

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

STYLE, AESTHETICS, AND POLITICS: POLYCHROME CERAMIC ICONOGRAPHY IN
THE TIWANAKU VALLEY, AD 500-1100

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THE FACULTY OF THE DIVISION OF THE SOCIAL SCIENCES
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DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

DEPARTMENT OF ANTHROPOLOGY

BY

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For my mom,
whom I miss.

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ABSTRACT

During the period referred to as the Middle Horizon, approximately AD 500 to 1100, a particular style of iconography, depicted on polychrome ceramics, textiles, and stone carvings, was produced, exchanged, and consumed over much of the Andes region of South America. Two ancient political projects lie at the heart of this phenomenon: the Wari Empire based in the Ayacucho region of Peru, and the Tiwanaku polity, on which I focus, based in the Southern Titicaca Basin region of western Bolivia. The relationship between the Middle Horizon materials and Tiwanaku's political history presents a good case with which to examine the intersection of aesthetics and politics in an ancient state. Thus, this dissertation answers the question: what roles did the aesthetic qualities of Tiwanaku style polychrome ceramic iconography play in the construction, consolidation, and expansion of Tiwanaku, the city and state?

The empirical basis of my arguments is an analysis of Tiwanaku ceramics and iconography, in which I categorized and compared various motifs and elements that appear on polychrome serving wares throughout the heartland of the polity. While I investigate the relationship between aesthetics and politics at Tiwanaku over 7 chapters, my overarching argument is that Tiwanaku style ceramics played different roles and produced different effects in different social contexts. Thus, each chapter focuses on a unique—yet interrelated—set of methodological and theoretical concerns. In the center of Tiwanaku, where megalithic monuments were the site of large-scale feasts, people consumed ceramics that were decorated with a relatively uniform iconography, indicating that solidarity by way of 'common sense' was constructed at these events. The diverse and elegant iconography found on ceramic vessels placed in ruling class tombs, alternatively, illustrates that the production and acquisition of skillfully crafted objects were important foundations for social power at Tiwanaku. Finally, as evidenced by their curation of Tiwanaku

style vessels and their creative, playful reproductions of Tiwanaku's iconographic canon, peoples beyond the ceremonial core of the city found pleasure in the aesthetic qualities of Tiwanaku ceramics, which drew them more deeply into Tiwanaku's political community. The fall of the Tiwanaku state in the 12th century coincided with the end of Tiwanaku style material production, ultimately manifesting the deep relationship between the political project and its visual culture.



CHAPTER 1: Tiwanaku History and Politics

Definition of the Problem

This dissertation has two interrelated starting points. The first is the Middle Horizon, a temporal category that was constructed by archaeologists in the mid 20th century. During the period referred to as the Middle Horizon, approximately AD 500 to 1100, a particular style of iconography, depicted on polychrome ceramics, textiles, and stone carvings, was produced, exchanged, and consumed over much of the Andes region of South America. While various critiques of the reification of archaeological horizons have been presented (see D. S. Rice 1993a, 1993b; Stone-Miller 1993), the material and visual cultures upon which they were constructed remain important phenomena in the history of the pre-Columbian Andes.

The second starting point is the relationship between aesthetics and politics within archaic states, and this dissertation draws on the case of Tiwanaku and the Middle Horizon to investigate how the aesthetic qualities of a material culture contribute to the formation and maintenance of a political community. Forms of power that are not predicated on violence or explicit coercion—e.g. symbolic capital (Bourdieu 1990) or soft power (Nye 2004)—are important means by which political institutions and classes exert influence over the lives of political subjects, and this is particularly relevant to autochthonous states. Furthermore, as Smith (2006:105) notes, archaeological investigations into the “aesthetic dimensions of political life” allow scholars to focus on “the practices and processes of authorization and subjectification that draw upon sensibility beyond the empirical, on frisson rather than functional rationality.” The relationship between aesthetics and politics is complicated, however, by the fact that sense and pleasure produce unstable and unpredictable effects:

The aesthetic, then, is from the beginning a contradictory, double-edged concept. On the one hand, it figures as a genuinely emancipatory force—as a community of

subjects now linked by sensuous impulse and fellow-feeling rather than by heteronomous law, each safeguarded in its unique particularity while bound at the same time into social harmony... On the other hand, the aesthetic signifies what Max Horkheimer has called a kind of ‘internalized repression’, inserting social power more deeply into the very bodies of those it subjugates, and so operating as a supremely effective mode of political hegemony (Eagleton 1990:28).

Two ancient political projects lie at the heart of the Middle Horizon: the Wari Empire based in the Ayacucho region of Peru, and the Tiwanaku state, on which I focus, based in the Southern Titicaca Basin region of western Bolivia. Archaeologists have investigated how the political and economic expansion of Tiwanaku produced the spread of Tiwanaku style materials (Willey 1948; Ponce Sanginés 1972; Kolata 1993b; Bermann 1997); building on the work of previous scholars,¹ I investigate the reverse relationship: how did the production and spread of these ceramic, textile, and stone sculptural styles contribute to the novel political and economic relationships underpinning the Tiwanaku state? More specifically, this dissertation answers the question: what roles did the aesthetic qualities of Tiwanaku style polychrome ceramic iconography play in the construction, consolidation, and expansion of Tiwanaku? My overarching argument is that Tiwanaku style ceramics played different roles and produced different effects in different social contexts; they were fundamental to the construction of both political subjectivities and social hierarchies. Thus, each chapter of this dissertation focuses on a unique—yet interrelated—set of methodological and theoretical concerns.

Polychrome ceramics can be found in contexts ranging from offerings on the Akapana Pyramid in the heart of Tiwanaku to household middens in rural farmsteads in the Tiwanaku Valley. Thus, Tiwanaku style ceramics were a ‘lifeblood’ of the polity. I am focusing on

¹ Goldstein (2003) has examined the foundational role that new ceramic forms, i.e. keros and tazones (see Chapter 2), played in the political expansion of Tiwanaku by way of feasting and commensal politics, and Alconini (1995) has examined how Tiwanaku style polychrome iconography represented state religious ideologies in the center of Tiwanaku *qua* capital city.

iconography displayed on the medium of ceramics as opposed to textiles and stone sculpture for separate reasons. In the heartland of the Tiwanaku polity, textiles are very rarely recovered archaeologically due to the poor conditions for their preservation. I hypothesize that textile iconography was very significant in terms of the themes and relationships that I examine in this dissertation, yet there are next to no textiles from the Tiwanaku Valley to investigate. While I do address carved stone iconography on occasion in the chapters that follow (see Chapters 3 and 6), unlike polychrome ceramics, monoliths and other carved stone objects were generally restricted to the ceremonial centers of major cities and villages in the Tiwanaku polity.

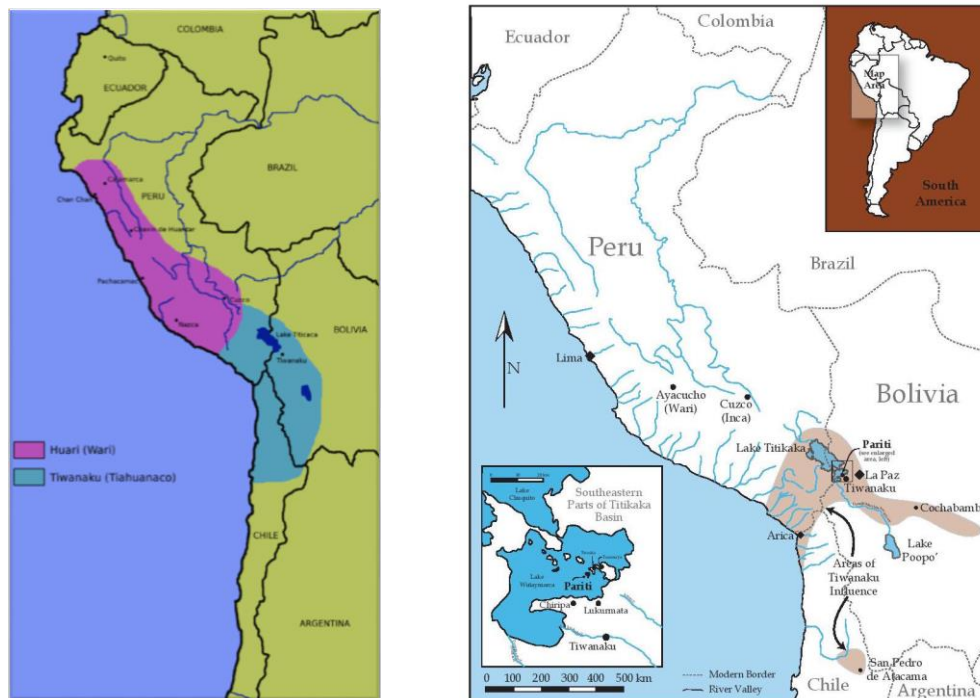


Figure 1.1. Two representations of the Middle Horizon. One (*left*) was taken from a Wikipedia article, and the other (*right*), a more precise image of where Tiwanaku style materials are found, is from Korpisaari et al. (2011:2, fig. 1).

As the theoretical problem that my work addresses is the relationship between aesthetics and politics, I focus on how visual aesthetics, in particular, shaped the sensual production of political subjects within the hierarchical Tiwanaku polity. In this vein, the dissertation also delves

into theorizations of ideology, fetishism, affect, and the objectification of power, all of which I consider to be closely related to the problems of aesthetics and sense.

What was Tiwanaku?

The Tiwanaku Valley is located in the western region of what is now Bolivia and in the southern region of the Lake Titicaca Basin at an elevation of almost 4000 meters above sea level. The Tiwanaku River runs westward through the valley, which is bounded to the north and south by minor mountain chains, and empties directly into Lake Titicaca. The site of Tiwanaku is located adjacent to this river approximately 15 km east the modern shores of the lake.

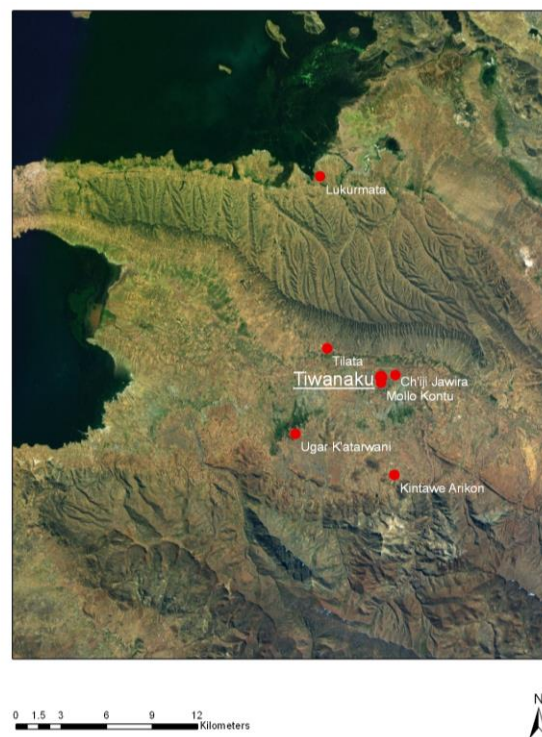


Figure 1.2. Satellite image (from Google Earth) of the Tiwanaku Valley.

The Tiwanaku Valley was sparsely populated during the Late Formative Period (c. 200 BC to AD 500) (Bandy 2013), and while not a great deal is known about Tiwanaku itself during this period, it was an emerging ceremonial center at which people constructed a sunken temple (the

Semi-Subterranean Temple) and a platform mound that was later transformed into the Kalasasaya² (Janusek 2008:97). The Tiwanaku IV³ phase (c. AD 500-800) was the period in which Tiwanaku became the monumental capital of a powerful political community and the largest city in the Andes at the time. During this phase, most of site's the major monuments, including the Akapana Pyramid and the Kalasasaya, were constructed within the ceremonial core of the city, which was demarcated by a moat (Kolata 1993a). The population of Tiwanaku also increased significantly during the 6th century, as evidenced by the proliferation of densely occupied residential sectors throughout the city (Janusek 2003a, 2004a; Couture 2003; Rivera Casanovas 2003; Escalante 2003; Chapter 6). In support of this population, raised-field agricultural production was radically reorganized and intensified in the neighboring Katari Valley to the north (Janusek and Kolata 2003), and there was a drastic shift in the settlement patterns within the Tiwanaku Valley, including the emergence of a four-tier settlement hierarchy with Tiwanaku alone at the top (Albarracin-Jordan 2003:105).

Tiwanaku style ceramics were first produced during the Tiwanaku IV phase, as feasting became a cornerstone of Tiwanaku's transformative political economy at home and abroad (Janusek 2003a, 2004a; Goldstein 2003; Berryman 2010; Bandy 2013). Tiwanaku style serving wares, in particular, were produced to be consumed during feasts held in the center of the city and elsewhere (see Chapters 2 and 3). As Tiwanaku became an increasingly popular destination for pilgrims and migrants, due to its extraordinary monuments, ceremonies, and chicha beer, new social hierarchies were formed in the city and its hinterland. Tiwanaku became the site of a developed division of labor (Becker 2017), and new class relations emerged out of the changing material relations within the urban center.

² I discuss the major monuments in Tiwanaku's ceremonial core in detail in Chapter 3.

³ I address the strange naming convention of Tiwanaku's two main phases (IV and V) in Chapter 2.

I investigate the formation of classes at Tiwanaku in detail in Chapter 5, and my approach to Tiwanaku politics is predicated on both this analysis of class and the premise that political relationships within the Tiwanaku polity were mediated by various reciprocal obligations, which were established during the aforementioned feasts and Tiwanaku's "state hospitality" (Bandy 2013). Defining Tiwanaku's political community as a network of obligations allows me to investigate, in particular, how these relationships of obligation were constructed and maintained during Tiwanaku's political ascendancy. As an autochthonous state, Tiwanaku's political world was predicated on radically novel material and social relations. By focusing on the material culture that was central to this transformation—i.e. the ceramic and iconographic corpus consumed during various Tiwanaku-hosted feasts—I am able to focus on a key component of Tiwanaku statecraft.

The transition between the Tiwanaku IV and Tiwanaku V (c. AD 850 to 1,100) phases in the 9th century AD was characterized by a massive reorganization of monumental space within the core of the city. The major 9th century construction project at Tiwanaku was the Putuni Palace, which became the residence of a branch of Tiwanaku's ruling class (Couture 2002; Couture and Sampeck 2003; Chapter 5). In general, the ceremonial core became a more exclusive space, characterized by enclosed compounds that could host more intimate feasts than those in the open plazas of the Tiwanaku IV phase (Couture 2002; see Chapter 3).

In terms of Tiwanaku's political relations with regions outside the Titicaca Basin, the best evidence for Tiwanaku colony-like settlements are found in the coastal Moquegua Valley of Peru. People from Tiwanaku actively colonized this region, constructing local monuments mimicking those at Tiwanaku (Goldstein 1993), and Tiwanaku's emergent ruling class established reciprocal relations with local rulers, transforming them into something like vassals (or *kurakas*, a term used to describe local rulers incorporated into the later Inca empire) of the Tiwanaku polity. Maize was

imported into the Tiwanaku Valley from this region and used to brew alcoholic chicha (Goldstein 2003; Berryman 2010). There is evidence that the political economy of the Cochabamba region of Bolivia was also reorganized in accordance with the needs of the metropole of Tiwanaku (Anderson 2013); in this case, there is little indication that full on colonies were founded, and it is more likely that networks of tribute were established in this region, once again mediated by hospitality rituals hosted by representatives of Tiwanaku.

In the 11th or 12th century AD, the Tiwanaku polity collapsed, and the site itself was partially abandoned. The conditions under which this major sociopolitical shift occurred remain somewhat unclear; however, based on lake sediment analyses, Binford et al. (1997) have identified an abrupt climate change dating to this period, whereby conditions became significantly drier throughout the Altiplano. Janusek (2004a:267) has noted that this massive drought may have exacerbated already extant political tensions resulting from increasing hierarchy and social stratification within the polity, leading to a breakdown of the political community. The approximately 350 years subsequent to Tiwanaku's collapse—or the Early Pacajes Period (AD 1100 to 1470)—were characterized by political decentralization and a significant decline in the material practices and cultures that had been associated with the Tiwanaku polity. However, while there was a demographic collapse at the site of Tiwanaku itself, the Tiwanaku Valley remained relatively well populated (Albarracin-Jordan 1996; Binford et al. 1997). In fact, there was an increase in the number of small-scale settlements throughout the valley (Albarracin-Jordan 1996).

The Tiwanaku Valley remained politically decentralized until around AD 1470, when the Inca colonized the region and reestablished Tiwanaku as an important regional center. During the subsequent century—the Pacajes-Inca Period (AD 1470 to 1550)—the valley became politically and demographically centralized once again, as evidenced by an increase in secondary sites and a

decrease in tertiary and quaternary sites (Albarracin-Jordan 1996:303). There was a massive demographic collapse within the valley after the Inca empire fell at the hands of the Spanish in the mid-16th century, and the larger settlements were abandoned in favor of smaller, sparse sites (Albarracin-Jordan 1996:309).

The contemporary town of Tiwanaku sits adjacent to the archaeological site, which is a UNESCO World Heritage Site. It is among the most important touristic sites in Bolivia, drawing visitors from the world over, and it remains a central political, cultural, and spiritual locus within Bolivia's national imaginary.

Outline of the Dissertation

Each of the subsequent chapters addresses a particular set of empirical and theoretical concerns. In Chapter 2, I present the methodology I used in selecting and analyzing ceramic material at Tiwanaku. I start with an overview of past studies of Tiwanaku style ceramics and relate these to my current investigation of style, aesthetics, and politics. I outline the major ceramic forms that were popular during the Tiwanaku IV and V phases, relying on Janusek's (2003b) typology of ceramic styles. I then explain the theoretical basis of my approach to iconographic classification, which builds on Gell's (1998) argument that a "style" is an assemblage of which a part can synecdochally represent the whole. The final section of this chapter presents an overview of the motifs I identified during my iconographic analysis and the general results of my analyses of Tiwanaku style ceramics.

In Chapter 3, I present a detailed overview of the characteristics of political feasting at Tiwanaku, which I argue was central to the production of political relations and subjectivities during the Tiwanaku IV phase. I start with an overview of archaeological approaches to feasting

that touches on both the methodological and theoretical issues raised by Dietler and Hayden (Dietler and Hayden 2001; Dietler 2001), including how one identifies the remains of feasts archaeologically and what types of political and social relationships can be constructed during feasts. I then apply these insights to the material evidence for feasting at Tiwanaku. Moving on, I present an overview of the key monuments that were constructed at the site of Tiwanaku prior to and during the Tiwanaku IV phase. I pay special attention to what I call the ‘Akapana Complex,’ which consisted of the Akapana Pyramid and adjacent Akapana West Plaza. Relying on evidence from recent archaeological excavations of the plaza, I argue that this was one of the key sites for large-scale feasting at Tiwanaku.

In Chapter 4, I focus on the relative uniformity of the iconography found on ceramics from the Akapana Complex that date to the Tiwanaku IV phase. Using techniques developed by Whallon (1968) and modified by myself, I measure iconographic uniformity based on motif distributions and frequencies. Compared to the ceramics from the Putuni and Mollo Kontu sectors of the site, I found that Akapana Complex iconography was uniform. Drawing on theories of aesthetics (Kant 2000; Rancière 2004) and affect (Mazzarella 2009), I argue that this uniform iconography consumed during mass rituals in the center of Tiwanaku produced a ‘common sense’ and affective bonds among participants. In this manner, the medium of ceramic iconography helped to produce political subjects at Tiwanaku.

Chapter 5 shifts focus to Tiwanaku’s ruling class and their unique material culture, which was exemplified by those ceramics excavated among the ruins of the Putuni Palace. I present an account of how novel classes—defined by peoples’ relationships to the means of production—were formed during the Tiwanaku IV phase. Ultimately, I argue that there is evidence for three primary classes at Tiwanaku. The ruling class residents of the ceremonial core and the laboring

class who worked for and among them represent opposite sides of the novel fissure between landed and landless at Tiwanaku. The third class consisted of groups of guild-like (see Becker 2017) specialist producers—of ceramics, llamas, chicha, etc.—who maintained control over their own means of production, yet were embedded within Tiwanaku’s political economy. Drawing on Couture’s (2007) discussion of the “elite status” of the Putuni’s residents, I examine how their built environment and material wealth distinguished them from others at Tiwanaku. I then identify ideologically potent themes presented in ruling class material culture. Finally, drawing on Helms’ (1993) theorization of kingship and crafting as well as Gell’s (1992) theorization of the relationship between artistic production and enchantment, I argue that the production of specialized and technically proficient ceramic wares by Tiwanaku’s ruling class was an important source of their social and political power.

In Chapter 6, I examine the roles that Tiwanaku style polychrome ceramics played in contexts outside of the ceremonial core of the capital. First focusing on recent excavations at the residential sector of Mollo Kontu, I argue that indexical and iconic links between ceramics consumed in quotidian contexts and those consumed in the large-scale rituals at the Akapana Complex semiotically situated residents within Tiwanaku’s political community. I then go on to investigate evidence for the aesthetic pleasures that Tiwanaku iconography provided for various political subjects within the Tiwanaku polity. In this section, I use ceramic data from Mollo Kontu, as well as other peri-urban and rural settlements in the Tiwanaku Valley and the Cochabamba region of Bolivia. By identifying examples of people curating Tiwanaku style ceramics and consuming them in intimate contexts, I argue that there is indirect evidence for the aesthetic pleasure engendered by these objects. I conclude by looking at examples of potters playing with Tiwanaku style iconography in various contexts, which I contend correlates with the aesthetic

pleasure of production. In this manner, Tiwanaku style ceramic drew people into Tiwanaku's political projects and community.

The 7th Chapter briefly concludes the dissertation with a discussion of the fall of the Tiwanaku state and the cessation of Tiwanaku style ceramic production, examining how these two endpoints are related. The following chapters examine the deep relationship between the material constitution of the Tiwanaku state and a key component of its visual culture, polychrome ceramics. The ultimate goal of the dissertation is to contribute to our broader understanding of the roles that aesthetics and sense play in the construction and mediation of political relationships.

CHAPTER 2: Methods and General Results

In this chapter, I outline the methodology I used in my analysis of ceramics at Tiwanaku, as well as the general results of this analysis. I begin with an overview of previous studies of Tiwanaku ceramics and then move on to discuss my theoretical approach to style and iconographic classification, which builds on Gell's (1998) anthropology of art. I then outline the types of data my colleagues, Ruth Fontenla and Luis Viviani, and I collected in our ceramic analysis, including an overview of the classification systems we constructed and deployed. Finally, I outline the general trends in Tiwanaku Valley ceramic art that are visible in the data we produced.

Previous Studies of Tiwanaku Ceramics: The Contours of a Horizon

The Middle Horizon

Aside from the megalithic monuments at the site of Tiwanaku itself, Tiwanaku style ceramics have been the most consistent focal point of archaeological investigations into Tiwanaku since the late 19th century. The concept of the 'horizon,' the central framework through which time in the pre-Columbian Andes has been periodized, was in large part constructed out of Tiwanaku materials. In his seminal investigation of ceramics at the site of Pachacamac, near modern day Lima, Uhle (1902) identified five cultural periods based on the stratigraphic sequences of ceramic styles; the earliest of these periods was Tiwanaku. His intention was to develop a ceramic chronology that could be used throughout the Andes to provide relative dates for sites and contexts. That 'Tiwanaku style' materials could be found throughout the Andes was an empirical foundation for this approach and the later conceptualization of the horizon.

The horizon was among the most important analytical categories of mid-20th century archaeology's time-space systematics. In their synthesis of the methodological and theoretical

bases of American Archaeology, Willey and Phillips (1958:33) defined the horizon as “a primary spatial continuity represented by cultural traits and assemblages whose nature and mode of occurrence permit the assumption of broad and rapid spread.” In his refinement of Uhle’s initial attempt to identify the main cultural sequence of Andean prehistory, Kroeber (1944:108) wrote, “By horizon style I mean one showing definably distinct features some of which extend over a large area, so that its relations with other, more local styles serve to place these in relative time, according as the relations are of priority, consociation, or subsequence.” From these definitions, the key characteristics of the horizon can be gleaned; a horizon is an extensive expansion of a set of cultural traits, manifest in the ‘horizon style,’ in a relatively short period of time. These qualities of a horizon and its attendant style made it ideal for dating purposes.

Kroeber (1944) identified three principal horizons in the Andes, adding Chavín to the Tiwanaku and Inca proto-horizons already identified by Uhle. He (1944:110) also noted that Nazca ceramic style constituted something like a mini-horizon on the coast, and from his chronology, the principal divisions of Andean prehistory were established: the Early (Chavín) Horizon, the Early Intermediate Period, the Middle (Tiwanaku) Horizon, the Late Intermediate Period, and the Late (Inca) Horizon. With the advent of radio-carbon dating techniques, absolute dates were later added to the sequence (see figure 2.1).

At Tiwanaku itself, other scholars studied ceramics and their stylistic qualities within the general framework of culture history building. Based on his excavations at Tiwanaku and nearby sites, Bennett’s (1934, 1950) ceramic analysis broke Tiwanaku style down into Early, Classic, and Decadent periods. The labels of this sequence provide insight into the implicit conceptual framework used by Bennett, i.e. a paradigm that assumes that the rise and fall of a civilization can be understood in relation to the rise and fall of its social, aesthetic, and moral qualities. He

(1950:93) noted that during the transition from the Classic to Decadent Tiwanaku periods, Tiwanaku ceramic iconography became increasingly uniform, an observation that still holds up empirically in certain contexts. Other scholars worked to refine the sequence of ceramic styles in the Southern Titicaca Basin and began to identify pre- and post-Tiwanaku material cultures, including Qeya (Wallace 1957) and Pacajes (Rydén 1947) styles. In a more idiosyncratic analysis of Tiwanaku iconography in ceramic and stone, Posnansky (1945) approached its imagery in the manner of a cryptographer deciphering a complex, esoteric symbolic order. He did, however, identify many of the animals that are depicted in Tiwanaku's zoomorphic iconography.

Moving away from Tiwanaku itself, the coherence of the Middle Horizon began to fragment, as scholars increasingly investigated local variations of its stylistic canon. Rowe (1956) and Menzel (1964) cited subtypes and regional trends in Middle Horizon iconography and drew attention to the major fissure in the seeming unity of the period: the Wari empire based in Ayacucho was a political and cultural entity distinct from Tiwanaku. In the latter half of the 20th century, scholars increasingly abandoned this culture-history approach to Tiwanaku style, as its theoretical and methodological *raison d'être* ceased being relevant. From a theoretical perspective, the Boasian framework that viewed style as a manifestation of a deep-seated, almost noumenal, cultural essence was replaced in American archaeology by the so-called New Archaeology (D. S. Rice 1993b), with ecological functionalism and positivism as its twin foundations. Ultimately, the Boasian approach's most significant limitation was its tendency to essentialize cultural groups and traits, while overlooking the political, social, material, and historical construction of these categories.

As a methodological tool, relative dating based on ceramic styles became marginalized as archaeologists increasingly relied on absolute dating methods. However, as is the case in this

dissertation, it is sometimes still necessary to use relative dating when other options are unavailable (see Chapter 3). In her critical review of the epistemological basis of the Andean horizon, Stone-Miller (1993) noted how its methodological and theoretical limitations are most clearly manifest in its reified (mis)representations of time and style. She advocated for a move away from treating the horizon style as a bounded temporal marker and for an examination of how styles were reproduced, transformed, and revived.

Tiwanaku Hegemony and Style

Ponce's (1972) archaeological investigations marked a transition away from viewing Tiwanaku as the focal point of a religious or cultic phenomenon to viewing it as the capital city of an expansive polity. For Ponce, Tiwanaku was an imperial capital, and the spread of its materials must be understood in relation to its political subjugation of new territories. He revised the earlier ceramic sequences of Bennett, Rydén, and Wallace, and devised a five-stage sequence for Tiwanaku style, Tiwanaku I, II, III, IV, and V, and gave absolute dates to these stages based on radiocarbon dating (see figure 2.1). Ponce's model of Titicaca basin socio-cultural development can be considered teleological, as he tended to view pre-Tiwanaku phenomena through the lens of the later polity. Indeed, subsequent scholars have noted that Ponce's Tiwanaku I through III phases predate Tiwanaku *qua* city and polity, and this period is now typically referred to as the (perhaps equally teleological?) Late Formative (see figure 2.1). When addressing Tiwanaku history, most contemporary archaeologists refer only to Tiwanaku IV and V as Tiwanaku phases, and the Tiwanaku I through III phases have been dropped.¹ Building on Ponce's research, Kolata (1993b)

¹ In his recent overview and synthesis of archaeological research at Tiwanaku, Janusek (2008) uses the terms Tiwanaku 1 and 2 to refer to what had been called the Tiwanaku IV and V phases. While this renaming of the phases adds a certain degree of clarity and precision to his discussion of Tiwanaku, I am sticking with Tiwanaku 'IV' and 'V' in this dissertation for two reasons. The first is that these are still the most widely used conventional names for

has argued that Tiwanaku style and its ‘horizon-like’ spread must be understood in relation to the broader political and economic integration of various regions into the Tiwanaku state.

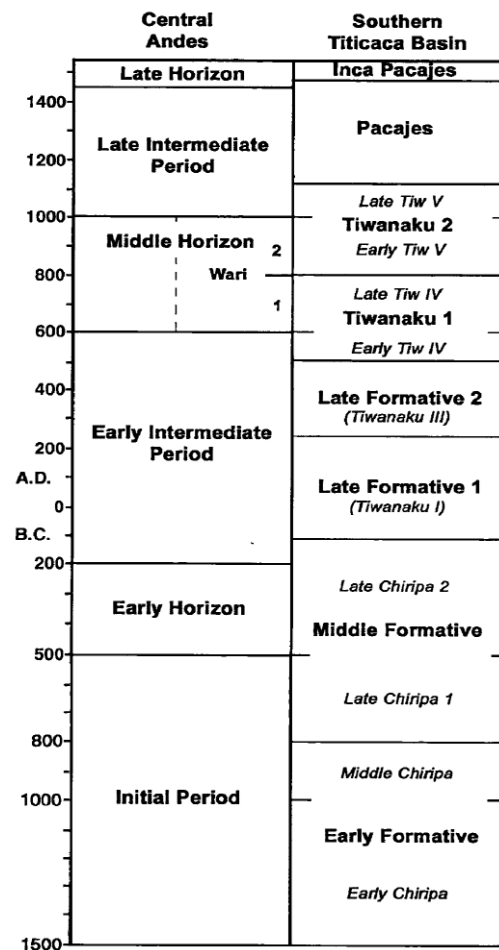


Figure 2.1. Pre-Columbian temporal phases of the Central Andes and Titicaca Basin (from Janusek 2008:19, fig. 1.7).

Other recent approaches to Tiwanaku style ceramics have taken the geopolitical history of the ‘Middle Horizon’ and Central Andes into account. Cook’s (1985) research into the relationship between Wari and Tiwanaku iconography has provided detailed insights into both artistic canons, their similarities and differences, as well as the relations between the two polities. In particular, she identified and analyzed two key icons that were shared between the polities: the Staff Deity

these historical periods (note, they no longer refer to ‘stylistic’ trends in particular; see also Chapter 1). Secondly, there is something productively evocative about starting the Tiwanaku period with the Tiwanaku IV phase; it accurately intimates that Tiwanaku did not appear ex nihilo.

and the Profile Attendant. However, while these figures are found throughout Wari ceramic iconography, they are more typically found in Tiwanaku stone carving than on Tiwanaku polychrome ceramics. Isbell and Knobloch's (2009) historical analysis of what they call the "Southern Andean Iconographic Series" builds on Cook's work and seemingly attempts to reunify the Middle Horizon, by now divided into Tiwanaku and Wari camps. They identified the Rayed Head, the Staff God, and the Profile Attendant as constituting the three "essential icons" of the series, yet their approach is limited insofar as it is highly Wari-centric. For example, they claim that, "By comparison [to Wari artisans], Tiwanaku artisans seem conservative and consistently faithful to rigid canons" (Isbell and Knobloch 2009:167). In certain contexts, this is true; however, as my research shows, this is not an accurate characterization of Tiwanaku style materials in general. On the other hand, their work does a great deal to draw attention to the forerunners and deep histories of some of the key iconographic conventions of Tiwanaku and Wari styles.

Burkholder's (1997) analysis of ceramics from the Lower Tiwanaku Valley site of Iwawi presents both a critique of older culture-history and "evolutionary" approaches to Tiwanaku ceramic style and a critique of characterizations of Tiwanaku ceramics based on materials from the ceremonial core alone. She and Isbell (Isbell and Burkholder 2002: 200) have argued that the supposedly uniform corporate style of Tiwanaku iconography was less rigid than previously assumed, pointing out the sequences and qualities of ceramic materials peculiar to Iwawi.

The two previous studies of Tiwanaku ceramics that have had the biggest direct influence, both methodologically and theoretically, on my analysis are Alconini's (1995) analysis of ceramics from the Akapana Pyramid in the center of Tiwanaku and Janusek's (2003b) synthesis of various ceramic form typologies and radiocarbon dates into a master typology that is sensitive to stylistic trends over time at Tiwanaku. In her analysis, Alconini (1995) focuses on the ideological role of

religion at Tiwanaku and argues that the standardized iconography that she identified on the ceramics buried in the Akapana reflected the unified messages of Tiwanaku's state religion. Among her conclusions, she identifies three distinct "genres" of Tiwanaku ceramics at the site: ceremonial, civil, and domestic, which correspond to different contexts of consumption (Alconini 1995:175). My approach to iconography at Tiwanaku also investigates how the qualities of ceramics in different sectors of the site can be understood in relation to the social actors who produced them and the contexts in which they were used.

Janusek's (2003b) Tiwanaku ceramic typology forms one of the pillars of my attribute analysis; other than a handful of novel types (see Appendix A), I identified vessel forms based on the categories that Janusek outlined. The extraordinary proliferation of highly specialized ceramic forms at Tiwanaku starting in the 5th century AD was tied to novel social relations predicated on hospitality and competitive feasting at Tiwanaku (Janusek 2003a, 2004a; Goldstein 2003; Berryman 2010; Bandy 2013). Understanding the contexts in which these vessels were consumed and how they were used, in general, are foundational to my analysis of Tiwanaku imagery and its social effects.

Methods of Analysis

In this section, I present an overview of the methods of ceramic analysis I used in the field at Tiwanaku. The starting point was the identification of contexts that I wanted to investigate. My goal in choosing materials for analysis was to target contexts that would provide representative insights into different social spaces within the Tiwanaku heartland. With this in mind, I set up a list of contexts based on field notes and reports at the University of Chicago prior to traveling to Bolivia. As much as was possible, I targeted contexts that were both discrete (i.e. distinct features)

and dated either directly or indirectly using radiocarbon methods. In my initial sample, I intended to analyze materials from contexts excavated on the terraces of the Akapana Pyramid, the plaza directly west of the Akapana (the Akapana West Plaza; see Chapter 3), the Putuni Palace complex, the urban residential districts of Mollo Kontu, Ch'iji Jawira, Akapana East, and Tilata, the largest site in the Katari Valley (Lukurmata), and two rural sites within the Tiwanaku Valley, Ugar K'atarwani and Kintawe Arikon. In each case, I tried to select a mix of contexts that pertained to the Tiwanaku IV and V phases. All of these materials had been excavated by one of three projects, Proyecto Wila Jawira, Proyecto Arqueológico Pumapunku-Akapana, and Proyecto Jach'a Marka, and they were stored in bags and boxes that were housed in depositories at Tiwanaku.

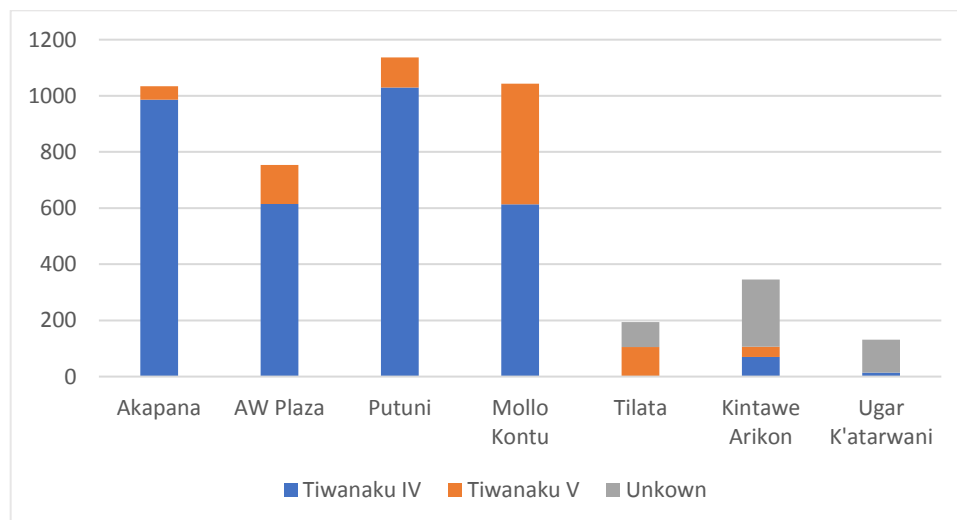


Figure 2.2. Total number of vessels (MNV) analyzed by sector and temporal phase.

At Tiwanaku, I had to adjust my selection strategy. In particular, many of the Proyecto Wila Jawira materials were inaccessible due to the fact that they were being housed in temporary structures while an overhaul of the storage spaces was taking place at the site. As a result, I could not analyze materials from Ch'iji Jawira, Akapana East, and Lukurmata. Additionally, I had trouble locating key contexts from the Akapana Pyramid excavations in the Wila Jawira depository, so instead, I obtained permission to analyze ceramic materials from a large offering deposited on the first terrace of the northern façade of the Akapana excavated by Mario

Pachaguaya and his team, while working for the municipality of Tiwanaku. In the subsequent chapters, I go into greater detail regarding the specific contexts from which the ceramics we analyzed came.² Figure 2.2 presents a breakdown of the volume of materials we analyzed by site/sector and phase.

Ceramic Forms and Attributes

Once the bags and boxes of materials were moved from storage into the lab space we used at Tiwanaku, Ruth Fontenla, Luis Viviani, and I began the analysis. Each analyst worked on one bag or box of ceramic materials at a time, and they filled out two forms for each bag/box. The first was an attribute form and the second was an iconography form (see Appendix A). In this subsection, I outline the data recorded on the attribute forms.

I designed the attribute form in consultation with Fontenla and Viviani; in doing so, we relied on our experiences working on other archaeological projects in the area, including the Proyecto Jach'a Marka, the Taraco Archaeological Project, and Proyecto Arqueológico Jach'a Machaca. At the top of each attribute form, the analyst recorded the date of the analysis, the name of the analyst, the site, unit, and level/feature/event/locus³ from which the materials came, and finally the bag number being analyzed. Each row of the form represented a single vessel; as much as possible, we attempted to group sherds together that originated from the same vessel, and the number of rows filled out in the attribute form for a particular bag thus represents a Minimum Number of Vessels (MNV) count for that bag. This MNV count, however, excludes ollas and

² In Chapter 3, I describe the Akapana Pyramid and Akapana West Plaza contexts, in Chapter 5, I describe the Putuni Palace contexts, and in Chapter 6, I describe the Mollo Kontu, Tilata, Ugar K'atarwani, and Kintawe Arikon contexts.

³ Excavators working with Proyecto Wila Jawira and Proyecto Arqueológico Pumapunku-Akapana used “niveles” (levels) and “rasgos” (features) to identify distinct archaeological contexts, whereas those working with Proyecto Jach'a Marka used “locuses” (loci) and “eventos” (events).

tinajas that lacked motifs. I decided to exclude these two vessel types from the attribute analysis because the ultimate focal point of the analysis was iconography depicted on serving wares, and this strategy allowed the analysts to analyze more decorated sherds in the limited time we had. In hindsight, I would have liked to have had MNV counts for ollas and tinajas, even without the detailed attribute data, but there is nothing to do about that now.

In the first column of the attribute form, the analyst recorded a three-digit number, starting at 001 and continuing in order from there, which identified the vessel being analyzed. Thus, each vessel was given a unique alphanumerical identification, which consisted of a three-letter project designation followed by the bag number followed by a 'period' followed by the three-digit row number. For example, vessel 'PJM7063.014' was the fourteenth vessel analyzed from bag number 7063 excavated by Proyecto Jach'a Marka. Post-field, I replaced the three-letter project codes with two- or three-letter codes that corresponded to sectors and sites in the Tiwanaku Valley; the prefix 'AK' corresponds to materials from the Akapana Pyramid excavated by Linda Manzanilla's team, 'AKP' to materials from the Akapana excavated by Mario Pachaguaya's team (see Chapter 3), 'AW' to materials from the Akapana West Plaza, 'PT' to materials from the Putuni, 'MK' to materials from Mollo Kontu sector D, 'MKA' to materials from Mollo Kontu sector A, 'TL' to materials from Tilata, 'KA' to materials from Kintawe Arikon, and 'UG' to materials from Ugar K'atarwani. Thus, vessel 'PJM7063.014' was renamed 'MK7063.014.'

In the second column, the analyst recorded the type of vessel. The vessel typology we used had been developed by Janusek (2003b) and modified by Couture (2002) during her analysis of sherds from the Putuni. Within this typology, there are 18 general types and multiple subtypes (see Appendix A for a complete breakdown of the types and subtypes). Tiwanaku ceramics were highly specialized, and previous studies have done a great deal to elucidate the relationship between their

forms and functions (Bennett 1934; Rydén 1947; Posnansky 1945; Wallace 1957; Ponce Sanginés 1972; Cook 1985; Alconini 1995; Burkholder 1997; Couture 2002; Janusek 2003b). The following overview and descriptions of Tiwanaku vessel forms rely on these previous studies.

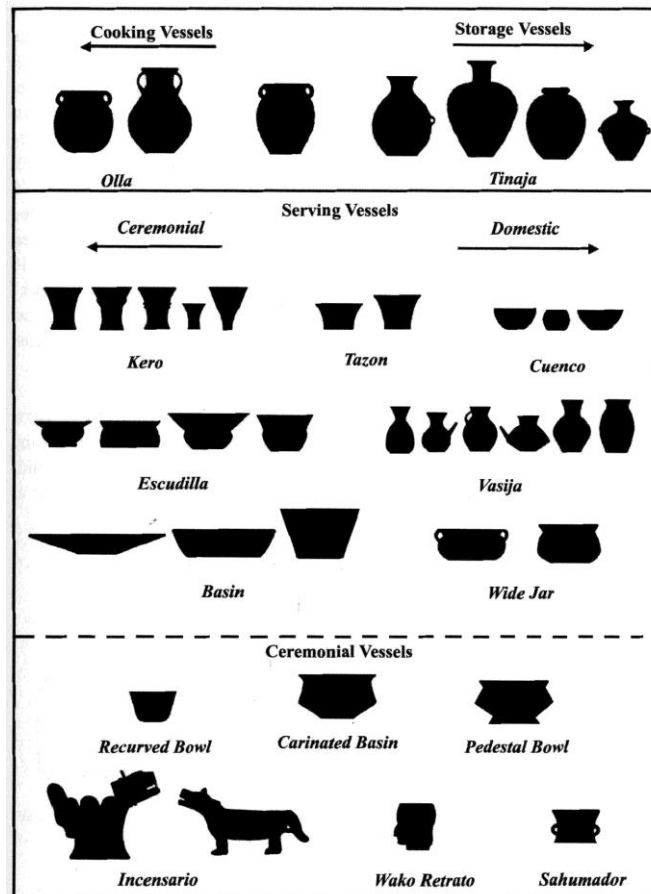


Figure 2.3. Overview of Tiwanaku vessel forms (from Janusek 2003b:57, fig. 3.27).

Ollas (type 1) were cooking vessels, characterized by their ellipsoid bodies, somewhat restricted necks and everted rims, unfinished surfaces, and dark, porous pastes, which included a high density of large inclusions. Tinajas (type 2) were large jars used for storing and transporting liquids. They were characterized by ellipsoid bodies, defined necks, everted rims, orange or red surfaces, and orangish, dense pastes. As I note above, I did not include ollas and tinajas in my analysis, except for those that were decorated with complete motifs, as they were typically undecorated, “functional” vessel forms.

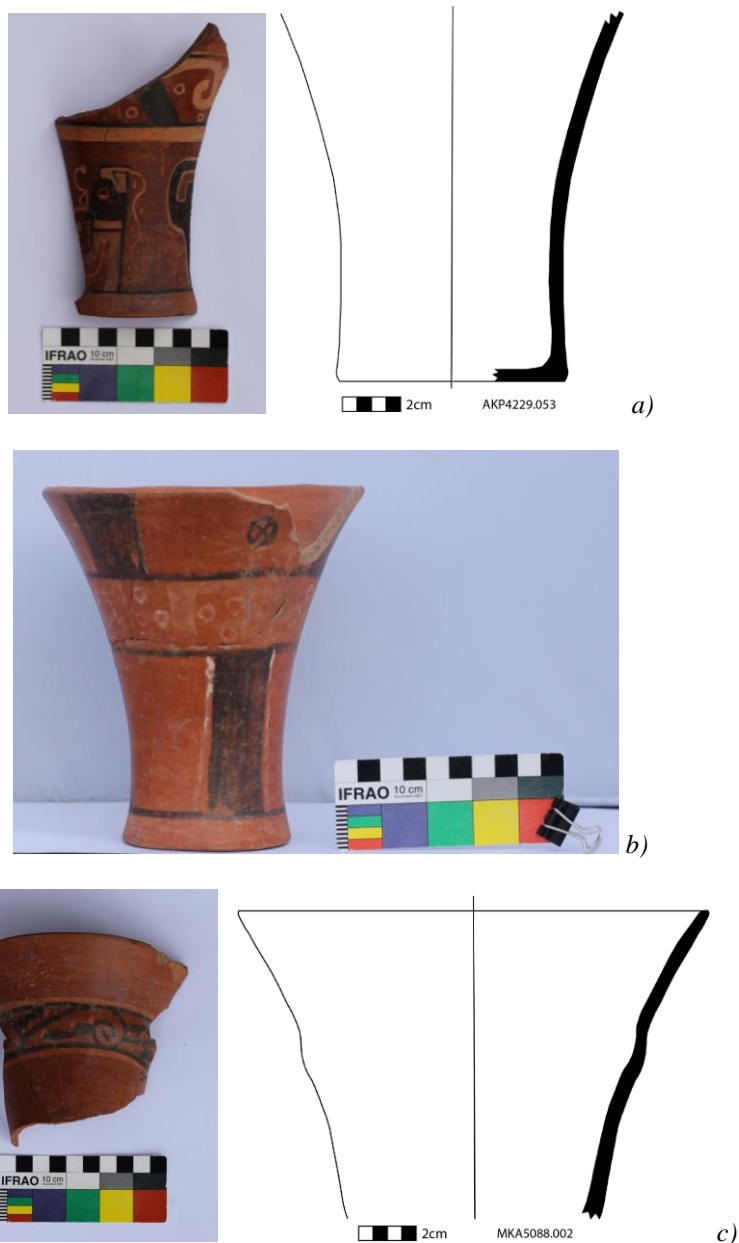


Figure 2.4. Examples of keros analyzed during fieldwork: *a)* AKP4229.053 and *b)* MKA5088.001 are examples of keros without an exterior torus, type 3.2, and *c)* MKA5088.002 is an example of a kero with a protruding exterior torus, type 3.1. Note: all photos included in this dissertation were taken by the author unless otherwise noted.

Keros (type 3) were hyperboloid drinking goblets, with highly everted rims and dense, finely sorted pastes. Their outer surfaces were often slipped, painted, and burnished or polished. The kero was the quintessential Tiwanaku vessel form; they first appeared at the onset of the polity and were ubiquitous throughout the Tiwanaku heartland and beyond. Janusek's (2003b)

classification of keros relies heavily on the presence and characteristics of a vessel's torus—a decorated and/or protruding band located approximately at the three-quarter point of a kero's height (see figures 2.4 and 2.5).

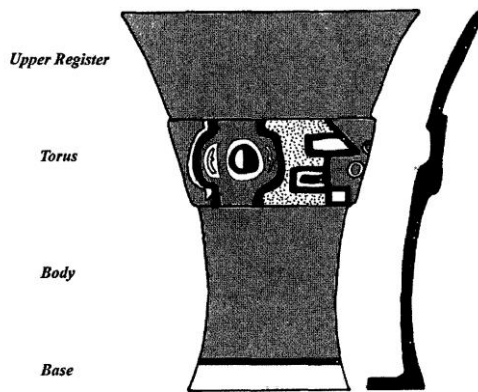


Figure 2.5. “Anatomy” of a kero. Type 3.1.1, kero with squared exterior torus (from Janusek 2003b:62, fig. 3.38).

Tazones (type 4) were hyperboloid bowls, and their pastes and surfaces were often similar to those of keros. After the kero, the tazon was the most ubiquitous serving ware in the Tiwanaku Valley, and together they constituted the foundational accoutrements of Tiwanaku's feasting economy (see Chapter 3). In our analysis, we used an intermediate subcategory,⁴ 3.7, that referred to ‘kero-tazones,’ i.e. small sherds that the analyst could only identify as belonging to either a kero or a tazon.

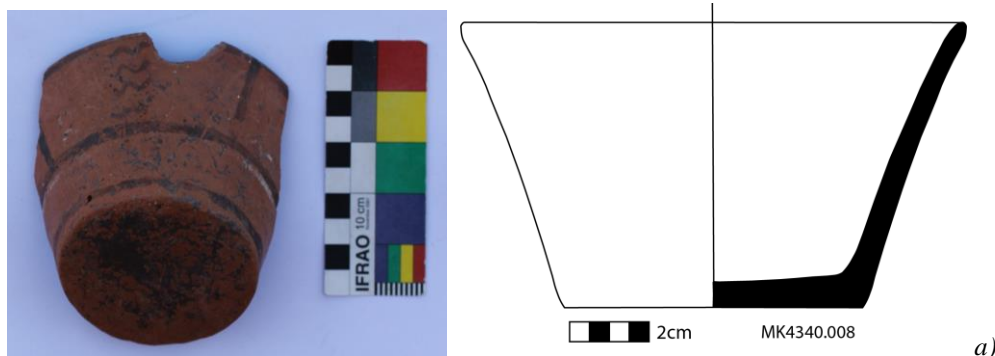


Figure 2.6. Examples of tazones analyzed during fieldwork: a) MK4340.008 and b) MKA5088.003 are examples of regular decorated tazones, type 4.1, and c) PT20846.007 is an example of the recurved tazon, type 4.4.

⁴ Wesley Mattox came up with this subcategory during our time working together on Proyecto Jach'a Marka.

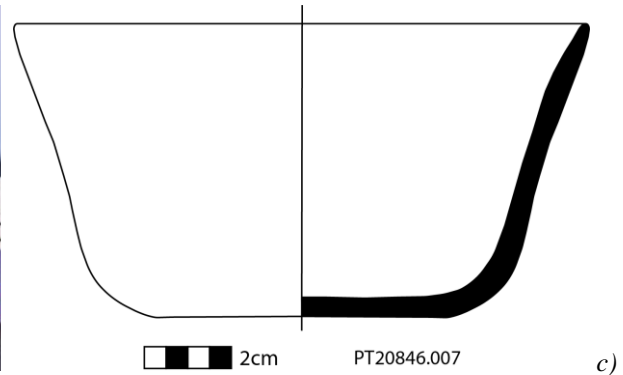


Figure 2.6. continued.

Escudillas (type 5) were partially ellipsoid bowls with extremely everted, ‘flare-rims’ that jut out at an angle. Like keros, they typically had fine pastes and slipped and decorated surfaces; however, in the case of escudillas, the interior rim was often the location of the most elaborate iconography. Escudillas were closely related to elite culture at Tiwanaku (Couture 2002), and unlike keros and tazones, they were only ubiquitous in the ceremonial core of Tiwanaku, particularly in mortuary contexts. The popularity of escudilla subtypes changed over time in a relatively consistent manner; thus, escudilla frequencies are quite useful for dating contexts that cannot be dated using absolute methods. In our analysis, we created a novel escudilla subtype, 5.6, for miniature escudillas.

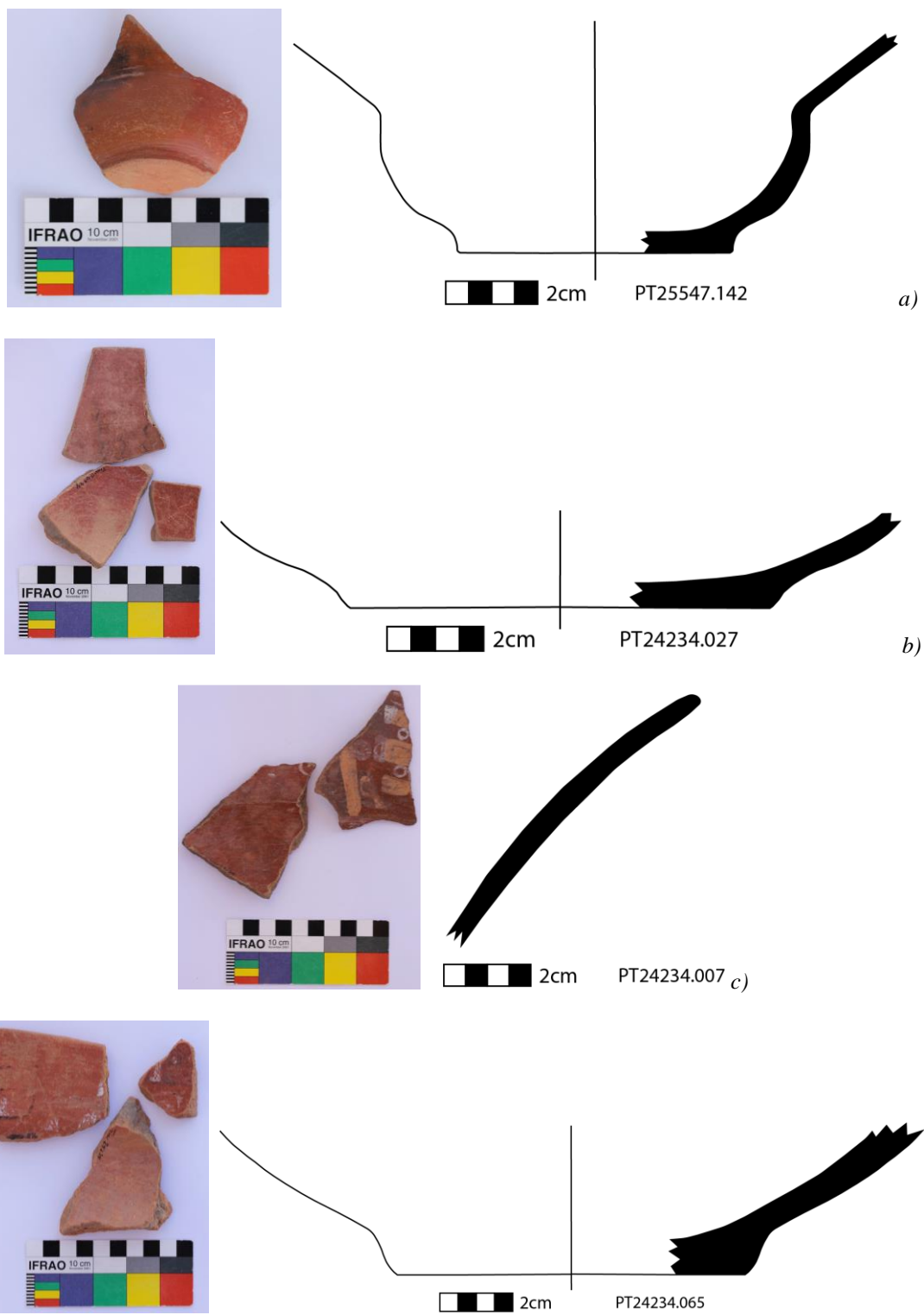


Figure 2.7. Examples of escudillas analyzed during fieldwork: a) PT25547.142 is a Tiwanaku IV style escudilla, type 5.2, b) PT24234.027 and c) PT24234.007 are examples of large escudillas, type 5.2.1, d) PT24234.065 is an oversized escudilla, type 5.5, e) MKA5406.002 is a miniature escudilla, type 5.6, and f) is a Tiwanaku V escudilla, type 5.4.

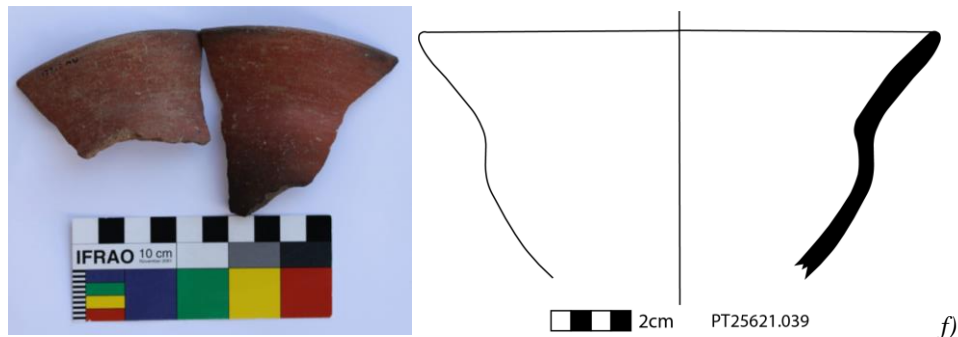
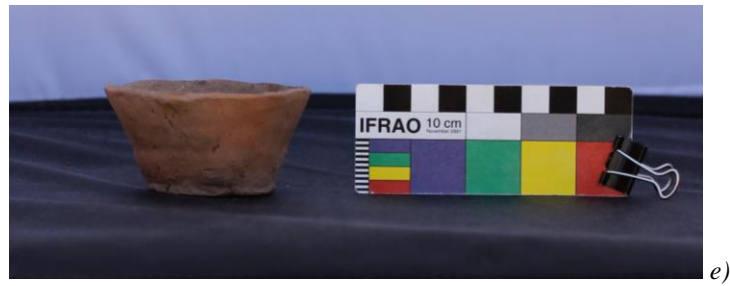


Figure 2.7, continued.



Figure 2.8. Plan view of a complete Tiwanaku IV escudilla from a mass grave found just north of the Akapana Pyramid (Rivera Infante 2011).

Cuencos (type 6) were bowls that were not hyperboloid, like tazones, and lacked the flare-rims of escudillas. They were uncommon in the Tiwanaku Valley, where the tazon was king. Vasijas (type 7) were among the most ubiquitous vessel types in the Tiwanaku Valley. They were small serving pitchers, with ellipsoid and spheroid bodies. The necks and rims of vasijas were quite variable, as were their pastes, surface finishes, and decorations. In general, vasijas represent an intermediate functional category between tinajas and keros. That is, between storage jars and drinking vessels, vasijas were used for serving liquids. It is possible they were also used to portion

out liquids that were not drunk, like oils; however, to my knowledge, there has been no study of what precisely went into vasijas. In our analysis, we identified a novel vasija subtype, 7.6, which lacked a defined neck and had a wide mouth (see figure 2.9).

Wide jars (type 8) were large, squat, ellipsoid vessels with everted rims and large mouths, and fuentes (type 9) were large basins of various shapes. We did not encounter many of either type in our analysis.

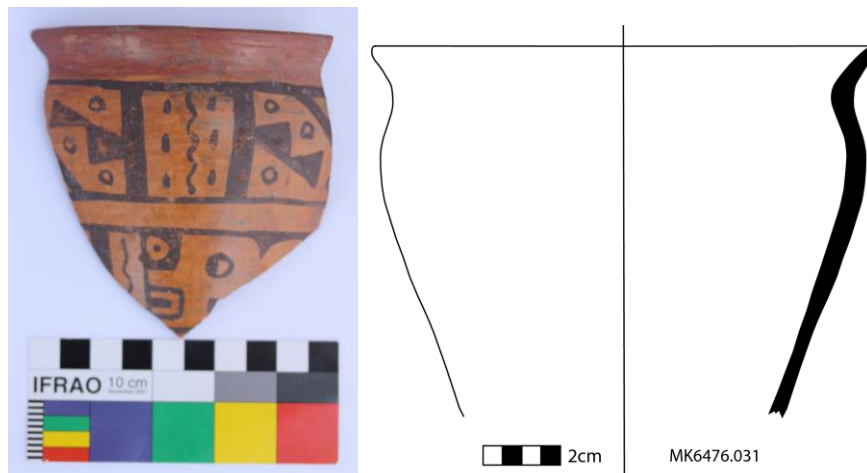


Figure 2.9. Example of a very wide mouthed vasija, type 7.6. Vessel number MK6476.031.

Sahumadores (type 10) were hyperboloid vessels with annular pedestalled bases (see figure 2.10). Their pastes and surface treatments often resembled those of keros and tazones, yet some of the larger varieties, called mechachuas, had thick walls with coarse pastes. Sahumadores were sometimes decorated with elaborate iconography, and they were used like lamps, as receptacles for burning materials, likely including fats, oils, resins, and incense. They are frequently found in contexts throughout the Tiwanaku Valley, and we identified many in our analysis. Incensarios (type 11) were special ceremonial vessels, and like sahumadores, they were used to burn materials. Unlike sahumadores, they included modeled zoomorphic heads, typically feline, camelid, or avian, and their bodies were painted or modeled to resemble zoomorphic bodies. They were generally quite rare.



Figure 2.10. Example of a red-slipped sahumador, type 10.1.1. Vessel number MAK4883.002.



Figure 2.11. Examples of puma (left) and condor (right) incensarios from Lukurmata (from Janusek 2003b:72, fig. 3.62).

Wako retratos (type 12) were vessels that were modeled to resemble human heads, including detailed facial features (see figures 5.19 And 6.25). These portrait vessels were highly variable as well as rare. Pedestal bowls (type 13) were bowls whose hyperboloid lower half and more cylindrical upper half were demarcated by an angular ridge. They were extremely rare. Kero basins (type 14) were very large kero shaped vessels, yet their bodies were less hyperboloid and their rims were not as everted. They were also among the rarest vessel types. Modeled human figurines (type 15) were just that; we did not encounter any in our analysis. The final three categories (16, 17, and 18) were grab bag types—non-local, too small/eroded to identify, and

unknown—that were used when the analyst could not make sense of a sherd or vessel. Figure 2.12 shows the frequencies of all vessel types (by MNV) analyzed in the present study.

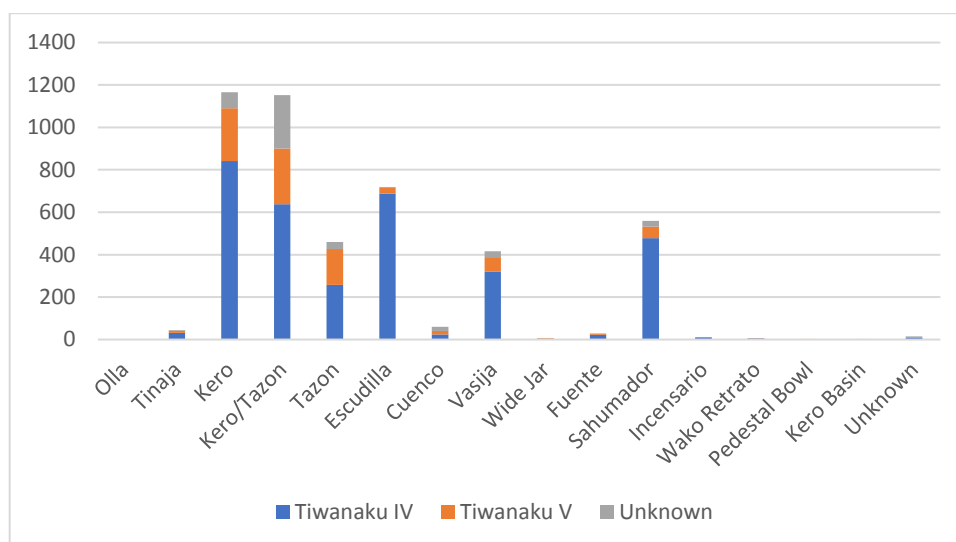


Figure 2.12. Overview of analyzed vessel form frequencies (MNV).

The third column on the attribute analysis form was a count of the number of fragments that could be attributed to the vessel being analyzed, and in the fourth column, the analyst recorded the type(s) of fragment(s) (e.g. rim sherd or ‘semi-complete vessel;’ see Appendix A). In the fifth column, the analyst recorded the total weight of the vessel/sherds. In the sixth column, the analyst recorded the max length of the largest sherd belonging to the vessel. In the seventh column, the analyst recorded the thickness of the vessel’s wall/sherd and noted whether the thickness was measured at the rim, body, or base. And in the eighth column, the analyst recorded the rim and/or base diameter of the vessel, if possible. Together, these data represent an overview of the formal qualities of the vessels being analyzed.

In the ninth through twelfth columns, the analyst recorded data pertaining to the vessel’s paste: the paste color (using a Munsell chart), the firing conditions (oxidized, reduced, or a combination thereof), the tempers/inclusions visible in the paste, and the density of the inclusions (high, medium, or low). Regarding the analysis of inclusions, Fontenla, Viviani, and I lacked

experience identifying the minerals and other materials added to pastes in the region, and while we attempted to identify what we could, using a 10x magnifying glass, I do not consider these data to be particularly reliable. Thus, I do not refer to them elsewhere in this dissertation. However, they may be useful as a starting point for future analyses of Tiwanaku ceramic pastes.

In the thirteenth and fourteenth columns, the analyst recorded the surface finish of the exterior and interior of the vessel. In the fifteenth column, the analyst recorded the color of the vessel's slip (if there was a slip) using a Munsell chart. These details are relevant to the decoration and aesthetic qualities of the vessels. Finally, in the sixteenth column, the analyst recorded whether or not the vessel/sherd was drawn. The general rules for drawing a vessel or sherd were: only draw if >25% of the vessel's rim or base is intact, or if a newly identified or complete motif is noted on the vessel/sherd. Upon completing the analysis of a bag of ceramics, the analyst photographed every vessel and sherd. Post analysis, I added context type (e.g. hearth) and phase (e.g. Tiwanaku IV) data to the spreadsheets in which the forms' data were recorded.

Iconographic Analysis

In my analysis of iconography, I developed a classificatory system that did not rely as heavily on previous studies of Tiwanaku materials. Both Manzanilla (1992) and Alconini (1995) have presented overviews of Tiwanaku style iconographic elements that influenced the scales and types of categories I would use, but ultimately, I set about developing a system of iconographic classification that would be constructed during our analysis—the only initial general divisions we made were between anthropomorphic, zoomorphic, and geometric motifs, and elements (categories I explain below). Thus, we would produce a multinomial, as opposed to binomial, classification.

The classification and study of ceramic ‘style’ has been a cornerstone of archaeological method and theory for much of the discipline’s history (P. M. Rice 1987). Formative debates over the ‘real’ existence and empirical bases of archaeological typologies (Ford 1954, 1962; Spaulding 1953) were followed by foundational research into how different kinds of stylistic variation effectively represent or manifest social identities (Wobst 1977; Sackett 1977; Wiessner 1983). More recent work has productively investigated how “micro-styles,” identifiable through a careful analysis of ceramic production, can reveal boundaries between potters and/or communities (Dietler and Herbich 1989; Roddick 2009). Even though my work—which examines the social and political effects of the aesthetic qualities of Tiwanaku style vessels—does not fit into theoretical frameworks that focused on cultural, genealogical, and kinship systems (e.g. Freeman 1962; Cronin 1962; Longacre 1964; Deetz 1965; Hill 1967; Whallon 1968; LeBlanc and Watson 1973), I do seek to classify components of Tiwanaku iconography in order to discuss its properties in a systematic manner, thus I am very much concerned with the methodological issues addressed in these classic texts (see chapter 4).

