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On the Rise and Fall of Tuláns and Maya Segmentary States

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On the Rise and Fall of *Tuláns* and Maya Segmentary States

An approach integrating ethnohistory, ethnography, and settlement pattern archeology allows a series of “ontogenetic stages” with segmentary lineage behaviors to be delineated for the Postclassic Quiché-Maya state at Utatlán, Guatemala. Comparisons to the Postclassic states in lowland southern Mesoamerica (e.g., Chichén Itzá, Mayapán) assess the segmentary state model. In each, intrusive lineages migrated to coalesce into confederacies that exemplified decentralized authority and common descent. Then the polities suddenly dissolved, with disarticulated segments again migrating to commence the cycle anew. As a documented case of growth and near collapse of a Maya segmentary state, the Quiché are traced from intrusive, nearly egalitarian Putún lineages through successive tiers of “confederation” in which various ethnic peoples first voluntarily allied and then were coerced into subordination. Utatlán inherited the mantle of rulership of the Lowland Maya “great tradition,” heretofore vested in the Tuláns. By so doing, the Quiché acquired symbols of rulership, such as full quadripartition of the calendar and a literary tradition, whereby the Popol Vuh presented general Mayan mythology and specific Quiché history. Incipient economic specialization occurred after state formation within otherwise mechanical solidarity-like lineages linked according to the cardinality of the calendar.

CHARACTERIZING POSTCLASSIC (A.D. late 800s–1500s/1600s) Maya polities at Chichén Itzá, Mayapán, Tayasal, Utatlán, and Iximché as centralized bureaucratic states has long been fraught with incongruity. Ethnohistoric texts demonstrate an obsession with genealogy and the calendar as a basis for political alliance and for acquiring new homelands through migration and conquest. The fragile Maya polities readily collapsed, especially at the completion of calendric cycles (e.g., Chumayel 1986:142; cf. Edmonson 1982:xvi). As a well-known example, Itzá dynasts relocated from Seibal to Chichén Itzá and then to remote Tayasal, each jump exceeding 400 km. Such continual movement hardly typifies entrenched populations restrained through state regulation (Cohen 1978:4; cf. Service 1975; Southall 1956). It suggests instead flexible, decentralized, and less hierarchic norms nested in relatively lightly populated political landscapes.

Lineage segmentation (fission), ancestor worship, amalgamation (fusion), and long-distance migration (Table 1) are recognized for the Quiché state as a variant of segmentary lineage organization (Carmack 1981; Carrasco 1959). This dispels the erroneous dichotomy between “state” and “segmentary tribes” (e.g., M. G. Smith 1956:43–53; Southall 1965). And it adds a Mesoamerican example, although segmentary chiefdoms and states have long been acknowledged in the Old World (e.g., Cohen 1978; Rogerson 1986; Southall 1956).

As correlates of segmentary behavior, low population density¹ and petty urbanism in southern Mesoamerica are generally incompatible with organizational models generated from the more densely populated northern (western) Mesoamerica, especially those developed in the Valley of Mexico. To put this comparatively, Late Postclassic Maya cities,

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Table 1

Some characteristics of “pre-state” segmentary lineages (abstracted from Carmack 1981, Rogerson 1986, Sahlins 1961, and Southall 1956).

1. Economy	Cultivation is of often dry field swidden with kinship groups maintaining their own estates. In ranked society, kinship groups specialize in some craft production and trading supplemental to their agricultural estates.
2. Territorial expansionism	Expansionism is related to exigencies of swidden cultivation, birth rate, and social needs (e.g., bridewealth for the Nuer).
3. Complementary opposition	Kinship segments mass together with their next-of-kin, as equal units, for fighting nonrelated peoples or more distant kin.
4. Steamroller expansion	Military success often results in demographic expansion into adjacent economically compatible ecozones.
5. Structural relativity	Kinship units mass together into sufficiently large alliances, as needed for a conquest or for defending against an attack, based on degrees of common genealogical descent.
6. Genealogical distance reflected spatially	The closest kin are located on adjoining lands with more distant kin situated proportionately farther away.
7. Leapfrog migration	Minimal lineages fission as splinter groups and migrate to new far-removed territories. Compatible ecozones for their mode of production are selected as the new homelands.
8. Realignment of lineages	Lineages realign in new territories according to spatial and genealogical relationships in the homeland.

not exceeding some 15,000 persons,² were no more than one-twentieth the size of the Aztec's Tenochtitlán, and one-seventh that of the Totonac's Zempoala. Be that as it may, such modeling has found its way to the Quiché (Brown 1980, 1983, 1984, 1985; Majewski and Brown 1983). It has been postulated that the Quiché, rather than emigrating to the Guatemalan highlands, evolved expansive segmentary lineages in situ, as a result of (1) being isolated into separate topographic pockets, and (2) commercial interaction (ports of trade) within and between “empires.”

To advance a different model, and to briefly encapsulate the building steps of segmentary states, this article traces relatively unranked intrusive lineages of Lowland Classic Maya ancestry that (1) nucleated together for self-protection in beachhead-like settlements during the opening decades of the Early Postclassic; (2) allied themselves into triadic groupings 20 km apart for additional mutual assistance in warfare; (3) linked through military subjugation and marriage first to local Maya in pluralistic communities and later to Putún descendants, which resulted in unstable political hierarchy and signaled the advent of the segmentary state and the Late Postclassic period; (4) competed within the Quiché core group for control of the now amalgamated lineages; and (5) grasped positions of rulership by the Cawek major lineage.

In overview, the Quiché case illustrates the segmentary principles of migration, confederation, and collapse evident for other Postclassic polities across southern Mesoamerica. A conjunctive methodology allows identification of minute intrusive sites, built by lineages of as little as perhaps dozens of persons each, but having specific kinship ties with widely separated groups.³ By comparing a series of sites constructed through time by the Quiché and by their Cakchiquel and Rabinal kin and allies, changes in ranking and political centralization can be “etically” assessed through settlement pattern archaeology. Population increase both from natural fertility and from including conquered peoples is outlined step-by-step in state building. Finally, by fleshing out the chronology of events within various geographic/ethnic components of evolving Postclassic Maya po-

litical systems, the theoretical weight of topographic circumscription, soil fertility, and long-distance trade may be gauged.⁴

Migration to the "Sunrise" in an Interconnected Epiclassic and Early Postclassic Maya World

Chichén Itzá, Mayapán, and Uxatlán, at the northern (Yucatán) and southern edges of southern Mesoamerica (Figure 1), are more closely related to one another than is usually considered, for they were initiated by kindred forefathers. Fortunately, their descendants left writings chronicling their wanderings, such as the *Popol Vuh* and the *Annals of the Cakchiquels* in the highlands and the multiple *Chilam Balam* prophecies in the lowlands.⁵ Put to the test of archeology, the ethnohistories have proven to be reasonably accurate history from the Epiclassic/Early Postclassic forward (cf. Edmonson 1986:51;



Figure 1
Southern Mesoamerica.

see note 3 above). Still earlier, epigraphy of the Classic Lowland Maya picks up where the ethnohistories taper off.

To illustrate, both ethnohistoric and epigraphic threads interweave in tracking the Itzá, particularly Kacupacal's widely traveled lineage, from a succession of sites at and near Seibal (Figure 1; cf. the "Knife-Wing" emblem on Stela 1, Seibal, A.D. 869, also at Quen Santo and Uaxac Canal), along the Río Usumacinta (Kowalski 1985; Sabloff and Willey 1967; Willey et al. 1975), and then to Chichén Itzá by A.D. 875–900 (e.g., Temple of the Four Lintels with the Knife-Wing emblem, A.D. 881) (cf. Andrews and Sabloff 1986; D. Kelley 1968; Kowalski 1985, 1986; Roys 1962, 1967; Thompson 1970). Maya-pán and the Itzá-dominated Petén Lake district were also settled roughly contemporaneously (cf. Rice and Rice 1981, 1984). However, branches of the Xíu and Itzá also penetrated first east and then directly south, and upland along the Río Usumacinta's primary tributary, the Río Negro or Chixoy (Fox 1980). The most noteworthy of the latter sites, Tujá in Sacapulas (Figure 1), parallels the lowland Putún sites of Chichén Itzá, Maya-pán, Seibal, and Champotón in settlement patterning (radial temple, colonnaded long building, building orientations and arrangements), and in some ceramics types. The Quiché's Jacawitz and the Rabinal's Tzamenéb in Guatemala, though less grandiose, also archeologically match one another, as well as those sites in and about Acalán and Muralla de Leon in Petén.

