The Archaeology and Ethnohistory of Utatlan: A Conjunctive Approach
Author(s): Robert M. Carmack and John M. Weeks
Source: *American Antiquity*, Vol. 46, No. 2 (Apr., 1981), pp. 323-341
Published by: Society for American Archaeology
Stable URL: http://www.jstor.org/stable/280211
Accessed: 14-09-2016 13:05 UTC

THE ARCHAEOLOGY AND ETHNOHISTORY OF UTATLAN: A CONJUNCTIVE APPROACH

Robert M. Carmack and John M. Weeks

Recent studies of sixteenth century Quiche-Maya society have resulted in a sociocultural reconstruction based on the integration of archaeological and ethnohistorical data sets. Certain aspects of the internal social system of two contemporaneous settlement centers are examined in the context of this model and correspondences are noted. Contradictions between data sets suggest the applicability of an explicitly dialectical perspective.

FOR THE PAST EIGHT YEARS, anthropologists from the State University of New York at Albany have been investigating the sociocultural evolution of the ancient Quiche-Maya kingdom in the highlands of Guatemala. The ethnohistoric portion of the research has been under the direction of Robert M. Carmack, while the archaeology has been headed by Dwight T. Wallace and Kenneth Brown (University of Houston). John Weeks, John Fox, and Russell Stewart have carried much of the archaeological load.

The Quiche people established a military conquest state in the Utatlan area beginning around A.D. 1200. From a stronghold in the mountain valleys of Quiche, they extended their conquests to the native peoples of the entire western highlands and adjacent lowlands. Finally, the Quiche state fell in A.D. 1524 to the Spanish forces led by Cortes's violent captain, Pedro de Alvarado. In the three short centuries of independent existence, the Quiche managed to subjugate close to a million people, organize numerous provinces into tribute-paying units, create an elaborate political administration, found an urban capital and other secondary towns, elaborate the major crafts of the ancient world, and rationalize a complex native pantheon into an elitist religious cult. In short, the Quiche developed the cultural features for which the "mesoamerican" peoples are justifiably famous.

The Quiche represent a particularly important case for mesoamerican studies: the archaeological remains of their settlements and the documents describing their history and culture are extensive. In comparison, information on many other mesoamerican states is limited, either with respect to the archaeological or the documentary sources or both. The Aztecs, for example, can be studied through a rich corpus of native and Spanish documents, but their archaeological remains are largely buried under Mexico City. Other mesoamerican cases besides the Quiche would be suitable for combining ethnohistory and archaeology, but to date "conjunctive" research of this kind has only begun (Sanders 1965, 1972; Spores 1967, 1972; Whitecotton 1977; Paddock 1970; Pollock et al. 1962; Guillemin 1965, 1977). The Quiche would seem to be ideal for fully applying the combined ethnohistory and archaeology approach.

Conjunctive documentary and archaeological studies offer the potential for establishing direct correlations between the material and symbolic factors involved in cultural process. The cultural meaning of artifacts recovered through archaeological methods need not be determined solely from frequency and distribution patterns; it can be tied directly to social structures and symbolic systems worked out from the documents. Similarly, social institutions reconstructed from the

---

Robert M. Carmack, and John M. Weeks, Department of Anthropology, State University of New York at Albany, Albany, NY 12222

0002-7316/81/020323-19$2.40/1

documents may be understood in terms of material conditions revealed by archaeological investigation. Of course, this is an oversimplification. Archaeological data can lead to important discoveries about cultural symbols, e.g., through the study of patterned settlements, decoration of artifacts, architectural styles, etc., just as ethnohistoric sources invariably yield data on the actual material conditions of a society, e.g., demographic trends, quantities of goods produced, sickness and disease, natural geography and resources, etc. Nevertheless, we think it will not be disputed that the documentary sources are uniquely rich in symbolic data compared with the archaeology, while the latter has much more to teach us about material conditions than the written sources.

Functional correlations between artifact and symbol worked out through such a conjunctive approach to archaeology and ethnohistory can help us avoid the overly simplistic single-variable explanations of sociocultural development often found in the literature. Furthermore, contradictions found between the material (archaeological) and symbolic (ethnohistoric) reconstructions may be as important as functional correlations. That is, our research may lead us to discover the "dialectical" nature of past social life—the way the demands of material conditions provoke behavior which may be out of step with social norms and beliefs. Increasingly we have come to realize within anthropology (Murphy 1971; Cohen 1969; Sahlins 1973) that an understanding of the social dialectic is essential to understanding social life wherever and whenever it occurs.

THE SOURCES

The main documentary sources for studying Quiche development have been collected, translated, and evaluated by Carmack (1973). A key source for the Quiche case is the *Popol Vuh*, widely recognized as an important Native American literary work. The text was written shortly after the conquest at the Quiche capital of K'umarcaaj (Utatlan), by officials of the Quiche court (Edmonson 1971). It describes in elaborate detail the myths, social organization, and history of the Quiche tradition. Numerous other documents, both Spanish and native, inform us about aspects of society and culture practiced at the ancient Quiche capital. These sources are too extensive to briefly describe here; nevertheless, the recently discovered Quiche text of the *Title of the Lords of Totonicapan* (Carmack n.d.) ranks high in importance, along with the *Popol Vuh*, as does a document published by Recinos (1957:24–67) which outlines the political geography of the sixteenth century central Quiche area. Of the Spanish sources, Las Casas's (1958) account of the "Utatlan" kingdom is our most important document.

Archaeological sources for studying Quiche evolution are relatively abundant. The ancient Quiche capital remains a well-preserved site, now known as Utatlan. Albany researchers, using ancient documentary references and local oral tradition, have located other sites contemporaneous with Utatlan in the central area, as well as the first settlements founded by the Quiche in a nearby valley (Carmack et al. 1975). These sites have been examined for surface ceramics and structures, and settlement maps have been prepared (Wallace and Carmack 1977). The initial areal reconnaissance during 1970–1972 by Carmack and his assistants led to the location of Pismachi, Chisalin, and Pakaman in the Central Quiche Valley, and several important early Quiche sites in the Chujuyup Valley some 15 km to the northeast of Santa Cruz del Quiche (Figure 1). In 1973 a team led by Russell Stewart and directed by Dwight Wallace surveyed the Central Valley, and located an additional 63 sites (Stewart 1977:71). It should also be mentioned that over 100 "Quichean" sites scattered throughout the highlands were surveyed by John Fox of Baylor University, who has established broad functional correlations (1978) between the archaeological and documentary information for the Quiche state as a whole.

Major excavations at Utatlan and the initial Quiche capital in Chujuyup (known in the documents as Jakawitz) were initiated by Kenneth Brown of the University of Houston in 1977. Brown and his team also resurveyed the entire central Quiche area, locating over 600 sites (Brown, personal communication). We also note a small survey by Gruhn and Bryan (1976) within the municipal boundaries of Chichicastenango. Their survey area also falls within the central Quiche area.