The theoretical basis of my classificatory methodology, however, is Gell’s (1998) conceptualization of style. Gell (1998:166) argued that a stylistic unit is predicated, in part, on each component or manifestation of that style being able to act as a synecdoche of the larger assemblage to which it belongs. This metonymic relationship between part and whole is at once an indexical one, as are all metonyms, and an iconic one insofar as resemblances between objects and iconographic imageries belonging to a style constitute its coherence. In his example of a “morphological” analysis of Marquesan tattoo imagery and artworks, Gell (1998:167) examined what he referred to as “invariants under transformation,” focusing intently on how a “motif”—the basic unit of his analysis that I adopt in my own—can be transformed into another motif, then into

another. My approach, however, does not deal with motif transformation in great detail (the exception is my analysis of production and ‘play’ in Chapter 6). Furthermore, I am more interested in how Tiwanaku style vessels and their iconography tended to index the social contexts in which they were consumed in addition to other artifacts. In this sense, my approach to building an account of Tiwanaku style relies heavily on the old archaeological method of inferring relationships between artifacts based on copresence as well as resemblance; from this perspective the synecdochal relationship between motif and stylistic corpus was something constructed in the past and reconstructed during archaeological excavation.

The central issue in classifying ‘motifs’ in Tiwanaku ceramic iconography is that of scale. In their analyses, Manzanilla (1992) and Alconini (1995) classified zoomorphic eyes, mouths, ears, etc. into types. However, I chose to classify zoomorphic and anthropomorphic iconography into types of heads, arms/legs/wings, tails, and torsos. The logic behind this choice was that I sought to identify the largest identifiable collections of ‘elements’ *qua* motifs that were repeated multiple times.⁵ In the case of humans and animals in Tiwanaku iconography, their bodies are not always ‘intact.’ For example, avian heads and tailfeathers are often attached to staffs, and feline and avian heads can sprout kenning-like⁶ from various bodies and objects. On the other hand, eyes without faces are generally absent in the preserved iconography. Thus, this scale made sense empirically.

Applying the same logic to geometric motifs was tricky; however, as best we could, we once again attempted to identify “the largest collections of ‘elements’ *qua* motifs that were repeated multiple times.” At this point, it makes sense to distinguish between elements and motifs. While motifs were complex icons made up of multiple parts, e.g. a head made up of eyes, ears,

⁵ In his analysis of Marquesan imagery, Gell (1998:170) wrote, “Motifs are recognizable both because they recur in identical form repeatedly in the corpus (as well as modified forms) and because they have documented motif-names...” My category of the motif is predicated on the former of these two characteristics.

⁶ See Rowe’s (1967) discussion of “kennings” in Chavín art.

and a mouth, elements were those parts that made up motifs. In our analysis, we classified elements as minimal geometric shapes, like lines and filled and unfilled polygons and circles; some elements were simply the partial remains of larger motifs or icons that could not be identified (see Appendix C). During analysis, we kept a log of the various motifs and elements in four notebooks (anthropomorphic motifs, zoomorphic motifs, geometric motifs, and elements).

Often, we would consult with each other if we were unsure of whether to classify something as a new or existing motif, yet the fundamental limitation of this methodology is that a classification of this type is deeply affected by the perceptions of the analyst(s). In his critical review of the use of stylistic variability to infer social organization in American archaeology, Plog (1978) noted Tuggle's (1970) study that revealed that different people produced different element counts when analyzing the same materials. Plog (1978) argued that this is an unresolved flaw in the analysis of iconographic styles. Unfortunately, I cannot dismiss this critique other than to note that reductive and subjective classification is a 'necessary evil' in the systematic study of iconography. However, the purpose of the analysis that I conducted was not to create a 100% accurate account of Tiwanaku ceramic iconography; instead, I sought to create an empirically grounded representation of that iconography which could be used to examine its general characteristics.⁷ One of the key questions I asked of these data post fieldwork was the degree to which the iconographic corpuses of various sectors of Tiwanaku were more or less uniform than each other (see Chapter 4). In doing so, I sought to investigate the relationships between iconography and space on a relative scale. Thus, as much as possible, I avoid making absolute claims regarding Tiwanaku style throughout this dissertation.

⁷ Thus, in terms of the classic, aforementioned debate between Ford and Spaulding, I am siding with the former.

Fontenla, Viviani, or I conducted the iconographic analysis of a bag of materials upon completing the attribute analysis of that same bag. As with the attribute form, at the top of each iconography form, the analyst recorded the date, their name, and the site/sector, unit, level/feature/event/locus, and bag number of the context being analyzed. Each row of this form represented a unique motif or element type identified on a particular vessel. So, if the same motif was twice repeated on a single vessel, it would only be recorded in a single row of the form. However, if that same motif was found on one vessel then again on a different vessel from the same context, each instance would be recorded in its own row. In the first column, the analyst recorded the design's (i.e. motif or element) unique number, which was the three-digit number from the attribute form that had been assigned to the sherd on which the design was depicted, followed by a letter, starting with 'a' then proceeding alphabetically depending on how many designs were found on a particular vessel. For example, 'PJM7063.014c' was the third design analyzed on the fourteenth vessel from bag 7063 excavated by Proyecto Jach'a Marka.

In the second column, the analyst recorded the motif or element type, which was based on the classification system that I just discussed. In cases when a motif had not yet been identified, it was up to the analyst to assign it a new motif code and paste a drawing of the motif into the appropriate (anthropomorphic, zoomorphic, or geometric) motif notebook. New elements were sketched in the element notebook. During fieldwork, anthropomorphic motif types were given alphanumeric codes starting with 'MA' and followed by three digits, starting with '001.' The prefixes of zoomorphic motif, geometric motif, and element codes were 'MZ,' 'MG,' and 'E' respectively.

In the third column, the analyst recorded the length and/or width of the design, depending on if these dimensions were measurable. In the fourth column, the analyst recorded the color(s) of

the design; while the analyst used a Munsell chart, instead of the precise color, they recorded the name of the color (e.g. red, light reddish brown, etc.) as represented by a numeral found on the form coding sheet (see Appendix A). In the fifth column, the analyst recorded the location of the design (e.g. interior rim). In the sixth column, the analyst recorded whether or not the design was complete or incomplete—all complete motifs were drawn, even if their types had been previously identified and drawn. In the seventh column, the analyst recorded the number of times the design was repeated on the vessel or sherd(s). In the eighth column, there was a large space available for the analyst to make any notes they considered relevant. For example, I often used this space to note if an element seemed to be part of an already identified motif.

After fieldwork, I amended the classification system and recoded the motifs in order to include more details in the codes themselves for ease of analysis. In the novel coding system, the first three letters refer to the broad category to which the motif belongs. For anthropomorphic motifs, the first three letters are MAT, for feline motifs, they are MZF, and for avian motifs, they are MZA. The fourth broad category, MZO, is ‘other’ zoomorphic motifs, which are animal/animal-like figures that are not identifiable as either feline or avian. These four broad categories were then subdivided into five subcategories based on body parts, which is represented by the first of the three digits that follow the aforementioned three letters; 0 corresponds to full body,⁸ 1 corresponds to head, 2 corresponds to torso, 3 corresponds to limb, and 4 corresponds to tail. For example, motif MZA302 is the second avian wing motif that was identified. There is a sixth subcategory included in the MZO group, MZO5--, which corresponds to the ‘collar and leash

⁸ Some full body motifs correspond to figures that were not divisible in the manner of typical Tiwanaku icons, e.g. the Omereque figures (MZO006) found on a challador from the Putuni (see Chapter 5). Others are ‘icons,’ like the staff attendant, that have been identified elsewhere as key figures (Cook 1985, 2012; Isbell and Knobloch 2009). In Appendix B, I identify the motifs that constitute these ‘complex icons’ in an example of multi-label classification. However, I did not count these compound icons and their motifs twice in my subsequent analyses.

motif,' a strange motif that can also be found in Late Formative, Qeya style polychrome iconography (Janusek 2003b:50). While it resembles a collar and leash, it is highly unlikely that it literally represented a collar and leash.

The geometric motifs were reclassified differently. There are five geometric subcategories, which were given the prefixes MGa, MGb, MGc, MGd, and MGe, followed by two digits starting with 01 and ascending from there. MGa-- motifs are interlocking step and circles motifs, which are typically repeated in a band encircling a vessel. MGb-- are volute motifs, which are characterized by curving lines and spirals. MGc-- are wavy line motifs, which are typically represented in panels or repeated sequences of lines. MGd-- are diamond motifs, which are typically represented in linear sequences. Finally, MGe-- are 'other' geometric motifs that do not fit into the other four subcategories. As an example, MGa13 is the thirteenth interlocking step and circle motif that was identified during our analysis.

The final category of motif was MOa--, which corresponds to 'staff' motifs; while staffs are rarely depicted in Tiwanaku ceramic iconography, they were the only class of objects that we identified in our analysis. With this coding system, I am able to identify the primary classes of motifs utilized in Tiwanaku ceramic iconography; these are: MAT1--, MAT3--, MZF1--, MZF2--, MZF3--, MZF4--, MZA1--, MZA2--, MZA3--, MZA4--, MZO201, MZO5--, MGa--, MGb--, MGc--, MGd--, and MOa--. Appendix B presents a full overview of the motif types we identified during our analysis.

Tiwanaku Style in the Tiwanaku Valley

The remainder of this chapter is dedicated to presenting the general characteristics of Tiwanaku polychrome ceramics based on what we observed in our analysis. These insights are

intended to provide a normative overview of Tiwanaku style; however, this normative perspective has limited analytical value. Thus, these characterizations of Tiwanaku style represent a baseline orientation for the following chapters that deal with the political and social effects of Tiwanaku style ceramics in a variety of contexts.

Ceramic Forms

The following charts show the frequencies of the various subtypes of the four most common serving/ceremonial wares in our sample: keros, tazones, escudillas, and sahumadores.

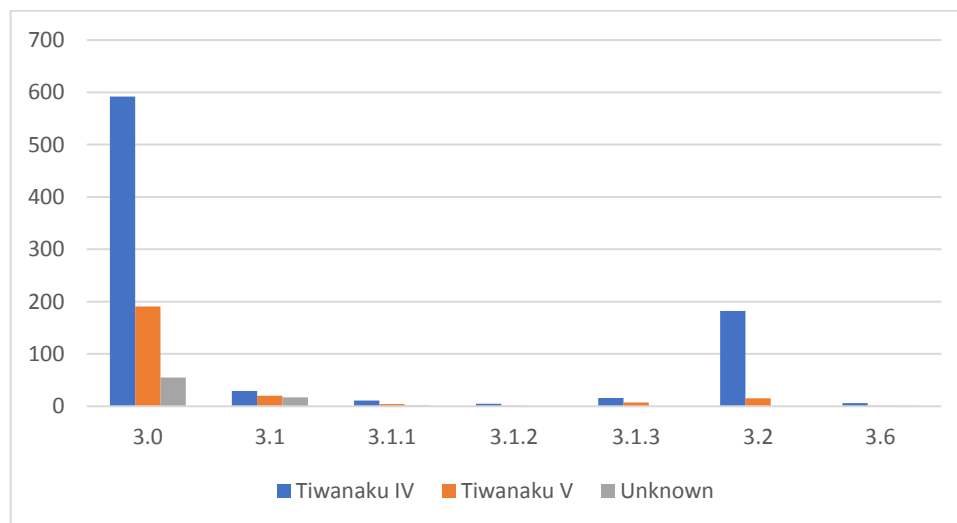


Figure 2.13. Kero subtype frequencies (MNV).

In my sample, most of the kero sherds we identified (figure 2.13) did not allow us to classify the vessel based on the characteristics of its torus, which is fundamental to Janusek's (2003b) typology of keros. Thus, the most frequent kero subtype we identified was 3.0, or the generic category 'kero.' The majority of the tazones we identified (figure 2.14) were type 4.1, the decorated tazon. We also encountered many 'recurved tazones,' type 4.4, which Couture (2002) has noted were key components of elite material culture at Tiwanaku. Unlike the other ubiquitous ceramic forms that we analyzed, the relative frequency of tazones increased in the Tiwanaku V

phase. This may be due to the types of contexts that I chose to analyze, however, as opposed to an actual temporal trend.

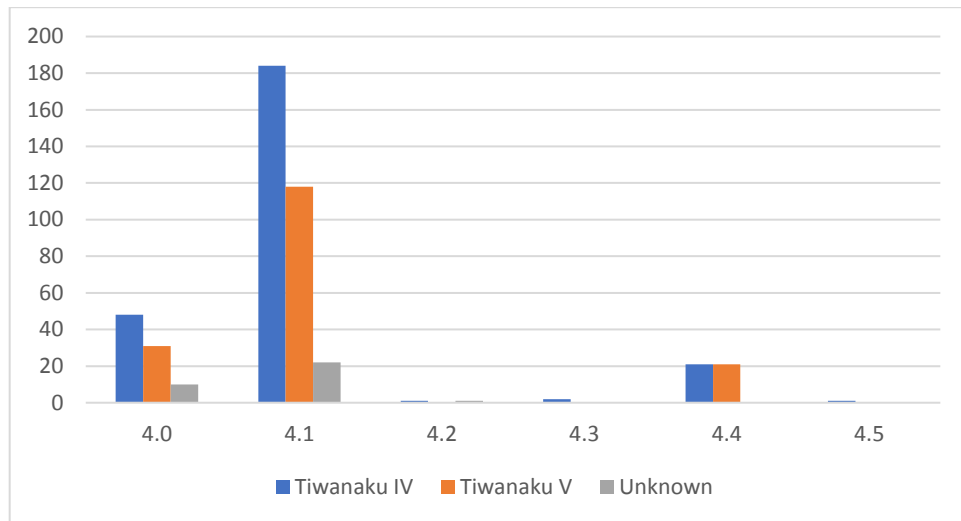


Figure 2.14. Tazon subtype frequencies (MNV).

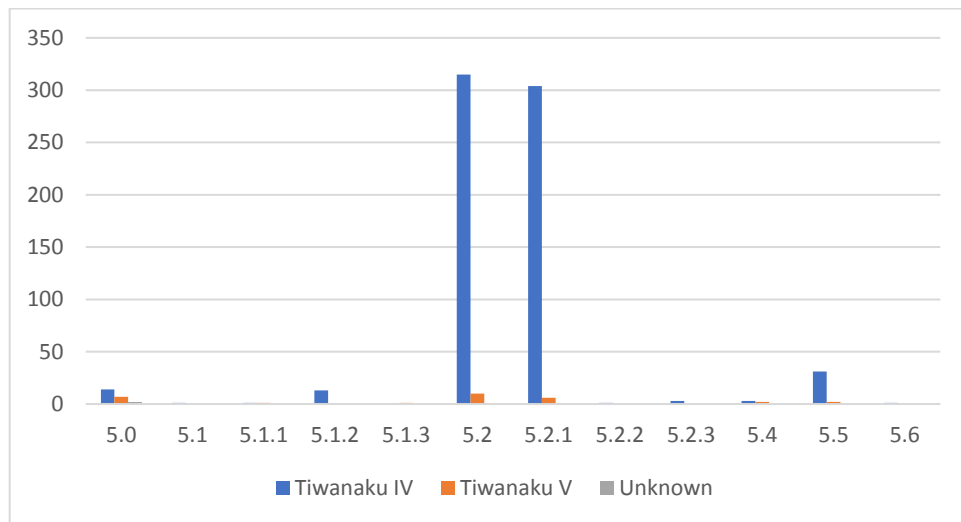


Figure 2.15. Escudilla subtype frequencies (MNV).

The vast majority of the escudillas we analyzed (figure 2.15) were large escudillas, variants of type 5.2, which were most popular during the Tiwanaku IV phase. Of these many escudillas, over 85% of them came from elite Tiwanaku IV tombs in the Putuni sector (see Chapter 5). Almost all of the sahumadores we analyzed (figure 2.16) were ‘red-slipped’ sahumadores, type 10.1.1, which was evidently a highly standardized vessel form that did not change significantly over time.

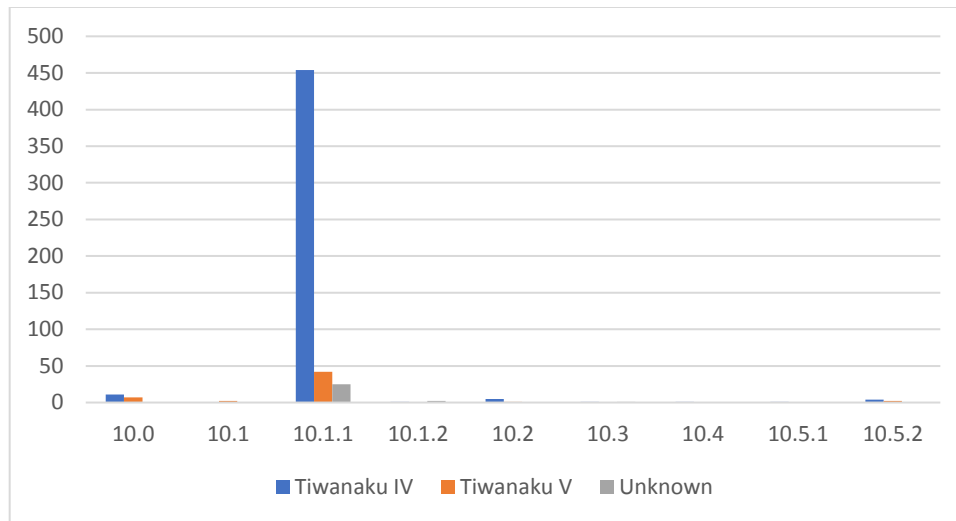


Figure 2.16. Sahumador subtype frequencies (MNV).

Decoration and Iconography

Figure 2.17 presents an overview of the frequencies of slip colors applied to keros, tazones, escudillas, and sahumadores in the Tiwanaku Valley. Various shades of red were by far the most common slip colors used by potters in the Tiwanaku Valley. Based on previous studies (Alconini 1995; Janusek 2003b; Couture 2002), this is not surprising. Gray or black slips were a distant second in terms of popularity. Figure 2.18 presents an overview of the finishing techniques used by Tiwanaku Valley potters. Tiwanaku potters put great effort into producing fine, lustrous surfaces on these serving and ceremonial wares. We categorized the vast majority of the exterior surface finishes on the vessels and sherds we analyzed as polished or burnished.

Among the colors that made up the elements and motifs painted on Tiwanaku ceramics, over 80% of the designs were some combination of black, white, and orange (yellowish red/reddish yellow) paints. The distant fourth most common design color was gray. In terms of what was used to produce the pigments for the paints, the only current clue comes from the array of paints used on the walls of the Putuni's Palace of Multicolored Rooms; a reddish-orange pigment was identified as cinnabar, and a blue pigment (which may end up black post-firing) was identified as

sodalite (Couture 2002:262; see Chapter 5). If the paints were indeed made from non-organic compounds, this allowed them to be applied pre-firing, and it is probable that potters generally painted the polychrome iconography onto Tiwanaku ceramics prior to firing. Further detailed studies will provide greater insight into the technical aspects of ceramic decoration employed at Tiwanaku.

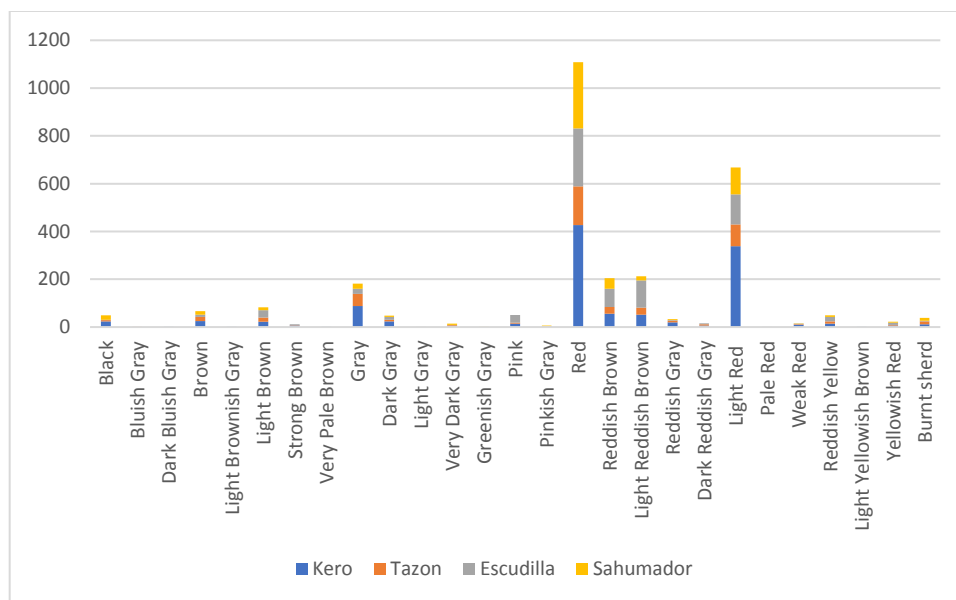


Figure 2.17. Slip color frequencies for keros, tazones, escudillas, and sahumadores (MNV). Color labels are taken from the Munsell chart.

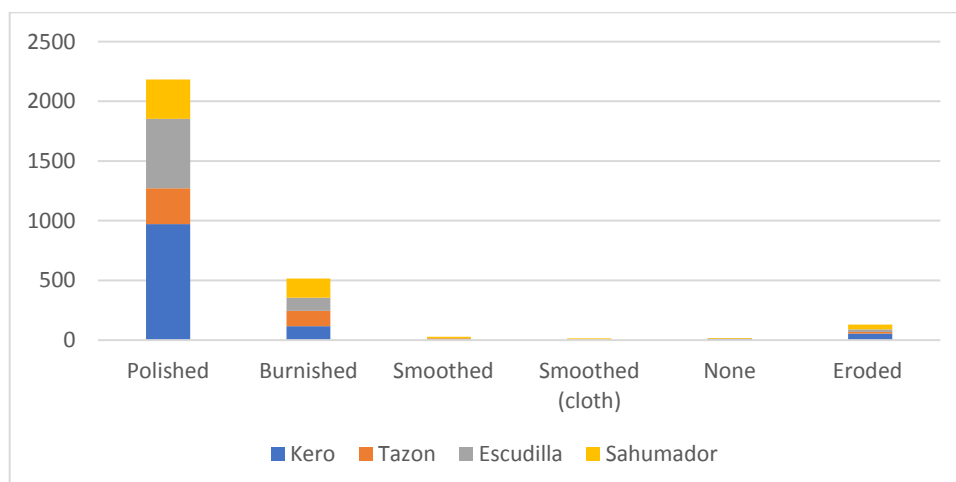


Figure 2.18. Exterior surface treatment frequencies for keros, tazones, escudillas, and sahumadores (MNV).

The most frequent motifs that we identified (figure 2.19) on Tiwanaku Valley polychrome ceramics were the various zoomorphic motifs (especially avian and feline). In terms of general

temporal trends in Tiwanaku iconography, the most obvious distinction between the Tiwanaku IV and V phases is the sharp relative increase in geometric motifs at the onset of the Tiwanaku V phase, which may in part be explained by the aforementioned increase in the relative frequency of tazones. However, as I go on to explicate in subsequent chapters, the context types that I analyzed for each phase were not always equivalent, making it difficult to draw conclusions about changes in Tiwanaku iconography over time. For example, while I analyzed materials from many elite tombs located in the Putuni sector dating to Tiwanaku IV, I did not analyze any elite tombs dating to the Tiwanaku V phase.

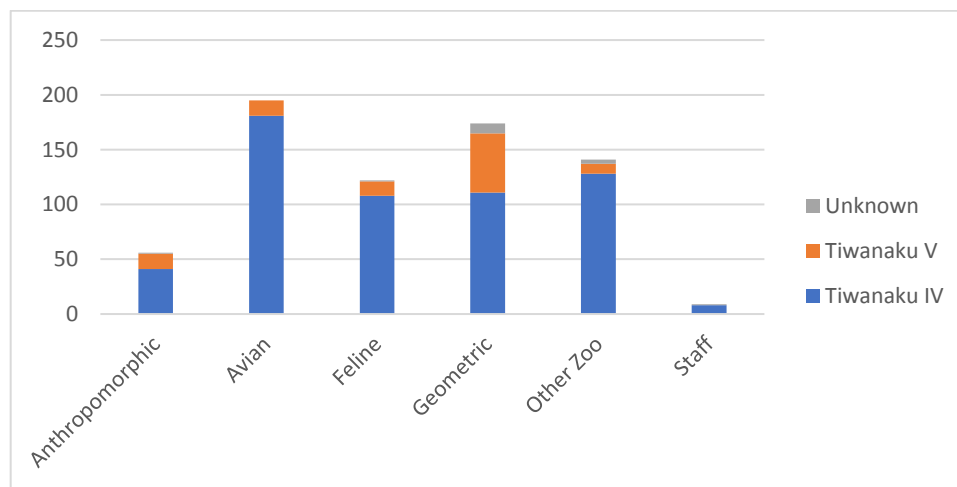


Figure 2.19. Motif general category frequencies (MNV of vessels on which they are found) with phase data included.

Among the anthropomorphic motifs we identified (figure 2.20), there was a great variety of heads. However, other body parts were quite standardized and generally less detailed. Heads in Tiwanaku art are often depicted without bodies, and they are highly stylized and almost exclusively depicted in profile. The most characteristic elements of Tiwanaku style heads—conventionally considered trophy heads (Burkholder 1997; Couture and Sampeck 2003; Blom, Janusek, and Buikstra 2003; Blom and Couture 2018)—are the elongated rectangular shape of the head, the keyhole shape that envelopes the circular eye, the rectangular nose, and the rectilinear U-shaped mouth (e.g. motif MAT106, see Appendix B).

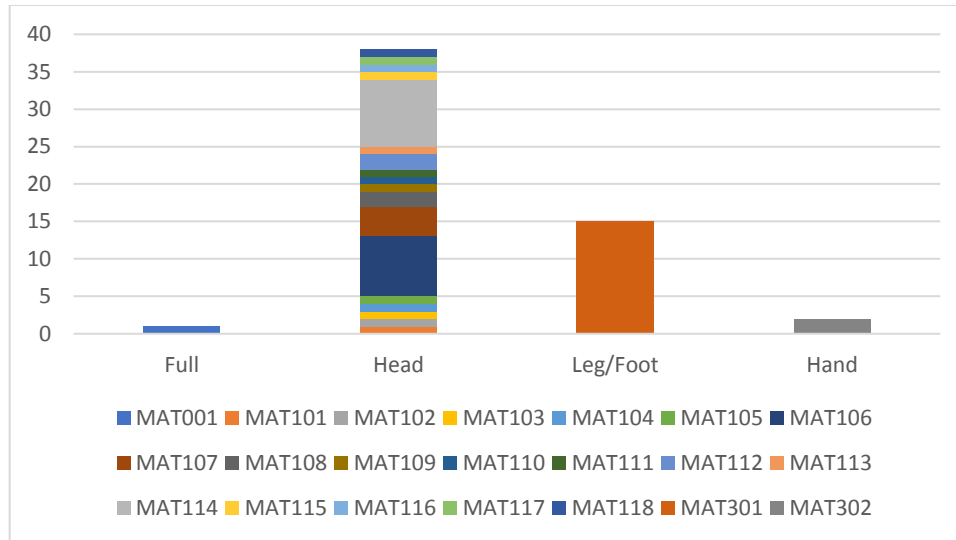


Figure 2.20. Anthropomorphic motif frequencies.

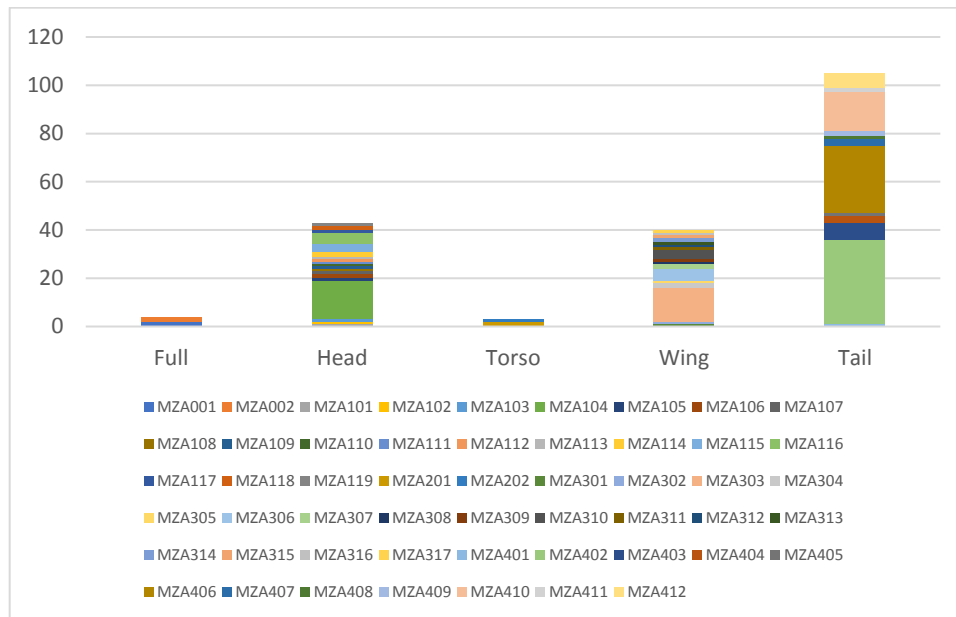


Figure 2.21. Avian motif frequencies.

The avian motifs we identified (figure 2.21) were almost all condors, or at least raptors. Among the zoomorphic motif categories in our sample, avian motifs were the most standardized. There were fewer variations and those variants that we identified we often found multiple times. The key characteristics of Tiwanaku style condor heads, typically depicted in profile, are the arched and curved beak, the roughly D-shaped head, the circular eye, and the rectangular neck (e.g. motif MZA104, see Appendix B). There are some condor heads depicted with a ‘crown,’

which suggests they represent males. The wings, again in profile, resemble the Philadelphia Flyers' logo; they often have a circular 'hub' out of which three (or more, or less) feathers extend (e.g. motif MZA303, see Appendix B). Avian tails are generally symmetrical and rectilinear, with three or two tailfeathers depicted (e.g. motif MZA402, see Appendix B).

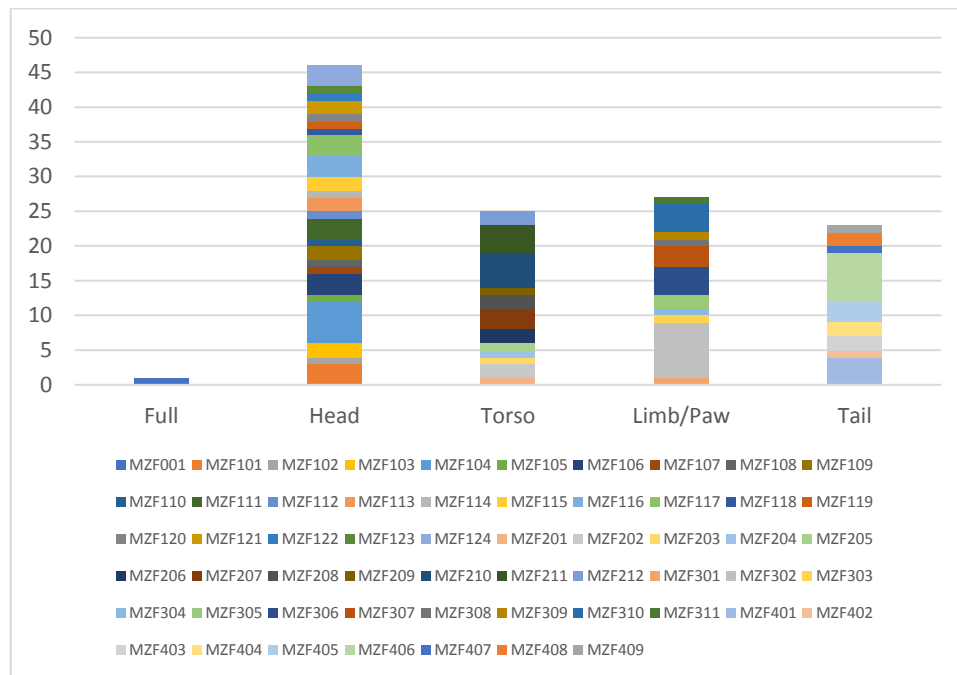


Figure 2.22. Feline motif frequencies.

We noted greater variation in feline motifs (figure 2.22) than in avian motifs. While Burkholder (1997:26) identified the “spotted feline” as a typical icon in Tiwanaku art at Iwawi, I did not find that all or even most of the felines depicted were spotted (though many were). In general, feline heads, typically depicted in profile, are rounded, sometimes almost circular. Their eyes, ears, and noses are likewise circular or ovular, and their mouths, like human mouths, are rectilinear U-shaped (e.g. motif MZF101, see Appendix B). Feline bodies and tails come in multiple varieties. Some bodies have distinct bellies, and most tails and bodies are segmented in some way. Feline limbs are typically rectangular, and on their paws, potters usually depicted three claws.

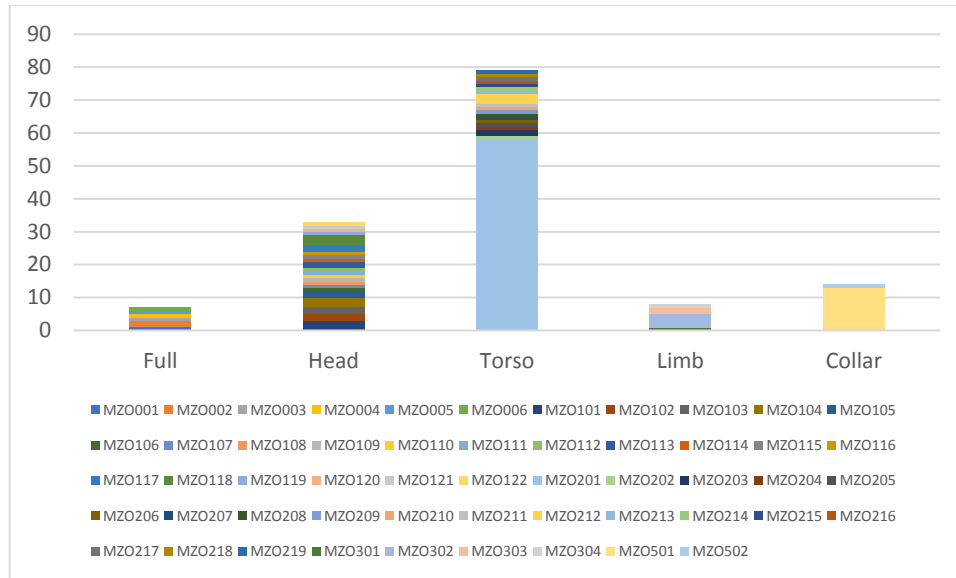


Figure 2.23. Other zoomorphic motif frequencies.

Among the ‘other’ zoomorphic motifs (figure 2.23), there are fish, camelids, and deer, as well as fantastical creatures (see Chapter 5). While this ‘other’ category is a grab bag of mythical and natural animals, two important motifs appear in this set: the aforementioned ‘collar and leash’ motif (MZO501) and the generic zoomorphic ‘body segment’ motif (MZO201). MZO201 is a simple motif, two nested rectangles, that would have otherwise been considered an element, yet it is often the fundamental building block of zoomorphic (especially avian) necks, bodies, limbs, and tails, thus, I consider it a motif.

For the most part, there was a great deal of variety among the geometric motifs (see figure 2.24). However, the most frequently repeated motif in the entire set we analyzed was MGa02, an orange interlocking, rectilinear, partial spiral that is adorned with small white loops. This was a key component of Tiwanaku iconography in the center of the city, and I discuss it in more detail in chapters 4, 5, and 6.

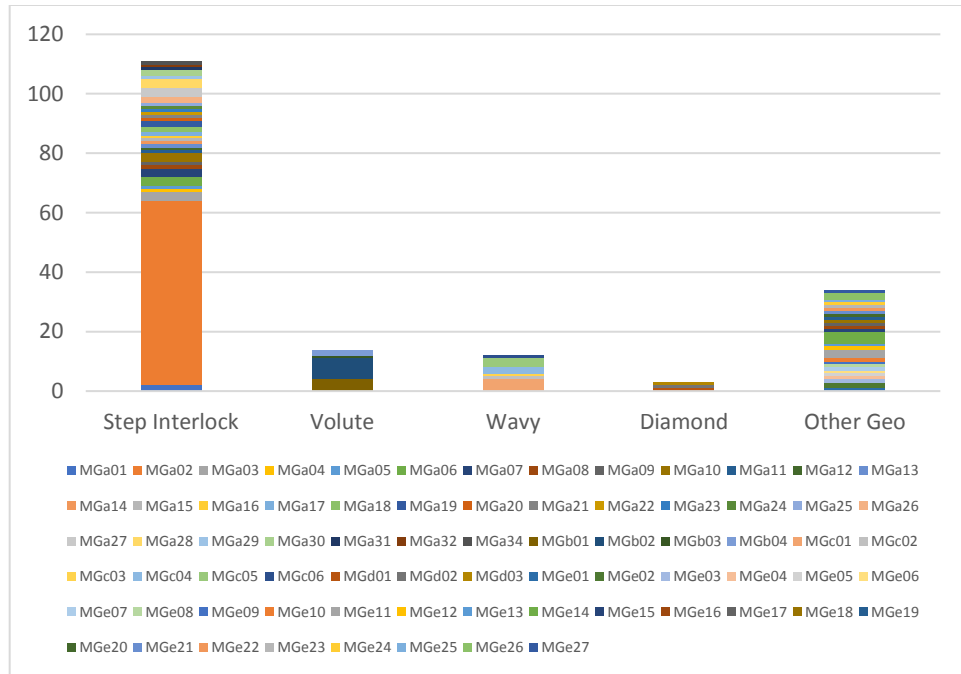


Figure 2.24. Geometric motif frequencies.

Concluding Remarks

The methods and data outlined in this chapter represent the empirical basis of the arguments presented in the subsequent chapters. The motif is the key analytical category with which I evaluate the characteristics of Tiwanaku iconography in distinct spatial and temporal contexts. In Chapter 3, however, I present an analysis of feasting at Tiwanaku, the key ritual practice in which Tiwanaku style vessels were consumed. In the chapters that follow, I contextualize Tiwanaku iconography and embed it within social practices. Thus, I am able to explicate its roles and effects in Tiwanaku's political culture.

CHAPTER 3: Feasting Spaces and Materials within Tiwanaku's Ceremonial Center

In this chapter, I focus on large scale rituals within the center of Tiwanaku, examining the practices that characterized them and presenting an overview of their monumental settings. I limit my discussion to the Tiwanaku IV phase (approximately AD 600-850), as it was during this period within the ceremonial center that the largest intersection of Tiwanaku inhabitants, visitors, and, indeed, subjects were present in one place, at one time.¹ The goals of this chapter are: 1) to explicate the key role that feasting played in Tiwanaku's political culture, and 2) to provide context for the consumption of the decorated serving wares that make up the analytical focal point of the dissertation. In order to accomplish these goals, I address feasting at Tiwanaku in general, discuss the key monuments within the city center, and finally present the results of recent excavations at the Akapana Complex. These discussions, in turn, provide the framework for the argument I present in Chapter 4, which posits that the ceramic vessels used and consumed within feasts upon and around the Akapana were centrally important to the construction of Tiwanaku political subjectivities during the middle to late Tiwanaku IV phase.

Within the current chapter, the section on feasting provides insight into the key ritual practice during which the decorated serving wares were consumed in the center of the site. In it, I first outline the methodological and theoretical considerations upon which an 'archaeology of feasting' is predicated. I then examine feasting at Tiwanaku in particular. In my subsequent descriptions of the key monuments at the site, I orient the reader and 'set the scene' in which the objects and iconography that I analyzed were displayed and consumed. Within the ceremonial center of Tiwanaku, there were several large structures that archaeological evidence reveals were the locations of feasting rituals. Starting in the west (the direction of Lake Titicaca) and moving

¹ I address Tiwanaku V in chapters 5, 6, and 7.

east, the major structures were: the Pumapunku, the Kerikala, the Putuni, the Chunchukala, the Kalasasaya, the Akapana, the Semi-Subterranean Temple (or Templete), and the Kantatallita (see figure 3.1). Among these structures, all except for the Pumapunku were located within the ‘center’ of Tiwanaku, which was demarcated by a moat-like canal (Kolata 1993a). The Chunchukala, Kerikala, and Kantatallita remain relatively poorly understood, as they have not been the focal point of long-term, sustained excavations. Furthermore, the Putuni *qua* monument was constructed at the onset of the Tiwanaku V phase, so I save its description for the chapter that corresponds directly to it (Chapter 5). As such, I limit my descriptions and discussions in this chapter to the Pumapunku, the Kalasasaya, the Templete, and the Akapana.



Figure 3.1. Google Earth image of the monumental core at Tiwanaku. Key monuments and sectors are labeled.

I address the first three monuments following the established chronological order of their construction: the Temple, the Kalasasaya, then the Pumapunku² (Kolata 1993a; Janusek 2008; Protzen and Nair 2013). Each of these three monuments also allow me to focus on a particular dimension of Tiwanaku rituals: 1) the central role of ancestors, 2) the temporal rhythms of the events, and 3) the pathways ancient peoples trod through the site. In the final section of the chapter, I describe excavations at the Akapana Pyramid and the plaza directly west of it, which I call the Akapana West (AW) Plaza. Together, the Akapana Pyramid and the AW Plaza constitute the ‘Akapana Complex.’ The ceramics that I analyzed from the Akapana Complex form the empirical crux of my arguments in Chapter 4; therefore, I am treating this area of Tiwanaku with extra care and detail. I present a detailed overview of the Akapana Pyramid itself, as well as an account of recent excavations that have provided new insights into the AW Plaza. In both cases, I discuss the excavated contexts from which I selected materials for analysis from this area.

Feasting at Tiwanaku

As this chapter focuses on large-scale rituals at Tiwanaku, it is necessary to outline the character of these rituals based on current archaeological evidence. Since these rituals were for the most part feasting rituals, my discussion here focuses on archaeological approaches to feasting generally and at Tiwanaku specifically.

Archaeological Approaches to Feasting

In the introduction to their edited volume on feasts, Dietler and Hayden (2001:3) begin with the foundational and deceptively straightforward question: what is a “feast?” Although the

² The Temple and Kalasasaya actually predate Tiwanaku’s emergence as the major urban center within the Southern Andes, so the temporal scope of this chapter is technically 200 BC to roughly AD 800.

researchers that contributed to the book do not reach a consensus definition, they generally agree upon two fundamental characteristics of feasting: 1) that it is the communal consumption of food and/or drink; and 2) that it is in some way distinguished from the quotidian meal. In Dietler's estimation, the distinction between feast and everyday meal is analogous to the linguistic distinction between "marked" and "unmarked" categories within a common semiotic field (Dietler 2001:69), and it is upon this basis that Dietler argues that feasting is "a particular form of *ritual* activity" (Dietler and Hayden 2001:3, original emphasis). He cites the example of communion during a Catholic mass to illustrate how this "ritual meal," a version of a feast, draws upon, yet is distinguished from the broader field of quotidian meals (Dietler 2001:70).

Identifying past feasts presents methodological problems for archaeologists because differentiating between quotidian and ritual meals is not particularly easy when faced with archaeological evidence alone. With this in mind, Hayden (2001:40-41) has outlined a practical list of material indicators that are useful for identifying feasting. Among those indicators that he lists, several are relevant to the present study, including special and/or intoxicating food items (e.g. alcohol and psychotropic substances), evidence for wasted food (e.g. articulated joints), unusual preparation or serving vessels (e.g. vessels for alcoholic drinks or of unusually large size), large food preparation facilities, feasting facilities (e.g. special structures for the gathering of large groups of people), and feasting middens.

It is useful to divide these indicators into two categories: feasting materials—such as vessels and food—and feasting spaces—such as special structures and open plazas. When remains of the two converge in the archaeological record, this provides strong evidence for the presence of past feasting events. Hayden's list gives a good account of feasting materials, but it is worth considering feasting spaces in greater detail. Past archaeological studies have identified various

examples of feasting spaces. Knight (2001) argues that pre-AD 700 Woodland platform mounds in the Southeastern United States were loci for feasting activity. He bases this assertion on the ubiquity of postholes, refuse, and cooking pits at the summit of the earthen mounds, and he concludes that these mounds were in fact sites of visible public feasts (Knight 2001:314-316). In her discussion of feasting in the peripheral Mayan site of Cerén, Brown (2001:381) notes that ethnographically recorded feasting spaces include generally two types: 1) “permanent dedicated ceremonial buildings,” and 2) “open-air feasting spaces usually in association with permanent structures.” The architectural and spatial features with which these authors associate feasting provide good examples against which to compare possibly analogous structures at Tiwanaku. Based on these material and spatial correlates of feasting, it is possible to evaluate potential loci of feasting activity at Tiwanaku.

Tiwanaku Feasts: Evidence and Theory

From archaeological and ethnohistorical accounts of the Inca (Murra 1980; MacCormack 1991; Cummins 2002) to contemporary ethnographies of Andean communities (Allen 1988; Abercrombie 1986), scholars have recognized that the communal consumption of food and alcohol is and has been a centrally important social practice within the region. Current evidence overwhelmingly supports the conclusion that Tiwanaku was no exception. Other scholars have done a great deal already to demonstrate the central importance of feasting rituals at Tiwanaku, and the contemporary archaeological literature on Tiwanaku is filled with evidence for and analysis of feasting at the site (Manzanilla 1992; Alconini 1995; Janusek 2003a, 2004a; Goldstein 2003; Berryman 2010; Vallières 2012).³

³ See also Nash (2012), Jennings and Chatfield (2009), and Jennings (2014) for discussions of feasting in the context of the contemporary Wari empire.

In terms of feasting materials, there is direct and indirect evidence that people were consuming alcohol and psychotropic substances upon and around the monuments at Tiwanaku. Unpublished residue analysis of Tiwanaku ceramics by Michael Marchbanks showed that keros were typically used to serve alcohol derived from quinoa (ch'ua) and maize (chicha) (Alan Kolata personal communication). In her isotopic analysis of skeletal remains from the Tiwanaku Valley and elsewhere, Berryman (2010) discovered that maize consumption—likely in the form of chicha—spiked dramatically at the onset of the Tiwanaku IV phase. Archaeologists have also recovered snuff tablets from excavations in and around the ceremonial center, which would have been used to consume psychotropic plants (Janusek 2004a:209, 217; Manzanilla 1992; see figure 3.2). The remains of llamas, including articulated joints and nearly complete skeletons, are ubiquitous throughout the middens excavated in the center of Tiwanaku (Manzanilla 1992; Janusek 2003a, 2004a; Webster and Janusek 2003). And as I note in Chapter 2, elaborate serving wares are equally ubiquitous in these contexts, as are unusually large ollas and tinajas, which were used in the preparation and storage of food and drink (Janusek 2003a, 2004a).

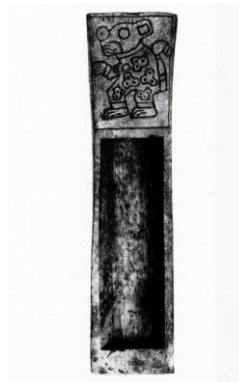


Figure 3.2 Camelid bone snuff tablet from the Putuni (from Webster and Janusek 2003:358, fig. 14.16).

Feasting spaces and ‘infrastructure’ are also well represented at Tiwanaku. Janusek (2003a) has identified evidence that an entire residential sector east of the Akapana was razed and repurposed into a structure used primarily for the preparation of elite-sponsored feasting early in

the Tiwanaku V phase. The ultimate focal point of this chapter—the Akapana Complex—is an example of a permanent ceremonial building and adjacent open-air space that is strikingly analogous to Brown’s Maya case. Furthermore, both the plaza and pyramid itself were covered in large and small depositions filled with feasting material (Manzanilla 1992; Yates and Augustine 2006). Thus, there is a definite convergence of both feasting materials and feasting spaces at Tiwanaku.

The implications of large-scale feasting are complex, as feasting is a socially and politically charged activity. Noting that the production and maintenance of *communitas*—which I address in Chapter 4—is only one of the possible outcomes of feasting, Dietler (2001) argues that feasting is a practice through which participants negotiate relationships and compete for power. Feasting can be a historic force, in which contests of domination and resistance are played out (Dietler 2001:71), and, thus it is a realm in which political transformations are enacted.

Bourdieu’s notion of “symbolic capital” is a foundational concept within Dietler’s approach to feasting. Focusing on economic situations in which “the law of ‘naked self-interest’...cannot act unless it succeeds in being recognized through a conversion that can render unrecognizable the true principle of its efficacy,” Bourdieu argued that symbolic capital is that which is accrued through subtle, euphemized forms of exploitation (Bourdieu 1990:118). Symbolic capital is accumulated in exchange activities, such as feasts, that are steeped in “sincere fictions,” which obfuscate inequalities; these unequal exchanges have the power to then “[transform] arbitrary relations of exploitation...into durable relations, grounded in nature” (Bourdieu 1990:112). Dietler draws from this theoretical framework in order to produce analytical tools that are particularly adept at grappling with the shifting power relations and emergence of inequalities associated with feasting.

Feasting is not a monolithic activity; subtleties abound in its political stakes and effects. From his analysis of the commensal politics of the Kenyan Luo, Dietler has developed a set of heuristic distinctions between forms of feasting that are useful to the present discussion. The three types of feast that he distinguishes are: 1) the empowering feast; 2) the patron-role feast; and 3) the diacritical feast (Dietler 2001). As he notes, this is not intended to be a rigid typology; rather, it is a helpful device for understanding how the various political dimensions of feasting are emphasized differently in particular contexts.

The empowering feast is generally associated with the acquisition and consolidation of unequal power relations. In these contexts, commensal hospitality is employed by strategic actors in order to gain symbolic capital (Dietler 2001:76). Domination is not sought aggressively because the empowering feast derives its effectiveness from euphemisms and misrecognitions (Dietler 2001:76-77). As Bourdieu noted, symbolic capital is only valuable when it is recognized as legitimate and misrecognized as capital (Bourdieu 1990:118). Following from the premise that political relationships can be constructed via constellations of obligation (see Chapter 1), the empowering feast represents a case in which debts are produced that then become the basis for longer term structural inequalities (see also Chapter 5). The dynamics of the empowering feast are analogous to those of the potlatch (see Mauss 1990), in which the most generous participant accrues the greatest amount of symbolic capital.

The patron-role feast “involves the formalized use of commensal hospitality to symbolically reiterate and legitimize institutional relations of asymmetrical social power” (Dietler 2001:82-83). In a sense, it reinforces and naturalizes forms of domination that are already established. The patron-role feast utilizes the same idiom as the empowering feast—that of reciprocal obligation brought about through hospitality; however, the expectation of immediate,

equal reciprocation is absent (Dietler 2001:83). The guests symbolically acknowledge their subordinate status, and the hosts take on political roles with incumbent duties to provide for the community at large. In this case, the scale of the debts is greater compared to empowering feasts; the patron's generosity within the feast is expected, while reemphasizing the extant hierarchy. The guests' acts of 'repayment,' through labor or tribute, are similarly formalized, and the fulfillment of their obligations play out over longer timescales, often in contexts outside of these ritually charged events.

Finally, the diacritical feast relies on differentiated cuisine and styles of consumption as a symbolic device to "naturalize and reify concepts of ranked differences in the status of social orders or classes" (Dietler 2001:85). Although it accomplishes a similar end to the previous two types of feasting, the emphasis in these feasts is on taste and exclusion over quantity and unequal reciprocity. As Dietler observes, "diacritical feasting transforms elite feasts into what Appadurai (1986) has called 'tournaments of value,' which serve to define elite status membership and to channel social competition within clearly defined boundaries" (Dietler 2001:86).

The Politics of Feasting at Tiwanaku

Within Tiwanaku's political history, particularly during the IV and V phases (AD 500-1100), all three forms of feasting played important roles, albeit in different settings and contexts. Goldstein (2003) and Berryman (2010) have done a great deal already to apply Dietler's analytical framework to the Tiwanaku case. Focusing primarily on sites far afield from Tiwanaku, especially those in the Moquegua Valley of Peru, Goldstein (2003) found that upon its introduction, maize chicha became a fundamental component of the diets of those peoples who came into contact with Tiwanaku's expanding polity; while he concludes that empowering feasts were a key aspect of

Tiwanaku's political rise and expansion, he argues that the large scale patron-role feasting that characterized the later Inca empire was not characteristic of the Tiwanaku period (Goldstein 2003:165). Incorporating a larger sample of skeletal remains from the Tiwanaku Valley, Berryman (2010) discovered that there was a massive spike in maize consumption across the board at the onset of the Tiwanaku IV phase. Noting these results, Janusek's (2003a) aforementioned account of the feast preparation zone east of the Akapana, and monolithic depictions of idealized feast patrons (see also Bandy 2013; Chapter 5), Berryman argues that there was, in fact, strong evidence to suggest that large scale patron-role feasting took place at Tiwanaku. Based on these arguments and data, it is logical to hypothesize that as social hierarchies became increasingly static and formalized around AD 800-900, patron-role feasting became the norm while empowering feasts were increasingly rare within the city's core. However, it would be incorrect to conclude that one form replaced the other completely—indeed as Dietler has suggested, the boundary between the two forms is fluid. I briefly address the shifting scale of feasts at the site in Chapter 7, which focuses on the dissolution of the Tiwanaku polity in the 11th and 12th centuries; feasting among Tiwanaku's main monuments became an increasingly exclusive activity, which in turn undermined the capacity of these practices to establish and reinforce wide-reaching networks of obligation.

Before I move on to discuss the key monuments at Tiwanaku, I need to address the “work feast,” which was central to the process of their construction (Couture 2002). Work feasts are a form of empowering feasts during which labor is provided in exchange for food and drink (Dietler and Herbich 2001:241). Dietler and Herbich (2001:240) argue that work feasts are virtually universal and the near exclusive means of mobilizing volunteer work projects in non-capitalist societies like Tiwanaku. The social lives of contemporary and historic Andean peoples do not contradict this claim; there is a specific Quechua word for such an event, *mink'a* (Allen 1988), and

during the Inca period, subjects' payments of labor tax (*m'ita*) were conventionally accompanied by large feasts hosted by the Inca (Goldstein 2003:146).

Within the idiom of work feasts, it is possible to conceptualize how large-scale construction projects produced social inequalities in the past. Couture (2002) has noted that this framework is relevant to understanding Tiwanaku's history, arguing that monument construction at Tiwanaku was not a form of coerced labor; instead, anthropological analogies indicate that large-scale construction at Tiwanaku would have required both sponsored work feasts and a degree of 'buy in' among those who performed the labor (Couture 2002). Bandy (2013) also points to work feasts as the primary means by which Tiwanaku's monuments were built. It is probable that these construction processes contributed to the formation of social hierarchies at Tiwanaku as much as or more than they reflected existing ones. Two general categories of labor are at play within the work feast: 1) the agricultural/preparation labor that produces the food and drink; and 2) the construction labor that constitutes the 'work' pre/post feast. The products of the first form of labor (the food/drink) are subsequently transformed into more labor power, which is then expended as the second form. In both cases, the labor mixes with material to form socially valuable materials; however, both forms end up ultimately contributing to the durable, symbolically potent monument. This framework obviously draws upon Marx's characterization of the classic 'labor theory of value' in *Capital*, yet it is also indebted to Munn's argument that products of labor differ in terms of the durability of their capacity to embody value (Munn 1986). Food, for example, has a limited capacity to extend "spacetime" (that of which value is a measure) compared to a durable object, such as a symbolically potent kula shell. In the case of Tiwanaku, the site's monuments were not built directly at the behest of an exploitative ruling class, as a tactic of self-aggrandizement; rather, their construction was a process through which class distinctions would have been produced (see

also Chapter 5). As Dietler and Herbich (2001:255) have noted, the potential for class differentiation and domination inherent in the work feast is exacerbated when the labor extracted produces something enabling the organizer(s) to accrue significant symbolic capital, which was the case with Tiwanaku's monuments.

Key Monuments and the Character of Tiwanaku Rituals

The history and architectonics of Tiwanaku's monuments are highly complex, and in this section of the chapter, I present a brief overview intended to introduce the reader to the key monuments within Tiwanaku's ceremonial district. Prior to the subsequent, more detailed discussion of the Akapana Complex, I use the Temple, the Kalasasaya, and the Pumapunku to focus on important dimensions of ritual practices at Tiwanaku.

The Semi-Subterranean Temple: Ancestor Veneration within the Titicaca Basin

Located directly to the east of the Kalasasaya and the north of the Akapana, the Semi-Subterranean Temple (Temple) is among the oldest of the monuments at Tiwanaku, likely having been constructed during the Late Formative phase (200 BC to AD 200) (Janusek 2008:91). It is a roughly square-shaped, approximately 28.5m by 26m (Ponce Sanginés 1969:58), roofless, sunken courtyard that was excavated approximately 1.7m into the ground (Ponce Sanginés 1969:56). The precise, original depth of the courtyard/height of its walls is unclear based on current evidence (Protzen and Nair 2013:26). It had a south-facing staircase that led down into the courtyard, and its walls were constructed out of cut stones of various shapes and sizes. In addition to the smaller cut stones, there was a series of large standing stones built into the walls at more-or-less irregular intervals, along with a variety of tenon heads. At the base of the walls, there was a small drainage

canal or gutter (Protzen and Nair 2013:23). The surface of the sunken courtyard was likely compact earth; thus far, there is no indication of a stone or gravel patio having existed at the base of the walls. For comparison, the floors of the Middle Formative (c. 900-100 BC) sunken temple at the nearby site of Chiripa were made out of compact clay (Mohr Chávez 1988:18).

Various rectangular sunken courtyards, dating to the Middle and Late Formative periods (c. 900 BC to AD 200) within the Titicaca Basin have been excavated (Mohr Chávez 1988; Chávez 1992; Stanish 2003; Klarich 2005; Janusek 2004b, 2008; S. C. Smith 2013). The two best-known examples are the Middle Formative temple at Chiripa and the Late Formative temple at Pukara. Located on the Taraco peninsula, roughly 15km northwest of Tiwanaku and on the shores of Lake Titicaca, Chiripa was a major Early and Middle Formative site. Bennett (1936) originally identified Chiripa as a residential complex, made up of a series of rectangular houses; however, Mohr Chávez (1988) later asserted that the central mound and sunken courtyard were primarily ritual spaces. By analyzing the proportional size of the storage spaces within the structures surrounding the courtyard, she posited that the houses were in fact storage chambers accessible to elites or ritual specialists (Mohr Chávez 1988:20). Hastorf (2003) argues that the rituals practiced at Chiripa's temple complex were focused on the creation and maintenance of social relations between the living and dead. Raising the possibility that mummy bundles were stored in the small bins/antechambers at the entrances of the chambers, Hastorf notes: "While we do not have any direct material evidence for *mallki* [ancestral mummies] storage in these antechambers, many lines of evidence suggest that these were above ground chambers for the sacred" (2003:324). There is, at least, concrete evidence that humans were interred within the rooms surrounding Chiripa's courtyard, as multiple subfloor burials have been excavated therein (Hastorf 2003).

Home of a later example of this style of structure, Pukara was an important Late Formative site in the north Titicaca Basin (Chávez 1992; Klarich 2005; Janusek 2004b). Unlike what appears to have been the case at Tiwanaku, Pukara's sunken temple was surrounded by a U-shaped series of small, ground level chambers (Klarich 2005; Chávez 1992). Noting the characteristics of the human remains that some of these structures contained, Janusek (2008:88) suggests that they housed "the ancestral mummies of local kin-based groups." From the examples of Chiripa and Pukara, there appears to have been an historical relationship between sunken courtyards and ancestor veneration.

Tiwanaku's sunken temple was one among multiple such structures within the Titicaca Basin before Tiwanaku became a preeminent city. Among the most notable and, indeed, unique features of Tiwanaku's Semi-subterranean temple, however, is the series of tenon heads built into the courtyard's four walls. These tenon heads are somewhat reminiscent of those found at the Early Horizon site of Chavín de Huantar (Burger 1992). The two sets of heads are similar in so far as they are disembodied heads carved from stone, which are incorporated into wall masonry so that they appear to emerge from the construction. However, unlike the Chavín heads, the Tiwanaku heads lack obvious zoomorphic features, they are located within the interior of the structure to which they belong (insofar as there is an interior to this style of sunken temple), and the persons they depict do not appear to be under the influence of psychotropic substances (i.e. their nostrils are not depicted filled with mucous and other substances).

As to whom exactly these sculptures depict, that remains a very open question. The two most obvious possibilities are: 1) the heads of enemies taken in war, or 2) the heads of venerable ancestors. In agreement with other scholars (Kolata 1993a; Couture 2007), I subscribe to the latter possibility for two reasons. Firstly, the features of many of these tenon heads closely resemble

those of the carved stone monoliths found elsewhere at Tiwanaku, including both the Formative period Yaya Mama style sculptures and the classic Tiwanaku style ones. Neither class of monoliths depict enemies to be subdued (see Chapter 5), so the degree to which the tenon heads represent the same class of persons as the monoliths strengthens the interpretation that they depict ancestors. Among the features shared by the classic monoliths and many of the tenon heads (see figure 3.3), both have slightly protruding bands that cover their foreheads, which appear to represent headdresses that Couture (2007:427) notes were “emblem[s] of elite status and authority” at Tiwanaku. Their eyes and mouths are represented as rounded rectangles, and their noses are elongated trapezoids. While these physiognomic features may reflect conventional Tiwanaku depictions of humans in stone, the fact that the tenon heads are wearing ‘Tiwanaku style’ headdresses suggests that they were not foreigners and/or enemies. The second line of evidence that supports the claim that these represent ancestors is the fact that this structure is a sunken temple. Assuming that the Semi-Subterranean Temple was functionally, in a ritual sense, analogous to other earlier and contemporaneous sunken courtyards, then it is most likely that this was a place to commune with and venerate ancestors, as the temples at Chiripa and Pukara were.



Figure 3.3. Tenon heads from the Semi-subterranean Temple (from Couture 2007:428, fig. 19-3).

It is probable that the Semi-Subterranean Temple was the focal point of Tiwanaku's ritual life early on in the city's lifespan (Ponce Sanginés 1972; Kolata 1993a; Janusek 2004a, 2008). However, the presence of the Bennett monolith (see Chapter 5), the most impressive of the known Tiwanaku monoliths, within the Temple at the time it was excavated in the early 20th century indicates that it remained an important locus into the Tiwanaku V phase. The key conclusion to be drawn regarding the Semi-Subterranean Temple in the context of my arguments is that it was a long-standing locus of exchange between the ancestors and descendants. As Janusek (2004a:135) has noted, "The Sunken Temple presented an interpretation of Tiwanaku's primordial origins, and ceremonies conducted there may have invoked ancestral and chthonic forces to ensure or enhance social and cosmic regeneration." Within the complex constellations of reciprocity that constituted Tiwanaku's political economy, this was, not uniquely, where the past was at the center.

Kalასasaya: Tiwanaku's Ritual Calendar

The Kalასasaya was also among the earliest monuments constructed at Tiwanaku. Radiocarbon dates suggest that it was initially constructed between the 3rd and 5th centuries AD, during which time it superseded the Temple as the ritual focal point at Tiwanaku (Ponce Sanginés 1972; Vranich 2006). Interestingly, Ponce's excavations of the Kalასasaya revealed that this monument was constructed upon a domestic area dating to the Late Formative 1 period (200 BC – AD 200) (Janusek 2008:91). Located directly to the west of the Temple, the Kalასasaya was in effect a giant, rectangular platform, roughly 130m by 120m in size (Vranich 2006:122). Unlike the Pumapunku and Akapana, which I discuss subsequently, the Kalასasaya was not constructed as a series of terraces; it was a walled platform. The walls that held the platform together were constructed using a combination of cut stones and megaliths, not unlike those used in the Temple.

However, the cyclopean stones used in the western, ‘balcony’ wall of the Kalasasaya are uniquely large at Tiwanaku (see figure 3.4). This western balcony was a late addition to the Kalasasaya, likely having been constructed in the 5th or 6th centuries (Janusek 2008:113).



Figure 3.4. Western façade of the Kalasasaya balcony, modern reconstruction (photo used with permission by Kelsey Lowe).

The main entrance to the inner courtyard of the platform was located within the structure’s eastern wall; however, the contemporary reconstruction misrepresents the style and precise location of this entrance (Protzen and Nair 2013). Upon entering the structure by ascending this eastern staircase, one would have encountered a small, sunken (relative to the rest of the platform) courtyard bounded to the north and south by a series of niches constructed from stone. While there is little direct evidence for what was housed in these niches, Kolata (1993a) has argued that they could have housed mummy bundles. This is a compelling explanation for the construction of this area, as it accords with the pattern of monumental spaces typical of this period in the Central Andes (see above).

The level of the platform above this sunken area appears to have been open. In an attempt to evaluate Posnansky’s claims that the Kalasasaya functioned as a ritual calendar, Benitez (2009) used archaeo-astronomical techniques to demonstrate an empirically verifiable relationship between the Kalasasaya’s construction and important celestial phenomena. Focusing on how the eleven megaliths (including a ‘missing’ one) in the western balcony align with the setting sun on

important dates, including the equinoxes and solstices, he argues that the Kalasasaya's structure was itself a monumental 'calendar.' These data provide insight into the temporal rhythm of large-scale rituals at Tiwanaku. Feasting rituals are marked vis-à-vis quotidian meals not only in terms of scale, content, and location, but also in terms of timing. At Tiwanaku, it appears as though large-scale ritual events occurred monthly, with at least two extraordinarily large events occurring each year on the solstices.

Pumapunku: The Gateway to the City

The Pumapunku was a large, squat pyramidal structure south and west of the rest of the central structures at Tiwanaku. The construction of the Pumapunku began in 6th century AD, and as Vranich (2006) notes, it was built in multiple stages. All that remains into the present is its internal skeleton, which consists of a series of terraced revetments that held the fill of the structure in place. The Pumapunku's finished, outer façade was removed over the centuries by peoples who wanted to use the stones for other purposes. Vranich (2006) also argues that the southern terraces were never completed, pointing out the absence of the capstones that would have been used for the outer layer of construction in this area. Situated where it was, it would have been the first large monument visible to persons traveling from the west toward Tiwanaku. This is particularly significant because this means that those persons traveling to Tiwanaku by water upon Lake Titicaca would have passed by or through the Pumapunku on their way to Tiwanaku from the lakeshore. For this reason, Vranich has compared the Pumapunku to Ellis Island (Morell 2002, cited in Janusek 2008:119).

Excavations have shown that the Pumapunku consisted of four terraces (Escalante 1994; Vranich 2006). Viewed from above, the main complex was roughly rectangular in shape, with two

projecting sections to the north and south at the eastern end that turned the rectangle into wide 'T.' Both the north and the south edges of the structure are approximately 117m long from east to west; the western edge is approximately 167m from north to south, and the eastern edge (i.e. the top of the 'T') is about 195m from north to south (Vranich 2006). Embedded within western terraces of the structure, there was a stairway that led up into the heart of the monument. Within the monument itself, Vranich (2006) has identified evidence of an inner courtyard that was surrounded by stone walls; as the four terraces of the structure were built up, this walled space became in effect a sunken courtyard within the pyramid. Passing through the heart of the monument, travelers would have encountered various stone sculptures and carvings, including a series of miniature gateways carved into the blocks that made up the inner walls. Directly east of the Pumapunku, there is evidence for a large plaza area adjacent to the main structure. While further excavation is needed to confirm this, it is possible that this was a feasting space similar to that at the Akapana Complex (see below).

Kolata (1993a) has characterized the Pumapunku as the lesser twin of the Akapana; arguing that the layout of Tiwanaku can be understood as a physical representation of the city's socio-cosmic order, the Akapana would have been the central monument of the upper moiety of the northern half of the valley, while Pumapunku would have been the same for the lower moiety of the southern half of the valley. Vranich (2006) has argued that the Pumapunku was something akin to an amusement park façade, primarily constructed in order to awe visitors to the site.

The characteristic most relevant to my study is the Pumapunku's position as the westernmost monument at Tiwanaku. In 2009, I investigated various sight-lines within the Tiwanaku Valley for a graduate course at the University of Chicago. Using SRTM (Shuttle Radar Topography Mission) data for northwestern Bolivia that I obtained from CGIAR (<http://csi.cgiar.org/index.asp>), I produced a reverse viewshed from the Pumapunku using GIS in

order to map out from which points within the Tiwanaku Valley the monument would have been visible. While the topographic data were coarse, the raster cell sizes were 90m, they were useful for the purposes and scale of the project. As figure 3.5 shows, as one traveled from the shores of Lake Titicaca toward Tiwanaku, the Pumapunku would have been consistently visible along most pathways (I have included the least cost path from a point along the contemporary lakeshore as an example of a possible pathway). Once again, ritual pathways to and through Tiwanaku affected how visitors experienced the city, which in turn produced political effects (see Isbell and Vranich 2004). As was also the case at the Akapana Pyramid, directing and, indeed, controlling movement through monuments like the Pumapunku was a privilege that marked those at the height of Tiwanaku's political hierarchy.

