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The Political Strategies of Tiwanaku Leaders in Moquegua, Peru : : An Analysis of Tiwanaku Priests and the Inner Chambers of the Omo Temple

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### Author

Kjolsing, Jason Michael

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The Political Strategies of Tiwanaku Leaders in Moquegua, Peru:  
An Analysis of Tiwanaku Priests and the Inner Chambers of the Omo Temple

A Thesis submitted in partial satisfaction of the  
Requirements for the degree of Master of Arts

in

Anthropology

by

Jason Michael Kjolsing

Committee in charge:

Professor Paul S. Goldstein, Chair  
Professor Guillermo Algaze  
Professor Geoffrey Braswell

2013



This Thesis of Jason Michael Kjolsing is approved, and it is acceptable in quality and form for publication on microfilm and electronically:

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Chair

University of California, San Diego

2013

## DEDICATION

To my parents, who have always supported me, and to all those who have helped me along the way.

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ABSTRACT OF THE THESIS

The Political Strategies of Tiwanaku Leaders in Moquegua, Peru:  
An Analysis of Tiwanaku Priests and the Inner Chambers of the Omo Temple

by

Jason Michael Kjolsing

Master of Arts in Anthropology

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Professor Paul S. Goldstein, Chair

Did Tiwanaku elites hold themselves above the populous though self-centered behavior and by promoting self-aggrandizing activities, or did they uphold a group-oriented corporate code that sought integrative activities? This thesis investigates the

political strategies used in the competition of sources of power by Tiwanaku provincial elites in the Moquegua Valley, Peru. Occupation of this lower valley by the Tiwanaku polity occurred approximately during AD 600-1100. I argue that Tiwanaku leaders in Moquegua did not attempt the monopolization of agricultural production and in general there is a lack of evidence for grandiose displays of wealth in Moquegua that would have signal hierarchical status differentiations. However, excavation of the Omo temple's restricted Upper Court and newly discovered inner chambers has uncovered evidence that ritual knowledge, as a source of power, was limited to a select group of individuals. This group of priests enjoyed privileged access to these private spaces and maintained exclusive control the secret information and sacred objects needed to carry out the ritual practices necessitated by the Tiwanaku cosmological worldview. This thesis describes these new finds of the temple's inner chambers and their implications for our understanding of Tiwanaku ceremonial and community life in the Moquegua Valley. Through this comprehensive investigation of political behavior that incorporates a broad range of power sources, thesis attempts to move beyond the general label of "elite" and work towards a more precise understanding of roles and positions of agents in the Tiwanaku world.

## **Introduction**

The Tiwanaku polity of the Bolivian *altiplano* (A.D. 500- A.D. 1100) reigned as one of the most powerful states in the Andes during the Middle Horizon period. At the Tiwanaku site near the edge of Lake Titicaca, elites lived within a monumental precinct consisting of grand temples and plazas constructed partly of massive worked stone requiring an extraordinary degree of mastery. The ceremonial monuments at the Tiwanaku site center were designed to receive and awe enormous groups of individuals. Tens of thousands of individuals of varying statuses and identities lived in the immediate vicinity outside of the central monumental sector, as well as additional settlements within Bolivia and at more distant colonies in Peru and arguably Chile. This thesis examines whether the political strategies used by Tiwanaku provincial leaders in Moquegua, Peru differed from those used in the homeland.

In societies with a high degree of social complexity, there is often an assumption of a centralized administrative system and the use self-aggrandizing political strategies by society's elites. Many authors have challenged the models of Tiwanaku that paint it as a highly centralized political body of efficient administrators in both the highland regions and lowland colonies (Isbell and Burkholder 2002; Goldstein 2005). I add to this body of work by examining how sources of power within the Tiwanaku polity were distributed and the political strategies used by Tiwanaku leaders in regards to their relationship to this diverse population. I recognize that political strategies used in the competition for sources of power will vary over time, area, and will differ between sources of power. For example, while leaders may attempt to monopolize prestige goods or agricultural surplus, ritual knowledge may be

more widely accessible to the population. Therefore, an examination of political strategies requires an exploration of multiple sources of power within a society. To only investigate one node of power would simplify the complexity of power dynamics in the ancient world and severely limit our understanding of how actors in the past navigated their socio-political landscape.

The area of focus for this thesis is Moquegua, Peru, home to two phases of Tiwanaku colonists. Using previous research as well as recent investigations at the Omo ceremonial temple (Omo M10A) between 2010 and 2012, I investigate if and how Tiwanaku elites in the Moquegua Valley attempted to control sources of power. I begin by giving an overview of the Tiwanaku polity as viewed from the hinterland, including debates regarding its political organization. I then turn to the theoretical considerations for this study before examining the data from Moquegua, Peru. Utilizing the dual-processual theory developed by Blanton et al. (1996) and testing their models against archaeological correlates, this thesis investigates the political strategies used in the competition for sources of power by Tiwanaku provincial elites. Sources of power do not exist in isolation, nor do political strategies operate independently of each other. Only when analysis includes the relationship between multiple nodes of power and actors' strategies can we understand elite behavior. I argue that Tiwanaku leaders in Moquegua did not attempt self-aggrandizing monopolization of agricultural production and in general there is a lack of evidence for grandiose displays of wealth in Moquegua that would have signal hierarchical status differentiations. However, excavation of the Omo temple's restricted Upper Court and newly discovered inner chambers has uncovered evidence that ritual knowledge, as a

source of power, was limited to a select group of individuals. This group enjoyed privileged access to these private spaces and maintained exclusive control the secret information and sacred objects needed to carry out the ritual practices necessitated by the Tiwanaku cosmological worldview. The highly restricted access and intimacy of these small inner chambers attests to the exclusivity of ceremonial activities occurring there and the specialization of ritual knowledge needed to carry out those activities. The material assemblages of these rooms speak to the ceremonial activities occurring there. Ceremonial ceramic vessels such as *incensarios* and miniature plainware vessels, ritually significant artifacts such coca and *spondylus* oysters, and unique items such as worked camelid rib bones, baskets, and gourd bowls indicate access to restricted sacred objects and the specialized knowledge to wield them. Examined together, this analysis indicates that for the Tiwanaku colonists in Moquegua, power was most controlled in the realm of ritual rather than control of agricultural production or surplus, indicating the existence of a distinct class of Tiwanaku priests operating in this lower valley. This picture of elite behavior and power dynamics in the Moquegua Valley contrasts with what is seen in the *altiplano*. Through a comprehensive investigation of political behavior that incorporates a broad range of power sources, it possible to move beyond the general label of “elite” and work towards a more precise understanding of roles and classes of agents in the Tiwanaku world.

## **Tiwanaku Background**

### Chronology and Monumental Architecture

The site of Tiwanaku lies some 3,800-4,000 meters above sea level, where the grandeur of the site contrasts against the harsh environment of Bolivian altiplano (Janusek 2008: 1). The Tiwanaku capital housed a population estimated to be thirty to sixty thousand at its height, home to elite and non-elite artisans, commoners, and farmers occupying a planned monumental core and surrounding urban area totaling 4-6 sq km (Stanish 2002: 185; Stanish 2003: 172). The site's monumental center was home and burial place of Tiwanaku elites as well being designed to both receive and impress local residents and pilgrims alike during ceremonial activities (Bauer and Stanish 2001). Isbell and Vranich (2004: 181) write that the monumental center "should be recognized as the hemisphere's first theme park, conceptualized and built as a set, within which pilgrims and residents became actors in a cosmological passion." The monumental precinct is comprised of a planned series of grandiose temples, expansive plazas, and sunken courtyards.

The chronology of Tiwanaku is dividing into phases I-V, although some have combined phases I and II. It is the later phases of this sequence that are of most concern to this study. Tiwanaku III was a period of urbanism at the site core, followed by Tiwanaku IV (ca. A.D. 400/500-800), in which there was a development of areas near the urban core into the form of secondary urban centers. As Tiwanaku began to expand during this phase, Tiwanaku state leaders sought incorporative strategies in order to integrate the diversified groups making up the population (Janusek 2002: 55). Tiwanaku V (A.D. 800-1100), the final period, was the phase of the "Imperial State"

that expanded far outside of the Lake Titicaca Basin (Janusek 2008: 14). Additionally, this was a period of increased elite activity and state sponsored ceremonies that resulted in architectural renovations in the core and the increased need for ceremonial resources that placed stress on production areas like the Moquegua Valley (Janusek 2008: 23-24). Architectural renovations at the monumental precinct turned to an emphasis on an elite class and their ceremonial activities. This was primarily in the form of the Putuni complex, an elite residential sector just west of the Kalasasya. Janusek writes, “We can speculate that the emergence of an elite class, and quite likely a royal dynasty, accompanied the creation of distinct origin myths, rules of endogamy, and sumptuary laws, all indices of intense social complexity” (2003: 294).

#### Political Economy: Centralization and Segmentation

Disputes over the nature of the Tiwanaku state have revolved around the degree of bureaucratic centralization. Since the 1980s, Alan Kolata (1986, 1993: 223) has been a major proponent of viewing Tiwanaku as a highly centralized imperial state, arguing for a four-level hierarchy of sites and that efficient agricultural and herding practices were managed and centrally controlled by state administrators. In his model, centralization of power into the hands of elites is evidenced by large agricultural construction projects and administrative complexes used to manage production in the agricultural fields as well as fishing and herding practices. Tiwanaku elites were thus state administrators who managed the efficient, surplus-producing raised field agricultural system, but this cannot be decontextualized from Tiwanaku society in which the factors of the economy, ideology, social organization, kinship,

social relations, and religious beliefs all intertwine (Kolata 2003: 471). While they reified their sacred power with the monuments of ceremonial center that linked their lineages to the natural world they attained power from agricultural control in the fields and fertility rituals linked to celestial cycles. Their residencies atop the Akapana and within the sacred monumental center solidified their heightened authority in Tiwanaku society. Kolata (1993: 90-93, 96-97) describes the Tiwanaku ceremonial core as a carefully planned axis mundi, aligned roughly to the cardinal directions with attention to solar paths, within which the Tiwanaku elite lineages resided, separated symbolically from the rest of society by an artificial moat and thus maintaining access to the divine and the cosmological on their sacred island. The moat both physically and psychologically separated the elites from the commoners, evoking cues of social inequality.

In this view, Tiwanaku expansion would have been orchestrated by the state. Janusek (2003: 294) described the expansive nature and increased control of resources during the Tiwanaku V phase as “characteristic of highly centralized, territorial states.” Couture (2004: 143) sees a transformation in Tiwanaku elite strategies, first “presenting themselves as ‘first among equals’” and then “plac[ing] greater emphasis on their own distinction” during Tiwanaku V as well as moving from public forms of ceremony towards ones that “distance[d] themselves from other sectors of Tiwanaku society.” At the Tiwanaku site, exclusive elite residences, burial locations, and ritual practices, typified by the Putuni complex, indicate disparities in the control of power and resources. However, what has been questioned is the degree of centralized organization of the Tiwanaku state. Alternative models of Tiwanaku political

economic have emerged from the increasing realization of the diversified groups making up the Tiwanaku population.

Most recently, researchers of Tiwanaku have begun acknowledged the segmented nature of Tiwanaku and its heterogeneous population, comprised of numerous different ethnic groups. This point is not necessarily in conflict with Kolata's model. In fact, Kolata used 16<sup>th</sup> century ethno-linguistic data to propose that three distinct ethnic groups made up Tiwanaku: proto-Aymara herders make up Tiwanaku elite, Pukina agriculturalists take on a lower status, and the lowest group, the Uru, specialize in aquatic resources (2003: 462). More recently, household archaeology at Tiwanaku and Lukurmata has resulted in a better understanding of the segmented nature of residential areas. Janusek (1999, 2002, 2003, 2008) discusses social identity, residential compound groups, and production and use of different ceramic vessel styles in his discussion of diversity at Tiwanaku.

Throughout the Late Tiwanaku IV phase, the city incorporated an increasing number of bounded residential compounds, each housing a social group that consisted of a number of households. Each of these larger groups engaged in periodic feasts, as represented in considerable proportions of elaborate serving wares found in patios and outdoor refuse middens. Each shared similar resources, domestic and mortuary rituals, and a common identity, suggesting that they formed kin groups analogous to later minimal ayllus. As among these ayllus, group coherence and local identity involved not only quotidian activities but also periodic collective feasts and ceremonies. Urbanism and social complexity were grounded in a fundamentally horizontal, segmentary order. (Janusek 1996: 294)

What other researchers have disagreed with is the degree of centralization of these groups. Other researchers emphasize the segmentary nature of *ayllus*, an essential component in Andean socio-political organization, arguing for segmentary

interpretations of the Tiwanaku polity, viewing it as “a loose ethnic confederacy of independent communities, rather than a long-enduring hierarchical state” (Goldstein 2000: 193). Goldstein (2005: 308-309) has pointed out that many of the facets of typical centralized states missing from Tiwanaku, arguing for a political system that may have been more heterarchical than hierarchical. David Browman (1978) proposed his “Altiplano model” of Tiwanaku, emphasizing the religious and economic factors that contributed to the integration of the loose confederation of polities comprising the Tiwanaku state. Albarracin-Jordan (1996) created a model of the Tiwanaku state that also presented an alternative view. Utilizing surveys in the Tiwanaku Valley, he argued that Tiwanaku was comprised of nested hierarchies based on *ayllu* kin-political structures. In general terms, an *ayllu* is social group above the household level that is kin-based in terms of being held together through real or imagined common ancestry. However, the concept of an *ayllu* could be altered and molded to fit varying interests and could refer to multiple scales with smaller-scale *ayllu* groups “nested” within a larger *ayllu*. Thus, *ayllu* may also refer to what is synonymous with an ethnic group, or reflect a narrower group such as a specific community segment, precise landholding group, or family kin group (Goldstein 2005: 30; Janusek 2008: 54). In Albarracin-Jordan’s (1996) model, Tiwanaku was a confederation of *ayllus* that converged to the level of the “marka”, which integrated multiple ethnic groups and although the nested levels are hierarchical, activities and organization emphasized the group or community.

Although Janusek has been a leading researcher into the segmented nature of the Tiwanaku population, he has explicitly reacted against the model of the Tiwanaku

state as comprised of nested ayllus. Janusek (2003: 295) points out that that it is the inequalities between these social segments from which that state and state institutions emerge. He explicitly states that “Tiwanaku was not simply a convergence of nested ayllus. State formation involved the creation of an entirely new scale of social identity and type of power network” (Janusek 2002: 56). While Janusek (1999: 48) has used ceramics to identify social affiliations and a variety of social identities at Tiwanaku and Lukurmata, he also notes the conformity amongst ceramic styles that fall into an overarching Tiwanaku corporate style that he has called “a normative state material culture” (Janusek 2003: 295). He summarizes this model as follows: “Tiwanaku also was an encompassing imagined community with which constituent groups identified. Ruling elite and commoners alike may have promoted the idea that Tiwanaku was a community or macro-ayllu, and perhaps even referred to it in intimate domestic terms. At this scale a sense of community as imbued with a dominant political ideology that was promoted not just by rulers but to varying extents by all affiliated with the state or participating in state projects” (Janusek 1999: 49)

In essence, this debate revolves around the presence of centralized bureaucracy and elite administration above the *ayllu* level of organization. In either case however, there is usually some assumption about the presence of an *ayllu* or *ayllu*-like social organization within the Tiwanaku state. Although *ayllu* leaders were held accountable in upholding the egalitarian ethic of the corporate group through obligatory acts of reciprocity and could be removed from their positions, it is also noted that this egalitarian ethic could be used to reinforce political hierarchy by raising the position of the *ayllu* leaders, who Janusek likens to “classic ‘aggrandizers’ and networking

chiefs”, who legitimized their positions through amassing great funds of power and alliance networks (2004: 33-35). In any model of the Tiwanaku state, the political strategies of leaders cannot be assumed. Whether the elites of Tiwanaku were *mallku* leaders of a major-*ayllu* or stately administrators, there would have been a tension in both cases in how power was managed in terms of the elite’s relationship to the factional segments of the Tiwanaku population. Did Tiwanaku elites hold themselves above the populous though self-centered behavior and by promoting self-aggrandizing activities, or did they uphold a group-oriented corporate code that sought integrative activities? The political strategies these leaders used were variable over time and space and therefore an investigation of the archaeological record is needed to determine what approaches to power were taken.

Further questions arise from these models of Tiwanaku, especially as it concerns state expansion into far-away regions. Were the same political strategies used by Tiwanaku elites in the Tiwanaku core region also used in areas outside of the heartland? Set apart from the long history and cosmologically-linked spaces of the Tiwanaku monumental core in the altiplano, did elites in the Moquegua Valley follow different political strategies? To what degree did the factional *ayllu* groups of Tiwanaku remain autonomous? Did these groups also have a claim to the Tiwanaku religious order, or was this only controlled by the highest elites of Tiwanaku, such as those residing atop the Akapana or the exclusive Putuni complex?

The Tiwanaku polity presents an intriguing example of an expansive state with dynamic political strategies. Evidence from household archaeology suggests a degree of autonomy of factional groups in some aspects of social life, but agricultural surplus

and ritual sources of power have been argued to be closely managed by Tiwanaku elites in the Bolivian highlands. Elites residing in the ceremonial center had to strategically integrate the multiethnic populous through religious practices, feasting events, and the potency of Tiwanaku unification are suggested by widespread ceramic types and religious practices. I raise the question of how this model of Tiwanaku political strategy holds in a distant land far away from the ceremonial center and its dual purpose ritual-residential monuments. Political strategies will change over time and vary by location. Because the Moquegua Valley is home to the only known Tiwanaku temple structure outside of Bolivia and is argued to have been an important region in the agricultural production of ceremonial crops, the area presents a unique opportunity to explore if and how power was distributed in Tiwanaku colonies as expansion occurred. Before turning to an examination of the control over the sources of power in the Tiwanaku Moquegua colonies I first will lay out the theory and archaeological correlates to be used in this study.

## **Agency and Theoretical Considerations**

Beginning in the 1990s, archaeologists have begun incorporating agency into their analysis of power, heterarchy, and subordination in neo-evolutionary frameworks. This new model highlights that aspiring leaders seeking power do so through gaining followers through various tactics, such as ceremonies of reciprocity and displays of generosity. Competition between such heterarchical factions is seen as a driving force of social complexity, in some cases leading to profound social hierarchies (Brumfiel 1994; Clark and Blake 1994; Janusek 2002; Spencer 1994). As Janusek (2008: 30) points out, “all human societies incorporate both egalitarian and unequal relations and hierarchical and nonhierarchical institutions.” Feinman et al. (2000: 450) also point out that hierarchy and equality can co-exist in societies of all scales. This premise seems most counterintuitive for examining state societies, where hierarchical relationships are often the primary focus of research and centralization of power is assumed. Janusek (2008: 30) uses the term heterarchy to mean “multiple local hierarchies and nodes of social power that are perhaps complementary in role but potentially conflictive in interest” (2008: 30). Goldstein (2005: 22) adds that heterarchy recognizes that in complex societies there may be distinct factions of society that accomplish distinct tasks and have their own interests, and importantly are in a complex and potentially conflictive dialectical relationship with other segmental groups. The turn to examining heterarchical relationship and shared power within all societies ties into agent-oriented perspectives that recognize the factional segmentation of societies. As noted above, in the Andes this comes in the form of maintained *ayllu* corporate organization even within state polities. Agent-oriented perspectives thus

move away from notions of a monolithic society and acknowledge everyday practice and conflictive groups within society.

Approaches that have emphasized factional competition have been criticized for assuming a generalized view of human behavior that is maximizing, self-centered, pragmatic, and rational. Such a model aids in conceptualizing how self-aggrandizers rise to power, but some researchers have pointed out that because actors behave in relation to unique historical-social contexts their practices will be influenced by different cultural logics, world views, and rationalities that are not always practical or in self-interest (Barrett 2000: 62, 67; Dobres and Robb 2000: 4, 10). These unique cultural and historic moments create “patterns of cognition, logic, and meaning” that construct particular interests and intentions (Brumfiel 2000: 249), rather than the interests of actors being cross-culturally predictable. Political strategies are carried out in relation to rules of behavior that structure the habitus of individuals (Bourdieu 1972) and must be “thinkable” within these social contexts (Dobres and Robb 2000: 10). The work of Blanton et al. (1996) has taken this critique into consideration. Their dual-processual theory does not assume elites are necessarily rational self-aggrandizers acting in self interest. Instead, their theory tests such individual-centered modes of political strategy against one in which actors act in the interest of the group. Their model thus provides the proper means to investigate political strategies in the Moquegua Valley. I work with their model while attempting to consider the perceived cultural logic of the Andes, one that emphasizes the corporate code of *ayllu* social organization. How do individuals rise to power within this particular cultural schema?

### Power and Dual-Processual Theory

While factionalization within all societies has been acknowledged by many researchers, how these factional groups play into the dynamics of political strategies can be variable. For example, do elites competitively bid for power by attracting factional followers, or is power divided in a more even, egalitarian manner across factions? Are Tiwanaku elites self-centered aggrandizers, or “faceless” representatives of the group? The work of Blanton and his colleagues (1996) have examined such questions through what they have termed dual-processual theory. The researchers using dual-processual theory are explicitly against political complexity being “equated generally with (or measured by) marked centralization or rampant self-aggrandizement or individualism” (Feinman 2000: 31). Indeed, one of the key elements of political organization in the face of an increased number of decision-making levels is how sources of power are divided amongst individuals, groups, or sectors of a society. The starting point in Blanton and colleague’s (1996) discussion of centralized and factionalized forms of government is with examining sources of power. Their dual-processual theory seeks to uncover the political strategies used by factional leaders in societies through analyzing who has access to and were in control of sources of power. In doing so, they are able to remove assumptions concerning centralization in state societies and more precisely able to see which forms of power are monopolized or dispersed in social life.