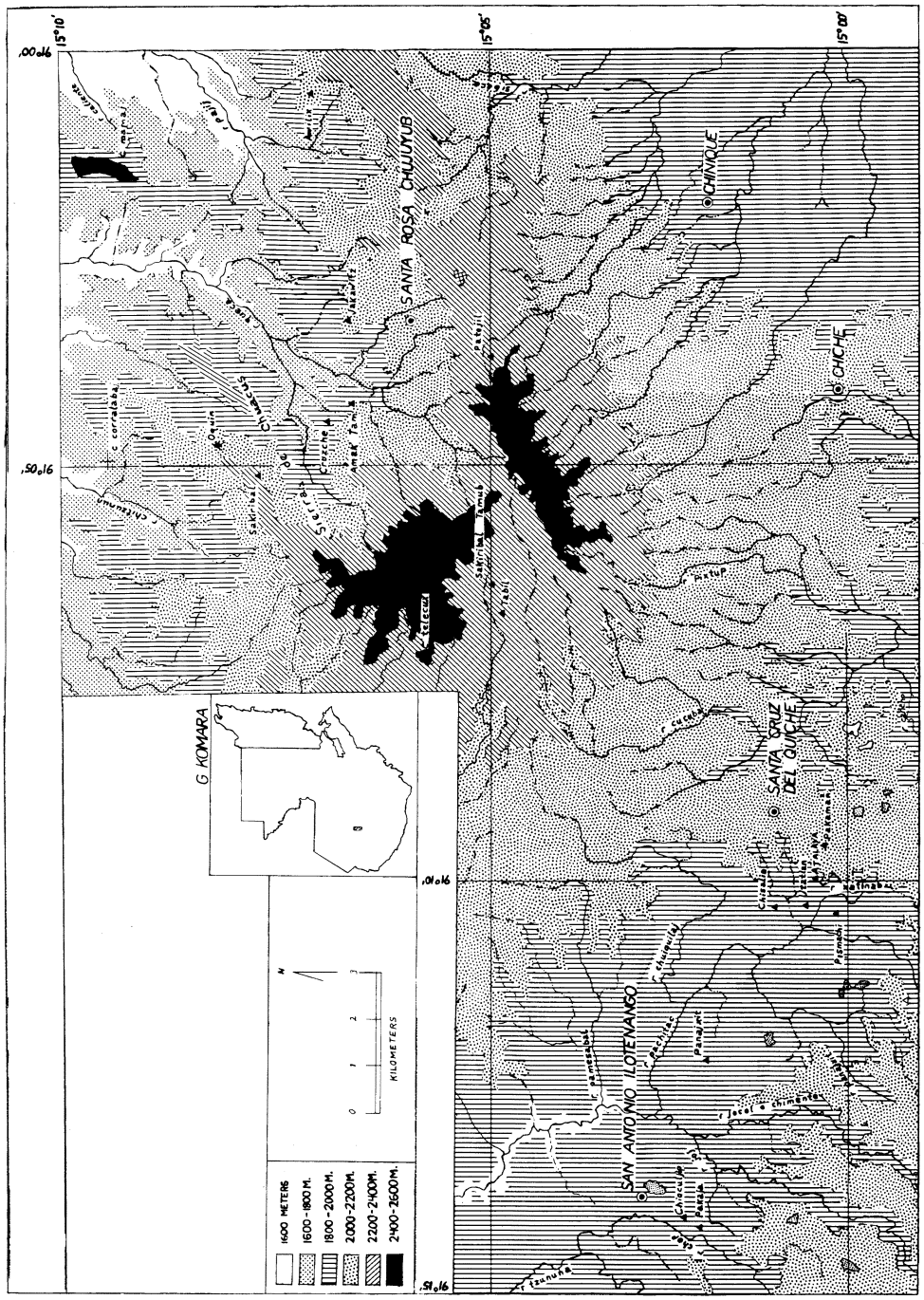

Figure 1. Map of the central Quiche region.

Some of the most interesting questions being addressed by our conjunctive approach have to do with the rise of the Quiche state. It is possible to compare archaeological remains of the initial and last Quiche capitals, search for development trends in the artifacts, and attempt to correlate these with the account provided by documentary sources. Carmack's ethnohistoric reconstruction, for example, has the founders of the Quiche state arriving at the Chujuyup Valley from the Mexican Gulf Coast area in ca. A.D. 1220. Soon they founded an initial political center at Jakawitz, from which they dominated the mountain zone north of the Quiche Basin. Finally, about 100 years later, they moved their center to the basin. Brown and associates have excavated the site of Chitinamit, which we believe to be the ancient Jakawitz. Preliminary results indicate that the site had an occupation earlier than the proposed Quiche date of A.D. 1220, and that even its latest phase (late Postclassic?) reveals no dramatic break with the past in that area.

Several interpretations might be offered to account for the apparent discrepancy between the archaeology and ethnohistory relative to the founding of the Quiche state at Jakawitz. Unfortunately, our results on Quiche origins are too preliminary to justify an extended analysis at this time (but see Carmack, in press a; Brown 1979). Therefore, the examples to be discussed below were taken from work at Utatlan proper. They were chosen to illustrate the different levels and kinds of conjunctive correlations which characterize our Quiche work to date.

UTATLAN AND ITS SATELLITES

We discovered early on that Utatlan is only one component of a complex of nuclear sites. We found five major sites compacted together within a small 4 km^2 zone, the territory between the nuclear sites also giving the appearance of heavy occupation (Figure 2). Utatlan is clearly the largest of the nuclear sites, but its "satellites" to the south (Pismachi), north (Chisalin), and east (Atalaya and Pakaman) are also substantial in size. The Pismachi site was located for us by natives of the area, who identified it by its pre-Hispanic name. The eastern sites of Atalaya and Pakaman have been known since colonial times, though natives can no longer identify them with pre-Hispanic Quiche names. We located the northern site, Chisalin, with a compass, when it was noticed that the other satellite sites were situated at roughly the southern and eastern cardinal points from Utatlan. We found no nuclear site at the western cardinal point from Utatlan. Later on we learned that the several nuclear Utatlan sites were discovered long before our work. The French architect Cesar Daly (1865) apparently mapped all five sites at mid-nineteenth century (unfortunately his maps have not been located). Again, in 1956 the late Jorge Guillemin mapped the central Quiche area, clearly showing the presence of the five main sites. His map was originally published in the Guatemalan newspaper, *El Imparcial*, November 9, 1956.

The degree of nucleation revealed by our archaeological research was not anticipated from previous analysis of the documentary sources. K'umarcaaj, the Quiche name of Utatlan, is given overriding prominence in the sources, in part, as it now appears, because most of the native documents were written by the Quiche rulers who resided there. Pismachi is also frequently mentioned in the documents, and in some references seems to be directly linked with K'umarcaaj. Ethnohistoric research indicates that Pismachi was the penultimate Quiche capital, and eventually became the political center of the Tamub, the political confederates of the Quiche. The site itself is located on a small plateau just south of Utatlan, still known by its ancient Quiche name of "Pismachi" by natives of the area. As yet we have been able to do no more than map the surface structures of the site and collect sherds from the ground. An old native woman who farms the land on which the site is found has been unwilling to let us excavate there despite our supplications over the past few years. We believe that the location of the Pismachi site, tied to Utatlan in space and cardinal point orientation, finds a positive correlation in the documented close political ties between the Quiche and their lower-ranked but allied Tamub partners.