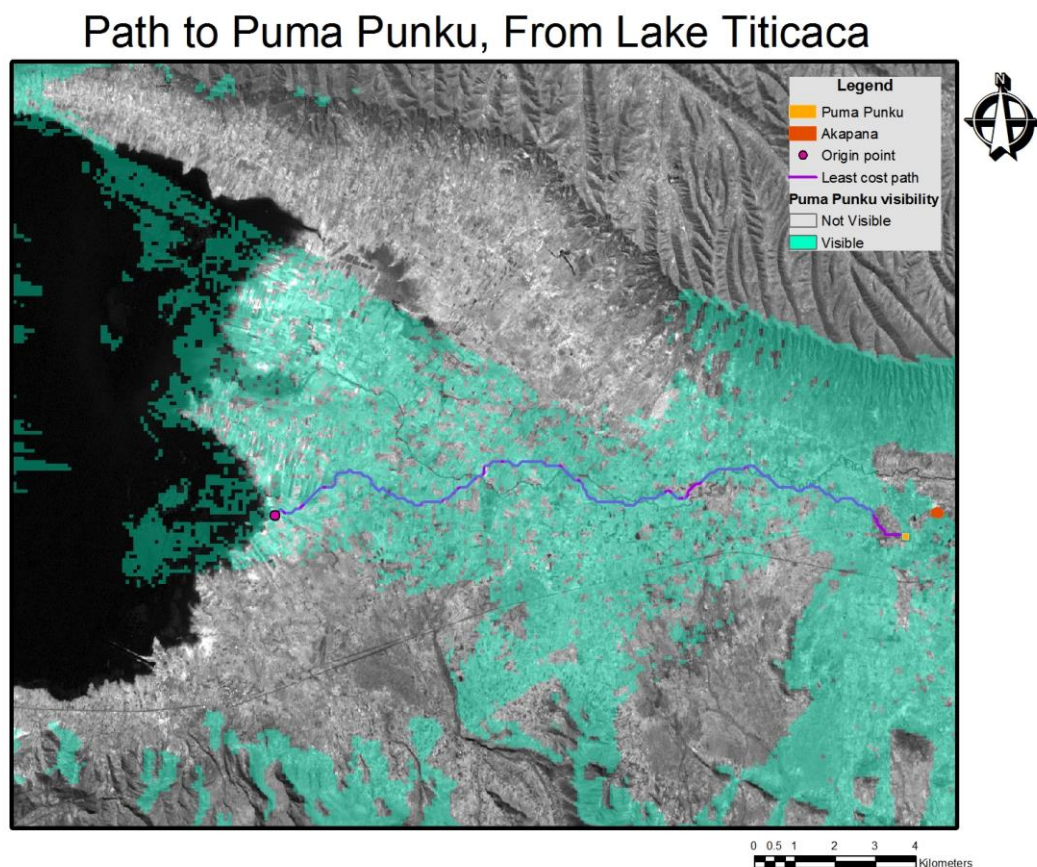


Figure 3.5. Image of the lower Tiwanaku Valley showing those areas from which the Pumapunku was visible.

The Akapana Pyramid and Plaza Complex

Akapana: The Center Stage

Initially constructed early in the Tiwanaku IV phase, the Akapana Pyramid was the central monument at Tiwanaku and the city's ritual focal point from the 6th to the 9th centuries AD (Janusek 2004a). Massive as it is and was, it is the first monument visible at the site when travelling to Tiwanaku from La Paz. Structurally, it was a large, human-made earthen mound that was formed into a step pyramid. It was constructed upon a rectangular base platform, approximately 200m north-south by 250m east-west, and its maximal dimensions were 200m north-south by 190m east-west by 16.5m in height (Manzanilla 1992:22). From a bird's eye view, the pyramid resembled an Andean cross cut in half (Manzanilla 1992:22; see figure 3.6).

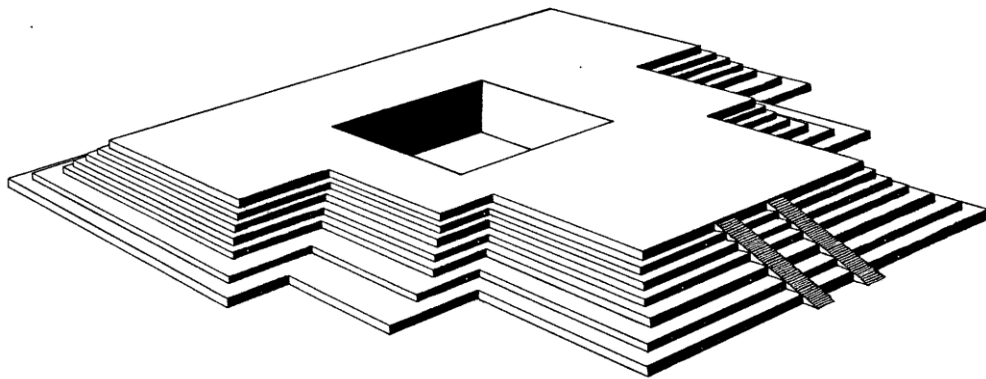


Figure 3.6. Schematic diagram of the Akapana pyramid, as viewed from above and the northwest (from Kolata 2003:184, fig. 7.7).

Based on her excavations, Manzanilla concluded that there were seven terraces that made up the Akapana (Manzanilla 1992:35); however, as both she (1992:35) and Protzen and Nair (2013) note, these terraces were not uniform throughout the structure, in terms of both the techniques and materials used for their construction. Generally, the terraces' revetment walls consisted of large pillars interspersed with ashlar of varying sizes, a pattern that also characterizes the above described monuments at Tiwanaku (Manzanilla 1992); the stones used were mostly sandstone, but there were andesite blocks here and there as well (Protzen and Nair 2013). Noting

the presence of large stone panels among the upper revetments, Kolata (1993a:106) has posited that these walls were “covered with iconographically rich metal plaques and textiles, or may themselves have been carved and painted.” The Akapana’s earthen fill consisted of three main components: strata of red-black clay, light brown silt, and gray-green pebbles (Manzanilla 1992:23).



Figure 3.7. Reconstructed western staircase of the Akapana (photo used with permission by Haley Augustine).

In the approximate center of the Akapana’s western terraces, there was a pair of large stone staircases that ascended from the ground to the summit of the structure (Manzanilla 1992:41; see figure 3.7). Upon the summit, there was a large sunken patio and series of large and small chambers. There were two large chambers, one to the north and one to the south of the sunken patio, as well as a number of small rooms to the northeast of the patio. Manzanilla and Woodard (1990) have interpreted these smaller rooms as the residences of Tiwanaku’s priests. While these rooms may seem too small to have been ‘elite’ residences (they were generally between 4 and 9 meters squared), small sleeping chambers for the ruling class was not unusual during the later Inca period, as the cases of Machu Picchu and Cajamarca demonstrate (Salazar and Burger 1998). However, unlike Machu Picchu and Cajamarca, Tiwanaku was not a warm weather get away. Janusek (2004a:154) has referred to some of these rooms as storage chambers, and it is also

possible that they were used to house mummified ancestors, akin to the chambers at the aforementioned temples at Chiripa and Pukara. Indeed, it may be that they were residences that became tombs after their inhabitants died, in the fashion of the *ciudadelas* of Chan Chan (Kolata 1990). In terms of what was excavated from within these rooms, both the large and the small, the materials typically included camelid remains, incensarios, serving wares, and storage and cooking wares (Manzanilla 1992). Within one of the smaller chambers, “room 11,” Manzanilla excavated a large offering that contained the aforementioned array of materials as well as a series of copper objects—a *tupu* (pin), a sheet, and a ‘fox’ figure—, a silver llama figurine, and the remains of tropical fruits (Manzanilla 1992:59). A carbon sample from this context produced an uncalibrated date of AD 830 +/- 140 (Manzanilla 1992:59), which indicates that this offering likely corresponds to the ritual closing of the monument during the 9th century, during which time it became an exclusively elite space (Janusek 2004a:207).

Among the most extraordinary features of the Akapana was the elaborate drainage system that coursed through the mound like veins and arteries. The canals that made up this system constituted a complex hierarchy that Manzanilla divided into five tiers (Manzanilla 1992:41). As referenced in the preceding paragraph, there is scholarly consensus that the Akapana was transformed or ‘closed’ in the 9th century AD, amongst massive renovations within the ceremonial center of the site (Kolata 2003, 1993a; Alconini 1995; Janusek 2004a). This period was marked by people placing large and frequent offerings in, on, and around the structure. The offering in room 11 described above fits into this pattern. Furthermore, there were multiple humans interred around the base of the structure (Manzanilla 1992; Kolata 1993a), and the remains of a large feline were placed within the opening of one of the main drainage canals at the Akapana’s base, blocking the passageway (Manzanilla 1992:83; Kolata 1993a). These changes at the Akapana fit into a

pattern that indicates that the core of the site became a more exclusive domain during the Tiwanaku V phase (see Chapters 5 and 7). It was at this time that the most open, in a visual sense, monument ceased to be the main focal point of ritual activity.

As for the Akapana's significance during Tiwanaku IV, it cannot be overstated. Janusek (2008:118) has referred to it as a "sacred and social *axis mundi*." Kolata (1993a, 2003) argues that the Akapana was a human-made sacred mountain and that its construction was an attempt to situate the natural powers manifest in such a mountain within the social world of the city. As he notes, there is ample evidence that the Akapana was both mimetically and metonymically linked to the sacred mountains of the Quimsachata range to the south of the city. Firstly, there is a general physical similarity between the pyramid and a mountain, and the aforementioned drainage system produces an additional effect whereby the Akapana sounds like a mountain too. During heavy rainfall, the waters rushing through the pyramid would both visually and sonically evoke the waters likewise coursing down a mountainside (Kolata 1996). In terms of metonymy, Kolata (1996) notes that the green-gray pebbles that constituted part of the pyramid's fill (see above) would have been excavated from the Quimsachata range, producing a metonymic link between the structure and its symbolic siblings. That the Akapana was seemingly covered in offerings, buried within its terraces and foundations, indicates that it was also treated like a sacred mountain. Thus, the Akapana was a symbolically potent and powerful locus within the city.

As detailed earlier in this chapter, there is good evidence that during the Tiwanaku IV phase, there were large feasting rituals held upon and around the Akapana Pyramid; in terms of the positioning and procession of ritual participants, there are various possibilities. Based on the character of the rooms at the summit and, in particular, the offerings left within them, it is plausible to conclude that proximity to the summit was symbolically powerful. So, assuming some

participants spent the duration of these rituals upon or near the summit, their physical positions would have indexed and reinforced their social power more broadly. However, the ubiquity of large offerings upon the terraces of the Akapana seems to indicate that many, if not most, participants at least partially ascended the pyramid. In the present discussion, I am blurring the theoretical division between ‘feast’ and ‘offering;’ instead, I am proceeding from the premise that offerings in this context would have constituted a process of ‘feasting with’ ancestors/sacred figures. That is, while people consumed food and drink, so did the Akapana itself, and the serving wares smashed and buried upon its terraces were both remnants of the feasts and elements of the offerings.

The large, dual staircases on the western façade present a likely conduit for people traveling up and down the terraces. The capacity to direct and indeed control the flow of participants up and down these staircases would have been a further source/index of social power. It is difficult to say exactly who the participants in these rituals were; however, Tiwanaku likely drew pilgrims in from far and wide, while also accommodating a significant urban population (Janusek 2009, 2004a; Chapter 6). As I stated at the outset of this chapter, rituals held at and upon the Akapana represented the largest convergence of various peoples, from residents to pilgrims, and from subsistence farmers to wealthy lords.

Akapana: Selection of Materials

In accordance with my overall strategy, I attempted to select materials for analysis from Akapana Pyramid contexts that were a) dated in some way and b) discrete. As I was particularly interested in the relationship between the rituals upon the Akapana and those within the plaza to its immediate west, I furthermore focused on contexts from the lower western terraces and base of

the monument. In choosing particular contexts to analyze, I relied on Alconini's analysis of materials excavated by Manzanilla's team (Alconini 1995). Using stylistic and iconographic data, she created a provisional ceramic chronology particular to the Akapana, which was made up of four phases (Alconini 1995). Heading to the field, I made a list of likely contexts and bag numbers. Unfortunately, I was not able to locate the ceramics that came from the richest context, a large offering from the base of the second terrace, "feature 2" (Alconini 1995). This was due to the reorganization of the material depositories at the site that was ongoing during my analysis. However, I was able to locate the ceramics that were excavated from six other contexts: features 11, 21, 25, 28, 34, and 37.

Feature 11 was a human burial containing an adult and a child near the foot of the Akapana (Manzanilla 1992:74). Manzanilla (1992:83) describes it as a "secondary burial," indicating that it could be interpreted as an offering. Features 21, 25, and 28 were all small (relative to feature 2) offerings buried within the northwestern section of the first terrace (Alconini 1995:82-87). Alconini (1995:82) argues that these four contexts correspond to Tiwanaku IV. Features 34 and 37 were similarly small offerings buried just west of the Akapana's base. Alconini (1995:103-106) has dated them to the Tiwanaku V phase. All the decorated ceramics excavated from these six contexts were analyzed.

As I was unable to locate the bags corresponding to Manzanilla's feature 2, I requested and received permission to analyze materials from a large offering excavated upon the first terrace in the northwestern section of the Akapana (Mario Pachaguaya personal communication). A team led by Mario Pachaguaya excavated this offering under the auspices of a project supported by the municipal government of Tiwanaku. The feature is referred to in their records as Feature 108. The volume of materials from this context dwarfed the other six combined (see table 3.1), which creates

a slight issue in terms of treating them as equivalent; however, similar to the others, the materials consisted of faunal remains along with a range of ceremonial/serving ceramic forms. Reviewing Alconini's analysis of the missing feature 2, and in particular the representative ceramic iconography she drew and published (Alconini 1995:88-99), it is evident that there is a high degree of similarity between the materials recovered from Manzanilla's feature 2 and Pachaguayaya's feature 108. For this reason and due to the broader trends regarding the use of the Akapana, I consider feature 108 to have been deposited during the Tiwanaku IV phase, as Alconini argues feature 2 was.

Context	Phase	No. Sherds	MNV	Mass of fragments (g)
Manz. F11	Tiwanaku IV	9	7	42
Manz. F21	Tiwanaku IV	71	52	596
Manz. F25	Tiwanaku IV	122	96	1,707
Manz. F28	Tiwanaku IV	123	105	1,281
Manz. F34	Tiwanaku V	32	27	459
Manz. F37	Tiwanaku V	23	21	534
Pach. F108	Tiwanaku IV	932	727	10,195

Table 3.1. Overview of the Akapana pyramid contexts that were analyzed, including the phases to which they correspond and the volume of material analyzed from each.

Akapana West Plaza: The Orchestra

The open area directly west of the Akapana Pyramid and south of the Putuni complex has only recently been the subject of significant investigation. With no visible architectural features, it was never obvious what exactly was occurring in this sector of the site. From 2002 to 2005, a combination of ground penetrating radar survey and excavation sought to provide clarity. The initial GPR surveys produced data that Koons and Henderson hypothesized indicated the presence of a plaza, and a series of excavations both supported and modified this interpretation (Koons 2013). The excavations revealed the remains of the plaza, which consisted of a series of gravel strata, between 10 and 20 cm thick, separated by layers of fill, typically rich in artifacts. There

were also smaller and larger architectural features located within this area. There were ‘floating walls’ and small caches of rectangular andesite and sandstone blocks—similar in style to those used in the construction of Tiwanaku’s monuments—however, in the northeastern area of the sector at least, these were most likely blocks removed from other structures and left here, as they were typically isolated and not associated with larger architectural features. At the western edge of the area, excavators uncovered the eastern wall, floor, and entryway of a large structure, which Koons (2013) refers to as P2 (or “Putuni 2”). Its remains consisted of a partially deconstructed floor made up of large, rectangular flagstones as well as wall foundations, which were constructed using the same style of stone blocks (Koons 2013:152-153). Koons has compared the construction techniques used here to those employed at the Putuni (discussed in more detail in Chapter 5), while noting that the P2 structure was much smaller in scale (Koons 2013:152). Unfortunately, no radiocarbon dates have been produced from these excavations, but Koons (2013) compellingly argues that the structure was built during the major construction phase starting in the 9th century that transformed Tiwanaku; this interpretation accords with both P2’s position stratigraphically as well as its relation to the general architectonic trends within the monumental core.

What I refer to as the Akapana West Plaza (AW Plaza) was demarcated to the west by the P2 structure (at least during the Tiwanaku V phase), to the north by the Putuni complex, to the east by the Akapana Pyramid, and to the south by at least one clay platform⁴ and another large structure, which Koons refers to as W1, also constructed using cut stones (Koons 2013; Mattox 2011).⁵ Koons directed the placement of multiple excavation units (some 2m by 3m, and some 5m by 5m)

⁴ During my work with PAPA, I directed excavations within a 5m x 5m unit called L28, which was positioned to the south of the Akapana West Plaza and to the north of the larger structure, W1. The principle feature that I noted within this unit was a large, rectangular, clay platform. However, due to the limited excavations in this particular area, I have no more to say about what exactly this was or when it was built.

⁵ The cluster of units in the southern section of the image shown in figure 3.9 corresponds to the location of structure W1.

within the bounds of the hypothetical plaza. These excavations revealed a pattern consistent with the past presence of a plaza that covered a large area—the characteristic gravel strata, which made up the plaza’s surfaces over time, were encountered in units throughout the area of investigation. Estimating the exact dimensions of the plaza is difficult, however; while the aforementioned maximal northern and eastern boundaries are well demarcated by the Putuni and Akapana respectively, the western and southern boundaries remain poorly understood. The P2 structure was located about 50m west of the base of the Akapana’s western staircase, and this distance provides an approximation of the plaza’s east-west dimension. However, it may be that a western portion of the plaza was excavated and destroyed during the construction of P2’s foundations. The northern and southern boundaries of plaza can also be approximated based on an area in which water pools during the rainy season, which Henderson and Koons initially hypothesized indicated the presence of the AW Plaza (Koons 2013:151). Again, this provides an extremely rough approximation, but I conservatively estimate the plaza’s size to have been 100m east-west and 150m north-south during the Tiwanaku IV phase. Ultimately, based on the current data, there is good evidence for the long-term presence of a large plaza directly west of the Akapana pyramid.

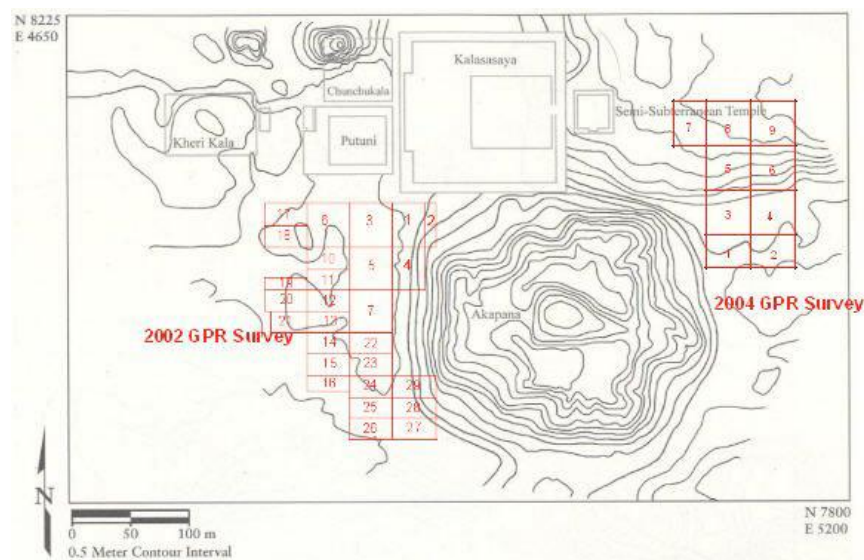


Figure 3.8: Map of Tiwanaku’s monumental core adapted from Kolata 2003 showing the location of the 2002 and 2004 GPR surveys conducted by Henderson and Koons respectively (from Koons 2006:164, fig. 6-1).

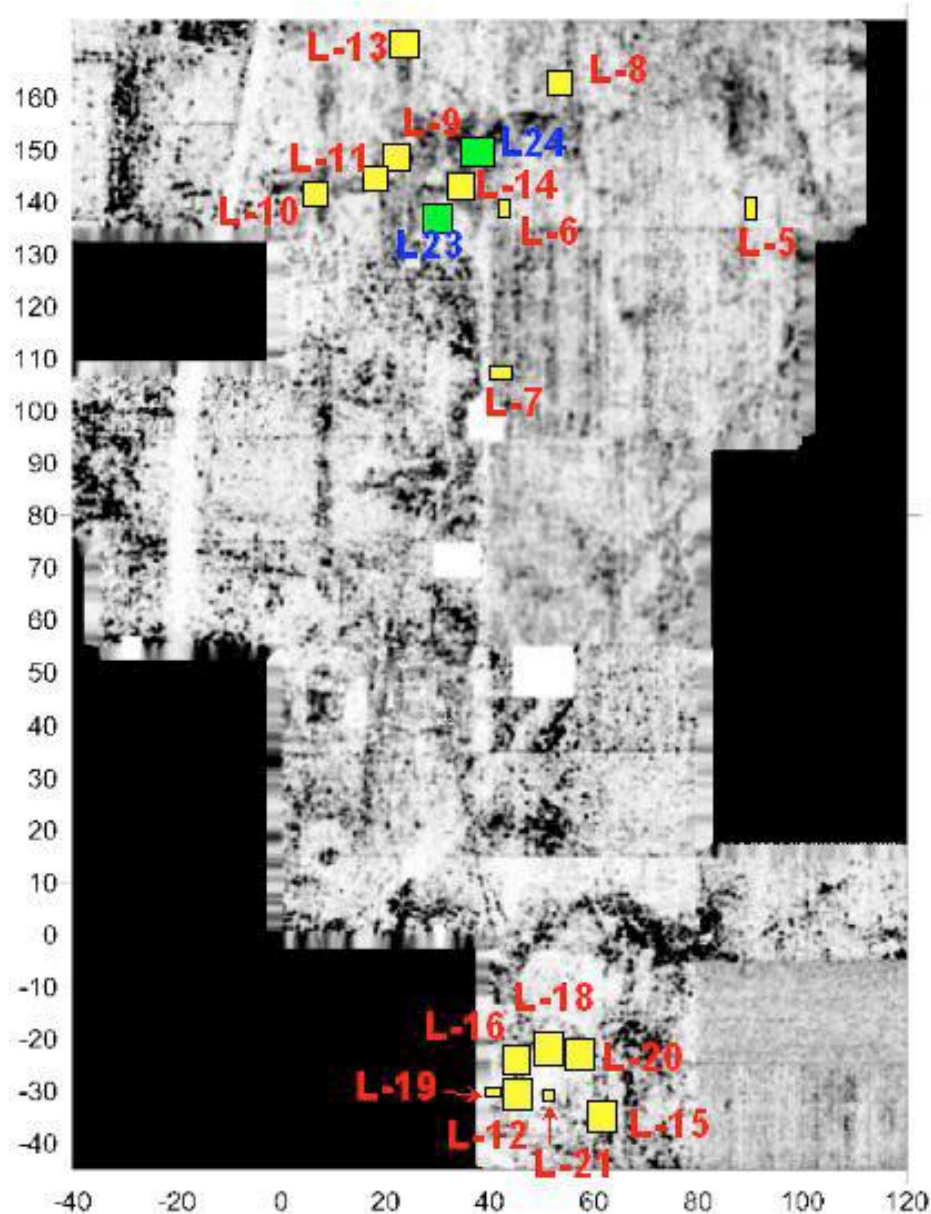


Figure 3.9. Location of 2004 (yellow) and 2005 (green) Proyecto Arqueológico Pumapunku-Akapana excavation units mapped onto Henderson's 2002 GPR survey area (see figure 3.8). Note the location of unit L24 in the northern half of the area shown (from Koons 2006:164, fig. 6-2).

In order to provide more detail on the characteristics and history of this plaza, I will now describe the results of a 5m by 5m excavation unit, called L24 (see figure 3.9), placed in the northeastern section of the AW Plaza. I excavated here along with Bolivian and American colleagues during the summer of 2005, under the auspices of the Proyecto Arqueológico

Pumapunku-Akapana. During this excavation, we identified 10 distinct strata and multiple events⁶ within the unit. The following presents the strata in chronological order. At the base of the unit, there was a layer of compact earth into which a small pit was dug. This pit was filled with faunal and ceramic refuse embedded in a loose, sandy loam matrix (stratum L24-J). Covering this pit and its contents, there was a layer of compact clay (L24-I), and directly upon this compact clay, the first of the characteristic, gravel surfaces was laid down (L24-H; see figure 3.10). This particular layer of gravel was almost 20cm thick, with the lower 15cm made up of large pebbles embedded within a matrix of compact earth, and the upper 5cm made up of noticeably smaller pebbles. This gravel surface extended throughout the unit, except for the section to the west that was disturbed by the later excavation of a trench corresponding to a subterranean canal (L24-E). Upon this surface, there was an accumulation of materials and earth that made up stratum L24-G. Within L24-G, excavations revealed a small hearth as well as various deposits of ashy earth. The general matrix of this stratum was loose, sandy loam, and it was approximately 20cm thick. L24-F was the second gravel surface, and it varied between 7 and 18cm in thickness—it was slightly thinner than the preceding gravel stratum, but not by much.



Figure 3.10. Surface of stratum L24-H, the earliest gravel floor. Note the stone blocks associated with stratum L24-C in the foreground.

⁶ An event is either a human-produced deposition/act of construction (such as excavating a trash pit or laying down a surface) or a natural deposition (such as the rapid or gradual accumulation of sediment).

The next major stratigraphic event was the excavation of a trench, in the western portion of the unit. At the base of this trench, which cut through the preceding strata, there was a subterranean canal, L24-E (see figure 3.11), which ran along a north-south axis. Typical of canals found within Tiwanaku's urban core, this canal was constructed out of generally rectangular blocks. Of note, these blocks lacked the uniformity of those found in the façades of the major monuments, and it was clear that some were reused from elsewhere; for example, in a canal of similar construction excavated within unit L28, an old *batán* (grinding stone) was included among the stones that formed the canal's tunnel.



Figure 3.11. Subterranean canal encountered within unit L24.

The stratum subsequent to the canal trench, L24-D, was a layer of accumulated earth and materials that covered both the canal trench and the gravel surface of L24-F. This layer between 15 and 20cm thick. Above L24-D, L24-C included two small areas of an intact gravel surface, some artifact scatters, and five rectangular cut stone blocks (see figure 3.10). It is an open question as to whether there was an actual structure here or these blocks were taken from elsewhere and abandoned here; there is little else to indicate the presence of a large structure in the vein of P2 or W1, so the latter is more likely. The penultimate stratum, L24-B included the remains of a disturbed gravel surface—it was not nearly as well preserved as those below—as well as a possible

offering consisting of a partially articulated camelid skeleton along with smashed ceramic vessels. The exact stratigraphic relationship between the offering and the floor remains unclear, and it is possible that the offering was placed within a pit that dug into the disturbed gravel surface. The final stratum, L24-A, was characterized by assorted materials mixed up within a brown clay loam matrix, which was approximately 25cm thick.

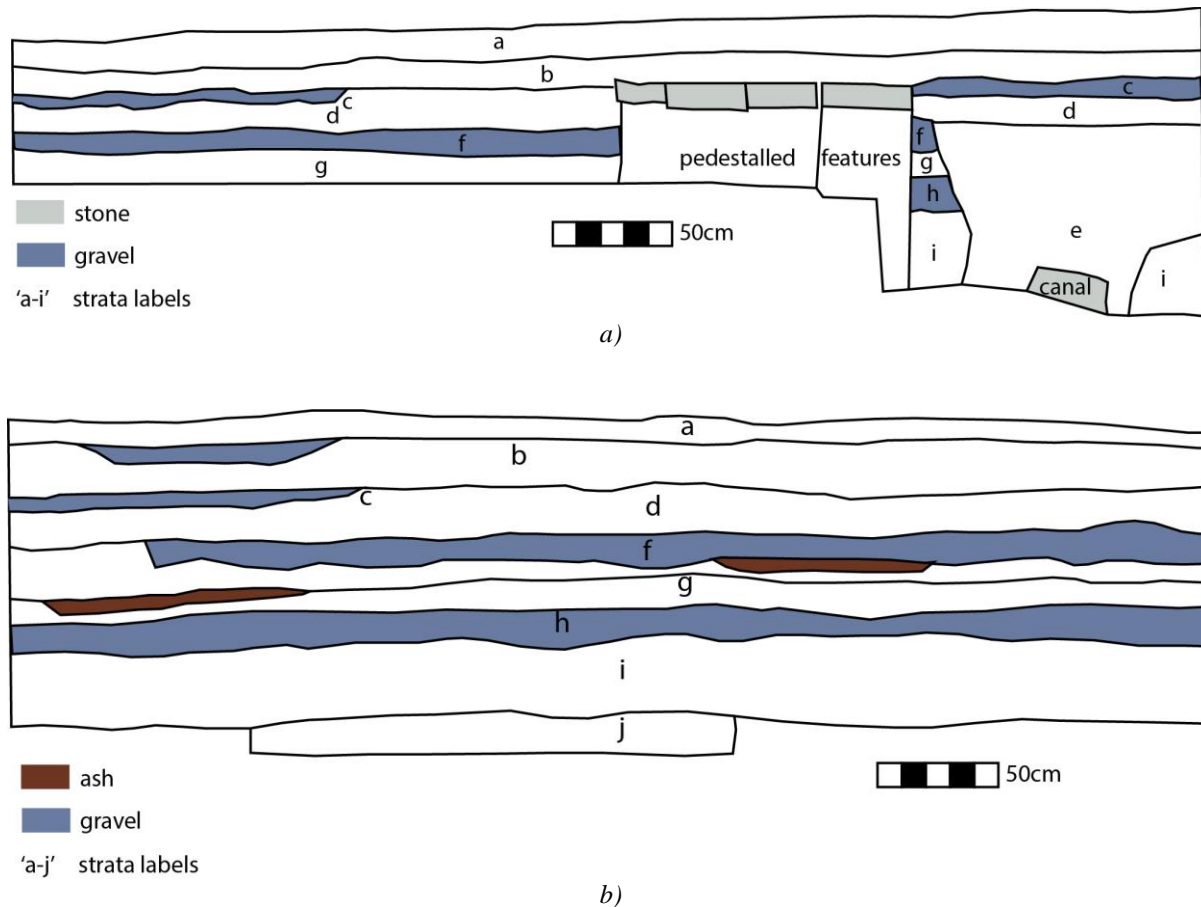


Figure 3.12. Drawings of the a) southern and b) western profiles of unit L24. Note: the letters with which the strata are labelled correspond to the letter names of the strata described in the preceding paragraphs (e.g. 'f' corresponds to stratum L24-F).

Unit L24's strata indicate that the plaza west of the Akapana was renovated at least two times after the initial, thick gravel surface was laid down. This sequence of gravel strata indicates that the plazas were periodically resurfaced. It is difficult to estimate the frequency of these events, but assuming that they span the life of Tiwanaku *qua* city (500 years), four distinct pebbled

surfaces corresponds to about one new one per 125 years. As for the earth and materials sandwiched between these gravel layers, they appear to correspond to: 1) a selection of materials that were left behind and/or intentionally smashed during the large rituals held at and around the Akapana Pyramid, and 2) earthen fill used to level off the ground surface in anticipation of the construction of a new plaza surface. It is also possible that these gravel surfaces were laid down to occasionally ‘cap’ the remnants of particularly large or significant feasts/offerings. The large and small ash-filled pits that characterized typical offerings at Tiwanaku—i.e. those left in and upon both public monuments and within more intimate domestic spaces—were generally absent at the AW Plaza; however, there were areas upon its gravel surfaces where there were notably high densities of both faunal remains and ceramic sherds, indicating that large-scale, communal meals were held here.

The overall density of serving wares, cooking wares, animal bones, etc. fits into the general pattern of activity at Tiwanaku. Unlike the Early Intermediate Period pilgrimage site of Cahuachi in Southern Peru (Silverman 1994), Tiwanaku remained a ‘messy’ place before, during, and after the large-scale rituals held there. It is seemingly impossible to locate areas within the core of the site where one can excavate and find few materials. Yates and my initial interpretation of the Akapana West zone was preoccupied with the fact that it did not accord with what we expected of a ‘sacred,’ ‘clean,’ and ‘exclusive’ space (Yates and Augustine 2006). Gaining further experience excavating domestic compounds in the Mollo Kontu sector to the south (see Chapter 6), it is evident to me that this was not a domestic space; the utter absence of amorphous refuse-filled pits and interlocking compound walls supports this conclusion. However, the assortment of materials found here also indicates that this was a locus of ‘domestic-like’ activities, i.e. cooking, eating, drinking, and generally accumulating refuse. This was an open, large, and central plaza, perhaps

similar in form and function to the plaza directly east of the Pumapunku. Following Moore's (1996) analysis of the dynamics of interaction within Andean plazas, the Akapana West Plaza was unlike the small, relatively private sunken plazas that were so characteristic of Tiwanaku monumental architecture; instead, this was a space reminiscent of later Inca plazas, in which a diverse array of people gathered to take part in shared rituals.

Akapana West Plaza: Selection of Materials

In selecting materials to analyze from the Akapana West Plaza, I restricted myself to unit L24. Within the unit, I focused on analyzing material deposited upon the gravel surfaces—i.e. accumulated during rituals, so I selected materials from strata L24-G, D, C, and B. In each case, I chose bags that corresponded to notable features as well as fill. The features investigated included three artifact scatters from stratum L24-B (features 508, 509, and 510) and a shallow pit filled in with an ashy matrix from stratum L24-G. The four strata from which I selected material spanned an extensive temporal range, corresponding as they did to the earliest through latest plaza surfaces.

Once again, there are no radiocarbon dates currently available from these excavations, so all that remains for dating the contexts are relative methods. The placement of the subterranean canal was the key, unique event within the sequence of stratigraphic events encountered within the unit; however, on its own, it does not provide a solid date. Subterranean canals were constructed within the Tiwanaku IV Putuni residential compound directly to the north of the AW Plaza (Couture 2002:156; see Chapter 5), thus it is possible that the L24 canal connected to a larger network dating to the Tiwanaku IV phase. Yet it is also possible that the canal within L24 reflects an expansion of the Putuni drainage system during the broader renovations at the site in the 9th century.

Janusek's (2003b) ceramic chronology is a helpful tool in attempting to date these contexts, and a handful of potentially diagnostic vessels were encountered during the analysis. The types relevant here are the 'early' escudilla, the large escudilla, the kero with a square torus, the kero with one large rounded torus, the challador, and the recurved tazon. Among these, Janusek noted that the early escudilla, the large escudilla, and the kero with a square torus first appeared and were most popular during the Tiwanaku IV phase, while the kero with the single large rounded torus, the challador, and the recurved tazon appeared and/or were most popular during the Tiwanaku V phase (Janusek 2003b:61-66). Table 3.2 presents an overview of the chronologically diagnostic sherds found during analysis; for clarity's sake, I lumped the six vessel types into Tiwanaku IV and Tiwanaku V groups.

Stratum	No. (using MNV) Tiw IV diagnostic vessels	% Tiw IV diagnostic vessels vs. all analyzed	No. (using MNV) Tiw V diagnostic vessels	% Tiw V diagnostic vessels vs. all analyzed
Stratum L24-B	3	2.7	6	5.5
Stratum L24-C	0	0	1	3.4
Stratum L24-D	8	1.6	23	4.7
Stratum L24-G	27	21.8	2	1.6

Table 3.2. Absolute and relative frequencies of diagnostic Tiwanaku IV and V vessels (using MNV) from each of the four AW Plaza strata analyzed.

It is important to note that the presence of these forms alone cannot be used to provide a *terminus post quem* for a particular context—for example, in my own analysis, we found recurved tazones in securely dated Tiwanaku IV contexts from both the Putuni and Mollo Kontu. These results accord with Janusek's observations regarding the changing popularity of vessel types over time, and from them it is evident that stratum L24-G was probably deposited during the Tiwanaku IV phase. However, the boundary between Tiwanaku IV and V remains unclear based on the available evidence. It is likely that L24-B was deposited during the Tiwanaku V phase, and I feel secure labeling it as such. Furthermore, in my analysis, I will be treating L24-C as if it were a

Tiwanaku V context. This is because it appears as though L24-D corresponds to the early 9th century, give or take 50 years, i.e. the boundary between the Tiwanaku IV and V phases. Unfortunately, neither the construction of the canal nor the ceramic evidence provides a precise date for L24-D,⁷ yet its stratigraphic position vis-à-vis both L24-G and the two superior strata make this possibility the most likely. In the analysis discussed subsequently, I am including the materials from stratum L24-D among my Tiwanaku IV Akapana West Plaza sample, as it is probable that they reflect the array of materials consumed during the various work feasts and ceremonies associated with the end of the Tiwanaku IV phase.

Context	Phase	No. Sherds	No. Vessels (MNV)	Mass of Fragments (g)
AW F508 (Str-B)	Tiwanaku V	63	55	267
AW F509 (Str-B)	Tiwanaku V	54	45	231
AW F510 (Str-B)	Tiwanaku V	18	10	260
AW Str-C	Tiwanaku V	33	29	136
AW Str-D	Tiwanaku IV/V	529	491	2,103
AW Str-G	Tiwanaku IV	97	88	381
AW F547 (Str-G)	Tiwanaku IV	48	36	299

Table 3.3. Volume of materials analyzed from each of seven distinct AW Plaza contexts.

Concluding Remarks

This chapter provides a practical and spatial context for the objects and imagery that will be analyzed in the subsequent Chapter 4, which addresses the iconography displayed on Tiwanaku IV ceramics excavated within the Akapana Complex. The serving wares analyzed correspond to feasting events and offerings (feasts with monuments and ancestors) of varying scales held within this area. The key spatial characteristic of the Akapana Complex to keep in mind is its openness, both in terms of the potential for movement within the plaza and the sightlines up and down the

⁷ We did encounter a tazon that contained the remnants of a bright blue pigment in L24-D, which was similar to those tazones containing pigment that Couture and Sampeck (2003) found in the Palace of the Multicolored Rooms at the Putuni (see also Chapter 6).

pyramid. These features will be key to my interpretation of the effects of the ceramic imagery upon those people who consumed and displayed them during large rituals within the city center.

CHAPTER 4. The Political Effects of Ceramic Iconography and Visual Media within Tiwanaku's Grand Rituals

While polychrome ceramics played various roles within Tiwanaku's political culture, in this chapter, I focus on the roles played by those wares that were excavated at the Akapana Pyramid and the Akapana West Plaza and date to the middle to late Tiwanaku IV phase (roughly AD 600-850). By focusing on ceramics consumed during large feasts held in the center of Tiwanaku, I examine the effects these objects produced when the largest intersection of Tiwanaku's political community was present together. The polychrome vessels used and consumed during feasts upon and around the Akapana Pyramid were centrally important to the construction of Tiwanaku political subjectivities during the Tiwanaku IV phase, as they simultaneously embedded ritual participants within Tiwanaku's emerging hierarchical social order and created an impression of equality amongst all participants.

In constructing this argument, I focus on the degree to which the iconography displayed on these polychrome ceramics was or was not uniform. Developing analytical techniques based on mid-20th century archaeological investigations of iconography, I use the motif data I collected during fieldwork to compare the uniformity of the iconography depicted on ceramics from four sectors of the site: the Akapana Pyramid, the AW Plaza, the Putuni, and Mollo Kontu. I also examine the iconographic convergences between these four areas in order to evaluate the relationship between the two components of the Akapana Complex, in particular: the Akapana Pyramid and the AW Plaza.

As I note in my discussion of Dietler's analysis of feasting in Chapter 3, diacritical feasting—that is, feasting during which differences in consumption styles mark class or social boundaries—was possibly an important political practice during the two major Tiwanaku phases.

However, in this chapter I focus instead on the ‘inverse’ of diacritical feasting—that is, feasting during which equality and solidarity were emphasized and created—as the results of my analysis, detailed below, indicate that feast participants were consuming a generally uniform collection of materials and media at the Akapana. In order to investigate how this uniformity could have been produced and its political effects, I conclude the chapter with a discussion of the aesthetic and affective dimensions of rituals at Tiwanaku that is grounded in the results of my analyses. My ultimate argument is that the iconography displayed on serving wares at Akapana Complex feasts produced a “common sense” among participants, while strengthening affective bonds between them through a form of “immediation” (Mazzarella 2009).

Iconography and the Akapana Complex

Within this chapter, I answer two empirical questions: 1) To what degree was the iconography displayed on serving wares within the Akapana Complex relatively uniform? and 2) To what degree was the iconography displayed on the Akapana Pyramid and the AW Plaza ceramic assemblages a shared iconography, i.e. how strong were the iconographic convergences between these assemblages? Within the present section, I set up the subsequent analyses that address these questions by generating hypotheses and presenting an overview of the relevant ceramic datasets.

Initial Hypotheses and Previous Studies

The empirical question of ‘uniformity’ is important because the relative uniformity of the ceramics consumed by participants in feasts at the Akapana Complex reflects the type of social work that these ceramics accomplished. If the ceramics were iconographically diverse, this could reflect the primacy of what Dietler has termed “diacritical feasting” (see Chapter 3) within the

Akapana Complex, which implies that ceramics were used to heighten, reinforce, and even construct hierarchical differences between participants. Furthermore, such a hypothetical iconographic diversity could also reflect the presence of peoples from diverse places and social groups, who brought their own wares to the events within the area; this is a possibility that Alconini (1995) raises in her analysis of ceramics from the Akapana. Alternatively, if the iconography were relatively uniform in this area, it would indicate that this was a site at which social differences were deemphasized in favor of a ritual emphasis upon solidarity and equality, perhaps analogous to what Turner (1969) termed *communitas*. In this case, the shared serving vessel styles and iconographic details would have partially elided those social differences and hierarchies (or “structures,” to use Turner’s (1969) terminology) that would have been underlying the rituals. By answering this question regarding uniformity, I provide additional and unique insight into the political and social effects of large-scale feasting at Tiwanaku, which has been acknowledged as a foundational practice within the polity’s political culture (Janusek 2003a, 2004a; see Chapter 3). I address the implications of the results of my investigation of uniformity in the latter sections of this chapter.

The degree to which the iconographies displayed on the polychrome ceramics consumed upon the Akapana Pyramid and within the AW Plaza were similar to each other has implications for the relationship between the visual and the spatial dimensions of the feasting rituals held at the Akapana Complex. If there were few convergences between the two spaces, then the ceramics would have reinforced the extant spatial distinction between those who feasted upon the pyramid and those who did so in the plaza. This question also relates to the possible primacy of diacritical feasting within the Akapana Complex, which is addressed in the preceding paragraph. While the Akapana Pyramid and the AW Plaza assemblages may have both been iconographically uniform,

it is possible that they were uniform, yet distinct. In such a scenario, i.e. the existence of two uniform yet distinct assemblages, the primacy of diacritical feasting within this sector of the site would remain a very strong possibility. Alternatively, if there were significant iconographic convergences between the areas, this could reflect the movement of participants and, thus, materials up and down the pyramid's terraces and/or the fact that participants consumed similar serving wares regardless of their positions within the spatial-symbolic hierarchy of the events.

Alconini's (1995) investigation of ceramics excavated at the Akapana pyramid focused on evaluating the formal and iconographic uniformity of the ceramic assemblages found there. In her analysis, she found that the serving wares excavated at the Akapana were both high quality and stylistically/iconographically uniform relative to other assemblages at Tiwanaku (Alconini 1995:175).¹ As Alconini has noted, the 'uniformity' of an assemblage's iconography is a relative measure—i.e. the ceramic wares consumed upon the Akapana were high quality and uniform relative to other assemblages of materials at the site. In light of this fact, I am using the Tiwanaku IV ceramics from the Putuni and Mollo Kontu sectors as comparative samples² in order to measure the relative uniformity of the ceramic iconography consumed at the Akapana Pyramid and AW Plaza. As I am also evaluating the degree to which there were iconographic convergences between the AW Plaza and the Akapana Pyramid ceramics, I am using the Putuni and Mollo Kontu assemblages to measure the relative strengths of the iconographic convergences between the four

¹ Based on her analysis, Alconini (1995:175) argued that there were three major genres of Tiwanaku ceramics: domestic, civic, and ceremonial. Domestic ceramics are found primarily in domestic contexts, and they include cooking (ollas) and storage (tinajas) wares. Civic ceramics are also found in domestic contexts, but they include decorated serving wares, i.e. those types that are included in my analysis (see Chapter 2). These vessels are typically higher in quality than the domestic wares, but they are lower in quality compared to the ceremonial wares. The iconography depicted upon them is generally diverse. Finally, the ceremonial genre of ceramics is characterized by the highest quality vessels of all types—they are also decorated with a relatively uniform iconography. The ceramics excavated from the Akapana pyramid represent the quintessential example of the ceremonial genre.

² For the purposes of this analysis, I ignored the materials I analyzed from elsewhere in the Tiwanaku Valley due to sample size and dating issues (see Chapter 6).

areas. Based on Couture and Sampeck's published analyses (Couture and Sampeck 2003; Couture 2002), my expectation of the Putuni ceramics, which come predominantly from tombs, is that they are both high quality and iconographically diverse. Furthermore, as noted above, Alconini (1995) has found that ceramics consumed upon the Akapana Pyramid were stylistically uniform. Thus, my initial hypothesis is that the Akapana Pyramid and AW Plaza assemblages are characterized by iconographic repertoires that are more uniform than those of the Putuni and Mollo Kontu assemblages. Furthermore, I hypothesize that the strongest iconographic convergence is that which exists between the Akapana Pyramid and AW Plaza assemblages.

Overview of the Ceramic Data

I present a detailed overview of the contexts from which the Akapana Complex ceramics were recovered in the preceding chapter (Chapter 3). Regarding the other two areas, the Tiwanaku IV Putuni contexts were predominantly funerary, and the Tiwanaku IV Mollo Kontu materials come from a variety of domestic refuse pits, hearths, offerings, and tombs. I will address this breakdown of contexts in more detail within subsequent chapters (Chapters 5 and 6); however, these general observations will have implications for the present discussion. Figure 4.1 presents an overview of the ceramic forms analyzed from the four areas under consideration.

There are a few things that stand out from these data: 1) there are relatively high numbers of keros and sahumadores within the Akapana Pyramid contexts; 2) the kero/tazon intermediate category is more frequent within the AW Plaza and Mollo Kontu contexts than within the Akapana and Putuni contexts; and 3) escudillas are disproportionately common within the Putuni contexts. The second point—about the kero/tazon category—needs to be addressed first. As it is an intermediate category which reflects the analyst's inability to make a concrete distinction between

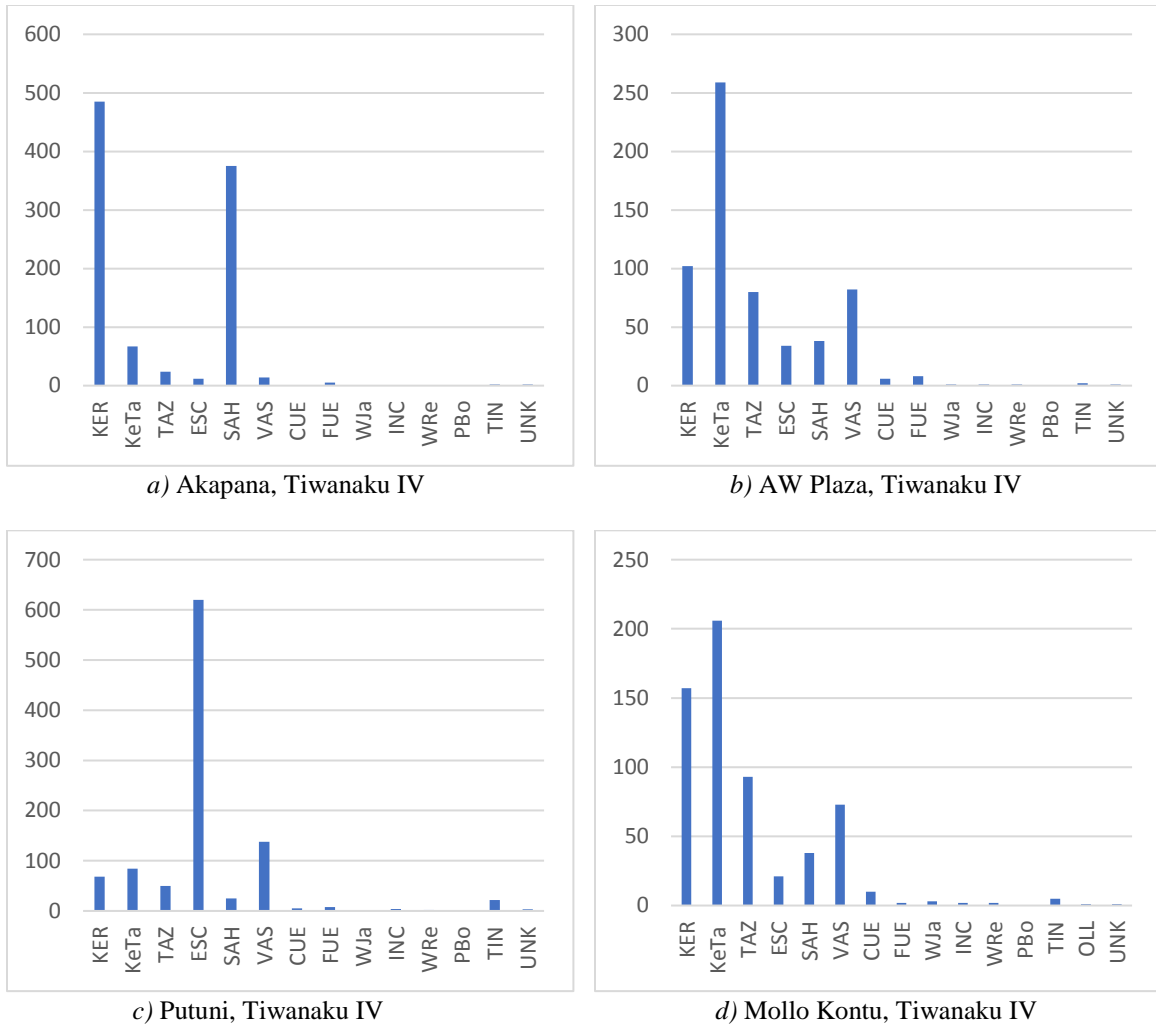


Figure 4.1. Overview of ceramic form frequencies (MNV) from all Tiwanaku IV *a)* Akapana, *b)* AW Plaza, *c)* Putuni, and *d)* Mollo Kontu contexts analyzed. Note: the categories represented are general types; specific subtypes are not distinguished here. See Chapter 2 for an explanation of the categories listed on the x-axes.

kero or tazon, the frequency of kero/tazon sherds is logically related to the quality of preservation. Contexts in which materials were broken down over time and/or deposited in highly fragmented conditions, such as the surface of a plaza floor or a household midden, should contain a higher proportion of very small sherds than contexts in which ceremonially smashed and/or whole vessels were deposited and left mostly undisturbed, such as offerings or tombs. Thus, it is probable that the relative frequency of kero/tazon sherds reflects the post-depositional life of the materials within the four areas more than the characteristics of the vessels deposited. As the graphs depicted in

figure 4.2 show, the average sherd size, as represented by max length, analyzed in each area reflects this difference in fragmentation—the materials from Akapana and Putuni contexts were generally less fragmented than those from AW Plaza and Mollo Kontu contexts. However, all of the mean max sherd lengths are within about one standard deviation from each other, so the difference in fragmentation is not so extreme as to make the contexts incomparable.

Thus, it is probable that the difference in kero frequencies among the Akapana, AW Plaza, and Mollo Kontu contexts is at least partially accounted for in the discrepancies among the kero/tazon frequencies. The relatively high frequency of *sahumadores*, however, remains a distinct characteristic of the Akapana contexts. This likely reflects the character of the offerings made to the Akapana itself—the meats, plants, and other materials that were offered to the Akapana for it to consume would have likely been burned. MacCormack (1991:66-68) has described how during the Inca period, food offerings made to the sun and/or mummified ancestors, *mallki*, were burned, and in contemporary offerings to Pachamama (a figure roughly analogous to ‘Mother Earth’), like, for example, those presented prior to an archaeological excavation at Tiwanaku, Pachamama’s portion is typically burned before it is buried. As note in Chapter 2, *sahumadores* were typically used for burning incense, resins, fat, and other materials in order to produce aromas, light, and ritual effects, as in the case of offerings. Interestingly, few of the *sahumadores* from Feature 108, excavated by Pachaguayaya, showed evidence of materials having been burned within them, i.e. their interior surfaces lacked ashy residue. It may be that over time, *sahumadores* became conventionally associated with offerings to mountains, ancestors, and the earth itself, whether or not materials were actually consumed by fire within them.

The preponderance of *escudillas* within the Putuni contexts is likely explained by the fact that these were predominantly tombs, and in particular elite tombs. Couture has noted the

association between escudillas and elite funerary contexts (Couture 2002; Couture and Sampeck 2003), and these data reflect this observed relationship. This correlation between high escudilla counts and tombs is far less extreme in the case of Mollo Kontu contexts, however, supporting the contention that escudillas were exclusive markers of elite status (see Chapter 5).

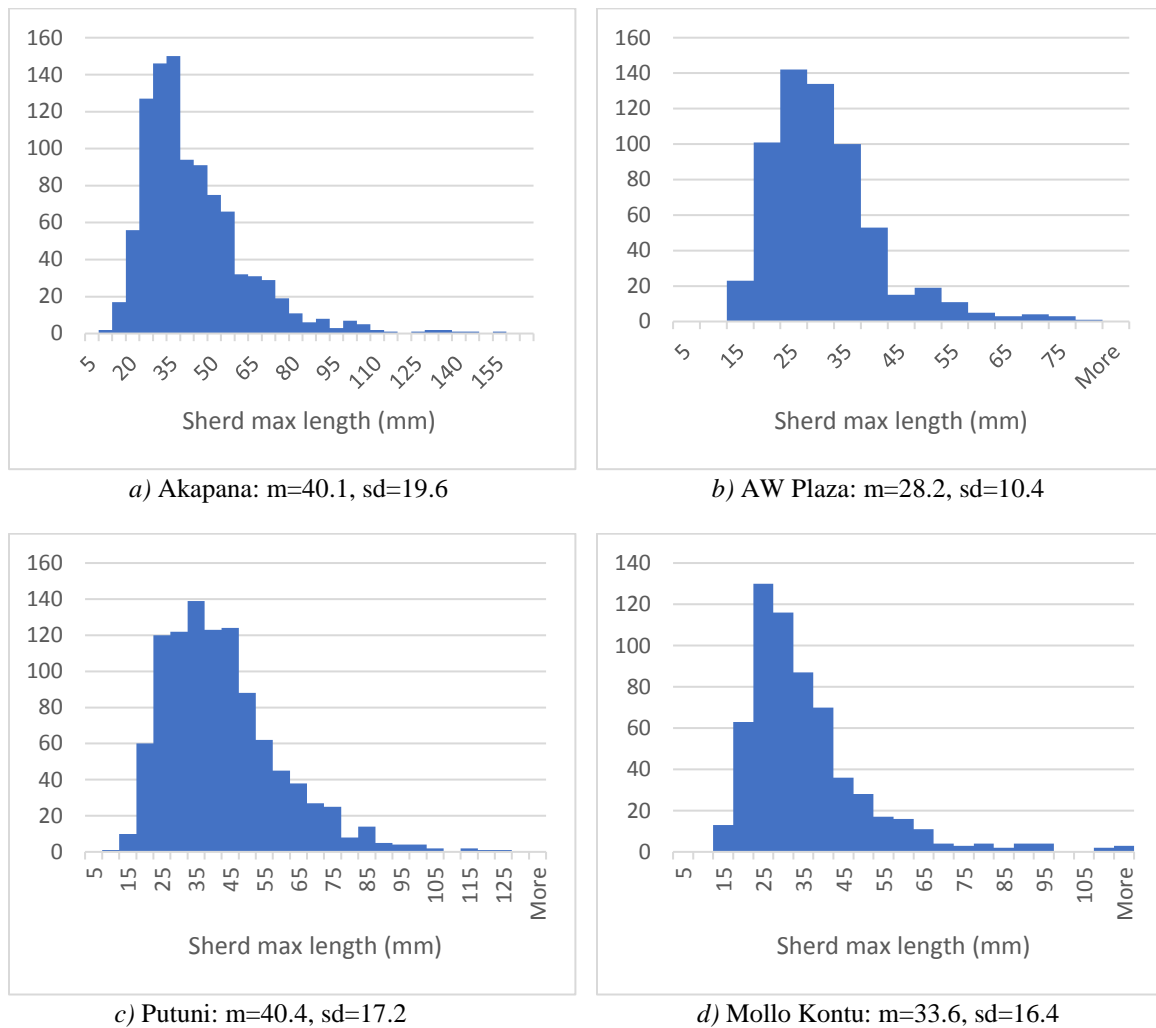


Figure 4.2. Histograms showing max sherd length distributions for analyzed materials from all Tiwanaku IV a) Akapana, b) AW Plaza, c) Putuni, and d) Mollo Kontu contexts.

Iconographic Uniformity and Convergence at Tiwanaku

Within this section, I present the methods I used to measure the relative iconographic uniformity of the four assemblages, as well as the results of these analyses. Subsequently, I do the

same for iconographic convergences between the assemblages. In general, I developed my methodological approach to these empirical questions by referring to 20th century archaeological investigations that quantified and evaluated iconographic data (Freeman 1962; Cronin 1962; Longacre 1964; Deetz 1965; Hill 1967; Whallon 1968; LeBlanc and Watson 1973; Plog 1978). Among these investigations, all were interested in either seriating sites and excavated contexts in order to develop relative chronologies or attempting to trace the past movement of women post-marriage, assuming that women produced ceramic wares and passed on their techniques/styles to their daughters. While the research questions these scholars posed are not addressed in the present study, the methods they employed to measure the iconographic uniformity of contexts and the degrees of iconographic similarity between contexts are directly relevant. I will provide more details regarding how my methods relate to these earlier studies in the subsequent sections, where necessary.

I used motif frequency data to measure the levels of iconographic uniformity and convergence among the sectors of Tiwanaku. While the aforementioned archaeological investigations focused on categories roughly equivalent to what I term elements—that is, simple geometric shapes—I considered elements to be too basic to be of use in the present task. For example, black lines/bands (E002) are ubiquitous to the point that they signify nothing in aid of discernment. As for how to quantify motifs, I relied on the categories that were established during analysis and amended afterwards (see Chapter 2 and Appendix B). In counting motifs within the present analysis, I counted only one repetition per vessel (using MNV); therefore, a single motif repeated five times on a single vessel is counted as one, but the same motif displayed one time each on five different vessels is counted as five. This was intended to mitigate the issue of fragmentation—i.e. motifs depicted on well-preserved vessels are already overrepresented within

the sample, so there is no point exacerbating this issue. Figures 4.3, 4.4, 4.5, and 4.6 present breakdowns of motif counts for each sector/site, in terms of both general categories and specific motifs.

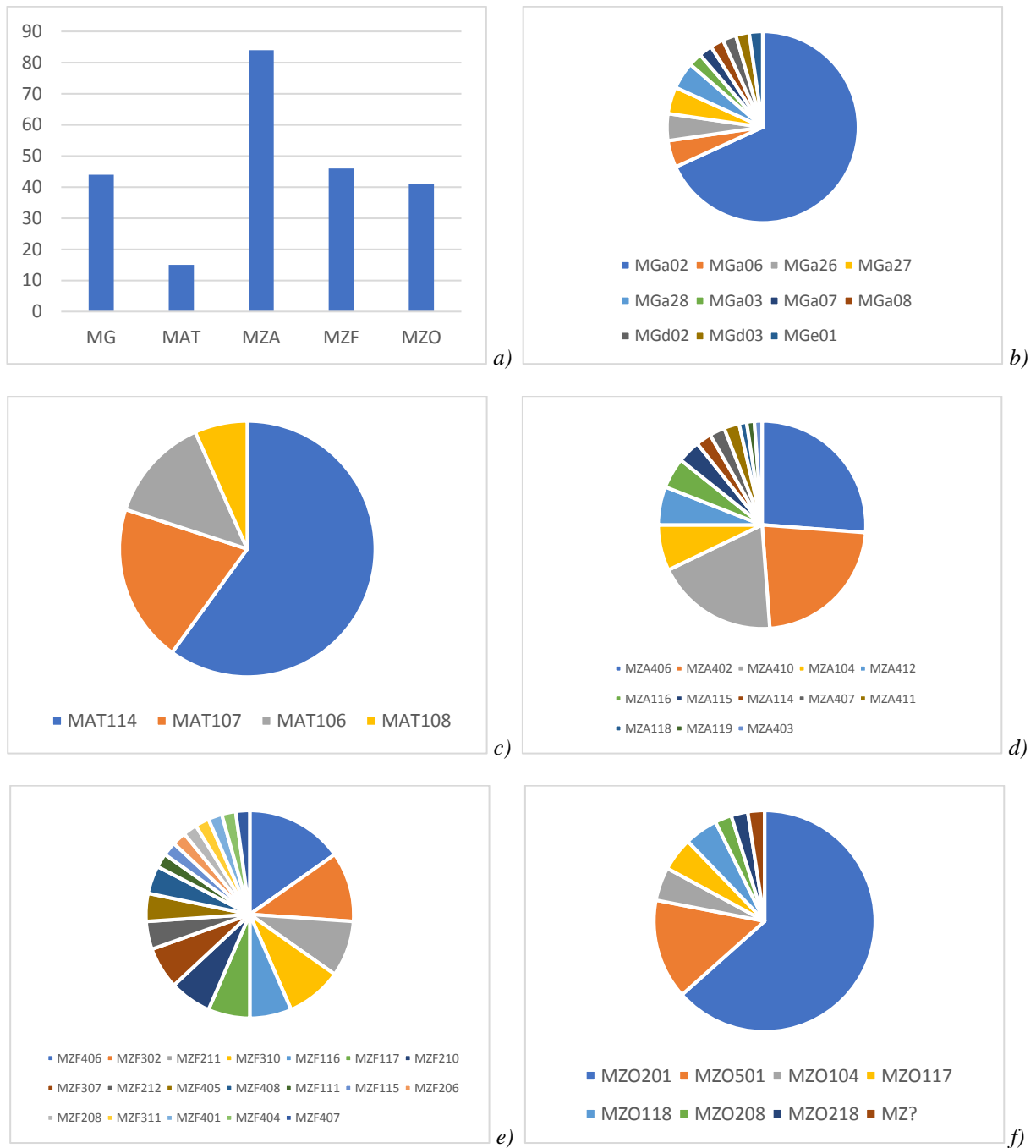


Figure 4.3. Tiwanaku IV, Akapana pyramid, polychrome ceramic motif frequencies: a) general motif categories, b) geometric motifs (MG), c) anthropomorphic motifs (MAT), d) avian motifs (MZA), e) feline motifs (MZF), and f) other zoomorphic motifs (MZO).

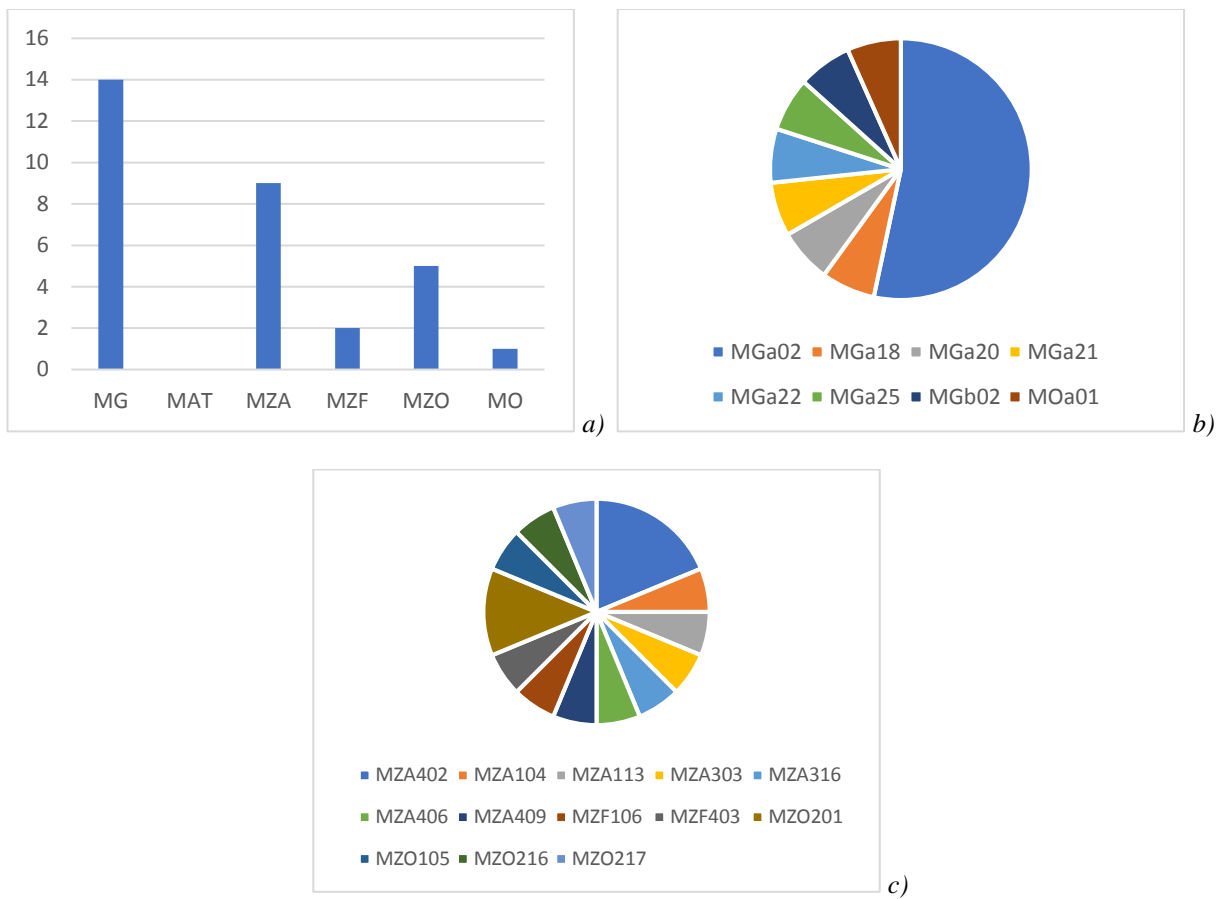


Figure 4.4. Tiwanaku IV, AW Plaza, polychrome ceramic motif frequencies: a) general motif categories, b) geometric and staff motifs (MG & MO), and c) all zoomorphic motifs (MZA, MZF, & MZO).

