

TIWANAKU TEMPLES AND STATE EXPANSION: A TIWANAKU SUNKEN-COURT TEMPLE IN MOQUEGUA, PERU

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[A]ll one sees is a finely built wall which must have been constructed many ages ago. Some of the stones are very worn and wasted and there are others so large that one wonders how human hands could have brought them to where they stand . . . it might have been that before the Incas ruled there were people of parts in these kingdoms, come from no one knows where, who did these things.

Cieza de León 1959:284 (1551)

Until recently, an entrenched view of Tiwanaku expansion in the south-central Andes as a primarily cultic phenomenon precluded discussion of state-built ceremonial facilities outside of Tiwanaku's immediate hinterland of the Bolivian altiplano. However, recent research in the Tiwanaku periphery has found specialized ceremonial architecture that reflects the solidification of central control and the development of a provincial system. Excavation at the Omo M10 site, in Moquegua, Peru, has exposed the only Tiwanaku sunken-court temple structure and cut-stone architecture known outside of the Titicaca Basin. A reconstruction of the Omo temple complex demonstrates direct parallels with Tiwanaku ceremonial centers of the altiplano in architectural form and ceremonial activities. This suggests that patterns of state-centered ceremony and peripheral administration underwent a dramatic transformation with the explosive expansion of the Tiwanaku state during the period known as Tiwanaku V (A.D. 725–1000).

En los últimos años, una restringida visión de la expansión de Tiwanaku (Tiahuanaco) en la zona centro surandina principalmente como un fenómeno de culto, excluía la discusión de las instalaciones ceremoniales construidas por el estado fuera del territorio inmediato de Tiwanaku en el altiplano boliviano. Sin embargo, recientes investigaciones en la periferia de Tiwanaku han encontrado arquitectura ceremonial especializada que refleja la solidificación de un control central y el desarrollo de un sistema provincial. Las excavaciones en el sitio Omo M10 en Moquegua (Perú) han descubierto el único templo con patio hundido y arquitectura de bloques de piedra labrada que se conoce fuera de la cuenca del Titicaca. Una reconstrucción del complejo del templo de Omo muestra paralelos directos con centros ceremoniales Tiwanaku del altiplano en su forma arquitectónica y actividades ceremoniales. Esto sugiere que los modelos del ritual estatal y la administración periférica pasaron por una dramática transformación con la explosiva expansión del estado Tiwanaku durante el período conocido como Tiwanaku V (725–1000 D.C.).

In many early complex societies, we interpret specialized ceremonial architecture as the physical manifestation of the power of the state. Public architecture stands as a visible reminder of the corporate labor exerted in its construction and of the forces of coercion and consent that united the community to focus that labor. The construction of public-works projects has been seen as a form of "on-the-job training" in public compliance to central authority (Paynter 1989:384). Because public monuments represent both civil and religious authority, they are among the more tangible residues of the state's "ideological apparatus" (Patterson and Gailey 1987). State-built temples institutionalize the asymmetrical power relations of state integration by inspiring awe, by associating secular rule and supernatural power, and by controlling access to both material goods and spiritual good.

When state societies expand into new territories, public ceremonial architecture often follows, serving not only as a local focus of power, but as a touchstone to the vitality of the homeland center.

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To better understand the integration of peripheries by early states, it is therefore useful to examine the local apices of the provincial symbolic hierarchies—provincial ceremonial and administrative centers. In these centers, the use of public structures as reflection and reminder of centripetal state authority may be discerned in constituent activities such as the redistribution of goods, the collection of surplus, and in special rites and ceremonies that symbolize the reaffirmation of the cosmological as well as the social order. Often, this order may be represented architecturally in the reproduction of major homeland monuments.

In this paper, the monumental foci of the Andean Tiwanaku state's political system will be examined in the light of recent excavations at the ceremonial complex at Omo site M10, in Moquegua, Peru. After reviewing a general model for the form and functions of Tiwanaku temples of the altiplano homeland, I present new evidence for the replication of analogous architecture and activities in a distant Tiwanaku province.

PUBLIC ARCHITECTURE AND THE TIWANAKU STATE

One paradigm for provincial ceremonial centers worldwide sees them as miniaturized representations of their homeland capitals. Seen from a functional perspective as a form of administrative and political technology, public facilities have been read as representations of central authority that "reflect by their size, form and functional context the importance and variety of the decision-making activities with which they are associated" (Spencer 1990:15). Thus, with certain caveats, civic-ceremonial sites can be considered archaeological indexes that chart the intensity of political activity at nodes in a hierarchical administrative regime (de Montmollin 1989:154).

