

O N E

Introduction

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The Social Construction of Ancient Cities

In both ancient and modern cities, the vast majority of urban dwellers are not elites, but members of ordinary households. Their production and consumption patterns form the basis of the city's economy; their participation in ceremonies affirms the effectiveness of an organizing authority; their labor permits the manifestation of an urban ethos as constructed through both fanciful monuments and practical infrastructure. This volume explores the role of cities for those inhabitants and provides archaeological case studies of the complexities of urban formation and urban continuities in both the Old and New Worlds. As the meeting ground for immigrant populations from the immediate hinterlands as well as from distant territories, a city represents a new social order, in which numerous different groups must coexist. The resultant social networks, economic activities, and po-

litical opportunities are concentrated in a locus of relatively dense population, where the process of daily life takes place as part of the physical landscape that forms and is formed by the negotiated consensus between groups.

In the past three decades, the archaeological study of the city has focused mainly on cities' hinterlands and territories, emphasizing settlement patterns, catchment analysis, and long-distance exchange. Since the early 1990s, there has been a return to the heart of cities, and to the integration of the city and its hinterland. New data on households, neighborhoods, markets, and other domestic venues indicate that ancient cities were not merely the result of leaders' directives, and that the city was constructed by all those who lived in the urban core as well as its hinterlands. As the authors of the following chapters illustrate, the form and function of cities are brought about by a variety of groups (leaders, migrants, ritual specialists, economic specialists, neighborhood associations, and other types of social configurations) that crosscut the space of the city.

Urban centers may come into existence for a variety of reasons, such as trade, ceremony, strategic placement, or administrative demands. Cities can also be legislated into existence, although they cannot be sustained through coercion; especially at the incipient stages of sociopolitical complexity, any attempt to compel urban residence would have outstripped finite central resources and left political systems vulnerable to competition. Even at a state level of sociopolitical organization, planning alone is not sufficient to make cities thrive, as Joffe (1998) has observed in his study of ancient West Asian disembedded capitals. These cities were founded by charismatic elites but many failed to retain a central role afterward, and some disappeared altogether. Similarly, "planned capitals" and developments in the modern world are often not as successful as other cities (Peiser and Chang 1999; Potter 1985).

Given the lack of resources to compel residence in a center of concentrated population and the potential disadvantages of city life, the key to the success of cities must lie in their social aspects and the way in which they are configured by different, often competing groups. Rather than seeing cities as fundamentally changed by the advent of the Industrial Revolution and the global connections of the modern world, new anthropological research suggests that both ancient and modern cities are the result of a limited range of configurations that structure human action in concentrated populations.

PREMODERN AND MODERN URBANISM:

A FUNDAMENTAL DIFFERENCE?

Urban sociologists seek to understand and explain the development and growth of contemporary cities, and their assessment of the effect that cities have upon their inhabitants has historically oscillated from pessimistic to exuberant. A negative view of city life was proposed by early theorists such as Louis Wirth (1938:12), who argued that cities are places where the individual is disconnected from former ties and where human contacts are "impersonal, superficial, transitory, and segmented." In the same negative vein, critiques based on Marxist analyses of class struggle saw cities as the physical locus of alternating rejections of, and acquiescence to, capitalist domination (Castells 1977; Gottdiener 1985; Lefebvre 1979). With the increasing ecological awareness of the 1960s and 1970s, cities in addition came to be seen as having a disastrous impact on the environment and on human health. Titles gracing works on urbanism intoned that cities were "doomed," "dying," and "dysfunctional," and that city life was inherently damaging, inefficient, and wasteful.

But despite an academic understanding of cities as disastrous places to live, urban zones have continued to grow and have become the dominant residential mode in many parts of the world. Anthropologists and sociologists have had to reconcile a philosophical understanding of the autocratic role of leadership and the rootlessness of city life with observations showing that residents actively view cities as places of community and opportunity (Jacobs 1961; Khalat and Kongstad 1973; Lewis 1952; Penvenne 1997). In urban environments, kinship ties are reaffirmed and augmented, rather than destroyed; social contacts are diversified; and neighborhoods become the principal geographic anchor of social interaction (Dike 1979; Khalat and Konstad 1973; Schweizer et al. 1998). More recently, analysts have also begun to see the city form as a potentially efficient nexus of environmental management and a crucible of opportunity and positive change (e.g., Inoguchi et al. 1999; Keating and Krumholz 1999; O'Meara 1999).

Bolstered by an appreciation of individual agency and the reality of a complex social configuration, these new anthropological and sociological approaches are evaluating the interrelated changes that occur in a city and beyond its boundaries from the point of view of the individual and household. While analysts of modern cities often use the configurations that they see as indicators that the Industrial Revolution brought irreversible and substantial changes to the phenomenon of concentrated populations, archaeological evidence indicates that these same types

of transformations are visible in the premodern world, and that the components of cities in the past and present are similar (Potter 1985). These similarities are not limited merely to physical configurations, such as the juxtaposition of public and private space, or the architectural identifiers of hierarchy. They also include the fundamental transformations in human relations as exclusively kin-based social networks become supplemented or supplanted by other types of social networks, and the way in which a perception of improved opportunities draws individuals and households into urban locales.

Consider a straightforward problem shared by studies of both modern and premodern urbanism: the delineation of the city's boundaries. In the view of contemporary urban analysts, the concepts of sprawl, spread, and endless suburbia are a tremendous liability of the modern city (Gottdiener 1985; Vagale 1973; Williams 1985; Wirth 1938). Mark Gottdiener (1985:4) uses the term "deconcentration" to describe the regional dispersal of people, commerce, and industry into a giant polynucleated sprawl, which he contrasts with "the compact city form which once represented a historical process years in the making." The modern city's spread is often blamed on wasteful transportation policies, and while urban sociologists emphasize that there is a social as well as technological component to these developments, they still see the physical configuration of the post-Industrial Revolution city as radically different from its predecessors.

However, archaeological investigations suggest that there has perhaps never been a clear distinction between the urban edge and its hinterland, and that cities are interdigitated with their surrounding communities even when physical walls and embankments suggest a clear-cut perimeter. As the authors in this volume observe, the distinction between the exterior edge of the city and its hinterlands is not a salient one for ancient cities. The effective boundaries of a city may be quite different depending on the criterion in use, with economic boundaries (e.g., the territory representing the source of most comestibles) differing from social boundaries (e.g., the catchment area of ethnic groups drawn into the city).

Since they are linked to identity, these social boundaries fluctuate because a variety of criteria are applied by inhabitants as well as by outsiders (Davidson 1972; Katten 1999; Penvenne 1997; Rubertone and Thorbahn 1985; see also Yaeger, this volume). The concept of a firm "rural-urban" divide is also problematic when the same individuals move back and forth from one setting to another, a phenomenon especially apparent at the inception of large urban centers (e.g., Andersson 2001; Dike 1979; Khalat and Kongstad 1973). Even when cities are well established,

continued economic interdependence with their hinterlands means that seasonally required manual labor can be brought into the city from the countryside or can be drawn from an urban labor pool (Grieco 1995).

