

**Multiscalar Approaches to Reconstructing Classic Maya
Strategies of Ceremonial Inclusion and Exclusion through the
Accessibility of Architecture at Lower Dover, Belize**

John P. Walden

University of Pittsburgh

Tia B. Watkins

University College London

Kyle Shaw-Müller

University of Toronto

Claire E. Ebert

Northern Arizona University

Emma Messinger

University of Pittsburgh

Rafael A. Guerra

University of New Mexico

Jaime J. Awe

Northern Arizona University

La arquitectura maya clásica sirve como un recordatorio duradero de las estrategias que utilizaron sus constructores. Concretamente el nivel de accesibilidad codificado dentro de los diseños arquitectónicos ofrece una vía para examinar las intenciones de sus diseñadores. Este capítulo se enfoca en identificar la variabilidad existente en lo referente a la accesibilidad en 17 sitios en cinco niveles jerárquicos del Clásico Maya (600-900 DC) de la comunidad maya de Lower Dover, Belice. El enfoque se centra en la familia gobernante de élite apical, las élites intermedias de nivel superior, medio e inferior y los jefes de grupos corporativos plebeyos de alto estatus. El análisis de la accesibilidad de diferentes sitios indica que las élites apicales y las élites intermedias de nivel medio persiguen estrategias de exclusividad en mayor grado que las élites intermedias y plebeyos de nivel superior e inferior. Argumentamos que las élites intermedias de nivel medio elaboraron estrategias de exclusión arquitectónica porque los rituales ancestrales que organizaron legitimaban sus respectivos linajes y perpetuaban las identidades a nivel de vecindario, pero desafiaban las ideologías de élite apicales y la identidad de nivel político. También establecemos que cierta variabilidad en las estrategias de inclusión arquitectónica se relaciona con si un régimen de élite podría o no construir un complejo residencial privado secundario.

Classic Maya architecture serves as a durable reminder of the political strategies its builders engaged in. Specifically, the level of accessibility encoded within architectural layouts offers an avenue to examine the intentions of their designers. This chapter focusses on identifying patterned variability in accessibility of architecture from 17 sites at five hierarchical tiers of the Late Classic (AD 600-900) Maya polity of Lower Dover, Belize. Focus rests on the apical elite ruling family; upper, middle, and lower-level intermediate elites; and high-status commoner neighbourhood heads. Comparisons of accessibility analyses between sites indicates that apical elites and middle

El paisaje urbano maya: del Preclásico al Virreinato

level intermediate elites pursued strategies of exclusivity to a greater degree than upper and lower level intermediate elites and commoners. We argue that middle level intermediate elites used architectural exclusion because the ancestral rituals they hosted legitimated their respective lineages and perpetuated district level identities but challenged apical elite ideologies and polity level identity. We also argue that some variability in strategies of architectural inclusion relate to whether an elite regime could construct a secondary private residential compound.

Recent approaches in Mesoamerican archaeology have reconstructed ancient political dynamics by examining the strategies used by social actors at different hierarchical levels to ensure their longevity (Berdan and Smith 1996; Kurnick 2016a; Marken and Fitzsimmons 2015, Murakami 2014; Robin et al. 2014; Stark and Chance 2012, 196; Walden et al. 2019). By examining the accessibility of different architectural contexts, we can document strategies of inclusivity and exclusivity on the part of the actors who built or commissioned these spaces. Classic Maya divine kings (*k'uhul ajaw*) served an important ceremonial role in the integration of populations from the hinterlands of their polities (Demarest 2004; Freidel 2008; Freidel and Schele 1988; Walden 2017). As such, the accessibility of the central plazas, which apical ruling elites commissioned, has been the primary focus of architectural research (e.g. Awe, Campbell and Conlon 1991; Awe 2008; Joyce and Weller 2007; Liendo Stuardo et al. 2014; Parmington 2011; Ringle and Bey III 2001; Sanchez 2005; Yermakhanova 2005). Intermediate elites (located hierarchically beneath the ruling elite, but above the commoner masses) constructed scaled-down versions of ceremonial architecture (Burham 2019; Chase 1992; Eberl 2014; Hendon 2012; Kurnick 2016b; Lemonnier 2012; Marcus 2006; Pruffer et al. 2017; Robin et al. 2012; see also Elson and Covey 2006). Maya commoners also hosted ceremonies in the smaller patios associated with their residences (Blackmore 2011; Gonlin 2007; Hendon 1996; Lucero 2010; Robin 2003; Wilk and Ashmore 1988). Therefore, ceremonial integration was not monopolised by the ruling apical elite, but was duplicated at multiple levels of the political hierarchy. This means that accessibility and strategies of inclusion and exclusion are pertinent to understanding ceremonial integration at all levels of society. We measure architectural accessibility at 17 sites situated on five levels of the political hierarchy at the Late Classic polity of Lower Dover to examine (1) the ways in which hierarchically nested social actors pursued different strategies of inclusivity and exclusivity in their built environments and (2) the factors which structured these strategies.

The central thesis underlying many studies of Maya plazas is the recognition that these spaces were the integrative arenas where political ideologies were disseminated and collective memory, identity and community were created and maintained (Gillespie 2010; Hendon 2010; Inomata 2006; Inomata and Tsukamoto 2014; Restall 2001). Plazas provided ritually integrative contexts in which membership of different social entities at multiple hierarchical scales was constructed. The larger, accessible plazas located within the civic-ceremonial centres have been interpreted as serving to integrate social groups

from across the polity by engaging them in ceremonies hosted by the ruler. Smaller and more inaccessible plazas have been interpreted as restricted areas for hosting more intimate rituals and events involving the ruler and their peers, dignitaries, or intermediate elites (Inomata 2006, 179, 2014, 26; Richards-Rissetto 2012, 110; Ringle and Bey III 2001, 279). If we consider plazas to be the forges of community (Inomata 2014), then community and collective identities were being constructed on multiple levels of the political hierarchy within the plazas of intermediate elites at the district level and on commoner patios at the neighbourhood and household levels (Lohse 2007; Tsukamoto 2014; Walden et al. 2019). In this respect, elite district plazas likely served to integrate commoners from multiple neighbourhoods within those districts by facilitating face-to-face interaction and building a sense of community (Hutson 2016; Smith and Novic 2012). As Inomata (2014, 27) suggests, community-making may not be harmonious. While the creation of numerous identities at multiple nested scales of the political hierarchy need not reflect high degrees of animosity between social groups, often these separate identities may reflect the cleavage planes along which socio-political strife emerges (Ashmore et al. 2001; Joyce 2011). This is especially true in contexts where ritual is used to construct distinct bottom-up political narratives which could clash with top-down polity level ideologies (Bell 1992; Ferguson and Mansbach 1996, 13; Kertzer 1988). Plaza formats within and outside civic-ceremonial centres rarely conform to two categories like 'large and accessible' or 'small and inaccessible'. The variability in size and accessibility allow us to reconstruct how the occupants strategised inclusivity or exclusivity.

The Late Classic polity of Lower Dover, Belize, offers an ideal context to investigate the degree of accessibility at multiple levels of the political hierarchy because it contained multiple, politically powerful intermediate elite households (Walden, Biggie, and Ebert 2017). One factor contributing to the concentration of intermediate elite power surrounding Lower Dover was the late development of the political centre in an already densely-settled landscape. A similar dynamic occurs with the rise of Xunantunich, located 25km to the southwest (LeCount and Yaeger 2010). The region, which would later become the hinterland of the Lower Dover polity, was initially settled during the Early Preclassic period (1200-900 BC). Villages emerged by the Middle Preclassic period (900-300 BC; Garber et al. 2004a, 28; Weller 2009; Willey et al. 1965; Figures 15.1 and 15.2). At the centres of these villages were the elite residences and mortuary shrines of the Tutu Uitz Na, Barton Ramie and Floral Park local elite households.

Multiscalar Approaches to Reconstructing Classic Maya Strategies of Ceremonial Inclusion

Over a thousand years later, at the onset of the Late Classic period (AD 600-900), Lower Dover political capital sprung up in the midst of these established regimes, co-opting the previously autonomous local elites as the intermediate elite heads of social districts. The rise of Lower Dover saw the eclipse of the authority of these village leaders. Lower Dover occupies a central position equidistant between the intermediate elite centres at Tutu Uitz Na, Barton Ramie and Floral Park. It is a strong possibility that Lower Dover was a disembedded capital, a centre intentionally situated in a neutral but dominant area from which the apical elite could better control the surrounding local elite centres (Blanton 1976; Blanton and Fargher 2012; de Montmollin 1995, 122; Ur, Karsgaard, and Oates 2007; Table 1). The ascendant Lower Dover regime co-opted the autonomous local elites as intermediate elites, and the villages transitioned into dispersed districts, in a manner congruent with the concept of *synekism* (Soja 2003). While our analysis synchronically focusses on the Late Classic polity, the divergent trajectory through which Lower Dover forms is meaningful for understanding patterns of accessibility (Yaeger and LeCount 2010). Co-option of intermediate elites by Lower Dover is inferred by the spatial distance between the centres and also the fact that all three intermediate elite households see uniform declines in access to wealth items as Lower Dover arose. Following their co-option, the intermediate elites were allowed to carry on governing their commoner subordinates using strategies of their own devising. It is currently unclear whether Lower Dover represents an autochthonous development or an external imposition. Hypothetically, the polity could have arisen through the paramountcy of one local elite family, a confederation of elites, or a foreign imposition by apical elites from elsewhere. The current picture from the intermediate elite centres strongly suggests the latter. Late Classic Lower Dover sat at the top of a six-tier settlement hierarchy, beneath them was the upper level intermediate elite centre of Floral Park; middle level intermediate elite district centres like Tutu Uitz Na and BR-180/168; smaller elite residences at Plaza H and Settlement Group 2 (SG 2); high-status commoners; and low status commoners. Within the districts of Lower Dover are multiple commoner neighbourhoods, each situated around a single higher status commoner neighbourhood head household. It is important not to conflate settlement hierarchies with political hierarchies or reify settlement typologies. However, each of these tiers was sufficiently distinct from one another in terms of their size, the types of structures present, and the density of surrounding demography to suggest that their occupants were probably considered emically different from one another in the past (Walden et al. 2019). The heuristic division of actors into categories based on their hierarchical position is fundamental to operationalising this study (Gardner 2004, 35).

The Lower Dover Polity and the Classic Period Belize River Valley

The Late Classic major centre of Lower Dover is located in the Belize River Valley of western Belize (Guerra

and Awe 2017; Figure 15.1), approximately three kilometres west of the Preclassic centre of Blackman Eddy, and seven kilometres east of the centre of Baking Pot (Garber et al. 2004a; Helmke and Awe 2012). The Belize River Valley saw the emergence of large villages in the Early to Middle Preclassic period at Cahal Pech, Early Xunantunich, Las Ruinas de Arenal, Pacbitun, and Blackman Eddy (Awe 1992; Brown et al. 2011; Ebert et al. 2016b, Garber et al. 2004b; Sullivan, Awe and Brown 2018; Table 15.1). The Late Preclassic period (300 BC-AD 300), saw these villages become the capitals of small regional polities, and the emergence of political centres at Baking Pot and Actuncan (Hoggarth 2012; LeCount et al. 2019). During the Early Classic period (AD 300-600) the political centres of Actuncan and Blackman Eddy declined, and Buenavista del Cayo arose (Yaeger et al. 2010). Buenavista was replaced in the Late Classic period by the re-emergence of power at Xunantunich. The constant rise and fall of centres is reminiscent of Marcus's (1993) dynamic model. While the major centres in the Belize River Valley are small in comparison to their peers in the surrounding Maya lowlands, they display many of the trappings of divine kingship usually associated with political autonomy (Awe 2013; Helmke and Awe 2012). The Belize Valley political landscape was an intensified microcosm of the peer polity dynamics apparent in other regions of the Maya lowlands. This situation may have developed due to the long history of occupancy in the region, or the fact it was a frontier landscape between more politically powerful centres like Naranjo to the west, El Pilar to the north, Caracol to the south and Lamanai to the east (Chase and Garber 2004; Connell and Silverstein 2006; Helmke and Awe 2012).

Certain assumptions and caveats are necessary to operationalise this study. Interpretations of the spatial arrangements of Maya civic-ceremonial centres rely on the assumption that the centralised plazas and monumental architecture were commissioned by the resident apical elite (Abrams 1994, 4-5). Likewise, archaeologists readily assume that the small mortuary shrines located on commoner households were constructed by the commoner residents (Lohse and Valdez 2004; Wilk and Rathje 1982). We extend these assumptions to the middle levels of the political hierarchy, and argue that the outlying architectural plazas and minor centres present across the Lower Dover hinterland can be directly associated with resident intermediate elites (Walden et al. 2019). All these contexts have clear evidence of elite residency. The intermediate elite concept is employed here to describe households who could command commoner labour for construction and had access to high-status items like jade and ceramic vessels with glyphic inscriptions (Haviland and Moholy-Nagy 1992; Pendergast 1992).

For the purposes of this chapter, accessibility is defined as the capability of entering a given context (Oxford English Dictionary). Following Newell (1998, 357) *privacy* is defined as 'a voluntary and temporary condition of separation from the public domain'. When discussing the

El paisaje urbano maya: del Preclásico al Virreinato

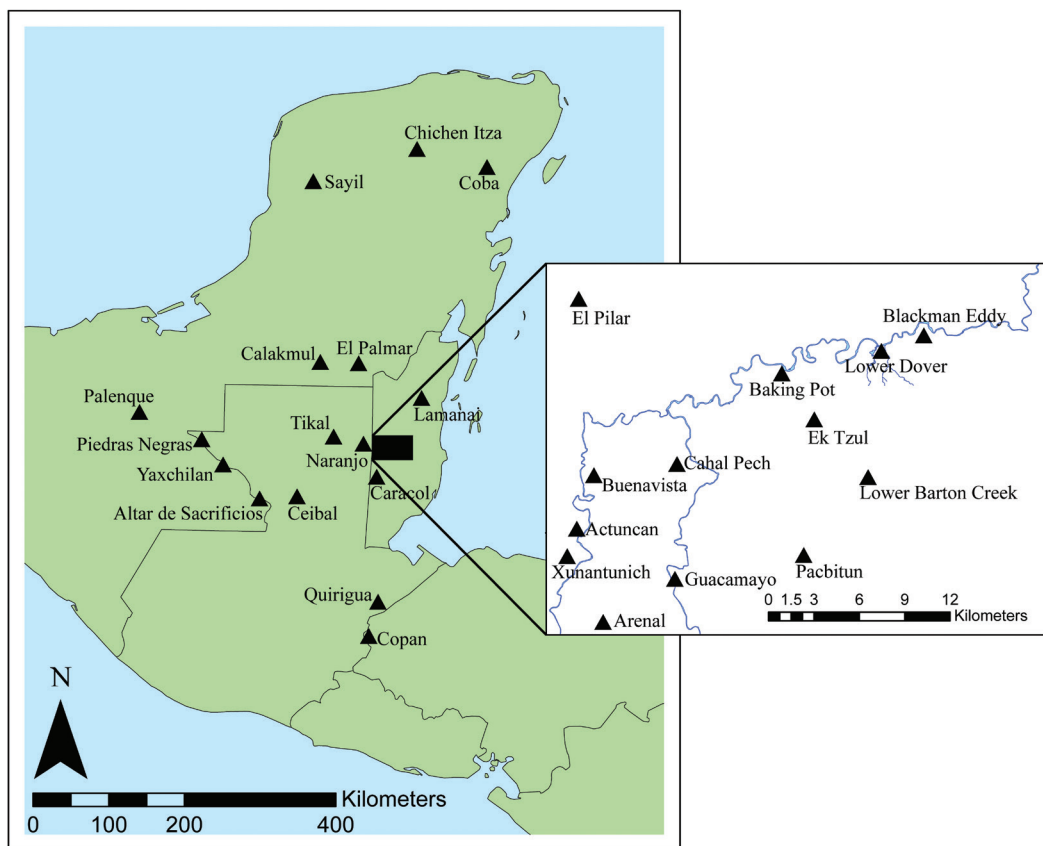


Figure 15.1. Map showing the location of Lower Dover and the Belize River Valley within the Maya Region.

different contexts under investigation in this chapter the neutral term *site* is employed. This differs from popular usage in Maya archaeology, where site is a rough synonym of polity, or civic-ceremonial centre. This is because the term is vague enough to collectively refer to the range of contexts examined here. The term *compound* is applied to more inaccessible sites, in contrast to the term *precinct*, which is applied to more open sites. This distinction follows the logic that compounds are typically enclosed clusters of structures, whereas precincts are more arbitrarily defined due to their lack of physical boundedness (Oxford English Dictionary). *Patios* are defined as smaller built areas (of 50-350m²) and *plazas* are larger built spaces (>350m²).

