

AP World History
Pre-Columbian Americas: Readings

This reading set contains the following:

- Reading 1: “Mogollon Culture/Anasazi Culture/Hohokam Culture”
- Reading 2 “Who Were the Ancestral Pueblo People”
- Reading 3: “Anasazi Culture at its Height”/ J.J. Brody
- Reading 4: “The Mound Builders”/ from “Atlas of the North American Indian”
- Reading 5: Descriptions of Tenochtitlan from Cortes and Dias
- Reading 6: Mesoamerican Poetry by Nezahualcoyotl
- Reading 7: Inca Laws from Cobo
- Reading 8: Aztec Traders by Pomerantz
- Map of Tenochtitlan region of Mexico

Reading 1: "Mogollon Culture/Anasazi Culture/Hohokam"

Mogollon culture

culture of a group of North American Indians who, between about 200 BC and AD 1200, lived in the mostly mountainous region of what is now southeastern Arizona and southwestern New Mexico. (The name derives from the Mogollon Mountains in New Mexico.) The culture is presumed to have developed out of the earlier Cochise culture; with additional influences from elsewhere. The first pottery in the Southwest was made by the Mogollon, and it was well-made from the beginning, suggesting that the craft may have been imported from Mexico.

The Mogollon culture has been variously divided into developmental periods; consensus is lacking because of incomplete evidence and because of the different rates of development at different communities at different times. Frequently, however, scholars make reference to five developmental periods, named after representative sites: Pine Lawn period, about 200 BC-ad 500; Georgetown period, 500-700; San Francisco period, 700-900; Three Circle period, 900-1050; and Mimbres period, 1050-200.

During the earliest, or Pine Lawn, period the Mogollon Indians lived in small villages of circular pole-pit houses, the floors of which were from 10 to 40 inches (25 to 100 cm) below ground level; entrance was usually through tunnels. Food was obtained principally from wild seeds, roots, and nuts, though incipient agriculture apparently existed. Hunting was probably unimportant since neither arrow or spear points nor animal bones are often found. Pottery, as already noted, was being made and differed in type from that which would be developed by neighbouring Indians.

The same basic pattern continued in the Georgetown period, except that corn (maize) cultivation and game hunting assumed preeminence and more varieties of pottery appeared. This modified pattern persisted into the San Francisco period, though the pit houses became rectangular and stronger in construction; more pottery types also developed.

In the Three Circle period the means of subsistence continued as before, but, along with the older type of pit houses with mud-plastered walls, there appeared rectangular pit houses constructed of stone masonry. Separate ceremonial pit houses were also present. Both developments suggest influences from the Anasazi culture to the north. Pottery types became more various and sophisticated.

In the final, or Mimbres, period profound changes occurred: pit houses were replaced by surface apartment houses from one to three stories in height with masonry walls. The pueblos, or villages, sometimes contained 40 or 50 rooms arranged around a plaza. These traits, together with others, were probably introduced to the area by Anasazi (Pueblo) Indian immigrants, whose homeland was in northern New Mexico. There is evidence that these newcomers lived peacefully with the older inhabitants of the area in the same villages.

For unknown reasons the Mogollon culture ended in the 13th century. The villages were abandoned, and the people disappeared to parts unknown. Compare Anasazi culture.

Anasazi Culture

a North American civilization that developed from about AD 100 to modern times, centring generally on the area where the boundaries of Arizona, New Mexico, Colorado, and Utah intersect. (Anasazi is Navajo for "Ancient Ones.") It is customarily divided into these developmental periods: Basket Maker period; 100-500; Modified Basket Maker period, 500-700; Developmental Pueblo period (formerly designated Pueblo I and II), 700-1050; Classic Pueblo (formerly designated Pueblo III), 1050-1300; Regressive Pueblo (formerly designated Pueblo IV), 1300-1700; and Modern Pueblo (formerly designated Pueblo V), 1700 to date.

The origin of the Basket Maker Indians is not known, but it is evident that, when they first settled in the area; they were already excellent basket weavers and that they were supplementing hunting and wildseed gathering with the cultivation of maize and pumpkins. They lived either in caves or out in the open in shelters constructed of a masonry of poles and adobe mud. Both caves and houses contained special pits, often roofed over, that were used for food storage.

This basic pattern continued into the period of the Modified Basket Makers, when agriculture became their major interest (bean crops were added and turkeys were domesticated), and hunting and gathering were reduced to supplementary roles. Villages remained either in caves or out in the open; but those in caves consisted of an array of semisubterranean houses, and those in the open consisted of chambers both aboveground and below ground, all often contiguously joined in straight lines or crescents. Aboveground chambers probably served as storage, places and the pit houses as domiciles and ceremonial rooms. These pit houses were actually elaborations of the old storage pits. Sun-dried pottery was introduced during this period.

During the Developmental Pueblo period, the same type of straight-line or crescent-shaped multiple house was built, but gradually enlarged. Stone masonry, too, began to replace the earlier pole-and-mud construction. The pit houses became kivas, the underground circular chambers used henceforth primarily for ceremonial purposes. Aboveground chambers were used wholly as domiciles. Agriculture may have been augmented at this time by the cultivation of cotton. Pottery assumed a greater variety of shapes, finishes, and decorations. Basketry was less-common. Throughout the period the area of occupation continued to expand.

The Anasazi built housing located in recesses in the faces of cliffs but otherwise differing little from the masonry or adobe houses and villages built elsewhere. This was also the time of the large, freestanding, apartment-like structures built along canyons or mesa walls. In either locale, many dwellings consisted of two, three, or even four stories, often built in stepped-back fashion so that the roofs of the lower rooms served as porches for the rooms above. These community structures had from 20 to as many as 1,000 rooms. An actual shrinking of the inhabited areas took place as people of the outer fringes moved in to build the large units. Craftsmanship in pottery reached a high level, and cotton and yucca fibre were skillfully woven.

Abandonment of the cliff houses and large community dwellings marked the close of the Classic Pueblo period. In part this may have resulted from the incursion of nomadic Navajo and Apache from the north and a prolonged drought that occurred from 1276 to 1299.

The Regressive Pueblo period was characterized by movement of the people south and east, some to the Rio Grande valley or the White Mountains of Arizona. New villages, some larger than those of Classic Pueblo, were built but were generally poorer and cruder in layout and construction (sometimes walls consisted wholly of adobe). Fine pottery making still flourished, however, though changed in design, and weaving continued as before.

The Modern Pueblo period is usually dated from about 1700, when Spanish influences first began to be pervasive. Official Spanish occupancy of the area had begun in 1598, but the Spaniards' attempts at forced religious conversions and tribute caused hostility among the Indians, leading in 1680 to open revolt and the killing or expulsion of the Spaniards. Not until about 1694 was Spanish authority reimposed. A century of unsettled conditions, however, had reduced the number of Pueblo settlements from about 70 or 80 to 25 or 30. Much of the culture and many of the skills in agriculture and crafts, nevertheless, have continued down to modern times.

Hohokam culture

culture of a group of North American Indians who lived between perhaps 300 BC and AD 1400 in the semiarid region of what is now central and southern Arizona, largely along the Gila and Salt rivers. The culture is customarily divided into four developmental periods: Pioneer, from perhaps 300 BC to AD 500; Colonial, 500-900; Sedentary, 900-1100; and Classic, 1100-1400.

During the Pioneer period the Hohokam lived in villages composed of widely scattered, individually built structures of wood, brush, and clay, each built over a shallow pit. They depended on the cultivation of corn (maize), supplemented by the gathering of wild beans and fruits and some hunting. Although floodwater irrigation may have been practiced, it was during this period that the first irrigation canal was built--a three-mile-long channel in the Gila River Valley that directed river water to the fields. The Hohokam's development of complex canal networks in the millennium to come was unsurpassed in pre-Columbian North America; this agricultural engineering was one of their greatest achievements. During this early period they also developed several varieties of pottery. They seem also to have had elaborate epic poems.