By contrast, formal, recognized boundaries are likely to result from specific requirements imposed by political entities for the sake of internal management such as revenue-collection, or as the result of disputes with a rival political entity; in either case, they can shift in response to changed internal or external circumstances. Nor are official boundaries and definitions all-encompassing, even when they are in place and become part of the textual record. As Penvenne (1997) observed in her study of migrant Mozambican women, cultural perceptions about appropriate work for women meant that official documents seldom acknowledged their many urban-based sources of income. In urban Padang, official documents about the prescribed and prohibited locations of marketplaces were often the opposite of economic activities as they were actually practiced (Colombijn 1994).

The city and its distant hinterland present another important point of comparison between modern and ancient exemplars. Unlike towns, whose hinterlands are relatively limited in scope, cities have economic hinterlands as far away as the most distantly traded good in the marketplace. In modern times, this has resulted in the "world city," with its global economic ties (Knox 1995; see also Gottdiener 1985; Lefebvre 1979). Paul Knox (1995:13) sees these global cities as socially constructed domains in which the inhabitants "define themselves through globally oriented, populist value systems and through possession of high-end consumer goods." The complexities of modern manufacturing, including fluctuating costs and availability of raw materials and labor, mean that these display items may have origins in multiple locales.

The use of exotic goods in large quantities as social markers is also evident in premodern cities, as we can see from the presence of nonlocal stone in pre-Columbian Mesoamerican cities (Healan 1993); ostrich feathers, tea, and diamonds in medieval Paris (Kurin 1997); and jade in the Chinese cities of the T'ang era (Schafer 1963:225-226). Cities of the late Roman period had changing relationships with their farthest hinterlands since urban bishops controlled economic resources hundreds of kilometers away (Heath 1999). Long-distance trade relationships could also be sustained through permanent enclaves of traders from distant locales, good examples of which can be found in chalcolithic Anatolia (Stein et al. 1996) as well as in precontact Mesoamerica (summarized in Marcus 1998). The inhabitants of ancient cities certainly made use of economically scarce resources

from distant regions through a variety of economic and social ties. Modern means of transportation and communication have accelerated, but not fundamentally altered, the city's ability to pull in a vast economic hinterland.

Another point to consider is the attraction of **city life for individuals** in both modern and ancient cities. A description of London in the nineteenth century provides a vivid picture of why people migrated into the seething, sometimes dangerous world of the Victorian city: "London grew by sucking in provincial migrants because jobs were either better paid there or thought to be so; it also offered a more liberal array of charities, richer rewards for crime, a more persuasive legend of opportunity than could be found anywhere in the country" (Dyos and Reeder 1973:362). Other studies of modern cities show that for those who are economically disadvantaged in the countryside, the diversified and specialized economy of the city promises more niches in which even casual laborers and the disenfranchised may be able to make a living (e.g., Christopher 1979; El-Bushra 1989; El-Shakhs 1979; Penvenne 1997; Vagale 1973).

Although textual evidence for marginal groups in antiquity is limited, ancient peoples' motives for migration to the city appear to have been similar. In ancient Rome, city distribution agents provided basic subsistence goods such as grain to appease the disenfranchised (Garnsey 1983), a move that probably added to the city's appeal in the minds of immigrants. Juvenal, the Roman satirist, complained that the wealth of the city drew in beggars and thieves, and that the grain dole brought in a torrent of partakers (*Satires*, III). The *Perumpnatrupadai*, a Tamil South Indian poem of the early centuries A.D., similarly describes the city of Kanchipuram as a place with "gates not shut against poor mendicants / Who need no patron else" (Chelliah 1985:129).

In this book, it is argued that the similarities between modern and ancient cities are not limited to these comparative formal properties of economic opportunity, fluid rural-urban boundaries, and the consumption of luxury goods as social markers. More fundamentally, it appears that the capacities for human interaction in concentrated locations are exercised within a limited set of parameters, an observation that may make us distinctly uncomfortable given our tendency to view modern *Homo sapiens* as highly inventive and innovative. People developed cities in many parts of the world independently, yet the resulting urban form exhibits similarities in the organization of space (broad avenues and open plazas), the placement of symbolic architecture in prominent locations, and the development of neighborhoods around occupational specialties. Even more striking, cities in the Old World

and the New World, without contact between them, developed into the most complex and densely occupied type of human population center, with remarkably similar configurations. In the view of this volume's authors, the physical similarities noted above are only a manifestation of underlying principles that prove fundamental to the organization of concentrated populations. These include the manipulation of perceived short-term and long-term benefits, investment in the physical realms of portable objects and space to signify social action, and the use of networks to increase information transfer.

The cognitive formulation of urban centers provides numerous occasions for contacts that enable individuals and households to engage in more complex social behavior. Although the speed of transportation and communication has changed, a city's social role, as conceived by modern analysts, fits ancient cities as well as modern ones:

Their significance lies in their role as centres of authority, as places that are able to generate and disseminate discourses and collective beliefs, that are able to develop, test, and track innovations, and that offer "sociable" settings for the gathering of high-level information (economic, political, cultural) and for establishing coalitions and monitoring implicit contracts. (Knox 1995:8-9)

These "implicit contracts" crosscut the social space of the city, with the result that social relations are built across the political and class spectrum, a series of links interwoven with social distinctions. A cohesive force of these relations is the way in which information and decisions about shared long-term goals are managed. As Colombijn (1994) notes, information management among these groups is achieved through shared long-term goals. While simple commands may be expedient, they are the most politically expensive form of decision making; by contrast, "the least expensive decision is consensual, but attaining such a consensus is a long process" (Colombijn 1994:18). Where theorists such as Lefebvre, Gottdiener, and Castells concentrate on power relations that exclude the vast majority of urban inhabitants, Colombijn believes that the success or failure of a city is transcribed in the thousands of daily household-level negotiations for food, shelter, and access to land. To achieve the ultimately more cost-effective consensual mode of decision making requires a significant investment of time and a shared belief that those who are invested in the system (either as individuals or through corporate groups such as households and nonkin associations) will, in the long run, be better off than if they had not participated.

In a city, the long-term investment in consensus is manifested at all levels of the physical environment: in the monuments designed by leaders and built by followers; in the juxtaposition and accommodation reached within neighborhoods; and within the domestic sphere in the architecture of houses, courtyards, and burial places. For both elites and nonelites, the physical environment includes not only what is fixed but also what is portable: ornaments, clothing, utensils, and other manufactured and traded items. The authors in this volume show that through archaeologically documentable aspects such as portable goods (Attarian chapter 8), space (Moore chapter 4), food preferences (Zeder chapter 7), and the production of labor-intensive products such as metals (Shen chapter 12), we can document social changes in premodern urban settings and the transformation of social groups to an urban configuration. These transformations, signaling the development of a new identity that is expressed in material terms, further suggest other types of ideological and sociological changes that we cannot document archaeologically but that we know must also have taken place in the transition to urbanism (Houston et al. chapter 9).

