Rituals of Sanctification and the Development of Standardized Temples in Oaxaca, Mexico

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Archaeological investigations at three Formative period sites near San Martín Tilcajete in the Valley of Oaxaca, Mexico, have recovered a sequence of temples. The temples span the period when the Zapotec state emerged with its capital at Monte Albán during the Late Monte Albán I phase (300–100 BC), coinciding with Monte Albán's conquest of neighbouring regions. Zapotec rituals of sanctification practised in pre-state times may have been affected by Monte Albán's military expansionism. The historically documented case of military expansion and political unification of the Hawaiian islands by the paramount, Kamehameha, shows similarities in the adoption of ideology and religious institutions. Among them are the establishment of standardized temples and the ascendance of a militaristic ideology and ritual order attuned to the early state rulers' coercive authority.

The capital of the early Zapotec state was the city of Monte Albán, situated on a mountaintop that rises some 400 m above the valley floor at the hub of the Oaxaca Valley's three branches in the southern Mexican highlands (Fig. 1). Though the city was founded in the Early Monte Albán I phase (500–300 BC), characteristics of state organization began to appear during the Late Monte Albán I phase (300–100 BC). They include a regional settlement-size hierarchy associated with four tiers of administration centred at the 17,000 strong capital (Blanton *et al.* 1999, 53, 82–5). The Late Monte Albán I phase is also when evidence of a specialized military organization first appears at Monte Albán and in neighbouring regions outside the Oaxaca Valley whose conquests by Monte Albán were commemorated on carved stone inscriptions at Monte Albán (Blanton 1978, 52–4; Caso 1938, 11; Marcus 1976; Spencer & Redmond 1997; 2001a). Flannery & Marcus (1983a) have highlighted the royal palace and the standardized two-room temple as key institutions of the early Zapotec state.

Because Monte Albán continued to be occupied for many centuries, the partly exposed public buildings that may have been the earliest royal palace and standardized temples remain buried under massive later constructions bordering the Main Plaza, making information about the timing of the emergence of these two institutions of the early Zapotec state less than clear. Until the earliest public buildings at Monte Albán can be investigated more fully, the most complete public buildings of the Late Monte Albán I phase that bear directly on early Zapotec state institutions are known from the valley floor site of El Palenque, some 25 km south of Monte Albán, near San Martín Tilcajete in the Ocotlán-Zimatlán subregion (Fig. 1). El Palenque is one of three archaeological sites near San Martín Tilcajete that we have been investigating since 1993 by means of intensive mapping, surface collecting and extensive horizontal excavation. We have proposed that El Palenque became the first-order centre of the Ocotlán-Zimatlán polity, a small secondary state in the Late Monte Albán I phase, following the abandonment of the nearby site of El Mogote, which had served as the subregion's paramount centre during the previous Early Monte Albán I phase (Spencer & Redmond 2001b). We have also argued that El Palenque maintained its independence from Monte Albán throughout the Late Monte Albán I phase (Spencer & Redmond 2003; 2006).

In this article, we discuss some of the public buildings bordering the El Palenque plaza. Our excavations on top of Mounds B and G on the eastern

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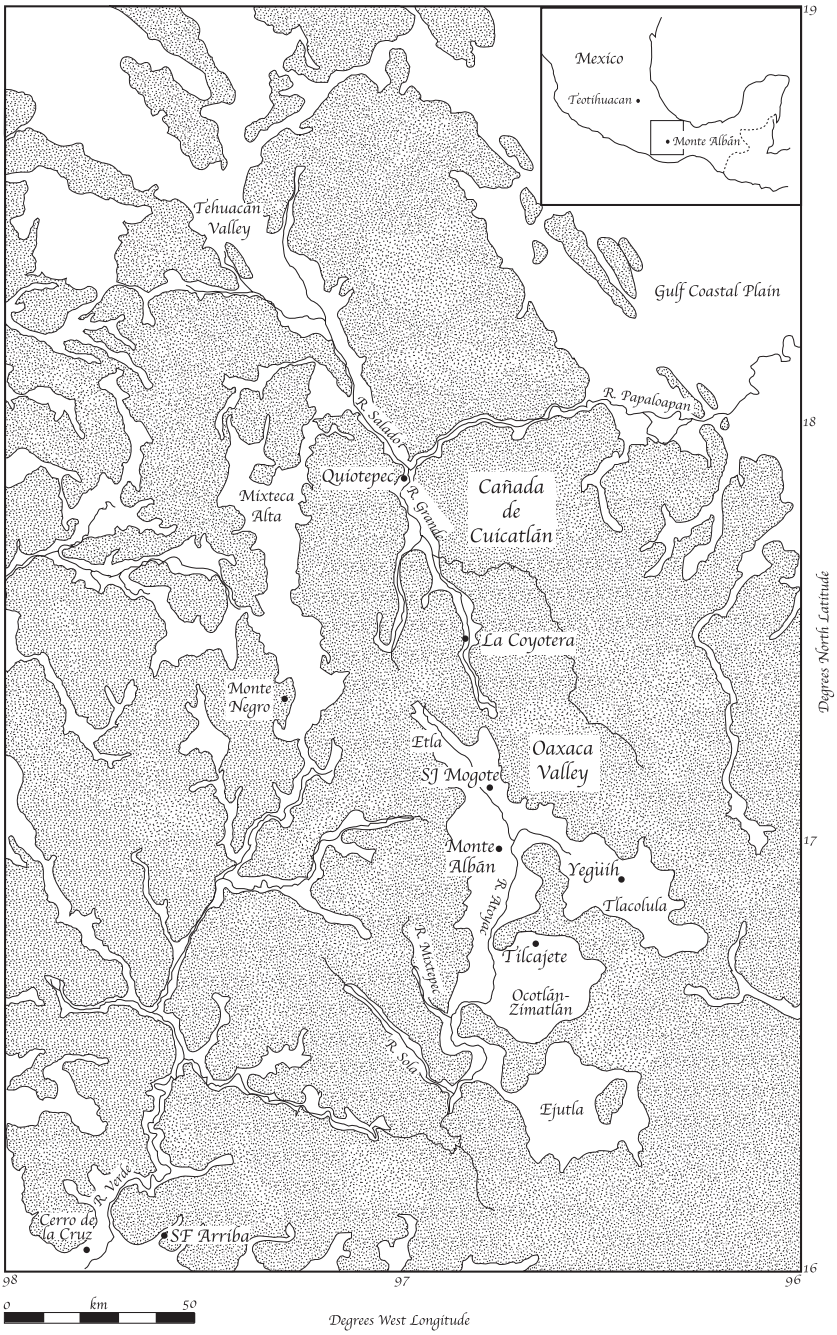

Figure 1. *The Oaxaca Valley and surrounding regions in the southeastern highlands of Mexico, marking the archaeological sites mentioned in the text.*

side of the plaza (Fig. 2) exposed the remains of multi-room temples dating to the Late Monte Albán I phase. We argue that the temples at El Palenque reveal the architectural imprint of a state religion performed by priests, one that evolved from the rituals of sanctification practised in single-room temples by the ritual specialists and the ruling elite of the pre-state polities in the Oaxaca Valley during the Rosario phase (700–500 BC), as documented at San José Mogote (Marcus & Flannery 2004) and during the Early Monte Albán I phase (500–300 BC) at El Mogote.

The Late Monte Albán I multi-room temples at El Palenque do not conform to the later and better known standardized two-room temples so prevalent at Monte Albán and at secondary centres and large villages throughout the Oaxaca Valley and in the neighbouring regions that came under Monte Albán's control by the Monte Albán II phase (100 BC–AD 200). Indeed, one such standardized two-room temple was erected at the secondary centre of Cerro Tilcajete that was established on a ridgetop after the sudden and evidently violent abandonment of El Palenque early in the Monte Albán II phase (Elson 2007; Spencer & Redmond 2004b, 451). How, then, can we interpret the evident change in temple configuration at San Martín Tilcajete in the Monte Albán II phase?

An examination of the sequence of temples from San Martín Tilcajete, which spans the founding of Monte Albán and the emergence of the Monte Albán state in the Late Monte Albán I phase, leads us to consider to what extent religious institutions at Monte Albán and elsewhere in the Oaxaca Valley were shaped by the conditions of conquest that prevailed during the Late Monte Albán I phase and the needs of the rulers who directed the military campaigns. We will focus on how the rituals of sanctification that had been practised by the Zapotec ruling elite in pre-state times may have been modified in the Late Monte Albán I phase when Monte Albán initiated its campaign of interregional conquests. We can seek insight into the impact conquest warfare might have on the rituals of sanctification practised by pre-state societies by examining a historically documented example of a paramount chiefdom that pursued conquest warfare, seized control of foreign territory, and created a militaristic state. The reigns

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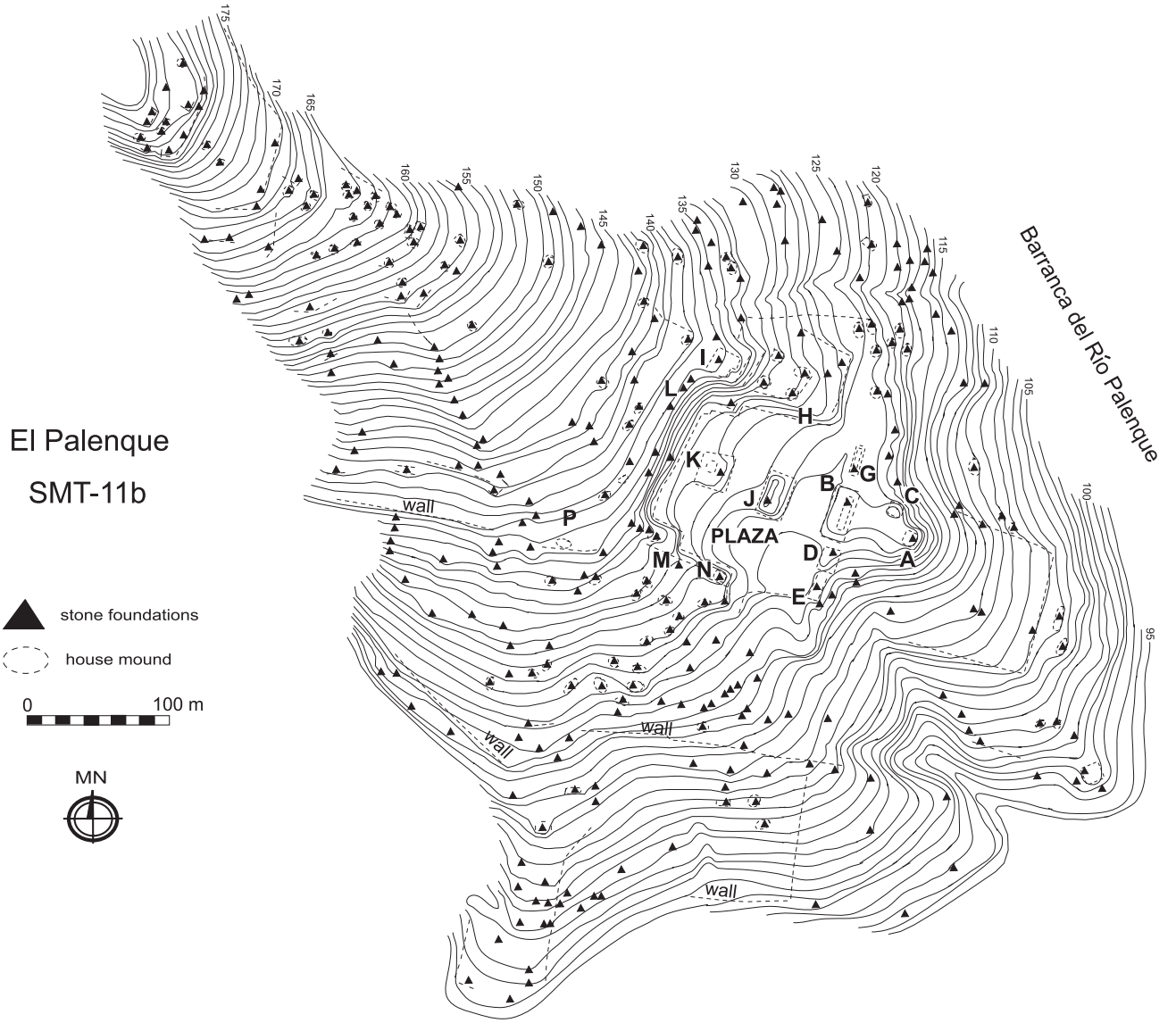

Figure 2. *Topographic map of El Palenque, showing the plaza with major mounds labelled.*

of Hawaiian paramount Kamehameha and his son, Liholiho, witnessed the unification of the Hawaiian Islands during the period 1789–1810, and consequent changes in the traditional political and ideological order after 1795 that culminated in the creation of a secular state in 1819 (Davenport 1969; Kirch 1985; Sahlins 1981; Valeri 1985; Flannery 1999). If we were to draw an analogy with Kamehameha's campaign, and especially with the changes he introduced to the traditional Hawaiian rituals of sanctification, we might expect Zapotec rituals of sanctification practised during the preconquest and pre-state Rosario and Early Monte Albán I phases (700–300 BC) to have been modified as a strategic element of a new militaristic state ideology emanating from Monte Albán. As the foci of the Zapotec state religion, the temples erected at Monte Albán and in regions under its control by the Monte Albán II phase might reveal signs of a new ideological and ritual order. Before pursuing this, we will review briefly the Zapotec ritual practices in the pre-state period of the Rosario and Early Monte Albán I phases, before Monte Albán's leaders launched their campaign in Oaxaca.

