

Chapter 6

Ideology, Power, and State Formation in the Valley of Oaxaca

ARTHUR A. JOYCE

INTRODUCTION

Archaeological research in the Valley of Oaxaca has shown that the Late/Terminal Formative period (500 B.C.-A.D. 200) was a time of dramatic social change, perhaps culminating in the formation of the first state polity in the Americas (Blanton 1978; Blanton et al. 1982; Flannery and Marcus 1983a; Kowalewski et al. 1989; Winter 1989). This period began about 500 B.C. with the founding of the political center of Monte Albán located on a previously unoccupied ridgetop, 300-400 m above the valley floor where the three arms of the Valley of Oaxaca intersect (Figure 1). The size, architectural complexity, and political importance of the site increased rapidly through the Late/Terminal Formative (Acosta 1965:814-824; Blanton 1978:33-56; Flannery 1983a). While there has been debate on the precise timing of the emergence of a state polity at Monte Albán (e.g., Flannery and Marcus 1983a; Sanders and Nichols 1988), there can be no doubt that the Late/Terminal Formative was a tumultuous period marked by the emergence of many of the features that have traditionally been used to define the

ARTHUR A. JOYCE • Department of Anthropology, Vanderbilt University, Box 6050-Station B, Nashville, Tennessee, 37235 U.S.A.
Emergence and Change in Early Urban Societies, edited by Linda Manzanilla. Plenum Press, New York, 1997.

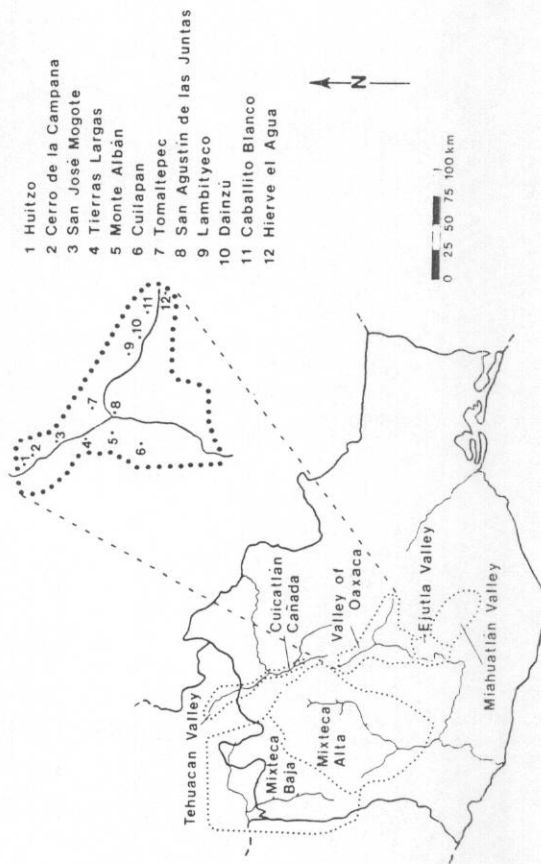


Figure 1. Oaxaca state showing regions and sites mentioned in the text.

state (Blanton 1978:33-56; Blanton et al. 1982:37-84; Flannery and Marcus 1983a; Kowalewski et al. 1989:85-200; Spencer 1982:12-31).

While there have been some disagreements concerning the social developments of the Late/Terminal Formative in the Valley of Oaxaca, the most heated debate has centered on theoretical explanations for these events (Blanton 1980, 1990; Sanders and Nichols 1988; Santley 1980). Explanations for the social developments of this period, including the formation of the state, have been advanced by researchers using both cultural ecology (Sanders and Nichols 1988) and ecological systems theory (Spencer 1982; Wright 1977). As useful as cultural ecology and systems theory have been for modeling social evolution, they have been criticized on a variety of theoretical and empirical grounds by biologists, ecologists, and anthropologists (Athens 1977; Brumfiel 1992; Colinvaux 1973; Slobodkin 1972; Vayda and McCay 1975; Williams 1966). In this article, Late/Terminal Formative period social change in the Valley of Oaxaca is addressed using an actor-based theoretical perspective that avoids many of the problems inherent in systems theory and cultural ecology. This actor-based approach views people as dynamic actors in social process rather than components in a system or passive responders to the environment. Social developments during the Late/Terminal Formative are considered from this perspective and an explanatory model for these developments is presented.

THEORETICAL BACKGROUND

Explanations for the origins and development of the Monte Albán polity have been derived primarily from cultural ecology (Sanders and Nichols 1988) and ecological systems theory (Spencer 1982; Wright 1977). Despite theoretical differences between these two schools (e.g., Sanders and Nichols 1988), both approaches share a materialist perspective which assumes that human social groups (variously modeled as societies, cultures, or populations) are the units that drive social developments such as urbanization and state formation (Dunnell 1980; Orlove 1980). Cultural ecology and ecological systems theory differ in the degree to which they stress environmental versus social and ideological factors as determinants of sociocultural change (Orlove 1980), and this has been the source of much of the debate amongst proponents of these two approaches (Sanders and Nichols 1988). Both approaches, however, make an "organismic analogy" where the society, culture, or ecological community is likened to a functioning organism. Social evolution occurs when the response of the cultural or ecological system to socio-environmental stress reaches a threshold and the system shifts to a new organizational level characterized by a greater regulatory capacity. The different organizational levels are often equated with traditional neoevolutionist categories of political organization such as bands, tribes, chiefdoms, and states.

The most damaging critiques of cultural ecology and systems theory involve their teleological and systems-stability assumptions. The assumption that systems exist at the level of populations, cultures, or ecosystems requires both a demonstration that the boundaries of the system actually exist, and a theory to account for the creation of teleological processes at that level. However, critics have shown that regulatory functions and systemic goals are assumed rather than demonstrated and boundaries of systems are usually drawn arbitrarily rather than empirically (McCay 1978; Orlove 1980; Peoples 1982; Richerson 1977; Vayda 1986; Vayda and McCay 1975). The position that a population, culture, or ecosystem acts as a functioning unit also requires a theory of group selection to account for its evolution (Richerson 1977:3). Evolutionary biologists, however, have rejected theories of group selection on both theoretical and empirical grounds (Alexander and Borgia 1978; Grafen 1984; Lack 1966; Lewontin 1970; Williams 1966). In addition, a focus on population-level systems ignores the goal-driven behavior of social-actors as well as intrasocietal (gender, class, ethnic, racial) conflict among those actors (Brumfiel 1992; Friedman and Rowlands 1978; Mithen 1989; Orlove 1980; Vayda and McCay 1975).

In ecological anthropology, critiques of cultural ecology and systems theory have led to a series of new approaches that focus on individual actions and decision making (e.g., Orlove 1980; Vayda 1986; Winterhalter and Smith 1981). These processual actor-based approaches include applications of economics of flexibility (McCay 1978, 1981), economic decision making (Laughlin 1974, Rutz 1977), and optimal foraging theory (Keegan 1986; McCay 1981; Winterhalter and Smith 1981). Intrasocietal conflicts of interest, especially involving class distinctions, are also gaining attention (Bloch 1975; Brumfiel 1983; Conrad and Demarest 1984; Friedman and Rowlands 1978; Godelier 1978; Kolata 1992; Patterson and Gailey 1987). Archaeologists have participated in the critique of systems theory (Brumfiel 1992; Dunnell 1980; Joyce 1991:598-603; Mithen 1989; Rindos 1984; Wenke 1981) and are beginning to consider actor-based approaches (Brumfiel 1992; Jochim 1976; Joyce 1994a; Joyce and Winter 1993; Keene 1981; Schortman 1989; Schortman and Urban 1987).

An Actor-Based Approach to Social Change

This section outlines an actor-based approach to social change that can be applied to the archaeological record. This approach argues that individuals rather than social or ecological systems are the agents that cause changes in the properties of social groups. I follow other actor-based approaches in anthropology by examining individual-level behavioral strategies in the context of opportunities and constraints posed by the biophysical and sociocultural environment (see McCay 1978, 1981; Orlove 1980; Vayda 1986; Winterhalter and Smith 1981). It is assumed that people pursue particular behavioral strategies to acquire and utilize resources, including information, for themselves and their close kin in competition with other people (Joyce 1991:603-616, 1994a; Joyce and Winter 1993). I stress, however, that behavioral strategies are defined culturally and that the actors should not be modeled as optimally adapted. Instead, it is crucial to gain an understanding of the cultural environment and how it may have defined goals differently from those of the economic optimum. Population-level phenomena such as social organization and subsistence patterns are, therefore, viewed as the outcome of the behavioral and sociocultural environments. By tracking changes in behavioral strategies through time, hypotheses can be evaluated concerning the environmental conditions that fostered these changes. As people adopt novel behavioral strategies, these strategies, as well as their material and ideological correlates, in turn become part of the sociocultural environment.

THE VALLEY OF OAXACA

Adaptive strategies and their relative success in terms of controlling, acquiring, storing, and using resources are operationalized here using the concept of social identity (Joyce 1991, 1994a; Joyce and Winter 1993; cf. McGuire 1983; Schortman 1989). Social identities consist of two types of parameters: social roles which describe individual-level strategies and social statuses that describe the relative success of those strategies (Joyce 1991:269-281, 602-707; cf. Blau 1977; McGuire 1983; Rapoport 1976:19; Schortman 1989:54). Social roles specify behavioral strategies used by people to control, acquire, store, and utilize both material resources and information. Social roles include behaviors defined by factors such as gender, occupation, kinship, ethnicity, community affiliation, and religion. Social status is a measure of an individual's ability to control material resources and information relative to other members of society. Social roles and statuses can covary, as when an occupation or lineage defines status, or they can be independent of one another (McGuire 1983).

Social status reflects two usually related factors: power and wealth. Power is the ability to control resources, including other people and information, and is often a means to obtain wealth. Wealth is a measure of the amount of resources that a person has accumulated relative to other individuals. Differences in wealth and power exist in all types of societies ranging from small-scale kinship-based ones to large nation-states. Status differences may be continuous within a society or there can be distinct breaks in status creating clearly defined social classes. While power and wealth usually covary, they can also be decoupled as when religious practitioners are restricted from using their power for the accumulation of personal wealth. For the purposes of this article, however, power and wealth are assumed to covary with status.

Social identities can be reconstructed because their effects are archaeologically visible, especially the effects of identities adopted by many people (e.g., low-status farmers) or those used by a few people who had a great impact on society (e.g., rulers). While archaeological data do not allow the delineation of all social identities of the past, they do permit access to the more visible, institutionalized, and widely shared ones such as occupations, ethnic affiliations, and status (Schortman 1989).

Variation in social identities also provides a means for defining social complexity through estimates of heterogeneity and inequality (Blau 1977; McGuire 1983). Societies become more complex with increases in heterogeneity and inequality, which measure variability in the social identities of group members. Heterogeneity is a measure of the frequency of distinct social roles and status levels in a society. Generally, heterogeneity increases with the number and degree of independence of social roles and statuses. The development of craft and other types of economic specializations as

well as the differentiation of administrative roles among political elites are examples of increases in heterogeneity. Inequality is a measure of status differentiation within society.

Heterogeneity and inequality also provide a means to define the state. Using essentially the same criteria as Spencer (1982:2; 1990) and Wright (1977:385), the state is defined as a polity with variation in the administrative roles of political elites (i.e., specialized decision-making or government) as well as great inequalities in statuses implying social stratification and political centralization. In addition, as discussed by Flannery (1972:404), the power of political elites is usually manifest in their ability to draft soldiers, levy taxes, and exact tribute. Taxes and tribute are used in part to construct and/or maintain public buildings, works, and services, including the institutions and personnel of a state religion. The next section examines the power relations that support status inequalities in complex societies since, as will be argued later in the article, the consolidation of power by elites was a key factor in the social developments of the Late/Terminal Formative.

Ideology, Power, and Inequality

The unequal social relations that largely define complex societies such as states must be understood in terms of the flow of resources among individuals channelled by power differentials. In non-industrial societies such as those of prehispanic Mesoamerica, wealth accumulation above a relatively low level must be the result of the labor of other people. Inequalities in these societies largely involve the ability to create, legitimate, and institutionalize a positive net flow of resources from other people. Relationships of power within societies are created, legitimated, and institutionalized by the material benefits they provide to the less powerful and/or by ideologies that make the relationships seem beneficial and unalterable. Power is generally derived through three overlapping types of social interactions: reciprocity, coercion, and ideology.