DEFINING THE "CITY"

The threshold at which a population center becomes truly "urban" is more difficult to determine than it might appear, even for modern cities (Adedeji and Rowland 1973; Potter 1985; Smith 1972; Trigger 1972; Zeder 1991). In the contemporary world, the threshold of "urbanism" is the basis upon which further classifications and social components are intertwined, such as the census and proposals for economic development. To those studying ancient cities, the conferral of "urban" status upon a site establishes an implicit judgment of size and importance in the landscape. For both modern and ancient cities, minimal definitions based on any single quantitative criterion (such as physical size or number of inhabitants) are bound to fail because they nearly always exclude one or more sites that appear to have an urban ethos (Weber 1958:65; R. McIntosh and S. McIntosh, this volume). Static definitions also conceal the dynamic nature of urban activities and urban formations, the sometimes explosive growth of population centers from villages to towns to cities, and the changes undergone by even well-established cities from one era to another. Urban centers are social formations manifest in a physical surrounding that is always changing, while definitions serve archaeologists best when applied to entities that are fixed or are found within relatively fixed parameters.

However, the lack of a definition is equally problematic since without one, researchers rely on their qualitative judgment about any particular site under the assumption that while we cannot define cities, we intuitively "know one when we see one." Some recent work on the origins of urbanism, in failing to define what a city is, has produced nothing more than gazetteers of sites whose comparability is weakened by a lack of formal criteria (see Shaffer 1996). Definitions based on multiple characteristics, rather than a single static criterion such as population size or areal extent, appear more likely to resolve this difficulty. Since V. G. Childe's (1950) list of 10 criteria has, implicitly or explicitly, served as the basis for evaluating premodern urbanism, it is worth revisiting this list. Regardless of the specific determinants of urbanism, it is clear that cities are the most complex form of human population aggregation, but a reexamination of Childe's urban criteria provides a threshold for discussion and a set of parameters within which comparisons can be made.

Childe (1950:3) saw cities as both a result and a symbol of an "urban revolution" that signified the "culmination of a progressive change in the economic structure and social organisation of communities that caused, or was accompanied by, a dramatic increase in the population affected." He wrestled with the awkward fact that cities appeared in both the New and Old Worlds, though with vastly different technologies and apparatus; many characteristics such as the wheel and draft animals that might have been identified as critical and integral components of Old World cities were not present among the cities of the New World. Childe saw the minimum definition of a city as "impoverished" by having to include groups such as the Maya, yet this dilemma prompted the acknowledgment that social, rather than physical, infrastructure is the key to identifying the city (Adams 1966). Childe's 10 criteria are all thus rather elastic and stress relative degrees of population density, economic specialization, taxation/tribute to a central authority, monumental buildings "to symbolize the concentration of the social surplus," social stratification, and record-keeping. In sum, Childe did not provide an analytic framework, but a descriptive one serving as an index to identifying the components of the most complex form of aggregated populations. His criteria are not fundamentally different from those used to describe cities today, as Robert Potter has observed (1985:30).

Within this descriptive framework, all of the components are interrelated; however, some components, such as the economy, provide a highly accessible way to identify and monitor the scale of these relationships. In a city, individuals and households become interdependent in an economy that is complex, integrated, and

large in scale (Zeder 1991:19–21). Population centers the size of cities are beyond the capacity of the household to efficiently manage a number of tasks simultaneously; they *must* specialize in order to take advantage of economies of scale in production as well as to obtain a larger variety of goods and services. At the household level, this usually means that its members specialize in certain social, civic, and economic tasks. As Zeder (chapter 7) further observes, the specialization of the urban economy occurs at different rates and applies to different types of goods. The factors that affect the development vary with the commodity being produced: sometimes changes in political structure affect the organization of production, as Shen (chapter 12) shows for the production of metal goods in the Zhou-period cities of China; sometimes changes were made because of the physical nature of the commodity, as Zeder discusses with reference to the different fodder and pasture needs of cattle, sheep, goats, and pigs.

Another way to define the city is in oppositional terms, making use of apparent disbalances between an urban zone and its hinterland. When cities bring people together into a locus of dense habitation and specialized economy, the surrounding countryside also experiences a restructuring, as seen in examples from cities of both the premodern (Yoffee 1995) and modern periods (de Oliveira and Roberts 1996). City fashions and the demand for certain types of products, including foodstuffs and building material, as well as a demand for labor, have an effect upon economic and social configurations in the surrounding countryside. This dependence is not unidirectional, since city fashions are also emulated by those in the hinterlands who desire to signal their urban ties through material goods and architectural styles (see Yaeger chapter 6). These goods and styles may consist of a variety of previously existing elements in the surrounding area, which city-dwellers transform to new patterns and structures.

Anthropological understanding of the close association of human actions and material goods lets us evaluate archaeological sites in places where social changes are visible in artifacts. At the early modern West African city of Elmina in Ghana, urban residents distinguished themselves both from interior peoples and from foreigners, often using goods that came from those outside sources (DeCorse 2001). In Elmina, the traditional practice of graves under houses was retained, but the burials began to include European ceramics. Architectural forms in the city underwent change as local African inhabitants learned European building techniques in stone. Foodways remained largely unchanged in terms of preferred forms of comestibles such as stews, but food began to be served in imported bowls with new

types of decoration. Christopher Attarian's discussion in this volume (chapter 8) examines the process of urbanization in pre-Columbian Peru, making use of the concept of ethnogenesis as the manner by which an urban population marks a distinction from both hinterlands and surrounding traders. Similarly, Jason Yaeger (chapter 6) examines the way in which rural households emulated urban models in architecture and portable objects of domestic use and ornamentation among the ancient Maya.

In sum, the definition of cities in both the modern and premodern world is subject to a variety of criteria whose applicability depends on the particular questions asked of the data set. Quantified indices such as population size, density, or areal extent provide what may appear to be useful measures, but these data are difficult to unambiguously obtain for ancient cities. The difficulties of establishing a simple numerical threshold for "urban" status even in the modern world is likewise an indicator that qualitative criteria must also be utilized; these include the perceptible difference between urban and hinterland activities.

THE ORIGIN OF CITIES

A quest to identify an exact catalyst for city formation poses not only an intractable problem of "firsts" but also obscures a more interesting question of sustainability. Much of the scholarly tradition of looking for the "first" city is linked to the study of the ancient Near East as the distant ancestor of European culture. Sites such as Jericho and Çatal Höyük have been the focus of such investigations (see Emberling chapter 10). This search for firsts presupposes clear criteria for defining a city, with the implicit establishment of a checklist and then the application of that checklist to the archaeological site in question. In this way, the question of how to define a city and how to determine its origins are intimately linked. But just as single-criterion definitions are inadequate, so too are monocausal explanations of origins. No single factor of opportunity or compulsion appears to explain voluntary relocation to urban areas, and a variety of "push" as well as "pull" factors seem to affect the pace of relocation: the development of employment economies of scale in the city, drought or flooding in the countryside, warfare and civil unrest, the opportunity to use the city as a base of transit to other regions, and cultural shifts resulting in selective disenfranchisement from rural family or land ties. All of these factors may be present in the initial development of a city, although the specific historical circumstances of a given locale may be a combination of political,

demographic, social, and environmental circumstances that may not be exactly replicated elsewhere. Cities, as the focal point of concentrated populations seeking improved opportunities for communication, social ties, and economic gain, appear instead to be generated by a combination of uncertainty mingled with opportunity, what Herzog (1997:13) has called the “constellation of circumstances” that bring a city into being.