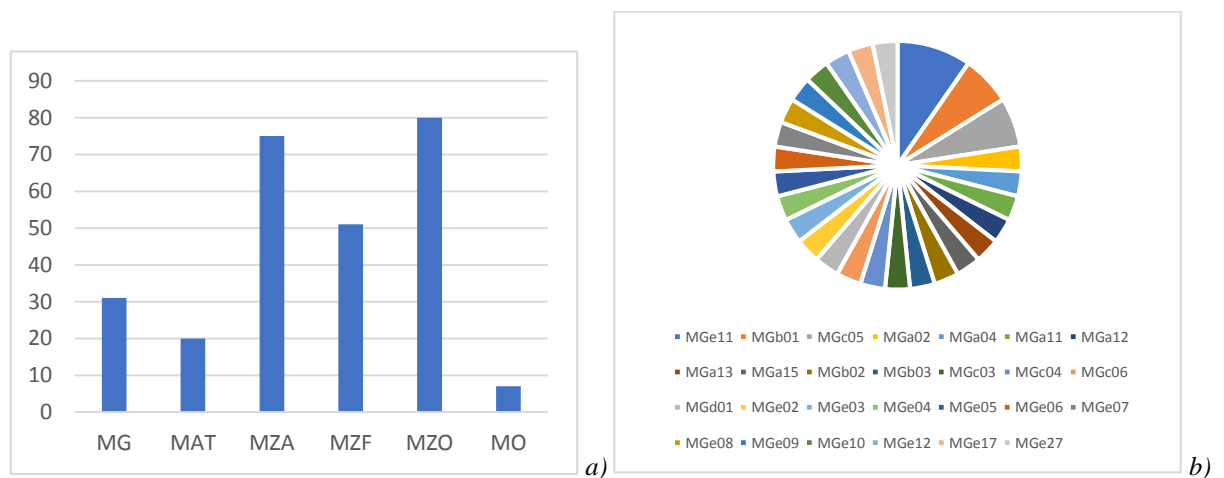
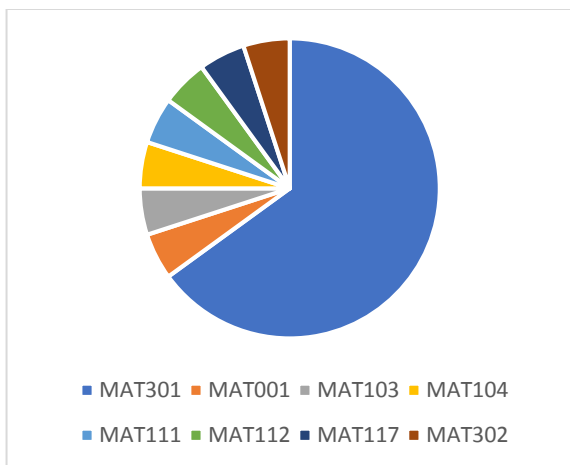
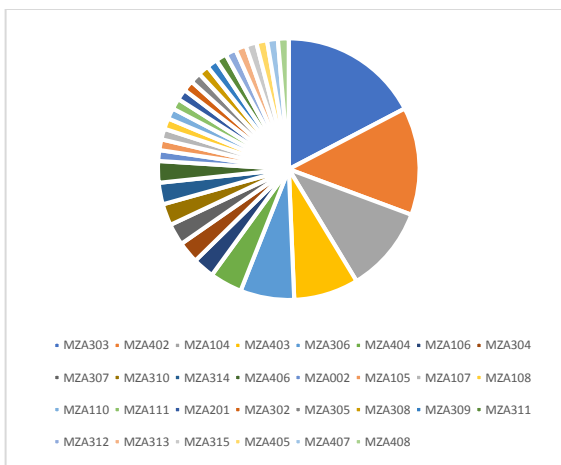


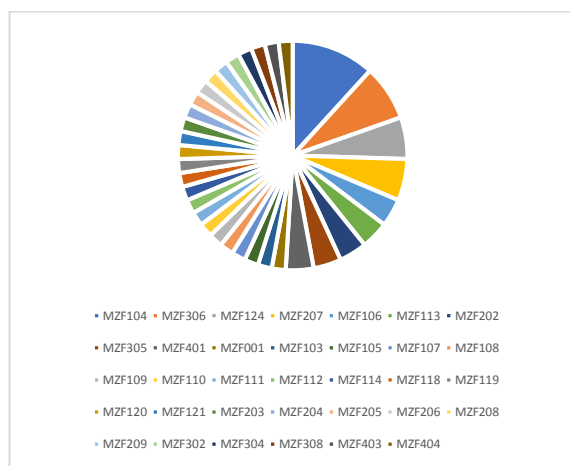
Figure 4.5. Tiwanaku IV, Putuni, polychrome ceramic motif frequencies: a) general motif categories, b) geometric motifs (MG), c) anthropomorphic motifs (MAT), d) avian motifs (MZA), e) feline motifs (MZF), f) other zoomorphic motifs (MZO), and g) staff motifs (MO).



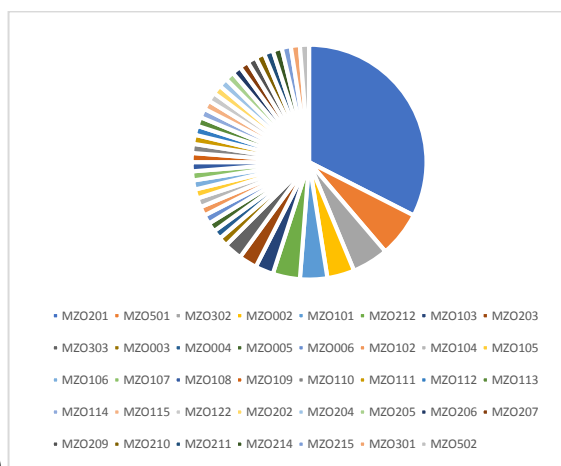
c)



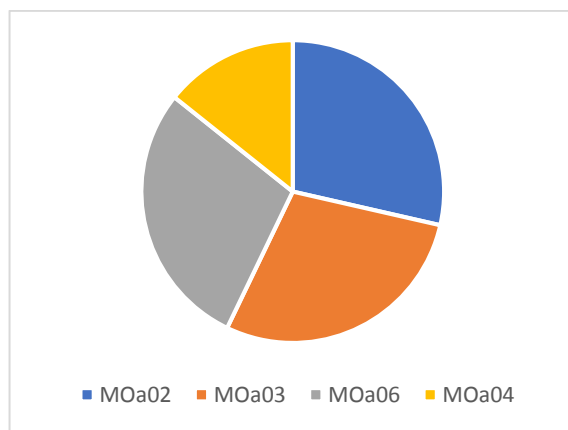
d)



e)



f)



g)

Figure 4.5, continued.

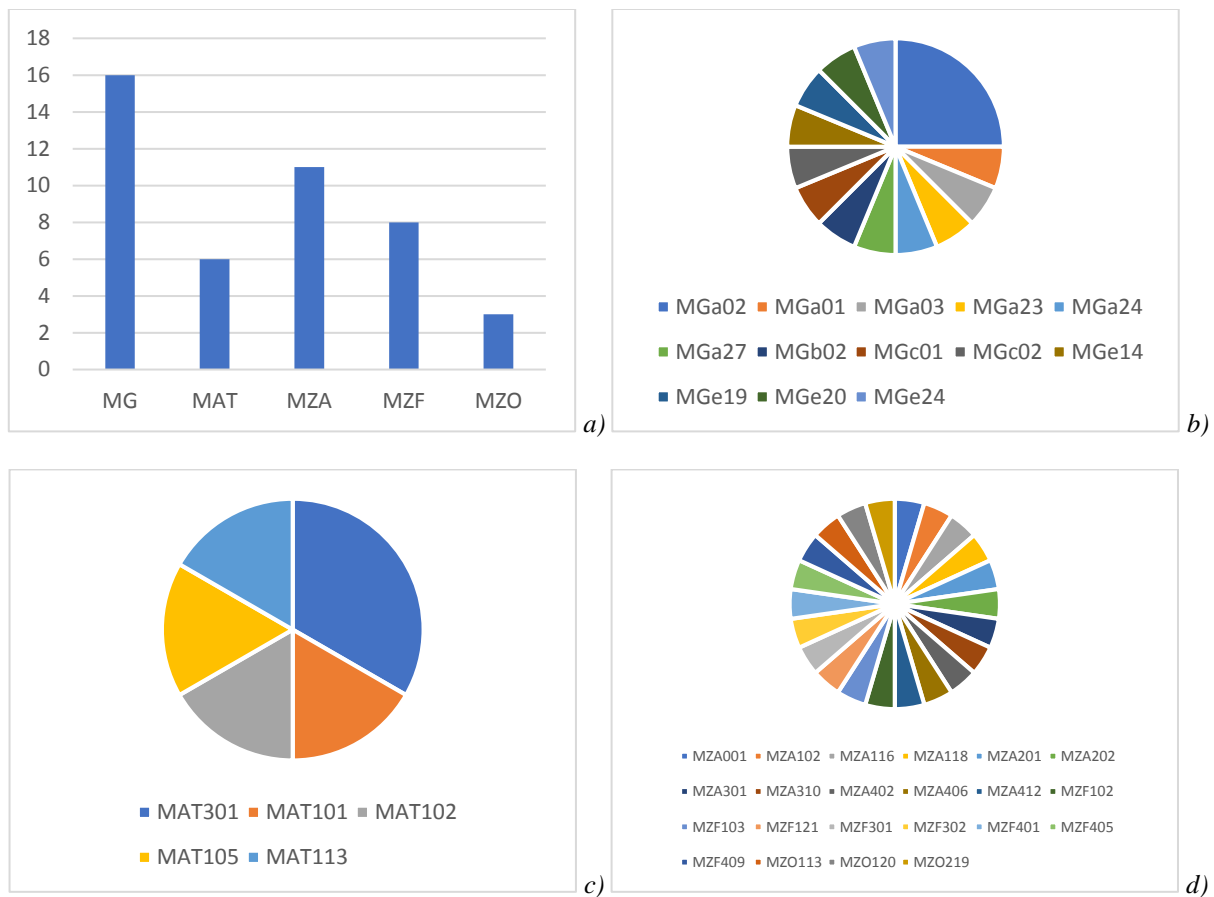


Figure 4.6. Tiwanaku IV, Mollo Kontu, polychrome ceramic motif frequencies: a) general motif categories, b) geometric (MG), c) anthropomorphic motifs (MAT), and d) all zoomorphic motifs (MZA, MZF, & MZO).

Iconographic Uniformity

The hypothesis that I tested using the available iconographic data was that there was a relatively high degree of ceramic iconographic uniformity in both the Akapana and AW Plaza sectors of the site. Among the classic approaches to iconography noted above, Whallon's (1968) investigation of the post-marriage movement of women among pre-Columbian communities in New York state was the lone example that attempted to measure ceramic stylistic *uniformity* in particular. He adapted a formula from geography to produce a coefficient of homogeneity, which measures how evenly distributed the counts of nominal variables are within an assemblage. Below, I use Whallon's coefficient to measure the uniformity of the iconography displayed on ceramics

from the four relevant sectors of Tiwanaku. While Whallon's coefficient provides a single value by which to measure uniformity, I also break 'uniformity' down into three distinct variables: diversity, repetition, and conformity. My premise is that a uniform iconography will be characterized by a less diverse array of motifs (diversity), a high number of repeated motifs (repetition), and a low number of motifs unique to that particular area (conformity). I measure and compare these three variables in order to supplement the results I found using Whallon's coefficient and to provide extra analytical insight into the ways in which the iconographic assemblages were or were not uniform. The remainder of this section of the chapter presents the methods and results of each of the four measures of uniformity.

Whallon's Coefficient of Homogeneity:

Whallon's coefficient was designed to measure the degree to which the distribution of nominal variables within a site deviated from perfect evenness. The premise is that a perfectly even distribution of types would represent perfect variability; whereas, a highly skewed distribution, i.e. the overabundance of a single type, would represent uniformity. For example, if there were four rim shape types, and each was counted ten times within an assemblage of ceramics, then this would produce a coefficient of homogeneity of 0 because the distribution is perfectly even. Alternatively, if there were 37 of one rim type and only one each of the other three, this would produce a high coefficient of homogeneity (approaching 1, which is the maximum value) because the distribution is heavily skewed toward a single type. The formula that Whallon presented is $C = 1 - (2*(n*p - \Sigma c))/(p*(N-1))$ (Whallon 1968:232).³

³ "C = coefficient of homogeneity; c = the distance from the x axis to the graph line at each successive point [this is referring to a cumulative percentage graph in which each type (or motif in my case), from most to least frequent, constitutes a point on the line (see Fig. 4.7)]; p = the total height of the cumulative graph (here = 100.00); n = the number of observed nominal categories represented in the cumulative graph; N = the total number of nominal

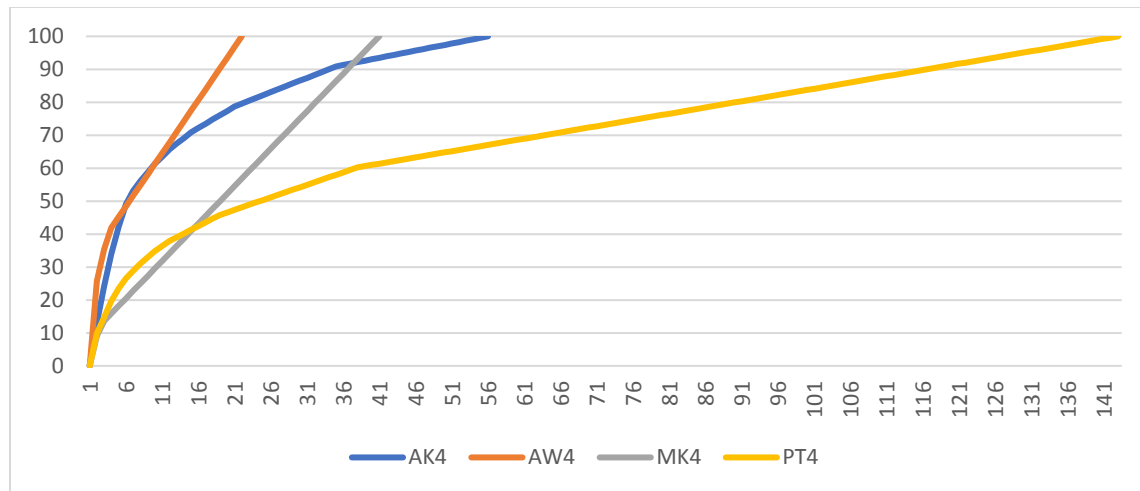


Figure 4.7. Cumulative percentage curves of motif types, arranged from most to least frequent, for each of the four assemblages under investigation.

One particular problem that arises with Whallon's coefficient is that when sample sizes differ greatly between assemblages, the coefficient of homogeneity tends to inversely correlate with sample size at the expense of other factors. This is because within larger samples, there are typically more types present, which inflates the 'n' value. Whallon did not consider this a flaw—in fact he noted that more types present within an assemblage is indicative of a less uniform assemblage (1968:232); however, it is a definite flaw when comparing samples of disparate sizes and analyzing attributes like motifs, which can have hypothetically infinite varieties. In order to ameliorate this problem, I did not treat 'N' as a single constant. Instead, I used two values for 'N' based on the total number of motifs (again, not including repeats on a single vessel) within a given assemblage—that is, I adjusted 'N' relative to sample size. Since there were a total of 230 motifs counted on the Akapana Pyramid ceramics and 264 counted on the Putuni ceramics, I considered these two samples to be of a similar size. Thus, I used the total number of motif types found in either of the Akapana Pyramid or Putuni assemblages as my N value for these two sectors; that value is 182. There was a total of 31 motifs counted on the AW Plaza ceramics and 44 motifs

categories in the set making up the scale, (here a constant of 20 was used for comparison vs. less attributes)" (Whallon 1968:232).

counted on the Mollo Kontu ceramics. As these samples were of a similar size, I once again used the total number of motif types found in either of the two assemblages as the value for ‘N;’ that value was 71. Table 4.1 displays those values relevant to the calculation of the coefficient of homogeneity for each of the four areas.

Area	Σc	n	N	Coefficient of Homogeneity
Akapana Pyramid	4,382.6087	55	182	0.8765
Putuni	10,039.7727	142	182	0.5403
AW Plaza	1,348.3871	21	71	0.8028
Mollo Kontu	2,225.0000	40	71	0.4929

Table 4.1. Data used to calculate Whallon’s coefficient of homogeneity for each of the Tiwanaku IV Akapana, Putuni, AW Plaza, and Mollo Kontu assemblages. Resulting coefficients are also included.

The resulting coefficients reveal a stark difference between the Akapana Complex iconography and the Putuni and Mollo Kontu iconographies; a difference which, in turn, supports the initial hypothesis. The Akapana Pyramid and AW Plaza coefficients are significantly larger than the Putuni and Mollo Kontu coefficients, indicating that the Akapana Complex iconography was uniform relative to the other two iconographies. The following three subsections build on these results to examine specific components of uniformity: diversity, repetition, and conformity.

Diversity:

In order to measure diversity, I divided the number of non-repeated motifs in each sector by the total sherd length analyzed in that same sector. By non-repeated motifs, in this case, I am referring to merely the presence/absence of motifs; this is something akin to measuring species richness in biology, so if a particular motif is present within a sector, it is counted as 1 for that sector, regardless of whether it is repeated multiple times on multiple vessels. The total sherd length analyzed is a proxy for the surface area available for designs. A limitation of this measure is that it is affected by the sherd size; a small average sherd size would lead to a low motif count simply due to the nature of how motifs were recorded by the analysts. So, recalling the average

sherd sizes described above, it makes sense to focus on comparing the Akapana with the Putuni, and the AW Plaza with Mollo Kontu. The final number calculated, the ‘diversity score,’ provides a representation of the diversity of motifs relative to the surface area available for designs and thus a proxy for iconographic diversity. Table 4.2 presents the results.

Assemblage	Number of non-repeated motifs	Total length of sherds analyzed (m)	Average sherd length (mm)	Diversity score (motifs/m)
Akapana	55	39.57	40.1	1.39
Putuni	142	41.49	40.4	3.42
AW Plaza	21	17.37	28.2	1.21
Mollo Kontu	40	20.63	33.6	1.94

Table 4.2. Data relevant to the calculation of iconographic ‘diversity scores’ for each of the Tiwanaku IV Akapana, Putuni, AW Plaza, and Mollo Kontu assemblages.

Among the assemblages, the Putuni’s diversity score stands out. This accords with the initial hypothesis and the observations made by Couture and Sampeck (Couture 2002; Couture and Sampeck 2003), which characterized the ceramics from the Putuni as elaborately and diversely decorated. Compared to the Putuni assemblage, with which it shares an average sherd length, the Akapana iconography is significantly less diverse. Again, this accords with the hypothesis and those observations made by Alconini (1995). Interestingly, the Akapana assemblage is less diverse than the Mollo Kontu assemblage, which when also accounting for the difference in average sherd length, is significant. The AW Plaza assemblage was the least diverse of the four; however, this may be partly due to the relatively small sample size and average sherd length. Ultimately, two conclusions can be drawn here: 1) the Putuni assemblage is notably diverse relative to the other three, and 2) the Akapana assemblage is significantly less diverse than the Putuni and Mollo Kontu assemblages, relative to the expectations that consider average sherd size. A provisional conclusion may be drawn that the AW Plaza assemblage is the least diverse.

Repetition:

In measuring repetition, I simply compared the total number of motifs counted to the number of non-repeated motifs. Recalling my note at the outset of this section, the total number of motifs does not count motifs repeated on a single vessel but does count motifs repeated on separate vessels. The number of non-repeated motifs is the same number used in calculating the diversity scores. For each sector, I calculated the number of repetitions by subtracting the number of non-repeated motifs from the total number of motifs. I then divided the total number of motifs by the difference to represent the rate of repetition as a percentage. Table 4.3 presents the results.

Assemblage	Total number of motifs	Number of non-repeated motifs	% of repeated motifs
Akapana	230	55	76.09
Putuni	264	142	46.21
AW Plaza	31	21	32.26
Mollo Kontu	44	40	9.10

Table 4.3. Data relevant to the calculation of the percentage of repeated motifs for each of the Tiwanaku IV Akapana, Putuni, AW Plaza, and Mollo Kontu assemblages.

Once again, due to sample size and sherd size issues, it makes sense to compare the Akapana and Putuni assemblages and the AW Plaza and Mollo Kontu assemblages separately. Between the two large assemblages, the Akapana iconography consisted of a notably higher percentage of repeated motifs. Between the AW Plaza and Mollo Kontu assemblages, there was also a notable difference; there was a much higher rate of repetition within the AW Plaza iconography than within the Mollo Kontu iconography.

Conformity:

I investigated the conformity of a particular assemblage's iconography relative to the iconography of the city of Tiwanaku as a whole (i.e. the four assemblages combined). I asked a basic question of the data: what percentage of the motifs from each sector are unique to that sector,

i.e. not found in any of the other three? A high proportion of unique motifs would indicate a low proportion of ‘boiler plate’ Tiwanaku iconography. The percentage of unique motifs was calculated by dividing the total non-repeated motifs by the number of non-repeated unique motifs. The results are presented in table 4.4.

Assemblage	Number of unique non-repeated motifs	Number of non-repeated motifs	% unique motifs
Akapana	34	55	61.8
Putuni	116	142	81.7
AW Plaza	11	21	52.4
Mollo Kontu	22	40	55.0

Table 4.4. Data relevant to the calculation of unique motif percentages for each of the Tiwanaku IV Akapana, Putuni, AW Plaza, and Mollo Kontu assemblages.

Once again, comparisons are complicated by sample size issues. Between the Akapana and Putuni assemblages, there was a notably higher proportion of unique motifs displayed upon Putuni vessels. There was no notable difference between the percentages of unique motifs found in the AW Plaza and Mollo Kontu assemblages. And while there was a higher proportion of unique motifs displayed on vessels from the Akapana Pyramid, the percentage was closer to the lower two than the Putuni’s ratio.

Overall Uniformity:

As they are founded upon similar principles, it is unsurprising that the results of the three measures of uniformity that I developed coincided with the results of Whallon’s coefficient of uniformity. The preponderance of evidence supports the initial hypothesis; the iconography displayed on ceramics from the Akapana Pyramid and the AW Plaza was uniform relative to the iconography displayed on ceramics from the Putuni and Mollo Kontu sectors of the site. This indicates that in terms of ceramic iconography, the large-scale feasting rituals hosted at the Akapana Complex were characterized by an emphasis on equality or similarity among participants.

The discussion that succeeds my analysis of iconographic convergences between sectors of the site will go into greater detail regarding the implications of these results.

One caveat that I must note before concluding my investigation of this empirical question is that the Akapana Pyramid sample is largely made up of ceramics from a single, large offering from the second terrace of the structure. I note this in Chapter 3, but to reiterate, I do consider this context, F108, to be representative of those offerings deposited upon the lower terraces of the Akapana due to its similarity—in terms of ceramics—to the large offering, feature 2, from the Akapana that Alconini (1995:88-99) analyzed in her investigation. It may be, however, that materials deposited upon the summit of the pyramid itself were of a distinct style or type. This is an area upon which future research could focus.

Iconographic Convergence

Among the various statistical tools available for measuring the degree of iconographic similarity between the four contexts, I chose to use the Brainerd-Robinson seriation technique, which was used in two of the classic archaeological studies that I mention above (Cronin 1962; Freeman 1962). The Brainerd-Robinson method compares the counts of nominal categories between each pair of assemblages to produce coefficients of similarity between 0 and 200; 0 is perfect dissimilarity and 200 is perfect similarity. However, as both Freeman (1962) and Plog (1978) noted, this coefficient does not work well if the size of the samples being compared are disparate. In order to address this concern, I used an R script developed by Peeples (2011). Peeples' script calculates the Brainerd-Robinson coefficients for each pair of assemblages, but it also produces 1,000 randomized distributions of the same data—which maintain the original total counts for each assemblage—in order to compare the original Brainerd-Robinson value with 1,000

randomized values (Peeples 2011). The output of this randomization process is a number for each pair that represents the percentage of randomized trials that produced coefficients smaller than the original. A high percentage indicates that the observed difference between the assemblages is likely the result of sampling error; whereas, a low percentage indicates that the observed difference is not due to sampling error (Peeples 2011). The results are presented in table 4.5 such that the pairs are listed in order of their coefficients, from highest to lowest.

Pair of assemblages	Brainerd-Robinson Coefficient of Similarity	% likelihood that difference over-estimated due to sample size error
Akapana/AW Plaza	67.18	100.0
Akapana/Putuni	45.59	0.0
Akapana/Mollo Kontu	45.53	45.3
Putuni/AW Plaza	39.05	67.4
AW Plaza/Mollo Kontu	31.82	0.0
Putuni/Mollo Kontu	23.48	0.0

Table 4.5. Brainerd-Robinson coefficients of similarity for each pair of assemblages under investigation. Percentage of randomized coefficients that were smaller than the observed coefficients are also presented.

Among the pairs, the Akapana and AW Plaza assemblages produced the highest coefficient of similarity, which indicates that the highest degree of iconographic convergence existed between these two sectors. While the overall score of 67.18 is low, the randomized trials produced lower scores for the pair 100% of the time indicating that the observed differences between the iconographic assemblages are heavily influenced by sampling error. This leaves open the possibility that there is an absolutely high degree of iconographic convergence between the two areas and not merely a relatively high degree of convergence. None of the other pairs of assemblages can be considered highly similar; however, as demonstrated here and by the uniqueness percentages calculated in the previous section of the chapter, there are iconographic links between all four, and the Akapana represents something akin to an ‘iconographic hub,’ i.e. a location that shares iconographic links with all other sectors. Overall these data support the initial

hypothesis that the strongest convergence of iconographies was that between the Akapana Pyramid and the AW Plaza.

The Case of Motif MGa02

One motif that appeared with high frequency in both the Akapana Pyramid and AW Plaza assemblages was MGa02 (see figure 4.8), a step-spiral motif that was typically repeated in a band encircling a hyperboloid vessel, i.e. kero or tazon. This motif, in particular, presents a good case for examining the uniformity of a specific motif within the Akapana Complex due to the number of examples found there. Figure 4.9 shows the frequency of this motif by site/area and time period.

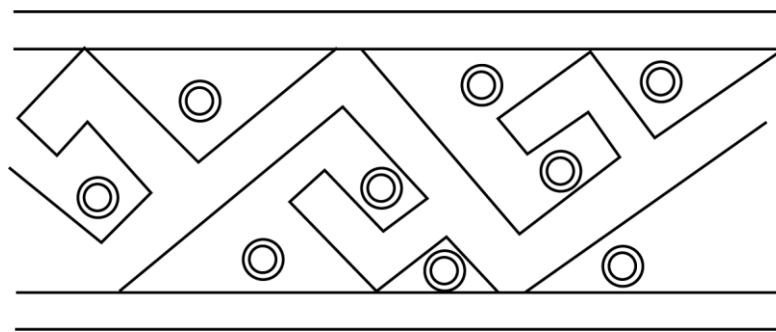


Figure 4.8. Motif MGa02.

Those, measurable (n=11), examples of the motif that correspond to Tiwanaku IV Akapana Complex contexts have a mean width of 34.2mm, with a standard deviation of 5.2mm. The mean width of those examples from the Akapana Pyramid is 35.0mm (n=8), and the mean width of those from the AW Plaza is 31.4mm (n=3). The colors used to depict the motif at the Akapana Complex are very standardized—the main zigzagging band and spirals are always orange (reddish yellow or yellowish red in Munsell terms), the small circles and occasional crosses that fill in the space around the band are always white, and the horizontal bands that frame the top and bottom of the motif are always black. The motif is always located in the upper part of the vessel, whether at or above the torus in the case of keros or at or near the rim in the case of tazones.

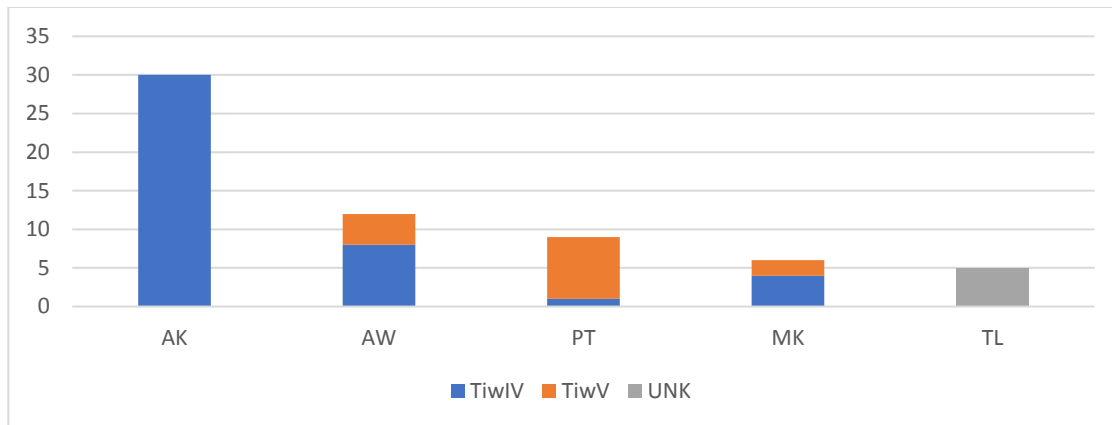


Figure 4.9. Frequency of motif MGa02 by site/area and phase.⁴ Note: the Tilata phases are listed as unknown due to a lack of concrete dates for this site.

Thus, depictions of motif MGa02 were highly standardized within the Akapana Complex, which supports the two hypotheses presented at the outset of the chapter: the Akapana Complex iconography was uniform, and there was a high degree of convergence between the Akapana Pyramid and AW Plaza iconographies. However, there is one characteristic of the motif that distinguishes those found upon Akapana Pyramid ceramics from those on AW Plaza ceramics. All 30 of the examples from the Akapana Pyramid were depicted on keros, and 7 of the 8 examples from the AW Plaza were depicted on tazones, 6 of which were recurved tazones. This observation indicates that while there was a high degree of iconography shared between these two areas, the overall assemblages may not be as similar as the iconography suggests. Furthermore, this implies that ceramics were not freely moving up and down the pyramid during the large rituals held at the Akapana Complex—whether this also means that people were not moving freely between the plaza and the terraces of the pyramid remains an open question. It is possible that certain practices were performed in one area but not the other. For example, while people ate from tazones in the plaza,

⁴ Motif MGa02 was most commonly encountered on vessels found in Akapana Complex offerings and plaza waste contexts that date to the Tiwanaku IV phase. During the Tiwanaku V phase, it was most commonly found on vessels from Putuni dedicatory burials. I would not draw broad conclusions from this temporal pattern, however, as it is likely that all these contexts date roughly to the same time period, i.e. the late Tiwanaku IV/early Tiwanaku V phases (c. AD 750-900).

once they began ascending the steps and terraces of the Akapana, they left their food behind. In other words, the Akapana Pyramid was a place for making offerings and sharing drinks exclusively. The distribution of ceramic forms displayed in the graphs at the outset of this chapter conforms to this pattern as well.

Ultimately, the results of the preceding analyses allow me to conclude that the iconography depicted on those ceramics consumed during feasting rituals at the Akapana Complex was uniform, both in the plaza and upon the pyramid. How this uniformity came into existence and the nature of its effects are the subject of the remainder of this chapter.

Production, Common Sense, and Mediation

In Chapter 3 and at the outset of this chapter, I note that the large-scale rituals held at the Akapana Pyramid during the Tiwanaku IV phase encompassed among the largest cross sections of participants of any event held at Tiwanaku. This claim is based on the density and characteristics of the materials deposited upon and around the Akapana; the refuse profile here was similar to that of domestic settings, yet there was no corresponding domestic architecture. Thus, it is evident that the Akapana Complex hosted well-attended feasts. However, while this was a site at which a diverse array of people arrived, the iconography depicted on ceramics consumed here was uniform relative to both an exclusive, elite funerary complex at the Putuni and an enclosed domestic compound at Mollo Kontu. This seeming contradiction further emphasizes the unusual degree of iconographic uniformity found on materials from the Akapana Complex. As I have noted, the most straightforward implication of this phenomenon is that in a visual sense, equality and similarity was emphasized instead of hierarchy and difference during rituals held at the Akapana Complex. This raises further questions, however; who produced or directed the production of this uniform

iconography? And what were the political effects, intended or otherwise, of the mass consumption of these media?

Production and Distribution

While I do not have excellent data relating to ceramic production (see Chapter 2), it is possible to present plausible explanations, or hypotheses, for how this uniformity of iconography was produced. One possible analogue is presented by Vaughn (2004) in relation to the consumption of polychrome ceramics at the Early Nazca site of Marcaya. As was the case at Tiwanaku, within the Nazca polity, elaborately decorated polychrome ceramics were not produced solely for elite consumption, and various classes of people had access to finely crafted objects (Vaughn 2004). Also similar to Tiwanaku, the Nazca polity was centered around a large ceremonial site, Cahuachi, at which feasting rituals were held. With regards to the production and distribution of these polychrome vessels, Vaughn (2004:83) argues that Cahuachi was the site at which they were both produced and distributed to visiting pilgrims.

If the keros, tazones, and sahumadores consumed during large-scale feasts at the Akapana Complex were, in part, centrally produced for distribution during these events, that would help to explain why the iconography displayed upon them was uniform relative to that displayed on vessels found in funerary and household contexts elsewhere at Tiwanaku. There were likely various scales of polychrome ceramic production occurring at Tiwanaku throughout its history (see also Chapters 5 and 6). There is evidence for large-scale, specialized ceramic production at locations like Ch'iji Jawira (Janusek 1999; Rivera Casanovas 2003; cf. Costin 1991), and there is indirect evidence for smaller scale and/or household-level production elsewhere (Janusek 1999; Chapter 6). Based on the patterns of consumption that I have outlined in this chapter—i.e. the

differences between the styles of iconography consumed in various loci at the site—it appears as though these two scales of production were intended for two distinct realms of consumption: 1) the large-scale feast, and 2) the more intimate feast/meal. However, I would not like to overstate the rigidity of this distinction, as it is evident that ‘idiosyncratic’ household-produced vessels were also consumed during large-scale feasts in the ceremonial core and that more ‘standardized,’ possibly mass-produced vessels ended up among household refuse and funerary offerings.

The question of who directed the production of these iconographically uniform materials remains open. In the case of the lowland Maya site of Xunantunich, LeCount (1999) argues that elites used polychrome ceramics as a form of “political currency,” which they distributed among non-elite groups in order to gain favor in times of political upheaval. It is possible that an emergent ruling class at Tiwanaku (see Chapter 5)—perhaps the central patrons of the Akapana Complex feasts—retained craft specialists whose production they oversaw and whose products, including polychrome ceramics, they distributed during the feasts. Janusek (1999) has argued that this particular model of full-time, attached craft specialization does not correspond well to the available evidence at Tiwanaku, noting in particular the overall diversity of products, ceramic and otherwise, among the various sectors of the site. It is possible, however, that seasonal work feasts centered around the mass production of serving wares were hosted by Tiwanaku’s ruling class. Alternatively, over time, there may have been hegemonic pressure on potters and feast participants from throughout the Tiwanaku Valley to produce materials in a particular way for the seasonal feasts. At this point, I cannot rule out either centralized, specialized ceramic production or diffuse, household-based production as the origin of the mostly uniform polychrome serving wares found at the Akapana Complex. In fact, I consider it probable that both forms of production contributed to the assemblages found there. It may be that as an emergent ruling class became more established,

they recognized the value of controlling the media presented during feasts and took a more active role in utilizing these materials to further their interests in a manner analogous to the case at Xunantunich.

Ritual, Sense, and Affect

At the outset of this chapter, I raise the possibility that the iconography displayed on polychrome ceramics consumed during large-scale feasts at Tiwanaku demarcated different classes or identities of participants in a manner that reflected what Dietler (2001) has termed “diacritical feasting.” However, the results of my analysis indicate that something else was happening—at least in terms of iconography. In his work on feasts, Dietler (2001:70) addresses the role that ritual plays in maintaining social solidarity only in passing, noting that the political implications of ritual had been overlooked within functionalist frameworks that focused on solidarity or *communitas* (e.g. Durkheim 1915; Turner 1969).⁵ However, the problem of solidarity and how it is socially constructed retains political relevance, as Dietler (2001:71) also acknowledges in his subsequent discussion.

In a context in which political hierarchies were being established and/or reinforced, as was the case during large-scale feasts at Tiwanaku (see Chapter 3), the production of affective relationships between subjects, rulers, and the polity itself—in a sense the production of a broader solidarity—would have been an important component of the development and maintenance of a political community, i.e. a community of people whose formal, and potentially unequal, obligations to each other and the polity could be articulated and carried out. This is where the

⁵ In her critical assessment of ritual theory, Bell (1992) examines how the axiomatic distinction between thought and action overdetermined how rituals had been analyzed and discussed by theorists like Durkheim and Turner. With an approach grounded in Bourdieu’s practice theory, she draws attention to the political dimensions of ritual, as well as the role of ideology and the various contestations for power that are manifest during rituals.

uniformity of the iconography displayed on polychrome serving wares consumed during large-scale feasts at Tiwanaku becomes centrally relevant. In the case of the Akapana Complex, the uniform iconography depicted on ceramics there produced a ‘sense’ of equality among all participants that belied the various hierarchical positions that were being produced and reified through competitive and patron supported feasting.

Thinking about this effect through the lens of aesthetics, the medium of ceramic iconography produced a version of ‘common sense’ among feast participants. In this instance, I am perverting Kant’s universalist notion of “Common Sense,” which he posited as the condition upon which aesthetic judgment is predicated (Kant 2000:122). Common sense, in the present discussion, is not a universal capacity, rather it is something socially constructed, developed through ritual participation. However, as was the case with Kant’s version, common sense here encompasses forms of mutual recognition, inter-subjectivity, and, indeed, equality; groups present at the Akapana Complex consumed a relatively uniform iconographic medium, and the conventions of representation depicted therein developed and directed the emergent sensibilities of the viewers. The conventions of Tiwanaku’s iconography are not ‘easily intelligible.’ Particularly in the case of representational depictions of animals or humans, it takes some practice for a viewer to be able to pick out what the forms depict, abstracted as they are (see Chapter 2 and Appendix B). At the Akapana Complex, common sense was the outcome of collective forms of visual consumption, and it was a basis upon which subjects recognized themselves as members of the political community. Rancière (2004:12) has called this particular aesthetic dimension of politics the “distribution of the sensible,” which is “the system of self-evident facts of sense perception that simultaneously discloses the existence of something in common and the delimitations that define the respective parts and positions within it.” The distribution of the

sensible highlights the tension in political life between the experience and the production of that which is shared, with a particular emphasis on the temporal and spatial stakes of this tension—when and where does artistic production intervene in common sense of the political community? In the case of Tiwanaku, as large-scale feasts in the ceremonial core of the city were among the foremost political rituals, they were both temporally and spatially marked events for the ‘experience’ of the political community and one’s place within it. The central role of shared iconography depicted on ceramic vessels at these rituals further relates to this tension, whereby, the shared visual sense of feast participants was constructed out of the social and material relations of the Tiwanaku state more broadly.

The question of the degree to which this common sense and its attendant imagery made a lasting impression on participants is addressed further in Chapter 6; however, it is worth noting that conventional Tiwanaku iconography consistently ended up in what would have been intimate spaces, e.g. kitchens and tombs, while potters within the Tiwanaku Valley and beyond also played with the canonical iconography through various reproductions and transformations, thus, evidencing the depth to which this imagery penetrated everyday visual culture.

Mazzarella’s (2009) concept of “immediation” furthermore complements the preceding discussion of common sense and the political effects of the standardized iconography displayed on ceramics at the Akapana Complex. Mazzarella coined the term, immediation, in order to describe the seemingly paradoxical “mediated immediacy” that contemporary theories of affect attempt to make intelligible. The “illusion of pre-mediated existence—of immediation—is, then, at once the outcome of mediation and the means of its occlusion” (Mazzarella 2009:303). The political efficacy of affective relationships is predicated on their mediated foundations seeming to be unmediated; in other words, those social and political bonds that are affective are powerful

precisely because they do not seem constructed. Archaeologically speaking, what would a medium that produced these effects look like? A key element of Mazzarella's theorization is that the illusion of immediation thrives on the appeal to a "pre-mediated existence," and in terms of iconography this is relevant to both its history and its uniformity. In terms of history, much of Tiwanaku's iconography was developed using imagery that predated the polity by centuries (see Isbell and Knobloch 2009; Janusek 2004a, 2004b)—it was a medium that literally pre-existed the political community—however, it is not obvious the degree to which feast participants would have been aware of this deep history. Regarding uniformity, the focal point of this chapter, as a medium that was both ubiquitous and uniform, Tiwanaku iconography produced an effect whereby its very characteristics allowed it to seem both present and absent, an effect analogous to immediation. Ceramic iconography at the Akapana Complex did not stand out as a means of distinction; it became a hegemonic⁶ medium that circulated among and encompassed participants during the feasts. Understood in these terms, it is evident that Tiwanaku's iconography was not merely a passive marker of shared identity or group belonging; rather, it was a necessary medium through which such a group, or, more specifically, political community, could come into being.

Concluding Remarks

Within this chapter, I have demonstrated that the iconography depicted upon polychrome ceramics consumed at the Akapana Complex was uniform relative to other important sectors of the site. This uniformity would have in turn affected how participants viewed their positions within the polity and community of Tiwanaku—i.e. it would have produced and reinscribed bonds of

⁶ By hegemonic here, I am using the term in the manner of Comaroff and Comaroff (1992:28), who defined it as "that order of signs and material practices, drawn from a specific cultural field, that come to be taken for granted as the natural, universal, and true shape of social being."

solidarity among participants. This solidarity, however, existed in tension with hierarchies that were being established and reinforced through both competitive and patron-supported feasting. Furthermore, spatial hierarchies—based on individuals’ positions upon and relative to monuments—that mapped onto social hierarchies may have presented another counterpoint to the ‘aesthetic equality’ of participants and groups. In the following two chapters, I examine the social and political significance of polychrome ceramics in contexts dominated by distinct class positions within the Tiwanaku polity. As one of the conclusions from this chapter may be stated, the iconographic uniformity at the Akapana Complex is relative to the diversity of visual culture elsewhere at the site and beyond.

CHAPTER 5. Ceramic Iconography and the Putuni Palace: Class, Ideology, and Aesthetics

This chapter examines the material culture of Tiwanaku's ruling class residents of the Putuni sector. In order to define these people as a ruling class, I investigate class relations at Tiwanaku and argue that not only were the Putuni residents an "elite" status group, they were a distinct class. Following this analysis of class at Tiwanaku, I present evidence drawn from previous work on the Putuni that supports the contention that the Putuni residents were materially wealthy relative to other inhabitants of Tiwanaku (Couture 2002; Couture and Sampeck 2003). This then leads into a discussion of the ideological content of Tiwanaku imagery in stone and ceramic. Finally, I focus on the extraordinary and unusual characteristics of the Putuni ceramics and posit that they were produced by ruling class artisans. The chapter culminates in an examination into how the Putuni ceramics worked both as mediators of hierarchical positions as well as objectifications of the emergent ruling class' social and material power at Tiwanaku. It is in support of this latter point that I will draw together theoretical work on aesthetics and fetishism in order to better account for how 'beautiful' and/or 'extraordinary' objects come to materialize power.

Tiwanaku's Elites: Class, Property, and the Division of Labor

Discussing and analyzing social hierarchies within Tiwanaku society is tricky—as is often the case with ancient polities. While it is evident that there were distinctions between populations in terms of material wealth—most notably when comparing the elaborate/extraordinary grave goods and monumental residences found at the Putuni sector to other sectors of the site and beyond—it is not immediately evident what the social and historical bases of this material disparity were. Couture (2007:421) has used Weber's (1946a) notion of the "status group" to make analytically clear what she means by describing the Putuni residents as "elites." Unlike classes,

which are predicated on relationships to the means of production (Marx 1972a), status groups are predicated on patterns of consumption and “distinguished primarily through social estimations of honor and prestige and the right to particular privileges and responsibilities” (Couture 2007:423). As Couture notes (2007:421), Weber argued that while class and status often overlap, they are not synonymous. There is ample evidence for the residents of the Putuni constituting a distinct status group (Couture 2007; Couture 2002; Couture and Sampeck 2003); however, it is productive to more closely consider their class positions before delving into a discussion of status.

Class and the Ayllu

In order to account for class, it is necessary to examine the relations of production—or, indeed, the mode of production—underlying a particular social formation. Archaeologists have drawn analogies between Tiwanaku’s social divisions and other better-known, typically historical, categories. Within the contemporary literature on Tiwanaku, there are references to Tiwanaku’s aristocracy, nobility, and guild-like social divisions, all of which evokes a social and material world similar to that of European feudalism (Kolata 1993a; Couture 2002, 2007; Becker 2017). Other scholars have drawn analogies between Tiwanaku’s social divisions and the Andean category of the “ayllu” (Albarracin-Jordan 2003; Janusek 2003a, 2004a).¹ While the former group of archaeologists evokes feudal vocabulary in order to elucidate particular social divisions at Tiwanaku, the latter group has deployed the ayllu analogy in order to construct something closer to full-on models of Tiwanaku’s social world. The key link between these two sets of analogies is

¹ Albarracin-Jordan (1999; 2003) and Janusek (2004a) and have primarily applied the ayllu analogy to Tiwanaku’s social and political organization as a means to critique the models of Tiwanaku presented by Ponce (1972) and Kolata (1993a). Both critics have emphasized the lack of standardization in terms of material culture and daily practice in order to argue that Tiwanaku lacked an integrated, centralized authority commanding an expansive bureaucracy-like political apparatus.

their joint recognition of the central role that the control of land and agricultural labor played within the Tiwanaku polity. In the following paragraphs, I focus on this link in order to examine how novel class relations could have been generated out of ayllu-like social relations at Tiwanaku.

The ayllu is a social, economic, and kinship unit that is best known from ethnohistorical accounts of the Late Inca and Early Colonial periods (roughly 14th to 16th centuries) in the Andes. Janusek (2004a:28) has defined “ayllu” as “a flexible term for community that, to varying degrees, was partly imagined and partly the concrete product of kin-based relations, productive activities, access to common lands, ritual practices, claims to common ancestry, and political activity.” This definition is particularly apt insofar as it encompasses the variable scales and flexible social scope that the ayllu evokes. In an ayllu, ‘property’ was communal and shared amongst members; however, there were macro- and micro-ayllus that delineated rights to lands and resources along varying fissures (Janusek 2004a). An ayllu may have controlled contiguous or non-contiguous territories (Albarracin-Jordan 2003). Examples of a single kin group controlling non-contiguous territories pertaining to various elevations and ecological zones are well-known in the Andes, and this form of social organization has been famously termed the “vertical archipelago” (see Murra 1985). Within this social form, the exchanges that occurred between ecological zones were mediated not by markets, but by formal and mutual kin obligations. A key social element of ayllus is that genealogical ties existed not only among human members but also between humans, non-humans, and landscapes—both features and territories; often, an ayllu’s apical ancestor was considered to be an important feature within its territory, like a mountain.

On a basic level, each ayllu theoretically controls its own means of production; in the case of agriculturally active and sedentary Andean communities and, in particular, a polity like Tiwanaku, the ‘means of production’ would have included, among other things, land, water,

livestock, and agricultural tools. Furthermore, based on the aforementioned genealogical ties between humans and lands, these means would have been more-or-less “inalienable” (Weiner 1985). Within such a system, even in cases with more or less powerful ayllus (i.e. upper and lower moieties), class divisions *between*² ayllus ostensibly would not have existed. However, this mode of social organization did not preclude the emergence of class divisions between ayllus. Indeed, in cases where there was a highly developed division of labor between ayllu-like groups, like at Tiwanaku (Becker 2017), class divisions were likely to have been present.

It is possible to hypothesize how novel class divisions could have emerged out of an ayllu-like mode of production. To my mind, there are three obvious paths to inter-ayllu class formation—i.e. one ayllu controlling the means of production of another group (organized as an ayllu or not) and asserting itself as a novel class upon this basis: 1) an expropriation, likely violent, of the lands of one ayllu by another, 2) an influx of landless people into an established ayllu’s territories, and 3) a single ayllu controlling a key, irreplaceable resource needed by another group (ayllu or not). The first two processes were combined to good effect with the conscription of *mitmaquna*, in which the Inca forcibly divided and migrated conquered peoples to new territories within the empire, far away from their ancestral homelands. The third pathway would have been immanently possible by means of the control of water in the coastal valleys of what is now Peru. On the face of it, these three processes are somewhat reductive; however, when the specific circumstances of Tiwanaku’s history are examined with them in mind, it becomes more apparent how contradictions within the ayllu-mode—particularly in relation to its ethic of reciprocity—led to the emergence of a new ruling class.

² It is possible that some form of class division existed within ayllus, whether gendered, age-based, or otherwise.

Class Formation at Tiwanaku

Kolata (1993a) and Bandy (2013) have argued, in different ways, that class formation at Tiwanaku can best be understood in relation to the emergence of raised-field technology and its capacity to produce agricultural surpluses that were then mobilized by the emergent ruling class. However, drawing on my hypotheses regarding class formation among ayllus, I examine three other factors that contributed to class formation at Tiwanaku: 1) the importation of maize from (a) lower elevation region(s), including the Moquegua Valley; 2) the construction of the major monuments at the site via work feasts; and 3) the influx of people into the Tiwanaku Valley, as the site became the premier destination for pilgrims in the region. I briefly discuss the first two factors in Chapter 3; however, it makes sense to expand upon these discussions here.

Goldstein (2003) has identified maize chicha as a foundational component of Tiwanaku's successful expansion into the disparate regions of Cochabamba, Northern Chile, and the Moquegua Valley of Peru. He argues that political feasting instead of military intervention was the primary means by which Tiwanaku established relationships with these regions (Goldstein 2003:166). Berryman (2010:289) argues that Tiwanaku's emergence as the preeminent urban center within the Titicaca Basin was tied to "the ability of its leaders to secure access to a large stable supply of maize through colonization in Moquegua and the establishment of other lowland trade partners during the early part of the Middle Horizon."³ Berryman's argument is very compelling and, once again, supported by ample skeletal data. In the context of both competitive, "empowering" feasts (Dietler 2001) and large-scale work feasts (Dietler and Herbich 2001), access

³ The precise nature of the relationship between Tiwanaku and Moquegua is an extraordinarily complex topic and, for the most part, beyond the scope of my arguments here. However, it is likely that a particular group at Tiwanaku maintained genealogical ties with an analogous group in Moquegua—whether those "Tiwanaku relations" in Moquegua were colonial-style settlers, local rulers brought into the Tiwanaku fold, or a diasporic ethnic enclave remains a matter of debate (see Goldstein 1993, 2000a, 2000b, 2003).

to maize for chicha would have been incredibly important; as Berryman's (2010) evidence shows, maize-chicha was by far the most popular alcoholic drink in the Tiwanaku Valley during this period. Thus, maize became a key resource—both desirable and exclusive—for mobilizing labor and attracting visitors to Tiwanaku.

As I discuss in Chapter 3, work feasts were the primary means for mobilizing labor on the scale necessary for the construction of the monuments at Tiwanaku; thus far, there is limited evidence that a state apparatus capable of violent coercion existed during the apogee of the Tiwanaku state⁴—however, in the context of Tiwanaku's rise within the Titicaca basin, arguing that such an apparatus existed puts the cart before the horse, so to speak. Maize-chicha was foundational to the successful mobilization of labor, and the exchange at the heart of monumental work feasts worked as a 'double' investment in the act of construction—while those providing labor were contributing to the monument directly, that which they received was simultaneously transformed into additional labor-power, thus indirectly contributing to the monument too. In this manner, the exchange of labor for food and drink produced novel material relations, as labor hours calcified in the monuments. The massive amount of labor-time invested in the construction of the Akapana,⁵ for example, simultaneously generated and objectified its social value (cf. Graeber 2001). In other words, the extraordinary labor indexed in the very material of the Akapana made it a powerful social force. As I note in Chapter 3, the Akapana's role as a powerful social locus throughout the Tiwanaku IV phase is further evidenced by the materials found upon and around it; it was the focal point of the largest, in terms of participants, events held at Tiwanaku.

⁴ Giesso's (2003) research indicates that lithic weapons were being produced in large quantities in the Tiwanaku Valley, and he argues that these were used in warfare and not for hunting.

⁵ Thus far, I have not encountered a concrete estimate of how many 'human-hours' would have been necessary to build one of the monuments at Tiwanaku; however, I consider it reasonable to hypothesize that a single monument's construction—not to mention its maintenance—would have lasted multiple generations. For example, Vranich (2006) has argued that the Pumapunku was never actually 'finished,' and thus its construction was still in progress over three centuries after it started.

The question remains, however, what exactly was the relationship between the ‘sponsors’ of the work feasts that built the monuments and the monuments themselves? It is difficult to envisage a scenario in which they were able to claim the monuments as their ‘property’ or solely their domain simply based on their position in the feasts. Much more likely is that the monuments were considered more or less communal property, particularly as the labor that went into them was not alienated in the capitalistic sense. While hypothetical, it is also very likely that important ancestors were housed in most of the key monuments at Tiwanaku—in Chapter 3 I recount how the Kalasasaya and Akapana had spaces reminiscent of other ancestral ‘houses’ at Chiripa and Pukara. The tenon heads of the Semi-Subterranean Temple, while not literal ancestral bodies, represented ancestors, and the later Putuni Palace contained a series of niches that Couture (2007) has argued were for displaying mummified ancestors. If the rooms at the summit of the Akapana, for example, housed ancestors, then the sponsors of its construction may have been able to house their progenitors here—or, indeed, the sponsors themselves could have been housed here after death. In this scenario, those who had close genealogical ties to the deceased housed at the Akapana could have positioned themselves as the curators of the structure and its inhabitants, as well as important mediators between the powers of the monument and the peoples who came to venerate it. Such a position vis-à-vis these monuments would have indexed significant social power, and while this does not represent control over the means of production, it is, in a sense, control over the means of social reproduction.

The third and decisive factor in class formation at Tiwanaku that I have identified is the influx of pilgrims and new residents into the Tiwanaku Valley during the Tiwanaku IV and V phases. In their respective archaeological surveys of the Tiwanaku Valley, Albarracin-Jordan (2003) and Mathews (2003) note an increase in the distribution, size, and number of sites at the

onset of the Tiwanaku IV phase and an even greater increase into the Tiwanaku V phase. Based on a recent resurvey of the Tiwanaku Valley, Bandy (2013:140) has even posited that the Tiwanaku Valley was mostly uninhabited outside of Tiwanaku itself prior to the Middle Horizon. Janusek and Kolata (2003) have further identified a massive intensification of raised-field agricultural production in the Katari Valley within this same timeframe. These data indicate an increasing population within the Tiwanaku Heartland during the IV and V phases. Obviously, this increase is not due solely to migration from outside the region; however, based on Tiwanaku's rising status, it is sound to hypothesize that people from abroad were attracted to the city. Indeed, Bandy (2013:141) has argued that "the bulk of the initial urban growth of Tiwanaku was a product of immigration." Furthermore, Knudson and others (Knudson 2004; Knudson et al. 2004) have identified various 'non-local' individuals interred within Tiwanaku's ceremonial core based on the strontium isotope ratios in their remains. Pilgrims came for the large feasts and other rituals, and many would have stayed for the access to maize chicha, the proximity to the monuments and ceremonies, the cosmopolitanism of the city, and due to economic pressures.

Once again, the fate of these new residents is not a straightforward question. Many would have been directly integrated into existing genealogical groups through marriage or other means; yet as Bandy (2013:143) has noted, many would have been vulnerable to exploitation, lacking the ties to land and family relations necessary for a relatively stable livelihood in this setting. Berryman (2010:299) has suggested that feasting may have become something like a fulltime activity for the elite at Tiwanaku, and this combined with the massive investments in agricultural infrastructure occurring in the Katari Valley would have enabled unattached laborers to remain in the Tiwanaku heartland, as servants and/or agricultural workers. With little autonomy, this group as a whole would have had no control over the means of production and thus would have constituted a novel

laboring class in relation to an emergent ruling class. On the other hand, the ruling class, the most powerful members being the residents of Tiwanaku's ceremonial core (see Kolata 1993a, 2003), would have had ancestral agricultural lands and the aforementioned ties to the central monuments as the bases of its material and social power.

While the archaeological evidence for the ruling class is prevalent—I address it in my subsequent discussion of the Putuni and its residents—it is more difficult to identify the material remains of the proposed laboring class. In terms of indirect evidence, Kolata and Janusek (Kolata 1993a; Janusek and Kolata 2003) note that the massive intensification of raised-field agriculture in the Katari Valley would have relied on a consistent and centrally organized/directed pool of laborers. Mortuary evidence, on the other hand, provides more direct evidence for the presence of this migrant underclass. Many of the sacrificed individuals found among the monuments of the ceremonial center were buried with modest accoutrements (Manzanilla 1992) and, in one case, a mass grave that included 16 sacrificed individuals and 2 llamas was excavated at the base of the northern façade of the Akapana (Rivera Infante 2011). Based on strontium isotope evidence, Knudson et al. (2004) have identified three non-local individuals interred within Tiwanaku's ceremonial core, two within the Putuni sector and one on the first terrace of the Akapana; as these scholars note, Couture and Sampeck (2003) had identified the two Putuni individuals as being dedicatory burials. Furthermore, Blom et al. (2003) note evidence that the Akapana individual was defleshed and left exposed on the terrace of the Akapana after death. I hypothesize that at least some of these sacrificed and dedicated individuals were members of the laboring class based on how they were treated in death.

In terms of production and consumption in relation to class and status distinctions, in her study of arthritis indicators on skeletal remains, Becker (2017) notes that distinct rates of labor

corresponded to spatial distinctions within the Tiwanaku heartland; she found that the lowest rates corresponded to individuals interred at the Putuni, while the highest rates corresponded to individuals found at the urban center of Lukurmata, at rural sites within the Katari Valley, and among the “middle class” (see below) sectors of Tiwanaku. Berryman (2010), furthermore, found that maize consumption was highest among individuals interred within the ceremonial core of Tiwanaku, which as she notes, supports Kolata’s (2003) claim that there existed a “concentric cline” of social status centered at Tiwanaku’s sacred core. Unfortunately, Tiwanaku’s laboring class is mostly hidden in plain sight, archaeologically speaking, as they had fewer possessions and less durable residences than those amongst whom they lived.

The Division of Labor

Kolata (1993a:175, 2003:201) argues that there were three primary social classes at Tiwanaku: warrior elites, middle-class artisans, and lower-class farmers, herders, and fishers. However, recent evidence has complicated this model. Based on the distribution of arthritis indicators on the skeletal remains of individuals interred throughout Tiwanaku, Becker (2017) argues that there was a developed division of labor among the residents of the city. She notes, in particular, that the skeletal data coincides with other archaeological data (from Rivera Casanovas 2003; Janusek 2004a; Berryman 2010; Vallières 2012) to produce an image of economic specialization that maps onto socio-spatial divisions within the site. In the Mollo Kontu sector (see also Chapter 6), a residential area directly south of the ceremonial core, residents were engaged in a form of “urban pastoralism” (Vallières 2012), which means that while they dwelled within the city, they maintained large flocks of llama that they raised and herded. Elsewhere, in the sector of Ch’iji Jawira, east and somewhat north of the city’s core, residents were engaged in extensive,

specialized ceramic production (Rivera Casanovas 2003). And in the Akapana East sector, Becker's evidence supports Janusek's (2003a) hypothesis that this was the domain of specialized chicha brewers in the Tiwanaku V phase. Of special note, Becker (2017:44) found that while the elite residents of the Putuni labored the least, they did engage in some productive activity—they were not indolent aristocrats.

Following Janusek's (1999) argument that specialized craft production at Tiwanaku was not attached to elite sponsorship but embedded within networks of reciprocal exchange among households, Becker (2017) has proposed that there existed guild-like kin groups within the city of Tiwanaku. It is necessary to account for these data and conclusions in light of my preceding discussion of class formation at Tiwanaku, as they indicate that something like a "middle-class" existed at Tiwanaku, albeit one that was constituted by more than artisans. For example, the residents of Mollo Kontu, whom I discuss in greater detail in Chapter 6, were characterized by their llama herding (Vallières 2012). In relation to status markers, they consumed llama meat in relatively large quantities (Berryman 2010; Vallières 2012), they drank a middling amount of maize chicha (Berryman 2010), they possessed some high-quality serving wares (see Chapter 6), and they constructed a local monumental mound within their sector (Couture 2003). Based on these productive activities and status markers, they were neither members of the ruling class nor the laboring class—instead, it appears as though they remained relatively independent producers, who maintained control of their means of production—i.e. their land, water, llamas, household-level production materials, etc. They were likely able to benefit from the labor of the novel laboring class to a certain degree, but not on the scale of the ruling class. Furthermore, the ruling class was likely able to mobilize members of the Mollo Kontu community for large labor projects; however, this mobilization would have still relied on work feasts or other forms of reciprocity.

Upon these bases, Kolata's tripartite division of Tiwanaku's social world should be amended to account for the variability of the productive activities conducted by each 'tier' of the hierarchy. Members of the ruling class were artisans as well as warriors, and I examine their crafting activity in fuller detail below. Following Berryman's (2010) cogent hypothesis, they likely also engaged in frequent, even 'quotidian' (if that's not a paradox) feasting. Others have hypothesized that they fulfilled priestly roles (Manzanilla 1992; Alconini 1995), and as the division of labor at Tiwanaku became more pronounced, it is likely that the division of "mental" and "material" labor (Marx 1972b:159) enabled the ruling class to fulfill a role analogous to that of priests—i.e. choreographing communal rituals and mediating the laity and the (super)natural forces that affected their lives. It is also possible that many of the great engineers of Tiwanaku, particularly those with an expertise in masonry and construction, came from the ruling class; however, there is little direct evidence for or against this conjecture. On the other hand, members of the 'untethered' laboring class would have been primarily engaged in manual labor, whether in agricultural, urban construction, or service contexts. Finally, there were members of older genealogical groups based in the Tiwanaku heartland—like those living in the Mollo Kontu sector—that both contributed to and benefited from this novel social hierarchy, even while they maintained a relatively autonomous status as specialized producers. Albarracin-Jordan's (2003) evidence and arguments that Tiwanaku was a "segmentary state" or a loose confederation of ayllu-like political groups reflect, in particular, this class of independent producers, who were neither autonomous nor entirely dominated by a centralized authority. In this manner, sovereignty within the Tiwanaku was subject to constant negotiation.

These social divisions, peculiar to the Tiwanaku period, gave rise to new tensions that were mediated by various practical ideologies, including the affective and aesthetic effects of the

feasting rituals at the Akapana Complex that I examine in Chapter 4. As I outline in the remainder of this chapter, members of the ruling class relied heavily on soft power in order to maintain their position; through status markers, ideological media, and the cultivation of aesthetically powerful objects, their social power constituted both the foundation and ultimate undoing of their material power. That is, as they increasingly sought to distinguish themselves as an exclusive group, they undermined the inclusivity of the reciprocal rituals that allowed them to mobilize and direct labor on a grand scale.

Tiwanaku's Elites II: Status and Ideology

This section focuses on elite material culture in relation to status and ideology. As I note above, Couture's (2007) deployment of Weber's definition of status presents an analytically clear framework for discussing "elites" at Tiwanaku; elites can be identified based on distinct patterns of consumption and privileges. Thus, archaeologically speaking, status correlates to distinctive material wealth, so I characterize the elite status of the Putuni residents based on their extraordinary grave goods and residences. Regarding ideology, I draw upon theorizations that examine how it relates to representations and realizations of the social world from the position of the ruling class (Marx 1972b; Merquior 1979; Bell 1992). Generally, my approach assumes that ideology is not synonymous with active bad faith deception; rather, ideology is a peculiar outcome of the limitations and power of totalizing worldviews generated from fragmented perspectives. With this in mind, I examine ideologically potent iconography depicted in Tiwanaku stone carving and ceramic decoration in relation to the Putuni's ruling class residents.

Elite Status and the Putuni Sector: Tiwanaku IV and V

The Putuni Palace itself was constructed at the onset of the Tiwanaku V phase, and thus did not exist during the Tiwanaku IV phase. However, the location⁶ of the monument was an elite residential complex during the Tiwanaku IV phase and earlier (Couture 2002). Various architectural features distinguished the Putuni district from other Tiwanaku IV residential areas; Couture (2002:156) has noted that the walls of the houses and compounds were wide and well-constructed compared to elsewhere and that the Putuni was unique—along with La K'araña—in having residential drainage canals during the Tiwanaku IV phase. During this period, the Putuni district was divided into a north and a south compound by a large wall (Couture 2002:171; see figure 5.1).

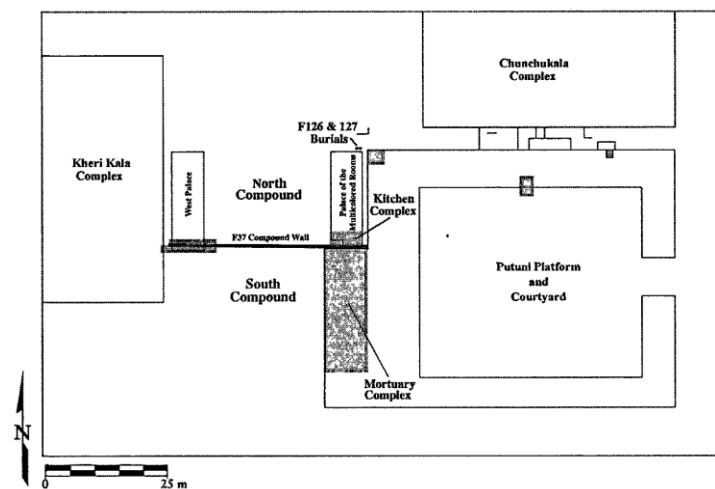


Figure 5.1. Plan of the Putuni sector showing Tiwanaku IV features revealed during excavations (from Couture and Sampeck 2003:233, fig. 9.10).

In the north compound, excavators encountered a three-room kitchen area as well as a network of drainage canals (Couture 2002:172, 178). In the south, they located an elite mortuary complex, characterized by “a series of cylindrical shaft and bell-shaped tombs” (Couture 2002:197). The materials found among the tombs and residential areas of the Putuni were also

⁶ See figure 3.1 for the location of the Putuni.

unique. In terms of ceramics, there were a high proportion of escudillas, an unusual array of vessel forms and iconographies, as well as a handful of non-local vessels, including a striking Omereque style challador (Couture 2002; see Chapter 4 and figure 5.2). This constellation of material wealth found at the Putuni was extraordinary relative to that of other Tiwanaku inhabitants during the Tiwanaku IV phase.



Figure 5.2. Omereque style challador: vessel PT25809.002, Putuni feature 49.

However, it was with the construction of the Putuni Palace and Platform that Tiwanaku's ruling class ultimately and conclusively demarcated the spatio-symbolic division between themselves and the rest. As Couture (2002:229) put it, in the Tiwanaku V phase, "residents of the Putuni Palace placed a new emphasis on being exclusive and unique to distinguish themselves from other sectors of society." In order to make way for this massive construction project, the Tiwanaku IV Putuni residences were razed and a series of dedicatory offerings, including humans (Couture 2002:225), were buried on site. One extraordinary dedicatory burial, found below the Putuni Palace, included a woman buried with an embossed gold pectoral mask (Couture 2002:265).

The Tiwanaku V Putuni Complex was made up of two parts, a platform and a palace residence. The Putuni Platform was a rectangular structure, approximately 50m N-S, 70m E-W, 1.2m in height, and it enclosed a courtyard with an eastern entrance (Couture 2002:250; see figure 5.3); in its form, it was not unlike the previously discussed sunken plazas that characterized

Titicaca Basin ritual spaces throughout the Tiwanaku and Formative periods. Indeed, Couture (2002) and Kolata (1993a) have suggested that the niches within the platform housed mummy bundles—possibly the remains of those individuals who had been interred within the Tiwanaku IV elite mortuary complex, in which excavators encountered no human remains (Couture 2002:200). The platform was constructed out of andesite and sandstone blocks of varying sizes (Couture 2002:251), and while Ponce (1972) hypothesized that these stone walls were the base of a larger adobe structure, Couture (2002) found little evidence to support this vision. Couture notes (2002:253), however, that it is unlikely that whatever happened inside the Putuni courtyard was visible from the outside.

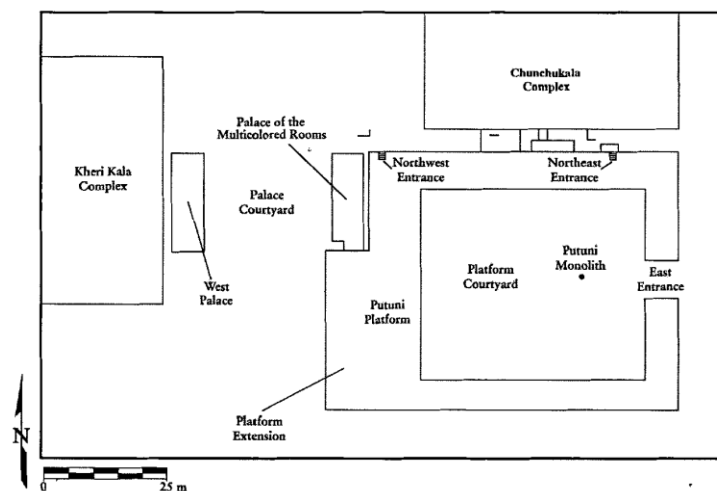


Figure 5.3. Plan of the Putuni Palace, Tiwanaku V (from Couture and Sampeck 2003:228, fig. 9.1).

