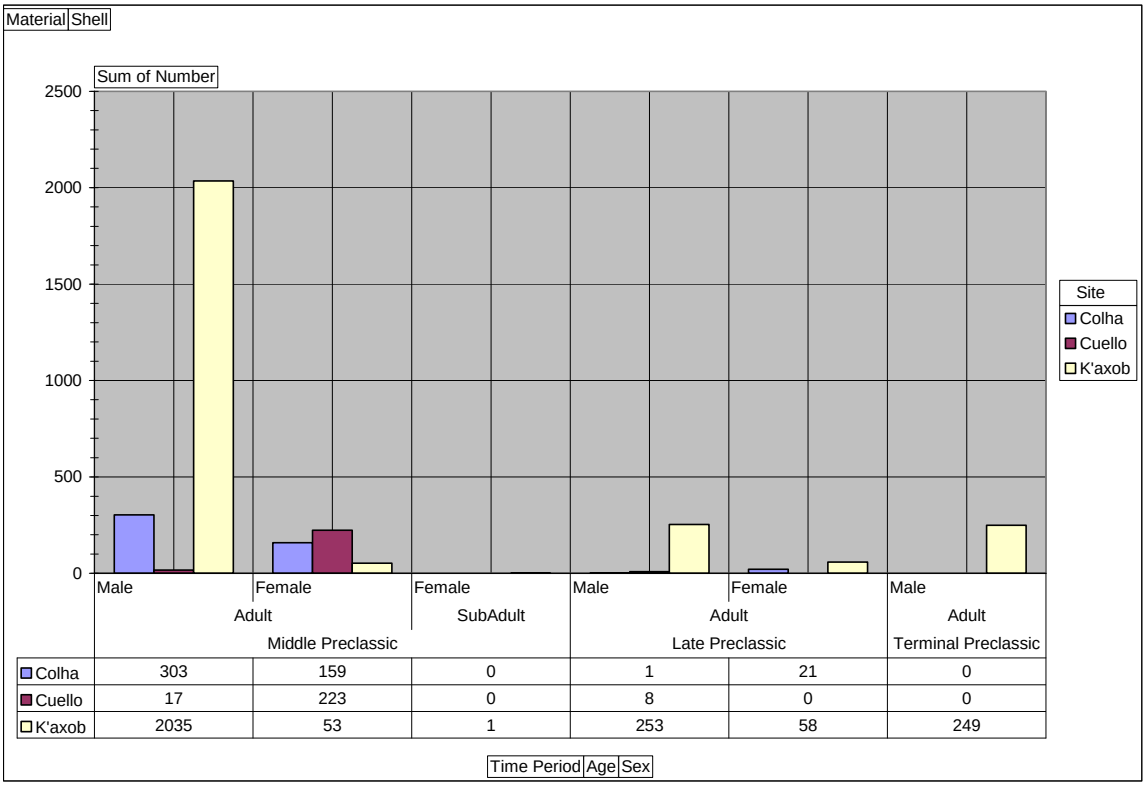
to this high status collective; the same would hold true for his offspring. Such a contrast in status acquisition and transference can be likened to primate evolution.

A primate who learns to exercise the adaptive behavior of using tools to increase his access to floral or faunal nutrient resources (i.e. – using a stick to retrieve termites from a nest or the use of a rock to open a coconut) has *achieved* the status of being a more successful forager and is rewarded with improved and increased nutrient availability. However, this learned behavior is not encoded into the animal's DNA and is therefore not genetically transferred or *ascribed* to his offspring. His descendants must attempt to learn tool use from their parent or on their own, with the ever-present possibility that they may never adequately assimilate this knowledge and thus not experience the advantages resulting from such a skill. Adaptations, such as opposable digits and forward-facing eyes are genetic modifications that have been coded into the DNA of primates over the course of the evolutionary process, because they afford primates the advantages of grasping and the complex manipulation of objects and increased depth perception. These adaptations are essentially *ascribed* statuses that are passed on from parent to offspring simply by virtue of sharing the same genetic code, without reference to the innate differences or abilities of the offspring.

The above example helps to illustrate that, while the status of these two females may be the result of achievement, through actions on their part to attract a viable, elite male mate or other deeds connoting social success, it is also possible

that they were simply born into an elite family and lived to be the elder females of the lineage.

SHELL



	Middle Preclassic			Late Preclassic		Terminal Preclassic
	Adult		SubAdult	Adult		Adult
	Male	Female	Female	Male	Female	Male
Colha	303	159	0	1	21	0
Cuello	17	223	0	8	0	0
K'axob	2035	53	1	253	58	249

Figure 9.20: Distribution of grave goods made of shell

Shell is found with males and females at all three sites in both the Middle and Late Preclassic, though only with males from K'axob during the Terminal Preclassic. There is only a single occurrence of shell with a subadult female in the Middle Preclassic; no other instances of shell with definitively sexed subadults are seen in the Preclassic. Adult males from K'axob tend to have the highest number of shell

items within their funerary assemblage, though quantities placed with these individuals decrease dramatically from the Middle to Late Preclassic and remain fairly consistent from the Late to Terminal Preclassic. Quantities found with adult males at Colha are higher in the Middle Preclassic and drop off precipitously in the Late Preclassic, with no occurrences in the Terminal Preclassic. Shell is found with adult females at all three sites in the Middle Preclassic, with the preponderance at Cuello; however, no shell is found with this same demographic group at the site in the Late Preclassic.

While shell is present at all three sites of study across all three phases of the Preclassic, quantities are highest at K'axob at all times. The Middle Preclassic sees similarly high numbers of shell at all three sites, with quantities decreasing dramatically at Colha and Cuello in the Late and Terminal Preclassic; quantities at K'axob taper off to moderate amounts.

The numbers shown in this chart illustrate a situation similar to that found and examined above with materials including ceramics, NB Colha chert and other lithics – K'axob appears to be the economic hot spot or locus of concentration for the acquisition and manufacture of materials in the Preclassic. Although, long distance trade items such as jade, non-jade greenstone, and obsidian do not play a major role in the material economy of K'axob, especially after the Middle Preclassic (McAnany 2004a). While site elite could have very easily exploited their proximity to the New River and established a highly profitable trade corridor, the material record does

not reflect this happening. Rather, the material record of K'axob becomes largely composed of local resources the further into the Preclassic one looks.

The lithic specialist community of Colha traded its goods afar and established and elaborated trade relations as the time went on, while despite its lack of site craft or material specialization, Cuello is seen to do the same. Yet the assemblages of both sites pale in comparison to those of K'axob when viewed in regards to number of goods. K'axob stands anomalous among the three sites of study. While Colha and Cuello appear to have immersed themselves in the long distance exchange network of the Preclassic in an attempt to acquire prestige technologies for the legitimization and maintenance of their elite, K'axob is able to accomplish the same task while remaining very insular.

Adult males are those individuals evidenced to be among the primary elite at each site. As the evidence examined in the present research project has shown, adult males tend to have the majority of goods of all material types including those that are rare or exotic and constitute prestige technologies. Thus, each site was able to distinguish its elite through material markers of status and physically represent the identity of these individuals through their funerary assemblages, only they accomplished this in different manners.

As the reader will recall, Hayden (1998) defines prestige technologies as those created in order to represent the wealth, power, and success of the possess and that the possessor of such a good would likely have the ability to allocate his community's surplus labor in a manner he saw fit with the ultimate objective being

the creation and/or acquisition of additional prestige technologies. The manners in which surplus labor may be used in order to acquire prestige technologies are "to travel to distant locations in order to obtain exotic and rare raw materials or objects made in distant locations, to create local labor intensive objects, […] and to produce practical goods that can be exchanged for prestige items elsewhere" (Hayden 1998:12).

I assert that Colha very clearly fits Hayden's model regarding the production of practical goods that can be exchanged for prestige technologies. As the lithic manufacture industry of Colha intensified from the Middle to Late Preclassic, NB Colha chert lithics such as stemmed macroblades became prevalent throughout the southern Yucatan and the Peten (Hester and Shafer 1994a, 1994b). This trade of practical goods from Colha with other sites would have allowed for the acquisition of commodities such as jade, obsidian and cacao. While obsidian is not present within the Preclassic interments of the site, both jade and cacao are. Residue of cacao is in fact noted in three spouted vessels from interment contexts at Operation 2012 dating to the latter part of the Middle Preclassic (Powis et al 2002). Also, as shown above within the analysis of the present data, jade is found in increasing numbers with the arrival of the Late Preclassic. It appears that the elite at Colha, a social class largely defined by adult males, were controlling the surplus labor resources of the general population as the Preclassic progressed in order to heighten production and distribution of practical NB Colha chert goods that were exchanged for prestige technologies from far flung sites. The acquisition of these

prestige technologies by the elite served as the 'positive sanctions' (Foladare 1969) or methods for reification of their status and the maintenance thereof.

Cuello does not neatly or simply fall into any one category, for it was not a site that was the locus of production for a specific commodity desired across the region, as was Colha. Nor does the funerary assemblage of Cuello represent a plethora of exotically sourced or even locally sourced materials, while K'axob exhibits an overwhelming quantity of the latter. As shown above, the most prolific items at the site that appear to differentiate between the social categories of the decedents are worked bone, ceramics, jade, and shell. The latter of these four appears to be a material marker for adult females in the Middle Preclassic while all of the others are material indicators of an adult male identity throughout the Preclassic. The shell accompanying females represents a prestige good in the sense that marine resources would have been acquired from the coast approximately 50 KM to the east of the site. Although, freshwater sources of the New River and its estuaries also provided inhabitants with a local source of shell.

Those material categories that served as markers of an adult male elite identity also exhibit the combined quality of locally and exotically sourced materials. Worked bone objects and ceramics would have been manufactured from locally sourced faunal remains or the bones of recent ancestors and immediately available clay sources. Conversely, the jade found with these elite males would have been sourced from as far away as the Motagua Valley. Thus, it is debatable as to whether the Cuello Preclassic elite were more focused on the definition and maintenance of

their identity through the allocation of surplus labor to the production of local labor-intensive objects, such as worked bone, or to the arduous travel to distant locales for the acquisition of exotic materials such as jade; though it would appear that they were utilizing a combination of the two methodologies.

Lastly, K'axob existed as a specialized site, much like Colha, but focused on wetland agriculture given that it was surrounded by fertile lands irrigated by Pulltrouser Swamp. As the analysis above shows, adult males are found with the preponderance of goods at the site, including those that have been identified as material markers of status such as worked bone, jade, and obsidian. However, the above charted steady decrease in shell within burials coincides with an increased self-reliance among the inhabitants as noted by McAnany (2004a). This may indicate a turn from the heavy exploitation of imported marine resources to the more locally available freshwater animals. While this transition back toward local resources may indicate a decrease in the environmental availability of marine shell, it is more likely that the Preclassic elite of K'axob were exploring innovative ways to represent their wealth, power, and success, which was a prime component of their elite identity. Also, while present in the funerary assemblages of the Preclassic, exotic materials such as jade and obsidian are relatively rare in comparison to items of worked bone, ceramics, and NB Colha chert.