From an ideological point of view, it has also been argued that many provincial centers served as physical reminders of the "centripetality" of their capital cities and that their location, scale, and planning tend to reflect their place in the legitimizing cosmological models of the state itself. This process of microcosmic representation was not limited to provincial replicas of the state capital. As has been noted for state ceremonial sites like the Tenochtitlán pyramid, said to be "a universally recognized metaphor" symbolic of mythical and natural elements sacred to the Mexica (Townsend 1982:61), the ceremonial core of the capital itself may have served as a replica of a celestial reality that lies outside the direct experience of mortals.

In the Andes, a tendency toward symbolic reproduction of the capital's ceremonial features is notable in Inka provincial centers such as Hatun Xauxa (D'Altroy 1981), Huanuco Pampa (Morris 1982; Morris and Thompson 1985), and Huancayo Alto (Dillehay 1977). As in the capital of Cuzco, public ceremonial activities in the Inka centers were centered around smaller versions of the *ushnu*, platform structures usually associated with central public plazas (Gasparini and Margolies 1977; Hyslop 1990:70).

Elsewhere in the Andes, it has been argued that Pre-Inkaic provincial ceremonial or administrative centers should also recapitulate the architectural features of their imperial capital on a scale commensurate with their importance. This tendency has been observed in the Chimú state of Peru's north coast, where provincial ceremonial structures were created in the image of ceremonial precincts of the capital city of Chan Chan. The character and size of each center also appear to directly represent its prestige and administrative level. "As one descends the administrative hierarchy," one analysis of Chimú capitals tells us, "centers should become smaller, more simplified, more schematic 'miniatures' of Chan Chan" (Keatinge and Conrad 1983:258).

The characterization of complex societies as nested hierarchies is not, of course, limited to the architecture of their ceremonial and administrative structures, and may be seen to directly parallel the hierarchical structuring of political power and information control that defines states (Wright and Johnson 1975). In the ethnohistorically documented Inka state, for example, disparate local elites were absorbed by an increasingly pyramidal hierarchy of elite bureaucrats sent to the provinces as the "governors, captains, caciques and judges of the Inca" (Cobo 1984:208 [1653]). Through this political hierarchy, the Inka co-opted labor tribute and solicited provincial loyalty in a context of elaborate feasting, drinking, and the giving of sumptuary gifts of textiles, jewelry, and other finery. A similar scenario for state-centered redistribution in provincial ceremonial centers has also been

offered for Pre-Inkaic states like the Chimú, whose provincial centers "regulated the flow of energy, matter and information" in their provinces (Keatinge and Conrad 1983). Thus Andean provincial centers might be considered not only as austere monuments, but as facilities for the ritualized activities that were "a way of establishing and maintaining a relationship between the leaders and the led" (Morris 1982:166). Provincial centers that fulfilled similar functions have been postulated for the Tiwanaku-contemporary Wari of Peru's Middle Horizon (A.D. 540-900) (Isbell 1987:86; Isbell and Schreiber 1978; McEwan 1990:104; Schreiber 1987).

A model of provincial ceremonial centers has never been examined for the peripheral expansion of Tiwanaku civilization in the south-central Andes between A.D. 375 and 1000. The type site of Tiwanaku, located 3800 m asl in Bolivia's altiplano, and once thought to be a vacant ceremonial center set in a barren landscape, is now known to have been an urban settlement of 4 km² with a supporting nuclear zone of intensified agricultural production administered through a system of satellite centers in the Lake Titicaca basin (Browman 1978a:328, 1984a:124; Kolata 1983, 1986; Parsons 1968; Ponce Sanginés 1972). Surveys of parts of this sustaining core area (Albarracín-Jordan and Mathews 1990; Kolata 1986), have demonstrated an extraordinary population density during the Tiwanaku period and a classic hierarchical state settlement system that has been characterized as "a nested quadripartite division of administrative and primary production responsibilities" (Kolata 1986:760).