Actual Late Classic Mayan social mechanisms remain problematical for adopting or resurrecting architectural forms—with Mexican syncretism—such as the twin radial-temple complexes on the periphery of Tikal (Becker 1983:173), or the overarching Tlaloc doorway mask on the main pyramid at Copán (str. 16, Agurcia 1989). But to pick up the thread of ongoing contact at the Mayan/Mexican frontier at the Classic/Postclassic interface, a group of Olmeca-Uixtotín recently relocated from highland Mexico to the Chontalpa (Cuauhtitlán 1908; Ixtlilxóchitl 1952; Sahagún 1950), where pluralistic communities in secondary states (or chiefdoms) took form. Mexican-related families came to hold high status at Itzámkanac, Xicalango, and Potonchán (see Scholes and Roys 1968:4, 78). Yet, in these two-tiered communities the Mexicans, postulated by McVicker (1985:98–99) originally as Teotihuacáño expatriates, intermarried with lesser-ranked Chontal Maya. Soon thereafter, cadet lineages radiated both eastward, like the Quichean ancestors with their Mexican I-shaped ballcourts (e.g., Tzamenéb, Tujá), and westward to Cacaxtla, Xochicalco, and Tula in the Mexican highlands. The higher-ranked kin groups may be identified in mural art and carved friezes by a "year sign" (*tún*) in their headdresses and by feathered serpents, and in ceramics by Tohil Plumbate effigies, especially of Tlaloc (e.g., murals at Cacaxtla, see McVicker 1985:85, 92; at Seibal, see Kowalski 1986:150). As Thompson (1970) points out, these groups referred to themselves as the Putún ("place or people of the *tún* or solar year") or *Amak Tún* ("dispersed lineages of the *tún*"), and are referred to by others as the Chontal ("foreigner") for their mixed Mayan/Nahuatl speech (Scholes and Roys 1968:398).

The Quichean documents narrate that the scions of lower-status Maya kin groups (*Ch'uti amak*), kinsmen of the Olmeca (Olomán), allied themselves at the *Tulán* of the west (Popol Vuh 1971:153–163; Xajil 1953:45), then set out en masse to new territories in the "east" (metaphorically where the sun commences its ascent) to acquire estates and enhance social ranking, thereby emulating the Olmeca (*nimaquil amak*, Popol Vuh 1971:153–156; Xajil 1953:48–49, 53). But "normative" settlement patterning unmasks them as Lowland Maya,⁶ irrespective of their ethnohistorical claims of Toltec pedigree or their fine antique Tlaloc vessels. Their mission was to raise "hyphenated" communities of intrusive lords and indigenous producers, like the Olmeca-Xicalango. Authority for rulership was based on descent from the sun god, now associated with the Feathered Serpent—hence their emphasis on traditions of *Tulán* and Quetzalcóatl. They therefore sought the "fire" and "light" at the "sunrise" in order to manipulate ties among kin groups according to authority of the solar calendar.

Upon ascending the highlands, the ancestors of the Quiché may have first encountered the hybrid town of Quilajá, with both Itzá (Yaqui) and Pokoman, situated near where the Río Negro/Usamacinta plummets into the abyss near Seibal (Figure 1). Later, Quilajá occupied the northeast corner of the Quiché state (Figure 2; Fox 1978:261; Nijaib II 1957:105, 109; Rabinal Achí 1955:34). Next, the ancestors of the Quiché penetrated the "forests and mountains" south of Tujá and founded Jacawitz together on the same ridge with a hilltop Quilajá again (C'oyoi 1973:289; Nijaib I 1957:73). With its multiple occurrences in time and place, Quilajá, like *Tulán* and the number 13, represented a geomantic reference point for ranking and amalgamation of scattered kindred. In present-day Quiché tradition, the first-ranked Year-Bearer is still greeted in the easternmost mountain of Momostenango (Chiquimula), said to be Quilajá, who in turn displays characteristics of the paramount pre-Hispanic deity, Tojil, namely thunder, lightning, and the newborn sun, the "Red Dwarf" (B. Tedlock 1982:148–150; Popul Vuh 1985:300; D. Tedlock 1989). In this sense, cosmology and political history blended. Historical connections aside, what social principles were prompting migration and realignment of descent groups across a fluid political landscape?

Amalgamation, Oracles, and Ecology

Ethnographic characteristics of segmentary lineage in Table 1 provide an analog for the repetitive alliances and relocations of widely dispersed Putún. In essence, segmentary lineages were landholding production and consumption groups who pooled their military efforts according to genealogical/spatial proximity. Given inherent autonomy, confeder-

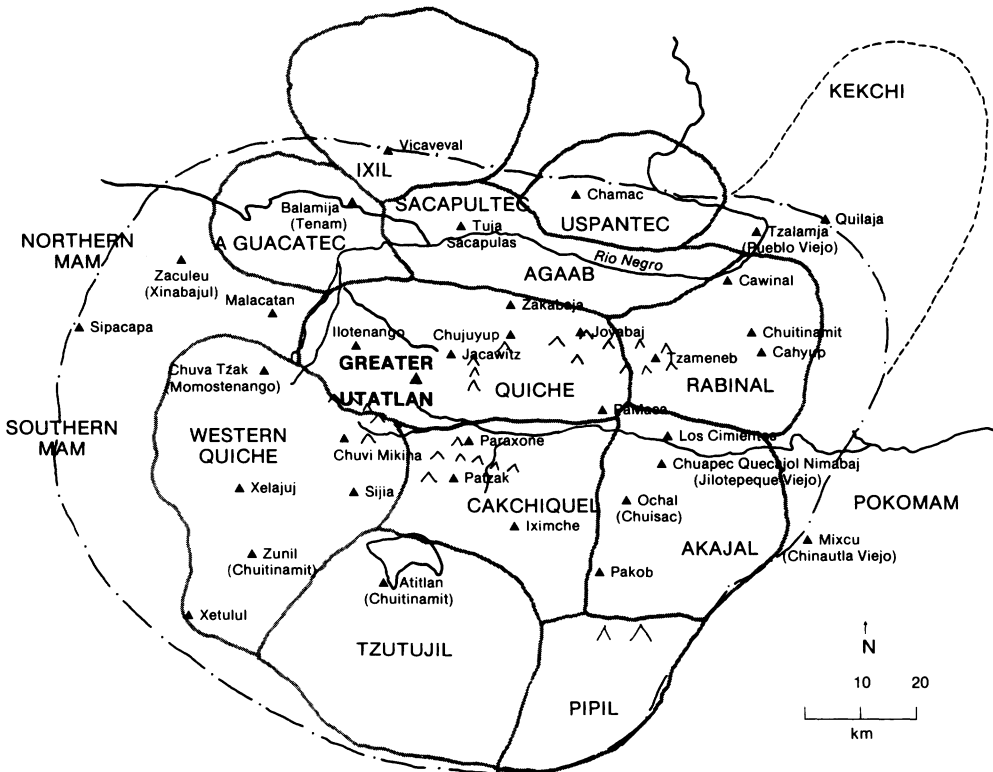


Figure 2
Ethnic groups and major sites within the Quiché state.

ation was premised on descent from an illustrious or deified ancestor (i.e., amphictyonies, cf. Frick 1985; Middleton and Tait 1958:22; Rogerson 1986:20–21), and was directed by a priestly spokesperson (cf. Firth 1936:371; Sahlins 1958:142, 146). Accordingly, far-flung Putún asserted pedigree from the Feathered Serpent of *Tulán*.

In the lowlands, Nacxit was the “Feathered Serpent” spokesman or “sun priest,” declared the “true child of the sun god” (e.g., Chumayel 1986:69). In recognizing collateral kinship, the *Relaciones de Yucatán* (1898:1:120–121, 176) recalls that the Guatemalans sent gifts “to the single supreme lord of Chichén Itzá” (cf. tribute to Chichén, Chumayel 1986:95–96). As an embodiment of the tutelary Quetzalcóatl, Nacxit or the associated jaguar priest advised calendric dates for the scattered kin to convene or dissolve joint endeavors, which comprised the main thrust of the lowland texts.

With oracles, Chichén and Cozumel attracted pilgrims from afar (Chichén translates as “mouth of the well,” Chumayel 1986:95–96). To reiterate, the written tradition was prophetic among segmentary groups like the ancient Israelites (Rogerson 1986) and for the Yucatecan Maya, with the “oracular” *Chilam Balams* elucidated by the jaguar (*balam*) spokesman (*chilam*). Jaguar symbolism is especially prominent at centers with prophetic functions (cf. prowling jaguars on the inner Castillo at Chichén, Thompson 1970; on the platform of stela 17 at Seibal, A. L. Smith 1982:Figure 92c; at Atasta in and about Xicalango, Berlin 1956:Figure 7g; and adjacent to the radial-temple at Chutixtiox, Sacapulas, A. L. Smith 1955:Figure 13).

In the highlands, Tujá specifically maintained a “speaking” *nagual* (the *boca de salina*, Sacapulas 1968:26) and “painted books” brought by the forebears, detailing “Toltecán” pedigree and probably calendric cycles. A leading lineage at Tujá, not coincidentally, was the Lord Quetzal Serpent (i.e., Ajaw Can-Za Quetzal, Sacapulas 1968:10–17). On the Mayan south cardinal point, Tujá may have followed Seibal, deserted in the A.D. early 900s (A. L. Smith 1982:Figure 1), as a Putún nexus. At the nadir of the sun’s path, south opposes north (Chichén Itzá), with the sun at zenith, which perhaps accounts for the ethnic name at Tujá, Agaab (Figure 2) or “People of the Night.”

