Contents

1

The Greater Utatlán Project

A Constituted Community of a Late Postclassic Maya Capital

Hernando Cortes with his small army and native Indian allies conquered the Aztec in AD 1521, after which he received delegations from the indigenous groups in the Mayan regions. Cortes wrote to inform Emperor Charles V that he had sent Spanish and native delegates to the Pacific coastal areas 200 leagues distant from Tenochtitlán to learn about the towns of which he had heard, towns called Uclaclan and Guatemala (Mackie 1924: 12). The representatives returned to Cortes with more than 100 inhabitants of those cities, who, Cortes reports, pledged loyalty to the emperor. Thereafter, however, word was received that the Mayan natives were "molesting the towns of Soconusco" on the Pacific coast (Mackie 1924: 13). Pedro Alvarado was dispatched to the area at the end of AD 1523, with 120 horsemen, 300 foot soldiers (including crossbowmen and musketeers), and four pieces of artillery, accompanied by native allies (Mackie 1924: 14). It is from Alvarado's expedition that we receive our first descriptions of the city and environs of Uclaclan, which Alvarado called Utlatan and we now call Utatlán or Q'umarkaj.

> And they agreed to send and tell us that they gave obedience to our Lord the Emperor, so that I should enter the city of Utlatan, where they afterwards

brought me, thinking that they would lodge me there, and then when thus encamped, they would set fire to the town some night and burn us all in it, without the possibility of resistance. And in truth their evil plan would have come to pass but that God our Lord did not see good that these infidels should be victorious over us, and there are only two ways of entering it; one of over thirty steep stone steps and the other by a causeway made by hand, much of which was already cut away, so that that night they might finish cutting it, and no horse could then have escaped into the country. As the city is very closely built and the streets very narrow, we could not have stood it in any way without either suffocating or else falling headlong from the rocks when fleeing from the fire. And as we rode up and I could see how large the stronghold was, and that within it we could not avail ourselves of the horses because the streets were so narrow and walled in, I determined at once to clear out of it on to the plain, although the chiefs of the town asked me not to do so, and invited me to seat myself and eat before I departed, so as to gain time to carry our their plans. (Alvarado 1924: 60–61)

We have other early descriptions of the town and environs of Q'umarkaj, including that of Francisco Antonio Fuentes y Guzman from about AD 1690, which was reproduced by Domingo Juarros (1823: 86–89) before making its way into A. P. Maudslay's *Biologia Centrali-Americana* (Maudslay 1889–1902, 2: 34–35). Though Maudslay comments on the unreliability of the Fuentes y Guzman description (1889–1902, 2: 37), it is clear that both authors considered the city to be the ceremonial center and associated ruins on the plateau of Q'umarkaj. The description by Fuentes y Guzman is thus:

It was surrounded by a deep ravine that formed a natural fosse, leaving only two very narrow roads as entrances to the city, both of which were so well defended by the castle of *Resguardo*, as to render it impregnable. The center of the city was occupied by the royal palace, which was surrounded by the houses of the nobility; the extremities were inhabited by the plebeians. (Maudslay 1889–1902, 2: 34)

When Maudslay visited Utatlán in January 1887 he surveyed the ruins, and his sketch map of the site, reproduced here as Figure 1.1, shows the principal structures at the epicenter of Q'umarkaj. It is the task of this volume to more fully and accurately describe the residential zone, which is not depicted on the map or described in his text. It is important to understand this residence zone so that we may also understand the organization and composition of the city that was the K'iche' capital in the Late Postclassic Mayan world, a city only briefly described by the Spanish conquistadors. The city is presumed to be more than the elite center described by Fuentes y Guzman, and by Alvarado before him, and more than what was mapped by Maudslay. We will use archaeological data to describe the community of Utatlán as perceived by its contemporaneous citizens, an attempt at an emic understand-
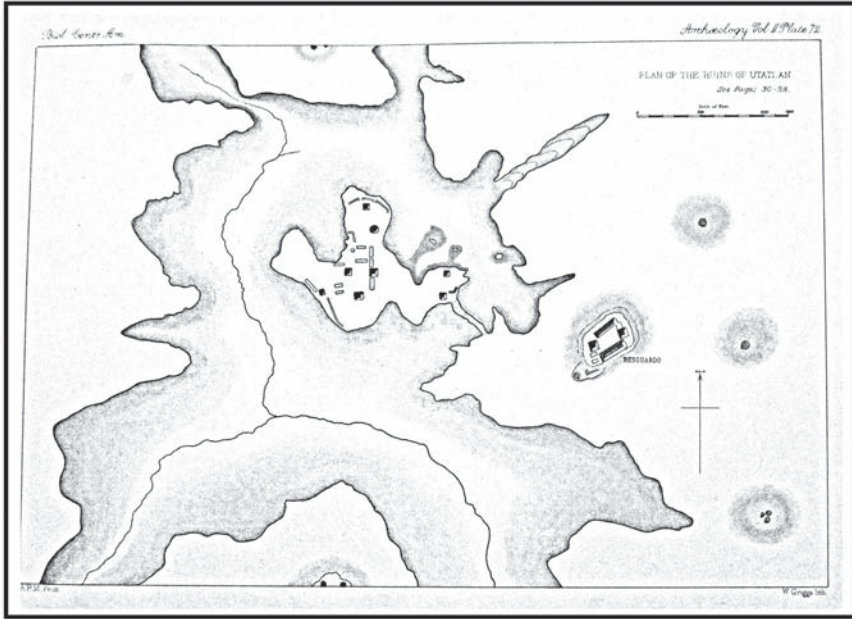
1.1. *Plan of the ruins of Utatlán from Maudslay's* Archaeologia, Biología Centrali-Americana, *plate 52 (photographed by author, used with permission from the Museum Library, University of Pennsylvania)*

ing of the ceremonial center and residence zone that formed the political center of the K'iche' Maya. The evidence for social stratification, craft specialization, external trade, both elite and commoner residences, and the characteristics of the defensive perimeter for the site will be presented. It will be argued that specific archaeological findings support the conclusion that this proposed Utatlán was a unitary community perceived by the K'iche' (an emic construct), even though this character was not recognized by the Spaniards (an etic construct).

My focus will be on Q'umarkaj and its supporting residence zone and will not preclude other emically valid constructs of the political and social organization of highland Guatemala and the K'iche' state. That is to say, community can be broadly understood to have multiple levels. A description of how one might perceive some of the multiple communities that could be established for a hypothetical K'iche' resident would place him or her within the boundaries of the city of Utatlán as a resident of a specific ward or subdivision of that city, as a member of a lineage-based or otherwise constituted *chinamit* (Carmack 1981: 164–165; see also Braswell 2003a), and as a member of a K'iche' lineage or a vassal/dependent subject of a

member of the lineage (Carmack 1981: 148ff), with economic interests of obligations related to a *kalpul* or territorial subdivision of the K'iche' realm (Weeks 1980: 30–34) that was in the *ajawarem* of the Nima K'iche rather than of the Ilocab' (Chisalin) or Tamub' (Pismachi) (Carmack 1981: 166–180; Weeks 1980: 37–40).

ETHNOHISTORIC FOUNDATIONS FOR THE GREATER UTATLÁN PROJECT

Robert Carmack of the State University of New York (SUNY) at Albany has devoted much of his professional career to studying the ethnography, ethnohistory, linguistics, and archaeology of the K'iche' Maya of Guatemala (Carmack 1977, 1981; Carmack and Weeks 1981). The K'iche' played a prominent role in the history of Central America. They were a dominant force in the region when the Spaniards came as conquerors. The K'iche', and their neighbors, were literate before the conquest and passed on to us their mythology and history written in their own words, transcribed in their own language using a European alphabet. These provide details on their religious and cultural beliefs, their migrations to the Guatemala highlands, and their political and social organization prior to the arrival of the Spaniards (Carmack 1981; Edmonson 1971).