Ethnohistory long ago clarified that the Quiche "kingdom" was a tripartite confederacy, somewhat like that of the Aztecs. The third political unit besides the Quiche and Tamub was the Ilocab. The main political center of the Ilocab had been previously identified on ethnohistoric grounds with San Pedro Jocopilas, a few kilometers to the north of Utatlan (Carmack 1965). The closeness

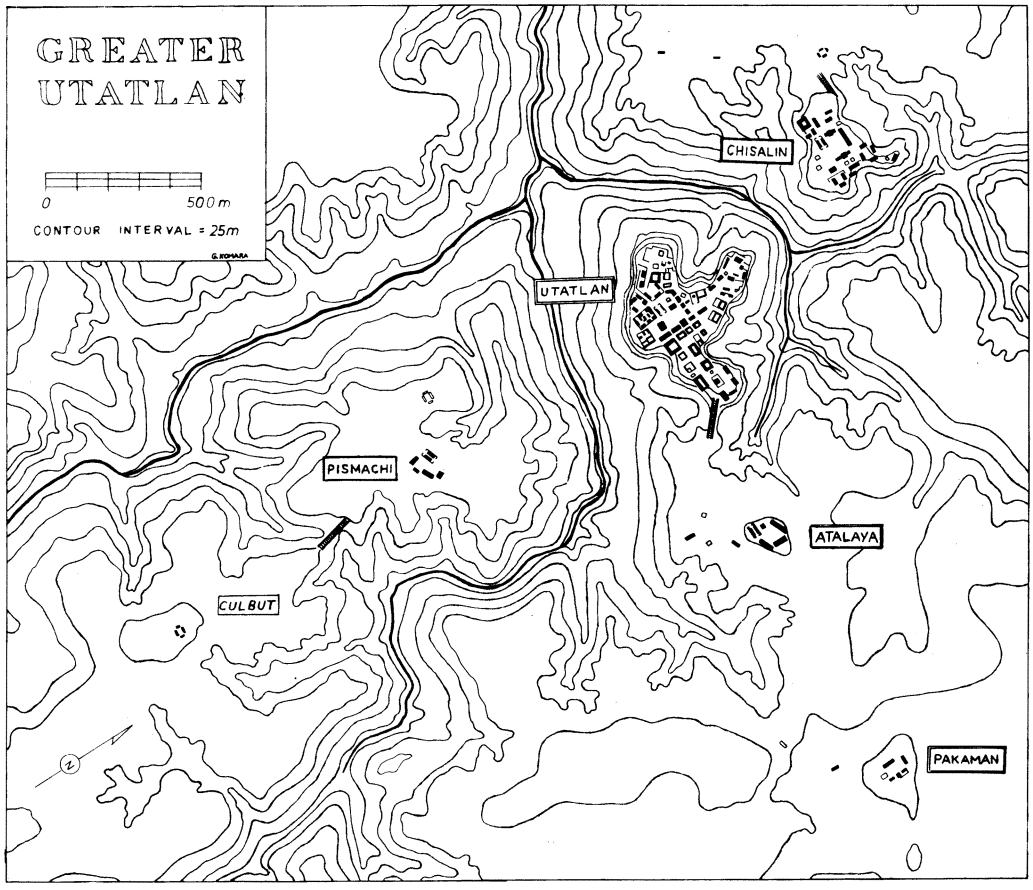

Figure 2. Map of Utatlan area.

of the Tamub center to Utatlan, however, suggests that the Ilocab center might also have been close to Utatlan, perhaps at the site of Chisalin located just to the north.

An exhaustive reconstruction of the ancient Quiche political geography in and around Utatlan (Carmack, in press b) showed that most of present-day San Pedro Jocopilas was Ilocab territory. San Antonio Ilotenango was also Ilocab, and it appears to have become a more important Ilocab town than San Pedro after the Spanish conquest. It is noteworthy that Chisalin, the proposed political capital of the Ilocab, was located to the north of Utatlan in the general direction of the main Ilocab territory of San Pedro and San Antonio. The suggested identification of Chisalin with the Ilocab center is confirmed on ethnohistorical grounds (see below), leading us to the important positive correlation between the tightly organized Quiche confederacy of the documents and the nuclear complex of Utatlan and its satellite sites revealed by archaeology.

Our correlations still leave the two eastern sites (Atalaya, Pakaman) unidentified. They might have been auxilliary outposts to Utatlan itself, a view long held by students of the Quiche. An alternative interpretation emerges, however, if we turn to the internal organization of Utatlan.

INTERNAL SOCIAL STRUCTURE OF UTATLAN

The data relative to the internal social structure of Utatlan are rich for both the archaeological and ethnohistoric sources, and it will be possible to employ only a few of the details. Social structure at Utatlan has been summarized by Carmack (1977) from the documents in terms of stratifi-

Figure 3. Site plan of Utatlan.

cation, lineage, and authority. This reconstruction can be compared with Wallace's (1977) detailed locational analysis of buildings and building complexes at the site (Figure 3). Highly interesting correlations are found when the two analyses are compared.

The major feature of social structure at Utatlan according to the documents was the presence of 24 "principal" (functionally primary) lineages. Quiche lineages were strongly patrilineal, even as they are today (Carmack 1966, in press b). The resident lineages at Utatlan were highly ranked, aristocratic structures. Commoner Quiche lineages were also patrilineal in descent, but did not figure directly in social life at Utatlan. Apparently slaves residing at Utatlan were prevented from maintaining lineage bonds (Carmack 1977).

Elite lineages at Utatlan bore the names of political offices, e.g., *Ajpop,* "king"; *K'alel,* "courtier"; *Rajpop,* "captain." These offices made up the central administrative apparatus of the state. As lineage heads filled the offices, lineage ranks came to correspond to the position of the office in the authority hierarchy. At a higher genealogical level, the 24 principal lineages were grouped into four "major" lineages, which were also ranked with respect to political and ritual functions. The four major lineages (Figure 4) at Utatlan were, in rank order: Cawek (with nine principal lineages), Nijaib (nine principal lineages), Ajaw Quiche (four principal lineages), and Sakic (two principal lineages).

The ruler of Utatlan, the "king" (*Ajpop*), and his "assistant" (*Ajpop Camja*) both came from the Cawek major lineage. The next rank in the hierarchy consisted of two counselors, one from the Nijaib (*K'alel*) and one from the Sakic (*Atzij Winak,* "speaker") major lineages. Below these four "rulers" the remaining 20 lineage heads formed a second block of officials. Second-level officials were functionally specialized as priests, judges, tribute collectors, speakers, military leaders, etc. They apparently were organized in rough hierarchical fashion, though the precise order has not been worked out as yet. It should be noted that the administrative hierarchy of the entire confederacy was more complex than the reconstruction given here, since the other two units—Tamub and Ilocab—also had blocks of officials. All of these were subject to the Utatlan "king" and his three counselors, though obligations to their respective lineages were probably almost as strong.

Wallace's locational analysis of the archaeology of Utatlan, based on aerial photographs, surface measurements, and limited excavations, reveals a strongly patterned arrangement (Figure 3). He finds recurrent combinations of pyramids, long structures, and multipatio residential buildings. Though Wallace (1977) recognizes the multifunctionality of buildings at Utatlan, he thinks it is possible to assign a primary function to each type. Thus, the main building types are assigned ritual, council, and residential ("RCR") functions on the basis of form and position. All but a few of the buildings at Utatlan are said to be constituents of RCRs, which in varying sizes make up the locational structure of the entire site.

The RCRs defined from archaeological data appear to correspond with the lineages described by ethnohistory. The principal lineages were called *nim ja,* "big houses," after the large buildings which they occupied. As administrative units of the Quiche state, they may correspond to the long "council" structures defined by Wallace. Quiche lineages also had ritual and residential functions: temples for their patron deities and large "palaces" to house their elite families. These documented functions would seem to correspond to the other two RCR building types. It is not yet possible to determine the exact number of RCRs at Utatlan, and although in general the RCRs correspond best with the principal lineages described in the native sources, it is possible that the larger RCRs housed entire major lineages or sections of major lineages. More extensive excavation will be necessary at Utatlan before detailed correlations of this kind can be worked out, and possibly it will be necessary eventually to excavate all the structures at the site. Nevertheless, we seem to have found the specific archaeological manifestation of the crucially important Quiche lineage structure.