The relationship between urban form and political authority is also complex, since cities can be found within a variety of political parameters: as entities comprising urban functions in an otherwise politically underorganized landscape, as units that integrate with the countryside to form a small state, and as a primate city or as one among many cities within the expansive territory of a single state. The presence of cities can serve political agents as the nodes in a cost-effective linked chain of hierarchies, but it is important to recognize that cities do not require a state level of political authority to exist and thrive. This assessment marks a sharp digression from earlier theories of ancient urbanism, which generally assumed that cities and states occur simultaneously (e.g., Adams 1966, 1972; Storey 1992:28; Trigger 1972:592; Zeder 1991). The duality became structured into a causal relationship, with some theorists declaring that “cities are found only in societies that are organized as states” (Fox 1977:24). We can trace this conflated nature of cities and state-level political organizations back to Childe (1950) as well. He used the now-disfavored term “civilization” to denote a condition in which states were marked by cities. Childe’s observations were quickly applied in reverse since it was also assumed that cities were marked by states. As a result, subsequent theorizing about urbanism has often really been about states rather than cities, as noted perhaps most succinctly by Robert McC. Adams in his volume *The Evolution of Urban Society* (1966:90), wherein he proclaims that his “central concern is the growth of the state.”

Another reason for the conflation of cities and states is that the terms “urban,” “urbanism,” and “urbanization” are often used interchangeably. These terms are distinct in meaning, as noted by Fox (1977:14–15; 39–41), who proposed that “urbanism” refers to the form of the city and that urbanization is the process in which people move from rural areas to cities. Another way to preserve the significant nuances of these terms is to clearly articulate the aspects implied by their use. We should reserve the term “urban” for the characteristics of a city in its geographic and territorial locale; it is a reflexive term, used primarily to distinguish a population locus at a particular point in its historical trajectory and/or in relation to a

nonurban hinterland. “Urbanism,” by extension, is the general phenomenon of cities in their political, social, and economic aspects, again with reference to cities as assessed by those living in and around them. By contrast, “urbanization” refers to a whole territorial expanse becoming linked with an center-dominated ethos: a territorial expanse such as a state that is marked by the presence and effects of urban locales. Only the phenomenon of “urbanization” implies a territorial expanse; once again, these semantic differences illustrate why cities and states can, and should, be conceptualized as distinct entities, complex phenomena that often—but not always—occur together.

These distinctions may help to clarify the definition of “states” as well. Though it remains a complex issue, some theorists have proposed that political, ritual, and economic activities be used as defining criteria, rather than the presence or role of cities (e.g., Marcus and Feinman 1998:4–7; Possehl 1998:264–268, 275–276). Nor are they convinced that cities require states for their existence (Possehl 1998:286–287). If anthropologists are willing to forgo the idea that cities are a critical component of ancient states, then it is also time for the understanding of cities to be uncoupled from the necessary presence of states. By breaking this pairing of cities and states, we allow cities to be understood on their own terms as centers of political, economic, and social organization that may be considerably more complex than the territories and regions in which they are located.

Three types of city configurations help us to further unpack the relationship between cities and states: ports, cities in place before states, and cities between periods of large-scale state-level territorial integration. These cases illustrate that cities as centers of concentrated human activity can be acted upon by political leaders seeking to pull together numerous population centers into a territorial expression of authority, but that the city form is developed first.

Ports constitute an urban type in which the impact of hinterland political structures is tangential to the success of the city form, since ports can survive and thrive in a political configuration no more complex than that of a tribe (e.g., Connah 1987; Sedov 1996). Ports are located where environmental zones meet (water and land, or desert and forest) to form a nexus of economic and social interaction that can be described as a “complex interplay of physical, geographical and socio-economic phenomena” (Ray 1996:2). Ports present a flexible political environment in which contacts are managed by disparate groups for commercial gain; these commercial activities are also often intertwined with the social and religious activities of persons passing through ports to sites elsewhere. The presence of a rigid state

ideology and practice may actually be detrimental to the health of a port, as Boone and Redman (1982) observe in their study of cities in medieval North Africa. Although these specialized cities may have leaders whose actions have an impact on infrastructure and overall urban design, the observation that a port functions as a nexus of communication and transfer means that a high proportion of actions are undertaken by disparate groups without a central leader either in the city itself or in the surrounding territory.

Another way to explain the distinction between urban centers and urbanized states is to consider the historical trajectory of cities within states. Archaeologists frequently examine cities when the urban form is already well established and contains a literary or iconographic tradition highlighting the role of rulers. As a result, it is difficult to ascertain political actions at the inception of the city form, when leadership roles may have been multiple and overlapping, and when overt signs of leadership may not be apparent except as they are manifested in communal activities. The development of corporate or group-level interaction may well precede the development of individualizing leadership, as Blanton and his colleagues (1996) note in their discussion of corporate and network styles of group dynamics in Mesoamerica. While they caution that the two categories describe cyclical processes and not an evolutionary progression, many archaeologically derived examples of social complexity show that individualizing leadership develops only after a period of group-based interaction (e.g., Renfrew 1974; Trubitt 2000). Cities may provide a similar background of communal activity against which individual leaders exercise their authority. At the pre-Columbian site of Tikal in present-day Guatemala, differences in elites (including better relative health and longevity, as well as distinctly elaborate tombs) make it possible to separate upper- and lower-class individuals only by the last hundred years B.C., which is several centuries after the first large-scale public architecture (a solar observatory) was constructed (Haviland and Moholy-Nagy 1992:57).

As Elizabeth Stone (1995) observes, the exact causes for the origins of Mesopotamian cities is uncertain, and temples preceded palaces as a focus of urban activity by as much as half a millennium. These early temples functioned like large households and held land worked by sharecroppers; they also provided rations in return for work by otherwise disenfranchised individuals such as widows and orphans (Robertson 1995). In the Classical world, the large states of the Hellenistic and Roman periods incorporated cities that had previously been politically independent (Weber 1958:99). On the Indian subcontinent, large fortified cities appear

in the archaeological record of the Ganges Valley several centuries before the historical or archaeological documentation of state-level political structure, which suggests that these cities were the largest consistent unit of territorial integration (Smith chapter 11). Roderick McIntosh and Susan McIntosh (chapter 5) propose that in West Africa, the state was never forthcoming; in the Niger Delta, the configuration of environment and social structure may even have combined to produce cities in which power relations were consciously negotiated away from territorial integration.