These native accounts, which may relate their mythology and history before the conquest, may also validate their landholdings and social position so that these could be maintained following imposition of Spanish rule. Florescano (2006), however, proposes that the manuscripts were originally created as national histories to preserve native lore and only later took on the role of legal titles. A cautionary note on interpretation of these native histories has also been raised (Christenson 1997; Sachse and Christenson 2005), that is, that we may not fully understand where mythology ends and history begins within these sources if we neglect to consider their original purpose. The apparent early stages of the history may, in fact, be metaphorical references to mythic figures and locations.
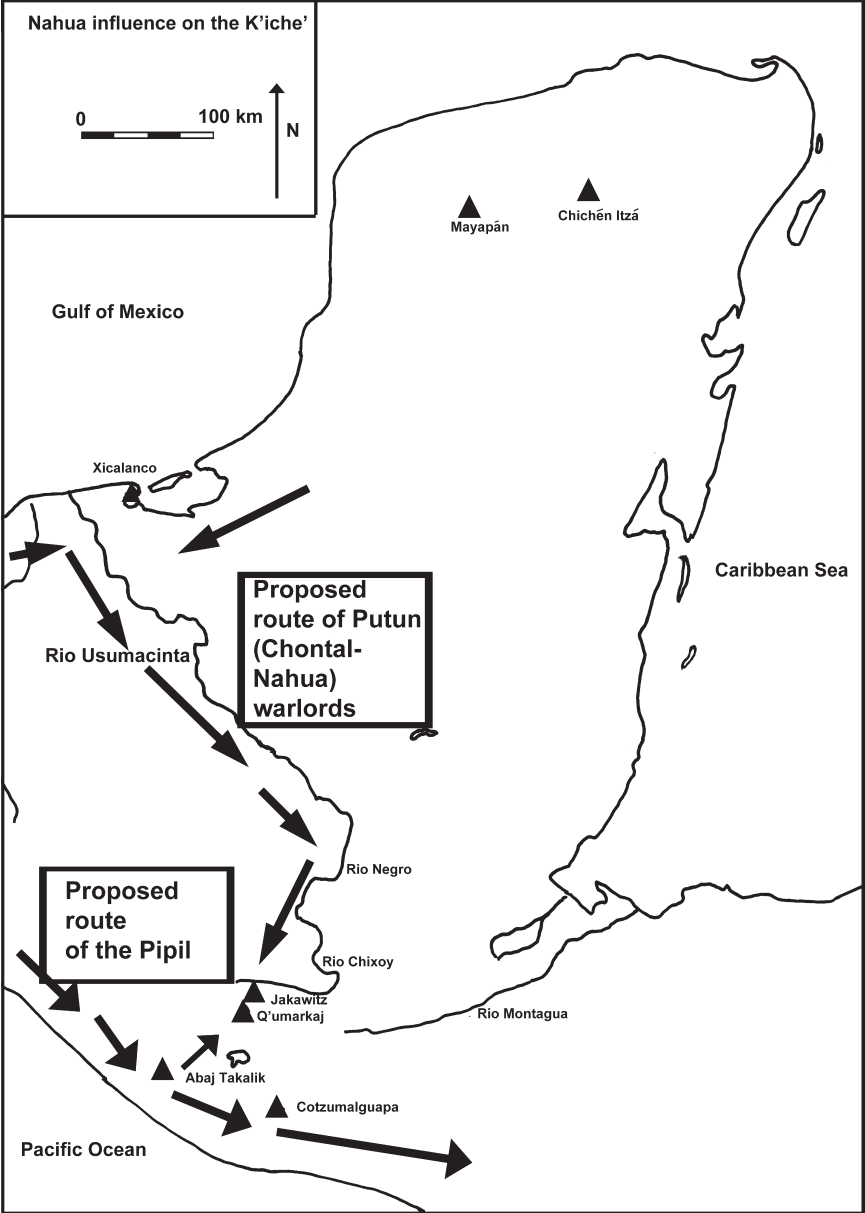
The ethnohistoric sources, although generally dating to the early post-conquest period in their original form, have been translated and discussed over the years. During the intervening times, orthographic conventions for transcribing K'iche' terms have not been constant or consistent. What was previously referred to as the Quiché people and language is now referred to as K'iche', and the spelling conventions used in most of the references cited in this report have evolved. These have now been standardized by the Academia de Lenguas Mayas de Guatemala (ALMG) (Jiménez 1998: 5). An effort herein is made to use a format and spelling that are consistent with ALMG throughout, rather than a mixture of recent formats for some words and earlier customs for others. The exception to this rule of deferring to the ALMG is that when a passage is cited directly from a text, the spelling conventions of the source will be followed and the passage will appear in quotation marks

or in an offset position. Also, where a modern place-name for a community or geographic region is referred to, the customary usage will be retained; for example, Utatlán lies in the Quiche Basin near the modern city of Santa Cruz del Quiché, capital of the Department of Quiché.

According to historical reconstruction presented by Carmack (1981: 44–50), the residents of Utatlán were an amalgam of indigenous K'iche' speakers whose dialect developed within the Guatemala highlands and descendants of Chontal-Nahua-speaking warlords who migrated from the lowlands of the Gulf coastal Tabasco-Veracruz area of Mexico. The migration of the warlords coincided with the collapse of the Yucatán Maya center of Chichén Itzá that is generally thought to have occurred around AD 1200. Andrews, Andrews, and Castellanos (2003), however, place the fall of Chichén Itzá in the eleventh century rather than the thirteenth century. The Chontal-Nahua warlords came to the region of Utatlán by following the Rio Usumacinta drainage to the Verapaz highlands near San Pedro Carchá and then continuing along the Rio Negro and Rio Agua Caliente to the San Andres Basin, ultimately crossing through the mountains to establish the early K'iche' centers near Santa Rosa Chujuyup (Map 1.1). These emigrants were few in number and had tightly organized lineages. They are described as mobile and military, mostly male, who intermarried with the local K'iche' population and adopted the local language (Carmack 1981).

The origins of the K'iche' elite are far from settled, but in his reconstruction Carmack (1981) placed the arrival of Chontal-Nahua warlords in the Quiche Basin at AD 1225. The date was established by working backward from the known date of the conquest of Utatlán by Pedro de Alvarado in AD 1524, and he used a chronology of dynastic succession from ethnohistoric sources that preserved not only the account of the movement into the Guatemala highlands but also a dynastic succession of rulers that could be followed back to that arrival (see Table 1.1). The sources researched by Carmack and others include the *Popol Wuj* (also spelled *Popol Vuh*), the mythology and history of the K'iche' Maya of Utatlán (Edmonson 1971; Recinos, Goetz, and Morley 1950); the *Annals of the Cakchiquels* (Brinton 1885; Goetz and Recinos 1974); the *Titles of the Lords of Totonicapan* or *Titulo Totonicapan* (Chonay and Goetz 1974); as well as numerous native chronicles or *titulos* examined by Carmack. The chronology was based on a generational length of twenty-five years spanning eleven reigns between the arrival of the first ruler, B'alam Kitze, and the conquest by Alvarado in 1524. One ruler, K'iq'ab', was granted fifty years. The founding of Utatlán by Carmack's calculation would be approximately AD 1400.

