

OBITUARIES

ROBERT WAUCHOPE, 1909–1979



Robert Wauchope, director of the Middle American Research Institute at Tulane University from 1942 until 1975, and professor of anthropology at Tulane until 1977, died in New Orleans on January 26, 1979, at the age of 69. Widely known for his archaeological research in the tropical lowlands and the highlands of Guatemala, he also made important contributions to the archaeology of the southeastern United States and wrote about archaeology for a more general audience. During his years at Tulane he served as administrator, editor of the MARI publications and of the *Handbook of Middle American Indians*, and teacher in the department of anthropology that he helped establish. The Middle American Research Institute, the department of anthropology, and the program of Latin American scholarship as they exist today at Tulane are very largely his handiwork. In the 1940s, 1950s, and 1960s Wauchope served on a large number of national and regional boards, panels, and committees relating to education, Latin American studies, anthropology in general, and archaeology. Few American archaeologists have been as quietly influential and as respected by their colleagues.

He was born on December 10, 1909, in Columbia, South Carolina, the son of George Armstrong Wauchope and Elizabeth Bostedo Wauchope. His father was a professor of English at the University of South Carolina, and this example must have influenced his choice of a major at college and in turn his considerable abilities as a writer of the English language. From the beginning, his publications in archaeology were clearly written and eminently readable, and this talent proved valuable throughout his career, in his own writing, and in editing the work of others.

Wauchope's interest in archaeology developed while he was an Eagle Scout collecting arrowheads on hiking trips. At about the time he graduated from high school, he convinced his father that he would like nothing better than to join an archaeological expedition. A friend recommended to his father that he write A. V. Kidder, who was digging at Pecos, New Mexico, and Kidder agreed to take him on as an assistant. In the summer of 1927, after he had completed one semester of college, Wauchope journeyed to the Southwest. His diary of that summer indicates he participated in real dirt archaeology, at Forked Lightning Ruin. Notes penned a half-century later by Alfred Kidder II, who at 15 was slightly Wauchope's junior, relate that Bob was the "youngest person with any archaeological interest at the First Pecos Conference in 1927."

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Wauchope began a lifelong friendship with the Kidder family, and he met a number of other archaeologists at Pecos, many of whom were well known and would be his associates in years to come. H. S. and C. B. Cosgrove, who attended the conference, later invited him to accompany them during their 1928–1929 excavations at Stallings Island, Georgia. This short trip was seemingly the only other archaeological project in which Wauchope participated during his college years. It was his first exposure to the archaeology of the southeastern United States, but not the last.

In 1931 Wauchope graduated from the University of South Carolina with a magna cum laude degree in English. He was elected to Phi Beta Kappa and Omicron Delta Kappa. Later he told his wife that his eventual decision to enter graduate school in anthropology was by no means an easy one. At first he considered pursuing a career in English, but his failure to be selected as a Rhodes Scholar in that field, combined with encouragement from A. V. Kidder, helped him choose.

In the fall of 1931 he entered Harvard, specializing in archaeology. After a year of graduate courses he was tapped, presumably by Kidder, who was chairman of the Division of Historical Research of the Carnegie Institution of Washington, to join the 1932 expedition to Uaxactun, Guatemala. In his introduction to *They Found the Buried Cities*, Wauchope relates some of his impressions of his first trip to the Maya area. In those days one reached Uaxactun by river boat and mule train, and contact with the outside world was almost nonexistent for months on end. Daily life in camp held enough novelty and excitement to provide a fascinating account, however, and it is clear that he rapidly succumbed to the lure of the rainforest.

He had a specific task that season, the excavation of a number of Maya dwellings. Several archaeologists had, in the course of investigating sites in Belize, Guatemala, and Yucatan, reported very briefly on small, low platforms that could have served as houses of commoners. J. Eric S. Thompson, Oliver G. Ricketson, Jr., Thomas Gann, Edward H. Thompson, and others had tested structures of this type, remarking on their probable function, but before 1932 no one had set out to investigate in detail a sample of house platforms. Wauchope excavated five such mounds south of Group A at Uaxactun, and his 1934 report, *House Mounds of Uaxactun, Guatemala*, describes these structures, along with their burials, associated wells, artifacts, and pottery (the last by Edith B. Ricketson). He was convinced that these structures were in fact the remains of houses, although he cautioned against making such an assumption about all small mounds at Maya sites; and he suggested certain ethnographically known features that future excavators might investigate.

This was the first serious effort to investigate the archaeological remains of nonelite Maya Indians; a pioneering study, and despite its relatively short length, perhaps as seminal as almost anything he published later. In his conclusions he wrote, "The excavation of house mounds should be an important part of every archaeological project in the Maya area," but it was almost 30 years before this would become generally true.

In 1934, Wauchope returned to the Maya area. For nine months, again under Carnegie auspices, he traveled through highland Guatemala, Yucatan, Campeche, and Quintana Roo, studying Maya Indian houses. This research was a direct offshoot of his excavations at Uaxactun; he had decided that perhaps the most effective way of interpreting ancient dwelling remains would be to investigate modern house forms, methods of construction, disintegrated remains, and patterns of use and distribution.