Hohokam culture expanded during the next period, the Colonial, to influence all of what is now the southern half of Arizona. Villages of pit houses, little changed from before, continued as the norm, but ball courts, similar to those of the Maya, were introduced. Cotton was added to corn as a major crop, and irrigation canals proliferated; by AD 700 canals had become narrower and deeper to cut down water loss through ground absorption and evaporation. Pottery was improved and styles were borrowed from neighbouring peoples. The area of occupation contracted somewhat during the Sedentary period, but villages still consisted of unplanned collections of pit houses, only slightly better reinforced; occasionally villages were walled. Corn and cotton were cultivated with ever more extensive irrigation systems. A major achievement was the casting of copper bells in wax molds.

The Classic period of Hohokam culture is notable for the peaceful intrusion of the Salado Indians, a branch of the Anasazi culture. They came from the upper reaches of the Salt River, lived in Hohokam territory for several decades, then withdrew and disappeared. The principal effect of the presence of this Pueblo people is revealed in architecture. Great multiple-storied community houses with massive walls of adobe began to be built, along with the older, flimsier pit houses. Beans and squash were added to the staple of corn, supplemented by game and wild seeds and roots. Irrigation canal networks reached their greatest extent and complexity in the 14th century; in the Salt River Valley there were more than 150 miles of canals. (Some renovated canals were put back into use in the 20th century.) The art of basketry was added to pottery.

For unknown reasons the Hohokam culture disintegrated during the early 15th century. (The term Hohokam is said to be Pima for Those Who Have Vanished.) The later known occupants of the area, the Pima and Papago, are probably direct descendants of the Hohokam Indians.

Reading 2: Who were the Ancestral Pueblo People (Anasazi)?

They are the ancestors of modern Pueblo Indians now living in New Mexico and Arizona. They settled and farmed in the Four Corners region between about AD 1 and AD 1300, producing fine baskets, pottery, cloth, ornaments and tools. Their architectural achievements included cliff dwellings and pueblos (apartment-house style villages). As the population grew and spread out, communities exchanged goods through an elaborate trade network. Regional differences developed as communities adapted to their surroundings in slightly different ways. We recognize several distinct branches of the culture, including Northern San Juan, Chaco, Kayenta, Virgin, and Rio Grande. Anasazi is a Navajo word meaning "the ancient ones" or "the ancient enemies." Modern Pueblo people object to that name in reference to their ancestors. Their own languages do not share a common name for them, so the term "Ancestral Puebloans" is currently used when speaking English.

What happened to these people? For hundreds of years, the first farmers were quite successful in the Four Corners area. But by AD 1300 they had left the entire region. Why? Research shows that people began settling the Dolores area in small numbers around AD 500. The settlements were heavily populated between AD 600 and 900 when conditions were most favorable for agriculture. The number of households, hamlets and villages increased as the population grew.

Environmental conditions began to change around AD 900. Frequent droughts and killing frosts made farming unreliable. Families began leaving the Dolores area to pursue agriculture and community life elsewhere. Some use of the area continued, such as at Escalante Pueblo, during the 1100s.

The Ancestral Puebloans may have reached the limit of the natural resources available to them. When crops consistently failed, the people moved away or became more dependent on hunting and gathering. Archaeologists also see evidence of social changes over time, changes perhaps related to internal pressures or to outside competition from non-Pueblo groups.

In southwestern Colorado, some areas were gradually abandoned over many generations. The movement was not as sudden as previously thought. While the Northern San Juan settlements declined, other areas began to develop and grow. For instance, evidence exists for population growth around the Homolovi area in Arizona, near Winslow.

The Rio Grande pueblos and the pueblos of Acoma, Laguna and Zuni grew in numbers after AD 1300, perhaps including people from this region. The Hopi people of Arizona believe some of their clans came from the north. Environmental hardships in the Northern San Juan region probably made these areas in Arizona and New Mexico more attractive. A different climate and more reliable water sources offered hope of a better life.

How did the Ancestral Puebloans farm? The area's first inhabitants were originally hunters and gatherers. In time, agricultural knowledge came north from Mexico. Around

AD 1, people we call the Basketmakers began dry farming (relying on water in the soil from melted snow, summer rainstorms and occasional springs). They farmed intensively, planting large and small patches of land- wherever there was sufficient water, warmth and light to support a few plants. Farming was the mainstay of the Ancestral Puebloan economy. Crops included corn, beans, and squash. Archaeologists' experiments indicate that the Dolores people could have produced up to 40 bushels of corn per acre. Modern dry farming (unirrigated fields) produces about 14 bushels per acre. Surplus corn was stored to last through risky years. Large storerooms became prominent features of communities. Each person needed about one acre of corn per year to have an adequate food supply.

These farmers were able to support a large population. Although it is difficult to estimate accurately, the Montezuma County area may have been occupied by as many as 20,000 people during the peak years between AD 1000 and 1300- roughly the same number as live there today. Drought and other climatic changes were constant threats. In some areas, community planning and labor went into water control projects such as reservoirs and small dams. Changing precipitation patterns, shortened growing seasons, and/or cool summers could, and probably did, spell disaster for many local settlements. Extended drought was one factor which caused the Puebloans to leave the Four Corners region.

How did the Ancestral Puebloans make their living besides farming? Hunting and gathering, the primary food sources of the earliest people, were never totally eliminated. Meat remained the major source of protein. Pinon nuts, yucca fruit, berries and other wild plants were still part of the diet. The people also gathered plant materials to make baskets, clothing and tools.

Garden plots actually made hunting easier by attracting rabbits, birds and mice. The people also hunted deer and elk in the mountains, and antelope and bighorn sheep at lower elevations.

When corn crops were reduced by drought or cold weather, or as the population grew larger, communities were forced to rely more on game and wild plants to make up the difference.

How did the people prepare their food? Corn was dried and stored on the cob. Strips of dried squash hung in the storage rooms. Wild plant foods were also stored and prepared for cooking. Pinon nuts, sunflower and other seeds had to be cracked, hulled, winnowed and parched before they could be cooked and eaten. Women spent hours each day grinding corn into flour with manos and metates. Beans were soaked and cooked in large jars. These jars were not placed directly over fires; instead, hot rocks were dropped into the contents for boiling. Corn was also parched in jars which lay on their sides near the fire.

Large animals were butchered at the kill site. Back at home the pieces were prepared for cooking, bones were cracked to extract marrow, and hides were cured for other uses.

What did they wear? Little clothing has been found because it is so perishable. Some knowledge of early clothing comes from comparing archeological evidence to the traditional clothing of the historic Pueblo Indians.

Robes for protection from the cold were made by intertwining yucca wrapped with strips of rabbit fur or turkey feathers. Animal hides provided material for blankets, breechcloths and aprons. Weaving on large looms was probably done mostly by men working in the kivas. They wove blankets, shirts, robes, aprons, kilts, breechcloths and belts from vegetal fibers, animal and human hair, and cotton obtained by trade from southern areas.

Footwear included sandals, moccasins and possibly snowshoes. Sandals, usually made of plaited or woven yucca fibers, came in a variety of styles.

Necklaces, earrings, bracelets, arm bands, hair combs and pins were made from wood, bone, shell and stones including turquoise. Some ornaments may have had ritual significance or use as badges of office. They probably helped define social status, especially in larger communities.