Wauchope (1970: 241–241) discussed the pitfalls of establishing a chronology based on the ethnohistoric sources. Aside from inconsistencies in various lists of rulers, even within a single text, generation length could be calculated as anywhere

Nahua influence on the K'iche'

0   100 km   N

Mayapán

Chichén Itzá

Gulf of Mexico

Xicalanco

Caribbean Sea

Proposed route of Putun (Chontal-Nahua) warlords

Rio Usumacinta

Rio Negro

Proposed route of the Pipil

Rio Chixoy

Jakawitz
Q'umarkaj

Rio Montagua

Abaj Takalik

Cotzumalguapa

Pacific Ocean

MAP 1.1. *Map of possible routes of Nahua influence on the K'iche' (data from Carmack 1981 and Van Akkeren 2009; from Carmack 1968; redrawn by author)*

TABLE 1.1. Chronological list of K'iche' rulers

Dates (AD)	Name
1225–1250	B'alam Kitze
1250–1275	K'ok'oja
1275–1300	E,Tz'ikim
1300–1325	Ajkan
1325–1350	K'okaib'
1350–1375	K'onache
1375–1400	K'otuja
1400–1425	Quq'kumatz
1425–1475	K'iq'ab'
1475–1500	Vahxak' iKaam
1500–1524	Oxib Kej

Source: after Carmack 1981: 122.

from twenty years to forty years. Father-son relationships might be separated by a reign. In his discussion, he notes that others estimated the city was established between AD 1125 and 1275 (Brasseur de Bourbourg), between AD 1214 and 1254 (Villacorta 1938: 125, 142; Ximenez 1929: 71), in the twelfth century (Lothrop 1933: 111), or in the fifteenth century (Brinton 1885: 59). Wauchope used father-son relationships stated or implied in the sources and a generational length of twenty years to place the arrival of the warlords in the Quiche Basin at ca. AD 1263 and the founding of Utatlán at AD 1433. Elsewhere (Wauchope 1947) he elaborates further on the problems of correlating pre-conquest chronology and the Mayan calendar with the European calendar and post-contact events based on assumptions of generation spans that might range between eighteen and fifty-five years and that could lead to the founding of Q'umarkaj at an earliest date of AD 1217 and a latest date of AD 1490, each of which, he maintained, presented very unlikely scenarios regarding the life events of K'iche' rulers. The three early K'iche' rulers who, documents report, were sent to receive the symbols of authority could have been born, according to the possible scenarios, as early as AD 977 or as late as AD 1343, but Wauchope opts for a "more probable" AD 1210 (1947: 64).

An alternative hypothesis has been proposed, that the K'iche' came from Mexico to their present location via the Pacific coast rather than the Gulf Coast (Map 1.1). Although the Gulf Coast may have been home to a Chontal Mayan group closely affiliated with Nahua speakers (the Chontal-Nahua), the Pacific coastal areas extending from Chiapas to El Salvador were home to the Nahua-speaking Pipil. Van Akkeren (2009) uses a methodology he calls "lineage history" to map migration of the Pipil from the Pacific coastal area during the Late Classic and Early Postclassic (Van Akkeren 2009). Brown (1985) drew similar conclusions about the origins of the K'iche' based on evidence of imported materials and presumed trade networks.

Recent work along the Usumacinta and Pasión rivers, an area through which the Chontal-Nahua are presumed to have migrated, can support the argument that circumstances following the Lowland Maya collapse may have bearing on migrations to the highlands. Trade of highland materials such as jade, feathers, obsidian, and pyrite would have involved transport by porters out of the highlands to the

water routes of the lowlands. At the end of the middle Classic, sites along these ancient trade routes in this transition zone—in the Cancuen region, at the caves at Candelaria, and at La Lima—demonstrate a change in social status and an apparent shift in focus away from trade with lowland areas and a reorientation toward the Guatemala highlands (Monterroso Gómez 2006; Ohnstad 2005; Woodfill 2005).

Geoffrey Braswell (2003b) summarized the archaeological, linguistic, and ethnohistoric data to conclude the K'iche' development did not require migration of a Chontal-Nahua or other Mexicanized people to the Quiche Basin. Braswell questioned the arguments based on archaeological traits that were claimed to support Nahua migration to the Highland Maya area. The architectural features (I-shaped ball courts, twin temples on a single platform, and sacrificial blocks in front of temples) in highland Guatemala date to the Late Postclassic well after the presumed migration, and the portable artifacts, except for isolated finds, are generally from El Salvador and Chiapas (2003b: 297–298). Linguistic arguments based on Nahua loanwords are not solely related to elite concerns, and a Chiapan dialect source of the Nahua loanwords may be more readily justified than a Gulf Coast source (2003b: 298–299). The ethnohistoric sources most closely associated with the K'iche' are subject to misinterpretation regarding the significance of Tulan, with Braswell noting that in the *Popol Wuj,* the rulers of the K'iche' did not assert origin *from* that place, but rather the document describes these leaders going *to* that place to obtain legitimization of their social position (2003b: 299–300). In addition, other colonial records, specifically the *Memorial de Tecpán Atitlán* and *Titulo de Jilotepeque*, describe how the Xajil Kaqchikel may have come from the Pipil area of Salvador, and the Chajoma Kaqchikel may have come from the Zacualpa area of highland Guatemala (2003b: 299; Crespo 1956). Braswell posited that K'iche' elite participated in a trading network for access to obtain high-status goods and emulated Mexican practices to enhance their position: "The fixing of religious titles in certain lines and the creation of a new hybrid Nahua-K'iche'an identity would have served to create social distance between classes to justify the subordinate status of the *alk'ajol* class" (Braswell 2003b: 301).

Irrespective of the origins of the K'iche' elite or the date of arrival, it is awkward to refer to an indigenous population as *K'iche'* and migrating warlords as *Chontal-Nahua* émigrés; therefore, *K'iche'* hereafter will be used for the ruling elite of Utatlán, for their associated cultural and political horizon, and for the native population of the Quiche Basin, except where the context calls for a distinction. And the name refers to a Maya dialect that in Carmack's reconstruction preceded the arrival of the ruling class; the archaeological, ethnohistoric, and historic literature generally uses the term in this manner.

The archaeological study of the K'iche' Maya has focused on the ruins of their ancient capital of Q'umarkaj or, to use its Nahuatl name, Utatlán. In modern times,

the early work at this site was done by Robert Wauchope, who in 1947 conducted excavations at Utatlán, as well as at numerous other Highland Maya locales. He described in detail the pottery of the region. The period of K'iche' dominance he called *Protohistoric*, a term Wauchope uses in part because it did not define the chronology based on the Classic Maya sequence of the Guatemalan lowlands and southern Mexico (Wauchope 1970: 99–100) and that Thompson (1966: 151) equated to the Late Postclassic, dating to AD 1250–1525.

The temporal framework of Maya civilization is anchored by the Classic period, typically placed between AD 300 and 900, with the Preclassic extending back in time before that and the Postclassic carrying forward from the Classic until the Spanish conquest. There can be additional subdivisions, with the Terminal Classic centered at AD 900, followed by an Early Postclassic from AD 900 to 1250, and a Late Postclassic from AD 1250 to the early 1500s (Sabloff 1990: 17–19). In the Yucatán, however, Sabloff placed the Postclassic as commencing at AD 1000 and ending at AD 1519 (2007: 11). The Preclassic can be further divided, with the Early Preclassic coinciding with the Olmec period and extending from 1200 to 1000 BC (Foster 2002: 23). The Middle Preclassic then goes through 300 BC, and the Late Preclassic ends with the commencement of the Classic, which Foster placed at AD 250 (2002: 29–34). The Early Classic was from AD 250 through 600, and the Late Classic ended at AD 900 (Foster 2002: 43–49). Foster defined the Terminal Classic as extending from AD 800 to 1000, characterized by a flourishing Maya civilization in the northern area centered on Chichén Itzá (Foster 2002: 60). The Early Postclassic, from AD 900 to 1200, saw development of a pan-Mesoamerican trading sphere dominated by Chichén Itzá, El Tajín, and Tula (Foster 2002: 68–71). It is within this context that we might understand why Wauchope used the term *Protohistoric* for the K'iche' ceramics predating the Spanish conquest. This is analogous to the use of *Terminal Classic* for the emergence of Chichén Itzá. The Protohistoric is, however, the same as the Late Postclassic (Carmack 1981: 37).

THE SUNY ALBANY RESEARCH PROGRAM

Robert Carmack was the driving force behind a series of projects carried out in the Quiche Basin during the 1970s. This program comprised ethnohistoric, ethnographic, and linguistic studies as well as archaeology. Four doctoral dissertations in archaeology have been produced, including the one from which the data for this monograph are derived (Babcock 1980). The others are those by John Fox (1975) on the settlement pattern in the Quiche Basin, John Weeks (1980) on excavations at Chisalin, and Steven Marqusee (1980) on Late Postclassic K'iche'an art forms.