The report on this research, *Modern Maya Houses: A Study of Their Archaeological Significance*, published in 1938 by Carnegie, remains the definitive work on the subject. Wauchope provided meticulous descriptions of construction techniques and geographic distributions of all modern house types and discussed a number of anthropological problems, some of which have been clarified by subsequent excavations and some of which are as real now as then. He pointed out the predominance of rectangular and square houses in the Guatemala highlands and the frequency of apsidal dwellings in Campeche and Yucatan, noting that apsidal houses in the north tend to be especially characteristic of areas with pure Maya populations. He suggested that excavations were needed to decide how old the apsidal house form was in Yucatan; until such evidence was forthcoming it would be possible to argue for either a western or an eastern

derivation of the type. We now know from excavations that both apsidal and rectangular houses were built as early as 1000 to 800 B.C. in northern Yucatan.

Wauchope raised most of the questions about population estimates that still plague Maya archaeology and that even today make our best estimates little more than educated guesses. His observations led him to suggest that the average small Maya house was not occupied more than 25 or 30 years, or about one generation.

Wauchope also noted in Yucatan a residential pattern recorded by Landa. Wealthier members of the community sometimes erected more than one house on their lot and rented them to poorer individuals or relatives. The growing evidence in the northern Maya area for extensive systems of property walls enclosing a number of structures suggests that we may be able to find archaeological evidence of such a practice.

Wauchope wrote that his third field trip to Middle America was to have been to Coahuila, in northern Mexico, but that Samuel Lothrop suggested instead that he dig at the site of Zacualpa, in the Quiche highlands of Guatemala. Lothrop in 1934 was analyzing a collection of late artifacts from Zacualpa tombs and was interested in having someone learn more about the site. A. V. Kidder again agreed, and in late 1935 Wauchope began excavations at Zacualpa for Carnegie, finishing in mid-February of 1936. Forty-five years ago Zacualpa was even more remote than it is today, and Wauchope was alone, although Kidder visited him once. Despite his isolation, the account of his four months in the field published in *They Found the Buried Cities* indicates he always treasured the experience. The difficulties he experienced with landowners, supplies, and so on sound remarkably like those one encounters today.

Wauchope's *Excavations at Zacualpa, Guatemala*, his first major site report, was completed in December 1942. The war delayed its publication until 1948, but at the time it was written it stood as the only detailed archaeological report on a highland Maya site occupied from the beginning of the Classic period until the Late Postclassic.

Alfred M. Tozzer, the chairman of Wauchope's dissertation committee, had originally intended, as had no doubt Kidder, that the earlier report on modern Maya houses should serve as Wauchope's dissertation, and Wauchope did in fact intend to submit it for his Ph.D. degree. But he had already delivered the report on this research to the Carnegie Institution, as required, and Kidder had it published soon after he did so. By the time he was ready to hand in the dissertation to the department of anthropology, it was in print, and Harvard, therefore, would not accept it. For this reason he did not receive the degree until 1943, when *Zacualpa* was ready, by which time Wauchope was in his early 30s.

Although the excavations at Zacualpa were relatively brief, Wauchope was able to present a detailed account of excavations in two groups of structures, occupied primarily in the Postclassic, a long analysis of pottery (with Edith Ricketson), which he divided into four phases, and a report on the artifacts by A. V. Kidder. The ceramic analysis set a standard for the day. As in his later publications on pottery, he offered an extensive analysis of vessel forms and a study of ceramic wares, by phase. The latter included a very detailed description of attributes, with an unusually large amount of quantitative data for the time. He stated his conviction, which he never abandoned, that only full presentation of attribute statistics would allow adequate comparison of artifacts from one site to another. Probably for this reason he never embraced the type-variety system of ceramic analysis, which since then has become almost de rigueur in the Maya area. He felt that the type-variety system lent itself too readily to a simple listing of attributes and that comparisons and correlations at such a level were likely to be no more than superficial.

In his report Wauchope also included a discussion of how the archaeological data from Zacualpa bore on "some significant anthropological problems in the archaeology of this particular section of highland Guatemala." Because his data were limited, he often could not go very far in this direction, but the attempt is characteristic of his lifelong belief that archaeologists must always address problems relevant to a wider anthropological audience. He also made an attempt to tie the archaeological record at Zacualpa to the legendary and recorded history of the Quiche Indians and to assess the import of both for a Maya-Christian calendar correlation.

He left Zacualpa in early March 1936 and returned to Guatemala City, where Kidder and other

archaeologists of the Carnegie Institution had just started a two-season project of excavations at Kaminaljuyu. Wauchope noted later that Kidder was reluctant to ask him to assist with the excavations, since he had just completed the long project at Zacualpa, but that Mrs. Kidder inquired in a roundabout way if he might be interested in working with them for the duration of the season. He was, and during the next month he and Mrs. Kidder excavated in Mound A, one of the two major structures at the site that led the Carnegie project to suggest that the site was dominated by Teotihuacan in the Early Classic period. Mound A included Tomb A-IV, one of the most impressive elite burials to come to light at Kaminaljuyu.