Forms of power can be either primarily objective based (involving material resources), or primarily cognitive-symbolic (involving shared symbols) (Blanton et al 1996: 3; Blanton 1998: 142-143). Control over agricultural surplus or prestige items

will fall under the objective category while access to ritual knowledge would be a symbolic source of power. **Table 1** lists the sources of power and their archaeological correlates for both political strategies. The forms and displays of power listed are inspired by those working with the dual-processual theory and are by no means exhaustive. I have chosen to list these particular sources of power as they seem most readily evidenced in the archaeological record and constructive to the study at hand. I have made the distinction between forms of power to indicate physical or symbolic sources of power that can be controlled or managed, while the displays of power are additional means to evidence either monopolies or dispersal of physical or symbolic wealth. Additionally, although these various sources of power are discussed by dual-processual practitioners, I have attempted here to provide of cohesive table of the archaeological correlates. I believe this is an important step towards an explicit middle range-theory linking power and political strategies.

Blanton et al. (1996: 2) and other works have outlined two types of power strategies: the exclusionary (sometimes referred to as network) and the corporate, which represent two ends of a continuum of political-economic strategies of social actors at all scales of social complexity.

*Exclusionary-Network Political Strategy:*

In the exclusionary power strategy, political actors attempt to manipulate the political system to support their own monopoly on sources of power. As is pointed out by Blanton et al (1996: 2), the scale may be small, involving smaller networks of dominance, or large, extending to control over state bureaucracy. In this sense,

political power for elites comes from individual-centered achievements rather than group affiliation (Blanton et al. 1996: 10). “The network strategy of political action is associated with heavily personalized or centralized forms of leadership. Wealth is concentrated in the hands of a few, who use their network of personal connections to enhance and expand their individualized power and authority” (Feinman et al. 2000: 453). In the exclusionary strategy, political power comes in part from the accumulation of resources and prestige goods, which may include long-distance exotics with high intrinsic values or that require a high degree of skill to produce, or are objects that are symbolically-charged (Blanton et al. 1996: 12). Political legitimization will result from control of such resources, which elites use to gain and maintain factional followers through ceremonies of redistribution or displays of their great wealth. Due to the importance of such resources in this schema, competition between elites will be elevated, with attempts to monopolize the control sources of power in order to maintain the loyalty of their followers. Increasing competition from other networks would necessitate from aspiring leaders increased measures to maintain their own sources of power or win over the followers of other faction leaders, such as through “patrimonial rhetoric” that manipulates labor and group (including lineage) ties and “prestige-goods systems”, which manipulate exchange and consumption relationships between leader and follower (Blanton et al 1996: 4). “Network-based institutions are extensive, and they are materialized in gift exchanges and ceremonial displays, as in burial ritual” (Earle 2001: 27). Competition to control resources will result in a high disparity of wealth accumulation, which may be

evidenced by overtly elite household structures, such as palaces, or burials (Blanton et al. 1996: 11).

*Corporate Political Strategy:*

In contrast, the corporate strategy involves the splitting of power across groups and sectors of a society “as to inhibit exclusionary strategies” (Blanton et al. 1996: 2).

Monopoly control over sources of power like is found in the exclusionary power strategy is greatly limited by what is deemed acceptable political behavior, what Blanton et al. (1996: 2) refer to as “the prevailing corporate cognitive code.”

In our conceptualization, the corporate emphasis may be achieved in several ways but always involves the establishment and maintenance of a cognitive code that emphasizes a corporate solidarity of society as an integrated whole, based on a natural, fixed, and immutable interdependence between subgroups and, in more complex societies, between rulers and subjects. The ecumenical viewpoint of the corporate orientation contrasts with ancestral ritual that legitimates the control of society by a limited number of high-ranking individuals or households. A corporate strategy emphasizes collective representations and the accompanying ritual based on broad themes such as fertility and renewal in society and cosmos. The corporate strategy is thus able to transcend the scale and scope limitations of patrimonial rhetoric, which emphasizes the controlling roles of particular individuals based on gender, generation, and primacy of descent from common ancestors. A cognitive restructuring involving transcendent themes of cosmic renewal not only allows the incorporation of disparate ethnically defined subgroups into the larger society but also legitimates the appropriation of surpluses of primary production, especially agricultural goods. (Blanton et al 1996: 6)

The corporate strategy places greater importance on communal rituals and integrative activities over differential access to wealth or sources of power. In the corporate strategy, glory is aimed towards the group rather than individual entrepreneurs and “ruling descent group[s]” (Blanton et al. 1996: 9). Portrayals or textural reference to

specific rules will be lacking; instead iconography will reflect the incorporation of diverse ethnic groups (Blanton et al. 1996: 9, 10). As well, power may come from socially sanctioned political offices rather than power residing in specific personages (Feinman 2000: 40). In rituals, collective representations are present and broad cosmological principles such as fertility and renewal are emphasized (Blanton et al. 1996: 5, 10). Furthermore, items with “culture-specific symbolic associations” will be present rather than items with intrinsic values exchanged cross-culturally (Blanton et al. 1996: 12). In general then, “individual displays of personal or portable wealth” and the importance of extra-regional trade networks are less apparent than in the network strategy and prestige items are more evenly dispersed throughout the population (Feinman 2000: 36-37). Public monuments from the efforts of collective labor are more prevalent than architecture devoted to individuals. A lack of elite palaces or exclusive meeting areas may suggest dispersal of decision making processes and open communication channels that allow for the assurance of individuals holding power to complying to expected behaviors and moral, corporate cognitive codes (Blanton 1998: 155, 162-163).

There can certainly be leaders and hierarchies within the corporate strategy. In his discussion of corporate political strategies, Feinman (2000: 38) describes the he’ a leaders of the Akwe-Shavante, writing that “[t]hey often serve a central role in various ceremonial activities (including distributions of food), where they act on behalf of the community.” The difference is in the intentions behinds these redistribution ceremonies: is the redistribution for the benefit of the community, or is the goal a self-centered attempt to create indebted followers? The evidence or lack thereof of wealth

surplus and ostentatious displays of wealth are thus important in differentiating between the two strategies. It is in this sense that leaders in corporate, group-oriented political strategies remain faceless and anonymous. Corporate hierarchies can still contain individuals in the position to rule over others and make key decisions, but they remain nameless in public monuments and their palaces and elaborate tombs are lacking. Therefore, although corporate political strategies should not be “equated with political or economic equality or utopian communalism” (Feinman 2000b: 215), a corporate cognitive code remains and inequalities are more masked compared to exclusionary political strategies. In a case study described by Feinman et al. (2000), the Hopi political system involved the control of lands determined by access to ceremonial activities. Although access to ritual knowledge and thus claims to land have historically been controlled and owned by core lineage segments, the Bear clan in particular, there is no aggrandizing of leaders (Feinman et al. 2000: 455). As Feinman (2000: 40) puts it, “Corporate hierarchies may be characterized by more power sharing, greater depersonalization of rule, and less flaunting of wealth than is traditionally conceptualized for hierarchical societies.” In contrast, individualizing societies will be indicated by wealth disparities; a leader will be distinguished by “the number, richness, and symbolic value of his possessions, or by the scale prominence of his residence” and will control institutionalized systems of redistribution (Renfrew 1974: 79).

In general then, the network/exclusionary political strategy will be evidenced by a monopoly on sources of power while in the corporate political strategy these

sources of power will be more evenly dispersed across groups. Mills (2000: 10-11)

provides a particularly apt summary of these two political strategies:

[In the corporate political strategy] [I]neage organization is often an important source of labor, knowledge a more important source of authority, and membership in corporate organization more important than personal status distinctions. By contrast, the network strategy derives power from individual networks of leaders. Greater value is placed on portable wealth that can be held by leaders and used to build alliances. Communal architecture is less important than in corporate leadership, and authority is legitimized through ritual centered on the common ancestors of a smaller descent group.

While these two strategies are starkly contrasted by authors, it is also highlighted that these two strategies lie at the opposite ends of a continuum and aspects of both are likely to have been followed in a single society. “Corporate and network strategies result in dissimilar and antagonistic political economies and so are likely to be temporally or spatially separated. Elements of both approaches may, however, be employed in certain complex cases. Here again we stress that our terms ‘corporate’ and ‘network’ delimit political-economic strategies, not necessarily types of societies” (Blanton et al. 1996: 7). Rather than being mutually exclusive, researchers utilizing this theory have emphasized that corporate and network strategies are found together in some degree in all societies, although one may be emphasized more than the other at a specific time or place (Feinman 2000: 35). Their theory thus seems fitting to examine the case of Tiwanaku by recognizing the potential for group-oriented forms of power sharing even within state societies that are often assumed to be centralized and exclusionary political strategies employed (Blanton et al 1996: 2). This work is in line with authors who are arguing against the simplified views of neo-evolutionary models that associate hierarchy with centralization and are moving away from the

“taxonomic boxes” of social evolution (Feinman 2000b: 211, 216). Furthermore, that these authors thus recognize that political behavior is not static and will be altered over time and across space is particularly useful to the case at hand. In the study presented here, this approach removes the assumption that the balance of political strategies evidenced in the Tiwanaku occupations in Bolivia will be the same mixture as those used by elites in the Moquegua Valley. This is in part due to the particular history and continuous construction of community within this colonial enclave as new social groups intertwined, generating a novel sense of identity, community, and place apart from their Tiwanaku homeland. How did Tiwanaku elites fit into this community? The following sections explore this question, using the theoretical framework described above to investigate the roles of Tiwanaku elites and how their presence was seen and felt in the Moquegua Valley.

## Moquegua Background

Tiwanaku colonists arrived in the Middle Moquegua Valley (Osmore Drainage) (**Figure 1**) during the Tiwanaku IV period. The valley lies approximately 300km away from the urban core, roughly a 10-12 day walk, and would have been a prime area for cultivating maize to eventually produce *chicha* beverages. Supplies of maize were sent back to the altiplano to support elite-sponsored feasts (Janusek 2008: 230-232). Because maize does not grow well in the frosty *altiplano* environment, expansion into Moquegua is thought have been primarily as a means to gain access to natural resources occurring in this warmer environment. In aggregate, the Tiwanaku occupation of the Moquegua Valley totals over 126 ha (Goldstein 2000: 195). Direct colonization of the area by colonists from the highlands is suggested by architectural features and ceramic styles corresponding to the Tiwanaku IV and V styles in the Tiwanaku core area (Goldstein 2005; Stanish 2002: 190).

The Moquegua Valley was the destination of multiple diasporic groups over time. Goldstein and Rivera (2004: 176) identified two separate stylistic groups in Moquegua: Omo and Chen Chen. Because they overlap temporally, Goldstein (2005) suggests that they represent two distinct ethnic groups or *ayllus*. The earliest Tiwanaku arrivals made it to the Moquegua Valley during the Omo phase, recognized as contemporary with the tail end of Tiwanaku Phase IV, A.D. 500 to 650, as suggested by ceramic types and confirmed by a radiocarbon date from Omo M12 (Goldstein 1993: 27-28). Tiwanaku sites in the Moquegua Valley were built up atop blufftops away from the valley floor and fifteen sites comprise the Omo Phase, totaling 28.7 hectares (Goldstein 2005: 152). The Omo style is typified at the large M12 and M16

sites and their residential communities that form part of the northern parts of the Omo site group, the focus of this study.

A second wave of colonization occurred during the subsequent Chen Chen phase contemporaneous with the Tiwanaku Phase V (Goldstein 1993: 28; Janusek 2008: 232). Temporally, the Chen Chen-style covers a 1 sigma range from cal A.D. 785 to cal. A.D. 1000 (Goldstein 2005: 158). Chen Chen settlements are found within the towns of Chen Chen (M1), Omo (M10), Río Muerto (M43, M48, M52) and Cerro Echenique (M2 and M4) (Goldstein 2005: 158-159). The M10 site takes up the southern blufftops of the Omo site group and is the location of the Omo ceremonial structure, the only Tiwanaku ceremonial architecture found outside of the *altiplano* (Goldstein 1993b: 31). Canal-fed agricultural fields built near the Chen Chen M1 site group suggests an agricultural way of life for this population that contrasted the proposed pastoral-herding way of life for the Omo settlers (Goldstein 2000: 195; 2005: 153-154). The intentional destruction of Tiwanaku sites in the Moquegua Valley, particularly the Omo M10 residential and ceremonial sectors, is roughly contemporaneous with the decline of Tiwanaku in the *altiplano* and elsewhere (2005: 225-226). My analysis thus stops at the end of the Chen Chen style phase, not delving into the ensuing Tumilaca Phase.

While additional Tiwanaku sites exist in the Moquegua Valley, the analysis of this paper will be focusing on the settlements closest to the Omo M10 temple: the Omo site group. “The reconstruction of Moquegua Tiwanaku’s culture history has been most sharply focused in site-specific studies at the Omo site group, a multicomponent occupation site in which each of the three-phase Moquegua

Tiwanaku sequences is represented at distinct blufftop occupation components. With over 40 ha of occupied area, twenty associated cemeteries, and a large ceremonial structure, Omo has been recognized as a probable regional center for Tiwanaku influence and control in Moquegua” (Goldstein 1993: 27). It is therefore these sites where the political strategies of Tiwanaku leaders will be examined. I now turn to the application of the dual-processual theory to the Tiwanaku colonization of the Middle Moquegua Valley and the investigation of archaeological correlates for the exclusionary and corporate political strategies outlined earlier.

## **Political Strategies in Tiwanaku Colonies**

### Residential Structures and Town Sectors

If elites in the Moquegua Valley attempted the exclusionary strategy, their seeking of personal wealth would be evident in disparities between elite and non-elite domestic structures. As discussed by Moore (1996: 131), visibility, scale, permanence, uniqueness, and centrality are all aspects in discerning ritual architecture and I believe that these elements of architecture can be used to identify elite households as well. One would expect the houses of aggrandizing elites to visibly stand out compared to commoner houses in terms of unique forms, increased size, better quality of construction materials, and a prominent, central location. The contents and activities of elite households will also no doubt differ from commoner ones. However, it is the former outward displays of power inequalities apparent in the structure itself that would be most in conflict with an ethos of equality that we would expect if the corporate political strategy was being utilized and elites remained “faceless and anonymous” (Renfrew 1979: 79) by limiting their displays of wealth.

At the Tiwanaku core area, differences in residential structures between elites and non-elites are readily apparent. The highest Tiwanaku elites resided atop and along-side the monumental temples in the site center, such as within the Putuni complex with its finely cut stone blocks, and further symbolically separated from the rest of the city by a moat surrounding the central monumental precinct. Concentric rings of residential sectors spreading from the center of the site decrease in status the further away they get (Kolata 1993). Commoner neighborhoods were located at a distance from the site center and separated into barrios, perhaps on the basis of ethnic

or social identity such as *ayllu*-corporate segments (Goldstein 2005: 188). As Couture (2004: 143) has also suggested, this evidence indicates the use of an exclusionary political strategy by Tiwanaku highland elites who distanced themselves from the commoner population over time. In short, there is a high degree of displays of wealth and an evident hierarchical class and social structure determining residential patterns at the Tiwanaku core area. However, this does not appear to occur in the Moquegua Valley.

*Omo-style Domestic Areas:*

The Omo-style residential sectors consist of hundreds of multiroom structures, divided into distinct communities built around a central public plaza (Goldstein 2005: 155). Goldstein (2005: 196) describes Omo-style houses as made of posts with paneling of botanical mats, textiles, or skins that appear tent-like due to the lack of any wall trenches, foundations, or roof posts. It is possible that some of these were only resided in temporarily. Simply put, there are no clear distinctions between elite and non-elite housing at Omo-style sites in terms of the domestic structures themselves. As Kolata (1993: 256) bluntly describes the Omo housing, “Materials for house construction were simple, locally available, and of a perishable quality. Nothing more elaborate than cane walls, wooden posts, and thatching...All of the houses were built with a similar technique.” What is intriguing however is the fact that domestic structures cluster into discrete neighborhoods.

The residential sectors in the Moquegua Valley are comparable to the segmented barrios of the Tiwanaku site, but not the temple palaces at the city center.

At the Omo site group, the Omo-style sites of M12 and M16 both consist of plaza-centered neighborhoods that suggest a segmented residential life, perhaps based on social identity. Each community is built around a central plaza, each of which produced few artifacts, suggesting frequent cleaning for public gatherings (Goldstein 2005: 156). The clear separation of the areas suggests to Goldstein (2005: 156) that these communities represent social or ethnic groups. At the Omo M12 site, 133 domestic units are clustered together into west, north, and south communities each with their own plaza and separated from each other by either natural boundaries or expanses of unoccupied space free of cultural remains (Goldstein 2000: 197-198). Goldstein has argued for a hierarchy within these segmented groups, highlighting that the southern community at Omo M12 had the highest fineware ceramic densities and access to the most elaborate ceramic types, whereas Omo M16 had lower ceramic densities, lower frequencies of finewares (2000: 199). While these groups have different status, it is not an overtly elite one. While some groups may have enjoyed differential access to ceramic imports, an issue discussed in more detail in later sections, there is no correlation between this access and factors of household visibility, scale, permanence, uniqueness, or centrality. Instead, all the household structures appear more or less similar and open plaza groups take up the central spaces of communities, not elite structures or displays of dominance.

One structure of the southern community of M12 is worth paying extra consideration to. Structure 2 is a small two room structure that contained large storage vessels with *chicha* beer residue along with twelve blackware portrait vessels likely used in ritual drinking events. Together, the finds suggest significant brewing and

ceremonial drinking activities occurred within this particular structure alongside a room that suggests more general domestic activity (Goldstein 1989). In terms of access to particularly elaborate ceramics, this may be considered an elite household. However, I would point out that the ceremonial consumption can be used to articulate group identity rather than individual power. Comparing his interpretation of Structure 2 to ethnographic data of Aymara hosting rituals, Goldstein (2005: 208) writes, “These commensal rites solidified Omo-style ayllus’ articulation with their lineage or moiety ties in altiplano Tiwanaku without the intervention of a permanent priestly or administrative class.”

Were the intentions behind these ceremonies in Structure 2 to create exclusive networks or strengthen corporate ties? It is difficult, if not impossible, to answer such questions of intentionality from the archaeological record. Instead, I maintain that we must look at the corporate-exclusionary from the viewpoint of the community and how elites’ actions would have been perceived within that community. While the possibility that these drinking ceremonies were used to aggrandize the individual cannot be entirely ruled out, their private nature in non-prominent locations in non-elaborate structures would still work to uphold an ethos of equality and the utilization of a corporate political strategy. As well, it must be considered that the twelve portrait unique vessels may signify the presence of twelve unique individuals or group representatives in this building. In this scenario, although the activities were private, they were still inclusive of many individuals or groups from the community rather than necessarily focused on one individual. I side with Goldstein who interprets these special households as places of ritualized hospitality for individuals above the

household level, perhaps leaders of the community or at the minimal *ayllu* level.

While such activities are sometimes related to state-organized redistribution systems, that these activities occurred in homes rather than public “governmental” areas “suggests that administrative mechanisms above the level of informal community leadership were absent from the Moquegua Tiwanaku colonies of the Omo style” (Goldstein 2005: 209).

*Chen Chen-style Domestic Areas:*

Chen Chen-style houses are comprised of multiple roofed rooms with storage areas around an open patio, creating a household compound that differs from Omo style domestic structures in terms of organization, size, and production activities (Goldstein 2005: 159-160). Chen Chen style houses were cane-walled and rectangular with deep cultural deposits, contrasting against the shallow Omo house deposits and suggesting a more permanent occupation (Goldstein 2005: 211). This different household configuration for Chen Chen populations likely related to their increased activity related to intense agricultural production and processing of maize. Goldstein’s (2005: 214) examination of Structure 13 at Omo M10 reveals that households were expanded and divided over time and suggests that this was due to familial expansion and increased divisions of labor.

As with Omo-style domestic structures, no Chen Chen-style elite household structures are evident in terms of visibility, scale, permanence, uniqueness, or centrality. As well, open plazas spaces are also found at Chen Chen style villages, such as Omo M10, suggesting gatherings places for autonomous *ayllu* groups

(Goldstein 2005: 211). Goldstein (2005: 211) proposes that site planning at Omo M10's domestic sector coincided with the alignment of the M10 temple, indicating to him state and elite participation in urban planning. While this alignment may have been planned, I must point out that the alignment of domestic units more likely indicates the powerful influence of the Tiwanaku cosmology rather than a strategy to evoke status differentiation. This sort of symbolic alignment of the M10 domestic sector in Moquegua differs greatly from the town planning of the Tiwanaku site where concentric rings of residential sectors correspond more strongly to a hierarchical stratification of social sectors. Lastly, it is significant that the recent excavations of the M10 temple did not discover any hearth features, suggesting that it was not resided in.

The sample of residential structures in Moquegua is admittedly small, but with the data present for both Omo and Chen Chen domestic areas there is a distinct lack of overtly elite residential structures. Although some communities enjoyed better access to fineware ceramics, there is a definitive lack of outward displays of wealth and status as it relates to household structures. As Structure 2 at M12 indicates, there certainly were elites in Moquegua who led drinking activities behind closed household doors and likely in the public plazas as well. In general, the local Tiwanaku leaders in Moquegua lived amongst the populous, not atop central pyramids and sacred temples like their highland counterparts; they were part of the community rather than above or outside of it.

#### Production, Storage, and Consumption of Agricultural Goods

Control over the production and consumption of agricultural goods is one strategy potentially used by elites to increase their supplies of power. If Moquegua elites used an exclusionary political strategy, the evidence would indicate that they sought monopoly control of these resources and we would expect managerial or administrative presence in production areas. Such administrative structures found in agricultural areas in the *altiplano* are one of the key pieces of evidence Kolata uses in his model of a centralized Tiwanaku state. Control of such resources allows elites to host redistributive ceremonies to increase their own status. However, it is also recognized that this role can also be fulfilled by the *ayllu* leaders, in which case the ceremonies would be aimed towards group consumption by the corporate unit. Therefore, care must be taken to examine the overall distribution of these goods and in particular, the storage of crops. If elites strategized to use these goods to promote their own wealth or if surplus production was part of a state-demanded tribute, we would expect to see storage facilities associated with elite or state administration areas with restricted access. If elites used the corporate strategy, we would see a more even distribution of crops and storage facilities well distributed, not restricted to elite access. While the centralization of resources would still be possible under the corporate strategy, there would be a lack of administrative structures that would have limited access to these resources.