The intent of the SUNY project was to use a *conjunctive* approach, wherein ethnohistory, linguistics, and archaeology could be integrated. Interpretation of

archaeological data could "be tied directly to social structures and symbolic systems worked out from the documents" and "contradictions found between material (archaeological) and symbolic (ethnohistoric) reconstructions may be as important as functional correlations" (Carmack and Weeks 1981: 323–324). The archaeological projects included regional settlement surveys (Brown 1982; Fox 1977; Stewart 1977); excavations at K'iche' political centers predating Utatlán (Brown and Majewski 1983); excavations within the precincts of the ceremonial center of Utatlán, hereafter referred to as Q'umarkaj (Fox, Wallace, and Brown 1992; Wallace 1977); examination of the neighboring, and possibly integrated, sites of Pismachi with mapping (Fox 1975) and Chisalin with mapping and excavation (Carmack and Weeks 1981; Weeks 1980); and excavations in the plateaus contiguous with and adjacent to Q'umarkaj (Babcock 1980; Carmack and Weeks 1981; Weeks 1977). *Utatlán* and *Greater Utatlán* may be used interchangeably and refer to the area of Q'umarkaj and the residence zone on the contiguous plateaus, to the extent these may have formed an identifiable community. The term *Utatlán* may occasionally appear in a quotation where the cited author is referring to Q'umarkaj. Also, the term *Greater Utatlán* may appear in the context of the archaeological project seeking to define the residence zone of Q'umarkaj.

Brown (1983) was critical of some early attempts at synthesis of the Quiche Basin data in his review of Carmack (1981) and Fox (1978b). The criticisms, however, may be premature. A truly conjunctive approach to the synthesis of the K'iche' data requires access to all the varied research projects. Fox and Carmack presented their findings based on the state of the evidence at the time of their publications. Brown (1983: 59–60) wrote:

> Neither the archaeological nor the ethnohistoric records directly provide, with any certainty, the knowledge that their data reflects ideal or actual behavior. A more scientific (e.g., hypothesis formation/testing) approach to both data sets, however, may bring us closer to a discussion of "what the settlements were actually like"; Carmack's approach cannot do this; it can merely provide some of the necessary hypotheses for testing.

Science involves hypothesis testing, to be certain, but it also involves inductive reasoning based on the evidence or data gathered to date to then deduce what the testable hypotheses might be. Carmack and Fox establish the framework for generating hypotheses that the conjunctive approach to the corpus of data ultimately collected may address. Although it is not appropriate to test hypotheses with the same data set used to posit the questions, when a large body of data has been collected, it is possible, even likely, that hypotheses based on observations of one part of that corpus of data may be tested through further analyses of other independent data sets. The survey work conducted early in the Albany project and reported by Fox

laid the groundwork for Brown's later systematic survey of the Quiche Basin and identified the potential early K'iche' centers for more intensive excavation.

This volume reports on excavations undertaken to explore the Greater Utatlán residence zone peripheral to the center of Q'umarkaj, which might be considered an integral part of a unified community associated with and supportive of the political and religious center. Wallace (1977) and Carmack (1981) envisioned Greater Utatlán centered on Q'umarkaj, where the four principal lineages resided (Carmack 1981: 162). The description by Wallace is concise and clear:

> The total contiguous occupation of Greater Utatlán, ignoring the barrancas, can be seen as a settlement type consisting of a fortified central area of many civic and religious structures along with elite residences, totaling about one quarter sq. km. This elite center is surrounded by a larger area of dense occupation of more modest structures, well built but not matching those of the elite centers in size or in specialized ritual-administration functions. The total area of dense, continuous occupation approaches 2 sq. km. Adding in the peripheral areas of less dense and-or discontinuous surface refuse, including that which occurs on the edge of the La Estancia plateau to the west, and also on some of the tongues of flat land separated from the more densely occupied suburbs, the total area may prove to be about 4 sq. km. (1977: 40)

Potentially included in this zone are several other identifiable sites and the plateaus contiguous with these sites (Map 1.2). South of Q'umarkaj, across a deep barranca, is Pismachi, an earlier K'iche' political center. Following the establishment of Q'umarkaj, Pismachi was relinquished to the allied lineages of the Tamub' (Carmack 1981: 162). Across a barranca north of Q'umarkaj lies Chisalin, home of the allied Ilocab' lineages (Carmack 1981: 163; Weeks 1980). Extending east from Q'umarkaj, along the adjoining plateau, were the sites of Resguardo (also known as Atalaya) and, further east, Pakaman. Resguardo has the appearance of a hilltop fortress guarding the entry to Q'umarkaj and is thought to be associated with the K'iche' lineage of Nihaib'. It has two temples, one at each end of a plaza; a small ball court; and associated long structures; as well as some flanking structures on the terraced sides of the hill (Carmack 1981: fig. 8.7). Pakaman has a temple and a long structure, as well as nearby mounds, and is also considered an outpost guarding the approach to Q'umarkaj, possibly at one time garrisoned or occupied by Kaqchikel warrior allies of the K'iche' (Carmack 1981: 245–248; Weeks 1975).

It can be difficult to gauge area for irregularly configured land using topographic maps, but I have attempted to do so (Map 1.3) based on the proposed outlines in the map provided in the grant proposal for the archaeological work in the Quiche Basin (Carmack and Wallace n.d.). These boundaries were transferred to an enlargement of the topographic map of the area (Instituto Geográfico Nacional
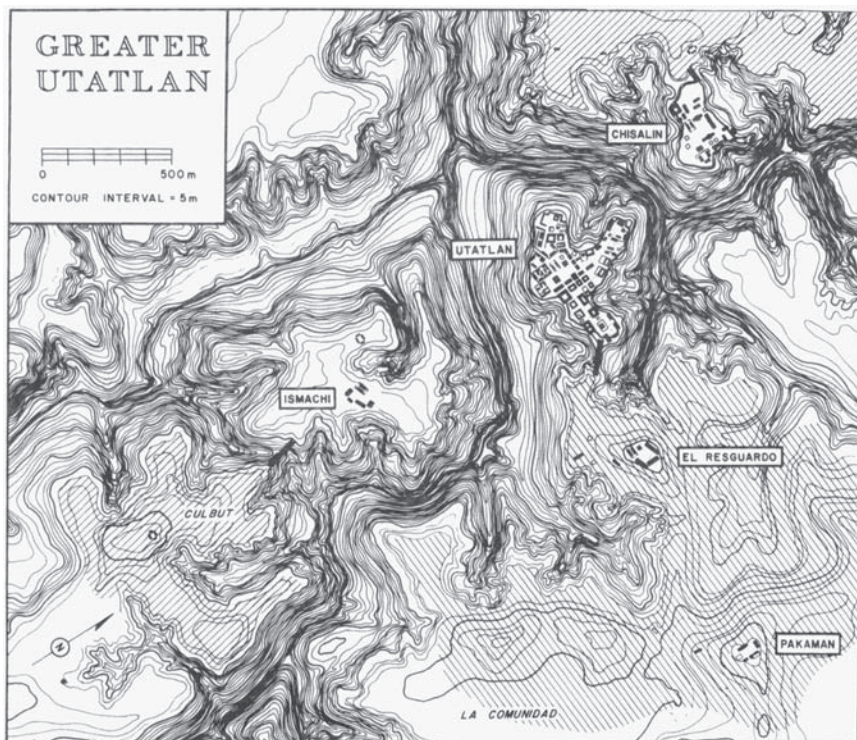
MAP 1.2. *Map of Greater Utatlán, outer occupation areas hatched (from Wallace 1977: fig. 6)*

1973; HOJA 1961 II), and grids of 50 m squares were superimposed. I estimate the habitable plateau-top area to be approximately 325 ha (3.25 km²). This includes the published area of 11.2 ha for the elite center of Q'umarkaj (Wallace 1977: 31), 95 ha extending out across the Resguardo plateau to include Pakaman and bounded by the northern and southern barrancas, 45 ha south of Pakaman (La Comunidad), 16 ha on the Y-Plateau, 30 ha for Chisalin, 40 ha for Pismachi and an adjacent plateau of Culbut, and 85 ha on La Estancia. This is, of course, only a rough estimate of the level, or nearly level, terrain within the area designated by Wallace.