I suggest that the attempts of the Preclassic K'axob elite, largely comprised by adult males, to define their identity were manifested in the concentrated focus of surplus labor into locally produced, labor-intensive goods, thus fitting into the

second postulate of Hayden's theory (1998). As K'axob's elite adult males sought to define themselves and their role within the site, they turned to items such as intricately worked bone objects. As discussed above, the investment of careful hours of work into a single piece of faunal or human bone in order to polish, carve and smooth it was a feat of intricate craftsmanship. Additionally, in those instances that the bone came from the remains of a recent ancestor, the significance of ownership of that item became intensified; the worked bone essentially became an heirloom connoting rights of inheritance to power and wealth. Thus, through the intensive investment of labor into a mundane, locally sourced material, a prestige object was born. These worked bone objects then became a symbol of power for the possessor based on the workmanship and potential connections to ancestors that were evident in the item itself.

A similar example is seen in the utilization of voluminous numbers of ceramic vessel sherds within interments of adult males, which also exhibit evidence of burning and a cross motif vessel in some cases. As discussed above, this suite of material markers is very likely an indicator of elite status at Preclassic K'axob and may be the predecessor of the Classic Period "fire-entering" ceremony Stuart (1998) has described. The inclusion of such massive quantities of ceramic sherds within adult male elite interments required the intense investment of labor in the local creation of a large number of ceramic vessels, perhaps exclusively for the purpose of ritual smashing within these graves. The ability to command the surplus labor resources of Preclassic K'axob for the production of a high number of vessels

possibly solely created for use in elite funerary ritual speaks to the great power held by the site's elite during this time. Through the creation of local prestige technologies and their use in intricate funerary rites, the Preclassic elite of K'axob defined their identity and maintained their role of influence and dominance in their community.

The fluctuations in the materials favored for inclusion within the Preclassic funerary assemblages of Colha, Cuello, and K'axob were clearly guided by complex interrelations of social, economic, and ideological vectors. It is clear that the Preclassic inhabitants of northern Belize were consistently evolving the material representations of their identity. From the evolution in the material markers of status and all that lay behind them, they preserve and perpetuated their social and economic relations, the resultant hierarchy, and their understanding of what it meant to be Maya.

CONCLUDING REMARKS

This dissertation has presented an analysis of interment data from three Preclassic Maya sites in an innovative and detailed manner in order to more fully reveal the contextual patterning and anomalies present within the archaeological record and postulate theories regarding the significance of these findings. Generally, the elaboration and variation of interment attributes increase over time through the Preclassic at the three sites of study. This is paralleled by a development of ritual and ceremonial architecture for public activities. Differential access to materials and

forms is indicated throughout the Middle, Late and Terminal Preclassic, though the level of disparity between the apparent elite and non-elite increases over time. Males and adults are generally accompanied by higher numbers and a greater variety of goods than are females and subadults.

This indicates a power and/or status differential between the two sex and age groups, with adult males being the most highly esteemed individuals within the social stratification system. Family-type residential burials are indicated throughout time at Colha, Cuello and K'axob, meaning both sexes and adults as well as juveniles are interred in house platforms. This is also the case for more public, ritualistic architecture such as the Main Plaza at Colha, Platform 34 at Cuello and Operation 1 at K'axob; however the numbers of females and subadults interred at these locations dwindles as the structures go through the transition from exclusively domestic to exclusively ritualistic. This equates to the appearance of an increasingly adult male-centric interred population within those structures, most likely to provide efficient preservation environments due to the quality of construction and care taken in placement of the interments. The result is thus not a literal and accurate reflection of the site population but instead a culturally biased representation of the social practices and hierarchy of the time.

The author suggests that an interesting and informative future vein of research would entail scholarly focus on those interments in the Maya region that exhibit indications of burning. Given that such a small sample of the present dataset reflects conflagration surrounding funerary ritual, a more comprehensive survey of

the Lowlands would be desirable. Inquiry regarding the demographics of individuals interred within graves with indications of burning, as well as details regarding burned goods and their relation to the material economy of the site, would be recommended. Similarly, detailed research into the nature of secondary interments within the Northern Belize region would provide interesting and informative data regarding sacrificial acts and ancestor veneration.

The nature of goods made from jade and non-jade greenstone as well as a study of the varying contexts in which they are found may help definitively determine whether a value differentiation between these materials did in fact exist. Also, given the foundational elements that this dissertation puts forth regarding the construction of identity in Preclassic Northern Belize, future studies would benefit from building upon this with a more detailed examination of possible correlaries in the iconographic record. This would serve to more fully illustrate Preclassic Maya conceptions of identity within this region. Lastly, a detailed analysis of the instances of large amounts of lithic debitage within burials and tombs in the Maya area would prove to be an interesting study, for such occurrences may have implications of social status, as abovementioned. In sum, the above research has provided a fragment of analysis to complement the field of Maya archaeology in hopes of more clearly elucidating the foundational cultural funerary practices in effect in the Preclassic.

APPENDIX

APPENDIX : DATA SUMMARY*

MIDDLE PRECLASSIC
ACROSS ALL THREE SITES

- **Males (n=17)**
    - **Cranial Orientation**: Western orientations predominate within in male interments, while southern and eastern orientations were also moderately popular.
    - **Burial Position**: Extended postures predominate within male interments.
    - **Burned/Unburned**: [Only 9 interments of the total from all three sites exhibit evidence of burning while 61 do not. Four of these interments were of indeterminately sexed individuals. The majority of the incidences of burning within these interments were found on modified lithics manufactured from various materials]. Fewer than 20% of males (3) were interred with indications of burning activities. Males are 1.5 times likelier to be interred with evidence of burning than are females.
    - **Pigmented/Unpigmented**: [Across all three sites, only five interments exhibit the inclusion of red mineral pigments in some form. Two of these interments are occupied by indeterminately sexed individuals. The majority of artifacts associated with red pigment are the minerals themselves, such as raw and prepared hematite and red ochre. Ceramic vessels are the most common good exhibiting pigmentation, with indeterminately shaped vessels and miniature jars appearing in this assemblage.] Three interments exhibiting red mineral pigments are occupied by males.
    - **Cross Motif/No Cross Motif**: There are no vessels with a cross motif at any site during the Middle Preclassic.

*NOTE: The bulleted summaries included in this appendix present a section outlining data trends for definitively sexed individuals and section for definitively aged individuals. Individuals of all sex categories (definitive, tentative, indeterminate) are considered in the analysis of definitively aged individuals.

- **Material**: Ceramics and shell are the most frequently included grave goods in male interments. Items manufactured from lithic material sources are included in far fewer male interments. The same holds true for unmodified faunal remains and prestige items such as those manufactured from jade. Regarding quantities, the male funerary assemblage is dominated by shell artifacts with all other material classes being present in comparatively lesser amounts. Males are interred with unmodified faunal remains and jade artifacts 4 times more often than are females. They are also 3 times likelier to be accompanied by bone artifacts. Overall, males are interred with approximately 4 times the total number of artifacts during the Middle Preclassic than are females. In spite of this, males and females are still interred with equal numbers of groundstone artifacts and similar numbers of non-NB Colha chert. Given the strong correlation of groundstone artifacts with the processing of foodstuffs, it is interesting to see equal numbers of these goods included with both sexes. This perhaps indicates that males and females were similarly associated with household production activities in the Middle Preclassic. Similarly high numbers of non-NB Colha chert lithics within the interments of both sexes potentially indicates a comparable degree of involvement in tool making activities. Also of note is that despite the inclusion of prestige items manufactured from greenstones of jade and non-jade varieties with females, males are still accompanied by higher quantities of both. High social and economic cost would have been attached to such items due to the necessity of the formation of trade ties to facilitate the procurement of the goods and the long distance traveled to bring them to the sites from their original source in the Maya Mountains. Given this inherent esteem assigned to greenstone goods, it is logical to infer that those individuals accompanied more frequently and by higher amounts of these goods would have held a higher status within the local community. The data in this project indicate that males were the individuals interred more often and with higher numbers of greenstone/jade items and therefore likely held a more elevated place in the social hierarchy of the Middle Preclassic than did females. Additionally, males were the only individuals accompanied by instances of red mineral pigments, the color of which signified rebirth and renewal (Ruz 1965).

- **Form**: Shell beads are the most quantifiably prevalent artifact form interred with male individuals. Males are interred with higher numbers of every artifact form than are females with the exception of

shell rings and unmodified shell as well as ceramic figurines, modified groundstone and human bone and non-NB Colha chert core tools.

- **Space Function**: Males are predominantly interred in domestic contexts with moderate numbers seen in possible and definite ritual/ceremonial settings.

- **Artifact Function**: [Across the three sites and all interments, shell beads are the most common prestige good. Ceramic pendants, musical instruments and miniature jars are also common prestige items. Practical goods are largely represented by modified lithics]. Males are more often interred with goods of possible and definite prestige-ceremonial functions than with those of possible and definite practical-utilitarian functions.

- **Head Cover/No Head Cover**: [Across all three sites, 22 ceramic vessels were used as head covers in 21 interments during the Middle Preclassic. This means that overall, nearly three quarters of the population were interred without a vessel over their cranium]. Males account for eight of these instances and are 1.6 times likelier to be interred with a head cover than are females.

- **Females (n=9)**

  - **Cranial Orientation**: Southern, southwestern and southeastern orientations predominate within female interments in equal quantities.

  - **Burial Position**: Extended postures predominate within female interments.

  - **Burned/Unburned**: Fewer than 20% of females (2) were interred with evidence of burning activities.

  - **Pigmented/Unpigmented**: No female interments exhibit the inclusion of red mineral pigments.

  - **Cross Motif/No Cross Motif**: There are no vessels with a cross motif at any site during the Middle Preclassic.

- **Material**: Similar to males, females are most often accompanied by goods fashioned from ceramic and shell, which appear in a combined total of 48.39% of female interments. Lithic materials, unmodified faunal remains and prestige items fashioned from jade, greenstone and bone all appear in far fewer female graves than do ceramics and shell. Comparable to the male funerary assemblage, that interred with females is overwhelmingly composed of shell artifacts. Other artifact material classes are present in lesser quantities. Despite the large quantity of shell goods interred with females, relative to all other items included in their funerary assemblage, males are still buried with roughly 5 times more shell artifacts than are females.

- **Form**: Shell beads are the most quantifiably prevalent artifact form interred with female individuals. A large component of their assemblage is also comprised of ceramic vessel fragments.

- **Space Function**: Females are largely interred in domestic settings.

- **Artifact Function**: Females are more often interred with goods of prestige-ceremonial function than practical-utilitarian.

- **Head Cover/No Head Cover**: Females account for five of the total instances of decedents with a head cover.

- **Adults (n=36)**

  - **Cranial Orientation**: Indeterminate orientations predominate within adult interments, followed by equal numbers of eastern, southern and western orientations.

  - **Burial Position**: Extended positions predominate within adult interments.