For the Tiwanaku, maize in the Moquegua Valley had the interesting position of being both a staple crop and a prestige good. Maize was an absolutely crucial ceremonial resource sent back to the *altiplano* to be processed into *chicha* beer while also being important staple crop for the local populations in the Moquegua Valley.

Although maize was an important form of subsistence, its importance to Tiwanaku ceremonial activities feasts and drinking activities cannot be understated. Indeed, it is believed that the Moquegua Valley was colonized primarily in order to have access to maize. Examining the size dimensions of maize kernels and cupules from sites in Moquegua, Tiwanaku, and Piñami (in the Cochabamba Valley), Hastorf et al. (2006: 442) have demonstrated that Tiwanaku most likely did import maize from both the Moquegua Valley and Cochabamba region, as well as other possible unidentified sources. Maize, along with coca, is considered to be a valuable ceremonial and prestige crop in the Andes and under monopoly control under the Inca. Used to make *chicha* beverages, maize was ultimately used in state-sponsored drinking festivities that signaled both the hospitality and abundant wealth of Tiwanaku elites (Kolata 1993: 251). The importance of maize as a potential means for elites to gain factional followers in both the highlands in the Moquegua Valley makes it a particularly valuable agricultural goods, although its exotic origins for individuals in the core region would elevate its prestige status even higher. Inspection into the effort or lack thereof to control this resource can thus indicate the strategies of Tiwanaku elites to increase their ability to host drinking ceremonies and strengthen their factional following.

At the same time however, maize was an important subsistence crop for the local Tiwanaku populations in the Moquegua Valley, as evidenced by the ubiquity of this crop throughout sites and additional isotopic data. More specifically, Goldstein (2005) has proposed that the Chen Chen-style populations are those whose way of life was based around agriculture. Extensive canal systems associated with Chen Chen

sites along with stone hoes and rocker *batanes* indicate intensified agricultural production and maize grinding by this group compared to the Omo-style population (Goldstein 2005: 163). Isotopic analysis on individuals from Chen Chen-style burials indicates a high amounts of maize consumption by this population, likely consumed in the form of *chicha* by local populations as well (Goldstein 2005: 220). It was reported that maize remains were present in 45% of M10 excavated contexts. Furthermore, Chen Chen-style sites also have a higher frequency of storage cists, including a concentration of twelve cists at Omo M10. Assuming one cist per 4m<sup>2</sup>, Goldstein estimates 7,500 storage cists for the entire site (2005: 216-218). In general, maize appears to be a very abundant resource at the site with no indications of restricted access.

While there is no doubt an increased intensification of production and consumption of maize as argued for by Goldstein (2005: 220), there is no reason to believe that this was an activity restricted to or monitored by elites. Production of surplus beyond the household level may be due to coercion by the state, or by an *ayllu* cognitive code that destined the surplus to be consumed by the corporate group. The intensified production of maize as suggested by an increase in agricultural tools appears wide spread and greatly increased consumption of maize is suggested by isotopic dietary analysis and the ubiquity of keros in households (Goldstein 2005: 220). Access to this resource was common place, not restricted to elites. Yet while specialty production is suggested, Goldstein (2000: 195) importantly also notes that storage and processing facilities were dispersed throughout the domestic areas. While Goldstein interprets this turn to specialized processing as indicating a process of

“systemic extraction of this ritually important crop as agricultural tribute”, he also recognizes that an *ayllu*-based social structure could remain in this system (2000: 196). There is little evidence that this system was state-organized. This could be tribute in terms of reciprocal obligation amongst an *ayllu*, not necessarily state tax. I interpret the dispersal of storage facilities across the domestic area as indicating decentralized control, rather than a centralization and exclusive control of surpluses. Thus, rather than supporting a centralized state, I interpret the dispersion of storage facilities as the division of this resource of power amongst groups during production, storage, and in consumption. In this scenario, the different communities in the Moquegua Valley were linked to elites or counterpart *ayllu* households in the heartland in an uncompetitive manner. This model is further supported by a lack of data that would indicate the transport of maize as being centrally organized or formally controlled.

For the reason that maize was a prestige good crucial to the drinking ceremonies of elites back in the Tiwanaku core region, we must also consider the means for transporting these goods back to the highlands and how maize was dispersed there. If elites were carrying out exclusionary political strategies, we would see evidence for centralized elite storage facilities at the Tiwanaku site that would have been linked to elite-managed storage areas in the Moquegua Valley by formal caravan networks. Although there were no doubt well-traversed caravan routes between the Moquegua Valley and Tiwanaku, there is no evidence that the routes were state-controlled. Stanish et al. (2010: 530) suggest that caravans of traders between the Tiwanaku core in Bolivia and the Moquegua Valley were informally organized,

evidenced by a lack of sites that would be “characterized as a Tiwanaku tambo or roadside way station.” Stanish and colleagues go on to write, “In the model proposed here, traders make their own arrangements with local populations, or maintain Andean style kin-based relationships along the routes. Traders provided goods, particularly Tiwanaku ritual finewares, in return for access to water, grazing and perhaps protection” (2010: 530). The evidence indicates a lack of competition by elites for maize production, accumulated storage, and consumption within the Moquegua Valley and transport outside of it as well.

Furthermore, consumption of maize at the Tiwanaku site occurred in non-elite contexts. Although maize was no doubt important in the *chicha* consumption ceremonies held by elites, Janusek (2004: 161) importantly points out that “maize was most frequent in Akapana East 2 and best distributed among contexts in Ch’iji Jawira.” The proportion of maize, an imported good, in addition to the frequency of nonlocal wares in these non-elite contexts is intriguing. Janusek writes, “This suggests that social characteristics other than status fostered the acquisition of valued goods and the maintenance of long-distance ties. These characteristics, it appears, included social affiliations with groups in regions to which a compound group such as Ch’iji Jawira maintained kin-based or more widely cast ethnic-like social and economic relations” (2004: 161). This supports the model proposed above that posits long-distance connections to Moquegua based on *ayllu* relations for at least some groups in the heartland. Hastorf et al. (2006: 443) point out that although some barrio groups did have connection to maize growing areas, maize was not found in all sectors of the Tiwanaku site. What remains important however is that connections between barrio

groups and maize growing areas appear to be at least in part through *ayllu* relations rather than elite-controlled movement of resources. Although maize was no doubt an important crop to Tiwanaku elites, its ubiquity in the Moquegua Valley and the access of barrio groups to it in the *altiplano* suggests that elites did not monopolize this resource. The evidence more readily supports the use of corporate strategies for the production, storage, transportation and consumption of maize. While there is no doubt that the cultivated maize was exported back to the *altiplano* and used in drinking ceremonies at the core, non-elites apparently had access to this resource as well.

No possible tax or administrative centers are indicated in the Moquegua Valley, outside the possibility of the Omo temple (M10A), a case that will be discussed below. In essence, what is missing are the sorts of “agricultural estates”, the elite house platform mounds in the hinterland, found in the *altiplano* that are the basis from which Kolata (1993: 176, 230) asserts ruling lineages controlled Tiwanaku’s surplus and economic system more generally. The Tiwanaku elite of Moquegua did not “carve out corporate estates to ensure a direct supply of surplus agricultural production” like they did in the *altiplano* (Kolata 1993: 231). No elite residences are found in the area, except the one exceptional case of Structure 2 at M12. As I have argued, this was an area for ritual *chicha* production and consumption, but there is no evidence that this was a monopolization of maize storage itself; the overall site and area seemed to have been rich in maize. While the polished blackware portrait head vessels and *chicha* storage vessels found in Structure 2 suggest exclusive drinking rituals and high storage capacities, the structure itself does not stand out as particularly prominent or well constructed. The presence of three to four large storage vessels

indicates a capacity for storage certainly beyond the needs of a two-room house (Goldstein 1993: 36), but such capacities are not indicative of a monopoly on maize storage. In sum, this was not an elite administrative structure to manage maize production or transportation.

The intensification of production may have increased towards the end of Tiwanaku occupation in Moquegua, but it was intensification without managerial presence and not orchestrated by a centralized body. The lack of monopoly on the production and transport of maize reflects a degree the non-competitiveness of Tiwanaku elites, which is surprising considering maize's importance in ceremonial drinking feasts. While there was evidently an increased demand for this crop by factional elites at the Tiwanaku core, perhaps the supply was so great as to make fierce competition unnecessary, or perhaps this lack of competition arises from corporate ideals stemming from *ayllu* cognitive codes. In this second scenario, this system of non-competitive production and transport of maize is in line the structures of *ayllu* corporate codes of resource management took precedence over individual, self-aggrandizing behavior and autonomy persisted against any measures of a centralizing state. In either case, the elites of Tiwanaku used the maize to self-aggrandize in the *altiplano*, but did not see seek to monopolize resources in production areas (the Moquegua Valley). Such a strategy was either unnecessary or outside of what was "thinkable" in their world view.

### Prestige Objects

Prestige items will be objects requiring specialized technical knowledge to create such as metal or tapestry, have a high intrinsic value such as gems and minerals, or be of exotic origin. Although maize was used in important ceremonial activities by the Tiwanaku, because it was also an agricultural good abundant to the Moquegua Valley inhabitants, its status as a prestige item in the local context is diluted. In the case at hand then, prestige items would include elite items from the altiplano that would link Moquegua elites to the homeland, the symbolic center of the world. Elites utilizing the exclusionary strategy would utilize their networks of power in order to amass these objects in order to increase their wealth and maintain loyalty of their supporters.

Some ceramics found in the Moquegua Valley are believed to have been imported from the capital and Goldstein notes that this is a limited distribution of imported luxury goods, including zoomorphic vessels, four-pointed hats, tapestry tunics, and snuff tablets (2005: 151, 318, 321). However, other valuable imports such as a silver *tupu* (brooch pin) are found in household dedicatory caches, suggesting that many households took place in the Tiwanaku exchange system and ceremonial practices. Goldstein (2005: 199) thus suggests that many Tiwanaku imported objects were important for maintaining cultural identity rather than being limited to elite contexts. Other objects requiring technical knowledge or with a high intrinsic value are well dispersed. Goldstein (2005: 198) notes that many Omo style houses contained ritual paraphernalia, metal objects, jewelry, and *incensario* ceremonial vessels. Other rare ceramics, such as blackwares, are suggested by Goldstein to represent temporal or ethnic patterns of production and distribution rather than being prestige goods. In

addition to examining households, an investigation of elite burials is another way of determining uneven wealth distribution.

*Burials:*

The presence of overtly princely burials would be indicated by an abundance of prestige items and typify the end results of an individual's aggrandizing activities. While an extravagant burial does not necessarily mean the individual was wealthy or simple burials reserved for the poor, it is convenient to assume that burial goods and tomb construction generally reflect the interred individual's social identity and social status. Many of the same expectations of elite residences holds in examining elite burials: elite tombs should stand out in terms of form, increased visibility in terms of size or prominent location, better quality of construction materials, grave good offerings, and increased labor input into the construction and ritual activity at the tomb. Just as the monumental ceremonial precinct served as the home for Tiwanaku elites, those monuments were likewise the locations of elite burials. However, the same type of extravagant burials atop sacred temples is not found in the Moquegua Valley.

In general, elite burials in Moquegua are very uncommon. Goldstein (2005) has previously discussed the most elaborate burial in uncovered at the Omo site group, the M16D-15 tomb. Despite being heavily looted, there is good reason to suspect this was an individual of particularly high status, including an elaborately constructed tomb and grave goods that included hundreds of various types of beads, suggesting that the wealth of this individual was displayed in the form of multiple pieces of

jewelry. Perhaps most importantly, three fragments of a tapestry tunic were found in the tomb, a labor-intensive tapestry technique that suggests hierarchical status (Goldstein 2005: 248-250, 263). Although the Tiwanaku elites were not living in mansions, they were walking around wearing some of the most exclusive clothing around. However, other aspects of the burial and cemetery dilute the prestige of this burial. It has been noted that the Omo M16D cemetery in general contained grave offerings of *spondylus* beads, metal, and jewelry (Goldstein 2005: 261). As well, the tomb is located between the M12 southern community and the M16 community, a non-prominent location. Goldstein (2005: 268) points out:

even the richest of these provincial elite tombs, like the palace tombs of Tiwanaku themselves, pale in comparison with elite burials in other societies of comparable complexity and scale, like the Moche. Furthermore, there is no apparent relationship between these most opulent tombs and state-related monumental architecture in the Moquegua province. Their locations near domestic sites and far from the temple suggest that these elite cemeteries can also be seen as fancier versions of community burial grounds. This implies that even the highest elites of the Tiwanaku colony may have been leaders of corporate segments of the community rather than governors imposed as representatives of a central government.

There were no doubt wealthy elites residing in Moquegua, but the allotment of elite prestige goods appears relatively evenly distributed, especially compared to what is seen at the Tiwanaku site. Although elites in Moquegua were adorned with fine tapestry and jewelry, they were not living or being buried in palaces like the elites of the Tiwanaku site. Goldstein (2005: 268) writes, “Artifacts such as earspools and four-pointed hats were restricted in distribution to the graves of a small number of senior adult males who were buried at several cemeteries in Omo and Chen Chen. The distribution of these finds in ordinary ‘satellite’ cemeteries suggests that they were not

markers of class membership or elite wealth but representations of community authority vested in *ayllu* leaders.” Many of the imported luxury goods were therefore exclusive specifically to *ayllu* leaders who maintained a great deal of authority in the Moquegua Valley. Their fine tapestry tunics and other regalia marked their status as authority figures as well as their group affiliation. However, there was no sort of “amassing” of tapestries because they were reserved for specific leaders of specific groups. There would have been little reason to stockpile tunics as their value rested in their specific symbolic meaning as related to group affiliation just as much as it did hierarchical status. This is highly different from objects with intrinsic values. Ultimately, the existence of multiple tapestry tunics suggests the concurrence of multiple *ayllu* leaders and a sharing of power. There is no apparent attempt to control or monopolize such resources because there would have been no reason to do so, for the social organization of the *ayllu* recognized a corporate code that included multiple leaders of groups amongst the community. The limited distribution of tapestry tunics and four-pointed hats thus indicates a limited number of *ayllu* leaders, but it does not tell us much about their strategic political behavior.

### Ritual Activity and Public Architecture

Based on data from the ethnographic present and vast references to the ethnohistoric past, the central significance of Andean ritual is certain. Everything we know about the Andes points to the essential nature of rite, and the historical significance of Andean ritual is a simple fact whether or not archaeologists acknowledge it. Ritual is not insignificant, epiphenomenal, or unamenable to archaeological inquiry. Patterned ritual behaviors leave material remains in the same way that patterned economic or political behaviors do (or do not), and

prehistoric economic or political motives may be just as elusive as ritual ones (Moore 1996: 122).

The quote above from Moore highlights the importance of ritual in Andean life as well as hope in the ability of archaeologists to elucidate ritual behavior. I follow Rappaport in his use of the term: “Rituals tend to be stylized, repetitive, stereotyped, often but not always decorous, and they also tend to occur at special places and at times fixed by the block, calendar, or specified circumstances” (1979: 175-176). Rituals are challenging to define, as they vary in scale and purpose. So far in the paper I have used the term ritual or ceremony interchangeably to refer to activities involving the consumption of *chicha* maize beer either within homes or during more inclusive drinking bouts. Maize fueled the ritual cycles of Tiwanaku in the core region, but the ubiquity of kero drinking vessels in household contexts (Goldstein 2005: 220, 319) suggests that participation in drinking ritual activities was accessible to some degree by most of the population. While the exclusiveness of particular drinking events varied, as evidenced by Structure 2 at M12, in general it remained accessible to many of the Tiwanaku residents in the Moquegua Valley. There is no evidence of drinking activities in the plazas at the centers of the M12, M16, and M10 sites due to their relatively clean nature (Goldstein 2005: 156). What can be posited is that whatever the activities occurring there were, they were inclusive in nature. Open access to these areas suggests communal activities.

Ceremonial *chicha* consumption was one aspect of the Tiwanaku religious life, but other ritual activities of a different order are evidenced as well. Even when ritual knowledge and control of ceremonies may be dispersed, hierarchy is still possible

through the differential importance or ranking of those rituals (Potter and Perry 2000: 63). I am referring specifically to rituals of the Tiwanaku repertoire occurring in elaborate monumental spaces, such as those occurring at the Tiwanaku site's ceremonial precinct. These rituals include processual movement through passageways, offerings to ancestral spirits, homage to stela or *huacas*, burning rituals using *incensario* and *sahumador* vessels, offerings of miniature ceramic vessels, the consumption of coca, and intimate activities utilizing specialized serving-wares. Consequently, these rituals seem to be particularly potent in terms of connecting individuals to other-worldly sources of power at a magnitude beyond ceremonial drinking activities in households or small scale community plazas. The Omo monumental temple at the M10 site evidences such potent ritual practices.

How did Tiwanaku elites in Moquegua utilize this source of power? Who had access to this cosmological knowledge? In terms of how ritual was used by elites following the corporate or exclusionary political strategies, the answer requires the consideration of two elements: 1) the nature or purpose of the ritual, and 2) the degree of exclusiveness of ritual knowledge. Due to the symbolic nature of ritual activity, the first element may not be knowable from the information accorded by the archaeological record. When such information can be known, we can posit that elites utilizing an exclusionary political strategy will be evidenced by the utilization of rituals aimed at the honoring or worship specific individuals or lineages. In contrast, elites utilizing the corporate political strategy will promote rituals that promote group integration and be aimed towards universal themes such as fertility (Blanton et al. 1996; Blanton 1998). Regarding the second element, the control of ritual knowledge,

not just participation in ritual, is a key factor. Secrecy of information, control of sacred objects, and restricted access to places where rituals ought to be performed are various means of controlling access of ritual knowledge (Potter and Perry 2000: 62).

### *Ritual Architecture: The Omo Temple*

The Tiwanaku temple was not constructed until the Tiwanaku V phase, corresponding to the Chen Chen-style occupation in Moquegua. Ceramics found on the Upper court floors during excavations from the 1990 season are all of Chen Chen phase types and a radiocarbon date of the wood component of the Upper Court's doorway lintel dates to cal A.D. 789-954 (Goldstein 1993b: 34). Comprised of three terraced courtyards (**Figure 2**), movement through the temple has been described as "movement through open spaces towards more intimate inner sancta" (Janusek 2008: 233).

Previous excavations of the Omo temple in 1990 by the Omo Archaeological Project employed a series of 2x2m units determine the temple's architectural form and cultural and construction sequences (Goldstein 2005: 283). The results of these excavations, in combination with a *maqueta*, a small stone model believed to depict the temple's Upper Court, was used to reconstruct the complex layout of the temple (**Figure 4**). Between 2010 and 2012, three seasons of excavations by Proyecto Omo sought more complete excavation of the Upper and Middle Courts to gain a more precise understanding of architectural layout, construction techniques, and activity areas. All excavations were headed by Dr. Paul S. Goldstein of UC San Diego. The project was co-directed by Dr. Allison Davis during the 2012 season. Fieldwork was

carried out by graduate students from UC San Diego and ASU, undergraduate students, and Peruvian archaeologists.

Although the 1990 reconstruction proved to be a useful and in some cases exceptionally accurate guide for the fieldwork during planning and excavation, the results from these three recent field seasons has allowed for a more exact understanding of access patterns between rooms, construction techniques used throughout the temple, the nature of the multiple activity areas, and have shown the assumption of symmetry in the layout of the rooms used for the 1990 reconstruction to be incorrect. This new understanding of the temple's elements is epitomized by the discovery of the temple's inner chambers at the southern end of the temple. While the primary focus on this thesis is these inner chambers, the most restricted areas of the temple's Upper Court, some description of the Lower and Middle Courts is also called for as they underpin the transition to increasing smaller and more secluded spaces as one moved through the temple.

### The Lower and Middle Courts

The Lower Court is the largest and most openly accessible area of the temple. Measuring to 42 x 57 m, the open plan of this large space without any structural divisions suggests that it was an area for public gathering, perhaps similar to the plazas of the Pumapunku and the Akapana (Goldstein 1993b: 33; 2005: 289). Recently uncovered impressions on the prepared floor and clusters of large rocks indicate three distinct structures once stood at the transition between the Lower and Middle Court, perhaps suggesting symbolic processual pathways or divided entry based on social

affiliation (Sitek 2013). The Middle Court measures to 20 x 37 m including its two side galleries, flanking rectangular spaces could be accessed by an entryway from the court (Goldstein 2005: 290). An additional structure stood in front of the staircase leading to the Upper Court, partially blocking view of the base of the stairs (see Sitek 2013 for more information on the Middle Court). Although further analysis of these initial temple spaces is beyond the scope of this paper, it should suffice to say that the passage between these two courts represents an increased restriction on access to areas of ceremonial activities, although observation of the activities of the Middle Court may have been possible from the Lower Court. But what of the most restricted areas in the temple, the Upper Court? To reach this area, the penthouse of the temple, one must ascend a central staircase constructed from large stone slabs, creating a passageway meant to both impress and exclude.

