Archaeology at the Millennium

A Sourcebook

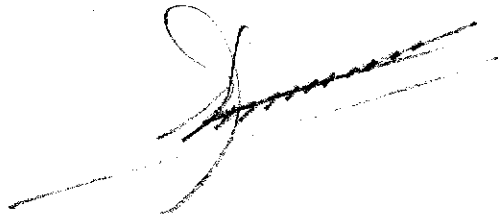Edited by

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State Formation in the New World

Linda Manzanilla

1. Introduction

The end of the millennium provides an appropiate vantage for taking stock of current discussions on state formation in the New World. What have we learned over the last several decades and where should future investigations be directed?

Pristine states emerged in only a few macroareas of the world. In the New World, Mesoamerica and the Andean region are recognized as major areas of early state development. In each area, diverse processes of state emergence and empire formation took place in different regions. In this chapter I explore some of the variation in prehispanic New World chiefdoms and states. I begin with a discussion of some key concepts before turning to state formation in Mesoamerica and the Andes.

One of the major concerns of modern archaeology is the methodological approach through which certain institutions may be recognized in the archaeological record. For example, how can we distinguish states from chiefdoms? Kent V. Flannery (1982:446, 1998:15) proposes specific indicators that may be used to identity archaic states. These include settlement hierarchies with four levels or more in which the first three are administrative; a social hierarchy that is reflected in large differences in housing and funerary practices; architectural constructions such as governmental and residential palaces, standardized temples and priests' residences, royal tombs, and fortifications; evidence of military and political expansion; and state-sponsored craft production. Flannery (1998:21, citing Sanders, 1974) points out that, although chiefs could organize labor to build temples and other public buildings, they usually could not have their residences built for them, as kings routinely do.

In their seminal article on the evolution of Mesoamerican civilization, Richard Blanton et al. (1996:1–7) outline two main strategies of political action that leaders follow to construct and maintain institutions and polities (versus static stages).

Under the "network" or "exclusionary" strategy, leaders maintain preeminence through individual-centered long-distance exchange relationships, differential access to exotic goods, and specialized knowledge. Exclusionary states often are characterized by the emergence of elites who monopolize the most advantageous marriage alliances between lineage segments and by social pressures that favor technological innovation, primarily in the production of exotic goods.

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In the "corporate" strategy, power is shared across different groups of society. There are restrictions on the political behavior of those attaining power and interdependence between subgroups. Collective representations and accompanying rituals based on fertility and renewal in society and cosmos are emphasized.

These two strategies have diverse outcomes in chiefdoms and states, or more generally, "complex societies," which Smith (1993:5–6) defines as " . . . social systems characterized by pronounced and institutionalized patterns of inequality and heterogeneity . . .

1.1. Chiefdoms

Before discussing states, let us devote a few words to chiefdoms. For Robert Carneiro (1981:45) a chiefdom is " . . . an autonomous political unit comprising a number of villages or communities under the permanent control of a paramount chief." With chiefdoms " . . . multicommunity political units emerged for the first time."

Colin Renfrew (1974:74) has proposed two types of chiefdoms: (1) "individualizing" chiefdoms (investment in status-defining elements and prestige elements), which foreshadowed Blanton et al.'s (1996) "network mode," with its emphasis on competition, personal wealth, warfare, and consumption of prestige goods; and (2) "group-oriented" chiefdoms (investment in corporate labor and communal activities), which correspond to Blanton et al.'s (1996) "corporate mode," characterized by impressive public works (monumental architecture).

This division is useful for distinguishing between a hierarchical society in which a chief occupies the highest point in a hierarchy of lineages owing to his nearness to a common godlike ancestor—as Paul Kirchhoff (1955:6–9) stated for the "conical clan"—from an organization derived, perhaps, from "lineage societies" (Meillassoux, 1974; Rey, 1975), in which a group of elders represents the authority in the community (Manzanilla, 1983:6). Redistributive activites may be found in both cases.

According to George Dalton (1977:194), in clans, corporate descent groups are religious units centered on common ancestors, heroic founders, or divine spirits to which the group offers thanks for abundance, victory, or health through seasonal offerings or sacrifices in times of crisis. These corporate units are visible in cases where group-oriented chiefdoms or collective political leaderships occur.

In regions with homogeneous and relatively limited resources, such as Mesopotamia or the Maya Lowlands, asymmetrical redistribution would serve as a means to supply nonexistent raw materials. Kent Flannery and Michael Coe (1972) also have proposed that in the Maya Lowlands, maize produced by peasants was channeled to the regional center to be redistributed to those lineages supplying services, such as bureaucrats, artisans, lapidaries, stone cutters, and so forth.

In regions of great geographic and resource diversity, two models have been proposed for the transition to complex societies in the New World. In the "economic symbiosis" model proposed by Sanders (1968:100), communities located in different altitudinal positions specialize productively and cooperate intercommunally, and all the surplus is exchanged through a distribution center. This model could be applied to Formative communities in the Basin of Mexico and the Valley of Oaxaca.

On the other hand, in the "vertical archipelago" model of ecological complementarity proposed by John Murra (1975, 1985a,b) for the Andean region, each "ethnic group made an effort to control a maximum of floors and ecological niches," maintaining "permanent

colonies situated in the periphery in order to control distant resources." The relationships between center and periphery "were those that are called reciprocity and redistribution in economic anthropology" (Murra, 1985b:15–16).

Other classifications of chiefdoms that I do not consider here include the dichotomy proposed by Steward (militaristic and theocratic) as well as that proposed by Carneiro (1981:46–47) (minimal, typical, and maximal), which may be pertinent only to the distinction between simple and complex chiefdoms, although there may be processes toward complex societies that do not involve chiefdom organizations, as William Sanders and David Webster (1978) have argued.

1.2. Definitions of the State

A range a definitions has been offered for the state. Carneiro (1970) defines a state as an autonomous political unit, including different communities within one territory, that has a centralized government with the power to collect taxes, to recruit men for work or war, and to decree laws. Jonathan Haas (1982:173) adds that the state is a stratified society in which the ruling group—through centralization and specialization—controls production or the supply of basic resources and thus exerts necessarily coercive power on the rest of the population. Yet, in early stages of state formation, physical violence or coercion was not applied systematically to low-status populations.

Morton Fried (1974:37) defines a state society as a power organization that extends beyond kinship ties to maintain the stratification order, and where power is concentrated in a few key positions. Webster (1976) would add that this process of state formation stimulates differential access to basic resources and provides an effective and adaptive decision-making subsystem for the benefit of a larger society.

William Sanders and Barbara Price (1968:209) conceive the state as a product of population pressure, hydraulic agriculture, and symbiotic patterns, which then generate further pressure on surrounding areas, resulting in competition and territorial expansion.

For Joyce Marcus and Kent Flannery (1996:26), archaic states are highly centralized and internally diversified polities " . . . whose kings were drawn from a stratum of hereditary nobles." In my opinion, not all archaic states fit this description. However, archaic states may have the following characteristics that differentiate them from rank societies (Marcus and Feinman, 1998:4, 6–7; see also Parsons, 1974:81): (1) four levels in the settlement hierarchy, with three (or more) levels in the decision-making hierarchy; (2) rulers who were conceded a sacred supernatural origin, while commoners were seen as having a separate nondivine origin; (3) the emergence of two endogamous strata (a professional ruling class and a commoner class); (4) the palace as the ruler's residence ("Some first-generation states had palaces but lacked standardized temples; others had standardized temples but lacked palaces. The second-generation states in such areas often had both..."(Marcus and Feinman, 1998: 12); (5) the emergence of a government (both highly centralized and internally specialized) that employed legal force; and (6) the establishment of governmental laws.

States have been subdivided into primary and secondary formations. Primary, or pristine, states come into being in regions where no state societies existed before; secondary states reflect regular processes of interaction/competition of expansive states in proximity to nonstate societies. Secondary states are normally created through conquest, thus producing super-stratification (Fried, 1974; Price, 1978).

1.3. State Origins

I leave aside the discussion of prime movers in the origins of the state (see Claessen and Skalník, 1978a,b; Wright, 1978), citing instead some examples in which they have been used in the interpretation of early state formation in the New World.

Karl Wittfogel proposed the concept of the "hydraulic society," an agrarian society in which agro-hydraulic works are directed and controlled by a powerful government (the state) in the hands of civil and military bureaucrats (Wittfogel, 1955:47). Steward (1955) extended this concept to his comparative approach between Old and New World civilizations, particularly in the division between theocratic and militaristic societies. Wittfogel (1955:49) assigned the Inka to the "compact" hydraulic society subtype, in which the great majority of the cultivated lands were irrigated; central Mexico to the "loose subtype"; and the Maya to the "marginal" subtype.

Sanders (1968:91), following Wittfogel, spoke of an "irrigation state" for Mesoamerica: " . . . the successful manipulation of an arid environment by a farming population requires organization of people at a large scale, to dig and maintain main canal and dike systems. Furthermore, some type of supra-community organization is necessary to police and regulate the distribution of water." The most effective social organization would be the state.

Lawrence Krader (1975:182) has returned to a more orthodox marxist position in the case of the Asiatic Mode of Production: "The central concept is that of surplus labor, the separation of the surplus product that results therefrom, and its further distribution and control by those who are not the immediate producers, but who by virtue of their control of the surplus product become the organizers of the different form of political society and the State."

Henry Wright and Gregory Johnson (1975:267) also have proposed different types of states: those that develop in the margins of other states, those formed by aggregation, those that emerge from the fragmentation of other states, and primary states, that is, states that develop in the context of interaction with other prestate societies.

Darcy Ribeiro (1976:64–69) identified two different processes that can be detected in state formation. One led from agricultural villages to rural craft-production states of two types: collectivist or privatist. The second resulted from the urban revolution (in the Near East), where pastoral groups that specialized in the breeding of cattle and the use of animals for war became pastoral chiefdoms.