This research diverges from approaches in Maya archaeology which emically reconstruct the cosmological

significance of architecture (Ashmore 1989; Mongelluzzo 2011). While the accessibility of a particular plaza or patio would have impacted the attendees' experience of events from a phenomenological perspective, this question is also beyond the scope of this report (Tilley 1994). We acknowledge that the plaza and patio spaces served an array of quotidian functions such as marketplaces (Cap 2015; Dahlin et al. 2007; King 2015), and daily activities like processing foodstuffs, cooking, eating, and manufacturing goods at the commoner patios (Killion 1992). Evidence for economic and quotidian activities varies between contexts, but we possess sufficient information to reliably argue that all 17 sites included in this study hosted some degree of ceremonial activity. Most scholars following Peirce (1966) infer a dialectic between the construction of the built environment and its ability to affect the everyday lives of people within this space, and their subsequent ability to reconstruct space in new ways (Liendo Stuardo 2003, 184; see also Giddens 1984; Lang 1987, 177; Rapoport 1982, 287-289). We have limited data on the spatial formats of sites prior to the Late Classic period, consequently our analysis is effectively synchronic, but we draw on data from preceding periods where available.

We build upon a previous study to reconstruct the settlement and political hierarchies at Lower Dover. Walden and colleagues (2019) applied multi-variate statistics to a data set of 28 variables (e.g. architectural volume, elevation, distance to polity capital, surrounding population density, presence/absence of certain structures, plaza size) at 34

Table 15.1. Chronology for the Belize River Valley.

Time Period	Date Range
Postclassic	AD 900/1000-1521
Terminal Classic	AD 750-900/1000
Late Classic	AD 600-750
Early Classic	AD 300-600
Terminal Preclassic	AD 150-300
Late Preclassic	300 BC-AD 150
Middle Preclassic	900-300 BC
Early Preclassic	1200/1100-900 BC

Multiscalar Approaches to Reconstructing Classic Maya Strategies of Ceremonial Inclusion

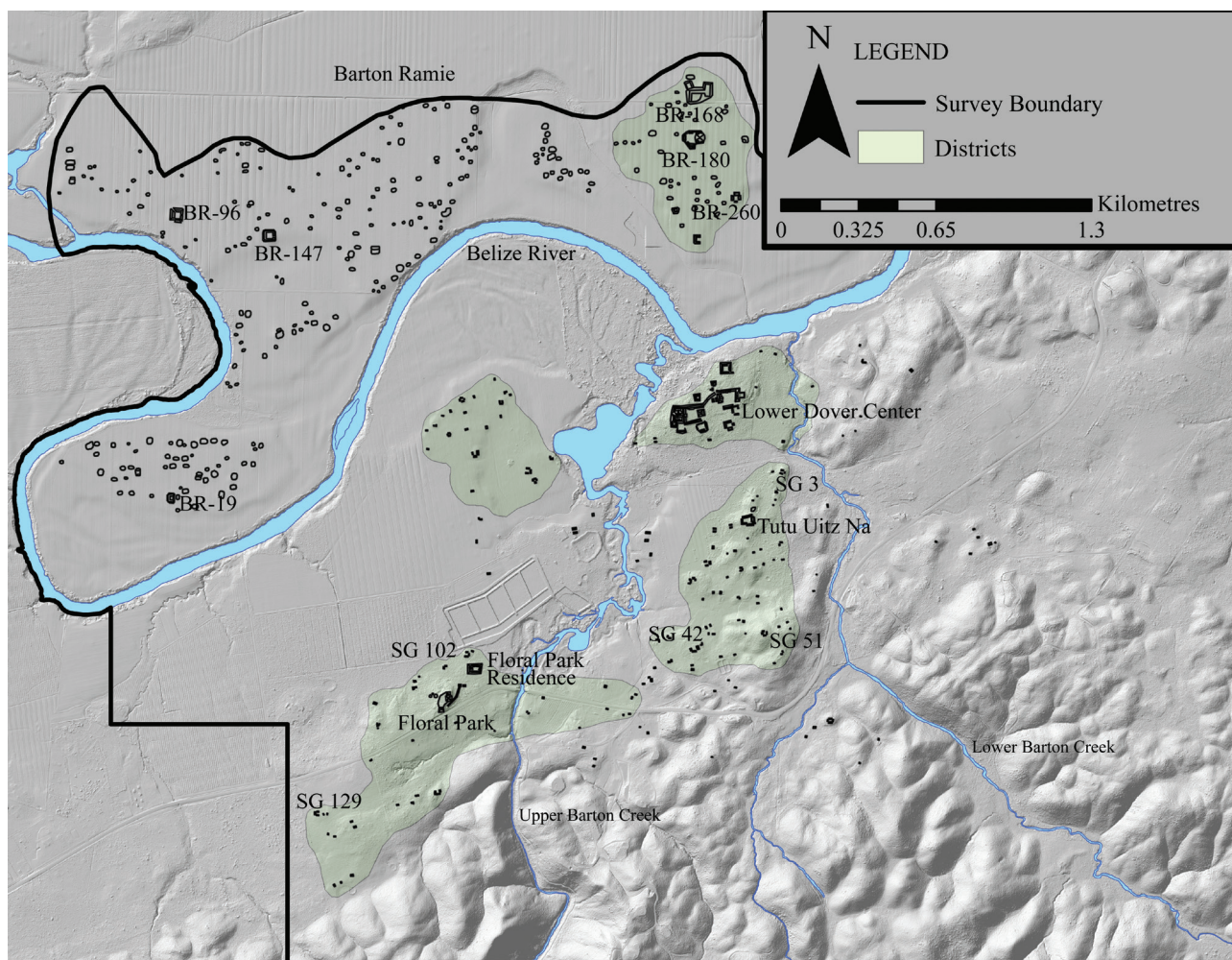


Figure 15.2. Map of the Lower Dover polity with architectural groups and districts shown.

sites. The study demonstrated that the Classic period Belize Valley had a six-tier settlement hierarchy (Groups 1-6). At the head of the political hierarchy is the Lower Dover civic-ceremonial centre which functioned as the polity capital (Group 1). We consider Lower Dover a polity because, like its peers across the Belize River Valley, there is no distinct evidence of subordinate relationships to an external power, suggesting the ruling regime was relatively politically autonomous (Guerra and Awe 2017; Helmke and Awe 2012; Hoggarth et al. 2010; Yaeger 2010). Like their peers at Baking Pot and Cahal Pech, the apical elite at Lower Dover likely held authority over the hinterland surrounding their civic-ceremonial centre (Awe 1992, 2013; Hoggarth 2012). The Lower Dover polity boundary is based on a clear demographic drop-off about ~2-3km from the centre, and is therefore similar in size and extent to other polities in the Belize River Valley (Ebert et al. 2016a; Hoggarth 2012; Walden, Biggie and Ebert 2017). The residences of Belize Valley apical elites possess the traditional trappings of Classic Maya palaces such as spatially restricted multi-room compounds, multiple internal courtyards and corbelled vault architecture (Haviland 1981; Kowalski 1987, 82; Martin 2001, 170; Pollock 1965, 409–411; Smith 1951). The civic-ceremonial centre of Lower Dover covers three

hectares and comprises two main plazas (A and B). Plaza A and B are surrounded by 12 structures, and 17 structures respectively (Guerra and Awe 2017, 242; Figure 15.3a and 15.4). A large ancestral eastern triadic structure is situated on the eastern side of Plaza A. The apical elite palace on the western side of Plaza B has four courtyards surrounded by range structures on a tall pyramidal sub-structure. The term palace carries some conceptual baggage (Inomata and Triadan 2003; Webster 2001), but is useful in this context to make clear distinctions between apical and intermediate elite residences. In contrast, the upper level intermediate elites had perishable superstructures and single courtyard residences (Walden et al. 2019). Despite lacking any substantial nearby commoner settlement, the Lower Dover centre is surrounded by several smaller elite plazas. To the immediate south are Plazas C, D and E and further south lies SG 2 a large elite residential plaza. SG 2 and Plazas F, G and H to the north of the civic-ceremonial centre exhibit evidence of a residential function and are included in this analysis. We argue that due to their proximity to the civic-ceremonial centre and the dearth of commoner subordinates in the vicinity, these elites likely fulfilled an aulic, or courtly function (Houston and Inomata 2009, 150-180). The local elites are treated as autonomous prior to the onset of the Late Classic period as there is no clear

El paisaje urbano maya: del Preclásico al Virreinato

overarching polity in the region. A clear demographic buffer zone of settlement exists around the Preclassic major centre of Blackman Eddy, but due to the relatively small size of the monumental constructions at Blackman Eddy it seems unlikely that its sphere of influence would have extended as far west as to control the local elites in the region which later became Lower Dover.

Each of the larger polities in the Belize River Valley contains a single upper level intermediate elite centre (Group 2; Walden et al. 2019). These centres have multiple plaza groups (detached residential and ceremonial groups), *sacbeob* (causeways) and terminus groups (architectural groups at the end of *sacbeob*), and ballcourts. The upper level intermediate elite centre associated with Lower Dover is Floral Park (Figures 15.3). Floral Park is located 1.6 km to the southwest of Lower Dover on the banks of Upper Barton Creek. Floral Park first saw occupation in the Early to Middle Preclassic (Driver and Garber 2004; Garber et al. 2004a, 28), and dramatically changed in the Late Classic period with the addition of a large residential compound. Floral Park comprises three plazas, a ceremonial plaza with two pyramids and a *sacbe* leading to a separate terminus group, and a residential

compound (Brown et al. 1996; Glassman et al. 1995). A small district of commoners developed around Floral Park in the Middle-Late Preclassic (Ellis, Walden and Rick 2020; Garcia, Walden and Martinez 2020; Nachamie and Walden 2020; Levin et al. 2020; Shaw-Müller, Walden and Nachamie 2020).

The Lower Dover polity contains three middle level intermediate elite centres; the district head households at Tutu Uitz Na, BR 180/168, and Plaza F near the civic-ceremonial centre. Middle level intermediate elite centres (Group 3) are usually located in dense commoner districts/neighbourhoods and comprise a single, large residential and ceremonial compound with a large plaza and an ancestral eastern triadic structure (mortuary structures with northern and southern wings; Awe, Hoggarth, and Aimers 2017; Figures 15.3). Group 3 centres are relatively homogeneous at the regional level, however the examples at Lower Dover exhibit variability. Tutu Uitz Na conforms to the general template. Plaza F has all the necessary architectural features, but is located away from commoner settlement in the Lower Dover civic-ceremonial centre. BR-180/168 is located in a dense commoner district and has the hallmarks of a Group 3 centre but possesses a

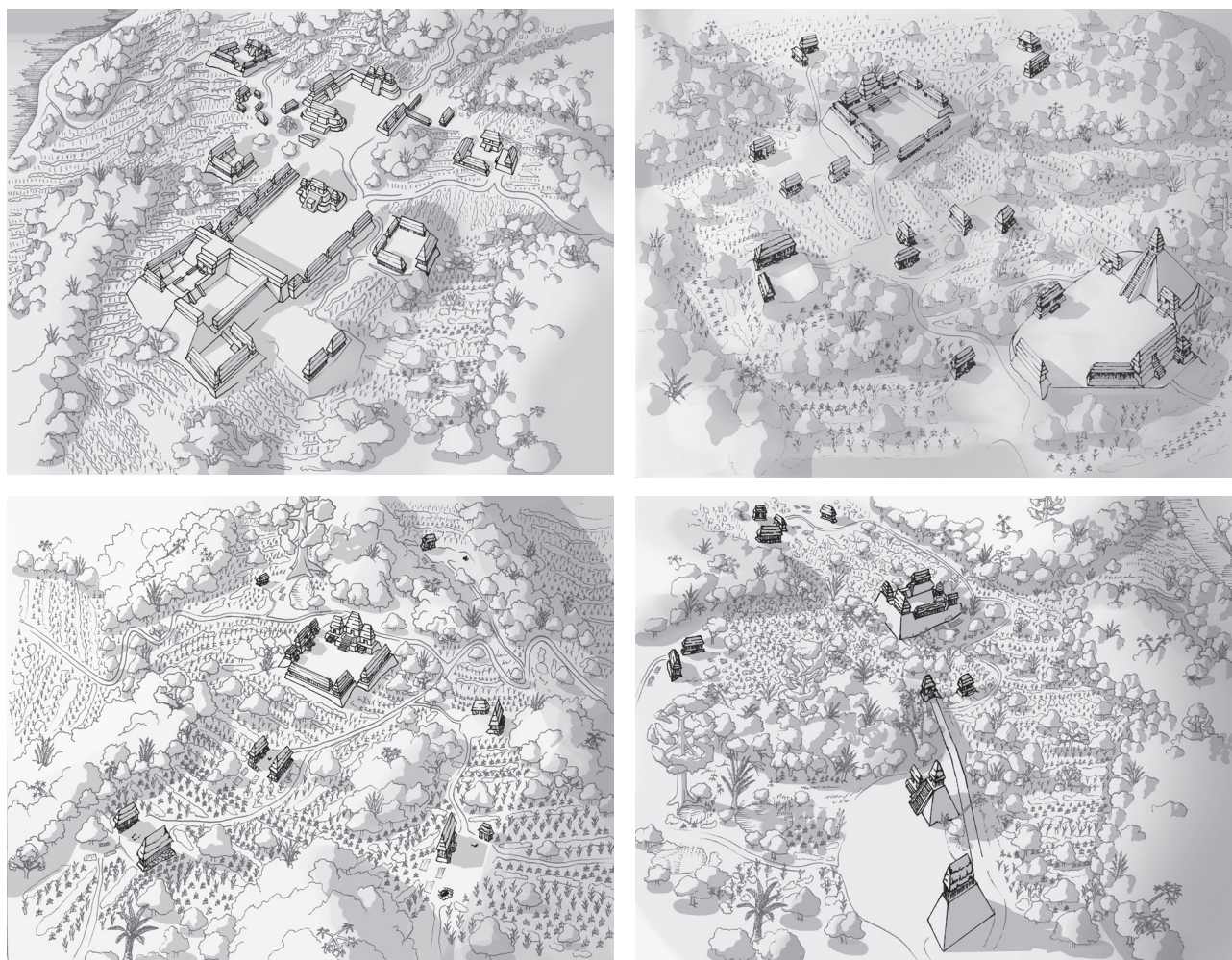


Figure 15.3. Artistic interpretations (clockwise from top left), 3a Lower Dover Civic-Ceremonial Centre, 3b BR-180/168, 3c Floral Park and 3d Tutu Uitz Na.