The Putuni Palace was made up of a series of residential structures surrounding a courtyard, located directly west of the Putuni Platform. In the 1980s and 90s, two of these structures were excavated: the Palace of the Multicolored Rooms and the West Palace. The West Palace was the less opulent of the two—while remaining exceptional compared to residences elsewhere—thus I will focus on the Palace of Multicolored Rooms in order to emphasize the uniqueness of the Putuni residents' material wealth. The Palace of the Multicolored Rooms was approximately 22m N-S and 6m E-W; its walls were constructed out of adobe bricks upon stone foundations, all of which

was built upon a red clay floor (Couture 2002:261). The ‘Multicolored Rooms’ moniker was given to the structure due to the colorful fresco-like paintings that covered its interior walls—Couture (2002:262) has noted evidence for red, yellow, orange, green, and blue paints having been used to decorate the white plaster that covered the rooms’ adobe walls. Unfortunately, the poor preservation of the plaster surfaces does not allow for a discussion of the particular iconography that was displayed within these spaces; however, this form of mural painting is absolutely extraordinary at Tiwanaku, particularly compared to other residential districts (Couture 2002:263). Couture (2002:271) has also noted that the many unique artifacts recovered from the floors of the Palace of the Multicolored rooms, including jewelry, may be considered sumptuary goods. The prevalence of “recurved tazones,” a relatively rare and elegant bowl style, amongst these contexts stood out in particular to Couture (2002:273), who found that some had traces of vivid pigments encrusted upon their interior surfaces. The presence of these traces of pigment suggests that these vessels may have been used in the process of making decorative slips and paints, which could have been applied to ceramic vessels, plaster walls, and stone carvings.

Charred grass and wood found among the ruins of the Palace of Multicolored Rooms indicate that it was rapidly abandoned at the end of the Tiwanaku V Phase (c. AD 1100), which also coincides with the collapse of the Tiwanaku polity (Couture 2002:303). This is among the best direct evidence for a violent revolution deposing Tiwanaku’s ruling class.

Ideology in Stone and Ceramic

Ideology—its characteristics and effects—is a complex theoretical problem. While Marx’s (1972b:172, original emphasis) statement that, “The ideas of the ruling class are in every epoch the ruling ideas; i.e., the class which is the ruling *material* force in society, is at the same time its

ruling *intellectual* force,” seems straightforward, it is not. Of particular relevance is the conditions under which ideological concepts, imaginaries, narratives, etc. are produced and for whom they are intended. In her critical overview of ritual theory, Bell examines this particular issue. She (Bell 1992:188) notes the limitations of approaches that she terms “ideology-as-worldview” and “ideology-of-the-dominant-class,” which consider ideology to be a single, dominant set of ideas. Instead, drawing on the work of Merquior (1979), she (Bell 1992:189) cogently contends that ideology is typically neither fully “articulated” nor “self-conscious.” Merquior’s (1979) argument takes the unusual, yet productive turn in positing that the audience of ideology is typically the ruling class itself, as opposed to the dominated class; as Bell (1992:190) paraphrases, “ideology is a veil that hides a group from itself, not a mask that threatens and dupes a subordinate group.” This line of argumentation, furthermore, resonates with Brumfiel’s (1998) analysis of Aztec ideology, which she argued was intended to maintain ruling class solidarity as opposed to broader social solidarity. In this sense, ideology is a product of the ruling class’s intellectual labor, or, in other words, their attempts to understand their social world and articulate their place within it.

The degree to which dominated groups or classes accept these ideological imaginaries is an open question; at times, they have no practical choice. Indeed, an ideology is often most powerful simply because it remains unopposed, even when widely viewed as “hollow.”⁷ Žižek (1989) has examined this seeming contradiction—that ideologies are powerful regardless of the

⁷ At this point, it is worth noting that these discussions of ‘ideology’ dovetail with other analyses of ‘hegemony.’ Gramsci’s (1971) theorization of intellectual and moral leadership *qua* hegemony examines precisely how the ideas of the ruling class become ruling ideas. Comaroff and Comaroff’s (1992) analytical parsing of ‘hegemony’ and ‘ideology’ presents another productive comparison for this discussion. In their estimation, hegemony is best understood as “that order of signs and material practices, drawn from a specific cultural field, that come to be taken for granted as the natural, universal, and true shape of social being” (Comaroff and Comaroff 1992:28). Ideology is distinguished from hegemony based on the degree to which these signs and material practices are contested. When hegemony is challenged or contested openly, it “becomes the subject of ideology or counterideology” (Comaroff and Comaroff 1992:29). Finally, using the terms “laminar” and “viral” hegemony, Kolata (2013) has differentiated between cases in which the ruling ideas and practices are forced upon subordinate groups and cases in which they are internalized by subordinate groups.

faith they engender—and argued that like the fetishized commodity, the form is more important than the content of ideology. This is a theme I take up in more detail below in relation to aesthetics, but the key insight here is that ideologies are powerful insofar as the process through which they come into being remains inscrutable (Žižek 1989:15). While it is not always the intended goal of ideological production, ideology tends to favor or support the legitimacy of the ruling class's position in society. Thus, it is an important source of social power within its historical context. Having expanded on Marx's original observation, my working definition of ideology is now clearer; ideology is the outcome of particular forms of intellectual production, both empowered and limited by the fact that this production is pursued, or at least materially directed, by the ruling class of a given social and historical moment.

With this theorization in mind, I have identified two important ideologically potent ideas present in Tiwanaku's visual culture: 1) Tiwanaku's ruling class was the patron *par excellence* of large-scale feasts, and 2) legitimate violence is that which is committed by non-human or demi-human figures. As they are grounded in a ruling class imaginary, both of these assertions tend to support that class's position within Tiwanaku's social world. Throughout this dissertation, I generally avoid attempting to read meaning into the 'content' of Tiwanaku iconography—it does not depict ritual or mythical scenarios as legibly as, for example, Moche fineline ceramic iconography (see Donnan 1976). However, in this particular case, there is sufficient information to make claims regarding these ideological representations.

The first of these ideological postulates—that members of the ruling exemplified the role of feast patron—is most visible in the various anthropomorphic monoliths produced at some time in the late Tiwanaku IV or Tiwanaku V period (c. AD 650-1,000). Among these classic Tiwanaku monoliths—i.e. those that are unique in style and size to Tiwanaku—there are three surviving

quintessential examples: the Bennett monolith, the Ponce monolith, and the Fraile (friar). Each is a stone monolith sculpted in the round, depicting a standing human figure. The Bennett monolith, found during the excavation of the Semi-Subterranean Temple, is approximately 7m tall, and it is the largest and most elaborate of these monoliths. The Bennett's sculpted subject appears to wear a headdress, a necklace, and a tunic, which are all covered in classic Middle Horizon iconography carved in low relief. Among this array of motifs are examples of the three "essential icons" of what Isbell and Knobloch (2009) have termed the Southern Andean Iconographic Series (see Chapter 2): the rayed head, the staff god, and the profile attendant. There are also two camelid figures, which, similar to the attendants, are depicted in profile and constructed out of various, smaller plant and animal motifs. Indeed, there are numerous avian, feline, and possible ichthyoid heads emanating and propagating out of icons throughout the surface of the monolith. The iconography throughout, particularly the zoomorphic imagery, is stylistically akin to that found on polychrome ceramics throughout the Tiwanaku Valley.

Even though the face of the main subject of the Bennett monolith is eroded and damaged, it is still possible to note its resemblance to that of the rayed head and staff god; its eyes and mouth appear to be rounded rectangles, and its nose is an elongated trapezoid. Beneath its left eye, it is possible to make out an example of the double tear motif—two zoomorphic heads, one avian and one avian or ichthyoid, hang down beneath the eye as if they were tear drops. The iconography depicted on the Bennett monolith is complex, and other scholars have identified possible meaning in its imagery. As Kolata (2003) notes, Zuidema (1983) argued that there are calendrical implications in the counts of particular motifs carved onto the figure. Kolata (2003:194-195) has identified maize and columnar cacti (which bear mescaline) among the plants depicted on the

Bennett monolith, and building on Zuidema's contentions, argued that its imagery represents a synthesis of divine, natural, and social forces.

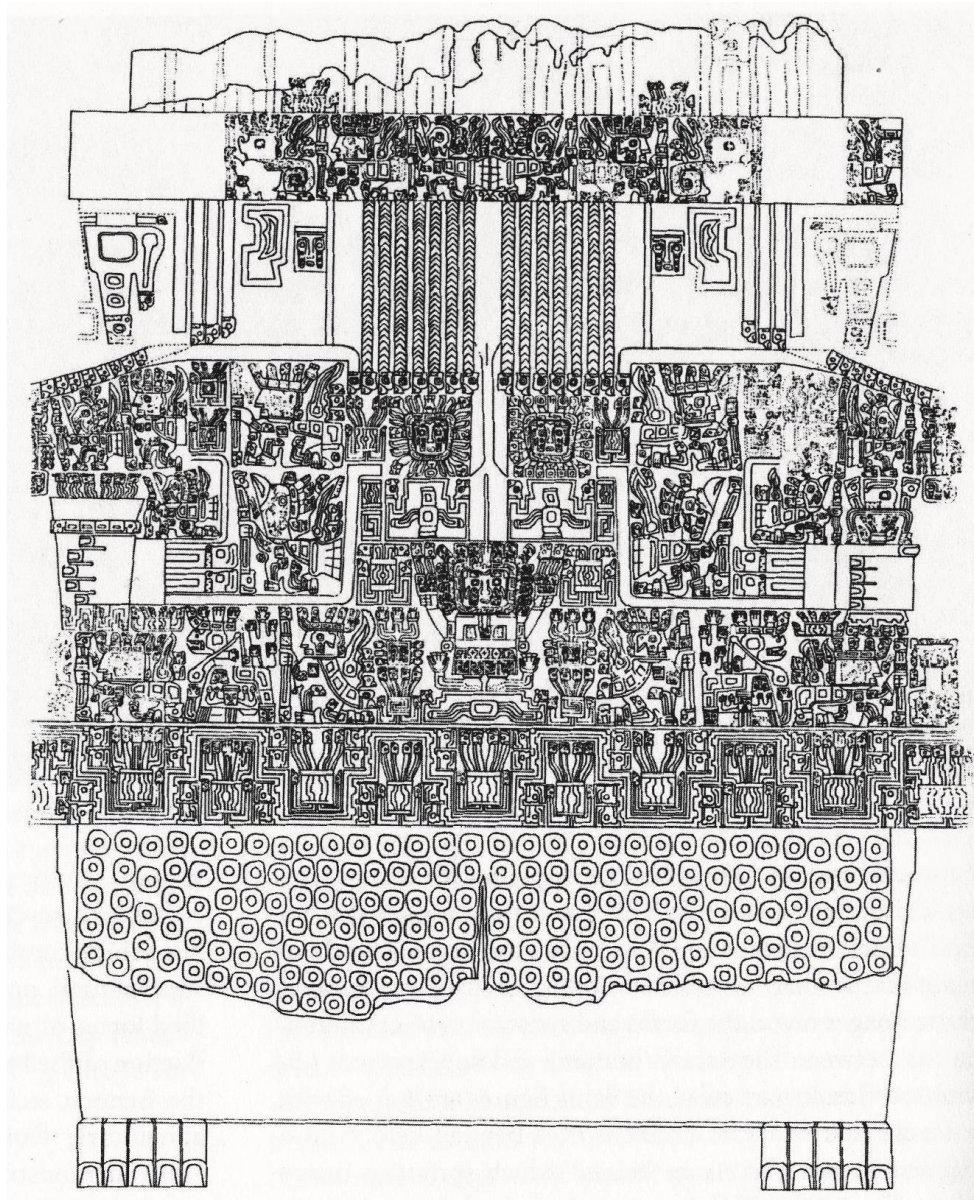


Figure 5.4. Line drawing of the Bennett monolith's iconography (from Kolata 2003:196, fig. 7.25). Note: the center of the drawing corresponds to the backside of the monument, and the left and right edges correspond to its frontside.

However, the most immediately legible ideological element of the stela may be seen in its subject's hands. In its left hand, the figure holds what is clearly a kero, and in its right, it holds what is typically considered a snuff tablet (Bandy 2013:137). Bandy (2013) cogently argues that the scenario implied in the sculpture is that the figure is offering chicha and snuff—in the role of

a feast's patron—to the person approaching the statue. In other words, this is an idealized depiction of the host of a patron-role feast (Dietler 2001), the cornerstone of what Bandy (2013) has termed Tiwanaku's "hospitality state."

The peculiar depiction of the Bennett monolith's hands provides further evidence for Bandy's argument that this figure represents a powerful person presenting comestibles to a subordinate. Like all other Tiwanaku 'patron monoliths,' the hands of the Bennett are rather unusual, particularly the 'right' hand. The left, which holds the kero, is depicted as if the viewer were seeing the back of a hand with all five digits visible—it is as if the kero were glued to the palm. This in itself is not so unusual, as it is merely a convention. However, the hand on the right side is shown from the opposite perspective, as if the viewer were seeing the palm-side of a hand, with the fingers and thumb wrapped around the tablet. Bandy (2013:137) has noted that not only is the perspective reversed, but that the perspective presents the right hand in such a way that would be anatomically impossible for a right hand to be positioned in front of a body; it is in effect a "backwards" hand. Bandy (2013:137) connects this artistic choice to a later, Inca custom, noted by Classen (1993), whereby during a feast, a higher status person would only give/receive food and drink to/from a lower status person using their left hand. In Bandy's estimation, the right-side hand is actually represented as if it were behind the Bennett monolith's back, necessitating the reverse perspective. Thus, the statue depicts "the flow of the gift" from the divine to terrestrial realms (Bandy 2013:138); i.e. the figure, as divine mediator, is receiving the snuff tablet behind their back in their right hand from a higher power, while presenting the viewer/subordinate with a kero in their left hand.

This is a provocative interpretation of the statue. Drawing on the same analogy regarding Inca feasting etiquette, however, it may be that the figure simply has 'two left hands.' The

‘backwards’ hand on the right-side of the statue is, anatomically speaking, a left hand. Thus, this person has no right hand and, in a feasting context, has no superior.⁸ In either interpretation, the monoliths present an ideologically idealized image of a powerful, yet generous feast patron.

The second ideological theme that I have noted in Tiwanaku iconography is not visible in a single object. Rather, it is a pattern that exists throughout both stone carving and ceramic decoration; that is, legitimate violence is that which is committed by non-human or perhaps superhuman forces. In general, depictions of violence are absent in Tiwanaku art. There is implied violence in Tiwanaku iconography, particularly if the various disembodied heads depicted on tazones, keros, and wako retratos represent trophy heads⁹ (Couture and Sampeck 2003; Blom, Janusek, and Buikstra 2003; Blom and Couture 2018). However, the most explicitly violent figures in Tiwanaku art are monstrous human-animal hybrid beings. Couture and Sampeck (2003:245) have identified an example of such a being—the “sacrificer”—on a Putuni kero, and in my analysis, I noted two examples of this same motif/figure (coded MZO002), including the one cited by Couture and Sampeck. One example was located on the interior rim of an escudilla, and the other one was noted on the body of a kero; both examples came from Tiwanaku IV, Putuni district elite tombs. The most complete version of this particular personage (see figure 5.5) has an anthropomorphic body and a zoomorphic, feline or canine, head, with a long snout and sharp teeth; it is depicted in profile, seemingly flying through the air with its body parallel to the ground. In one hand (the other is located on a lost sherd), it grasps an axe, and there are various

⁸ This same “backwards” hand representation is commonly found on Early Intermediate Period (c. 200 B.C. to A.D. 500) Nazca polychrome vessels. For example, among Nazca vessels in the collection of the Art Institute of Chicago, some depict figures with two backwards hands, usually grasping a trophy head in one and a weapon in the other. Thus, in the Nazca context, at least, the convention was sometimes used to simply depict a hand holding an object. This, of course, does not explain why in the Tiwanaku monoliths, one hand is backwards and the other is not—both hold objects. One Nazca polychrome effigy vessel (reference number 1955.2164 at the Art Institute), however, does have two left hands in the same manner as the Tiwanaku monoliths, yet both hands are empty.

⁹ Images of trophy heads are found in more obviously gory guises in both Nazca and Wari polychrome iconography (Cook 2012).

‘misarticulated’ body parts—both animal and human—attached to its head and foot. Below the figure, there is a disarticulated human head attached to a thick, grayish line that perhaps represents a spinal column.

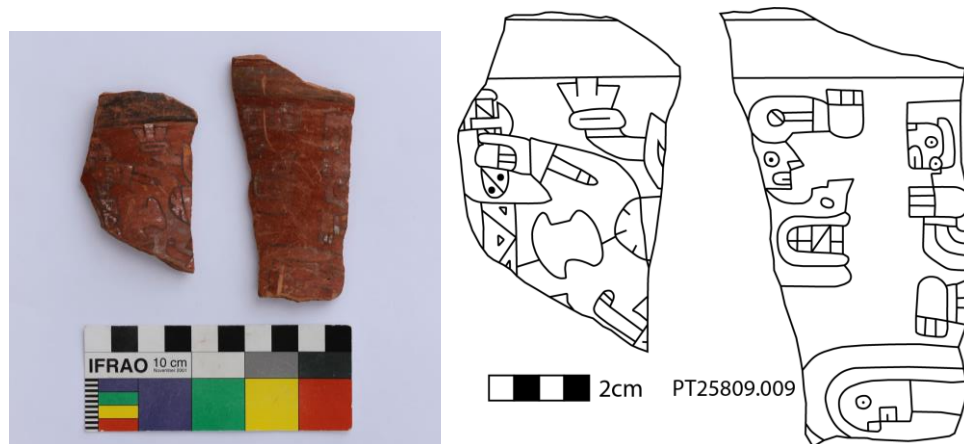


Figure 5.5. Kero sherds with decapitator iconography. Photo and drawing of vessel PT25809.009, Putuni feature 74.

Couture and Sampeck (2003:240) posit that the figure represents a warrior or “sacrificer” wearing a headdress. This particular personage is far more common in Wari ceramic iconography, and in Wari contexts, it is closely related to, if not interchangeable with, the “profile attendant” of Isbell and Knobloch’s (2009) Southern Andean Iconographic Series (see Cook 2012). However, at Tiwanaku, there is a definite distinction between this “sacrificer” figure and the profile attendant, which is typically winged, holding a staff, and sporting an avian or human head.

The other conventional monstrous figure in Tiwanaku art is the *chachapuma* (man-puma), which has the body of a human and the head of a puma; it is typically depicted holding a disembodied head. While there were no examples of this figure represented in the iconography that I analyzed, there is a *chachapuma* effigy vessel on display at Museum of Ceramics at Tiwanaku (figure 5.6), and one of the most distinctive stone sculptures found at Tiwanaku depicts a *chachapuma* (figure 5.7). This *chachapuma* statue was found near the base of the Akapana’s western staircase (Kolata 1993a:126-127); it was carved out of black basalt, and its surface is

exquisitely polished. Finally, among the extraordinarily unusual array of icons depicted on the Tiwanaku period ceramics recently discovered on the island of Pariti (Korpisaari et al. 2011), a wide variety of monstrous figures are displayed, including a giant, toothy bird biting a man's head off (Korpisaari et al. 2011:19; see figure 5.8).

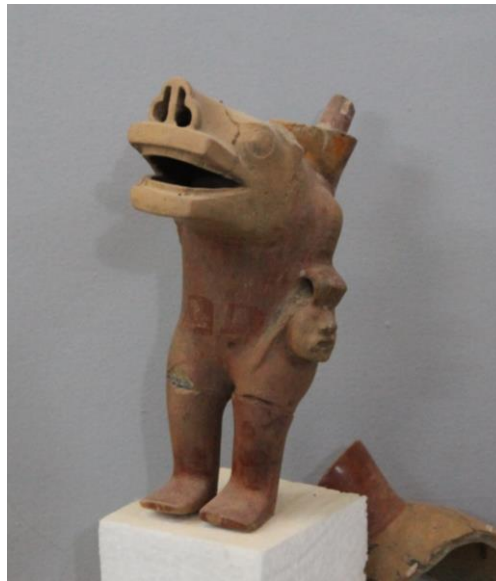


Figure 5.6. *Chachapuma* effigy vessel in the Tiwanaku Museum of Ceramics.

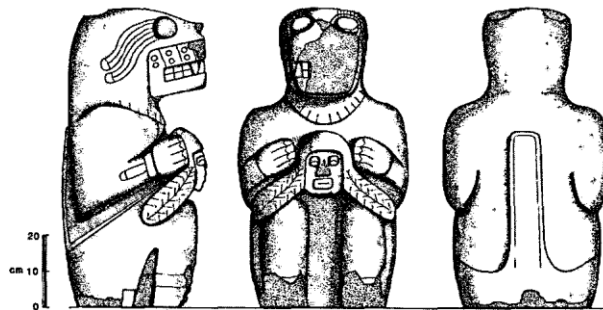


Figure 5.7. Drawing of basalt *chachapuma* sculpture (from Kolata 2003:193, fig. 7.22).

That the only protagonists of violent scenes in Tiwanaku art are monstrous human-animal hybrids is not necessarily equivalent with “the only legitimate acts of violence in Tiwanaku society were those committed by such figures.” However, the total lack of aestheticized violence of the more mundane kind strongly indicates that, ideologically speaking, this form was neither laudable nor sanctionable. Kolata (1993a), Couture and Sampeck (2003), and Cook (2012) all note that

these violent figures, while monstrous, likely depicted humans wearing headdresses and that these acts were likely committed in ritually marked contexts. Thus, the overall implication is that violence committed by masked shamanic or priest-like figures against sacrificial victims was permissible, yet violence committed by non-elites, outside of ritual contexts was not. This particular message resonates with contemporary characterizations of the state, including Weber's (1946b:78, original emphasis) famous statement that "a state is a human community that (successfully) claims the *monopoly of the legitimate use of physical force* within a given territory."



Figure 5.8. Pariti challadores (from Korpisaari et al. 2004:19, fig. 14).

The ideological salience of both the patron monoliths and the depictions of demi-human violence in Tiwanaku art is further evidenced by the iconoclastic acts of vandalism that accompanied the fall of the Tiwanaku polity in the 12th Century. For example, the aforementioned basalt *chachapuma* found at the base of the Akapana had been defaced before burial and many of the patron monoliths were either smashed or decapitated (Janusek 2008:295). For those who overthrew Tiwanaku's ruling class, these representations were symbolic of the social world that was at an end.

Putuni Ceramics: Selection of Materials for Analysis and Results

Returning to the rise and consolidation of Tiwanaku's ruling class, the final section of this chapter examines how the aesthetic and formal qualities of certain ceramic vessels became materializations of social power. I begin by outlining the Putuni contexts from which I selected materials to be analyzed. I then present a brief overview of the results of my analyses of Putuni ceramics, with some references to my findings outlined in Chapter 4. Finally, I focus on a handful of the exceptional Putuni ceramics in order to emphasize their unique qualities at Tiwanaku. This leads into a discussion of how particular objects can become objectifications powerful in themselves—synthesizing theories of aesthetics and fetishism, this analysis presents a link between powerful objects and their ambiguous relationship with human agency.

Overview of Selection and General Results

My selection of Putuni contexts relied on plan drawings of excavations published in Couture and Sampeck's 2003 chapter in *Tiwanaku and its Hinterland*. Following my general strategy, I targeted discrete, datable features, which in this case included mostly tombs and a handful of middens. The dating and classification of these contexts relies on the aforementioned text (Couture and Sampeck 2003).

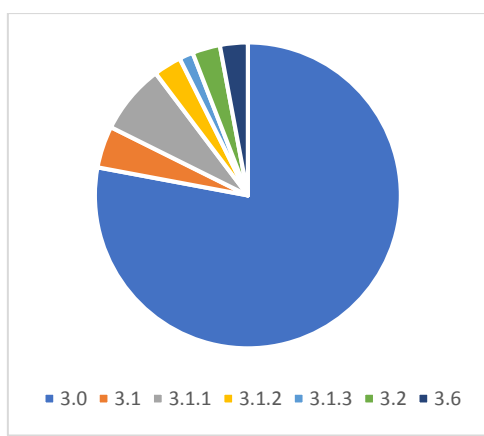
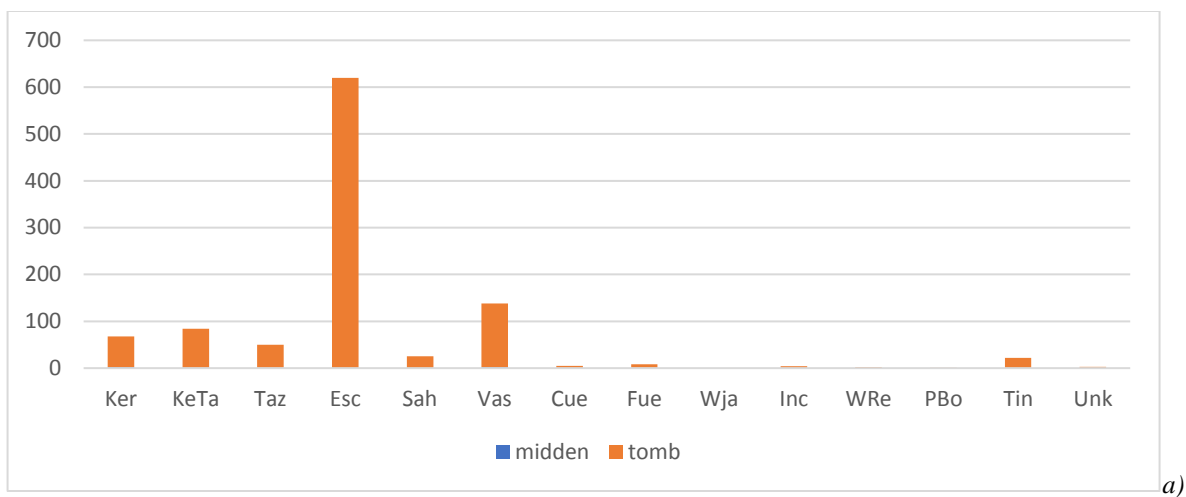
As can be seen in table 5.1, I analyzed the decorated ceramic material from seven Tiwanaku IV Putuni contexts, including one midden from the north compound kitchen area and six elite tombs from the south compound mortuary complex. I also analyzed material from eight Tiwanaku V Putuni contexts, including two middens and six subfloor, dedicatory burials located in the Palace of the Multicolored Rooms. The Tiwanaku IV and V contexts are more different than they may

seem—even though they are mostly human burials, it is important to distinguish, following Couture and Sampeck (2003), between elite tombs and dedicatory offerings. It is also necessary to emphasize, once again, that I did not include ollas or undecorated tinajas in my analysis; therefore, the Minimum Number of Vessel count for each of these contexts only includes decorated serving and ceremonial wares. In the case of the Tiwanaku V dedicatory burials, Couture and Sampeck (2003:254) found that while they contained many “sumptuary goods,” the majority of the ceramics recovered from these contexts were “utilitarian,” i.e. those vessel forms that I ignored in my analysis. This partially—but not entirely—explains why the MNV counts are so much higher for the Tiwanaku IV elite tombs.

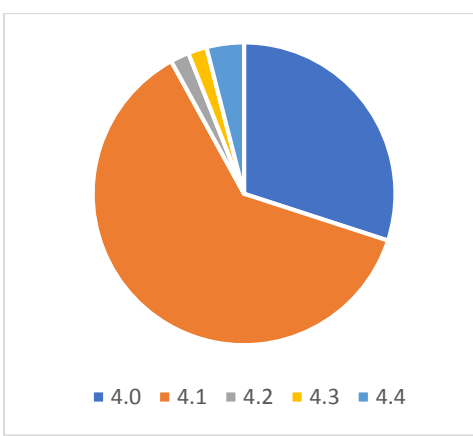
Feature #	Phase	Location	Feature Type	MNV Count
F19	IV	N. Compound Kitchen	Midden	7
F49	IV	S. Compound Cemetery	Tomb	543
F62	IV	S. Compound Cemetery	Tomb	251
F65	IV	S. Compound Cemetery	Tomb	56
F70	IV	S. Compound Cemetery	Tomb	81
F74	IV	S. Compound Cemetery	Tomb	17
F136	IV	S. Compound Cemetery	Tomb	75
F13	V	Palace of Multicolored Rooms	Midden	5
F14	V	Palace of Multicolored Rooms	Midden	5
F18	V	Palace of Multicolored Rooms	Tomb/Ded. Burial	21
F23	V	Palace of Multicolored Rooms	Dedicatory Burial	27
F38	V	Palace of Multicolored Rooms	Dedicatory Burial	4
F57	V	Palace of Multicolored Rooms	Dedicatory Burial	23
F79	V	Palace of Multicolored Rooms	Dedicatory Burial	1
F121	V	Palace of Multicolored Rooms	Dedicatory Burial	21

Table 5.1. Table outlining the Putuni contexts that were analyzed.

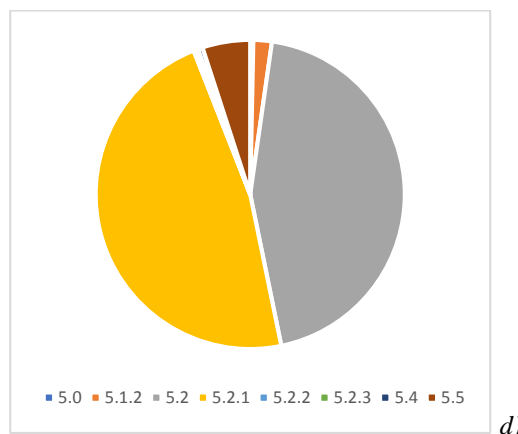
Figures 5.9 and 5.10 present the frequencies of analyzed vessel forms by context type from the Putuni for each of the Tiwanaku IV and V phases. The three pie charts that succeed each bar chart present more detailed breakdowns of kero, tazon, and escudilla subtype frequencies for each phase.



b)



c)



d)

Figure 5.9. Decorated serving ware frequencies found in Tiwanaku IV Putuni contexts: a) all general forms, b) keros, c) tazones, d) escudillas.

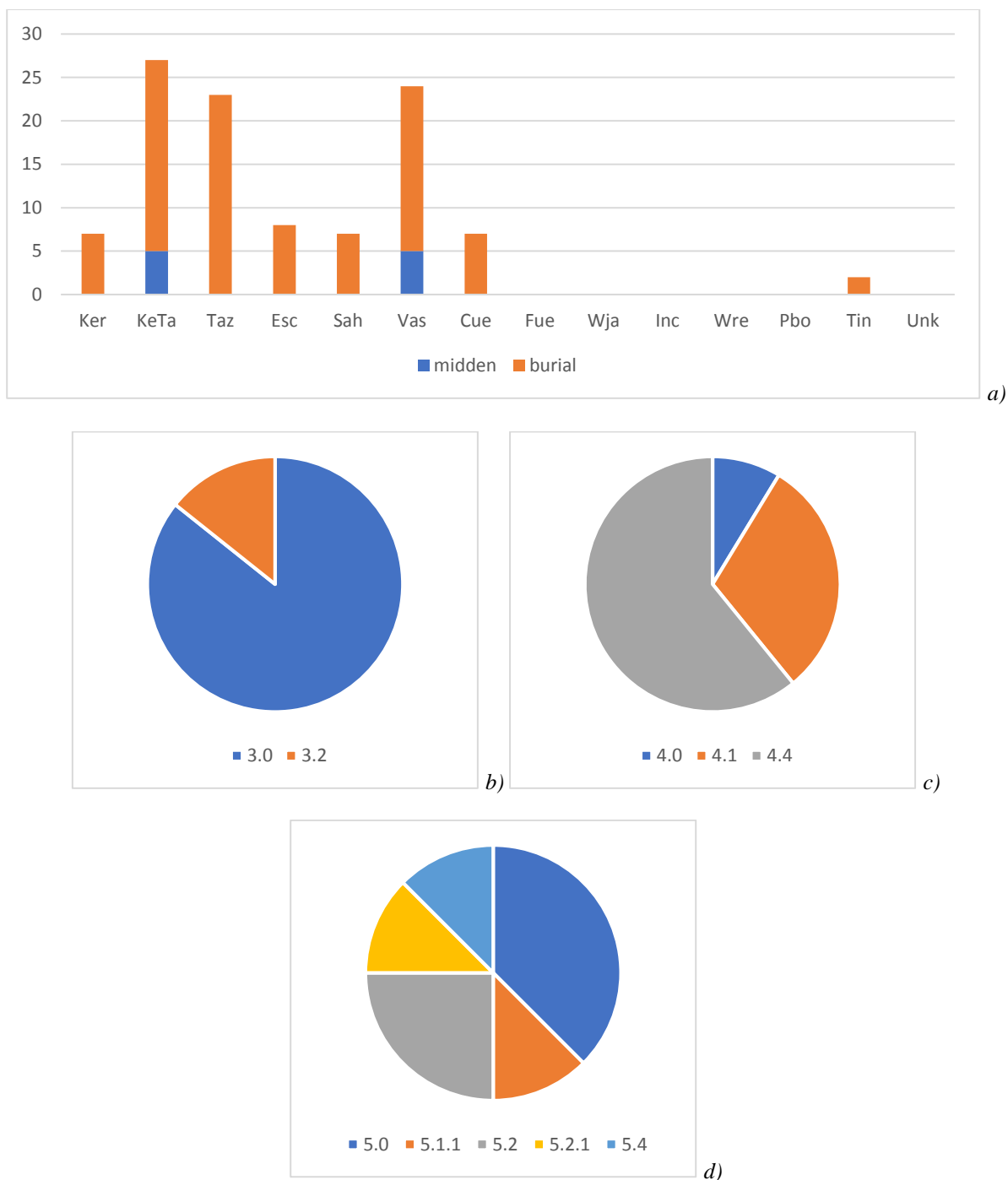


Figure 5.10. Decorated serving ware frequencies found in Tiwanaku V Putuni contexts: a) all general forms, b) keros, c) tazones, d) escudillas.

The patterns visible in figures 5.9 and 5.10 resemble those already noted by Couture and Sampeck (2003), who analyzed the same set of materials. The key observation is that escudillas are exceptionally frequent in Tiwanaku IV elite tombs. Escudillas are not nearly so common

anywhere else at the site—while Alconini (1995) noted *escudillas* among some of the Akapana offerings she analyzed, the results noted in Chapter 4 indicate that they were not particularly plentiful in those Akapana contexts I analyzed. Among the Tiwanaku IV Putuni *escudillas*, the majority were “large *escudillas*,” variants of type 5.2 which were popular at that time (Janusek 2003b). Of the total 1,339 combined design elements and motifs that were recorded in the Tiwanaku IV, Putuni sample, 610 were found on the interior rim of *escudillas*. This count is by far the largest of all the vessel form and decoration location combinations; the next highest number from the same sample is 133 decorations found on the bodies of *vasijas*. This accords with Couture’s (2002) observation that *escudillas* constituted an important medium for elite visual culture during the Tiwanaku IV phase. Furthermore, as I note in Chapter 4, the Putuni was the site of the highest degree of iconographic diversity during the Tiwanaku IV phase, and much of this is due to the intricate and often unique designs found on *escudillas*.

The Tiwanaku V materials, which come primarily from dedicatory burials, were characterized by relatively fewer *escudillas* and more *keros* and *tazones*. As noted previously, Couture (2002) has suggested that the remains of those persons interred within the Tiwanaku IV elite mortuary complex at the Putuni were moved to the niches in the Putuni Platform at the onset on the Tiwanaku V phase; thus, the feasts with the ancestors that produced the material profiles of the Tiwanaku IV tombs would have likely occurred within the Putuni Platform during the Tiwanaku V phase. *Vasijas* were the second most frequent type of decorated serving ware in both phases; however, as Couture and Sampeck (2003:254) note, most of the ceramics found in these Tiwanaku V contexts were undecorated *ollas* and *tinajas*, i.e. cooking and storage wares.

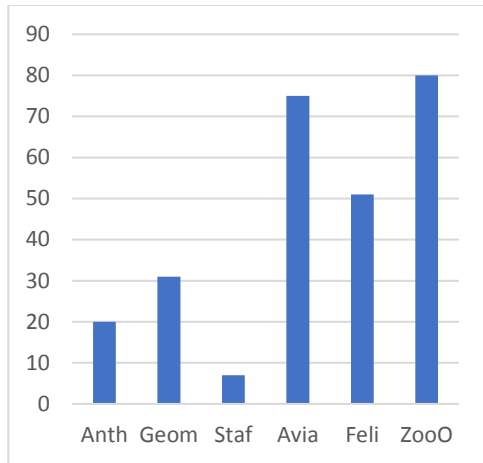


Figure 5.11. Putuni, Tiwanaku IV motif frequencies.

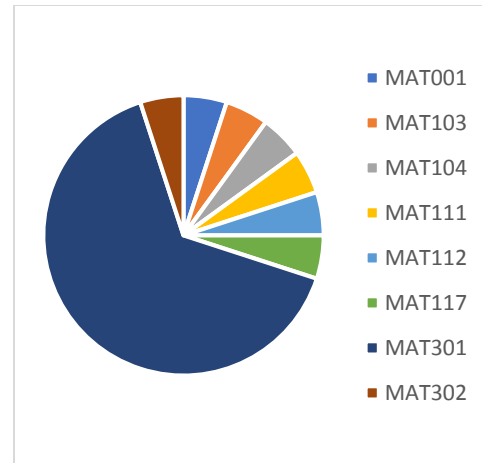


Figure 5.12. Putuni, Tiwanaku IV anthropomorphic motifs.

observed	MAT	MG	MZA	MZF	MZO	MO	Total
Esc	13	11	54	36	45	4	163
Inc	0	0	0	0	1	0	1
Ker	3	7	4	5	8	1	28
KeTa	0	1	1	0	3	0	5
Sah	1	2	1	1	0	0	5
Taz	1	3	1	1	1	0	7
Tin	1	5	8	4	11	2	31
Vas	1	2	6	4	11	0	24
Total	20	31	75	51	80	7	264

Table 5.2. Putuni, Tiwanaku IV, frequencies of general motif categories by vessel forms.

The iconography displayed on Tiwanaku IV Putuni elite tomb ceramics was diverse and unique relative to material found elsewhere at Tiwanaku (see Chapter 4). Of note, there does not appear to be any correlation between general motif type and vessel form within this assemblage—a chi-square test conducted on frequency table 5.2 produced a p-value of 0.306. Among the Tiwanaku IV anthropomorphic motifs identified on Putuni ceramics (figure 5.12), there were multiple repetitions of a generic foot motif (MAT301) and a variety of head motifs (MAT1--). The high frequency of MAT301 is likely due to two factors: 1) feet are among the easiest body parts to recognize in partial fragments, and 2) the distinction between human and animal feet is not always clear in Tiwanaku iconography—i.e. this generic foot with three toes could come from a variety of figures. The fact that there is a more discernable variety of heads reflects, in part, the fact that human heads, typically shown in profile, were depicted in more detail than any other body

part. In Tiwanaku polychrome iconography, heads are often rectangular and abstract to the point that someone unfamiliar with the style's conventions would not immediately recognize them as heads. However, the semi-circular ears, the bisected circle within keyhole eyes, and rectangular noses and mouths become familiar features after spending some time with the iconography (see MAT106 in Appendix B for an example of a complete Tiwanaku head).

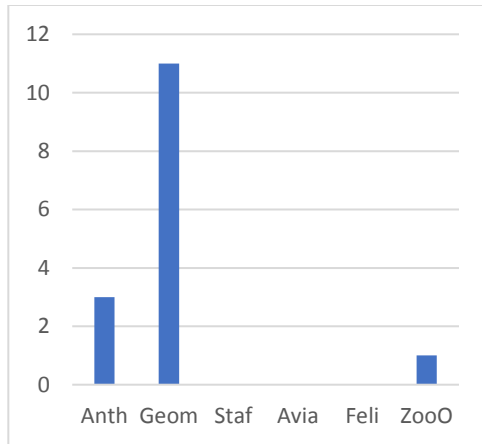


Figure 5.13. Putuni, Tiwanaku V motif frequencies.

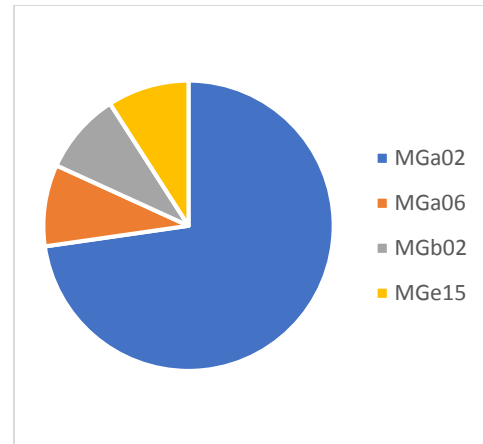


Figure 5.14. Putuni, Tiwanaku V geometric motifs.

The Tiwanaku V Putuni iconography that I analyzed was far less diverse than that of the Tiwanaku IV phase; however, the two samples are problematic to compare due to the fact that the Tiwanaku V sample is significantly smaller. Of note, among the 116 elements¹⁰ and motifs recorded on the materials from Tiwanaku V Putuni contexts, 65 were located on tazones. Geometric motifs were the most numerous of the six general categories within the assemblage (figure 5.13), and among these geometric motifs, the step-spiral motif MGa02 was the most frequent (figure 5.14; see Chapter 4). All eight cases of MGa02 identified on Tiwanaku V Putuni materials were found on recurved tazones, a vessel form associated with elite material culture (Couture 2002). The extremely low count of zoomorphic motifs within the Tiwanaku V Putuni

¹⁰ There would have been a higher count of elements, but we excluded tinajas with elements and no motifs from our analysis (see Chapter 2).

iconography could be the result of three factors: 1) small sample size, 2) the context types analyzed, and 3) the phase; however, it is unclear which of these factors beyond the first are significant.

Crafting and the Technology of Enchantment

In Chapter 4, I note a pattern emerging, whereby standardized, likely mass-produced polychrome serving wares were consumed during large feasts hosted at the Akapana Complex in the Tiwanaku IV phase. The uniformity of the Akapana Complex ceramic iconography is presented in contrast to the diversity of iconography found on ceramic materials from the Putuni and Mollo Kontu sectors of the site. This distinction, grounded in patterns of consumption, is hypothetically related to distinctions in patterns of ceramic production. In this final section of the chapter, I examine how ceramic assemblages found in Tiwanaku IV ruling class tombs became materializations of power. I first describe a handful of peculiar or extraordinary Tiwanaku style vessels found at the Putuni and their stylistic links to other outlier vessels found at the nearby island of Pariti. I then investigate how these vessels indexed a form of creative agency that marked Tiwanaku's ruling class as socially distinct.

Exceptional Vessels: Putuni and Pariti

Among the ceramics recovered from the Tiwanaku IV Putuni tombs, many stand out as either unique or exemplary. There is the challador, mentioned above (see figure 5.2), that Couture (2002) identified as Omereque style—that is, displaying iconographic characteristics common among ceramic assemblages from the Omereque, Cochabamba region of Bolivia that date to roughly the Middle Horizon. However, there are other polychrome and modeled vessels that

combine both unique figures and classic Tiwanaku design elements. The following is a detailed look at some of these vessels in terms of their iconography and form.

On the interior rim of the escudilla sherd shown in figure 5.15, there is a gray head that may be zoomorphic, yet its only discernable features are an eye and a mouth, which are depicted in typical Tiwanaku fashion. This head is surrounded by a field of orange, with white lines delineating a fragmented shape. To its left, there appears to be a pair of avian tailfeathers, but this motif too is only partially preserved. On the outer surface of this same sherd (figure 5.15b), there is a truly unique figure; its eye and the shape of its body—a rounded orange rectangle with two posterior lobes—are unlike other figures represented in Tiwanaku art. Couture and Sampeck (2003:242) have identified these as being representations of fish, but the exterior figure could conceivably be a mythical or monstrous being.

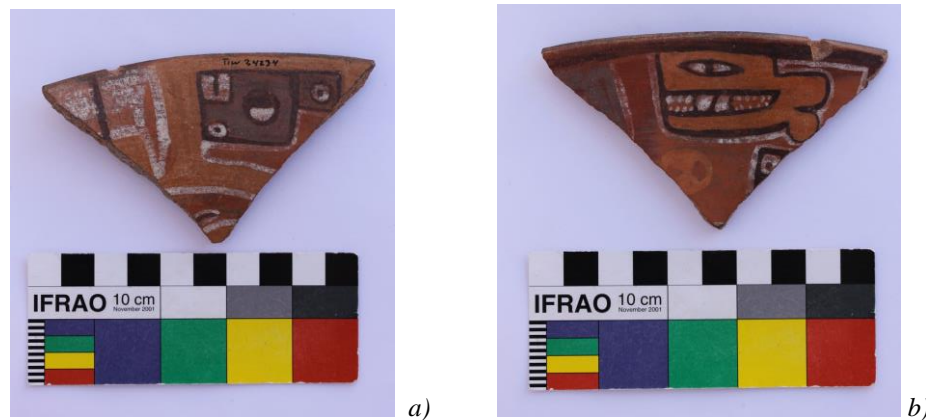


Figure 5.15. a) Interior and b) exterior views of an escudilla rim sherd: vessel PT24234.070, from Putuni Feature 49

Figure 5.16 shows the interior of a separate escudilla rim. Again, the iconography combines typical Tiwanaku elements and motifs in atypical arrangements. On the far right of the sherd, there appears to be a fragment of a typical staff motif. However, a thick, zig-zagging orange line extends leftward off of the staff and ends at a motif that appears to be a black avian head, with an orange eye and a white beak. My identification of this motif as avian is provisional, as key details are lost in the missing fragments.



Figure 5.16. Interior rim of an escudilla: vessel PT25547.196, Putuni Feature 62.

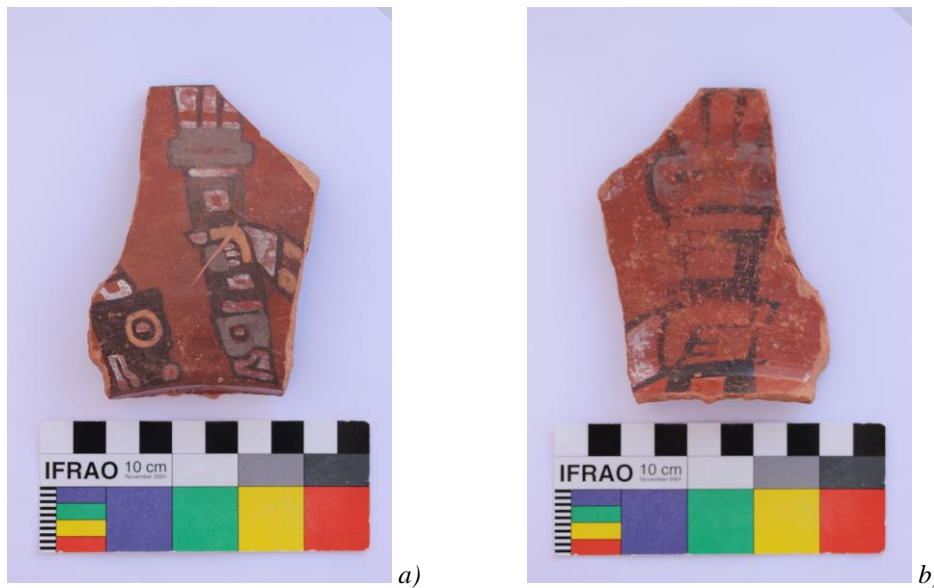


Figure 5.17. a) Interior and b) exterior of an escudilla rim sherd: vessel PT24234.069, Putuni feature 49.

Figures 5.17, 5.18, and 5.19 present exemplary examples of Tiwanaku polychrome iconography and ceramic molding found among the Putuni materials. The interior and exterior surfaces of the escudilla rim shown in figure 5.17 are decorated with human hands grasping staffs. The interior iconography depicts an orange and gray right hand, with three white fingers and a thumb, holding onto a staff adorned with a gray avian tail and head. The body of the staff is represented using one of the basic building blocks of Tiwanaku iconography, the nested rectangle (MZO201). To the left of the staff there is a black feline head, which may have been attached to

another staff. On the exterior of the sherd, there is an image of a hand holding a staff very similar to the interior version. The colors are faded, but the same combination of black, orange, gray, and white appears to have been used. The exterior hand-staff is larger than the interior one, and the base of the staff would have extended down from the rim onto the exterior body of the vessel.

The zoomorphic motif depicted in figure 5.18 has an avian head and a seemingly feline body. The belly of the figure, in particular, resembles that of other feline body motifs (see motifs MZF2-- in Appendix B). While faded, the outline of the figure reveals a complex and well executed combination of familiar elements and motifs, including the aforementioned nested rectangle, the exaggerated ‘S,’ and a condor head with a crown. Finally, the two wako retrato (portrait vessel) sherds shown in figure 5.19 present an example of the highly detailed and naturalistic mimesis of which some Tiwanaku ceramicists were capable. The flared nostril and sneering lips of the sculpted face convey emotion vividly and intelligibly. Unlike the near complete wako retrato recovered from the Mollo Kontu sector (see Chapter 6), the details depicted in these fragments suggest that the full vessel could have been recognizable as a particular individual, similar to certain Moche portrait vessels (see Bourget 2006). Based on the current evidence, this level of crafting skill was relatively rare at Tiwanaku.

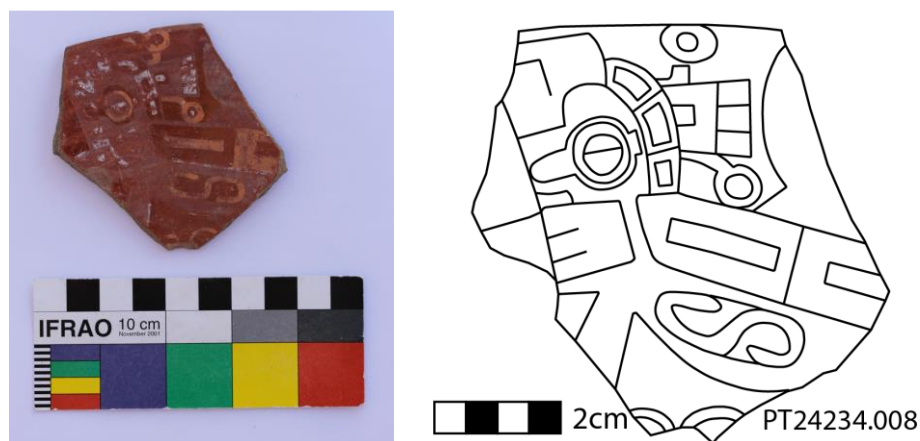


Figure 5.18. Interior of escudilla rim sherd: vessel PT24234.008, Putuni feature 49.



Figure 5.19. Sherds from wako retrato: vessel PT25809.014, Putuni feature 74.

It is my contention that these vessels were produced under different conditions and by different persons than those that were exchanged and consumed during the large feasts hosted at the Akapana Complex. As the Akapana Complex ceramics were produced to be consumed in the open spaces of the Akapana Plaza and lower terraces of the Akapana Pyramid, these more idiosyncratic and meticulously crafted vessels were produced for the relatively intimate spaces of sunken courts (see Moore 1996), residential patios, and mortuary complexes; these vessels mediated small-scale feasting interactions, perhaps among peers, but likely also between members of the ruling class and their subordinates. In the model I propose to account for the observed patterns of ceramic consumption, there existed a network of ruling class craft (including ceramic) production that was separate from other forms of production at Tiwanaku. In an analogous case, Inomata (2001, 2007) has argued that such a form of distinct elite craft production existed within Classic Maya sites, including Aguateca.

The products of Tiwanaku's ruling class potters did not only end up in Putuni graves, however, and there are iconographic links between the unusual Putuni materials and other assemblages that do not quite fit into the boilerplate Tiwanaku stylistic repertoire. Indeed, the most stylistically 'heretical' example of Tiwanaku ceramic art yet discovered comes from the island of Pariti, located on Lake Titicaca, just west of Lukurmata and the Katari Valley. On this island,

Korpisaari et al. (2011) excavated a series of Tiwanaku period features that included caches of extraordinary ceramic vessels. Among these materials, there were ceramic effigy vessels depicting humans and birds that were executed with rich detail and precision. Among the most unusual of the Pariti ceramics, however, there are links to Putuni ceramic iconography and modeling.

For example, one of the most striking motifs I noted on the Putuni vessels was the ‘lizard skull’ (MZO109), visible in figure 5.20. While I do not claim to know what animal in particular this motif represents—it is unlikely to actually be a lizard—the image does appear to represent a defleshed skull of some sort. This motif stands out because skeletal imagery is very rare in Tiwanaku iconography. Furthermore, unlike most other zoomorphic imagery in Tiwanaku polychrome ceramics, this motif consists of a single block of color without an outline. There are other examples of this strange motif painted on keros from Ch’iji Jawira and the Akapana East 2 sector (Janusek 2003b:64), and there is a version, with teeth however, found on the foot-shaped kero/challador of the Pariti assemblage (figure 5.21).



5.20

Figure 5.20. Kero base sherds: vessel PT25809.004, Putuni feature 74.



5.21

Figure 5.21. Kero with ‘foot’ (from Korpisaari et al. 2011:44, fig. 37).

The ‘coiled snake kero’ is a vessel form that is extremely rare at Tiwanaku yet found in both a Putuni tomb and the Pariti collection. The Putuni example is incomplete and fragmentary; however, it is evident that in its complete form, a snake-like creature would have coiled its way around the body of the kero, with its head poking out from the interior rim. The red-slipped vessel

would have been between 20 and 25cm tall, and its base and rim diameters were 8cm and 16cm respectively. The ceramic snake appears to have been applied to the body of the kero after its formation, as is evident in figure 5.22c. The snake kero from Pariti was fragmented but near complete. It differs from the Putuni vessel insofar as the coiled snake covers the whole of the kero's body, and its head peeks over the exterior rim of the vessel hovering over the contents within.

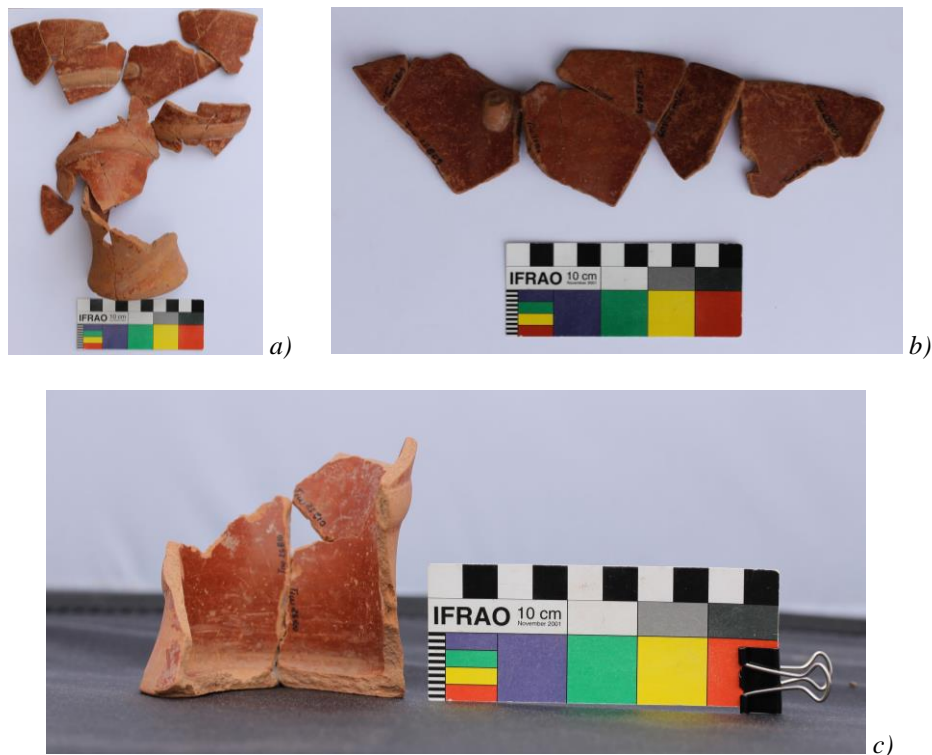


Figure 5.22. Snake kero photos: vessel PT25809.001, Putuni feature 74. a) all fragments, b) interior view of rim fragments, and c) interior view of base fragments.



Figure 5.23. Pariti snake kero (from Korpisaari et al. 2011:20, fig. 15)

As I have noted, Becker (2017) found evidence that Putuni residents were engaged in productive activity based on arthritis indicators on their skeletal remains. This combined with the prolific and technically exquisite ceramic production evident in the Putuni assemblages form the empirical bases for the arguments of the subsequent and ultimate section of this chapter. The Putuni materials were produced by members of the ruling class and as aesthetically powerful objects, they were among the means by which the ruling class obtained and maintained social power.

Aesthetics and Fetishism

The relationship between ‘exotic’ goods and political power has been fruitfully investigated by various archaeologists (Brumfiel and Earle 1987; Goldstein 2000b; Costin 2004; Vaughn 2006). My approach to this theme, in particular, focuses on the qualities of the objects themselves and the conditions under which they were produced in order to account for their social power. In other words, what makes a particular object or class of objects ‘exotic’ or, indeed, aesthetically powerful? Helms (1993) has provided the seminal examination of how elite crafting and acquisition of exotic materials serve as means of materializing social power. Drawing on a breadth of ethnographic and historical examples, she argues that both “skilled” activities place the practitioner in a position wherein they mediate between their society and those forces that lie beyond its realm. This in turn becomes a fundamental quality of their capacity as political leaders, as crafting activities index a form of extraordinary agency.

The relationship between art and agency is foundational to Gell’s (1992, 1998) work on these same themes. In his characterization of art as a manifestation of the “enchantment of technology,” he (1992) posited that the power of art is predicated on the conditions of its production. The technical and creative powers of a skilled artist or craftsperson is manifest in the

product of their labor insofar as the beholder of the product struggles to comprehend the relationship between the object and human agency, or how it came into being (Gell 1992:49). Agency in this case is not a universal capacity of all humans; instead, it is a social understanding of the indexical relationship between human action and its effects—in other words, it is a socially contingent semiotic ideology (Keane 2005). In a manner analogous to Helms’ argument regarding the power of crafting skill, Gell’s theorization draws attention to the power manifest in an object with an unstable relationship with human agency.¹¹

Gell’s theory of enchantment also presents an intersection between aesthetic theory and the fetish. On the one hand, despite his claim of “methodological philistinism” (1992:42), Gell investigated the “effects” of art objects, which in other words might be termed beauty. On the other hand, he focused on the capacity of art objects to materially embody qualities that are at once social products yet incomprehensible as such. In other words, the art object is a “social hieroglyphic” analogous to the fetishized commodity (Marx 1967:79), another class of object that refuses to disclose the social processes behind its coming into being. Pietz’s (1985) theorization of the fetish provides further basis for my claim that aesthetically powerful objects can be understood as structurally analogous to fetishes; they possess a fundamental characteristic of fetishes identified by Pietz (1985:7), irreducible materiality. The power of the art object in Gell’s theorization emerges out of its material properties—the stuff of its form and surfaces teases the curiosity of the viewer.

The literature on the fetish helps to push the preceding discussion further into the realm of political power. For Marx (1967), the domination of the fetishized commodity form exemplified

¹¹ Building on Gell’s theoretical insights, Garrow and Gosden (2012) have argued that metallurgical objects among the ancient Celts were important loci of social power based on the effects of analogous “technologies of enchantment.”

the domination of persons by things in capitalist society. Marx's argument also examined the possibility that "fetishism" is a broadly relevant social phenomenon and not merely a curious religion supposedly practiced by "primitives" (Pietz 1993). Graeber (2005) has revisited the West African perspective on the "fetishes" described by 16th and 17th century Dutch and Portuguese traders and found that these "African fetishes" were not unlike "mini-Leviathans," or social contracts between social actors, particularly in market settings. Indeed, if one reflects on Hobbes' (1968) theory of the state, the act of imbuing the sovereign with absolute authority while simultaneously disavowing the contingency of this constructed authority is a form of mystification structurally identical to fetishism (see Bourdieu 1991).

All of this leads to the conclusion that power can be materialized in objects and that art objects are particularly adept at materializing power. In the context of Tiwanaku's ruling class, their capacity to marshal and craft extraordinary ceramic objects indexed a form of agency that was generally alien to their social world. This is not to suggest that there was an ancient meritocracy in the Tiwanaku Valley, wherein the most creative and productive individuals rose to political prominence. The technical skills and resources needed to produce and procure these objects were social products in themselves, and the innovations in ceramic crafting that occurred at Tiwanaku emerged out the historic contexts and conditions of its development. The potters were embedded within "communities of production" (Roddick 2009), i.e. these potters, like all persons and subjects, were social products themselves

Concluding Remarks

This chapter has outlined the processes through which classes were formed within the Tiwanaku Valley as well as the ideological and aesthetic buttresses of the ruling class's material

power. In the subsequent chapter, I examine how polychrome ceramic production and consumption in contexts ‘beyond’ the ceremonial core of Tiwanaku further reveal the social and political significance of these objects.

CHAPTER 6: Tiwanaku Style Beyond the Center

In this chapter, I examine the roles that Tiwanaku polychrome ceramics played drawing people into Tiwanaku's political world and maintaining bonds between political subjects and the polity. Focusing on contexts outside the ceremonial core of Tiwanaku, I first investigate the role that Tiwanaku style objects played in small scale rituals and quotidian life at Mollo Kontu, a residential area south of Tiwanaku's monumental district. Serving wares here helped to create semiotic ties between these contexts and the large-scale feasts and political rituals that I discuss in Chapters 3 and 4. Moving beyond this 'linking' role, I then examine the degree to which Tiwanaku style ceramics were sources of aesthetic pleasure and thus key components in making Tiwanaku's political culture attractive to outsiders, including people residing in the periphery of the city and potential vassals and subjects in distant climes. Focusing on both patterns of consumption and production, I set about analyzing aesthetic pleasure using archaeological data.

Mollo Kontu: Between Center and Periphery

In the Chapter 5, I outline in broad terms the three classes that existed at Tiwanaku: the ruling class, the laboring class, and the unattached ayllu-like groups that maintained control of their small-scale means of production, while participating in Tiwanaku's political economy. Chapter 5 focuses primarily on the ruling class, their interests, and their material culture, but I also detail the archaeological data that provide insight into the laboring class. Here, I shift my focus onto the third class at Tiwanaku, which had a complex role to play in Tiwanaku's political culture. On the one hand, their productive activities were foundational to supporting the growing urban population of the city. On the other hand, their participation in Tiwanaku's ritual, political, and economic life was mediated by reciprocal obligations (or, *ayni* to use a Quechua term) between

them and the ruling class residents of the core. In this section of the chapter I outline the archaeological evidence for the long-term occupation of the residential district of Mollo Kontu, summarize the Mollo Kontu contexts from which I chose materials for analysis, present the results of that analysis, and, finally, examine how iconographic links between large-scale rituals hosted in the center and everyday life in Mollo Kontu foregrounded those obligations its residents owed to the Tiwanaku polity.

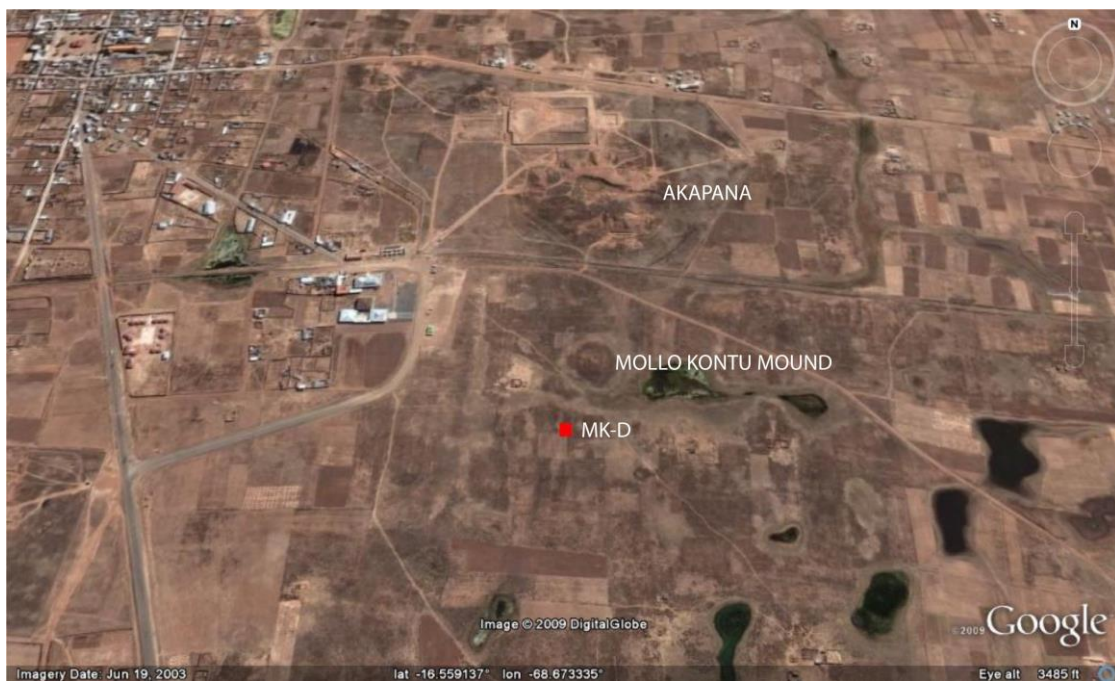


Figure 6.1. Google Earth image showing the locations of the Akapana pyramid, Mollo Kontu Mound, and excavation area MK-D.

Mollo Kontu Residential Life: Tiwanaku Urbanism over Time

The archaeological debate over urban character of Tiwanaku has a long history, yet recently it is rather one sided. Rydén's (1947) contention that Tiwanaku was a mostly uninhabited, pilgrimage center has been increasingly undermined in the latter half of the 20th century as more and more excavations at Tiwanaku revealed extensive residential occupations with deep histories (Ponce Sanginés 1972; Kolata 1993a, 2003; Janusek 2004a; Couture 2003; Couture and Sampeck 2003; Rivera Casanovas 2003; Escalante 2003). Janusek (2009) has reignited this debate

somewhat, positing that Tiwanaku's permanent population was smaller than the aforementioned scholars contended, due to the distorting effect of large influxes of pilgrims during large events. However, recent excavations at Mollo Kontu, in particular, have revealed further evidence that during the Tiwanaku IV and V phases, a large, stable urban population inhabited Tiwanaku.

Mollo Kontu is located a little over 500 meters directly south of the ceremonial core of Tiwanaku (see figure 6.1). This district of the city was characterized by a dense, consistent domestic occupation established by at least the Tiwanaku IV phase and lasting into the late Tiwanaku V phase. Aside from house structures and compounds, the major architectural feature located in Mollo Kontu was the Mollo Kontu Mound, a small (compared to the structures in Tiwanaku's core) mound-like monument with a more-or-less rectangular plan (Couture 2003). The monument was approximately 50m north-south by 40m east-west, and its height was over 5m. In her excavations, Couture (2003) encountered a large stone revetment wall at the base of the structure that along with a series of adobe buttresses held together the earthen fill that constituted the body of the mound. If one were to draw a straight, southward line between the Akapana and the Quimsachata peaks that the Akapana was meant to have mimicked, it would intersect the Mollo Kontu Mound, indicating that it too was symbolically and mimetically linked to these important mountains. Like at the Akapana, the apogee of activity at the Mollo Kontu Mound occurred late in the Tiwanaku IV phase (Couture 2003:215), and excavators discovered a series of human dedicatory burials around and within the base of the structure (Couture 2003:218-222). However, unlike at the Akapana, the low number of keros among the ceramics recovered from excavations of the mound indicate that it was not a site of large-scale feasts (Couture 2003:218).

South of the Mollo Kontu Mound, excavations have revealed a series of domestic compounds. For my dissertation research, I selected materials from two areas, called MK-A and

MK-D, within this cluster of compounds, which were excavated between 2004 and 2008 by members of Proyecto Jach'a Marka. As a member of this project, I spent three seasons (2006-2008) excavating MK-D with Bolivian and international colleagues. MK-A was characterized by a series of small tombs and human burials, including ones lined and capped with adobe and stone slabs, suggesting that like those of the elite mortuary complex at the Putuni, they remained accessible after their 'inhabitants' were initially interred. MK-A was also characterized by multiple refuse pits with ashy matrices. This particular feature type is the most ubiquitous at Tiwanaku. There were scant remains of an edifice in this area too; however, these were not well preserved. I cannot say whether MK-A was exclusively a cemetery, during the Tiwanaku IV phase in particular, or simply a domestic compound with a higher than normal density of tombs. However, the tombs here were absent in MK-D, indicating that this was likely a specialized cemetery of sorts.