The focus of the overall Greater Utatlán project is on the residential zone extending out from Q'umarkaj to the adjacent plateaus and continuing around these plateaus and across the barrancas to adjacent plateaus, including the fringes of Chisalin and Pismachi. The ceremonial centers had been excavated in part (Q'umarkaj) or extensively (Chisalin) or mapped (Pismachi), and Weeks also carried out testing in the Resguardo and Pakaman areas. Here this region is further
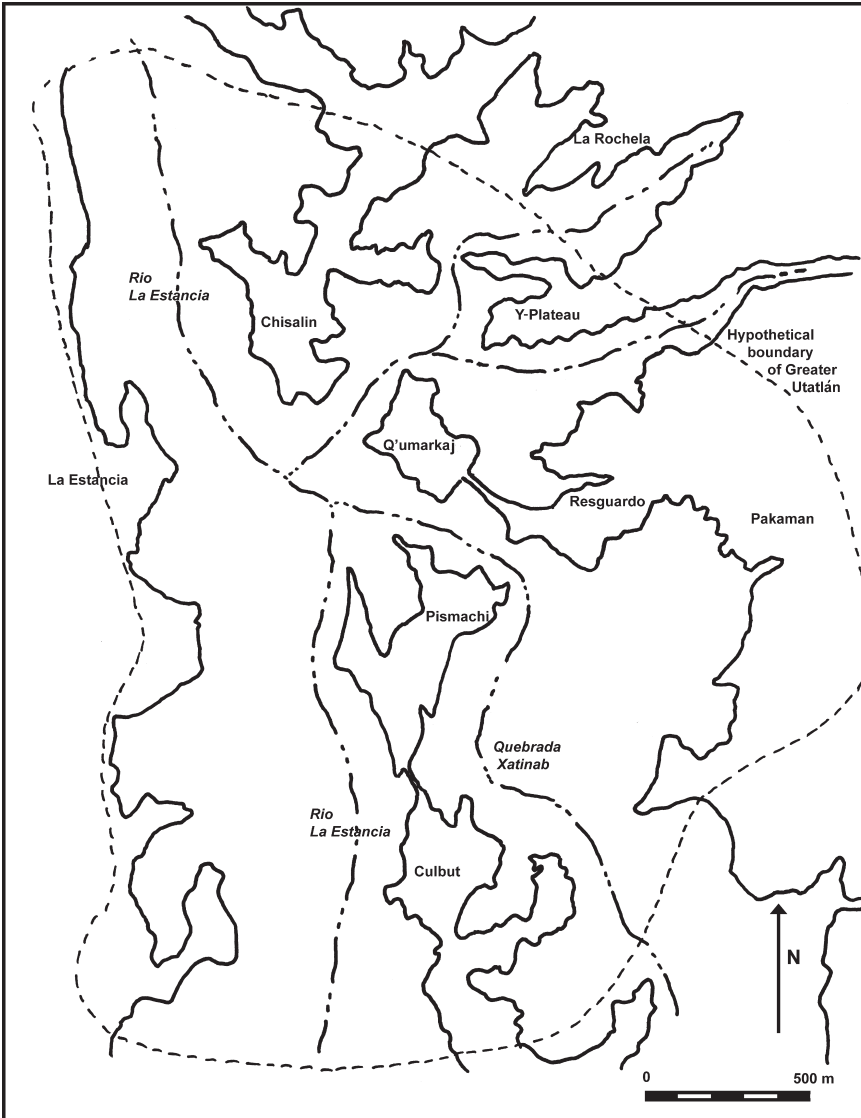
MAP 1.3. *Hypothetical boundaries of Greater Utatlán (after Carmack and Wallace n.d.; redrawn by author)*

explored to better define the areal extent, social composition, architectural variation, and economic characteristics of the populace living adjacent to the ceremonial and political center of Q'umarkaj.

This is not to be the definitive conjunctive interpretation of the place of Utatlán and Q'umarkaj in K'iche' prehistory, but rather it will provide the database for incorporation of the Utatlán residence zone into such a formulation. As such, it forms one component for a larger (conjunctive) study of the settlement pattern and sociopolitical organization of K'iche' Protohistoric society.

ARCHAEOLOGICAL INVESTIGATIONS OF REGIONAL SETTLEMENT PATTERN AND INTERNAL SITE ORGANIZATION

Maya prehistory and Mesoamerican archaeology in general have long been concerned with ceremonial and elite centers and the interrelationships among these centers. Intensive investigations of these sites rarely gave a detailed synthesis of the community or social organization, with a few notable exceptions. There have been early attempts to examine Maya settlement (Morley 1920; Ricketson and Ricketson 1937; Thompson 1931; Willey 1965) that focused on the distribution and relationship among centers. Haviland's (1965) report on Tikal deals more closely with the problems of internal site complexity. Detailed studies of Maya community organization are available for Mayapán (Smith 1962) and Dzibilchaltun (Kurjack 1974). Community studies also exist for Teotihuacan (Millon 1973), Tula (Healan 1977, 1989; Stoutamire 1975), and Monte Alban (Blanton 1978), and the ethnohistoric work of Calnek (1976) presents a similar study for Tenochtitlán. More recently, there have been large-scale projects that employ a conjunctive approach to bring together archaeological investigations employing differing theoretical bases and exploring differing aspects of the prehistoric record to provide a more complete understanding of the sites. These include studies at Copán, Honduras (Andrews and Fash 2005; Fash 1983; Johnston and Gonlin 1998), and Piedras Negras, Guatemala (Houston 1998; Houston et al. 1999; Houston et al. 2000; Houston et al. 2003; Nelson 2005). There has also been extensive work at the Late Postclassic site of Mayapán, in the Yucatán Peninsula (Andrews 1993; Hare, Masson, and Peraza Lope 2006; Masson, Peraza Lope, and Hare 2002, 2003; Masson et al. 2006; Pollock 1962).

The archaeological settlement can be considered in two ways. One approach is to examine the record in the regional context in a proscribed geographical area, looking at time lines and interrelationships (regional settlement pattern). The other is to look at the site itself, its spatial limits, time sequence of development, and internal organization (community organization). There can be overlap of these concepts when the site-specific studies also examine the neighboring agricultural or cultural features that may be associated, as, for example, in catchment analysis or in mapping of related agricultural components (Batún 2004). Broadly speaking, settlement pattern and settlement archaeology focus on the regional or the site-specific social and economic integration.

Kurjack (1974) noted that a central issue in community studies in Mesoamerica was the political complexity of Maya societies and the degree to which centers of Mesoamerican civilizations could be called urban. These aspects of community organization are independent, yet they overlap in their focus on facets of social structure. The concept of state concerns the nature of authority and how it is exercised within a society (Service 1975; Webb 1973). The legal structure of social interaction is defined by the political system. Urbanism also deals with social integration but with a focus on economic and social relationships and on distribution of resources. Service (1975: 4) uses the term *urban* to refer to the "presence of cities or large towns" and uses *civil* to refer to "some kind of legal commonwealth." In his examples of primitive civilizations, Service demonstrates that these conditions are not causally related or necessarily associated. Recently a more integrated concept of the community has been defined. Jason Yaeger and Marcello Canuto (2000) make clear that the association of the concept of community with an archaeological site is deficient because a community is created by people and represents not "settlement types that fulfill specific functions within a larger social system" (2000: 5) but rather relationships and interactions among community members. I shall describe in a following section the constituted community recent constructs that may integrate the concepts of civil and urban to provide a model that can deal with the layered complexity of human interactions.

The Chiefdom and the State as a Framework for Conceptualizing the Archaeological Record

The concept of state concerns the manner in which a people are governed or directed. Haas (1981: 80f) classifies scholars who study the state as either conflict theorists who see a coercive mechanism that can resolve internal conflict in an economically stratified society (after Marx and Engels) or integration theorists who see an integrative mechanism that can coordinate or regulate a complex society. Service (1975: 14) presents characteristics of "institutionalized, enacted, official" systems that "employ, threaten, or imply the actual use of force." The state is contrasted with "primitive" societies that may be more egalitarian in nature, without institutionalized ranking systems, and transitional chiefdom societies with "centralized direction and hereditary hierarchical status arrangements" but lacking a "formal, legal apparatus of forceful repression" (1975: 15). Webb (1973) and Carniero (1970) present similar models but based on causal arguments, whereas Service defines the resulting condition.