  - **Burned/Unburned**: Nearly one sixth of adults are interred with indications of burning activities. Adults are twice as likely as subadults to be interred with evidence of burning.

  - **Pigmented/Unpigmented**: Considering both definitively and indeterminately sexed individuals, four of five interments exhibiting red mineral pigments were occupied by adults. Adults are interred with red mineral pigments four times as often as are subadults.

- **Cross Motif/No Cross Motif**: There are no vessels with a cross motif at any site during the Middle Preclassic.

- **Material**: Shell is the most quantifiably prevalent material in adult interments. Adults are accompanied by higher numbers of all grave good materials than are subadults.

- **Form**: Shell beads are the most quantifiably prevalent artifact form interred with adults. Adults are interred with a more diverse array of artifact forms than are subadults. There are seventeen artifact forms found within adult interments that are not seen in the subadult assemblage.

- **Space Function**: Adults are largely interred in domestic settings. A large number of males are also seen in possible ritual/ceremonial contexts.

- **Artifact Function**: Adults are largely interred with prestige goods versus practical goods.

- **Head Cover/No Head Cover**: Adults account for 16 of the total instances of decedents with a head cover.

- **Subadults (n=15)**

  - **Cranial Orientation**: Indeterminate orientations predominate within subadult interments, with the most prevalent determinable cranial orientation being northwest.

  - **Burial Position**: Disarticulated states and flexed postures predominate within subadult interments.

  - **Burned/Unburned**: One sixth of subadults are interred with indications of burning activities.

  - **Pigmented/Unpigmented**: Considering both definitively and indeterminately sexed individuals, only one of five interments exhibiting red mineral pigments were occupied by subadults.

  - **Cross Motif/No Cross Motif**: There are no vessels with a cross motif at any site during the Middle Preclassic.

- **Material**: Shell is the most quantifiably prevalent material in subadult interments, though a large ceramic component is also present.

- **Form**: Shell beads are the most quantifiably prevalent artifact form interred with subadults; however ceramic vessel fragments also comprise a relatively large portion of their assemblage. Subadults have a far less diverse funerary assemblage than do adults.

- **Space Function**: Subadults are largely interred in domestic settings.

- **Artifact Function**: Subadults are largely interred with prestige goods versus practical goods.

- **Head Cover/No Head Cover**: Subadults account for four for two of the total instances of decedents with a head cover.

COLHA

- **Males (n=5)**

  - **Cranial Orientation**: Indeterminate cranial orientations predominate within male interments. Among those orientations of a definitive (inter-)cardinal direction, southern, western, and northwestern orientations were present in equal amounts.

  - **Burial Position**: Extended postures predominate within male interments.

  - **Burned/Unburned**: Only one interment at Colha exhibited evidence of burning. This individual was indeterminately sexed. The single instance of burning is present on a ceramic disk.

  - **Pigmented/Unpigmented**: [All goods exhibiting pigmentation at the site are ceramic vessels of indeterminate shape.] A single instance of the inclusion of red mineral pigments was seen at the site with a male decedent.

  - **Cross Motif/No Cross Motif**: There are no vessels with a cross motif at any site during the Middle Preclassic.

- **Material**: Shell is the most quantifiably prevalent material in male interments. Ceramics are the material type most frequently interred with males. Males are accompanied by every artifact material type more frequently and in higher numbers than are females.

- **Form**: Shell beads are the most quantifiably prevalent artifact form found in male interments. Males are interred with higher numbers and frequencies of each artifact form than are females with the exception of ceramic figurines and modified human bone.

- **Space Function**: Males are largely interred in definite and possible ritual/ceremonial contexts.

- **Artifact Function**: [Instances of prestige goods at the site are dominated by bone and shell objects. Practical goods are primarily ceramic vessels]. Males are interred only with items classified in this study as prestige-ceremonial goods.

- **Head Cover/No Head Cover**: Three males are interred with vessels covering their crania.

- **Females (n=1)**

  - **Cranial Orientation**: This singular female had a southern cranial orientation.

  - **Burial Position**: This individual is interred in an indeterminate burial posture.

  - **Burned/Unburned**: Only one interment at Colha exhibited evidence of burning. This individual was indeterminately sexed. The single instance of burning is present on a ceramic disk.

  - **Pigmented/Unpigmented**: No female interments exhibited the inclusion of red mineral pigments.

  - **Cross Motif/No Cross Motif**: There are no vessels with a cross motif at any site during the Middle Preclassic.

- **Material**: Shell is the most quantifiably prevalent material in female interments. Ceramics are the material type most frequently interred with females.

- **Form**: Shell beads are the most quantifiably prevalent artifact form found in female interments. Females have a far less diverse funerary assemblage than do males. Their grave goods occur in a total of only four different forms.

- **Space Function**: This individual is interred in a possible ritual/ceremonial area.

- **Artifact Function**: Females are interred only with items classified in this study as prestige-ceremonial goods.

- **Head Cover/No Head Cover**: One female is interred with a vessel covering her cranium.

- **Adults (n=14)**

  - **Cranial Orientation**: Indeterminate orientations predominate within adult interments, followed by equal numbers of southern and western orientations.

  - **Burial Position**: Extended postures predominate within adult interments.

  - **Burned/Unburned**: Only one interment at Colha exhibited evidence of burning. This individual was an indeterminately sexed adult. The single instance of burning is present on a ceramic disk.

  - **Pigmented/Unpigmented**: A single instance of the inclusion of red mineral pigments was seen at the site with an adult male decedent.

  - **Cross Motif/No Cross Motif**: There are no vessels with a cross motif at any site during the Middle Preclassic.

  - **Material**: Shell is the most quantifiably prevalent material in adult interments. Adults are interred with higher numbers and frequencies of all artifact material types than are subadults.

- **Form**: Shell beads are the most quantifiably prevalent artifact form interred with adults. Adults are found with much higher quantities of all grave good forms than are subadults, with the exception of modified shell, which is found in a single instance with a subadult individual.

- **Space Function**: Adults are mostly interred in possible ritual/ceremonial contexts; however a large number are also placed in domestic settings within ritual/ceremonial areas.

- **Artifact Function**: Adults are predominantly interred with prestige goods.

- **Head Cover/No Head Cover**: Six adults are interred with a vessel covering their crania.

- **Subadults (n=5)**

  - **Cranial Orientation**: Indeterminate orientations predominate within subadult interments. Of those individuals with determinable orientations, equal numbers of southern and northwestern oriented crania are seen.

  - **Burial Position**: Flexed and indeterminate burial postures predominate within subadult interments.

  - **Burned/Unburned**: Only one interment at Colha exhibited evidence of burning. This individual was an indeterminately sexed adult. The single instance of burning is present on a ceramic disk.

  - **Pigmented/Unpigmented**: No subadult interments exhibited the inclusion of red mineral pigments.

  - **Cross Motif/No Cross Motif**: There are no vessels with a cross motif at any site during the Middle Preclassic.

  - **Material**: Ceramic items are the most quantifiably prevalent material in subadult interments. Shell goods are the only other artifact material type interred with subadult individuals. Subadults have a much less diverse funerary assemblage than do adults.

- **Form**: Complete ceramic vessels are the most quantifiably prevalent artifact form interred with subadults. Shell beads also comprise a large portion of their funerary assemblage. Subadults are found with a far less diverse funerary assemblage than are adults.

- **Space Function**: Subadults are largely interred in possible ritual/ceremonial areas and domestic settings within ritual/ceremonial areas. A number are also placed in dedicated, definitive ritual/ceremonial areas.

- **Artifact Function**: Subadults are predominantly interred with prestige goods.

- **Head Cover/No Head Cover**: Two subadults are interred with a ceramic vessel covering their crania.

CUELLO

- **Males (n=8)**

  - **Cranial Orientation**: Western and eastern cranial orientations predominate within male interments in equal quantities. A comparable number of males with indeterminate orientations were found.

  - **Burial Position**: Extended postures predominate within male interments.

  - **Burned/Unburned**: No interments exhibit definitive evidence of burning activities that may have taken place during funerary ritual.

  - **Pigmented/Unpigmented**: [The majority of instances of red mineral pigments at the site are explained by the minerals themselves; in these cases they are not specifically associated with or placed on a grave good of a different material class. Ceramic vessels and jade pendants represent equal numbers of those goods exhibiting pigmentation.] Only three interments exhibit the inclusion of red mineral pigments, two of which are occupied by indeterminately

sexed individuals. The third instance is a male decedent who exhibits red mineral pigment dusting on his remains.

- **Cross Motif/No Cross Motif**: There are no vessels with a cross motif at any site during the Middle Preclassic.

- **Material**: Ceramics and shell are the most quantifiably prevalent materials in male interments, with slightly more of the former being found than the latter. Males are accompanied by every artifact material type more frequently and in higher numbers than are females, with the exception of shell and greenstone of non-jade varieties.

- **Form**: Complete ceramic vessels are the most quantifiably prevalent form found in male interments; however shell beads also make up a large portion of their assemblage. Males are interred with higher numbers of all artifact forms than are females with the exception of shell beads and all other forms of shell as well as greenstone beads.

- **Space Function**: Males are largely interred in domestic contexts.

- **Artifact Function**: [Prestige goods at the site are largely comprised of shell beads and ceramic vessels, such as miniature jars. Practical goods are mostly ceramic vessels for general use such as bowls and dishes]. Males are more often interred with prestige goods.

- **Head Cover/No Head Cover**: Four males are interred with ceramic vessels covering their crania.

- **Females (n=5)**

  - **Cranial Orientation**: The majority of females did not have cranial material present rendering a determination of orientation inapplicable. Southern, southeastern and possibly northern orientations occur in equal quantities.

  - **Burial Position**: Extended postures and disarticulated states predominate within female interments.

  - **Burned/Unburned**: No interments exhibit definitive evidence of burning activities that may have taken place during funerary ritual.

- **Pigmented/Unpigmented**: No female interments exhibit the inclusion of red mineral pigments.

- **Cross Motif/No Cross Motif**: There are no vessels with a cross motif at any site during the Middle Preclassic.

- **Material**: Shell is the most quantifiably prevalent material in female interments. Females are interred with roughly 13 times more shell than are males, indicating that females may have been more inclined based on cultural standards to adorn themselves with items fashioned from shell. (Anomalous compared to Colha and K'axob where higher amounts of shell are found with males).

- **Form**: Shell beads are the most quantifiably prevalent artifact form interred with females. Females are interred with a higher number of shell beads than are males. Additionally, females are the only individuals to be accompanied by shell goods of any other form as well as greenstone beads. However males are interred with higher quantities of all other artifact forms.

- **Space Function**: Females are exclusively interred in domestic contexts.

- **Artifact Function**: Females are more often interred with prestige goods.

- **Head Cover/No Head Cover**: Three females are interred with ceramic vessels covering their crania.

- **Adults (n=15)**

  - **Cranial Orientation**: Indeterminate orientations predominate within adult interments. Equal numbers of individuals had southern, western, and eastern cranial orientations.