Henri Claessen (1978:568) distinguishes between three types of states. The "inchoate type" is associated with "...dominant kinship, family and community ties in the field of politics, a limited existence of full-time specialists, vague...forms of taxation, and social contrasts that were offset by reciprocity and direct contact between the ruler and the ruled." In the "typical state," kinship is counterbalanced by locality, nonkin officials played a leading role in government admnistration, and ". . . redistribution and reciprocity dominated the relations between the social strata." The "transitional type" is characterized by appointed officials in the administrative apparatus and the emergence of private ownership and market economy.

1.4. States versus Urbanism

Urban societies and states are not always coterminous and contemporaneous, although many of the New World examples are both. I consider an urban society as one with a

complex division of labor, that is, with craftsmen, decision-making specialists, and bureaucrats who live in an urban center that provides specific services to the surrounding region, such as the distribution of a large variety of goods.

City-states are " . . . small, territorially based, politically independent state systems, characterized by a capital city or town, with an economically and socially integrated adjacent hinterland"; they are relatively self-sufficient economically and are perceived as being ethnically distinct from other similar systems (Charlton and Nichols, 1997:1). The size of a city-state was determined by the technology of transportation, and the boundaries of most city-states lay within a radius of a one-day's walk from the central town or city (Charlton and Nichols, 1997:8).

According to Joyce Marcus and Gary Feinman (1998:8–9), city-states are often the byproduct of the breakdown of large states, and thus state formation and dissolution should be seen as part of a "dynamic model" (Marcus, 1998). In this model, when large territorial states break down, their former provinces are transformed into a series of autonomous polities (the so-called city-states) under the rulership of a lord or king. These may be succeeded by other large territorial states.

As a final example, the Greek *polis* is an autonomous self-sufficient entity governed by its own citizens who are heads of corporate households (*oikiai*). The households themselves are self-sufficient and self-governing, as well as complementary in their diversity (Maisels, 1990:11).

2. STATE FORMATION AND DEVELOPMENT IN MESOAMERICA

In Mesoamerica, the three most important regions for discussions of pristine state formation are central Mexico, the Valley of Oaxaca, and the Maya area. I begin with a brief discussion of the Gulf Coast, however, because during the Formative period (ca. 1600 B.C.–A.D. 200), the Gulf Coast, together with other areas of Mesoamerica, developed complex chiefdom societies that were the prelude to one type of pristine states in Mesoamerica (Figure 11.1).

2.1. The Gulf Coast

In the last three decades, there has been a continuing debate on whether the Olmec were organized as chiefdoms (i.e., Diehl, 1989:29; Flannery, 1982; Sanders and Price, 1968), states (i.e., Bernal, 1968; Cyphers, 1997b,c), or even empires. Coe and Diehl (1980:392) originally refused to discuss whether San Lorenzo Tenochtitlán was the core of a chiefdom or a state, but they did seem to recognize inequalities based on hereditary distinctions—monumental portraiture, hereditary kingship, and warfare. Gordon Willey (1962:6) placed the Olmec of the Gulf Coast (together with Chavín of Peru) in a transformative category between village societies and temple-center-and-village farming societies.

Marcus and Flannery (1996:118–120) assign Middle Formative (ca. 900–300 B.C.) centers such as San Lorenzo Tenochtitlán, La Venta, Chalcatzingo, and San José Mogote to a chiefdom level. All of these centers drew artisans from a large region, expended communal labor on monumental carving and constructions, underwent spectacular growth and became regional centers, and exerted centripetal pulls on their hinterlands.
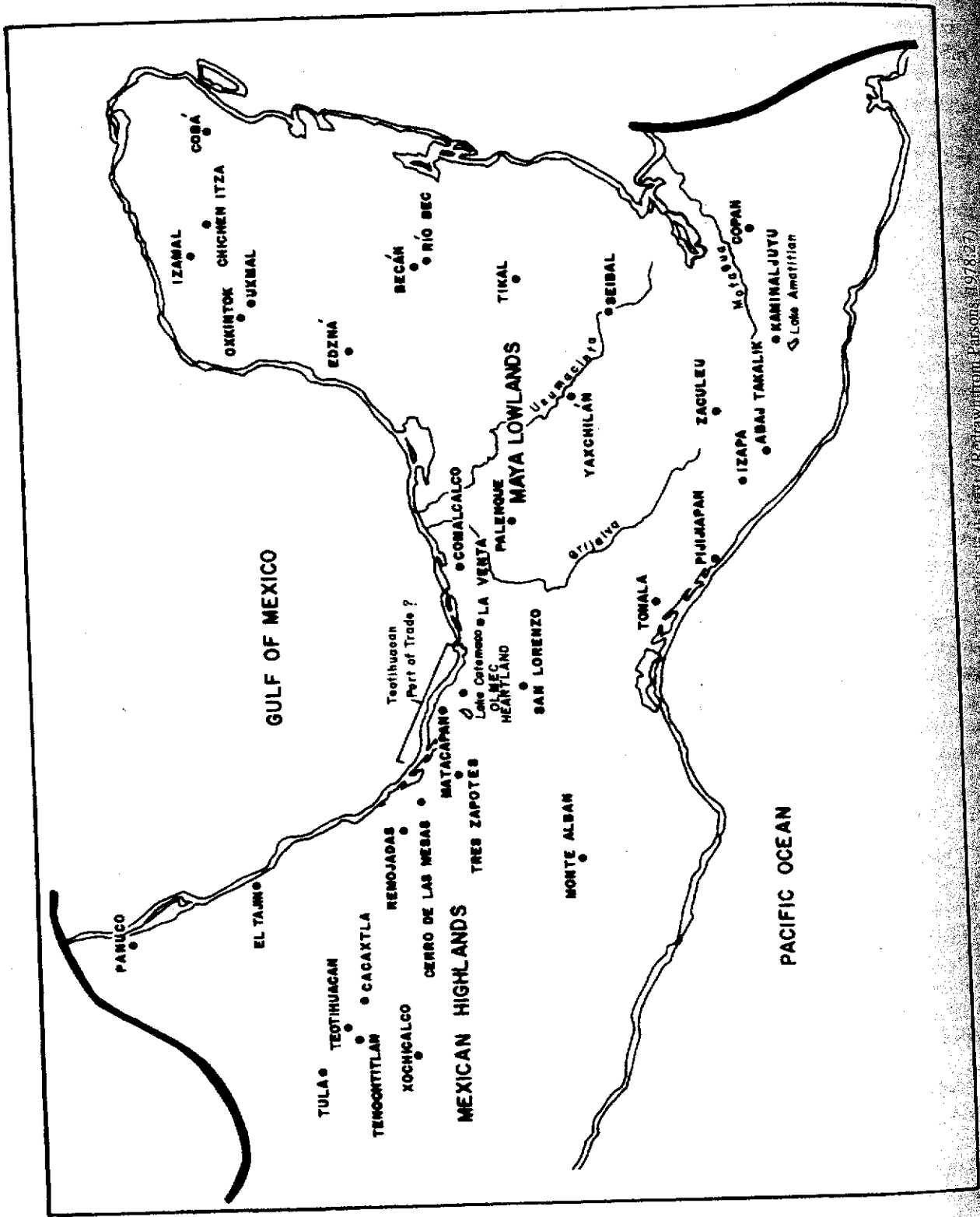
Figure 1.1.1 Map of some of the Mesoamerican sites cited in the text. (Redrawn from Parsons 1978:27)

GULF OF MEXICO

PACIFIC OCEAN

MEXICAN HIGHLANDS

MAYA LOWLANDS

PANUCO
EL TAJIN
TULA
TEOTIHUACAN
CACAXTLA
TENOCHTITLAN
XOCHICALCO
REMOJADAS
CERRO DE LAS MESAS
TRES ZAPOTES
MATACAPAN
Teotihuacan Port of Trade ?
Lake Catemaco
LA VENTA
OLMEC HEARTLAND
SAN LORENZO
COMALCALCO
PALENQUE
MONTE ALBAN
TONALA
PIJIJAPAN
ZACULEU
IZAPA
ABAJ TAKALIK
KAMINALJUYU
Lake Amatitlan
COPAN
MOTAGUA
YAXCHILAN
SEIBAL
TIKAL
BECÁN
RÍO BEC
EDZNÁ
OXKINTOK
UXMAL
IZAMAL
CHICHEN ITZA
COBÁ

Ignacio Bernal (1968:124–129), on the other hand, has proposed that the Olmec were organized as a theocratic state, with La Venta as its capital. Through new interpretations of iconographic and settlement pattern data from San Lorenzo Tenochtitlán, Cyphers (1997b) proposes the institution of rulership and the existence of a pristine state. She bases her interpretation on the presence of thrones (the so-called "altars") related to water and feline symbolism, the headdresses on the colossal heads (as rulers' insignia), ropes (as status symbols), bird representations, and greenstone adornments. Other evidence includes the range of house types, from wattle and daub to the "Red Palace"—a large two-room construction with basaltic columns (Cyphers, 1997a:98)—and other elite residences with red hematite painted clay walls, the organization of the labor force to transport huge stone monuments, and particularly settlement pattern data (Cyphers, 1997b). In respect to settlement data, Stacey Symonds and Roberto Lunagómez (1997) present nine types of sites in the region; San Lorenzo, the regional center covering more than 690 ha, was placed on an "island" between two main fluvial communication systems (Cyphers, 1997c:272). Future studies should look to define these settlement types in terms of density, surface area, and internal differentiation to facilitate comparison with site hierarchies in Morelos, Oaxaca, and the Basin of Mexico.

The majority of Olmec sites in the Gulf Coast are situated near river courses, and the most common types of sites were small villages and sites with only one small public building (González Lauck, 1994:199). Yet there were large sites, such as San Lorenzo Tenochtitlán (as well as Chalcatzingo, in Morelos, and San José Mogote, in the Valley of Oaxaca, that had experienced extraordinary growth, becoming craft centers and the seat of chiefdoms (Marcus and Flannery, 1996:117–120). According to Marcus and Flannery (1996:120), the chiefs at these large sites seem to have controlled the manpower of a whole region. Thus one of the two types of chiefdoms—the individualizing type (Renfrew, 1974) or "network based" (Blanton et al., 1996)—developed and influenced southeastern Mesoamerica toward an individual-centered political organization.