Zapotec rituals of sanctification in the pre-state period

For their study of Zapotec religion and ritual, Marcus & Flannery (1994) used the accounts of Spanish friars who described Zapotec native beliefs and ritual practices in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Flannery &

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Marcus (1976a,b) also pioneered the recovery of contextual information about prehistoric Zapotec rituals from the architectural spaces where acts of propitiation and sacrifice were performed repeatedly, leaving tell-tale features and artefacts behind. The Zapotec revered many natural and supernatural forces in the sky and on earth, especially Lightning and Earth. They also worshipped the spirits of noble ancestors, who metamorphosed into clouds after death and could be asked to intercede with powerful supernatural forces through divination and sacrificial rituals. Sacrifices ranged from offerings of incense, feathers, maize cobs and liquor to quail, turkey, dogs and deer. Moreover, Zapotec celebrants drew their own blood with obsidian lancets and spines, and sacrificed human infants, children, and adult war captives (Alcina Franch 1993, 125; Burgoa 1934, 230–31; Córdova 1942, 368). These offerings accompanied petitions in anticipation of a deer hunt, a maize harvest and a journey. Offerings were made later as well in return for a favourable outcome of an anticipated event, as on the occasion of the naming of a newborn infant, the celebration of a victory in war and the inauguration of a new ruler. By means of sacrifices and divination rituals, the Zapotec sought the counsel of the spirits of dead ancestors on important matters and implored the powerful supernatural forces of Lightning and Earth to guarantee the seasonal rainfall and harvests they depended upon each year (Alcina Franch 1993; Berlin 1957; Flannery & Marcus 1976b; Marcus 1989; 1998; Marcus & Flannery 1994). After the Spanish conquest, such sacrificial and divination rituals continued to be practised surreptitiously by *letrados* or diviners who were versed in the 260-day ritual calendar and could petition supernatural forces and spirits on behalf of villagers (Alcina Franch 1993, 68–93; Berlin 1957, 15–6, 21; Whitecotton 1977, 310). Zapotec diviners were still performing rituals and sacrifices to Lightning and other tutelary spirits during Parsons's 1929–33 field seasons in Mitla (Parsons 1936, 187–89, 209, 298, 304). Sacrifices to Earth and Rain were practised by the neighbouring Mixtec as recently as the 1980s (Monaghan 1990, 565–7).

Rosario phase

In the Rosario phase (700–500 BC), public rituals were increasingly in the hands of the elite of the rival chiefly polities in the Oaxaca Valley. At the paramount centre of San José Mogote (Fig. 1), two impressive masonry platforms were constructed on the summit of Mound 1, the 60–65 ha centre's acropolis. The better preserved of the two platforms (Structure 19) measured 28.5 by 21.7 m and supported a lime-plastered adobe platform (Structure 28) measuring 14.2 by 13.4 m and about 1.75 m high; both platforms were oriented to magnetic N 8°W. On top stood a one-room temple of wattle and daub with a recessed floor that measured approximately 8.64 by 5.3 m, that was reached by a stairway on the platform's west side (Marcus & Flannery 1996, 124–9).

Marcus & Flannery (2004) marshal considerable evidence of the rituals of sanctification practised on this elevated and sacred ground by San José Mogote's ruling elite with the assistance of part-time religious specialists. Such specialists would have been learned and literate, like the diviners of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. To mark the dedication of the massive Structure 19 masonry platform on an important occasion or day in the ritual calendar, an individual — most likely a war captive — had been sacrificed and buried in the platform's fill; charcoal from this fill yielded a conventional radiocarbon date of 610±180 BC (Marcus & Flannery 2004, 18,259). A carved stone (Monument 3) in the corridor between this platform and the second masonry platform depicts the sacrifice of a probable war captive who had been stripped naked and whose chest had been cut open with a stone dagger to remove his beating heart, a practice described by friar Francisco de Burgoa (1934, 10, 123). The sacrificed individual's elite status is suggested by his possible head deformation and by the fact that his name, taken from the 260-day ritual calendar, is inscribed between his feet (Marcus 1991). In addition to commemorating the defeat of a named enemy leader or rival chief on this earliest Zapotec inscription, dating to earlier than 630 BC (Flannery & Marcus 2003, 11,803–4), the victorious elite at San José Mogote wanted to portray the sacrifice that followed to propitiate the supernatural forces responsible for the victory, going so far as to depict stylized drops of blood trickling off the carved stone's edge and down the side of the eastern threshold stone at the top of the stairway.

Inside the one-room temple, ceramic serving bowls had been buried as offerings at each of its four corners, probably during its ritual dedication. Autosacrificial bloodletting was evidently practised in the Structure 28 temple, using the serrated edges of a large obsidian bloodletter which lay broken on the floor (Marcus & Flannery 1996, 126–8). Although this temple would eventually be destroyed in a violent conflagration, probably during a retaliatory raid launched by a rival polity, a new temple was soon built atop the neighbouring masonry platform (Flannery & Marcus 2003, 11,802).

Not only were the ruling elite at San José Mogote presiding over rituals of sanctification to celebrate

events and confront matters involving their polity, but also their household rituals were becoming more elaborate. Effigy vessels and anthropomorphic incense braziers were introduced for divination, including in the residential compound on top of Mound 1, to communicate with noble ancestors by burning incense that sent smoke skyward (Marcus 1998, 279–82). The skeleton of an adult (Burial 55) flattened beneath a wall of this residential compound is best interpreted as a dedicatory sacrifice made at the time of its construction (Marcus & Flannery 1996, 131). Autosacrificial bloodletting was performed by the inhabitants of this compound with obsidian lancets recovered there (Marcus & Flannery 1996, 133; Parry 1987, table 42, fig. 52). Parry (1987, 125) suspects that:

> only the individuals of highest status in the Valley of Oaxaca had access to obsidian lancets. Presumably they served as status markers, together with any ritual uses they may have had.

Early Monte Albán I phase

The succeeding Early Monte Albán I phase (500–300 BC) witnessed cessation of occupation at San José Mogote and the abandonment of satellite villages. This coincided with the founding of a settlement on Monte Albán (Fig. 1). A core occupation of 69 ha centred on the Main Plaza, where the incompletely known public buildings mentioned earlier were constructed with masonry and orientation similar to San José Mogote's (Acosta 1965, 814; Blanton *et al*. 1999, 53; Caso *et al.* 1967, plano I; Fahmel Beyer 1991, 110, 125, 155; Winter 2001, 284). Flannery (1983a) has proposed that the Monte Albán ruler's palace might have been on the plaza's north side. Here Caso exposed a sloping wall of the earliest platform beneath the North Platform dating to the Early Monte Albán I phase (Caso *et al*. 1967, 96; Flannery & Marcus 1983b). The earliest construction exposed inside Building K of System IV on the plaza's northwest side, consisting of the partial remains of a platform 6 m high, dating to the Monte Albán Ib phase, with a stairway flanked by masonry columns, has been interpreted as a temple (Acosta 1976, 20–24; Fahmel Beyer 1991, 107; Martínez López 2002, 242).

Best known is the masonry platform within Building L, which was constructed on the southwest side of the Main Plaza in the Early Monte Albán I phase and continued in use during the Late Monte Albán I phase (Caso 1935, 8–9, 28; Scott 1978, 31–3). This temple platform stood 7 m high and had a stucco surface. The few remains recovered in the tunnels excavated above its stucco floor consisted of an adult human burial (IV–15) accompanied by shell ornaments and a miniature incised grey ceramic bowl, and a cache of two undecorated K.3a ceramic bowls (Caso 1935, 9, fig. 10; Caso *et al*. 1967, 208, 249, figs. 134, 179; Scott 1978, 33). On the platform's eastern façade, fronting the plaza, were carved stone depictions of stripped, mutilated and slain captives ('*danzantes*') similar to the individual recorded on Monument 3 at San José Mogote. The more than 300 male individuals rendered on Building L's façade have been interpreted as captives seized in raids, bound with rope and presumably brought to a temple for sacrifice, as suggested by the glyph for house or temple inscribed in the hieroglyphic captions on some *danzantes* (Caso 1947, 15; Scott 1978, 55, 57). At ground level are some named individuals, who still wear insignia of their elite status, but most lack any names and elite insignia and are considered to be lesser villagers seized in raids (Marcus 1976, 126–7). Many of the sacrificial victims are depicted bleeding profusely from mutilated genitalia. Others are shown with an elliptical shape on their upper chests that may represent the dagger used to remove the heart or the open incision after the removal of the heart (Caso 1947, 16; Redmond & Spencer 2006, 355; Scott 1978, 55–6; Urcid 1994). A few consist only of severed heads from which emanate blood scrolls.

At the southern end of Building L are four carved stone inscriptions that record the seizures (and likely sacrifices) of certain individuals by members of the jaguar lineage (Caso 1947, 12–4; Marcus 1983, 93–5; Marcus & Flannery 1996, 160–61). The events recorded refer to a day in the 260-day ritual calendar and for the first time register a month in the 365-day solar calendar (Caso 1947, 10, 29–32; Marcus 1991, 28; Marcus & Flannery 1996, 159–60). The founding rulers of Monte Albán, like their predecessors at San José Mogote, were carrying out rituals of sanctification to celebrate their victories, to appease their noble ancestors and the supernatural forces, and more. It is in recognition of the likelihood that Monte Albán's rulers did not control the entire Oaxaca Valley that Marcus (1974, 90) draws attention to the sacrificial rituals displayed on Building L:

> the 310 or more *danzantes* which appear during Monte Albán I constitute 80% of the total monument record from that site. In other words, it was during the initial occupation of Monte Albán that the effort devoted to carving monumental figures was the greatest. This early effort probably coincides with the time when the rulers ... 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.

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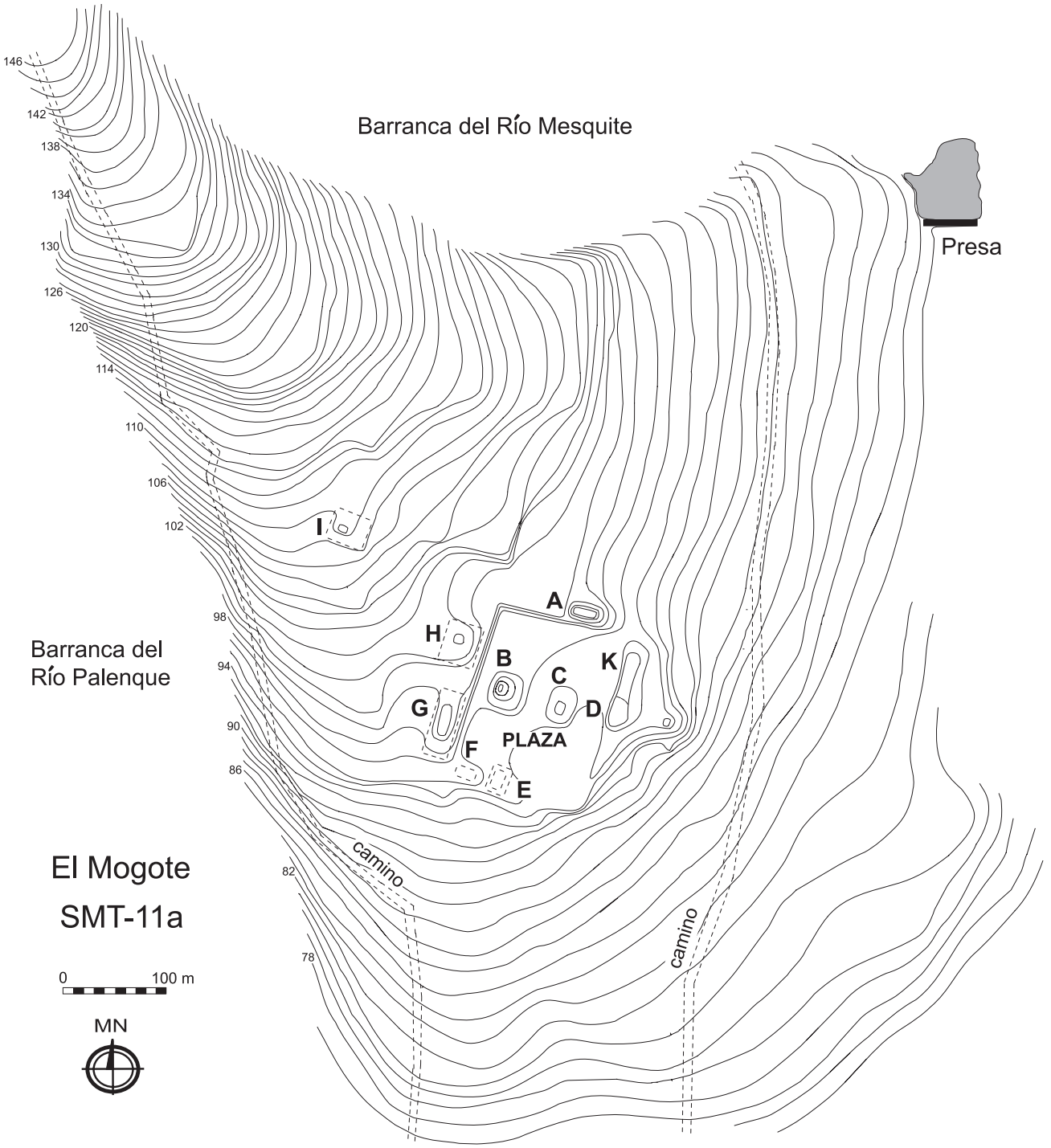

Figure 3. *Topographic map of El Mogote, showing the plaza with major mounds labelled.*

At the time Building L was constructed at Monte Albán, the centre of the rival valley-floor polity in the Ocotlán subregion, El Mogote, had more than doubled in size to 52.8 ha. Its paramount rulers had laid out a plaza bordered by platforms aligned to magnetic N 17°E (Fig. 3), different from the alignments at Monte Albán. Our excavations at El Mogote focused on the platforms flanking the northern and eastern sides of the 2.2 ha plaza and the plaza floor itself. On Mound K on the plaza's east side we exposed in Area B the

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Table 1. *Radiocarbon dates from San Martín Tilcajete, Oaxaca.*

Lab. no.	Archaeological context	Conventional ^{14}C years BP	Conventional ^{14}C years BC	Calibrated 2σ range
Beta-98740	Ashy midden (F. 6) beneath Mound K	2490±60	540±60	800–400 BC
Beta-221303	St. 1 floor, rear wall	2500±40	550±40	790–420 BC
Beta-221302	St. 1 fire basin	2450±40	500±40	780–400 BC
Beta-147541	El Mogote plaza floor, SE corner of Mound A	2280±40	330±40	400–350 BC & 310–210 BC
Beta-202178	Mound B adobe construction beneath St. 20 (Rm 1)	2200±50	250±50	390–110 BC
Beta-171545	Hearth (F. 65) in St. 20 (Rm 3)	1990±60	40±60	160 BC–AD 130
Beta-202179	Mound G yellow clay beneath St. 16 (Rm 1)	2050±40	100±40	170 BC–AD 40
Beta-143353	Carbonized deposit (F. 22) lying on NW surface, St. 16	1980±70	30±70	165 BC–AD 155

stone foundations of four rectangular platforms dating to the Early Monte Albán I phase. Charcoal from an ashy midden deposit (Feature 6) underlying Mound K yielded a conventional radiocarbon date of 2490 ±60 BP (540±60 BC; see Table 1), corresponding to the interface between the Rosario phase and the Early Monte Albán I phase.