At a more general level of locational analysis, Wallace defined a pattern which seems to contradict the hierarchical organization of authority worked out from ethnohistory. He detects a division of the site into northwestern and southwestern halves. His proposed dichotomous line follows a western street to the central plaza, bisects the ball court, divides the plaza, and separates the

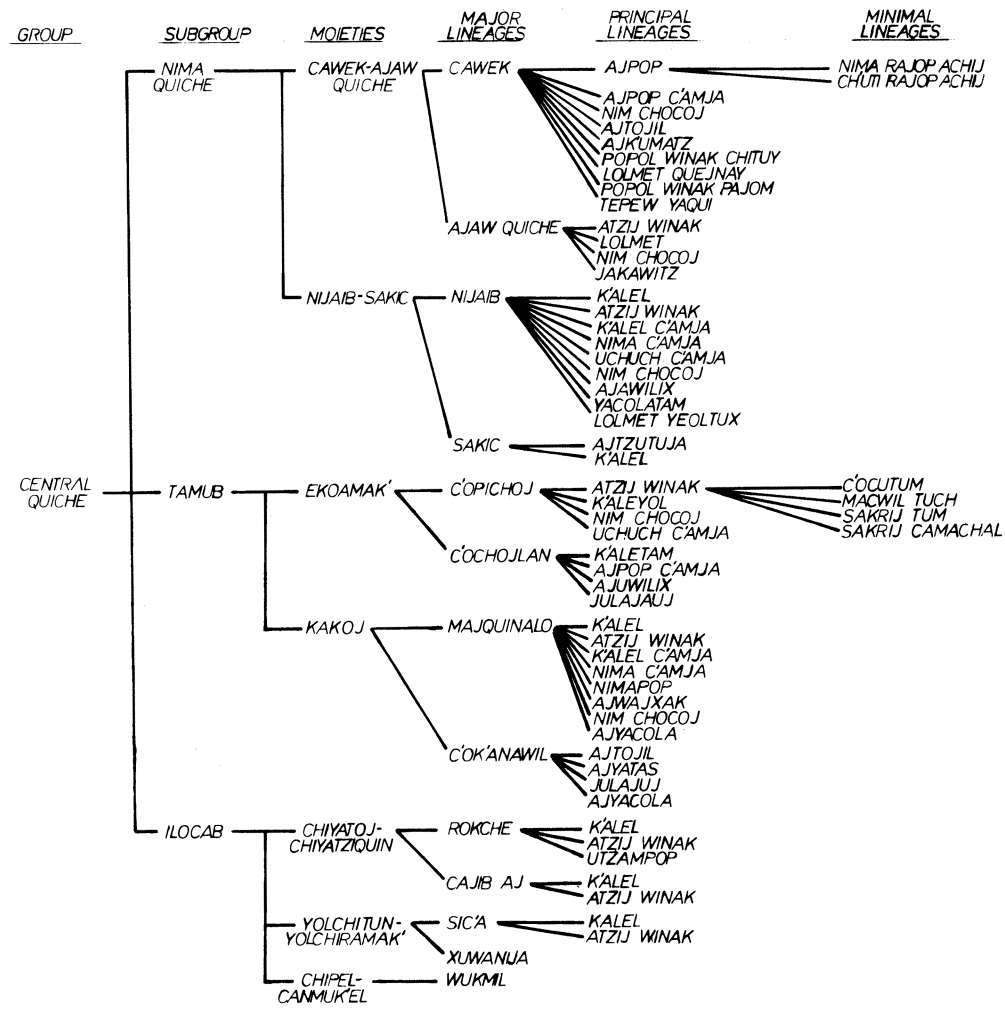

Figure 4. Diagram of central Quiche lineage structure.

northern and eastern wings by a line ending at the northern canyon wall. The proposed "moiety" division has the effect of placing the following buildings and complexes in northern and southern halves: the two large western RCRs, the sidewalls of the ball court, the facing temples of the main plaza, and the buildings of the northern and southern wings. Wallace claims that the division would place six discrete RCRs in the northern half, and six in the southern. He finds a difference in directional orientation of the buildings in the two halves, those of the southern moiety being more oriented to the cardinal points than those of the northern half. While some degree of centralization may be expressed by the large size of the main plaza, Wallace's analysis suggests that the overall pattern is one of balanced "segmentation."

We seem to have found a fundamental contradiction between the social structure defined by ethnohistoric sources and the locational pattern interpreted from archaeological materials. The documents refer to a moietal division only indirectly if at all for Utatlan. Rather, the four major lineages are ranked in hierarchical fashion, as are the 24 principal lineages at the next level down. Clearly, the Cawek major lineage exercised dominant authority over the Nijaib and Ajaw Quiche, while the Sakic failed even to place a representative among the top four rulers. Thus, the

view from the documents relative to Utatlan internal organization appears to differ at least in emphasis from the archaeological view.

In contrast with the Quiche of Utatlan, the Tamub of Pismachi were emphatically moietal in structure. Their 22 principal lineages were grouped into four major lineages, which in turn further coalesced into the Kakoj and Ekoamak' moieties. Unlike the Tamub, an explicitly moietal structure is never indicated in the sources for the Quiche proper, and hierarchical relations between the four major lineages are quite explicit. Like the Quiche, the Ilocab also appear to have lacked moietal structure (Figure 4).

A dialectical perspective would suggest that the hierarchical view of Utatlan presented to us by the native documents might be idealized and in part designed to promote the relative political position of one or more lineages. Indeed, there is some evidence in the documents that the Nijaib major lineage was challenging the dominant Cawek late in Utatlan history. Since the other major lineages were clearly subordinate in rank to those two, a conflict between them might result in a bifactional division similar to the "moietal" structure proposed from the archaeological analysis. The Cawek, as authors of most of our important native documents, might well try to hide this challenge to their authority, and so present us with an overly idealized, hierarchical view of social structure. The Nijaib, on the other hand, would tend to idealize a balanced segmentation (of halves and quarters), since that arrangement would favor their struggle for equality with the Cawek. In support of this line of reasoning is a native document (Recinos 1957:62) which seems to elevate the Nijaib from lineage status to that of confederate partner alongside the Quiche, Tamub, and Ilocab. Furthermore, other Nijaib documents (Recinos 1957:71–115; Carmack 1973:347–355) seem to elevate indirectly the Nijaib from major lineage to confederate status by ascribing to them ward structures ("*calpules*") usually reserved for confederate units.

Unfortunately for this argument, the proposed political division between the Cawek and Nijaib does not correlate well with Wallace's proposed "moietal" division. There is evidence (Carmack, in press a) that the main temple and council houses of the northern moiety can be identified as Cawek lineage structures, and that their southern equivalents (speaking of the main plaza only) can be identified as Nijaib buildings. The eastern temple of the main plaza can be identified with Tojil, the patron god of the Cawek, while the western temple was devoted to Awilix, the Nijaib goddess. These key identifications permit us to make other important correlations between social groups and building complexes at Utatlan, e.g., the two western RCRs can be assigned to the Cawek and the southern RCR to the Ajaw Quiche (the details upon which these identifications are made can be found in Carmack's book on the Utatlan community [Carmack, in press a]).

We find, then, Cawek buildings in *both* northern and southern halves (e.g., the western RCRs), and the Cawek's closest lineage allies, the Ajaw Quiche, are positioned within the southern rather than northern half. Further, the building alignment of only part of this eastern wing is oriented properly to the Nijaib temple and council house on the main plaza; most of it is out of alignment with other buildings and sections of the southern half. Taken together, these and other details not discussed here would seem to argue against the proposed "moiety" structure as defined on strictly archaeological grounds.