Multiscalar Approaches to Reconstructing Classic Maya Strategies of Ceremonial Inclusion

separate residential compound and ceremonial precinct like an upper-level intermediate elite centre, such as Floral Park (Group 2). While our statistically-informed settlement typology can be considered less of an ersatz imposition on the settlement data than generic settlement typologies, this variability still serves to highlight the issues with settlement typologies. Rather than bemoan the fact that the settlement typology does not account for every element of local level variation apparent, we see this variability as being fundamental to understanding broader patterns in actors' decision making.

Tutu Uitz Na emerged in the Middle Preclassic, alongside several nearby commoner households. Like their peers across the valley, the Tutu Uitz Na elite lineage routinely interred their dead in their eastern mortuary shrine. This shrine was probably extended into an ancestral eastern triadic structure in the Early to Late Classic transition when Lower Dover arose (Biggie et al. 2019; Petrozza 2015; Petrozza and Biggie 2015; Walden and Biggie 2017; Walden et al. 2018). The Barton Ramie middle-level intermediate elite centre of BR-180/168 emerged in the Middle Preclassic period. By the Late-Terminal Preclassic period, the ceremonial precinct (BR-180) was focused around a 2 m high eastern ancestral shrine with a number of high-status burials (Walden et al. 2020). By the Late Classic period, this ancestral shrine had been remodelled into a 12 m high eastern triadic structure. While this context has been extensively bulldozed and ploughed (Willey et al. 1965), the ceramic assemblage suggests that a significant portion of this structure was constructed in the Late Classic period. This suggests that both district elites constructed similar ancestral mortuary structures to legitimate their political position through ancestor veneration following the rise of the Lower Dover regime. Located 100 m to the north, BR-168 likely represents the residential compound associated with BR-180. Although BR-168 has been ploughed extensively, surface collections reveal domestic refuse and ceramics ranging from the Middle Preclassic-Terminal Classic periods. BR-180 likely served as the ceremonial nexus of the entire Barton Ramie settlement (Willey et al. 1965). Group 3 middle-level elites may have served similar functions as the district/neighbourhood heads known epigraphically as *lakams* (Lacadena García-Gallo 2008; Tsukamoto 2014; Walden et al. 2019, 14).

Lower level intermediate elites (Group 4) resided in an array of different contexts, some in small hinterland settlements, others in residential compounds associated with civic-ceremonial centres (Walden et al. 2019). Only two lower level intermediate elite centres were present in the Lower Dover polity. These were Plaza H and SG 2 (formerly Plaza M), both of which are proximal to the Lower Dover civic-ceremonial centre and likely served as the homes of aulic elites. Plaza H and SG 2 both had basic ceremonial apparatus in terms of plazas and domestic shrines, neither possessed anything comparable to the larger integrative facilities associated with middle-level intermediate elites (Guerra and Collins 2016; Rawski 2015). This makes logical sense considering that Plaza

H and SG 2 are in the immediate vicinity of the Lower Dover centre, and probably did not integrate commoners in ceremonies.

High-status commoner households (Group 5) exist throughout the Belize River Valley (Awe, Hoggarth and Helmke 2014; Walden et al. 2019). While a high degree of variability exists in their geographic locations, they are frequently positioned in the middle of smaller clusters of low-status commoner households. This spatial patterning suggests they played a similar but down-scaled function as middle level district heads. The placement of high-status commoners in lower status commoner clusters at Lower Dover is clearly apparent. The relationships between these households could have related to kinship ties or fictive kin. In addition to their location in the midst of lower status commoners, the presence of small eastern structures, ritual assemblages and sizeable patios (ranging from 100-310 m²) at high-status commoner households indicates that they hosted commoner level ceremonies (Lohse 2007). Furthermore, excavation data shows that these households were acting as neighbourhood heads who integrated surrounding low-status commoners in rituals and feasts (Gillespie 2000; Hayden and Cannon 1982; Hageman and Lohse 2003; Lohse and Valdez 2004; Walden et al. 2018; Willey et al. 1965). High-status commoner households exist in all the districts at Lower Dover. BR-19, BR-147, BR-96 and BR-260 are in the Barton Ramie community, SG 3, SG 51 and SG 42 are in the Tutu Uitz Na district, and SG 102 and SG 129 are in the Floral Park district. Unlike the others which are amidst commoner settlement, SG 102 is adjacent to the Floral Park centre and probably housed a courtly family associated with the centre. Plaza G is located north of the Lower Dover civic-ceremonial centre and probably fulfilled more of an aulic function (Collins 2018; Collins et al. 2019). We decided to focus on Groups 1-5, as the low-status commoner households (residential volumes of 100-300m³) which comprise Group 6, lack eastern shrines, spaces for aggregations and any real evidence of ritual or feasting.

Political Strategies of Inclusivity and Exclusivity among Apical and Intermediate Elites and Commoners in the Lower Dover Polity

Classic Maya political power stemmed from ceremonial displays at all levels of society (Lucero 2003). Decoding architectural strategies of inclusion and exclusion can elucidate the relationships between different tiers of the political hierarchy. Accessibility analysis has the potential to speak to a series of prevailing issues related to elite political strategies in the study of Classic Maya political dynamics. We outline some of these issues and provide rough material correlates for each of them.

Starting at the apex of the political pyramid, our study highlights how apical elite actors prioritised inclusivity and exclusivity in their architecture by comparison to the rest of society within the Lower Dover polity. A substantial body of scholarship relying on archaeological, epigraphic

El paisaje urbano maya: del Preclásico al Virreinato

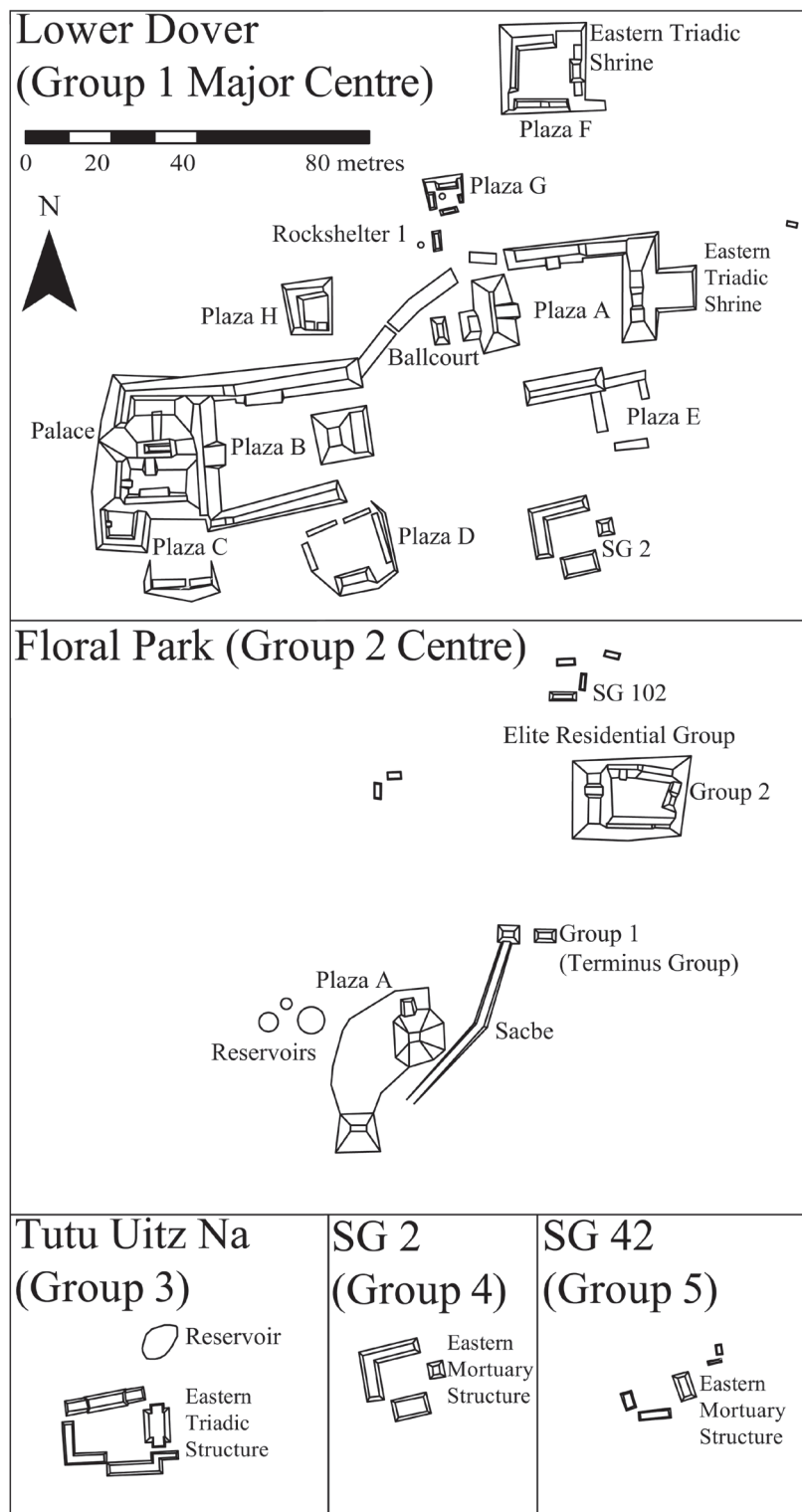


Figure 15.4. Examples of different architectural groups at Lower Dover (adapted from Walden et al. 2019).

and iconographic evidence suggests that Classic Maya apical elites can be considered “divine kings” because their political power and authority were derived from ceremonial roles and duties (Freidel 2008). The concept of the stranger king speaks to a tendency for rulers to construct an identity as outsiders and socially estrange themselves from the rest of society. The concept dovetails nicely with our understanding of Classic Maya kingship and queenship (Feeley-Harnik 1985, 280; Gillespie 1989,

219; Sahlins 2017; Helms 1993; McAnany 2008; Sahlins 2008). Despite originating in Southeast Asia, Polynesia and Africa, the concept seems roughly applicable to the Classic Maya kingship on an abstract level. Classic Maya rulers invested heavily in setting themselves apart from their subjects. Apical elite strategies to materialise differentiation include the possession of sumptuary items (Haviland and Moholy-Nagy 1992), deification of their ancestors and claims of divinity themselves (Houston and

Multiscalar Approaches to Reconstructing Classic Maya Strategies of Ceremonial Inclusion

Stuart 1996, 295; McAnany 2013), deploying esoteric symbols (Reents-Budet 1998), engaging in exclusive royal marriage networks (Hage 2003, Freidel, Schele and Parker 1993), and even an elite language (Houston and Inomata 2009). The maintenance underpinning this veneer of otherworldly power probably relied on the ability of apical elites to remain unseen while conducting quotidian affairs. There has been a general acceptance among scholars that Classic Maya apical elite palaces were the most inaccessible contexts within their polities, indicating deliberate strategies of estrangement from the rest of society (Awe, Campbell and Conlon 1991). While it is impossible to assess the applicability of the stranger king concept definitively, the architectural accessibility of apical elite palaces indicates the scale of the social gulf between rulers and subjects (Lamoureux-St-Hilaire 2018). If the apical elite palace at Lower Dover is the most inaccessible context within the polity, then this would support the notion that Classic Maya rulers pursued policies of estrangement from their subjects. In contrast, if intermediate elites show similar levels of inaccessibility, then this might suggest similar policies of estrangement were at play at the intermediate elite level.

The level of architectural accessibility relates to the content of the ceremonies performed within plaza spaces. Ceremonial spaces represent theatrical stages upon which performers could present their own ideologies and narratives (Demarest 2004). As such, ceremonial action in these spaces could serve to regionally integrate a polity by disseminating apical elite ideologies to hinterland commoners to reinforce a polity level identity (Cyphers and Murtha 2014; de Montmollin 1995; Yaeger 2003, 137), or disintegrate centralised authority by perpetuating more local level ideologies and group identities in the face of top-down authority (Brumfiel 1994; Connell 2010; Tsukamoto et al. 2015). Classic Maya identities were heavily rooted to place (Tokovonine 2013), but people have multiple identities which cross-cut and overlap (Insoll 2007:14). We argue that the middle-level intermediate elites (Group 3) at BR-180/168 and Tutu Uitz Na pursued ancestor veneration rituals, which perpetuated a district level identity based around the veneration of the intermediate elite lineages. The nature of continuous ancestor veneration and interment of the dead in the eastern triadic structures at Tutu Uitz Na and BR-180/168 for over 1000 years before the rise of Lower Dover centre likely highlighted the lack of apical elite ancestral ties to the landscape. The construction of a large Late Classic eastern triadic structure on Plaza A1 at Lower Dover shows the apical elite employed similar strategies of ancestor veneration (Guerra and Awe 2017). Consequently, we expect these middle level intermediate elite plazas to corroborate regional patterns and be more exclusive and inaccessible because their ancestral ceremonies likely jarred ideologically with the political narrative of the Lower Dover apical elite (Walden et al. 2019). Likewise, the opposite may be true. If intermediate elites were engaged in ceremonies which bolster the legitimacy of the ruling elite, then we may expect the ceremonial plazas to

be more open and accessible. Despite uncertainty over the surveillance abilities of Classic Maya apical elites (Doyle, Garrison and Houston 2012), the distances between the Lower Dover palace and Tutu Uitz Na (600m) and BR-180 (1100m) are minimal indicating that some degree of awareness would have come naturally. The apical elite palace even appears to have been constructed so that the uppermost doorways had lines of sight to Tutu Uitz Na and BR-180/168, indicating a degree of surveillance.

Many scholars have noted that the audiences of public events could resist and reinterpret the political narratives presented, instead of uncritically accepting the presentation of elite ideologies (Inomata and Tsukamoto 2014, 7; Joyce 2011; Lohse 2007; see also de Certeau 1984 Lefebvre 1991). The ability of actors to reinterpret and alter the dominant ideology may be one reason why the elite commissioners of plazas chose to restrict access to them spatially. In this case, we may expect to see reduced accessibility to sites where divisive ceremonies were staged. By extension large, open plazas may have accommodated ceremonies less susceptible to the scrutiny of their attendees. Despite the need to assume the agency of attendees, people living in pre-axial contexts did not cognitively divide between the sacred and the profane, and may have been at a loss to critically develop alternatives or question divine kingship (Bellah 2011; de Montmollin 2012; Trigger 2003). That said, the spatial patterning of other plazas in the immediate vicinity of the Lower Dover centre corroborates the existence of alternative ideologies and identities, especially considering the narratives of the ancestor ritual at Tutu Uitz Na and BR-180/168.

The approach we adopt allows us to elucidate the relationship between the scale of a ceremonial space and its accessibility. In theory, plaza size offers a relatively robust metric of the scale of the ceremonies (Inomata 2006). Joyce and Weller (2007) argue that as plaza accessibility became more restricted, the number of participants in ceremonies would reduce. We argue however that restricted access does not necessarily imply less people using the plaza, only that the elite who commissioned and controlled the space exerted greater control over who accessed it. By examining accessibility relative to plaza sizes we can understand the extent to which some plazas might have been inaccessible, although initially designed for a wider public. Likewise, some small plazas designed for elite ceremonies may also have been relatively open, especially if elites wished passing commoners to witness certain events. Inomata (2006) suggests that plazas were designed to include the populace of a polity. Ossa et al. (2017) found that, in contrast to larger centres whose plaza facilities were too small, smaller centres like Lower Dover generally could accommodate their surrounding population. Walden, Biggie and Ebert (2017) show that the intermediate elite district centres at Lower Dover had plazas large enough to accommodate their respective district populations, whereas the Lower Dover civic-ceremonial centre could accommodate the entire polity population (based on Inomata 2006; Table 15.2).

