Sculpture and Social Dynamics in Preclassic Mesoamerica

This book examines the functions of sculpture during the Preclassic period in Mesoamerica and its significance in statements of social identity. Julia Guernsey situates the origins and evolution of monumental stone sculpture within a broader social and political context and demonstrates the role that such sculpture played in creating and institutionalizing social hierarchies. This book focuses specifically on an enigmatic type of public monumental sculpture known as the "potbelly" that traces its antecedents to earlier small domestic ritual objects and ceramic figurines. The cessation of domestic rituals involving ceramic figurines along the Pacific slope coincided not only with the creation of the first monumental potbelly sculptures, but with the rise of the first state-level societies in Mesoamerica by the advent of the Late Preclassic period. The potbellies became central to the physical representation of new forms of social identity and expressions of political authority during this time of dramatic change.

Julia Guernsey is an Associate Professor in the Department of Art and Art History at the University of Texas at Austin. Her research has appeared in a variety of journals, including *Antiquity*, *Ancient America*, and *Journal of Latin American Lore*. Her most recent book, coedited with John E. Clark and Bárbara Arroyo, is titled *The Place of Stone Monuments: Context, Use, and Meaning in Mesoamerica's Preclassic Transition*.

> For Tony Guernsey and Rita Ford Guernsey, my heroes;

> > For Abby and Jack, the centers of my world;

> > and for Michael, who made it all possible.

Sculpture and Social Dynamics in Preclassic Mesoamerica

Julia Guernsey University of Texas at Austin



CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY PRESS Cambridge, New York, Melbourne, Madrid, Cape Town, Singapore, São Paulo, Delhi, Mexico City

Cambridge University Press 32 Avenue of the Americas, New York, NY 10013-2473, USA

www.cambridge.org Information on this title: www.cambridge.org/9781107012462

© Julia Guernsey 2012

This publication is in copyright. Subject to statutory exception and to the provisions of relevant collective licensing agreements, no reproduction of any part may take place without the written permission of Cambridge University Press.

First published 2012

Printed in the United States of America

A catalog record for this publication is available from the British Library.

Library of Congress Cataloging in Publication data
Guernsey, Julia, 1964–
Sculpture and social dynamics in Preclassic Mesoamerica / Julia Guernsey.
pages cm
Includes bibliographical references and index.
ISBN 978-1-107-01246-2
1. Maya sculpture. 2. Olmec sculpture. 3. Indian sculpture – Mexico. 4. Indian
sculpture – Central America. I. Title.
F1435.3.S34G84 2012
730.97281–dc23 2012005509

ISBN 978-1-107-01246-2 Hardback

Cambridge University Press has no responsibility for the persistence or accuracy of URLs for external or third-party Internet Web sites referred to in this publication and does not guarantee that any content on such Web sites is, or will remain, accurate or appropriate.

Contents

List of Illustrations	<i>page</i> vii
Acknowledgments	xi
1 Introduction	
2 Potbellies and Sculpture: A Brief History of Preclassic Scholarship	15 15 15 17 18 19 21 23 26
3 Situating Sculpture on the Preclassic Pacific Slope of Mesoamerica Introduction Geography and the linguistic evidence The Early Preclassic period The Middle Preclassic period Middle Preclassic La Blanca The Late Preclassic period Conclusions	
4 The Dating and Distribution of Potbellies and Potbelly-Related Sculpture	54 54 54