### The Upper Court

Atop the central stairs to the Upper Court was a *chambranle* receding stepped door, resulting in a passageway less than one meter in width and decorated with red, cream, yellow, and green pigments. A stone threshold with a pivot hole and semi-circular grooves suggests a swinging doorway further controlling access to this space. Topping this doorway was what Goldstein has called an “imitation stone lintel”, constructed of three wooden logs and ichu grass plastered over with mud to give the appearance of a smoothed stone (2005: 290-291). “Both the step-like recessing of the door jambs and ‘faux stone’ architrave of the central entryway mimic the famed monolithic entryways of the Tiwanaku site, and may have symbolized the physical

restriction or ‘funneling’ of access to the inner sanctum of the Omo temple” (Goldstein 1993b: 37). Restricted access across this threshold meant more than simply constrained physical movement. Researchers of Tiwanaku have long acknowledged the importance of passageways and procession in Tiwanaku monumental spaces. That the most extravagant stone-working is on doorways, such as the Gateway of the Sun, speaks to the importance of passageways and procession in Tiwanaku cosmology (Goldstein 2005: 274; Protzen and Nair 2002). This particular threshold at Omo may have signified the passage from the normal world to one that was highly sacred. Walking through the threshold atop the central staircase, one would take part in a transition ritual and symbolically enter another world (Gennep 1960 [1909]: 20), or at the very least cue the individual that they were entering a place of particular importance. The unrestricted movement across that threshold by the Tiwanaku priests was perhaps enough to endow them with a particular status and access to the sacred spaces lying beyond the doorway. It is important that this movement was viewable by the public, for the endowment of status requires public acknowledgement. Although there was restriction on viewing the ritual activities within the Upper Court, the public was able to view who had access to that area, confirming the status of the individuals who crossed the sacred threshold. While the Lower and perhaps Middle Courts represent public-oriented activities, the Upper Court represents exclusive ritual activities. However, although the priests of the temple had unrestricted access to the Upper Court space, other members of society were also able to cross into this sacred world as well.

### Sunken Court and Central Axis Rooms

Atop the central staircase and over the Upper Court threshold, one finds oneself in a long rectangular room (C16) flanked by small, roofed structures (C18 and C22) (**Figure 3**). Straight ahead lays the doorway to the Sunken Court of the temple, centrally located and accessible if one simply continues walking forward a short after reaching the top of Upper Court's stairs. Because of this straightforward pathway, this space seems to be the most accessible out of any of the rooms of the Upper Court and is even closer to the entryway of the Upper Court than the C18 and C22 side rooms in C16. Measuring 10.5m square by 50cm deep, this "inner sanctum" was lined with volcanic tuff blocks, plastered with red and green paint, and a deep pit in the center of the sunken court suggests a large object such as a stone stela once stood as a focal point (Goldstein 1993b: 37; Goldstein 2005: 292). The Sunken Court's impressive worked stone and painted façade along with the central idol would have mesmerized visitors who were guided by the temple's priests towards this ritual activity area. The unobstructed path to this room both in terms of physical movement and visual line-of-sight from the top of the Upper Court's stairs as well as the attention to colorful decoration in this area suggests that out of all of the rooms of the Upper Court (excluding the initial C16 entry room), this room was meant to be seen by the most individuals. If we take the same position of Vranich (2005: 16) that the labor intensive façade were the ones meant to be most viewed, the sunken court at Omo would have certainly been the main attraction. This area was likely accessible in certain circumstances or during particular times to all individuals of the local community as well visiting pilgrims. Because the sunken court was kept remarkably clean, activities

there are difficult to discern. What is most evident is that it would have been a place to worship the central idol of the temple.

#### Sunken Court's Central Idol: Elite Personage or Deity of Agriculture?

While a deep looter's pit in Omo's sunken court has been taken as evidence for a central idol, what the idol looked like can only be speculated on. Stone monoliths in the Tiwanaku site's ceremonial precinct therefore serve as important guides in understanding the potential role of the idol in the distant Omo temple. At the Tiwanaku site, the Bennett stela is also placed in a sunken court, whereas the Ponce stela resided in the Kalasasya. Both of these monoliths have been interpreted as elite personages or founding figures of powerful lineages (Couture 2004: 132; Kolata 1993, 2004: 122-123). In speaking of the Ponce and Bennett stelas, Kolata writes, "These sculptures brilliantly concentrated the essence of the Tiwanaku elite's political legitimacy, their esoteric knowledge and their moral authority. They were powerful visual statements that overtly linked Tiwanaku's ruling dynasty with the mythic past, with the time of ethnic origins, and with the proper and necessary functioning of the natural world" (1993: 145). As well, these monolithic personages are depicted as wearing elite regalia, perhaps solidifying their use in reinforcing social hierarchies (Janusek 2006: 483). On the other hand, symbols of fertility are also found within the detailed carvings on the monoliths. The Bennett stela, associated with the Tiwanaku Semi-Subterranean temple, contains images of animals and flowering plants; "This connection evokes the notion that deities are intimately related to the organic world of plant and animal reproduction and growth" (Kolata 2004: 112). Hence, in an

alternative interpretation these monoliths symbolize mythical ancestors and deities associated with fertility and the natural world. Rather than being used aggrandize particular elites and their lineages, these stone idols were representative of a group identity and were the focus of group-oriented ceremonies carried out for agricultural productiveness.

These monoliths can be viewed as representing a group identity, but how exclusionary this group identity was remains unknown. Did worshipers of these monoliths see themselves as related to these representations of an ancestor or deity, or were the monoliths representing an elite lineage higher in status and worthy of praise? The answer to this question would have important implications for the first aspect of the power strategies used by Tiwanaku elites. Did ritual themes and iconography endorse self aggrandizement or ceremonial practices representing the group? Without a stela for the M10A temple to examine, we must look to other indications of the importance of fertility related rituals.

First, the green and red paint used to decorate the sunken court and central axis doorways may have signified fertility and water. Janusek (2006: 480), in reference to the red sandstone used to construct parts of the Tiwanaku monumental temples, writes that the color red may have symbolized blood, which is regarded by current Aymara speakers as the life force of both camelids and humans. As well, Kolata (1993: 109) interprets the green gravel covering the Akapana summit as representing the sacred Quimsachata mountain range and life-giving water sources. The choice of red and green colors to decorate the sunken court was no doubt deliberate and data for both colors points towards their symbolic meanings dealing with fertility, either in terms of

blood or water. Second, sea shells and *spondylus* beads uncovered at the temple may have been used in rituals related to water. *Spondylus*, an oyster originating in the warm water off the coast of Ecuador, has been linked to rituals related to water, rain, and agricultural and human fertility in many Andean societies throughout time (Blower 1995: 2; Murra 1980: 140). *Spondylus* shells in the form of beads or small fragments are found throughout the temple. In C8, the sunken court itself, *spondylus* was recovered from contexts near the floor (M10=10584, AR76) and upper contexts (M10=10308 and M10=10893) as well, although these upper contexts are most likely disturbed. Additionally, *spondylus* bead fragments (M10=6962) were recovered from a deposit on the floor of C9, the upper walkway of the sunken court. Floor contexts in C10, the central axial room opening to the sunken court, also contained *spondylus* fragments (M10=6616 and M10=6641).

Together, the evidence suggests that at least some amount of group-oriented rituals related to agricultural fertility in the sunken court at Omo. The temple priests lead local groups and pilgrims alike towards the awe-inspiring sunken court and its central idol. The priests would have led these ceremonies, having access to the symbolic objects and the specialized knowledge needed to communicate with the idol deity and navigate the temple's central axis rooms. At least some ceremonies likely emphasized fertility and were conducted towards productivity of the group as a whole. However, the sunken court was only one aspect of the ritual space that is the Omo temple. While it was an important cosmological area and a destination for ritual processions, a number of other sorts of ritual activities in the temple do not involve the

sunken court. If the central sunken court suggests some corporate, group-oriented activities, what about the most exclusive back rooms of the temple?

#### Out of the Sunken Court and Into the Inner Chambers

The temple's sunken court is flanked by various rooms of various sizes. Some rooms are larger and open in area while others are smaller rectangular roofed rooms and that, except for one, rest atop a low platform of approximately twenty centimeters. These rooms are C4, C6, C18, C19, C22, and C26. C6, the only such room not on a raised platform, is also the only one of such structures two doors, serving as a thoroughfare passage between rooms. Each of these small structures was relatively rich in artifacts, perhaps serving as storage areas for the rituals activities for all three courts at Omo. Two of such rooms, C4 and C26, rest in the rear portion of the temple as part of a room compound that includes a patio seating area. As means to examine control of ritual knowledge, I will now turn my analysis to these two areas which I have termed the inner chambers of the temple. An examination of these inner chambers in terms of access patterns, the chambers' size, and the material remains recovered indicate that these spaces were utilized by a limited number of individuals who had restricted control over the sacred knowledge and performance of rituals occurring within. I will refer to these compounds as the southwest inner chamber and northeast inner chamber according to their position relative to the central chamber at the rear end of the temple (**Figures 5 and 6**).

The inner chambers of the temple were discovered during the recent excavations by Proyecto Omo from 2010 to 2012. Excavations were conducted using

4 x 4 m units oriented to an arbitrary grid system that aligned with the orientation of the temple's enclosure walls. **Figure 7** shows the unit grid for the Upper Court. Units were excavated according to stratigraphic levels. The majority a unit's levels were excavated as a whole and sifted using a 1/4" screen, but floor levels were excavated in 1 x 1 m squares in order to maintain more precise provenience and were sifted using a 1/8" screen. Bulk soil samples were taken from floor deposits and features. All levels were photographed, drawn, had their information recorded on standard project level forms, and materials recovered catalogued in a computer database. All profiles of units were photographed and drawn at the conclusion of the unit's excavation.

The southwest inner chamber lies within units 222, 223, 212, and 213.

Excavations of the southwest inner chamber were carried about by the author and Elizabeth Plunger (UC San Diego) during the 2010 field season and Matthew Sitek (UC San Diego) during the 2011 season. The northeast inner chamber lies within units 225, 226, 215, and 216 and was excavated by the author during the 2012 field season.

#### Inner Chambers: Construction and Layout

The two inner chambers have a strikingly similar blueprint. Although the compounds differ slightly, their clearly similar layouts indicate a semi-standardized chamber blueprint that was seen as the appropriate design for the activities that would take place within those secluded spaces.

*Southwest Inner Chamber:*

The totality of the southwest inner chamber was excavated except for just under half of C4. This portion of the room was partially excavated during the 2010 field season in unit 223, but was not fully excavated in order to preserve a sample of the roofing remains *in situ*. The southwest inner chamber (**Figure 8**) consists of a lower patio area (C5) surrounded on two sides by an L-shaped bench made of worked volcanic tuff blocks and on the third side by a wall separating the this chamber from the central axis chamber. A thin (2-5 cm) layer of durable and very compact clay (10YR 7/1 light grey with 2.5Y 7/4 pale yellow to 2.5Y 6/6 olive yellow inclusions) is found as part of the sub-floor in the lower patio areas. This subfloor rests on top of well compacted moro moro prepared clay floor. The durable clay subfloor and the living floor of the room ramps up slightly from the room's entrance to conceal the bases of the volcanic tuff blocks comprising the L-shaped bench. Brown stains on the sides of the bench blocks mark the original level of the C5 floor surface (**Figure 9**). As well, the floor smoothly transitions up to the foundation of the wall that makes up a third side of the room's patio area. The living floor in the lower area was a semi-compacted layer (10YR 6/2 light brownish grey with 2.5Y 6/6 olive yellow inclusions). Two semi-circular floor pits (features AR-17 and AR-18) in C5 extend through the living floor down through the moro moro prepared clay floor. Three large, thick sherds of undiagnostic Tiwanaku llana ceramics from AR-17 (M10=5306) suggest that these pits may have been used to hold large ollas or other large ceramic storage vessels.

The majority of the Upper Court consists of a base level of a moro moro prepared clay floor. Areas of the Upper Court are raised approximately 20cm, with a

base consisting of a durable and very compact clay (10YR 7/1 light grey with 2.5Y 7/4 pale yellow to 6/6 olive yellow inclusions) and adobe bricks lying flat (**Figure 13**).

These raised areas include the platform surrounding the sunken court and the upper portions of each of the rear rooms of the temple, including the center axis rooms and the upper areas of the two inner chambers. The volcanic tuff blocks making up the bench area were set into this foundational construction material as well.

The L-shaped bench seating area was comprised of volcanic tuff blocks that were smoothed on all visible sides and were of variable dimension. These volcanic tuff blocks were constructed out of pyroclastic material found locally (Goldstein 2005: 284). As previously mentioned, compact construction material and adobe bricks laid flat made up the base of this raised platform of the inner chambers. In the southwest inner chamber, the raised area contains a small, roofed room flanked on both sides by a shallow corridor area. The small room, C4 measures 3.1 x 1.8 m. The corridor to the northwest of C4 measures 2.2 x 0.6 m and the corridor to the southeast of C4 measures 2.2 x 0.75 m.

Large amounts of ichu grass bundles indicate that the C4 room was roofed. The ichu grass bundles were approximately 30 cm in length. The grass bundles were deposited with fragments of wooden poles, knotted leather straps, and woven reed mats, indicating an extensive roof structure (**Figure 10**). No evidence of postholes was uncovered in any part of the southwest inner chamber, although C4 was not excavated in its entirety. Interestingly, unarticulated camelid bones representing numerous parts of the body were recovered mixed in with roof-collapse as well as being found beneath it (**Figures 10 (b) and 11**). Field inspection of the bones did not discover any

burning, cut marks, or other signs of working, but a more detailed examination is needed. The association of camelid bones dispersed with roofing remains is perplexing, but a few possibilities can be given. It must first be noted that the camelid bones occurs in multiple layers of roofing collapse and are dispersed throughout the inner chamber. This suggests the bones were associated with the roof itself rather than being a post-room collapse sacrifice. Instead, these bones were likely to have been purposely stuck into or laid on top of the roof C4. Bones stuck into the roofs could have been accessible from the C4 room and used for the activities of the inner chamber. However, because of the wide dispersal of the bones well into C5, it is unlikely that they were well secured underneath the roof. It is more likely that bones were placed on the exterior of the roof. This scenario is supported by the recovery of some sun bleached bones. The bones were free of any meat or skin remains; they were not placed on the roof to be made into jerky. If these bones were indeed on the exterior of the roof, they may have served as an outward symbol of the connectivity between the Omo temple and the Moquegua Valley occupants to the Tiwanaku highlands, the native region of camelids.

*Northeast Inner Chamber:*

The northeast inner chamber shares a number of architectural features in common with the southwest inner chamber. Like the southwest inner chamber, the northeast chamber consists of a lower patio area (C25) with an L-shaped volcanic tuff block bench stepping up to the upper portion (C24) of the chamber (**Figure 12**). The northeast chamber also is comprised of a small, roofed room (C26) measuring to 2.6 x

2 m. However, unlike the southwest chamber, the northeast chamber is flanked by only one dead-end corridor to its south (C33). The same construction materials are used in both chambers, including the durable, compact clay (10YR 7/1 light grey with 2.5Y 7/4 pale yellow to 2.5Y 6/6 olive yellow inclusions) and flat-lying adobe bricks (**Figure 13**) making up the base of the upper portion of the chamber. Camelid bones mixed in with roofing contexts are also found in the northeast chamber (**Figure 14**). The similarities between the two inner chambers are striking and suggest a similar blue print was followed in planning and constructing both areas. Significantly, in the northeast chamber snap-string impressions were uncovered in the prepared moro moro clay floor of the lower patio area (**Figure 15**). These string impressions served to mark out room plans in the wet moro moro clay before the volcanic block and adobe brick superstructures were erected. This indicates that these chambers were planned early in the temple's construction process.

While it is evident that both chambers follow a similar architectural blueprint, some important differences between the two can be found. First, as previously noted the upper portion of the northeast inner chamber contained only one corridor area. Rather than a corridor on the chamber's northern side, impressions have been left on the surface of the upper platform of the chamber that indicate some sort of architectural element once existed there. These impressions of AR-244 were found in addition to the common type of wall impressions of AR-245 that separated the inner chamber from C27. Common wall impressions in the temple are approximately 40 cm wide and are formed from the volcanic tuff blocks making up the wall's base pressing into the floor surface. In some cases, individual block impressions can be seen. AR-

245 is a split level wall, meaning that one set of blocks were set into the lower C27 floor and a second set of blocks were set into the upper portion of the inner chamber. A similar wall construction methodology is seen throughout the rest of the temple, although not all are of the split level type, and importantly all walls in the Upper Court measure to no more than approximately 40 cm. The set of second impressions (AR-244) therefore becomes perplexing. The rectangular impressions for both features indicate a base of volcanic bricks. These two sets of impressions may have been part of the same structural feature, perhaps the only double-wide wall in the temple. Another possibility is that only the AR-245 set of impressions are that of a wall and the AR-244 impressions are from an different sort of architectural feature with a base of volcanic tuff bricks, but that served as a low alter or seating area within the C26 room rather than a second wall.

Second, the northeast inner chamber lacks the semi-circular pits cut into the lower patio floor that are found in the southwest chamber. Within the northeast chamber, only shallow cuts into the floor were found and no pits continued through the moro moro clay base of the Upper Court as was found in the southwest chamber. Oval shaped cuts into the C25 floor include AR-226, AR-227, and AR-276. Each of these floor features is irregular in shape, shallow, and produced few material remains. AR-242, a cylindrical cut into the floor of C33 16 cm in diameter is more regular in its shape, but was only 17 cm deep. The small amount of animal bone fragments, string, and botanical remains recovered is not telling of any specific purpose, although its shallowness suggests against its use as a posthole. Likewise, AR-247 is a cylindrical cut into the floor of C26 20 cm in diameter and 20 cm in depth. Its shallow depth not

extending into the moro moro clay base of the Upper Court suggests it was not a posthole for the C26 roof. Material remains include textile, shell, organic and botanic fragments.

Lastly, the inner chambers differ from each other in their orientation. Although the two compounds follow a similar blueprint of their architectural features, the northeast inner chamber is rotated 90° counter-clockwise compared to the southwest inner chamber. The rotation of the inner chambers results in an asymmetrical layout of the temple, a new discovery of the 2012 field season. Authors working at Tiwanaku's monumental precinct often note the planned alignment of the monuments. Janusek (2006: 487) highlights the importance of spatial cosmology for the Tiwanaku, proposing that the ceremonial architecture of Tiwanaku sought to incorporate and highlight aspects to the natural world, such as the mountains viewed from the monuments or their alignment according to celestial cycles. Goldstein (2005: 300-301) has argued that the Omo temple's central axis orientation is associated with a hilltop site across the valley, M158, as well as ceremonial structures in Chen Chen sectors 14 and 15. With the evidence that the Tiwanaku took great care in aligning ceremonial spaces to significant orientations, aligning the similarly designed chamber complexes on both sides of the temple to different orientations was purposeful and no doubt meaningful. One possibility for the significance of the northeast chamber's orientation is that would roughly orient the chamber's doorway towards Cerro Baul, a significant Wari site Upper Moquegua Valley. This alignment is not precise however and depending on the height of the temple's enclosure wall a view of Cerro Baul might not have been possible.

More research is needed regarding the inner chambers' orientations with consideration of both natural features on landscape and cultural features such as buildings or tombs. We can also look within the temple for the significance of the chambers' orientations in terms of rooms these chambers are associated with. With the resulting layout of the Upper Court, the northeast inner chamber can only be entered through C27 and the southwest inner chamber can only be entered through C1. These two associated room were themselves the locations of significant ritual activity. Human and camelid remains were found in C27 and C1 was the location of numerous offerings, including dedicatory floor offerings of coca leaves (AR-14 and AR-15). More analysis is needed to clarify connections in cross-room/chamber activities. Before continuing the discussion of the inner chambers' relation to other rooms of the Upper Court in terms of access routes, some additional comments concerning the inner chambers' architectural design features are needed.

#### Inner Chambers: Small Spaces, Private Seating

The two inner chambers are composed of some of the smallest rooms in the temple, with C26 being the smallest of all (**Table 2**). If we wish to examine activity areas and therefore exclude the small, roofed rectangular rooms throughout the temple from the discussion, for they may just be niche storage areas, the patio portions of the inner chambers are the most private activity areas in the temple, a place for secretive and exclusive gatherings at the end of a labyrinth of rooms. The size of a ritual space will indicate the number of participants involved and the importance of different modes of communication used in the ceremonies, both verbal and non-verbal. For

example, Moore (1996b: 797) writes that the small plazas of the Titicaca area suggest small numbers of participants and intimate forms of communication. The scale of the ritual spaces “set[s] maximal limits on the forms of ritual communication possible in such places” and what sorts of rituals may have taken place in such places (Moore 1996b: 792). This work is built on that of Hall (1966) who defined intimate, personal, and social distances that were determined by thresholds of modes of communication and human sensory intake. As the distance between individuals change, so does the fidelity of human vision, hearing, and smell, passing through thresholds of perception.

The notable small scale of inner chambers indicates that the rituals occurring there were meant for a limited number of individuals and communication was literally face-to-face. At the range of communication suggested by the size of these rooms, whispers could be heard, subtle facial expressions clearly seen, and intricate bodily gestures may have played a role in the ceremonies. Burning ceremonies involving *incensario* vessels would be intimate and smells would be potent. This is contrast to larger spaces that require louder, stylized speaking voices and exaggerated gestures (Moore 1996: 154; Moore 1996b: 797). Because of the small size of the inner chambers, communication between ritual participants could have utilized subtle forms of communication, both verbal and non-verbal, that was additionally facilitated by the sitting step features of the chambers.

#### Inner Chambers: Access Patterns

In terms of number of rooms one must pass through to reach their destination, the two inner chambers were the most difficult to reach and therefore likely to be the

most restricted in access. An access graph of the temple can be used as a simplified visual of how many rooms must be passed through to reach a given room, i.e. the room's "depth" (Moore 1996: 184). **Figure 16** and **Figure 17** reveals the segmented nature the temple's Upper Court in that many rooms can only be reached by proceeding through one particular route. Each of the inner chambers lies at the end of a long series of rooms which would have required particular knowledge to navigate.

#### *Southwest Inner Chamber*

To reach the southwest inner chamber, one would proceed straight ahead from the Upper Court's stairway into the sunken court room, but stay on the upper walkway of the room. If one continues to their right on this platform, the C6 room can be entered. Passing through this small, roofed room the individual finds themselves in C2, a medium-sized rectangular room with an open floor plan. Across this room lies a ramped doorway descending into C1, an elongated corridor pathway with a step constructed from worked volcanic tuff blocks that spans the length of room with the exception of its ramped entrance. Proceeding left down this corridor, one comes to the southwest inner chamber's lower patio on their left hand side. Only upon entering the patio (C5) of the room does one see the full complexity of the inner chamber, which includes the C4 room and its flanking corridors.