What was Ancestral Puebloan pottery like? Some pottery made in this area carried bold black-on-white designs. These designs may represent family, clan or village affiliation, or simply the potter's imagination. Other kinds included plain and textured ("corrugated") cooking vessels. Black-on-red pottery from northern Arizona was traded throughout the Four Corners, as were Red-on-buff styles from Utah. Shapes included jars, bowls, pitchers, ladles, canteens, figurines and miniatures.

Why is pottery so important to archaeologists? Pottery contains hidden clues about the people who made it. Temper (gritty binding material) in the clay may be traceable to a geologic source area where the pottery was made. Its surface may retain pollen from food plants or scrapings from a meal. Styles and designs changed through time and varied across regions. Consequently, ceramic fragments ("sherds") can indirectly show when a household or village was occupied. They reveal much about social groups and trade networks. Pottery can be sorted or "typed" into categories based on grouped traits such as color, texture, decoration and vessel shape. Archaeologists often name a ceramic type after the place where the pottery of that style was first identified--for example, Mancos Black-on-gray (from Mancos, Colorado) or Tin Cup Polychrome (from Tin Cup Mesa, Utah).

Did the Ancestral Puebloans communicate and trade with other groups? These early people were not isolated from each other, or from other cultures in western North America. They participated in a far-reaching network of trade which brought exotic items from as far away as the Pacific coast and the Gulf of Mexico. These "exotics" probably traveled by passing from group to group.

On a local level, a potter might find her wares in demand, as would a successful farmer with surplus corn. Marriage partners probably came from neighboring villages. Such activities kept open lines of communication between groups. Information exchange was

an important by-product of trade. What were other communities doing? How was the climate in other areas? How did others irrigate? How did other people make kivas? Such communication was involved in learning to make pottery, farming, using the bow and arrow, and other important activities.

What were their religious activities like? Like today's Pueblo people, the Ancestral Puebloans probably held public and private ceremonies intended to benefit the group as a whole. Different segments of society may have been responsible for different events, each one important to the spiritual and material well-being of the community.

Maintaining harmony with the natural world was the key to survival for early people. Careful observation of the sun, moon and stars was essential for planning activities such as when to start planting and when to prepare for winter. As in many other agricultural societies, rituals were keyed to annual events like the winter solstice or the beginning of the harvest season. Spring and summer were mostly devoted to farming and wild plant collecting; fall and winter to hunting. Important religious concepts and events were associated with these tasks.

What is the meaning of rock art? Many prehistoric peoples pecked or painted images on the sandstone cliffs. Some might have been idle doodling. But based on information offered by Native people in the Southwest, most figures probably have deeper meaning. For instance, some spirals may signify the sun's movement, or the passage of time. In certain places, shafts of sunlight strike a spiral differently at the spring and autumn equinoxes, and the winter and summer solstices. These spirals probably served as part of a ritual calendar. Elsewhere, according to modern Pueblos, spirals are symbols of a group's migration from one locale to another. Other symbols may have acted as maps, pointing out the locations of villages and other features. Animal figures may have played roles in rituals or prayers for successful hunting. Corn plants might represent a successful harvest. Some symbols represent family, clan or ceremonial society affiliation. Many of these same designs appear in the decorations of early Puebloan pottery.

Reading 3: Anasazi Culture at Its Height

J. J. Brody

The Anasazi settled in the canyons of what is now the southwestern United States, where they built elaborate cliff dwellings and ceremonial centers known as kivas. In the eleventh century, the Anasazi emerged as the predominant cultural power in the region, J. J. Brody writes in the following passage from his book *The Anasazi: Ancient Indian People of the American Southwest*. According to Brody, by the end of the 1000s, the Anasazi had developed an extensive network of trade routes throughout the Southwest. They also constructed their greatest architectural monuments during this time period, he notes. Many details of Anasazi history are still unknown, the author concludes, but it is clear that their society at its apex was complex and highly advanced. Brody is a professor emeritus of anthropology and art history at the University of New Mexico in Albuquerque.

The aptly named Classic Pueblo period began in about the eleventh century and continued into the fourteenth century. It was a time of cultural florescence Many of the most noteworthy Anasazi monuments—the great buildings of Chaco Canyon, the dramatic cliff houses of Mesa Verde, and the marvelous ruins of the Kayenta—date from this time. Those architectural achievements epitomize the era—they brought ancient Pueblo culture to the attention of nineteenth-century anthropologists, antiquarians, and historians, and their remarkable preservation continues to stimulate interest in the Anasazi.

Impressive Architecture

The first detailed published description of Anasazi culture was inspired by the Classic Pueblo "Great House" ruins at Chaco Canyon. These were examined in 1849 and reported upon a year later by Lt. James Simpson, a young military engineer attached to the American army. The Chaco sites were also among the first to be scientifically investigated, and studies there continue to the present. Appropriately enough, these are the earliest Classic Pueblo buildings. Many of the later but no less elaborate Classic ruins of the Mesa Verde and Kayenta also became well-known during the nineteenth century. The rock shelter towns, such as Cliff Palace at Mesa Verde and White House at Canyon de Chelly in the eastern Kayenta, are truly impressive, as are the curious, even bizarre towers of Hovenweep. But there are also larger if less spectacular sites on mesa tops and in valleys throughout the Anasazi country whose importance is only beginning to be appreciated.

South-facing rock shelters that could take advantage of solar energy during cold winters and supply shade in the very hot summers became favored building sites These are most commonly found in the Mesa Verde and Kayenta districts where there are many narrow sandstone canyons, cut by perennial streams which empty into the San Juan and Colorado Rivers. Many rock shelters are high, wide, and shallow; they encourage organization of multistoried, long, narrow, outward-facing communities. Storage buildings as well as houses at these sites are often located in dangerously high, well protected crevices

As in earlier times, regional variations in architecture expressed aesthetic preferences while responding to differences in local environments, materials, community size, and building functions. But the similarities from place to place are very great. In all areas, the buildings are generally compact and blocky; many are multistoried and terraced, and their aesthetic character depends upon the play of light and shadow over plane surfaces Many Classic period communities and virtually all of the Chaco style Great Houses, were initially planned or later renovated to be single, self-enclosed structures. Other towns, especially in the Mesa Verde district, were made up of a number of long buildings laid out in parallel rows. Even communities known to have grown slowly and by accretion follow these patterns If a village became old enough or grew large enough, the public space of its plaza or plazas was likely to become enclosed. Chaco plazas often held one or several Great Kivas (or ritual rooms) as well as smaller ones, [while] those in other districts generally contained only small kivas

As well as kivas, most Classic period villages included forty or fewer domestic rooms that were often organized into apartments of two or three connected rooms. These were usually entered by way of a doorway facing the plaza or street or, if on an upper level, by one facing a south terrace reached by ladders leaning against lower level walls

Population Growth

The community networks that prospered during the Classic era were, at least in part, responses to population growth. Following a pattern that began with the origins of Anasazi culture, this growth was supported by increasingly intense agricultural exploitation of the fragile, arid environment. The earliest manifestations of the Classic period are in the southeast, in the dry Chaco district. Later, the more verdant Mesa Verde area in the north became dominant, and locally important centers developed in the arid canyonlands of the western Kayenta region and in parts of the well-watered Rio Grande valley. But, throughout the period, it seems that the Four Corners Anasazi often expanded into areas that were dangerously marginal for successful agriculture.