El paisaje urbano maya: del Preclásico al Virreinato

Table 15.2. Plaza Capacities and Surrounding Populations for the districts.

Plaza Retaining	Population	Plaza Area m ²	0.46m ² /person capacity	1m ² /person capacity	3.6m ² /person capacity
Tutu Uitz Na	380	703	1528	703	195
Floral Park	235	1400	3043	1400	389
BR-180	300	1750	3804	1750	486
Lower Dover	2300	5004	10878	5004	1390

The surrounding topography may influence social actors to enhance or curtail accessibility. For instance, actors based at hilltop sites may invest less effort in constructing a spatially restrictive built environment than their peers in low-lying positions due to the measure of inaccessibility provided by the natural landscape. Some of the sites in the Lower Dover polity, such as the civic-ceremonial centre itself, were constructed on sizeable man-made platforms. Sites which were elevated on artificial platforms are treated differently from naturally elevated sites in this analysis, but clearly speak to the desire to be elevated. At any one time the hinterland of the Lower Dover polity would have been dominated by patterns of sustainable swidden agriculture, fallow plots, and dense household gardens (Fedick 1996; Ford and Nigh 2016; also see Roscoe 2008). These natural features would no doubt have affected accessibility into the sites included in the analysis. Likewise, wooden constructions and palisades could have been constructed to channel movement or delimit access to a site (O'Mansky and Dunning 2004). It is worth noting that the rivers and creeks which crosscut the Lower Dover polity probably acted as important natural barriers to movement. We decided not to include these in the analysis because we are unsure of how far these waterways have moved from their courses in the Classic period, and because it is likely the Maya constructed bridges over them. There is also the potential for a direct route between the Lower Dover civic-ceremonial centre to Barton Ramie to the north across the Belize River and another spanning Upper Barton Creek near Floral Park. Rather than speculate on the locations of such features, we decided to omit this element from the study because none of the architectural groups were isolated from surrounding commoner settlement by such features. Both of these possible infringements on mobility are not feasibly reconstructable and cannot be taken into account.

Methods, Measuring the Accessibility of Multiple Architectural Groups at Lower Dover, Belize

A range of approaches are available to scholars studying accessibility in the Classic Maya constructed landscape (Liendo Stuardo 2003; Ossa 2014; Richards-Rissetto 2012; Watkins 2019; Watkins and Walden 2018). To examine the accessibility of different sites at Lower Dover we assessed how open or closed they were (Stoll 2014). We wished to identify how easy it was to access a site from beyond its outermost structures. To this end we counted and measured the number of thoroughfares between structures through which one could hypothetically enter a site. We employed this simple approach because many of the sites in the Lower

Dover hinterlands only consist of four or five structures. We employed an accessibility index which was the sum of the different entryways (m) divided by the area of the site (m²). Higher values represent greater accessibility. This accessibility index allowed comparisons to be drawn between different sites across the polity. The architectural accessibility index was then compared to variables such as the architectural volume of a site (m³), the count of surrounding commoner house groups, the size of the patio/plazas, elevation and nearby slope gradient, to assess the degree to which choices about architectural accessibility were structured by these factors. The architectural volume (m³) of each site was extracted from LiDAR data. The density of commoner settlement was taken into account by counting house groups within a 250m buffer around the site. Plaza/patio size was measured (m²) internally within the different sites. Generally, the sites were relatively well bounded by structures which allowed an idea of the size of the central space. Elevation and slope were both taken from the LiDAR digital elevation model (DEM) of the area. To assess the gradient of slopes around a particular site, a buffer with a radius of 100m was used. These data were generated by the Belize Valley Archaeological Reconnaissance (BVAR) project, the Belize Valley Archaeological Project (BVAP) fieldwork at Floral Park (Brown et al. 1996; Driver and Garber 2004; Glassman et al. 1995) and the Harvard Peabody Museum excavations at Barton Ramie (Willey et al. 1965).

Results

Clear patterns emerge based on the architectural accessibility of each site relative to their hierarchical status (Group membership). Figure 15.5a shows that high-status commoner house groups (Group 5) were generally very accessible, although, there is much variability at this level (Figures 15.5a and 15.5b; accessibility indices vary from .0018 to .0687). The Group 4 lower intermediate elite sites of SG 2 and Plaza H were less accessible than Group 5 sites, but still relatively accessible (.0105-.0298; See Table 3). The Group 3 middle intermediate elite sites like Tutu Uitz Na and Plaza F were highly inaccessible (with scores of .0024 and .0020 respectively). BR-180/168 has a large residential compound (BR-168) which was not included in the statistical analysis as it was bulldozed and ploughed (Willey et al. 1965). The existence of this secondary residential compound likely explains why the BR-180 ceremonial precinct is relatively accessible (.0089), compared to other Group 3 centres. This explanation is corroborated when we turn to Floral Park (Group 2), where the ceremonial precincts were the most

Multiscalar Approaches to Reconstructing Classic Maya Strategies of Ceremonial Inclusion

accessible elite contexts in this analysis (.0280). This is juxtaposed by the Floral Park residential compound which was the most restricted context recorded (.0014). The Lower Dover civic-ceremonial centre showed a relatively high degree of inaccessibility (.0047), and the apical elite palace was even more inaccessible (.0038). This finding corroborates the widely accepted idea that Classic Maya major centres had public and private components which varied in accessibility (Awe 2008). Further patterns were investigated using linear regression analysis. Instead of using the Group system (Walden et al. 2019), architectural volume was used as a rough metric of status (Smith 2015). This reveals a mildly statistically significant, weak negative correlation between architectural volume (X) and the accessibility index (Y) of sites in the Lower Dover polity ($r = -0.365$, $p = 0.137$, $Y = 0.000$, $X + 0.028$). The r^2 value of 0.133 indicates that only 13 per cent of the variation in accessibility is accounted for by architectural volume and the high p -value shows the results are in no way statistically significant. The relatively weak correlation is likely due to the non-linear relationship between inaccessibility and status described above (Figure 15.5b). The major outliers are all non-residential components of large sites. Once the Lower Dover centre and the Floral Park and BR-180 ceremonial precincts are removed we see a stronger negative correlation between architectural volume and architectural accessibility ($r = -0.678$, $p = 0.005$, $Y = 0.000$, $X + 0.044$). The r^2 value of 0.460 indicates that 46 per cent of the variation in accessibility is accounted for by the volume of the architectural complex in question and the low p -value shows the results are highly statistically significant. The correlation between decreasing architectural accessibility and increasing architectural volume is therefore stronger at the lower end of the settlement hierarchy. This is logical considering that the larger accessible precincts were removed (Figure 15.5a). Walden et al. (2019) found that architectural groups with higher surrounding commoner densities were more architecturally inaccessible at the regional level in the Belize River Valley (Figure 15.5c). Linear regression analysis failed to corroborate the negative relationship between surrounding population density and accessibility within the Lower Dover polity. A weak trend was noted but this was not statistically significant (surrounding population density (X) and the accessibility index (Y), $r = -0.352$, $p = 0.152$, $Y = -0.001$, $X + 0.036$). The r^2 value of 0.124 indicates that only 12 per cent of the variation in accessibility is determined by the number of surrounding house groups and the p -value shows there is a 15 per cent chance the results may be due to the vagaries of sampling. This divergence from regional patterns is probably because commoners looking to settle the region were more attracted to the districts than the centre, meaning that population densities around the civic-ceremonial centre and the aulic elite plaza groups were low (Walden, Guerra and Qiu 2019; see also Ossa 2014 and Tsukamoto 2014, 54; Figure 15.5c). Another departing point between this analysis and that conducted by Walden et al. (2019) is the inclusion of more high-status commoners (Group 5).

Linear regression revealed a mildly statistically significant, weak negative relationship between plaza/patio size and accessibility (plaza/patio size (X) and the accessibility index (Y), $r = -0.362$, $p = 0.140$, $Y = 0.000$, $X + 0.031$). Furthermore, the r^2 value of 0.131 indicates that only 13 per cent of the variation in accessibility is determined by the size of the plaza or patio (Figure 15.5d). The lack of significant linear relationship highlights the issues at hand with dividing plazas into large, accessible public spaces and inaccessible private plazas. Once outliers such as the Floral Park and BR-180 ceremonial precincts are removed we see a stronger negative correlation between architectural volume and architectural accessibility ($r = -0.680$, $p = 0.004$, $Y = 0.000$, $X + 0.049$). The r^2 value of 0.463 indicates that 43 per cent of the variation in accessibility is accounted for by the plaza/patio area and the low p -value shows the results are highly significant. This means that the correlation between decreasing architectural accessibility and increasing plaza size is stronger at the lower end of the settlement hierarchy. This makes sense considering that many of the larger sites have separate public precincts and private residential compounds which disrupt this trend.

The analysis of the topography revealed no correlation between mean slope gradient in a 100m radius (X) and the accessibility index (Y) ($r = 0.298$, $p = 0.230$, $Y = 0.002$, $X + 0.010$; see Figure 15.5e). Furthermore, the r^2 value of 0.089 indicates that only 8 per cent of the variation in accessibility is determined by proximity to steeper slopes. In contrast, there is a stronger correlation between elevation and architectural accessibility, elevation (X) and architectural accessibility (Y) ($r = 0.569$, $p = 0.014$, $Y = 0.001$, $X - 0.029$). Furthermore, the r^2 value of 0.324 indicates that 32 per cent of the variation in accessibility is determined by elevation. The p -value suggests a high degree of significance. This trend likely reflects sites located on hilltops and upland zones being less architecturally restricted because the landscape was naturally prohibitive. Examples of this include SG 51 and 129, which are situated in upland locales and are highly accessible (accessibility scores of 0.0533 and 0.0624 respectively). Figure 15.5f shows that the intermediate and apical elite show a preference for living between 50-70 masl, in contrast to commoners who occupied a wider range of elevations. The difference between the linear regression output for slope and elevation relates to the fact that some of the upland sites like SG 51 are associated with steeper slopes, but many such as SG 42 and SG 129 are not. The two most architecturally inaccessible Group 3 sites of Tutu Uitz Na and Plaza F are both topographically inaccessible (Figures 15.5e and 15.5f). Plaza F is located on the artificially constructed platform which the Lower Dover civic-ceremonial centre is situated upon, along with Plazas G and H. The construction of this platform shows that the apical elite prioritised elevation, but its construction may have been necessary for dealing with flooding because the civic-ceremonial centre is situated between the Belize River and Upper and Lower Barton Creeks. Generally, the sites south of the river like Tutu Uitz Na, Floral Park, SG 3, SG 129, SG 42 are located in upland locations. However, the decisions to settle in these places may have related to more

El paisaje urbano maya: del Preclásico al Virreinato

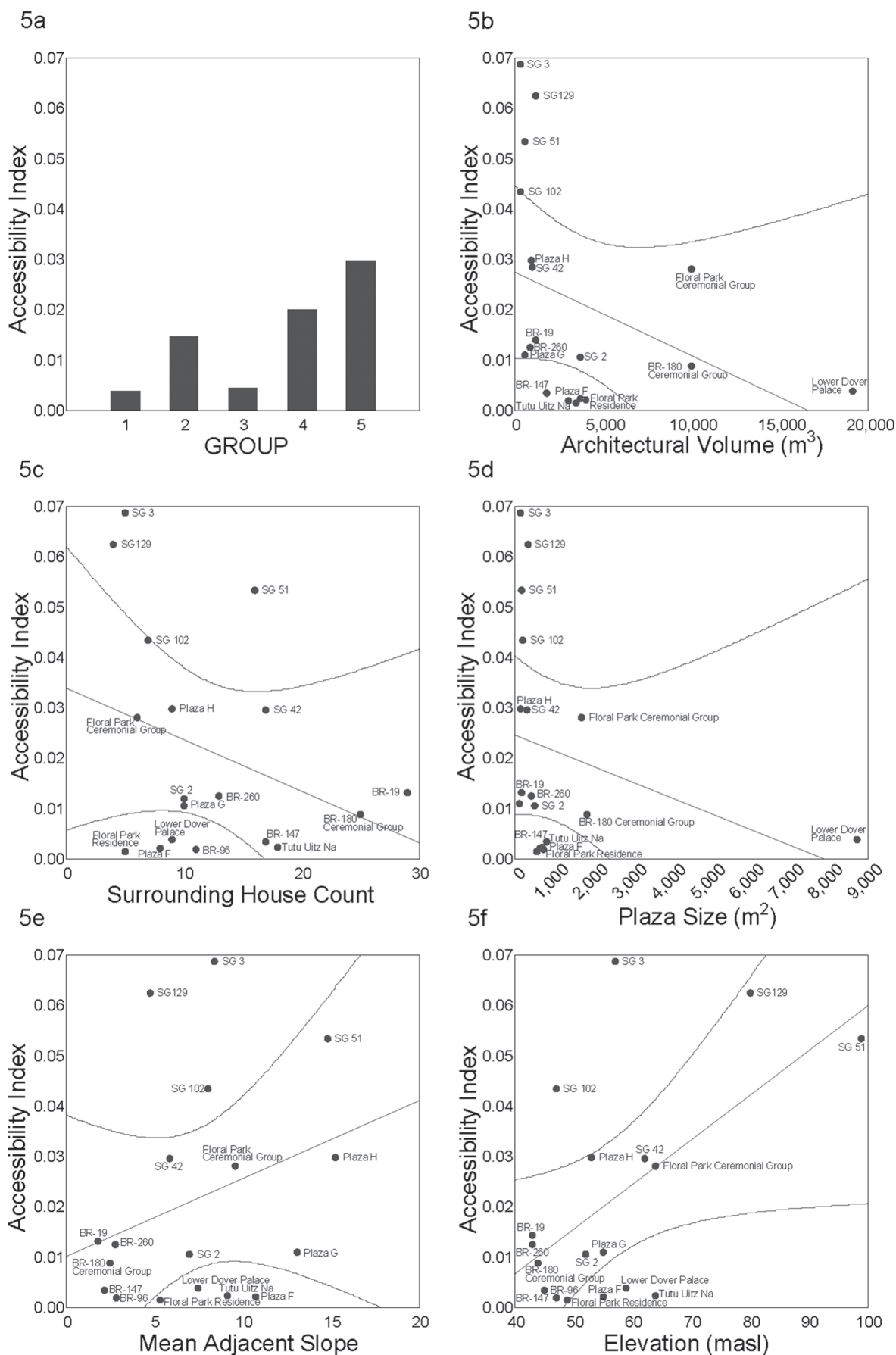


Figure 15.5. Graphs (clockwise from top left), a) accessibility index and hierarchical group, b) accessibility index and architectural volume, c) accessibility index and surrounding house groups (count), d) accessibility index and plaza/patio size (m²), e) accessibility index and mean adjacent slope and f) accessibility index and elevation (masl).

than just accessibility; factors like good viewsheds, cooler breezes, agricultural land, defensibility and better drainage no doubt played a role (Dunning 2004; Wilk 1997).

Discussion, Patterned Variability in Apical Elite, Intermediate Elite and High-Status Commoner Architectural Accessibility

Discussion focusses on four main areas: (1) Overall trends in architectural accessibility and political status. (2) Reconstructing the strategies of inclusion and exclusion that different actors pursued. (3) The concept of elite ceremonial roles and social estrangement. (4) Sample sizes and how the late formation of Lower Dover influenced patterns of accessibility.