  - **Burial Position**: Extended postures predominate within adult interments.

  - **Burned/Unburned**: No interments exhibit definitive evidence of burning activities that may have taken place during funerary ritual.

- **Pigmented/Unpigmented**: Considering definitively and indeterminately sexed individuals, two of the three interments containing red mineral pigments are occupied by adults.

- **Cross Motif/No Cross Motif**: There are no vessels with a cross motif at any site during the Middle Preclassic.

- **Material**: Shell is the most quantifiably prevalent material in adult interments. Adults are found more frequently and with higher numbers of all artifact material classes than are subadults with the exception of groundstone, which occurs equally as often and in equal numbers with both age groups.

- **Form**: Shell beads are the most quantifiably prevalent artifact form interred with adults. Adults are interred with higher numbers and frequencies of all artifact forms than are subadults, with the exception of ceramic musical instruments, groundstone celts and shell pendants, which are exclusively included in subadult assemblages.

- **Space Function**: Adults are largely interred in domestic contexts.

- **Artifact Function**: Adults are more often interred with prestige goods.

- **Head Cover/No Head Cover**: Seven adults are interred with a ceramic vessel covering their crania.

- **Subadults (n=5)**

  - **Cranial Orientation**: Indeterminate orientations predominate within subadult interments. Southeastern and northwestern orientations are the most common determinable cranial directions seen in subadults.

  - **Burial Position**: Flexed and indeterminate postures predominate within subadult interments.

  - **Burned/Unburned**: No interments exhibit definitive evidence of burning activities that may have taken place during funerary ritual.

  - **Pigmented/Unpigmented**: Considering definitively and indeterminately sexed individuals, only one of the three interments containing red mineral pigments is occupied by a subadult.

- **Cross Motif/No Cross Motif**: There are no vessels with a cross motif at any site during the Middle Preclassic.

- **Material**: Shell is the most quantifiably prevalent material in subadult interments. Subadults have a much less diverse funerary assemblage than do adults.

- **Form**: Shell beads are the most quantifiably prevalent artifact form interred with subadults. The funerary assemblage of these individuals is far less diverse than that of adults.

- **Space Function**: Subadults are exclusively interred in domestic contexts.

- **Artifact Function**: Subadults are more often interred with prestige goods.

- **Head Cover/No Head Cover**: Two subadults are interred with a ceramic vessel covering their crania.

K'AXOB

- Males (n=4)

    - **Cranial Orientation**: Three quarters of males did not have cranial material present for a determination of orientation to be made. The remaining individuals all had a possibly southern orientation.

    - **Burial Position**: Indeterminate burial postures predominate within male interments. Those individuals with a determinable burial position are found in an extended posture.

    - **Burned/Unburned**: Three males are interred with evidence of burning activities. Males are 1.5 times likelier to be interred with indications of burning than are females. The overwhelming majority of incidences of burning at the site with males are present on modified lithics manufactured from various materials.

- **Pigmented/Unpigmented**: Only one interment exhibits the inclusion of red mineral pigments. This grave is occupied by a male. This instance is represented by an unmodified piece of hematite.

- **Cross Motif/No Cross Motif**: There are no vessels with a cross motif at any site during the Middle Preclassic.

- **Material**: Shell is the most quantifiably prevalent material in male interments. Males are accompanied by every artifact material type more frequently and in higher numbers than are females, with the exception of groundstone.

- **Form**: Shell beads are the most quantifiably prevalent artifact form interred with males. Males are accompanied by higher numbers of all artifact forms with the exception of unmodified shell, complete ceramic vessels, non-NB Colha chert core tools, groundstone grinding tools and modified groundstone.

- **Space Function**: Males are exclusively interred in domestic contexts.

- **Artifact Function**: [Shell beads are the predominant prestige good at the site while NB Colha chert implements are the most common practical good]. Males are more often interred with prestige goods.

- **Head Cover/No Head Cover**: One male is interred with a ceramic vessel covering his cranium.

- **Females (n=3)**

  - **Cranial Orientation**: Southwestern orientations predominate within female interments.

  - **Burial Position**: All females are interred in extended postures.

  - **Burned/Unburned**: Two females are interred with evidence of burning activities. The overwhelming majority of incidences of burning at the site with females are present on modified lithics manufactured from various materials.

  - **Pigmented/Unpigmented**: No female interments exhibit the inclusion of red mineral pigments.

- **Cross Motif/No Cross Motif**: There are no vessels with a cross motif at any site during the Middle Preclassic.

- **Material**: Ceramic is the most quantifiably prevalent material in female interments. Shell is the second most prevalent material within female interments. (Anomalous from Colha and Cuello, where shell is the most quantifiably prevalent item within female interments.)

- **Form**: Ceramic vessel fragments are the most quantifiably prevalent artifact form interred with females.

- **Space Function**: Females are exclusively interred in domestic contexts.

- **Artifact Function**: Females are more often interred with prestige goods.

- **Head Cover/No Head Cover**: One female is interred with a ceramic vessel covering her cranium.

- **Adults (n=7)**

  - **Cranial Orientation**: Lack of cranial material resulted in the inapplicability of cranial orientations for most adults. Equal numbers of southwest, southeast, possibly south, and eastern orientations were seen.

  - **Burial Position**: Extended positions predominate within adult interments.

  - **Burned/Unburned**: Five adults are interred with evidence of burning activities. The overwhelming majority of incidences of burning at the site with adults are present on modified lithics manufactured from various materials. Adults are 1.7 times likelier to be interred with indications of burning than are subadults.

  - **Pigmented/Unpigmented**: Only one interment exhibits the inclusion of red mineral pigments. This grave is occupied by an adult male.

  - **Cross Motif/No Cross Motif**: There are no vessels with a cross motif at any site during the Middle Preclassic.

- **Material**: Shell is the most quantifiably prevalent material in adult interments. Adults are found more frequently and with higher numbers of all artifact material types than are subadults.

- **Form**: Shell beads are the most quantifiably prevalent artifact form interred with adults. Adults are interred with higher numbers and frequencies of all artifact forms than are subadults with the exception of groundstone grinding tools, NB Colha chert cutting tools, and shell tinklers.

- **Space Function**: Adults are exclusively interred in domestic contexts.

- **Artifact Function**: Adults are more often interred with prestige goods.

- **Head Cover/No Head Cover**: Three adults are interred with ceramic vessels covering their crania.

- **Subadults (n=5)**

  - **Cranial Orientation**: No one orientation predominates within subadult interments. Equal numbers of southwestern, northwestern, possibly northwestern, and indeterminate orientations are seen as well as instances of the inapplicability of cranial orientation determination due to a lack of cranial material.

  - **Burial Position**: Extended positions predominate within subadult interments.

  - **Burned/Unburned**: Three subadults are interred with evidence of burning activities. The overwhelming majority of incidences of burning at the site with females are present on modified lithics manufactured from various materials.

  - **Pigmented/Unpigmented**: No subadult interments exhibit the inclusion of red mineral pigments.

  - **Cross Motif/No Cross Motif**: There are no vessels with a cross motif at any site during the Middle Preclassic.

  - **Material**: Ceramics are the most quantifiably prevalent material in subadult interments. NB Colha chert implements also make up a large

component of this assemblage. Subadults have a much less diverse funerary assemblage than do adults.

- **Form**: Ceramic vessel fragments are the most quantifiably prevalent artifact form interred with subadults. NB Colha chert implements also comprise a moderate portion of this funerary assemblage. Subadult grave good forms exhibit far less diversity than do those of adults.

- **Space Function**: Subadults are exclusively interred in domestic contexts.

- **Artifact Function**: Subadults are more often interred with practical goods.

- **Head Cover/No Head Cover**: No subadults are interred with ceramic vessels covering their crania.

LATE PRECLASSIC

ACROSS ALL THREE SITES

- **Males (n=93)**

    - **Cranial Orientation**: Indeterminate orientations predominated in male interments, while western orientations were the most frequent definitive directional placement.

    - **Burial Position**: Flexed postures predominate within male interments, though the appearance of decedents in disarticulated states is similarly as popular.

    - **Burned/Unburned**: [Only 34 of 256 interments from all three sites exhibit evidence of burning. Eight of these interments were of indeterminately sexed individuals, 2 were possible males and 2 were possible females. The majority of the incidences of burning within these interments were found on modified lithics manufactured from various materials]. Sixteen males were interred with indications of burning activities. Males are 2.7 times likelier to be interred with evidence of burning than are females.

    - **Pigmented/Unpigmented**: [Across all three sites, only eight interments exhibit the inclusion of red mineral pigments in some form. One of these interments is occupied by an indeterminately sexed individual. Occurrences of red pigment are equally divided between the minerals themselves, such as raw and prepared red ochre, the osteological material of decedents, ceramic bowls and tecomates, and shell beads and pendants. Those two individuals who exhibit red mineral pigment staining on their bones are an indeterminately sexed decedent and a female]. Four interments exhibiting red mineral pigments are occupied by males. This means that less than 5% of males were interred with evidence of pigmentation.

    - **Cross Motif/No Cross Motif**: There are only three vessels with a cross motif, one each in three interments, during the Late Preclassic. This means that, relative to the interred population across the three sites, less than 2% of interments during this time period contained cross motif ceramic vessels. Of the individuals who are accompanied by these vessels, 66.67% (2) are males and 33.33% (1) is a possible

male. All artifacts that bore a cross motif were ceramic vessels. Two were ceramic dishes and one was a bowl.

- **Material**: The male assemblage is typified by the inclusion of ceramics and NB Colha chert. Regarding quantities, ceramics are the most prevalent material class found with males, though a significant portion of their assemblage is also comprised of unmodified faunal remains. Males are the only individuals to be interred with red mineral pigments and are in fact interred more frequently with all material categories than are females, with the exception of greenstone. Objects manufactured from greenstone of non-jade varieties occur in equal numbers of male and female interments. Quantifiably, males are interred with nearly twice the number of grave goods as are females. Males are interred with over three times as much shell and roughly twice as much NB Colha chert and unidentifiable lithic material as are females. Males are also interred with twice as many groundstone artifacts as are females. This is of note given the association of such artifacts with household production activities and the processing of foodstuffs, which are tasks that may have been more often conducted by females (Sullivan 1991: 9-10). Interestingly, obsidian is seen as a new material included with Late Preclassic individuals and may indicate a supplantation of greenstones as the most highly valued prestige good.

- **Form**: Ceramic vessel fragments are the most quantifiably prevalent artifact form interred with male individuals. Unmodified faunal remains also constitute a large portion of the male funerary assemblage. Males are interred with higher numbers of every artifact form than are females with the exception of eleven form categories mentioned in the analysis above that occur in higher amounts (and some exclusively) with females.

- **Space Function**: Males are predominantly interred in ritual-ceremonial contexts and domestic settings.