The best-preserved platform constructed atop Mound K in the Early Monte Albán I phase with masonry retaining walls and earthen fill measured 12.6 m by 7.6 m and was elevated 1.10 m above the plaza floor. On it stood Structure 1, a one-room temple of adobe or wattle and daub walls on stone foundations that faced west with remnants of one tier of its masonry staircase still in place on the plaza side (Fig. 4). This platform was surrounded closely by others. The floor of the enclosed Structure 1 measured 6.70 m by 2.70 m, smaller (18.09 m^2) than the one-room Rosario phase temple (*c.* 45.79 m^2) described earlier at San José Mogote. The floor of the temple was at the same height as the adjoining aprons to the south and the north, where traces of the structure's thin lime-stucco surface were still evident. A cut by-product of spiny oyster (*Spondylus*) shell, native to the Pacific Coast, had been discarded on the temple's northern apron.

In a dip in the floor at the entrance to Structure 1 two grey ceramic serving bowls lay nested, face up; nearby lay a fragment of unworked mother-of-pearl (*Pinctada mazatlanica*) shell, also imported from the Pacific Coast. A line of large stones at the centre of the room may have been the base of an adobe or wattle and daub partition within the room. The head of a male human figurine, with red pigment, rested on the floor to the north. It may have symbolized the sacrifice of an elite male individual. Human figurines like this may also have been used to represent the 'old people in the clouds' in rituals invoking the spirits of elite ancestors, perhaps with smoke rising from the nearby incense braziers (Marcus & Flannery 1994, 63, 69). At the back of the temple lay two circular stone-lined basins or *tlecuiles* (Acosta & Romero 1992, 39, 158), 70 cm in diameter, with clear evidence of having been used as fire pits (Fig. 4). The northern one had a burned deer antler fragment and leg bone fragments of a large mammal (probably deer) alongside it. A large fragment of a deer pelvis (ilium) lay nearby at the back wall of the temple with some incense-brazier fragments. Antlers have turned up in other ritual caches of the Zapotec (Marcus & Flannery 1996, 186). Closer to the southern basin lay a chert scraper that was possibly used in the sacrifices of deer at the *tlecuiles*. The ritual butchering of deer was practised by Zapotec communal hunting parties well into the seventeenth century (Berlin 1957, 36–47). By the southern *tlecuil*, where the floor was reddened from burning, lay the adorned head of a female human figurine and a reworked plainware sherd with a drilled hole 6 mm in diameter.

Discarded on the floor of Structure 1 were three obsidian blades. Among the uses attributed to obsidian blades is autosacrificial bloodletting; the two obsidian blade fragments lying by the southern fire basin showed no evidence of working hard materials (Marcus & Flannery 1996, 186; Parry 1987, 73–4; Fig. 4). The possibility that wild tobacco was chewed in Structure 1 is raised by the lumps of powdery lime recovered on the floor at the back wall of the temple between the two *tlecuiles* (Fig. 4). Mixed with lime, wild tobacco was used by Zapotec *letrados* for divination and purification rituals (Alcina Franch 1993, 84–5). Tobacco was also offered to men setting out on a journey or war party to embolden them (Alcina Franch 1993, 130–32; Coe & Whittaker 1982, 78, 116–18; Marcus 1998, 4).

Given the location of the temple on the platform bordering the east side of the El Mogote plaza, and the activities practised there involving elite sumptuary items such as imported marine shell and obsidian blades, tobacco and deer, Structure 1 was probably where rituals of sanctification were practised by diviners and other part-time ritual specialists for the resident chiefly elite (Marcus & Flannery 2004, 18,259). Its Early Monte Albán I date can be corroborated with recently processed radiocarbon dates (see Table 1).

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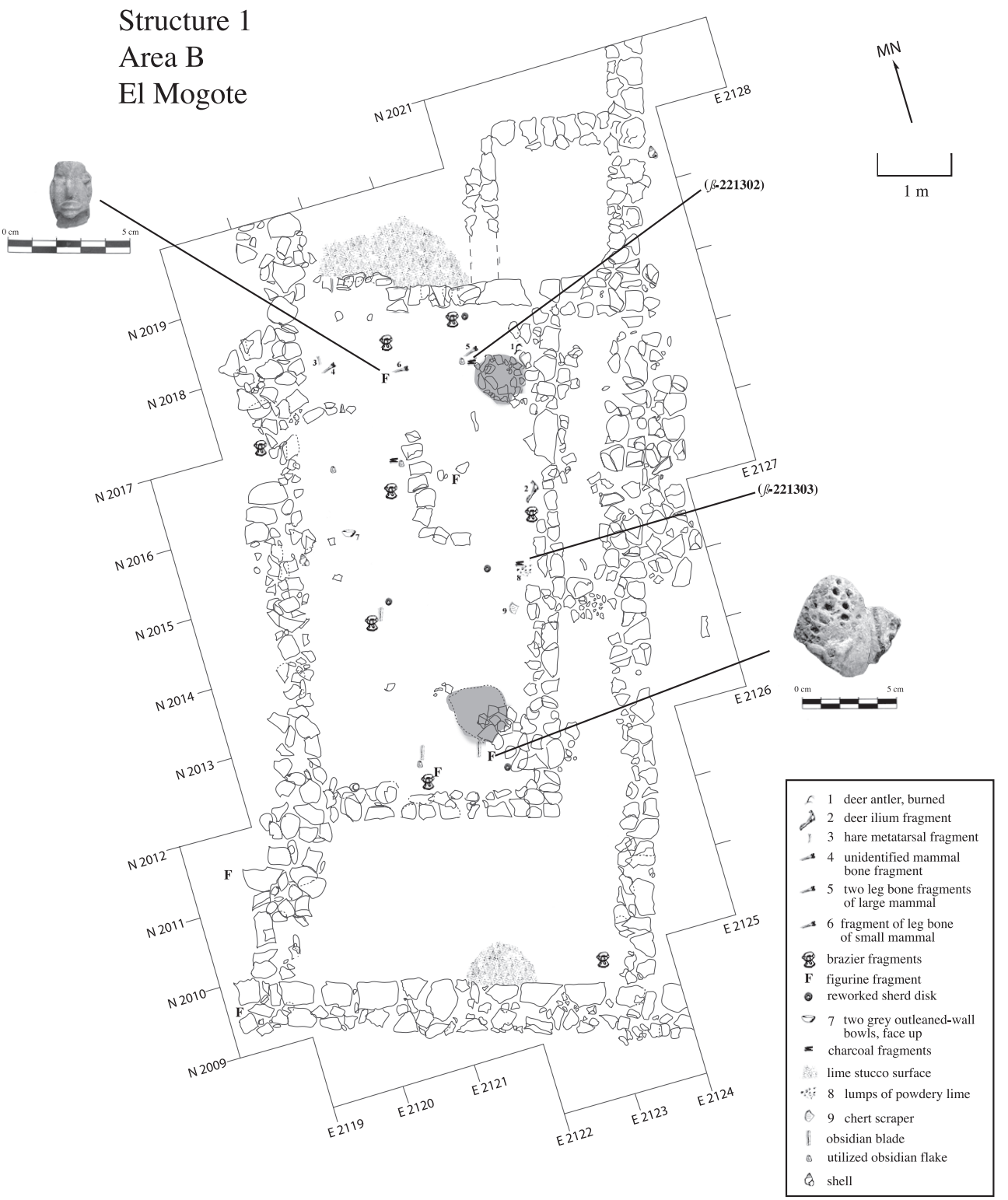

Figure 4. *Plan of Structure 1 excavated on Mound K at El Mogote, showing the location of the two stone-lined basins, indicated with shading, and the distribution of ritual paraphernalia on the floor.*

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Some fragments of wood charcoal (Beta-221303) recovered on the floor along its rear wall and beside the lumps of powdery lime have been radiocarbon dated to 2500±40 BP (550±40 BC). A charcoal sample (Beta-221302) associated with the northern *tlecuil* yielded a conventional date of 2450±40 BP (500±40 BC).

Towards the very end of the Early Monte Albán I phase, however, the El Mogote plaza and the platforms bordering its eastern and northern sides appear to have been destroyed by burning. A sample of charcoal (Beta-147541) recovered from the burned plaza surface has been dated to 2280±40 BP (330±40 BC: Spencer & Redmond 2003, 37). El Mogote's plaza was abandoned at this time and a new plaza built across a barranca to the west and uphill at El Palenque (Fig. 2) in the succeeding Late Monte Albán I phase (300–100 BC).

Lessons from Hawai'i

The Late Monte Albán I phase is when the rulers of Monte Albán initiated a campaign of interregional conquest warfare, targeting strategic but vulnerable regions outside the Oaxaca Valley such as the Cañada de Cuicatlán (Balkansky 2002, 45, 84; Spencer & Redmond 2001a; see Fig. 1). The 50 carved stones displayed on Building J at Monte Albán are records of the places conquered (Caso 1947, 20; Marcus 1992, 395–400). All the inscribed places (including Cuicatlán) that Marcus has been able to identify lie outside the Oaxaca Valley at distances ranging between 85 and 150 km from Monte Albán. The strong likelihood that some of the place-names inscribed on Building J refer to natural landmarks at the limits of Monte Albán's territory, together with the archaeological data bearing on its conquest of certain regions, point to Monte Albán's eventual expansion and tributary exaction from a territory possibly extending over 20,000 km^2 (Marcus 2005; Marcus & Flannery 1996, 206). The conquest of foreign regions transformed the way Monte Albán pursued warfare.

How might the rituals of sanctification practised by Zapotec rulers and ritual specialists at Monte Albán, Tilcajete and throughout the Oaxaca Valley have been affected by the transformation of warfare — from raiding enemy settlements to the conquest of foreign territory? For some ideas, let us turn to the historical accounts about the rival paramount chiefdoms of the Hawaiian Islands in the late eighteenth century. Like the Zapotec rulers at Monte Albán in the Late Monte Albán I phase, one of the Hawaiian paramounts embarked on a military campaign across the Hawaiian archipelago in 1790 that transformed the rituals of sanctification long practised by the chiefdoms. To assess this effect, we will begin by reviewing the traditional ritual calendar of observances and temple rituals presided over by the rival paramount chiefs of the Hawaiian Islands at the time of Captain Cook's anchorage in Kealakekua Bay in January 1779.

Rituals of sanctification

Hawaiian paramount chiefs were the most divine of men. They received their right to rule from the four supernatural 'high heads' — Kū, Lono, Kāne and Kanaloa but, above all, from the warlike Kū, whose epithets included 'the island-snatcher', and 'of the vast expanse' (Valeri 1985, 13). As the most divine of men, the paramounts were also the supreme sacrificers of plant and animal offerings; and they had the singular privilege and authority to consecrate the sacrifice of humans. These sacrifices took place in temples according to a cycle governed by the intercalation of a lunar year (12 months of 29½ days), a solar year of 365 days, and the dry and wet seasons (Valeri 1985, 141–2, 197–8).

The New Year (*Makahiki*) rituals began at the very end of the dry season and lasted four lunar months. The first rising of the Pleiades at sunset marked the onset of the wet season and initiated the ritual breaking of green coconuts followed by the firstfruits sacrifices of young taro and pigs to Lono, responsible for rain and fertility, accompanied by the collection of tribute in each district (Valeri 1985, 203–12). The paramount chief's participation in the many observances and sacrificial rituals of the *Makahiki* festival legitimized his rule and sanctified the collection of tribute as *hoʻokupu* offerings to Lono (Kirch 1984, 38; 1985, 7; Valeri 1985, 208). While Lono was propitiated, all sacrifices to Kū were suspended, including human sacrifices. War was prohibited throughout this four-month period, and the sea was off limits for much it (Sahlins 1981, 11, 18–19, 46; Valeri 1985, 210–11, 224).