There were many more Anasazi communities than ever before, and many were considerably larger than those of earlier times. Some may have had as many as 5,000 or 6,000 residents; but it is more likely that the upper limit was about 3,000 and, in any event, most housed 100 people or fewer. At present, there is no secure basis for accurately estimating populations for any of the Classic period districts. The problem is complicated by several factors, among them the difficulty of judging which rooms in a community were simultaneously occupied, of knowing when villages were abandoned after brief occupations, perhaps to be reoccupied a few years later, and of recognizing seasonal homes which would have multiplied the number of residences that a family might have. Nonetheless, it may be reasonable to surmise that the many Chaco Anasazi towns housed between 15,000 and 30,000 individuals among them, and that the later Mesa Verde communities may have had twice that many people. It is likely that population densities were lower in the other Anasazi regions during the Classic period, so that the total number of people was probably on the order of 50,000 to 100,000.

Many villages were located near to each other and some, especially in the Chaco and Mesa Verde districts (but also at places such as Cedar Mesa and Black Mesa in the Kayenta area and in some valleys of the upper Rio Grande), were close enough to be considered neighborhoods of a disjunctive town rather than independent settlements. Hispanic descriptions of sixteenth-century Anasazi towns, as well as some modern-day Pueblo settlement patterns, support that interpretation, but even so it is unlikely that many such conglomerate villages housed more than a few thousand individuals. It seems that the monumental architecture of the period and the economic, social, and ritual activities that it supported would have required participation of most people living within a relatively large area, as well as commitment of a large proportion of available regional resources.

Stronger leadership and greater social stratification than were characteristic of earlier Anasazi times apparently marked the Classic period. Yet material prosperity seems to have been evenly distributed, and there is little evidence that people who lived in smaller, less impressive communities were any less well-off than those living in large, and architecturally more elaborate ones. Anasazi society may have been more highly organized than in earlier days, and there were certainly more people living in a larger area, but it seems to have remained essentially egalitarian. Thus, important questions remain open regarding the motivation for building such monuments as the Chaco Great Houses and Great Kivas or the towers of Hovenweep and the other Mesa Verde communities.

Despite the material evidence for greatly increased complexity of religious, political, economic, and social systems, there are surprisingly few entirely original innovations. Water management systems were more sophisticated, but for the most part elaborated on earlier Anasazi methods, and while pottery and many other arts and manufactures burgeoned, these were mainly refinements and variations upon older themes and technologies. Similarly, the elaborate calendrical and ritual concerns evidenced by solstice markers and Great Kivas had much older prototypes. Virtually all the technological and intellectual aspects of Classic Pueblo culture appear to have had their origins in earlier Anasazi practices

Elsewhere in the Southwest, Anasazi styles in building, village organization, economics, ritual, and many other aspects of material and intellectual life became widespread. By the end of the period, the Anasazi had spread well beyond the upper Colorado River and Rio Grande watersheds, especially to the south where they encroached deeply into territories formerly identified with the Mogollon. Even the more distant Hohokam now showed influence of Anasazi ideas. Relationships between the Southwest and Mesoamerica may also have intensified, though the evidence for that is at best equivocal. In any event, Anasazi culture became a dominant force within the Southwest during the Classic period, and each of its major regional variants exerted great influence upon neighboring peoples.

The Chaco District

Chaco Canyon is a valley located in about the middle of the 20,460 square-mile San Juan Basin, which comprises the eastern portion of the Colorado Plateau. It is in one of the

more arid parts of the Southwest, about 6,000 feet above sea level, in a region of special beauty that can be searingly hot in the summer and bitterly cold in the winter. The Chaco River (or Chaco Wash) which drains it is merely an intermittent stream that feeds into the San Juan River

Because of its extreme aridity, it seems an unlikely place to have become the hub of a widespread cultural system that depended upon agriculture. Nonetheless, by the end of the eleventh century, hundreds of miles of roads terminated there, linking it to at least 100 related communities which we call "Chaco outliers." These outliers are found throughout the San Juan Basin, some as far as 100 miles from Chaco Canyon, and are recognized primarily by their use of the unique Chaco architectural style This widespread system of related communities is sometimes referred to as the "Chaco Phenomenon," but not all scholars agree on what is meant by that phrase.

It is generally agreed that Chaco Canyon was the center of a trade network, and it may also have been a ritual center. The outliers and the roads that linked them brought a wide variety of regional goods and resources to Chaco Canyon including food, timber, turquoise, and other rare and desirable minerals. They seem also to have directed raw materials and manufactured goods from as far away as the Pacific Coast and central Mexico. Some of these materials may have been processed at Chaco for redistribution throughout the Southwest. The Chaco Phenomenon may even be thought of as an economic and political system that was integrated and perhaps directed by religious activities centered upon the nine Great Houses and eighteen Great Kivas located within about eight miles of each other at Chaco Canyon. Some scholars have even suggested that the Chaco roads were used primarily as thruways for ritual processions and that many rooms of the Chaco Great Houses were dormitories for participants at ritual gatherings

The Great Houses and small villages at Chaco Canyon could conceivably have been home to as many as 6,000 people. Chaco farmers used efficient agricultural methods, and their water control systems, which included terraces, dams, reservoirs, and irrigation canals, were designed to utilize all available water resources. Even so, they could not have raised enough food for so large a group. Either the normal population was considerably smaller than the capacity, or great quantities of food were regularly imported from other places. The potential number of people living in Chaco outliers was probably many times larger but, since we have no present way of knowing if-or when-Chaco people moved from place to place within their network, we cannot know how many of them there were.

The Functioning of the Chaco Network

Recent excavations suggest that the normal population at Chaco was considerably fewer than 5,000 people. At Pueblo Alto and several other Great Houses, comparatively few rooms were used as regular living quarters. Instead, many were storerooms adjacent to the roads, and others, of unknown utility, lacked fire pits and other domestic features.

Rather than serving the Great House communities, the storerooms might have had warehouselike functions, holding food or other goods imported from one part of the Chaco network for transshipment to another. Considering the aridity of the land and constant threat of locally devastating droughts and other natural disasters, it may be postulated that the San Juan Anasazi chose centrally located Chaco Canyon to be a food storage and redistribution center. Adding other economic functions and ritual and political roles would have followed logically upon the original purpose.

Neither the Chaco people nor any of the other Anasazi had draft animals or wheeled vehicles, therefore the Chaco roads were built for foot traffic. Nonetheless, they are a consistent thirty feet wide for great distances, smoothly finished, curbed, and built to go directly from point to point, across valleys, mesas, and up or down cliffs on staircases cut from sandstone. Communications between towns utilized line-of-sight signaling stations, some of which also served as observatories and as religious shrines. other shrines saw use as stellar or solar observatories, and it is clear that ritualists kept track of solar, lunar, and stellar cycles. Like the modern Pueblos, it appears that Chacoan priests maintained complex calendars in which the ritual and mundane spheres were fused, and practical activities such as planting were sanctioned by and invested with religious authority. That fusion of religious and secular spheres went well beyond agriculture: religion permeated the economic, political and social ends served by the roads, the signalling stations, indeed all of the material manifestations of the Chaco Phenomenon

It is architecture, roads, and the social, political, economic, and ritual implications of these grand material accomplishments which set Chaco apart most emphatically from the rest of the Anasazi until the twelfth century. The elaboration of Anasazi architecture, which began late in the tenth century, spread during the eleventh century, and reached its climax before A.D. 1130. For reasons that are not yet clear, the Chaco system ended by about A.D. 1150.

Reading 4: **THE MOUND BUILDERS (Adena and Hopewell Cultures)**
(Taken from "Atlas of the North American Indian")

In eastern and Midwestern North America, because of the bountiful plant and animal life, advanced cultures with sizable populations were able to arise without large-scale agriculture. These were the Mound Builders, or the Adena and Hopewell cultures, centered in the Ohio Valley. The Adena lasted from about 1000 B.C. to A.D. 200; the Hopewell, from about 300 B.C. to A.D. 700.