- **Artifact Function**: [Across the three sites and all interments, ceramic vessels are the most common prestige good, followed by unmodified faunal remains and shell and jade beads. Unmodified and modified shells as well as shell pendants are also common prestige items. Practical goods are largely represented by modified lithics of various materials as well as ceramic vessels and vessel fragments]. Males are interred slightly more often with goods of practical-utilitarian functions than items of prestige-ceremonial nature. Higher numbers

of both practical and prestige items are found in male interments than they are in female interments.

- **Head Cover/No Head Cover**: [Across all three sites, 60 ceramic vessels and 400 vessel fragments were used as head covers in 58 interments during the Late Preclassic. This means that overall; more than 80% of the population was interred without a vessel over their cranium. Sixteen of these individuals are indeterminately sexed, two are possible females and six are possible males]. Males account for 19 of these instances and are 1.35 times likelier to be interred with a head cover than are females.

- **Females (n=36)**
  - **Cranial Orientation**: Indeterminate cranial orientations predominated in female interments. In those instances where a definitive directional placement was evident, northern and western orientations were popular.
  - **Burial Position**: Flexed postures predominate within female interments, with extended postures being largely popular as well.
  - **Burned/Unburned**: Fewer than 20% of females (6) were interred with evidence of burning activities.
  - **Pigmented/Unpigmented**: Three female interments (8.33%) exhibit the inclusion of red mineral pigments.
  - **Cross Motif/No Cross Motif**: There are no vessels with a cross motif interred with females.
  - **Material**: Similar to males, the female population is most often interred with ceramics and NB Colha chert. However shell is also seen in female interments equally as frequently as NB Colha chert. There appears to be a modest increase in the appearance of prestige goods manufactured from shell placed with females compared to the Middle Preclassic. Regarding quantities, ceramics are the most prevalent artifact material type found with females while a significant portion of their assemblage is also composed of unmodified faunal remains.
  - **Form**: Similar to male interments, ceramic vessel fragments are the most quantifiably prevalent artifact form interred with female

individuals. A large component of their assemblage is also comprised of unmodified faunal remains. Females have a somewhat less diverse funerary assemblage than do males.

- **Space Function**: Females are largely interred in domestic settings.

- **Artifact Function**: Females are interred with goods of prestige-ceremonial function and practical-utilitarian function equally as often.

- **Head Cover/No Head Cover**: Females account for 14 of the total instances of decedents with a head cover.

- **Adults (n=199)**

  - **Cranial Orientation**: Indeterminate orientations predominate within adult interments. Of those adults with definitive cardinal cranial orientations, western placements are the most popular.

  - **Burial Position**: Flexed and disarticulated positions predominate within adult interments.

  - **Burned/Unburned**: Twenty eight adults are interred with evidence of burning activities. Adults are nearly five times as likely as subadults to be interred with evidence of burning.

  - **Pigmented/Unpigmented**: All eight interments exhibiting red mineral pigmentation are occupied by adult decedents.

  - **Cross Motif/No Cross Motif**: All three Late Preclassic instances of cross motif vessels occur with adults.

  - **Material**: Ceramics are the most quantifiably prevalent material class appearing with adults. Adults have more frequent inclusions of all artifact material classes than do subadults. These individuals are also found with higher numbers of all material classes with the exception of greenstone (non-jade) items, which are found in higher numbers with subadults.

  - **Form**: Ceramic vessel fragments are the most quantifiably prevalent artifact form interred with adults. Twenty two different artifact forms

occur exclusively with adults during this time, a large number of them being prestige forms.

- **Space Function**: Adults are largely interred in ritual/ceremonial settings. A large number of males are also seen in domestic contexts.

- **Artifact Function**: Adults are interred with prestige items slightly more often than with practical goods. Higher numbers of both prestige and practical items are found with adults than with subadults.

- **Head Cover/No Head Cover**: Adults account for 48 of the total instances of decedents with a head cover.

- **Subadults (n=48)**

  - **Cranial Orientation**: Indeterminate orientations predominate within subadult interments, with the most prevalent determinable cranial orientation being west.

  - **Burial Position**: Indeterminate and flexed postures predominate within subadult interments.

  - **Burned/Unburned**: One eighth (6) of subadults are interred with indications of burning activities.

  - **Pigmented/Unpigmented**: No subadults are interred with evidence of red mineral pigmentation.

  - **Cross Motif/No Cross Motif**: There are no vessels with a cross motif interred with subadults.

  - **Material**: Ceramics are the most quantifiably prevalent material present in subadult interments. A similarly high number of NB Colha chert is also present. No goods of jade, bone, obsidian or red mineral pigments are found with subadults. The funerary assemblage of subadults is far less diverse than that of adults.

  - **Form**: NB Colha chert modified lithics are the most quantifiably prevalent artifact form interred with subadults, though ceramic vessel fragments also comprise a large portion of their assemblage. Subadults are interred with twice as many groundstone grinding tools

and 1.4 times more greenstone beads than are adults. Subadults have a far less diverse funerary assemblage than do adults. Pubic shields and tinklers manufactured from shell are two artifact forms exclusive to subadult interments.

- **Space Function**: Subadults are largely interred in domestic settings.
- **Artifact Function**: Similar to adults, subadults are interred with prestige goods slightly more often than practical items.
- **Head Cover/No Head Cover**: Subadults account for nine of the total instances of decedents with a head cover.

COLHA

- **Males (n=31)**
  - **Cranial Orientation**: Indeterminate cranial orientations predominate within male interments. Among those orientations of a definitive cardinal direction, eastern orientations are most popular.
  - **Burial Position**: Disarticulated arrangements or postures predominate within male interments. Flexed and indeterminate postures are slightly less prevalent but still largely popular.
  - **Burned/Unburned**: [Eleven total interments exhibit evidence of burning. Aside from definitively sexed individuals, there is one possible female in this category. All instances of burning at the site are present on ceramics, with vessel fragments constituting the majority and complete vessels representing the minority]. Nine males are interred with evidence of burning (29%).
  - **Pigmented/Unpigmented**: [Instances of red pigmentation are divided equally between staining on the osteological material and staining on grave goods. Those grave goods exhibiting pigmentation at the site are ceramic tecomates and shell pendants]. A single male decedent is interred with red mineral pigmentation.
  - **Cross Motif/No Cross Motif**: There are no vessels with a cross motif at Colha during the Late Preclassic.

- **Material**: Ceramics are the most quantifiably prevalent material in male interments, though a significant portion of this assemblage is also comprised of NB Colha chert. The high inclusion rate of NB Colha chert in the male assemblage is an interesting finding, given the absence of this material as a grave good during the Middle Preclassic the majority of male decedents are accompanied by no funerary assemblage whatsoever. Those who are placed with goods are most frequently accompanied by ceramics and NB Colha chert implements. Males and females are seen to be interred with relatively similar percentages of the total number of grave goods recovered from the site.

- **Form**: Ceramic vessel fragments are the most quantifiably prevalent artifact form found in male interments, though NB Colha chert tools comprise a similarly high percentage of the male funerary assemblage.

- **Space Function**: Males are largely interred in ritual/ceremonial contexts.

- **Artifact Function**: [Instances of prestige goods at the site are dominated by ceramic vessels, greenstone beads, bone tubes and shell beads. Practical goods are primarily ceramic vessels and vessel fragments]. Males are interred twice as often with practical goods as with prestige goods. Comparatively, males are interred with more prestige and practical items than are females.

- **Head Cover/No Head Cover**: Two males are interred with vessels covering their crania. [One indeterminately sexed individual and one possible male are also buried with head covers].

- **Females (n=15)**

  - **Cranial Orientation**: Indeterminate cranial orientations predominate within female interments. Equal numbers of west, south and eastern orientations are seen.

  - **Burial Position**: Disarticulated arrangements or postures predominate within female interments. Indeterminate and flexed postures are slightly less popular but also appear in a number of female interments.

- **Burned/Unburned**: Only one female interment at Colha exhibited evidence of burning.

- **Pigmented/Unpigmented**: Two female interments exhibited the inclusion of red mineral pigments.

- **Cross Motif/No Cross Motif**: There are no vessels with a cross motif at Colha during the Late Preclassic.

- **Material**: Greenstone (jade) is the most quantifiably prevalent material in female interments, though similarly high quantities of shell objects are also found. Females are most frequently interred with no goods, however when goods are present they are most often manufactured from ceramic. All instances of unmodified faunal remains and more than 95% of all jade artifacts are found with females. Females are interred with nearly all of the shell found at the site during this time period. It is interesting to see that while males are interred with all of the non-jade found at the site at this time, females are found with larger quantities of prestige materials (jade and shell). This may speak to an increased social esteem of females in Late Preclassic Colha society.

- **Form**: Jade beads are the most quantifiably prevalent artifact form found in female interments. A similarly high percentage of the female funerary assemblage is comprised of shell beads.

- **Space Function**: Females are primarily interred in domestic areas within ritual/ceremonial settings followed by placement in possible ritual/ceremonial areas.

- **Artifact Function**: Females are interred equally as often with items of practical and prestige functions.

- **Head Cover/No Head Cover**: Three females are interred with a vessel covering their cranium.

- **Adults (n=70)**

  - **Cranial Orientation**: Indeterminate orientations predominate within adult interments, though a small number of eastern orientations are seen. All other orientations are less popular.

- **Burial Position**: Disarticulated states or postures predominate within adult interments.

- **Burned/Unburned**: All eleven decedents interred with evidence of burning are adults.

- **Pigmented/Unpigmented**: Four adult interments contained evidence of red mineral pigmentation. One was male, two were female and one was an indeterminately sexed individual.

- **Cross Motif/No Cross Motif**: There are no vessels with a cross motif at Colha during the Late Preclassic.

- **Material**: Ceramics are the most quantifiably prevalent material interred with adults. A large portion of their assemblage is also composed of NB Colha chert. Adults are interred with higher numbers of all material classes except for greenstone, shell and bone. All artifacts manufactured from jade and all unmodified faunal remains are found with adults.

- **Form**: The adult assemblage is not skewed toward the prevalence of one or two particular artifact forms. Relatively equal numbers of ceramic vessel fragments, greenstone (jade) beads, shell beads, NB Colha chert tools and complete ceramic vessels appear in the adult assemblage as the most prevalent goods. Adults are found with the majority of artifact forms interred at the site, though subadults are interred with higher numbers of three different artifact form classes. There are nine artifact form classes that occur exclusively with adults; the majority of these being prestige forms.
- **Space Function**: Adults are mostly interred in ritual/ceremonial contexts followed by domestic settings within ritual/ceremonial areas.

- **Artifact Function**: Adults are interred slightly more often with practical goods than prestige goods.

- **Head Cover/No Head Cover**: Six adults are interred with a vessel covering their crania. [One indeterminately aged individual also exhibits a head cover].