#### *Northeast Inner Chamber*

Access routes to the northeast inner chamber are less clear. While this chamber was only accessible via the C27 room, how to enter C27 is unknown. There are two

possibilities: through C30 and via the platform at the rear of the temple. The route through C30 is problematic because the area separating C27 and the adjacent C30 room was not excavated and no doorways were confirmed. The pathway leading to C30 from the entrance of the Upper Court is also unknown since the area separating C30 and C16 was also not excavated and again no doorways confirmed. However, a doorway between C16 and C30 is likely if we assume a symmetrical layout of the temple in this section of the Upper Court. A doorway between C16 into C3 on the opposite side of the temple was discovered during the 2011 field season. If we assume a symmetrical layout then, an individual at the top of the Upper Court's stairs in C16 would have seen a doorway to their left that would have led them into C30 and a doorway to their right would led them into C3. Through this passage to the one's left then, one would find oneself in room C30 within which lies the small, roofed C28 room atop a small stepped platform. As previously noted, the doorway between C30 and C27 was not excavated and can only be speculated on. Assuming symmetry in this portion of the temple is problematic as we have confirmed asymmetrical layouts in this section of the temple. If we do assume that a doorway between C30 and C27 existed, the northeast inner chamber can be found to the immediate right after entering C27.

A second possible route to C27 utilizes the platform at the rear of the temple as a means to move between C1 and C27. However, it remains a mystery as to how this high platform area was accessed as excavations did not uncover any means to ascend/descend the platform in either C1 or C27. It must be noted at there previously may have been unobstructed passage between C1 and C27. A section of wall feature

AR-245 separating C1 and C27 is remarkable due to the peculiar *in situ* volcanic tuff block that served as part of its foundation. The *in situ* block of this wall stands out as relatively rounded and unfinished compared to other wall foundation blocks uncovered (**Figure 18**). This suggests that the wall may have been a later addition and that there was once continuous passage between C1 and C27. With this wall however, C1 becomes an extended corridor seating area and movement between two complexes becomes greatly hindered. The lack of dateable materials makes it difficult to know if this wall was a later addition to the temple's plan, but if it is indeed so, it indicates an increasing compartmentalization of ritual activity within the temple.

A means of accessing C27, the gateway to the northeast inner chamber, can only be speculated. With current data, entrances through C30 or via the temple's rear platform are both possibilities. If access was only possible through C30, movement between the two inner chambers becomes greatly delayed, requiring one to retrace their steps back to the very entrance of the Upper Court. On the other hand, access via C1 and the rear platform results in easier movement between the two inner chambers. If access to the northeast chamber was only possible through the rear platform but not through C30, the depth and seclusion of this chamber would increase. In any model of access patterns then, it remains that the two inner chambers are the deepest areas of the temple, requiring the most number of rooms to pass through and the most knowledge of the temple's layout to reach.

#### Inner Chambers: Material Assemblages

**Table 3, Table 4, Table 5, and Table 6** show the distribution of ceramics for inner chambers (see **Table 7** for complete ceramic counts). For these areas, ceramic counts and percentages were tabulated in two different manners according to deposit types in order to isolate undisturbed contexts. In both cases, ceramics believed to be part of disturbed areas such as looters pits or found in wall fall trenches were not included. Totals labeled “levels below wall fall” (**Table 4** and **Table 6**) are contexts below both wall fall and roof fall in an attempt to isolate ceramics best associated with their correct rooms. These contexts were usually associated with floor contexts and thus serve as the best indicators of activities occurring in the rooms. Totals labeled “levels below volcanic ash” (**Table 3** and **Table 5**) are more expansive counts that add the contexts of ceramics from deposits after which the majority of volcanic ash had been excavated past. Pockets and lenses of volcanic ash from the eruption of Huayna Putina on February 19, 1600 (Goldstein 1993b: 34) were found all units. While prehistoric looting did take place, this second counts removes most of the later looting episodes by Spanish conquistadores. Lastly, while the sub-room areas for the northeast inner chamber are well divided, due to the manner in which the southwest inner chamber was excavated some contexts had to be combined into the “C4, C5, and Banqueta” row (see **Figure 8** for area divisions).

For comparisons in my analysis, I utilized ceramic frequencies from household excavations in the Omo site group (Goldstein 1989) and detailed ceramic analysis from the 1990s excavations as a comparison for the inner chambers. This detailed database of the 1990s excavations provides a sherd-by-sherd description of the excavations across the temple, allowing for comparisons of specific ceremonial vessel

types. As I did when calculating inner chamber counts, I also removed huaracane and colonial sherds from the 1990s counts. Only ceramics from the Upper Court were included. As well, ceramics collected from the surface and first levels of the units were not counted. Although these levels may not match precisely to the levels below wall fall or levels below volcanic ash, this was an effort to remove some portion of the distributed contexts. The resulting total sherd count is 1041.

A number of Tiwanaku ceramic types have been categorized as ceremonial, including a corpus of serving vessels used in ceremonial functions. Among these is the *kero*, a redware serving vessel used in drinking ceremonies of *chicha* beer. Thought to be an important aspect of Tiwanaku ceremonial and political life, offerings of keros were uncovered atop the Akapana (Kolata 1993: 124). What is noteworthy then is the small number of redware sherds in these rear complexes (**Table 3, Table 4, Table 5** and **Table 6**). In the southwest chamber, redware sherds make up 3.5% of the total sherds in levels below wall fall, and only 2.12% of the sherds below the volcanic ash. Numbers are even lower in the northeast chamber, where redware sherds account for 1.19% of the total sherds in levels below wall fall and just 0.77% of sherds from levels below volcanic ash. This contrasts against reported frequencies of ceramics from domestic units. Redware sherds make up 9.98% of the ceramics for M10 domestic structure 14 and 6.25% of ceramics recovered from M12 domestic structure 7 (Goldstein 1989: 342). From the 1990 test excavations, Goldstein (2005: 296-297) writes, “Plainware vessels and even fine serving vessels such as keros were rare. This indicates that drinking and feasting, like domestic activities, did not take place in the temple. Instead, ritual-related objects that were rare in domestic contexts comprised a

disproportionate part of the temple assemblage.” These ritual vessels include *incensarios*, hollow-base libation bowls, and miniature plainware vessels, which have been uncovered in the inner chambers.

Pedestal-based vessels, such as *incensarios*, *sahumadors*, and hollow-base libation bowls are believed to be used in ritual practices involving burning offerings, such as animal fats. Such vessels were found in very high frequencies in the Lukurmata temple and other Tiwanaku sunken courts (Goldstein 2005: 280-281). Fragments of at least one hollow-base libation bowl were uncovered from the northernmost complex, all recovered from the C33 flanking corridor. The fragments are polished, but not slipped (**Figure 19(a)**). More precisely, the hollow-base libation bowl fragments make up 2.38% of the ceramics in levels below wall fall and 0.77% of ceramics in levels below volcanic ash. For comparison, hollow-base libation bowls from the 1990s excavation dataset constituted 1.91% (20 sherds) of the ceramic assemblage.

In the southwest inner chamber, numerous fragments of a uniquely decorated vessel were uncovered with a high concentration coming from the corridor area, one of the complex’s dead-end corridors (**Figure 20**). No *incensario* fragments were found in the northeast chamber. The design consists of geometric shapes and lines colored of black, yellow, red, orange, and cream and accentuated with small cream colored dots. Additionally, residue of green paint is visible on the interior sides of these ceramics. This is likely the same paint as those found on some of the temple’s wall faces. At Tiwanaku, ceramic cups with pigment inside have been recovered in the Putuni complex (Kolata 1993: 154). The unique design and the green pigment it carried sets

this vessel apart as particularly important. This vessel was likely an *incensario*; a broken protrusion on one of the fragments may have been part of a zoomorphic form for the vessel. The 10 *incensario* fragments from levels below wall fall in the southwest chamber constitute 8.77% of the assemblage. For levels below volcanic ash, this number drops to 5.57%. This contrasts against reported *incensario* fragment frequencies from the 1990s excavations: only 1.23% (13 sherds).

Miniature plainware vessels are reported by Goldstein (1993b: 40) to be rare in domestic contexts and are more often found as ritual offerings. At Tiwanaku, caches of such miniatures have also been uncovered atop the Akapana (Goldstein 2005: 297). Fragments of miniature plainware vessels have been recovered from both of the temple's inner chambers (**Figure 19 (b)** and **(c)**). For the northeast inner chamber, just one miniature fragment was found in the levels below wall fall, making its frequency for levels below wall fall 1.19% and frequency for levels below volcanic ash a mere 0.26%. For the southwest inner chamber, three miniature fragments were found in levels below wall fall (2.63% of total fragments) and 16 were found in levels below volcanic ash (4.24%). Miniature fragments played a larger role in the ritual activities of the southwest chamber. In the sample of temple ceramics from the Upper Court offered by the 1990s excavations, miniature fragments accounted for 0.77% of the ceramics (8 sherds). However, large quantities of miniature vessel fragments have been discovered in other areas of the Upper Court, in C6 in particular, during in recent excavations and throughout the Middle Court. These finds highlight the need for further investigations into the relationship between the Upper and Middle Courts.

The ceramic data suggests that ceremonial activities occurred in the temple's inner chambers that were rarely performed in household contexts. Frequencies of *incensario* and miniature plainware fragments are particularly high, even when compared to other areas in the temple from the 1990 sample. Additionally the low frequencies of redware in the inner chambers as compared to domestic structures is noteworthy, suggesting a significant difference in the types of activities in these two areas: drinking with keros in the domestic sphere and ceremonies in the temple oriented towards offerings of miniature vessels or burning rituals with hollow-base libation vessels or *incensarios*. The ceramic data and additional materials recovered from the temple's inner chambers discussed below reveal that the activities carried out in the Omo temple were conducted by specific ritual specialists.

Flat, square woven baskets have been uncovered from both of inner chambers (**Figure 21(a)**). In each of the inner chambers, all baskets were recovered *in situ* sitting on top of floor deposits of the upper step area of the chamber. It is also worth noting that in each chamber, the baskets were all found close to the corner of the L-shaped volcanic tuff bench. The southwest chamber contained one basket (M10=5020) while three were recovered from the northeast chamber of varying sizes (M10=17648, M10=17825, M10=17832). Found as part of the floor contexts, these flat baskets were unlikely to be part of roofing or wall decoration elements and were part of the unique activities of the inner chambers. Rather than using kero serving vessels, I propose that these baskets may have been utilized in a distinctive serving and dining etiquette unique to these rooms. These baskets may be analogous to the escudillas recovered from the Putuni complex in terms of their serving—ceremonial function and

exclusivity to private rooms in monumental Tiwanaku architecture (Couture and Sampeck 2003).

Fragments from at least two gourd containers with small perforations near the rims were recovered from floor contexts in C25, the lower patio area of the northeast inner chamber (**Figure 21(b)** and **(c)**). These gourds were decorated with perforated holes near the rim of the vessel. I have not found comparable gourd containers in any Tiwanaku literature. While it is possible that these gourds form another component of the distinct serving wares of the inner chambers suggested above, the perforations near the rim would make these gourds unlikely drinking vessel. Instead, these may have been used to as containers for other ritual materials, such as the animal fat burned in *incensarios*.

Other intriguing finds also speak to unique ritual practices in these private rooms and the specialized objects used. In C24 of the northeast inner chamber, two worked camelid rib bones were smoothed on both ends and drilled through with a cord threaded through the hole (**Figure 22**). To my knowledge no similar worked camelid bones have been reported in publications. The attached cord suggests they were meant to hang from something, such as from the body for personal ornamentation or from the inner chamber's roof. Both worked bones were found below roof fall, sitting on top of floor deposits. With reports of camelid bones worked into beads, rings, and other objects of personal adornment (Webster and Janusek 2003: 357), these two worked rib bones may have been part of a priest's ornamentation, such as a necklace or belt. Concentrations of camelid remains recovered from both floor contexts and mixed in with roofing materials points towards ritual activities highlighting the importance of

camelids for the Tiwanaku, reinforcing social connections to the *altiplano*. Field inspections of these assemblages of disarticulated bones did not find traces of cut marks or burning. Two large clumps of camelid hair with insect remains uncovered in C5 (M10=5201) indicate that larger portions of camelids with skin and hair in addition to bones were used in the activities of the southwest chamber.

On the other hand, shells recovered from the chambers indicate ritual practices connected to the ocean, a resource now much closer to the occupants of the Moquegua Valley compared to their highland relatives (**Figure 23**). From a ceremonial point of view, the more significant marine resource is that of the *spondylus* oyster. All *spondylus* oysters originate from the warm waters off the coast of Ecuador as these oysters are not able to survive in the cold waters of Peru (Bauer 2007: 41). The most easily identifiable *spondylus* found in the temple is of the bright orange to coral-red *Spondylus princeps* type, although some beads with a purplish color may be *Spondylus calcifer*. *Spondylus* use in ritual contexts dates back to the Preceramic in Peru (3000 B.C.-1800 B.C.), although it is not until much later when *spondylus* reached into southern Peru, Bolivia, and Chile (Paulsen 1974: 599). Only small fragments of the *spondylus* were recovered from Omo, suggesting down-the-line trading and exchange with coastal populations. As previously noted, *spondylus* shell has been discovered throughout the temple, either in the form of beads or small fragments (**Figure 23 (a)**). A concentration of shells that included *spondylus* (M10=4832) were uncovered in one of the southwest chamber's corridor area. In the northeast inner chamber, *spondylus* was recovered from the northeast inner chamber (M10=17363, 17364, 17663, 17818), including in the floor deposit of the lower patio area. Such ritual connections to both

the sea and the highlands have been previously noted by Goldstein (2005: 297), who discovered an offering of a camelid fetus and a starfish in the southern corner of the Upper Court during previous excavations. The amounts of ceremonial shells and *spondylus* oysters in temple contexts further differentiate the rituals occurring there from activities occurring in Moquegua households.

Along with maize, coca was a crucial component of the Tiwanaku ritual repertoire. This crop is cultivated in the *yungas* region on the eastern side of the Andes, such as in Cochabamba where Tiwanaku had also established colonies (Kolata 1993: 49). In comparison to maize in the Omo sites, coca is much rarer and limited to ceremonial contexts. Fragments of a *ch'uspa* textile used in dedicatory offerings of coca leaves were discovered in the northeast inner chamber in C33, the chamber's side corridor (**Figure 24**). Although no coca leaves were found associated with the bag, the stem portion of one coca leaf was uncovered from the floor context of C25 in the northeast chamber (M10=17384). **Figure 25** shows *in situ* fragments of the *ch'uspa* atop the floor deposit as well as one of the worked camelids rib bones noted above (M10=17912). Coca has been recovered from additional rooms in the Upper Court: C19, C1, and C8, although the C8 contexts are upper levels that were very likely disturbed. Two dedicatory floor offerings (AR-14 and AR-15) of coca leaves were found in C1 as well. For areas outside of the Omo temple, coca was only recovered from Structure 2 of M12 (Goldstein 2005: 208). The presence of coca in both Structure 2 and the temple indicate the ceremonial uses of both of these spaces, although the greater degree of exclusivity to the temple's inner chambers cannot be

downplayed. In general, the limited presence of coca and coca-related artifacts at Omo illustrates the limited access to this sacred substance and control over its uses.

## Discussion

The multiple small rooms and inner chambers of the Omo temple paint a picture of highly segmented ritual activity within Tiwanaku monumental spaces. There have been indications noted for the presence of such small rooms at the Tiwanaku monumental core, although preservation conditions in the *altiplano* have all but erased any adobe or non-stone superstructures. Vranich (2005: 21) suspects that the Semi-Subterranean Temple would have originally been flanked by other structures, as is seen in other sunken courts in the region such as the “houses” surrounding the sunken court at Chiripa. Yet unlike what is seen at Chiripa, only the central axis room at Omo faces inward towards the sunken court. The inner chambers at Omo reveal significant ritual activity separated from the sunken court. Looking for other potential comparisons, a series of small structures at the summit of the Akapana have also been discovered (Kolata 1993: 119). However, this row of rooms again differs in kind from the segmented and in many ways isolated small rooms of Omo.

A promising comparison might be seen in a structure located to the southwest of the Akapana Pyramid. Discussed by Vranich (2005: 27), this structure is comprised of a U-shaped sunken patio area lined with stone blocks and flanked on three sides by connected rooms and enclosed in a “thick, double sided wall.” He goes on to write that one of the connected rooms which he describes as a “sunken square” may have once been filled with liquid. A few general architectural elements can found in common between this structure near the Akapana and the inner chambers of the Omo temple: a patio area lined with stones connected to additional small rooms. Yet while architectural elements may be similar, the functions of the spaces appear to have

differed greatly. The small attached rooms described by Vranich, if they indeed held water, are clearly different in function from that of the small attached rooms in the Omo inner chambers which appear to have served as more general storage areas. As well, Vranich writes that the hallway attached to the patio was filled with all kinds of refuse, suggesting to him that food and drinks were served to the individuals in the patio (2005: 27). While the inner chambers no doubt served as sites of consumption, this appears to have been more intertwined with exclusive ritual activities at the comparatively smaller spaces at Omo. Ultimately, the highly secluded and intimate nature of the inner chambers within the monumental temple itself differentiates it from this structure resting outside the Akapana Pyramid.

Access patterns and a depth map (**Figures 16 and 17**) of temple's inner chambers illustrate that they are the most restricted and most exclusive spaces in the temple. This is of course in addition to the restricted access to the Upper Court itself via a single narrow staircase. The inner chambers required the most number of rooms to pass through to reach, suggesting that knowledge of the Upper Court's layout was need to effectively reach them. As well, the small size of the inner chambers, indeed the smallest activity areas in the temple, indicate that the activities occurring there were highly exclusive, meant for a small number of participants (**Table 2**). The close quarters of the inner chambers would have prompted rituals utilizing subtle gestures and whispered sacred utterances. The size and arrangement of the inner chambers suggest a highly secretive set of rituals and sharing of information that required finely-tuned forms of communication. The role of language in ritual is highlighted by Rappaport, who remarks that the sacred is a product of language (1979: 215). The

increased importance of subtle gestures is highlighted by Moore (1996b: 791), who writes, “Paralinguistic communication may create complex currents of meaning but only over relatively short distances. Gestures may mark subtle sets of meanings, but are perceptible over relatively short spaces.” Compared to the public plazas in the Omo site group’s residential areas or the even the Lower, Middle, and Sunken Courts of the temple, the inner chambers required different, specialized forms of verbal and non-verbal communication during rituals. This was accentuated by the private bench seating provided for ritual participants. While effort was taken to have the sunken court be the most decorated area of the temple, making it highly symbolically charged and designed to impress viewers, the inner chambers were also places of significant activity and benches would have prompted longer stays and extensive, intimate rituals.

The higher frequency of ceremonial vessels and objects within the temple compared to household contexts reveals the specialization of activities on the Upper Court. Contrasts in redware frequencies noted above indicate drinking activities common in households were not a major part of the temple’s ritual repertoire. In the southwest inner chamber, *incensarios* make up 8.77% of the ceramics recovered below wall fall levels and miniature plainware vessels 2.63%. For levels below volcanic ash, these numbers shift (5.57% for *incensarios* and 4.24% for miniatures). In the northeast inner chamber, miniature frequencies are lower (1.19% for levels below wall fall and 0.26% for levels below volcanic ash) and this chamber contains the remains of a hollow-based libation vessel rather than an *incensario*. These vessels alone differentiate the activities in the Omo temple from those of households. The lack of hearths in the temple further distinguish it as a non-residential area, making it

distinct from not just households, but the dual ritual-residential monumental structures in the Tiwanaku site core.

The additional material remains from the inner chambers further point towards their specialized activities. Remains of a *ch'uspa* and coca leaves may indicate specialized consumption activities in the northwest chamber. Coca remains in other areas have been in the form of floor offerings (AR-14 and AR-15) were discovered in small storage areas (C19). The finds of coca in the northwest chamber indicate consumption within the temple specific to this activity area. Baskets and gourds suggest a dining or serving etiquette of food or ritual objects unique to the inner chambers. The distinctive objects found in the temple's rear rooms suggests that expert knowledge and control of sacred objects or substances was required to perform the rituals of the temple and access powerful cosmological forces. These included new practices that highlighted Tiwanaku's connection to the ocean in addition to long-standing camelid offering practices that associated the colonies with the highlands.

## **Conclusion**

An investigation of multiple sources of power in the Omo colonies has led to evidence indicating a non-competitive ethos existing in the Moquegua Valley for the Tiwanaku population. Such an ethos resulted in minimal hierarchical status differentiation, an aspect of social life in Moquegua that was very different from that of the Tiwanaku core where status differences were signaled through monumental architecture that served as elite housing and other ostentatious displays of wealth disparities. However, this analysis has pointed to one type of status differentiation in the form of a distinct social position: Tiwanaku priests.

I suggest that rituals of the Omo temple were carried out by a dedicated priestly class, a social position created in order to carry out the ceremonies essential to fulfilling the Tiwanaku's cosmological worldview. These individuals made up a distinct class of Tiwanaku priests, ritual specialists that differed significantly from the "Tiwanaku elite" often evoked in discussions of the ceremonial core at Tiwanaku. I make this claim based on the following reasoning:

- 1) The access routes to the southwest and northeast inner chambers were restrictive in the sense that reaching them required movement through the most number of rooms. One would not simply stumble upon these chambers; they are secluded and required knowledge of their location to effectively navigate to. The private nature of these chambers is further reinforced by their small size, which indicates exclusivity in ritual participation and would have allowed for use of more nuanced communication during rituals. Together, these factors

suggest that the many components of Tiwanaku ritual life in the Omo temple required highly specialized ritual knowledge. Although the priestly position may have begun as an extension of *ayllu* leaders' ceremonial responsibilities, the demands of the ceremonial activities of the Omo temple greatly transcend normal *ayllu* responsibilities. The required knowledge and demands called for by the ritual activities of the Omo temple far exceeded those ceremonies of household or plaza rituals carried out by *ayllu* leaders. These specialists 1) managed the agricultural rituals of the sunken court and communications with the central idol, 2) performed rituals associated with camelids and ocean resources, connecting the colony to both the highlands the ocean, a novel and powerful natural force, 3) had the knowledge of how to wield unique ritual objects and ceramic offerings unlike those found in household contexts, 4) employed a unique serving etiquette of either food or ritual items utilizing unique baskets and gourd bowls, and 5) had knowledge of sacred utterances and gestures used to communicate in the small spaces of the temple. The creation of the dense ritual space of the temple required as social category of individual to match it: the Tiwanaku priests.