Although the two shared many cultural traits and coexisted for five centuries, their exact relationship is not known-e.g., to what degree Adena was ancestral to Hopewell, or whether there were conflicts between them. Nor is it known where either of the two peoples originally came from-some scholars have theorized from as far away as Middle America; others, the Great Lakes region-or what happened to them when their cultures faded. Well into the 19th century, theories of lost European tribes were still applied to the hundreds of ancient man-made mounds throughout the East. But of course, as science eventually proved, the earthworks and the artifacts under or near them were aboriginal, another expression of ancient Indian culture.

ADENA

The Adena culture radiated from the Ohio River Valley into territory that is now Kentucky, West Virginia, Indiana, Pennsylvania, and New York. Adena migrants, probably displaced by the Hopewells, later settled near the Chesapeake Bay and in Alabama as well. The Adenas are named after an estate near Chillicothe, Ohio, where a large mound stands in what was the heartland of the culture.

There is some evidence of incipient agriculture among the Adenas-the cultivation of sunflowers, pumpkins, gourds, and goosefoot as food sources. It is known that they eventually grew tobacco for ceremonial use. But they were primarily hunters and gatherers, enjoying, like other Woodland peoples, the rich flora and fauna of their homelands-rich enough, in fact, to support a sedentary rather than nomadic life-style.

The framework of Adena houses had a unique construction. Outward sloping posts, set in pairs, formed a circle. Four vertical center posts supported the high ends of the rafter poles that extended downward, beyond the wall posts, to form generous eaves. The walls were wattled and the roof was matted or thatched.

It is the Adena earthworks, however, found in and around their villages, that affirm their high degree of social organization. Conical and dome-shaped burial mounds grew larger and more ambitious over the centuries. In the early stages of the culture, low earthen hillocks were built up, basketful by basketful, over the burial pits of honored individuals. Later, high mounds were constructed over multiple burials, the corpses usually placed in log-lined tombs. With new burials, another layer of dirt would be added to the mound. Often these earthen monuments were surrounded by other earthworks-rounded walls or ridges of earth, usually circular in shape and generally known as "Sacred Circles."

Moreover, the Adenas constructed earthen effigy mounds-totemic animals or symbols. The Great Serpent Mound in Peebles, Ohio, is a prime example. A low, rounded embankment, about four feet high and 15 to 20 feet across, extends 1,330 feet in the shape of an uncoiling snake with jaws and tail.

Some Adena grave goods have been found (although not nearly as many as in Hopewell burials), the varying amounts indicating the social inequalities in the culture-engraved stone tablets, often with raptorial bird designs; polished gorgets (armor for the throat) of stone and copper; pearl beads; ornaments of sheet mica; tubular stone pipes; and bone masks. In addition to these ceremonial and ornamental objects, the Adena people also made a wide range of stone, wood, bone, and copper tools, as well as incised or stamped pottery and cloth woven from vegetable fibers.

HOPEWELL

As indicated by disputes over which of the two cultures inhabited certain archaeological sites, Hopewell culture possessed many of the same elements as the Adena. But they were generally on an enhanced scale-more, larger earthworks; richer burials; intensified ceremonialism; greater refinement in art; a stricter class system and increased division of labor; and more agriculture. And the Hopewell culture covered a much greater area, spreading from its core in the Ohio and Illinois river valleys throughout much of the Midwest and East. Moreover, the Hopewell people, whoever they were and wherever they originally came from, established a far-flung trading network. At Hopewell sites have been found obsidian from the Black Hills and the Rockies, copper from the Great Lakes, shells from the Atlantic and Gulf coasts, mica from the Appalachians, silver from Canada, and alligator skulls and teeth from Florida. All evidence implies that the Hopewell sphere of influence spread via trade and religion (Hopewell is sometimes considered a cult as well as a culture), rather than conquest. Priest-rulers probably had the highest social ranking, with merchants and warlords beneath them.

Supporting even greater concentrations of people than the Adenas, the Hopewells depended more on agriculture and grew a variety of crops. It is conceivable they also traded for food products with other early agriculturalists. Their extensive villages, usually near water, consisted of circular or oval dome-roofed wigwams that were covered with animal skins, sheets of bark, or mats of woven plants.

The Hopewells, like the Adenas, constructed a variety of earthworks. Many of their mounds, covering multiple burials, stood 30 to 40 feet high. Large effigy mounds often stood nearby, as did geometric enclosures. Some of these earthen walls were 50 feet high and 200 feet wide at the base. The enclosure at Newark, Ohio, once covered four square miles with embankments laid out in a variety of shapes-circles, parallel lines, an octagon, and a square.

The Hopewell culture boasted consummate craftsmen, specialists in their structured society. They were masters of the functional as well as the artistic, and worked in both representational and abstract styles. The plentiful and beautiful grave furnishings found by archaeologists include ceramic figurines, copper headdresses and breast ornaments,

obsidian spearheads and knives, mica mirrors, conch drinking cups, pearl jewelry, hammered-gold silhouettes, incised and stamped pottery, and stone platform pipes with naturalistic human and animal sculptures.

But what became of these preeminent artists, these ambitious movers of earth, and these energetic traders? Why did the Hopewell culture perish? As with the decline of Mesoamerican and Southwest cultures, a variety of theories have been put forth—climate changes, crop failure, epidemics, civil war, invasion, or simply cultural fatigue. Whatever the case, another culture would come to dominate much of the same territory. Other mounds would be built, again near the river valleys. And on top of these new mounds would be temples.

THE TEMPLE MOUND BUILDERS (Mississippian Culture)

They were master farmers. They settled near the rich alluvial soil of riverbeds in the Southeast to grow corn, the staff of New World life, as well as beans, squash, pumpkins, and tobacco. They had an elaborate trade network among themselves and with other Indians, and crafted beautifully refined objects. They had a complex social structure and a rigid caste system. They were obsessed with death.

They built mounds, not only burial mounds like the Adenas and Hopewells before them, but also huge temple mounds. These were the people of the so-called Mississippian or Temple Mound Builder culture.

In addition to the obvious Adena-Hopewell influences, Mesoamerican influences, although still not proven, are apparent: Similar farming techniques, similar art styles, and similar use of temple mounds and open village plazas all point to interaction between the two regions. Contact could have come via Indian migrants or traders traveling northward by boat through the Gulf of Mexico or over land routes along it.

As in the case of Mesoamerican cultures, improved agricultural techniques made the Mississippian way of life possible. With enough food, a large population could sustain itself in one place over a long period. Many Mississippian ceremonial and trading centers resulted during the centuries from about A.D. 700 to Postcontact times, spreading out from the culture's heartland along the lower Mississippi Valley, over most of the Southeast from present-day Florida to Oklahoma, but also as far north as Wisconsin.

The largest and most famous Temple Mound site is Cahokia in Illinois, near St. Louis. The village area, extending for six miles along the Illinois River, contained 85 temple and burial mounds, and sustained an estimated maximum population of 75,000. The largest mound, Monk's Mound (because French Trappists once grew vegetables on its terraces), was built in 14 stages, from about A. D. 900 to 1150, basketful of dirt by basketful; by its completion it covered 16 acres at its base and stood 100 feet high. Other important Mississippian centers included Moundville in present-day Alabama; Etowah and Ocmulgee in Georgia; Spiro in Oklahoma; and Hiwassee Island in Tennessee.

Although the Mississippian mounds were rectangular and steep-sided like the temple pyramids of Mesoamerica, they were not stone-faced and their stairways were made of logs; nor were the temples themselves made of stone but, rather, of pole and thatch. Smaller structures on mound terraces housed priests and nobles: the higher the dwelling, the higher the rank. Merchants, craftsmen, hunters, farmers, and laborers lived in surrounding huts, at times meeting in the central plazas to conduct their business.