From 1936 until 1938 Wauchope remained at Harvard, completing his studies and examinations, preparing the final report on his survey of modern Maya houses, and working on the Zacualpa material. He had taken his PhD oral examinations early during his graduate years but had failed them. He later felt the additional course work prepared him more thoroughly for his career, and, using himself as an exhibit, he liked to reassure graduate students at Tulane who had suffered the same misfortune.

In 1938 he took his first academic position, that of assistant professor of archaeology at the University of Georgia and director of the Works Progress Administration Archaeological Survey of the state, which he ran through the university. Georgia had no academic department in anthropology or archaeology at that time, but Wauchope taught part-time, offering courses in general anthropology and Southeastern prehistory, and gave dozens of public lectures and informal talks. Most of his 2 years in Georgia, however, was devoted to the survey which he designed. The goal of the project was to sample as many sites as possible in northern Georgia, filling in the huge gaps between earlier excavations at Macon, Savannah, Etowah, Stallings Island, and other sites, but not to undertake large excavations. By June 1940 the survey had recorded and surface-collected more than 200 sites north of Macon and had dug at 23, usually for no more than two or three days each, but as long as two months in a few instances. Wauchope also set up, staffed, and ran an archaeological laboratory at the university to handle the material coming in from the field and to provide a base for future work in the state, and he set up the first detailed file of Georgia archaeological sites.

Some of the results of the survey were published in articles in the 1940s and 1950s, and the Society for American Archaeology issued the final report in 1966 as a 540-page memoir entitled *Archaeological Survey of Northern Georgia with a Test of Some Cultural Hypotheses*. As its length suggests, the volume was a mammoth undertaking, profusely and clearly illustrated, and painstakingly assembled and edited. The longest chapter describes the sites visited and classifies the material found at each one. Other sections present the pottery (by wares, as at Zacualpa), projectile points, all other artifacts, excavations, a chronological and geographical synthesis of ceramic traits, and a concluding summary.

The volume contributes a tremendous amount of information on what was archaeologically an almost unknown area. Many of the sites first reported in his report have since been excavated, but many have been lost by flooding or other forms of destruction. The ceramic sequence Wauchope developed for northern Georgia is, with some changes, still valid. But for archaeologists not actively engaged in the southern United States, Wauchope's chapter on cultural processes is the most thought-provoking. As he wrote, "The main hope of realizing some worthwhile return from such minute studies and counts lies in the quantitative testing of hypotheses concerning the nature and processes of culture, especially culture change." Using ceramic traits such as paste color, temper, vessel shape, and designs, he measured and compared rates of change through time. He was interested in determining such things as the relative rates of technical vs. aesthetic change in ceramics, whether technical or aesthetic change tended to increase or decrease in certain periods, whether ceramic change tended to increase as the overall culture became more "complex," and whether patterns of innovations and losses in ceramic traditions could be discerned. In most cases his results were negative. Citing views about the nature of culture change that had been put forth by such scholars as Alfred L. Kroeber, George P. Murdock, and Walter Goldschmidt, he attempted to see if his Georgia ceramics exhibited patterns that would be expected from these broad, often axiomatic, statements. As a rule they did not, perhaps,

Wauchope suggested, because very general hypotheses, or "laws," about culture change were never meant to be tested against such limited historical data. He concluded this chapter with a generally pessimistic comment on the ability of anthropology to produce universal laws of human behavior and culture change that could be tested with specific historical material. The question of whether archaeology and anthropology are nevertheless capable of making valid contributions to the study of human behavior he answered as follows: "So long as we systematize our data and interpret them functionally, and so long as we seek relationships between aspects of nature, man, and culture, our scientific methods are not in vain, nor our results, even though they may not be laws, insignificant in the world of knowledge."

The preface to the Georgia survey volume gives an intriguing anecdotal record of what it was like to do WPA archaeology in the Southeast. The problems of labor, technical staffing, and bureaucratic red tape were almost insurmountable, especially for a mobile survey of this kind, yet the work got done, and at least in hindsight the humor of many situations (the countless federal and state forms that had to be filled in with meaningless statistics and then sworn to before a notary, the foreman who satisfied his boss by filling the sherd bags after hours from pickings at a "richer" site) balanced the agony of the moment.

In 1940 Wauchope moved to Chapel Hill as associate professor of anthropology and director of the Laboratory of Anthropology and Archaeology at the University of North Carolina. His duties were primarily administrative, although he taught every semester. North Carolina was conducting an archaeological survey of the state, sponsored by the WPA, but Joffre Coe, assistant director at the Laboratory of Anthropology and Archaeology, was the state supervisor and in charge of the day-to-day fieldwork. Sometimes, however, Wauchope was able to share field responsibilities with Coe. The laboratory was growing (it then had a staff of eight, not including Wauchope and Coe), and the annual budget for all of its operations, including the WPA labor, exceeded \$200,000. Wauchope started a publications series, edited the *Newsletter of the Archaeological Society of North Carolina*, and devoted himself to improving and enlarging the cramped facilities of the laboratory. He expanded the museum exhibits and wrote a museum guide, actively encouraged the university to start a department of anthropology (it did, after he left), and continued to work feverishly on his Georgia materials.