Nonstate configurations are also evident in cities that continue to be occupied and to thrive during conditions of state collapse and disintegration. Modern examples of such cities abound: Lagos, Khartoum, Bogotá, Phnom Penh, Kinshasa. Examples from the ancient world include the cities (or city-states; see Baines and Yoffee 1998) of Mesopotamia as loci of habitation that were often incorporated into larger units. Throughout any individual city's centuries of occupation, alliances were created with a variety of other units in a larger territory; "the epigraphic literature of Early Dynastic Mesopotamia provides dozens of examples of rulers who temporarily united two, three or even more small polities into a larger unit" (Marcus 1998:86; see also Stone 1997). Similarly, Mesoamerica was the scene of repeated coalitions of smaller political units into larger territorial entities (Feinman and Nicholas 1991:244; see also Hodge 1994; Webster 1997). As Hodge (1994:61) observes for the Valley of Mexico, the Triple Alliance's use of preexisting centers "provided the benefits of hierarchy without the cost of creating and maintaining many levels of administrators and administrative centers." But cities in the ancient world could still survive when large-scale political systems dissolved, as illustrated in southern France at the end of the Roman period (Heath 1999). These transformations did not mean the demise of population centers; instead, the notion of a city as a locus of shared identity and obligation became the preferred metaphor for bishops as they built the organization of the Christian churches on a Roman bureaucratic model.

As these examples indicate, cities in the premodern world did not require a state level of political organization, only an initial impetus for settlement, some level of highly visible labor investment, and a sustainable social network afterward. The social development of cities does not, however, mean that leaders were absent from the process of urban organization; rather, city leadership was composed of complex configurations of power relations between political and religious entities as well as other groups such as neighborhood groups and voluntary associations that

also used the city form to establish authority and compete for symbolic leadership through the administration of territory.

What about city-states? This configuration could be argued to be the most pronounced coupling of political and urban systems. But are they cities first, or states first? In a recent volume, Charleton and Nichols (1997:5) have observed that they find city-states to be "one of two or three major forms of early states" (an assessment also made in Hansen 2000). These researchers tend to emphasize the "state" portion of the term, highlighting the analytic value of a political unit that consists of a small, politically independent state with a capital city as distinct from the types of states with extensive territory and numerous population centers (for an alternate view that doubts the utility of the city-state concept, see Marcus and Feinman 1998:8–10). By these parameters, the city-state may be a subset of the types of states, but the workings of the urban center should be considered similar.

URBAN TRANSFORMATIONS

Regardless of the subsequent political entities that might capture cities within state-level hierarchies, the city form represents the physical manifestation of social transformations. The city form can be distinguished from other types of concentrated populations by transformations in leadership, in spatial organization, and in economic organization. These fundamental transformations can be assessed through the archaeological remains of ancient cities.

Leadership

Urban life is certainly facilitated by centrally sponsored inputs such as markets, roads, and sanitation. Yet these are not essential to the functioning of a city. In many Third World cities today, people come together and subdivide land in sprawling shanty towns in which no services are centrally provided (Myers 1996). In some cities, urban growth is regulated by market forces, rather than by central planning agencies, which may be weakened by corruption, ineffective management, confusion caused by multiple overlapping agencies, or a lack of funds (e.g., El-Bushra 1989; Khalat and Kongstad 1973). A city may also consist of distinct parts that do not necessarily harmonize and whose configurations and activities are not dictated by any form of leadership, as Emberling observes (chapter 10).

Leadership can develop in a variety of ways. At the inception of cities, priests

and other ritual specialists may provide a supernatural setting and sense of purpose to the urban social and physical landscape. These ideologically based mediations are the most difficult to trace in the archaeological record; yet, as Cowgill (chapter 2) suggests for Teotihuacan and Houston and others (chapter 9) document for Piedras Negras, they probably played a strong role in establishing and maintaining the ideology of the city (see also Adams 1966:121). Political leaders are likely to associate themselves with religious activities and architecture, and the link between religious and political authority is often subsequently taken over by political leaders (see Moore chapter 4). These activities serve to distinguish between different groups of elites clamoring for respect; at the same time, this competition enables nonelites to form alliances within networks to achieve communally what would otherwise be difficult to achieve at a smaller scale.

In the urban context, individuals and households can increase their network of contacts through a variety of groups whose organizing principle is based on self-selection of members acting on shared criteria such as religion, occupation, or ethnicity. Such associations allow a restructuring or re-creation of power relations within a city, whether created as a guild, cooperative, neighborhood association, religious group, or other voluntary society. The opportunity for nonelites to participate in alternative sources of authority-making structures draws a large number of people into these groups, whether they seek to be selected for office or merely seek "the authority that derives from the ability to define" who their associates will be (Coutin 1994:297; Walker-Ramisch 1996). Once formed, an association can wield more influence than individual members, allowing it to act on behalf of members who seek to maintain or expand their ability to appropriate resources (Colombijn 1994:16).

Group investments in authority have an impact on the physical layout of the city as well as on members' social identity and economic success. Attracted by city life, numerous individuals may participate in the construction of city monuments, amenities, and other types of sponsored projects. Examples can be drawn from the Roman world, in which building programs were commemorated through inscriptions. As Di Segni's (1995) study of monuments in Byzantine cities shows, an individual's civil status could affect the way that donations were credited in a building's inscriptions. Municipal officials would record their occupational status if they were donating to civil buildings, but not if they were donating to religious buildings such as churches where they presented themselves as private citizens. In other cases, the profession of the person was mentioned (such as lawyer or doctor) even

when the construction project did not involve them in their professional capacity but merely as a donor (Di Segni 1995). This illustrates that people in cities could compartmentalize their civic activities: as members of a professional group, as private individuals, as appointed or elected officials, and as members of a particular religious affiliation. While the recognition achieved in one sphere undoubtedly influenced the individual's standing in other spheres, there were multiple groups into which those with elite ambitions could place themselves.

For those without ambitions of improving their social status, the city still represented gains. There were opportunities for different kinds of jobs, better employment, or the possibility of escaping penury or family troubles in the countryside. Those in the low-paying jobs of the city also risked the most in that if they failed there might not be lands to fall back upon, but the diversity of employment and economic niches provided more choices than the distant hinterlands. Those who had the fewest economic options of all could also find a place in the city as beggars, thieves, and prostitutes, all occupations more easily practiced in areas of concentrated populations. Thus, while the aggregate of network connections and the perception of long-term gains built a momentum for continuity in city life, short-term gains were also anticipated by those moving into the urban zone.

The ability to address short-term needs as well as collectively manage long-term investments is another reason why associations become valued as the individual and household strive to function in the urban setting. On the immediate level, associations can provide information about basic services, assist newcomers with employment, and assuage feelings of disorientation and loneliness. On the cognitive level, these associations may serve as repositories of collective memory. As Cox et al. (1999:370) have recently observed, memory is an important aspect of the evolution of cooperative behavior; in their simulations, they note that "a simple memory for past encounters is sufficient to allow stable cooperation to evolve even when the number (or frequency) of interactions is relatively low." In urban zones characterized by frequent relocation and migration (e.g., as individuals go back and forth to the hinterlands), associations and groups can serve as a repository of members' memories for the benefit of any individual who requires such information.