An alternate interpretation of the locational arrangement more consistent with the ethnohistory can be suggested. First, we should note that the main Cawek temple is actually near the center of the main plaza, and that stairways on three sides emphasize its central position. The ball court, also prominent, was probably Cawek-controlled (the official in charge was from a Cawek lineage). Other Cawek buildings—temples, council houses, residences—surround the main plaza on all but its southern and eastern sides, and the Ajaw Quiche allies of the Cawek are located in the southern section. We end up assigning most of Utatlan's center and much of its western, northern, and southern wings to the Cawek and their allies. This interpretation fits the locational facts and correlates well with the ethnohistoric conclusion that the Cawek provided central rule at Utatlan.

The Nijaib are left with the eastern side of the main plaza and perhaps the eastern wing. Apparently, their political progress was limited as far as Utatlan was concerned. Nevertheless, it is possible that the Nijaib had spilled out into the Atalaya site located just east of Utatlan (Figure 2),

and that the political growth mentioned for them in the documents took place there rather than inside Utatlan. The evidence for a Nijaib occupation of the Atalaya site is presented by Carmack elsewhere (in press a). Unfortunately, the ethnohistoric case is not as strong as one would like for a point of such importance. It is always possible that the Atalaya was an outpost controlled by representatives of the same powers which dominated Utatlan, i.e., the Cawek. However, since the Pakaman site appears to have definitely been a Cawek outpost, and since the main temple at the Atalaya site seems to have been a replica of the Nijaib temple at Utatlan, the hypothesis that the Nijaib controlled the Atalaya site is reasonable. If the Nijaib were in control at the Atalaya, an *intersite* "moietal" line would have divided Utatlan (or at least all but its eastern wing) from the Atalaya.

In summary, the dialectical interpretation of internal structure at Utatlan would associate major political conflict between the Cawek and Nijaib lineages with a division *between* nuclear sites rather than within them. Further excavations and documentary analysis will be needed to test this hypothesis. As Wallace points out (personal communication), the apparent hierarchical/segmentative contradiction might also have a temporal dimension. Let us now turn to conjunctive problems associated with the Chisalin site.

CHISALIN AND THE ILOCAB

Chisalin is the best preserved site of the nuclear Utatlan zone and has received our most intensive excavations to date (Figure 5). Guillemin originally cleared the site and mapped it in 1956. Wallace and his team from Albany in 1972 and 1974 obtained large sherd samples from RCR units. John Weeks, who had previously carried out test excavations at the Pakaman and Atalaya sites, began extensive excavations at Chisalin in 1977 under the direction of Kenneth Brown. Weeks's combined field and lab work at the site in 1977 lasted seven months, and work was continued for a month in the spring of 1978. In all, over 20 of the approximately 50 major mounds at the site have been trenched, and sherds and other artifacts have been recovered.

Ethnohistory

We suggested above that the site was occupied by the Ilocab, the third member of the Quiche confederacy. The ethnohistoric identification of Chisalin, as noted, has been difficult. The documents have little to say about the Ilocab, and the natives of Quiche no longer remember the site's pre-Hispanic name. Furthermore, it appears that after the conquest the site was abandoned, and the Ilocab transferred their main colonial town to San Pedro Jocopilas and San Antonio Ilotenango (Carmack 1973). The identity of Chisalin, however, was not totally lost during the colonial period. Brasseur de Bourbourg visited Quiche in the middle of the nineteenth century and learned the site's ancient name. He (1972:420) tells us that "on another meseta to the north of Utatlan are found the ruins of Ilocab, with their own entrance." Brasseur explains that the site was part of the same canyon system which connected with Utatlan, so we can be certain that he was referring to Chisalin. This identification is further confirmed by a schoolteacher from Quiche, Juan de Leon (1945:18), who in the first part of the twentieth century learned from native informants that "on the other side of the canyons (from Utatlan), toward the north, are the remains of the Pilucab fortress." He also included a map which clearly identifies "Pilucab" (Pa-Ilocab) with the archaeological remains now known as Chisalin.

A reference in an early native document (Recinos 1957:44) supports the identification made by later students of the Quiche. This source informs us that the Ilocab were one with the Quiche and Tamub "at Quiche," and states that their center became known as "burial mount of the Ilocab at Quiche" (*mukwitz, chilocab ri pa Quiche*). It is likely that this is a reference to the old cemetery of Santa Cruz del Quiche, which is located next to the Chisalin site.

Relative to the Tamub and Quiche, ethnohistoric information on the Ilocab is limited. A few years before the founding of Utatlan, during the reign of King C'otuja (ca. A.D. 1375–1400), the Ilocab challenged Quiche leadership. They were roundly defeated in battle; their leaders were killed; and many warriors carried off as slaves and sacrificial victims. From that time forward,

Figure 5. Site plan of Chisalin.

the Ilocab were closely watched and kept under tight political control by the Quiche rulers. It is likely that Ilocab leaders were brought to the central Quiche area around this time, and the town of "Chilocab" (Recinos 1957:44) was established alongside the newly formed capital of K'umarcaaj (Utatlan). Thereafter, the Ilocab became ritual and marital allies to the ruling Cawek of Utatlan (Carmack, in press a). Shortly after the Spanish conquest, the Cawek were still marrying Ilocab women, according to colonial documents (Carmack, in press a). Consistent with patterns found in other traditional societies, the Ilocab, who were low in rank relative to the Cawek, provided women and ritual for their superiors.

The Ilocab were divided into 18 principal lineages, the names for only a few of which are known (Figure 4). These lineages, in turn, were grouped into five major lineages, ranked as follows: (1) Rokche, (2) 4 Aj, (3) Sic'a, (4) Xuwanija, and (5) Wukmil. Rokche appears to have shared political leadership with the 4 Aj lineage, and both had *K'alel* and *Atzij Winak* officials. Sic'a and Xuwanija were closely allied, for their names are sometimes linked together in the documents. The Wukmil appear to have been of minor significance, and the name is often left out of lineage lists.

The Ilocab shared the patron deity, Tojil, with the Quiche. There must have been other Ilocab lineage gods, but our scanty sources fail to provide us with details.

Archaeology

At a general level, Chisalin shares several features with Utatlan. For example, both are located on isolated plateaus with single primary means of access guarded by peripheral "auxilliary" sites. Both possess central ceremonial precincts, adjacent residential districts, and similar building types as well. These similarities between Chisalin and Utatlan are consistent with the ethnohistory, which suggests that the Ilocab formed part of a single centralizing community, sharing one basic sociocultural structure with the Quiche of Utatlan. That Chisalin and Utatlan were closely affiliated with one another would seem to be as evident from the archaeology as from the documentary sources.

Some of the differences between Chisalin and Utatlan are as significant as the similarities. Table 1 makes clear that Utatlan comprised almost three times the surface area of Chisalin and probably possessed twice the number of residential districts as well. From these gross figures we may infer that the population of Utatlan was considerably greater and denser than that of Chisalin. Further, Utatlan's ceremonial precinct was three times the size of that at Chisalin, although it comprised about the same space relative to the entire site. Neither site had the central precinct buildings precisely aligned on cardinal directions. For Utatlan primary access was from the east, while Chisalin was entered from the north. Utatlan lacks flanking structures alongside its east-facing temple, while such structures are present at Chisalin. This suggests a ceremonial feature for Chisalin which is absent for Utatlan.

Comparisons such as these are cleary of limited interpretive value, but nevertheless broadly confirm the ethnohistoric view that the Ilocab of Chisalin were subordinate to the Quiche at Utatlan. The smaller overall site size and the reduced size and number of structures appear to correlate with their lower rank. These differences also indicate, however, that Chisalin was functionally *like* Utatlan, though organized on a smaller scale. This is consistent with the documentary picture of the Ilocab who, with the Quiche and Tamub, shared responsibility for ruling over provinces of the "kingdom."