- 2) While the ceremonial nature of the activities of the inner chambers is evidenced by the ceramic assemblage as well as coca, and *spondylus* remains, to use the term "priest" requires a wider consideration of the control of the sources of power in the Omo colonies. The power of the priests in the Moquegua Valley appears to have been isolated to power over the exclusive access to ritual

knowledge alone. The absence of any monopoly on sources of power outside of the temple suggests power wielded by priests came from their knowledge of ritual alone, not from agricultural management like we see in the Tiwanaku core. Unlike the situation at the Tiwanaku core, there is an absence of elite control over agricultural practices. The wide distribution and accessibility of maize in Moquegua suggests this was not a source of power that was monopolized and used for overt self-aggrandizement. Instead, the only source of power that has any indications of being exclusionary in Moquegua is ritual knowledge. This, in my opinion, is the defining aspect of a priestly class: their power and position comes solely from their extensive ritual knowledge.

While I have stated that access to ritual knowledge was exclusive to the priests of the temple, I do not believe that this necessarily indicates an exclusionary political strategy. While the priests enjoyed access to specialized knowledge, I have also argued the rituals occurring in the temple promoted themes such as fertility and agriculture rather than praise of individual leaders, lineages, or the priests themselves. The archaeological correlates from the Omo temple suggest a mixture of both the corporate and exclusionary political strategies outlined earlier. The lack of unambiguously elite households in the Omo colonies suggests that against the exclusive ritual knowledge attained by the priestly class was not used for self-aggrandizement. The absence of hearths in the temple indicates it was not resided in. Unlike in the heartland, the priests of the Moquegua lived among the populace, not atop high temples. In general, the town planning at M10 involved cosmological

alignments rather than highly stratified domestic sectors as seen at the Tiwanaku site and thus may indicate a move away from social stratification and towards religious unification. The restricted distribution of tapestry tunics and four-pointed hats were likely the specific vestments of *ayllu* leaders of the temple's priests, similar to the specific garments and hats worn by Catholic priests in contemporary times. These exclusive vestments indicate a particular social position rather than a grandiose display of wealth. In this sense, the power over ritual can be said to come from the position of "priest", not the individual. It was a position multiple individuals possessed and that was handed over throughout time. The many tasks required of the priests were distinctly divided across the Upper Court and would have required multiple individuals to simultaneously be conducting activities. There was not just one priest maintaining a monopoly on ritual knowledge. The segmented nature of ceremonial activity suggests multiple individuals or groups of ritual specialists working in combination to complete the cosmological practices required. Ritual knowledge and practices, as a source of power, were thus divided amongst a number of individuals, shared between contemporary priests.

That ritual power may lie in a position rather than within the individual is important. As Potter and Perry (2000: 65) point out, "much of the strength of ritual-based authority lies in the fact that rituals depersonalize authority by placing it in an office or a formal status rather than in a person." The ability to perform rituals no doubt conferred authority and power to those seen fit to wield it, but the ability to connect to the cosmological forces evoked during rituals by official priests could be shared by numerous different individuals and shifted hands throughout the Omo

temple's history, most certainly changing the manner in which rituals were conducted over time as their meanings were contested and renegotiated (Swenson 2001: 285-287). The architectural features of the temple provided the necessary spaces required to perform the special ceremonies requisite of the Tiwanaku cosmological order, but they also required individuals with specialized knowledge in order to complete the religious practices. The creation of space is the reification of cultural concepts. For ritual architecture, it is the materialization of a particular cosmological order that required both a specialization of the embodied cultural concept by a ritual specialist and a space for the actors to carry out the required ritual tasks; the cultural concept is in feedback with an actor and a space for action. At Omo, a social position was needed to correspond to the sacred space of the temple and this took the form of temple priests, a specialized position who was endowed with the power to manage the rituals of the temple, many corresponding to agricultural productivity, and thus crucial to the wider community. The priests held the knowledge of the temple's cues (Rapoport 1982: 77, 83) that guided the behaviors considered appropriate in this sacred space. They used their knowledge to direct the movements of supplicants and pilgrims through the temple's passageways and conducted the numerous ceremonies throughout the temple to evoke connections to the cosmos.

Administrative functions for the temple are of course possible. Goldstein (2005: 304) proposes that the temple was the home to both ritual and administrative activity related to water resources, labor pooling, and oversight of agricultural production. In the case at hand, it might be almost impossible to differentiate between religious practices related to agriculture and administrative practices related to

agriculture. Goldstein (2005: 309) also points out the lack of administrative devices such as the *quipu* for the Inca or clay tokens for Mesopotamia are absent for the Tiwanaku. The temple is representative of the centralization of many components of Tiwanaku religious practices, but not the centralization of governance over agricultural production. While many of the temple's practices, particularly those of the sunken court, were related to agricultural fertility, these appear religious in nature rather than administrative. I envision administrative facets of agricultural activities as lying predominantly at the community or *ayllu* level. The ubiquity of maize storage and the informality of transport to the highlands suggests against a centralized administrative body in Moquegua. What the data does indicate is a formalized religious body.

The Omo temple was comprehensive: it was a single building within which a number of practices making up the Tiwanaku ritual repertoire were carried out separately from household contexts. The cosmological world of the Tiwanaku was comprised of a number of elements and each required particular ceremonies to be carried out. This included ancestor veneration, processual rituals through sunken courts, communication with deities, and offerings associated with the highlands and ocean. All of these ceremonies required the appropriate space, the Omo temple, and the specialized nature of the activities required the appropriate specialist, a priest class.

An examination of the control over sources of power in the Moquegua Valley by Tiwanaku inhabitants reveals that the source of power most exclusively controlled was that related to the ritual knowledge and practices in the Omo temple. This, I argue, suggests a distinct class of priests that attained power through their ability to

perform the ceremonies of the Omo temple seen necessary to the Tiwanaku cosmological order. This was a social position distinct from what is often referred to simply as “Tiwanaku elite.” While some authors (Goldstein 2005; Janusek 2008: 22-23) make the distinction between Tiwanaku elite and priests, many authors do not. I agree with others who have advocated for efforts to move away from the general term of “elite” towards a more specific understanding of the multiple types of what others have termed of intermediate elites, “individuals whose status lies between the rulers of a polity and the stratum of commoners” (Elson and Covey 2006: 4). While such a task might not always be possible, identifying particular types of elites allows us to begin asking questions regarding how these different individuals with the means to control social or natural resources interacted with each other and their place in community more generally. Identification of the types of elites begins with an examination of the sorts of strategies used to control the nodes of power and control resources. I urge other researchers to consider the multiple pathways to the many sources of power in the ancient Andes in order to differentiate who, if anyone, maintained exclusive control over those sources of power, how they achieved their authority, and their visibility in their community.

## Appendix

**Table 1.** Archaeological correlates for the dual-processual theory of political strategies.

Sources of Power	Archaeological Correlates	
Forms of Power	Corporate Political Strategy	Network/Exclusionary Political Strategy
Agricultural goods, storage	Storage areas should be dispersed, or may be clustered, but still accessible by the group, evidenced by open access and a lack of elite presence.	While wealth finance would play a more important role in exclusionary strategies. Control and monopolization of surplus resources indicated by centralization of storage areas linked to elite contexts
Prestige goods	Overall decreased consumption of prestige items and higher degree of wealth equality evidenced by more even distribution of prestige goods (Blanton et al. 1996: 7). A more even distribution of prestige goods across contexts.	High material production and consumption of prestige goods. Wealth inequality evidenced by prestige goods limited to elite contexts (Blanton et al. 1996: 7). Elite gift exchanges evidenced by exotic goods (Earle 2001: 27).
Ritual activity or knowledge	Collective representations and universal themes such as fertility and cosmic renewal are emphasized (Blanton et al. 1996). Rituals will be conducted in areas that are accessible and there will be a more even distribution of sacred objects.	Ancestral rituals will be used to legitimate certain lineages or individuals (Blanton et al. 1996). Ritual information and areas where rituals are conducted will be restricted and sacred objects limited in their distribution (Potter and Perry 2000: 62).
<b>Displays of Power</b>	-	-
Public architecture	Used for group-oriented activities.	Areas of restricted access to enhance individual power
Residential sectors	No social differentiation in terms of differences in elite and non-elite houses.	Presence of elite palaces or great disparities in residential construction. visibility, scale, permanence, uniqueness, and centrality (Moore 1996)
Burials	A more even range of burials indicating a lack of outward displays of wealth differentiation.	Overtly princely burials (Blanton 1998); high differences between elite and non-elite burials in terms of tomb construction, prominence, and grave offerings.

**Table 2.** Omo M10 room sizes.

	<b>Room</b>	<b>Measurements (in meters)</b>	<b>Area (in meters m<sup>2</sup>)</b>	<b># of people per 3.6m<sup>2</sup> (*)</b>
	C18	4.1 x 2.1	8.61	2.22
	C22	4 x 1.8	7.2	2
	C6 (**)	4.75 x 2.6	12.35	3.43
	C29	4.4 x 2.1	9.24	2.56
	Sunken Court	10.5x10.5	110.25	30.62
Southwest inner chamber	C4	3.1 x 1.8	5.58	1.5
	C5+bench area (***)	5.1 x 2	10.2	2.9
Northeast inner chamber	C25+C24 (***)	4.3 x 3	12.9	3.58
	C26	2.6 x 2	5.2	1.4

(\*) After Moore 1996: 149

(\*\*) Thoroughfare area

(\*\*\*) Calculations for these patio portions of the inner chambers excluded corridor areas

**Table 3.** Northeast inner chamber ceramic frequencies for levels below volcanic ash.

<b>Northeast Inner Chamber Ceramic Frequencies: Levels below volcanic ash</b>								
Area	Plainware		Redware		Blackware		Total	
	Ct.	%	Ct.	%	Ct.	%	Ct.	%
C24	89	96.7391	3	3.26087	0	0	92	100
C25	145	100	0	0	0	0	145	100
C26	83	100	0	0	0	0	83	100
C33	67	100	0	0	0	0	67	100
Total	384	99.2248	3	0.77519	0	0	387	100

**Table 4.** Northeast inner chamber ceramic frequencies for levels below wall fall.

<b>Northeast Inner Chamber Ceramic Frequencies: Levels below wall fall</b>								
Area	Plainware		Redware		Blackware		Total	
	Ct.	%	Ct.	%	Ct.	%	Ct.	%
C24	38	97.4359	1	2.5641	0	0	39	100
C25	31	100	0	0	0	0	31	100
C26	6	100	0	0	0	0	6	100
C33	8	100	0	0	0	0	8	100
Total	83	98.8095	1	1.19048	0	0	84	100

**Table 5.** Southwest inner chamber ceramic frequencies for levels below volcanic ash.

<b>Southwest Inner Chamber Ceramic Frequencies: Levels below volcanic ash</b>								
Area	Plainware		Redware		Blackware		Total	
	Ct.	%	Ct.	%	Ct.	%	Ct.	%
C25	70	95.8904	3	4.10959	0	0	73	100
Corridor	12	100	0	0	0	0	12	100
C4/C5/Banqueta	287	98.2877	5	1.71233	0	0	292	100
Total	369	97.878	8	2.12202	0	0	377	100

**Table 6.** Southwest inner chamber ceramic frequencies for levels below wall fall.

<b>Southwest Inner Chamber Ceramic Frequencies: Levels below wall fall</b>								
Area	Plainware		Redware		Blackware		Total	
	Ct.	%	Ct.	%	Ct.	%	Ct.	%
C25	40	93.0233	3	6.97674	0	0	43	100
Corridor	12	100	0	0	0	0	12	100
C4/C5/Banqueta	58	98.3051	1	1.69492	0	0	59	100
Total	110	96.4912	4	3.50877	0	0	114	100

**Table 7.** Inner chamber ceramics catalogue.

Spec. # (M10=)	Unt.	Lvl.	Area	Con- text	Ftr. #	Plain	Red	Black	Sum	Comments
5199	223	-	C5	Below wall fall	AR-11	1	0	0	1	1 Incensario with green paint
5209	223	-	C5	Below wall fall	AR-11	14	2	0	16	1 Incensario with green paint
5125	223	-	C5	Below wall fall	AR-17 Niv. 1	2	0	0	2	
5242	223	8	C5	Below wall fall		1	0	0	1	
5250	223	8	C5	Below wall fall		2	0	0	2	
5306	223	-	C5	Below wall fall	AR-17 Niv. 2	3	0	0	3	All large, from 1 vessel, olla?
5806	213	6	C5	Below wall fall		2	0	0	2	
5838	213	6	C5	Below wall fall		1	1	0	2	
5845	213	7	C5	Below wall fall		7	0	0	7	1 Tiw llana mini
6014	213	8	C5	Below wall fall		7	0	0	7	
5699	213	3	C5	Below ash		13	0	0	13	
5746	213	4	C5	Below ash		9	0	0	9	
5753	213	5	C5	Below ash		8	0	0	8	
4896	222	6	Corrid or	Below wall fall		2	0	0	2	
5121	223	7	Corrid or	Below wall fall		6	0	0	6	5 Incensario with green paint
5122	223	7	Corrid or	Below wall fall		1	0	0	1	1 Incensario with green paint
5123	223	7	Corrid or	Below wall fall		1	0	0	1	1 Incensario with green paint
5224	223	8	Corrid or	Below wall fall		2	0	0	2	
4836	222	5	C4/5/B anq	Below wall fall		52	0	0	52	2 Tiw plain minis with red slip.

Table 7. Continued.

Spec. # (M10=)	Unt.	Lvl.	Area	Con- text	Ftr. #	Plain	Red	Black	Sum	Comments
5795	213	6	C4/5/B anq	Below wall fall		1	1	0	2	
5803	213	6	C4/5/B anq	Below wall fall		1	0	0	1	
5258	223	9	C4/5/B anq	Below wall fall		2	0	0	2	
5232	223	8	C4/5/B anq	Below wall fall		1	0	0	1	
4910	222	6	C4/5/B anq	Below wall fall		1	0	0	1	
4521	222	3	C4/5/B anq	Below ash		22	0	0	22	
4615	222	4	C4/5/B anq	Below ash		0	1	0	1	
4616	222	4	C4/5/B anq	Below ash		1	0	0	1	
4617	222	4	C4/5/B anq	Below ash		14	0	0	14	
5610	212	3	C4/5/B anq	Below ash		5	0	0	5	
4953	223	3	C4/5/B anq	Below ash		44	0	0	44	
4971	223	4	C4/5/B anq	Below ash		65	3	0	68	3 Tiw plain non- diag and 1 diag mini with red slip and 2 non- slip mini vessels 2 Incensario with green paint
4983	223	5	C4/5/B anq	Below ash		7	0	0	7	
5018	223	6	C4/5/B anq	Below ash		43	0	0	42	10 mini frags with red slip, one is a base. 8 Incensario with green paint
5019	223	6	C4/5/B anq	Below ash		2	0	0	2	2 Incensario with green paint
5707	213	3	C4/5/B anq	Below ash		9	0	0	9	

Table 7. Continued.

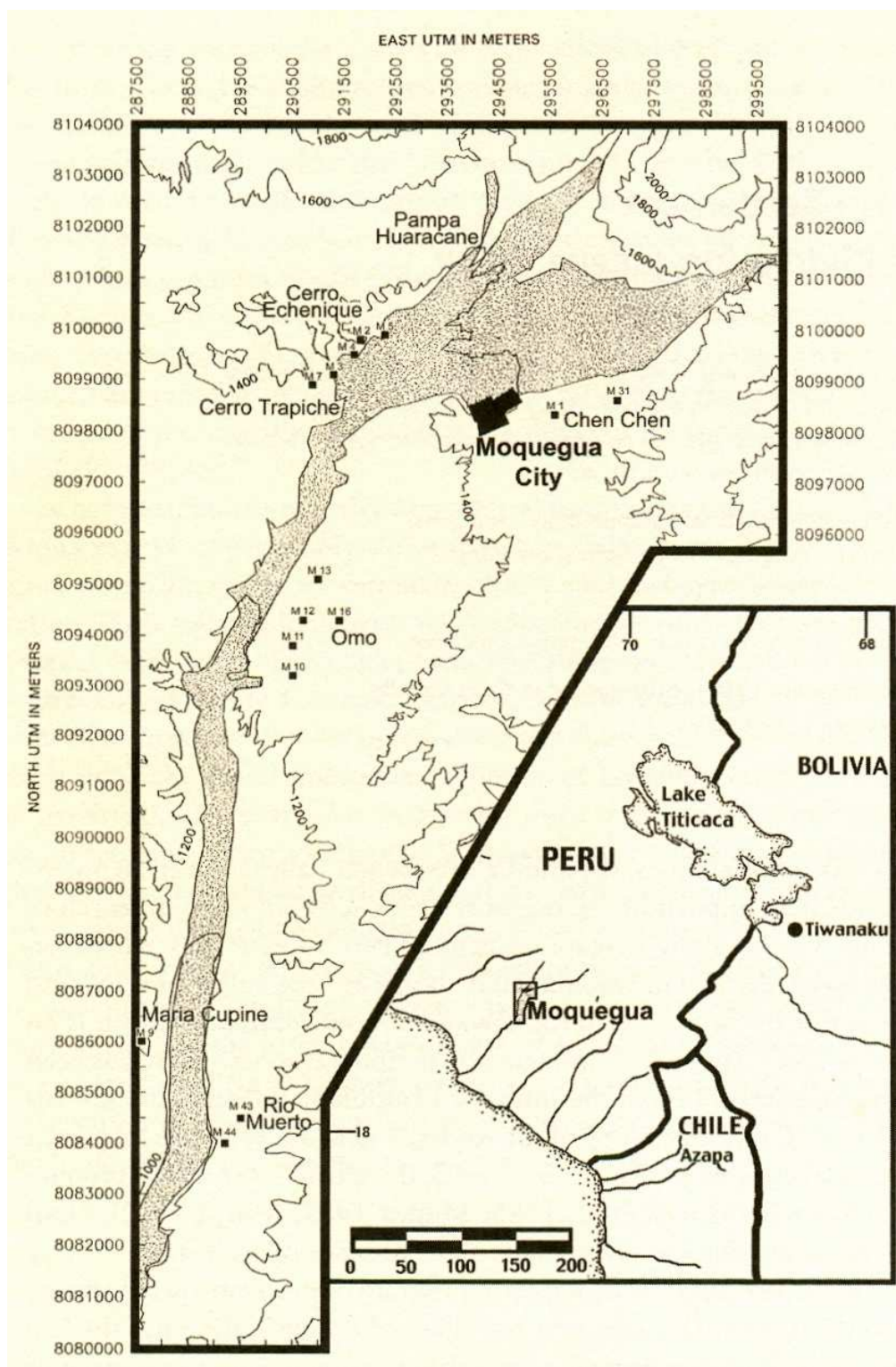
Spec. # (M10=)	Unt.	Lvl.	Area	Con- text	Ftr. #	Plain	Red	Black	Sum	Comments
5740	213	4	C4/5/B anq	Below ash		7	0	0	7	
5790	213	5	C4/5/B anq	Below ash		10	0	0	10	
17308	226	9	C24	Below wall fall		3	0	0	3	
17316	226	9	C24	Below wall fall		0	1	0	1	
18082	226	10	C24	Below wall fall		3	0	0	3	
18071	226	-	C24	Below wall fall	AR- 248	2	0	0	2	
17261	225	7	C24	Below wall fall		5	0	0	5	
17287	225	8	C24	Below wall fall		1	0	0	1	
17633	225	8	C24	Below wall fall		3	0	0	3	
18005	225	10	C24	Below wall fall		6	0	0	6	
18079	225	10	C24	Below wall fall		13	0	0	13	
17987	225	-	C24	Below wall fall	AR- 228	2	0	0	2	
15469	225	4	C24	Below ash		18	1	0	19	
17230	225	5	C24	Below ash		7	0	0	7	
17238	225	6	C24	Below ash		13	1	0	14	
17254	225	7	C24	Below ash		8	0	0	8	
17261	225	7	C24	Below ash		5	0	0	5	
17500	226	9	C25	Below wall fall		2	0	0	2	
17620	226	9	C25	Below wall fall		1	0	0	1	
17849	226	9	C25	Below wall fall		2	0	0	2	
17859	226	9	C25	Below wall fall		1	0	0	1	
17866	226	9	C25	Below wall fall		1	0	0	1	
18086	226	10	C25	Below wall fall		4	0	0	4	

Table 7. Continued.