2.2. The Classic Period in Central Mexico

One of the important features in central Mexico for Sanders (1968:93) was the extraordinary diversity of the environment, which created tight microgeographical zoning with a highly localized distribution of raw materials. For a community in one area to obtain raw materials and finished products necessary for its maintenance, there were three alternatives: warfare, organized trade, and community specialization together with supracommunity sociopolitical systems. The latter was an efficient solution in regions where altitudinal differences in neighboring areas offer a diversity of raw materials. Sanders (1968:100) called the pattern of intense local specialization and socioeconomic interdependence of human communities "economic symbiosis." He (Sanders, 1968:93) also sees irrigation and trade as the main integrative forces that produce large social systems.

For Blanton et al. (1996:3, 7), the largest scale manifestations of a corporate political economy were developed in regions such as the Basin of Mexico, which contained large areas of irrigable alluvium. The corporate mode includes large states such as Teotihuacan. In contrast, exclusionary strategies were mainly associated with small, autonomous polities linked by trade, war, and strategic marriages of rulers. On a macroregional scale, the two types may coexist in a core/periphery relationship.

During the Late Formative (ca. 500–200 B.C.), Jeffrey Parsons (1974) observed an

expansion and nucleation of settlements in central Mexico. There was substantial settle-
ment in areas in the northern and central parts of the Basin of Mexico that were previously
marginally occupied; yet the maximum demographic intensity was to the southeast, where
Cuicuilco appears to have covered as much as 150 ha and may have had a population of
7500 (I would add a note of caution for these figures, however, as much is yet unknown
about Cuicuilco's size, density, and internal differentiation).

During the Terminal Formative (ca. 200 B.C.–A.D. 200), Teotihuacan and Cuicuilco
were roughly comparable in size and character (Parsons, 1974:93); Teotihuacan expanded
to 600 ha and Cuicuilco reached its maximal size of 400 ha. Each site was at the apex of a
hierarchical organization of at least three levels. These two major regional centers are lo-
cated in opposite corners of the basin, each with 10,000 to 20,000 people, impressive pub-
lic architecture, and, at least at Teotihuacan, well-developed occupational specialization.
Below the regional centers were several local centers with modest public architecture and
between 3000 and 7000 inhabitants (Parsons, 1989:177). The many smaller sites at the
bottom of the hierarchy were distributed in a pattern that reflects heterogeneity and intersite
symbiosis (Parsons, 1974:104).

In some areas, marked regional settlement clustering, characterized by empty buffer
zones, is seen as a product of political factors, which might include some degree of hostil-
ity (as suggested by sites with public architecture situated on mountain tops), resource
competition, and perhaps the growing importance of canal irrigation (Parsons, 1974:105).

With the eruption not only of the Xitle volcano (Córdova et al., 1994) but also of
Popocatépetl (Plunket and Uruñuela, 1998) during the first century A.D., Terminal Forma-
tive sites, such as Cuicuilco and Tetimpa, were abandoned. The demographic rearrange-
ments that the devastation of productive areas provoked were such that the large demo-
graphic concentration at Teotihuacan should not be seen as a forceful act or the effect of
conquest (Sanders et al., 1979), but the natural consequence of a large population shift
involving not only the southern sector of the Basin of Mexico, but also the eastern Puebla-
Tlaxcala region.

Teotihuacan, the first vast urban development in central Mexico (Figure 11.2), cov-
ered 20 km² during the Classic period (ca. A.D. 200–900) and had a population calculated
to have been between 40,000 and 200,000. Its degree of urban planning and its density
were unsurpassed in prehispanic times. The massive growth of Teotihuacan during the
Classic period correlates directly with very substantial depopulation in other sections of
the Basin of Mexico; this pattern remained unchanged through five or six centuries (Par-
sons, 1974:96). At a regional level, Sanders et al. (1979:108) have proposed that Teotihuacan
where 50% to 60% of the basin's population resided, was a the apex of a hierarchy of
settlements in the Basin of Mexico that included provincial centers, large villages, small
villages, and hamlets. Some think that El Portezuelo and Azcapotzalco were secondary
centers, although this function has not been supported by firm archaeological data.

For Sanders et al. (1979:392–394), the explosive growth of Teotihuacan " . . . reveals
a process of state formation and urbanism unparalleled in prehispanic Mesoamerica until
the rise of Tenochtitlan . . . " Its emergence represents a drastic break with the past, and
includes major changes in population distribution, settlement types, and resource exploita-
tion. Not only was Teotihuacan located near the largest permanent irrigation system in the
basin, but it also was a major craft and exchange center.

For Elman Service (1975:169), Teotihuacan was the first true urban civilization in
Mesoamerica. On the basis of the relationship between urban density and political devel-
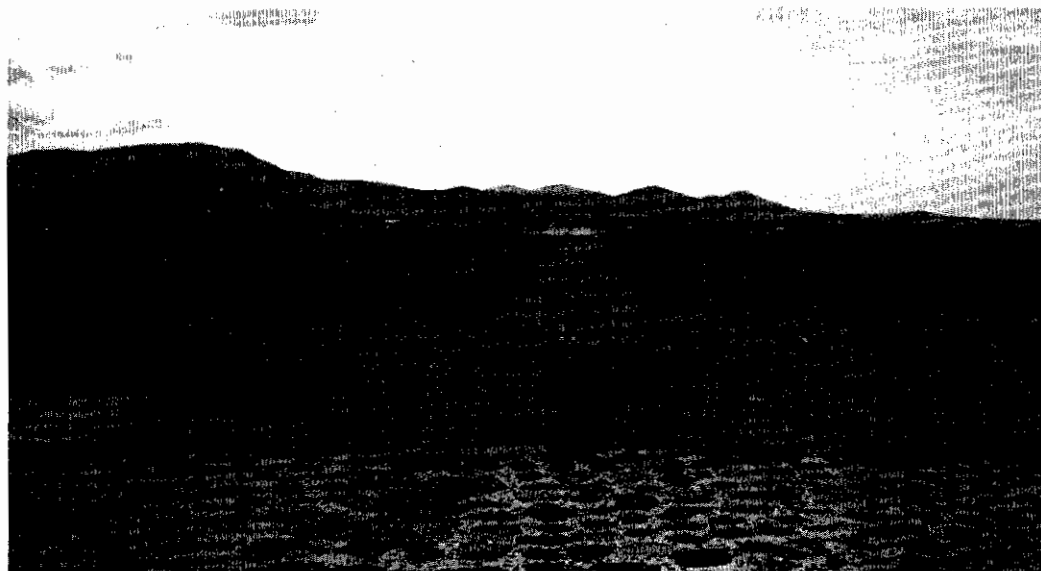
Figure 11.2. View of Teotihuacan's core, from the Pyramid of the Moon to the south. (Photograph by Linda Manzanilla)

opment, Service thought that the dominating power of Teotihuacan approached that of a true empire. Service (1975:171–172) proposed that irrigation systems and water control, urbanism, symbiotic economy, specialization, and redistribution were the driving forces for the development of Teotihuacan.

Even though its catchment area was limited to the Basin of Mexico (and probably the Valley of Toluca), in other respects, such as exchange and ritual relationships, its hinterland included the regions of Puebla–Tlaxcala (García Cook, 1981), Morelos and Guerrero (Hirth, 1978), and the Tula Valley (Díaz Oyarzábal, 1980). Teotihuacan established alliances with Monte Albán in the Valley of Oaxaca (Marcus and Flannery, 1996:219–221), and various degrees of intervention in the Maya region are observed as well (Culbert, 1991:315–316; Miller, 1978). Possible enclaves have been located in the Guatemala Highlands (Sanders and Michels, 1977), in the Gulf Coast of Mexico (Santley and Alexander, 1996:181 et seq.; Stark and Curet, 1994:281–283), and probably in Chiapas and Michoacán (Macías Goytia, 1988:101–104, 119), although in all of these areas the definite presence of Teotihuacanos (particular burial, food preparation, and household practices) has not been demonstrated.

We know very little about the social and political organization of a complex, urban center such as Teotihuacan. The existence of multifamily apartment compounds—a particular hallmark of this city—may suggest the coresidence of corporate groups sharing kinship and domestic territory (R. Millon, 1973). The organization inside each domestic compound seems to have been hierarchical, with one particular household occupying the highest position and bonding the kin structure to the state (Manzanilla, 1993b). Different apartment compounds surround neighborhood civic centers, which often are represented by three-temple plazas, and there is evidence of districts and quarters (Cowgill, 1997:139). It also is possible that the elite resided in the so-called "palaces" that surround the Street of the Dead, although the relationship between these households and those in the peripheral neighborhoods is still poorly understood.

Yet, when comparing Teotihuacan with later Aztec Tenochtitlan, Sanders et al. (1979:302–303) suggest that Teotihuacan had a more kinlike structure, that its society was less sharply stratified than the Aztec, and that its state apparatus was smaller and less developed. Sigvald Linné (1942:189) thought it more likely that it was a federation of minor urban states rather than a territorial state. This point is important, as there has been no definite corroboration of a Teotihuacan territorial state larger than the central plateau of Mexico.

Brigitte Boehm de Lameiras (1988:95–97) and Ignacio Bernal (1965:38) assign an imperial status to Teotihuacan; Bernal adds that the sense of permanence, self-confidence, and force apparent at the site indicate that the political situation was controlled without the need for militaristic displays. The mere size of the settlement would have made fortifications and defensive walls unnecessary, as Marcus (1992:396) states. I would add that if there was a competitive scenario at the beginning of Teotihuacan (as some suggest; i.e., Parsons, 1989; Sanders et al., 1979), the site more likely would have been built in a defensive position, on top of nearby mountains (some of which are quite large).