There are several methods by which intrasite zoning may be identified within a site such as Chisalin. Recent work at Lubaantun (Hammond 1972, 1975) and Monte Alban (Blanton 1978) has successfully demonstrated the applicability of the "nearest neighbor statistic" in identifying

Table 1. Comparison of Utatlan and Chisalin Site Features*

Variable	Utatlan	Chisalin
Total surface area (m^2)	95,000	35,675
Primary site access	from east	from north
Total precinct area (m^2)	5,400	1,650
Total surface/plaza area (%)	5.7	5.0
Total number of structures	70 +	55
Total number of residential zones	6 +	4
Ballcourt area (m^2)	1,350	648
Ballcourt orientation	85°	110°
East-facing temple area (m^2)	225	180
East-facing temple orientation	172°	25°
Flanking structures	absent	present (2)
West-facing temple area (m^2)	414	270
West-facing temple orientation	5°	18°
Flanking structure	present (2)	present (2)
Long structure bordering precinct north	present (2)	present (2)
Total number precinct shrines	3 +	3
Total number precinct altars	10 +	7
Round shrine in precinct center	present (1)	absent

* (Fox 1978; Weeks 1980).

basic architectural cluster groups. The "nearest neighbor statistic," devised by Clark and Evans (1954) in the study of plant communities, expresses the extent to which points in space exhibit a regular, random, or clustered distribution. The statistic, in this case, was calculated by measuring the distances from the edges of mounds to the edges of nearest mounds. The statistic is given by:

$$r = \frac{\Sigma r/n}{(2\sqrt{d}) - 1}$$

where r equals the nearest neighbor value, and d equals density. If all points are located in the same place, r equals 0 or maximum clustering; if the points are randomly spaced, r equals 1; and if equally spaced, r equals 2.1491 (Hodder and Orton 1976:40).

The value for Chisalin, 0.05, indicates a definite clustering. Individual values, with the exception of the central plaza complex, plotted on a histogram, identify five relatively discrete zones, one of which included the central plaza (Figure 5).

There appears to have been considerable segregation of architectural complexes at Chisalin. For example, the central precinct area included temple-pyramids and other buildings dedicated to the most important deities and was the focal point of religious activity. In contrast, the other zones, although primarily residential, included shrines, but otherwise lacked definable architectural characteristics which might have been related to state religion. They corresponded to a more local, secular level of community life.

Ceremonial Precinct. Religion was a significant phenomenon that linked Chisalin, zone by zone, into one sphere of interaction. The central plaza with its associated buildings corresponds to the primary ceremonial or ritual precinct of the site. This area is characterized by an extensive plaza, comprising about 1,650 m^2 or almost 5% of the total area of the site, with primary access into the precinct from the south. This plaza is enclosed on all sides by substructures which support facing temple-pyramids, large rectangular platforms ("long structures"), and a single ball court.

The plaza itself contains several constructions which might be expected within a ritual area. These are significantly different from structures in other parts of the site and are characterized by extremely reduced superstructure surfaces (altars and shrines) and highly elevated buildings (temple-pyramids).

Strong associations in the artifact inventories from several of the plaza constructions suggest the possibility of functionally differentiated ritual activity areas. This is shown by the association of shrines with certain censer forms and of the small altars with activities involving tripod bowls. The ball court was apparently also associated with considerable ceremonial activity as evidenced by the high density of censer vessels.

The excavation of several long structures within the ceremonial precinct indicates a general lack of domestic debris and other evidence which might suggest a residential function for these buildings. The density of trade and special wares found at these structures suggests that they had important economic and political functions. It should be noted that similar architectural forms are found outside the precinct at Chisalin.

It is reasonable to associate the archaeologically defined ceremonial precinct with the two main ruling lineages of the Ilocab, the Rokche and 4 Aj. Their priests probably took charge of rituals at the facing temples and the ball court, while their political leaders officiated at the northern long structure. The other three major Ilocab lineages must have had some ritual expression in the precinct as well, but it may have been confined to the smaller shrines and altars of the central plaza. It is possible, of course, that the other major lineages shared the main temple complexes with the Rokche and 4 Aj, e.g., they might have occupied two or more of the flanking structures. Furthermore, Quiche overlords from Utatlan may have occupied part or all of the main buildings of the Chisalin precinct. Both alternatives seem less likely to us than the one given above.

In general, the larger precinct buildings (temples, flanking and long structures, ball court) seem to express a dual arrangement typical of Quiche sites (Fox 1978). The east-facing temple of the precinct may be identified with Tojil, since our sources associate that god with the Ilocab and the position of the Tojil temple at Utatlan is similar. It is noteworthy that the west-facing temple complex at Chisalin is larger than the east-facing Tojil complex. The west-facing temple must have been dedicated to a female deity, as was the case with the equivalent building at Utatlan. We suggest that the west-facing complex was occupied by the Rokche lineage, whose supreme rank at Chisalin would correlate with the greater size of the complex. Further, their wife-giving obligations to the rulers of Utatlan would be consistent with their presumed female patron deity (the patron god of the Quiche rulers was masculine). It is possible that the Rokche deity was Awilix, as in the case of the Nijaib of Utatlan, or, alternately, some other Ilocab goddess. As noted above, our sources do not identify the Ilocab gods other than Tojil.

This interpretation leads us to suggest that the second-ranked lineage, the 4 Aj, occupied the east-facing Tojil complex. They must have officiated over the ball court as well, since it is juxtaposed with their temple buildings. Wallace (1977) has observed that Quiche ball courts have an inherent dualistic structure, and that different halves might have been associated with different lineages. We concur, though administrative obligation for the ball court seems to have been assigned to a single lineage within the Quiche system (Carmack, in press a). In the case of the Ilocab, that obligation would fall to the 4 Aj lineage.

It is likely that the ruling lineages of Chisalin, the Rokche and 4 Aj shared the northern long structure, which is divided into eastern and western buildings. These surely were the "big houses" (*nim ja*) mentioned in the documents as important administrative compartments for the ruling lineages. Presumably, the buildings flanking the two temples were used for priestly administration by the respective lineages.

An alternate interpretation would see the four flanking and two long structures as "big houses" occupied by the several major or principal lineages of the Ilocab. That combination, however, is inconsistent with documentary references to internal Ilocab social structure. Furthermore, separate priestly and political officials have been well documented for the Quiche (Carmack 1977, in press a), making it likely that Rokche and 4 Aj officials occupied both flanking and long structures in the precinct of Chisalin.

In general, archaeology of the Chisalin precinct zone points to a ritual importance for the Ilocab beyond what was expected from the documents alone. It also shows a stronger dual control of the site by the two leading lineages than was expected. This arrangement seems to suggest both dualistic and centralized principles of organization.

Residential Zones. Chisalin includes areas which appear to have functioned as residential districts. Zones II-V, defined above by use of the nearest neighbor statistic, were marked architecturally by small pyramidal structures which we shall refer to as "shrines." These were considerably taller than the shrines in the central plaza. Single axial stairways provided access to their superstructures. Presumably, these buildings provided the locus for public and private rituals dedicated to the resident group's deity, a function essential for subcommunity integration.

A series of Thiessen polygons were imposed upon the site plan as a simple geometric procedure for identifying regions associated with particular features (Blanton 1978; Hammond 1972: Bogue 1949). The following associations between residential and shrine structures were found:

	Primary Complex Components	
Zone	Ritual	Residential
II	5B-1	4B-2
III	4C-2	4D-3
IV	3D-2	3D-4
V	3B-1	1B-3

Residential units associated with these shrines characteristically take the form of enclosed compounds, which include one or more separately entered dwelling units. The compounds face inward on an open patio or courtyard. Each compound includes several functionally differentiated areas.