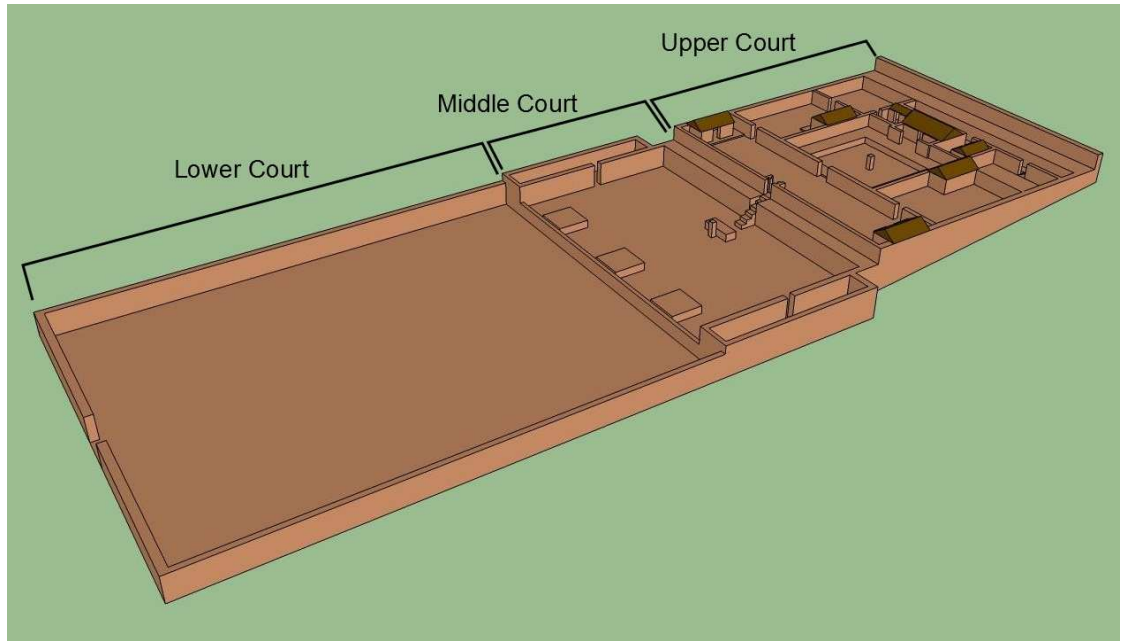
Spec. # (M10=)	Unt.	Lvl.	Area	Con- text	Ftr. #	Plain	Red	Black	Sum	Comments
18117	226	10	C25	Below wall fall		1	0	0	1	
18129	226	10	C25	Below wall fall		1	0	0	1	
18139	225 and2 26	-	C25	Below wall fall	AR- 284	8	0	0	8	6 frags are large, burnt on exterior, red slip interior
17107	226	-	C25	Below wall fall	AR- 226	1	0	0	1	
17479	225	10	C25	Below wall fall		1	0	0	1	Exterior burnt
17631	225	10	C25	Below wall fall		1	0	0	1	
18113	225	11	C25	Below wall fall		7	0	0	7	
16034	226	5	C25	Below ash		43	0	0	43	
16182	226	6	C25	Below ash		41	0	0	41	
16192	226	7	C25	Below ash		13	0	0	13	
16202	226	7	C25	Below ash		5	0	0	5	
17113	226	8	C25	Below ash		12	0	0	12	1 Tiw plain mini
18018	216	7	C26	Below wall fall		1	0	0	1	
18049	216	8	C26	Below wall fall		1	0	0	1	
17946	216	9	C26	Below wall fall		2	0	0	2	
17951	216	9	C26	Below wall fall		2	0	0	2	
17882	216	4	C26	Below ash		41	0	0	41	
17894	216	5	C26	Below ash		21	0	0	21	
17917	216	6	C26	Below ash		15	0	0	15	
17771	215	9	C33	Below wall fall		1	0	0	1	1 Hollow base libation bowl
17906	215	8	C33	Below wall fall		2	0	0	2	2 Hollow base libation bowl
17928	215	7	C33	Below wall fall		4	0	0	4	

**Table 7. Continued.**

<b>Spec. # (M10=)</b>	<b>Unt.</b>	<b>Lvl.</b>	<b>Area</b>	<b>Con- text</b>	<b>Ftr. #</b>	<b>Plain</b>	<b>Red</b>	<b>Black</b>	<b>Sum</b>	<b>Comments</b>
18059	215	10	C33	Below wall fall		1	0	0	1	
17368	215	4	C33	Below ash		34	0	0	34	
17437	215	5	C33	Below ash		14	0	0	14	
17452	215	6	C33	Below ash		11	0	0	11	1 Hollow base libation bowl

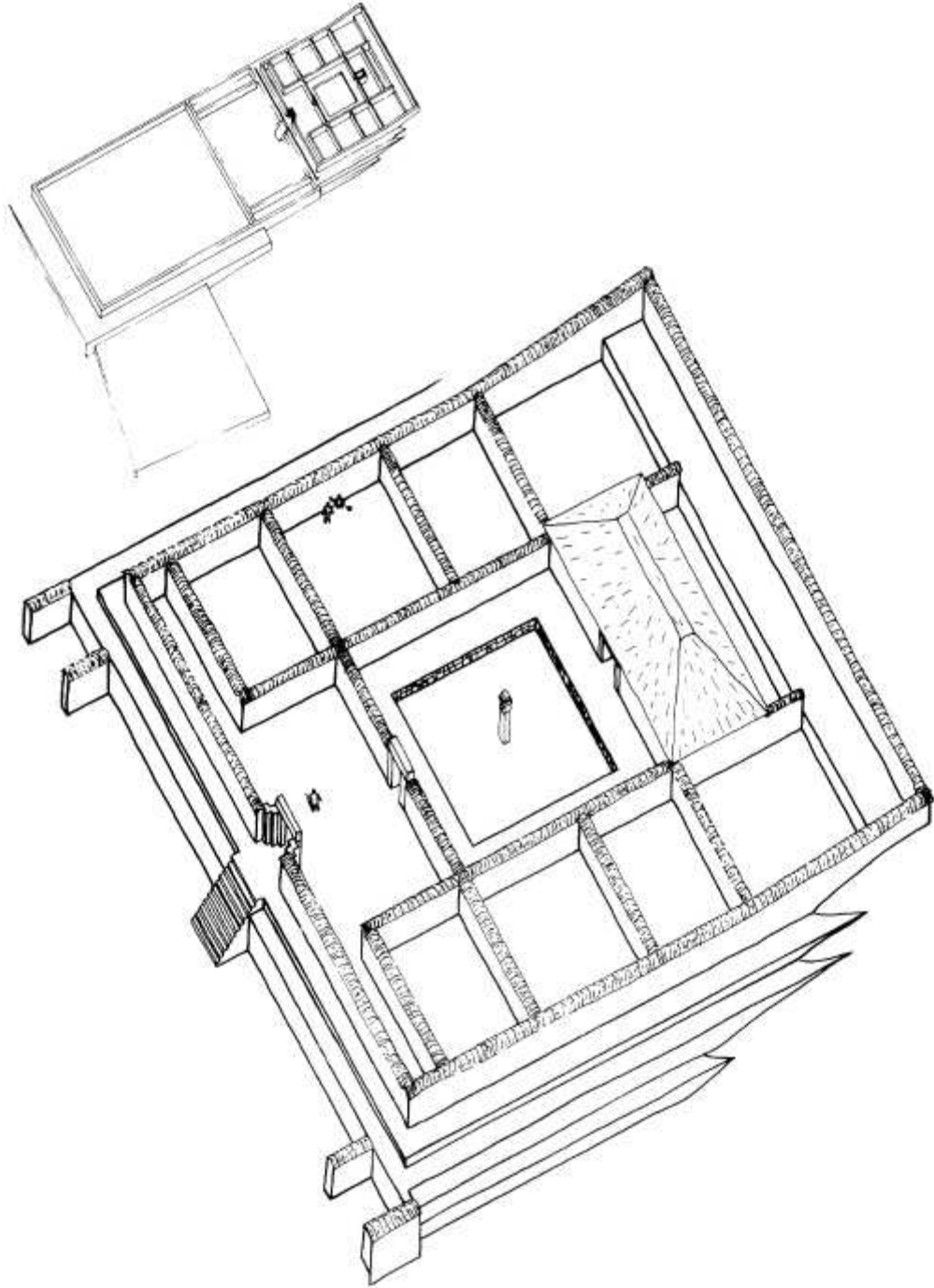


**Figure 1.** Map of the Moquegua Valley (after Goldstein 2005: Figure 5.1).

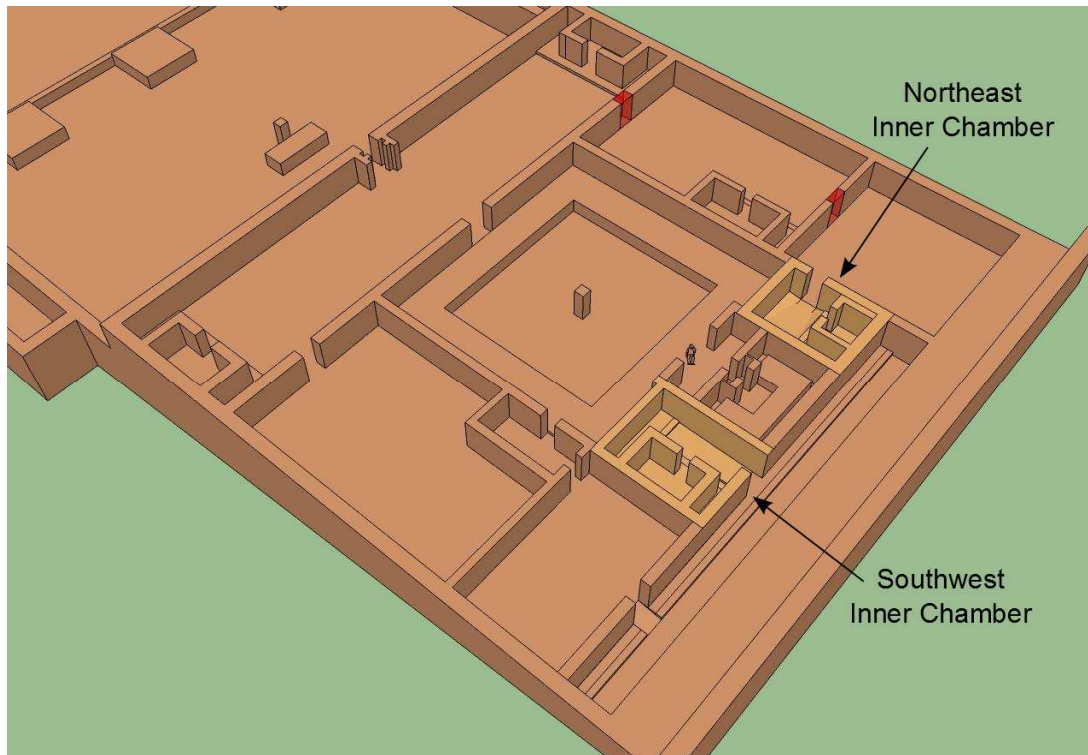


**Figure 2.** Omo M10A reconstruction.

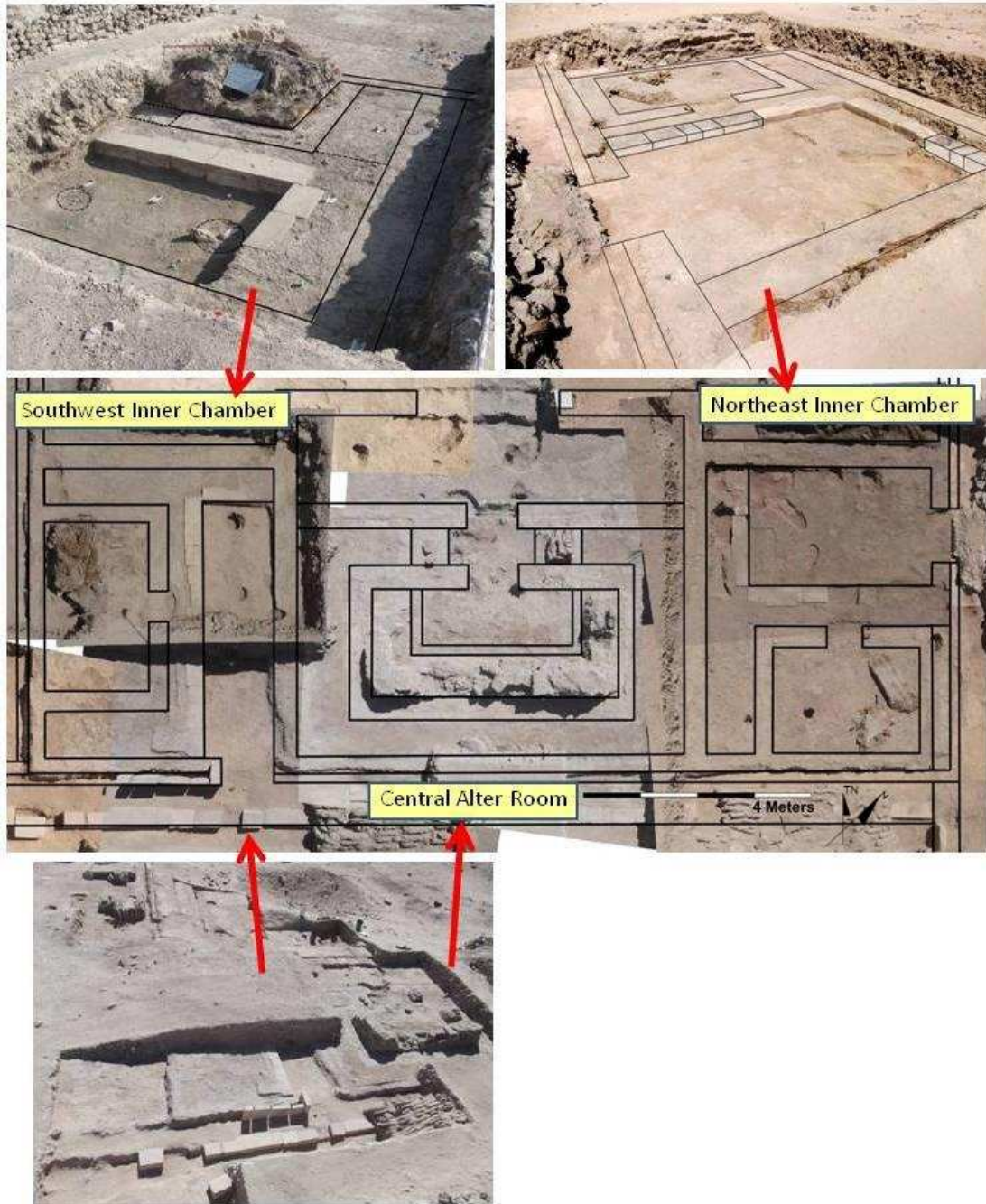




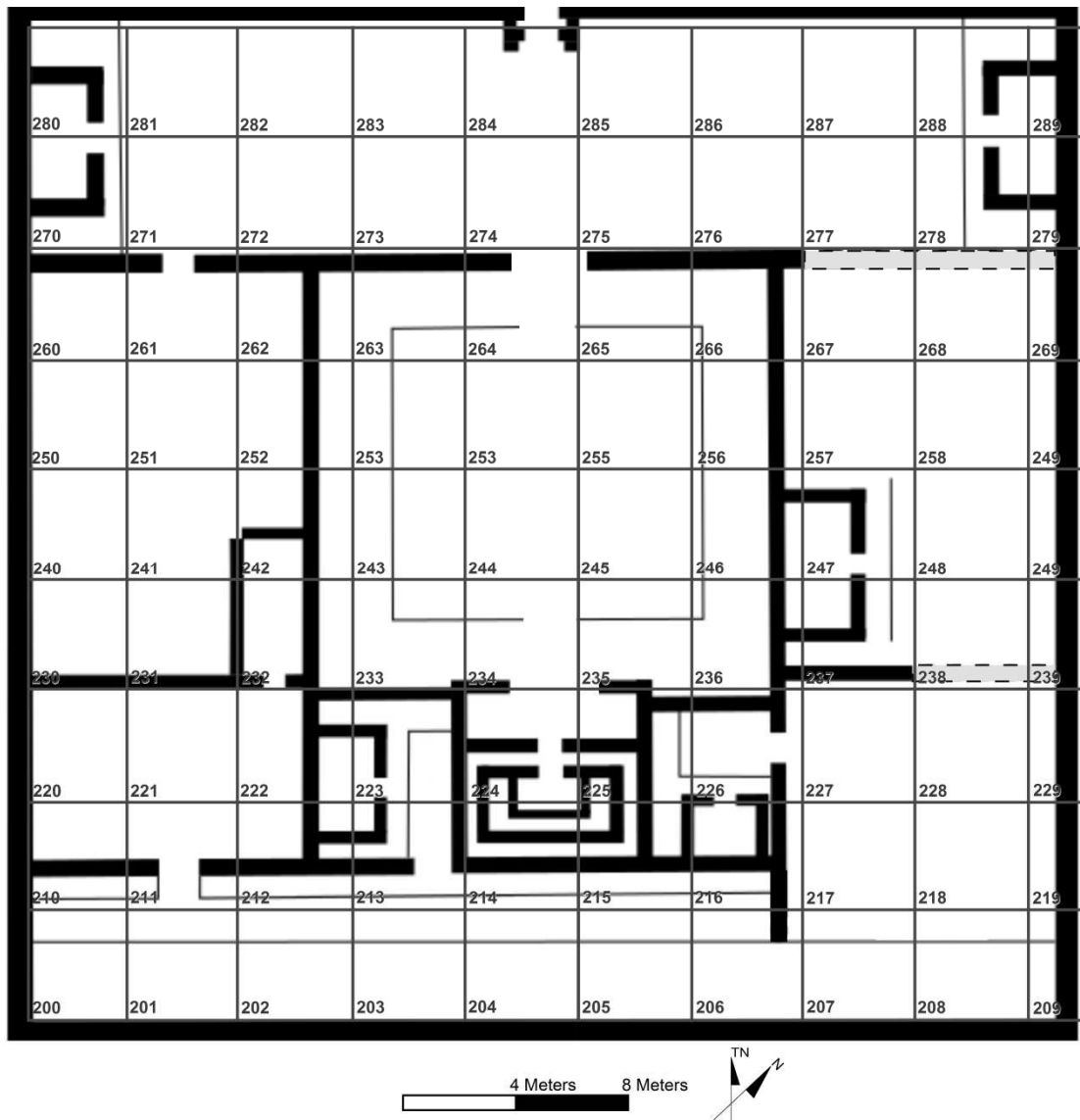
**Figure 4.** Omo M10A reconstruction following 1990 excavation (after Goldstein 1993: Figure 9).



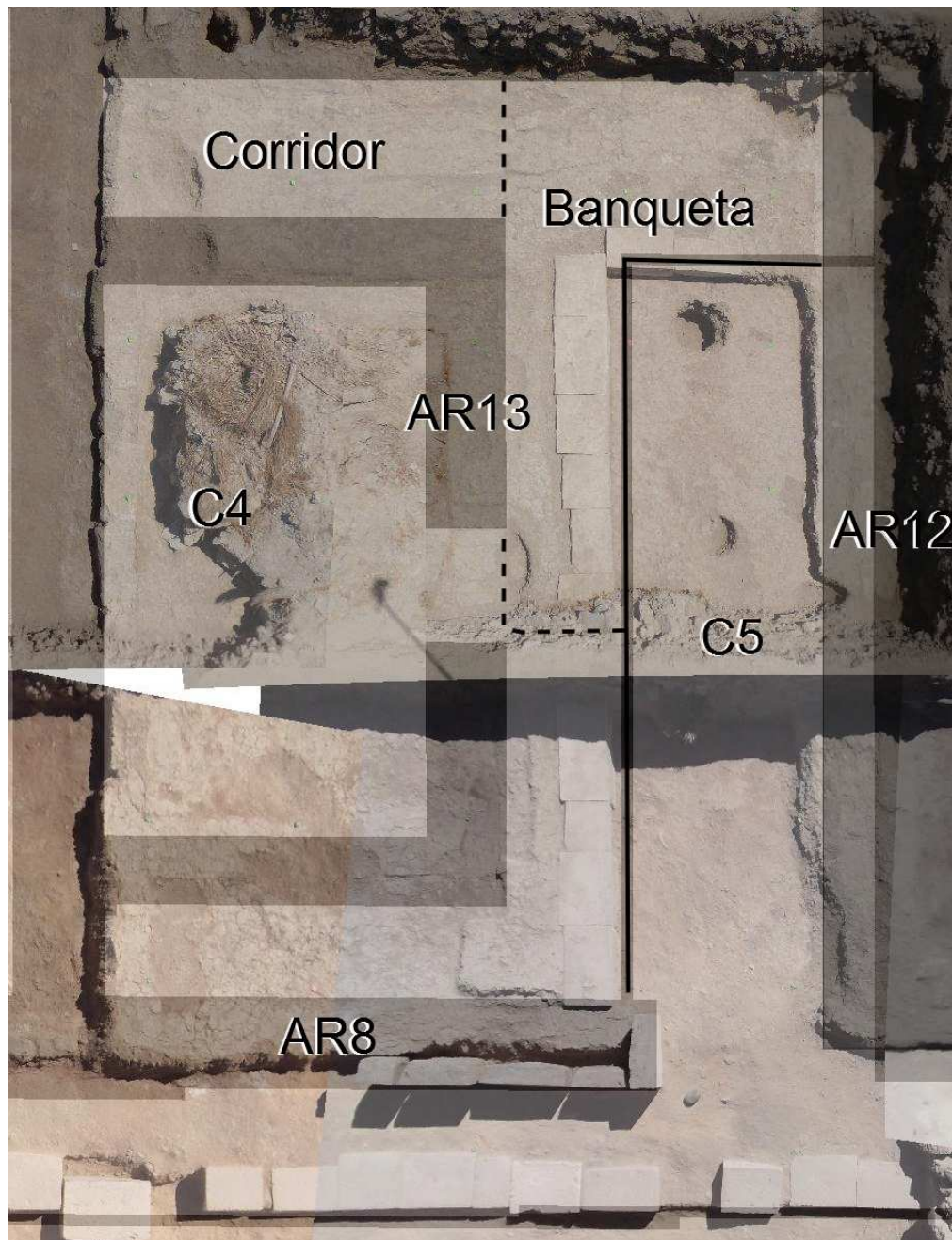
**Figure 5.** Iso-view of the temple's Upper Court, looking roughly north. Inner chambers are marked in yellow and unconfirmed doorways marked in red.