v

vi

Contents

	Con	ntents
	The distribution of potbellies	57
	Conclusions	100
5	Blurring the Lines: Public Space, Private Space, Sculpture,	
	and Figurines	101
	Introduction	101
	Middle Preclassic figurines and issues of context and use	102
	La Blanca and the puffy-faced figurine traditions	103
	Puffy-faced figurines beyond La Blanca	105
	Figurine use: Temporal patterns and implications on the	
	Pacific slope	109
	Transformations in scale	110
	Sculpture and public versus private space at La Blanca	111
	Beyond the Pacific slope	115
	Back to the Pacific slope	117
	Conclusions	119
6	Big Bellies and Fat Gods	121
	Introduction	121
	Corpulence and social status in the Preclassic	121
	Hybrid corpulence	123
	The "Fat God"	123
	Patterns of interaction between Teotihuacan, the Pacific slope,	
	and southeastern Mesoamerica	126
	The "Fat God": Continuity or disjunction?	127
	Conclusions	129
7	Potbellies, Ancestors, and Performance	131
	Introduction	131
	Puffy features, death, and breath	131
	From breath to sound	134
	Giving sculptural form – and voice – to ancestors	134
	From puffy cheeks and sound to performance	137
	Potbellies and domestic ritual	139
	Potbellies, ancestors, and the archaeological evidence	141
	Conclusions	143
8	Potbellies and Social Identity in the Preclassic	144
0	Introduction	144
	From domestic sector to public realm	145
	Ancestors, mortuary patterns, and social dynamics	148
	Portraying ancestors	149
	Potbellies, lineages, and social identity	149
	Potbellies, alliances, and boundaries	152
	Potbellies, space, and "master narratives"	154
	Gender, identity, ancestors, and memory	156
	From private to public in Mesoamerica and beyond	159
	Conclusions	160
Not	tes	161
Ret	ferences	177
Ind		227
1111		<u> </u>

Illustrations

1.1	Map of Mesoamerica with sites mentioned in the text	page 3
1.2	Comparative chronology of Preclassic Mesoamerica	4
1.3	Ceramic figurines from the Middle Preclassic site of La Blanca,	
	Guatemala	5
1.4	Monte Alto Monument 4	6
1.5	Two views of Finca Nueva Monument 1	7
1.6	Monte Alto Monument 10 with a young David Stuart in front	
	and Roberto Stuart to the left	8
1.7	Middle Preclassic ceramic figurines from La Blanca in the	
	Shook Collection, Guatemala	9
2.1	Photo from Alfred Maudslay's Biologia Centrali-Americana:	
	Archaeology depicting "stone figures on the road side"	16
2.2	Tres Zapotes Monument L	19
	Photo of the site of Monte Alto and Monument 2 taken in	
	the late 1950s or early 1960s	21
2.4	Excavations in 1980 at Takalik Abaj on Structure 7, Terrace 3,	
	with members of the Berkeley project and Monuments	
	58 and 50	23
3.1	View of the Pacific coastal plain and southern Sierra Madres	
	from near La Blanca, Guatemala	29
3.2	Takalik Abaj Stela 5	30
	Preclassic monuments from Chiapas, Mexico: (a) Buena	
	Vista sculpture; (b) Alvaro Obregón sculpture	33
3.4	Olmec sculpture: (a) San Lorenzo Monument 61;	
	(b) La Venta Altar 5	34
3.5	Preclassic monuments from Chiapas, Mexico: (a) Ojo de Agua	
	Monument 1; (b) Xoc relief carving	36
3.6	Takalik Abaj Monument 1	37
	Stela from Finca La Unión, Cacahoatán, Chiapas	39
	Izapa Miscellaneous Monument 2	40
3.9	Map of the site of La Blanca	41
3.10	Map of the site of El Ujuxte	43
3.11	Potbellies and other sculptures on the access to Terrace 3,	
	Takalik Abaj	46
3.12	Map of the site of Monte Alto	47
	View of the town of La Democracia and monuments from	
	the site of Monte Alto, July 2008	48
3.14	Monuments from Finca Pacaño, Patzicía, Chimaltenango,	
	Guatemala: (a) Sculpture 2; (b) Sculpture 1	50