In late 1940 he met Elizabeth Brown, a native of Raleigh, N.C., whose father was a professor of economics and dean at North Carolina State College. As a senior at the University of North Carolina, Betty took two anthropology courses from her husband-to-be and participated in a field course at Hillsboro, and on August 15, 1941, they were married. Only one year of their long married life was spent in North Carolina, for the next year the Wauchope family moved to New Orleans, where their two children, Elizabeth and Kenneth, were born and grew up.

In July 1942, when Wauchope moved to Tulane University as director of the Middle American Research Institute and associate professor of anthropology, MARI was in the midst of a difficult transition. Frans Blom, director since 1926, had left Tulane in 1940, and acting codirectors had taken his place for more than a year during the search for his successor. The institute library, which had grown at an enormous rate since 1924, when MARI was founded, had been moved to the main Tulane library building in 1941 because of a lack of space in its old quarters on the fourth floor of Dinwiddie Hall. After an unsuccessful fund-raising drive to finance a new headquarters and museum, the staff of the institute had started to remodel the available space to provide a more attractive museum gallery, and the institute was in effect closed to the public. The publication program had come almost to a standstill, the financial situation was extremely poor, and the institute's activities were only minimally integrated with the instructional and research programs of the university. Wauchope's immediate task was to set MARI on its feet again and to improve its standing, both at Tulane and in the wider academic community.

He made three changes in institute policies the first year. He taught anthropology courses in the university, the first time a member of the MARI staff had done so. He published a new acquisitions policy in a short guide to the new museum gallery, which was completed in April 1943. MARI would no longer purchase specimens for its already extensive anthropological collections. This policy, adopted out of respect for foreign antiquities laws, seems to have been the first time a U.S.

institution had publicly affirmed such a position. Almost 30 years passed before other anthropological museums in the United States came to take similar stands. Wauchope also reorganized the MARI publication program. One series was to include major contributions and theoretical papers; a second, entitled *Middle American Research Records*, was intended to replace the defunct journal, *Maya Research*; it would include factual, essentially nontheoretical reports. He also began the *Miscellaneous Series*.

In mid-1943 Wauchope was granted a leave-of-absence from Tulane to accept a commission as a lieutenant, j.g., in the U.S. Naval Reserve. He was assigned to the Office of Strategic Services, as were a number of anthropologists during World War II, and served in the Mediterranean theater of operations. He was stationed near Caserta, Italy, for about a year, serving for much of that time as Executive Officer of Secret Intelligence and Secret Operations in the Mediterranean theater. His work with the partisan resistance movement in northern Italy and with groups in France, Switzerland, and the Balkans drew him behind enemy lines on several occasions, and his services earned him the Bronze Star Medal "for intrepidity and daring service" and the Navy Commendation Ribbon. The citation for the latter decoration, referring to one of his operations in northern Italy, states: "This military operation [at Lake Cannobio] which Lieutenant Wauchope helped to arrange under the stress of time and many obstacles, drew a formal expression of gratitude from the Partisans, who stated that Partisan Resistance morale and United States prestige had been greatly lifted throughout enemy-occupied Italy as a result."

In January 1946 he returned to Tulane. Research and publication had come to a halt during the war, and Wauchope began anew. His goal was a coordinated multidisciplinary Middle American research program, and by 1948 he was well on the way to achieving it. His annual reports to the president of Tulane for the next 10 years make it clear that he saw the creation and nurturing of such an area research program as the most valuable service MARI could perform, given its original charter and its financial limitations.

He wrote in 1953, "From the first we were convinced that our research should be concerned with a few concepts, themes, and hypotheses rather than with many topics randomly selected or chosen at the whim of each individual staff member." The subjects eventually adopted were intended to be "significant in the field of human relations, sufficiently broad to interest the various disciplines available for Middle American research at Tulane, and sufficiently limited in scope to allow us the hope that within a reasonable time we could assemble in published volumes the relevant results of our research." The scholars who contributed to the MARI program were primarily, although not exclusively, drawn from the Tulane faculty, and a number of them held appointments of varying lengths as associates of the institute. The direction of the research program depended largely, of course, on the interests of these individuals, who included Alfredo Barrera Vásquez, Munro S. Edmonson, John Englekirk, William Griffith, Thomas Karnes, Frank Keller, Arden R. King, Kalman Silvert, and Daniel Wogan.

The three broad topics that seemed most appropriate were the growth of nationalism in Latin America, European and North American influence in Guatemala, and *Indigenismo* in Middle America. Guatemala was used as a "case study" in a number of projects, and because of the interests of several researchers, the *Alta Verapaz* was singled out for special attention.

These studies, many sponsored by MARI, resulted in about a dozen volumes, published during the next 25 or 30 years. As an archaeologist, Wauchope could have emphasized studies in his own field, but he did not, and the MARI series includes monographs in art, education, economics, ethnology, government, history, linguistics, literature, paleography, physical anthropology, and theater. The program was not sustained without considerable effort, however, despite two Carnegie Corporation of New York grants that helped fund fieldwork and printing costs from 1947 to 1957. Weekly seminars were held for several years, and Wauchope, without secretarial assistance until 1957, personally transcribed the tapes of these, did all of the MARI editing, and handled all of the institute correspondence, budgets, and other administrative details, as well as teaching and carrying on his own research.