Power through reciprocity occurs when lower-status individuals (non-elites) provide material resources to high-status individuals (elites) in return for benefits in the form of information. This information often involves some type of administrative input that allow individuals to more efficiently coordinate their actions and/or more accurately predict future environmental contingencies (e.g., scientific knowledge). In a reciprocal relationship, the information input provided by elites results in real material benefits for non-elites. Elites gain disproportionately in material resources due to the extra share they take in return for their administrative efforts. However, non-elites also gain relative to their likely condition in the

absence of elite administration. Conditions that encourage power through reciprocity include: (1) economic and political specializations that promote centralized management; (2) high risk from natural hazards promoting centralized storage as insurance; (3) risk from human hazards (e.g., military threats, crime) promoting the centralized coordination of force; and (4) technologies that require heavy investments of capital and/or labor thereby promoting centralized pooling of these resources (e.g., large-scale irrigation facilities).

Coercive power involves the use of threats to compel people to cooperate and provide resources. The threat can include potential physical harm as in a police state or it can involve the withholding of critical resources. Physical threats require some type of legitimate coercive apparatus such as a police or military force under elite control.

Ideological power depends on the concealment of elite interests through ideology. Ideology is defined here in its more restricted sense (Giddens 1979:165-197; Larrain 1983), as ideas that represent and mask the interests of factions within society. Ideology conceals interests by representing those interests as universal, by denying intrasocietal conflicts of interest, and by naturalizing the present to preserve the dominant position of the elite (Giddens 1979:193-197). Elements of ideology that legitimate inequality can include religious (Conrad and Demarest 1984; Demarest 1989; Spores 1983a), political (Cohen 1981; Johnson 1986, 1987), and economic ideas (Weber 1986), although these categories usually overlap. It is difficult to separate a dominant ideology that masks inequality from an overall ethos that explains many elements of existence for people at all status levels (Giddens 1979:184-196). Ideology is not only a means to legitimate relationships of power, but is also a dynamic factor in creating and maintaining those relationships. This process often involves the cooperation and transformation of pre-existing ideas and symbols. Ideologies often promote abstract symbols of authority such as deities, flags, and patriotism that cloud the relationship between elite interests and decision making (Cohen 1981; Edelman 1964; Mack 1983). The psychology of dominance/deference relations may also help to reinforce ideological power since humans seem to be prone to relinquishing power and autonomy to authority figures, especially during times of crisis (Becker 1973; Freud 1922; Milgram 1974; Volkan 1985). However, to the extent that people are able to penetrate a dominant ideology, elite power will fail unless supported by coercive or reciprocal forms of power.

In practice, the generation and maintenance of power may simultaneously involve aspects of coercion, reciprocity, and ideology. In addition, risk, uncertainty, and the unintended consequences of human actions often result in unforeseen outcomes (Cancian 1980; Hewitt 1983; Ortiz

1980; Vayda 1986). However, reciprocal, coercive, and ideological relationships of power should be measurable archaeologically to the degree that they become incorporated in aspects of social identities that are expressed materially and preserved in the archaeological record.

The following section examines social developments in the Valley of Oaxaca during the Late/Terminal Formative in terms of changes in social roles and statuses. This discussion provides a background for examining changes in power relations within the Valley of Oaxaca during this period.

LATE/TERMINAL FORMATIVE PERIOD SOCIAL CHANGE IN THE VALLEY OF OAXACA

While researchers have debated the precise time when a state polity arose in the Valley of Oaxaca (e.g., Blanton et al. 1982:69-71; Sanders and Nichols 1988; Spencer 1982), it is clear that social complexity increased significantly during the Late/Terminal Formative. Survey data suggest that shortly after its founding Monte Albán was the largest community in the Valley of Oaxaca (Blanton 1978; Blanton et al. 1982; Kowalewski et al. 1989). Monte Albán's political importance was reflected in its size, monumental architecture, high-status burials, and numerous carved stone monuments, including some of the earliest examples of hieroglyphic writing known for Mesoamerica (Marcus 1976, 1983a, 1992). Evidence for increasing interpolity conflict and indications that some regions were conquered by the Valley of Oaxaca, have led several researchers to argue that Monte Albán may have been the capital of a conquest empire (Marcus 1983a; Flannery 1983b; Redmond 1983; Spencer 1982).

This section examines the evidence for changes in social complexity in the Valley of Oaxaca during the initial development of the Monte Albán polity through the examination of inequality and heterogeneity. The period of interest includes Periods Ia (500-300 B.C.), Ic (300-100 B.C.), and II (100 B.C.-A.D. 200) in the Valley of Oaxaca ceramic chronology (Caso et al. 1967; Kowalewski et al. 1978).

Inequality

Archaeological data suggest that status inequalities during Periods I and II were considerably greater than previously and seem to have increased through this period (Joyce 1991:644-648; Joyce and Winter 1993). Wealth differences can be inferred from mortuary data through the analysis of variation in the quantity and quality of burial offerings, as well as the amount of energy expended in the preparation of the grave (Autry 1973;

THE VALLEY OF OAXACA

Chapman et al. 1981; Peebles and Kus 1977; Rathje 1970). Variation in the spatial distribution of high-status markers such as prestige goods (e.g., imported ceramics, greenstone), high-status burials, caches, and expensive ceramics as well as elaborate residences and other architectural features also suggest wealth differences. Inequalities in power are inferred primarily from evidence suggesting that certain individuals exerted control over the resources and labor of others.

Mortuary data from the Valley of Oaxaca suggest significant differences in status by Periods I and II (Autry 1973; Drennan 1976a: Appendix XIV; Whalen 1981:102-103, 1988:300-302; Winter 1989:40). The majority of burials at this time were interred in simple graves that occasionally lacked offerings, but which usually included from one to three ceramic vessels and at times other items such as ground stone tools, obsidian blades, and shell artifacts. A smaller number of burials, which were the interments of high-status individuals, were usually in formal tombs with abundant offerings of items such as ceramic vessels, jade, shell, and obsidian. The ceramic vessels interred with high-status individuals were also usually more elaborate than those in lower-status burials.

Disparities between elite and non-elite burials in the Valley of Oaxaca were increasingly marked from Period I to II (Acosta 1965; Autry 1973; Caso et al. 1967; Kuttruff and Autry 1978; O'Brien et al. 1982; Winter 1974). Period II tombs were usually better made than those of Period I; the latter were often made of adobe rather than stone. There also appears to have been a general increase in the wealth of offerings in elite burials during the Late/Terminal Formative, while those in low-status interments did not change significantly. Presumably, the increasing inequality in the wealth of burial offerings is a reflection of status differences during people's lives.

The distribution of probable high-status markers also suggests rising wealth differences during the Late/Terminal Formative. Elaborate ceramics were increasingly restricted to elites as demonstrated by stronger correlations between the amount of such pottery and monumental architecture at sites from Period I to II (Feinman 1980:172, 1986:368-369; Kowalewski et al. 1989:181, 195). Kowalewski and his colleagues (1989:149) argue that the high proportion of "artifact poor" sites in piedmont and rural areas, especially during Period Ic, suggest material poverty in these regions. The subsequent abandonment of piedmont settlements during Period II, due at least in part to erosion and soil depletion (Joyce and Mueller 1992; Mueller and Joyce 1993), was undoubtedly a further hardship to these communities.

While data on the size and complexity of Period I and II residences in the Valley of Oaxaca are not abundant, the available evidence also suggests status differences (Whalen 1981; Winter 1972, 1974, 1986). Late/Terminal

Formative houses excavated at the sites of Monte Albán, Tomaltepec, and Tierras Largas usually consisted of small rectangular stone foundations not exceeding 7.5 m x 4.0 m with earthen floors. The size and complexity of these non-elite households as well as the composition of associated artifacts and features were similar to patterns noted during the Middle Formative II. In contrast, elite residences included *Plataforma* 1 and *Plataforma* E at Huitzo, Household unit 1c-1 at Tomaltepec, and a house excavated at San Agustín de las Juntas were built on low platforms and had foundation walls that measured approximately 20 m on a side with plaster floors. By Period II, the first true "palace" in the Valley of Oaxaca may be represented by Structure 17 on Mound 8 at San José Mogote with dimensions exceeding 30 m on a side, a façade made of limestone blocks each weighing approximately one ton, plaster floors, and at least one sunken patio (Flannery and Marcus 1983b:113). In addition, during the Late/Terminal Formative high-status residences were increasingly set off with public buildings in elite-administrative precincts. By Period Ic, elite-administrative precincts with monumental architecture occur even at lower-order sites such as Tomaltepec (Whalen 1981, 1988; Winter 1984:194). The monumentality of public buildings also rose dramatically during this period (Acosta 1965:814-824; Flannery 1983a; Flannery and Marcus 1976a:213-221, 1983c; Winter and Joyce 1994).

A more crucial indication of rising status inequalities in the Valley of Oaxaca involves evidence for differences in power. The rising wealth of the elite during the Late/Terminal Formative demonstrate that they had the power to mobilize greater quantities of material resources such as pottery and obsidian. However, a more crucial resource that elites increasingly gained control over was human labor provided by commoners to support elites and their institutions.

The increasing power of elites to control labor in the Valley of Oaxaca must be understood in the context of demographic changes accompanying the early development of Monte Albán. By the end of Period Ia, Monte Albán was the largest site in the valley with an estimated one-third of the region's population (Kowalewski et al. 1989:107). The ability of the founders of Monte Albán to attract large numbers of followers to the previously unoccupied ridgetop demonstrates that elites already had considerable power. However, the location of Monte Albán on a barren ridgetop also suggests that elites had sufficient power to mobilize labor in surrounding areas to provision the occupants of the urban center (Feinman and Nicholas 1990:102-104). The thin soils and rocky slopes of Monte Albán would not have produced sufficient food to support the resident population (Nicholas 1989). People living at Monte Albán could have traveled down

the hillside and farmed several productive areas on the valley floor beneath the site. However, living at Monte Albán and farming the surrounding land would have been energetically more costly than remaining on the valley floor, and probably would not have solved the provisioning problem (Nicholas 1989). If the people living at Monte Albán were unable to produce sufficient food to support themselves, then they would have had to be provisioned through tribute provided by other settlements in the Valley of Oaxaca.

The problem worsened during Period Ic as estimates suggest a tripling in population in the valley, with 75% of the increase occurring in a core area within 20 km of Monte Albán (Kowalewski et al. 1989:123-126). Much of the increase in population in the core region can be attributed to expansion into the piedmont, rather than onto the valley floor. Several lines of evidence have led Blanton and his colleagues (Blanton et al. 1982:69-70; Feinman et al. 1985:345-349; Kowalewski et al. 1989:123-126) to argue that Monte Albán was provisioned by settlements in the core, especially the new piedmont sites. The evidence for the provisioning of Monte Albán through this "piedmont strategy" includes: (1) a large population living on the infertile slopes of Monte Albán (estimated at 10,200 to 20,400 for Period Ic; Blanton 1978:44); (2) settlement over much of the agricultural land surrounding the site that limited the land that could have been farmed by people from Monte Albán; (3) a large amount of monumental architecture requiring considerable non-farming labor input at the site; and (4) the development of small-scale irrigation facilities in the piedmont, thereby increasing agricultural production. The provisioning of Monte Albán and the population expansion into the piedmont may have required a shift from mono-cropping to double-cropping (Blanton et al. 1981:71; Feinman et al. 1984:173).

Agricultural expansion into the piedmont during Period Ic would have been a high-risk strategy, given both large yearly fluctuations in productivity and the greater susceptibility of the topsoil to erosion (Feinman et al. 1985:346; Kirkby 1973; Kowalewski et al. 1989). By Period II, settlement pattern data suggest that the piedmont strategy had collapsed, probably as a result of erosion and soil depletion (Joyce and Mueller 1992; Mueller and Joyce 1993; Kowalewski et al. 1989). The core area, especially the piedmont sites surrounding Monte Albán, experienced a marked drop in population, while site locations shifted away from Monte Albán and into the three arms of the valley (Blanton et al. 1982; Kowalewski et al. 1989).