Generally lineages massed together to seize new lands or when threatened by outsiders or by peoples more removed in kinship. While the potential for dissolution is ever-present (structural relativity, Table 1), after penetrating deep within hostile territory, Putún enclaves remained permanently confederated for mutual protection. It is proposed, therefore, that the seeds of institutionalized rulership of the Late Postclassic Maya states took root in political environs permeated by threat. To illustrate, just prior to the Spanish Conquest the Nima Quiché confederate (Figure 3) comprised 24 principal lineages grouped first into four major lineages, then into two moieties,⁷ which trinucleated with the Tamub and Ilocab. Nonetheless, each of the confederates ensured economic autonomy within its own agricultural estate (*chinamit*, Carmack 1981), apportioned to the color-coded geographical directions.

When outside pressures dissipated, the bonds weakened. Accordingly, ethnohistory records bold coups by lineages to enhance leverage or to regain eroded autonomy, such as the revolts of the Ilocab and Tukuché among the Quiché and Cakchiquel, respectively. Indeed, the Cakchiquel successively withdrew to Iximché following an irreparable feud with the Quiché after inequality crystalized into rulership (Xajil 1953:96–99). More profoundly, Chichén Itzá in the A.D. 1100s and Mayapán in the A.D. 1460s completely disarticulated.

When population growth and soil exhaustion crossed a critical threshold, minimal segments fissioned and pushed into new lands (cf. Popol Vuh 1971:153–155; Tzutujil 1973; site spacing in Acalán, Fox 1987:74, 79, 104). Yet, to draw a general analogy, demographics for the Nuer indicate a close relationship between social needs, such as bridewealth and the quest for new pastures. For example, within several generations the Nuer multiplied their territory fourfold and population fivefold with only a modest birth rate, and repopulated the newly acquired lands with new kinsmen, Dinka captives (R. C. Kelly 1985:61–62). By comparison, to what degree were indigenous Maya brought within the

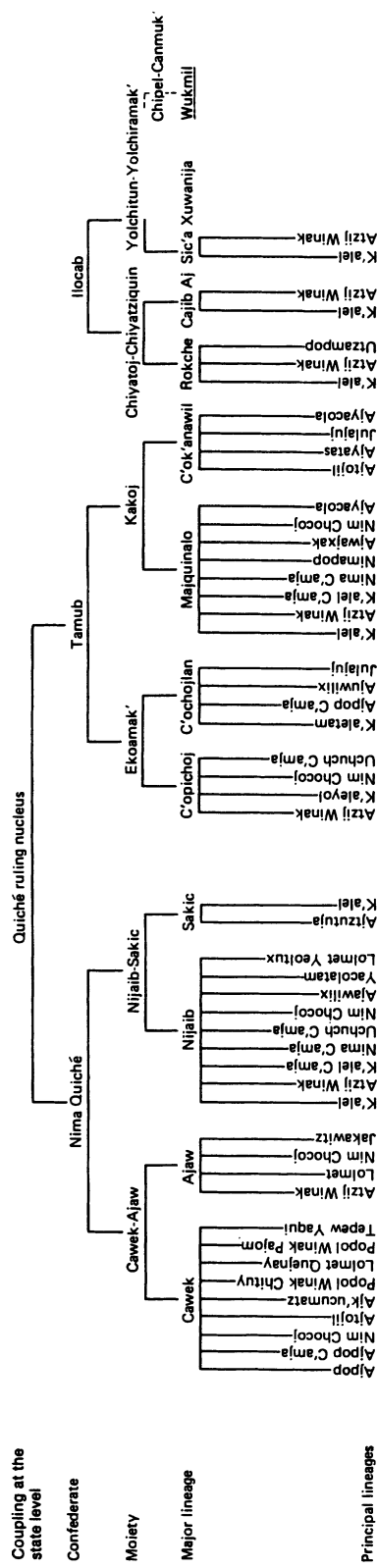


Figure 3
Successive levels of Quiché linkage at the time of Spanish Contact (Carnack 1981:Table 6.2; Popul Vuh 1971:230-231; Tamub 1957:31-35). (Reprinted with permission of Cambridge University Press.)

mobile alliances, thereby accounting for rapid population growth and perpetuation of some local traditions?

Early Postclassic Triadic Groupings

Settlement patterning provides a rare view of contending Maya kinship segments' centralizing power and rank, both within and between allied communities. Surprisingly, Quichean sites grouped in threes, rather than in equipoised four-part aggregations.⁸ Nevertheless, a fourth group, usually of indigenous Maya, was subsequently added, thereby affecting balanced symmetry of counterposed factions. Ideologically, the fourth social segment concluded the all-embracing calendrical cycle of four world directions upheld by the four Year-bearers.

Bespeaking complementary opposition (Table 1), each of the intrusive Quiché sites at Jacawitz,⁹ Amak Tam, and Uquín Cat manifest back-to-back paired plazas (Figure 4). The basic settlement pattern unit in Guatemala and the Yucatán was the orthogonally arranged "temple-long structure-altar" complex (Figure 5).¹⁰ The elongated low "long structures" were lineage houses, termed *nim já* in Quiché (cf. Acuña 1968; Carmack 1977:5; Wallace 1977:21), whose hearths symbolized their autonomy. As lineage ranking was accentuated throughout the Late Postclassic, the size differences between long struc-

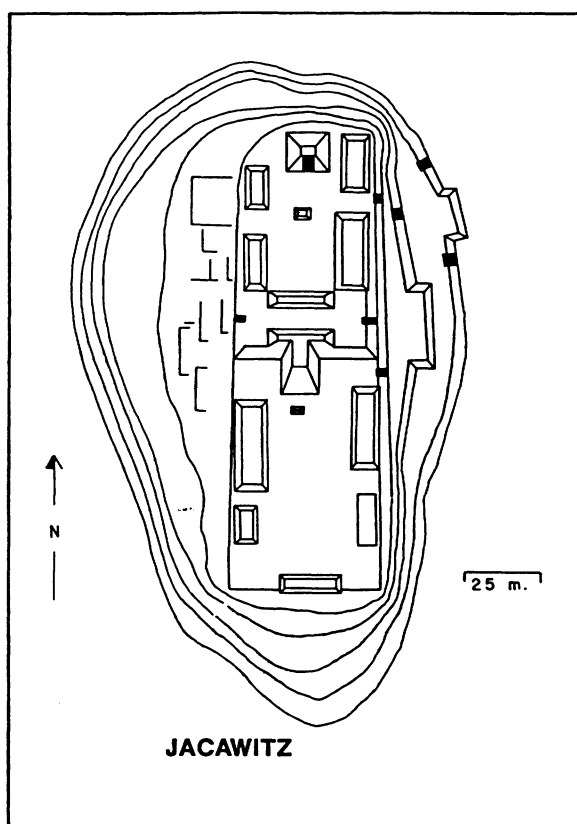


Figure 4

Chuitinamit, Santa Rosa Chujuyup, the early Jacawitz. The northern elevated plaza was Cawek, with their patron deity Tojil, and the south plaza, Ajaw (Carmack 1981:Figure 3.8). (Reprinted with permission of Cambridge University Press.)

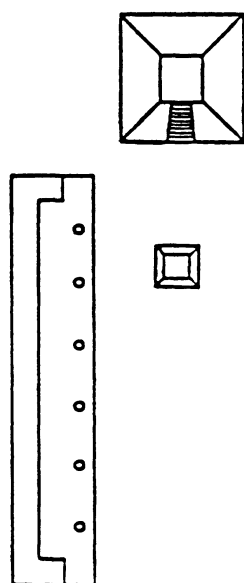


Figure 5

“Temple-long structure-altar” equated with a kinship segment. (Reprinted with permission of Cambridge University Press.)

tures was augmented (Fox 1981; 1987:219–227, 235–236, 285–289). Nevertheless, with time “the lineage houses became more administrative than kinship in function” (Carmack 1981:192–193).

Mirroring complementary opposition, Jacawitz’s two plazas display four similar-sized lineage houses. On the next level of amalgamation, in contrast, the three ridge-top settlements are spaced triangularly 2–3 km apart (Figure 6), and are overshadowed by the lofty mountaintop shrine PaTojil, for the “tribal” deity. Tojil was said to be both Quetzalcóatl and the god of storms (Tlaloc, as discussed above), but also had characteristics of K’ucumatz (Quetzal Serpent) and GII of the Palenqué Triad (Popol Vuh 1971:183; 1985:300; Schele and Miller 1986:4).