Service's model proposes three common uses for political power (1975: 12–14). First, those with power maintain their position through effective suppression of dissent or through equitable treatment of the masses to generate support. Second, leaders use their power to promote goal-directed activities. Third, leaders

use their power to mediate disputes. Archaeologically some of these functions can be difficult to discern. Mediation of disputes is implicit in large-scale communities such as urban centers, and goal-directed activity should be directly observable in the archaeological record, but neither requires the presence of a state. Either can be sufficiently explained at the chiefdom level of development.

The tendency of society to fission in situations of stress is lessened as power becomes institutionalized (Service 1975: 102). Effective operation of the mediating function of power leads to growth in the size of the political system. Such growth is manifest in both intrasite and intersite organization. An institutionalized system of power implies the development of complex social stratification necessary to integrate the larger social groupings both within communities and across a region. These groupings are made possible by the mediating effects of political power (Service 1975: 165). According to Haas (1981: 91), different economic strata in a society are expected to reside separately to minimize tension. Groups can be stratified within an archaeological site. Others (see next section) consider this socioeconomic spatial arrangement as integral to urbanization or city formation rather than state formation.

Wright (1953: 381) notes the link between specialization and the leadership aspect of political power as expressed in terms of central decision making. The net effect is growth in the size and complexity of the political entity, with stratification on a regional as well as a site basis. The state should have "large centers dominating three or more subsidiary levels of settlement hierarchy" (Wright 1953: 389). The decision-making strategy in Wright's model of the state encourages hierarchy and segmentation, which in turn promotes an organic solidarity (1953: 383). According to Service (1975: 184f), however, the level of political organization reflected in site stratification (chiefdom or state) is difficult to discern.

An alternative approach to the state as a component in understanding human behavior recognizes the diversity of forms or methods of social integration and control. Michael Smith (2004) removes the discussion of the state from the evolutionary perspective of developing political institutions to present a functional approach that explores the economic patterns and institutions that are central to state organization. He defines four types of state. The first is the weak state, which includes segmentary states (Khmer) and galactic polities (see Demarest 2000: 286). The second is the city-state, small in size and "centered on a single urban capital that is linked to regional systems by cultural bonds and extensive interaction" (2004: 80). The third type is the large territorial state, and the fourth is the empire (Smith 2004: 80–81). In Smith's overview these categories of state political organization can covary with levels of economic commercialization.

Smith and Schreiber (2006) discuss New World political systems, noting that archaeologists have used the concepts of empires, city-states, territorial states, seg-

mentary states, and chiefdoms. The Aztec organization was based on the city-state, a small state centered on one principal urban location controlling a hinterland that lacked another city center but was in the midst of other comparably situated city-states, sharing a common ethnic/linguistic heritage (2006: 7). The city-state lacked the hierarchy of urban centers, described by Wright, that Service considered essential for institutional control over local decision making. In the Aztec area each city appeared to be the capital of its own city-state (Smith 2000: 586). Prior to the arrival of the Aztec and the Nahuas, the Valley of Mexico had a long history of state-level society, with urban centers like Teotihuacan and Tula, though few urban centers remained when the Aztec came. The immigrant Aztec quickly built a system of city-states that were initially small towns with limited urban functions but that prospered and grew with expanded trade and intensified agriculture (Smith 2000: 590). The Aztec were not the only group to form city-states, which appear to have been a dominant political form in central Mexico. The Mayan area was less clear and Smith suggests that the concept of city-state may not apply in the highland Guatemala region, where the separate political units coincided with language groups (2000: 592).

Fox (1978b) addresses the highland Guatemala situation, specifically dealing with the K'iche'. The conquest state has similarities to city-states, with military force used to establish dominance, but in the city-state system described by Smith, when one city comes to dominate the others, political autonomy of subordinate cities is left intact. Warfare was used to conquer neighboring or distant city-states, but to extract tribute, not to rule (Smith 2000: 591). That was apparently not the case in Guatemala as described by Fox, but there were similarities. The K'iche' conquest state was described as a model of regionalism, wherein ethnic groups maintained their identity. But it was also a model of centralism, where one group came to dominate and political power was not shared (Fox 1978b: 7–8). Fox sought to demonstrate the extent of K'iche' domination in other ethnic areas by demonstrating specific K'iche'an architectural elements and spatial organization at sites within the conquered territory as representing K'iche' colonies or enclaves (1978b: 8–9).

According to Kenneth Brown (1983), the assumption that shared architectural patterns or ceramic types represent conquest has not been established. There can be alternative interpretations for the shared archaeological features or traits. Also, the archaeological record examined by Fox is limited to the area of presumed K'iche' domination and within the time frame of that domination. The similarities cited among sites have not been critically examined through use of earlier temporal horizons or other archaeological regions; therefore, the extent to which these can be characterized as K'iche' has not been formally tested (Brown 1983: 61).

Geoffrey Braswell questions Fox's characterization of K'iche' enclaves and Kaqchikel garrison plazas. He noted that the pattern described for the K'iche'

administrative centers was also observed at Mam and Kaqchikel sites. In addition, the Kaqchikel garrison pattern was found at sites attributed to the Kaqchikel, K'iche', Poqomam, and Chajoma. The proposed architectural patterns lack a geographic association with an ethnic group (Braswell 2001: 316).

Brown's own preliminary synthesis of the prehistoric demographic changes in the Quiche Basin relied on his systematic survey of the area, with attention to changes that can be documented through time (1982: 35–48). The details were only sketched out, but changes in human settlement patterns were noted at circa 700 BC with the introduction of an agricultural economy and at least one level of social integration identified by small mound complexes with at least six sites known in the area (1982: 39). After AD 500, Brown identified a nucleation process associated with abandonment of five of the six mound complexes, the appearance of three political centers (Chiché, Jocapilas, and Chujuyup [also spelled Chujuyub]), and population moving to the area of secondary political centers identified by single- or double-mound complexes (1982: 40–41). Of the three political centers, Chiché was paramount in the south and east of the area, with Chujuyup thought to have brought together three local units into a single center in the central and north area. Brown suggests that Chiché and Chujuyup represented conquest of local population whereas Jocapilas had a locally derived elite class (1982: 40–41). Following AD 800, and lasting for 500 years, population increased and a third level in the organizational hierarchy was identifiable as single plaza sites with an elite population, though most of the population remained dispersed in non-mound, non-nucleated sites (1982: 41–42). There was also a fourth hierarchical level with six major mound complex centers, including Jakawitz (Chuitinamit) near Chujuyup. This pattern remained stable until the K'iche' consolidated the area around AD 1200. Brown describes the K'iche' as leaving much of the settlement pattern unchanged, with the hierarchy of sites maintained except for the addition of their capital and the placement of K'iche' elite to replace local decision makers (1982: 42–43).

Urbanism as a Framework for Conceptualizing the Archaeological Record

A second aspect of community organization concerns urbanism. The term *urban* might be considered an adjectival form of *city*, though not all will accept this analogy (see Blanton 1976: 249). The problem may center on confusion of urbanism with civilization. The failure to consider *urban* and *city* as relating to the same concept complicates the terminological situation.

Sanders and Price (1968: 46) define urbanism in processual terms. Urbanization involves the concurrent processes of population growth, population nucleation, and development of internal social complexity. The first two are about the perceived size

and density of a site when contrasted to contemporaneous non-urban locations, whereas the third is about the socioeconomic factors central to the existence of such population centers. Kurjack (1974: 5) gives urbanism a demographic component (size and density) and a cultural component involving development and exploitation of craft specialization. In fully developed cities the results of these processes are readily evident, but V. Gordon Childe, who was responsible for much of the early interest in studying cities, recognized that in the initial stages, when economic shifts are only beginning to be made, these might not be apparent and the majority of residents in such cities would still be primarily involved in food production (1950: 10–11). The processual framework outlined by Sanders and Price avoids this problem by using a diachronic approach. They acknowledge that sites undergo the process of urbanization without setting an arbitrary point at which the condition of urban can first be said to be present.