I selected materials from four different MK-A contexts (events) for my analysis: A91, A99, A103, and A111. A91 and A103 were both burials, and radiocarbon dates revealed that they correspond to 7th or 8th century AD, i.e. the Tiwanaku IV phase (Couture et al. 2010:70). A111 was a large midden that dates to the 10th or 11th century AD, i.e. Tiwanaku V phase (Couture et al. 2010:70). A99 was a midden that was identified as a Tiwanaku IV context based on its stratigraphic relationships with other dated contexts.

MK-D was overwhelmingly characterized by domestic activities, and the features that we excavated here can be divided into three general types: walls, hearths, and pits. Typically, walls were only identifiable by their cobble stone foundations—the adobe/mixed mud matrix that constituted the erected portions of the walls had been lost. We excavated two large hearths in MK-D, one lined with field stones and the other lined with smashed olla sherds. The other hearths here were smaller and less well defined. 'Pits' is perhaps too general a category for the variety of refuse

and ash filled pits that were sometimes small and discrete and other times expansive and seemingly unending. These refuse pits were the contexts with the highest artifact density in Mollo Kontu, and we typically recovered multiple bags of ceramics and faunal remains from each one. The stratigraphy in MK-D was extraordinarily complex—the floors of the domestic structures in this area were not capped with clay or stone and thus extremely difficult to locate during excavations. Furthermore, there were no remains of roofs, which would have likely been made of thatched vegetable matter. In general, each generation of ‘urban renewal’ within MK-D was characterized by razing older structures and replacing them with newer ones; abandoned kitchens and sleeping quarters often became refuse pits and discard areas. However, we were able to identify four mostly distinct levels of occupation within MK-D.



Figure 6.2. Photo of final extent of MK-D excavations from the south. Akapana Pyramid is visible in the background.

Occupation 5 (figure 6.3)—the earliest of the four occupations—was only partially excavated, as in most of the excavations, we stopped at Occupation 4. The most notable feature of

Occupation 5 was the base of an approximately 1m wide north-south wall. Unlike later wall foundations in MK-D, this wall's foundation was a bed of fieldstones and not two parallel, single file lines of fieldstones. A small portion of the adobe matrix of this wall was preserved, but most of it was gone. To the east of the wall, we encountered three small ashy pits. Two radiocarbon dates were obtained from Occupation 5—one from wall fill and another from a midden—and both correspond to the 7th century AD (Couture et al. 2010:70), revealing that this occupation dates to the early Tiwanaku IV phase.

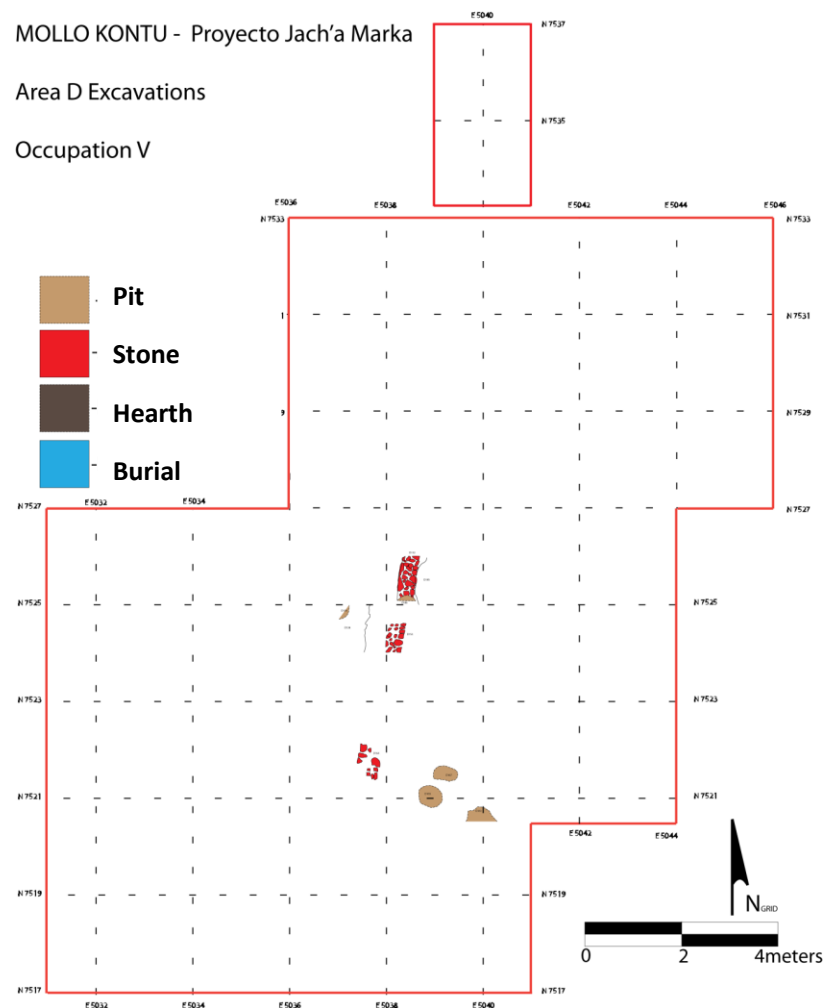


Figure 6.3. Plan of MK-D Occupation 5 features (image by Giles Morrow and Wesley Mattox).

The subsequent Occupation 4 (figure 6.4) was very well preserved relative to the later occupations, and it was extensively excavated, unlike Occupation 5. During this occupation, space

was delineated by 1 to 1.5 m wide, orthogonal walls, which like the preceding Occupation 5 wall and compound walls throughout Tiwanaku (Janusek 2004a) were aligned with the cardinal directions. We found long sections of wall foundations, which consisted of two parallel lines of field stones. It is likely that these were compound walls—or, walls that bounded a series of connected (both literally and genealogically) households. The major east-west wall associated with this occupation appeared to have been built in at least two phases, as a line of field stones marked the boundary between wider and thinner sections of the wall. This could have been the result of the renovation of an existing wall or an extension westward of an older wall.

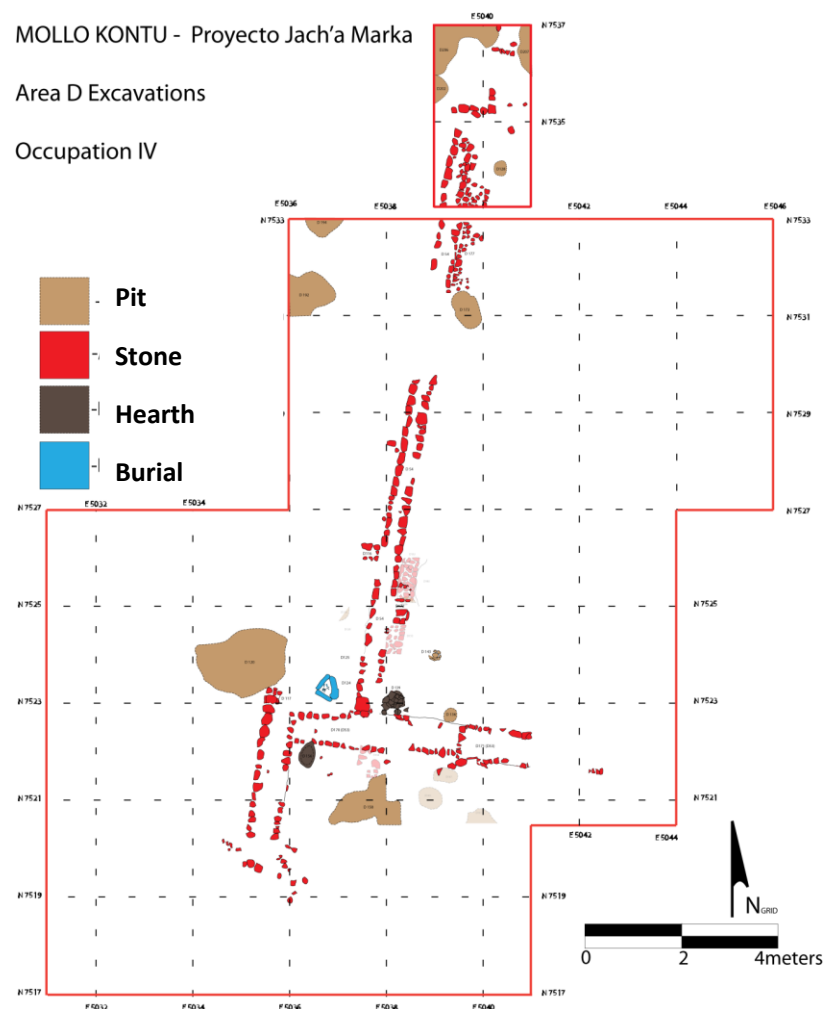


Figure 6.4. Plan of MK-D Occupation 4 features (image by Giles Morrow and Wesley Mattox).

There were two hearths associated with this occupation, both of which were located near corners of the spaces outlined by the compound walls. The smaller rooms that made up these living spaces were not well defined, as the smaller walls and their foundations were not well preserved. In certain cases, near the major compound walls, there were a few stones that appeared to pertain to smaller walls connecting to the larger ones, but the extent of these rooms could not be discerned. There was an infant or fetal individual interred in a small grave near the intersection of the three major compound walls we encountered. The grave itself was lined with three adobe slabs. It may have been a dedicatory burial, or it may simply have been the grave of a young family member. The grave had been partially disturbed by a later pit digging event; however, this particular Occupation 3 pit was unusual in that it was shallow, and the matrix of its fill was not particularly ashy. One possible explanation for these characteristics is that the digger of the pit encountered the older grave and instead of disturbing it, ceased digging and filled the pit back in. As with every one of the occupations in MK-D, there were a series of large refuse pits filled with faunal remains, ceramics, and an ashy matrix. For the most part, the largest refuse pits were located west of the major compound walls, indicating that this particular area was outside of the living and main activity areas to the east of the walls. Indeed, the two hearths associated with Occupation 4 were located on the east side of the major north-south compound walls. Two almost completely intact, decorated tinajas were found in the southeastern section of this compound (figure 6.5), which may indicate that there was a storage chamber in this area.

Three Occupation 4 contexts were radiocarbon dated, and the results produced a range of dates from the 8th to 10th centuries (Couture et al. 2010:70). This suggests that this occupation dates to the transition between the Tiwanaku IV and V phases. As with the Akapana Complex materials (see Chapter 3), I am treating these contexts as belonging to Tiwanaku IV. This both

maintains consistency between sectors of the site and recognizes that the activities that pertain to this period of architectural and social transformation at the site were a culmination of the social and political relations that exemplified the Tiwanaku IV phase.



Figure 6.5. An intact, in situ polychrome tinaja found in MK-D Occupation 4 fill.

The transition between Occupations 4 and 3 was characterized by an increase in large refuse pits being dug throughout MK-D. While the pits increased in size, they were, generally, similar in that they were filled with faunal remains, ceramic sherds, and an ashy matrix. The architectural components of Occupation 3 (figure 6.6) were not well preserved relative to those of Occupation 4. The sole compound wall foundation encountered was located in the western section of the area excavated; while it was generally east-west in orientation, it was slightly off the alignment of the preceding walls. This wall was also thinner than the earlier compound walls. The western area of the excavation had continued to be the primary dumping ground of the MK-D residents. This indicates that perhaps the older spatial divisions and patterns of activity perdured; however, some of the Occupation 3 refuse pits cut into the Occupation 4 wall foundations, revealing that the older living space was eventually transformed into a trash heap. During

Occupation 3, the living space was seemingly restricted to the southernmost section of the excavated area, as elsewhere was consumed by ashy pits. There was a small section of a linear stone feature to the east of the Occupation 3 compound wall. Based on its size and alignment it was either the base of a small dividing wall or perhaps an open drainage canal.

The two radiocarbon dates acquired from Occupation 3 contexts, both middens, pertain to the 10th century AD, i.e. the Tiwanaku V phase (Couture et al. 2010:70). In terms of the 95% confidence intervals, there are overlaps between the Occupation 4 and 3 radiocarbon dates. This is due to the limited precision of radiocarbon dates but also to the close continuity of the two occupations.

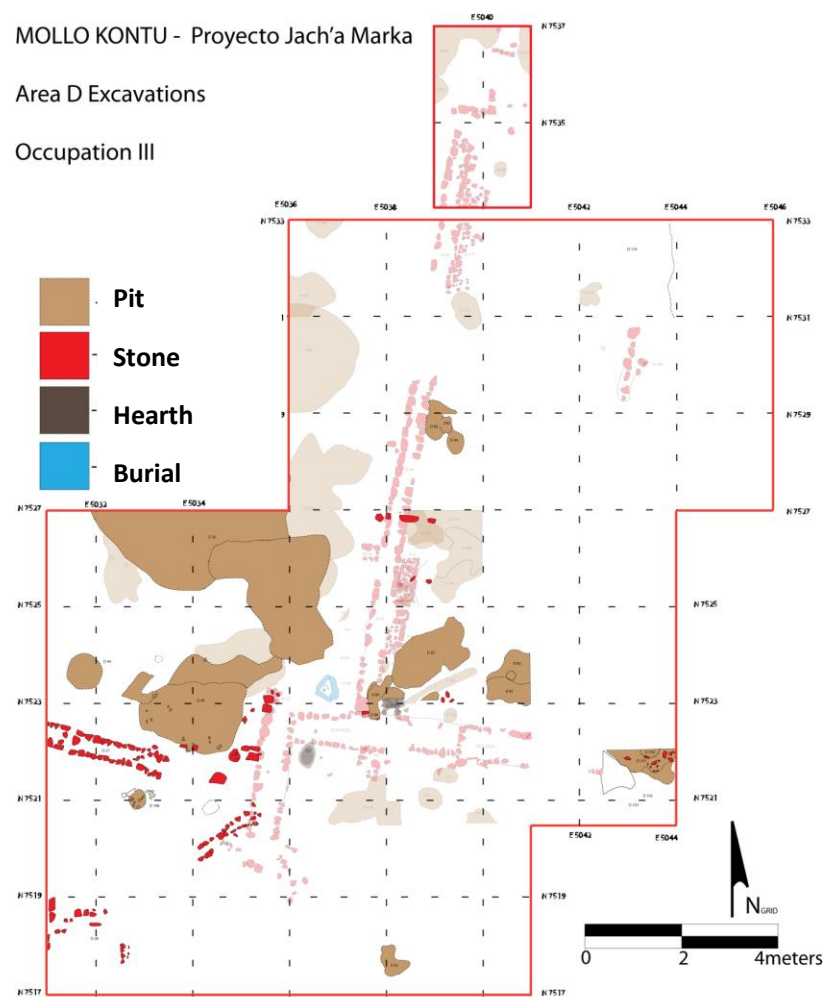


Figure 6.6. Plan of MK-D Occupation 3 features (image by Giles Morrow and Wesley Mattox).

Area D Excavations

Occupation I/II

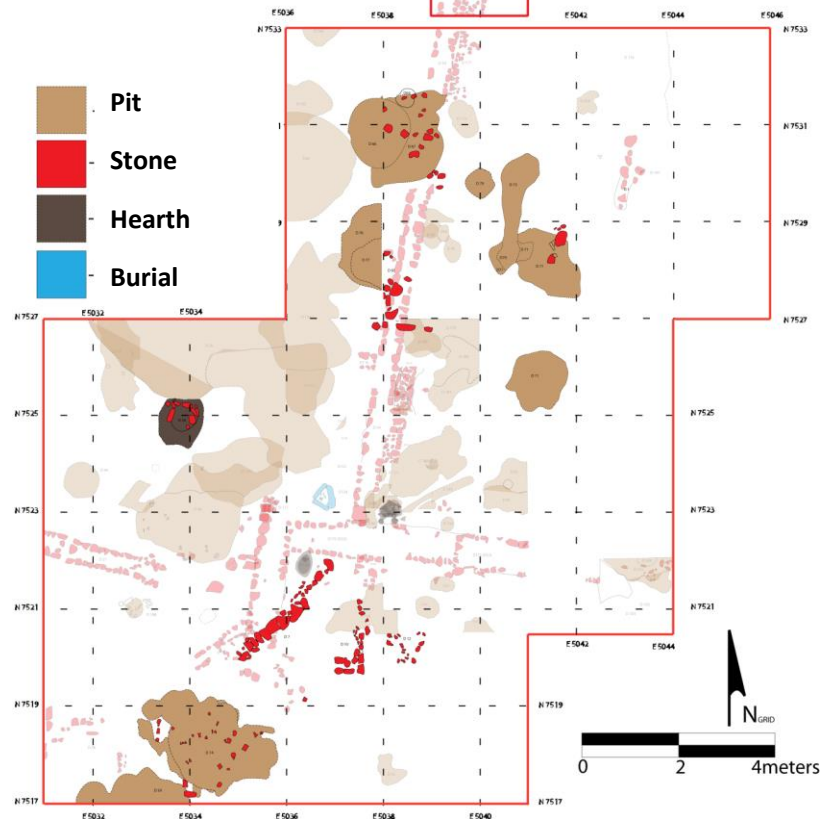


Figure 6.7. Plan of MK-D Occupation 1/2 features (image by Giles Morrow and Wesley Mattox).

In the initial excavations, we divided Occupation 1/2 (figure 6.7) into two distinct occupations; however, at this depth near the contemporary surface and agricultural activity, the stratigraphy was highly disturbed. The two features that stood out in this occupation were a large hearth and a section of foundation for a curving wall. The hearth, which was lined with stones, was the largest encountered in MK-D, and it was located within the area encircled by the curving wall. The curving wall foundation was the only non-rectilinear architectural feature we encountered in MK-D. The curvature of the feature was quite subtle, indicating that it bounded a relatively large area. It may be that this area was a corral at one point. Occupation 1/2 was also characterized by large refuse pits, including one in the north of the excavation area that cut through

the Occupation 4 compound wall foundations. A single radiocarbon date from Occupation 1/2 pertains to the 10th century AD (Couture et al. 2010:70), indicating that it too was a Tiwanaku V occupation.

Overall MK-D was a site of consistent activity over 400 years, as evidenced by the sheer volume and density of artifacts in the ash-filled pits located here. The accompanying architecture, large orthogonal compound walls, and variety of hearths indicate that it was primarily a living and work space. Over generations, the space was transformed; however, up until the final Occupation 1/2 phase, the general patterns of constructed space were maintained. Newer generations of features consumed the older ones as people transformed living spaces into work spaces into refuse spaces, etc. The complex stratigraphy reflects the density and continuity of the occupation of MK-D, and in this sense, it fits into a broader pattern of Tiwanaku urbanism also visible in residential areas like Akapana East (Janusek 2003a), Ch'iji Jawira (Rivera Casanovas 2003), La K'karaña (Escalante 2003), and even the Putuni (Couture and Sampeck 2003). Vallières' (2012) analysis of the faunal remains collected during the Mollo Kontu excavations has revealed key information regarding the economic activities of residents here. Noting the age-at-death profiles of llama remains in particular, she argues that Mollo Kontu residents engaged in pastoralism and raised their own herds of llamas. As I note in Chapter 5, this fits into the broader pattern of economic specialization that characterized the unattached producers of the city of Tiwanaku.

Table 6.1 presents an overview of the contexts and materials I analyzed from Mollo Kontu. As with other areas of the site, I only included serving and ceremonial wares in my sample. Based on Couture's (2003) and Vallières' (2012) published analyses of Mollo Kontu ceramics, the serving and ceremonial wares make up approximately 30% to 40% of the total ceramic assemblages, varying slightly by context type and phase.

Area	Occupation	Event	Phase	Feature Type	MNV Count
MK-A		A103	IV	Burial	7
MK-A		A91	IV	Burial	8
MK-A		A99	IV	Ash Pit	3
MK-A		A111	V	Ash Pit	63
MK-D	5	D127	IV	Fill	13
MK-D	5	D161/163	IV	Fill	13
MK-D	4	D105	IV	Ash Pit	56
MK-D	4	D112	IV	Pit	16
MK-D	4	D119	IV	Floor	4
MK-D	4	D120	IV	Fill	135
MK-D	4	D158	IV	Ash Pit	131
MK-D	4	D173	IV	Ash Pit	15
MK-D	4	D192	IV	Ash Pit	6
MK-D	4	D26	IV	Ash Pit	207
MK-D	3	D101	V	Ash Pit	36
MK-D	1/2	D36	V	Hearth	32
MK-D	3	D40	V	Ash Pit	52
MK-D	3	D44	V	Ash Pit	35
MK-D	3	D46	V	Ash Pit	175
MK-D	3	D81	V	Ash Pit	36

Table 6.1. Overview of Mollo Kontu contexts that were analyzed.

Mollo Kontu Iconography: Visually Linking the Ritual and the Quotidian

Figures 6.8 and 6.9 summarize the ceramic form frequencies pertaining to the Tiwanaku IV and V phase occupations of the Mollo Kontu district.

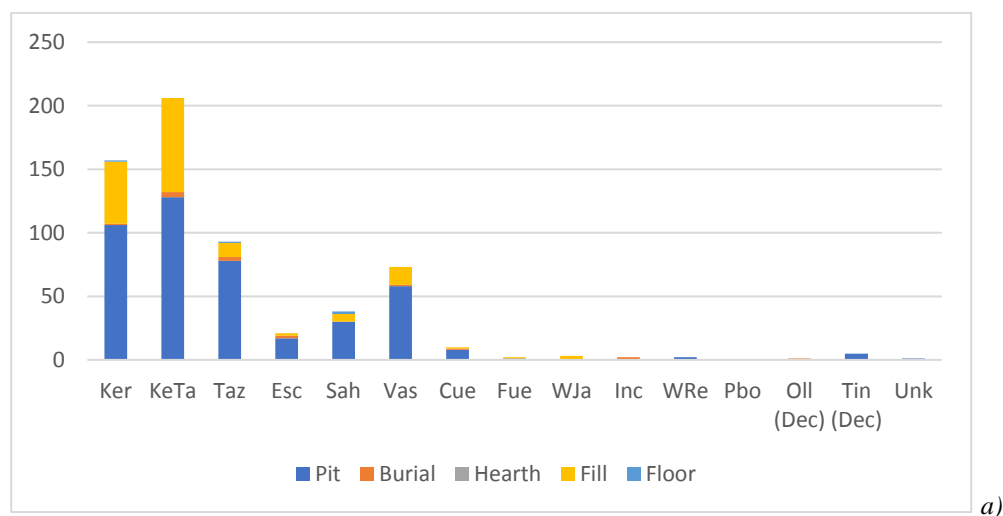


Figure 6.8. Overview of analyzed ceramic form frequencies (MNV) from Tiwanaku IV, Mollo Kontu contexts: a) general forms, b) kero subtypes, c) tazon subtypes, d) escudilla subtypes, and e) vasiija subtypes.



Figure 6.8, continued.

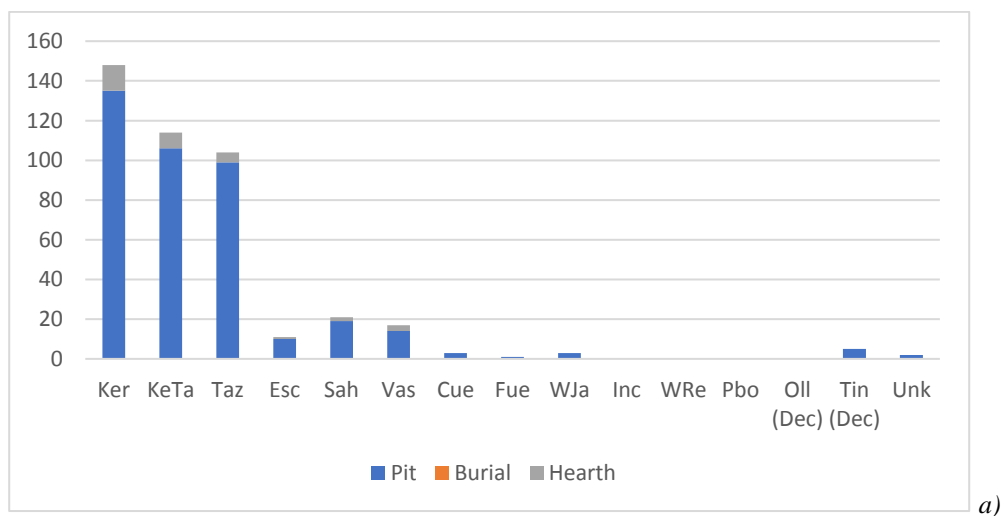


Figure 6.9. Overview of analyzed ceramic form frequencies (MNV) from Tiwanaku V, Mollo Kontu contexts: a) general forms, b) kero subtypes, c) tazon subtypes, d) escudilla subtypes, and e) vasija subtypes.

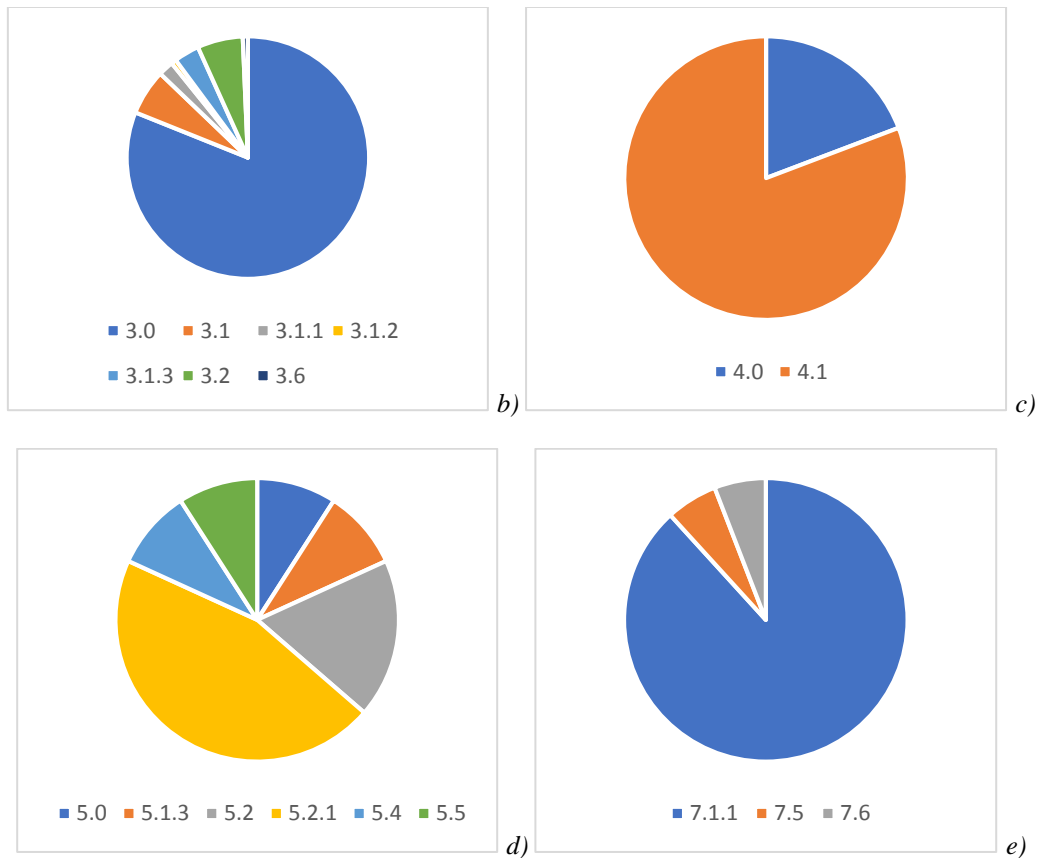


Figure 6.9, continued.

The most noticeable difference in terms of ceramic form frequencies between the Tiwanaku IV and V contexts at Mollo Kontu is that *vasijas* became rarer in Tiwanaku V. As I note above, Couture (2003) found that there were few *keros* buried among the ruins of the Mollo Kontu Mound; however, there were many *keros* discarded among the household waste of Mollo Kontu's residents. In both phases, *keros* and *tazones* were the most frequently identified serving wares, indicating that serving ware forms typically consumed during large-scale feasts in the ceremonial center of Tiwanaku were also consumed during smaller scale feasts and quotidian meals within the residential districts of the city. This link between the two spaces was further emphasized in the iconography shared between them (see figures 6.10 and 6.11).

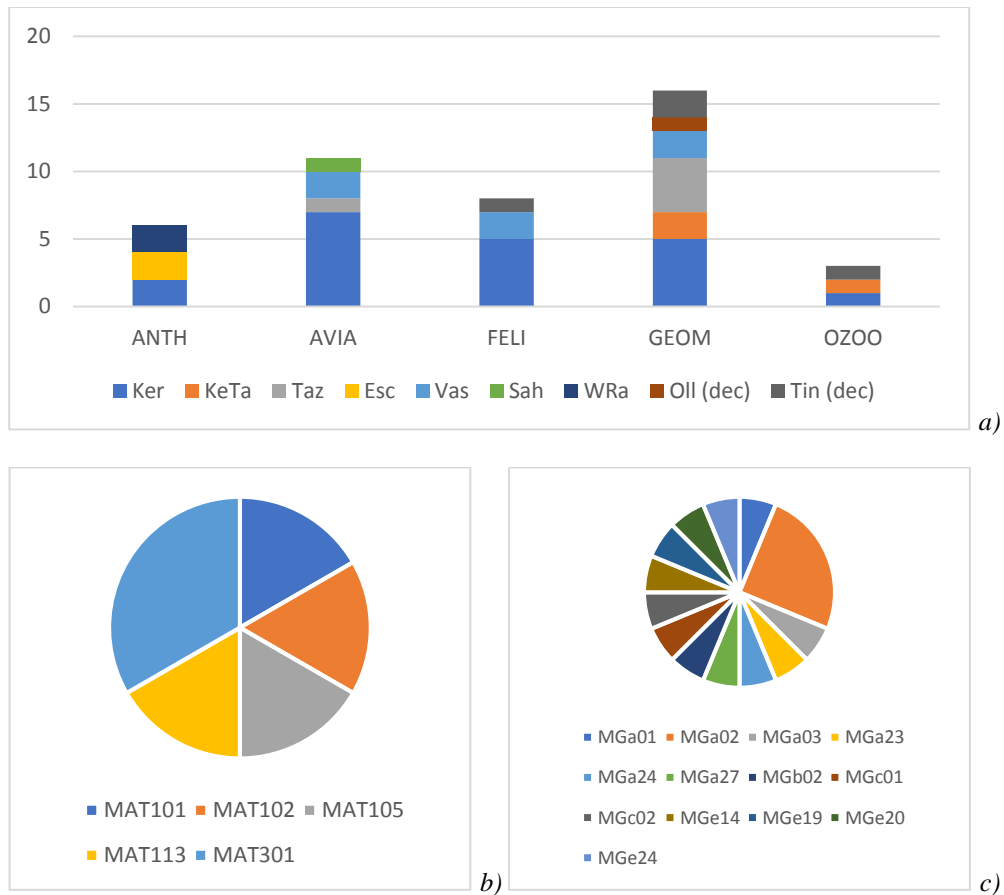


Figure 6.10. Overview of motif frequencies for Tiwanaku IV, Mollo Kontu contexts: a) general motif types by vessel form, b) anthropomorphic motifs, and c) geometric motifs.

In both phases, most of the motifs noted were located on kero sherds. Couture and Sampeck (2003) have observed that geometric motifs were most commonly found depicted on tazones at the Putuni, and this pattern pertains to Mollo Kontu as well. Finally, as was the case with the iconography depicted on ceramics from Putuni contexts (Chapter 5), heads (MAT1--) were the most frequently depicted human body part in Mollo Kontu iconography.

In Chapter 3, I found that only 55% of the motifs identified on Tiwanaku IV Mollo Kontu ceramics were unique to this district of the site. This indicates that a significant portion of the iconography depicted on Mollo Kontu serving wares could be found elsewhere at the site. The most often repeated motif that was shared between Mollo Kontu, the Putuni, and the Akapana Complex is MGa002, once again, a step-spiral motif that I discuss in detail in Chapter 3. At Mollo

Kontu, there were four cases of the motif identified in the Occupation 4 assemblage (see figure 6.12), including two examples on keros, one on a kero-tazon, and one on a recurved tazon (type 4.4). Two examples of this motif were identified in the Occupation 3 assemblage, one on a kero and one on a tazon.

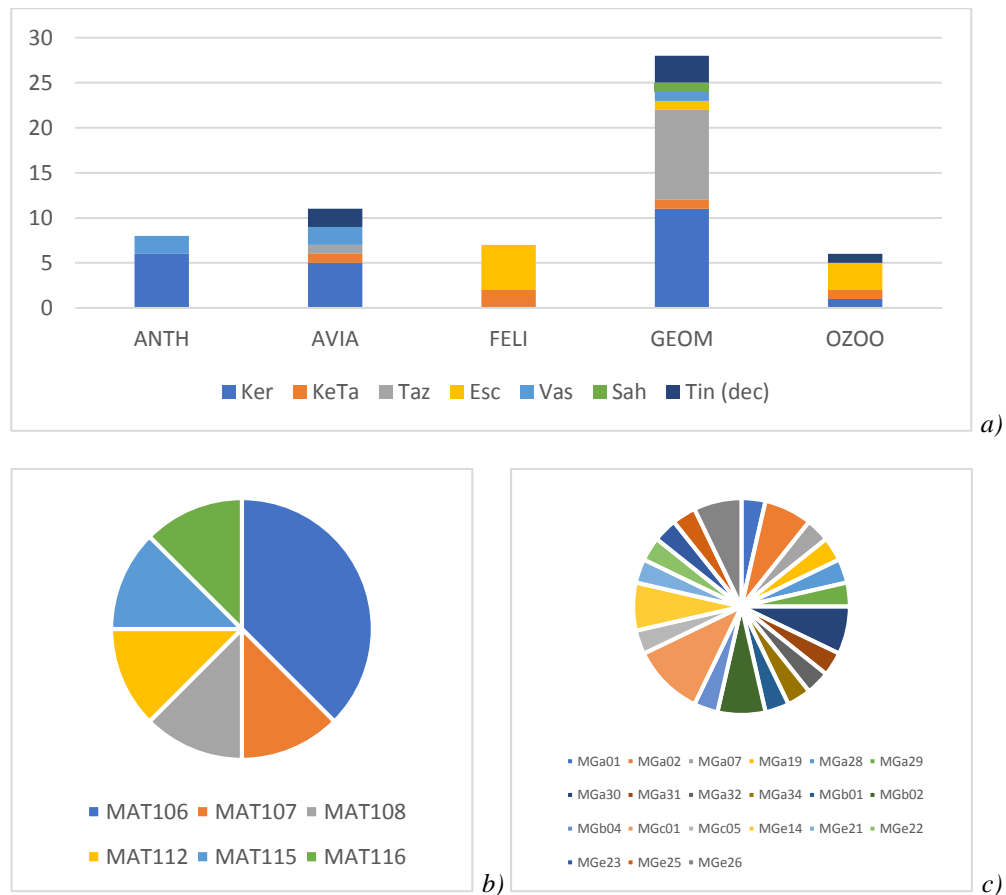


Figure 6.11. Overview of motif frequencies for Tiwanaku V, Mollo Kontu contexts: a) general motif types by vessel form, b) anthropomorphic motifs, and c) geometric motifs.

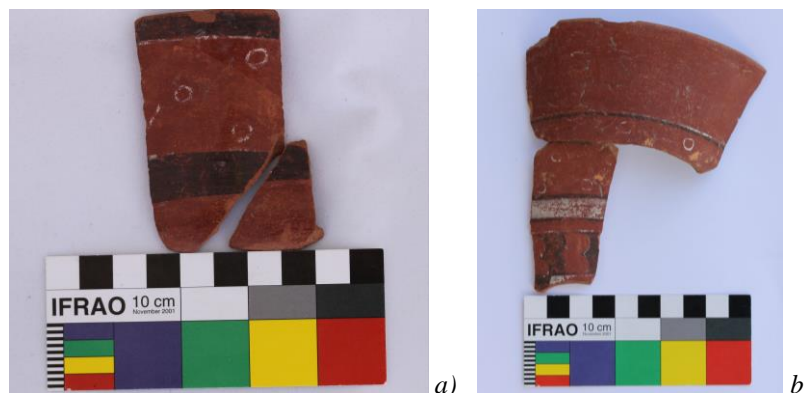


Figure 6.12. Two examples of motif MGa02 on vessels from Mollo Kontu: a) recurved tazon from feature D112, and b) kero from feature D26.

As I note in Chapter 2, my approach to style builds on Gell's (1998) argument that a style can be best understood as a relationship between parts and whole. In other words, an object or element belonging to a style can function, semiotically, as a metonym for the larger assemblage that constitutes that style. As a metonym is a type of indexical sign, in Peircian terms, components of a style index other components. However, this indexical relationship does not have to be restricted to one between objects or images alone. Indeed, in the case of Tiwanaku style serving wares and their iconographies, there would have been a key indexical link between these materials and the broader feasting practices at which they were typically consumed. Such indexical links would have been constructed during large-scale feasts in the center of the Tiwanaku, and they would have been reemphasized during the smaller feasts and meals elsewhere. Just as these objects indexed the large feasts held in spaces like the Akapana Complex, they would also have indexed those political relationships and obligations that were established during competitive and patron-role feasts (Dietler 2003; Chapter 3). Thusly, these objects and their associated practices would have maintained subjective links between Tiwanaku's residents and the political community to which they belonged; they were foundational to the material constitution of political subjectivity during the life of the Tiwanaku polity.

Iconography and Political Subjectivity: Intimacy, Production, and Play

While Tiwanaku style ceramics semiotically linked quotidian practices to politically significant feasts, this was not the limit of their roles and effects outside of the core. Tiwanaku style ceramics have been a topic of archaeological investigation since the early 20th century (Uhle 1902) because they were extraordinarily popular—or at least ubiquitous—over a long period of time and large swathes of territory. The broad popularity of Tiwanaku style ceramics can be

understood in many ways. In older culture-history models, archaeologists understood their spread in terms of cultural diffusion, particularly through the idiom of the “horizon” (Uhle 1902; Rowe 1956; see Stone-Miller 1993; Chapter 2). Among some contemporary archaeologists, the spread of Tiwanaku style ceramics has been considered a by-product of the expansion of Tiwanaku’s political hegemony (Kolata 1993b; Bermann 1997). However, I am interested in the degree to which people ‘liked’ Tiwanaku style materials. From this perspective, Tiwanaku ceramics were an important factor in the successful expansion of Tiwanaku hegemony, not merely a lagging indicator. In other words, the aesthetic pleasure engendered by these exquisite polychrome ceramics constituted a key component of what made Tiwanaku an attractive political project to outsiders.

Tiwanaku Style in the Hinterland and Beyond

In this subsection of the chapter, I outline the final group of materials that I analyzed in Tiwanaku: those recovered during Mathews’ (1992) survey and excavations in the Middle Tiwanaku Valley. I also make note of a group of Tiwanaku style ceramics currently housed at the Denver Museum of Nature and Science that were collected in the Cochabamba region of Bolivia, but which lack detailed contextual data. These two sets of materials, along with the previously discussed materials from Mollo Kontu, constitute the sample from which I gain insight into Tiwanaku style outside the ceremonial core of the city.

Mathews’ (1992) survey of the Middle Tiwanaku Valley was supplemented with test excavations at a series of rural and peri-urban sites. I limited my analysis of materials from these excavation to ceramics from three sites: Tilata, Ugar K’atarwani, and Kintawe Arikon (see figure 6.13). Tilata was a peri-urban settlement and can be considered a major residential sector of

Tiwanaku, like Mollo Kontu. Ugar K'atarwani and Kintawe Arikon, however, were rural settlements, likely founded as centers of agricultural production during the consolidation of the Tiwanaku polity (Mathews 1992, 2003). Mathews (1992) obtained radiocarbon dates from each of these sites—confirming that they were all occupied at some point during the Tiwanaku IV or V phases—however, many of the contexts I analyzed lacked clear stratigraphic relationships with these dated materials and, thus, cannot be securely dated. Mathews (1992) also provided relative dates based on ceramic styles and excavation data for certain other contexts, and I relied on these when relevant.

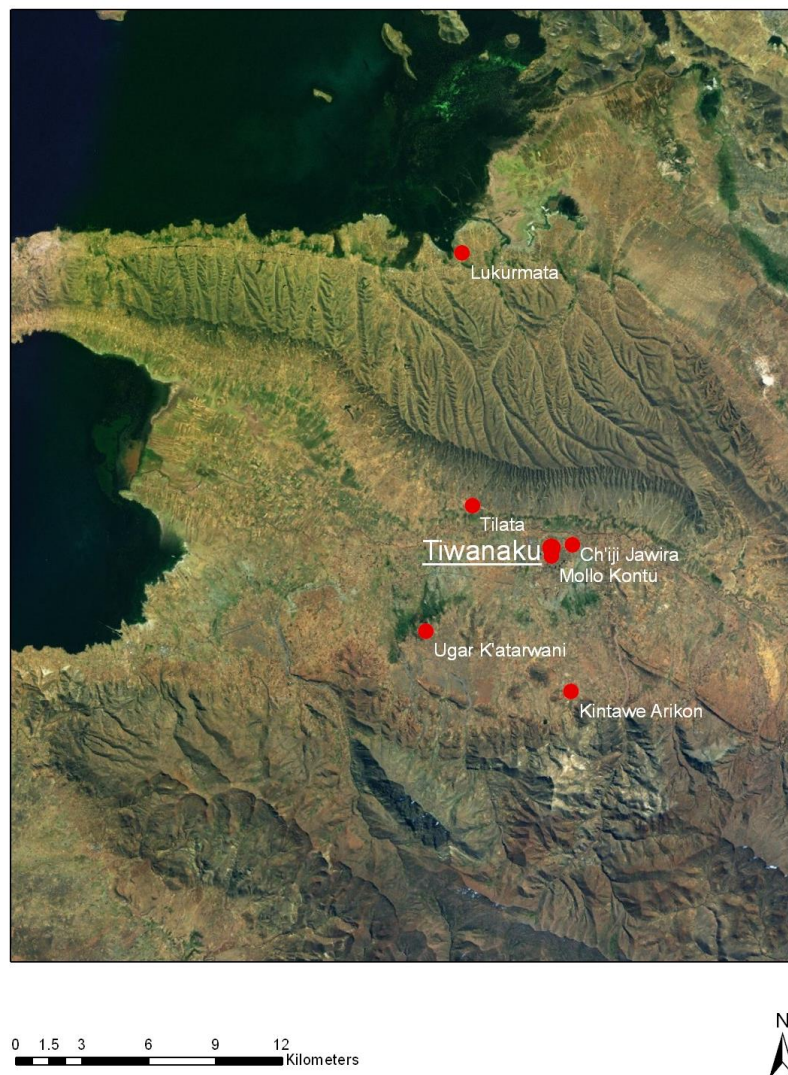


Figure 6.13. Satellite image of the Tiwanaku Valley.

Site	Unit(s)	Level/Feature	Context Type	Phase	MNV
Tilata	N506 E498-500	Level 10	Fill	??	34
Tilata	N500 E530	Level 12	Fill	??	2
Tilata	N506 E498-500	Level 12	Fill	??	17
Tilata	N500 E530	Level 7	Fill	??	1
Tilata	N506 E498-500	Level 7	Fill	??	32
Tilata	N506 E498	Feature 12	Burial	V	91
Tilata	N506 E500	Feature 14	Tomb	V	8
Tilata	N506 E498	Feature 18	Burial	V	5
Tilata	N506 E500	Feature 7	Burial	V	3

Table 6.2. Overview of Tilata contexts that were analyzed.

Site	Unit(s)	Level/Feature	Context Type	Phase	MNV
Kintawe Arikon	N492-4 E544	Level 2	Fill	??	34
Kintawe Arikon	N508 E556-558	Level 2	Fill	??	43
Kintawe Arikon	N520 E640	Level 2	Fill	??	102
Kintawe Arikon	N534 E620	Level 2	Fill	??	9
Kintawe Arikon	N520 E638-40	Level 5	Fill	??	49
Kintawe Arikon	N534 E620	Level 5	Fill	??	3
Kintawe Arikon	N508 E558	Feature 10	Tomb	IV	7
Kintawe Arikon	N534 E620	Feature 11	Ash Deposit	IV	62
Kintawe Arikon	N508 E558	Feature 14	Tomb	IV	1
Kintawe Arikon	N538 E620	Feature 19	Tomb	V	4
Kintawe Arikon	N534 E620	Feature 20	Burial	V	2
Kintawe Arikon	N520 E638	Feature 21	Ash Pit	V	27
Kintawe Arikon	N536 E620	Feature 22	Ash Pit	V	3

Table 6.3. Overview of Kintawe Arikon contexts that were analyzed.

Site	Unit(s)	Level/Feature	Context Type	Phase	MNV
Ugar K	N500-2 E516	Level 3	Fill	??	63
Ugar K	N510 E490	Level 3	Fill	??	9
Ugar K	N516-8 E498	Level 3	Fill	??	10
Ugar K	N484 E500	Level 5	Fill	??	1
Ugar K	N500-2 E516	Level 5	Fill	??	12
Ugar K	N510 E490	Level 5	Fill	??	7
Ugar K	N516-8 E498	Level 5	Fill	??	3
Ugar K	N482-4 E500	Level 7	Fill	IV	11
Ugar K	N500-2 E516	Level 7	Fill	??	7
Ugar K	N510 E488	Level 7	Fill	??	5
Ugar K	N484 E500	Feature 9	Fill	IV	3

Table 6.4. Overview of Ugar K'atarwani contexts that were analyzed.

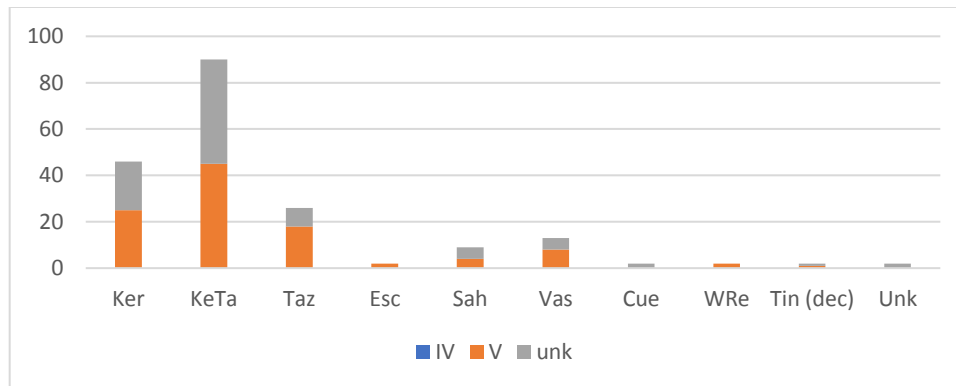


Figure 6.14. Analyzed vessel form frequencies (MNV) from Tilata. Phase data are included.

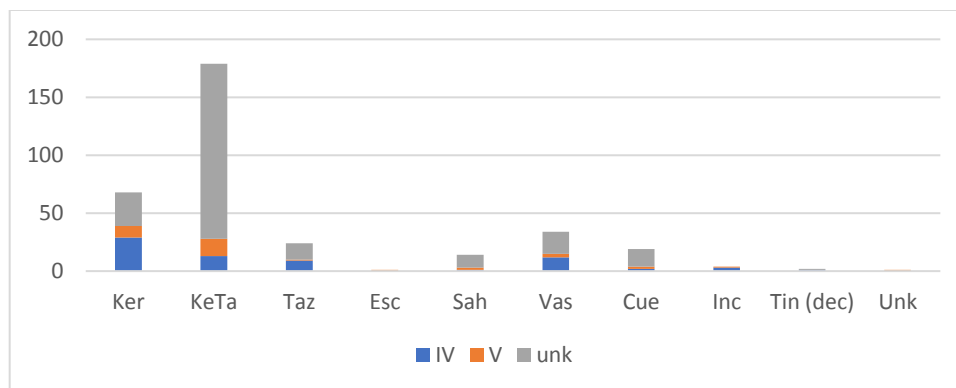


Figure 6.15. Analyzed vessel form frequencies (MNV) from Kintawe Arikon. Phase data are included.

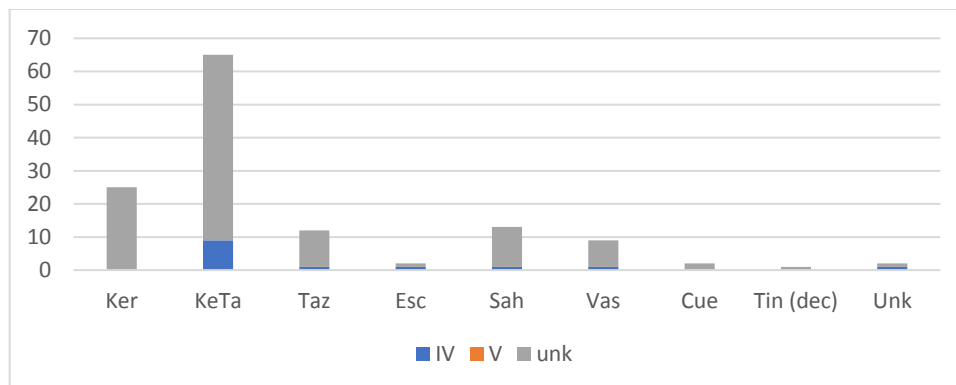


Figure 6.16. Analyzed vessel form frequencies (MNV) from Ugar K'atarwani. Phase data are included.

As was the case with the Mollo Kontu materials, keros, tazones, and vasijas were the most common serving wares consumed at the three sites excavated by Mathews (see figures 6.14, 6.15, and 6.16). While this observation may seem unsurprising, it confirms an important hypothesis regarding Tiwanaku polychrome ceramics; that is, they were consumed in a variety of contexts by members of various social groups and classes. Keros in particular, even though they were

specialized drinking goblets for consuming alcohol, were available to people throughout the Tiwanaku polity, which evidences the central importance that feasting played in building and maintaining relationships between the political community and its members.

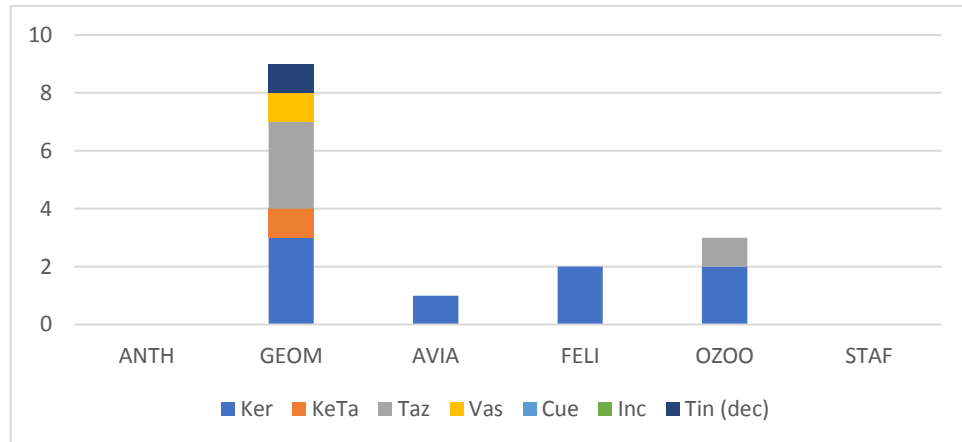


Figure 6.17. General motif type frequencies by vessel form, Tilata.

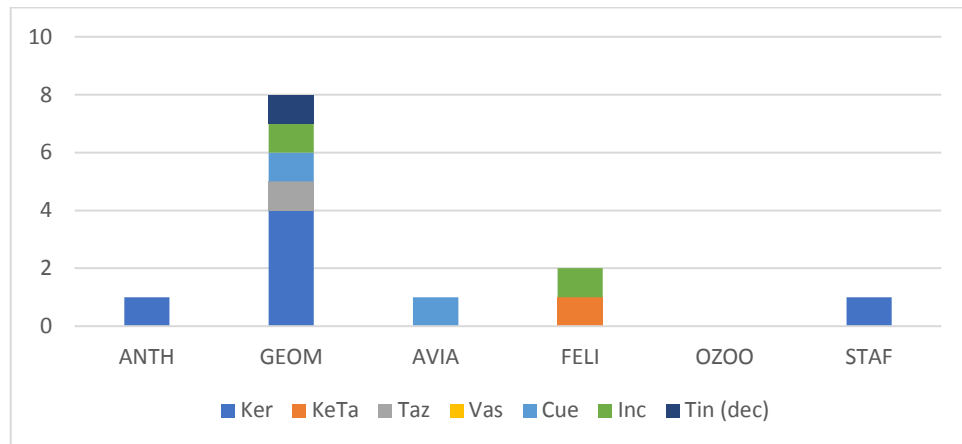


Figure 6.18. General motif type frequencies by vessel form, Kintawe Arikon.

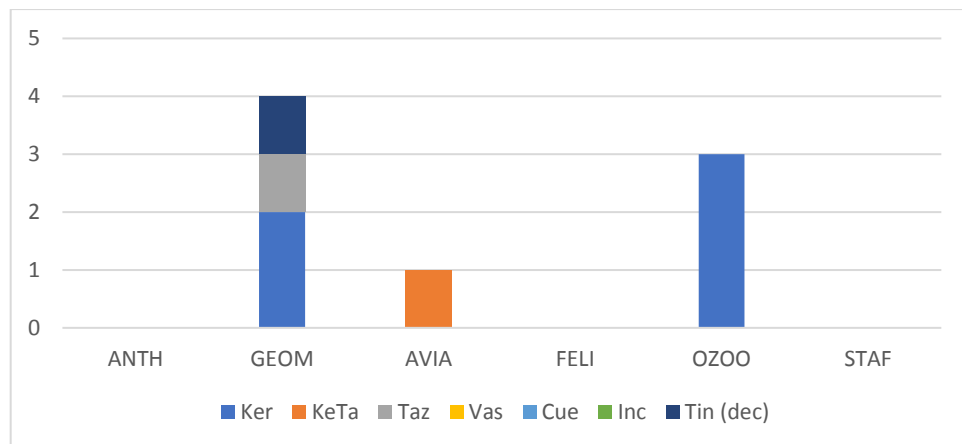


Figure 6.19. General motif type frequencies by vessel form, Ugar K'atarwani.

There were low motif counts for each of these Middle Tiwanaku Valley sites (see figures 6.16, 6.17, and 6.18). This is due to a handful of factors, but the primary one is that the sample of sherds analyzed from each site was low relative to the ‘big four’ of the Akapana, AW Plaza, Putuni, and Mollo Kontu. As figure 6.20 shows, the fragment sizes of the sherds in this sample were about the same as those from the AW Plaza (see Chapter 3). Regarding MGa002, one of the most frequently counted motifs among urban assemblages, there were five examples counted in the iconography from Tilata, but none in the iconography of the other two sites. While the sample is small, the iconography in the two rural sites was somewhat atypical relative to the iconography of the urban contexts in that there were very few instances of zoomorphic motifs. However, at Kintawe Arikon, 6 of the 12 motifs identified had also been found on at least one vessel from one of the big four assemblages; at Ugar K’atarwani, the number was 5 of 7. Like the Mollo Kontu iconography, the iconography of the rural valley sites contained a notable contingent of motifs that could be found elsewhere.

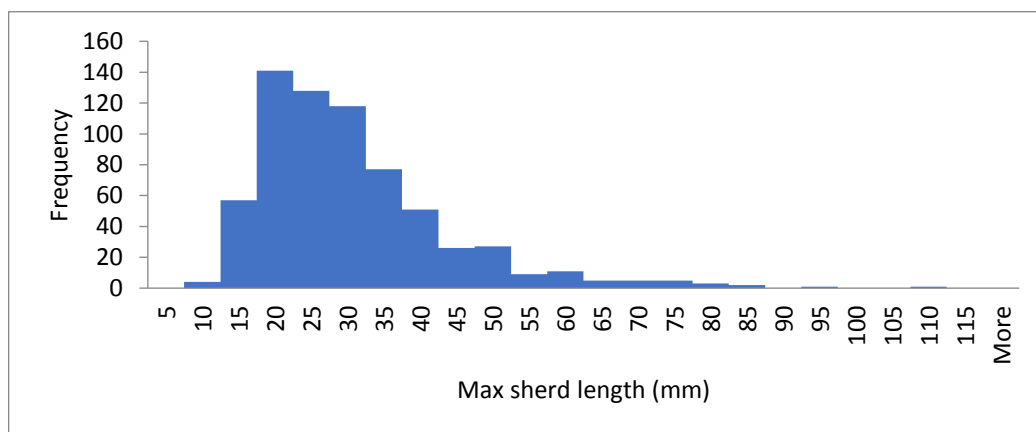


Figure 6.20. Max sherd lengths of ceramics from all three Middle Tiwanaku Valley sites. Mean= 28.6mm, SD = 13.5mm.

The Tiwanaku ceramic materials housed at the Denver Museum of Nature and Science (DMNS) were collected among Middle Horizon tombs at the site of Arani in the Cochabamba region of Bolivia. My analysis of these objects was ad hoc, and it did not follow the methodology

that I outline in Chapter 2. Instead, I simply observed and recorded the motifs I noted on the vessels, paying particular attention to whether or not any of these motifs could be classified using the motif categories I had established during my analysis at Tiwanaku. While much of what I observed resembles what Anderson (2013) has termed “Central Valley Cochabamba Tiwanaku” style—even though Arani is located in the High Valley—there was an assortment of familiar motifs among the iconography. For example, on the challador shown in figure 6.21, I noted examples of two motifs found on Tiwanaku Valley materials, MAT114 and MZA406. Yet among the DMNS ceramics, I did not note any vessels that I consider likely imports from the Tiwanaku heartland. Whether based on the form of the vessel or the iconography depicted on it, each object was not quite ‘Tiwanaku Valley style,’ from an impressionistic and normative perspective. In the case of the challador in figure 6.21, the vessel form itself is more typically found in Cochabamba-Tiwanaku contexts than in Tiwanaku Valley contexts; in fact, Janusek (2003b:62) has noted that the challador was likely a stylistic import from Cochabamba to Tiwanaku. The remainder of this chapter examines how the reproduction and proliferation of Tiwanaku style and its variants reflect the emerging relationships between these objects and Tiwanaku’s political subjects and vassals.



Figure 6.21. Two views of a challador, A1951.26, from the DMNS Cochabamba-Tiwanaku collection (photos used with permission by the DMNS).

Aesthetic Pleasure: Curation and Production

Attempting to account for aesthetic pleasure archaeologically is a difficult task. Within a Kantian framework, this pleasure, while predicated on universal faculties, is entirely subjective (Kant 2000). Archaeology is not well equipped to ‘get into the heads’ of ancient subjects, nor should that be its primary aim. However, by focusing on the contexts in which these objects ended up, it is possible to gain insight into the relationships that Tiwanaku’s residents and subjects shared with Tiwanaku style polychrome ceramics.

Tiwanaku style ceramics were found throughout the most intimate spaces within the Tiwanaku Valley. As the preceding data reveal, tombs and household middens were filled with a variety of polychrome Tiwanaku style serving wares. The tomb, in particular, was an incredibly important social locus at Tiwanaku—as noted in the case of the Putuni mortuary complex, burials remained accessible long after individuals were initially interred (Couture and Sampeck 2003). This pattern persists well away from the ceremonial core of the site too. In the mortuary contexts throughout the Middle Tiwanaku Valley and the Cochabamba region, the ubiquitous presence of Tiwanaku serving wares—especially keros and tazones—evidences that feasting with the ancestors—literal and/or metaphorical—was an important social practice and that Tiwanaku imagery was a desirable component of these rites.

Curation—that is collecting and conserving—is another activity that reflects a personal affinity for an object and its qualities. In the case of the Tiwanaku style ceramics found at Mollo Kontu, keros, tazones, and sahumadores were well used compared to those found in offerings within the ceremonial center. The keros and sahumadores found smashed in Feature 108 excavated on the first terrace of the Akapana by Mario Pachaguay (see Chapter 3) were almost pristine; there was little or no residue on the interiors of the kero sherds, and even more surprising, very

few of the *sahumadores*—which were typically used to burn resins, incense, or fats—showed evidence of having been used at all. On the other hand, the Mollo Kontu materials appeared to have been used many times over a long period of time. It is difficult to completely account for how the post-deposition life of these materials affected this appearance, i.e. they were found in trash heaps; however, there were examples of older ceramic styles that remained in circulation at Mollo Kontu. The *escudilla* shown in figure 6.22 is an example of an “early” *escudilla* (type 5.1.x), which Janusek has noted became popular in the Late Formative and early Tiwanaku IV phases, but which was generally replaced by *escudillas* with larger rims by the late Tiwanaku IV phase (type 5.2.x). The Mollo Kontu example had a short rim and a complete puma painted on the exterior body of the vessel, both of which were characteristic of the early *escudilla* type 5.1.3 (Janusek 2003b:66), yet it lacked the vertical stripes on the interior of the rim that were also characteristic of early *escudillas*.



Figure 6.22. Early escudilla from Mollo Kontu event D36. Vessel MK4345.006.

This *escudilla* was found in an Occupation 3 (Tiwanaku V) ashy pit at MK-D, thus it was either a very old vessel that had been curated over multiple generations, or an attempt to recreate

a ‘dated’ vessel from a bygone era. In both cases—in the act of curation or ‘retro’ reproduction—the qualities of the object persisted as desirable, in a broad sense, across generations. There are multiple factors, however, that contribute to desirability, thus it is a complex relationship between people and objects. The iconic and indexical signs that lie at the heart of my arguments regarding style do not always behave; there are slippages, polysemy, and “bundling” (Keane 2005:187). In his discussion of indexes as fetishes, Gell (1998:62) described them as “involute.” That is to say, it is treacherous to analytically parse the indexical and aesthetic qualities of objects, entwined as they are with many other significations.

This analytical difficulty undermines my attribution of the desirability of Tiwanaku style vessels in these intimate spaces to their aesthetic and not social qualities. That is to say, did people in contexts away from the ceremonial core of Tiwanaku want to be buried with Tiwanaku style vessels because they took pleasure from them or simply because they functioned as status symbols, perhaps associated with the ruling class? The two possibilities are not mutually exclusive, and I do think the latter, status marker quality of Tiwanaku style vessels was an important factor in their popularity, particularly in places like Cochabamba and Moquegua (see Goldstein 2000b). However, I consider the aesthetic qualities of the objects to have been foundational to their capacity to function as status symbols as well (see Chapter 5). For Tiwanaku’s stylistic hegemony to take hold as it did—in a “viral” sense (see Kolata 2013)—the objects needed to have possessed a certain aesthetic appeal.

Yet there is another way to think about aesthetic pleasure, a way that is more accessible with archaeological data, and that is to think about the pleasure of production. In their ethnoarchaeological study of Luo ceramic production, Dietler and Herbich (1989:148) note that while potters “see [pottery] as the useful product of hard, dirty work... at the same time, [many]

do derive a sense of aesthetic satisfaction from their craftsmanship.” The relationship between production, aesthetics, and pleasure has been addressed in various guises by philosophers of art. While it was perhaps an attempt to reconcile a false dichotomy between the rational and the sensuous, Schiller’s (1967) evocation of “play” as an active engagement with Beauty opens up a perspective on aesthetics that moves away from Kantian consumption or contemplation alone. In a similar vein, Morris (1891, original emphasis) wrote that art is “*the expression of pleasure in the labour of production.*” These perspectives on aesthetic pleasure as a characteristic of production as well as consumption lead to novel analytical possibilities, and in the case of Tiwanaku iconography, it is possible to evaluate the ‘pleasure’ people took in the imagery based on the degree to which they actively engaged with its forms and premises.

Sillar’s (2000) ethnographic investigation of contemporary Andean pottery production reveals the central role that these productive activities play in social reproduction. Roddick’s (2009) archaeological research details the complex constellation of practices that contributed to learning ceramic production on the Taraco Peninsula, during the Formative period near what would later be Tiwanaku. These studies evidence that learning to produce the ceramic forms, let alone the complex iconography, characteristic of Tiwanaku style required a significant investment of social time and energy. Furthermore, this process of learning was imbued with pleasure as well as industry. It is possible to interpret variations within Tiwanaku’s stylistic canon as expressions of social/ethnic difference or even ‘critiques,’ yet fundamentally, these variations reveal a degree of investment in that same canon.

The rote reproduction of iconography is distinct from taking existing forms and transforming them, placing them in novel contexts, and, indeed, playing with them. As the examples that follow reveal, the formal variability of Tiwanaku style can be understood as a

reflection of both the power of its imagery and the pleasure peoples took in engaging with it. These vessels from contexts near and far from the ceremonial core reveal that Tiwanaku iconography was transformed and adapted variously by those who were either directly integrated or being drawn into Tiwanaku's political economy and state. The deep degree to which these potters not only learned Tiwanaku's iconography but learned to improvise and play with its conventions, furthermore, indexes the pleasurable pull of this material culture.

There was little direct evidence for ceramic production among the excavations at Mollo Kontu; however, we did encounter one unusual tazon (figure 6.23) in a Tiwanaku V midden that was evidently a by-product of ceramic production gone wrong. The two main horizontal black lines that encircled the vessel were uneven and crooked, and the geometric motifs and elements painted between these lines were generally misshapen. The double step element in the upper register of the vessel, white with a black outline, is particularly poorly executed, as the two steps are out of proportion and, unlike examples of similar design elements, do not reach the rim of the vessel. The overall form of the tazon was also off, as the rim and walls of the vessel were wavy and uneven. This particular vessel may have been made by a child, learning to make and decorate tazones, or it could have been made by an adult who was a very inexperienced potter. What this vessel does evidence is that ceramic production was occurring at Mollo Kontu.



Figure 6.23. Misshapen tazon. Vessel MK4340.005 from Mollo Kontu event D44.

The *vasija* in figure 6.24 is a more accomplished example of a potter playing with Tiwanaku iconography and producing something unusual. Found in a Tiwanaku IV fill level in MK-D, the form of the vessel itself was atypical for the Tiwanaku IV and V phases, and in our analysis, we created a new category in order to classify it, 7.6 or very wide mouthed *vasija*. This form is like a cross between a wide mouth *vasija* (type 7.3) and a wide jar/restricted bowl (type 8.x), and it resembles certain vessel forms from the Late Formative period, prior to the extensive specialization of serving wares in the Tiwanaku IV phase. Beyond the form of the vessel, the iconography is also unconventional. The feline head motif depicted at least twice in the lower register of the vessel's body was made up of typical elements found in Tiwanaku's zoomorphic imagery, including the half-moon eye, the circular nose, and the U-shaped mouth. However, the method of painting is seemingly unusual; the iconography of the body of the vessel was produced using black pigment on orange, and unless there was a third color that has been lost (possibly white based on the modeled avian figure I discuss subsequently), this indicates that the feline head was created by leaving negative space unfilled. This is an extraordinarily rare technique if that was the case, as most motifs in Tiwanaku iconography were created out of some combination of blocks of color and outlines.

The two main geometric motifs depicted on this vessel are visible as repeated panels in the upper register, above the feline motifs. One consists of a combination of step and circular elements, and the other is a wavy vertical line with three dashes to the left and right. Both of these motifs are made out of familiar elements, and thus do not seem out of place in the Tiwanaku corpus. The modeled avian (likely condor, based on its crown) head that emerges from the body of the vessel to peek over its rim also reflects yet plays with more typical Tiwanaku stylistic elements. The two-dimensional body of the bird transforming into a three-dimensional neck and head is not an

unprecedented technique in Tiwanaku ceramic art, yet it is rare. The vessel's form and color scheme seem to indicate that either it was an import or the local potter was influenced by styles from Cochabamba or elsewhere. Overall, this vessel stands out as possessing recognizable Tiwanaku style characteristics, while being far from typical.