After performing ten-day purification rituals, the paramount chief initiated the eight-month period of temple rituals by calling for the construction or renovation of his *luakini* temple on an elevated spot, near his residence (Valeri 1985, 227, 234, 254). The *luakini* temples of paramount chiefs were the largest of all temples. The layouts and dimensions varied across the archipelago such that Thomas G. Thrum, who carried out the first survey of Hawaiian temples, concluded that no two were alike (Kirch 1985, 13, 262–3, fig. 225; Valeri 1985, 172, 235–6). The paramount presided over a sequence of rituals (of up to 5½ days) to prepare the specialists to consecrate the *luakini* temple and the newly

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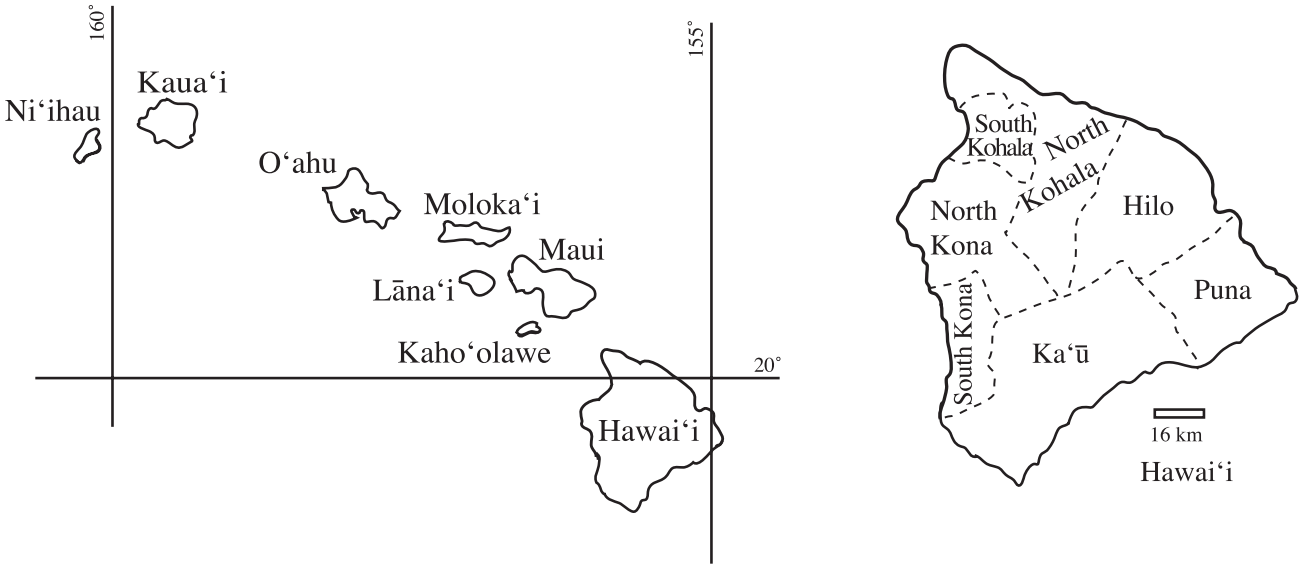

Figure 5. *Map of the Hawaiian archipelago. (Redrawn from Goldman 1970.)*

carved wooden image of Kū (Valeri 1985, 258, 262–7, 288–9). The rituals culminated with the paramount's celebration of Kū's transcendence into Kū 'of the vast expanse', involving the large-scale sacrifice of pigs, the catch of huge jack fish, and human sacrifices (Valeri 1985, 308–9). In the course of the eight months when the *luakini* temples were open, war could be waged and human sacrifices practised, there were four taboo periods lasting two or three days each month. During the taboo periods, the paramount chief and his lesser chiefs and ritual specialists could not leave the temple, and the sea was off limits (Sahlins 1981, 45–6).

Before embarking on a military campaign, elaborate sacrificial rituals to Kū were carried out at the paramount's *luakini* temple, involving the 'great sacrifice' of hundreds of pigs, bananas, coconuts, jack fish, bundles of white bark cloth, and some human victims (Valeri 1985, 40, 309). The latter were war captives who were bound, stripped and subjected to a haircut followed by various forms of mutilation, including sexual mutilation. Usually dead on arrival at the temple, their bodies were placed on the altar (Valeri 1985, 336–8). The paramount chief was always present to propitiate Kū and await his assurance of victory or warning of possible defeat. Additional sacrificial rituals were performed on the battlefield and in the temple upon the return from war (Davenport 1969, 8; Valeri 1985, 40). No sooner had a paramount chief conquered a rival's territory than he proceeded to rededicate the vanquished chief's *luakini* temple to his own aspect of Kū, since his control over the conquered territory was exercised through his control of its principal *luakini* temple (Davenport 1969, 8; Valeri 1985, 13, 186–7).

Like the sacrificial rituals associated with war, most of the sacrificial rituals performed by the paramount chief were of public interest. At the resumption of each fishing season, the paramount presided over sacrificial rituals to Kū designed to guarantee a plentiful catch. Chiefly sacrifices were performed not only to increase the fertility of critical resources, but also to increase the fertility of the population. It was necessary for the paramount chief to carry out sacrifices to avert public calamities due to eclipses, epidemics and volcanic eruptions. When, in response to an eruption, paramount chief Kamehameha sent for a ritual specialist of Pele and asked that he offer propitiatory sacrifices to Pele to avert a calamity, the seer responded that only the ruling paramount chief could offer the propitiation on the chiefdom's behalf (Valeri 1985, 43, 50, 140).

Thus, the Hawaiian paramount chief was obliged to preside over an exacting ritual calendar. The demanding, year-round observances and sacrifices sanctified his rule but placed obvious constraints on his time, travel and ability to embark on the conquest of neighbouring chiefdoms, especially those on other islands (Webb 1965, 30).

Ritual consequences of Kamehameha's conquests

True to the Hawaiian characterization of a paramount chief bent on conquest as 'a shark that travels on land' (Sahlins 1981, 10; Valeri 1985, 151), in 1790, paramount chief Kamehameha of the Kona district (Fig.

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5) launched a successful attack on the neighbouring island of Maui with the assistance of European guns, cannons and two English officers. Following the conquest of Maui, Kamehameha waged war against his rivals on the big island of Hawai'i, the paramount chiefs of the Hilo, Ka'ū and Puna districts, who were defeated and sacrificed in 1790 and 1792, making Kamehameha the ruler of Maui and Hawai'i (Service 1975, 155; Valeri 1985, 162–3). In 1795, Kamehameha invaded the island of O'ahu with a force of 1000 war canoes and 12,000 warriors and defeated and sacrificed his longest-standing and mightiest rival (Flannery 1999, 11–12). Kamehameha's conquest of O'ahu marked the political consolidation of all the major Hawaiian Islands except Kaua'i under his rule, and the end of the old political order of competing independent chiefdoms (Kirch 1985, 306–8). Kamehameha's campaign culminated in 1810, when the paramount chief of Kaua'i capitulated. Kamehameha then assumed control over the entire Hawaiian chain as ruler of the Hawaiian state.

During his campaign, Kamehameha introduced changes to the traditional calendar of observances and sacrifices. Many of the changes centred on the ascendance of Kū 'the island snatcher', associated with war and human sacrifice, from whom Kamehameha had received his divine right to rule (Davenport 1969, 8). Kū first appeared in the Hawaiian chronicles nine generations before Kamehameha, and was deemed responsible for enabling the paramounts to pursue conquest warfare and practise human sacrifice (Valeri 1985, 247). During Kamehameha's campaign, the sacrificial rituals to Kū performed at the opening of the newly constructed or renovated *luakini* temples each year became more elaborate. The *luakini* temples themselves became more massive, as did the sacrifice of hundreds of pigs, jack fish and humans practised there by Kamehameha and priests of the Kū order before a carved wooden image of Kū, now transcended following victory into Kū 'of the vast expanse' (Davenport 1969, 8–9; Kirch 1985, 308; Valeri 1985, 184, 313).

Another consequence of Kamehameha's conquests was the standardized rededication of *luakini* temples throughout the Hawaiian Islands to the preeminent Kū, a series of rituals that culminated with the 'great sacrifice' marking the transcendence of Kū. Indeed, as part of Kamehameha's training of his son, Liholiho, to succeed him, Kamehameha and Liholiho rededicated temples throughout the realm. One reason for this was that the effective control of conquered districts was exercised through the control of the principal *luakini* temple, beginning with its ritual consecration to Kamehameha's Kū. The temple's rededication automatically transformed the enemy conqueror of a district into its legitimate ruler (Valeri 1985, 186–8, 271, 279). The very construction of a *luakini* temple was a public work that could involve thousands of labourers, as did Kamehameha's construction in 1790–91 of the massive Pu'ukoholā temple in the Kohala district on Hawai'i (Kirch 1985, 175, 308; 1996, 84). As one measure of Kamehameha's widespread support in a conquered region, the successful completion of a *luakini* temple was enough to discourage resistance and could be considered the equivalent of a battle won (Valeri 1985, 235). A sequence of temples at Kāne'ākī, in the Mākaha Valley on O'ahu, documents archaeologically the reconfiguration of the district's major temple into a *luakini* temple in the final proto-historic period (1650–1795) with the addition of a large walled enclosure and stepped platform for human sacrifices (Kirch 1984, 251–2; 1985, 264–5).

Finally, Kamehameha introduced changes to the *Makahiki* festival, by inserting a *ho'okupu* tribute payable to his own 'feather god' (Kū) prior to the first-fruits sacrifices offered to Lono (Kirch 1984, 260–61; Valeri 1985, 204, 221–2). Toward the end of his reign, there are indications that Kamehameha shortened the 10-day fishing rituals, during which canoes were prohibited from the beach, to one day and night, in order to permit trade with European ships to resume (Valeri 1985, 230–32). The development of Kamehameha's authority as the ruler of a far-reaching state was manifested increasingly in self-serving violations of traditional ritual practices and taboos (Sahlins 1981, 46; Valeri 1985, 222). Six months after Kamehameha's death in 1819, Liholiho abolished all taboos and his high priest issued orders to set fire to the temples, effectively eliminating the traditional Hawaiian rituals of sanctification, and making the Hawaiian state fully secular (Davenport 1969, 15–16; Kalākaua 1888, 438; Webb 1965, 22). In the aftermath of the dissolution of the taboos and the official Hawaiian temple rituals to Kū, Lono, and the other 'high heads', only the veneration of ancestors and other tutelary spirits persisted in the divination and curing rituals long practised by commoners (Davenport 1969, 18; Valeri 1985, 29).[1]

The modifications in the traditional rituals of sanctification during Kamehameha's campaign direct attention, first of all, to how a paramount chief's presiding role in an exacting calendar round of rituals of sanctification can interfere with his pursuit of interregional conquest warfare. In response, Kamehameha shortened certain traditional ritual observances. At the same time, the *luakini* temple rituals to the warlike Kū that legitimized his military conquests became

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more elaborate, involving a burgeoning hierarchy of specialized priests, overseen by the high priest of the order of Kū (Valeri 1985, 136, 256). These full-time priests, like other members of Kamehameha's court, were sustained by the annual tribute exacted during the *Makahiki* festival (Kirch 1984, 207, 259–60).

Secondly, conquest warfare can spur the introduction in conquered regions of standardized temples dedicated to the conqueror's revered supernaturals. Throughout Kamehameha's expanding realm came the standardized rededication of *luakini* temples to Kū. The renovation of existing *luakini* temples and the building of new *luakini* temple enclosures were a direct consequence of Kamehameha's conquests, in part because they served as foci of ritual control of conquered regions and also as places for the collection of tribute. A corollary might be the persistence of traditional temple consecrations in regions that resist or remain independent of an expanding polity. In the Hawaiian case, only on the distant island of Kauaʻi, which had eluded attempts by Hawaiian paramounts to invade it, did different temple consecrations and forms persist (Bennett 1931, 30, 34–5, 51, 95; Davenport 1969, 13; Valeri 1985, 184–5). Keeping in mind these modifications to the traditional Hawaiian calendar of rituals of sanctification by Kamehameha, let us turn our attention to the early Zapotec state temples.

Multi-room temples at El Palenque

Like Kauaʻi, the rival polity centred at San Martín Tilcajete in the Ocotlán subregion of the Oaxaca Valley resisted the expansionist actions of Monte Albán's rulers throughout the Late Monte Albán I phase (300–100 BC). Following the destruction and abandonment of the plaza at El Mogote, a new plaza was built uphill at El Palenque (Fig. 2). At 71.5 ha in the Late Monte Albán I phase, El Palenque became the first-order centre of a four-tiered settlement hierarchy and, hence, of an independent state in the Ocotlán-Zimatlán branch of the Oaxaca Valley (Spencer & Redmond 2004a, 177–8). The new plaza had a similar configuration of mounds and the same orientation as El Mogote's. That the El Palenque plaza was 1.6 ha in area, somewhat smaller than the previous plaza, was undoubtedly due to the narrower and more defensible piedmont ridge on which it was built. Bordering the plaza on the north was a palace complex that we exposed in Area I on the highest ground overlooking the plaza. It extended over 850 m^2 and consisted of a residential patio compound and an adjacent paved court accessible from the plaza and surrounded by low platforms, where the affairs of state were probably conducted. The palace was built at the time of the plaza's establishment close to the outset of the Late Monte Albán I phase, *c.* 2300±80 BP (350±80 BC: Spencer & Redmond 2004b).

Two temple platforms were constructed on the eastern border of the El Palenque plaza, evidently as much as a century later (Fig. 2). The larger of them, at the midpoint of the plaza's eastern side, was evidently built first. This was Mound B, measuring 40 m by 20 m, and built of adobe bricks in a single construction effort around 2200±50 BP (250±50 BC), according to a radiocarbon analysis of charcoal from the construction fill (Beta-202178: see Table 1). The central floor of the multi-room temple (Structure 20) stood more than 2.50 m above the plaza floor, and faced west (Figs. 6–7). We were able to expose two of the lime-stuccoed tiers of the broad staircase used to ascend from the plaza to a rectangular landing, a little over 1 m wide. From the landing, entry to the central hall of Structure 20 involved stepping up more than 30 cm through one of three doorways flanked by pillars. The central hall (Room 1) was the temple's largest space, measuring 34 m by 6.75 m wide, including symmetrical wings (6.5 m by 4.5 m) at either end. Its adobe walls stood on substantial stone foundations that in places measured 1.5–2.5 m in width. Patches of the original hard packed lime-stucco floor, only 2 cm thick and largely burned, still remained throughout the eastern half of Room 1.