Marcus (1992:397) has proposed that the control of distant provinces would have been achieved through political alliance, conquest, economic benefits, or a combination of these factors. In the case of economic benefits, I would add that we need to make a distinction among extractive outposts, enclaves, and trading partners.

In another article (Manzanilla, 1993a) I have proposed that the collective rulership at Teotihuacan engaged in different economic networks. The priestly rulers—representatives of the different sectors of the city—controlled not only cult activities but also the organization of the production and distribution of goods, as well as long-distance exchange.

Robert Santley (1984:74) has proposed that four steps for the achievement of a state-managed monopoly were attained in the Basin of Mexico: local elites first engaged in trading partnerships and in the management of craft activities; then they limited access to deposits of raw materials. Afterwards, elites increased their control over the production of manufactures for long-distance exchange. Finally, elites became involved in local production and distribution. Thus foreign exchange would appear as a major area of state sponsorship (Santley, 1984:80), although the existence of merchants in the city (except for the Merchants' Barrio of the Gulf Coast) is not very clear. The involvement of the Teotihuacan state in such a variety of economic and social activities is not seen in Tula or later in Tenochtitlan (Santley, 1984:83).

There is scant archaeological evidence of how the Teotihuacan state was governed. Some believe that there was a single ruler, particularly for the first phases (Cabrera et al., 1990; Millon, 1988). Others stress collective rulership (Blanton et al., 1996; Manzanilla, 1993a; Pasztory, 1988; Paulinyi, 1981).

Teotihuacan is characterized by the lack of personified representations of rulers and their deeds. As George Cowgill (1997:137) states: "Emphasis is on acts rather than actors, on offices rather than office-holders." Human beings are shown subordinate only to deities, not to other men. Yet this same author states that " . . . early rulers may have been powerful and self-glorifying"—an interpretation that remains to be demonstrated—and that around A.D. 200 a change toward a more corporate strategy took place violently (Cowgill, 1997:154–155).

As a religious center without equal in its time, Teotihuacan was considered a sacred city (Millon, 1988) and the center of the world (Coe, 1981:167; Manzanilla, 1997:124) by its prehispanic residents. Priests undoubtedly played a very important role in Teotihuacan,

such that the integration of the city could have been possible through the pilgrimage–temple–market complex (Millon, 1967:43–46). René Millon suggests the presence of an oligarchic state with no formal differentiation between religious and political spheres (Millon, 1976:237, 1988:109). Sanders (1967:134) also argued that priestly institutions perhaps controlled alluvial and piedmont land and that religion was likely one of the most important integrating factors in Teotihuacan.

Dual rulership is an ancient institution in central Mexico; Graulich (in Broda, 1987:111) had proposed its presence in Teotihuacan, Xochicalco, Cacaxtla, and Aztec society (the *tlatoani* and the *cihuacóatl*). I would add Cholula (the Tlalchiach and the Aquiach) to this list.

Zoltán Paulinyi (1981) mentions that both Teotihuacan and Tula inaugurated a type of government characterized by the coregency of three to seven lords, and suggests the existence of district representatives who may have had a part in corulership. One district at Teotihuacan was located to the west of the Great Compound; the second, in the northwestern part of the valley; the third, to the east of Teotihuacan's Street of the Dead; the fourth, in the eastern fringe of the city; and a fifth, south of the San Lorenzo River.

Later, in central Mexico in the fourteenth century, this pattern of corulership continued. Colhuacan was governed by four *tlatoque*, represented as a corporate body (Paulinyi, 1981:317); Xochimilco, by three; and Cuitláhuac by four; each *tlatoqan* ruled over one particular district of their respective city (Paulinyi, 1981:319). The towns of Chalco also were governed by more than one ruler, as were those in the Toluca Valley as well, where groups of Toltec and Olmec–Xicalancan origins arrived when Tula collapsed (Paulinyi, 1981:321).

Even though Cholula was governed by two rulers (one of whom was the main priest residing in Tlachihualtépetl), seven other rulers resided in different districts of the city (Paulinyi, 1981:321). The Toltec–Chichimec had a similar political organization, with four leaders (two of whom were more important than the other two) and one high priest (Paulinyi, 1981:320). This pattern of corulership in central Mexico, of which Teotihuacan may have been the first case, is a tradition that persisted until the Spanish conquest.

I agree with Blanton et al. (1996:9–10) that Teotihuacan is the foremost example of the corporate mode of rulership: (1) individual achievement and ruler cults were deemphasized in favor of a corporate governing structure that is indicated by the lack of portrayal of or textual reference to named rulers; (2) state cults emphasized cosmological principles linking rain, earth, and serpents with renewal and fertility; (3) the standarization of artistic conventions and religious iconography are consistent with the rejection of an ethnic (patrimonial) basis for political ideology; and (4) the city was able to extend its direct control into peripheral zones through the establishment of trade enclaves and extractive outposts.

With respect to coercive structures within Teotihuacan society, Millon (1993:31) states that there is evidence of two late military wards at Teotihuacan. One was centered in Atetelco, in the southwestern part of the city, and the other—Techinantitla—in the northeastern section. His appreciation derives from representations in mural paintings at these sites. For Atetelco, Annabeth Headrick (1996:88–104) proposes the identification of the imagery of a king, flanked by military orders in the central portico of the White Patio, a consideration that should be tested in the future with archaeological data, not only with iconography. In a similar line of thought, Cowgill (1997:151) has proposed that the West Plaza Group of the Street of the Dead complex would have been the setting for government activities (the

depiction of the "Great Goddess" with torches in her hands), or that " . . . figures wearing the tassel headdress at Techinantitla may be rulers rather than generals" (Cowgill, 1992:209). It is possible, however, that toward the end of the Classic period, new political forms were being substituted for older institutions at Teotihuacan. Much remains to be done, however, to identify clear archaeological indicators of rulership at Teotihuacan, rather than relying only on iconographical interpretations of "rulers" that seem to have appeared in many different places within the core of the city.

I also stress the scant evidence for large coercive displays within the city. Some indications of temple consecrations through human sacrifies are limited to particular events and times (Cabrera et al., 1990), and much is yet to be known regarding who were these sacrificed men and women. Were they Teotihuacanos or people from other Classic cities? How did they die, and what was their class membership (elite or common people)? Cowgill (1997:145) is too quick in his conclusion that the sacrificed individuals beneath the Temple of Quetzalcóatl " . . . belonged to the royal household and that the soldiers were elite guardsmen" (as he seems to forget that many of the sacrificed were women).

Clara Millon (1973) and Esther Pasztory (1978) have interpreted certain human representations with tassel headdresses as military representatives of the state in foreign lands. I would add that the presumed military status is not very clear; the stately function may have been to guarantee the adequate flow of foreign raw materials from Teotihuacan's extractive outposts in Mesoamerica to the capital. Hasso von Winning (1984:7) proposed that tassel headdresses were rank insignia for high officials (traders, military officials) in charge of foreign affairs, under the auspices of a more secular advocation of Tláloc (Tláloc B, or the jaguar Tláloc). But he adds that there also are priestly representations of Teotihuacanos in foreign lands (at Monte Albán and Kaminaljuyú)(Von Winning, 1984:10–12).

As Blanton et al. (1993:135) state: "Teotihuacan was thus a city unlike any other in Mesoamerica . . . It was a commercial center, with by far more evidence of craft specialization . . . than any other city . . . In all likelihood, its economic and political uniqueness was reinforced by its role as Mesoamerica's leading center of sacred power." At the same time, I do not think that it was an empire, in the sense that it integrated a large territory with different ethnic groups by conquest. Rather, it was perhaps a state that established extractive outposts outside the central plateau, in a noncontiguous, loosely tied territory.

Teotihuacan's state administration had greater horizontal specialization than Monte Albán's in the Valley of Oaxaca. Blanton et al. (1993:209) have proposed that most of the coordination and administration took place in the major "palaces" of the city and not in secondary centers.

With the collapse of Teotihuacan (due to a series of factors, one of which may have been a major drought around A.D. 550–600), a reordering of power spheres as well as a process of "balkanization" occurred. Small regional political units of the "city-state" type (Marcus, 1989:201), such as Cholula, Cacaxtla, Xochicalco, and Tula in the central highlands, and Tajín in the Gulf Coast, were established.

During the Epiclassic, there was a shift to more network-based political economies in central Mesoamerica. Political power was often linked importantly to involvement in long-distance exchange of prestige items, and individual achievement in trade and war was a major source of political legitimation (Blanton et al., 1996:10).

In the Basin of Mexico, there was a steady population decline, an increasing dispersal of the population, and an increasing breakup of nucleated occupation—the antithesis of

Teotihuacan. Parsons (1974:106) expresses his impression of a rapid dispersal outward from the old center into areas where Teotihuacan maintained very low population densities, in small, relatively autonomous polities surrounded by gaps (Parsons, 1974:106). These discrete clusters may have provided protection from hostile groups (Sanders et al., 1979:133), yet most of them shared similar ceramic complexes. Massive defensive constructions are evident in Xochicalco, Cacaxtla, and other competing large Epiclassic sites outside the Basin of Mexico.

Marcus (1989:206) has stated that if the political system administered by Teotihuacan was loosely integrated (contrary to what we have thought), it might be easier to explain the recovery and reorganization of these Epiclassic centers after the dissolution of the Teotihuacan state; this also may indicate that they had a fair degree of autonomy before the collapse.

2.3. The Postclassic Period in Central Mexico

2.3.1. The Toltec

After the end of the Classic period in the Basin of Mexico, the settlement pattern shifted and the ceramic complexes changed into what has been called Coyotlatelco, a transformation that may be attributed to the presence of groups from western and north-central Mexico, particularly the Bajío (Mastache and Cobean, 1985:277).

The Early Postclassic, from A.D. 900 to 1150, was dominated by the emergence of the Toltec state, a loose state centered at Tula, Hidalgo, where Teotihuacan had maintained extractive outposts during the Classic period. The capital was surrounded by a large number of rural sites, many of which were very near the urban zone (Healan et al., 1989:249).