However, 100 m lower in elevation and 2.5 km southeast of Jacawitz was the nondefensible autochthonous Maya settlement, Chujuyup (Figure 6), which temporally overlapped Jacawitz in the late A.D. 800s (Majewski and Brown 1983).¹¹ From the perspective of population inclusion, a case can be made that the dynamic Nijaib major lineage (Figure 3) derived from this low-lying Chujuyup. The Quiché warriors were said to arrive without women (Popol Vuh 1971:215) and, through capture and alliance, “the tribes gave them their wives, and they became in-laws.” To support this proposition, a second mountaintop shrine for Awilix (later the Nijaib’s patron at Utatlán and the name of a leading Nijaib lineage, Figure 3), faced west immediately overlooking Chujuyup (Figure 6, cf. Popol Vuh 1971:175). Moreover, the later estate, Aj Nijaib, bordered Chujuyup (Carmack 1973: Figure 7.1). To bring this together, in one sense, the Quiché tri-confederates added a fourth sizable kin group, the Nijaib on an east-west axis, but this group of warriors became the third major lineage of the Nima Quiché. However, tripartition again disrupted calendric synchronization, necessitating a fourth major lineage (see below).

From a theoretical standpoint, why did the Quiché ancestors choose the somnolent Chujuyup Valley,¹² on the very headwaters of the Usumacinta-Chixoy conduit into the lowlands? The miniscule-sized pioneer sites in and about Jacawitz and elsewhere (e.g., Tzamenéb and Paraxoné, see Figure 7) or in the Petén Lake region, suggest “population

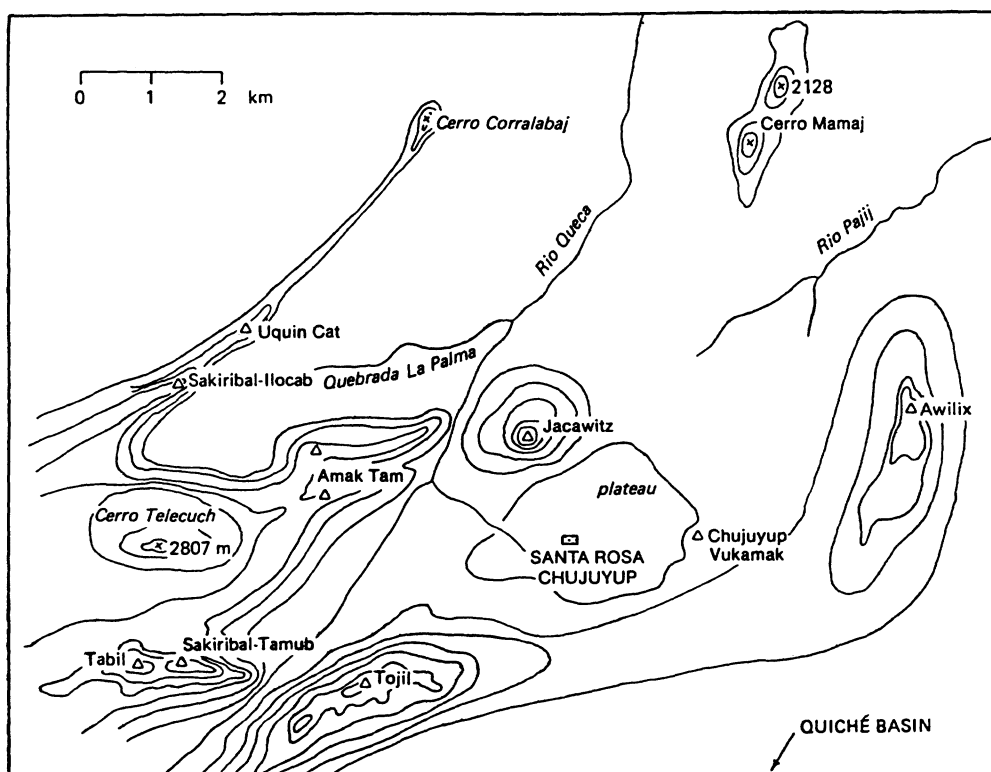


Figure 6

Early Postclassic Quiché sites, Santa Rosa Chujuyup. (Adapted from Fox 1978:Map 3; reprinted with permission of University of New Mexico Press.)

pull” (cf. D. Rice 1986:335).¹³ The invaders may have been too few in number at first¹⁴ to secure the heavily populated prime lands in the basin below. Nonetheless, with similarity in architecture and layouts of Putún-derived sites across southern Mesoamerica, on one hand, and pronounced regionalism in many ceramic styles on the other, seemingly local Maya were eventually assimilated within the segmentary systems, recalling the Nuer.¹⁵ Therefore, Quiché population grew from the inclusion of vanquished enemies and from natural fecundity (e.g., Popol Vuh 1971:209, 214).

At a higher level of pre-state amalgamation, Figure 7 depicts the isosceles-triangle-like spacing of the Quiché with their next of kin, the Cakchiquel at Paraxoné and the Rabinal at Tzamenéb.¹⁶ The threefold Jacawitz-Amak Tam-Uquin Cat, and triadic Tzamenéb (Ichon et al. 1982:Figure 6, 73–76) therefore were nested within a larger triangular configuration. Nevertheless, even the Cakchiquel chronicles, such as the *Annals of the Cakchiquels* and the three Xpantzay documents, as well as the orally transmitted *Rabinal Achí* (i.e., the Rabinal had no *título*), concur that the Quiché were the first among equals, although lineage houses among the pioneer sites are nearly equivalent in size. True to segmentary canons, while the Nima Quiché, Tamub, and Ilocab claimed union based on sharing their god, Tojil (Popol Vuh 1971:162–163), so the Cakchiquel and Rabinal asserted linkage with the Quiché because their patron gods, although different in name, were actually Tojil (e.g., Popol Vuh 1971:184; Jun Toj for the Rabinal, Chimal Chán for the Cakchiquel).

With “ideological equanimity” among the Quiché-Cakchiquel-Rabinal bloc aside, each ally was paired “vertically” (cf. M. G. Smith 1956). As a case in point, the Quiché

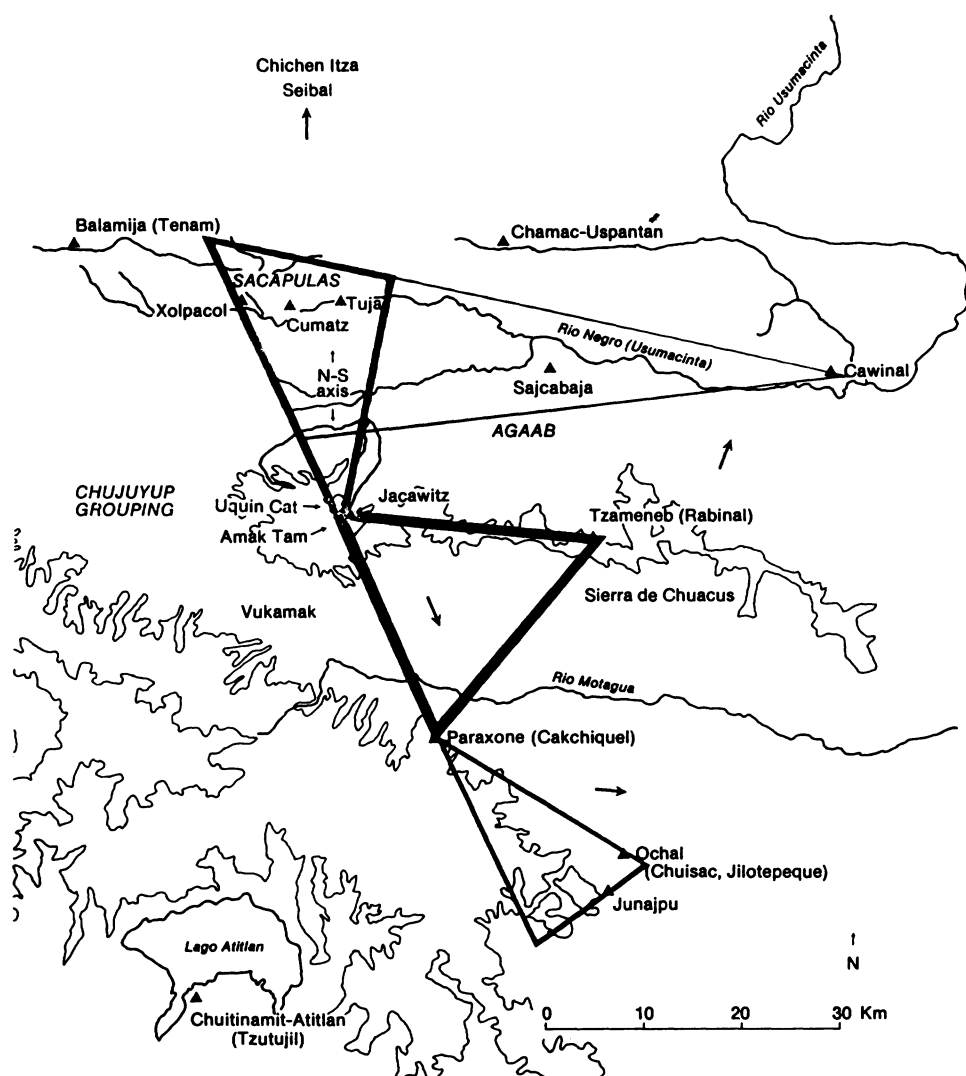


Figure 7
Early Postclassic political geography: triadic alliances.

recognized the sacerdotal authority of Tujá equidistantly north (Figure 7). There, the oracle and calendar stone (C'oyoi 1973:289) were administered by august Quetzal Serpent and Toltec lineages, including the Xíu themselves.¹⁷

The flexible segmentary organization proved effective in defeat, too. While the *Popol Vuh* (1971:202–209) alleges victory after the local Maya laid siege to Jacawitz, archeology belies a devastating conflagration and abandonment of the site (see note 9). The Totonacapan (1953:180–182) and C'oyoi (1973:228–291) documents next speak of “hardship” and “hunger,” when the Quiché scattered seeking refuge among the Agaab kin of Tujá and Cawinal (Figure 7). They visited “innumerable mountains” before apparently re-locating to sequestered sites, perhaps nestled below Cerro Iquijá (Quilajá) along the western rim of Quiché basin.¹⁸ This mountaintop beacon, as a Quilajá (B. Tedlock

1982:101), referred to the “dawning” period metaphorically, and the pre-state confederation politically.