**Figure 6.** Photo mosaic of the the central complex of the temple, complete with a standing U-shaped architectural feature believed to be an alter, and flanked by the two inner chambers. Note that “TN” used for the compass stands for to “Temple North” (rather than True North), which refers to the orientation of the temple itself and the arbitrary grid used to lay out excavation units mentioned above. (Photographs by JMK)



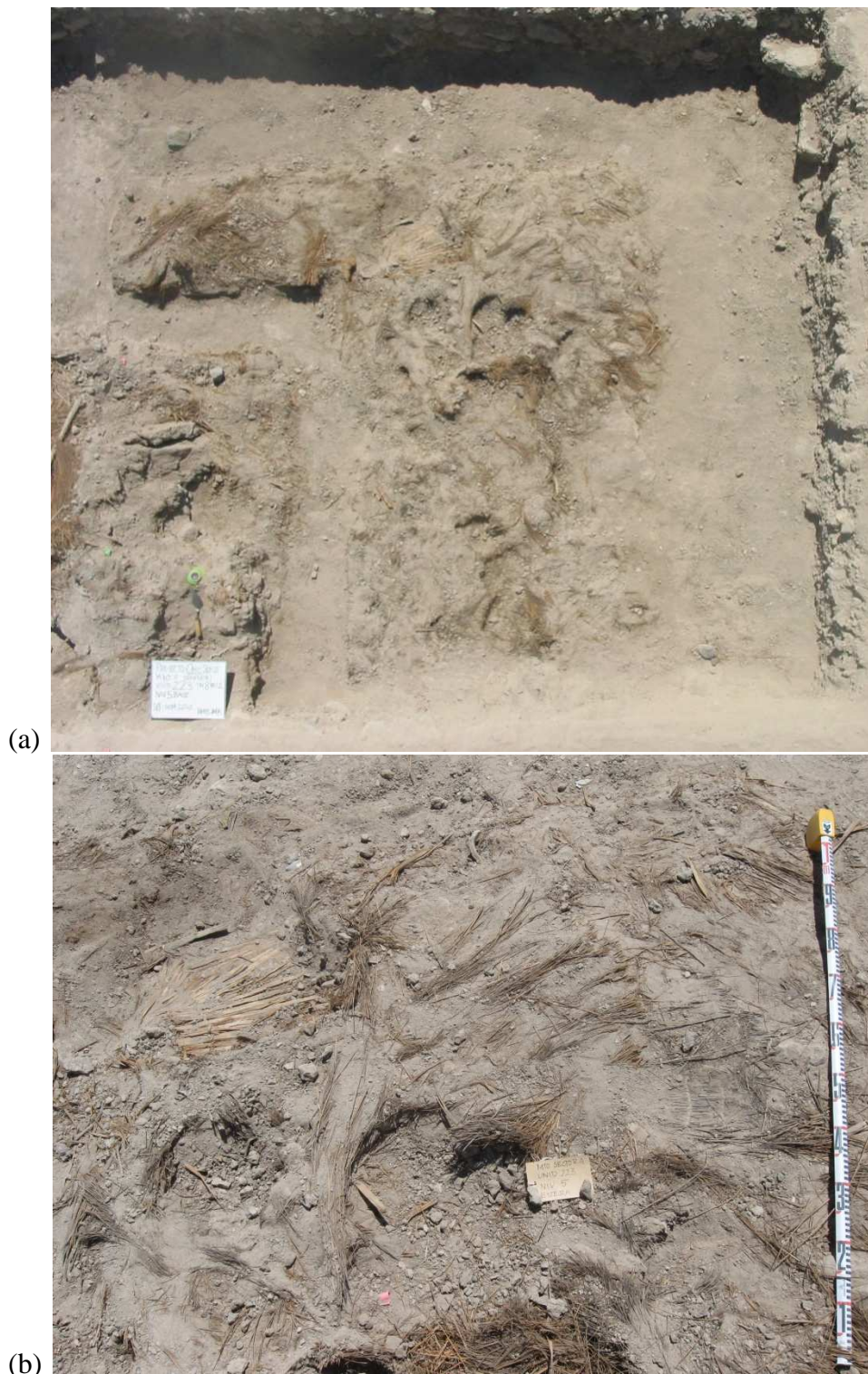
**Figure 7.** Upper Court of the temple showing the unit grid. Note that “TN” used for the compass stands for to “Temple North” (rather than True North), which refers to the orientation of the temple itself and the arbitrary grid used to lay out excavation units mentioned above.



**Figure 8.** Overhead view of southern complex with rooms and walls labeled.  
(Photograph by JMK)



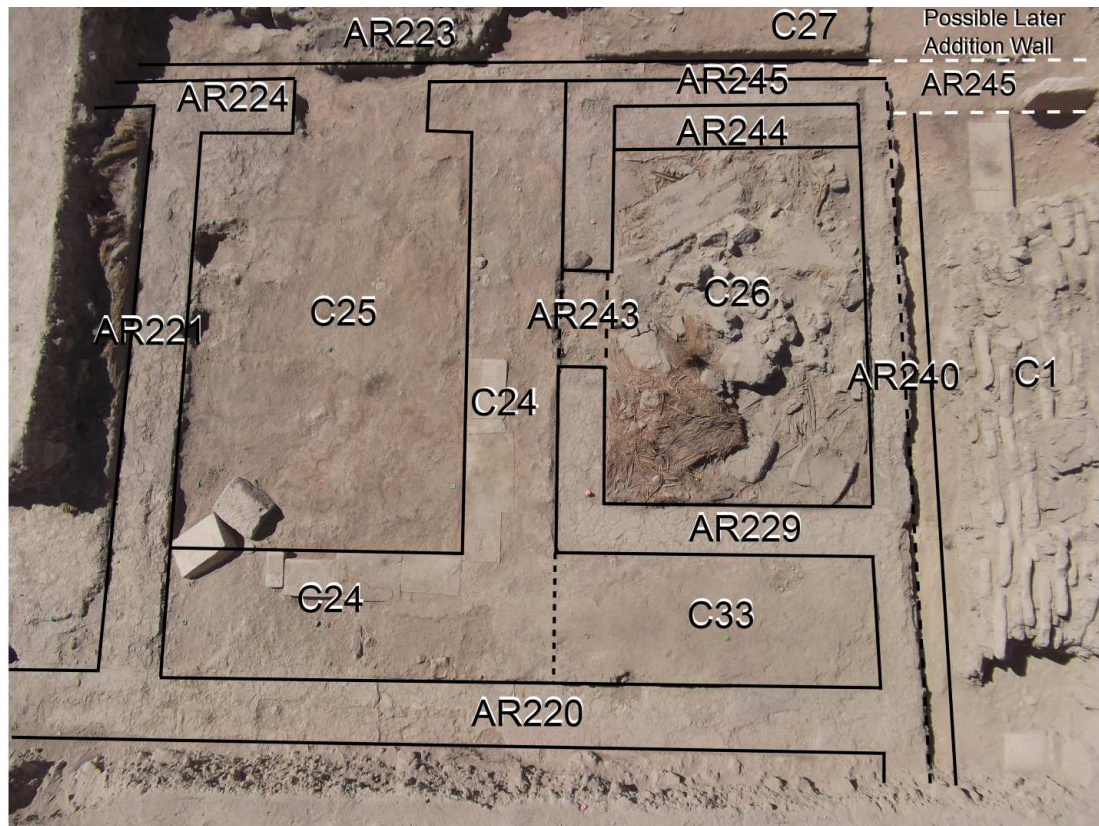
**Figure 9.** Southwest Inner Chamber, close-up of the volcanic tuff blocks. Note the discoloration on the side faces of the blocks. The difference in color is the result of differential exposure of the stones to the elements and thus likely indicative of the level of the original living floor. This photo also illustrates the arrangement of the blocks in the foundational construction material. (Photograph by JMK)



**Figure 10.** (a) Overhead photo of the base of Unit 223, level 5 of the southwest inner chamber. Note the high quantity of ichu grass once bounded by the AR-12 and AR-13 walls. (b) Close up of the ichu grass and reed matting of Unit 223, level 5. A camelid bone can also be seen in the upper center of the photo. (Photographs by JMK)



**Figure 11.** Overhead photo of Unit 223 level 6, southwest inner chamber. This photo illustrates the high frequency of camelid bones occurring beneath the ichu grass roof fall. (Photograph by JMK)



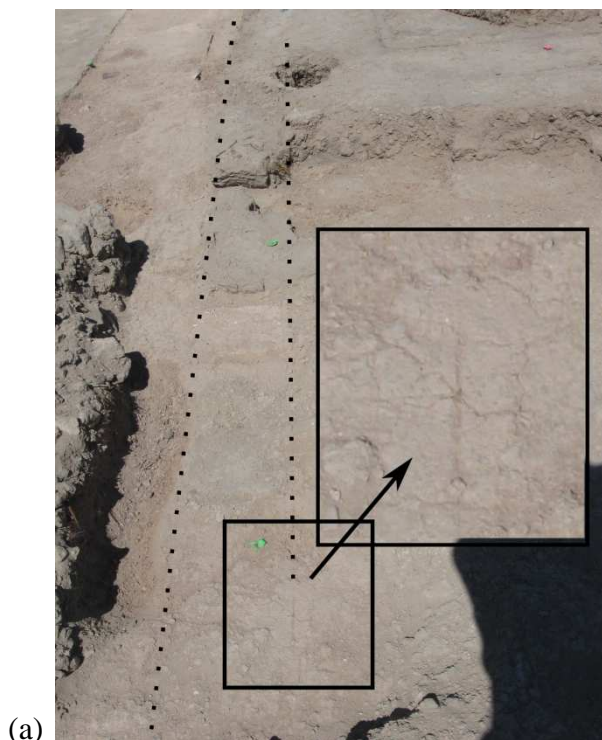
**Figure 12.** Overhead photo of the northeast inner chamber. Temple-north is to the right in the photo. (Photograph by JMK)



**Figure 13.** East corner of C26 showing adobe and foundational construction material  
(Photograph by JMK)



**Figure 14.** In process excavation photo of Unit 226, looking towards Temple-east. The high amount of ichu grass can be seen in the sidewall and coming from under the collapsed adobe bricks. (Photograph by JMK)

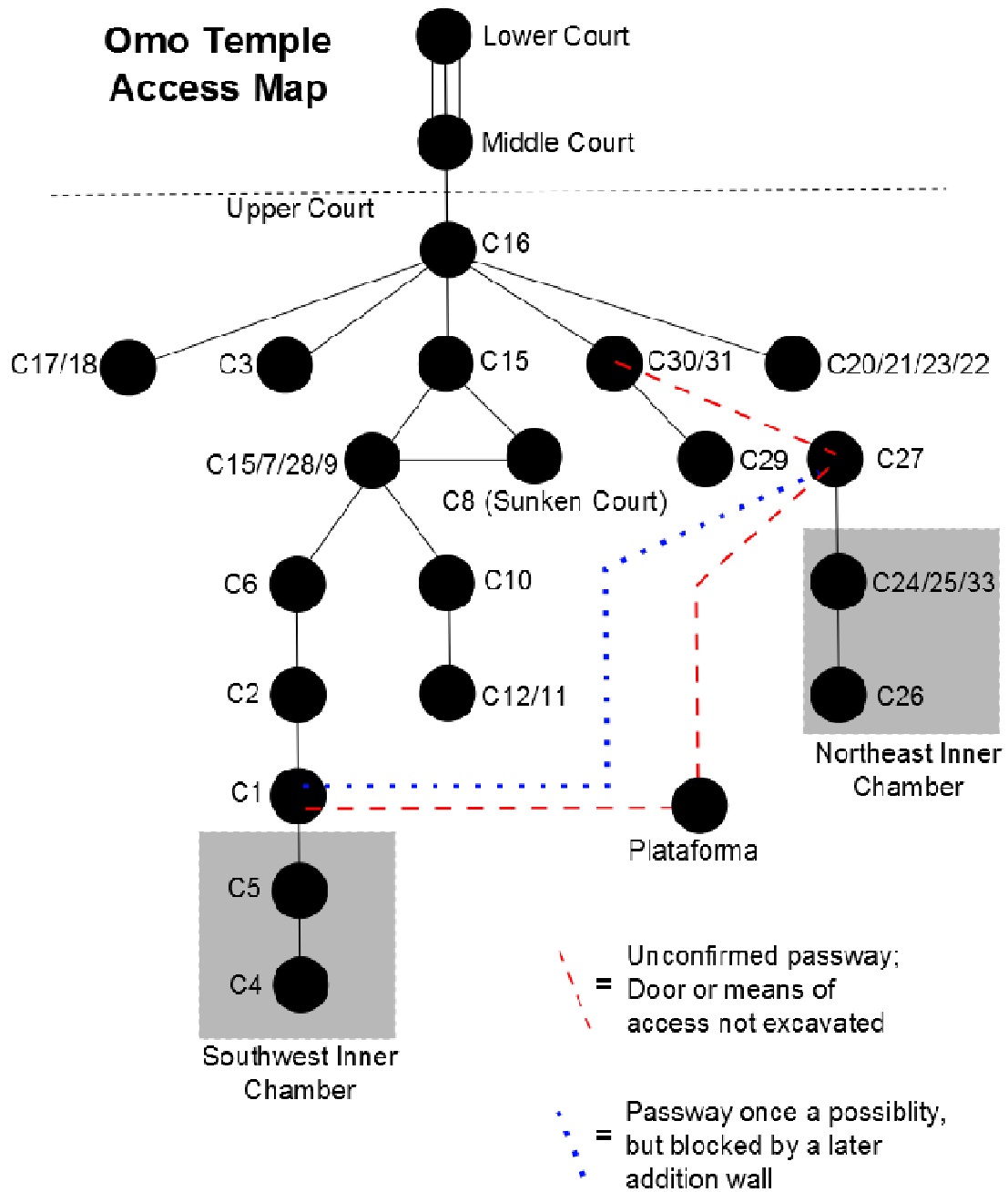


(a)

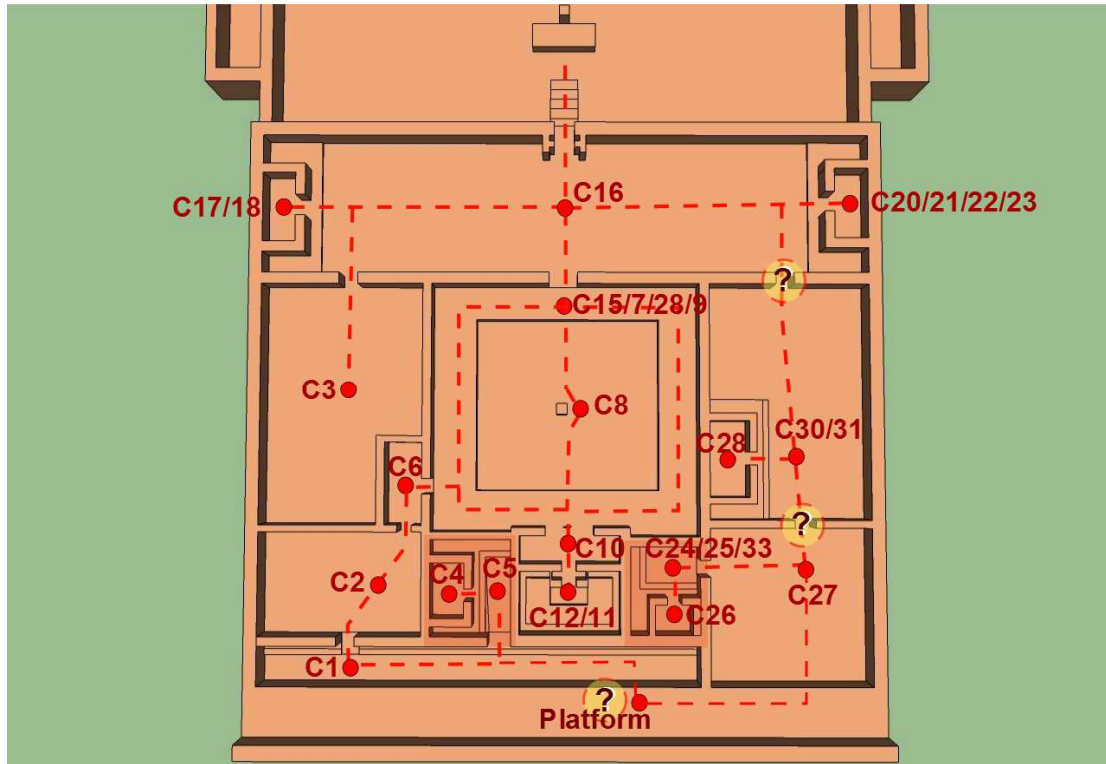


(b)

**Figure 15.** (a) Snap-string line in C25 of Unit 226, looking Temple-south. Note how this string impression aligns with the AR-244/AR-245 wall impressions on the raised platform; (b) Snap-string line impression of the AR-244/AR-245. The details of the impression, including the string's twist, can be seen more easily here since the impression was laid into a more durable material compared to the moro moro clay of C25.



**Figure 16.** Access map and “depth” chart of the Omo M10 temple.



**Figure 17.** Access routes of Omo M10 Upper Court.



(a)



(b)

**Figure 18.** (a) Relatively rounded volcanic tuff block of AR-245 can be seen at the bottom center of the image; (b) Standing volcanic tuff blocks at the base of the wall enclosing C28, photo looking Temple-west. (Photographs by JMK)



**Figure 19.** Ceremonial vessels from the inner chambers. (a) Hollow base libation bowl fragments from C33 (M10=17452 and M10=17906), (b) Miniature plainware vessel fragments, Unit 223 C4/C5, M10=4971, (c) Miniature plainware vessel, Unit 213 C5. (Photographs by JMK)



**Figure 20.** Fragments of uniquely painted *insensario* vessel with green pigment residues, Unit 223 C4 and C5. Specimen numbers, clockwise beginning with the top left: M10=4971 and M10=5019, M10=5122 and M10=5199, M10=5122, M10=5018 (Photographs by JMK)



**Figure 21.** Organic serving vessels. (a) Woven basket, Unit 223 C5, M10=5020, (b) Gourd bowl with perforations near the rim, Unit 226 C25, M10=17388, (c) Gourd bowl with perforations near the rim, Unit 225b,c C25, M10=17485. (Photographs by JMK)



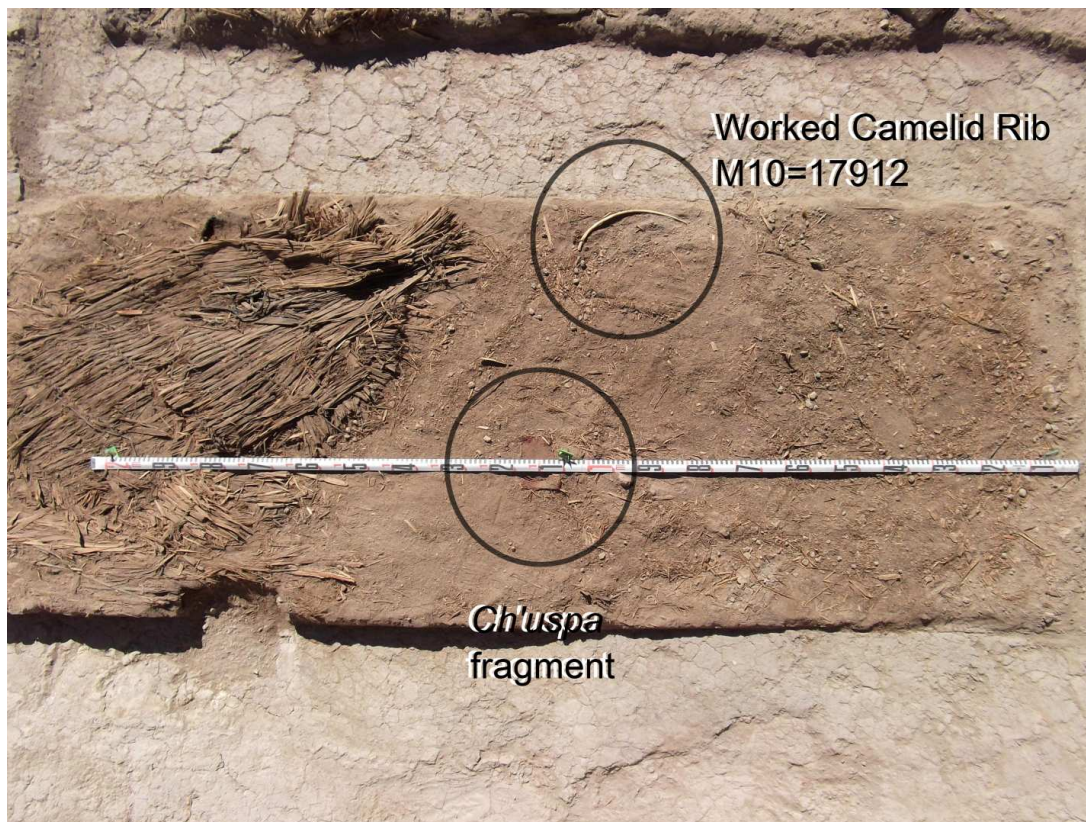
**Figure 22.** Worked camelid rib bones from the northeast chamber, C24 and C33, M10=17912 and M10=17270. Possibly used as adornments for ritual specialists.  
(Photograph by JMK)



**Figure 23.** Marine resources and ornamentation recovered from the Omo temple. (a) Turquoise, shell, and red *spondylus* recovered from the northeast inner chamber, Unid 226, C25, level 9, M10=17364; (b) a large oliva shell with drilled hole, suggesting use as a bead ornament, Unit 216 a,c,d, C26, level 6, M10=17922. (Photographs by JMK)



**Figure 24.** Fragments from a *ch'uspa* coca bag. Northeast chamber, Unit 215b,d C33, M10=17845. (photograph by JMK)



**Figure 25.** Fragments of the *ch'uspa* (M10=17845 and M10=17911) and a worked rib bone (M10=17912). Northeast inner chamber, Unit 215b,c, C33, level 8. (Photograph by Paul Goldstein)

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