In 1947 Wauchope returned for a second field season at Zacualpa with Ray Marino, a Tulane student. A number of problems about the history of the site remained unsolved after the 1935 ex-

cavations, largely because the earlier investigations were intended to shed light primarily on the Postclassic. Wauchope asked the following questions: Did his early Balam phase span both the Protoclassic and the Early Classic, as typology suggested? Was there an occupation earlier than the Protoclassic? Was Group A (untested in 1935) the major Classic focus at the site? and When was Zacualpa abandoned? He was especially interested in defining the relationship between Zacualpa and Utatlan, the prehistoric Quiche capital, and his project included limited stratigraphic trenches at the latter site.

The final report on the 1947 excavations, issued in 1975, answered these questions and greatly amplified portions of the archaeological sequence. In 1979 the two monographs on Zacualpa still constitute the most comprehensive report on a long-occupied highland Guatemala site.

The appendix on the ceramics, which comprises two-thirds of the volume, conforms to Wauchope's belief that ample descriptions are necessary for adequate comparative studies. His discussion of the sequence and its relationship to broad developments in highland Guatemala is mature and penetrating. He analyzed the pottery, as in his Georgia report, in terms of changing frequencies of traits through time, and attempted to determine, among other things, whether periods of rapid culture change as indicated by remains other than pottery coincided with marked change in ceramic traits. His discussion of Zacualpa as a provincial highland center considers how its archaeology might be expected to differ from remains at larger and more cosmopolitan centers such as Kaminaljuyu, and whether some of the patterns of change at Zacualpa might relate to its provincial role.

The brief excavations at Utatlan in 1947 led Wauchope to an extensive study entitled *Protohistoric Pottery of the Guatemala Highlands*. In this monograph, published in 1970, he used the Utatlan sample and a few published reports as controls and analyzed the collections obtained by Ledyard Smith during his 1945–1947 Carnegie Institution survey of the central highlands and also a collection from Iximche he himself had made in 1947. His conclusions raise a number of problems, some of which await solution by future archaeological research. He noted that highland Protohistoric pottery tended to cross "national" and linguistic boundaries, although he recognized and described several regional differences, probably contemporary, in surface finish, vessel form, and color arrangement. The correlation of different motifs with these various styles suggested to him a "specialization in religious sects or possibly military orders according to region or function of the vessel involved." He also wondered if certain styles, vessel forms, and even wares might not have been produced at one city or town (such was their homogeneity), while cautioning that technological analysis would be needed to determine such patterns.

Although his excavations at Utatlan were not intended to recover significant architectural data, they allowed him to describe what appeared to be an important residential form, consisting of rectangular units of four to six clay-walled rooms separated by narrow alleyways. He pointed out the similarity of these to central Mexican dwelling units.

Finally, he returned to a matter that had long concerned him, the chronology of Protohistoric capitals in relation to the reigns of Quiche and Cakchiquel rulers as documented in the *Popol Vuh* and the *Annals of the Cakchiquels*. Fully recognizing the dangers in trying to estimate an "average" reign from these ruler lists, he calculated that Utatlan might have been founded about 1433 and that Iximche became the Cakchiquel capital about 1463.

After 1947 Wauchope became increasingly involved with administrative duties at MARI, many of which stemmed from the multidisciplinary research program he had started, and with national committees. Between 1947 and 1954 he served on the National Research Council Committee on Latin American Anthropology, the committee for the award of the Viking Fund Medal in anthropology, and three committees of the American Anthropological Association and the Society for American Archaeology. He was active in the Southeastern Archaeological Conference, served as national chairman of the Alfred Vincent Kidder Fund, and was a contributing editor of *El Palacio* and the *Handbook of Latin American Studies*.

In 1954 he was elected president of the Society for American Archaeology. During his year in this office he devoted much of his time to planning, raising funds for, and helping organize a series of four national seminars in archaeological theory, which were held in the summer of 1955 in

Cambridge, Washington, Ann Arbor, and Santa Fe. Wauchope secured funding from the Carnegie Corporation of New York for the seminars and the ensuing publication, *Seminars in Archaeology*: 1955, issued in 1956 as a Memoir of the Society for American Archaeology, and he assembled and edited the four reports. In his preface to this volume, he quipped that "Archaeologists are frequently accused of becoming so engrossed in problems of typology or local stratigraphy that they lose sight of whatever more general matters they had in mind to start with. Indeed, it is sometimes implied that there is reason to doubt whether they ever had anything in mind at all." Wauchope took satisfaction from the results of these seminars, for the 24 or so participants, who included many prominent American archaeologists, as well as younger scholars whose mark was still to be made, produced summary reports that were significant contributions to archaeological and anthropological theory.

The four archaeological topics included culture contact situations; cultural stability and change, a special interest of Wauchope's (he participated in this seminar); cultural isolation in the Southwest; and implications of community patterning. These syntheses represented some of the most important theoretical statements in the decade before the "New Archaeology." Wauchope certainly considered them evidence that the American archaeologist need not be stereotyped as a "dull sort of a clod, with most of his gray matter under his fingernails."