In summary, the demographic data from Monte Albán suggest that the urban center was provisioned by agricultural intensification requiring greater expenditures of labor by non-elites. Monte Albán was probably provisioned primarily by people in the core region during Period I. How-

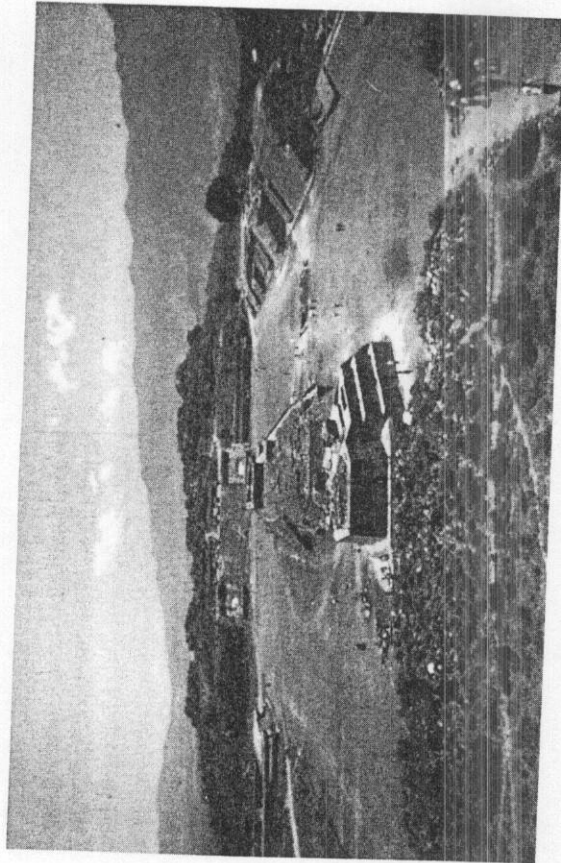


Figure 2. The Main Plaza at Monte Albán looking north from the South Platform.

ever, with the collapse of the unstable piedmont strategy during Period II, Monte Albán must have been supplied by communities elsewhere in the valley. These data suggest that by Period II the rulers of Monte Albán had established connections with elites elsewhere in the valley that allowed for the provisioning of the site. The linkage of elites is further suggested by the similarity in the form of public buildings (Flannery and Marcus 1976a; Spencer 1982:24-28) and ritual paraphernalia (e.g., urns) in the valley during Period II.

In addition to the increased agricultural output of non-elites, the massive amount of monumental architecture built at Monte Albán and smaller centers would have required large amounts of corvée labor (Acosta 1965:814-824; Blanton 1978; Flannery 1983a; Flannery and Marcus 1976a, 1983c; Kowalewski et al. 1989; Winter 1989). The North Platform area went through a major period of construction during Periods I and II (Blanton 1978:46; Caso et al. 1967:90-106; Winter and Joyce 1994). The Main Plaza at Monte Albán (Figure 2) was laid out and plastered during Period II, and would have required a tremendous labor expenditure involving both the levelling of rock outcrops and the filling of deep depressions (Acosta 1965:818). Early versions of many of the structures on the Main Plaza were begun during Period II, including Buildings G, H, I, J, and the ballcourt as well as continuing construction activities at Buildings K and M. The adulatory east of Building H and the tunnel running east from Building I were

apparently built at this time. Other sites with evidence for the construction of multiple monumental structures during Period II include San José Mogote (Flannery and Marcus 1983b), Dainzú (Bernal and Oliveros 1988), Cerro de la Campana (Kowalewski et al. 1989:182-198), and Cuilapan (Flannery and Marcus 1983d; Kowalewski et al. 1989:182-198).

In addition to their increasing inputs of tribute and labor to the elite, most non-elites also appear to have experienced a loss of economic, religious, and political autonomy. Some types of craft production were removed from local control during the Late/Terminal Formative as certain communities began to specialize in the production of pottery, chipped stone tools, salt, and lime (Feinman 1986; Feinman et al. 1984; Hewitt et al. 1987; Kowalewski et al. 1989; Parry 1987; Whalen 1988:301-304). Access to public buildings and ritual paraphernalia was also increasingly restricted to the elite (Flannery and Marcus 1976b, 1983a:82). By the end of Period II, non-elites in most settlements in the Valley of Oaxaca would have been dependent on specialists for the production of certain ceramic and lithic artifacts as well as the performance of important public rituals. The loss of autonomy by non-elites was in part related to a rising heterogeneity of social roles which included the emergence of both craft and religious specialists.

Heterogeneity

In addition to increasing inequality, rising social complexity in the Valley of Oaxaca during the Late/Terminal Formative is indicated by evidence for greater heterogeneity. This section examines the evidence for changes in heterogeneity during the Late/Terminal Formative.

The heterogeneity of non-elite social roles rose during Periods I and II in the Valley of Oaxaca with the first appearance of craft and possibly military specialists. The earliest evidence for community specialization in ceramic production dates to Period Ia (Feinman 1980, 1986; Feinman et al. 1984; Whalen 1988:301-304; Winter 1984). Ceramic production at these sites was large-scale and may reflect full-time craft specialization by at least some members of the community. Evidence of large-scale salt production has been found at the sites of Lambityeco, 30 kilometers east of Monte Albán, and Herve el Agua, 60 kilometers east of Monte Albán (Hewitt et al. 1987; Parry 1987; Winter 1984:199; however see Neely et al. 1990). Specialized quarrying and production of worked chert and onyx, lime, and certain foods may also have occurred during the Late/Terminal Formative in the Valley of Oaxaca (Winter 1984:198-200). The evidence for widespread conflict, including the possible conquest of the Cuicatlán Cañada region, sug-

gests that there may also have been military specialist roles among non-elites (Spencer 1982:243-246).

While Periods I and II were marked by the development of craft and possibly military specialists, the social roles of most people in the Valley of Oaxaca would have continued to be focused on agricultural production. The social changes of the Late/Terminal Formative, however, would have affected economic strategies within households. As discussed above, non-elite social roles, especially in the core region, would have involved an increased input of labor for agricultural production (double-cropping and small-scale irrigation) as well as *corvée* labor for the construction of monumental structures at Monte Albán. One response to these changes in social roles may have been the development of the *tortilla* as suggested by the first appearance of *comales* (ceramic griddles). *Tortillas* provided an easily transportable and durable food source suggesting a significant change in the economics of non-elite households (Blanton et al. 1981:71-72; Kowalewski et al. 1989:108; Winter 1984:213). *Tortillas* could have been transported to Monte Albán as tribute and laborers would have been able to bring their own food when working at the capital.

Craft specialization, and perhaps the development of markets, may have resulted from the increased labor demands on non-elites. Some individuals or communities may have begun to specialize in certain crafts, such as ceramics and stone tools, taking advantage of the fact that most people would have had less time to carry out the full array of productive tasks that they had previously undertaken (Feinman 1986; Feinman et al. 1984; Kowalewski et al. 1989:149-151). People would have developed markets to provide a central location to obtain products manufactured by specialists. Increased labor demands may also explain the rapid growth in population during Period I, especially in the core region. Thus, population growth may have been a result of the changes in social relations during Period I, rather than a cause of those changes as argued by cultural ecologists (Sanders and Nichols 1988:51).

Elite social roles also appear to have changed during the Late/Terminal Formative with elites increasingly monopolizing the role of religious specialists for their subjects. Data from Periods I and II suggest a significant change in access to public buildings and ritual paraphernalia. During the Early and Middle Formative public buildings were generally integrated into the community and ritual paraphernalia was distributed throughout all levels of the status hierarchy (Drennan 1983a; Flannery 1976; Flannery and Marcus 1976a). By the Late/Terminal Formative, however, there is evidence for a stronger association of elite residences and public buildings in elite-administrative precincts separated from non-elite residential areas (Flannery and Marcus 1983c; Whalen 1981:104, 1988; Winter 1974).

THE VALLEY OF OAXACA

Ethnohistoric data indicate that the public buildings in elite-administrative precincts (e.g., two-room temples and ballcourts) had religious functions (Flannery 1983c:132). Symbols and artifacts used in ritual contexts, including hieroglyphic writing, calendrics, urns, and incense burners, are found almost exclusively in elite-administrative precincts of the largest sites in the valley (Feinman 1986:365; Marcus 1976; Winter 1989:48-61). Elites or craft-people attached to elite households also probably specialized in the construction of monumental architecture and carved stones as well as certain prestige items like ceramic urns.

Ethnohistoric data indicate that prestige goods sought by elites played important roles in religious practices (King 1988; Marcus 1983b; Monaghan 1994; Nicholson 1971; Schele and Miller 1986; Spores 1984; Whitecotton 1977). For example, obsidian blades were closely associated with prehispanic ritual bloodletting. Shell and greenstone ornaments and exotic foods were also involved with ritual practices.

Architectural evidence suggests that politico-religious roles may have varied among elites. By the Terminal Formative, public buildings in the Valley of Oaxaca exhibited considerable formal and, presumably, functional differentiation (Flannery and Marcus 1976a; Spencer 1982:24-28). Three distinct types of public buildings have been recognized for Period II in the Valley of Oaxaca (Flannery and Marcus 1976a:217-219): (1) rectangular two-room temples such as at Mound X at Monte Albán and Building 13 at San José Mogote; (2) arrowhead-shaped buildings including Building J at Monte Albán and Mound O at Caballito Blanco; (3) ballcourts such as in the Main Plaza at Monte Albán and in Mound 7 at San José Mogote. This architectural variation in public buildings may reflect differences in the politico-religious decision-making roles of elites which would be consistent with the emergence of a state polity in the Valley of Oaxaca during Period II (Spencer 1982:24-28).

Overall, the data from Periods I and II suggest a significant increase in social complexity as measured by heterogeneity and inequality. Craft, religious, and possibly military specialization as well as a powerful and wealthy elite class were created and institutionalized in Valley of Oaxaca society during this period. Politico-religious authority appears to have been increasingly vested in a small number of elites. The most powerful of these elites undoubtedly resided at Monte Albán where they exercised political authority over the core region and beyond. While it may not be possible to demonstrate heterogeneity in the roles of political decision-makers and thereby determine precisely the time of state emergence, the data indicate that the *process* of state formation was well on its way during this period. In the next section, this process is examined in more detail and an explana-

tory model for Late/Terminal Formative period social development is offered based on the actor-based theoretical perspective outlined above.

THE CONSOLIDATION OF POWER AT MONTE ALBÁN

The data from the Valley of Oaxaca suggest that the behavioral strategies of elites during the Late/Terminal Formative generated increasing wealth and power. The outcome of elite strategies is consistent with the assumption that people compete to acquire resources. It is not obvious, however, why so many non-elites would have moved their homes to ecologically risky areas in and around Monte Albán and provided food and labor to the elite. I argue that a key theoretical problem raised by the early development of Monte Albán is to explain this trend in behavioral strategies of non-elites towards living in denser communities and supporting an emerging elite class, both of which were often detrimental to the former. Non-elites must have been compelled to support the social changes of the Late/Terminal Formative through reciprocity, coercion, and/or ideology. In this section, each of these factors will be assessed as a potential cause of the rising differentials in wealth and power in the Valley of Oaxaca.

Reciprocal Power

Ecological systems theory and cultural ecology often argue that elites consolidate power through the reciprocal benefits they provide by coordinating economic, military, and political matters, especially under conditions of stress (Flannery 1972; Johnson and Earle 1987; Peebles and Kus 1977:426-427; Sanders and Nichols 1988; Wright 1977). For example, when stress occurs due to factors such as population-resource imbalances and economic uncertainty, elites can act to pool and redistribute resources or redirect and intensify agricultural production. There is no evidence, however, for conditions of economic stress during the Middle Formative Rosario phase that might have provided an opportunity for the elite to manage agricultural production, storage, or distribution. Archaeologists generally agree that population in the Valley of Oaxaca was well below carrying capacity during the Rosario phase and Period Ia, and many areas of productive land remained only sparsely settled (Blanton et al. 1982:70; Feinman et al. 1985:340-348; Kowalewski 1980; Nichols 1989:491-494; Nichols et al. 1986:151-154; Sanders and Nichols 1988). Rather than ameliorating economic risk, the founding of Monte Albán seems to have caused increasing economic uncertainty and possibly localized population-re-

THE VALLEY OF OAXACA

source imbalances due to the piedmont strategy and the need to provision the hilltop center.