viii

4.1	Santa Leticia terrace with potbellies	57
	Map showing the distribution of potbelly sculptures in	
	southeastern Mesoamerica	58
4.3	Monte Alto potbellies: (a) Monument 4; (b) Monument 5;	
	(c) Monument 6	63
4.4	Monte Alto potbellies: (a) Monument 9; (b) Monument 11;	
	(c) Monument 12	63
4.5	Monte Alto monumental heads: (a) Monument 1;	
	(b) Monument 2; (c) Monument 7	64
4.6	Monte Alto monumental heads: (a) Monument 8;	
	(b) Monument 10; (c) Monument 3	64
4.7	Monumental heads of unknown provenience:	
	(a) unprovenienced head with pursed lips; (b) head from	
	Finca Costa Brava, La Democracia, Escuintla, front;	
	(c) head from Finca Costa Brava, back	65
	Los Cerritos Sur Monument 1	66
4.9	Escuintla potbellies: (a) Los Cerritos Sur Monument 3;	
	(b) Giralda Monument 1; (c) Giralda Monument 2;	
	(d) San Antonio La Gomera Monument 1	67
4.10	Potbellies from La Gomera and Tiquisate, Guatemala:	
	(a) Finca Bonampak Monument 1; (b) Finca Sololá	
	Monument 1; (c) Finca Sololá Monument 2; (d) Finca	(0
4 1 1	Sololá Monument 3	68
4.11	Potbellies within the vicinity of Cotzumalguapa:	
	(a) Concepción-Cementerio Monument 1; (b) Concepción	
	Monument 3; (c) Bilbao/Concepción Monument 46;	69
112	(d) Bilbao/Concepción Monument 47 Potbellies within the vicinity of Cotzumalguapa: (a) Bilbao	09
T .12	Monument 58; (b) Concepción-Anexo Colorado Monument 2;	
	(c) El Bálsamo, Santa Lucía Cotzumalguapa Monument 1	69
413	Potbellies from Pasaco, Jutiapa: (a) Monument 1;	07
1.10	(b) Monument 2; (c) Monument 3	70
4.14	La Nueva basalt figurine	70
	Takalik Abaj potbellies: (a) Monument 2; (b) Monument 3;	
	(c) Monument 40	71
4.16	Takalik Abaj potbellies: (a) Monument 12; (b) Monument 41;	
	(c) Monument 46	71
4.17	Takalik Abaj potbelly and associated cache: (a) Monument 58	
	and cache contents; (b) Miscellaneous Sculpture 399;	
	(c) Miscellaneous Sculpture 400	72
4.18	Takalik Abaj potbellies: (a) Monument 69; (b) Monument 94;	
	(c) Monument 179	72
4.19	Takalik Abaj potbellies: (a) Monument 100; (b) Monument	
	107; (c) Monument 109	73
4.20	Potbelly and related monument from Takalik Abaj:	
	(a) Monument 113; (b) Monument 99	73
4.21	San Sebastián potbellies: (a) Monument 3; (b) Monument 4;	
	(c) Monument 5; (d) Monument 6	74
	El Ujuxte potbellies: (a) Sculpture 2; (b) Sculpture 3	75
4.23	Kaminaljuyu potbellies: (a) Monument 3; (b) Monument 4;	
1.2.1	(c) Monument 6; (d) Monument 66	76
	Kaminaljuyu Monument 57	76
4.25	Kaminaljuyu potbellies: (a) Monument 58; (b) Pieza A;	
1 74	(c) Pieza B; (d) Pieza C Kaminalium pothallica (a) Monument 7: (b) Monument 20:	77
4.20	Kaminaljuyu potbellies: (a) Monument 7; (b) Monument 39;	77
	(c) Monument 8	77