We might consider Teotihuacan as an example where no one would deny that at its peak this was a large city and a fully developed urban center (Millon 1973). The emerging urban center might not have been distinguishable from its neighbors as the city began to evolve in the context of central Mexico's regional development. The processual approach of Sanders and Price (1968) recognizes that the site was on the path to becoming a great city and that the process of such a development is subject to archaeological study.

Blanton (1976) used a regional, synchronic approach to study urban centers. A site is classified as a city within a regional hierarchical system when it is the location of the largest number of central place functions (Blanton 1976: 251–254). This addresses the caveat of Childe (1950: 10–11) that early cities had to be viewed in the context of their contemporaneous communities. Blanton adds to the model a necessary condition for a hierarchical arrangement of sites, citing Flannery (1972). In Blanton's model (1976: 253), political centers perform central place functions, and there can be a hierarchy of sites based on the number of these activities employed. The highest numbers of central functions are seen in cities, with towns having an intermediate or a low number. This is similar to Wright's model of chiefdom versus state, but here is applied to the concept of urbanism.

An alternative for viewing the city in a regional framework is to focus on economic specialization implicit in urbanization rather than on central place functions that represent political power. It is not always possible to deal with a diachronic archaeological record of sufficient depth to fully explore the "processes" of urbanization as presented by Sanders and Price (1968), but to the extent a regional time depth can be established and a hierarchy of sites can be demonstrated, evidence for economic specialization might permit a designation as an urban center or city for a location that in itself lacks a significant time depth (a single occupation site). Population and demographics also need to be considered.

Population growth of a center may be observable on a regional basis, if the site can be seen as a new level in the local settlement hierarchy. Demographically this could be either through depopulation of outlying areas as people move to the new higher-order center or through regional growth with excess population gravitating to the new center. There also needs to be nucleation, with population more densely packed and with the other regional sites lacking this nucleation. Finally, the higher-order center would require not only sociopolitical functions evident in temples and civic structures but also evidence of economic or craft specialization. Using this method, a processual approach as outlined by Sanders and Price (1968: 46) might be observable in a synchronic (single-occupation) site. Nothing is said about absolute population size or a specific proportion of specialists compared to agriculturalists, nor of the amount of time devoted to specialized crafts.

Kemper and Royce (1983) summarized the study of urbanism in Mesoamerica, noting that one major issue in the Classic Maya area was how to deal with the ceremonial centers that rose and fell. These Classic Mayan sites were associated with trade and agricultural innovation, whereas in Postclassic Mexico, urbanism was related to militarism and conquest as the Toltecs from Tula, and later the Aztecs, moved into the Mayan region.

> The pre-Columbian era involved a series of distinctive urban developments in different regions which flourished and then collapsed. The tension was always between dispersed settlements and the urban ceremonial-administrative centers. In times of agricultural prosperity and population growth, the balance swung in favor of the cities. The period between the Classic urban sites and the later rise of Tenochtitlán and the Aztec empire was a downturn in urbanization in most of Mesoamerica. The success of the Aztecs in dominating the central highlands and in extending their control over vast reaches of Mesoamerica brought urban forces once again to the fore. (Kemper and Royce 1983: 127–128)

More recently, Michael Smith (2002) has taken a different approach to understanding the city in ancient societies. A demographic definition depending on large, nucleated, permanent settlements might exclude the political centers of some civilizations, such as some ancient Maya communities or the ancient Egyptians, where the population size might be considered insufficient. A functional definition is not dependent on the number of residents, focusing instead on the roles that the city performs in political unification, craft specialization, markets, and religious activities. This permits inclusion of the civic centers of the dispersed Mayan populations and also allows for cities with specific functions, such as economic centers and political centers. Smith uses the functional definition when he expounds on the character of the Mayan city (Smith 2002).

Smith describes the Classic Maya cities as varying in size and density, with one city often significantly larger than others in what he calls a "primate city size pat-

tern." The cities were characterized by social diversity, but with most residents being commoner farmers; other identifiable economic activities could vary considerably from one city to another. Some large cities, such as Tikal, may have had limited capacity for production of utilitarian goods, and this may have contributed to a low population density. Political administration and ritual activities were central and the city center was dominated by large palaces and major temples, as well as a ball court (Smith 2002: 11–16). The major point in Smith's essay (2002: 18), however, is that the earliest cities across the world vary greatly one from another, with their form determined by the larger context of the kind of society in which they were found.

Smith (2005) examined the nature of Postclassic Mesoamerican urban centers on a regional basis, defining urban-type settlements as sites both having public buildings and generally, but not necessarily, exceeding 10 ha in size. He further classified cities by functional type. These types included major political capitals, political towns (the most common type, with sixty-four represented), and political towns with further specialization identified (political town, craft specialization; political town, trade specialization; political town, religious specialization). He had eighty-seven sites in his sample, with twenty-four (his second largest subset) located in his southeast area, which included highland Guatemala. The Postclassic cities were similar to earlier ones in Mesoamerica, containing an epicenter with temples, palaces, ball courts, and plazas. Their median extent was 90 ha. In general, their epicenters appeared to be carefully planned, whereas the adjacent residential areas lacked such planning. The median epicenter size in the highland Guatemala area was 1.9 ha, although Q'umarkaj measured 11 ha and Chisalin 4 ha. Smith found that "the most striking variation in Postclassic urban size relates to political status," suggesting that administrative functions were important determinants in city size (2005: 421).

Trade as a Framework for Conceptualizing the Archaeological Record

Another method for exploring the nature of archaeological community organization and regional integration focuses on trade and economic interactions among peoples irrespective of their specific level of political integration or population nucleation and specialization (Polyani 1975; Renfrew 1975; Webb 1975). Aspects of trade and redistribution can serve as an integrating principle for chiefdoms (Renfrew 1975: 8ff) or as a force governing territorial structure and state formation (Renfrew 1975: 13ff). Frances Berdan (2003) provided a summary description of trade and the economic foundations of Postclassic Mesoamerica. Many of the utilitarian items may have been locally produced, and elite households may have also produced some luxury goods, but there were extensive trading networks to

provide access to materials such as salt, obsidian, metal objects, fabrics, decorated ceramics, and cacao (Berdan 2003: 93–94). Markets varied in scale, from local utilitarian markets to major trade centers. Within this system both utilitarian goods and elite items moved. There were also areas for specialized production of goods to be distributed through the network (Berdan 2003: 94; see also Hosler 2004; Neff 2001).

Trade will not be explored in depth in this volume. The planning of the archaeological excavations in the Utatlán residence zone did not include the kinds of artifact analysis that would be required to address many of these questions. One could, however, formulate hypotheses and utilize the artifact inventory from these excavations to explore the role of trade in the political and social developments in the Quiche Basin. The concepts related to trade are relevant to the arguments of Carmack (1981), Brown (1985), and Van Akkeren (2009) on the movement of the warriors or traders to the Guatemala highlands and the emergence of K'iche' hegemony.

Monica Smith (2003) explores the interrelationships among participants in an economic exchange system and the multiple levels of society that are affected by those interactions. These levels include those related to the geographic or spatial organization of city and hinterland, to the social relationships among kinship-based and non-kinship-based associations, and to the political integration of society, which she relates to leadership. In this process she describes the functional attributes of the city. Aside from the obvious physical characteristics of roads, markets, temples, and palaces, the city boundaries can be difficult to define because of the economic interdependence at the root of the rural/urban divide (Smith 2003: 4–5). The nature of this interdependence gives rise to leadership requirements to regulate building, oversee economic interactions, and mediate disputes from the many groups or associations with competing or incompatible interests. In the city, households expand their network of interactions, and these networks form new types of associations in which members may have dissimilar interests. Ambitious individuals may assume leadership roles within these associations. There are also competing demands among the various associations. These can concern spatial organization of the city as well as governance of interactions among associations. These situations require leadership as well (Smith 2003: 15–19). Within the city, management of space is important, such as defining public versus private space and controlling access and integration of kinship ties and non-kin-based economic links in neighborhoods (Smith 2003: 19–23). The spatial limits of the city can be hard to define archaeologically, because although some economic interdependencies take place within the urban area, others are linked to kin or non-kin associates in the hinterlands. Political entities that manage disputes, collect revenues, and oversee economic transactions may define formal boundaries but these can shift if

situations change, in response either to internal events or to outside circumstances (Smith 2003: 4–5).