Figure 6.24. Very wise mouth vasija. Vessel MK6476.031, Mollo Kontu event D120

Wako retratos, or portrait vessels, were very rare at Tiwanaku, as is evident in the various vessel form frequency charts I have published in this and previous chapters. The most complete version I encountered in my analysis came from an ashy pit in MK-A, and it was possibly related to one of the many burials in the area. This particular version is perhaps less detailed, in terms of its modeled facial features, than the example from the Putuni I discuss in Chapter 4, yet it is no less mimetically accomplished than the wako retrato from the Akapana published among the examples in Janusek's (2003b:74) typology. As Janusek (2003b:73) notes, "no two wako retratos are alike," and this is not an understatement. Each wako retrato seemingly abides by its own conventions. In the MK-A example (figure 6.25), the upper register of the vessel, the space between the face and the rim, is decorated with a series of heads. This is unique to this particular

vessel. Furthermore, the heads, depicted in profile, are not abstracted in the typical Tiwanaku manner, i.e. they are not a combination of rigid geometric shapes (like MAT106 in Appendix B). The two ridges running from the base to the rim of the vessel on the right and left sides seem to indicate that this vessel was formed using a mold, yet after it was fired, they apparently broke the mold.



Figure 6.25. Wako Retrato. Vessel MKA4883.003 from Mollo Kontu event A99.

Among the few objects that we analyzed from Ugar K'atarwani, there was a very unusual kero sherd. The vessel from which it came was a kero with a square torus (type 3.1.1), a form that was popular during the Tiwanaku IV phase (Janusek 2003b). On this particular rim sherd (figure 6.26), two distinct motifs are visible. On the torus, there is a nested rectangle, which I consider a motif (MZO201) and not an element because of its frequent role as the building block of

zoomorphic bodies in Tiwanaku iconography. This particular example of the motif, however, does not appear to be associated with any zoomorphic designs. Above the torus, there is a repeated geometric motif that decorates the rim of the sherd. I categorized it as a variant of the step-spiral motif (MGa---), which was among the most ubiquitous geometric motif categories in Tiwanaku iconography, because it combines step, spiral, and small circular elements in a repeating band. However, this version also resembles variants of the ‘volute’ geometric motif (MGb---), as the ‘flow’ of the motif is more rounded than rectilinear. As the sherd presents only a small insight into the overall composition displayed on the full vessel, it is difficult to definitively characterize its iconography, yet what is present evidences a novel reproduction of Tiwanaku stylistic elements in the form of a transformed or ‘hybrid’ motif.



Figure 6.26. Kero sherd. Vessel UG122.007, Ugar K'atarwani unit N510 E490, level 5

The case of Cochabamba-Tiwanaku iconography presents a novel set of issues. Firstly, due to the large distance between Tiwanaku and the Cochabamba region, it is difficult to say how many of the people consuming Tiwanaku style materials there had actually attended large-scale feasts in Tiwanaku's ceremonial core. The question thus becomes in what practices and political rituals did these vessels mediate social relations in this region? It is almost certain that some people from the

area did make it to Tiwanaku at some point, yet the precise relationship between Tiwanaku and Cochabamba remains unclear. Anderson (2013:107) has argued that like Moquegua, an emergent elite class based in Cochabamba maintained ties with the ruling class at Tiwanaku, and the local political economy was transformed to reflect the needs of Tiwanaku. The reciprocal obligations that were established and fulfilled in feasting events both at Tiwanaku and in Cochabamba made it possible for the metropole of Tiwanaku to extract tribute from the region. As Goldstein (2003) has argued, feasting was a key feature of Tiwanaku's expansion, and the spread of Tiwanaku style feasting accoutrements reflects this fact.

In terms of the iconography found on Middle Horizon vessels from Cochabamba, there are many examples of Tiwanaku elements and motifs being reproduced in unusual ways, often incorporating local tastes and traditions. For example, the interior rim of the kero in figure 6.27 is decorated with zoomorphic imagery that has clear stylistic links to Tiwanaku Valley iconography. The tail and feet of the twice repeated puma are recognizable reproductions of motifs MZF406 and MZF302, and the 'collar' motif (MZO501) attached to its neck would have been very familiar to someone acquainted with Tiwanaku Valley ceramics. The placement of the puma's head relative to its body, however, is unlike depictions of pumas in the Tiwanaku Valley in that it sits atop the middle of its torso; the triangular opening of the mouth is also atypical.

Similarly, the twice repeated avian figure's body and tail feathers evoke common motifs found in the Tiwanaku Valley (MZO201 and MZA402), while the overall position of the body is alien—the implied frontal view of the bird, based on the position of its wings, is not found in Tiwanaku Valley zoomorphic imagery. At times the heads of feline and/or avian figures are portrayed in frontal view (for example, see MZA107 and MZF125), but I did not encounter an example of a bird's body depicted in this manner among the Tiwanaku Valley materials.



Figure 6.27. Kero, A1951.79, from DMNS Cochabamba-Tiwanaku collection, view of the interior of the rim (photo used with permission by the DMNS).

The disembodied avian head and neck portrayed on the kero in figure 6.26 is another example of a Tiwanaku style motif presented in a novel manner. While the elements of the motif are recognizably Tiwanaku, comparable to MZA114, the fact that the head is not attached to any other motif, body or otherwise, is characteristic of Tiwanaku-Cochabamba iconography and not Tiwanaku Valley iconography.



Figure 6.28. Kero, A1951.8, from DMNS Cochabamba-Tiwanaku collection (photo used with permission by the DMNS).

Concluding Remarks

In various contexts outside the ceremonial core of Tiwanaku, ceramic forms and iconography both attracted people to Tiwanaku's political community and maintained social ties between its periphery and its center. Aesthetic production, as well as consumption, can be a source of pleasure, and in the context of archaeological evidence, this form of pleasure is more immediately accessible. The abrupt cessation of the production Tiwanaku style objects after the collapse of the polity indicates that while the aesthetic qualities of the objects were valued, shorn from their primary contexts of consumption—i.e. large-scale feasts—they ceased to make sense as desirable objects from the perspective of producers. In the conclusion of this dissertation, I review the arguments I have built and consider their implications for the end Tiwanaku as a city and polity.

CHAPTER 7: Conclusions and Tiwanaku's Material Legacies

Polychrome ceramics played various roles within the social and political history of the Tiwanaku polity. They were a key medium through which participants in Tiwanaku's largest rituals experienced political subjectivity, and they constituted the material basis of the political community's common sense. In ruling class material culture, they portrayed ideological content and materialized power, indexing forms of social agency that marked elites as exceptional; the most extravagant Tiwanaku style vessels exemplified the fetishistic "enchantment of technology" (Gell 1992). Tiwanaku style objects and their iconographies also indexically linked large-scale feasts to small-scale meals, embedding the former within quotidian life at the site and beyond. Finally, the aesthetic qualities of Tiwanaku's material culture were a source of pleasure—during consumption and production—and attraction for those peoples within and on the periphery of the Tiwanaku state.

I have drawn these conclusions based on an extensive analysis of the imagery presented on Tiwanaku style ceramics that integrated contextual and iconographic data. These data pertain primarily to the conditions under which the vessels were consumed; however, I was able to infer certain characteristics of ceramic production at Tiwanaku too—there were both a form of mass production occurring at Tiwanaku as well as forms of household-level production, including specialized elite craft production. These arguments regarding production should be tested with more detailed analyses of the Tiwanaku materials. There is a clear opportunity for future studies to examine the procurement of clays, the paste recipes, firing conditions, and technical elements of decoration that characterized potting at Tiwanaku. As I have argued that the power of Tiwanaku style ceramics is tied to the conditions under which they were produced, these data are deeply relevant to my current research.

At the outset of this project, I was drawn to an empirical phenomenon: Tiwanaku style ceramics emerged and disappeared in close conjunction with Tiwanaku *qua* city and polity. This in turn indicated that Tiwanaku was a good case with which to investigate the relationship between aesthetics and politics in the ancient world. However, this same phenomenon points to a certain contradiction within my argument; if Tiwanaku style materials were so aesthetically powerful and desirable, why did people stop producing them as soon as the Tiwanaku state fell or was overthrown? The conclusion of this dissertation answers this question by once again focusing on the contexts of the production and consumption of Tiwanaku style ceramics.

The Fall of Tiwanaku and the Afterlives of its Material Culture

In the 12th century, the Tiwanaku state ceased to exist, and its capital city was mostly abandoned. There is good evidence that Tiwanaku's ruling class was overthrown in a violent upheaval. Various anthropomorphic statues (see Chapter 5) were decapitated and defaced in acts of iconoclastic vandalism (Janusek 2008:295), and archaeological remains indicate that the Putuni palace was burned to the ground (Couture 2002:303). This significant socio-political event coincided with a massive dry period throughout the Altiplano, and Binford et al. (1997) have argued that this climate shift precipitated the collapse of Tiwanaku's political economy, dependent as it was on the consistent production of agricultural surpluses. In terms of the social trends that led up to the dissolution of the polity, Janusek (2004a, 2008) argues that the ever-expanding hierarchy that characterized Tiwanaku society during the Tiwanaku V phase fomented tensions that were terminally exacerbated by the aforementioned environmental changes.

The massive transformation of monumental space within Tiwanaku's ceremonial core in the 9th century led to key differences between the Tiwanaku IV and V phases. The Akapana

Complex, which had been the setting of the largest and most inclusive rituals at the site (see Chapter 3), was ritually closed. Furthermore, new enclosed feasting spaces were erected, including the massive Putuni Platform (Couture and Sampeck 2003), as well as analogous yet much smaller structures like those noted by Koons (2013) in her overview of recent geophysical surveys and excavations at Tiwanaku. Couture (2002) argues that this period marked the point at which Tiwanaku elites began to consistently and resolutely demarcate themselves as distinct within Tiwanaku society. My arguments in Chapters 3 and 4 reveal the inherent limits of this ruling class strategy. While ruling class power was increasingly predicated on their special status and capacities (see Chapter 5), the political community within which this power was exercised was built and maintained upon inclusive feasting rituals (see Chapters 3 and 4). Patron-role and work feasts were key components of the ruling class's capacity to mobilize labor. By reducing the scales of these feasts, their symbolic power was intensified just as its horizons were contracted. Thus, this factor also contributed to the downfall of Tiwanaku.

The collapse of Tiwanaku's political network and its attendant rituals robbed Tiwanaku style vessels of the contexts in which they were primarily consumed. There may have been a stigma associated with Tiwanaku iconography after the seemingly violent end of the polity, and the dissolution of long-standing economic relations within the Tiwanaku Valley would have disrupted a myriad of productive activities, including potting. Yet it is also significant that the aesthetic enjoyment of Tiwanaku's material culture was inextricably linked with other forms of enjoyment, like the taste of llama stews, the intoxicating effects of chicha, and the "collective effervescence" of large-scale feasts among impressive monuments. Without the broad constellation of desires fulfilled during Tiwanaku rituals, the polychrome vessels became metaphorically monochrome.

Eventually, the technical skills required to produce Tiwanaku style vessels were no longer shared with younger generations, and production died off. However, just as its monuments have intrigued visitors from Inca times through to the present (see Kolata 1993:3-7), Tiwanaku's iconography still holds power over those who encounter it. Indeed, it is possible to read this dissertation's account of the aesthetic power of its subject matter as an allegory for archaeological obsession. While I am primarily interested in the political and social stakes of Tiwanaku style ceramics during the Tiwanaku IV and V phases, my investigation and experiences have led me to recognize that various gazes continue to be drawn to these evocative materials.

APPENDIX A. Analysis Forms and Ceramic Typology

A.1 Ceramic Analysis Forms

[illegible][illegible]

A.2 Codes Used in Ceramic Analysis Forms

CÓDIGOS – ANÁLISIS CERÁMICO - PANA

TIPO DE FRAGMENTO

1. Completo
2. Semi-completo
3. Borde
4. Base
5. Base de pedestal
6. Asa
7. Cuerpo
8. Cuello
9. Torus
10. Elemento modelado
11. Indeterminado
12. Pitón
13. Centro de mechachua

COCCIÓN

1. Oxidado
2. Reducido
3. Oxidado en el centro
4. Reducido en el centro
5. Oxidado incompleto
6. Reducido incompleto
7. Fragmento quemado

INCLUSIONES

01. Sin inclusiones
02. Arena gruesa (>2mm)
03. Arena media (>1mm, <2mm)
04. Arena fina (<1mm)
05. Feldespato
06. Mica
07. Cuarzo
08. Cerámica molida
09. Minerales accesorios
10. Fibra vegetal

TIPO DE PASTA

1. Sin inclusiones
2. Arena fina
3. Arena fina/cuarzo
4. Arena fina/cuarzo/feldespato
5. Arena fina/feldespato
6. Arena fina/cuarzo/mica
7. Arena fina/mica

8. Arena fina/feldespato/mica
9. Arena fina/feld/mica/cuarzo
10. Cuarzo
11. Arena fina/feld/cer mol
12. Arena med/feld/mica
13. Arena med/mica/cuarzo/cer mol
14. Arena med/feld/cuarzo
15. Arena med/feld/mica/cuarzo
16. Arena fina/fel/cuarzo/mica/cer mol
17. Arena med/mica
18. Arena med/cuarzo
19. Arena fina/mica/cer mol
20. Arena med/mica/cuarzo
21. Arena fina/mica/cuarzo/cer mol
22. Arena fina/cuarzo/cer mol
23. Arena med/feld/cuarzo/fibra
24. Arena fina/cer mol

DENSIDAD DE INCLUSIONES

1. Alta (67-100%)
2. Media (33-67%)
3. Baja (0-33%)

ACABADO DE SUPERFICIE

1. Sin acabado
2. Pulido
3. Bruñido fino
4. Bruñido tosco
5. Alisado liso
6. Alisado a espátula
7. Alisado a trapo
8. Alisado a brocha
9. Erosionado
10. Alisado y pulido
11. Pulido fino
12. Pulido y bruñido

UBICACIÓN DE LA DECORACIÓN

1. Rim
2. Base
3. Body
4. Upper body
5. Lower body
6. Torus
7. Inner rim
8. Inner body
9. Inner base
10. Spout
11. Handle
12. Neck
13. Base 2 (pedestal)
14. Molded element

TÉCNICA (si no es pintado, en notas)

1. Pintado
2. Inciso
3. Exciso
4. Modelado
5. Punteado
6. Apliqué

COLORES

1. White
2. Light gray
3. Gray
4. Dark gray
5. Very dark gray
6. Black
7. Pinkish white
8. Pinkish gray
9. Pink
10. Light reddish gray
11. Reddish gray
12. Dark reddish gray
13. Reddish black
14. Pale red
15. Weak red
16. Dusky red
17. Very dusky red
18. Light reddish brown
19. Reddish brown
20. Dark reddish brown
21. Light red

22. Red
23. Dark red
24. Reddish yellow
25. Yellowish red
26. Light brownish gray
27. Grayish brown
28. Dark grayish brown
29. Very dark grayish brown
30. Very pale brown
31. Pale brown
32. Light brown
33. Brown
34. Dark brown
35. Very dark brown
36. Strong brown
37. Light yellowish brown
38. Yellowish brown
39. Dark yellowish brown
40. Brownish yellow
41. Pale yellow
42. Yellow
43. Olive yellow
44. Light olive brown
45. Olive brown
46. Dark olive brown
47. Light olive gray
48. Olive gray
49. Dark olive gray
50. Pale olive
51. Olive
52. Light greenish gray
53. Greenish gray
54. Pale green
55. Grayish green
56. Bluish gray
57. Light bluish gray
58. Dark bluish gray

A.3 Ceramic Typology

Note: these types are adapted from Couture's field typology (Couture 2002), which was, in turn, based on the naming and numbering system published in Janusek (2003b).

- OLLA 1 *Cooking vessel (olla)*: Large globular vessel with restricted neck.
- 1.1 *Squat wide mouth olla.*
- 1.2 *Tall "pear shape" olla.*
- 1.3 *Miniature/small olla.*
- 1.4 *Fryer/grill.*
- 1.5 *Other olla.*
- TINAJA 2.0 *Jar (tinaja)*: Used to store, carry, ferment liquids and/or grains. Similar shapes to ollas, but pastes are far denser.
- 2.1.1 *Curved neck tinaja without slip.*
- 2.1.2 *Curved neck tinaja with slip.*
- 2.2.1 *Large curved neck "volute" tinaja*
- 2.2.2 *Variant curved neck tinaja.*
- 2.3 *Wide-mouth tinaja.*
- 2.4 *Olla-tinaja.*
- 2.5.1 *Medium-size jar.*
- 2.5.2 *Carafe/bottle tinaja.*
- 2.6 *Squat jug.*
- 2.7 *Oversize jar.*
- 2.8 *Giant urn.*
- 2.9 *Other tinaja.*

- KERO 3.0 *Drinking goblet (kero)*: Highly standardized vessel, with a hyperboloid form and flaring rim. Used primarily for alcohol consumption.
- 3.1 *Kero with a protruding exterior torus.*
- 3.1.1 *Kero with a squared exterior torus.*
- 3.1.2 *Kero with a double or triple rounded or carinated torus.*
- 3.1.3 *Kero with a large rounded torus.*
- 3.2 *Kero without an exterior torus.*
- 3.3 *Kero with a modelled frontal deity head.*
- 3.4 *Kero with a modelled zoomorphic head.*
- 3.5 *Miniature kero.*
- 3.6 *Challador.*
- 3.7 *Kero/tazon.*
- TAZON 4.0 *Hyperboloid serving and eating bowl (tazon)*: gently flaring walls (relative to kero).
- 4.1 *Regular (decorated) tazon.*
- 4.2 *Undecorated tazon.*
- 4.3 *Tazon with an annular base.*
- 4.4 *Recurved tazon.*
- 4.5 *Tazon with “feet.”*
- ESCUDILLA 5.0 *Flare-rimmed bowl (escudilla).*
- 5.1.1 *Early escudilla (beige).*
- 5.1.2 *Early escudilla (red).*
- 5.1.3 *Early escudilla (with feline iconography).*

5.2 *Tiwanaku IV escudilla.*

5.2.1 *Large escudilla.*

5.2.2 *Large escudilla with handles.*

5.2.3 *Large escudilla with an annular base.*

5.3 *Blackware escudilla.*

5.4 *Tiwanaku V escudilla.*

5.5 *Oversize escudilla.*

5.6 *Miniature escudilla.*

CUENCO 6.0 *Ellipsoid bowl (cuenco).*

6.1. *Cylindrical rim bowl.*

6.2 *Slightly everted rim bowl.*

6.3 *Slightly inverted rim bowl.*

VASIJA 7.0 *Small jar/pitcher (vasija): common yet variable serving vessel.*

7.1.1 *Slipped vasija.*

7.1.2 *Slipped vasija with a spout.*

7.1.3 *Slipped vasija with a carinated body.*

7.2 *Unslipped vasija.*

7.3 *Wide mouth vasija with torus.*

7.4 *Blackware vasija.*

7.5 *Effigy vessel.*

7.6 *Very wide mouth vasija.*

WIDE JAR 8.0 *Wide jar/restricted bowl.*

8.1 *Unslipped restricted bowl/jar.*

8.2 *Slipped restricted bowl/jar.*

FUENTE 9.0 *Large basin (fuente).*

9.1.1 *Broad plate-shaped basin (slipped).*

9.1.2 *Broad plate-shaped basin (unslipped).*

9.2.1 *Large tazon-shaped basin.*

9.2.2 *Large ellipsoid basin.*

9.3.1 *Large carinated bowl/basin (slipped).*

9.3.2 *Large carinated bowl/basin (unslipped).*

SAHUMADOR

10.0 *Everted burner (sahumador).*

10.1.1 *Red-slipped sahumador.*

10.1.2 *Unslipped sahumador.*

10.2 *Ellipsoid sahumador with an annular base.*

10.3 *Scalloped rim sahumador.*

10.4 *Oversize sahumador.*

10.5.1 *Regular mechachua.*

10.5.2 *Large mechachua.*

10.5.3 *Miniature mechachua.*

INCENSARIO

11.0 *Ceremonial burner with modelled head (incensarios).*

11.1.1 *Feline incensario.*

11.1.2 *Llama incensario.*

11.1.3 *Condor incensario.*

11.2.1 *Modeled feline incensario.*

11.2.2 *Modeled llama incensario.*

WAKO RETRATO

12.0 *Portrait vessel (wako retrato).*

12.1 *Slipped wako retrato.*

12.2 *Grayware wako retrato.*

PEDESTAL BOWL

13.0 *Pedestal angular-sided bowl.*

KERO BASIN

14.0 *Large kero-shaped basin.*

FIGURINE 15.0 *Modeled human figurine.*

15.1 *Elaborate/slipped human figurines.*

15.2 *Rough figurines.*

NON-LOCAL 16.0

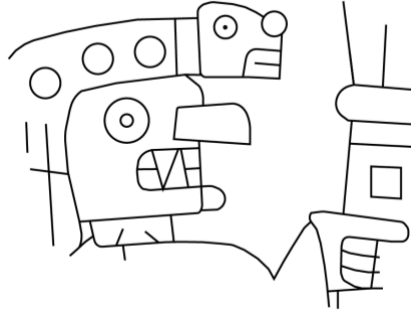
TOO SMALL/ERODED 17.0

OTHER/UNKNOWN 18.0

APPENDIX B. Motif Typology

B.1 Anthropomorphic Motifs

Compound Icons

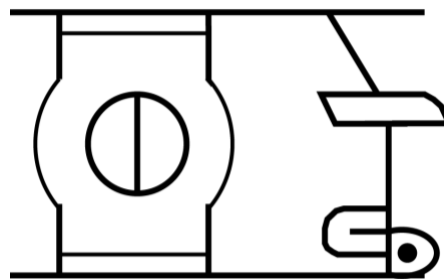


MAT001

Heads



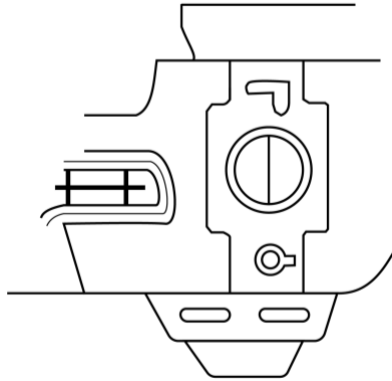
MAT101



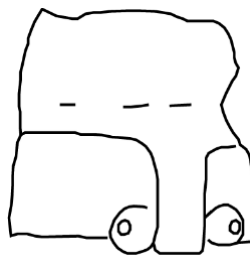
MAT102



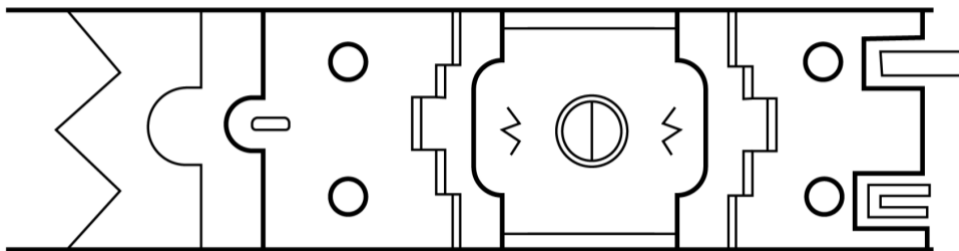
MAT103



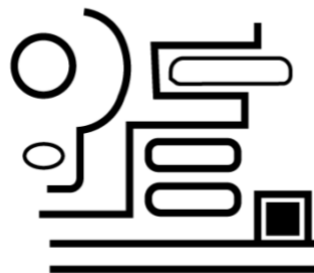
MAT104



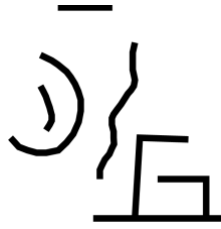
MAT105 (modeled)



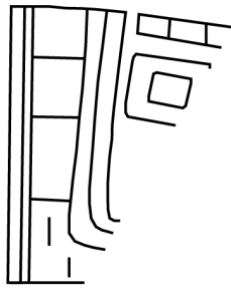
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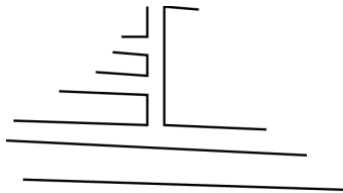
MAT107



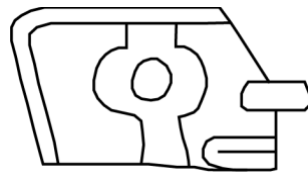
MAT108



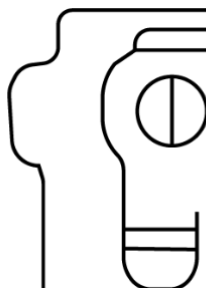
MAT109



MAT110



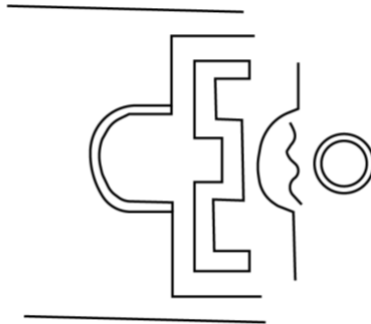
MAT111



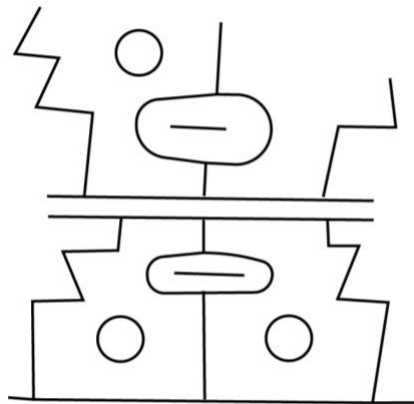
MAT112



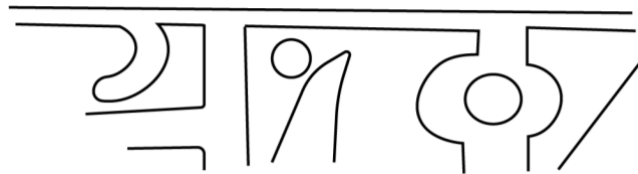
MAT113



MAT114



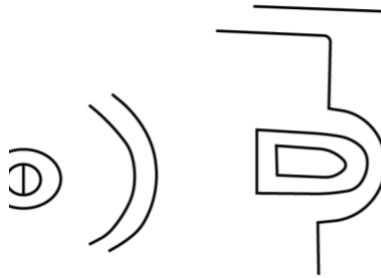
MAT115



MAT116



MAT117



MAT118

Limbs



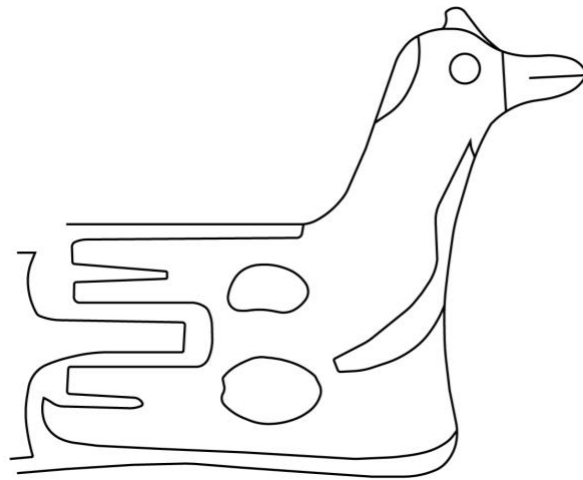
MAT301



MAT302

B.2 Zoomorphic Motifs (Avian)

Compound Icons

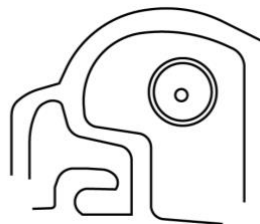


MZA001 (modeled)

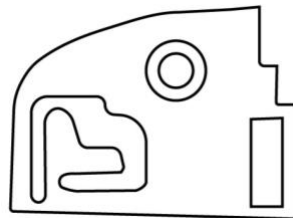


MZA002

Heads



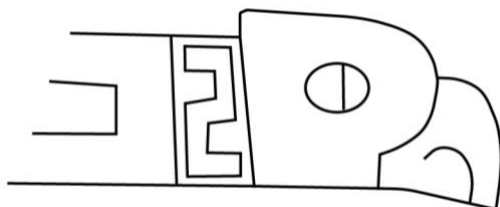
MZA101



MZA102



MZA103



MZA104



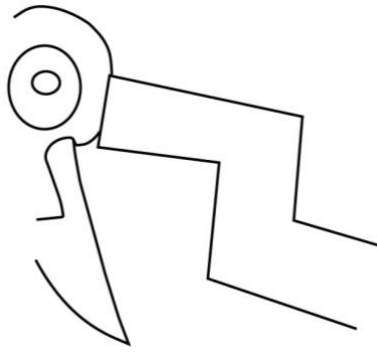
MZA105



MZA106



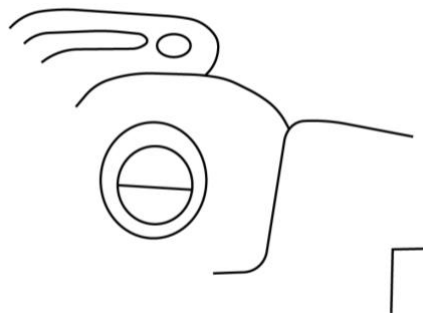
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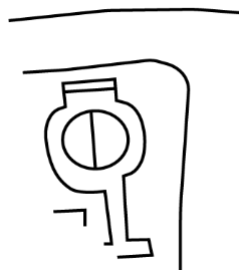
MZA108



MZA109 (modeled)



MZA110



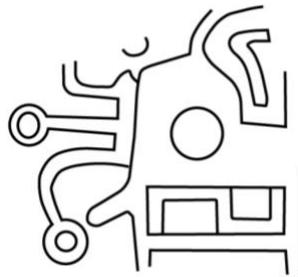
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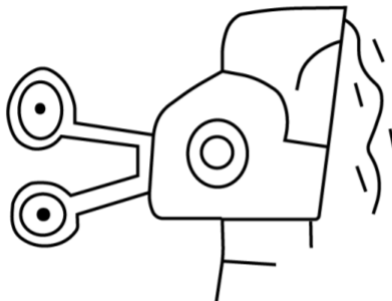
MZA112



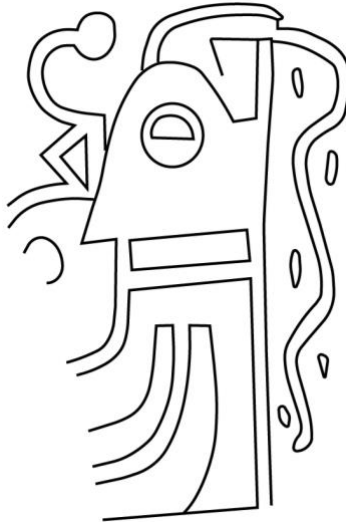
MZA113



MZA114



MZA115



MZA116



MZA117

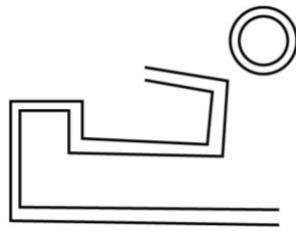


MZA118



MZA119

Bodies



MZA201

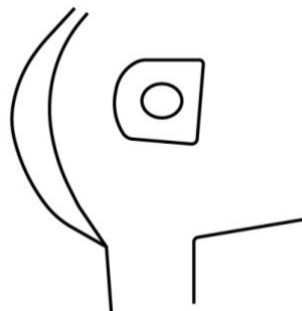


MZA202

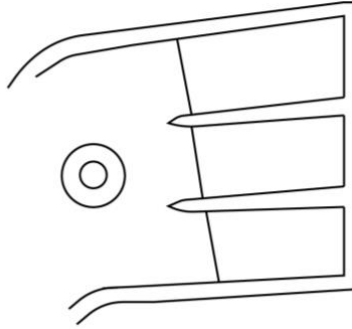
Wings



MZA301



MZA302



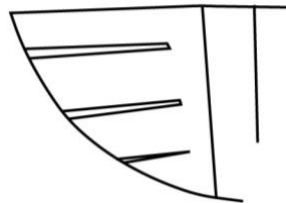
MZA303



MZA304



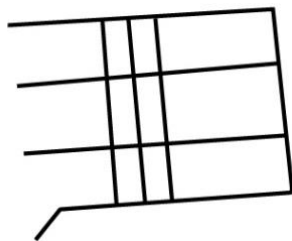
MZA305 (leg)



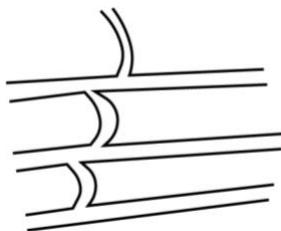
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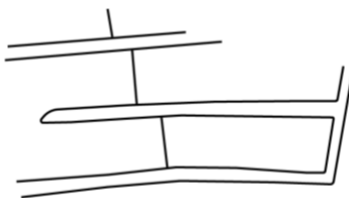
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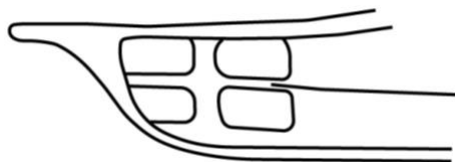
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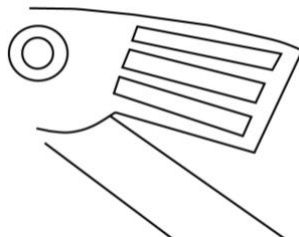
MZA309



MZA310



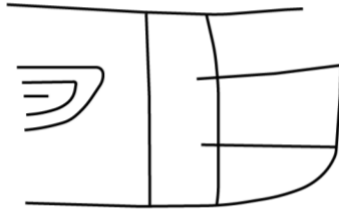
MZA311



MZA312



MZA313



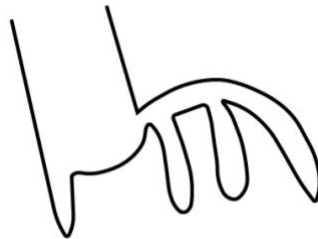
MZA314



MZA315

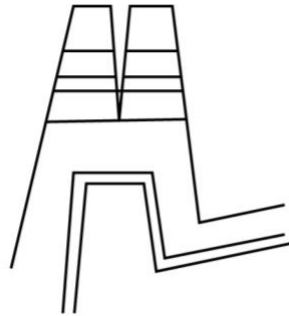


MZA316

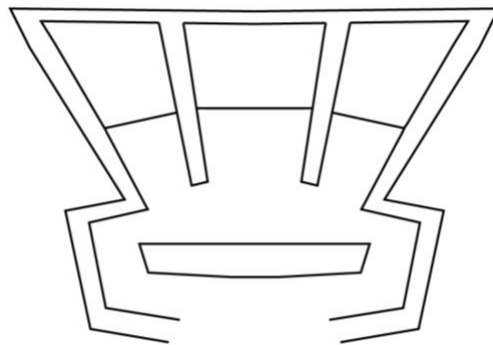


MZA317 (claw)

Tail Feathers



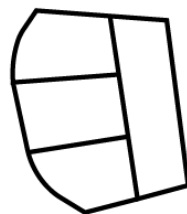
MZA401



MZA402

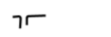


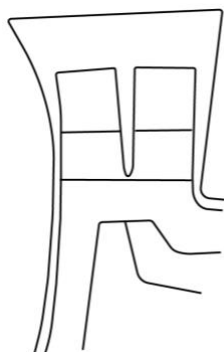
MZA403



MZA404



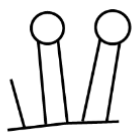

 MZA405



MZA406



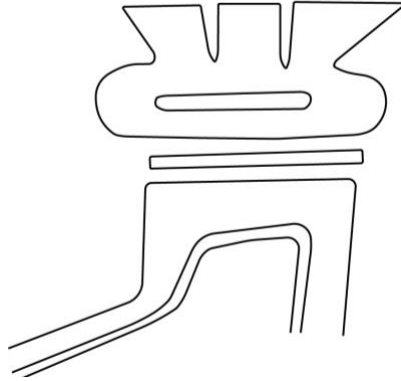
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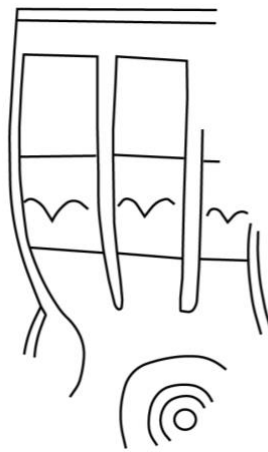
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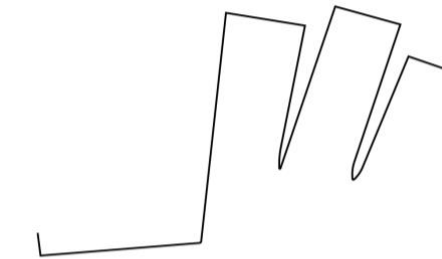
MZA409



MZA410



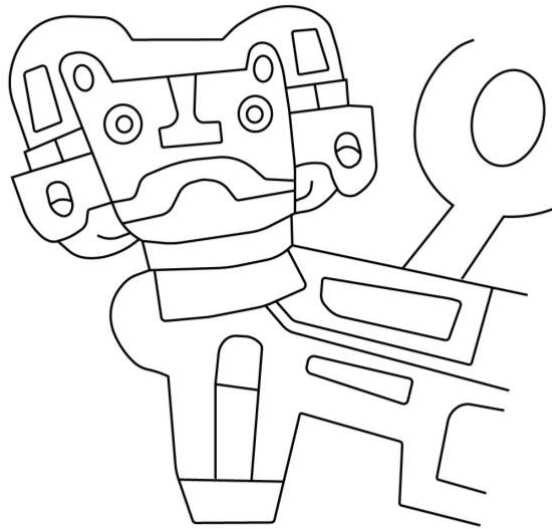
MZA411



MZA412

B.3 Zoomorphic Motifs (Feline)

Compound Icons

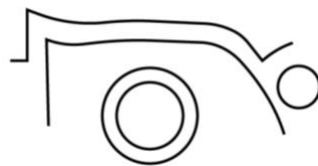


MZF001

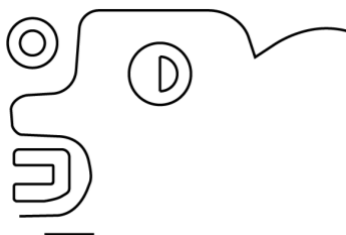
Heads



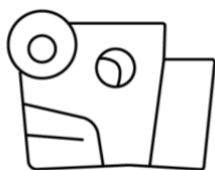
MZF101



MZF102



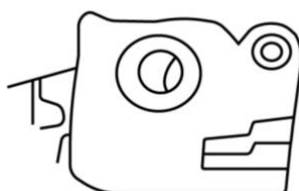
MZF103



MZF104



MZF105



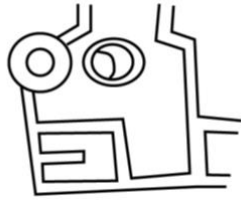
MZF106



MZF107



MZF108



MZF109



MZF110



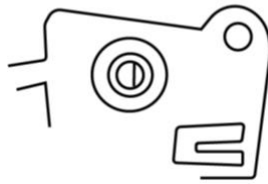
MZF111



MZF112



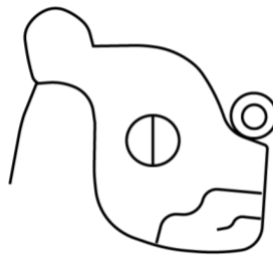
MZF113



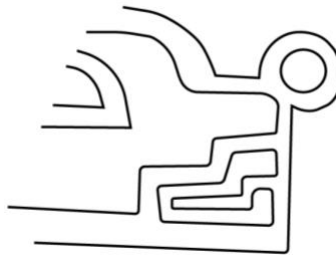
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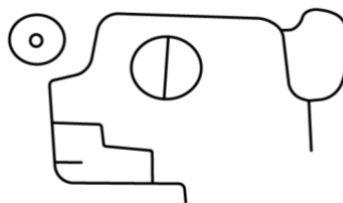
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MZF116



MZF117



MZF118



MZF119



MZF120



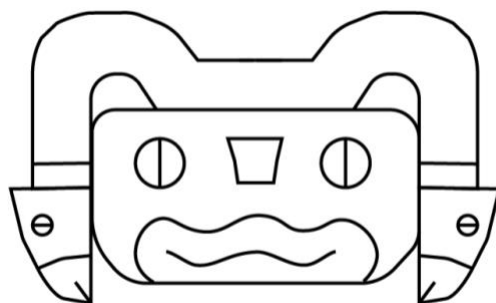
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MZF122

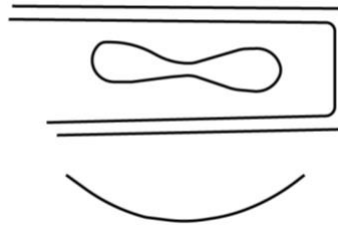


MZF123 (modeled)

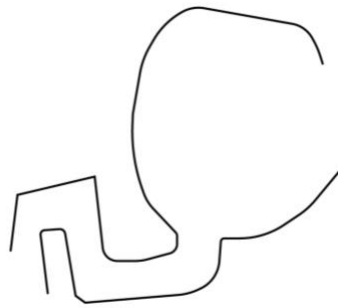


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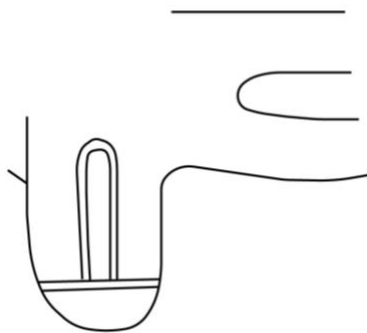
Torsos



MZF201



MZF202



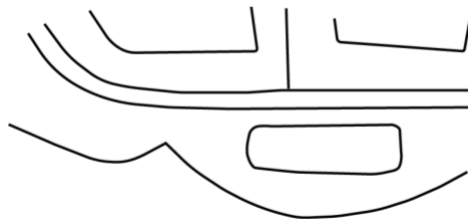
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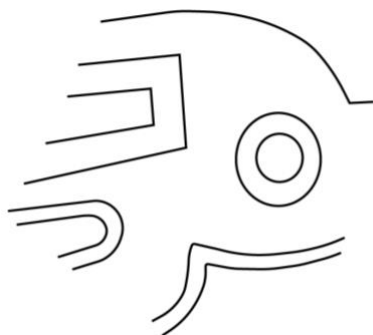
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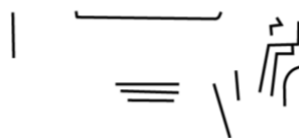
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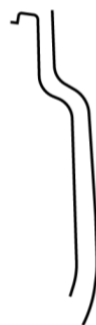
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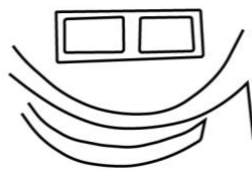
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MZF208



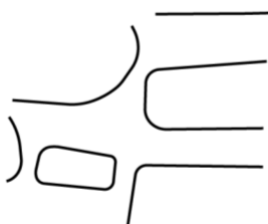
MZF209



MZF210



MZF211



MZF212

Limbs/Paws



MZF301



MZF302



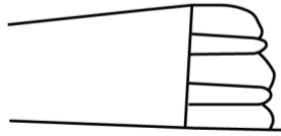
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MZF304



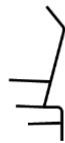
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MZF306



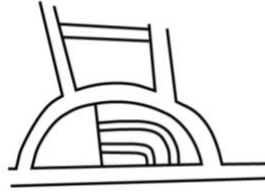
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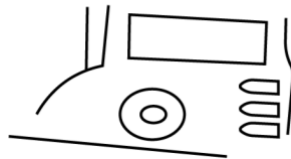
MZF308



MZF309



MZF310



MZF311

Tails



MZF401



MZF402



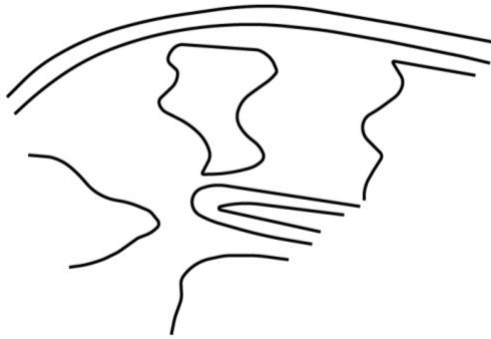
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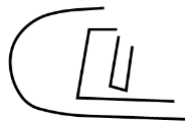
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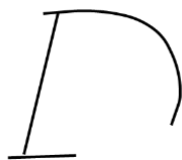
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MZF407



MZF408



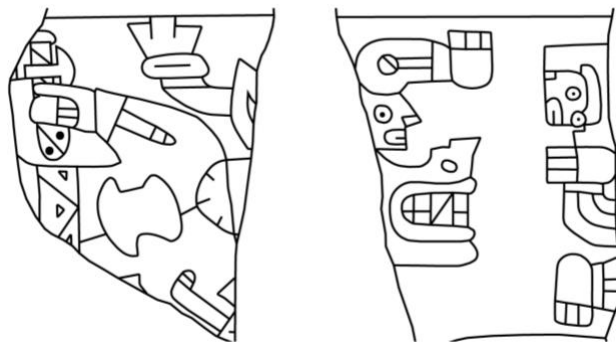
MZF409

B.4 Zoomorphic Motifs (Other)

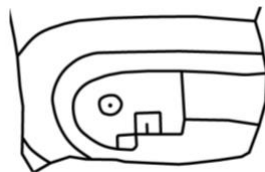
Compound Icons



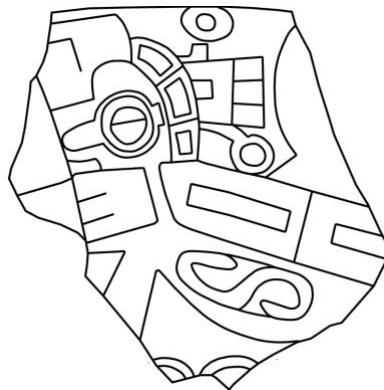
MZO001 (modeled serpentine figure encircling entire kero)



MZO002



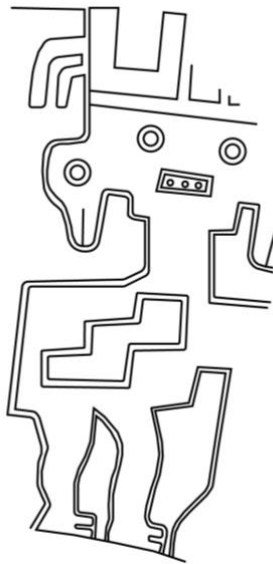
MZO003



MZO004



MZO005



MZO006

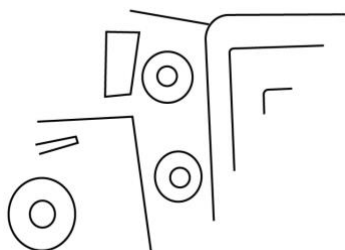
Heads



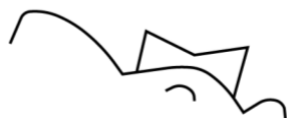
MZO101



MZO102



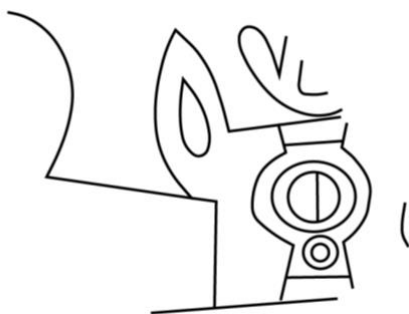
MZO103



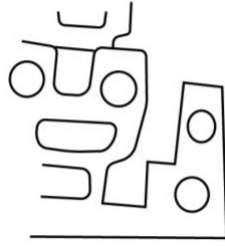
MZO104



MZO105



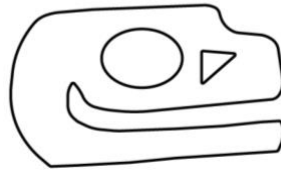
MZO106



MZO107



MZO108



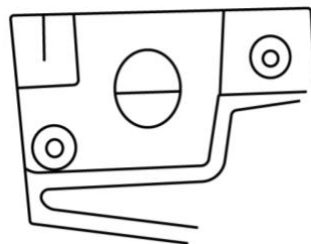
MZO109



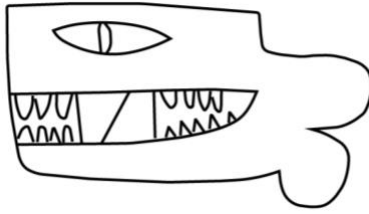
MZO110



MZO111



MZO112



MZO113



MZO114



MZO115



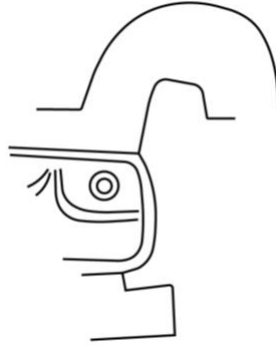
MZO116



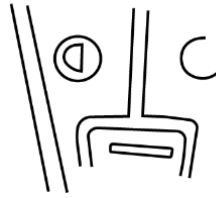
MZO117



MZO118



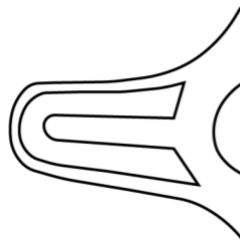
MZO119



MZO120

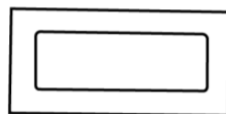


MZO121

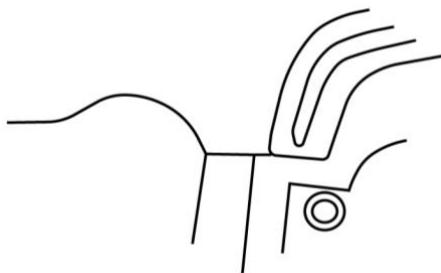


MZO122

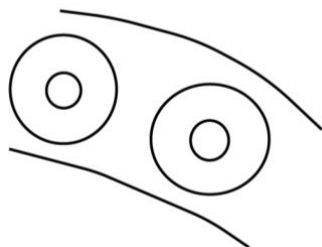
Bodies



MZO201



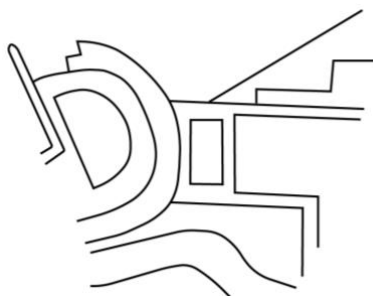
MZO202



MZO203



MZO204



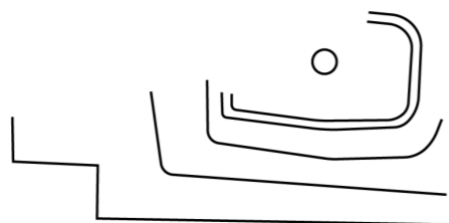
MZO205



MZO206



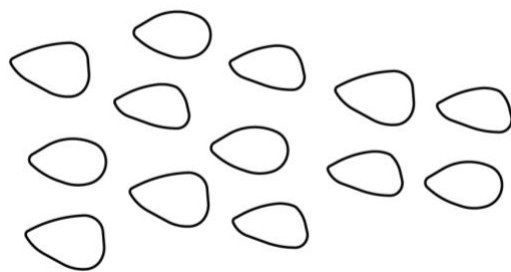
MZO207



MZO208



MZO209



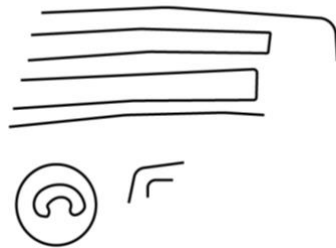
MZO210



MZO211



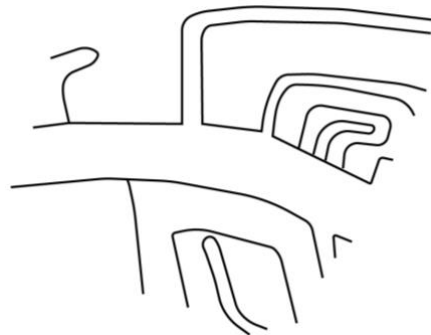
MZO212



MZO213



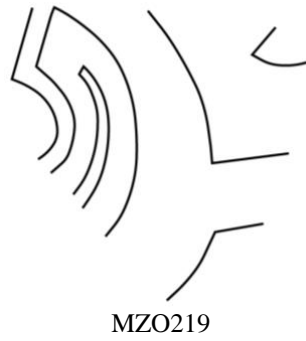
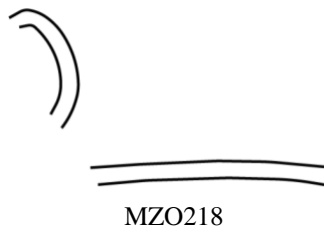
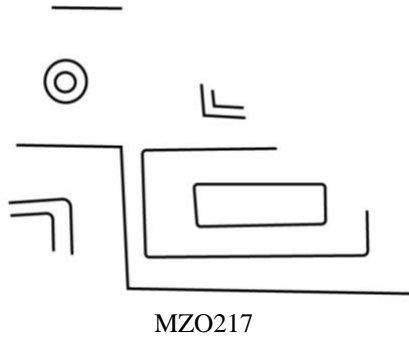
MZO214



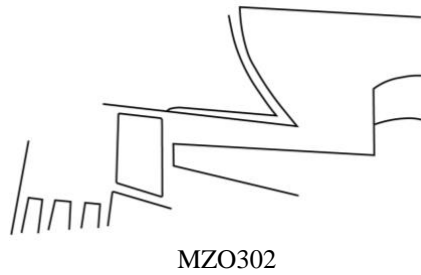
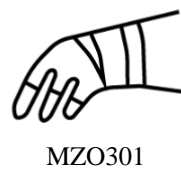
MZO215



MZO216

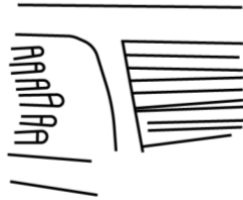


Limbs





MZO303



MZO304

Collar and Leash



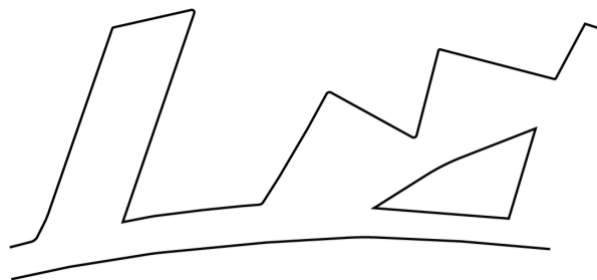
MZO501



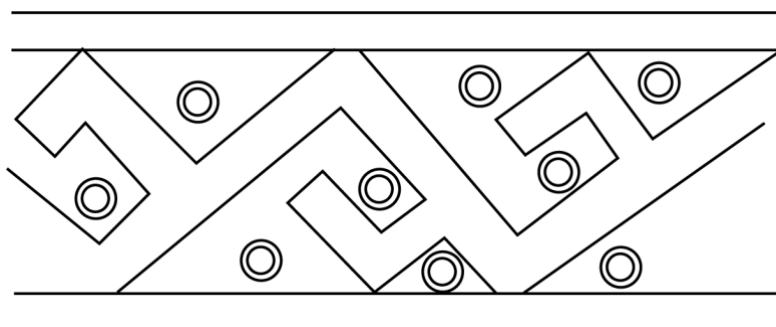
MZO502

B.5 Geometric Motifs

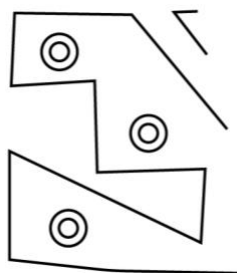
Step-Interlock-Circles



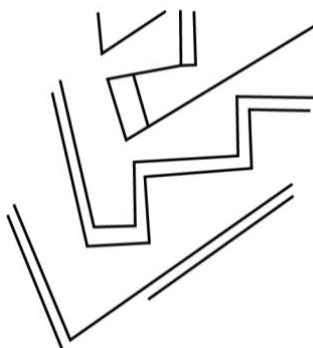
MGa01



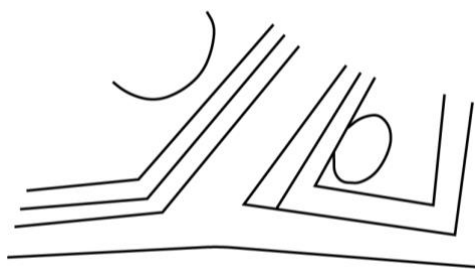
MGa02



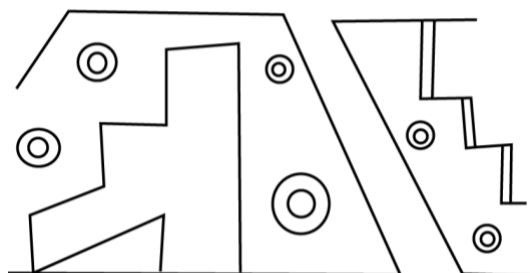
MGa03



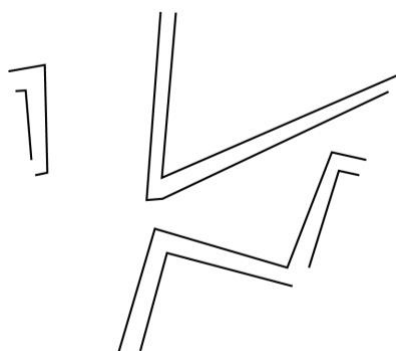
MGa04



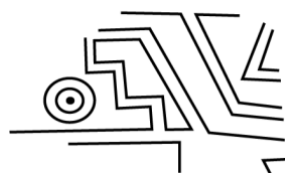
MGa05



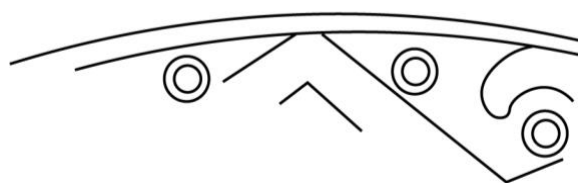
MGa06



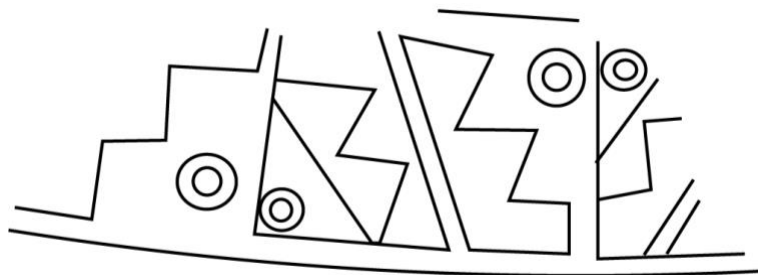
MGa07



MGa08



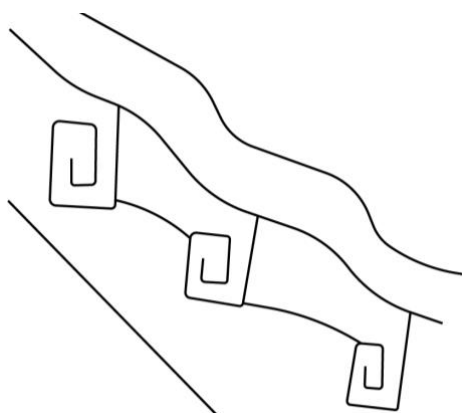
MGa09



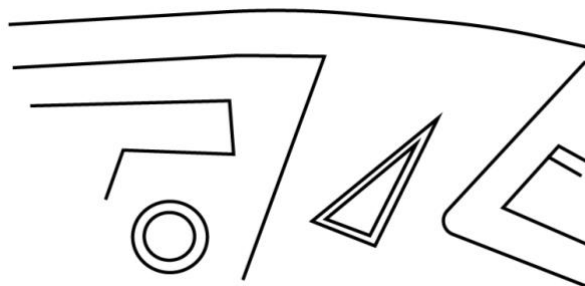
MGa10



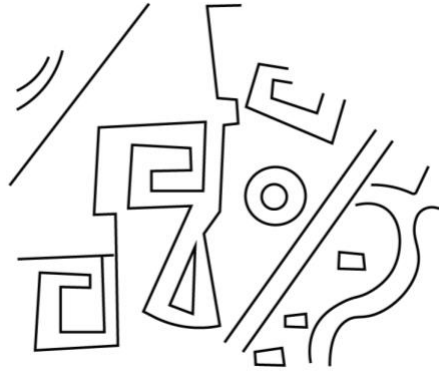
MGa11



MGa12



MGa13



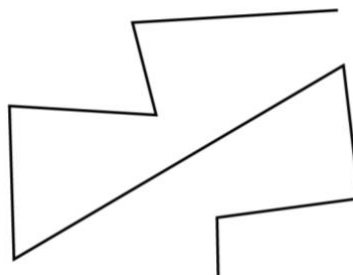
MGa14



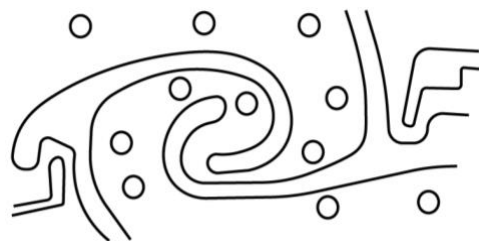
MGa15



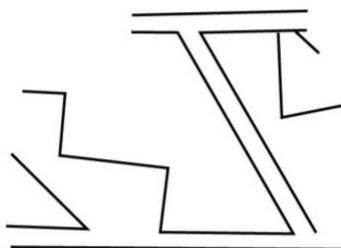
MGa16



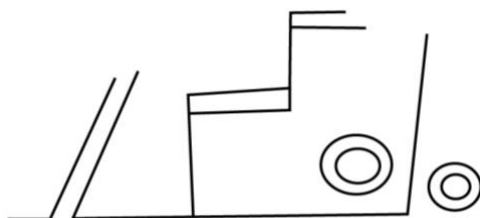
MGa17



MGa18



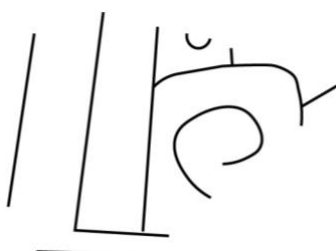
MGa19



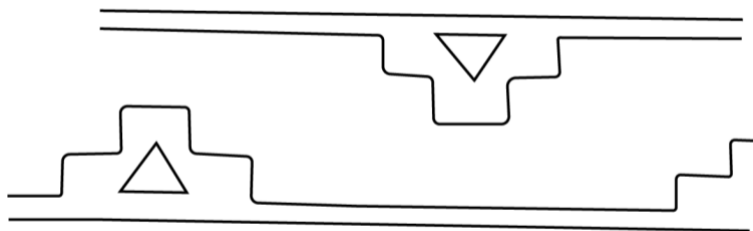
MGa20



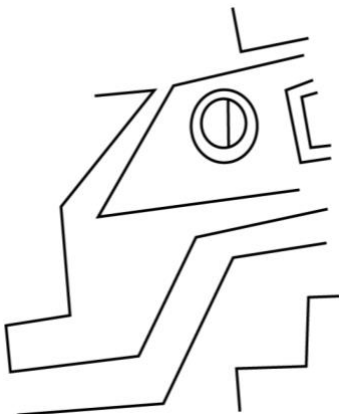
MGa21



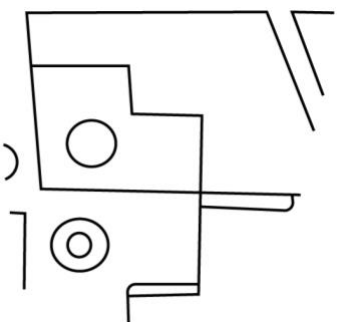
MGa22



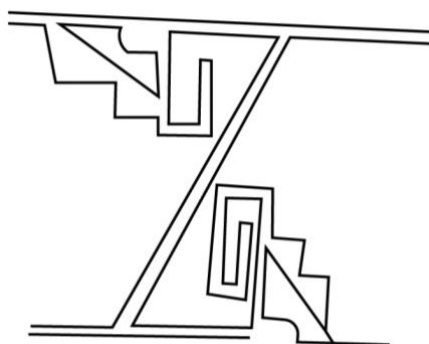
MGa23



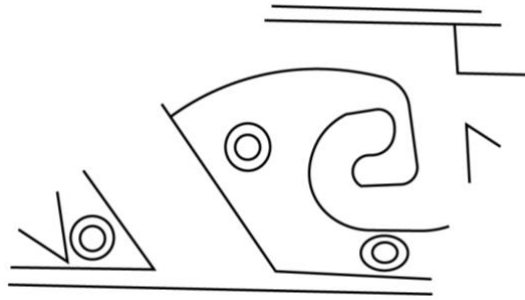
MGa24



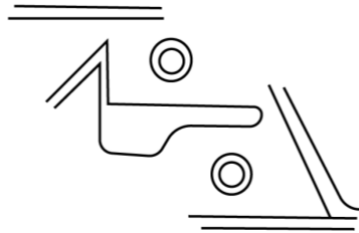
MGa25



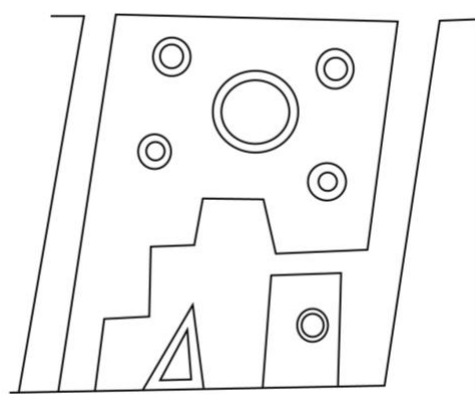
MGa26



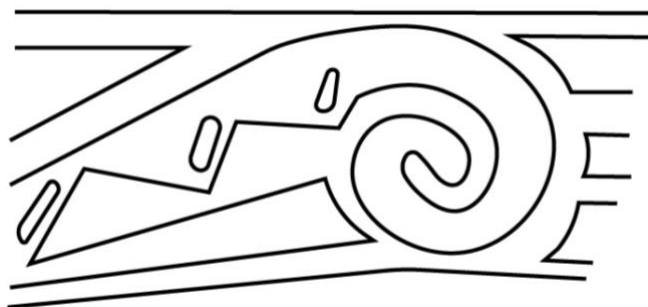
MGa27



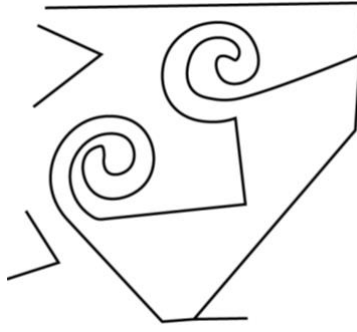
MGa28



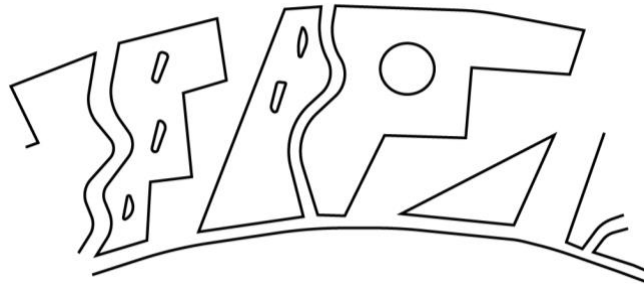
MGa29



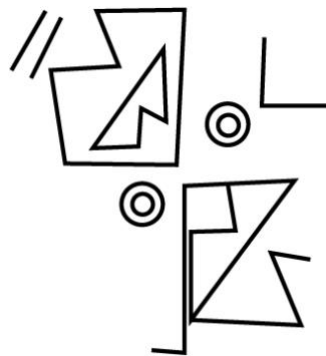
MGa30



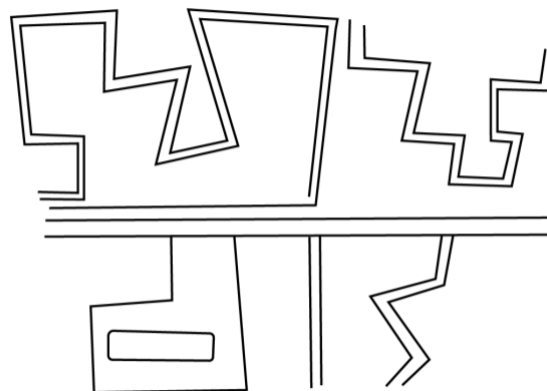
MGa31



MGa32

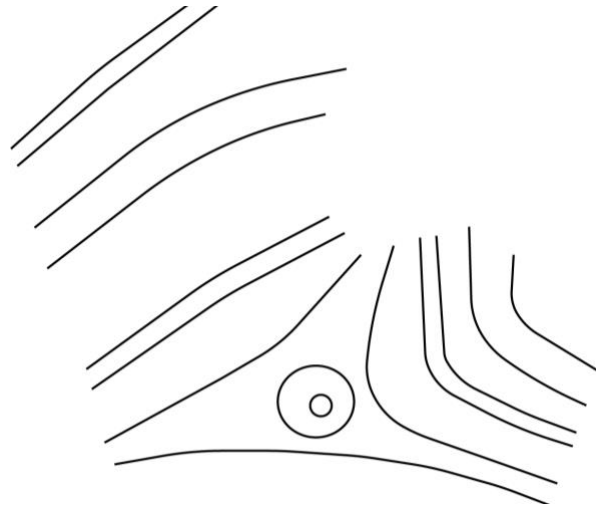


MGa33

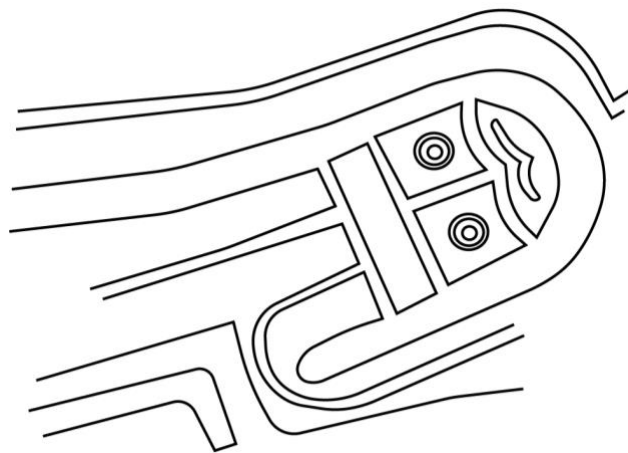


MGa34

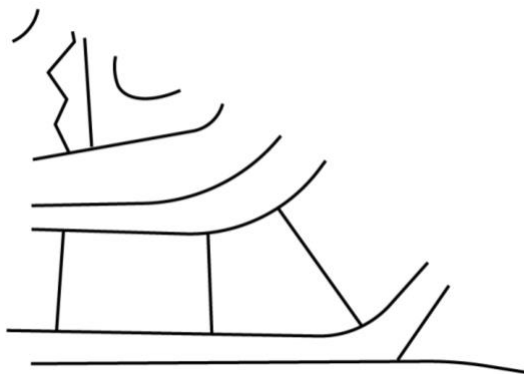
Volute



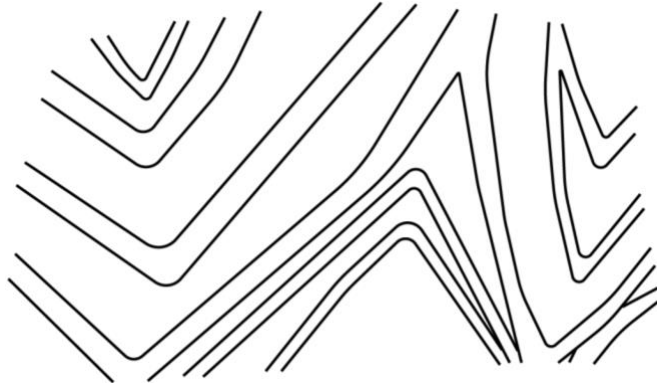
MGb01



MGb02

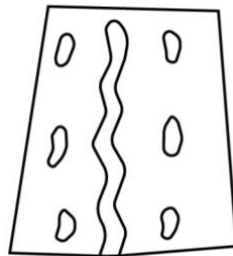


MGb03

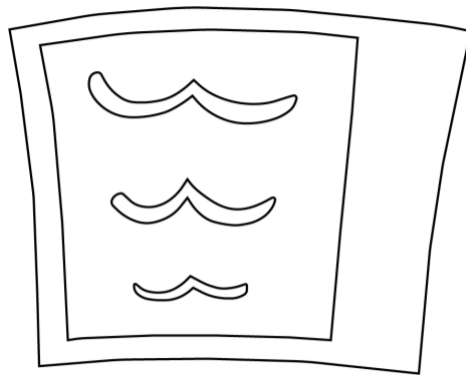


MGb04

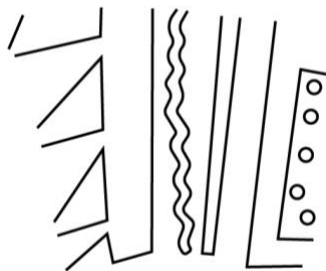
Wavy



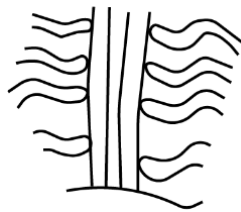
MGc01



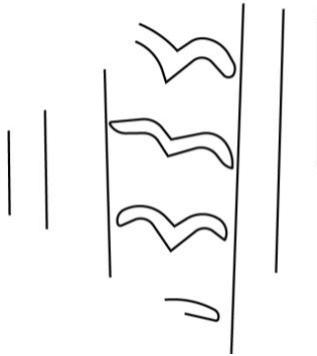
MGc02



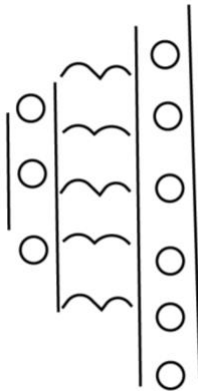
MGc03



MGc04

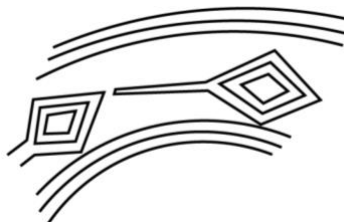


MGc05

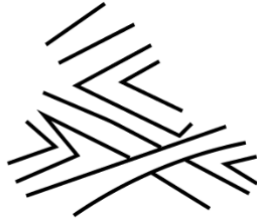


MGc06

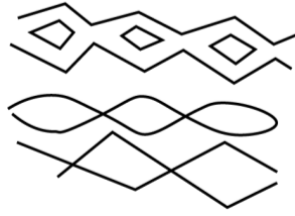
Diamond



MGd01

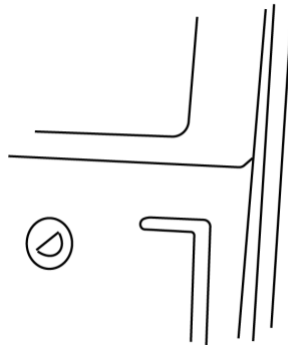


MGd02

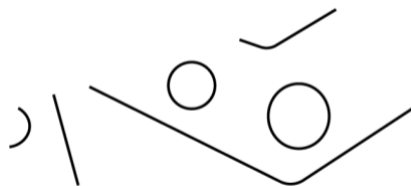


MGd03

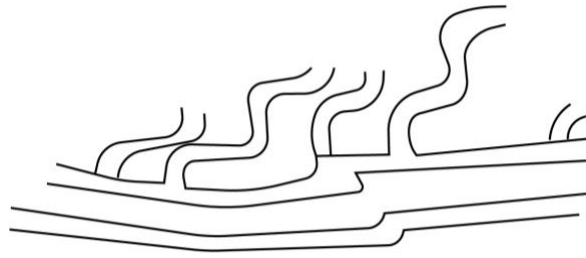
Other Geometric



MGe01



MGe02



MGe03



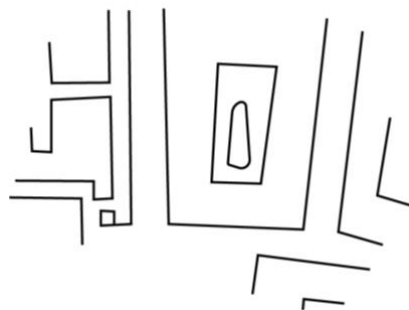
MGe04 (incised)