Tula, the capital (covering 16 km²), was a multiethnic city that was not as planned, quadripartitely divided, or as dense as Teotihuacan or Tenochtitlan (Figure 11.3), but it had

Figure 11.3. Tula, Hidalgo; the "Burned Palace" and Pyramid B. (Photograph by Linda Manzanilla)

clear functional sectors for cult, administration, exchange, congregation, residence, manufacture, etc. (Mastache and Cobean, 1985:286). Four different types of residential constructions potentially reveal four strata in this society.

It is not easy to characterize the Toltec state. Exchange relationships were maintained with many areas, with Plumbate ware and possibly cacao arriving from Soconusco in southern Mexico; serpentine from Honduras; greenstone from Guerrero; marine shells, Fine Orange wares, and maybe cotton and fine textiles from the Gulf Coast; *cloisonnée* wares from northwestern Mexico, and turquoise from perhaps further north (Mastache and Cobean, 1985:293–294; Noguez, 1995:205). Regions that may have been provinces of the Toltec state include the Bajío, the Huastec region, central Veracruz, Yucatán, and Soconusco (Mastache and Cobean, 1985:295).

Kirchhoff (1985) thought that the 20 toponyms of the *Historia tolteca–chichimeca* belonged to a quadripartite conception of the Toltec empire, with four external and four internal provinces, and Tula at its center.

Richard Diehl (1983:118) has suggested that Tula may have been the capital of a militaristic tributary state that had loose control over its territory. Pedro Carrasco (1996:31) suggests that Tula, together with Colhuacan and Otompan, constituted one of the first Triple Alliances or *excan tlahtolloyan*.

There is evidence of fire, looting, and destruction in Tula around A.D. 1150 that is associated with Aztec II pottery and a long-lasting drought. Hostility and conflict between Tula and Cholula also may have led to population decline and dispersion in the Basin of Mexico (Parsons, 1974:98, 107), where more than half of the population resided in small rural communities (Diehl, 1983:137).

2.3.2. The Aztec

By the Late Postclassic, a cycling back to corporate-based polities is evident in some polities, including the Tarascan and Aztec states (Blanton et al., 1996:11). Indicators include the absence of massive burials of rulers, the observation of ritual interdependency among distinct and specialized social sectors, and the concept of multitribal solidarity that was promoted by Aztec rulers.

Processes of population expansion and nucleation are evident everywhere in the Basin of Mexico after A.D. 1200. By the mid-fifteenth century there were two or three major urban centers, the largest of which—Tenochtitlan—equaled or exceeded earlier Teotihuacan in population. Another 10 or so large centers with populations between 10,000 and 15,000 were located around the lakeshore (to maximize redistributive tasks). Numerous hamlets and small villages were scattered throughout, and many environmental zones were substantially occupied for the first time (Parsons, 1974:101).

Ethnohistoric sources suggest that efficiency in the production and distribution of products was achieved through intensive local specialization and the redistribution of specialized products through a hierarchical series of markets located in different types of centers (Parsons, 1974:107).

Given new findings on the diversity of important local and regional systems and institutions (Smith and Hodge, 1994:1), the Aztec empire does not appear as monolithic or as powerful as previously thought (Smith, 1993:18). The concept of *altépetl* as city-state has been stressed in this political scenario as well. Governed by a *tlatoani* or several *tlatoque*,

they were focused on the urban center and surrounded by dependent towns and rural settlements (Smith and Hodge, 1994:11).

Political confederations have a long history in the Basin of Mexico; Carrasco (1996:31), citing Chimalpahin, emphasized one of the earliest during the Toltec period (Tollan, Colhuacan, Otompan), followed by Colhuacan–Coatlichan–Azcapotzalco. By the Late Postclassic, Tenochtitlan, Texcoco, and Tlacopan subdivided the initial imperial territory into three parts (Carrasco, 1996:48). Blanton et al. (1993:157) stress a complex regional hierarchy of central places that existed in the Triple Alliance, indicating a more decentralized scenario than in previous times.

For the Tenochca, J. Rounds (1982:64) concluded that there was a " . . . movement from a relatively dispersed structure of power to a relatively centralized one." In the "predynastic phase," Tenochtitlan was ruled by a council of leaders of the different *calpulli*. The "early dynastic" was related to the beginning of the dynasty, with Acamapichtli as the first ruler, probably as a response to military pressures in the valley. Finally, the late dynastic phase, which started with Itzcóatl in 1426, was a time of centralization and empire building (Rounds, 1982:66). A cohesive corporate ruling class, that included the *calpulli* leaders as the members of the royal family, was thus created.

Within the economic organization of the Aztec empire, Berdan (1982:77–80) recognizes three separate exchange systems: tribute of the 38 provinces (staple foodstuff, textiles, and exotic luxury goods), long-distance exchange, and market exchange. Tribute was destined to fund administrative activities, the military apparatus, the maintenance of the royal palace, the urban population, gifts and concessions, long-distance exchange, and storage for lean years.

Bartra (1975:128) assigns the Aztec state to the "tributary mode of production," where tribute is the key factor for revealing the classist relation between village communities and the state.

2.3.3. The Tarascans

In the lacustrine basins of western Mexico, the Tarascans defied the Aztec Triple Alliance. The Tarascan tributary state was centered in Tzintzuntzan (extending over 674 ha, with a population of ca. 30,000 persons; Pollard, 1993:32). Households in the capital were divided into 15 endogamous territorial units (or wards, with ca. 2000 persons each) with ceremonial functions; occupational specialists lived in separate wards (Pollard, 1993:59). Four social classes may be recognized: the king (*cazonci*) and lords, nobles, commoners, and slaves, each of which was distinguished by dress, marriage, household structure, wealth, access to occupations, and so forth (Pollard, 1993:60).

In the Pátzcuaro Basin, three markets provided the population with goods and raw materials: Tzintzuntzan, Pareo, and Asajo (Pollard, 1993:80). Tzintzuntzan was the imperial capital (and the house of the ruling dynasty) as well as the main administrative regional center, but eight other settlements were governed by *achaecha* or lords: Eronguarícuaro, Urichu, Pechátaro, Pareo, Xarácuaro, Itziparamucu, Uayameo, and Pátzcuaro; each of these was surrounded by villages and hamlets (Pollard, 1993:82).

Just as the earlier Toltec capital, Tula, had been multiethnic, so, too, was the Tarascan state; during the Early Postclassic proto-Tarascans, Náhuatl-speakers, and two groups of Chichimecs were found in the region (Pollard, 1993:101). The organization of this tributary state was similar to that of the Aztec.

2.4. The State in the Valley of Oaxaca

The Valley of Oaxaca, situated in the Southern Highlands of Mexico, also was the seat of early state development. Formed by the Atoyac River and its tributaries, this Y-shaped valley is divided into three branches: Etla to the north, Zaachila (or the Valle Grande) to the south, and Tlacolula to the east.

From 700 to 500 B.C., a complex chiefdom organization seems to have emerged from a scenario of warlike competition that had as a consequence the separation of three chiefly societies of unequal size (centered at San José Mogote in Etla, Yegüih in Tlacolula, and San Martín Tilcajete in the Valle Grande); settlements in each arm of the valley were separated by an unoccupied no-man's-land (Marcus and Flannery, 1996:121 et seq.).

Before Monte Albán's emergence as the capital of a state, San José Mogote, in the Etla arm, acted as a specialized manufacturing and distributive center for the Middle Formative settlements around it, dedicated to cultivation, pottery production, salt extraction, or forest exploitation (see Flannery, 1976). The leaders of the San José Mogote chiefdom ornamented themselves with mica, shell, jade, and particularly magnetite, a material that was restricted to their use (Marcus and Flannery, 1996:103).

The existence of a chiefdom centered at San José Mogote during the Rosario phase (ca. 700–500 B.C.) and Monte Albán Early I (ca. 500–300 B.C.) has been demonstrated by the settlement's importance as a redistributive regional center. When this system approached the operational limits of a chiefly political economy, new strategies were implemented, including territorial conquest (Spencer, 1990:17–18), which, according to Charles Spencer (1990:19), led to state emergence in a relatively short period of time toward the end of Monte Albán Late I or early in Monte Albán II (ca. 300 B.C.–A.D. 200).

About 500 B.C., a mountain near the hub of the three branches of the valley was chosen for the location of a new center—Monte Albán—that served as the capital of the three valley segments. In the process, a new hierarchical level—the regional capital—was added to two previous levels (Blanton et al., 1993:69). There also was a redistribution of the valley's population. The early Monte Albán polity was one of the first urban societies in the New World.

During Monte Albán I (500–200 B.C.), one-third of the valley's population resided in the urban center (as many as 17,000 inhabitants by 200 B.C.; Marcus and Flannery, 1996:139), which was disposed in domestic terraces constructed on the mountain slopes. Three densely populated areas have been located, mainly to the east, west, and south of the main plaza, perhaps three neighborhoods, each representing a different branch of the valley (Blanton et al., 1993:72). Four secondary administrative sites, evenly spaced, perhaps functioned as district capitals. Pottery production had a massive character and was elaborated by specialists, soon under the control of administrative centers (Blanton et al., 1993:74–75).

In Late Monte Albán I, there were more than 700 communities in the valley; many of the largest sites were located in the area controlled by Monte Albán, with the possible emergence of a four-tiered hierarchy (Marcus and Flannery, 1996:163–164). The heavy occupation of piedmont areas near Monte Albán appears to have resulted from administrative strategies to use small-scale irrigation techniques to expand agricultural production in marginal areas (Blanton et al., 1993:74).

The more than 300 carved slabs, or *danzantes*, recovered from the Main Plaza at Monte Albán, many in a gallery where they were displayed together, portray sacrificed

enemies. These carved stones are absent at other Monte Albán I sites in the valley, which supports the idea that early Monte Albán functioned as a regional center concerned with defense. The display of these carved stones only at the capital also may have served to legitimize the authority of its rulers (Blanton et al., 1993:73, 77).