About this time Wauchope started to deemphasize the multidisciplinary research program at MARI, although publications resulting from earlier work continued to appear for many years. The weekly staff seminars of faculty and graduate students came to an end in 1954, and by 1957 Wauchope had in effect terminated the institute's official efforts in this direction. His annual reports indicate increasing disenchantment with "area" programs in general, at Tulane and elsewhere.

There were many reasons for this change in direction, one of which was that MARI had largely achieved the goals that Wauchope originally envisaged and that the program had run its course. As he said 10 years later, "Although we did not achieve the ideal research program in certain respects, and although many organizations like ours have paid lip service to the approach and the methods we employed, I do not know of any program of comparable complexity that obtained better results." Funding from the Carnegie Corporation of New York for this program came to an end in 1957, and other activities demanded increasing amounts of time. Undergraduate and master's degree programs in anthropology had been instituted in a joint department of sociology and anthropology, with a corresponding increase in faculty time devoted to students. A separate Latin American Studies program, begun in 1947, had started to hold weekly seminars, and members of this group overlapped in large part with associates of the institute.

In the late 1950s MARI embarked on two major anthropological projects that together absorbed much of Wauchope's efforts until 1975, the *Handbook of Middle American Indians* and a program of archaeological investigation in Yucatan. For a number of years the Committee on Latin American Anthropology of the National Science Foundation, the Inter-Departmental Working Group of U.S. Government Agencies on Cultural Programs in Latin America, and the Pan American Institute of Geography and History had investigated the possibility of assembling a *Handbook of Middle American Indians*, which would serve a function similar to the *Handbook of American Indians North of Mexico* (1907, 1910), and the *Handbook of South American Indians* (1946-1959). The National Science Foundation in 1957 agreed to entertain a proposal to fund such a work, and a further committee of anthropologists named by the National Research Council asked Wauchope to be general editor of the series.

Wauchope appointed an advisory board, whose members served as volume editors, and submitted a proposal and budget to NSF. The series was originally planned to run to 11 volumes; although 16 volumes were eventually published, the final cost did not exceed the original budget of \$400,000. The entire series was assembled and edited for the printer by MARI and was published without further subsidy at the University of Texas Press. In 1957 Wauchope appointed Margaret A. L. Harrison associate editor of the *Handbook* and also editor of MARI publications, a task he had previously handled alone.

Readers of this journal will be sufficiently acquainted with the *Handbook* so that extensive com-

ment on it here is unnecessary. A recent review article by Joyce Marcus and Ronald Spores (*American Anthropologist* 80:85–100, 1978) begins: “Monumental in size, content, and coverage, the *Handbook of Middle American Indians* is the most ambitious treatment of a culture area yet produced by American anthropologists.” It covers the fields of geography, archaeology, social anthropology, ethnology, physical anthropology, linguistics, and ethnohistory.

The problems and frustrations, however, were truly enormous. What Wauchope hoped would take no more than 15 years eventually took 20 (the last volume was published in 1976). Publication of a number of volumes was delayed for many years because authors did not submit promised articles. Wauchope was painfully aware that these delays meant that many of the syntheses, especially in archaeology, would soon be out of date, sometimes even before publication. He gave full rein to his volume editors in the preparation of their volumes. Usually this policy was successful, but some volumes have been criticized as overly restricted in scope and inadequately directed toward the general anthropological focus of the series. Wauchope was aware of these shortcomings, but he continued to allow his editors full autonomy. Marcus and Spores (*ibid.*, 99) suggest that “Given the enormous problems of preparation and integration of vast amounts of data, communication, the personal idiosyncrasies of the contributors and volume editors, and the scope of the work, it is unlikely that anyone in the field could have done a better job than Wauchope.” It is a credit to him, the other editors, and the authors that the University of Texas Press will issue supplementary volumes beginning in 1981.

MARI also began in 1956 an extensive program of archaeological investigations on the Yucatan Peninsula of Mexico, directed in the field by E. Wyllys Andrews IV, whom Wauchope had appointed nonresident associate in 1949. Wauchope was actively involved in the fund-raising, administration, and publication aspects of the program. He and Andrews secured long-range financial support from the National Geographic Society, the National Science Foundation, the Ford Foundation, and the American Philosophical Society.

From 1956 until 1965, MARI worked at Dzibilchaltun and Balankanche Cave in Yucatan, and at Xcaret, in Quintana Roo. An archaeological survey of the coasts of Yucatan and Campeche was conducted in 1968, and in that year Tulane began excavations in the Rio Bec region of Campeche, at the ruins of Becan and Chicanna. Investigations continued until Andrews' death in 1971. The Yucatan and Campeche projects were among the largest in the New World during these years, and their impact on our understanding of the ancient Maya has been considerable.

The *Handbook*, the administrative duties involved with the Yucatan project, and teaching would have been enough to keep most people busy, but these tasks were only a part of what occupied Wauchope's time during the last 20 years of his professional life. Altogether he edited or coedited with Margaret Harrison 31 MARI volumes. Until 1962, when for financial reasons he requested that administrative control be transferred, he was responsible, with Edith B. Ricketson, MARI librarian from 1953 to 1962, for the maintenance and growth of the institute library. Today, as the Latin American Library, it is one of the finest collections of its kind. Wauchope directed nine Ph.D. dissertations completed between 1964 and 1976, almost all on Mesoamerican archaeology, as well as a number of master's theses. As the only Mesoamerican archaeologist teaching at Tulane, he was responsible for all students in this field.