Two shallow hearths, not lined by stones, lay near the middle of the central hall and in its northern half (Figs. 6–7). Feature 68 extended in an irregular form over one metre in length, 75 cm wide, and dipped only some 3 to 5 cm below the floor; its black ash fill contained charcoal flecks, a fragment of stick-impressed daub and a chert flake tool. Feature 67 was roughly oval, 99 cm long, 84 cm wide and 5 cm deep. Its black ash fill contained some burned adobe fragments and a stick-impressed daub fragment, two burned mammal bone fragments, a grey sherd disk with a hole 3.5 mm wide, and two mother-of-pearl ornaments. Littering the floor around these shallow hearths were fragments of unworked shell (including *Olivella*) and mother-of-pearl ornaments, mica, an alabaster ear or nose ornament, and a human premolar tooth, perhaps part of the attire worn by the priests who performed rituals in this innermost sanctum (Fig. 6). For information about Zapotec priestly attire of this time period, there is the magnificent Monte Albán I phase C. 2 brazier in the form of a temple platform recovered at Monte Albán that depicts three male individuals (priests) wearing pillbox mitres and star-shaped partial masks or nose ornaments (Caso 1942, fig. 7; Caso & Bernal 1952, fig. 308; Caso *et al.*

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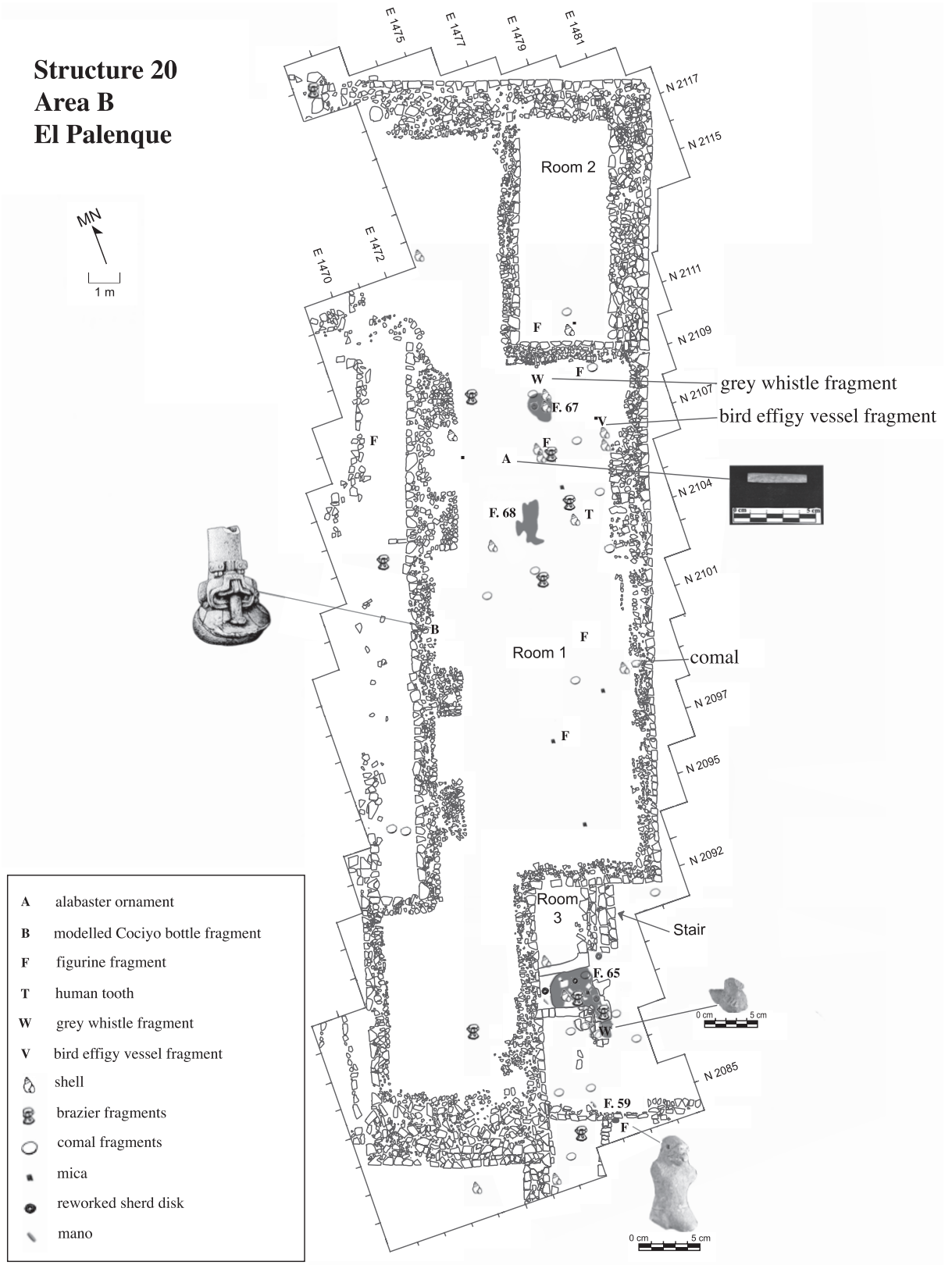

Figure 6. *Plan of Structure 20 on Mound B at El Palenque, showing the distribution of ritual paraphernalia and other artefacts on the floors of the multi-room temple.*

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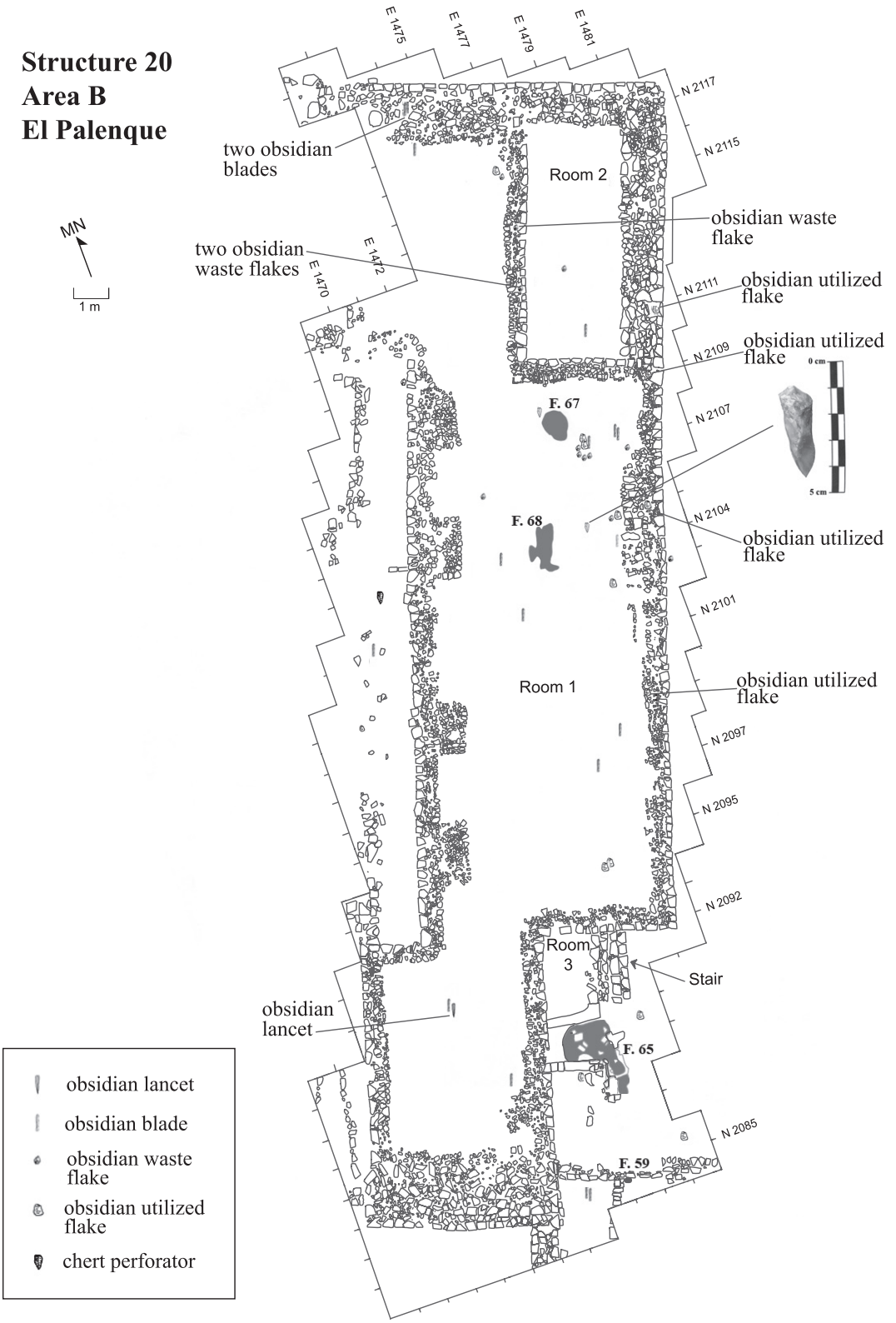

Figure 7. *Plan of Structure 20 on Mound B at El Palenque, showing the distribution of obsidian blades, flakes, debitage and chert perforators on the floors of the multi-room temple.*

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1967, 201). Additional information from Structure 20 about priestly attire comes from the fragment of a figurine we recovered at the southeastern edge of excavation Area B above a small dump of ash (Feature 59): it is a standing human figure wearing an opossum mask (Fig. 6). Beside Feature 67 lay a fragment of a grey ceramic whistle, which may have been blown during certain rituals performed in the central hall; young Aztec priests are known to have sounded small flutes at various points during vigils in their temples (Durán 1971, 119; Seler 1904, 304). Nearby lay a fragment of a bird effigy greyware vessel. A complete greyware whistle in the form of a bird was associated with a larger hearth (Feature 65) in the southeastern back room (Room 3; Fig. 6). Fragments of plainware incense braziers, griddles (*comales*), and greyware human figurines were scattered on the floor of Room 1 and at the southern end of the adjoining Room 2. Just inside the main doorway lay a fragment of a modelled greyware effigy bottle of the sort depicting the supernatural *Cociyo* (Lightning; see Fig. 8a; Caso & Bernal 1952, 26–8; Caso *et al.* 1967, 149–50; Marcus & Flannery 1996, 158–9).

The distribution of obsidian blades and the fragment of an obsidian lancet recovered during the excavation of Structure 20 (Fig. 7) suggest that auto-sacrificial bloodletting was performed in the central hall and adjoining wings of Room 1, probably by the officiating priests. Three chert perforators also lay on the floor of the central hall and on the landing outside it. The recovery of unused obsidian flakes, angular fragments and waste flakes from the northern end of Room 1 and Room 2 indicates that some obsidian was being reworked inside the Structure 20 temple.

A landing at the northern end of Room 3 stood at the head of a three-tiered staircase that offered a separate entrance at the rear of the temple for the priests (Marcus & Flannery 1996, 184; Flannery 1998, 36). This southeastern back room was dominated by a large adobe-lined cooking facility, Feature 65. Feature 65 consisted of a fire-box on its eastern side and a circular chamber 1.5 m by 1 m in plan and 30 cm deep. Significantly larger (16.6 times) than the fire-box hearths associated with a residential compound that we exposed in Area P at the site (Fig. 2), Feature 65 was apparently used to prepare food for a group larger than the usual household (Fig. 6; see also Martínez López & Markens 2004, 92–3). Around it lay two pestle fragments and many griddle sherds. Nearby were four reworked sherd disks, most bearing a drilled hole between 3.5 and 5 mm in diameter: like the drilled grey sherd disk in Feature 67, these four may have served as lids or as spindle weights for

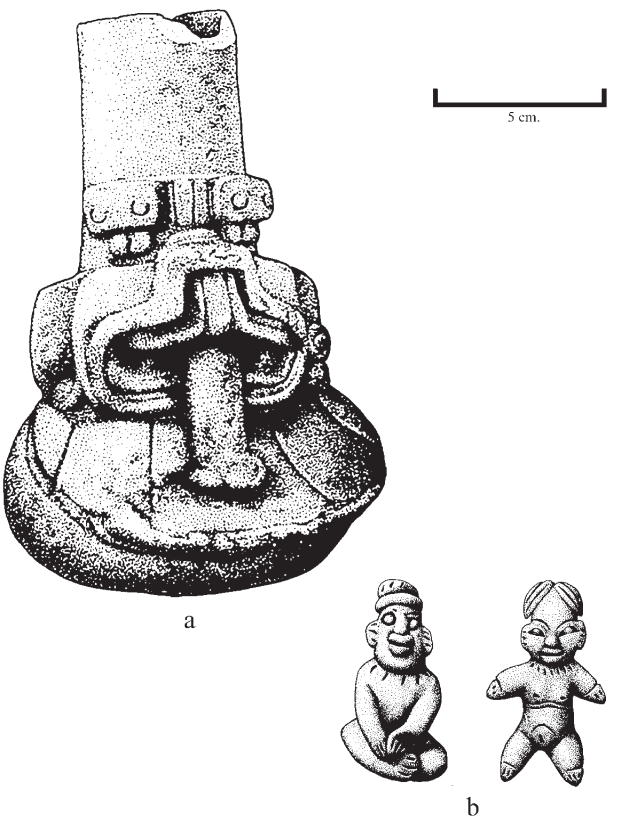

Figure 8. *Zapotec ritual paraphernalia of the Monte Albán I phase: a) modelled greyware effigy bottle depicting the Zapotec supernatural Cociyo (17 cm tall; redrawn from Caso & Bernal 1952, fig. 24 and Marcus & Flannery 1996, fig. 176); b) small solid greyware figurines of standing female and seated male (6 cm tall; redrawn from Caso & Bernal 1952, fig. 479d–e and Marcus 1998, figs. 8.48, 8.50).*

spinning cotton (Flannery & Marcus 2005, 77; Parsons 1972; Stark *et al.* 1998, 15–17). The black ash and pebble fill of Feature 65 contained 10 burned mammal rib and leg bone fragments, mica, a whole *Olivella* shell bead, and burned adobe fragments. Present too were several restorable ceramic vessels characteristic of the Late Monte Albán I phase, most notably a C.20 bowl, a C.1 brazier potstand and a G.12 bowl having a combed bottom with traces of red pigment in the combed lines (Caso *et al*. 1967, 25–6, 45, 47). Sample Beta–171545 (see Table 1), taken from a large chunk of charcoal recovered in the northwestern top edge of Feature 65, yielded a conventional radiocarbon date of 1990±60 BP (40±60 BC) for the final use of Feature 65 and the abandonment of Structure 20.