In overview, each of the early confederates articulated “horizontally” to others of similar status, and vertically with at least one of higher rank. In each instance, geographic distance corresponds to degrees of alliance and kinship. Together, the various cross-connected highland enclaves deferred, at least in one recorded case, to the font of genealogical ascendancy, Nacxit, north at Chichén Itzá (Relaciones de Yucatán 1898; Edmonson 1982:16). Yet there were rival seats of sacred authority, with four *Tuláns*. In the words of the patently historical Cakchiquel on their origins, “In the east is one *Tulán* [Copán? see D. Tedlock 1989], another in Xibalbá [i.e., Underworld]; another in the west, from there we came ourselves, from the west; and another is where God is [north?]” (Xajil 1953:45).

Moieties and Authority Within Late Postclassic States

The Quiché case allows a rare ontogenetic glimpse of how confederates, tending toward egalitarianism, manipulated kinship bonds to erect an internally coercive segmentary state. Thus, we see step-by-step how individual kin groups, loosely articulated into triadic “horizontal” clusters during the Early Postclassic, relinquished autonomy to the ever-ascending Nima Quiché during the Late Postclassic period. In essence, voluntary confederation transformed into military coercion of these same kindred with vertical bonds of connection.

The segmentary state took form when the Quiché relocated to Ismachí and soon thereafter to Utatlán, which ushered in the Late Postclassic period in the A.D. 1100s. By this time, the Ajaw were usurped as spokesmen by the Cawek (see Figure 3). The Cawek’s patron god Tojil ascended as the overarching ethnic and state deity.¹⁹ Finally, both the Cawek and Ajaw steadily lost power to the Nijaib (Carmack 1981). To generalize, the *ancien régime* lineages, who maintained “gatekeeper” institutions such as the calendar and ballgame, were eroded in power by the *nouveau* Nijaib. As intrastate conflict increased, so did the role of the military lineages.

The single central plaza at Utatlán, which combined the two plazas of Jacawitz, integrated the four major lineages. The stairways of the radially symmetrical Temple of Tojil east of the Cawek aligned with the residential quarters of the other major lineages: the Sakic (north), the Ajaw (south), and the Nijaib (east). Significantly, only the temples for the Cawek and Nijaib faced onto the main plaza (Figure 8), a public manifestation of empowerment. Continuing the ascribed cardinality of the Early Postclassic, the Ajaw positioned themselves south of the ballcourt, and the Sakic, newly arrived from Tujá under Cotujá-K’ucumatz (Popol Vuh 1971:227–230), occupied the north wing, but in tandem with the Cawek (also north of the ballcourt). At this time, the Cawek-Sakic became the moiety of the day, pitted against the Ajaw-Najaib, the moiety of the night. Adding the Sakic thereby completed quadripartition and full cardinality requisite for a ruling seat (*tecpan*, or *Tulán* in earlier times). In fact, the local name for Utatlán, K’umarcaaj, translates as “Rotten Reed,” and is derived from *Tulán*, etymologically the “Place of Reeds.” And the multichambered cave with a corbelled vault under the main plaza may have been emblematic of *Tulán Zuyuá*, the “Place of Seven Caves,” recounted in the Quichean origin legend. As a calendar center, Utatlán commanded tribute—specifically termed *tojbal*, a pun on the Tojil (Popol Vuh 1985:313)—from subjects who convened at conclusion of the solar year (C’oyoi 1973:295).

A century later, full quadripartition accrued from construction of El Resguardo (Figure 8), the fourth plaza, along with those at Utatlán, Ismachí, and Chisalin. But only Utatlán boasted the radial temple, quadripartitioned like the Maya year-completion glyph (Carlson 1981:188).

Utatlán achieved *tecpan* stature when a Cawek “prince” was granted a charter and emblems of offices by Nacxit at a lowland *Tulán* (Popol Vuh 1971:216–219). While a single journey like this cannot be substantiated archeologically, the subsequent Quiché

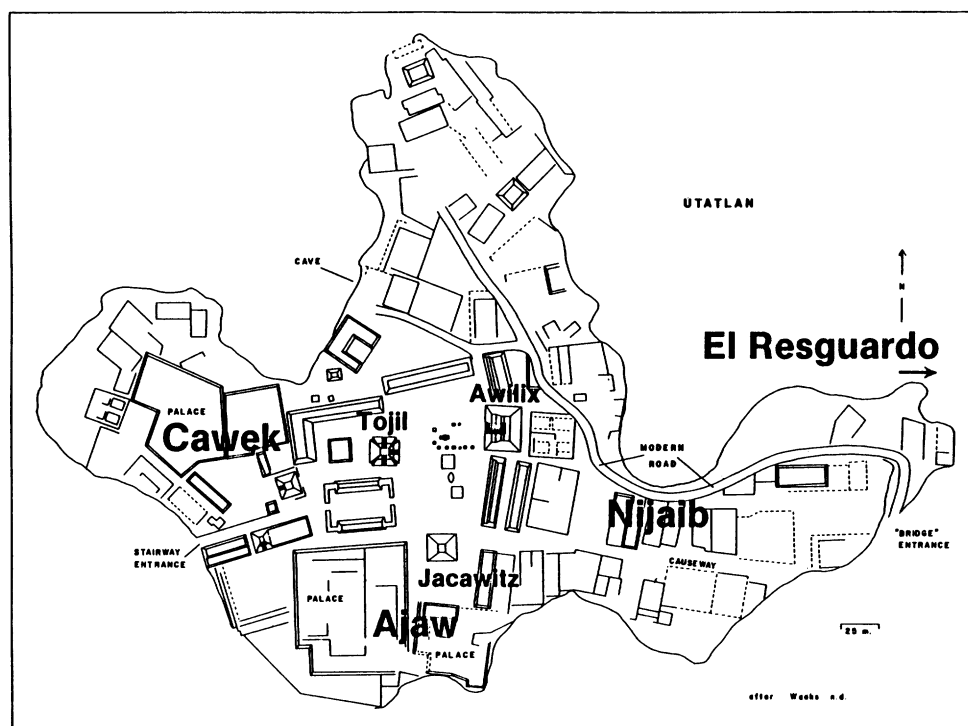


Figure 8

Settlement plan of Utatlán. The Sakic major lineage occupied the north wing; their name White Wind (white = north) implies the two residential/ritual groupings correlated with their two major lineages.

ruler, K'ucumatz (Quetzal Serpent), as the first *ajpop* (king), bore a name synonymous to Nacxit and was perhaps equivalent in prophetic authority.

Farther afield, at sites of the comrades-in-arms, the Cakchiquel and Rabinal were proportionately less centralized by a single lineage, as distance increased from Utatlán. At Iximché, the three Cakchiquel (Figure 9) confederates built three similar-sized plazas of two temples each back-to-back (Guillemin 1977). No group controlled a single central plaza. More distant yet, on the eastern periphery of the Quiché realm the Rabinal constructed no less than 12 separate "temple-long structure-altar complexes," at the twin sites of Cahyup and Chuitinamit (Figure 2), seemingly for their 12 lineages (Rabinal Achí 1955:17, 22, 50–51, 60). Chuitinamit, for example, was further apportioned into moieties at the centerpoint ballcourt plazas (H and C, Figure 10), with three complexes on the east and six on the west. Thus, the age-old tripartite principle endured among the Rabinal warrior lineages, who were termed *achí*.

In the lowlands, Mayapán retained the single radial-temple plaza (but with a cenote) and sat astride the moiety line bisecting the Yucatán into the Itzá east and the Xíu west (Edmonson 1986:ii). The 12 major kinship segments of the realm were coerced into residence (cf. Roys 1957), as the Ilocab²⁰ and Cakchiquel were once constrained at Greater Utatlán.

In overview, urbanism was more a function of politics than ecology (e.g., resources for trade, water control), where lineages massed into citadels for mutual protection. The political variable accounts for the location and size of Late Postclassic Maya communities: all are less than 15,000 persons, irrespective of geographical setting.