Monte Albán in Period I was a city (Figure 11.4), but according to Marcus and Flannery (1996:160–161), its society may still have been in transition between a chiefdom and a state; no palatial structure has been detected nor any standardized two-room temple, although there are many elite residences and temples with columns.

Spencer (1990:15) has stated that the process of state formation in Monte Albán and Teotihuacan was manifested " . . . by a dramatic increase in the amount and variety of administrative facilities (or "public buildings") involved in the central decision-making organization of the system . . . "

By Monte Albán II (200 B.C.–A.D. 100) a state society had clearly emerged in the Valley of Oaxaca. There may have been a retraction of settlement within the valley as piedmont centers were abandoned. At the same time Monte Albán established a military outpost further afield in Cuicatlán; other conquered sites may have included Miahuatlán, Tututepec, Ocelotepec, and Chiltepec (Marcus and Flannery, 1996:197). Marcus and Flannery (1996:174) suggest that at this time a central place hierarchy was emerging in the Valley of Oaxaca, with six towns representing Tier 2 centers located between 14 and 28 km from Monte Albán.

The capital also underwent changes as settlement expanded to include the El Gallo hill to the north, and large defensive walls were constructed on the capital's northern, northeastern, and western limits, one of which also served as a dam. Major effort was concentrated in flattening the Main Plaza to the basic form we see today (Blanton et al., 1993:84).

Figure 11.4. View of Monte Albán's Main Plaza. (Photograph by Linda Manzanilla)

Growth at the capital in Monte Albán IIIa (ca. A.D. 200–500)(to 16,500 people) coincided with increased constructive activity, including the construction of the massive Southern Platform (Blanton et al., 1993:87). Other nearby hills—Atzompa and Monte Albán Chico—were also occupied.

New large sites - such as Jalieza in the Valle Grande - may have been competing with Monte Albán (Marcus and Flannery, 1996: 226); other district capitals at that time included Xoxocotlan, Zaachila, Cuilapan, and Santa Inés Yatzeche, all in the western part of the valley. The total population of the valley reached 115,000 inhabitants (more than 10% of when lived at Monte Albán) (Blanton et al., 1993:90). According to Marcus and Flannery (1996:26), the Zapotec state had now a professional ruling class, with kings, princes, nobles and commoners.

Blanton et al. (1993:156) have emphasized that, especially in Monte Albán Late I and IIIa, Monte Albán showed an increase in scale and integration, together with an increase in the vertical complexity in the region's central-place hierarchy. The pattern was quite different for Teotihuacan and Tula, where secondary centers were poorly developed and regional central-place hierarchies were attenuated. Rather, in those polities, high levels of regional vertical integration were achieved by concentrating complexity in the primate centers.

During subsequent Monte Albán IIIb (ca. A.D. 500–700) the regional system was more centralized and directly focused on Monte Albán. At this time, with a massive demographic increase in the central portion of the valley, the capital had 25,000 inhabitants (residing in an area of 6.5 km^2). In the northern sector of the Main Plaza a large palatial compound was constructed that probably served as a seat of government. Another 14 neighborhoods were present, most of which have evidence of craft production (pottery, chert, quartzite, polished stones, shell, and obsidian) (Blanton et al., 1993:91–93).

Finally, the great Zapotec center began its decline in Monte Albán IV (ca. A.D. 700–1000): the Main Plaza appears to have been abandoned. The largest site at the time was Jalieza, a regional capital to the south in the Valle Grande with 16,000 inhabitants. Other sites, such as Lambityeco in the Tlacolula arm of the valley, also gained in importance owing to the exploitation of specific natural resources (e.g., salt) (Blanton et al., 1993).

Monte Albán's loss of authority produced a pattern of independent and competitive centers, separated by buffer territories, such as was the case when Teotihuacan collapsed (Flannery and Marcus, 1983). These petty states had an average of 8000 inhabitants and witnessed cyles of confederations, marriage alliances, conquest episodes, and fragmentations (Blanton et al., 1993:100; Feinman, 1998:117 et seq.). Except for some examples of political integration through coercion (e.g., the polity established by the Mixtec ruler 8 Deer Tiger Claw), in general the region comprised many small competing polities during the Late Postclassic (A.D. 1300–1521).

2.5. Evolution of the State in the Maya Region

In the first half of the last century, the model that was used to explain the history of political development in the Maya region proposed a change from a theocratic stage, followed by collapse, to a militaristic stage. Research in the second half of the century has demonstrated that there were many stages of peaks and collapse (Marcus, 1995:21).

To reconstruct the Maya state, scholars have tried many approaches, such as feudal models, Thiessen polygon polities, pulsating galactic polities, theater states, segmentary states, peer polities, and others (Marcus, 1995:27). One of the models that has been the

most discussed with respect to the Maya region is the so-called "segmentary state," which derived from African ethnography (Smith, 1993:19). Yet this model has been criticized by Marcus and Feinman (1998:7–8) because "segmentary states" are not state societies but rank societies or "segmentary lineage systems." The peer-polity model also was designed to characterize interaction between chiefdoms (Marcus, 1995:27).

For Blanton et al. (1996:12), the Late Preclassic chiefdoms of the Maya Lowlands, which seem to display characteristics of corporate polity building, were replaced by a broad network of interacting city-states during the Classic period, with a single cultural, economic, and linguistic system that was politically divided into a multiplicity of interacting states. Elite families promoted the cults of named rulers and ancestor veneration (the opposite of what happened at Teotihuacan), as well as luxury trade and craft specialization.

The evolution of the state in the Maya region was related to the transformation of a three-tiered hierarchy of settlements into a four-tiered hierarchy (Marcus, 1995:13); this process may have occurred by A.D. 400–500, for which we have epigraphic evidence as well as palatial structures to support the argument. According to Joyce Marcus (1976:16–17), the political organization of the Maya Lowlands during the Classic period (particularly around A.D. 731) was consistent with the cosmological division of their universe in four quarters (four regional capitals—Copán, Tikal, Calakmul, and Palenque—each to a different quadrant; Figure 11.5).

The Late Classic (A.D. 600–800) was characterized, as Marcus (1995:19) puts it, by recurrent cycles of consolidation and dissolution of states through warfare and alliances. Two of the most powerful were centered at Tikal and Calakmul; these states were flanked by the regional polities of Palenque, Yaxchilán, and Copán (Figure 11.6).

The "city-state" concept, which Michael Smith (1993:19) and others (see Houston, 1992) believe is " . . . the most appropriate model for the Classic Maya," has been criticized by Marcus and Feinman (1998:8–9), because the territory they control is often no

Figure 11.5. View of Tikal's Main Plaza. (Photograph by Linda Manzanilla)
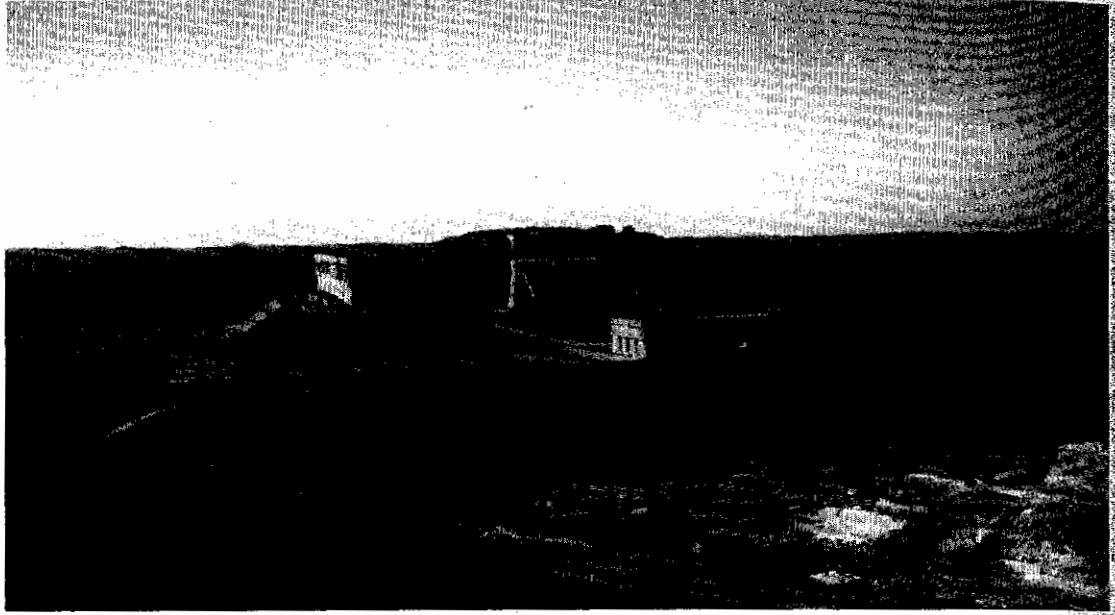
Figure 11.6. View of Uxmal in the Puuc region of Yucatán. (Photograph by Linda Manzanilla)

larger than a chiefdom, owing to the fact that they are the byproduct of the breakdown of larges states; the best way to characterize them in the Americas is by their local term, *altépetl, cuchcabalob, cacicazgo, curacazgo*, that is, "the territory controlled by a native lord."

Yet Stephen Houston supports the concept of city-state for the Maya and redefines the scale of the political organization proposed by Marcus in her emblem-glyph analysis. For Houston, Maya polities were autonomous, and it is at this level that warfare and marriage alliances took place (Houston, 1992:67). Several major Maya sites (with toponymic signs) may have been included within a single polity (with an emblem-glyph). Political capitals averaged a distance of 32 km from their neighbors, creating small state modules (Houston, 1992:68).