The residential compound was an architecturally free unit in the sense that it had direct access to routes of movement within the center. It was related to adjacent similar compounds by physical juxtaposition, rather than by assimilation into a larger unitary structure. This, in turn, may reflect a greater freedom of intergroup bonds, and greater possibilities for upward mobility based on wealth and participation in state affairs. In addition, the architectural segregation of compounds permitted the display of status markers, most commonly architectural elaboration, to distinguish individual compounds from their immediate neighbors.

After two seasons of fieldwork, the following structures have been wholly or partially excavated:

Structure Type	I	II	IV	V
Altar	3B-4 3B-5 3B-6 3B-10			
Shrine	3B-7 3B-9 3C-3 3C-1	5B-1	3D-2	3B-1
Ball Court	2C-5			
Compound		4B-2	3D-4	1B-3
Long Struct.	3B-3 3B-8 2C-2	4B-1	3D-1 4D-1	2A-1 2A-2 1C-1 1C-2 2C-1

The excavation of three of these residential compounds clearly indicates that they were domestic in function. This is based on the specific evidence of food processing, preparation, and consumption (i.e., grinding implements, charred food remains, etc.) found there. Storage as a secondary function is indicated by high densities of large jars and tecomates. In contrast, excavation in several of the long structures failed to demonstrate that storage was even a secondary function there.

Tool manufacture may also be considered a residential activity, and a series of chipped obsidian tools and waste debris, including cores and core fragments, were frequent. Much of the tool remains consisted of small unutilized blades and blade fragments, some with secondary retouch. An unusually high density of jar forms was associated not only with the residential compounds, but also with the ball court. This is not surprising, inasmuch as ritual activity is known to have taken place in both public and private contexts among the Quiche.

The four residential zones revealed by archaeology provide positive functional correlation with the documented Ilocab lineage structure. As noted above, there were five Ilocab major lineages, two of them tending to be fused into one. The residential zones surround the precinct and provide rather sharply differentiated architectural contexts, much as we might expect for a lineage-based community.

It may be possible to identify the zones with specific major lineages on the basis of contiguity with buildings of the precinct and relative size of residential complexes. Using that line of reason-

ing, the Western Zone (V) would be associated with the 4 Aj lineage, which occupied buildings on the western side of the precinct. Zone IV, which has the largest residential complex, would be occupied by the Rokche, the political leaders of Chisalin. The buildings of this complex are actually attached to the Rokche temple complex. That would leave Zones III and II for the Sic'a and Xuwanija lineages, their close alliance being expressed physically in the juxtapositioning of the two zones. The location of the relatively insignificant Wukmil lineage is uncertain, though the northern section of Zone V would seem to be at least the right direction. The large size of Zone V, with its numerous structures, lends plausibility to the suggestion that it might have housed two lineages. Also, the shrine there (3B1) seems unusually distant from the zone's residential compound (1B3).

The presence of shrines in each zone indicates that lineage ritual was performed with some degree of independence from "state" ritual carried out in the precinct. Long structures, or "big houses," are also present in each zone, but they seem to lack the consistent alignments found at Utatlan (discrete RCRs are as yet unreported). In general, integration below the precinct level at Chisalin appears to have been more segmentive (lineage) structured than at Utatlan, not an unexpected condition for the lowest-ranked unit of the Quiche confederacy.

The focal point of the zones outside the precinct were the residential compounds. They maintained at least partial architectural independence with respect to both the shrines and big houses. Apparently, the several families making up elite Ilocab lineages resided in the chambers of these compounds. Whether or not all 18 principal lineages were housed within the four large compounds identified at Chisalin or also inhabited other less substantial structures not yet identified can be determined only with further excavations at the site. At any rate, the architectural dominance of the zones by these compounds gives to the zones a strong secular character. This is further shown by the relatively high density of utilitarian and elite craft goods found at these compounds. Elite artisanry was characteristic of Utatlan, according to what we know from the ethnohistory (Carmack 1977), and might have been important at Chisalin as well.

CONCLUSIONS

We have attempted to demonstrate some of the benefits to be derived from sociocultural reconstruction based on combined (conjunctive) ethnohistory and archaeology. Some examples were given from our research at the pre-Hispanic Quiche-Maya capital of Utatlan. It has been necessary to restrict our account to a small fraction of the material available to us, but even this limited presentation, we believe, has important implications.

It is a rather obvious, though no less important, conclusion that ethnohistorically based reconstructions can be positively correlated with forms worked out from archaeological analysis. In the Quiche case, it was possible to identify a complex of large nuclear sites at Utatlan with the political center of a powerful confederacy, to correlate recurrent building complexes (RCRs) with ranked segmentive lineages, to detect in building and site divisions high-level political conflict between powerful Quiche lineages, and to associate a set of ranked lineages with specific site zones.

The correlational process permits us to substantially increase our information about the Quiche of Utatlan. Even more important, the combined data from archaeology and ethnohistory greatly refine the quality of information from either source alone. For example, the RCRs not only give us additional information about Quiche lineages, but also provide us with new perspectives about our reconstructions from documentary sources. Thus, for example, the Quiche term for lineage, *nim ja* ("big house"), takes on new meaning when correlated with the actual buildings found in the archaeological remains. The material form, position, construction, architectural style, and decoration of these houses provide a wealth of detail about lineage size, political rank, function, cultural symbol, economic status, etc., which helps to qualify the view provided by the documents.

We have learned from our Utatlan studies to expect contradictions as well as correlations between the ethnohistoric and archaeological analyses. This possibility has long been known, but too often we have either ignored the contradictions, or dismissed them as analytical errors (usual-

ly blamed on the subdiscipline other than the one practiced by the writer). Indeed, the difficulty in establishing congruency between ethnohistoric and archaeological reconstructions makes it essential that we strive to avoid talking past one another (Calnek 1973). But even after congruency has been achieved, we should expect to find contradictions between our respective reconstructions. As the problem of the proposed moiety division at Utatlan illustrates, the view of social structure from the documents can mask political conflicts and other "material" forces actually operating in society which the archaeology might detect. We have recommended that a dialectical perspective be adopted by the investigators and that the respective documentary and archaeological reconstructions be reanalyzed accordingly. The difficulties which this perspective entails are more than compensated for by the processual understanding to which it leads.

Conjunctive ethnohistory and archaeology can yield important methodological benefits. In order to achieve comparability, the archaeologist is forced to establish analytical categories or patterns which will be relevant to the structural analysis of the ethnohistory. Similarly, the ethnohistorian must reconstruct social forms from the documents keeping in mind the material concomitants which can be expected from the archaeology. Correlations between the two reconstructions thus provide a continual positive test for the respective analyses, while the contradictions force constant reexamination and reformulation. This was the process, for example, by which the correct identification of Chisalin was finally teased out of our documentary sources.

We realize that the Quiche examples presented above have provided largely synchronic correlations. We have learned that historical processes worked out independently from the archaeological materials and from the documents are much harder to correlate than structural matters. For this reason we have refrained from discussing in detail the question of Quiche origins until we have better control over the relevant data. Nevertheless, we believe the potential for diachronic correlations using archaeology and ethnohistory is high, though difficult to achieve. The fundamental importance questions about process and development have in anthropology would seem to dictate that some priority be given to diachronic issues.