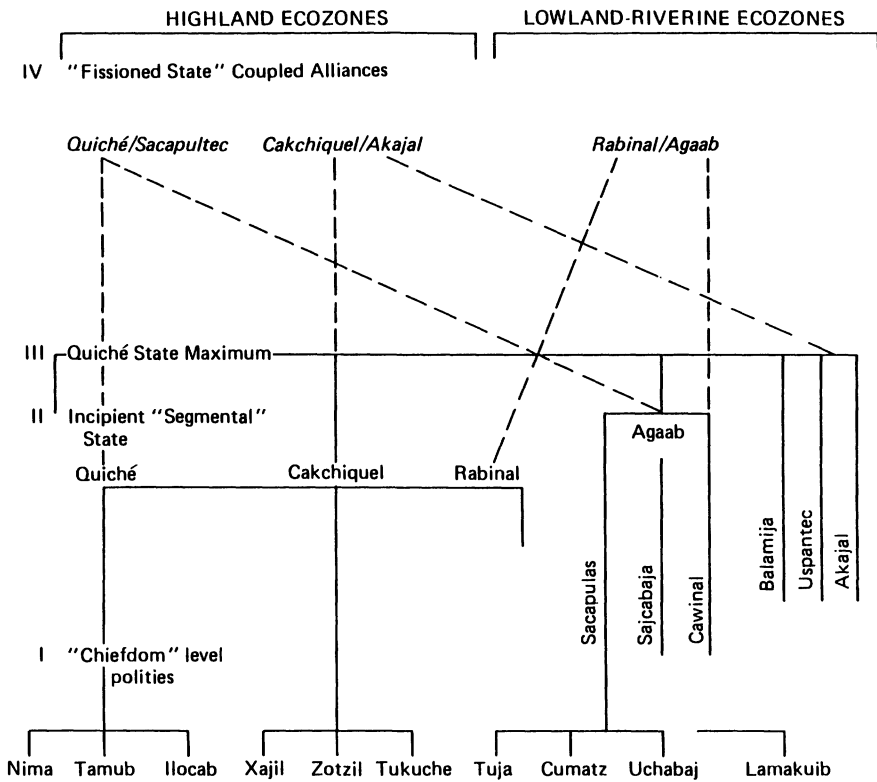


Figure 9
Successive tiers of the Quiché segmentary state. (From Fox 1987; reprinted with permission of Cambridge University Press.)

State Scaffolding and Economic Specialization

Following creation of the segmentary state per se, the Quiché continued to conquer and coalesce at a far-reaching level geographically, genealogically, and hierarchically. At Ismachí Utatlán, the Nima Quiché major lineages (*oxib nim ja*) exchanged women among themselves and presumably with the Cakchiquel and Rabinal, although major lineage exogamy ceased within a single generation (Popol Vuh 1971:226–228). Pyramidal accretions of successively more distant “ethnic” kin were affixed according to the time-tested triadic confederating scheme (Figure 9). Therefore, the procedures of conquest and amalgamation were only now transposed to brethren Putún.

As we have seen, the Quiché first brought the Cakchiquel and Rabinal into their orbit, with brief interludes of co-residence. This embryonic nucleus soon expanded, through conquest, then marriage, to include the more prestigious river-valley-dwelling radial-temple centers to the north and south: the Agaab of Sacapulas-Sajcabajá-Cawinal and the Itzá of Quilajá, as well as the Balamijá, Tzutujil, Akajal, and Uspantec (Figures 2, 7, 9). Stratum endogamy welded the elevated Cawek/Sakic moiety with apical lineages at the radial temple centers (e.g., a Tzutujil wife of K’ucumatz, Totonicapán 1953:184). Genealogically, the latter at first were one step further removed than the Cakchiquel and Rabinal (see secondary triadic linkages, Figure 7; Quiché state maximum, Figure 9). Continuing this military trajectory and following the priority of the cardinal points, cam-

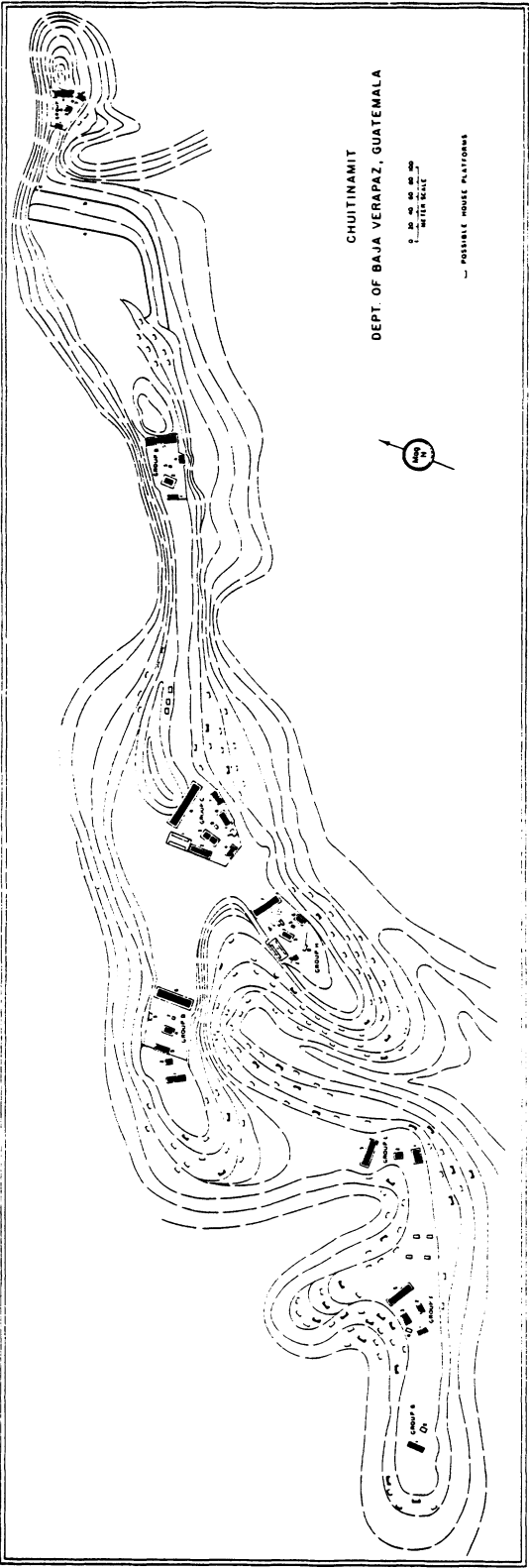


Figure 10
Settlement plan of Chuitinamit, Rabinal.

paigns were next launched east and finally west, and massive Quiché colonies were founded.

From an economic standpoint, the northern and southern groups controlled lucrative deposits of salt, jade, jewels, gold, obsidian, highly desired cacao, quetzal feathers, ornate gourds, and fish (Nijaib II 1957:105–111). These now-subordinate kin of the provinces were locked into tributary payments (e.g., C'oyoi 1973:291, 297; Nijaib I 1957:74–76, 101–103; Totoncapán 1953:188; Xpantzay I 1957:145). But of greater value were their pedigrees to administer the calendar rituals, now conveyed to the Quiché.

At this point economic specialization is unequivocal. The aforementioned *Tolteca* craftsmen of precious stone, metal, and featherworking came to reside at Utatlán. The recently enhanced Quiché were at first equipped with sumptuary symbols of rank and office (C'oyoi 1973:297) from the lowland *Tulán*, but surely as well from nearby Tujá. Inasmuch as the *Tolteca* are only discerned at the three Sacapulas towns (e.g., Sacapulas 1968; cf. Lamaquib [1595] and Uchabajá [1600] in Carmack 1973:368–371), there is a likelihood that they came with the Sakic to embellish the new Quiché center of political suzerainty. Consequently, Utatlán acquired its radial temple and lime-plastering (C'oyoi 1973:295), both present at Tujá but absent at Jacawitz. But only incipient craft specialization and distribution were vested in these essentially mechanical solidarity-like lineages. For example, some copper was smelted at El Resguardo (Weeks 1983), and apparently only the Cawek imported obsidian (Brown 1983).

Fissioning and Fragmentation

Upon subjugation of most of the Guatemalan highlands, the tripartite state-nucleus broke apart (Figure 9, level IV). The Tzutujil, Cakchiquel, and Rabinal eventually pulled away to initiate smaller rival states. Thus, a few decades prior to the Spanish Conquest, the Quiché polity had divided into four competing *tecþáns*, recalling the four earlier *Tuláns*. In the process, this fragmentation paralleled the dissolution of the “joint government” of Mayapán into petty states (Roys 1957).

After the Cakchiquel migrated east to Iximché, they first coupled with the Akajal at Ochál, 21 km north (Figures 2, 7). Similarly, the Rabinal broke loose and coupled with the higher-ranked Agaab of Cawinal 19 km north to form their own short-lived polity, only to fall prey to the Cakchiquel.

But at the apogee of the Quiché state, the most closely linked provincial groupings at Utatlán²¹ were those minimal lineages that had once budded, to secure rich agricultural estates east and west, at surprisingly uniform distances of approximately 40 km (Figure 2; Xoyabáj, 38 km; Chuvi Mikina, Xelajuj, about 40 km; Zaculeu, 49 km). It seems likely that they migrated en masse and established large and powerful colonies, since numerous lineages from Greater Utatlán are named in colonial period censuses for these towns.