Community as a Framework for Conceptualizing the Archaeological Record

Weeks (1980) excavated at the K'iche' center of Chisalin, although he confined his work to the epicenter of that site and its elite structures. He did, however, attempt to describe the social integration of the site, using a functional assessment of excavated mound groups based on architectural and artifact variations (1980: 11–139). He assumed Chisalin to be an "integrated entity" and that the spatial organization of the site should "be related to the organization of the social community that occupied it" (1980: 175). On the basis of the archaeological remains, Weeks attempted to define the social space of Chisalin using concepts of connectivity and accessibility (1980: 196–207).

Brown (1987) commented: "Mayanists have developed an interesting assumption: mounds clustered together produce a social group. *People* clustered together *may* produce a social group, but mounds never do" (Brown 1987: 196; italics in original). He questioned Weeks's assumption that patterns of access, which reflect in turn patterns of interaction, would thereby reflect interaction of groups of individuals. Archaeology is primarily a study of human behavior and intends to make interpretations about human behavior based on the archaeological record. This may be represented by groups or mounds or by households, however defined, their artifact inventory, and their spatial arrangement. Brown refers to a "theoretical/methodological trap," but the criticism itself is a semantic trap. It is appropriate that we conceptualize the human behavior represented in the archaeological record while recognizing that it was people who created and used the artifacts or who were the socially interacting groups. At the same time it is also appropriate to limit our statements to what is, in fact, observable in the record. This was clearly expressed by Weeks regarding interpretation of mounds; that is, the mounds do not form social groups. Concerning residential structures, Weeks states, "This tendency for spatial segregation suggests that these buildings did not serve the needs of the general population" (1980: 212).

At Copán, Honduras, Fash and colleagues used a conjunctive approach to the archaeological excavations (Canuto 2003; Canuto and Fash 2004), in which "the larger research enterprise was designed to balance separate efforts targeting different scales of analysis at the same Classic period polity" (Canuto and Fash 2004: 53). Part of this process involved the de-emphasis on spatial or physical characteristics and sought to establish a constituted community that represented not a physical place but rather an idea about that place (2004: 65). One component of the Copán studies was household analysis (Freter 2004; Johnston and Gonlin 1998). Johnston

and Gonlin present the framework for analysis of households in Maya archaeological sites, first describing three approaches that had been employed in the archaeological conception of houses. These were the *cultural* approach, generally characterized by European structuralists who viewed the house as an artifact with symbolic meaning; the *functional* approach, which considered the house as an artifact having organizational meaning; and the *social* approach, wherein houses were equated with households having a socioeconomic role in the society (1998: 142–143). The authors choose the third, the social model. They employ a four-step process of identifying types of buildings. They archaeologically sampled each type, determining a probable function for each and classifying those associated with domestic activities as houses. They define a household as the occupants of the house, "wherein membership is defined by shared tasks of production and consumption regardless of whether its members are related by kinship or marriage or are coresident" (1998: 156).

Johnston and Gonlin further characterize the artifact assemblages associated with houselots, or households, by clarifying and debunking assumptions commonly made concerning the archaeological record. They used an ethnographic analogy with regional rural settlements to derive a framework for interpreting sites (1998: 159–161). The house floor and the associated patio were generally swept clean, and debris was removed from the house during its occupational phase. This debris could be deposited near or behind the structure, though in an urban setting, deposits might be transported to an intermediate area. Materials found above the household floors or patios represented post-abandonment cultural or environmental redistribution, except in rare instances where abandonment may have been sudden and unexpected (e.g., Pompeii). This description by Johnston and Gonlin describes the assumptions I made in the approach to the excavation of the Utatlán residence zone, to be outlined in Chapter 3.

Freter (2004) discusses how excavations at houselots throughout the Copán Valley contributed data for an anthropological model on the social organization that incorporated information on household characteristics and interstructure empty space. The model can be used to generate testable hypotheses on complex human behaviors.

The concept of constituted community. The use of community as an emic construct for archaeological interpretation implies that the explanation has a validity to which the original site occupants would attest. The term *constituted community* or *imagined community* comes to us from the work of Benedict Anderson in his study of nationalism (Anderson 1991). He wrote, "It is *imagined* because the members of even the smallest nation will never know most of their fellow-members, meet them, or even hear of them, yet in the minds of each lives the image of their communion"

(1991: 15). Further, this is a *community* because of a deeply held feeling of comradeship, irrespective of class differences, that has motivated members of nations to willingly die for this imagined entity (Anderson 1991: 16).

Canuto and Fash (2004) elaborate on the difference between what they call a *natural community* and a *constituted community*. They consider the former to be a static social entity that is tied to a location or place in isolation, and natural community does not take into account the range of external interactions in which its members engage. The natural community is visible in the spatial boundaries, the residential nucleation, and the shared material culture (Canuto and Fash 2004: 55–56). The constituted community, however, is less a place and more an idea independent of place. An analogy is made with the Jewish Diaspora or with ethnic enclaves in foreign cities, who maintain a sense of identity that is related to their imagined community rather than their physical residence (Canuto and Fash 2004: 57).

The community can be addressed methodologically in archaeological interpretation. One should consider the concept as multilayered. There are spatial correlates in understanding community but the nature of human interactions is central to the interpretive framework. "The community is not a spatial cluster of material remains to be observed, but rather a social process to be inferred" (Yaeger and Canuto 2000: 9). Not all have adopted this approach. The study of archaeological communities as it developed in the first half of the twentieth century defined the community as "directly interacting individuals—fulfilling its own social, economic, and reproductive needs," but the science of anthropology grew to understand the community as "the natural unit of human organization within which the linkage of society and culture could be explained" (Isbell 2000: 245).

The sense of community is ambiguous. It can be described in terms of shared space or as shared experience, goals, sentiments, and knowledge. It can be described etically, as observable by an external investigator, or emically, as experienced by the members (Isbell 2000: 243). At the outset of this project it was unclear what arguments the data would support. Would we recover materials that would permit only an external observer's estimation of the spatial extent of the Greater Utatlán residence zone and its internal complexity as evidenced by social stratification, craft specialization, architectural variations, and artifact inventory? Or would there be recoverable data that could permit this observer, more than 400 years after the abandonment of the site, to understand how the residents were able to link together the subunits of this space and self-identify as members of the Utatlán community?

This is not meant to discount the arguments by Monica Smith (2003) that the relationships among city residents with their rural associates integrate the functional aspects of urbanism with the world outside and blur the boundaries between urban and rural, or city and hinterlands. When she writes, "Formal recognized boundaries are likely to result from specific requirements imposed by political entities . . . nor

are official boundaries and definitions all encompassing" (2003: 5), this does not negate the concept of a constituted community based on these boundaries. It would seem inherent to the concept of emically defined communities that individuals are able to imagine many such constructs in their day-to-day lives. A kinship-based association with distant relatives, an economic interdependence based on trade or specialized skills, an ethnic affiliation with a broad-based language or cultural group, and a spatial arrangement in household placement in a neighborhood or within a city can all result in the mental image of a community. An attempt to elucidate one of these mental images does not negate or deny the presence of others.

THE GREATER UTATLÁN RESIDENCE ZONE

This volume reports on the investigations in the Greater Utatlán residence zone. It will attempt to use the recovered archaeological data to determine the boundaries of the community extending out from the ceremonial center of Q'umarkaj and to characterize the subdivisions within that community. It does not include direct reports on the Q'umarkaj epicenter or the other activities involved in the overall project, though some preliminary data will be incorporated in the discussion. Nor does it employ a conjunctive approach to synthesize the data from the diverse projects into a unified presentation of K'iche' prehistory, though preliminary inductive conclusions on the place of Utatlán in pre-conquest highland Guatemala will be presented. It does attempt to draw conclusions about what may have been the constituted community of Utatlán, the population and the physical area that was associated with and extended out from Q'umarkaj.