The management of both irrigation and market systems has also been proposed as a source of reciprocal power for elites (Sanders 1968; Sanders and Nichols 1988; Steward 1955; Wittfogel 1957). Irrigation in the Valley of Oaxaca, however, was never more than small-scale and there is no evidence that the management of irrigation systems by elites had a significant unifying effect (O'Brien et al. 1982; Flannery 1983d). Craft specialization and markets did not cause, but rather appear to have resulted from Late/Terminal Formative social change. Craft specialization and markets probably resulted from increasing demands on rural producers during Period I (Feinman et al. 1984; Kowalewski et al. 1989), rather than the direct promotion of these new economic relationships by the elite. While lower-level elites may have influenced local production and market relations, Kowalewski and his colleagues (1983, 1989:199) conclude that the most powerful elites at Monte Albán apparently had little direct control over these matters.

Once Monte Albán was established, the most likely economic problem requiring administrative input would have been the provisioning of the site's occupants (Blanton et al. 1982; Feinman et al. 1985; Kowalewski 1980; Nichols 1989; Nicholas et al. 1986). The dense settlement in the core region during Period Ic would have further limited the land available to farmers living at Monte Albán. Population expansion and agricultural intensification in the piedmont would have increased the economic interdependence of these communities because of the year-to-year uncertainty of piedmont farming (Nicholas 1989). The elite at Monte Albán could have served a reciprocal role by administering the provisioning of the hilltop center as well as managing risk and social conflict in the piedmont communities. This hypothesis is supported by a distributional analysis of elite/administrative centers that suggests Monte Albán elites directly administered most of the core region during Period Ic (Kowalewski et al. 1989:138). The promotion of economic interdependence by the elite would have been a logical strategy in the consolidation of power in the Valley of Oaxaca, but it does not explain why non-elites would have acquiesced to these materially unfavorable economic relationships.

Coercive Power

Coercion seems to be unlikely as the primary source of elite power during the Late/Terminal Formative. Several researchers have argued that the rulers of Monte Albán initiated a series of extraregional conquests in order to provision themselves and their subjects through tribute extraction

following the collapse of the piedmont strategy (Kowalewski et al. 1989:198-200; Spencer 1982:210-211). The cost of conquering and administering hinterland regions, however, coupled with the inefficiency of interregional transport of subsistence goods (Drennan 1984), would have made the provisioning of Monte Albán through interregional conquest highly risky, if not impossible (Feinman and Nicholas 1990:232; Joyce 1991:590-592). If the elite of Monte Albán had the political authority to raise an imperial army to subjugate hinterland regions, it seems more likely that they could have coerced people within the valley to provide tribute (Sanders and Nichols 1988:73).

It appears that Monte Albán must have been provisioned primarily through tribute payments from people within the valley. It is unlikely, however, that coercion through military force could have been the primary means through which people were initially compelled to migrate to Monte Albán, or the core region, and pay tribute in the form of crops and labor. This would have required a large, well-organized military force which probably would have been beyond the capacity of Rosario phase or Period Ia polities in the Valley of Oaxaca. In addition, there is no evidence for a forced resettlement of people or for widespread conflict before the formation of Monte Albán. Coercion through military force, however, may have been an instrument for neutralizing competing elites within the valley.

Ritual and Ideological Power

Instead of reciprocal or coercive power, I argue that elite power during the Late/Terminal Formative resulted from ideological changes, probably initiated by elites, that resulted in their emerging role as ritual specialists. The ritual role of elites gave them a greater ability to influence the workings of the natural and supernatural world and to intercede on the behalf of non-elites (Conrad and Demarest 1984; Demarest 1992; Freidel and Schele 1988; Grove and Gillespie 1992a; King 1988; Masson et al. 1992; Monaghan 1990, 1994; Orr 1993; Schele and Freidel 1990; Spores 1983a). Elites served as mediators with the forces that controlled the cosmos, acting on behalf of their followers through the practice of certain rituals such as bloodletting, human sacrifice, divination, and shamanistic transformation. Political power and wealth resulted from religious practices, since non-elites provided productive resources, such as foodstuffs and labor, to the elite often in ritualized contexts which supported the elite and their special abilities to affect the cosmos. Since these affairs were tied intimately to production, health, and well-being, the intervention of elites counterbalanced the loss of resources by non-elites. This created a situation of material obligation and deference on the part of non-elites towards elites.

Power through religious ideology has deep roots in Mesoamerican culture and predates the founding of Monte Albán (Drennan 1976b; 1983a; Flannery and Marcus 1983c:64; Grove and Gillespie 1992a, 1992b). Grove and Gillespie (1992a) argue that high-status was legitimated by the ritual role of elites as far back as the Early Formative (1500-800 B.C.), especially in the Gulf coast lowlands. Religious ritual may be fundamental to power relations in chiefdoms since elite power appears to be dependent on public demonstrations of sanctity and sacred knowledge, especially the ritual redistribution of prestige goods (Earle 1991; Feinman 1991; Helms 1979, 1988; Steponaitis 1991; Sahlins 1958; Service 1975:291-296). Prestige goods signify sanctity and status, and often are seen as containing an "inherent" sacred value (Helms 1979). Chiefs obtain prestige goods through the efforts of a retinue of craft specialists and/or obtain them by long distance exchange with other elites. In part, the ritual power of non-local prestige goods is often seen as the result of their having originated from a distant sacred place (Helms 1987). If chiefs are unable to provide sufficient quantities of prestige goods, then their sanctity is suspect and their deceptive power is compromised, making them vulnerable to uprisings by lower-status chiefs (see Earle 1978:171-184; Goldman 1970; Helms 1979:24-37). In this sense, prestige goods can be considered the currency of power in chiefly societies.

Archaeological and ethnohistorical data from Oaxaca are consistent with the existence of religious ideologies similar to that discussed above for chiefdoms. Intersite and intrasite comparisons of the distribution of exotics for the Middle/Late Formative in the Valley of Oaxaca (Blanton et al. 1982:57; Drennan 1976a:133; Pires-Ferreira 1975:35; Winter 1984:201; Whalen 1981:74, 85-87) and in other nearby regions (Feinman and Nicholas 1993; Joyce 1991:272-281; Redmond 1983:73-81; Spencer 1982:167-174; Spores 1974; Winter 1984:206-207; Zeitlin 1993) are consistent with the mutual exchange and preferential control of prestige goods by elites. An ideology involving the ritualistic control of nature is suggested in ethnohistoric data from Oaxaca (Marcus 1983b; Monaghan 1994; Paso y Troncoso 1982:217-218; Spores 1983a, 1983b, 1984) as well as other regions of Mesoamerica (Durán 1964:112; Conrad and Demarest 1984). Elites extracted tribute from commoners at least in part to sponsor religious ceremonies and support practitioners (Monaghan 1994; Spores 1984:74-75). Using ethnohistoric data, Monaghan (1994) has shown in detail how prehispanic Mixtec elites used religion and especially ritual sacrifice to extract resources from the citizenry in exchange for insuring the fertility of the natural world.

The existence of an ideology involving redistribution of prestige goods as well as the ritualistic control of natural and supernatural forces would

explain the actions of non-elites in the Valley of Oaxaca at the beginning of Period I. The establishment of a politico-religious center at Monte Albán would have drawn followers interested in maintaining good relations with natural and supernatural powers through their participation in the ritually important network of redistribution (see Helms 1979; Millon 1974; Sanders and Webster 1988). Since the elite controlled the acquisition of prestige goods and represented the apex of the redistributive/ritual network, their movement to Monte Albán would have provided a strong inducement for non-elites to relocate.

The early years of Monte Albán, however, involved more than simply the migration of elites and their followers. The increasingly restricted association of ritual paraphernalia with indications of high-status during Periods I and II suggests that the elite manipulated the pre-existing ideology so that primarily only they administered religious affairs (see Flannery and Marcus 1976b:383). Elites acted as ritual specialists, and would have directed the most important public ceremonies, although non-elites continued to perform private, household rituals much as they do today throughout Mesoamerica. It appears that rather than participating, albeit as inferiors, in a ritual redistributive network, by Period II the role of non-elites in public ceremonies was primarily to provide tribute to the elite to assure that natural and supernatural forces were appeased. Prestige goods like greenstone artifacts, obsidian eccentrics, urns, and elaborate shell ornaments continued to be exchanged in ritualized contexts among the elite. Yet as symbols of the separateness of royalty, exotics may have been less available to commoners than previously. The increasing control of ritual knowledge and authority by the elite would have given them greater power to convince people to relocate and provide tribute in the form of agricultural surpluses and *corvée* labor.

The ideological transformation of the Late/Terminal Formative almost certainly involved the sanctification of elite social roles and/or the religious institutions that they controlled (see Drennan 1976b:348). Elites consolidated power by making their role as ritual specialists part of the sacred, unquestionable assumptions of the Zapotec ethos. The most sacred of institutions may have been the Monte Albán hilltop itself, which visually and perhaps symbolically dominated the valley. Throughout Mesoamerica hilltops were often seen as sacred places and several scholars have argued that prehispanic pyramids were representations of sacred hills (Schele and Freidel 1990). The Zapotec place glyph, seen earliest in the Period II "quest-slabs" from Building J, is in the form of a hill. The founding of Monte Albán was probably a key event in the ideological transformations at the end of the Formative.

The sanctity of the elite was expressed by the development of highly standardized and elaborate forms of symbolic expression that represented a growing body of esoteric knowledge accessible only to the elite, thereby restricting non-elite ritual participation. The most elaborate symbolic expressions involved hieroglyphic and calendric inscriptions as well as an interest in marking astronomical phenomena. Late/Terminal Formative hieroglyphic inscriptions relating to the 365-day solar calendar occurred at Monte Albán and may have been linked to the pre-existing 260-day ritual calendar, producing the first example of the 52-year calendar round (Marcus 1976). The Late/Terminal Formative also marks the earliest appearance of pottery vessels with representations of Cocijo, the Zapotec god of lighting. Representations of Cocijo occur only on elaborate vessels, including urns, usually recovered from high-status burials, public buildings, or elite residences (Caso and Bernal 1952; Caso et al. 1967). Ethnohistoric sources show that Cocijo was perhaps the most powerful Zapotec supernatural, with control over natural forces such as clouds, wind, and rain (Marcus 1983b). Cocijo also figured prominently in the Zapotec calendar. Many lords took Cocijo as part of their name, and royalty, especially royal ancestors, were seen as having special relationships with this deity. Therefore, literacy, calendric and astronomical knowledge, as well as associations with Cocijo were symbols of an emerging elite identity separate from that of commoners. In addition, there were almost certainly elements of dress and speech that visibly set Zapotec elites apart from commoners.

Militarism and Ideological Power

In addition to the ritual responsibilities of elites, the coordination of defensive measures may have served as a source of power and an inducement for people to surrender autonomy and tribute. In the Valley of Oaxaca, evidence for militaristic and defensive considerations occur at Monte Albán beginning with the earliest phase of occupation (Joyce 1994b; Joyce and Winter 1993). The central position of Monte Albán within the valley and its elevation above the valley floor made it an excellent location for both political control and defense (Figure 3). Militaristic themes are depicted in carved stones from the Main Plaza at Monte Albán (Figure 4). During Period I more than 310 carved stones were erected in the Main Plaza that seem to represent themes of conflict (Scott 1978). These carved stones, known as the "danzantes," were arranged as an outside gallery set into Building L, a monumental public structure. The *danzantes* depict male figures in various contorted positions and often include brief hieroglyphic inscriptions. Considering general iconographic conventions in prehispanic

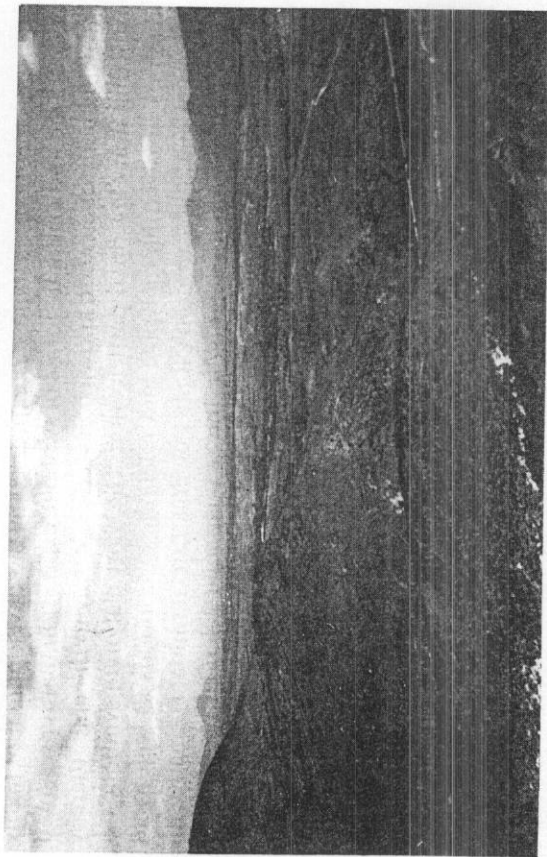


Figure 3. View of the Valley of Oaxaca looking north from Monte Albán's Main Plaza. The hills in the foreground are part of Monte Albán.