In contrast, smaller enclaves north and south, lacking the rosters of Quiché lineages, are evidenced only by ethnohistory and by a new Quiché plaza, modeled after Utatlán, adjacent to an earlier one for the Balamijá, Tzutujil, and the Akajal (Fox 1987:158–170). Such complementarity parallels the Itzá (Toltec) and Puuc complexes at Chichén Itzá and recalls the hyphenated Olmeca-Xicalango and Itzá/Pokoman at Quilajá.

But such segmentary colonies were tied to Utatlán only by kinship loyalty and extractive tribute payments. With insufficient authority and military might in the capital, the age-old jealousies resurfaced and politics unraveled. Theoretically, at least, evolution to the more centralized state (e.g., Service 1962, 1975) would transpire only after the option to regain autonomy through flight was thwarted (Cohen 1978; Southall 1956). However, such political metamorphosis depends on greater population density and more economic specialization.

Comparisons and Conclusions

Elucidating the Quiché's ontogeny by the conjunctive method allows segmentary behaviors to be outlined that would not be discernible from archeology or ethnohistory

alone. Nonetheless, ethnohistory does delineate the quite ephemeral battles, marriages, coups, and tributary and calendrical rituals, which would be all but invisible from archeology. These events connected communities both nearby and at distances across hundreds of kilometers. Archeology provides the absolute dates for ethnohistory's chain of political events.

However, the placement of specific lineages proxemically allows assessment of how ranking was accentuated during the Postclassic and how geographical and genealogical distance equated. Thus, "first degree" kinship ties bound communities about 20 linear km apart during the pre-state confederacy and at the early state level (proportion = .93 significance = .02).²² While colonies of kindred clustered about 40 km away at the height of the state (proportion = .84), the smaller enclaves north and south were eventually lost. But the enormous colonies east and west remained loyal. With time and genealogical distance, as we have seen, the Cakchiquel and Rabinal also successfully revolted. Overall, distinctions in the size of lineage houses and their proximity to one another are tangible evidence of increased ranking as the state unfolded.

Settlement patterning alone reveals that essentially egalitarian Putún expatriates initially spaced themselves equidistantly into triadic confederacies. Such fundamentally Mayan organization persisted from as early as the Preclassic (e.g., triple temples at El Mirador, the radial temple at Uaxactún). Not unexpectedly, continuity was stronger between the Classic and Postclassic Maya as exemplified by the lurid Underworld imagery of the *Popol Vuh* on burial ceramics (Coe 1973), by glyphic portrayal of Tojil and the sacred bundle (*pizom c'cal*) at Palenqué (Popol Vuh 1985; Schele 1988), by the aligned radial temple (str. 4) and north-south-oriented ballcourt at Copán (like Chichén Itzá), and by corbelled vaulting for burials and caves at Quichean sites. So, too, the chronology of adding the major lineages at Utatlán mirrored the mythological birth order of the Palenqué Triad: the Ajaw with god GI, the first born; the Nijaib with the twin GIII—together the moiety of night at Utatlán; and the Sakic (Cawek) with GII, the moiety of day and the last to emerge. Thus it can be seen that the Quiché inherited and reformulated Classic Maya civilization. Therefore, the much-celebrated ethnohistoric references to the Toltecs, *Tulán*, and Quetzalcóatl gain relief as Mexican syncretism.

Archeology and ethnohistory conjoined allow perception of the solar calendar undergirding the Postclassic Maya world. Military campaigns, tribute payments, and positioning of lineages and towns accorded with the calendar, and calendric metaphor permeates the ethnohistories. During the Early Postclassic, the Quiché were symbolized by Venus, and were situated south of the higher-status Tujá, and of the still higher Chichén Itzá, both with imagery of the sun. While D. Tedlock (Popol Vuh 1985:305; D. Tedlock 1989) points out that Venus both rose and set in the east, so that priority as a place or origin might be assigned to this cardinal point (Popol Vuh 1985:306; D. Tedlock 1989), in fact the Quiché, Cakchiquel, and Rabinal migrated from the west, the opposite direction, as neophytes in the metaphoric "darkness" guided by Venus. Accordingly, each migrated 20–40 km east to establish capitals at Utatlán, Iximché, and Cahyup/Chuitin-amit for nascent states. Next, each conquered and coupled with a radial temple center to the north—Tujá, Ochál, and Cawinal, respectively—and, in a sense, acquired the authority of the solar calendar. Then west represented the initiates, en route to attaining the "light" via south, as recounted in the Quichean migration epic from the *Tulán* of the west. East was the military authority of the newly born sun, as conceptualized by the reference point Quilajá to the northeast, at Jacawitz and Chiquimula, and later as a town within the Quiché state. Last, north, denoting the sun at zenith, signified genealogical and ritual priority. Full quadripartition transpired at Utatlán, with symbolism requisite for a *Tulán*, when legitimacy to rule was bestowed by a lowland Nacxit, and parity was achieved locally with Tujá. Replicating the fundamental cardinality at Utatlán, the Sakic dwelled within the premier north wing with the genealogical pedigree from Tujá; the Cawek faced east and directed such military endeavors as the fighting forces, tribute pay-

ments, and the ballcourt. The Nijaib faced west, as military conscripts. The Ajaw continued on the south wing, associated with Venus, as the “right hand of the sun.”

From a theoretical perspective, variables often cited in state formation, such as population growth, economic specialization, and long-distance “luxury good” trade, postdate full emergence of the Quiché state. Generally, models evoked from the large states (“empires”) with great population density in northern Mesoamerica do not apply in Postclassic southern Mesoamerica. To illustrate, among the Postclassic Maya urbanism was a political formation of tightly nucleated intrusive lineages.

The Early Postclassic lowland and highland confederacies, on the northern and southern peripheries of the Maya world, were centered on radial-temple sites for calendrical prophecy. By the Late Postclassic, sufficiently contrastive segmentary states evolved in diverse environmental settings (e.g., the physiographically circumscribed and ecologically symbiotic highlands). Also, increasing divergence, local populations, and traditions were variously incorporated in both regions. At Mayapán, in less circumscribed Yucatán, *katún* cycles persisted but political binding completely unraveled, in contrast to the slightly more cohesive Quichean segmentary states.

Notes

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¹Population densities of some 50–70 persons per km² in the Chontalpa, highland Guatemala, and Yucatán (Carmack 1981:52; Kelly and Palerm 1952:Table 1; Sanders 1962:90–95; Siemens 1966) contrast with 70–234 per km² for Central Mexico (Sanders, Parsons, and Santley 1979:162–163, 214–219).

²Ranking of size of Late Postclassic Maya urban populations might be the following: Greater Utatlán, with some 15,000 (Carmack 1981:372; Fox 1987:173–192); Mayapán, with 10,000–11,000 (Pollock et al. 1962; Sanders 1962:228); Naco, with 10,000 (Wonderley 1981:308); Iximché, with about 5,000 (Fox 1978:183); Itzámkanac, with 4,000 (Scholes and Roys 1968:160–161); Cimatán, with about 3,500 (i.e., Cortés 1928:293; Díaz del Castillo 1908:chapter 39); Cawinal, with 2,500 (Bertrand 1982:80); and Tayasal, with 2,000 (Jones 1982:281).

³Significantly, ethnohistory reveals an ethnographic-like “emic” perspective which was of vital concern to Postclassic peoples: especially the events of their lineage competition and alliance. This dimension offers the archeologist a wide web of social relationships largely invisible from a nonhistoric approach. Combining archeology with ethnohistory is not without inconsistencies, however. Radiocarbon dates for construction of the first Quiché towns (A.D. late 800s–900s) precede ethnohistorically reconstructed dates by three to four centuries (Majewski and Brown 1983). The documents foreshortened chronology by listing 13 Quiché rulers. This was a symbolic accounting, since the calendric number 13 is equated with governance (Edmonson 1986:40–41). To illustrate, 13 enemy lords were later slain under the Quiché ruler Quikab (Carmack 1981:134–135; Xpantay II 1957:140–147), and 13 groups migrated into the highlands (Popol Vuh 1971:155–156). Jacawitz(es) would have witnessed about eight chiefs and later Utatlán about 16 kings allowing approximately 25 years per reign. By comparison, 14 successive rulers at Palenqué averaged 25.8 years per reign, as calibrated from long count dates (Schele 1986:111).

⁴For example, the Quiché state was reconstructed as an “empire” that arose to regulate the commercial inflow of obsidian and salt (Brown 1977, 1984; cf. Sanders and Price 1968). Ball (1977:106–114) argues for segmentary lineage villages during the Middle Preclassic.

⁵As transcriptions of pre-Hispanic codices, the ethnic histories (land titles, or *títulos*, Carmack 1973) furnished colonial descendants a claim for privileged status and even tribute payments (cf. Chumayel 1986:94, 117), ultimately based on the pedigree from *Tulán*.