He continued to serve on many national and regional committees and councils, among them the Committee on Latin American Anthropology of the National Research Council, the Screening Board of the National Defense Education Act, the Conference Board of the Associated Research Councils (Fulbright fellowships), the Advisory Committee on Language and Area Centers of the Office of Education, the Awards Committee for Anthropology and the History and Philosophy of Science of the National Science Foundation, the Joint Committee on Latin American Studies of the American Council of Learned Societies-Social Science Research Council, the *Handbook of Latin American Studies* (Contributing Editor, Advisory Board, and Chairman, 1965–1968), the Executive Committee of the Association of Latin American Studies, the Institute of Andean Research, and the Development Advisory Council of the University of South Carolina. He participated actively in the affairs of the American Anthropological Association, the Society for American Archaeology, and the Southeastern Archaeological Conference, chaired or was involved in a multitude of pro-

fessional conferences and seminars, and lectured widely throughout the United States. He taught summer school at the universities of Michigan, Minnesota, North Carolina, and Utah, and in 1966–1967 he served on the Phi Beta Kappa Visiting Lecturer program, visiting a dozen colleges and universities around the country.

In spite of these responsibilities, Wauchope wrote and published steadily. A number of his writings, in addition to those mentioned above, merit notice. "A Tentative Sequence of Pre-Classic Ceramics in Middle America" (1950) was one of the first, and probably the most ambitious, attempts to order and synthesize the known early ceramic sequences. He seriated about 40 site phases, using presence and absence of a number of early ceramic traits, and his rough chronological ordering of them does little violence to modern schemes based on C-14 dates that were then unavailable, despite greatly expanded data from many more sites. He was criticized for using terms that were unabashedly developmental—"Village Formative," "Urban Formative," and "Protoclassic" (all terms that he originated)—but he was not alone in doing so, and the absence of radiocarbon dates prohibited the kind of analysis that would eventually result in more detailed and complex alignments. A 1954 paper entitled "Implications of Radiocarbon Dates from Middle and South America" comparing the chronology of these two areas continued to use his earlier Formative terminology.

Wauchope prepared an annotated bibliography and news summary on Middle American archaeology for volumes 14-21 of the *Handbook of Latin American Studies*. These entries, from 1948 to 1957, were consolidated and published in the MARI series in 1961; together they form a comprehensive guide to the literature and developments of this decade.

Two of his books were written for a popular audience. *Lost Tribes and Sunken Continents: Myth and Method in the Study of American Indians* (1962) is a riotously funny story of the skirmishes between professional archaeologists and anthropologists (the "Dr. Phuddy Duddys" of academe) and the charlatans, clods, mystics, and misguided scholars who over the past hundred years and more have delighted in deriving the American Indian from just about all the outrageous sources imaginable.

Wauchope believed that accounts of real archaeological exploration could be as exciting and romantic as any fictionalized version of what archaeologists do. The proof can be found in *They Found the Buried Cities: Exploration and Excavation in the American Tropics*, published in 1965. He excerpted short sections from the books of early explorers and archaeologists in Mexico and Central America (Stephens, Maudslay, Maler, Squier, Gann, Blom, E. H. Thompson, J. E. S. Thompson, Charnay, and others) and preceded them with a long and vivid introduction entitled "The Initiation of an Archaeologist," drawn from his own recollections and Central American field diaries from 1932 to 1947.

He wrote four obituaries: for A. V. Kidder, his mentor during the 1920s and 1930s; for E. Wyllys Andrews IV, whom he had known at Harvard, and with whom he had worked in Yucatan, in Georgia, in Europe during World War II, and later at MARI; for Edith Bayles Ricketson; and for Hermann Beyer. His long account of Kidder's career and achievements is a warm, perceptive, and balanced tribute to the man "generally regarded during most of his professional life as the foremost American archaeologist."

It wasn't all work, though. The Wauchopes vacationed almost every year at their summer home in Saluda, North Carolina. He enjoyed life in the country immensely and went on numerous rock-collecting trips with his son Ken. Fishing was one of his chief delights, and he eventually sold the North Carolina home to buy a cottage on Santa Rosa Island, Florida. Here, he and Betty spent their vacations during his last 10 years.

Wauchope loved the field, and sometimes it was a source of keen regret that his administrative duties at MARI kept him out of the field from 1947, his second season at Zacualpa, until 1974. In his introduction to the 1975 Zacualpa report he wrote:

Every archaeologist falls in love with one site above all others; mine is Zacualpa, a beautiful and promising but still mysterious siren. One can find its ideal climate and natural beauty duplicated almost anywhere in these lovely highlands, and there are more imposing ruins, but Zacualpa has tempted me from young

manhood to retirement age, giving a little here, a little there, beckoning me back for more, but still withholding ultimate possession and understanding. For twenty-six years I have dreamed of going back to learn some of the many things I want to know. . . . I would like to live again in my little dirt-floored, windowless hut, far from telephones, annual Institute budgets, paper-pushing, and committee meetings, to shop Sundays in the colorful Indian market three miles away, buying little tomatoes, huisquiles, camotes, plaintains, aguacates, granadas, a chicken for Sunday dinner, candles, petate mats, and baskets for our potsherders. Up before dawn mornings to go outside and watch candle lights appear one by one in the Indian huts scattered about the valley, as the night stars fade and the great earthquake-scarred tuff cliffs on the far side of the river turn pink and then dazzling white in the sunrise. These are but a few of the memories that I cherish when I think of Zacualpa and wish that I could return.