Mesoamerica, the most reasonable interpretations of the *danzantes* are that they depict slain or sacrificed individuals (Coe 1962; Marcus 1976, 1983a).

Evidence for militaristic concerns at Monte Albán continues, and perhaps intensifies, during the Terminal Formative. At the end of Period Ic or during Period II defensive considerations are attested by the construction of a wall around the north, northwest, and part of the western sides of Monte Albán proper (Blanton 1978:52-54). Construction of the Period II ballcourt in the Main Plaza at Monte Albán might also reflect military activities since the prehispanic ballgame seems to have acted as a boundary mechanism symbolically expressing and resolving both inter- and intrasocietal conflict (Gillespie 1991; Schele and Miller 1986). During Period II another set of over 50 carved stones depicting militaristic themes was erected in the Main Plaza. These carved stones, known as "conquest slabs," were inset in Building J on the Main Plaza and have been interpreted as depictions of places conquered by and/or paying tribute to Monte Albán (Caso 1947; Marcus 1976, 1983a, 1992:394-400).

The creation of over 360 carved stones depicting themes of conflict during the Late/Terminal Formative at Monte Albán is consistent with elites promoting the perception of external threats. The carved stones from the main plaza at Monte Albán represent the largest single corpus of carved stone monuments for Formative Mesoamerica and constitute approxi-

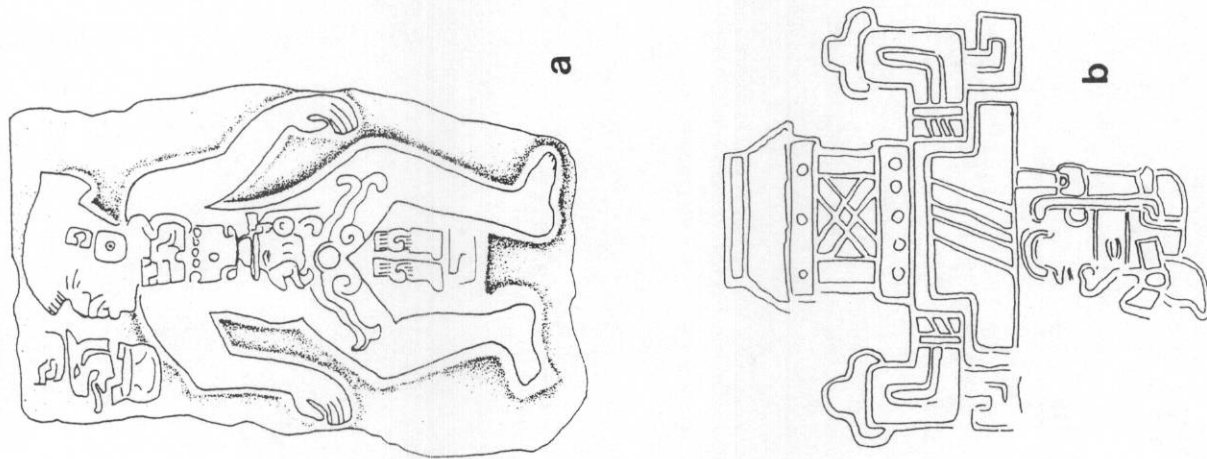


Figure 4. Late/Terminal Formative carved stones from the Main Plaza at Monte Albán: a = *danzante* D55 (redrawn from Scott 1978); b = glyph from the Building J conquest slab (Lápida 4; redrawn from Caso 1947).

mately 90% of the total monument record from Monte Albán (see Marcus 1974). Marcus states:

This early effort probably coincides with the time when the rulers of Monte Albán would have felt the greatest need to legitimize their power and sanctify their position. Perhaps by creating a large gallery of prisoners, they were able to convince both their enemies and their own population of their power, although it was not yet institutionalized or completely effective (1974:90).

Thus, the *danzantes* and the conquest slabs would have carried with them a forceful message of the consequences of opposing the elite, either from within or without. The construction of defensive walls around Monte Albán would have gone beyond their most obvious utility (i.e., to keep enemies out), serving also as a form of propaganda promoting the external threat and enhancing messages of control and exclusivity of the precinct.

Conflict with polities outside the Valley of Oaxaca is supported by evidence for the conquest of the Cuicatlán Cañada region by Monte Albán (Redmond 1983; Spencer 1982). Other regions such as the Ejutla and Miahuatlán Valleys and mountainous areas near the Oaxaca Valley may have been integrated into the Monte Albán polity (Drennan 1983b; Feinman and Nicholas 1990:230-234; Winter 1989:63). In the Mixteca Alta and Baja regions as well as in the Tehuacán Valley there is evidence for an increase in interpolity conflict, although the identity of the combatants has not been determined (Joyce 1991:563-567, 593-594).

The promotion of external threats may have provided the rulers of Monte Albán with another source of ideological power. The presence of an external threat provides elites with power through the organization of military measures including the formation of an army and the construction of defensive works. External threats also tend to unify the populace and unite them around their rulers. To the degree that the threats are real and unprovoked the elite are acting in a reciprocal fashion with non-elites for collective defense. However, these conditions also make it advantageous for the elite to promote the perception of external threats through propaganda in order to extract resources from commoners. While the promotion of the threat often leads to actual conflict, the nature of elite power under these circumstances is ideological and potentially coercive. Several studies on state formation in Western Europe have focused on the promotion of perceived external threats as a means to power (Bean 1973; Lane 1966; Tilly 1975, 1985). Tilly states:

To the extent that the threats against which a given government protects its citizens are imaginary or are consequences of its own activities, the government has organized a protection racket. Since governments themselves commonly simulate, stimulate, or even fabricate threats of external war and since the repressive and extractive activities of governments often

constitute the largest current threats to the livelihoods of their own citizens, many governments operate in essentially the same way as racketeers (1985:171).

Viewed in this way, the promotion of interpolity conflict in the Valley of Oaxaca would have been beneficial to the elite, regardless of the quantity of resources obtained from conquered or intimidated regions.

Ideology and Power at Monte Albán

The two main sources of elite power, religion and warfare, were part of a complex ideology. Archaeological and ethnohistoric data demonstrate that religion and warfare were interconnected throughout prehispanic Mesoamerica (Conrad and Demarest 1984; Freidel 1986; Schele 1984; Schele and Miller 1986; Sugiyama 1993). In Tilly's terminology, the linkage of militarism with religion provides the elite with two types of protection rackets. The promotion of interpolity conflict allowed elites to provide protection from external human threats. The control of ritual knowledge and authority allowed the elite to provide protection from natural and supernatural threats. A major link between religion and warfare with deep roots in prehispanic Mesoamerica was the ritual sacrifice of war captives (Boone 1984; Freidel 1986).

There is some evidence to suggest that religion and warfare might have been linked in a similar fashion during the Late/Terminal Formative in Oaxaca. If the *danzantes* represent sacrificed war captives then the sacrifices may have taken place among the monumental public buildings of the main plaza in ritual contexts (Marcus 1992:394; Masson et al. 1992). The *danzantes* also included some of the earliest hieroglyphic texts and calendar dates known for Mesoamerica, further suggesting considerable ritual significance (Flannery and Marcus 1983c; Marcus 1992). The appearance of ballcourts during Period II may also reflect the linkage between religion and warfare (Orr 1993). Ballcourts seem to have been involved in boundary maintenance with other competing polities and between elite and non-elite segments of society (Gillespie 1991; Kowalewski et al. 1991; Trinkaus 1987).

In summary, many of the social changes of the Late/Terminal Formative in the Valley of Oaxaca were the result of an elite strategy to consolidate power that was facilitated by ideological change (Joyce 1991; Joyce and Winter 1993). This ideological transformation involved the promotion of interpolity conflict and the increasing control of ritual knowledge and authority by the elite. Both of these factors could have convinced non-elites to provide greater amounts of resources in return for the apparent protective services of the elite. The promotion of external threats would have

allowed elites to extract resources for the organization of military measures, including formation of an army and construction of defensive works. The control of ritual knowledge and authority would have allowed the elite to provide protection from perceived natural and supernatural threats. This ideology created and legitimated the power of the elite to exploit resources more successfully from non-elites, leading directly to rising status inequalities and, indirectly, to increasing heterogeneity, population growth, and interpolity conflict.

CONCLUSIONS

The changes in sociopolitical organization, religion, and warfare of the Late/Terminal Formative represent the beginnings of a pattern that reached its apogee with the Classic Period state in the Valley of Oaxaca (Flannery and Marcus 1983f; Joyce and Winter 1993; Kowalewski et al. 1989; Winter 1974, 1989). Evidence for many of the features that have been used to define the state first occur in the Valley of Oaxaca by Period II (see Flannery and Marcus 1983a; Redmond 1983; Spencer 1982). These features include: emergence of distinct social strata, political centralization, elite control of a centralized religion, elite control of production in the form of tribute extraction, elite sponsored warfare, and a four-tiered administrative hierarchy. It seems clear from discussions in the preceding pages that the Valley of Oaxaca was well on its way to state formation during this period.

This article views the emergence of an urban, state society in the Valley of Oaxaca as resulting from changes in behavioral strategies of social actors as well as the cultural and ecological conditions that affected them. While I have focused on the role of ideology in state formation, it does not mean that I see ecological and economic factors as unimportant. Obviously, large populations with complex social organization arose in regions like the Valley of Oaxaca because of productive ecological conditions. Economic factors like craft specialization, exchange, markets, and tribute extraction were also clearly crucial in state formation and development.

I argue, however, that the manipulation of ideology was a driving force behind the origins of the state because it created and legitimated unequal social and economic relations. The ideological changes of the Late/Terminal Formative allowed elites to extract resources, leading to rising inequalities, a key element in state formation. Elite strategies involved the manipulation of ideology so that they increasingly took on the role of ritual specialist, acting as mediators between commoners and the divine forces that were believed to control the cosmos. The special ritual role of the elite created and legitimated their political power and convinced commoners to

provide materials and labor as tribute. Ideology compelled people to move to urban centers and into ecologically unstable piedmont areas, both of which had economic and ecological consequences. Elites also appear to have promoted conflict as a means of unifying people and extracting resources for military measures.

While elite strategies were successful in mobilizing resources, non-elites pursued their own strategies. Archaeologically visible changes in social roles of most non-elites involved practicing more intensive forms of agriculture and providing *corvée* labor to the elite. The benefit in terms of resource acquisition that the change in non-elite social roles ostensibly accomplished was to assure the "protective" services of their rulers. In the cultural milieu in which they were operating, non-elites were gaining both the ritual services of the elites as well as protection from human enemies. Of course, non-elites probably got few material resources in return for their investment since the elite had little empirical control over natural forces and may have been exaggerating the threat of interpolity conflict for their own ends. With many non-elites increasingly focused on intensive agriculture and *corvée* labor, an opportunity arose for some people to specialize in the production of certain craft goods. Specialization may also have allowed some commoners to avoid paying other kinds of tribute to nobles such as *corvée* labor. The emergence of these economic specialists increased the heterogeneity of non-elite social roles.