⁶The Quiché and Cakchiquel were said to arrive in the Guatemalan highlands with four kinship divisions (Xpantay II 1957:135; Xpantay III 1957:153; Xajil 1953:43–52), although settlement patterning reveals merely three (Figure 5) (cf. for Yucatán, Kowalski 1986:152–154). However, quadripartition may also have syncretized a “Mexican” ideal (Davies 1977; Soustelle 1961:8) with the Mayan solar calendar.

⁷However, since moieties are not specified for the Nima Quiché as for the Tamub, settlement patterning shows that the Ajaw and Nijaib comprised a single moiety, based on the orientation of their buildings near cardinality. So too the Cawek and Sakic coupled north of the ballcourt, customarily the moiety divide.

⁸For confederacies of three or four kinship-based units, Chichén Itzá allied “three brothers” (Landa 1941:56; Edmonson 1982:84–85; Tozzer 1957:II:31), as well as four divisions (e.g., Chumayel 1986:57–58). Tayasal, in Petén, was quadripartitioned (cf. Henderson 1981:66; Rice and Rice 1984), as was Itzámkanac of Acalán, though with three temples (Piña Chan and Pavon Abreu 1959). Yet Topoxté was tripartitioned, as were the Cimatánes (Figure 1; Relaciones de Yucatán 1898:386, 409, 414; Scholes and Roys 1968:32).

⁹Chitinamit-Chujuyup fits the Jacawitz of the siege episode in name and description, called specifically Chitinamit, Chu(vach)juyup, and Jacawitz (Popol Vuh 1971:204–209). Two of these names still adhere. So, too, are its stone terraces (*tz’alam*) and rampart (*q’ox’tun*) distinguished. While numerous lance projectile points littering the last occupation attest to a battle, Chitinamit’s scorched buildings belie defeat and abandonment (Fox 1987:Figure 6.2). The Temple of Jacawitz (“Open Mountain,” D. Tedlock 1989) protrudes from the southern range of the ballcourt, symbolic of the Earth/Underworld interface, as Venus foreshadows the dawn and the sun. However, the name Jacawitz may have been severed here when the Quiché may have renamed another mountain Jacawitz (Popol Vuh 1971:229), but when the Ajaw and their totem (Venus) still dominated.

¹⁰At Mayapán, Proskouriakoff (1962:91) isolates about a dozen of these complexes (12 “families,” cf. Landa 1941:40), as does Wallace (1977) for Uatlán.

¹¹The brief coexistence of Classic Chujuyup (A.D. 500s–800s) with Postclassic Jacawitz parallels the overlap between “Toltec” and Puuc complexes at Chichén Itzá (Lincoln 1986:187). Putún-derived peoples came to speak the languages of the local Maya with whom they intermarried. Therefore, the linguistic mosaic of the highlands in Figure 2 reflects earlier population distributions, as well as demographic expansions within the Quiché state. For example, both the Cakchiquel and Rabinal displaced Pokom speakers in the eastern valleys (cf. Ichon et al. 1982). The expansionary Putún lineages encountered more sedentary indigenous clans, although the organizational principles eventually meshed (Carrasco 1988).

¹²Within the Chujuyup enclave, Uquín Cat (Oquín), Awilix (Pawilix), Tojil (PaTojil), the two Sakiribals, Mamaj, and Tabil are still known by their original names, as when Brasseur de Bourbourg (1857) visited nearby Santa Cruz del Quiché. Amak Tam is grouped with Tabil on a single ridge top and listed together (Tamub 1957:57; Nijaib I 1957:73; C’oyoi 1973:288). The largest and most central site, Chitinamit/Jacawitz, forms a triad of mountains with PaTojil and Pawilix, as described in the *Totonicapán* (1953:180) chronicle. Aj Tinamit and Quilajá are associated in the C’oyoi (1973:289) document, as are Chitinamit and its ward Quilbalá (identified by Recinos [1957:73–74] as Quilajá), which rise from the same ridge 2 km apart. As the “Red Dwarf and Young Sun” mythically, Quilajá may also have been associated with Jacawitz as the “red house” (Popol Vuh 1971:162, 1975; 1985:303), and Amak Tam as the “red place” (C’oyoi 1973:288) and the east-facing (east-red) shrine complex at PaTojil (Fox 1978:50–60). Municipal boundaries for Santa Cruz extend north to include the ancestral Amak Tam and Chitinamit, and Ilocab San Pedro Jocopilas extends only to the main plaza of Uquín Cat, from where their patron saint was said to derive (Carmack, Fox, and Stewart 1975:31–40).

¹³When the Quiché (Figures 4, 6) relocated to Greater Uatlán, the number of principal lineages more than doubled. Yet lineages newly split from Greater Uatlán also leapfrogged into basins of similar ecology, at about 1,900 m elevation at Pueblo Viejo Canilla-Xoyabáj, PaMaca, Tenam-Balamijá, Zaculeu, and Ochál. The military overlords intermarried with the local denizens, further accelerating lineage fusion and fission.

¹⁴When Jacawitz-Chujuyub and Tzameneb were abandoned, occupation debris suggests no more than 200–300 persons each.

¹⁵Examples of intrusive architecture and local ceramics for this horizon are in Andrews and Sabloff (1986:450), P. Rice (1986:282–285), A. Chase (1986:99), D. Chase (1986:272–376), and Chase and Chase (1985:21).

¹⁶Site identifications are given in Fox (1978). In addition, Tzamenéb, the Rabinal "dawning center," has been surveyed archeologically (Ichon et al. 1982:73–75) and identified ethnographically by Brasseur de Bourbourg (1857:125, 505–506) and Teletor (1955:188). Paraxoné is presently identified with Paraxquim within Tecpán Guatemala (cf. *Crónica Francisiana* in Carmack 1973:375), overlooking the later Cakchiquel site Chiavar, 7 km west (Fox 1978:187–191). The first Cakchiquel recognized the authority of the Akajal, their more highly ranked kin at Ochál (Xpantzay III 1957:157). Association of the Rabinal with the Agaab at Cawinal is based on archeology (Fox 1978:263). The Zotzil name and bat emblem were widely distributed (e.g., Chumayel 1986:90–131) and had allegorical meanings, for example, the House of Bats and Knives associated with the eastern edge of the Quiché realm (Popol Vuh 1971:73; cf. Fox 1987:250; Popol Vuh 1985:301).

¹⁷During the Early Postclassic, intrusive enclaves relied upon their collateral kin situated about 20 linear km away, for aid in battles. Actual travel distance would be at least three times as far, depending upon topography.

¹⁸Localities north and south of Cerro Iquilijá (as before, Quilajá), in Momostenango and Santa Maria Chiquimula, identify the general whereabouts of the refuge: Jumet, Chiq'uiux (Canquix), Pacaja, Jobalam/Chibalam, and Chi Chac (cf. C'oyoi 1973:288–289; Totonicanpan 1953:180). The three adjacent fortified sites of Ojertinamit, Pugertinamit, and Tzakabala are south of Cerro Iquilijá on adjacent ridgetops with Early and Late Postclassic occupation, and the small site of Patzotzil (Cakchiquel?) is 5 km directly west. Later, Iquilijá was a Nijaib estate.

¹⁹In the Cawek lineage houses, Wallace recovered a cache of antique vessels containing Tohil plumbate effigies of Tlaloc and Junajpú and fine pastewares (Fox, Wallace, and Brown 1990). Quite possibly they were revered symbols, like those carried in the sacred bundle by the migratory ancestors.

²⁰For the other two Quiché confederates, both the Tamub moieties at Ismachí and the Ilocab at Chisalin (Figure 3) were reduced to a single plaza each. The three confederates drew closer still, separated by a few hundred meters within Greater Utatlán.

²¹However, the Quiché were able to retain their linkage with Sacapulas, with whom they had forged a special relationship.

²²Sites of the Early Postclassic confederacies with ethnohistorically known connections situated 20 km \pm 2 km apart are Oxlajuj ("Thirteen")/Jacawitz, Tujá/Jacawitz, Oxlajuj/Tujá, Jacawitz/Paraxoné, Paraxoné/Tzamenéb, Paraxoné/Ochál, Tzamenéb/Los Cimientos-Pachalum, Los Cimientos-Pachalum/Ochál, Tujá/Sajcabajá, and Sajcabajá/Cawinal. Only the distance from Tzamenéb/Cawinal slightly exceeds this interval. For the early Quichean states, the following "first degree" vertically coupled relationships conform: Chiavar/Utatlán, Iximché/Ochál, and Cahyup/Cawinal. Ismachí/Utatlán were almost equidistantly located between the Early Postclassic enclaves at Jacawitz-Chujuyup (18 km) and Cerro Iquilijá (20 km). The distance between Utatlán to Tujá (30 km) falls beyond the prescribed range. For colonies fissioned from Greater Utatlán, ten lie at distances of 40 km \pm 3 km. Tujá and Chuvi Mikina are exceptions, at 30 and 32 km, though both exemplified special relationships with the Quiché. Six colonies lie at 50 km \pm 2 km, with one exception (see Fox 1978:284).

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