Illustrations

4.27	Kaminaljuyu potbellies: (a) Monument 41; (b) Pieza D;	
,	(c) Pieza E	78
4.28	Kaminaljuyu Monument 38	78
4.29	Sculptural heads with puffy features: (a) Takalik Abaj	
	Monument 312; (b) Kaminaljuyu Monument 10,	
	frontal view; (c) Kaminaljuyu Monument 10, oblique view	79
4.30	Objects with potbelly-related features: (a) stone figurine from	
	Kaminaljuyu; (b) Valley of Mexico figurine	80
4.31	Potbelly-related monuments from Kaminaljuyu:	
	(a) Monument 15; (b) Monument 11	80
4.32	Figures with anthropomorphic faces on torsos:	
	(a) Tajumulco Sculpture L; (b) ceramic figurine from	
4.22	La Blanca, Guatemala	82
4.33	Potbellies from Sacatepéquez, Sololá, and Quiché:	
	(a) San Juan Sacatepéquez Monument 1; (b) Antigua,	
	Sacatepéquez Monument 1; (c) Agua Escondida	01
1 21	Monument 1; (d) Utatlán Monument 1 Chocolá Monument 30	82 83
	Three miniature potbellies in a private collection in	05
4.55	San Antonio, Suchitepéquez	83
4 36	Petén potbellies: (a) Tikal Miscellaneous Stone 82;	00
1.00	(b) Grupo Santa Fe Miscellaneous Stone 167;	
	(c) Chanchich II potbelly; (d) San Bartolo potbelly	84
4.37	Unprovenienced potbellies in Guatemala: (a) standing	01
,	potbelly in the collection of the Museo Popol Vuh;	
	(b) frontal view of peg sculpture potbelly; (c) profile	
	view of peg sculpture potbelly	85
4.38	Santa Leticia potbellies: (a) Monument 1; (b) Monument 2;	
	(c) Monument 3	86
4.39	Potbellies from El Salvador: (a) Chalchuapa Monument 7;	
	(b) Tapalshucut monument; (c) Teopán Island potbelly	86
4.40	Three views of Copan potbelly CPN 46	87
4.41	Tlaxcala potbellies: (a) "Escultura femenina";	
	(b) "Escultura asexuada"	88
	Tiltepec potbellies: (a) Monument 1; (b) Monument 23	89
	Tiltepec potbellies: (a) Monument 24; (b) Monument 25	89
4.44	Tiltepec potbellies: (a) Monument 26; (b)	
	Monument 27	90
4.45	Related figurines: (a) figurine from Tlapacoya; (b) figurine	01
	from San Miguel Amantla	91
4.46	Tonalá region monuments: (a) Tzutzuculi Monument 10;	01
4 47	(b) Tonalá monument with standing figure	91
4.47	Tiltepec potbellies: (a) Monument 28; (b) Monument 33;	93
4.48	(c) Monument in Tonalá Casa Cultural attributed to Tiltepec Tiltepec Monument 34	93 93
	Colonia Alvaro Obregón potbelly: (a) profile view;	95
т.т/	(b) rear view	95
4.50	Potbellies from the Tonalá region: (a) Arriaga potbelly;	/5
1.00	(b) potbelly from Cerro Bernal, current whereabouts unknown;	
	(c) unidentified monument in Tonalá Casa Cultural;	
	(d) unidentified monument in Tonalá Casa Cultural	96
4.51	Related objects from Chiapas: (a) drum-shaped sculpture from	
=	Ojo de Agua, Upper Grijalva Basin of Chiapas; (b) two views of	
	vessel from Chiapa de Corzo Mound 17 archaeological salvage	
	project	97
	an ·	