- **Subadults (n=11)**
    - **Cranial Orientation**: Indeterminate orientations predominate within subadult interments. Of those individuals with determinable orientations, all have a southeastern arrangement.
    - **Burial Position**: Disarticulated burial postures predominate within subadult interments.
    - **Burned/Unburned**: No subadults are interred with evidence of burning activities.
    - **Pigmented/Unpigmented**: No subadult interments exhibited the inclusion of red mineral pigments.
    - **Cross Motif/No Cross Motif**: There are no vessels with a cross motif at Colha during the Late Preclassic.
    - **Material**: Greenstone is the most quantifiably prevalent artifact material class interred with subadults. A significant portion of their assemblage is also comprised of ceramics.
    - **Form**: Greenstone beads are the most quantifiably prevalent artifact form interred with subadults. Shell pendants and disks and greenstone beads are found in higher numbers with subadults than adults.
    - **Space Function**: Subadults are largely interred in ritual/ceremonial areas and domestic settings within ritual/ceremonial areas.
    - **Artifact Function**: Subadults are interred slightly more often with prestige goods than practical items.
    - **Head Cover/No Head Cover**: One subadult is interred with a ceramic vessel covering their crania.

CUELLO

- **Males (n=46)**

    - **Cranial Orientation**: Indeterminate cranial orientations predominate within male interments. Western orientations predominate among those male individuals with a definitive cardinal cranial arrangement.

    - **Burial Position**: Flexed postures predominate within male interments, with a slightly lower percentage of males being interred in disarticulated states.

    - **Burned/Unburned**: No interments exhibit definitive evidence of burning activities that may have taken place during funerary ritual.

    - **Pigmented/Unpigmented**: [All instances of red mineral pigments at the site are explained by the minerals themselves; unmodified and prepared red ochre. In these cases they are not specifically associated with or placed on a grave good of a different material class]. Only two interments exhibit the inclusion of red mineral pigments, both of which are occupied by males.

    - **Cross Motif/No Cross Motif**: There are no vessels with a cross motif at Cuello during the Late Preclassic.

    - **Material**: Ceramics are the most quantifiably prevalent material good recovered from male interments. Males were interred with all instances of jade, shell, bone, non-NB Colha chert, groundstone, and red mineral pigments. Equal numbers of obsidian goods are found with males and females. Male decedents are accompanied by nearly sixe times more goods than are females. Ceramics are the goods most frequently interred with males. Males are interred more frequently with all artifact material classes except greenstone, obsidian and NB Colha chert. Obsidian goods are found in equal numbers and frequencies with both sexes. All greenstone and NB Colha chert items are found with females. Overall, males are found with higher frequencies and numbers of all artifact material classes except for greenstone, obsidian and NB Colha chert. This is a pattern different from that seen at Colha during this time period, where females were overwhelmingly interred with higher quantities of prestige goods such as jade and shell.

- **Form**: Complete ceramic vessels are the most quantifiably prevalent form found in male interments. Males are interred with higher numbers of all artifact forms except for NB Colha chert cutting tools, greenstone beads, and obsidian cutting tools. A number of artifact forms are exclusively interred with males; quantities of goods placed with males are six times greater than those interred with females.

- **Space Function**: Males are largely interred in ritual/ceremonial contexts followed by domestic contexts.

- **Artifact Function**: [Prestige goods at the site are largely comprised of ceramic vessels (such as those used as head covers) and shell beads. Practical goods are mostly ceramic vessels for general use such as bowls and dishes]. Males are more often interred with prestige goods than practical goods. They are also interred with both functional classes more often than are females.

- **Head Cover/No Head Cover**: Thirteen males are interred with ceramic vessels covering their crania. [Twelve indeterminately sexed individuals, 3 possible males and 2 possible females are also interred with head covers].

- **Females (n=9)**

  - **Cranial Orientation**: Northern orientations predominate among those females with definitive cardinal arrangements.

  - **Burial Position**: Flexed postures predominate within female interments.

  - **Burned/Unburned**: No interments exhibit definitive evidence of burning activities that may have taken place during funerary ritual.

  - **Pigmented/Unpigmented**: No female interments exhibit the inclusion of red mineral pigments.

  - **Cross Motif/No Cross Motif**: There are no vessels with a cross motif at Cuello during the Late Preclassic.

  - **Material**: Ceramics are the most quantifiably prevalent material good recovered from female interments. Female interments contain all NB Colha chert and greenstone artifacts found at the site. Ceramics are

the good most frequently interred with females. Females have a far less diverse funerary assemblage than do males.

- **Form**: Complete ceramic vessels are the most quantifiably prevalent form found in female interments. The female funerary assemblage is far less diverse than that of males.

- **Space Function**: Females are exclusively interred in definitive and possible domestic contexts.

- **Artifact Function**: Females are interred equally as often with prestige and practical goods.

- **Head Cover/No Head Cover**: Five females are interred with ceramic vessels covering their crania.

- **Adults (n=88)**

  - **Cranial Orientation**: Indeterminate orientations predominate within adult interments, with small numbers of western, northern and southern placements being seen.

  - **Burial Position**: Flexed and disarticulated postures predominate within adult interments.

  - **Burned/Unburned**: No interments exhibit definitive evidence of burning activities that may have taken place during funerary ritual.

  - **Pigmented/Unpigmented**: Both males interred with red ochre are adults.

  - **Cross Motif/No Cross Motif**: There are no vessels with a cross motif at Cuello during the Late Preclassic.

  - **Material**: Ceramics are the most quantifiably prevalent artifact material class interred with adults. All artifact material classes are included more frequently with adults than with subadults with the exception of groundstone, which occurs in equal frequencies with both age groups. Adults are found with higher quantities of all material classes than are subadults with the exception of groundstone and shell. This transition to higher quantities of shell being interred with subadults than adults as compared to the Middle Preclassic is an

interesting finding. This speaks perhaps to an increased social esteem of subadult individuals in Late Preclassic Cuello society.

- **Form**: Complete ceramic vessels are the most quantifiably prevalent artifact form interred with adults. Adults are interred with higher numbers of all artifact forms except shell beads, pubic shields made from shell, ceramic vessel fragments, complete ceramic vessels and groundstone grinding tools. Vessel fragments are included in equal quantities with both age groups. The other aforementioned form categories are found more prevalently with subadult individuals.

- **Space Function**: Adults are largely interred in ritual/ceremonial contexts, with a number placed in domestic settings.

- **Artifact Function**: Adults are more often interred with prestige goods.

- **Head Cover/No Head Cover**: Twenty seven adults are interred with a ceramic vessel covering their crania. [One indeterminately aged individual also exhibits a head cover].

- **Subadults (n=17)**

  - **Cranial Orientation**: Western orientations predominate within subadult interments.

  - **Burial Position**: Flexed postures predominate within subadult interments.

  - **Burned/Unburned**: No interments exhibit definitive evidence of burning activities that may have taken place during funerary ritual.

  - **Pigmented/Unpigmented**: No subadults are interred with evidence of red mineral pigmentation.

  - **Cross Motif/No Cross Motif**: There are no vessels with a cross motif at Cuello during the Late Preclassic.

  - **Material:** Shell is the most quantifiably prevalent artifact material class interred with subadults. Ceramics comprise a moderate portion of the subadult assemblage. Subadults have a much less diverse funerary assemblage than do adults.

- **Form**: Shell beads are the most quantifiably prevalent artifact form interred with subadults. The funerary assemblage of these individuals includes more prestige items such as greenstone beads than were seen in the Middle Preclassic.

- **Space Function**: Subadults are primarily interred in domestic contexts, with a number also included in ritual/ceremonial settings.

- **Artifact Function**: Subadults are more often interred with prestige goods.

- **Head Cover/No Head Cover**: Seven subadults are interred with a ceramic vessel covering their crania.

K'AXOB

- **Males (n=16)**

  - **Cranial Orientation**: Northern cranial orientations predominate within male interments.

  - **Burial Position**: Indeterminate and flexed burial postures predominate within male interments. A number of individuals are also found in extended positions.

  - **Burned/Unburned**: [Twenty three total interments exhibit evidence of burning. Aside from definitively sexed individuals, 8 are indeterminately sexed, two are possible males and one is a possible female. Modified lithics manufactured from various materials constitute the overwhelming majority of those items exhibiting evidence of burning]. Seven males are interred with evidence of burning activities. Males are 1.4 times likelier to be interred with indications of burning than are females.

  - **Pigmented/Unpigmented**: [Those goods exhibiting the presence of red mineral pigmentation are equally divided between ceramic bowls and shell beads]. Only two interment exhibits the inclusion of red mineral pigments. One of these is occupied by a male.

- **Cross Motif/No Cross Motif**: All three occurrences of cross motif vessels during the Late Preclassic occur at K'axob. Two of these vessels were dishes and one was a bowl. Two of the decedents placed with these vessels were males and the third was a possible male. All three individuals are adults.

- **Material**: Ceramics are the most quantifiably prevalent material class included with males with a large portion of their assemblage also being comprised by unmodified faunal remains. Males are interred with higher numbers of all artifact material classes than are females, with the exception of groundstone and greenstone. Equal numbers of groundstone are found with both sexes while quantities of greenstone three times higher are found with females than with males. All instances of obsidian and bone occur with males. Jade occurs in quantities three times higher with males than with females. Shell is four times as prevalent with males as with females.

- **Form**: Ceramic vessel fragments are the most quantifiably prevalent artifact form interred with males. A large portion of the male funerary assemblage is also composed of unmodified faunal remains. Males are accompanied by higher numbers of all artifact forms except for ceramic net sinkers and vessels, NB Colha chert tools, chalcedony core tools, groundstone grinding tools and greenstone beads. All of these artifact forms are found exclusively for females except for complete ceramic vessels, which were found in equal numbers with males and females. Eight different artifact forms such as jade and shell pendants, obsidian cutting tools, ceramic beads and modified greenstone are found exclusively with males.

- **Space Function**: Males are exclusively interred in domestic contexts.

- **Artifact Function**: [Unmodified faunal remains are the predominant prestige good at the site while NB Colha chert implements are the most common practical good]. Males are more often interred with practical goods, though prestige goods are also extremely common. Males are interred more often with both practical and prestige goods than are females.

- **Head Cover/No Head Cover**: Four males are interred with a ceramic vessel covering their cranium. [Three indeterminately sexed individuals, two possible males and one possible female are also interred with head covers].

- **Females (n=12)**
    - **Cranial Orientation**: Equal numbers of females are found with indeterminate, northern and western orientations.
    - **Burial Position**: Extended and flexed postures predominate within female interments.
    - **Burned/Unburned**: Five female interments exhibit evidence of burning.
    - **Pigmented/Unpigmented**: One female interment displays evidence of red mineral pigments within the funerary assemblage.
    - **Cross Motif/No Cross Motif**: There are no vessels with a cross motif interred with females.
    - **Material**: Ceramics are the most quantifiably prevalent material class interred with females. A large portion of their assemblage is also composed of unmodified faunal remains. Females are interred with three times more greenstone than are males.
    - **Form**: Similar to males, ceramic vessel fragments are the most quantifiably prevalent artifact form interred with females. Unmodified faunal remains also make up a large portion of the female funerary assemblage. Females have a much less diverse funerary assemblage than do males.
    - **Space Function**: Females are exclusively interred in domestic contexts.
    - **Artifact Function**: Females are more interred equally as often with practical and prestige goods.
    - **Head Cover/No Head Cover**: Six females are interred with a ceramic vessel covering their cranium.