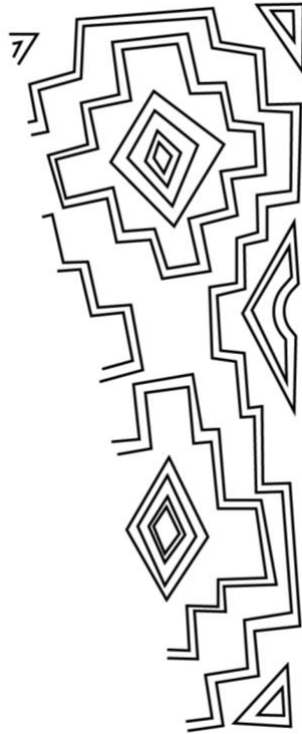
MGe05



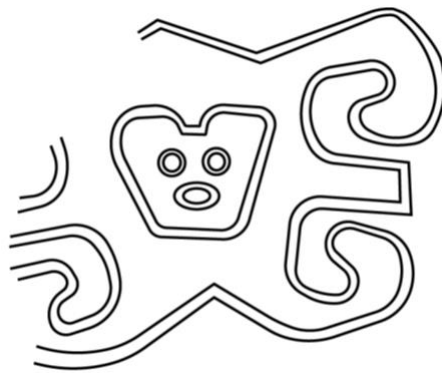
MGe06



MGe07



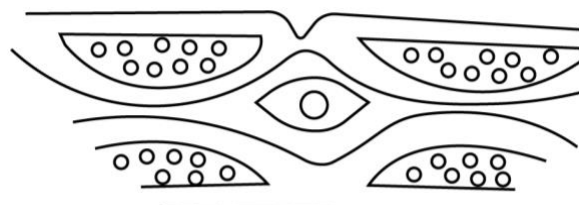
MGe08



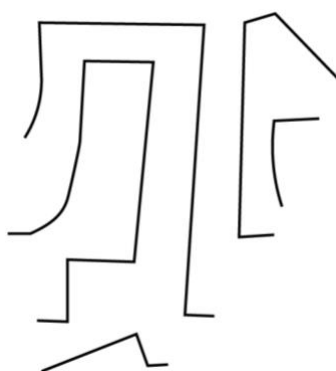
MGe09



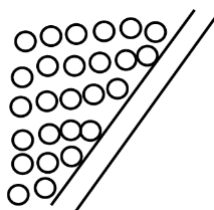
MGe10



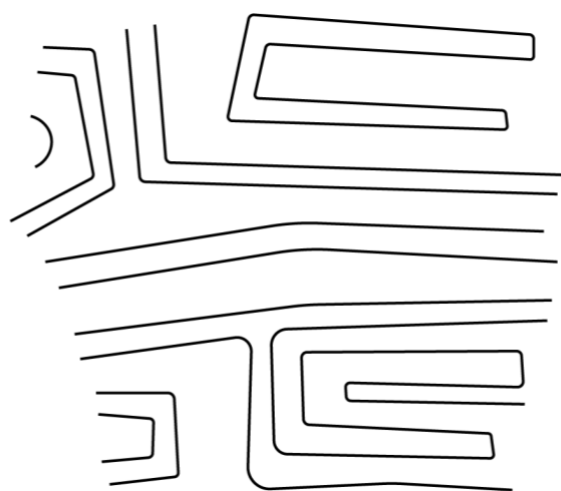
MGe11



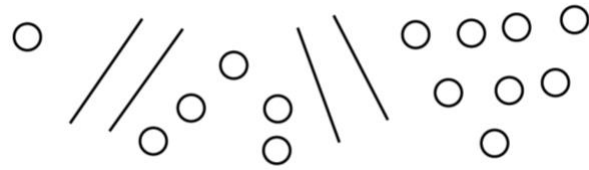
MGe12



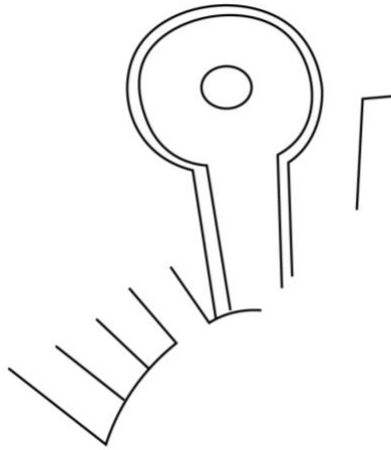
MGe13



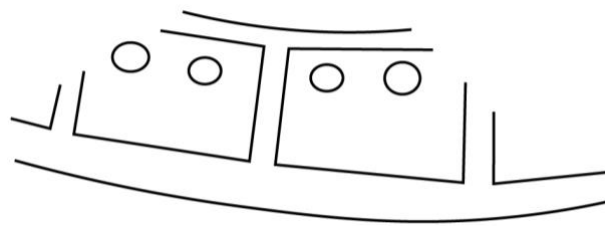
MGe14



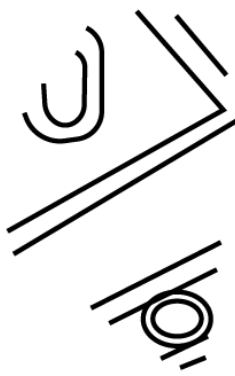
MGe15 (incised)



MGe16



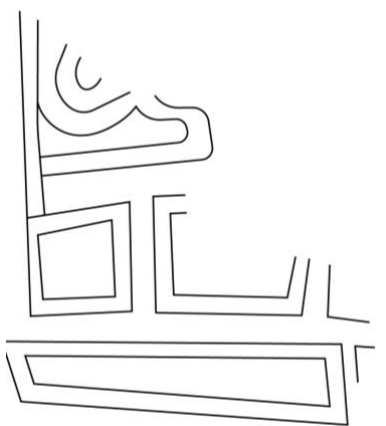
MGe17



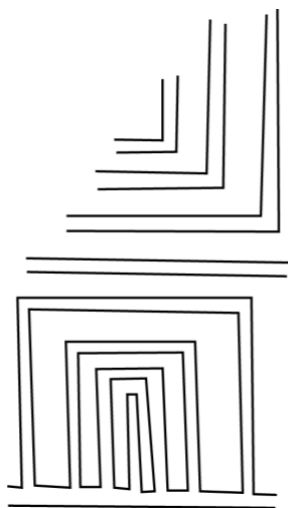
MGe18



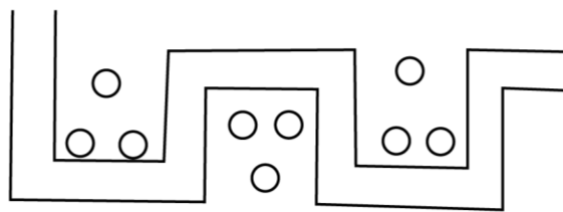
MGe19



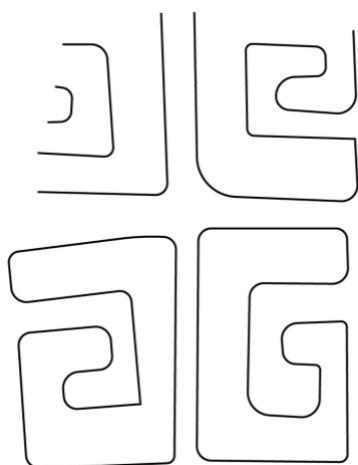
MGe20



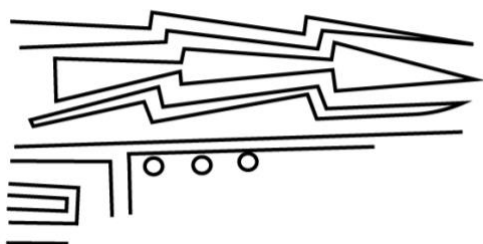
MGe21



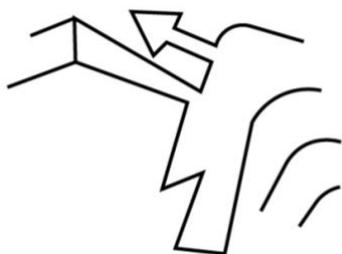
MGe22



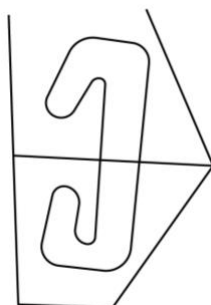
MGe23



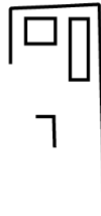
MGe24



MGe25



MGe26

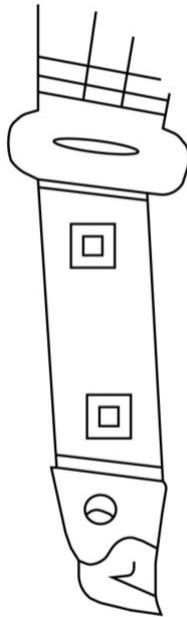


MGe27

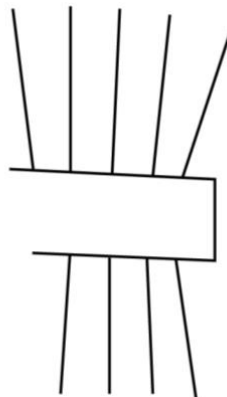
B.6 Staff Motifs



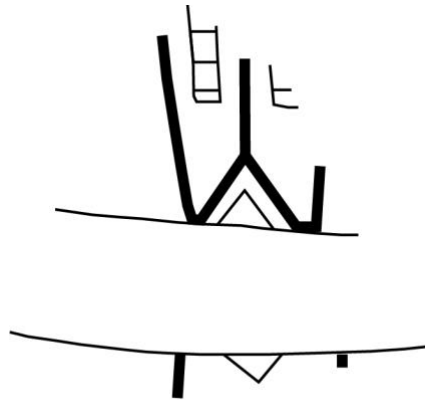
MOa01



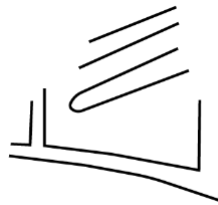
MOa02



MOa03



MOa04



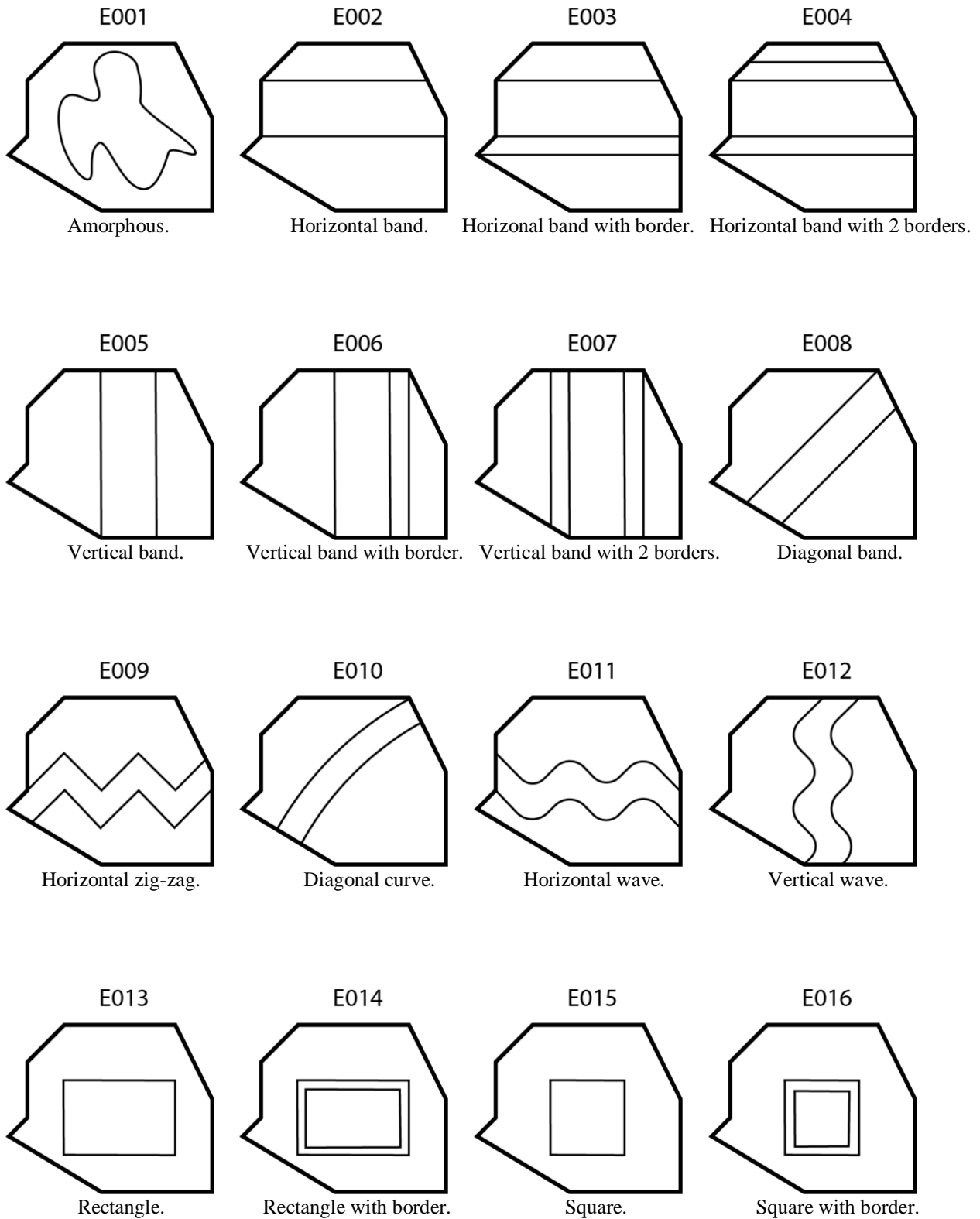
MOa05

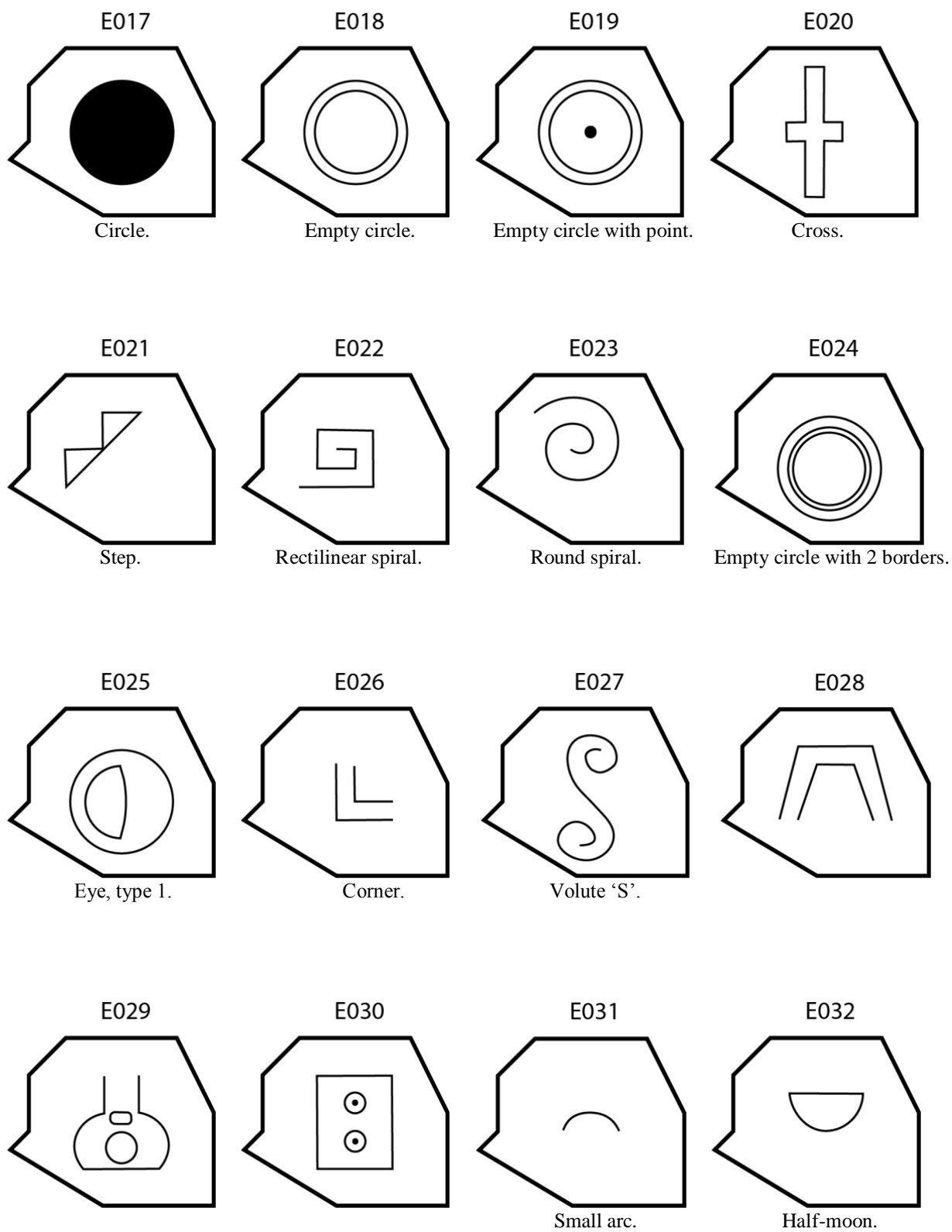


MOa06

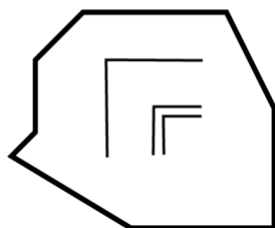
APPENDIX C. List of Elements

Elements are presented as they would appear on a hypothetical sherd.



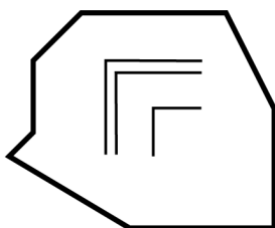


E033



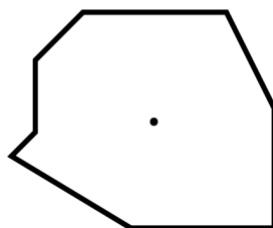
Corner with interior border.

E034



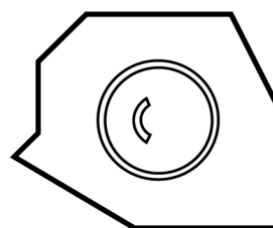
Corner with exterior border.

E035



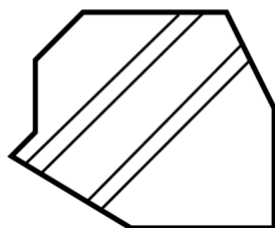
Point.

E036



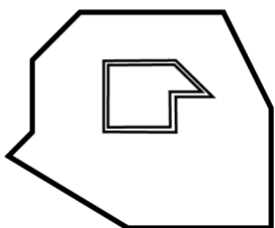
Eye, type 2.

E037



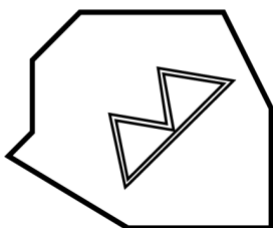
Diagonal band with 2 borders.

E038

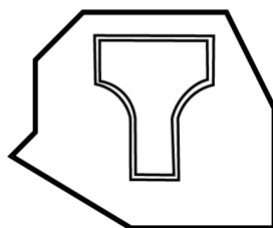


Step with border.

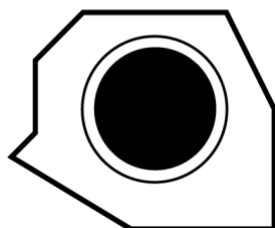
E039



E040

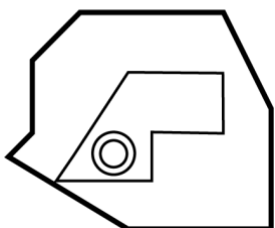


E041

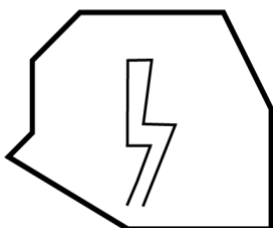


Full circle with border.

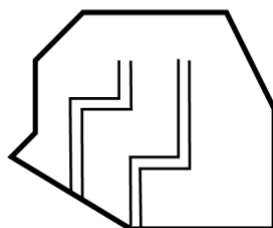
E042



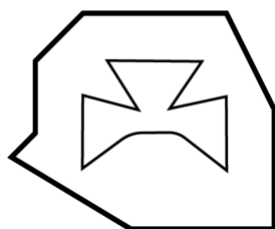
E043



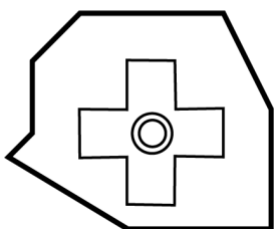
E044



E045

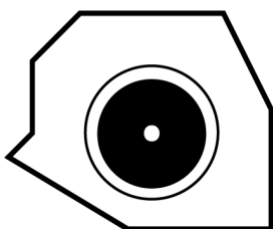


E046



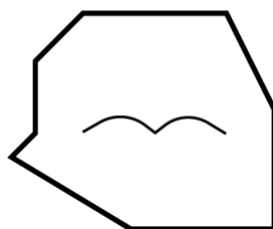
Cross with circle.

E047



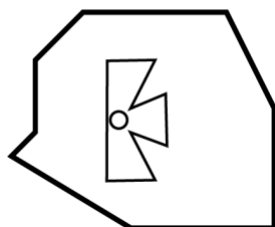
Full circle with border and point.

E048



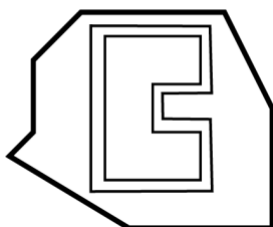
'Bird'.

E049

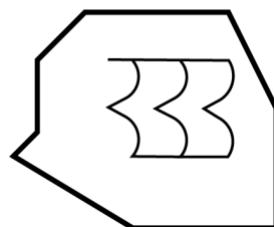


Half-cross with circle.

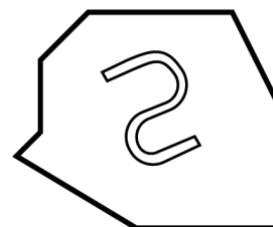
E050



E051

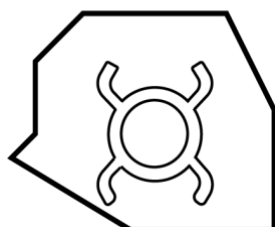


E052

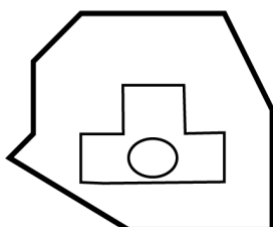


'S' 2.

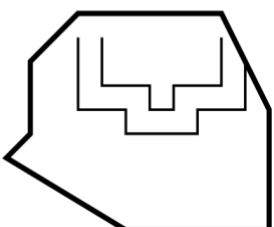
E053



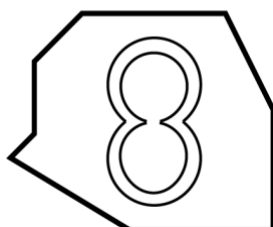
E054



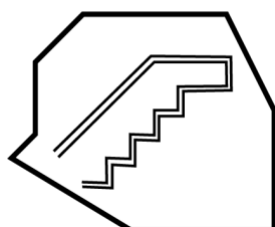
E055



E056

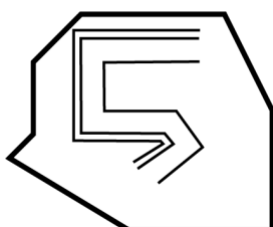


E057

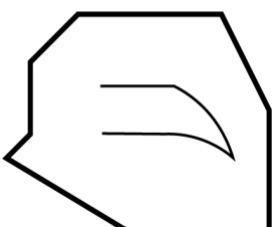


Steps with border.

E058

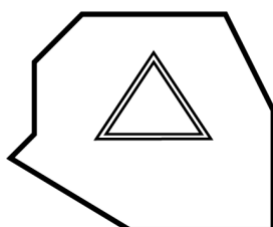


E059



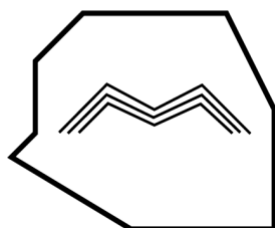
'Beak'.

E060



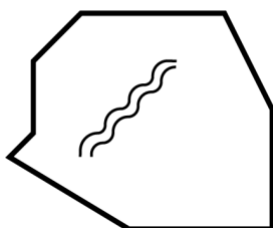
Empty triangle.

E061



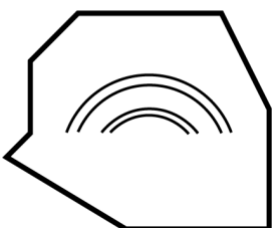
Zig-zag with border.

E062



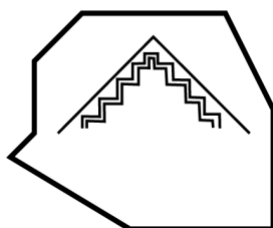
Diagonal wave.

E063



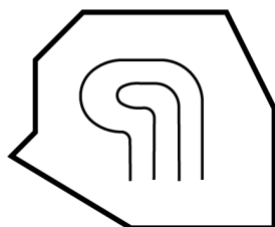
Arc with 2 borders.

E064

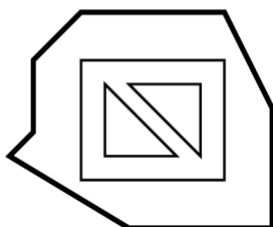


'Andean' cross variant.

E065

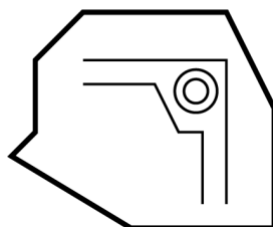


E066

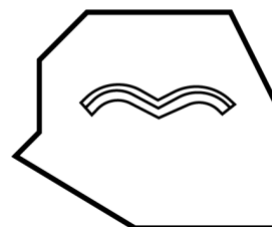


Rectangle with diagonal band.

E067



E068



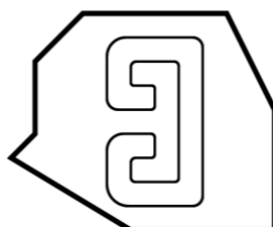
'Bird' with border.

E069

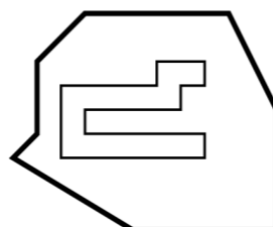


Double triangle.

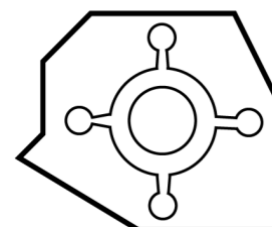
E070



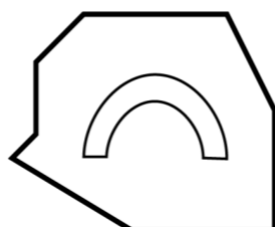
E071



E072

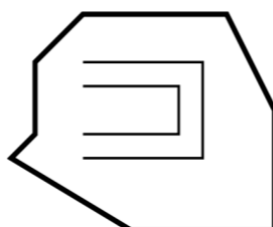


E073

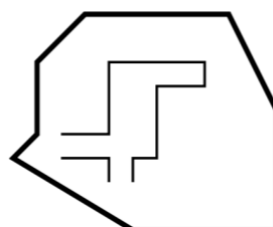


Parabolic band.

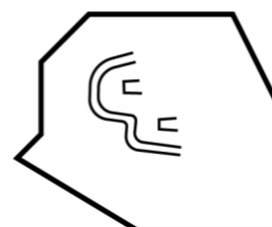
E074



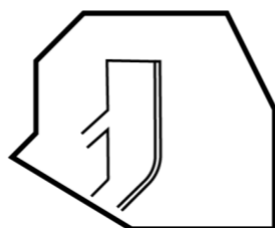
E075



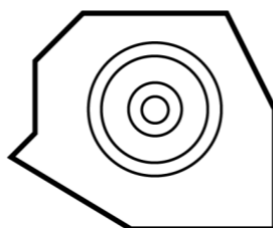
E076



E077

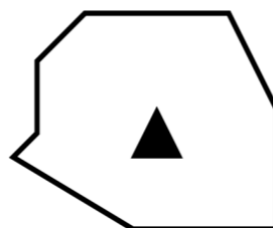


E078



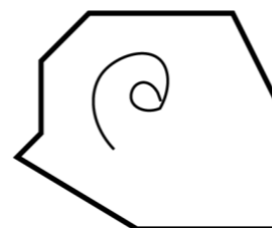
2 empty circles.

E079



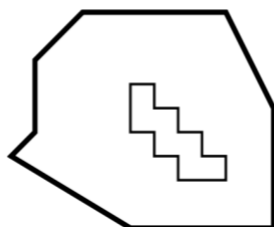
Triangle.

E080



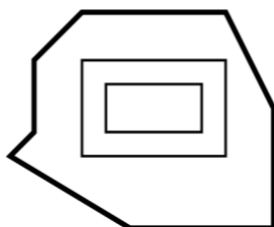
'@' sign.

E081



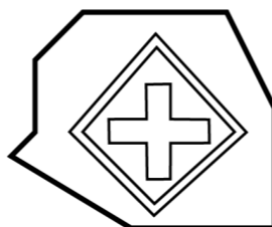
Steps.

E082



Empty rectangle.

E083



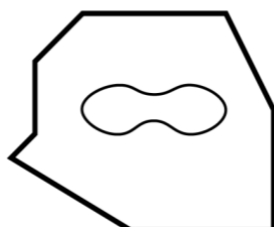
Cross within rhombus.

E084

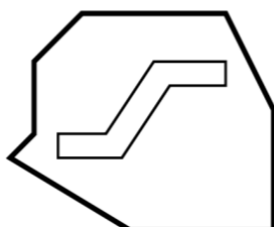


Zig-zag with 2 borders.

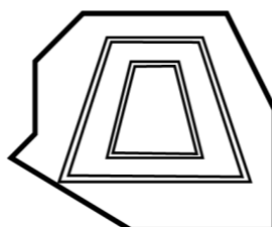
E085



E086

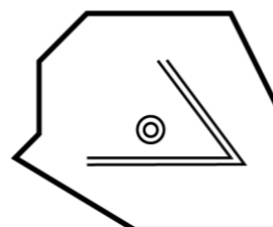


E087

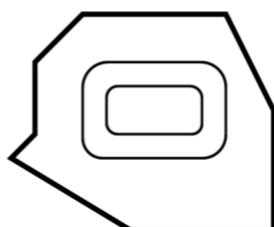


Nested trapezoids.

E088

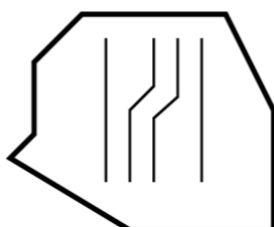


E089



Empty, rounded rectangle.

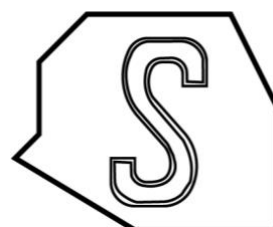
E090



E091

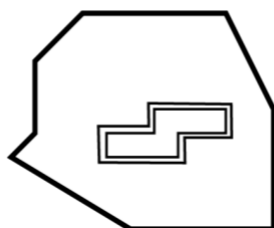


E092

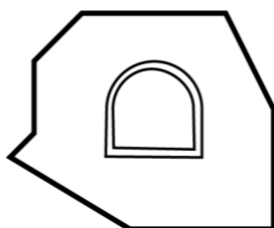


'S' with border.

E093

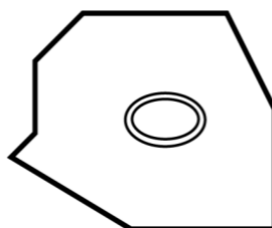


E094



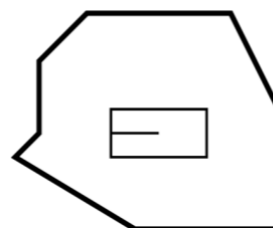
'Ear'.

E095



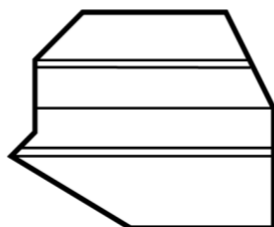
Oval with border.

E096



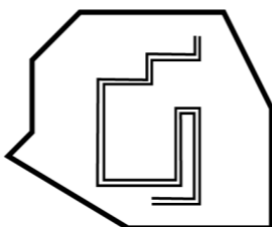
'Mouth'.

E097

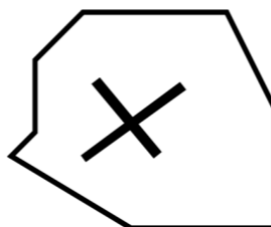


2 horizontal bands with borders.

E098

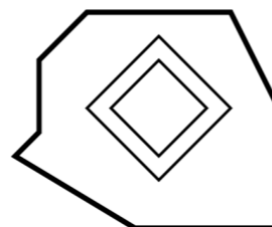


E099



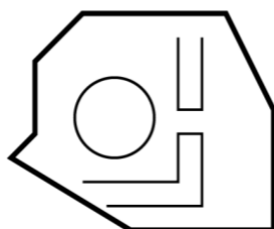
Crossed lines.

E100

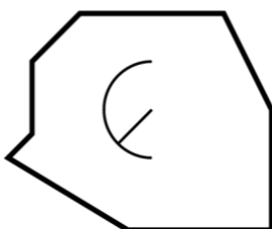


Empty rhombus.

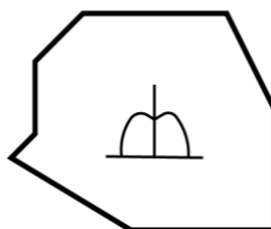
E101



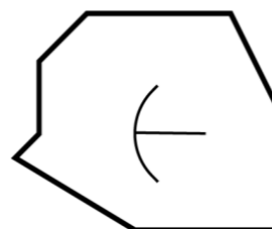
E102



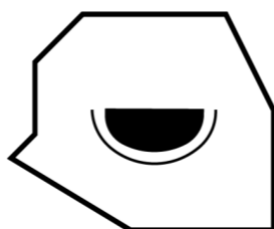
E103



E104

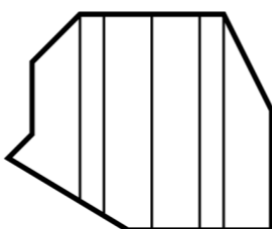


E105



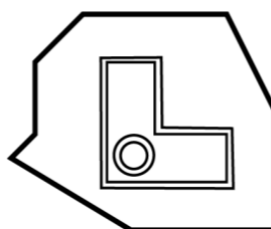
Half-moon with arc.

E106



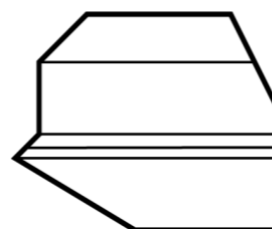
2 vertical bands with borders.

E107



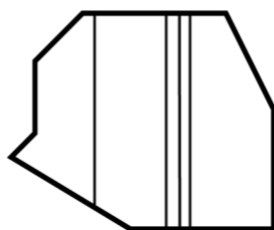
'L' with border and circle.

E108



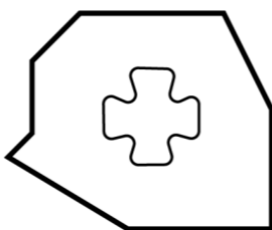
Horizontal band with double border.

E109



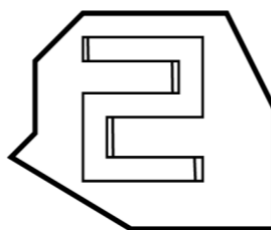
Vertical band with double border.

E110

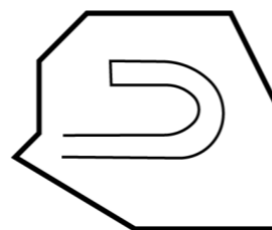


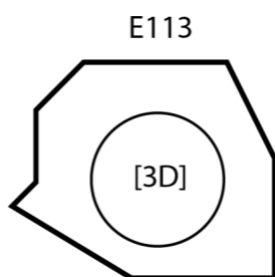
Cross variant.

E111

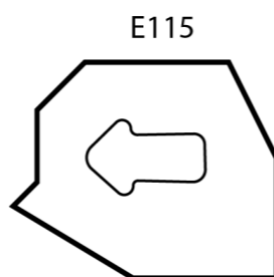
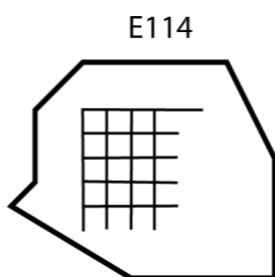


E112

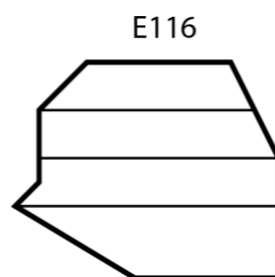




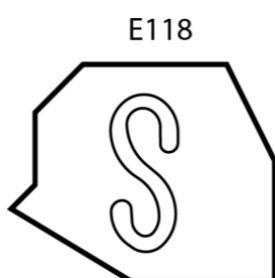
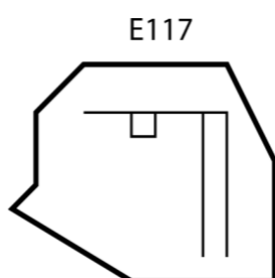
Modeled spherical.



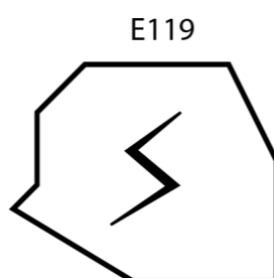
Modeled arrow.



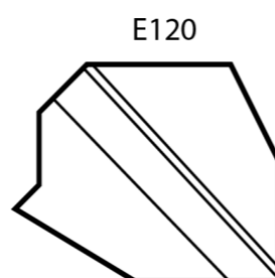
Double horizontal band.



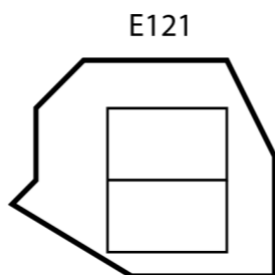
'S' variant.



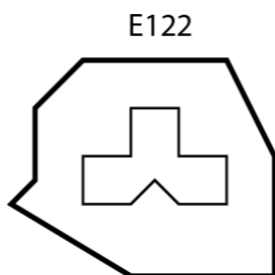
Bolt.



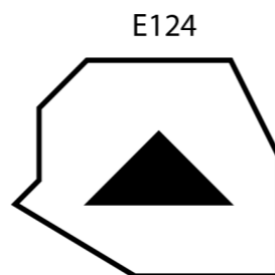
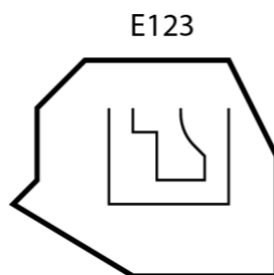
Diagonal band with border.



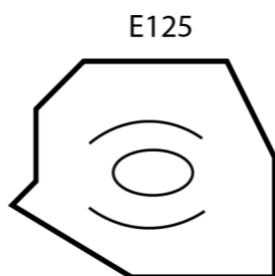
Double rectangle.



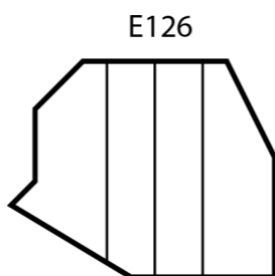
Cross with interior triangle.



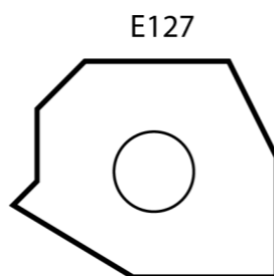
Triangle (repeat of E079).



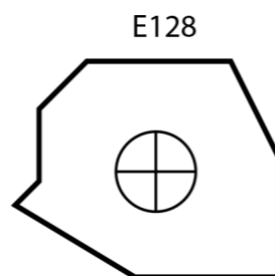
Eye, modeled.



Double vertical band.

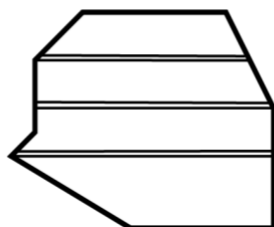


Incised circle.



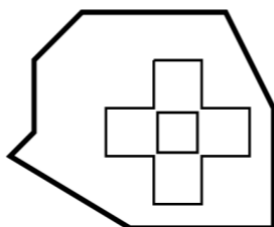
Circle with cross.

E129



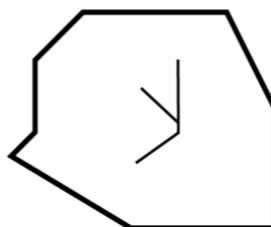
2 horizontal bands with borders.

E130

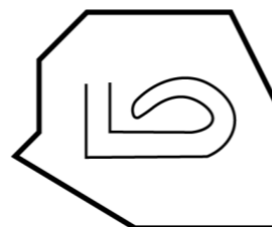


Cross with square.

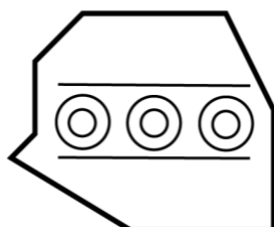
E131



E132

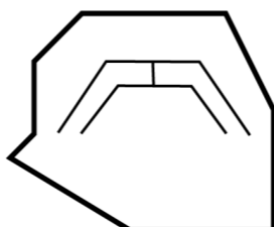


E133



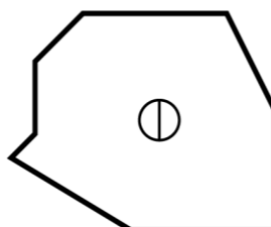
Band with circles.

E134



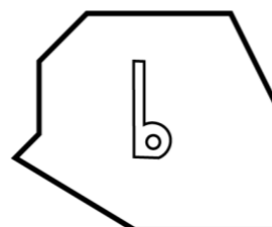
Arc, 2 colors.

E135



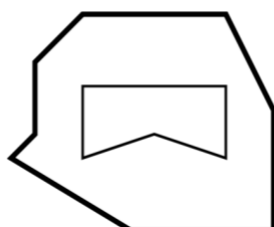
Eye variant.

E136



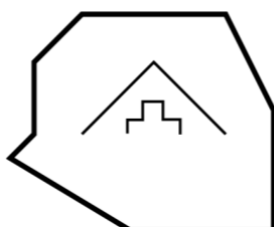
'b'.

E137

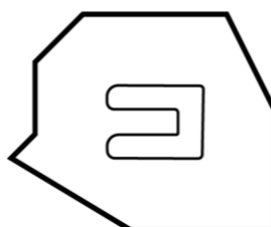


Half-triangle with half-cross.

E138

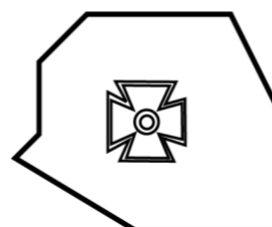


E139



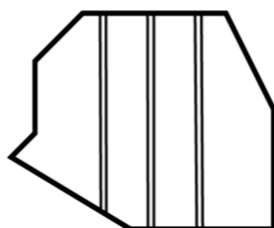
Mouth variant.

E140



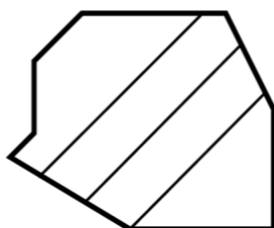
Cross and circle with borders.

E141



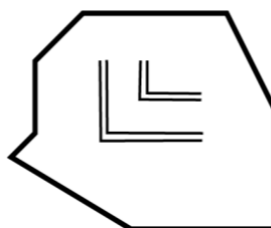
2 vertical bands with borders.

E142



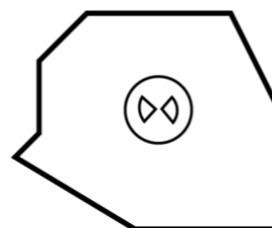
Double diagonal band.

E143

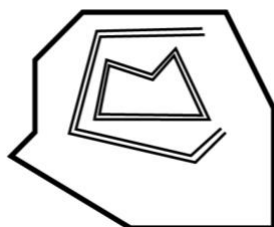


Corner with 2 borders.

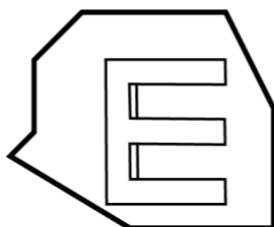
E144



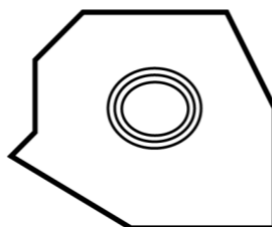
E145



E146

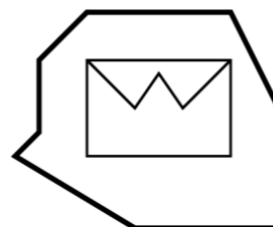


E147



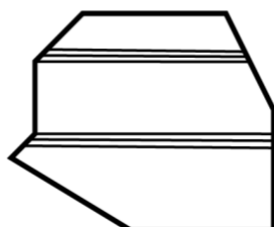
Empty oval with 2 borders.

E148



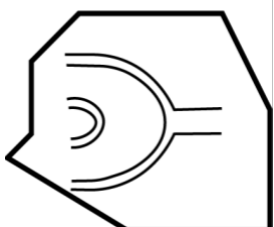
Possible neck.

E149

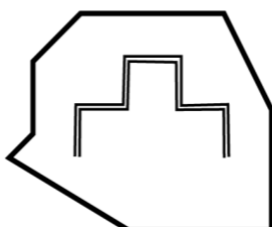


Horizontal band with double borders.

E150

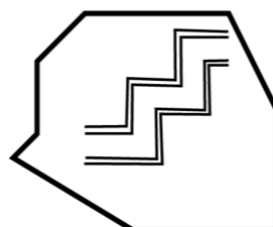


E151



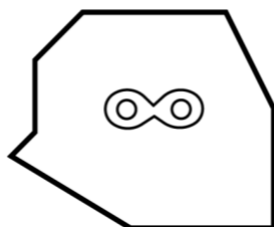
Half-cross with border.

E152

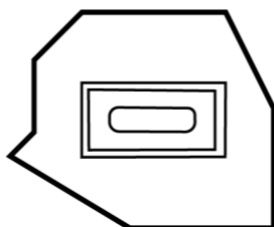


Diagonal zig-zag with borders.

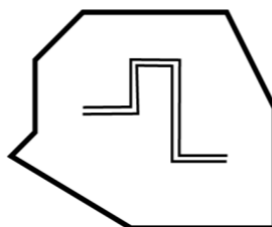
E153



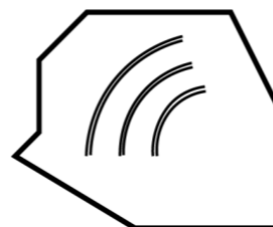
E154



E155

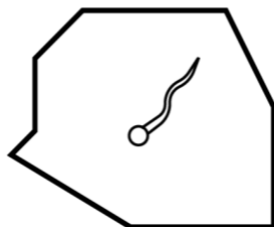


E156

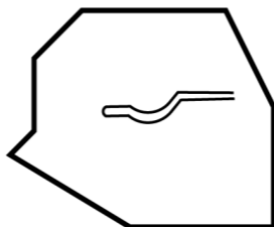


Double diagonal curves with 2 borders.

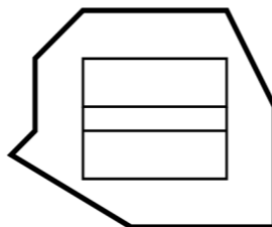
E157



E158

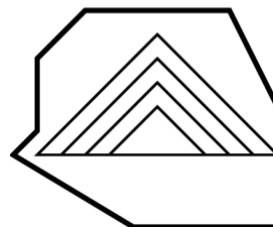


E159

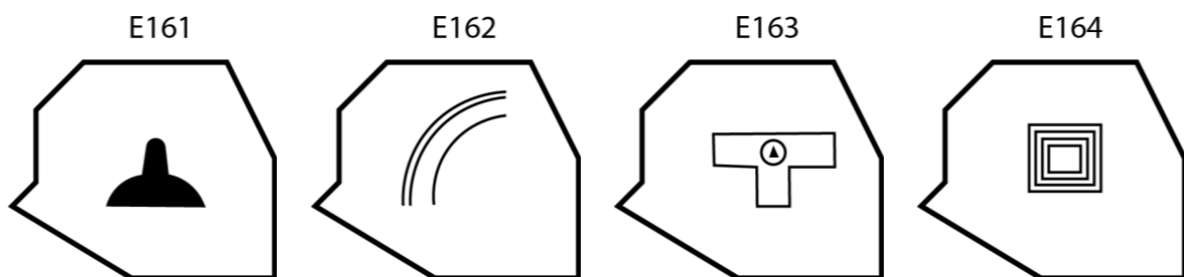


Rectangle with interior band.

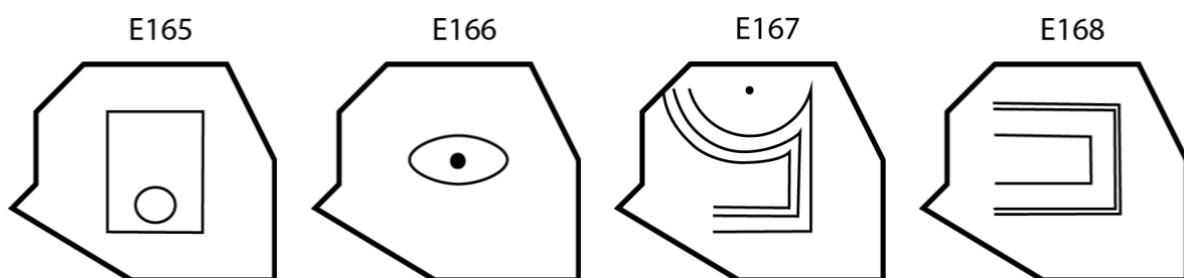
E160



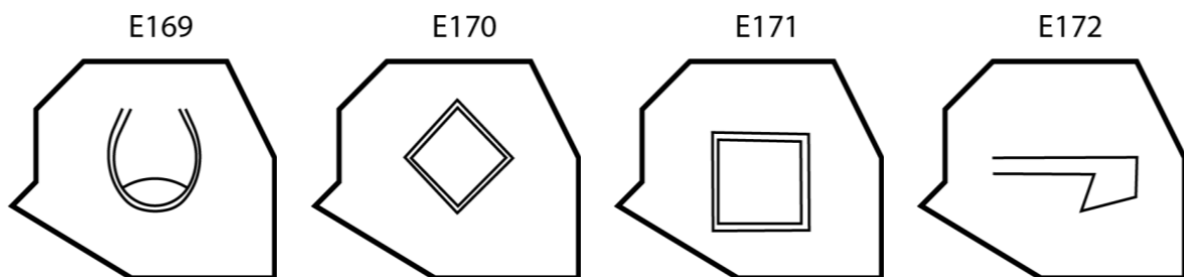
Empty triangle with double border.



Curve with exterior border. Half-cross with circle and point. Concentric rectangles.

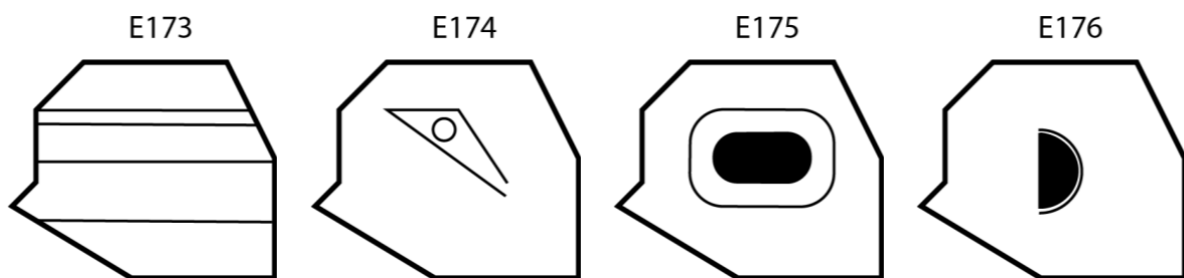


Eye variant.



Rhombus with border.

Empty square.



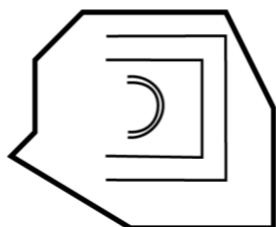
3 bands, different sizes.

Triangle with circle.

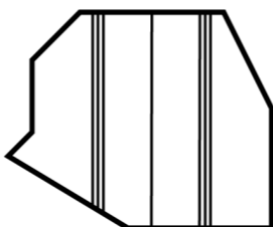
Concentric ovals.

Half-moon with border, vertical.

E177

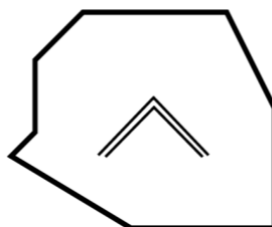


E178

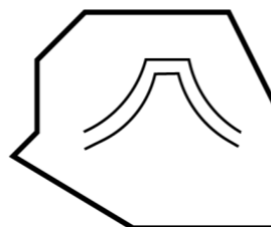


Double vertical band with double borders.

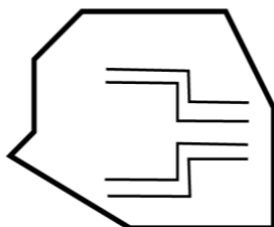
E179



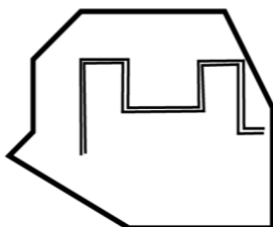
E180



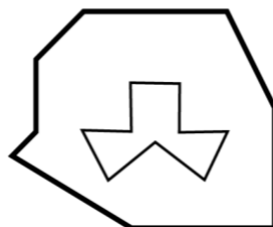
E181



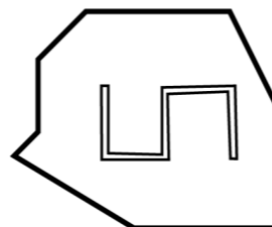
E182



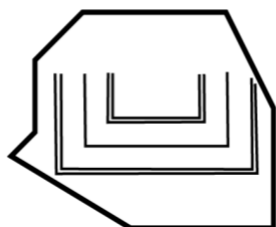
E183



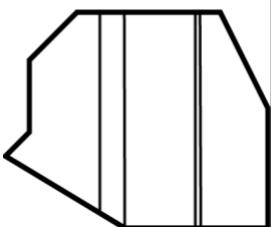
E184



E185

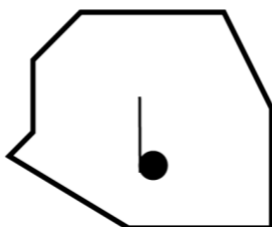


E186

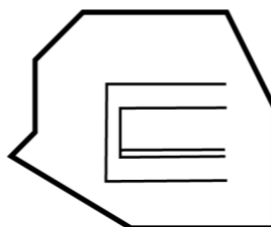


3 vertical bands, different sizes.

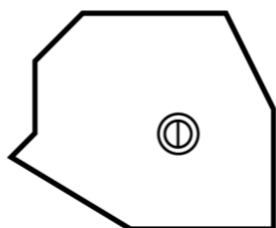
E187



E188

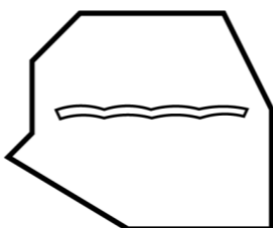


E189

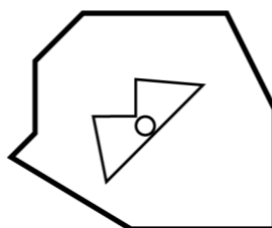


Eye with border.

E190

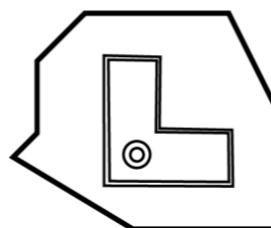


E191



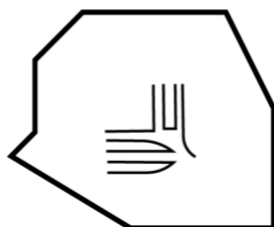
Step with circle.

E192

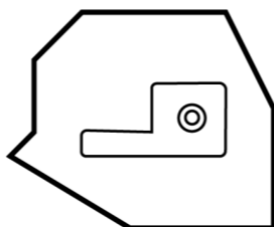


Repeat of E107.

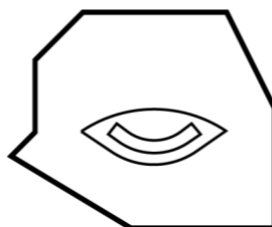
E193



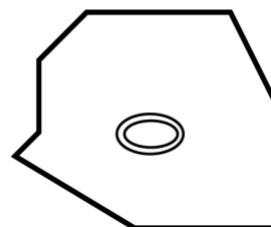
E194



E195

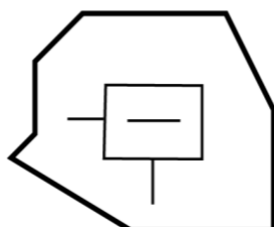


E196

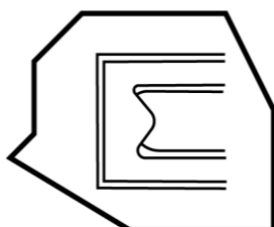


Empty oval with border.

E197

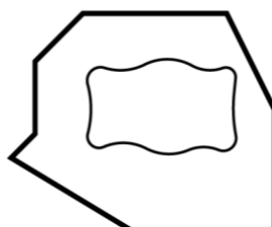


E198



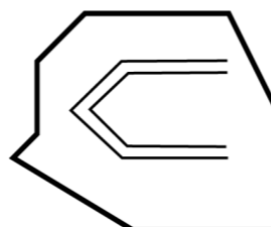
'M' band.

E199

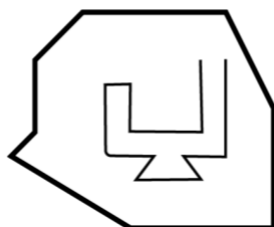


Empty wavy rectangle.

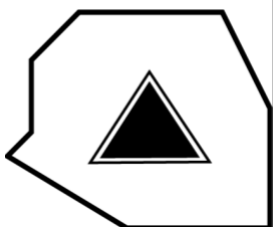
E200



E201

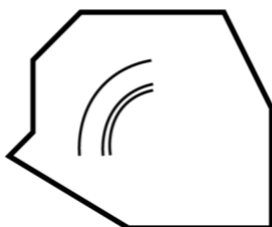


E202



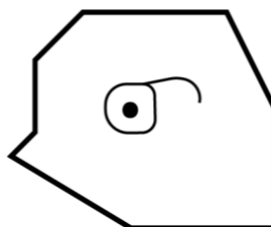
Triangle with border.

E203

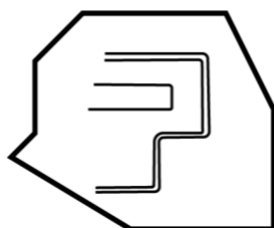


Curve with interior border.

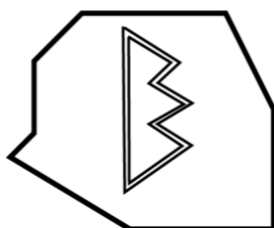
E204



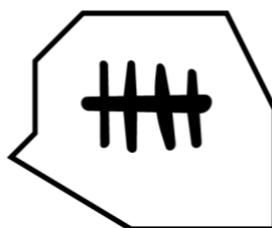
E205



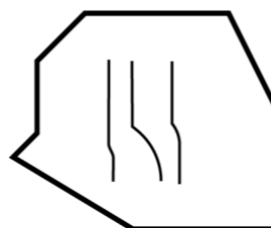
E206



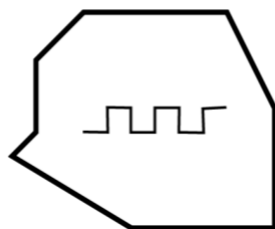
E207



E208



E209



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