He did return, although not to Zacualpa. By the spring of 1974 his responsibilities to the *Handbook* and to the Yucatan project were consuming less of his time, and he decided he needed some new materials to analyze and write up after his retirement. He chose the department of Jutiapa, in the western highlands of Guatemala, which were archaeologically almost unknown, and spent three weeks doing reconnaissance, surface collections, and minor excavations, assisted by his wife Betty. They investigated three sites on the lands of Rancho Vista Hermosa, near the previously reported ruins of Asuncion Mita, and excavated at the site of Las Crucitas, about two miles from the town of Jutiapa. In August of that year Wauchope returned to the National Museum in Guatemala City to work for two weeks with the ceramics from these excavations.

Early the next year he spent several weeks in the National Museum and then, joined by Betty, dug at a site on Rancho Vista Hermosa and surveyed a site in the department of Jalapa. On his last trip to Guatemala, in the spring of 1977, he completed the descriptions and preliminary analyses of the Jutiapa pottery, which spans the late Preclassic and Classic periods, and supervised preparation of the inked drawings.

He retired from administrative duties in June 1975, after 33 years at MARI, but continued to teach until 1977, when he was appointed professor emeritus. During his last three years, despite failing health and two major operations for cancer that left him weakened, he worked steadily on his report on the Jutiapa excavations and surveys. The manuscript, although still incomplete, shows the painstaking attention to detail that is characteristic of his earlier archaeological reports.

Wauchope received a number of honors during his career. He served as visiting lecturer for the American Anthropological Association and for Phi Beta Kappa and, while still a relatively young man, as president of the Society for American Archaeology. His participation in a vast number of committees, conferences, and seminars attests to the regard with which he was held by his colleagues. In 1960 the University of South Carolina, his alma mater, awarded him an honorary LL D degree, and in 1972 he was appointed W. R. Irby Professor of Anthropology at Tulane, a title he held until 1977.

Yet somehow this chronicle of his professional and academic accomplishments, the books he wrote, the responsibilities and positions he held, do not reflect the full image of Bob Wauchope, for in addition to all these things, he was an extraordinarily kind and generous man, loyal to his colleagues and friends and devoted and unfailingly fair to his students. He inspired respect, trust, and affection in those who knew him.

He had the kind of self-confidence that came from knowing he had done his best at whatever task he undertook, without compromising his standards, and with predictable modesty. His personal code of conduct was strict, yet he never moralized and was loath to call attention to the failings of others. He had a fine sense of humor and also a temper that was slow to flare but a credit to his Scottish blood.

Bob was an excellent teacher, always willing to listen to, talk to, and advise students, busy as he invariably was. If students were clearly interested in Middle American archaeology, he helped secure field training for them, often providing institute funds for a first field trip into an area that looked as if it might provide opportunities for a later dissertation. He was reasonably exigent, insisting that students take their responsibilities seriously, and although his expectations may have put off a few, most of his students regarded him with little less than adoration.

After Bob's retirement, the graduate students in the Department of Anthropology at Tulane prepared a volume in his honor, one which they eventually dubbed an *Anecdotal Festschrift*, partly in honor of his teaching style. The volume, published in 1978 by *Human Mosaic* at Tulane as *Codex Wauchope: A Tribute Roll*, contains a varied selection of reminiscences and scholarly papers by a roster of Middle American and Southeastern U.S. archaeologists, his colleagues past and present, and his students.

The mark of Robert Wauchope was his humaneness. To his scholarship he brought a holism and breadth of view few of us possess, and to his personal relationships he imparted a warmth, consideration, and honesty that enriched the people among whom he lived.

E. WYLLYS ANDREWS V

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ADOLFO MOLINA ORANTES, 1915–1980

Dr. Adolfo Molina Orantes, a former Foreign Minister of Guatemala and a world-recognized figure in international law, was killed on January 31, 1980, in a fire and riot in the Spanish Embassy in Guatemala City. For those of us in Maya archaeology, Adolfo Molina will be remembered as a staunch supporter of the archaeological cause in his country. He served both the Harvard University (Altar de Sacrificios, Seibal) and the University of Pennsylvania (Tikal) archaeological projects as legal advisor and wise counselor. In so doing, he gave his time and energy unstintingly and without monetary compensation. In his last years he was President of the Academia de Geografía e Historia de Guatemala, an organization devoted to the furtherance of archaeological, geographical, and historical research in the country. We are saddened by his untimely and tragic death, and we know we will be joined in these sentiments by many of our colleagues. Although Adolfo Molina would have been the last to lay claim to professional archaeological affiliation, his service to the field was such that we would like to offer this modest tribute to it in these pages.

GORDON R. WILLEY and WILLIAM R. COE

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