The Mississippians used a variety of materials from different regions among them clay, shell, marble, chert, mica, and copper-to make tools, jewelry, and ceremonial objects. Many objects, especially from after 1200, reveal a preoccupation with death, again indicating a Mesoamerican connection: Representations of human sacrifice appear on sculptures, pottery, masks, copper sheets, and gorgets; and certain symbols having to do with death-such as stylized skulls, bones, or weeping eyes-turn up again and again at Temple Mound sites. The diffusion of these symbolic elements throughout the Southeast has come to be called the Southern Cult, Death Cult, or Buzzard Cult. The religion acted as a unifying force among the different centers, prohibiting warfare among them.

By the early 17th century, the great Mississippian centers had been abandoned. Overpopulation perhaps played a part, or crop loss due to climatic conditions, or political strife. Or perhaps the white man's diseases preceded him inland. In any case, by the time European explorers reached the sites, evidence of the Temple Mound Builders existence was already underground, only to be found centuries later by archaeologists.

One culture with numerous Mississippian traits did survive until the 18th century, however, allowing for extensive contact with whites-that of the Natchez Indians along the lower Mississippi. The French who lived among them and ultimately destroyed them recorded firsthand many of their lifeways. Like the earlier Mississippian peoples, the Natchez had a central temple mound and a nearby open plaza as well as satellite mounds, some of them for houses and some for burials. The Natchez supreme ruler, the Great Sun, lived on one of these. On others lived his mother, White Woman, who was also his adviser; his brothers, called Suns, from whom were chosen the war chief and head priest; and his sisters, Woman Suns. A complicated caste system regulated relationships and behavior. Beneath the royal family were the nobles and the honored men (lesser nobles), plus the commoners, referred to as "stinkards." All grades of nobility, male and female alike, were permitted to wed only commoners. And when a noble died, his or her mates and others in the entourage would give up their lives to accompany the dead to the next world. With the demise of the Natchez culture, Mississippian culture came to an end. Some traits, however, survived among other Indians of the Southeast, such as the Creeks. But temple mounds would never be built again.

Reading 5: Great City of Temixtitan (Tenochtitlan) from the Dispatches of Hernando Cortes

This great city of Temixtitan is built on the salt lake, and from the mainland to the city' is a distance of two leagues, from any side from which you enter. It has four approaches by means of artificial causeways, two cavalry lances in width. The city is as large as Seville or Cordoba. The principal streets are very broad and straight; some of these are one half land and the other half water on which they go about in canoes. And the streets have openings at regular intervals, to let the water flow from one to the other. At all these openings, some of which are very broad, there are bridges, very large, strong, and well constructed. Over many of them ten horsemen can ride abreast.

The city has many squares where markets are held and trading is carried on. There is one square twice as large as that of Salamanca, all surrounded by arcades where there are daily more than sixty thousand souls buying and selling. Every kind of merchandise produced in these countries is to be found there. . . .

One street is set apart for the sale of herbs, including every sort of root and medicinal herb which grows in that country. There are houses like apothecary shops where prepared medicines are sold as well as liquids, ointments, and plasters. They have places like our barbers' shops, where they wash and shave their heads, and houses where they supply food and drink for payment. . . .

There are skeins of different kinds of spun cotton in all colors, so that it seems quite like one of the silk markets of Granada, although it is on a greater scale; also as many different colors for painters as can be found in Spain, and they are just as good. They sell doe skins of different colors with all the hair tanned on them, excellent earthenware, many sorts of pots, large and small, pitchers, large tiles, an infinite variety of vases of very singular clay, most of them glazed and painted. They sell maize, both in the grain and made into bread, which is very superior to that of the other islands and the mainland; pies of birds, and of fish; also much fish-fresh, salted, cooked, and raw; eggs of hens and geese and other birds, and cakes made of eggs. Each kind of merchandise is sold in its respective street, and they do not mix the different kinds of merchandise so that they preserve perfect order. Everything is sold by a kind of measure, and, until now, we have not seen anything sold by weight. . . .

There are many large and handsome houses because all the lords of the country live in the city a great art of the year; there are also many rich citizens who have fine houses. Along one of the causeways which lead to the city, there are two conduits of masonry, each two paces broad and five feet deep. Through one of these there flows into the heart of the city a volume of very good fresh water. The other, which is empty, brings the water they use to clean the first conduit. Conduits as large around as an ox's body bring the fresh water across the bridges, thereby avoiding the channels through which the salt water flows. The whole city is supplied in, this way, and everybody has water to drink. Canoes also peddle the water through all the streets. They get the water by stopping under the bridges where the conduits cross and where men are stationed who are paid to fill them.

Considering that these people were barbarous, so cut off from the knowledge of God and from other civilized peoples, it is admirable to see to what they attained in every respect. As far as the service surrounding Montezuma is concerned and the admirable attributes of his greatness and state, there is so much to write that I assure Your Highness I do not know where to begin. For what greater grandeur can there be than that a barbarian monarch should have imitations in gold, silver, stones, and feather-work of all the things existing under heaven in his dominion; things so much like nature that there is not a silversmith in the world who could do better? As for the stones, there is no imagination which can divine the instruments with which they were so perfectly executed; and as for the feather-work, neither in wax, nor in embroidery could nature be so marvelously imitated.

Greater Than Constantinople and Rome by Father Bernal Diaz del Castillo

When we arrived there Montezuma came out of an oratory where his cursed idols were, at the summit of the great Cue, and two priests came with him, and after paying great reverence to Cortes and to all of us he said: "You must be tired Señor Malinche, from ascending this our great Cue," and Cortes replied through our interpreters who were with us that he and his companions were never tired by anything. Then Montezuma took him by the hand and told him to look at his great city and all the other cities that were standing in the water, and the many other towns on the land round the lake, and that if he had not seen the great market place well, from where they were they could see it better.

So we stood looking about us, for that huge and cursed temple stood so high that from it one could see over every thing very well, and we saw the three causeways which led into Mexico, that is the causeway of Iztapalapa by which we had entered four days before, and that of Tacoma, and that of Tepeaquilla, and we saw fresh water that comes from Chapultepec which supplies the city, and we saw the bridges on the three causeways which were built at certain distances apart through which the water of the lake flowed in and out from one side to the other, and we beheld an that great lake a great multitude of canoes, some coming with supplies of food and others returning loaded with cargoes of merchandise; and we saw that from every house of that great city and of all the other cities that were built in the water it was impossible to pass from house to house, except by drawbridges which were made of wood or in canoes; and we saw in those cities Cues and oratories like towers and fortresses and all gleaming white, and it was a wonderful thing to behold; then the houses with flat roofs, and on the causeways other small towers and oratories which were like fortresses.

After having examined and considered all that we had seen we turned to look at the great market place and the crowds of people that were in it, some buying and others selling, so that the murmur and hum of their voices and words that they used could be heard more than a league off. Some of the soldiers among us who had been in many parts of the world, in Constantinople, and all over Italy, and in Rome, said that so large a market place and so full of people, and so well regulated and arranged, they had never be held before.

Reading 6: Mesoamerican Poetry, Pre-Columbian Period

The following poems are by Nezahualcoyotl (1402 C.E.-1472 C.E.), King of Tezcoco. He sometimes also is known as “Hungry Coyote”.

(No Title)

All the earth is a grave and nothing escapes it, nothing is so perfect that it does not descend to its tomb. Rivers, rivulets, fountains and waters flow, but never return to their joyful beginnings; anxiously they hasten on the vast realms of the rain god. As they widen their banks, they also fashion the sad urn of their burial.