The ideological transformation of the Late/Terminal Formative was part of a changing world view into which commoners and elites alike were enculturated. These ideological changes grew out of an ethos with deep roots in prehispanic Mesoamerica. Evidence from the Early and Middle Formative suggest that elites were viewed as having had special ritual abilities (Grove and Gillespie 1992a), although they did not monopolize ritual authority to the extent that they would during later periods. From an archaeological perspective it is difficult to assess the degree to which the changing ideologies of the Late/Terminal Formative were radical breaks with the past for the actual actors. There is evidence for continuity in ideological themes such as sacrifice and the sacred value of exotic goods. Nevertheless, ideological change during the Late/Terminal Formative was a key factor in the rise of the Monte Albán state which would continue to flourish and develop until the end of the Classic period.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I would like to thank Wendy Ashmore, Henri J. M. Claessen, Arthur Demarest, Annabeth Headrick, John Monaghan, Heather Orr, Damon

Peeler, and Marcus Winter for discussions concerning the ideas contained in this chapter. I also want to thank Linda Manzanilla for inviting me to participate in this volume. The article was written while the author was a Kalbfleisch Research Fellow at the American Museum of Natural History. An earlier version of the paper was presented at the 59th Annual Meeting of the Society for American Archaeology, Anaheim, California.

REFERENCES

- Acosta, J. G., 1965, Preclassic and Classic architecture of Oaxaca, in: *Handbook of Middle American Indians*, vol. 3: *Archaeology of Southern Mesoamerica*, part 2 (R. Wauchope and G. R. Willey, eds.), University of Texas Press, Austin, pp. 814-836.
- Alexander, R. D. and G. Borgia, 1978, Group selection, altruism, and the levels of organization of life, *Annual Review of Ecology and Systematics* 9:449-474.
- Athens, J. S., 1977, Theory building and the study of evolutionary process in complex society, in: *For Theory Building in Archaeology* (L. R. Binford, ed.), Academic Press, New York, pp. 353-384.
- Autry, W. O., Jr., 1973, *Post Formative Burial Practices: Valley of Oaxaca, Mexico*. Unpublished honors thesis; University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill.
- Bean, R., 1973, War and the birth of the nation state. *Journal of Economic History* 33:203-221.
- Becker, E., 1973, *The Denial of Death*, The Free Press, New York.
- Bernal, I. and A. Oliveros, 1988, *Exploraciones arqueológicas en Dainzú, Oaxaca*. Colección Científica 167 Instituto Nacional de Antropología e Historia, Mexico.
- Blanton, R. E., 1978, *Monte Albán: Settlement Patterns at the Ancient Zapotec Capital*, Academic Press, New York.
- Blanton, R. E., 1980, Cultural ecology reconsidered. *American Antiquity* 45, 1:145-151.
- Blanton, R. E., 1990, Theory and practice in Mesoamerican archaeology: A comparison of two modes of scientific inquiry, in: *Debating Oaxaca Archaeology* (J. Marcus, ed.), Museum of Anthropology, University of Michigan Anthropological Papers 84, Ann Arbor, pp. 1-16.
- Blanton, R. E., S. A. Kowalewski, G. Feinman, and J. Appel, 1981, *Ancient Mesoamerica: A Comparison of Change in Three Regions*. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.
- Blanton, R. E., S. A. Kowalewski, G. Feinman, and J. Appel, 1982, *Monte Albán's Hinterland, part I: Prehispanic Settlement Patterns of the Central and Southern Parts of the Valley of Oaxaca, Mexico*. Prehistory and Human Ecology of the Valley of Oaxaca, vol. 7, Memoirs of the University of Michigan Museum of Anthropology 15, Ann Arbor.
- Blau, P. M., 1977, *Inequality and Heterogeneity: A Primitive Theory of Social Structure*. The Free Press, New York.
- Bloch, M. (editor), 1975, *Marxist Analysis and Social Anthropology*. Malaby Press, London.
- Boone, E. (editor), 1984, *Ritual Human Sacrifice in Mesoamerica*. Dumbarton Oaks, Washington, D.C.
- Brumfield, E. M., 1983, Aztec state making: Ecology, structure, and the origin of the state. *American Anthropologist* 85, 2:261-284.
- Brumfield, E. M., 1992, Distinguished lecture in archaeology: Breaking and entering the ecosystem-gender, class, and faction steal the show. *American Anthropologist* 94, 3:551-567.
- Cancian, E., 1980, Risk and uncertainty in agricultural decision-making. In *Agricultural Decision Making* (P. F. Bartlett, ed.), Academic Press, New York, pp. 161-176.
- Caso, A., 1947, Calendario y escritura de las antiguas culturas de Monte Albán. *Obras completas de Miguel Otón de Mendizábal*, 1, 116-143, Mexico.
- Caso, A. and I. Bernal, 1952, *Urnas de Oaxaca*. Memorias del Instituto Nacional de Antropología e Historia 2, Mexico.
- Caso, A., I. Bernal, and J. R. Acosta, 1967, *La cerámica de Monte Albán*. Memorias del Instituto Nacional de Antropología e Historia 13, Mexico.
- Chapman, R., I. Kinnes, and K. Randsborg, 1981, *The Archaeology of Death*. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.
- Coe, M. D., 1962, *Mexico*. Praeger, New York.
- Cohen, A., 1981, *The Politics of Elite Culture*. University of California Press, Berkeley.
- Colinvaux, P. A., 1973, *Introduction to Ecology*. Wiley, New York.
- Conrad, G. W. and A. A. Demarest, 1984, *Religion and Empire: The Dynamics of Aztec and Inca Expansionism*. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.
- Demarest, A. A., 1989, Ideology and evolutionism in American Archaeology: Looking beyond the economic base, in: *Archaeological Thought in America* (C. C. Lamberg-Karlovsky, ed.), Cambridge University Press, New York, pp. 89-102.
- Demarest, A. A., 1992, Ideology in ancient Maya cultural evolution: The dynamics of Galactic Politics, in: *Ideology and Pre-Columbian Civilizations* (A. A. Demarest and G. W. Conrad, eds.), Sante Fe, NM, pp. 135-158.
- Drennan, R. D., 1976a, *Fábrica San José and Middle Formative Society in the Valley of Oaxaca*. Prehistory and Human Ecology of the Valley of Oaxaca, vol. 4, Memoirs of the University of Michigan Museum of Anthropology 8, Ann Arbor.
- Drennan, R. D., 1976b, Religion and social evolution in Formative Mesoamerica, in: *The Early Mesoamerican Village* (K. V. Flannery, ed.), Academic Press, New York, pp. 345-368.
- Drennan, R. D., 1983a, Ritual and ceremonial development at the early village level, in: *The Cloud People: Divergent Evolution of the Zapotec and Mixtec Civilizations* (K. V. Flannery and J. Marcus, eds.), Academic Press, New York, pp. 46-50.
- Drennan, R. D., 1983b, Monte Albán I and II settlement in the mountain survey zone between the valleys of Oaxaca and Nochitlán. In *The Cloud People: Divergent Evolution of the Zapotec and Mixtec Civilizations* (K. V. Flannery and J. Marcus, eds.), Academic Press, New York, pp. 110-111.
- Drennan, R. D., 1984, Long-Distance movement of goods in the Mesoamerican Formative and Classic. *American Antiquity* 49, 1:27-43.
- Dunnell, R. C., 1980, Evolutionary theory and archaeology, in: *Advances in Archaeological Method and Theory* (Vol. III) (M. B. Schiffer, ed.), Academic Press, New York, pp. 35-99.
- Durán, D., 1964, *The Aztecs: The History of the Indies of New Spain*. Translated by D. Heyden and F. Horcasitas. Orion Press, New York.
- Earle, T., 1978, *Economic and Social Organization of a Complex Chiefdom: The Halelea District, Kauai, Hawaii*. Museum of Anthropology, University of Michigan Anthropological Papers 64, Ann Arbor.
- Earle, T., 1991, The evolution of chiefdoms, in: *Chiefdoms: Power, Economy, and Ideology* (T. Earle, ed.), Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.
- Edelman, M., 1964, *The Symbolic Uses of Politics*. University of Illinois Press, Urbana.
- Feinman, G. M., 1980, *The Relationship between Administrative Organizations and Ceramic Production in the Valley of Oaxaca, Mexico*. Ph.D. dissertation, Department of Anthropology, City University of New York, New York.
- Feinman, G. M., 1986, The emergence of specialized ceramic production in Formative Oaxaca, in: *Economic Aspects of Prehispanic Highland Mexico* (B. Isaac, ed.), JAI Press, Greenwich, pp. 347-373.

- Feinman, G., 1991, Demography, surplus, and inequality: Early political formations in highland Mesoamerica, in: *Chiefdoms: Power, Economy, and Ideology* (T. Earle, ed.), Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, pp. 229-262.
- Feinman, G. M., R. E. Blanton, and S. A. Kowalewski, 1984, Market system development in the prehispanic Valley of Oaxaca, Mexico, in: *Trade and Exchange in Early Mesoamerica* (K. G. Hirth, ed.), University of New Mexico Press, Albuquerque, pp. 157-178.
- Feinman, G. M., S. A. Kowalewski, L. Finsten, R. E. Blanton, and L. Nicholas, 1985, Long-term demographic change: A perspective from the Valley of Oaxaca, *Journal of Field Archaeology* 12:333-362.
- Feinman, G. M. and L. M. Nicholas, 1990, At the margins of the Monte Albán state: Settlement patterns in the Ejutla Valley, Oaxaca, Mexico, *Latin American Antiquity* 1:3-216-246.
- Feinman, G. M. and L. M. Nicholas, 1993, Shell-ornament production in Ejutla: Implications for highland-coastal interaction in Ancient Oaxaca, *Ancient Mesoamerica* 4:103-119.
- Flannery, K. V., 1972, The cultural evolution of civilizations, *Annual Review of Ecology and Systematics* 3:399-426.
- Flannery, K. V., 1976, Contextual analysis of ritual paraphernalia from Formative Oaxaca, in: *The Early Mesoamerican Village* (K. V. Flannery, ed.), Academic Press, New York, pp. 333-345.
- Flannery, K. V., 1983a, The development of Monte Albán's Main Plaza in Period II, in: *The Cloud People: Divergent Evolution of the Zapotec and Mixtec Civilizations*. (K. V. Flannery and J. Marcus, eds.), Academic Press, New York, pp. 102-104.
- Flannery, K. V., 1983b, Monte Negro: A reinterpretation, in: *The Cloud People: Divergent Evolution of the Zapotec and Mixtec Civilizations* (K. V. Flannery and J. Marcus, eds.), Academic Press, New York, pp. 99-102.
- Flannery, K. V., 1983c, The legacy of the Early Urban period: An ethnohistoric approach to Monte Albán's temples, residences, and royal tombs, in: *The Cloud People: Divergent Evolution of the Zapotec and Mixtec Civilizations*. (K. V. Flannery and J. Marcus, eds.), Academic Press, New York, pp. 99-102.
- Flannery, K. V., 1983d, Precolumbian farming in the Valleys of Oaxaca, Nochixtlán, Tehuacan, and Cuicatlan: A Comparative Study, in: *The Cloud People: Divergent Evolution of the Zapotec and Mixtec Civilizations* (K. V. Flannery and J. Marcus, eds.), Academic Press, New York, pp. 323-338.
- Flannery, K. V. and J. Marcus, 1976a, Evolution of the public building in Formative Oaxaca, in: *Cultural Change and Continuity: Essays in Honor of James Bennett Griffin* (C. E. Cleland, ed.), Academic Press, New York, pp. 205-221.
- Flannery, K. V. and J. Marcus, 1976b, Formative Oaxaca and the Zapotec cosmos, *American Scientist* 64:374-383.
- Flannery, K. V. and J. Marcus, 1983a, Editors' introduction: The origins of the state in Oaxaca, in: *The Cloud People: Divergent Evolution of the Zapotec and Mixtec Civilizations* (K. V. Flannery and J. Marcus, eds.), Academic Press, New York, pp. 79-83.
- Flannery, K. V. and J. Marcus, 1983b, San José Mogote in Monte Albán II: A secondary administrative center, in: *The Cloud People: Divergent Evolution of the Zapotec and Mixtec Civilizations* (K. V. Flannery and J. Marcus, eds.), Academic Press, New York, pp. 111-113.
- Flannery, K. V. and J. Marcus, 1983c, The earliest public buildings, tombs, and monuments of Monte Albán with notes on the internal chronology of Period I, in: *The Cloud People: Divergent Evolution of the Zapotec and Mixtec Civilizations* (K. V. Flannery and J. Marcus, eds.), Academic Press, New York, pp. 91-96.