Finally, we wish to emphasize the point that conjuctive, functional correlations can provide useful "models" for the interpretation of prehistoric cultures for which joint archaeological and ethnohistoric research may not be possible. For example, Utatlan features such as long structures, pyramids, multipatio residences, and defensiveness occur prehistorically elsewhere in the Quiche area. Surely the correlation of these features with social structure at Utatlan, worked out from the documents, could be an invaluable aid to their interpretation. While the construction of such models for "downstreaming" has not been the central focus of our present discussion, it is one of the major goals of our long-range research effort at Utatlan.

Mesoamerica is an area where rich documentary information can often be applied to archaeological materials. It could be argued that conjunctive ethnohistory and archaeological research should form the backbone of mesoamerican research. Yet, to date it has not, and much of the joint work that has been done is superficial. Certainly, a wider use of downstreaming, from ethnohistorically defined archaeology cases to prehistoric archaeology cases, is called for, but this will require more complete and sounder use of conjunctive techniques. Hopefully, our attempt to illustrate these techniques as they have been applied to Utatlan will be a small stimulus to improved studies of this kind in the future.

Acknowledgments. We wish to express our appreciation to the SUNY Research Foundation, National Endowment for the Humanities, National Geographic Society, American Philosophical Society, and the National Science Foundation for the generous grants which enabled us to carry out research on the Quiche-Maya. We also express our heartfelt gratitude to the Instituto de Antropología e Historia de Guatemala for its full collaboration, and especially to Dr. Luis Lujan, the past director, and Marcelino González, who is in charge of reconstruction of pre-Hispanic monuments. We thank Gregory Komara of SUNY-Albany for the illustrations.

REFERENCES CITED

Blanton, R. E.
1978 *Monte-Alban: settlement patterns at the ancient Zapotec capital.* Academic Press, New York.

Bogue, D.
1949 *The structure of the metropolitan community.* University of Michigan Press, Ann Arbor.
Brasseur de Bourbourg, C. E.
1972 *Popol Vuh, el libro sagrado,* translated by J. L. Arriola. Editorial Universitaria, Guatemala.
Brown, K. L.
1979 Preliminary archaeological report: 1977 Quiche Project field season. Progress report submitted to the National Science Foundation, Washington, D.C.
Calnek, E. E.
1973 Historical validity of the *Codex Xolotl. American Antiquity* 38:423–427.
Carmack, R. M.
1965 *The documentary sources, ecology, and culture history of the prehispanic Quiche Maya.* Ph.D. dissertation, University of California, Los Angeles.
1966 La perpetuación del clan patrilineal en Totonicapán. *Antropología e Historia de Guatemala* 18: 43–60.
1973 *Quichean civilization: the ethnohistoric, ethnographic, and archaeological sources.* University of California Press, Berkeley and Los Angeles.
1977 Ethnohistory of the Central Quiche: the community of Utatlan. In Archaeology and ethnohistory of the Central Quiche, edited by D. T. Wallace and R. M. Carmack. *Institute for Mesoamerican Studies, SUNY Albany, Publication* 1:1–19.
(in press a) *Evolution of the Utatlan Quiche: ethnohistory of a highland Maya kingdom.* University of Oklahoma Press, Norman, Oklahoma.
(in press b) *Evolución del reino Quiche,* translated by Danilo Palma, with some additions. Piedra Santa, Guatemala.
n.d. Texts and manuscripts on file with the author at SUNY-Albany.
Carmack, R. M., J. W. Fox, and R. E. Stewart
1975 La formación del reino Quiche. *Instituto de Antropología e Historia de Guatemala, Publicación Especial Número 7.*
Clark, P. J., and F. C. Evans
1954 Distance to nearest neighbor as a measure of spatial relationships in populations. *Ecology* 35:445–453.
Cohen, A.
1969 Political anthropology: the analysis of the symbolism of power relations. *Man* 4:215–235.
Daly, C.
1865 Note pouvant servir a l'exploration des anciens monuments du Mexique. In *Archives de la Commission Scientifique du Mexique* 1:146–161. Imprimerie Imperiale, Paris.
Edmonson, M. S.
1971 The book of counsel: The Popol Vuh of the Quiche Maya of Guatemala. *Middle American Research Institute, Tulane University, Publication Number* 35.
Fox, J. W.
1978 *Quiche conquest: centralism and regionalism in highland Guatemalan state development.* University of New Mexico Press, Albuquerque.
Gruhn, R., and A. L. Bryan
1976 An archaeological survey of Chichicastenango area of highland Guatemala. *Cerámica de Cultura Maya* 9:75–119.
Guillemin, J. F.
1965 *Iximche.* Tipografía Nacional, Guatemala.
1977 Urbanism and hierarchy at Iximche. In *Social process in Maya Prehistory: studies in honour of Sir Eric Thompson,* edited by N. Hammond, pp. 227–244. Academic Press, London.
Hammond, N.
1972 Locational models and the site of Lubaantun: a Classic Maya centre. In *Models in archaeology,* edited by D. L. Clarke, pp. 757–800. Methuen, London.
1975 Lubaantun: a Classic Maya realm. *Monographs of the Peabody Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology, Harvard University, Number* 2.
Hodder, I., and C. Orton
1976 *Spatial analysis in archaeology.* Cambridge University Press, London.
Las Casas, B. de
1958 Apologética historia de las Indias. *Biblioteca de Autores Españoles, Número* 105–106.
Leon, Juan de
1945 *El mundo Quiche.* Guatemala.
Murphy, J.
1971 *The dialectics of social life.* Basic Books, New York.
Paddock, J.
1970 *Ancient Oaxaca.* Stanford University Press, Stanford.

Pollock, H. E. D., R. L. Roys, T. Proskouriakoff, and A. L. Smith
1962 Mayapan, Yucatan, Mexico. *Carnegie Institution of Washington Publication Number* 619.
Recinos, A.
1957 *Crónicas indígenas de Guatemala.* Editorial Universitaria, Guatemala.
Sahlins, Marshall
1973 *Culture and practical reason.* University of Chicago Press, Chicago.
Sanders, W. T.
1965 *The cultural ecology of the Teotihuacan Valley.* Department of Sociology and Anthropology, Pennsylvania State University, University Park.
1972 Settlement patterns in central Mexico. *Handbook of Middle American Indians* Volume 10:3–44. University of Texas Press, Austin.
Spores, R.
1967 *The Mixtec kings and their people.* University of Oklahoma Press, Norman, Oklahoma.
1972 An archaeological settlement survey of the Nochixtlan Valley, Oaxaca. *Vanderbilt University Publications in Anthropology Number* 1.
Stewart, Russell
1977 Classic to Postclassic period settlement trends in the region of Santa Cruz del Quiche. In Archaeology and ethnohistory of the Central Quiche, edited by D. T. Wallace and R. M. Carmack. *Institute for Mesoamerican Studies SUNY Albany, Publication* 1:68–81.
Wallace, D. T.
1977 An intrasite locational analysis of Utatlan: the structure of an urban community. In Archaeology and ethnohistory of the Central Quiche, edited by D. T. Wallace and R. M. Carmack. *Institute for Mesoamerican Studies SUNY Albany, Publication* 1:55–68.
Wallace, D. T., and R. M. Carmack (editors)
1977 Archaeology and ethnohistory of the Central Quiche. *Institute for Mesoamerican Studies SUNY Albany, Publication* 1:55–68.
Weeks, J.
1980 *Dimensions of social differentiation at Chisalin, El Quiche, Guatemala: A.D. 1400–1524.* Ph.D. dissertation, State University of New York, Albany.
Whitecotton, W.
1977 *The Zapotecs: princes, priests, and peasants.* University of Oklahoma Press, Norman, Oklahoma.