Filled are the bowels of the earth with pestilential dust once flesh and bone, once animate bodies of man who sat upon thrones, decided cases, presided in council, commanded armies, conquered provinces, possessed treasure, destroyed temples, exulted in their pride, majesty, fortune, praise and power. Vanished are these glories, just as the fearful smoke vanishes that belches forth from the infernal fires of Popocatepetl. Nothing recalls them but the written page.

(No title)

The earth shakes: the Mexica [Aztec] begins his song:

He makes the Eagles and Ocelots dance with him!
Come to see the Huexotzinca:

On the dais of the Eagle he shouts out,
Loudly cries the Mexica.

The battlefield is the place: where one toasts the divine liquor in war,
where are stained red the divine eagles,
where the tigers howl,
where all kinds of precious stones rain from ornaments,
where wave headdresses rich with fine plumes,
where princes are smashed to bits.

There is nothing like death in war,
nothing like the flowery death
so precious to Him who gives life:
far off I see it: my heart yearns for it!

And they called it Teotihuacan
because it was the place
where the lords were buried.
Thus they said:

'When we die,
truly we die not,

because we will live, we will rise,
we will continue living, we will awaken
This will make us happy.'

Thus the dead one was directed,
when he died:

'Awaken, already the sky is rosy,
already dawn has come,
already sing the flame-colored guans,
the fire-colored swallows,
already the butterflies fly.'

Thus the old ones said
that who has died has become a god,
they said: 'He has been made a god there,
meaning 'He has died.'

Even jade is shattered,
Even gold is crushed,
Even quetzal plume are torn . . .
One does not live forever on this earth:
We endure only for an instant!

Will flowers be carried to the Kingdom of Death:
Is it true that we are going, we are going?
Where are we going, ay, where are we going?
Will we be dead there or will we live yet?
Does one exist again?

Perhaps we will live a second time?
Thy heart knows:
Just once do we live!
Like a quetzal plume, a fragrant flower,
friendship sparkles:
like heron plumes, it weaves itself into finery.

Our song is a bird calling out like a jingle:
how beautiful you make it sound!
Here, among flowers that enclose us,
among flowery boughs you are singing.

Though it Be Jade

I, Nezahualcoyotl, ask this:

Do we truly live on earth?

Not, forever here,
only a little while.

Even jade breaks,

golden things fall apart,

precious feathers fade;

not forever on earth, only a moment here.

Reading 7: Of the Laws and Punishments with Which the Incas Governed Their Kingdom

(Source: "History of the Inca Empire" by Bernabe Cobo, 1653)

Since the Indians lacked writing, they had no written laws, but the ones that their kings had established were preserved by tradition, use, and observance. I will record here the most important laws that were most prominent in their memories.

Where the Inca was present, he alone was the judge, and before him all offenses committed were tried; and where he was not present, his governors and caciques administered justice. They were selected to serve as judges according to the nature of the case.

When someone committed an offense that was deserving of punishment, he was apprehended and put in jail, and in order to bring his case to trial, he was taken out of jail and brought before the Inca or the presiding judge and curaca. During the trial, witnesses were brought out and confronted the accused. Each one told what he knew about the case against the accused, and in this way they convinced the judge. After the case was heard, without other proceedings, time limit, or delay, the Inca or judge pronounced the sentence and ordered that the delinquent be punished in accordance with his guilt.

He that killed another in order to rob him received the death penalty, and before it was executed, the guilty person was tortured in jail to increase the punishment, and after being tortured, he was killed.

He that killed by treachery was put to death publicly and insultingly, even though he was a nobleman and the dead man was of much lesser station.

He that killed by casting spells received the death penalty. This punishment was executed with much publicity, bringing together the people of the surrounding towns so that they would be present at the execution, and likewise all of his household and family were killed because it was presumed that they all knew that craft.

If someone was killed in a quarrel, first it was determined who caused it; if the dead man did, the killer was given a light punishment at the discretion of the Inca; if the one who caused the fight was the slayer, he received the death penalty, or at the very best, he was exiled to the provinces of the Andes, a sick and unhealthy land for the Indians of the sierra; there he would serve for his whole life, as on the galleys, in the Inca's chacaras of coca.

The cacique that killed one of his subjects without permission from the Inca was punished in public by being given certain blows on the back with a stone (this was called stone punishment, and it was a great insult). It was done even though the Indian may have been guilty of some act of disobedience against the cacique in question. If after the cacique was reprimanded and punished, he repeated the same offense, he died for it; and if this punishment was not executed, due to pleas and intercessions, the Inca took the offender's cacicazgo away from him and gave it to another.

The husband that killed his wife for adultery was set free without punishment, but if he killed her due to anger and passion, he received the death penalty if he was an ordinary man, but if he was an important gentleman who commanded respect, he did not die, but he was given another punishment.

The woman that killed her husband received the death penalty, and it was executed in this way: she was hung up by the feet in some public place, and she was left like this until she died, without anyone daring to take her down.

The pregnant woman that took potions in order to kill her baby received the death penalty, and the same punishment was given to the person that gave her the potions or maliciously made her abort by striking her or some other mistreatment.

He that forced a single woman was given the stone punishment for the first time, and the second time, the death penalty.

He that forcibly corrupted some maiden received the death penalty if she was a noble woman, and if she was not, the first time, he was given a certain torture that was used, and the second time, he died.

He that committed adultery with another man's wife who was not of the nobility was tortured, but if she was of the nobility, he received the death penalty and she died also.

He that took the daughter from her father against his will got no punishment at all, if the daughter consented and was not forced and both were from the same town; however, the father could punish her if he wished for having taken a husband without his consent, but the Inca would order that they be apprehended and separated because nobody could take a wife without his permission.

When someone was found in the house of another with his daughter, if the father made a complaint, the delinquent was punished at the discretion of the Inca and his governor.

He that scaled the walls of the house or retreat of the mamaconas was killed; he was hung by the feet and left that way within the very house where he committed the offense, and if any of the mamaconas let him inside and sinned with him, she was given the same punishment.

In certain cases marriage was prohibited, and fornication in the cases in which marriage was prohibited was punishable with the death penalty, and this punishment was executed without remission, if the guilty party was not a noble, because a noble got only a public reprimand.

He that robbed without reason, besides paying for the stolen item if he had the resources, was exiled to the Andes, nor would he dare to return without the Inca's permission.

He that stole things to eat from necessity was reprimanded and given no other punishment than being warned to work and that if he did it again he would be punished by being struck on the back with a stone in public.

He that stole some fruit from the fields or orchards by necessity while traveling was killed for it if the property belonged to the Inca; if the property belonged to someone else, the man was pardoned.

When one of the Indians that served in the *tambos* did not turn over the load that he was carrying to the proprietor, the town that the Indian in question was from had to pay for it because the town was responsible for the service of that *tambo*, and the Indian was punished.

He that stole the water with which the *chacaras* were irrigated and brought it to his *chacara* before it was his turn was punished with an arbitrary penalty.

He that insulted another was given an arbitrary punishment, but he that had provoked the words was given a greater penalty.

He that injured another or caused some similar harm was punished with an arbitrary penalty, and if it was done treacherously, he was tortured.

He that maimed another in a quarrel to such an extent that the injured party could not do ordinary work was obliged to support the injured party from his own property, apart from the punishment that was given to him for the offense, and if he had no property, the Inca fed the injured party from his property, and the delinquent was given a greater punishment.

He that maliciously burned a bridge received the death penalty, and it was executed without fail.