Social actors at different levels of the political hierarchy at Lower Dover made different decisions about how to structure space around them. There is a trend evident in terms of increasing political status and decreasing architectural accessibility among the residential sites examined. The weak trend apparent when we include ceremonial precincts is punctuated with interesting exceptions. One pattern relates to the shift which occurs when elites are able to construct a separate private residential compound (Iannone 2003). Floral Park is a case in point, the ceremonial precincts are very accessible, but the residential compound is clearly restricted. A similar dynamic is at play at Lower Dover, and BR-180/168. The separate residential compounds would have relieved the emphasis on controlling access to space, as their residences would not have functioned as a place of commoner aggregation like middle level intermediate elite centres such as Tutu Uitz Na and Plaza F. This dynamic allowed the Lower Dover apical elite and the Floral Park and BR-180/168 elites to maintain dual strategies of inclusion and exclusion at their public ceremonial precincts and private residential compounds. Our sample reveals much variability in the accessibility of high-status commoner households (Group 5). We argue that this variability was likely the product of idiosyncratic choices made by households about their desired level of privacy.

When the hierarchical position of actors, and the content and contexts of these rituals is examined, some meaningful patterns emerge in terms of whether ceremonies buttressed or undermined the ideological narrative of the apical elite at Lower Dover (Marcus 1999, 70-71). Each of the larger polities of the Belize River Valley contains a single Group 2 upper level intermediate elite centre. Despite having low surrounding population densities, these centres generally commissioned an array of special function architecture such as large plazas, *sacbeob* and termini, and ballcourts, but never constructed eastern triadic structures. Walden et al. (2019) argue that this pattern reflected a special relationship between these large intermediate elites and the apical elites at the polity capitals. This relationship involved labour generated at the polity level being invested at Group 2 ceremonial precincts to construct large integrative structures which likely complemented

ideologies of apical elite power to integrate hinterland populations. In contrast, Group 3 intermediate elites were situated in districts of commoners, and constructed eastern triadic ancestral structures situated on plazas which were large enough to accommodate their respective districts. Floral Park is the only site in the Lower Dover polity with a *sacbe* and terminus group, meaning any procession-based rituals would likely have occurred here (Cheetham 2004). Furthermore, Floral Park seemingly benefitted from the rise of Lower Dover in ways which the other intermediate elites did not. This is evident in the Late Classic construction of the residential compound at Floral Park. We argue that the Floral Park ceremonial precincts were open because the intermediate elites strategised practices of inclusivity, as the ceremonies conducted amplified apical ideologies at Lower Dover and served to integrate commoners into a polity level identity. The resident elites at Tutu Uitz Na and BR-180/168 on the other hand, strategised exclusivity, as the district ceremonies staged within their compounds promulgated a district-level identity. The greater exclusivity of the plazas would have facilitated a greater understanding of who was attending a ceremony and would have been key to excluding people from other districts, or lackeys of the ruling regime at Lower Dover. The expansion of the Tutu Uitz Na plaza to incorporate a growing district populace, and the probable construction of eastern triadic structures at both Tutu Uitz Na and BR-180 in the early Late Classic was likely the result of a direct strategy on the part of these intermediate elite households to undermine a polity-wide identity and bolster their traditional ancestral ties in the region. The continual interment of elite family members in these eastern triadic structures represented an act of citation, or the repeated performance of ritual action to maintain systems of meaning in social memory (Jones 2005; Inomata and Tsukamoto 2014; following Derrida 1977). Because identity is often tied to ideas about the past, important transitions can see social memory being reworked for political reasons (Ardren 2015: 51; Golden 2010; Kurnick 2019). In this instance the social memory harked back to an ancestral past before the rise of Lower Dover. In contrast, the Group 2 elite at Floral Park chose not to construct an eastern triadic shrine, and instead interred their dead in a small eastern mortuary shrine on their private residential plaza. This probably reflects the adoption of the opposite strategy to their peers at Tutu Uitz Na and Barton Ramie, in that the Floral Park elite chose not to politicise their mortuary rituals by making them private. Overall, it would appear that centralised control of ritual was weak at Lower Dover. The patterns which emerge are very reminiscent of Carmean's (1998) interpretation of the decentralised ritual landscape of Sayil in the Yucatan.

The stranger king concept seems compatible with Classic Maya divine kingship. If Classic Maya divine kings can be construed as ritual figureheads and strangers to quotidian life, then high degrees of separation between their daily lives and the lives of their subjects would be important. This degree of separation from society is apparent in the inaccessibility of the apical elite palace at Lower Dover.

El paisaje urbano maya: del Preclásico al Virreinato

Table 15.3. Data Table

Architectural Group	Group	Area (m ²)	Volume (m ³)	Structure Count	Accessibility (No. of Entries)	Accessibility (Size of Entries m)	Mean Size of Entries	Summed Accessibility (m)	Accessibility Index (Summed Accessibility/Area)	Plaza Size	Surrounding Population (250m raddii)	Elevation	Mean Slope Gradient (100m radii)
Lower Dover Palace	1	4338	19165	9	3	NE (4.6) E (9.8) SE (1.96)	5.45	16.36	0.0038	675	9	59	7.505149
Lower Dover	1	31321	148751	52	3	NI* (89.72) N2 (26.95) E (16.65) S (104.99)	49.53	148.5	0.0047	8740	9	54	7.505149
Floral Park Total	2	6163	13471	8	6	NW (66.64) SE (29.93) NI (3.8) N2 (8) N3 (8) SE (2.8)	19.86	119.17	0.0193	2250	7	64	7.450848
Floral Park Ceremonia 1 Group	2	4163	10000	4	5	NW (66.64) SE (29.93) NI (3.8) N2 (8) N3 (8)	29.09	116.37	0.0280	1700	6	64	9.578228
Floral Park Residence	2	2000	3471	5	1	SE (2.8)	2.8	2.8	0.0014	550	5	49	5.323468
Tutu Uitz Na	3	2409	3726	5	3	NE (3.44) SE (2.30)	2.4	5.74	0.0024	703	18	64	9.145167
Plaza F	3	1996	4004	4	1	SE (4.04)	4.04	4.04	0.0020	639	8	55	10.784489
BR- 180/168 Total	3	10795	17643	6	4	NE (15) SE (9.25) SW (9.48) NW (17.8)	12.88	51.53	0.0048	1850	24	44	2.4715245
BR-180 Ceremonia 1 Group	3	5795	10000	2	4	NE (15) SE (9.25) SW (9.48) NW (17.8)	12.88	51.53	0.0089	1850	25	44	2.463103
BR-163 Residence	3	5000	7643	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	15	41	2.479946
SG 2 (Plaza M)	4	1643	3701	4	3	NE (6.64) SE (7.13) SW (3.50)	5.75	17.27	0.0105	500	10	52	7.019038
Plaza H	4	657	971	4	2	E (18.16) S (1.4)	9.9	19.56	0.0298	152	9	53	15.28376
BR-147	5	1871	1755	4	1	E6.2	6.2	6.2	0.0033	827	17	45	2.190188
BR-19	5	1254	1069	2	1	E 16.94	16.94	16.53	0.0132	188	29	43	1.795225
BR-260	5	1274	880	4	4	NW (2.9) NE (1.2) SE (7.25) SW (4.45)	3.95	15.53	0.0124	427	13	43	2.787294
BR-96	5	2601	3016	4	3	E (4.7)	4.7	4.7	0.0018	737	11	47	2.840427
Plaza G	5	369	571	4	2	S W (1.65) SE (2.39)	2.02	4.04	0.0109	114	10	55	13.085319
SG 3	5	344	299	3	3	NE (7.11) S (6.55) NW (9.60)	7.56	23.59	0.0687	149	5	57	8.421674
SG 51	5	419	559	4	4	N (9.36) SE (3.81) SW (4.47) W (4.68)	5.55	2232	0.0533	188	16	99	14.816937
SG 102	5	475	331	3	3	N (4.94) S (1.84) W (13.87)	6.55	20.65	0.0434	213	7	47	8.065194
SGI 29	5	768	1216	5	4	NE (20.12) SE (20.15) SW (2.99) NW (4.46)	11.98	47.92	0.0624	328	4	80	4.744803
SG42	5	1070	1053	5	3	N (22.3) SE (6.76) SW (2.67)	10.6	31.72	0.0296	310	17	62	5.885555

Multiscalar Approaches to Reconstructing Classic Maya Strategies of Ceremonial Inclusion

However, the gulf in estrangement shown architecturally is not between the apical elite and their subjects but is situated at a lower hierarchical level and divides apical elites and upper to middle level intermediate elites (Groups 1-3) from their subordinates (Groups 4-6). All these apical and intermediate elites played ceremonial roles in commoner integration and therefore may have required similar degrees of social estrangement from their subordinates to maintain their quasi-sacred nature. Overall, we argue that there is only tentative evidence that the elite actors invested in ceremonial power sources at Lower Dover pursued policies of social estrangement. Equifinality poses issues as the greater inaccessibility of apical and upper to middle level intermediate elites could simply reflect a desire for privacy and the access to labour to materialise it. The stranger king concept may apply in a more literal way to the Lower Dover case study because the apical elite may have been an external imposition. Several examples of the mobility of Classic Maya courts exist (Martin and García 2016). Sahlins (2008) notes the ability of stranger kings to overcome deep-seated structural restrictions and radically transform societies. Examples include the inability of the emergent institution of kingship to overcome traditional kinship structures, or the ability of colonial overlords to overcome longstanding issues of factionalism (Sahlins 2008). Theoretically, the protracted political inertia prior to the rise of Lower Dover might have been the product of a prevailing heterarchical situation in which the Floral Park, BR-180/168, and Tutu Uitz Na elites were jostling for supremacy. As such, the emergence of a higher tier of political decision-making at Lower Dover may reflect a breakthrough in an age-old stalemate (see Parkinson and Gyucha 2012).

Lastly, sampling issues need addressing in terms of the comparability of our findings. Our sampling universe in this report is the Lower Dover polity, as such we only have a sample of one major centre (Lower Dover) and one Group 2 secondary centre (Floral Park). Likewise, our sample size for Group 3 and 4 centres is limited to a handful of sites. Unfortunately, this is the nature of this type of analysis, although some degree of solace is to be taken from the fact that some of the patterns in accessibility identified corroborate regional patterns (Walden et al. 2019). Lower Dover developed differently from many Maya polities. This means that the findings of this report are more relevant for understanding late emerging polities which co-opted surrounding elites and commoners, than polities which arose through the simultaneous incremental increases in socio-political inequalities and demography. To overcome these issues, future research will replicate the analysis at the regional level of the Belize River Valley. In addition to providing larger samples of intermediate and apical elites, this endeavour would facilitate the comparison of elite strategies of inclusivity and exclusivity between different polities and regimes.

Conclusions

The relatively simple methods employed here to assess the different strategies which local actors at Lower Dover

pursued in terms of structuring architectural accessibility have yielded some interesting observations. The linear regression analysis did not reveal any particularly strong correlations between architectural accessibility and the different factors which potentially determined this. This result might be expected when assessing the decision making of individual households at the local level. These data still speak strongly to broader trends associated with political status and architectural accessibility. One important finding is that the duality between public plazas and private residences often attributed to major centres extends down the settlement hierarchy to intermediate elite minor centres. The research shows that plaza size and accessibility should not be conflated. By approaching plaza size and accessibility as separate variables we were able to better understand the underlying decision making of the social actors who commissioned these spaces. The nature and content of rituals and ceremonies offered intermediate elites the ability to resist top-down control and counter the ideological narratives of apical elite authority. Architectural accessibility among intermediate elites was strongly related to whether the intermediate elite burial traditions and ceremonies clashed or conformed to apical elite ideologies. Our analysis shows that elite residences were private, but whether or not this specifically relates to the idea that the king had to estrange himself from society is unclear. It is highly possible that higher level elites chose to cloister themselves away from the prying eyes of society for personal reasons, or because the ceremonial basis of their authority warranted a lack of social propinquity. Future directions for this research include conducting similar analysis across the BVAR study region to assess patterns in accessibility among apical and intermediate elites and commoners at the neighbouring polities of Cahal Pech, Baking Pot, Ek Tzul, Lower Barton Creek, and Blackman Eddy. This approach will generate a larger sample and allow an understanding of the extent to which the patterning evident here is a result of the divergent developmental trajectory at Lower Dover.

Acknowledgements

Research at Lower Dover (Belize) was conducted under the auspices of the Belize Valley Archaeological Reconnaissance (BVAR) Project, directed by Dr. Jaime Awe and Dr. Julie Hoggarth. We thank Dr. John Morris, the Belize Institute of Archaeology and the National Institute of Culture and History for their support and permitting of BVAR Project fieldwork. We would also like to acknowledge Julie Hoggarth, Dick Drennan, Laura Kosakowsky, Marc Bermann, Richard Stonehouse and Igor Chechushkov for providing helpful comments on earlier versions of this manuscript. Special thanks to all those involved in fieldwork and lab analysis, especially Michael Biggie, Qiu Yijia, Olivia Ellis, Abel Nachamie, Anaïs Levin, Lauren Garcia, Victoria Izzo, Renee Collins, April Martinez, Stanislava Romih, Zoe Rawski, Carlos Mendez, Asterio Morales and Esdúit Ariel Morales. Thanks go to Dr. Jeffrey Quilter and Laura Costello at the Harvard Peabody Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology, for

El paisaje urbano maya: del Preclásico al Virreinato

access to materials from Barton Ramie. Thanks also goes to local landowners Mr Menlo P. Dueck, Mr Lenny Wragg, Mr Julian Sherrard and Ms Mirna Martinez. Madeline, Bill and Justin Reynolds deserve thanks for their hospitality. The West-Central Belize LiDAR Survey (co-PI, J. Awe) provided access to LiDAR data, through funding by the Alphawood Foundation. Financial support for survey and excavation at Lower Dover was provided by the BVAR Project field school and grants from the National Science Foundation through Doctoral Dissertation Improvement Grants (BCS-1914638 J. Walden, and M. Bermann, and BCS-1743448 R. Guerra and K. Pruffer), The Rust Family Foundation (J. Walden), The National Geographic Society (Grant 989116 T. Watkins), the University of Pittsburgh International Studies Fund and Center for Latin American Studies (J. Walden). Additional funding support for the BVAR Project was provided by the Tilden Family Foundation (San Francisco, California), the Social Science Research Council of Canada, and the Gordon Childe Fund of the University of London (J. Awe). Lastly, we wish to thank Juan García Targa for including us in this delightful volume.