- Flannery, K. V. and J. Marcus, 1983d, Cuicatlán, in: *The Cloud People: Divergent Evolution of the Zapotec and Mixtec Civilizations* (K. V. Flannery and J. Marcus, eds.), Academic Press, New York, pp. 204-206.
- Flannery, K. V. and J. Marcus, 1983e, The growth of site hierarchies in the Valley of Oaxaca: Part I, in: *The Cloud People: Divergent Evolution of the Zapotec and Mixtec Civilizations* (K. V. Flannery and J. Marcus, eds.), Academic Press, New York, pp. 53-64.
- Flannery, K. V. and J. Marcus (editors), 1983f, *The Cloud People: Divergent Evolution of the Zapotec and Mixtec Civilizations*. New York: Academic Press.
- Freidel, D. A., 1986, Maya warfare: An example of peer-polity interaction, in: *Peer Polity Interaction and Socio-Political Change* (C. Renfrew and J. F. Cherry, eds.), Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, pp. 93-108.
- Freidel, D. A. and L. Schele, 1988, Kingship in the Late Preclassic Maya Lowlands, *American Anthropologist* 90:3:547-567.
- Freud, S., 1922, *Group Psychology and the Analysis of the Ego*. Norton, New York.
- Friedman, J. and M. Rowlands, 1978, Notes towards an epigenetic model of the evolution of civilization, in: *The Evolution of Social Systems* (J. Friedman and M. Rowlands, eds.), University of Pittsburgh Press, Pittsburgh, pp. 201-278.
- Giddens, A., 1979, *Central Problems in Social Theory*. University of California Press, Berkeley.
- Gillespie, S. D., 1991, Ballgames and boundaries, in: *The Mesoamerican Ballgame* (V. L. Scarborough and D. R. Wilcox, eds.), The University of Arizona Press, Tucson, pp. 317-346.
- Godelier, M., 1978, Infrastructures, societies, and history, *Current Anthropology* 19:763-771.
- Goldman, I., 1970, *Ancient Polynesian Society*. University of Chicago Press, Chicago.
- Grafen, A., 1984, Natural Selection, Kin Selection and Group Selection, in: *Behavioral Ecology: An Evolutionary Approach* (J. R. Krebs and N. B. Davies, eds.), Sinauer, Sunderland, pp. 62-84.
- Grove, D. C. and S. D. Gillespie, 1992a, Ideology and evolution at the pre-state level: Formative Period Mesoamerica, in: *Ideology and precolumbian civilizations* (A. A. Demarest and G. W. Conrad, eds.), School of American Research Press, Santa Fe, NM, pp. 15-36.
- Grove, D. C. and S. D. Gillespie, 1992b, Archaeological indicators of formative period elites: A perspective from central Mexico, in: *Mesoamerican Elites: An Archaeological Assessment* (D. Z. Chase and A. F. Chase, eds.), University of Oklahoma Press, Norman and London, pp. 191-205.
- Helm, M. W., 1979, *Ancient Panama: Chiefs in Search of Power*. University of Texas Press, Austin.
- Helm, M. W., 1987, Thoughts on public symbols and distant domains relevant to the chiefdoms of lower Central America. Paper presented at the Conference on Wealth and Hierarchy in the Intermediate Area, Dumbarton Oaks, Washington, D.C.
- Helm, M. W., 1988, *Ulysses' Sail*. Princeton University Press, Princeton, NJ.
- Hewitt, K., 1983, *Interpretations of Calamity*. Allen & Unwin Inc., Boston.
- Hewitt, W. P., M. C. Winter, and D. A. Peterson, 1987, Salt production at Hierve el Agua, Oaxaca, *American Antiquity* 52.4:799-815.
- Jochim, M. A., 1976, *Hunter-Gatherer Subsistence and Settlement: A Predictive Model*. Academic Press, New York.
- Johnson, A. W. and T. Earle, 1987, *The Evolution of Human Societies: From Foraging Group to Agrarian State*. Stanford University Press, Stanford, CA.
- Johnson, G. R., 1986, Kin selection, socialization, and patriotism: An integrating theory, *Politics and the Life Sciences* 4.2:127-154.
- Johnson, G. R., 1987, In the name of the Fatherland: An analysis of kin term usage in patriotic speech and literature, *International Political Science Review* 8.2:165-174.

- Joyce, A. A., 1991, *Formative Period Occupation in the Lower Río Verde Valley, Oaxaca, México: Interregional Interaction and Social Change*. Ph.D. dissertation, Department of Anthropology, Rutgers University, New Brunswick, NJ.
- Joyce, A. A., 1994a, Late Formative community organization and social complexity on the Oaxaca coast. *Journal of Field Archaeology* 21,2:147-168.
- Joyce, A. A., 1994b, Ideology, power, and state formation at Monte Albán. Paper presented at the 59th Annual Meeting of the Society for American Archaeology, Anaheim, CA.
- Joyce, A. A. and R. G. Mueller, 1992, The social impact of anthropogenic landscape modification in the Río Verde drainage basin, Oaxaca, Mexico. *Geosarchaeology* 7, 6:503-526.
- Joyce, A. A. and M. C. Winter, 1993, Ideology, power, and urban society in Prehispanic Oaxaca. Paper presented at the 13th International Congress of Anthropological and Ethnological Sciences, Mexico City, Mexico.
- Keegan, W. F., 1986, The optimal foraging analysis of horticultural production. *American Anthropologist* 88,1:92-107.
- Keene, A. S., 1981, *Prehistoric Foraging in a Temperate Forest: A Linear Programming Model*. Academic Press, New York.
- King, M. B., 1988, *Mixtec Political Ideology: Historical Metaphors and the Poetics of Political Symbolism*. Ph.D. dissertation, Department of Anthropology, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor.
- Kirkby, A. V. T., 1973, *The Use of Land and Water Resources in the Past and Present Valley of Oaxaca, Mexico*. Prehistory and Human Ecology of the Valley of Oaxaca, vol. 1, Memoirs of the University of Michigan Museum of Anthropology 5, Ann Arbor.
- Kolata, A. L., 1992, Economy, ideology, and imperialism in the South-Central Andes, in: *Ideology and Pre-Columbian Civilizations* (A. A. Demarest and G. W. Conrad, eds.), School of American Research, Santa Fe, NM, pp. 65-86.
- Kowalewski, S. A., 1980, Population-resource balances in Period I of Oaxaca, Mexico. *American Antiquity* 45,1:151-165.
- Kowalewski, S., C. Spencer, and E. Redmond, 1978, Appendix II. Description of ceramic categories, in: *Monte Albán: Settlement Patterns at the Ancient Zapotec Capital* (R. E. Blanton, ed.), Academic Press, New York, pp. 167-193.
- Kowalewski, S. A., R. E. Blanton, G. Feinman, and L. Finsten, 1983, Boundaries, scale, and internal organization. *Journal of Anthropological Archaeology*, 2:32-56.
- Kowalewski, S. A., G. Feinman, L. Finsten, and R. E. Blanton, 1991, Pre-Hispanic ballcourts from the Valley of Oaxaca, Mexico, in: *The Mesoamerican Ballgame* (V. L. Scarborough and D. R. Wilcox, eds.), University of Arizona Press, Tucson, pp. 25-44.
- Kowalewski, S. A., G. Feinman, L. Finsten, R. E. Blanton, and L. M. Nicholas, 1989, *Monte Albán's Hinterland, part II: Prehispanic Settlement Patterns in Tlacolula, Etla, and Ocotlán, the Valley of Oaxaca, Mexico*. Memoirs of the University of Michigan Museum of Anthropology 23, Ann Arbor.
- Kuttruf, C. and W. O. Autry, Jr., 1978, Test excavations at Terrace 1227, in: *Monte Albán: Settlement Patterns at the Ancient Zapotec Capital* R. E. Blanton, ed.), Academic Press, New York, pp. 167-193.
- Lack, D. 1966. *Population Studies of Birds*. Clarendon Press, Oxford.
- Lane, F. C., 1966, The economic meaning of war and protection, in: *Venice and History: The Collected Papers of Frederic C. Lane* (F. C. Lane, ed.), Johns Hopkins University Press, Baltimore.
- Larraiñ, J., 1983, *Marxism and Ideology*. Macmillan, London.
- Laughlin, C. D., 1974, Maximization, marriage and residence among the So. American Ethnologist 1:129-141.

- Lewontin, R. C., 1970, The Units of Selection. *Annual Review of Ecology and Systematics* 1:1-18.
- Mack, J. E., 1983, Nationalism and the self. *Psychobiology Review* 11,2:3:47-69.
- Marcus, J., 1974, The iconography of power among the Classic Maya. *World Archaeology* 6,1:83-94.
- Marcus, J., 1976, The iconography of militarism at Monte Alban and neighboring sites in the Valley of Oaxaca, in: *The Origins of Religious Art and Iconography in Preclassic Mesoamerica* (y H. B. Nicholson, ed.), UCLA, Latin American Center, Los Angeles, pp. 123-139.
- Marcus, J., 1983a, The conquest slabs of Building J, Monte Alban, in: *The Cloud People: Divergent Evolution of the Zapotec and Mixtec Civilizations* (K. V. Flannery and J. Marcus, eds.), Academic Press, New York, pp.106-108.
- Marcus, J., 1983b, Zapotec religion, in: *The Cloud People: Divergent Evolution of the Zapotec and Mixtec Civilizations* (K. V. Flannery and J. Marcus, eds.), Academic Press, New York, pp. 345-351.
- Marcus, J., 1992, *Mesoamerican Writing Systems: Propaganda, Myth, and History in Four Ancient Civilizations*. Princeton University Press, Princeton.
- Masson, M. A., H. Orr, and J. Urcid, 1992, Building dedication, nagual transformation, and captive sacrifice at Monte Albán: Programs of sacred geography. Paper presented at the 57th Annual Meeting of the Society for American Archaeology, Pittsburgh, PA.
- McKay, B. J., 1978, Systems ecology, people ecology, and the anthropology of fishing communities. *Human Ecology* 6,4:397-422.
- McKay, B. J., 1981, Optimal foragers or political actors? Ecological analysis of a New Jersey fishery. *American Ethnologist* 8,2:356-382.
- McGuire, R. H., 1983, Breaking down cultural complexity: Inequality and heterogeneity. In *Advances in Archaeological Method and Theory* (Vol. VI) (M. B. Schiffer, ed.), Academic Press, New York, pp. 91-142.
- Milgram, S., 1974, *Obedience to Authority*. Harper & Row, New York.
- Millon, R., 1974, The study of urbanism at Teotihuacan, Mexico, in: *Mesoamerican Archaeology: New Approaches* (N. Hammond, ed.), University of Texas Press, Austin, pp. 335-362.
- Mithen, S., 1989, Evolutionary theory and post-processual archaeology. *Antiquity* 63:483-494.
- Monaghan, J., 1990, Sacrifice, death, and the origins of agriculture in the *Codex Vienna. American Antiquity* 55,3:559-569.
- Monaghan, J., 1994, Sacrifice and power in Mixtec kingdoms. Paper presented at the 59th Annual Meeting of the Society for American Archaeology, Anaheim, CA.
- Mueller, R. A. and A. A. Joyce, 1993, The effects of human landscape degradation in highland Oaxaca. Paper presented at the 92nd meeting of the American Anthropological Association, Washington, D. C.
- Neely, J. A., S. C. Caran, and B. M. Winsborough, 1990, Irrigated agriculture at Hierve el Agua, Oaxaca, Mexico, in: *Debating Oaxaca Archaeology* (J. Marcus, ed.), pp. 115-190. Museum of Anthropology, University of Michigan Anthropology Papers 84, Ann Arbor.
- Nicholas, L., 1989, Land use in prehispanic Oaxaca, in: *Monte Albán's Hinterland, Part II: Prehispanic Settlement Patterns in Tlacolula, Etla, and Ocotlán, the Valley of Oaxaca, Mexico* (S. A. Kowalewski, G. Feinman, L. Finsten, R. E. Blanton, and L. M. Nicholas, eds.), pp. 449-506. Memoirs of the University of Michigan Museum of Anthropology 23, Ann Arbor.
- Nicholas, L., G. Feinman, S. A. Kowalewski, R. E. Blanton, and L. Finsten, 1986, Prehispanic colonization of the Valley of Oaxaca, Mexico. *Human Ecology* 14,2:131-162.
- Nicholson, H. B., 1971, Religion in pre-Hispanic central Mexico, in: *Handbook of Middle American Indians, Vol. 10: Archaeology of Northern Mesoamerica, Part 1* (R.