ix

x

Illustrations

4 5 2	Veracruz potbellies: (a) Polvaredas potbelly; (b) Nopiloa	
1.52	potbelly; (c) Manlio Fabio Altamurano potbelly	98
4.53	Stone head from La Vigía	98
	Teopantecuanitlan potbelly	99
	Two views of unprovenienced mushroom stone-potbelly	
	hybrid from Guatemala	100
5.1	Two views of seated female figurine with puffy features from	
	La Blanca	105
5.2	Female figurines from La Blanca: (a) puffy-faced figurine,	
	frontal view; (b) puffy-faced figurine, rear view; (c) profile	
	figurine with long hair	105
5.3	Puffy-faced figurines from La Blanca showing a range of	
	attributes: (a, b) headdresses with central medallions and incised	
	crosses; (c) hornlike peaks on sides of the head; (d, e) lobelike	
	bangs with or without incisions; (f) textured bangs; (g) rear	
	view of figurine with textured bangs showing headband	106
5.4	Figurine from Naranjo, Guatemala	107
5.5	Three views of Ojo de Agua stone figurine head with closed,	
	puffy eyes	108
5.6	Puffy-faced figurine/whistle from La Blanca, views from	
	front and top	108
5.7	Pursed-lip and puffed-cheek figurines: (a) figurine from	
	La Blanca; (b) figurine from Uaxactun	109
5.8	Two whistles from Kaminaljuyu, the one on the right sharing	
	features with potbelly monuments	109
	La Blanca Monument 3 quatrefoil	113
	Chalcatzingo quatrefoils: (a) Monument 9; (b) Monument 1	113
	Tetimpa shrine stone with puffed cheeks	117
	Fat-bellied figurines from La Blanca	122
6.2	Hybrid corpulence: (a) Kaminaljuyu Monument 5;	
	(b) potbellied animal figurine from La Blanca.	123
6.3	"Fat God" representations: (a) "Fat God" figurine; (b) ceramic	
	vessel fragment from Teotihuacan; (c) convex lid from	
	Teotihuacan; (d) Early Classic vessel from Tampico or	124
6 1	northern Veracruz	124
0.4	Las Charcas–phase three-prong effigy <i>incensario</i> from	125
65	Kaminaljuyu Jaina whistle	125
	Fat-featured individuals: (a) Classic Maya <i>sitz' winik</i> figure;	123
0.0	(b) Tlatilco vessel.	128
7.1		120
, 11	cylindrical vessel, detail of zoomorphic conch shell trumpet	
	player with closed eyes; (b) hieroglyphic expressions for	
	death and the exhalation of breath	132
7.2	Breath bead imagery: (a) profile and frontal views of La Blanca	
	figurine; (b) La Blanca figurine; (c) La Venta Stela 9, detail	133
7.3	Pursed-lip imagery: (a) Teotihuacan candelero with pursed lips	
	and puffy cheeks; (b) early <i>ajaw</i> glyph; (c) detail of Tiltepec	
	Monument 26 cartouche	134
8.1	Pedestal sculptures from La Argelia, Guatemala, a secondary	
	center located midway between the regional sites of Izapa	
	and El Ujuxte	146
	Images of ancestors: (a) La Venta Altar 4; (b) El Baúl Stela 1.	150
8.3	Monte Alto Monument 7 and a young David Stuart in the	
	background	158

Acknowledgments

The expression "It takes a village" seems pertinent to describe the number of individuals whose generosity and insights have enriched this project in myriad ways.

I give my most heartfelt thanks to the many friends and colleagues who walked me through the data, served as sounding boards, provided thoughtful commentaries on drafts of chapters or presentations of these ideas (thereby improving them), or supplied images, references, and contacts: Mary Jane Acuña, Paul Amaroli, Jaime Awe, M. Kathryn Brown, Karen Olsen Bruhns, Marcello Canuto, Allen Christenson, Jessica Craig, Penelope Davies, Richard Diehl, Francisco Estrada Belli, Federico Fahsen, Virginia Fields, James Garber, Susan Gillespie, David Grove, Gerardo Gutiérrez, Norman Hammond, Sherman Horn, Stephen Houston, Barbara Kerr, Justin Kerr, Cecilia Klein, Rex Koontz, Richard Lesure, Adriana Linares, Matthew Looper, Daniel Lopez, Davíd Mora-Marín, Glenna Nielsen-Grimm, Federico Paredes, Karen Pereira, Joanne Pillsbury, Mary Pohl, Christopher Pool, Marion Popenoe de Hatch, Mary Pye, Michel Quenon, Kent Reilly, Andrew Riggsby, Eugenia Robinson, Robert Rosenswig, William Saturno, Erin Sears, Yun Sena, Robert Sharer, Andrea Stone, Carolyn Tate, Fred Valdez, Carl Wendt, and Jason Yaeger.