The Indian that was disobedient to his cacique for the first time was given the punishment that the Inca deemed appropriate: the second time he did it, he was given the stone punishment, and the third time, death.

The *mitima* Indian that left the place where he had been put by the Inca to serve as *mitima* was tortured the first time, and the second, he was killed.

He that changed the dress and insignia of the province where he was born committed a great offense against the Inca, against his nation, and against the province whose dress he adopted, and thus he was accused by all of them and punished with rigor.

He that removed the stone boundary markers or entered into the land or property of another was given the stone punishment for the first time, and the second time, he received the death penalty.

He that hunted without permission on any land where trespassing was prohibited was castigated by being struck on the back with a stone and tortured.

If someone's livestock damaged someone else's property, the owner of the property could take as much of the livestock as the damage was worth, and they had established how many feet of maize equaled a certain unit of measurement, by which they assigned a specific penalty that was paid in proportion to the amount of damage done.

When travelers had something stolen from them in a *tambo*, first of all the cacique in charge of the *tambo* was punished, and afterward the latter punished the rest of his subjects for negligence and not having been watchful.

The Indian that did not show the proper respect for the Inca and lords was put in jail, where he was left for a long time, and if, in addition to this, they found him to be guilty of something else, he was killed.

He that was a liar and perjurer was tortured as a punishment, and if he was very addicted to this vice and did not mend his ways with this punishment, he was killed in public.

If a governor failed to administer justice or covered up anything for reasons of bribery or because he was so inclined, the Inca himself punished him, taking his cacicazgo and post away from him and denying him the right to have others, and if the injustice involved something serious, the Inca ordered that the offender be killed.

The Incas had two prisons in Cuzco. One of them was half a league away from the city, in front of the parish of San Sebastian, which used to be called Arauaya, and was located in a place named Umpillay; here thieves and other criminals were punished with the death penalty, which was executed by hanging the wrongdoers upside down and leaving them hanging there until they died. The other prison was underground within the city; in it they had enclosed lions [pumas], bears, tigers [jaguars], and serpents; and the people who committed the most atrocious offenses, such as treason against the king and the like, were thrown to these wild beasts and eaten by them. These Indians had many other laws which were very beneficial for governing their republic well. True it is that some of them were too rigorous, such as those that required the death penalty and other exorbitant punishments for light offenses. Also it should be known that justice was not uniform and equal among them; although they prided themselves on being just and punishing all offenses, they always gave different penalties to the nobles and the wealthy than they gave to the humble and poor. This was due to an illusion that they had which was to say that a public reprimand was a far greater punishment for an Inca of noble blood than the death penalty for a plebeian. They justified their follies as well as their lofty positions on the assumption that they were children of the Sun and the first ones to found the religion and sacrifices of the Sun. Therefore, in the enforcement of their laws, they paid careful attention to these privileges, and thus the punishments were different according to the social status of the person that broke the laws. It turned out that for the same offenses that a common person would get the death penalty, nobles of Inca lineage would get no other

punishment than a public reprimand; but this reprimand was so feared that the Indians affirm that it has happened only a few times, and very rarely has a noble been executed.



Reading 8: Aztec Traders

(taken from "The World Trade Created" by K. Pomerantz, pages 21-23)

When Europeans finally arrived in the Indian Ocean and the South China Sea, they discovered thriving Arab, Indian, and Chinese trade networks. It would take centuries for the Europeans to break the dominance of these traders in Asia, the Middle East, and Africa. But in the Americas, the Spanish and the Portuguese immediately controlled long-distance commerce. Why did the indigenous peoples of the Americas so quickly and easily cede trade?

The Europeans had theories that explained Indians' failure in commerce. Indians were racially inferior, lazy, and, most of all, uninterested in profit. With a strong sense of communal property and a desire to self-sufficiency, Indians were uninterested in European goods and the broader world. While soothing to European consciences, these explanations had little truth in the historical record.

In fact, pre-Colombian Indians traded extensively. It was no fluke that Columbus early in his first voyage discovered an Indian canoe from an island he had just visited already paddling to a neighboring people with the Spanish goods they had just acquired for trade. Caribbean islanders had frequent commercial intercourse.

But that was very small-scale compared to the commerce of Mesoamerica: turquoise and silver from New Mexico was traded down to Tenochtitlan (present-day Mexico City) in exchange for either bowls, knives, combs, blankets, and featherwork manufactured there or the wide array of trade goods the Aztecs and their neighbors accumulated: rubber from Veracruz, chocolate from Chiapas, jaguar pelts and honey from the Yucatan, gold from Nicaragua, cacao and obsidian from Honduras or El Salvador, and gold from Costa Rica. A tremendous area the equal to the distance from southern Spain to Finland, separated Mesoamerican traders.

The urge to barter and truck was strong enough to push goods over two thousand miles. This was a feat unparalleled in the world because Mesoamerica had few rivers to tie together its far-flung populations. Most people lived in the high valleys of the center of the continent distant from the coast. Although the island of Cozumel seems to have been a major trading center for the Yucatan, no other coastal entrepôts have been discovered. Trade centers were inland. They were separated by rugged and precipitous ravines and ten- to twelve-thousand-foot-high mountains. To further disrupt travel, unlike everywhere else in the world that was densely populated, Mesoamerica had no large beasts of burden to carry the turquoise, cotton blankets, and cacao. Nor were wheeled vehicles used. Thousands of humans carried the loads on their backs and heads up and down the mountain sides on narrow, treacherous paths.

Yet trade was vigorous enough that the Aztecs, and perhaps the Maya, had their own caste that specialized in commerce. The pochteca lived on the island of Tlateloco, next to the aristocratic Tenochtitlan. They had special exemptions, were well respected, and lived well. They supplied a market in Tenochtitlan that stunned the Spanish Conquistadors

when they first saw it. Hernan Cortes reported: "The city has many squares where markets are held, and trading is carried on. There is one square, twice as large as that of Salamanca, all surrounded by arcades, where daily more than sixty thousand souls buy and sell, and where are found all the kinds of merchandise produced in these countries." A fellow soldier, Bernal Diaz, enthused: "We were astounded at the great number of people and the quantities of merchandise, and at the orderliness and good arrangements that prevailed, for we had never seen such a thing before."

With such a dazzling array of precious and manufactured goods, intricate and intensive trade routes, and a special merchant caste well acquainted with the trade and able to converse across many language barriers, why did the Aztec commercial class come to a crashing halt with the arrival of the Spanish? Why did they not continue to prosper as in Asia, the Middle East, and Africa?

The answer is twofold. First, although extensive and well developed, Aztec and Mayan commerce was not really commodity commerce. Money and private property were still in the beginning stages of use. Commerce was an extension of statecraft and merchants were essentially government officials. Trade was largely in tribute goods exacted through force or the threat of force; it was not private property created with the intention of profit. Thus this was a commercial system greatly dependent upon the political empire it served. Without Aztec or Mayan force there would be no tribute goods; and with no tribute there would be no trade.

The astounding destruction brought by the Spanish conquest ended not only Aztec and Mayan political power. It also destroyed the large cities (Tenochtitlan may have had as many as 500,000 inhabitants, ten times the size of the largest city in Spain) and even much of the rural indigenous population. The remaining population was either drafted into working for the Spanish or attempted to close itself off from the Spanish world in tightly guarded local economies. Most of their luxury goods such as featherwork and skins did not interest the Spanish. Those goods that did, such as cacao and gold, were soon produced under the control of Spaniards, who also oversaw their trade.

Within a few short years, a vast thriving commercial emporium had disappeared. Indians were condemned as nonenterprising and marginalized from the economy. Global trade not only created commercial networks, it also destroyed them.