A smaller temple platform, measuring 22 m by 7 m, Mound G, was built on the east side of the plaza

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and directly northeast of Mound B, in what also appears to have been a single construction effort. Mound G was constructed of hard yellow clay with some burned pink adobe concentrations, not detectable as adobe bricks. A chunk of charcoal recovered in the mound's construction fill (Beta-202179: see Table 1) dates the platform to 2050±40 BP (100±40 BC), near the end of the Late Monte Albán I phase. The multi-room temple (Structure 16) built on Mound G consisted of two contiguous rectangular rooms with adobe walls on stone foundations as massive as 1.5 m wide. Each room had a single entry from the plaza, to the west (Figs. 9–10). The poorly preserved remains of a stone slab staircase, comprising at least three tiers, ascended the temple platform's western side to reach the larger outer room (Room 2). Room 2 measured 12.80 m by 2.35 m, and still featured remnants of its original lime-stucco floor in its recessed northeastern corner, some 50 cm above the bottom of the staircase. Another 10 cm step up through a single 1.65 m-wide stone-lined doorway led to the smaller, interior room (Room 1), that measured 9.80 m by 2.20 m and stood more than 1.15 m above the plaza. Small rooms or cubicles lay to the north (Room 3, measuring 3.40 m by 2.20 m) and south (Room 4, measuring 2.75 m by 2.20 m), which we think were reached from the interior of Room 1. Lime stucco still covered portions of the temple's exterior aprons to the north and south.

Very few artefacts were recovered *in situ* during the excavation of the temple's principal rooms, probably because of the poor preservation of the original floors. No evidence of any subfloor features appeared in Structure 16. Figures 9 and 10 reveal the distribution of ritual paraphernalia. At the back of the innermost sanctum lay the unworked rim of a gastropod shell, and mother-of-pearl ornaments were associated with the adjoining rooms (Fig. 9). A *Turritella leucostoma* shell bead was recovered in the carbonized deposit of a hearth or ash dump (Feature 35) that we partly exposed on the temple's northern exterior apron, along with two fragments of a C.20 bowl and five greyware sherds characteristic of the Late Monte Albán I phase. Fragments of plainware incense braziers appeared throughout the multi-room temple, along with a modelled greyware *Cociyo* bottle fragment of the sort presented in Figure 8a. Two solid greyware human figurines — one a fragment of a standing female figurine and the other from a seated male — were recovered on the stairway and the exterior northwest surface (Fig. 9; compare Fig. 8b).

The association of obsidian blades and chert perforators with the temple's cubicles and exterior aprons points to their likely use in autosacrificial bloodletting rituals (Fig. 10). An awl fashioned from the distal end of a deer humerus may have also served for perforating or bloodletting; Mixtec codices clearly depict a priest using a bone awl to pierce Lord 8 Deer's nose and insert an ornament as a military insignia (Marcus 1992, figs. 10.8–10.10). The awl was found lying on the northwest lime-stucco surface under burned adobe wall fall and carbonized remains of posts, Feature 22 (Fig. 9). Feature 22 is one of several deposits of burned adobe wall fall and carbonized material recovered on the exterior aprons that resulted from the fire that destroyed the temple. A charcoal sample (Beta-143353) from Feature 22 produced a conventional radiocarbon date of 1980±70 BP (30±70 BC) for the destruction by fire of the temple at the time of the centre's abandonment in the early years of the Monte Albán II phase (100 BC–AD 200).

Despite their common location on the east side of the El Palenque plaza, their orientation and their similar elongated, rectangular design, the two multi-room temples are not copies of one another. Their contents reveal evidence of overlapping but not identical ritual functions. The larger, more prominent Structure 20 temple, built first, displays evidence of divinatory and autosacrificial bloodletting performed by priests in the central hall alongside hearths and braziers. Some obsidian was evidently being reworked and cotton might also have been spun in the southeastern back room that served for cooking. Descriptions of Aztec temples mention young priests' care of the small stone blades used in bloodletting (Durán 1971, 81–2); spinning and weaving were reported as being performed by women in a separate room behind the principal temple (Motolinía 1950, 76–7). The smaller Structure 16 temple, built over a century later, was a multi-chambered sanctuary where priests performed divinatory rites and drew their own blood with obsidian blades and perforators, incense braziers, figurines and *Cociyo* effigy vessels. That the priests who served in Structure 16 were overseen by a priest in the more prominent Structure 20 temple is a hypothesis subject to future investigation.

In view of the differences between the tiny and embedded one-room temple at the previous Early Monte Albán I phase community of El Mogote and the stand-alone multi-room temples at El Palenque, we propose that the latter probably reflect the development of a full-time priesthood in the service of the Ocotlán-Zimatlán state in the Late Monte Albán I phase. Flannery & Marcus (1983a, 82) have outlined the process whereby the full-time priests manning these temples in the service of the state would have taken over certain rituals previously performed by

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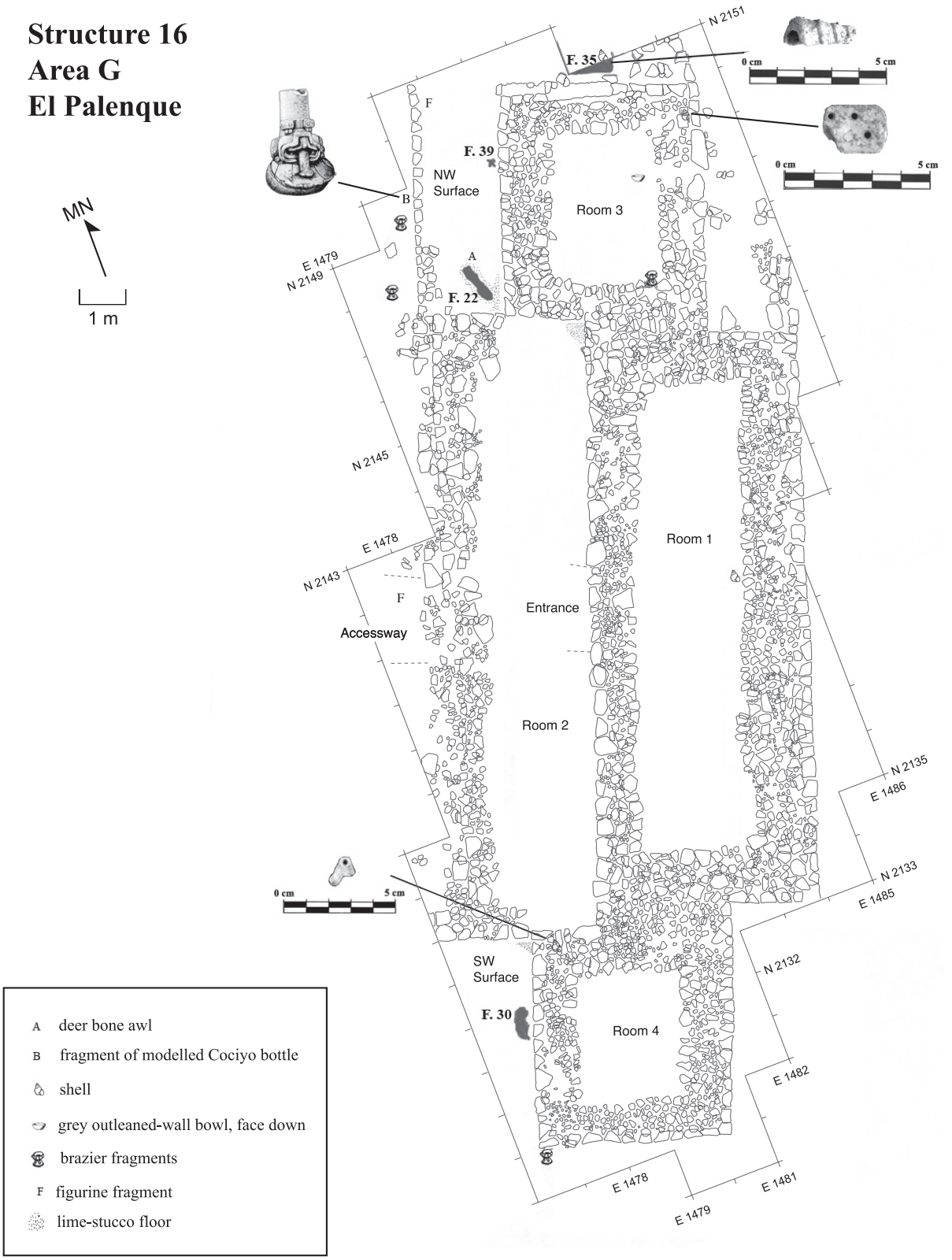

Figure 9. *Plan of Structure 16 on Mound G at El Palenque, showing the distribution of ritual paraphernalia on the floors of the multi-room temple.*

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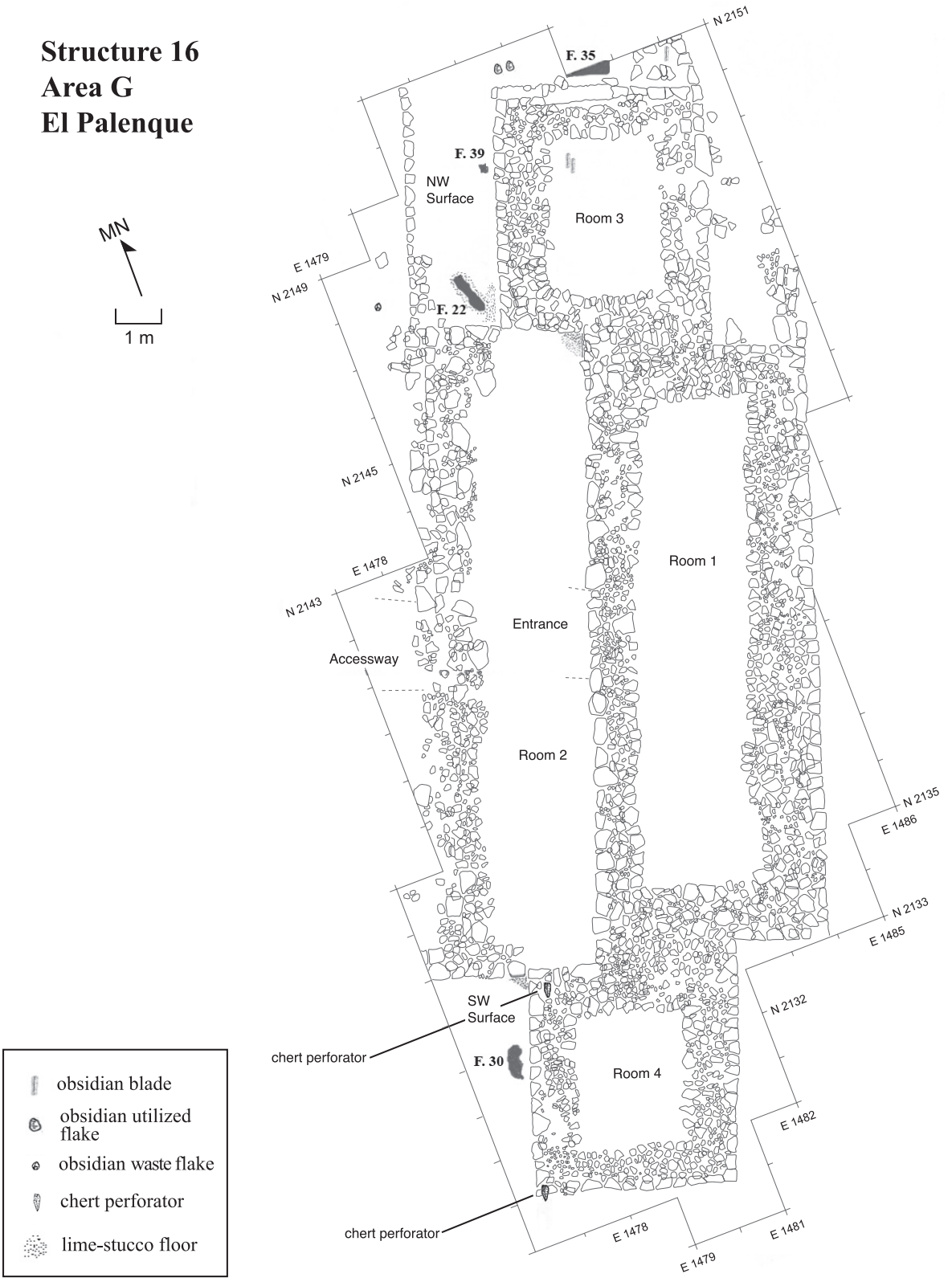

Figure 10. *Plan of Structure 16 on Mound G at El Palenque, showing the distribution of obsidian blades, flakes, debitage and chert perforators on the floors of the multi-room temple.*

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members of the chiefly elite with the assistance of part-time religious specialists.

We cannot yet determine how different these early state temples at Tilcajete are from contemporaneous ones buried under later constructions at Monte Albán, other than noting that their orientation differs from that of the platforms bordering the Main Plaza at Monte Albán. It is clear that the temples at El Palenque are unlike the standardized two-room temples established in the succeeding Monte Albán II phase (100 BC–AD 200) at Monte Albán and at secondary centres and large villages throughout the Oaxaca Valley and neighbouring regions under Monte Albán's control. We think the multi-room design of the El Palenque temples can be considered another indication of the Tilcajete polity's autonomy and resistance to Monte Albán's expansionist campaigns throughout the Late Monte Albán I phase.