- Wauchoppe, G. F. Ekholm, and I. Bernal, eds.), University of Texas Press, Austin, pp. 395-446.
- O'Brien, M. J., R. D. Mason, D. E. Lewarch, and J. A. Neely, 1982, *A Late Formative Irrigation Settlement below Monte Albán*. Austin: Institute of Latin American Studies, University of Texas.
- Orlove, B. S., 1980, Ecological anthropology. *Annual Review of Anthropology* 9:235-273.
- Orr, H. S., 1993, The ballplayers of Dainzú: Evidence for inter-site elite competition in the Late Formative Valley of Oaxaca. Paper presented at the 58th meeting of the Society for American Archaeology, St. Louis, MO.
- Ortiz, S., 1980, Forecasts, decisions, and the farmer's response to uncertain environments, in: *Agricultural Decision Making* (P. F. Bartlett, ed.), Academic Press, New York, pp. 177-202.
- Parry, W. J., 1987, *Chipped Stone Tools in Formative Oaxaca, Mexico: Their Procurement, Production and Use*. Museum of Anthropology, University of Michigan, Memoirs 20, Ann Arbor.
- Paso y Troncoso, F. (editor), 1982, *Papeles de Nueva España, tomo IV*. Facsimile of 1905 edition. Mexico: Banca Comfía.
- Patterson, T. C. and C. W. Gailey (editors), 1987, *Power Relations and State Formation*. Archaeological Section/American Anthropological Association, Washington.
- Peebles, C. S. and S. M. Kus, 1977, Some archaeological correlates of ranked societies. *American Antiquity* 42:3:421-446.
- Peoples, J. G., 1982, Individual or group advantage? A reinterpretation of the Maring ritual cycle. *Current Anthropology* 23,3:291-310.
- Pires-Ferreira, J. W., 1975, *Formative Mesoamerican Exchange Networks with Special Reference to the Valley of Oaxaca*. Prehistory and Human Ecology of the Valley of Oaxaca, vol. 3, Memoirs of the University of Michigan Museum of Anthropology 7, Ann Arbor.
- Rathje, W. L., 1970, Socio-political implications of lowland Maya burials: Methodology and tentative hypotheses. *World Archaeology* 1,3:359-375.
- Rapoport, A., 1976, Sociocultural aspects of man-environment studies, in: *The Mutual Interaction of People and their Built Environment: A Cross-Cultural Perspective* (A. Rapoport, ed.), Mouton, The Hague, pp. 7-35.
- Redmond, E. M., 1983, *A fuego y sangre: Early Zapotec Imperialism in the Cuicatlan Cañada, Oaxaca*. Museum of Anthropology, University of Michigan, Memoir 16, Ann Arbor.
- Richerson, P. J., 1977, Ecology and human ecology: A comparison of theories in the biological and social sciences. *American Ethnologist* 4:1-26.
- Rindos, D., 1984, *The Origins of Agriculture: An Evolutionary Perspective*. Academic Press, New York.
- Rutz, H. J., 1977, Individual decisions and functional systems: Economic rationality and environmental adaptation. *American Ethnologist* 4:156-74.
- Sahlins, M., 1958, *Social Stratification in Polynesia*. University of Washington Press, Seattle.
- Sanders, W. T., 1968, Hydraulic agriculture, economic symbiosis and the evolution of states in central Mexico, in: *Anthropological Archaeology in the Americas* (B. J. Meggers, ed.), Anthropological Society of Washington, Washington, D.C., pp. 88-107.
- Sanders, W. T. and D. L. Nichols, 1988, Ecological theory and cultural evolution in the Valley of Oaxaca. *Current Anthropology* 29,1:33-80.
- Sanders, W. T. and D. Webster, 1988, The Mesoamerican urban tradition. *American Anthropologist* 90:521-546.
- Santley, R. S., 1980, Disembodied capitals reconsidered. *American Antiquity* 45:132-145.
- Schele, L., 1984, Human sacrifice among the Classic Maya, in: *Ritual Human Sacrifice in Mesoamerica* (E. Boone, ed.), Dumbarton Oaks, Washington, D.C., pp. 6-48.

- Schele, L. and D. A. Freidel, 1990, *A Forest of Kings: The Untold Story of the Ancient Maya*. William Morrow, New York.
- Schele, L. and M. E. Miller, 1986, *The Blood of Kings. Dynasty and Ritual in Maya Art*. Kimbell Art Museum, Fort Worth, TX.
- Schortman, E. M., 1989, Interregional interaction in prehistory: The need for a new perspective. *American Antiquity* 54,1:52-65.
- Schortman, E. M. and P. Urban, 1987, Modeling interregional interaction in prehistory, in: *Advances in Archaeological Method and Theory* (Vol. XI) (M. B. Schiffer, ed.), Academic Press, San Diego, pp. 37-95.
- Scott, J. F., 1978, *The Danzantes of Monte Albán. Part II: Catalogue*. Dumbarton Oaks, Studies in Pre-Columbian Art & Archaeology No. 19, Washington, D.C.
- Service, E. R., 1975, *Origins of the State and Civilization: The Process of Cultural Evolution*. Norton, New York.
- Slobodkin, L. B., 1972, On the inconstancy of ecological efficiency and the form of ecological theories. *Transactions of the Connecticut Academy of Sciences* 44:293-305.
- Spencer, C. S., 1982, *The Cuicatlan Cañada and Monte Albán*. Academic Press, New York.
- Spencer, C. S., 1990, On the tempo and mode of state formation: Neoevolutionism reconsidered. *Journal of Anthropological Archaeology* 9:1-30.
- Spores, R., 1974, *Stratigraphic Excavations in the Nochistlán Valley, Oaxaca*. Vanderbilt University Publications in Anthropology 11, Nashville.
- Spores, R., 1983a, The origin and evolution of the Mixtec system of social stratification, in: *The Cloud People: Divergent Evolution of the Zapotec and Mixtec Civilizations* (K. V. Flannery and J. Marcus, eds.), Academic Press, New York, pp. 227-238.
- Spores, R., 1983b, Mixtec religion, in: *The Cloud People: Divergent Evolution of the Zapotec and Mixtec Civilizations* (K. V. Flannery and J. Marcus, eds.), Academic Press, New York, pp. 342-345.
- Spores, R., 1984, *The Mixtecs in Ancient and Colonial Times*. University of Oklahoma Press, Norman.
- Steponaitis, V., 1991, Contrasting patterns of Mississippian development, in: *Chiefdoms: Power, Economy, and Ideology* (T. Earle, ed.), Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, pp. 193-228.
- Steward, J. H., 1955, *The Theory of Culture Change*. University of Illinois Press, Urbana.
- Sugiyama, S., 1993, Worldview materialized in Teotihuacán, Mexico. *Latin American Antiquity* 4(2):103-129.
- Tilly, C., 1975, *The Formation of Nation States in Western Europe*. Princeton University Press, Princeton.
- Tilly, C., 1985, War making and state making as organized crime, in: *Bringing the State Back In* (P. B. Evans, D. Rueschmeyer, and T. Skocpol, eds.), Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, pp. 169-191.
- Trinkaus, K. M. (editor), 1987, *Politics and Partitions: Human Boundaries and the Growth of Complex Societies*. Arizona State University Anthropological Research Papers, No. 37, Tucson.
- Vayda, A. P., 1986, Holism and individualism in ecological anthropology. *Reviews in Anthropology* 13:295-313.
- Vayda, A. P. and B. J. McCay, 1975, New directions in ecology and ecological anthropology. *Annual Review of Anthropology* 4:293-306.
- Volkan, V. D., 1985, The need to have enemies and allies: A developmental approach. *Political Psychology* 6,2:219-247.
- Weber, M., 1986, Domination by economic power and by authority, in: *Power* (S. Lukes, ed.), New York University Press, New York, pp. 28-36.

- Wenke, R. J., 1981, Explaining the evolution of cultural complexity: A review, in: *Advances in Archaeological Method and Theory* (Vol. IV) (M. B. Schiffer, ed.), Academic Press, New York, pp. 79-127.
- Whalen, M. E., 1981, *Excavations at Santo Domingo Tomaltepec: Evolution of a Formative Community in the Valley of Oaxaca, Mexico*. Prehistory and Human Ecology of the Valley of Oaxaca, vol. 6, Memoirs of the University of Michigan Museum of Anthropology 12, Ann Arbor.
- Whalen, M. E., 1988, Small community organization during the Late Formative Period in Oaxaca, Mexico, *Journal of Field Archaeology* 15:291-306.
- Whitecotton, J. W., 1977, *The Zapotecs: Princes, Priests, and Peasants*. University of Oklahoma Press, New York and London.
- Williams, G. C., 1966, *Adaptation and Natural Selection*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, Princeton, NJ.
- Winter, M. C., 1972, *Tierras Largas: A Formative Community in the Valley of Oaxaca, Mexico*. Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Department of Anthropology, University of Arizona, Tucson.
- Winter, M., 1974, Residential patterns at Monte Albán, Oaxaca, Mexico, *Science* 186,4168:981-987.
- Winter, M., 1984, Exchange in Formative highland Oaxaca, in: *Trade and Exchange in Early Mesoamerica* (K. G. Hirth, ed.), University of New Mexico Press, Albuquerque, pp. 179-214.
- Winter, M., 1986, Unidades habitacionales prehispánicas de Oaxaca, in: *Unidades habitacionales mesoamericanas y sus áreas de actividad* (L. Manzanilla, ed.), pp. 325-374. Instituto de Investigaciones Antropológicas, Serie Antropológica:76. Mexico: Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México.
- Winter, M., 1989, *Oaxaca: The Archaeological Record*. Mexico: Minutiae Mexicana.
- Winter, M. C. and A. A. Joyce, 1994, Early political development at Monte Albán: Evidence from recent excavations. Paper presented at the 93rd meeting of the American Anthropological Association, Atlanta, GA.
- Winterhalder, B. and E. A. Smith (editors), 1981, *Hunter-Gatherer Foraging Strategies*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.
- Wittfogel, K., 1957, *Oriental Despotism*. Yale University Press, New Haven.
- Wright, H., 1977, Recent research on the origin of the state. *Annual Review of Anthropology* 6:379-397.
- Zeitlin, R. N., 1993, Pacific coastal Laguna Zoque: A regional center in Terminal Formative Oaxaca prehistory. *Ancient Mesoamerica* 4,1:85-102.

Chapter 7

Clues to the System of Power in the City of Oaxkintok*

MIGUEL RIVERA DORADO

INTRODUCTION

Power, systems of power, and the capacity and practices of power have, through the course of history, left their symbolic imprints to posterity in a number of ways: in language and the written text, in dress and food habits, in the conventions of protocol, and in the extravagances of the elite. On this occasion, our objective is to show the importance of architectural symbols in the investigation of power relations; that is, of the relative positions of rank and dominance, and their ideological justifications. The place chosen for these speculations is the pre-Hispanic city of Oaxkintok, in the north of the Yucatán peninsula. In this ensemble of ruins (Figure 1), which is at a distance of around 50 kilometers from Mérida, the present-day capital of Yucatán, and at some 30 kilometers from the well-known city of

*Translated from Spanish by Niall Binns.

MIGUEL RIVERA DORADO • Departamento de Antropología y Etnología de América, Facultad de Geografía e Historia, Universidad Complutense, Ciudad Universitaria, Madrid 28040, España

Emergence and Change in Early Urban Societies, edited by Linda Manzanilla, Plenum Press, New York, 1997.