- **Adults (n=41)**
    - **Cranial Orientation**: Equal numbers of indeterminate and northern cranial orientations appear in adult interments.
    - **Burial Position**: Flexed positions predominate within adult interments with a number of individuals also being present in extended postures.
    - **Burned/Unburned**: Seventeen adults are interred with evidence of burning activities. Adults are 2.8 times likelier to be interred with indications of burning than are subadults.
    - **Pigmented/Unpigmented**: Both interments exhibiting the inclusion of red mineral pigments are adults.
    - **Cross Motif/No Cross Motif**: All three decedents interred with cross motif vessels are adults.
    - **Material**: Ceramics are the most quantifiably prevalent material in adult interments. Adults are found more frequently and with higher numbers of all artifact material types than are subadults.
    - **Form**: Ceramic vessel fragments are the most quantifiably prevalent artifact form interred with adults. All artifact forms appear in greater numbers with adults than with subadults with the exception of shell tinklers, NB Colha chert core tools and groundstone tools. NB Colha chert core tools and groundstone tools are found in equal numbers with both age groups.
    - **Space Function**: Adults are exclusively interred in domestic contexts.
    - **Artifact Function**: Adults are interred slightly more often with practical goods than with prestige goods.
    - **Head Cover/No Head Cover**: Fifteen adults are interred with ceramic vessels covering their crania.

- **Subadults (n=20)**
    - **Cranial Orientation**: Over one third of subadults had no cranial material present for a determination of orientation to be made and one quarter had indeterminate orientations. Of those subadults with definitive cardinal orientations, north was the most popular.
    - **Burial Position**: Indeterminate positions predominate within subadult interments, though a number of subadults are interred in flexed postures.
    - **Burned/Unburned**: Six subadults are interred with evidence of burning activities.
    - **Pigmented/Unpigmented**: No subadult interments exhibit the inclusion of red mineral pigments.
    - **Cross Motif/No Cross Motif**: There are no vessels with a cross motif interred with subadults.
    - **Material**: NB Colha chert and ceramics are the most quantifiably prevalent material classes in subadult interments. Subadults have a much less diverse funerary assemblage than do adults.
    - **Form**: NB Colha chert modified lithics and ceramic vessel fragments are the most quantifiably prevalent artifact forms interred with subadults.
    - **Space Function**: Subadults are exclusively interred in domestic contexts.
    - **Artifact Function**: Subadults are largely interred with practical goods, though prestige goods are also highly common.
    - **Head Cover/No Head Cover**: Only one subadult is interred with ceramic vessels covering their crania.

TERMINAL PRECLASSIC

ACROSS ALL THREE SITES

- **Males (n=10)**
    - **Cranial Orientation**: Only four cranial orientations are seen in the region during the Terminal Preclassic: definitive north, possible north, possible east and possible south. There were also individuals with an indeterminate cranial orientation and those who had no cranial material present, rendering an orientation determination inapplicable. Males were interred with definitively northern and indeterminate cranial orientations equally as often, comprising the majority of interments.
    - **Burial Position**: Equal numbers of males are found in extended and flexed positions, with the majority being found in indeterminate postures.
    - **Burned/Unburned**: All instances of burning activities within interments are seen at K'axob during this time.
    - **Pigmented/Unpigmented**: Across the three sites of study during the Terminal Preclassic, there are only three interments that exhibit the inclusion of red mineral pigments in some form. All three of these individuals are adult males from the site of K'axob.
    - **Cross Motif/No Cross Motif**: Three cross motif vessels from two interments are seen during this period. All occur at K'axob.
    - **Material**: The male assemblage is typified by the inclusion of NB Colha chert; in other words, goods of this material are the most frequently included items within male interments. Regarding quantities, ceramics are the most prevalent material class found with males, though a significant portion of their assemblage is also comprised of NB Colha chert. Males are interred more frequently and with vastly higher numbers of all material categories than are females. Shell comprises a moderately high percentage of the male assemblage.
    - **Form**: Ceramic vessel fragments are the most quantifiably prevalent artifact form interred with male individuals. NB Colha chert modified lithics also constitute a large portion of the male funerary assemblage.

Males are interred with higher numbers of every artifact form than are females including a number of material classes that appear exclusively with male decedents.

- **Space Function**: All males are recovered from domestic contexts.

- **Artifact Function**: [Across the three sites, practical goods are slightly more numerous than prestige goods. Unmodified faunal remains are the most frequently occurring prestige artifact, followed by ceramic vessels. NB Colha chert modified lithics are the most frequently occurring practical good]. Males are interred more often with goods of practical-utilitarian functions than items of prestige-ceremonial nature.

- **Head Cover/No Head Cover**: During the Terminal Preclassic, there are seven instances of head covers within interments, all occurring at K'axob.

- **Females (n=1)**

  - **Cranial Orientation**: This female has a possibly northern cranial orientation.

  - **Burial Position**: This individual was found in an indeterminate burial posture.

  - **Burned/Unburned**: All instances of burning activities within interments are seen at K'axob during this time.

  - **Pigmented/Unpigmented**: All instance of red pigment within interments are seen at K'axob during this time.

  - **Cross Motif/No Cross Motif**: Three cross motif vessels from two interments are seen during this period. All occur at K'axob.

  - **Material**: Females are interred with only two grave good material classes. NB Colha chert comprises the majority of their assemblage while the remainder of objects are fashioned from unidentifiable lithic material.

  - **Form**: NB Colha chert modified lithics dominate the female funerary assemblage with modified lithics manufactured from unidentifiable

lithic material comprising the minority and remainder of the assemblage. Females have a far less diverse funerary assemblage than do males.

- **Space Function**: All females are recovered from domestic contexts.

- **Artifact Function**: Females are only interred with goods of practical-utilitarian function during this time period.

- **Head Cover/No Head Cover**: During the Terminal Preclassic, there are seven instances of head covers within interments, all occurring at K'axob.

- **Adults (n=26)**

  - **Cranial Orientation**: Indeterminate orientations predominate within adult interments. Of those adults with definitive cardinal cranial orientations, definitively and possibly northern placements are the most popular.

  - **Burial Position**: Indeterminate burial positions predominate within adult interments with smaller numbers being found in extend and flexed positions.

  - **Burned/Unburned**: All instances of burning activities within interments are seen at K'axob during this time.

  - **Pigmented/Unpigmented**: All instance of red pigment within interments are seen at K'axob during this time.

  - **Cross Motif/No Cross Motif**: Three cross motif vessels from two interments are seen during this period. All occur at K'axob.

  - **Material**: Overall adults are interred with far higher frequencies and numbers of all artifact material types than are subadults. Ceramics are the most quantifiably prevalent material found with adults at this time. A large part of their funerary assemblage is also comprised of NB Colha chert and shell. Adults are found with all of the total recovered items made from jade, obsidian, greenstone, ceramics and groundstone as well as all instances of unmodified faunal remains.

- **Form**: Ceramic vessel fragments are the most quantifiably prevalent artifact form interred with adults. Seventeen additional artifact forms occur exclusively with adults during this time, a large number of them being prestige forms.

- **Space Function**: All adults are recovered from domestic contexts.

- **Artifact Function**: Adults are interred with practical items slightly more often than with prestige goods.

- **Head Cover/No Head Cover**: During the Terminal Preclassic, there are seven instances of head covers within interments, all occurring at K'axob.

- **Subadults (n=1)**

  - **Cranial Orientation**: This individual has an indeterminate cranial.

  - **Burial Position**: This subadult is interred in an indeterminate burial position.

  - **Burned/Unburned**: All instances of burning activities within interments are seen at K'axob during this time.

  - **Pigmented/Unpigmented**: All instance of red pigment within interments are seen at K'axob during this time.

  - **Cross Motif/No Cross Motif**: Three cross motif vessels from two interments are seen during this period. All occur at K'axob.

  - **Material**: NB Colha chert is the most quantifiably prevalent material present in subadult interments. The only other materials placed in subadult graves are chalcedony, unidentifiable lithic material, non-NB Colha chert, shell and bone. Subadults have a far less diverse funerary assemblage than do adults.

  - **Form**: NB Colha chert modified lithics are the most quantifiably prevalent artifact form interred with subadults. The subadult funerary assemblage is far less diverse than that of adults in regards to artifact forms.

- **Space Function**: All subadults are recovered from domestic contexts.
- **Artifact Function**: Subadults are equally likely to be buried with practical and prestige goods.
- **Head Cover/No Head Cover**: During the Terminal Preclassic, there are seven instances of head covers within interments, all occurring at K'axob.

COLHA

- **Males (n=0)**
  - **Cranial Orientation**: No definitively sexed males or females are found in the Terminal Preclassic population of Colha. Only three indeterminately sexed individuals were recovered from the site during this time period. All had indeterminate cranial orientations.
  - **Burial Position**: Two of the three indeterminately sexed individuals were found in indeterminate burial postures while the third was in a flexed position.
  - **Burned/Unburned**: All instances of burning activities within interments are seen at K'axob during this time.
  - **Pigmented/Unpigmented**: All instance of red pigment within interments are seen at K'axob during this time.
  - **Cross Motif/No Cross Motif**: Three cross motif vessels from two interments are seen during this period. All occur at K'axob.
  - **Material**: The indeterminately sexed individuals interred at the site during this time period are overwhelmingly accompanied by shell goods with small numbers of greenstone and ceramic objects.
  - **Form**: Shell beads comprise the overwhelming majority of all recovered artifacts from interments of these individuals. Greenstone beads and earflares, ceramic vessels and ceramic musical instruments comprise much smaller quantities of goods interred with these decedents.

- **Space Function**: All males are recovered from domestic contexts.

- **Artifact Function**: [Shell beads are the most prevalent prestige artifact form while greenstone beads are the most frequently occurring. Ceramic vessels are the only practical good seen at the site during this time]. Indeterminately sexed individuals are four times as likely to be interred with prestige goods as with practical goods. Shell beads account for the overwhelming majority of these goods.

- **Head Cover/No Head Cover**: During the Terminal Preclassic, there are seven instances of head covers within interments, all occurring at K'axob.

- **Females (n=0)**

  - **Cranial Orientation**: No definitively sexed males or females are found in the Terminal Preclassic population of Colha. Only three indeterminately sexed individuals were recovered from the site during this time period. All had indeterminate cranial orientations.

  - **Burial Position**: Two of the three indeterminately sexed individuals were found in indeterminate burial postures while the third was in a flexed position.

  - **Burned/Unburned**: All instances of burning activities within interments are seen at K'axob during this time.

  - **Pigmented/Unpigmented**: All instance of red pigment within interments are seen at K'axob during this time.

  - **Cross Motif/No Cross Motif**: Three cross motif vessels from two interments are seen during this period. All occur at K'axob.
  - **Material**: The indeterminately sexed individuals interred at the site during this time period are overwhelmingly accompanied by shell goods with small numbers of greenstone and ceramic objects.