The benefit of greater information flow works to the mutual advantage of different social classes, including those balanced within hierarchical relations. For example, from the point of view of an employer, dealing with well-established groups is more efficient than dealing with individuals seeking work. As observed in a variety of modern social settings, hiring institutions actively seek the presence of ha-

bitual or regular contracts with groups (even if individual workers change). This phenomenon is associated with large institutions and habitual work contracts that are perceived as efficient because of their consistent social content (Granovetter 1985). The urban-based need for consistent work forces may well mirror similar preexisting work relationships in the countryside. For example, the desired consistency of social interaction can be seen in work parties among the agricultural Kofyar people of Nigeria, in which laborers who are neighbors are preferred to unknown hired hands (Netting 1993:72–80). The Kofyar present a particularly interesting case because they occupy regions of high-quality land at densities up to 200 per square kilometer. Although population is unevenly distributed between these highly productive rural areas, factors of reliability are still more important in arranging work contracts than the mere presence of able-bodied workers. In growing cities as well, the need for an adequate work force is critical (for support services as well as for manufacturing activities), but hiring institutions and workers both seek to maneuver the terms of work to their advantage.

Space

Space within cities ranges from private to public in design and use and is configured by inhabitants at numerous levels (Carr et al. 1992; Colombijn 1994). Public, social space is shaped in a variety of ways, often connected with the symbolic manipulation of access by crowds of people. This space may be constrained through the use of partitions and inner courtyards that direct the flow of traffic within and between buildings, as shown by Keith (chapter 3) and Moore (chapter 4). Space can be constrained vertically as well as horizontally, as Yaeger (chapter 6) shows in his discussion of the diminishing platform sizes of pyramids set in central urban courtyards. While this suggests that the configurations of public space are largely guided by elites, the response to the provision of public space can be manipulated and altered by residents if they fail to use the space for its intended purpose, for example, by shunning elaborately planned plazas and marketplaces, or by converting wasteland into informal gathering places (e.g., Colombijn 1994; Streicker 1997).

Similarly, private and semipublic space in a city is shaped by regular social and economic transactions. Patterns of communication and interaction as measured in material culture can be discerned through a variety of activities that produce archaeological data sets: investigation of production sites to determine the scale and distribution of manufacturing, excavations of waste deposits to see what is dis-

carded and at what periodicity, and examination of households to determine patterns of lived material culture. The advantage of using households as an archaeological unit of investigation is that a whole physical household is more likely to be excavated in detail than an entire neighborhood; households are also tied to the economic life of the city, and their transformations can signal the city's general economic health (Smith 1987). These economic changes are matched by household adjustments, including the reconfiguration of space. An example is provided by the modern city of Cairo, where rural-style kitchens are redesigned to conform to the restricted space of urban dwellings, and semipublic open space such as rooftops and courtyards are eventually covered over and converted to private use (Abu-Lughod 1969; El-Shakhs 1979).

A similar process can be seen in archaeologically documented cities. The early medieval city of Koumbi Saleh (Mauretania) shows signs of the development of domestic architectural forms and decorations that replicate a well-defined urban model from one dwelling to the next (Berthier 1997:45). This includes the continued subdivision of rooms into smaller and smaller spaces and the covering of courtyards, as though the domestic spaces of the city were being reconfigured to accommodate increasing numbers of inhabitants and different types of tasks, with the result that quarters became more cramped even as the city was prospering. This may have been the result of immigrants crowding into smaller living quarters to take advantage of the city's opportunities. A similar process can be seen in the Old Babylonian period, where texts show the buying and selling of houses and rooms as new individuals come into the city (Yoffee 1988). Thus, what is deduced by archaeologists as a decline in urban inhabitants' absolute standard of wealth may simply be the result of urban wealth being enjoyed by a larger proportion of the population. A city perceived as being attractive to migrants can produce the paradox of a lowered collective standard of living, a fact that does not seem to deter continued migration, as Storey (1992) observed for the ancient city of Teotihuacan.

In both modern and premodern cities, collections of houses become forged into neighborhoods, a distinctly urban type of social group in which proximity and geography become the defining characteristics of membership (Hallman 1984; Henig 1982). Through regular interactions, the neighborhood also becomes an economic community (Khalat and Kongstad 1973). While formal rules of access may not apply (as they do in ceremonial spaces, for example), neighborhoods and districts serve to circumscribe inhabitants by a shifting conceptual geography. The neighborhood becomes a political and social community, a "cell within a larger settle-

ment" that provides a frame of reference for the individual and a venue for the exchange of skills, emergency assistance, and mutual protection (Hallman 1984:11). The neighborhood can also take action as a group, and its ability to serve as a collective nexus for action is visible in both ancient and modern urban zones. Textual records of Old Babylonian cities, for example, show the workings of neighborhood associations (*babtum*) as a level at which contacts were mediated between the household and the city bureaucracy (Keith, chapter 3).

These neighborhoods may mirror the space of preexisting village links as well as providing cognitive groupings of a similar size. In Mesopotamian cities such as Eshnunna and Mashkan-shapir, grids of major thoroughfares divide the urban zone into blocks about 1 hectare in size, and it "may not be coincidental that one hectare is both the average size of small Mesopotamian village sites and the size of residential neighborhoods—the face-to-face communities that served as the building blocks of those preindustrial cities outside Mesopotamia which have been studied" (Stone 1995:240). Other neighborhood-level configurations can be seen in the "ethnic neighborhoods" of Teotihuacan (Cowgill 1992) and the development of newcomers' settlements in Chinese cities of the late first millennium B.C. (Shen 1994).

The connection between urban neighborhoods and kinship ties is strong, since neighborhoods at least initially tend to be comprised of persons sharing kinship or extended-kinship ties retained from rural settlements (see, e.g., Abu-Lughod 1969; Khalat and Kongstad 1973; Lewis 1952; Perlman 1976). As with neighborhoods, kinship relations present the individual with a group in which information can be obtained and through which actions can be successfully undertaken. The same family functions are apparent in archaeologically documented sites of the historic period: in the Early Dynastic period in Mesopotamia, lineage groupings continued to be strong even within cities, since they corporately held title to agricultural lands and played a role in organizing corvée labor and craft production (Adams 1966, 1972:743).

Within the space of the household and neighborhood, activities are signaled materially through the consumption of portable goods and shared space (Gottdiener 1995; Miller 1987). Differential consumption activities signaling individual and household participation in community activities are seen in the smallest social groups and hardly require an urban setting, but an examination of consumption activities in cities suggests a dramatically increased consumption of material goods (Fine and Leopold 1993; Gottdiener 1995; Knox 1995; Miles and Paddison 1998). While increased numbers of possessions may be a marker of hoarding or

of political instability (cf. Hamilton and Lai 1989), they are more often the means by which participation in diverse activities can be signaled (Smith 1999).

Increased consumption in cities is linked to the greater impetus for individuals and the household to communicate their participation in neighborhood and voluntary associations, as well as their status achieved through economic activity, political organizations, and religious affiliations. Urban markets and the potential for increased disposable income provide city dwellers with additional opportunities for consumption, not only directly but by proxy when their income is transferred to rurally based relatives (El-Bushra 1989). The increased proportion of per capita consumption of durable goods is clearly visible in ancient cities, where occupations are marked by immense quantities of debris, including new types of goods added to the repertoire of items that are seen in hinterland settlements. This observation of increased urban consumption in premodern cities counters the confident statements by modern sociologists that a high level of urban consumption is a product of post-Fordist, late-twentieth-century society (e.g., McCracken 1988; Miles and Paddison 1998).