In the United States, several institutions kindly provided illustrations. I am grateful to Jessica Desany Ganong of the Peabody Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology at Harvard University, Sandy Mielke and Sandra Noble of the Foundation for the Advancement of Mesoamerican Studies, Inc., and Joel Skidmore of Mesoweb.

In Mexico, I am indebted to a number of individuals and institutions that played important roles in providing access to data, images, monuments, and archaeological sites. Ricardo López Vassallo escorted me and Michael Love on a fascinating tour of the Tonalá region of Chiapas; he is an intrepid adventurer, gracious host, and generous scholar. We would never have had this opportunity if not for the sage guidance of Claudia García-Des Lauriers, whose knowledge of the Tonalá region and generosity with images also made a significant contribution to this study; in addition, she read a draft of the manuscript and shared many perceptive comments. Roberto López Bravo provided a tour of the collections in the Museo Regional de Antropología e Historia in Tuxtla Gutiérrez, Chiapas. Leonardo López Luján generously facilitated contact with several Mexican institutions, and

I thank him for sharing his wisdom. I am also grateful to the Instituto Nacional de Antropología e Historia de México and the Consejo Nacional para la Cultura y las Artes for permission to reproduce images of a number of important monuments, and particularly Licenciado Jorge Juárez Paredes, who patiently handled all of the paperwork. I am likewise indebted to Sara Ladrón de Guevara, who graciously provided permission to use images of several monuments in the Museo de Antropología de Xalapa. My sincere gratitude also goes to Donald Forsyth and Kim Goldsmith for their generosity and hospitality while I was undertaking research at the New World Archaeological Foundation in San Cristobal de las Casas, Chiapas; Kim also skillfully edited a draft of this manuscript, and I thank her for sharing her knowledge, insights, and editorial acumen. Thomas Lee deserves special thanks for furnishing images and sharing his vast knowledge of Chiapas archaeology. Back in the States, John Clark and Arlene Colman were magnanimous, as always, in sharing images and information courtesy of the New World Archaeological Foundation.

In Guatemala, I owe a great deal to the many colleagues who proved vital to the success of this project. Enormous gratitude goes to Frederick Bove and Sergio Rodas, who graciously provided drawings, data, and photographs for many of the potbellies from Guatemala. Fred patiently responded to my many emails that sought to tap into his encyclopedic knowledge of archaeology on the Pacific Coast. Bárbara Arroyo also shared data and drawings, extended hospitality, and facilitated a number of contacts, for which I am most appreciative. Christa Schieber de Lavarreda and Miguel Orrego Corzo supplied key information on unpublished monuments from Takalik Abaj, as did John Graham, and I am very grateful to them all. Oswaldo Chinchilla generously shared a number of images from his own important investigations of potbelly sculptures and facilitated access to images of objects at the Museo Popol Vuh in Guatemala City. I am particularly grateful to Juan Pablo Rodas, who took several of the photos in this book, as well as the Dirección General del Patrimonio Cultural y Natural del Ministerio de Cultura y Deportes of Guatemala and the Rubén Chévez van Dorne Museum in La Democracia for granting permission to use the photographs. Likewise, I offer my sincere thanks to Juan Carlos Meléndez Mollinedo, Director of the Museo Nacional de Arqueología y Etnología de Guatemala, for his kind assistance in obtaining permission to use images of the objects in the Museo Nacional and to Erick Ponciano Alvarado, Director General de Patrimonio Cultural y Natural, for facilitating this request. A special note of thanks also goes to the many members of the La Blanca Archaeological Project, especially the Ramírez family.