Blanton et al. (1993:181) have proposed that Classic Maya cities supported craft specialists (flint, obsidian, and wood workers; potters; monument carvers; weavers; etc.). Some of these products were for very localized markets or direct purchase from manufacturers; others were more widely distributed; and some had macroregional distribution (jade, obsidian, ash temper, salt, Fine Orange pottery, etc.) (Blanton et al., 1993:187). The low level of urban utilitarian craft production has suggested Fox's model of the regal–ritual city to Smith (1993:16). In the Petén cities there is scant evidence for craft neighborhoods, as we see in central Mexico, so that much craft production may have come from the villages or from palace-bound artisans (Henderson, 1981).

For Culbert and Rice (1990), the Maya Lowlands had a very high regional population density (180 persons/km^2), although individual urban centers were not very densely settled (500 to 800 persons/km^2). In contrast, in the Basin of Mexico during the Classic period, regional population densities were around 40 persons/km^2, while Teotihuacan's urban population density was 7000/km^2, following Sanders, Parsons, and Blanton (Smith, 1993:10).

For the Postclassic, Blanton et al. (1996:12) propose a rebirth of the corporate orien-

tation at Chichén Itzá. Marcus (1993:119) reproduces Roys' three types of Maya *cuchcabalob*, from centralized to loose affiliation, that formed after the dissolution of the Mayapán League (or *mul tepal*, "joint government"; Marcus, 1989:202). The concentration of Postclassic populations near rivers, lakes, cenotes, and oceans (Marcus, 1995:24) suggests a reordering of exchange relationships in the macroregion.

3. STATE EMERGENCE AND DEVELOPMENT IN THE ANDEAN REGION

The Andean region is a vast territory with contrasting environments: coast, sierra, and high plateau. State societies developed in each of these environments. Urban developments are seen in two regions: the Peruvian valleys and coast, on the one hand, and the Bolivian high plateau, on the other. In the Peruvian valleys, different ecological and altitudinal floors were exploited by the same community due to the autarchic organization of communities. Thus access to resources from the tropical forest, from the high valleys, and from the coast was obtained by means of extractive outposts, without the participation of markets. With some exceptions, there were no real urban centers in these valleys (Figure 11.7).

In the "vertical archipelago" model of ecological complementarity proposed by John Murra (1975, 1985a,b) for the Andean region, each "ethnic group made an effort to control a maximum of floors and ecological niches," maintaining "permanent colonies situated in the periphery in order to control distant resources." The relationships between center and periphery were reciprocal and redistributive (Murra, 1985b:15–16).

In the "vertical archipelago" model, the type of exchange between the highland settlements and their low valley colonies was reciprocal, and rights were claimed through kinship ties and were "periodically reaffirmed ceremonially in the settlements of origin" (Murra, 1985b:16).

Ramiro Condarco Morales (in Murra, 1985a:6) thought that this type of complementarity generated interrelationships and solidarity that formed the basis of the total unification of the central Andes by Tiwanaku or the Inka. Murra (1985b:11) adds that complementarity prevailed in times when there were no marketplaces but many state-operated warehouses. It was an excellent means to handle "a multiple environment, vast populations, and hence high productivity." The key aspect of highland economies was therefore massive storage (Murra, 1985a:4).

3.1. Mochica

Around 900 B.C., Chavín de Huántar emerged as the ceremonial center of a polity that forged cultural unity from a multitude of regional cultural traditions in north-central Peru (Burger, 1992:227). Probably at a complex chiefdom level, Chavín was a prelude to successive expansionist states on the north coast of Peru.

The Mochica polity developed along the north coast of Peru during the first six centuries A.D., based on successful irrigation techniques, population growth, increasing functional differentiation, urbanization, hierarchical ranking of settlements, and continuous interaction between polities (Shimada, 1994:77). Its first capital was Moche; the capital later moved to the urban center of Pampa Grande after a long drought (A.D. 562–594) (Shimada, 1994:2).

There has been much debate on whether the Mochica polity was a confederation of
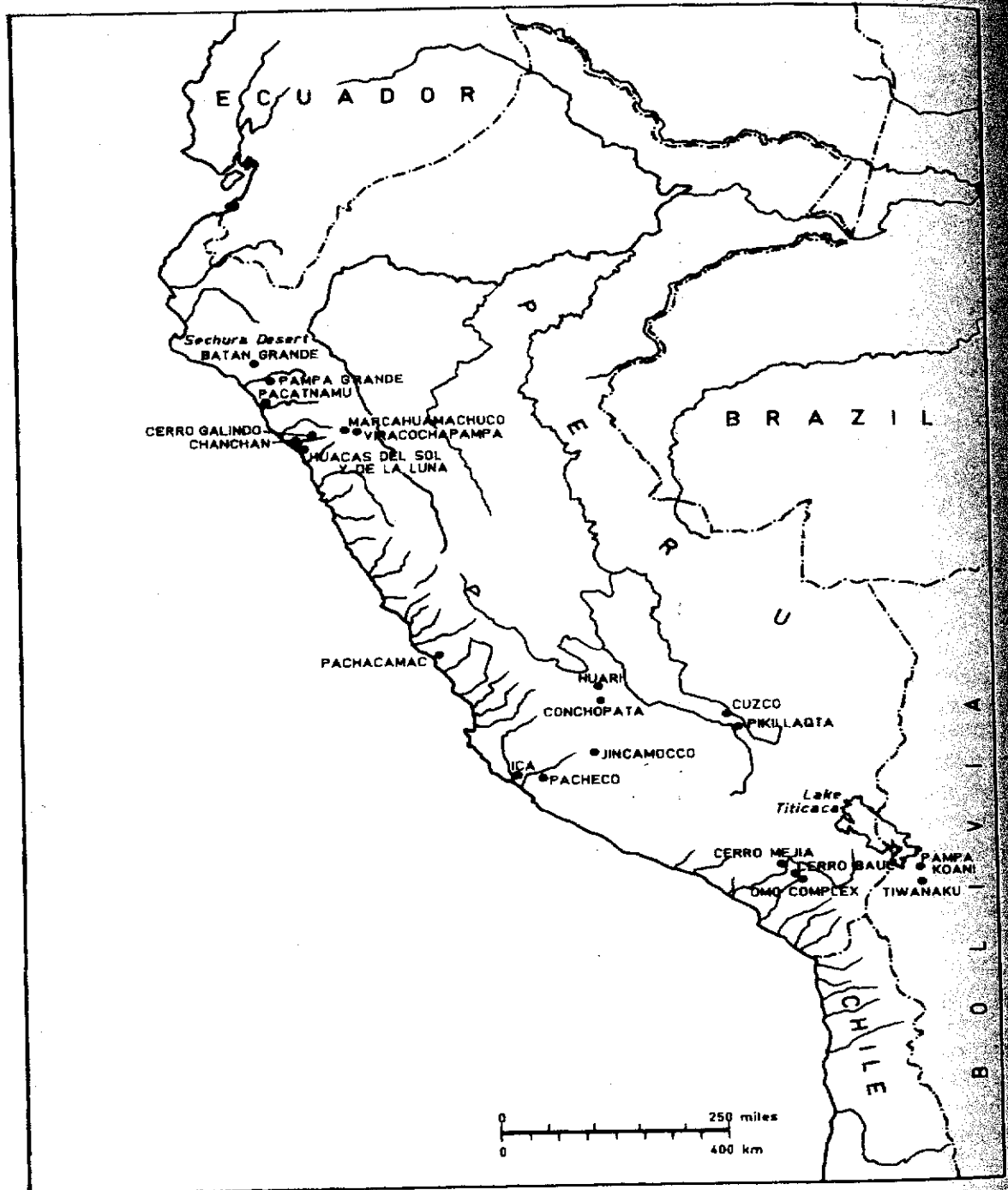
Figure 11.7. Map of some of the Andean sites cited in the text. (Redrawn from Moseley, 1992)

chiefdoms (Schaedel, 1972), a state structured along status differences and occupational specialization (Steward and Faron, 1959), a transitional stage between a theocratic chiefdom and a secular state (Kosok, 1965), or an empire (Conklin and Moseley, 1998; in Shimada, 1994:6; see also Lumbreras, 1974:224). This state grew in sociopolitical complexity as a result of territorial expansion (there are explicit depictions of combat and warfare). Royal tombs have been found at Sipán, La Mina, and Loma Negra (Shimada, 1994:1).

The Mochica state collapsed around A.D. 700, as a result of environmental stresses and the expansion of the Wari state (Shimada, 1994:xi); the Mochica state may be seen as the predecessor of the Chimú kingdom.

3.2. Wari

Wari (or Huari) established a second-generation territorial state centered in the Ayacucho region of Peru; through conquest, the Wari state destroyed the prior religious structures (in the Mochica state, for example) and substituted secular institutions for them (Lumbreras, 1974:231), although the Chan Chan–Moche Valley Project concluded that the north coast was never incorporated into the Wari state (Burger, 1989). Its provincial centers included Cajamarquilla and Pikillacta (Marcus, 1998:76).

Luis Millones (1987:64–65) has suggested that, perhaps as a result of a long drought, there was a need for a centralized government to ensure the survival of a population in an ecologically poor environment; through conquest, new lands and resources could be incorporated to the state.

William Isbell (1997) describes the growth of Wari on a ridge in the Huamanga Basin of the Ayacucho Valley of Peru until it became one of the largest in South America. Its architectural core reached 2.5 km^2, but the 1500 years of occupational history covered 15 km^2.

From a previous phase of hamlets and villages with common concerns for water, separated by 2 or 3 km, a process of rural–urban migration took place in the Quebrada de Ocros phase (A.D. 400–600), where temples could have played a key role in building new social relationships. Walled sunken courts, such as the one in Moraduchayuq, constructed with polygonal stone blocks, made their appearance, separating sacred from profane spaces. There also are indications of specialized activities, particularly the transformation of exotic raw materials. In this phase, we also see the appearance of city blocks, defined by walled streets, as well as an urban grid.