Bibliography

- Abrams, Elliot. *How the Maya Built Their World, Energetics and Ancient Architecture*. Austin, University of Texas Press, 1994.
- Ardren, Traci. *Social Identities in the Classic Maya Northern Lowlands: Gender, Age, Memory, and Place*. Austin, University of Texas Press, 2015.
- Ashmore, Wendy. "Construction and Cosmology, Politics and Ideology in Lowland Maya Settlement Patterns." In *Word and Image in Maya Culture, Explorations in Language, Writing and Representation*, edited by William F. Hanks and Don S. Rice, 272-286. Salt Lake City, University of Utah Press, 1989.
- Ashmore, Richard D., Lee Jussim, and David Wilder, (eds.). *Social Identity, Intergroup Conflict, and Conflict Reduction*. New York, Oxford University Press, 2001.
- Awe, Jaime J. *Dawn in the Land Between the Rivers, Formative Occupation at Cahal Pech, Belize and its Implications for Preclassic Occupation In The Central Maya Lowlands*. Unpublished Ph.D. Dissertation, London, University College London, 1992.
- Awe, Jaime J. "Architectural Manifestations of Power and Prestige, Examples from Classic Period Monumental Architecture at Cahal Pech, Xunantunich and Caracol, Belize". *Research Reports in Belizean Archaeology* 5, (2008), 159-173.
- Awe, Jaime J. "Journey on the Cahal Pech Time Machine, an Archaeological Reconstruction of the Dynastic Sequence at a Belize Valley Maya Polity". In *Recent Reports in Belizean Archaeology* 10, (2013), 33-50.
- Awe, Jaime, Mark Campbell and Jim Conlon. "Preliminary Analysis of the Spatial Configuration of the Site Core at Cahal Pech, Belize and its Implications for Lowland Maya Social Organization". *Mexicon* 13, no. 2 (1991), 25-30.
- Awe, Jaime J., Julie A. Hoggarth and Christophe G.B. Helmke. "Prehistoric Settlement Patterns in the Upper Belize River Valley and Their Implications For Models Of Low-Density Urbanism". In *Special Edition of Acta Mesoamericana in Honour of Pierre R. Colas*, edited by Christophe G.B. Helmke and Frauke Sachse, 263-285. Munich, Verlag Anton Saurwein, 2014.
- Awe, Jaime J., Julie A. Hoggarth and James Aimers. "Of Apples and Oranges, The Case of E Groups and Eastern Triadic Architectural Assemblages in the Belize River Valley". In *Early Maya E Groups, Solar Calendars, and the Role of Astronomy in the Rise of Lowland Maya Urbanism*, edited by David Freidel, Arlen F. Chase, Anne S. Dowd, and Jerry Murdock, 412-449. Gainesville, University Press of Florida, 2017.
- Bell, Catherine. *Ritual Theory, Ritual Practice*. Oxford, Oxford University Press, 1992.
- Bellah, Robert N. *Religion in Human Evolution, From the Palaeolithic to the Axial Age*. Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 2011.
- Berdan, Frances F. and Michael E. Smith. "Imperial Strategies and Core-Periphery Relations". In *Aztec Imperial Strategies*, edited by Frances F. Berdan, Richard E. Blanton, Elizabeth Hill Boone, Mary G. Hodge, Michael E. Smith and Emily Umberger, 209-217. Washington D.C., Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection, 1996.
- Biggie, Michael, John P. Walden, Rosie Bongiovanni and Lauren Garcia. "Excavations in the Eastern Triadic Shrine at Tutu Uitz Na (SG 1), Results of the 2018 Field Season." In *The Belize Valley Archaeological Reconnaissance Project, A Report of the 2018 Field Season*, Vol. 24, edited by Claire E. Ebert, John P. Walden, Julie A. Hoggarth and Jaime J. Awe, 186-226. Waco, Baylor University, Flagstaff, Northern Arizona University, 2019.
- Blackmore, Chelsea. "Ritual Among the Masses, Deconstructing Identity and Class in an Ancient Maya Neighborhood." *Latin American Antiquity* 22, no. 2 (2011), 159-177.
- Blanton, Richard E. "Prehispanic Adaptation in the Ixtapalapa Region, Mexico." *Science* 175, no. 4028 (1972), 1317-326.
- Blanton, Richard E. "Anthropological Studies of Cities." *Annual Review of Anthropology* 5, no. 1 (1976), 249-264.
- Blanton, Richard E. and Lane F. Fargher. "Neighborhoods and the Civic Constitutions of Premodern Cities as Seen from the Perspective of Collective Action." In *The Neighborhood as a Social and Spatial Unit in Mesoamerican Cities*, edited by M. Charlotte Arnauld, Linada R. Manzanilla and Michael E. Smith, 27-52. Tucson, University of Arizona Press, 2012.

Multiscalar Approaches to Reconstructing Classic Maya Strategies of Ceremonial Inclusion

- Brown, M. Katherine, David Glassman, Owen Ford and Steven Troell. "Report on the 1995 Investigations at the Site of Floral Park, Belize." In *The Belize Valley Archaeology Project, Results of the 1995 Field Season*, edited by James F. Garber, David M. Glassman, 35-60. San Marcos, Southwest Texas State University, 1996.
- Brown, M. Katherine, Jennifer Cochran, Leah McCurdy and David W. Mixter. "Preclassic to Postclassic, A Brief Synthesis of the Occupation History of Group E, Xunantunich." *Research Reports in Belizean Archaeology* 8, (2011), 209-219.
- Brumfiel, Elizabeth M. "Factional Competition and Political Development in the New World: An Introduction". In: *Factional Competition and Political Development in the New World*, edited by Elizabeth M. Brumfiel, and John W. Fox, 3-13. Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1994.
- Burham, Melissa, J. *Defining Ancient Maya Communities: The Social, Spatial, and Ritual Organization of Outlying Temple Groups at Ceibal, Guatemala*. Unpublished Doctoral Dissertation. Tucson University of Arizona, 2019.
- Cap, Bernadette. *Classic Maya Economies, Identification of a Marketplace at Buenavista del Cayo, Belize, Department of Anthropology*. Unpublished Ph.D. Dissertation. Madison, University of Wisconsin-Madison, 2015.
- Carmean, Kelli. "Leadership at Sayil: A Study of Political and Religious Decentralization." *Ancient Mesoamerica* 9, no. 2 (1998): 259-270.
- Chase, Arlen F. and Diane Z. Chase. "The Royal Court of Caracol, Belize, Its Palaces and People". In *Royal Courts of the Ancient Maya Volume 2, Data and Case Studies*, edited by Inomata, Takeshi and Houston, Stephen D., 102-137. Boulder, Westview Press, 2001.
- Chase, Arlen F. and James F. Garber. "The Archaeology of the Belize Valley in Historical Perspective". In *The Ancient Maya of the Belize Valley, Half a Century of Archaeological Research*, edited by James. F. Garber. Gainesville, University Press of Florida, 2004.
- Chase, A.F., 1992. Elites and the changing organization of Classic Maya Society. In *Mesoamerican Elites, An Archaeological Assessment*, edited by Diane Z. Chase, and Arlen F. Chase, 30-49. Norman, University of Oklahoma Press, 1992.
- Cheetham, David. The Role of 'Terminus Groups' in Lowland Maya Site Planning: An Example from Cahal Pech. In *The Ancient Maya of the Belize Valley, Half a Century of Archaeological Research*, edited by James F. Garber, 125-148. Gainesville, University Press of Florida, 2004.
- Collins, Renee L. *In the Shadow of The Giant, Understanding The Role Of Plaza G At Lower Dover, Belize* Unpublished Master's Thesis. Flagstaff, Northern Arizona University, 2018.
- Collins, Renee L, Chrissina C. Burke, Katie K. Tappan, Kyle Shaw-Müller, Rosamund Fitzmaurice and Li Xiang (李翔). "Excavations of Structure G2 at Plaza G, Lower Dover". In *The Belize Valley Archaeological Reconnaissance Project, A Report of the 2018 Field Season*, Vol. 24, edited by Claire E. Ebert, John P. Walden, Julie A. Hoggarth and Jaime J. Awe, 186-226. Waco, Baylor University, Flagstaff, Northern Arizona University, 2019.
- Collins, Renee L. and Rafael A. Guerra. "The 2016 Excavations at Plaza G, Lower Dover". In *The Belize Valley Archaeological Reconnaissance Project, A Report of the 2016 Field Season*, edited by Claire E. Ebert, Chrissina C. Burke, Jaime J. Awe and Julie A. Hoggarth, 176-184. Belmopan, Institute of Archaeology, 2017.
- Connell, Samuel V., "A Community to Be Counted, Chaa Creek and The Emerging Xunantunich Polity". In *Classic Maya Provincial Politics, Xunantunich and its Hinterlands*, edited by Lisa J. LeCount and Jason Yaeger, 295-314. Tucson, University of Arizona Press, 2010.
- Connell, Samuel V. and Jay E. Silverstein. "From Laos To Mesoamerica, Battlegrounds Between Superpowers." In *The Archaeology of Warfare, Prehistories of Raiding and Conquest*, edited by Elizabeth N. Arkush and Mark W. Allen, 394-433. Gainesville, University of Florida Press, 2006.
- Cyphers, Ann and Timothy Murtha. "Early Olmec Open Spaces at San Lorenzo, Veracruz". In *Mesoamerican Plazas, Arenas of Community and Power*, edited by Kenichiro Tsukamoto and Takeshi Inomata, 71-89. Tucson, University of Arizona Press, 2014.
- Dahlin, Bruce H., Christopher T. Jensen, Richard E. Terry, David R. Wright, and Timothy Beach. "In Search of an Ancient Maya Market." *Latin American Antiquity* 18, no. 4 (2007), 363-384.
- de Certeau, Michel. *The Practice of Everyday Life*. Translated by Steven Rendall. Berkley, University of California Press, 1984.
- de Montmollin, Olivier. "Comparing Ritual Life in Different Households from a Classic (AD 600-900) Maya Community." In *Arqueología Reciente de Chiapas, Contribuciones del Encuentro Celebrado en el 60° Aniversario de la Fundación Arqueológica Nuevo Mundo*, edited by Lynne S. Lowe and Mary E. Pye. Papers of the New World Archaeological Foundation 72, 87-100. Provo, Utah, Brigham Young University, 2012
- de Montmollin, Olivier. *Settlement and Politics in Three Classic Maya Polities*. Monographs in World Archaeology, no. 24. Madison, Prehistory Press. 1995.
- Demarest, Arthur. *Ancient Maya, The Rise and Fall of a Rainforest Civilization*. New York, Cambridge University Press, 2004.
- Derrida, Jacques. "Signature Event Context". *Glyph* 1, (1977), 172-197.

El paisaje urbano maya: del Preclásico al Virreinato

- Doyle, James A., Thomas G. Garrison, and Stephen D. Houston. "Watchful Realms, Integrating GIS Analysis And Political History In The Southern Maya Lowlands." *Antiquity* 86, no. 333 (2012), 792-807.
- Driver, W. David and James F. Garber. "The Emergence of Minor Centers in the Zones between Seats of Power". In *The Ancient Maya of the Belize Valley, Half a Century of Archaeological Research*, edited by James F. Garber, 287-304. Gainesville, University Press of Florida, 2004.
- Dunning, Nicholas P. "Down on the Farm, Classic Maya 'Homesteads' as 'Farmsteads'". In *Ancient Maya Commoners*, edited by Jon C. Lohse and Fred Valdez Jr., 97-116. Austin, University of Texas Press, 2004.
- Eberl, Markus. *Community and Difference, Change in Late Classic Maya Villages of the Petexbatun Region*. Nashville, Vanderbilt University Press, 2014.
- Ebert, Claire E. *Preclassic Maya Social Complexity and the Origins of Inequality at Cahal Pech, Belize*. Unpublished PhD Dissertation, State College, The Pennsylvania State University, 2017.
- Ebert, Claire E., Julie A. Hoggarth, Jaime J. Awe. "Integrating Quantitative LiDAR Analysis and Settlement Survey in the Belize River Valley". *Advances in Archaeological Research* 4, (2016a), 284-300.
- Ebert, Claire E., Brenden J. Culleton, Jaime J. Awe, Douglas J. Kennett, D.J. "AMS ¹⁴C dating of Preclassic to Classic Period Household Construction in the Ancient Maya Community of Cahal Pech, Belize." *Radiocarbon* 58, (2016b), 69-87.
- Ellis, Olivia P., John P. Walden and Victoria Rick. "A Report of the 2019 Excavations at Settlement Group 129 at Floral Park, Belize". In *The Belize Valley Archaeological Reconnaissance Project, A Report of the 2019 Field Season*, Vol. 25, edited by Claire E. Ebert, John P. Walden, Julie A. Hoggarth and Jaime J. Awe. Waco, Baylor University and Flagstaff, Northern Arizona University, 2020.
- Elson, Christina M. and R. Alan Covey. "Intermediate Elites in New World States and Empires." In *Intermediate Elites in Pre-Columbian States and Empires*, edited by Christina M. Elson, and R. Alan Covey, 3-20. Tucson, University of Arizona Press, 2006.
- Fedick, Scott L. (ed.) *The Managed Mosaic, Ancient Maya Agriculture and Resource Use*. Salt Lake City, University of Utah Press, 1996.
- Feeley-Harnik, Gillian. "Issues in Divine Kingship." *Annual Review of Anthropology* 14, no. 1 (1985), 273-313.
- Ferguson, Yale H., and Richard W. Mansbach. *Politics: Authority, Identities, and Change*. University of South Carolina Press, Columbia, 1996.
- Ford, Anabel, and Ronald Nigh. *The Maya Forest Garden, Eight Millennia of Sustainable Cultivation of the Tropical Woodlands*. Vol. 6. London, Routledge, 2016.
- Freidel, David A. and Linda Schele. "Kingship in the Late Preclassic Maya Lowlands, The Instruments and Places of Ritual Power." *American Anthropologist* 90, no. 3 (1988), 547-567.
- Freidel, David. "Maya Divine Kingship." In *Religion and Power, Divine Kingship in the Ancient World and Beyond*, edited by Nicole Brisch, 191-206. Chicago, The Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago. Oriental Institute Seminar, No. 4, 2008.
- Friedel, David, Linda Schele, and Joy Parker. *Maya Cosmos, Three Thousand Years on the Shaman's Path*. New York, William Morrow Paperbacks, 1993.
- Garber, James F., M. Katherine Brown, Jaime J. Awe and Christopher J. Hartman. "Middle Formative Prehistory of the Central Belize Valley, An Examination of Architecture, Material Culture, and Sociopolitical Change at Blackman Eddy." In *The Ancient Maya of the Belize Valley, Half a Century of Archaeological Research*, edited by James F. Garber, 25-47. Gainesville, University Press of Florida, 2004a.
- Garber, James F., M. Katherine Brown, David W. Driver, David M. Glassman, Christopher J. Hartman, F. Kent Reilly III and Lauren A. Sullivan. "Archaeological Investigations at Blackman Eddy". In *The Ancient Maya of the Belize Valley, Half a Century of Archaeological Research*, edited by James F. Garber, 48-70. Gainesville, University Press of Florida, 2004b.
- Garcia, Lauren, T., John P. Walden and April Martinez. "Excavations at Haabna (SG 35), Floral Park: Results of the 2019 Field Season". In *The Belize Valley Archaeological Reconnaissance Project, A Report of the 2019 Field Season*, Vol. 25, edited by Claire E. Ebert, John P. Walden, Julie A. Hoggarth and Jaime J. Awe, 196-206. Waco, Baylor University and Flagstaff, Northern Arizona University, 2020.
- Gardner, Andrew. "Agency and Community in 4th century Britain: Developing the Structurationist Project". In *Agency Uncovered: Archaeological Perspectives on Social Agency, Power and Being Human*, edited by Andrew Gardner. London, UCL Press, 2004.
- Giddens, Anthony. *The Constitution of Society*. Cambridge, Polity Press, 1984.
- Gillespie, Susan D. *The Aztec Kings, The Construction of Rulership In Mexican History*. Tucson, University of Arizona Press, 1989.
- Gillespie, Susan D. "Rethinking Ancient Maya Social Organization, Replacing 'Lineage' With 'House'". *American Anthropology* 102, (2000), 467-484.
- Gillespie, Susan D. "Maya Memory Work." *Ancient Mesoamerica* 21, no. 2 (2010), 401-414.
- Glassman, David M., James M. Conlon and James F. Garber. "Survey and Initial Excavations at Floral Park." In *The Belize Valley Archaeology Project, Results of the 1994 Field Season*, edited by Garber, James F. and

Multiscalar Approaches to Reconstructing Classic Maya Strategies of Ceremonial Inclusion