The Structure 16 temple's destruction by fire around 1980±70 BP (30±70 BC) is virtually contemporaneous with the final use of the Feature 65 hearth in the back room of the Structure 20 temple around 1990±60 BP (40±60 BC: see Table 1). These dates also overlap the latest radiocarbon date from the El Palenque centre that comes from a charred deposit in the patio of the ruler's Area I palace (1970±60 BP [20±60 BC]), associated with a major conflagration (Spencer & Redmond 2004b). The burning of the temples and palace, probably all targets of Monte Albán's forces, marked the overwhelming defeat of the Ocotlán-Zimatlán state, and the centre's complete abandonment in the first century of the Monte Albán II phase (100 BC–AD 200).

Conquest warfare and the development of standardized two-room temples

Monte Albán's defeat of the Tilcajete polity was just one of its many conquests in regions outside and within the Oaxaca Valley, an expansionist strategy initiated in the Late Monte Albán I phase (Spencer & Redmond 2001a). The regions conquered were transformed into tributary provinces of the burgeoning Monte Albán state. By analogy with the modifications in the traditional Hawaiian rituals during Kamehameha's campaign, we might expect Zapotec rituals of sanctification to have been modified as part of the new militaristic state ideology. Keeping in mind that temples in Hawaii became the loci of ritual control and tribute collection during Kamehameha's campaign, we should examine closely the temples erected at Monte Albán and in regions under its control by the Monte Albán II phase for signs of a new ideological and ritual order.

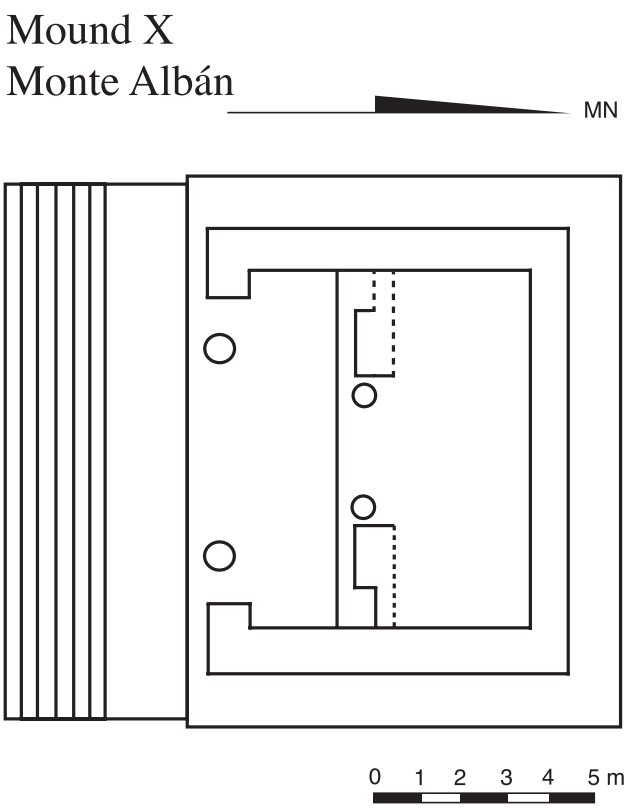

Figure 11. *Plan of two-room temple on Mound X at Monte Albán. (Redrawn from Fahmel Beyer 1991, lám 67.)*

It is in the Monte Albán II phase that the Main Plaza at Monte Albán was levelled and plastered and many platforms constructed on all four sides and along its centre line. At least eight of the platforms supported two-room temples (Elson 2003, 95; Flannery 1983b; Winter 2001, 288, fig. 10). Other temple platforms were constructed directly northeast of the Main Plaza's North Platform, such as Mound X and System Y. The appearance of standardized two-room temples signals the development of a Zapotec state religion served by specialized priests (Flannery & Marcus 1983a, 82). That the two-room temple plan endured throughout the succeeding Monte Albán IIIA and IIIB phases (AD 200–700) shows how long the Zapotec state religion continued (Marcus & Flannery 1996, 182, 222; Martínez López 2002, 265).

The well-preserved two-room temple of Mound X discovered by Caso in 1935 (Fig. 11) bears all the hallmarks of a Zapotec temple or 'house of the vital force'; it consists of an outer vestibule flanked by masonry columns that leads to an inner sanctum lying a step up and through a narrower doorway also flanked by columns (Córdova 1942, 74, 397; Flannery & Marcus 1983a, 82; Flannery 1983b, 104). The sixteenth- and

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seventeenth-century references to Zapotec temples distinguish between the space where petitioners delivered their offerings of quail, deer, or infants and war captives, and a restricted space containing a stone altar where priests performed the actual offerings or sacrifices before figures ('idols') of a supreme supernatural, *Bezalao*, invoked for help in most matters, and of *Cozichacozee*, who oversaw Zapotec success in war (Burgoa 1934, 123–4, 168; Córdova 1942, 24, 397; Espíndola 1905, 138–9; Villegas 1928, 125–7).

Correspondingly, embedded in the plaster floor of the inner sanctum of the same two-room temple were two ceramic basins (*tlecuiles*) and a roughly hewn triangular stone painted red. A stone offering box painted red lay empty at the midpoint of the temple's rear wall but fragments of a ceramic urn in the form of a seated human figure wearing a *Cociyo* mask lay in the fill above the floor here. Another cache lay in the nucleus of a column and consisted of a small jade human figure with arms crossed, shells, and a yellow painted disk. Fragments of stone slabs with bas-relief carvings, one bearing a human skull, were also recovered in the temple's fill (Acosta 1974, 73–6; Caso 1935, 14–15; 1965, 900; Caso & Bernal 1952, fig. 33). The features and offerings recovered in the inner room 'probably relate to the placement of offerings or incense burners, the washing of sacrificial items, or the collection of blood from sacrificed birds, dogs, infants, or prisoners' (Marcus & Flannery 1996, 182).

Two-room temples like Monte Albán's appeared at secondary administrative centres on the valley floor during the Monte Albán II phase. No fewer than ten were built on the Main Plaza of the 60–70 ha secondary centre established at San José Mogote, especially on top of 15 m tall Mound 1 (Flannery & Marcus 1983c, 112; Marcus & Flannery 1996, 179–80) which shared the colonnaded plan and the orientation of the Mound X temple at Monte Albán. The sooty rings left by braziers for burning incense were evident on their lime-stucco floors, as were obsidian blades used for autosacrificial bloodletting and obsidian daggers for other forms of sacrifice. Features in the temples at San José Mogote also reminiscent of the Mound X temple are the subfloor basin and stone offering boxes beneath the floors of the inner rooms. The offerings included quail, antlers, human jade figures coated with red pigment and anthropomorphic ceramic figures, many wearing *Cociyo* masks, arranged in ritual scenes (Flannery & Marcus 1983c, 112; Marcus & Flannery 1996, 185–8). Radiocarbon dates obtained from these temples have led Marcus & Flannery (2004, 18,260–61) to raise the possibility that the construction of new temples coincided with the 52-year calendar round, when large-scale divinatory and sacrificial rituals were performed.

Following Monte Albán's conquest came the establishment of a settlement on Cerro Tilcajete, the subregion's natural boundary with the central portion of the Oaxaca Valley (Fig. 1). Our mapping and surface collecting of Cerro Tilcajete and Christina Elson's horizontal excavations have revealed how different from El Palenque the new hilltop centre was and how it administered the subregion during the Monte Albán II phase (Fig. 12). The terraced settlement extended over 24.5 ha of the mountain ridge, and was traversed by a road that ascended the northern slope of Cerro Tilcajete from the central valley floor and continued southward to cross a saddle in the ridge, through a mound group, and down the southeastern slope lined by residential terraces toward the Tilcajete alluvium. Two of our surface collections (Fig. 12) sampled roadside niches carved into the slope that contained Monte Albán II ceramics, fragments of anthropomorphic figurines and urns, an unworked fragment of a gastropod shell, a cut mother-of-pearl by-product and lime (Feinman & Nicholas 2007, table C1). The contents of the niches help to date the road's use to the Monte Albán II phase and also bring to mind the sacrificial rituals performed by the historic Zapotec before setting out on a journey to collect tribute (Alcina Franch 1993, 170; Coe & Whittaker 1982, 77–8, 116–18).

Above the road and saddle lay Cerro Tilcajete's small Plaza II, 30 m by 40 m. Elson's excavations on the top of the large mound (Mound A) bordering the north side of the plaza exposed an elite residence; a radiocarbon sample taken from the beneath it (Beta-143356) produced a conventional radiocarbon date of AD 80±70 (Elson 2007, 51), corresponding to the Monte Albán II phase. Bordering the plaza on the east was Mound B, 1 m high, on which Elson exposed the stone foundations of a two-room temple facing west (Elson 2007, 47–8; see Fig. 13). Its plan is clear despite damage by ploughing, erosion and slumping on its eastern edge; plaster surfaces 6 cm thick remained only under wall fall on the building's northern apron. Reaching the inner room involved stepping up at least 30 cm from the outer room bordering the plaza (Elson 2007, 48). At the midpoint of the temple's rear wall lay 1 m^2 of flagstones, not an offering box, but perhaps an altar where dedicatory offerings were placed. In the fill of the two-room temple Elson recovered ceramics, including griddles, a few anthropomorphic figurine and urn fragments, and some obsidian blades and flakes (Elson 2003, 131–2, tables 5, 8; 2007, table 4.14). Four unworked fragments of mother-of-pearl were

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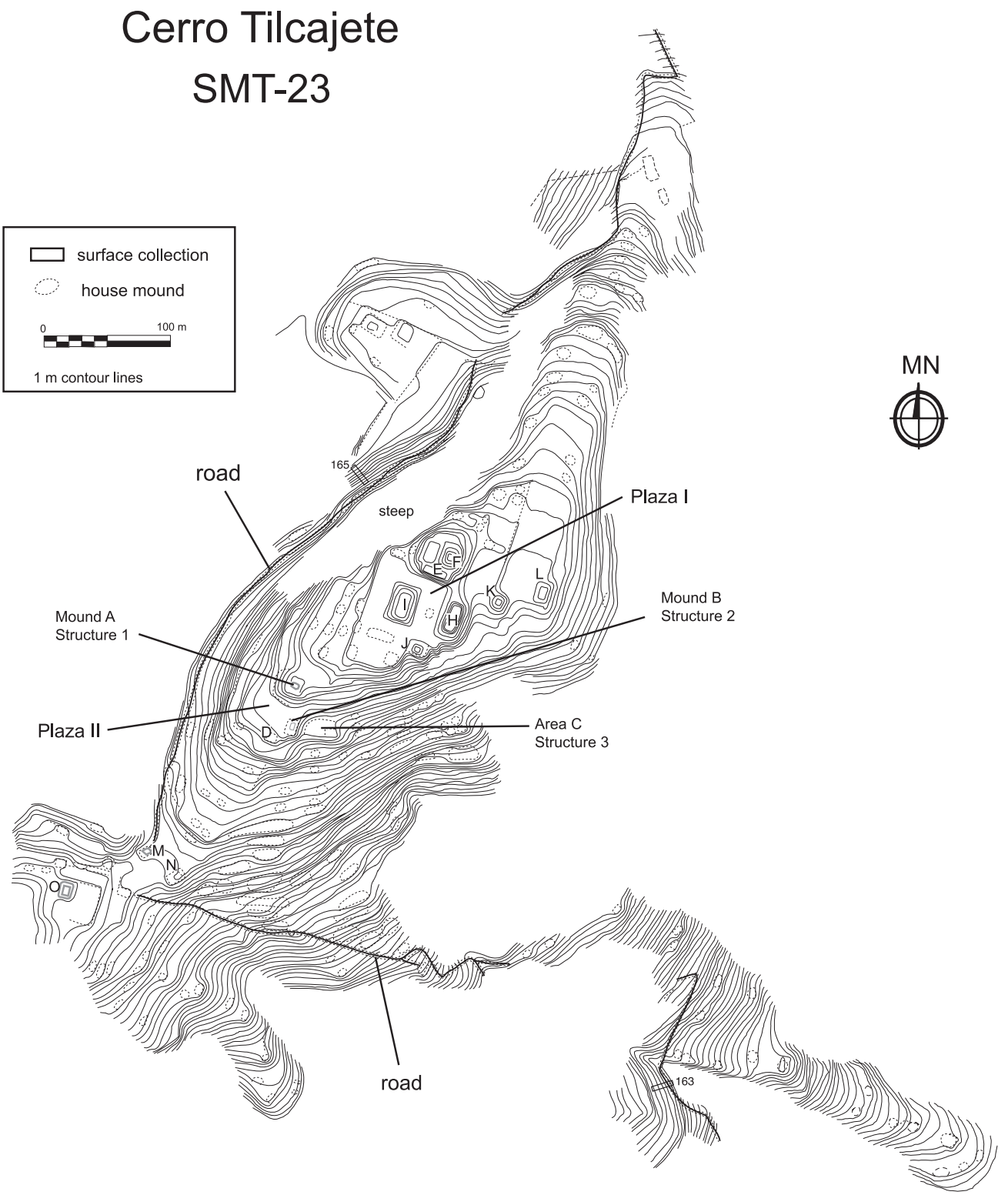

Figure 12. *Topographic map of Cerro Tilcajete, marking the mounds, house mounds, road and two of the numbered surface collections. (Redrawn from Elson 2003, fig. 29).*