Economic Interactions

A high level of economic interdependence between a variety of economic and social groups is evident in the city. At its most basic level, this includes the mutual exploitation of haves and have-nots. "Haves" rely on a competitive, often underpaid, labor pool for the labor-intensive inputs that make upper-class life distinct; the "have-nots" jockey for patronage, handouts, and favors in an atmosphere where prestige is awarded to those with the largest circle of dependents. Exchange relations between these groups may consist of exchanging goods for prestige or patronage rather than strict goods-for-goods trade (see Clark and Blake 1994 on prestige relations). Charity as a civic concern, whether in modern San Francisco or Victorian London, can be a marker of urban identity; this is seen in premodern cases as well, for example, in the provision of grain for the poor in Rome (Garnsey 1983).

More complex relationships of dependency can also evolve, as when rural inhabitants and urban-based merchants buy and sell agricultural produce to each other in transactions that depend on mutual exploitation of cycles of debt (Harris 1989). Dependency relations in antiquity could take place on a very local scale, especially when elites and nonelites lived in close proximity in the same neighborhood (see Stone 1995). In the cities of the Khabur plain, for example, elites and

nonelites did not have access to the same quality of meat resources, as assessed through archaeologically recovered faunal remains (Zeder chapter 7). But elites and nonelites did rely on each other in their economic networks, since the commerce of animals probably took place within the city itself where poorer residents raised animals that were afterward consumed by elites. As Zeder shows, even the basic demands of subsistence can take on a socially charged aspect within the concentrated population of the city.

Mutual dependence may be an expedient strategy for both short-term and long-term gain, but the proliferation of resource managers and perceptions of disadvantage can also provoke discord between social groups in the close quarters of the city. While the concept of "resistance" is a very Western and postcolonial one relating to the tremendous imbalances in center-directed resources that can be used against underprivileged groups, it is important to recognize that in premodern times, force may have been mustered against city-dwellers by factions competing for authority and resources. Examples of intraurban factionalism can be documented in the cities of the Roman world, where voluntary associations such as trade guilds sometimes came into conflict with local governments. In Ephesus in the second century A.D., the state responded to a bakers' strike with an edict regulating the future conduct of the organization (Remus 1996:148). Actions such as this, and the requirement that voluntary associations (even burial societies and other mutual-aid groups) seek imperial permission for existence, point to the state's interest in controlling potential sources of conflict within cities (Remus 1996; Walker-Ramisch 1996).

Chen Shen (chapter 12) also discusses the potential for conflict between political authorities and economic agents such as merchants and producers, in which proprietary interests over technology and marketing may have been a flashpoint for violence. The presence of a mass grave at Yan-Xiadu, he notes, may have resulted from conflicts between rulers and ruled over economic rights within the city walls. Even in the modern world, groups assembled for one purpose can be used as a block against a central authority when the groups evolve to confront new issues and social developments (Coutin 1994). In the close quarters of the city, the disenfranchised can resort to violence to achieve their ends, although it is more straightforward for them to "vote with their feet" and simply leave. This appears to have been the strategy when populations did not have particular incentives to stay beyond the demands of the elite, or when incentives of food provisioning and services no longer outweighed the disadvantages of staying.

ARCHAEOLOGICAL EXAMINATIONS OF
SOCIAL IDENTITY AND CITY FORMATION

The transformations of leadership, space, and economic activity are all interdependent in the urban environment, where the close proximity of individuals and groups means that changes are effected at a number of levels simultaneously. In view of the complexities of these actions, an elite-dominated explanatory model for urban organization and growth is inadequate: elite actions and decisions can affect, but not fundamentally cause, urban transformations without the active participation of the majority of city-dwellers. Furthermore, transformations in leadership, space, and economic activity have material correlates. As such, they are visible in the archaeological record of premodern cities, as well as in the physical realm of modern cities.

A word about the characteristics of archaeological data sets may have a sobering yet insightful effect at this juncture. As the largest type of archaeological site, cities are marked by an abundance of archaeological remains, but usually on such a large scale that traditional methods of investigation such as excavation can expose only a tiny proportion of an ancient site. Artifacts can be assessed for production, distribution, and use, while architecture on both the domestic and monumental scale makes it possible to calculate labor time requirements and spatial configurations. Faunal, skeletal, and botanical studies tell us about the transformation of the biological realm in cities, enabling us to evaluate everything from human health to local environmental conditions.

But the ability to assess all the types of archaeological remains found in excavations—from fish bones and cooking pots to temples, palaces, and broad avenues—gives us what may be a misleading precision of information, since large portions of ancient sites will always remain out of reach of excavators' time and budgets. An alternative method of investigating ancient sites is to conduct a surface survey, by tallying and mapping the remains found on the surface of the site. Though comprehensive in terms of spatial coverage, this technique limits an investigator to what may be highly variable data sets affected by the vagaries of post-occupational processes ranging from vegetation to modern habitation and bulldozing. In sum, as archaeologists dealing with the material remains of cities, we must be aware that we are evaluating a highly complex human phenomenon with a less-than-comprehensive data set—a point made by many authors in this volume. Although our theories are therefore more robust than our data sets, by framing our

questions in terms of the social interactions that produce the material patterns that we see, we are able to provide insights into the reasons and mechanisms by which concentrated populations thrive.

Each chapter in this volume examines a different aspect of social configurations in ancient cities: neighborhoods and daily household provisioning, mundane as well as monumental architecture, communal and private space, markets and manufacturing areas. Starting at the most local scale of social interaction, the authors look at the architectural forms and social dynamics that comprise neighborhoods and residential quarters. Leading off, George Cowgill explains the sacred underpinnings of the urban form at the pre-Columbian urban site of Teotihuacan in central Mexico, and the way in which ritually ordained configurations were integral to the city's organization; urban dwellers' basic needs were also affected by ritual as necessary elements such as water became sanctified. As this discussion clearly illustrates, ritual knowledge and expectations were integrated into daily life and actions at Teotihuacan, and the city became a locus for activities that were simultaneously economic and religious in character.

Kathryn Keith (chapter 3) examines socially integrative mechanisms but from the perspective of individual households and neighborhoods in Mesopotamia, where documentary sources and household-level excavations provide data about the way in which domestic groups were linked with one another and with their kin in the countryside. In physical terms, these groupings included not just physical households but also neighborhoods, in which craft workshops, bakeries, and shops were located. In social terms, neighborhoods were the place where people of different statuses interacted, and where some decision-making and dispute-settling authority was exercised.

In chapter 4, Jerry Moore considers a similar relationship between ideology and the lived spaces of the city for the Chimú culture on the north coast of Peru, where the relationships of the rulers and the ruled are evident in architectural configurations within the urban zone. Walled compounds can be interpreted as a symbolic statement of social order and a physical manifestation of rules for interaction. These rules for interaction in Chimú culture, which Moore compares with later Inka principles of organization, provided both a mechanism for the separation and management of urban populations and a shared ideology in which walled compounds were the physical containers for both royal and commoner households.