  - **Form**: Shell beads comprise the overwhelming majority of all recovered artifacts from interments of these individuals. Greenstone beads and earflares, ceramic vessels and ceramic musical instruments comprise much smaller quantities of goods interred with these decedents.

- **Space Function**: All males are recovered from domestic contexts.

- **Artifact Function**: [Shell beads are the most prevalent prestige artifact form while greenstone beads are the most frequently occurring. Ceramic vessels are the only practical good seen at the site during this time]. Indeterminately sexed individuals are four times as likely to be interred with prestige goods as with practical goods. Shell beads account for the overwhelming majority of these goods.

- **Head Cover/No Head Cover**: During the Terminal Preclassic, there are seven instances of head covers within interments, all occurring at K'axob.

- **Adults (n=2)**

  - **Cranial Orientation**: Indeterminate orientations are seen in these two adult interments.

  - **Burial Position**: Equal numbers of adults are interred in flexed and indeterminate burial positions.

  - **Burned/Unburned**: All instances of burning activities within interments are seen at K'axob during this time.

  - **Pigmented/Unpigmented**: All instance of red pigment within interments are seen at K'axob during this time.

  - **Cross Motif/No Cross Motif**: Three cross motif vessels from two interments are seen during this period. All occur at K'axob.

  - **Material**: Shell is the most quantifiably prevalent material interred with adults. Overwhelming quantities of shell items are seen in comparison to greenstone and ceramics, which are the only two other material classes within the adult funerary assemblage.

  - **Form**: Shell beads dominate the adult assemblage, with a small portion of goods such as greenstone beads and earflares as well as ceramic vessels and musical instruments appearing in the assemblage.

  - **Space Function**: All adults are recovered from domestic contexts.

- **Artifact Function**: Adults are interred three times more often with prestige goods than practical goods.

- **Head Cover/No Head Cover**: During the Terminal Preclassic, there are seven instances of head covers within interments, all occurring at K'axob.

- **Subadults (n=0)**

  - **Cranial Orientation**: No subadults are recovered from the site during this time period, however a single indeterminately aged individual with an indeterminate cranial orientation was found.

  - **Burial Position**: This individual is placed in and indeterminate position.

  - **Burned/Unburned**: All instances of burning activities within interments are seen at K'axob during this time.

  - **Pigmented/Unpigmented**: All instance of red pigment within interments are seen at K'axob during this time.

  - **Cross Motif/No Cross Motif**: Three cross motif vessels from two interments are seen during this period. All occur at K'axob.

  - **Material**: While no subadults were found from this time period at the site, an indeterminately aged individual is. This individual is interred only with shell.

  - **Form**: No subadult individuals were found from this timer period at the site. However, an indeterminately aged individual was recovered. This decedent is solely interred with shell beads.

  - **Space Function**: All subadults are recovered from domestic contexts.

  - **Artifact Function**: Indeterminately aged individuals are interred only with prestige goods.

  - **Head Cover/No Head Cover**: During the Terminal Preclassic, there are seven instances of head covers within interments, all occurring at K'axob.

CUELLO

- **Males (n=0)**
    - **Cranial Orientation**: This analysis is not applicable to Terminal Preclassic Cuello given that no individuals were recovered from this time period.
    - **Burial Position**: N/A
    - **Burned/Unburned**: N/A
    - **Pigmented/Unpigmented**: N/A
    - **Cross Motif/No Cross Motif**: N/A
    - **Material**: N/A
    - **Form**: N/A
    - **Space Function**: N/A
    - **Artifact Function**: N/A
    - **Head Cover/No Head Cover**: N/A

- **Females (n=0)**
    - **Cranial Orientation**: This analysis is not applicable to Terminal Preclassic Cuello given that no individuals were recovered from this time period.
    - **Burial Position**: N/A
    - **Burned/Unburned**: N/A
    - **Pigmented/Unpigmented**: N/A
    - **Cross Motif/No Cross Motif**: N/A
    - **Material**: N/A

- **Form**: N/A
- **Space Function**: N/A
- **Artifact Function**: N/A
- **Head Cover/No Head Cover**: N/A

- **Adults (n=0)**
  - **Cranial Orientation**: This analysis is not applicable to Terminal Preclassic Cuello given that no individuals were recovered from this time period.
  - **Burial Position**: N/A
  - **Burned/Unburned**: N/A
  - **Pigmented/Unpigmented**: N/A
  - **Cross Motif/No Cross Motif**: N/A
  - **Material**: N/A
  - **Form**: N/A
  - **Space Function**: N/A
  - **Artifact Function**: N/A
  - **Head Cover/No Head Cover**: N/A

- **Subadults (n=0)**
  - **Cranial Orientation**: This analysis is not applicable to Terminal Preclassic Cuello given that no individuals were recovered from this time period.

- **Burial Position**: N/A
- **Burned/Unburned**: N/A
- **Pigmented/Unpigmented**: N/A
- **Cross Motif/No Cross Motif**: N/A
- **Material**: N/A
- **Form**: N/A
- **Space Function**: N/A
- **Artifact Function**: N/A
- **Head Cover/No Head Cover**: N/A

K'AXOB

- **Males (n=10)**
  - **Cranial Orientation**: Equal numbers of males have definitively northern orientations as indeterminate orientations.
  - **Burial Position**: The majority of males were found in indeterminate burial positions, with lesser but equal numbers being interred in flexed and extended postures.
  - **Burned/Unburned**: All instances of burning activities within interments are seen at K'axob during this time. Twelve total interments exhibit indications of burning with five being occupied by male decedents. NB Colha chert modified lithics are the most quantifiably prevalent artifact form exhibiting evidence of burning. [There are also three occupied by indeterminately sexed individuals, two by possible males and one by a possible female].
  - **Pigmented/Unpigmented**: Across the three sites of study during the Terminal Preclassic, there are only three interments that exhibit the inclusion of red mineral pigments in some form. All three of these individuals are adult males from the site of K'axob. Only shell and

ceramics are associated with pigmentation. Ceramic vessels (spouted jars and zoomorphic vessels) are twice as frequently treated with mineral pigments as are shell pendants of an indeterminate form.

- **Cross Motif/No Cross Motif**: Three cross motif vessels from two interments are seen during this period. All occur at K'axob. All three occurrences are seen with possible males who are adults. There are no instances of cross motif vessels with any other demographic during this time period. Two of the vessels are dishes and one is a bowl.

- **Material**: Ceramics are the most quantifiably prevalent material class included with males with a large portion of their assemblage also being comprised of NB Colha chert and shell. Prestige goods such as jade, bone and obsidian are represented in minute quantities, though still in higher numbers than were seen in the Late Preclassic. Males are interred with higher numbers of all artifact material classes than are females. Males are interred with 100% of all artifact material types, with the exception of unidentifiable lithic material and NB Colha chert; however they are still interred with higher quantities of these artifacts than are females.

- **Form**: Males are interred with 20 different artifact form classes that do not appear with females. They are also buried with massively higher quantities of the two artifact forms (unidentifiable and NB Colha chert modified lithics) that are found with females. Male interments account for nearly 100% of all goods recovered from the site at this time, with ceramic vessel fragments and NB Colha chert modified lithics being the most quantifiably prevalent goods included in their assemblage.

- **Space Function**: All males are recovered from domestic contexts.

- **Artifact Function**: [Ceramic vessel fragments are the most prevalent practical artifact form at the site. Unmodified faunal remains are the most frequently occurring prestige good]. Males are more often interred with practical goods, though prestige goods are also extremely common.

- **Head Cover/No Head Cover**: During the Terminal Preclassic, there are seven instances of head covers within interments, all occurring at K'axob. Three of these individuals were male, 2 possible male and 2 indeterminately sexed individuals.

- **Females (n=1)**
    - **Cranial Orientation**: This single female is found with a definitively northern cranial orientation.
    - **Burial Position**: This individual was found in an indeterminate burial position.
    - **Burned/Unburned**: One female interment exhibits evidence of burning.
    - **Pigmented/Unpigmented**: No females exhibit accompaniment by or staining with red mineral pigments.
    - **Cross Motif/No Cross Motif**: There are no vessels with a cross motif interred with females.
    - **Material**: NB Colha chert is the most quantifiably prevalent material class interred with females. Unidentifiable lithic material artifacts are the only other material class present in female interments; these goods make up the minority of the female funerary assemblage.
    - **Form**: NB Colha chert modified lithics are the most quantifiably prevalent artifact form in the female funerary assemblage, with a small minority of goods being represented by modified lithics manufactured from unidentifiable lithic material.
    - **Space Function**: All females are recovered from domestic contexts.
    - **Artifact Function**: Females are more only with practical burial furniture.
    - **Head Cover/No Head Cover**: No females are interred with a ceramic vessel covering their cranium.

- **Adults (n=24)**
    - **Cranial Orientation**: Equal numbers of indeterminate and northern cranial orientations appear in adult interments, with a large number also displaying possibly northern orientations.

- **Burial Position**: Two thirds of adults were placed in indeterminate positions with extended positions being the next most common followed by flexed postures.

- **Burned/Unburned**: Eleven adults are interred with evidence of burning activities.

- **Pigmented/Unpigmented**: Three adults exhibit evidence of red mineral pigments within their interments.

- **Cross Motif/No Cross Motif**: All three decedents interred with cross motif vessels are adults.

- **Material**: Ceramics are the most quantifiably prevalent material in adult interments. A large portion of their assemblage is also comprised of NB Colha chert. Adults are found more frequently and with higher numbers of all artifact material types than are subadults.

- **Form**: Ceramic vessel fragments are the most quantifiably prevalent artifact form interred with adults. All artifact forms appear in greater numbers with adults than with subadults.

- **Space Function**: All adults are recovered from domestic contexts.

- **Artifact Function**: Adults are predominantly accompanied by practical goods, though prestige goods are very common as well.

- **Head Cover/No Head Cover**: All seven K'axob individuals with a head cover during this time were adults.

- **Subadults (n=1)**

  - **Cranial Orientation**: This individual was interred with an indeterminate cranial orientation.

  - **Burial Position**: This subadult is interred in an indeterminate burial posture.

  - **Burned/Unburned**: Evidence of burning is present in the interment of this individual.

- **Pigmented/Unpigmented**: No subadult interments exhibit the inclusion of red mineral pigments.

- **Cross Motif/No Cross Motif**: There are no vessels with a cross motif interred with subadults.

- **Material**: NB Colha chert is the most quantifiably prevalent material class in subadult interments. Subadults have a much less diverse funerary assemblage than do adults.

- **Form**: NB Colha chert modified lithics and ceramic vessel fragments are the most quantifiably prevalent artifact forms interred with subadults.

- **Space Function**: All subadults are recovered from domestic contexts.

- **Artifact Function**: Subadults are interred with goods of practical and prestige functions equally as often.

- **Head Cover/No Head Cover**: No subadults are interred with ceramic vessels covering their crania.

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