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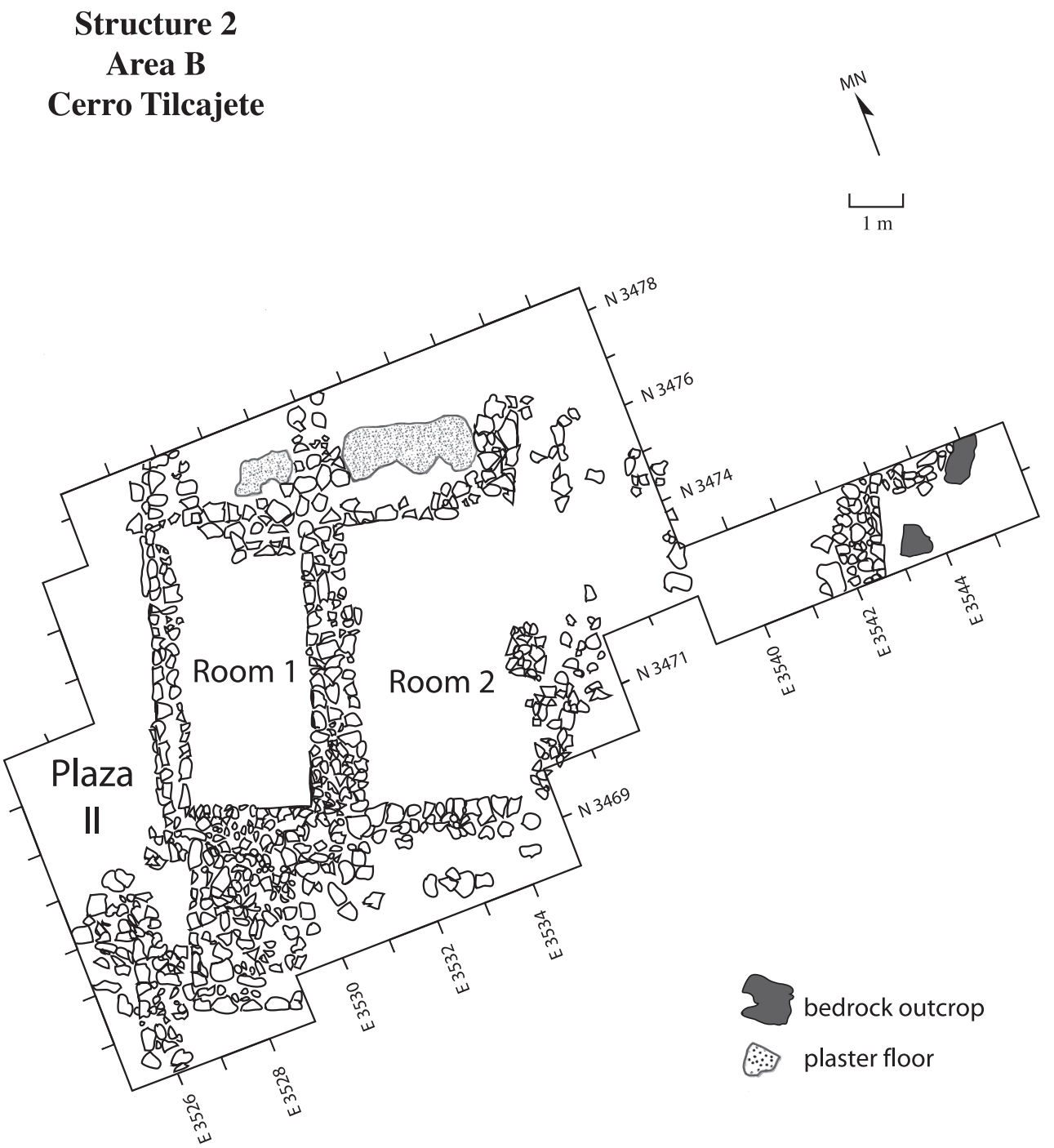

Figure 13. *Plan of two-room temple (Structure 2) on Mound B at Cerro Tilcajete. (Redrawn from Elson 2003, fig. 41.)*

recovered from Mound B as well (Feinman & Nicholas 2007, table C3). Elson (2003, 118, 125; 2006, 56, 58) has suggested that the inhabitants of the elite residence (Area C, Structure 3) on the terrace directly east of Plaza II, reached only by a narrow passage north of the temple (Fig. 12), may have been closely tied to the activities in the temple, perhaps as full-time priests of the Monte Albán state religion.

Along with the two-room temple, there are signs that a new imperial ideology was one of the tenets of the Zapotec state religion at Monte Albán and lower-order centres, and introduced into its conquered

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Figure 14. *The caped and masked individual depicted on a 1.30 m tall stone (Danzante 41) at Monte Albán. (Redrawn from Caso 1947, fig. 23.)*

regions. Among the many temples erected at Monte Albán during the Monte Albán II phase were those on top of the pentagonal Building J in the Main Plaza. Building J's exterior walls featured the 50 carved stone inscriptions of Monte Albán's conquests referred to earlier (Caso 1938, 1947; Marcus 1992). Recovered *in situ* along Building J's northwestern face was a distinctive carved stone depiction (Fig. 14) of a standing male wearing a cape and an elaborate headdress and *Cociyo* mask, among other elite accoutrements (Caso 1947, 14, fig. 23). The glyph for hill or place inscribed on the lining of his cape associates him definitively with Building J's conquest inscriptions (Caso 1947, 19, 25; Marcus 1976, 127–8; Scott 1978, 50), yet his regalia and his fully upright position differentiate him from the inverted heads of rulers depicted on the associated conquest slabs. The jaguar head inscribed above his raised hand may refer to his membership in the jaguar lineage already recorded on hieroglyphic inscriptions

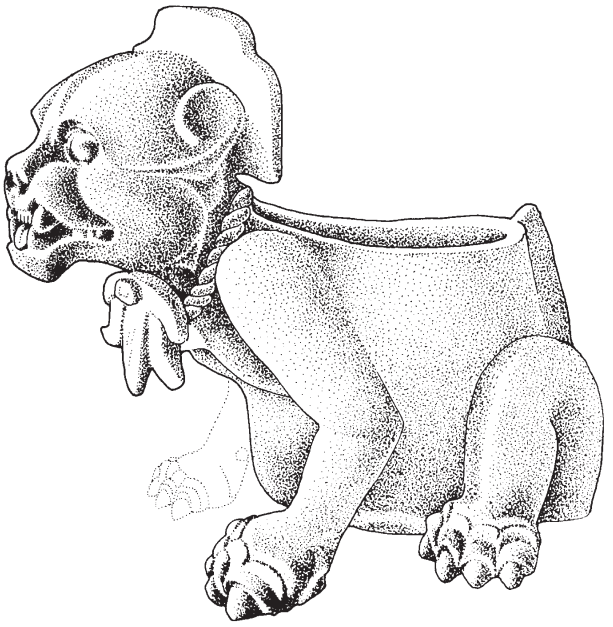

Figure 15. *Ceramic jaguar statue or urn from the Monte Albán II phase site of Suchilquitongo (43 cm tall; redrawn from Caso & Bernal 1952, fig. 98).*

associated with the Building L *danzantes* during Monte Albán's founding Early Monte Albán I phase. Indeed, Monte Albán's ancient name may have been 'Hill of 1 Jaguar' (Marcus & Flannery 1996, 160–61, 219).

Representations of jaguars and of men wearing jaguar headdresses, helmets, masks, fangs and paws became widespread during the Monte Albán II phase. Best known is the freestanding 85 cm tall polychrome ceramic statue of a seated jaguar that was recovered from a Monte Albán II phase midden beside the Main Plaza at Monte Albán. The jaguar is shown wearing a knotted sash of the sort known to have been awarded to distinguished Aztec warriors (Anderson & Dibble 1954, fig. 100; Marcus 1992, fig. 11.8). Similar ceramic statues or urns have been recovered from Monte Albán II phase settlements on the valley floor (Fig. 15) and beyond (Caso & Bernal 1952, 54–64; Marcus 1976, 133–5). Fragments of hollow ceramic jaguar paws turned up in the plaza areas of two settlements contemporaneous with the Late Monte Albán I and II phases in the Canãda de Cuicatlán — a Cuicatec region commemorated on Building J as a conquered place — where abundant archaeological data have been recovered pertaining to its conquest and subsequent transformation into a tributary region administered by the Zapotec state. The hollow ceramic jaguar paw at Loma de la Coyotera in the southern Cañada de Cuicatlán (Fig. 1) was recovered not far from the

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remains of a skull rack in the settlement's plaza, which was bordered on two sides by platforms, one or both of which may have supported two-room temples (Redmond 1983, 129–30, pl. 34; Spencer 1982, 236; Spencer & Redmond 2000). At Cerro Tilcajete, a figurine fragment recovered from the Area C elite residence behind the Structure 2 temple portrayed the head of a human wearing a jaguar costume (Elson 2007, 76, fig. 4.32b). Certainly the occurrence of jaguar statues and urns in the plazas of settlements subjugated by Zapotec forces, where individuals were evidently sacrificed, raises the possibility that the jaguar became ascendant in the rituals of sanctification performed by Monte Albán's rulers and the newly instituted military and priestly orders who served them at Monte Albán and throughout the expanded Zapotec realm (Marcus & Flannery 1996, 232–3; Redmond 1983, 174).

Although a full discussion of Zapotec sacrificial iconography is well beyond the scope of this article, there are clues in the representations of jaguars that might shed further light on certain rituals practised by the military and priestly orders of the expansionist Zapotec state. The jaguar urn from the valley floor site of Suchilquitongo (Fig. 15) wears a tripartite pectoral hanging from a rope around its neck that Caso & Bernal (1952, 62) likened to Central Mexican depictions of flowing blood, and most vividly, to the scrolls of blood emanating from a beheaded individual *danzante*, and from the wounds of other mutilated captives depicted on Building L at Monte Albán. The occurrence of this tripartite blood scroll below the right hand of the standing male figure associated with the Building J conquest inscriptions (Fig. 14) suggests this individual, wearing a cape, *Cociyo* headdress and mask, ear spools, leg band decorated with tinklers and pom-poms on his sandals, may have been a lord or high priest of the jaguar lineage at Monte Albán, responsible for the blood sacrifice of war captives obtained from conquered regions. Urcid & Winter (2003, 127) have also noted the caped and masked figure's sacrificial paraphernalia. Captives from the 50 or so conquered regions were probably sacrificed both at Monte Albán, where the remains of sacrificed individuals have been recovered (Acosta 1974, 76–8), and in the plazas of the Zapotec administrative outposts established in the conquered regions. The sacrifice of war captives exerted terrifying ritual control over conquered regions at the same time that it sanctified the authority of their new Zapotec lords (Spencer & Redmond 2000; see also Joyce 2000, 84). That the jaguar, as a symbol of the expansionist Monte Albán state, was beholden to the powerful supernatural *Cociyo*, is evident in the indented headboard worn by the Suchilquitongo jaguar (Fig. 15), a common iconographic attribute of *Cociyo*, who in turn is increasingly portrayed with protruding fangs in the Monte Albán II phase (Caso & Bernal 1952, 62; Marcus & Flannery 1994, 66, fig. 7.16).

Conclusions

Certain parallels exist between the Zapotec and Hawaiian trajectories. Here we wish to point out the broad similarities in the ideology and religious institutions adopted by the expanding polities. Many of the changes that Kamehameha introduced to traditional Hawaiian ideology and ritual behaviour during his conquests were related to the ascendance of the war-like supernatural Kū, who legitimized Kamehameha's divine right to rule, to practise human sacrifice and, in time, to exact a royal tribute. Kamehameha's *luakini* temples consecrated to Kū became larger and more elaborate, as did the sacrificial rituals marking the transcendence of Kū 'the island snatcher' to Kū 'of the vast expanse'. As Kamehameha's rival polities on Hawai'i and neighbouring islands were defeated and brought under his control, *luakini* temples were systematically rebuilt and rededicated, standardized in their ritual consecration to Kamehameha's own aspect of Kū. Only on Kaua'i, which resisted Kamehameha, did traditional temple consecrations and rituals of sanctification persist. A hierarchy of specialized priests was instituted to officiate in the temple rituals, directed by a high priest of the order Kū.

In the Zapotec case, the sequence of temples at San Martín Tilcajete attests to the effects of intensified raiding in the Oaxaca Valley during the Early Monte Albán I phase upon the paramount centre of El Mogote, where the plaza and one-room temple were destroyed by fire during a final attack around 300 BC. A new plaza, built upslope in a more defensible location at El Palenque, was consistent in configuration and orientation with El Mogote's, but multi-room temples replaced the one-room temple. Along with the ruler's palace built across the plaza, these multi-room temples signalled the emergence of a state administration in the Late Monte Albán I phase, independent of Monte Albán. Specialized priests in costume performed divinatory and autosacrificial rituals in the temples with incense braziers, bloodletters, bird effigy whistles and vessels, *Cociyo* bottles and anthropomorphic figurines. The larger multi-room temple offered a rear entrance for the priests and access to a cooking facility.

The multi-room temple design of the Tilcajete temples, like the contemporaneous 'plus-sign' shaped temples at the defensible hilltop centre of Monte

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Negro in the Mixteca Alta (Fig. 1) do not conform to the standardized two-room temples so prevalent at Monte Albán in the succeeding Monte Albán II phase. We would suggest that their local temple styles are another indication that both centres were resisting Monte Albán's expansionist actions in the Late Monte Albán I phase (Acosta & Romero 1992; Balkansky *et al.* 2004, 55–6; Marcus & Flannery 1996, 166–7).

But, upon the defeat and destruction of El Palenque by Monte Albán's forces early in the Monte Albán II phase, the new hilltop settlement at Cerro Tilcajete was established as a secondary centre of the Monte Albán state. A two-room temple like those at Monte Albán was built on the east side of the centre's small plaza, behind which lay an elite residence with restricted access, a possible residence for the officiating priests. Thus, in the Zapotec, as in the Hawaiian case, a ritual control strategy followed military conquest and territorial expansion, involving the establishment and imposition of standardized temples and sacrificial rituals designed to legitimize the rulers' authority over their far-reaching states.

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Note

1. A similar ideological reversal took place in Oaxaca after the Spanish conquest in 1521, which brought an end to the Zapotec state religion and priesthood, but where sacrificial and divinatory rituals persisted in villages.

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