A change occurred in the following Moraduchayuq phase (A.D. 700–900), when a successful city emerged, enlarging the former core and expanding its residential areas. The emergence of a military elite in the main settlement, after its first appearance in provincial locations, is related to a defensive position toward Tiwanaku in the south and Huamachuco in the north. It is detected in the presence of rigid orthogonal cellular compounds, built around open patios. The unusually common occurrence of serving bowls suggests community dining or feasting. Isbell proposes that these compounds were occupied by middle-level administrators of a growing military state.

During the Royac Perja phase (A.D. 800–900) a reaction to orthogonal and cellular architecture took place, perhaps when new forms of sociopolitical organization appeared. The region was then abandoned in the tenth century A.D.

Isbell concludes that a deemphasis on a central public area in favor of repetitive units left little opportunity for the former theocratic elite to construct power in theatrical public

ritual. Wari's orthogonal cellular architecture was conceived by military commanders turned administrators, imposing a rigid homogeneous social order, a new power base that marginalized ceremonial interests. A final rejection of this imposed order occurred prior to Wari's final abandonment.

3.3. Tiwanaku

The Bolivian high plateau is important for various reasons. Intensive cultivation in raised fields was possible in the area around Lake Titicaca. This system of cultivation probably was begun by the pre-Inka civilization of Tiwanaku (Kolata, 1991) in response to climatic change. There also were substantial copper deposits, which favored the emergence of metallurgic centers. Unlike the narrow Peruvian valleys, the Bolivian high plateau is a vast open area, where the first massive urban formation, the Tiwanaku civilization developed. Like Mesoamerican urban centers, Tiwanaku housed nonfarmer specialists. The parallelism between the organization of Teotihuacan and Tiwanaku, both as combinations of trade and pilgrimage centers, has been oulined by Sanders and Price (1968:168).

David Browman (1997) makes a distinction between territorial and hegemonic states. He defines the first as one with direct control of its dependencies, incorporating its hinterland as provinces, and with the military power to maintain its borders. The hegemonic state, on the other hand, has indirect control, through the recognition of local authorities and polities who collect tribute and taxes for the central government. He considers Tiwanaku to have been a hegemonic state.

Tiwanaku consisted of a public ceremonial core surrounded by areas of elite residences, artisanal activity, residential terraces, and enclosed agricultural zones (Figure 11.8) For the Tiwanaku state, Browman (1997) suggests that by A.D. 800 substantial growth of

Figure 11.8. View of the Kalassaya at Tiwanaku, Bolivia. (Photograph by Linda Manzanilla)

elites and attached subsidiary servers had occurred, and that mercantile production, stately redistribution, and specialization were present at Tiwanaku and the secondary center of Lukurmata. The increase in caravan movements (and state-bred herds) is attested by an increase of castrated llamas during Tiwanaku IV and V. The eventual collapse of the Tiwanaku polity appears related to seizures of power by local authorities and the alienation of markets, which led to the gradual fragmentation and reorganization of the state territory.

In another line of thought, John Janusek (1999) proposes that goods were produced in Tiwanaku centers by kin-based groups residing in residential compounds. These activities were coordinated by local authorities subordinated to state rulers. Craft production was rooted in segmentary principles of sociopolitical order, a model he names "embedded specialization," which also was characteristic of corporate modes of organization. We also have demonstrated this type of organization in household groups at Teotihuacan, which we consider to be a corporate state (Manzanilla, 1993a,b, 1996).

Alan Kolata proposes that the organization of agricultural production resulted in hierarchical interaction between urban and rural settlements characterized by a substantial degree of political centralization and the mobilization of labor beyond kinship relationships (Kolata, 1991:99). He infers centralized state planning and control from the regular layout and technological sophistication of raised fields near Tiwanaku (Smith, 1993:9). In contrast, other scholars, such as Erickson, have suggested that the Titicaca raised fields could have been built and maintained by local households and communities (Smith, 1993:9).

James Mathews (1997) shares Kolata's (1986) "autochthonous model" of state formation: the administration of 6500 ha of raised fields by an agro/managerial bureaucracy resulted in hierarchical settlement networks that are characteristic of many complex societies. Particularly in Tiwanaku V times (A.D. 750–1000) he observes an increase in the number of sites as well as in the size of large former Tiwanaku IV settlements; new small sites associated with the agricultural fields also were settled. The intensive agricultural production and resulting reduction in the inventory of crop species led to increased stress in the system. Demographic and administrative changes in Tiwanaku V times (particularly decentralization of the control of production) also contributed to its collapse.

Browman (1997) proposes different models of articulation through which the Tiwanaku state interacted with neighboring regions. The Cochabamba Valley in the southeast was integrated through a trade alliance (to obtain maize and hallucinogenic snuffs). San Pedro de Atacama in northern Chile was integrated through trade interdependence where merchants and caravanners appear to have established ports-of-trade. Oruro, in southern Bolivia, was integrated as part of a secular expansion in a territorial model. The Sillumocco polity in southern Puno, Peru, was incorporated as part of a hegemonic state; whereas Azapa, in northern Chile, and Moquegua, in Peru, were colonized from the Titicaca Basin to obtain marine goods, arsenic copper ores, and maize.

3.4. Chimú and Inka

After Wari's domination of the northern coast of Peru, the Chimú kingdom (A.D. 1100–1400), centered on Chan Chan, is another example of a third-generation territorial state that expanded through conquest (Lumbreras, 1974:236). It later was conquered by the Inka state.

Chan Chan was a complex urban center (with a core of 6 km^2), with 10 huge palatial structures. Its society was divided into classes, each with distinct residences, patterns of production and consumption, and burials (Burger, 1989:55). The majority of the residents

were artisans (weavers, metalsmiths, and jewelers) (Moseley, 1992:70). A set of provincial administrative centers has provided information on the management of conquered territories (Burger, 1989:55).

Tawantinsuyu (the "Land of the Four Quarters"), centered on Cuzco, was a multiethnic empire that incorporated pre-Inka polities (and their respective settlement hierarchies) through conquest (Figure 11.9); the Inka had flexible administrative systems in the different regions (Burger, 1989:56). The imperial economy was based in exacting taxes in the form of labor from the local communities (Moseley, 1992:65).

The degree of political centralization was less in Mesoamerica than in the Andean world in Inka times (Carrasco, 1982:33). The economically powerful also were those who governed. Agricultural taxes provided people with food and drink, and were deposited in warehouses called *qollqa*; textile taxation was used to reward people with valued goods (Moseley, 1992:69–71). There is archaeological and ethnohistorical evidence with respect to these storage facilities, which were vital when there were continuous frosts or droughts, but also served to maintain state personnel, the army, and state craftsmen (Murra, 1975). The deposits were located either inside the settlements or on the mountain slopes (Earle and D'Altroy, 1982).

Craig Morris (1978) and William Isbell (1978) have detected differences in the number of warehouses with respect to site hierarchy and also to the different products that were stored in either circular or rectangular forms. At Huánuco Pampa—a provincial capital— Morris (1978) detected 497 warehouses constructed and administered by the state, which served to maintain the population of the settlement. He also excavated 40 workshops and 10 related constructions for textile production and *chicha* preparation and consumption, key elements in reciprocal relationships between the Inka (the state) and the people from the communities. In two large plazas located near the public sector of Huánuco Pampa,

Figure 11.9. The Inka Fortress of Sacsayhuamán. (Photograph by Linda Manzanilla)

tons of ceramic vessel fragments were found in association with these activities; Morris observed that the ceramic production was standardized.

In the Andean region, the autonomous unit of production and reproduction—the *ayllu*—was a group of related persons (through a common ancestor) who exchanged labor and cooperated in the management of land (and associated water) and herds (Moseley, 1992:49). This corporate unit had its counterpart in the *calpulli* of the Aztec.

One of the hallmarks of the Inka state was the decimal administration of the tributary system; each decimal unit was formed by a number of tributary households. At the head of each decimal unit was an officer, organized in a hierarchical order, until the councilors of the four quarters were reached. It created standardized units of population and permitted an equitable distribution of labor obligations (Julien, 1982).

4. Concluding Remarks

Colin Renfrew (1974) proposed two types of chiefdom organizations: the individualizing chiefdom (investment in status-defining elements) and the group-oriented chiefdom (investment in corporate labor). This division is useful for distinguishing between a hierarchical society, in which a chief occupies the highest point in a "conical clan" (Kirchhoff, 1955:6–9), from an organization derived perhaps from "lineage societies" (Meillassoux, 1974; Rey, 1975), in which a group of elders represents the authority in the community (Manzanilla, 1983:6).

During the last millennium B.C., complex individualizing chiefdom societies in Mesoamerica and the Andes (that shared the Olmec and Chavín multiregional styles [Willey, 1999:87]) foreshadowed later state formations of the network type, some of which were conquest territorial states centered on one dynasty, such as the Mochica polity, while others were small competing states, such as the various Classic Maya states. In other areas with patterns of economic symbiosis (Sanders, 1968), corporate states such as Tiwanaku and Teotihuacan developed.

After the fall of these first experiments of centralized government, a scenario of small polities emerged, which were afterwards integrated in territorial states, such as Wari and Chimú, in the Andean region, or the Toltec, in Mesoamerica.

In the Andes as well as in Mesoamerica, the administration of empires was related to the household of the ruler, through the highest imperial officials who were chosen from the ruler's relatives and relations. Local chiefs were placed as local governors, were related through marriage with the dynasty, and were culturally assimilated to the ruling group (Carrasco, 1982:35).

Yet the greater political centralization of the Inka empire incorporated a huge territory through conquest and strictly regulated all economic and social relationships. In contrast, Mesoamerica did not achieve total political integration, as Carrasco (1982:38) has stated. Mesoamerica consisted of a mosaic of ethnic and linguistic groups, integrated through vast trade networks, and in certain regions and periods, through states that displayed various types of relations with the provinces.

The second millennium A.D. ends with gaps in our knowledge, particularly in how large corporate states, such as Teotihuacan and Tiwanaku, were ruled. I hope these key questions trigger important interdisciplinary research in New World states and their particularities with respect to Old World examples.

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