Chapter 5 by Susan McIntosh and Roderick McIntosh further explores urban dynamics from a perspective of power relations. In contrast to many studies of power that find elites maintaining and dominating their environments, they present

a radically different picture based on data drawn from West Africa. The cities in this case are not only without states, but also have no visible form of hierarchy as demonstrated through traditionally understood archaeological markers such as monumental architecture. These authors illustrate the potential richness of urbanism away from the biases of Western-based comparanda for archaeological remains and bring to mind other regions of the world, such as the Indus Valley, where cities exist without the evidence of specifically elite-based social configurations.

The relationship between the city and its hinterland and between urban-dwellers and the surrounding community is the subject of chapter 6, by Jason Yaeger. The focal point here is the Maya city of Xunantunich, which served as a source of prestige, stylistic motifs, and physical goods found in the surrounding communities. Far from being a unidirectional radiation of an urban ethos to a passive but receptive countryside, Yaeger argues, the city requires the continued input of the hinterland population to create and maintain an urban identity, and hinterland residents actively sought to translate their adoption of an urban ethos into their rural social relations.

In chapter 7, Melinda Zeder provides a different perspective on urban and urban-hinterland economic interactions, using data from the Khabur region in Syria. Economic change, she argues, is due not only to social changes, but also to the nature of the "raw materials" and technological requirements of production intensification (in this case, the different management strategies used in the raising of cattle, sheep, goats, and pigs). Herds and flocks were managed by pastoralists whose activities were instrumental in making cities a locus for specialized production and exchange. Within cities, both wealthy and poorer residential districts show differential distributions of other kinds of production strategies, including the small-scale raising of animals such as pigs, which indicate that elites and nonelites probably had complex relationships of subsistence dependency.

In chapter 8, Christopher Attarian asks how an urban ethos is formed, and how its progression can be evaluated through archaeologically recoverable material remains. Using survey data from the Peruvian site of Mocollope and the concept of ethnogenesis, he demonstrates how a city provides a new environment and a new identity for residents who move in from the surrounding countryside. As indicated by a comparison of sites in the Chicama Valley before and during the process of urban growth, numerous fortified settlements were abandoned in favor of urban residence. Once in the city, as is evident from stylistic changes in material culture such as pottery, these urban communities participated in new economic and social networks that supplanted their previous rural ties.

The next chapters examine how such interactions between groups occur, focusing on the city as a nexus for communication and as the repository of a shared urban ethos defined and maintained by its residents. As Stephen Houston and his colleagues note in chapter 9, the Maya site of Piedras Negras provides abundant textual and archaeological evidence of rulers' investments in architecture and ceremony at a dynastic center. This urban center was a mosaic of economic, ritual, and social opportunities unavailable elsewhere; moreover, both rulers and residents defined the city as a "moral" community with collective values. With the city's rapid growth and subsequent precipitous decline, goals shared by rulers and ruled were expressed in actions including migration and the establishment of new cities.

Using recent research at the fourth-millennium site of Tell Brak, Geoff Emberling (chapter 10) also focuses on the establishment of cities and social actions that crosscut and thus transcend the apparent dichotomy of elite/nonelites. Although (like many cities examined in this volume) Brak is in a relatively marginal zone for agriculture, its location at an intersection of ecological zones facilitated exchange. The substantial and early investment in temples, however, suggests that city life also encompassed significant ritual activity. Such activity was undertaken at a household level as well as at centralized locations, as shown by archaeological recovery of eye amulets in domestic contexts and at the Eye Temple, where thousands of such amulets have been found.

In chapter 11, I turn to the formation of cities in a politically fragmented environment, as seen in data from excavations and surveys of Early Historic sites on the Indian subcontinent. Walled cities of the early centuries B.C./A.D. show a significant investment of labor in a context where both leaders and followers gained protection and a symbolic demarcation of the urban zone. Cities achieved success in this era of political uncertainty and population growth principally by maintaining consensus in these concentrated loci of population. I propose that cities are fostered and thrive because of the social and economic networks created and maintained by households and groups.

The final case study further explores this relationship and the wide range of social interactions encompassed by economic interaction. Chapter 12, by Chen Shen, focuses on the royal city of Yan-Xiadu in eastern China, which was initially created as an administrative site and then transformed into a complex urban community through a variety of production and consumption activities. Markets were the locus of interaction between elites and nonelites, in which lower-status individuals were not only the suppliers of goods but also the purchasers of a wide variety of goods,

including labor-intensive ornaments. Over time, the relationship between central authorities and market-based activity underwent various changes, ranging from facilitation to restriction of certain manufacturing processes and finished goods.

CONCLUSION

From the point of view of the individual and household, there are considerable similarities between modern and ancient cities. Composed of concentrated populations, diverse economies, and specialized social and ritual events, cities are a dynamic and evolving fixture in any cultural landscape. Individuals migrating into cities selectively retain their social, ethnic, and economic identities; upon entering the city, they also can choose from a greater variety of crosscutting groups in which to belong. The transformations to urban life effected in the spheres of both public and private space result in particular configurations of households and neighborhoods, as well as markets, shrines, and rulers' compounds. Changes in the built environment reinforce the diversification of social roles, so that individuals use space as both the mirror and arbiter of action.

As the authors in this volume show, archaeological evidence and historical data let us evaluate social organization in the spaces of the ancient city, from the level of the household to the most public of arenas. The study of spatial organization and artifacts provides a way to assess the city-dweller's multiple roles in the household, the neighborhood, and the wider realm of the city. Choices in material culture are framed by a variety of economic, social, and technological parameters and signal the changing activities, identities, and social alliances that occur in the urban realm. Cities are thus fully social constructions, manifested in tangible remains.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

Many thanks are due to the volume participants for their stimulating contributions and ongoing discussions about the nature of urbanism and the means by which we can understand archaeologically known cities. Special appreciation is extended to Robert McC. Adams and Richard Leventhal for their comments on the collection of papers. I would also like to thank Elizabeth Brumfiel, George Cowgill, Steve Houston, and Susan McIntosh for their careful reading and comments on this chapter.

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T W O

Teotihuacan

Cosmic Glories and Mundane Needs

GEORGE L. COWGILL

Teotihuacan was a great prehistoric metropolis of the first millennium A.D. in the highland Basin of Mexico in central Mexico (figure 2.1). General summaries of our knowledge and beliefs about the city include Millon (1974, 1976, 1981, 1988, 1992) and Cowgill (1983, 1997, 2000a). In this chapter I focus especially on those aspects bearing on benefits and costs, satisfactions and dissatisfactions, of life in Teotihuacan as they may have been perceived by various elements among its inhabitants.

In the context of a well-established tradition of agricultural settlements and small polities in the Basin of Mexico, Teotihuacan began to grow very rapidly in the first or second century B.C. By around A.D. 200 it covered 20 square kilometers and had a population probably on the order of 100,000 or more. (For René Millon's map of the city at its height, see Cowgill 1983, 2000a; Cowgill et al. 1984; Millon 1973,