- Glassman, David M., 58-70. Belmopan, Institute of Archaeology, 1995.
- Golden, Charles. "Frayed at the Edges: Collective Memory and History on the Borders of Classic Maya Polities." *Ancient Mesoamerica* 21, no. 2 (2010), 373-384.
- Gonlin, Nancy. "Ritual and Ideology among Classic Maya Rural Commoners at Copan, Honduras". In *Commoner Ritual and Ideology in Ancient Mesoamerica*, edited by Nancy Gonlin, and Jon C. Lohse, 83-121. Denver, University Press of Colorado, 2007.
- Marshall D. Sahlins. "The Stranger-kingship of the Mexica". In *On Kings*, edited by, David Graeber and Marshall D. Sahlins, 223-248. Chicago, Hau Books, 2017.
- Guerra, Rafael A. and Jaime J. Awe. "Recent investigations at the Major Center of Lower Dover in the Belize River Valley". *Research Reports in Belizean Archaeology*, 14 (2017), 241-248.
- Guerra, Rafael A. and Renee L. Collins. "Lower Dover Site Core Excavations" In *The Belize Valley Archaeological Reconnaissance Project, A Report of the 2015 Field Season*, edited by Julie A. Hoggarth and Jaime J. Awe, 224-239. Belmopan, Institute of Archaeology, 2016.
- Hage, Per. "The Ancient Maya Kinship System." *Journal of Anthropological Research* 59, no. 1 (2003), 5-21.
- Hageman, Jon B. and Jon C. Lohse. "Heterarchy, Corporate Groups, and Late Classic Resource Management in Northwestern Belize". In *Heterarchy, Political Economy, and the Ancient Maya*, edited by Vernon L. Scarborough, Fred Valdez and Nicholas P. Dunning 109-121. Tucson, University of Arizona Press, 2003.
- Haviland, William A. "Dower Houses And "Minor Centers" At Tikal, Guatemala, An Investigation into the Identification of Valid Units in Settlement Hierarchies". In *Lowland Maya Settlement Patterns*, edited by Wendy Ashmore, 89-120. Albuquerque, University of New Mexico Press, 1981.
- Haviland, William A. and Hattula Moholy-Nagy. "Distinguishing the High and Mighty from the Hoi Polloi at Tikal, Guatemala". In *Mesoamerican Elites, An Archaeological Assessment*, edited by Diane Z. Chase and Arlen F. Chase, 50-60. Norman, University of Oklahoma Press, Norman, 1992.
- Hayden, Brian and Aubrey Cannon "The Corporate Group as An Archaeological Unit." *Journal of Anthropological Archaeology* 1, (1982), 132-158.
- Helms, Mary W. *Craft and the Kingly Ideal, Art, Trade, and Power*. Austin, University of Texas Press, 1993.
- Helmke, Christophe and Jaime J. Awe. "Ancient Maya Territorial Organization of Central Belize, Confluence of Archaeological and Epigraphic Data". *Contributions in New World Archaeology* 4, (2012), 59-90.
- Hendon, Julia A. "Archaeological Approaches to the Organization of Domestic Labor, Household Practice and Domestic Relations." *Annual Review of Anthropology* 25, (1996), 45-61.
- Hendon, Julia A. "Neighborhoods in Pre-Hispanic Honduras". The *Neighborhood as a Social and Spatial Unit in Mesoamerican Cities*, edited by M. Charlotte Arnauld, Linda R. Manzanilla and Michael E. Smith, 159-180. Tucson, University of Arizona Press, 2012.
- Hendon, Julia A. *Houses in a Landscape: Memory and Everyday Life in Mesoamerica*. Durham, Duke University Press, 2010.
- Hoggarth, Julie A. *Social Reorganization and Household Adaptation in the Aftermath of Collapse at Baking Pot, Belize*. Unpublished PhD Dissertation. Pittsburgh, University of Pittsburgh, 2012.
- Hoggarth, Julie A., Jaime J. Awe, Eva Jobbová and Christopher Sims. "Beyond The Baking Pot Polity, Continuing Settlement Research In The Upper Belize River Valley". In *Recent Reports in Belizean Archaeology* 7, (2012), 171-182.
- Houston, Stephen D. and Inomata, Takeshi. *The Classic Maya*. New York, Cambridge University Press, 2009.
- Houston, Stephen D. and Stuart, David. "Of Gods, Glyphs And Kings, Divinity And Rulership Among The Classic Maya". *Antiquity* 70, 268 (1996), 289-312.
- Hutson, Scott R. *The Ancient Urban Maya, Neighborhoods, Inequality, and Built Form*. Gainesville, University of Florida Press, 2016.
- Iannone, Gyles. "Rural Complexity in the Cahal Pech Microregion, Analysis and Implications". In *Perspectives on Ancient Maya Rural Complexity*, edited by Gyles Iannone and Samuel V. Connell, 13-26. Los Angeles, The Cotsen Institute of Archaeology Press, 2003.
- Inomata, Takeshi. "Plazas, Performers, And Spectators, Political Theaters Of the Classic Maya". *Current Anthropology* 47, (2006), 805-842.
- Inomata, Takeshi. "Plaza Builders of the Preclassic Maya Lowlands, The Construction of a Public Space and A Community at Ceibal, Guatemala". In *Mesoamerican Plazas, Arenas of Community and Power*, edited by Kenichiro Tsukamoto and Takeshi Inomata, 19-33. Tucson, University of Arizona Press, 2014.
- Inomata, Takeshi and Daniela Triadan. "Where did Elites Live? Identifying Elite Residences at Aguateca, Guatemala". In *Maya Palaces and Elite Residences, An Interdisciplinary Approach*, edited by Jessica Joyce Christie, 154-183. Austin, University of Texas Press, 2003.
- Inomata, Takeshi and Tsukamoto, Kenichiro. "Gathering in an Open Space, Introduction to Mesoamerican Plazas". In *Mesoamerican Plazas, Arenas of Community and Power*, edited by Tsukamoto, Kenichiro and Inomata, Takeshi, 3-15. Tucson, University of Arizona Press, 2014.

El paisaje urbano maya: del Preclásico al Virreinato

- Insoll, Timothy. "Introduction: Configuring Identities in Archaeology". In *The Archaeology of Identities: A Reader*, edited by Timothy Insoll, 1-18. London and New York, Routledge, 2007.
- Jones, Andy. "Lives in fragments? Personhood and the European Neolithic." *Journal of Social Archaeology* 5, no. 2 (2005), 193-224.
- Joyce, Arthur A. *Mixtecs, Zapotecs, And Chatinos, Ancient Peoples of Southern Mexico*. Chichester, United Kingdom, Wiley-Blackwell, 2011.
- Joyce, Arthur A., and Erin T. Weller. "Commoner Rituals, Resistance, and the Classic-To-Postclassic Transition." In *Commoner Ritual and Ideology in Ancient Mesoamerica*, 141-182. Boulder, University Press of Colorado, 2007.
- Kertzer, David I. *Ritual, Politics, and Power*. Yale University Press, New Haven, CT, 1988.
- Killion, Thomas. "Residential Ethnoarchaeology and Ancient Site Structure, Contemporary Farming and Prehistoric Settlement Agriculture at Matacapán, Veracruz, Mexico". In *Gardens of Prehistory, The Archaeology of Settlement Agriculture in Greater Mesoamerica*, edited by Thomas Killion, 119-149. Tuscaloosa, University of Alabama, 1992.
- King, Eleanor M., "The Ethnohistoric Evidence for Maya Markets and Its Archaeological Implications". In *The Ancient Maya Marketplace, The Archaeology of Transient Space*, edited by Eleanor M. King, 33-66. Tucson, University of Arizona Press, 2015.
- Kowalski, Jeff K. *The House of the Governor; A Maya Palace at Uxmal, Yucatan*. Norman, University of Oklahoma Press, 1987.
- Kurnick, Sarah. "Paradoxical Politics, Negotiating the Contradictions of Political Authority". In *Political Strategies in Pre-Columbian Mesoamerica*, edited by Sarah Kurnick and Joanna Baron, 3-36. Boulder, University Press of Colorado, 2016a.
- Kurnick, Sarah. "Competition and Conflict in the Upper Belize River Valley, Insights from the Ancient Maya Minor Center of Callar Creek, Belize". *Journal of Field Archaeology*. 41, (2016b), 297-311.
- Kurnick, Sarah. "Navigating the Past in the Aftermath of Dramatic Social Transformations, Postclassic Engagement with the Classic Period Past in the Northeast Yucatan Peninsula". *Journal of Anthropological Archaeology* 53, (2019), 51-65.
- Lacadena García-Gallo, Alfonso. "El título Lakam, evidencia epigráfica sobre la organización tributaria y militar interna de los reinos Mayas del Clásico". *Mayab* 20, (2008), 23-43.
- Lamoureux-St-Hilaire, Maxime. "Palatial Politics: The Classic Maya Royal Court of La Corona, Guatemala". Unpublished Doctoral Dissertation. New Orleans, Tulane University, 2018.
- Lang, Jon T. *Creating Architectural Theory, The Role of the Behavioral Sciences in Environmental Design*. New York, Van Nostrand Reinhold Company, 1987.
- LeCount, Lisa J. and Jason Yaeger "Provincial Politics and Current Models of the Maya State". In *Classic Maya Provincial Politics, Xunantunich and its Hinterlands*, edited by Lisa J. LeCount and Jason Yaeger, 20-45. Tucson, University of Arizona Press, 2010.
- LeCount, Lisa J., Chester P. Walker, John H. Blitz, and Ted C. Nelson. "Land Tenure Systems at the Ancient Maya Site of Actuncan, Belize." *Latin American Antiquity* 30, no. 2 (2019), 245-65.
- Lefebvre, Henri. *Critique of Everyday Life, Foundations for a Sociology of the Everyday*, Vol. 2. New York, Verso, 1991.
- Lemonnier, Eva. "Neighborhoods in Classic Lowland Maya Societies: Their Identification and Definition from the La Joyanca Case Study (Northwestern Petén, Guatemala)". In: *The Neighborhood as an Intermediate Social Unit in Mesoamerican Cities*, edited by M. Charlotte Arnauld, Linda R. Manzanilla, and Michael E. Smith, 181-201. Tucson, University of Arizona Press, 2012.
- Levin, Anaïs, John P. Walden, Rosie Bongiovanni, Michael Biggie and April Martinez. "A Report of the 2019 Excavations at Jolna (SG 34), Floral Park". In *The Belize Valley Archaeological Reconnaissance Project, A Report of the 2019 Field Season*, Vol. 25, edited by Claire E. Ebert, John P. Walden, Julie A. Hoggarth and Jaime J. Awe. Waco, Baylor University and Flagstaff, Northern Arizona University, 2020.
- Liendo Stuardo, Rodrigo. "Access Patterns in Maya Royal Precincts". In *Maya Palaces and Elite Residences, An Interdisciplinary Approach*, edited by Jessica Joyce Christie, 184-203. Austin, University of Texas Press, 2003.
- Liendo Stuardo, Rodrigo, Javier López Mejía and Arianna Campiani. "The Social Construction of Public Spaces at Palenque and Chinikihá, Mexico". In *Mesoamerican Plazas, Arenas of Community and Power*, edited by Kenichiro Tsukamoto and Takeshi Inomata, 108-120. Tucson, University of Arizona Press, 2014.
- Lohse, Jon C. "Commoner Ritual, Commoner Ideology, (Sub)-Alternative Views of Social Complexity in Prehispanic Mesoamerica". In *Commoner Ritual and Ideology in Ancient Mesoamerica*, edited by N. Gonlin and Jon C. Lohse, 1-54. Denver, University Press of Colorado, 2007.
- Lohse, Jon C. and Fred Valdez Jr. "Examining Maya Commoners Anew". In *Ancient Maya Commoners*, edited by Jon C. Lohse and Fred Valdez, 1-21, Austin, University of Texas Press, Austin, 2004.
- Lucero, Lisa J. "Materialized Cosmology among Ancient Maya Commoners." *Journal of Social Archaeology* 10, no. 1 (2010), 138-167.

Multiscalar Approaches to Reconstructing Classic Maya Strategies of Ceremonial Inclusion

- Lucero, Lisa J. "The Politics of Ritual, The Emergence of Classic Maya Rulers." *Current Anthropology* 44, no. 4 (2003), 523-58.
- Marcus, Joyce. "Ancient Maya Political Organization". In *Lowland Maya Civilization in the Eighth Century A.D.*, edited by Jeremy A. Sabloff, and John S. Henderson, 111-183. Washington D.C., Dumbarton Oaks, 1993.
- Marcus, Joyce. "Men's and Women's Ritual in Formative Oaxaca." In *Social Patterns in Preclassic Mesoamerica, a symposium at Dumbarton Oaks, 9 and 10 October 1993*, edited by David C. Grove and Rosemary A. Joyce, 67-96. Washington D.C., Dumbarton Oaks, 1999.
- Marcus, Joyce. "Identifying Elites and their Strategies". In *Intermediate Elites in Pre-Columbian States and Empires*, edited by Christina M. Elson, and R. Alan Covey, 212-246. Tucson, University of Arizona Press, 2006.
- Marken, Damien B., and James L. Fitzsimmons, (eds). *Classic Maya Polities of the Southern Lowlands, Integration, Interaction, Dissolution*. Boulder, University Press of Colorado, 2015.
- Martin, Simon. "Court and Realm, Architectural Signatures in the Classic Maya Southern Lowlands". In *Royal Courts of the Ancient Maya.*, edited by Takeshi Inomata and Stephen D. Houston, 168-194. Boulder, Westview Press, 2001.
- Martin, Simon, and Erik Velásquez García. "Polities and Places, Tracing the Toponyms of the Snake Dynasty." *The PARI Journal* 17, no. 2 (2016), 23-33.
- McAnany, Patricia A. "Shaping Social Difference, Political and Ritual Economy of Classic Maya Royal Courts." In *Dimensions of Ritual Economy*, edited by Christian E. Wells and Patricia A. McAnany, 219-247. Bingley, Emerald Group Publishing Limited, 2008.
- McAnany, Patricia A. *Living with the Ancestors, Kinship and Kingship in Ancient Maya Society*, 2nd ed. Austin, University of Texas Press, 2013.
- Mongelluzzo, Ryan. "Experiencing Maya Palaces: Royal Power, Space, and Architecture at Holmul, Guatemala." Unpublished Doctoral Dissertation. University of California, Riverside, 2011.
- Murakami, Tatsuya. "Social Identities, Power Relations, and Urban Transformations, Politics of Plaza Construction at Teotihuacan" In *Mesoamerican Plazas, Arenas of Community and Power*, edited by Kenichiro Tsukamoto and Takeshi Inomata, 34-49. Tucson, University of Arizona Press, 2014.
- Nachamie, Abel and John P. Walden. "A Report of the 2019 Excavations at Petna (SG 132): A Preclassic Round Structure in the Floral Park Neighborhood of Lower Dover". In *The Belize Valley Archaeological Reconnaissance Project, A Report of the 2019 Field Season*, Vol. 25, edited by Claire E. Ebert, John P. Walden, Julie A. Hoggarth and Jaime J. Awe, 218-228. Waco, Baylor University and Flagstaff, Northern Arizona University, 2020.
- Newell, Patricia Brierley. "A Cross-Cultural Comparison of Privacy Definitions and Functions, A Systems Approach." *Journal of Environmental Psychology* 18, no. 4 (1998), 357-371.
- O'Mansky, Matt, and Nicholas P. Dunning. "Settlement and Late Classic Political Disintegration in the Petexbatun Region, Guatemala." In *The Terminal Classic in the Maya Lowlands, Collapse, Transition, and Transformation*, edited by Arthur A. Demarest, Prudence M. Rice and Don S. Rice, 83-101. Boulder, University Press of Colorado, 2004.
- Ossa, Alanna. "Plazas in Comparative Perspective in South-Central Veracruz from the Classic to the Postclassic Period (AD 300-1350)". In *Mesoamerican Plazas, Arenas of Community and Power*, edited by Kenichiro Tsukamoto and Takeshi Inomata, 130-148. Tucson, University of Arizona Press, 2014.
- Ossa, Alanna, Michael E. Smith and José Lobo. "The Size of Plazas in Mesoamerican Cities and Towns, A Quantitative Analysis." *Latin American Antiquity* 28, (2017), 457-475.
- Oxford English Dictionaries, s.v. "compound," accessed August 24th, 2019, [//www.oxforddictionaries.com/definition/english/compound](http://www.oxforddictionaries.com/definition/english/compound).
- Oxford English Dictionaries, s.v. "precinct," accessed August 24th, 2019, [//www.oxforddictionaries.com/definition/english/precinct](http://www.oxforddictionaries.com/definition/english/precinct).
- Oxford English Dictionaries, s.v. "accessibility," accessed August 24th, 2019, [//www.oxforddictionaries.com/definition/english/accessibility](http://www.oxforddictionaries.com/definition/english/accessibility).
- Parkinson, William A. and Attila Gyucha. "Long-Term Social Dynamics and the Emergence of Hereditary Inequality, A Prehistoric Example from the Carpathian Basin". In *Beyond Elites, Alternatives to Hierarchical Systems in Modelling Social Formations*, edited by Tobias L. Kienlin and Andreas Zimmermann, 243-250. Bonn, Verlag Dr., Rudolf Habelt GMBH, 2012.
- Parmington, Alexander. *Space and Sculpture in the Classic Maya City*. New York, Cambridge University Press, 2011.
- Peirce, Charles Sanders. *Selected Writings (Values in a Universe of Chance)* New York, Dover Publications, 1966.
- Pendergast, David M. "Noblesse Oblige, The Elites of Altun Ha and Lamanai". In *Mesoamerican Elites, An Archaeological Assessment*, edited by Diane Z. Chase and Arlen F. Chase, 61-79. Norman, University of Oklahoma Press, Norman, 1992.
- Petrozza, Michael L. *Archaeological Investigations of the Lower Dover Periphery, Cayo District, Belize, Central*