Closer to home, I must thank George Stuart and David Stuart, who delved into old albums to find several wonderful photos from their family trip to Monte Alto, Guatemala, in the 1960s, which they gave me permission to use in this book. I would also like to express great appreciation to Sue Scott, who read a draft of the complete book and whose wisdom, as a scholar of Teotihuacan, enriched the final result. Karl Taube and an anonymous reviewer also provided feedback on the manuscript, and I am very grateful for their discerning eyes, constructive criticism, and encouragement.

At the University of Texas at Austin, several of my current and past graduate students, as well as the participants in my Spring 2009 graduate seminar on Preclassic Mesoamerican sculpture in the Department of Art and Art History, deserve thanks for the conversations we shared. They include

Acknowledgments

Michael Long, Lucia Henderson, Caitlin Earley, Edwin Román, Meghan Rubenstein, Maribel Rodríguez, David Schaefer, Anabella Coronado, Virginia Walker, Maline Werness, Kate Blankenship, Alicia Dissinger, Stacy Drake, Sarah C. Parker, Deanna Riddick, Luís Santiago Vargas, and Abigail Winograd. Gretel Rodríguez merits special recognition for her eloquent assistance with the acquisition of photographic permissions for this project, as does Lucia Henderson for her generosity in sharing images and thoughts about Kaminaljuyu sculpture.

I am also very thankful for the support I received from the University of Texas at Austin in the form of the D. J. Sibley Family Centennial Faculty Fellowship in Prehistoric Art; a Mellon Foundation Research Grant; a LLILAS Faculty Research Leave from the Teresa Lozano Long Institute of Latin American Studies; a Faculty Research Assignment from the Faculty Development Program, Office of the Vice President and Dean of Graduate Studies; and faculty travel grants from the Office of the Vice President and Dean of Graduate Studies. A University Co-operative Society Subvention Grant was awarded by the University of Texas at Austin, and I am grateful for the Society's assistance in the production of this book.

The publication grant awarded to me as an American Fellow of the American Association of University Women in 2010–2011 was critical to the successful completion of this book, and I thank the Association for its support.

Both within and beyond the world of Mesoamerica, several dear friends deserve mention for intelligent conversation, welcome distractions, excellent friendship, and superb wits. I thank Karen Chitwood, Vivien Carson, Heather Orr, and Jennifer Urich for these important things and, especially, Kathryn Reese-Taylor, who read and commented on a complete draft of this book and whose keen intellect and eyes I have relied on since the days of graduate school.

It has been an honor to work with Cambridge University Press, in particular Beatrice Rehl, to whom I owe a great debt of gratitude. She encouraged me to submit this book to the Press when it was only an idea, and her wisdom has guided it on its way to publication. Thanks also go to Amanda Smith for patiently responding to my many queries and to the individuals who expertly assisted in the final production of the volume, including Mary Becker, James W. Dunn, and Holly Johnson.

Most of all, my family deserves my eternal gratitude. My parents, Rita Ford Guernsey and Tony Guernsey, have supported me every step of the way, modeled excellence at every turn, and instilled curiosity and a love of learning in each of their children. My brother, Michael Guernsey, offered laughter and support. My sister, Sarah Guernsey, her husband, Richard Holland, and their two beautiful sons, Max and Hank, provided much joy and great humor. Isabel Love assisted me in the sorting and photography of thousands of figurines at La Blanca, and we triumphed over the heat and mosquitoes.

My own two children, Abby Kappelman and Jack Kappelman, are the center of my world. Their patience, love, intelligence, and laughter are truly a source of never-ending inspiration. They persevered through the many, many months (years!) of my research and writing, accompanied me to Mexico, and helped me always remember what matters most.

Lastly, I must thank Michael Love, my partner in life and research. This book would truly never have materialized without him. He invited me to xiii

xiv

Acknowledgments

La Blanca, Guatemala, which was where this project began. And he has generously shared so much of his enormous knowledge about the Preclassic period with me over the years, not to mention images, books, maps, and chronological charts. He has challenged and encouraged me to think about things from different perspectives and occasionally met with some resistance; I treasure his patience, good humor, and love.