El paisaje urbano maya: del Preclásico al Virreinato

- America. Unpublished Master's Thesis. San Marcos, Texas State University San Marcos, 2015.
- Petrozza, Michael L. and Michael Biggie. "Lower Dover Settlement Survey, 2014 Field Season." In *The Belize Valley Archaeological Reconnaissance, A Report of the 2014 Field Season*, edited by Julie A. Hoggarth and Jaime J. Awe, 25-37. Belmopan, Institute of Archaeology, 2015.
- Pollock, Harry. "Architecture of the Maya Lowlands." *Handbook of Middle American Indians* 2, no. 1 (1965), 378-440.
- Prufer, Keith M., Amy E. Thompson, Clayton R. Meredith, Brendan J. Culleton, Jillian M. Jordan, Claire E. Ebert, Bruce Winterhalder, and Douglas J. Kennett. "The Classic Period Maya Transition from an Ideal Free to an Ideal Despotic Settlement System at the Polity of Uxbenká." *Journal of Anthropological Archaeology* 45, (2017), 53-68.
- Rapoport, Amos. *The Meaning of the Built Environment, A Nonverbal Communication Approach*. Beverly Hills, Sage, 1982.
- Rawski, Zoe J. "2014 Excavations at Plaza M, Lower Dover" In *The Belize Valley Archaeological Reconnaissance Project, A Report of the 2014 Field Season*, edited by Julie A. Hoggarth and Jaime J. Awe, 17-21. Belmopan, Institute of Archaeology, 2015.
- Reents-Budet, Dorie. "Elite Maya Pottery and Artisans as Social Indicators." *Archeological Papers of the American Anthropological Association* 8, no. 1 (1998), 71-89.
- Restall, Matthew. "The People of the Patio, Ethnohistorical Evidence of Yucatec Maya Royal Courts". In *Royal Courts of the Ancient Maya Volume 2, Data and Case Studies*, edited by Takeshi Inomata, Stephen D. Houston, 335-390. Boulder, Westview Press, 2001.
- Richards-Rissetto, Heather, "Social Interaction at the Maya Site of Copan, Honduras, A Least Cost Approach to Configurational Analysis". In *Least Cost Analysis of Social Landscapes, Archaeological Case Studies*, edited by Devin A. White and Sarah Surface-Evans, 109-127. University of Utah Press, Salt Lake City.
- Ringle, William and George Bey III. "Post-Classic and Terminal Classic Courts of The Northern Maya Lowlands". In *Royal Courts of the Ancient Maya Volume 2, Data and Case Studies*, edited by Takeshi Inomata and Stephen D. Houston, 266-307. Boulder, Westview Press, 2001.
- Robin, Cynthia. "New Directions in Classic Maya Household Archaeology". *Journal of Archaeological Research* 11, (2003), 307-356.
- Robin, Cynthia, James Meierhoff, Caleb Kestle, Chelsea Blackmore, Laura J. Kosakowsky, Anna C. Novotny. "Ritual in a Farming Community". In *Chan, An Ancient Maya Farming Community*, edited by Cynthia Robin, 113-132. Gainesville, University Press of Florida, 2012.
- Robin, Cynthia, Laura J. Kosakowsky, Angela Keller, James Meierhoff. "Leaders, Farmers, and Crafters: The Relationship Between Leading Households and Households Across the Chan Community". *Ancient Mesoamerica*, 25 (2014), 371-387.
- Roscoe, Paul. "Settlement Fortification in Village and 'Tribal' Society, Evidence From Contact-Era New Guinea." *Journal of Anthropological Archaeology* 27, no. 4 (2008), 507-519.
- Sahlins, Marshall. "The Stranger-King or Elementary Forms of the Politics of Life." *Indonesia and the Malay World* 36, no. 105 (2008), 177-199.
- Sanchez, Julia L. "Ancient Maya Royal Strategies, Creating Power and Identity through Art." *Ancient Mesoamerica* 16, no. 2 (2005), 261-275.
- Shaw-Müller, Kyle, John P. Walden and Abel Nachamie. "Excavations at Ch'akna (SG 142): A Low-Status Commoner Settlement Group in the Floral Park Neighborhood of Lower Dover". In *The Belize Valley Archaeological Reconnaissance Project, A Report of the 2019 Field Season*, Vol. 25, edited by Claire E. Ebert, John P. Walden, Julie A. Hoggarth and Jaime J. Awe, 229-236. Waco, Baylor University and Flagstaff, Northern Arizona University, 2020.
- Smith, A. Ledyard. "Uaxactun, Guatemala, Excavations of 1931-1937". *American Anthropologist* 53, no. 3 (1951), 394-96.
- Smith, Michael E. "Quality of Life and Prosperity in Ancient Households and Communities". In *The Oxford Handbook of Historical Ecology and Applied Archaeology*, edited by Christian Isendahl and Daryl Stump, 1-15. New York, Oxford University Press, 2015.
- Smith, Michael E. and Juliana Novic. "Neighborhoods and Districts in Ancient Mesoamerica". In *The Neighborhood as an Intermediate Social Unit in Mesoamerican Cities*, edited by M. Charlotte Arnauld, Linda R. Manzanilla and Michael E. Smith, 1-26. Tucson, University of Arizona Press, 2012.
- Soja, Edward. "Writing the City Spatially". *City: Analysis of Urban Trends, Culture, Theory, Policy, Action*, 7, no. 3 (2003), 269-281.
- Stark, Barbara L, and John K. Chance. "The Strategies of Provincials in Empires". In *The Comparative Archaeology of Complex Societies*, edited by Michael E. Smith, 192-237. Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2012.
- Stoll, Marijke. "Empty Space, Active Place, The Sociopolitical Role of Plazas in the Mixteca Alta." *Mesoamerican Plazas, Arenas of Community and Power*, edited by Kenichiro Tsukamoto and Takeshi Inomata, 90-107. Tucson, University of Arizona Press, 2014.
- Sullivan, Lauren A., Jaime J. Awe and M. Katherine Brown. "The Cunil Complex, Early Villages in Belize".

Multiscalar Approaches to Reconstructing Classic Maya Strategies of Ceremonial Inclusion

- In *Pathways to Complexity, A View from the Maya Lowlands*, edited by M. Kathryn Brown and George J. Bey III, 35-48. Gainesville, University Press of Florida, 2018.
- Tilley, Christopher Y. *A Phenomenology of Landscape, Places, Paths, and Monuments*. Berg, Oxford, 1994.
- Tokovinine, Alexandre. *Place and Identity in Classic Maya Narratives*. Washington D.C., Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection, 2013.
- Trigger, Bruce, G. *Understanding Early Civilizations, A Comparative Study*. Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2003.
- Tsukamoto, Kenichiro. "Multiple Identities on the Plazas, The Classic Maya Center of El Palmar, Mexico". In *Mesoamerican Plazas, Arenas of Community and Power*, edited by Kenichiro Tsukamoto and Takeshi Inomata, 50-70. Tucson, University of Arizona Press, 2014.
- Tsukamoto, Kenichiro, Javier López Camacho, Luz Evelia Campana Valenzuela, Hirokazu Kotegawa, and Octavio Q. Esparza Olguín. "Political Interactions Among Social Actors, Spatial Organization at The Classic Maya Polity Of El Palmar, Campeche, Mexico." *Latin American Antiquity* 26, no. 2 (2015), 200-20.
- Ur, Jason Alik, Philip Karsgaard, and Joan Oates. "Early Urban Development in the Near East." *Science* 317, no. 5842 (2007), 1188.
- Walden, John P. "Comparative Perspectives on the Cultural Perception and Mediation of Risk and the Collapse of Complex Societies". In *Rethinking Comparison in Archaeology*, edited by Ana Vale, Joana Alves-Ferreira and Irene Garcia Rovira, 157-178. Newcastle Upon Tyne, Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2017.
- Walden, John P. and Michael Biggie. "Settlement Excavations at Tutu Uitz Na and Pech Na in the Lower Dover Hinterland, Results of the 2016 Field Season". In *The Belize Valley Archaeological Reconnaissance Project, A Report of the 2016 Field Season*, Vol. 22, edited by Julie A. Hoggarth, Claire Ebert and Jaime J. Awe, 238-288. Belmopan, Belize Institute of Archaeology, 2017.
- Walden, John P., Michael Biggie and Claire E. Ebert. "Survey and Settlement Pattern Analysis in the Lower Dover Hinterland, Results of the 2016 Field Season." In *The Belize Valley Archaeological Reconnaissance Project, A Report of the 2016 Field Season*, Vol. 22, edited by Claire E. Ebert, Chrissina C. Burke, Jaime J. Awe and Julie A. Hoggarth, 185-237. Belmopan, Institute of Archaeology, 2017.
- Walden, John P., Michael Biggie, Amy Thompson, Kyle Shaw-Müller, Anaïs Levin, Abel Nachamie, Dennis Baldwin, Ashley McKeown, Kirsten A. Green, Rosie Bongiovanni, Mary Swearingen, Victoria S.R. Izzo, Chrissina C. Burke, Claire E. Ebert, Katie K. Tappan and Gavin B. Wisner. "Settlement Excavations In The Lower Dover Periphery, Results Of The 2017 Field Season. In *The Belize Valley Archaeological Reconnaissance Project: A Report of the 2017 Field Season*, Vol. 23, edited by Claire E. Ebert, Julie A. Hoggarth, Jaime J. Awe, 173-264. Waco, Baylor University, 2018.
- Walden, John P., Rafael A. Guerra and Qiu Yijia (邱益嘉). "The 2018 Lower Dover Settlement Survey and Excavations in the Tutu Uitz Na Neighborhood." In *The Belize Valley Archaeological Reconnaissance Project: A Report of the 2018 Field Season*, Vol. 24, edited by Claire E. Ebert, John P. Walden, Julie A. Hoggarth and Jaime J. Awe, 169-185. Waco, Baylor University, Flagstaff, Northern Arizona University, 2019.
- Walden, John P., Claire E. Ebert, Julie A. Hoggarth, Shane Montgomery and Jaime J. Awe. "Modeling Variability in Classic Maya Intermediate Elite Political Strategies through Multivariate Analysis of Settlement Patterns". *Journal of Anthropological Archaeology* 55, (2019).
- Walden, John P., Victoria S. R. Izzo, Emma Messinger, Michael Biggie, Olivia P. Ellis, Qiu Yijia (邱益嘉), Ian R. Roa, Albert Abdool & Li Xiang (李翔). "The 2018-2019 Excavations at BR-180, Barton Ramie, Lower Dover". In *The Belize Valley Archaeological Reconnaissance Project: A Report of the 2019 Field Season*, Vol. 25, edited by Claire E. Ebert, John P. Walden, Julie A. Hoggarth and Jaime J. Awe, 149-184. Waco, Texas, Baylor University, Flagstaff, Northern Arizona University, 2020.
- Watkins, Tia B. *Public Figures in Private Spaces, Structural Implications of Palatial Environments in the Belize Valley*. Unpublished Masters Dissertation London, University College London, 2019.
- Watkins, Tia B. and Walden John P. "A Comparative Spatial Analysis of Ancient Palaces". Paper presented at the 83rd Annual Meeting of The Society for American Archaeology, Washington, DC, 2018.
- Webster, David. "Spatial Dimensions of Maya Courtly Life, Problems and Issues". In *Royal Courts of the Ancient Maya*, edited by Takeshi Inomata and Stephen D. Houston, 130-167. Boulder, Westview Press, 2001.
- Weller, Erin T. *Changing Perspectives on Community Identity and Function, A Remote Sensing and Artifactual Re-Analysis of Barton Ramie, Belize*. Unpublished PhD Dissertation. Boulder, University of Colorado, 2009.
- Wilk, Richard R. *Household ecology, Economic change and domestic life among the Kekchi Maya in Belize*. Deklab, Illinois, Northern Illinois University Press, 1997.
- Wilk, Richard R. and Wendy Ashmore. *Household and Community in the Mesoamerican Past*. Albuquerque, University of New Mexico Press, 1988.
- Wilk, Richard R. and William L. Rathje. "Household Archaeology." *American Behavioral Scientist* 25(6), 617-639, (1982).

El paisaje urbano maya: del Preclásico al Virreinato

Willey, Gordon, William R. Bullard, John B. Glass and James C. Gifford. *Prehistoric Maya Settlements in the Belize Valley*. Papers of the Peabody Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology 54. Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 1965.

Yaeger, Jason. "Small Settlements in the Upper Belize River Valley, Local Complexity, Household Strategies of Affiliation, and the Changing Organization". In *Perspectives on Ancient Maya Rural Complexity*, edited by Gyles Iannone and Samuel V. Connell, 43-58. Los Angeles, The Cotsen Institute of Archaeology Press, 2003.

Yaeger, Jason. "Landscapes of the Xunantunich Hinterlands". In *Classic Maya Provincial Politics, Xunantunich and Its Hinterlands*, edited by Lisa J. LeCount and Jason Yaeger, 233-249. Tucson, University of Arizona Press, 2010.

Yaeger, Jason, Meaghan Peuramaki-Brown, and Bernadette Cap. "Social and Economic Dynamics at Buenavista del Cayo during the Late and Terminal Classic Periods." *Research Reports in Belizean Archaeology* Vol. 7 (2010), 161-169.

Yermakhanova, Olga A. *Kingship, Structures and Access Patterns On The Royal Plaza At The Ancient Maya City Of Altun Ha, Belize, The Construction Of A Maya GIS*. Unpublished Master's Thesis. Baton Rouge, Louisiana State University, 2005.