In the Tiwanaku heartland, administrative and ceremonial responsibilities were focused through specialized forms of public and temple architecture in the capital city and its lakeside satellite centers. Ethnohistoric sources document the subsequent veneration of Tiwanaku in Inka state religion and Aymara origin myths (e.g., Cieza de León 1959:284 [1551]; Cobo 1984:105 [1653]; Demarest 1981:55) and suggest that Tiwanaku was an important prototype for subsequent Andean state ideologies like that of the Inka. Because Tiwanaku has left us no direct written records, ceremonial public architecture assumes great importance as an artifact of a state ideological system that might be directly tested archaeologically.

For Tiwanaku, the monumental representations of state power crystallized in a characteristic ceremonial architecture whose archetypes are found at Tiwanaku and its altiplano satellites. In the broadest sense, the key elements can be categorized as (a) artificial terraced mounds, (b) rectangular enclosures, including walled precincts and sunken courts, and (c) a complex of doorways and staircases that channeled access to a ceremonial core.

At the Tiwanaku site, the archetype for the most massive of these formal categories is the stepped pyramid of the Akapana, the "man-made hill built on stone foundations" first described to Europeans by Cieza de León in 1549 (1959:283 [1551]). The centrality of the Akapana at Tiwanaku was also cited by its first modern excavator, who noted: "que la pirámide escalonada de Akapana de tres terrazas superpuestas, con su volumen dominante, fue el elemento sobresaliente del que emanaron ejes direccionales" (Ponce Sanginés 1972:81). In more recent excavations, offerings of ceramics, animal, and possibly human sacrifices found on the Akapana's summit and terraces suggest a Tiwanaku tradition of intensive veneration of the structure (Manzanilla 1992; Manzanilla and Woodard 1990:138). Recent findings on the summit include an elite residential complex and what appears to be a large sunken court.

The symbolic centrality of the Akapana for Tiwanaku is reinforced by its recurrent appearance in Tiwanaku art, as well as architecture. Since early in this century, it has been noted that the Akapana's "stepped and superimposed terraces" represented an essential leitmotif of Tiwanaku civilization (Posnansky 1957:69-72). Although stepped motifs appear in altiplano art and architecture at least as early as the Pukara tradition, the stair-step design became the single most frequent motif on Tiwanaku V (A.D. 725-1000) decorated ceramics and in other media (Bennett 1934; Goldstein 1985, 1989a; 1989b; Oakland 1986; Rydén 1947; Wallace 1957). In its most common manifestations, the step motif appears in conjunction with circles, crosses, and other figures that could represent cosmological elements. Perhaps most significantly, the Front Face Deity, considered the dominant icon of Tiwanaku state religion, is often depicted standing on a stepped pedestal that is arguably a direct representation of the Akapana itself (Cook 1983, 1985; Demarest 1981; Kolata 1983:255; Reinhard 1985, 1990:169). The consistent depiction of a stepped pyramid in a motif that

literally “supports” the state divinity lends credence to its use as a symbol of state power and legitimacy in iconography as well as architecture. A recent argument that the Akapana itself is a deliberate representation of sacred mountain peaks of the Eastern Cordillera (Kolata 1991; Reinhard 1985, 1990) takes this chain of ideologically charged representations a step closer to the supernatural. In any event, it is clear that replicas of mountain-like terraced platforms, both in architecture and in other artistic media, played a significant role in the reproduction of Tiwanaku’s ideology of power.

Another diagnostic Tiwanaku public architectural form is the sunken-court temple, often considered to be constructed on the pattern of Tiwanaku’s *Templete Semisubterráneo* (Bennett 1934; Ponce Sanginés 1969). While sunken courts have a long tradition as components of earlier highland ceremonial complexes such as Chavín, Qaluyu, and Pukará, this feature achieved its highest level of standardization and widest distribution in the south-central Andes during the Tiwanaku period. Tiwanaku’s *Templete* is a rectangular sunken court measuring approximately 28 x 26 m with walls faced with finely cut rectangular stone blocks and a clay floor. Entry was restricted by a single staircase of superimposed stone slabs (Ponce Sanginés 1969:55). The massive Bennett Monolith and other stelae that once stood at the *Templete*’s center and the collection of sculptured stone heads set into the sunken court’s walls represent the single greatest concentration of Tiwanaku sculpture found at any site and suggest a collection of important icons. Cieza de León (1959:283 [1551]) described the veneration of a similar stela group at Tiwanaku:

A great stone idol, which they probably worshiped, stands a short distance away in a small recess. It is even said that beside this idol, a quantity of gold was found and around this shrine there were a number of other stones, large and small, dressed and carved like those already mentioned.

The rich variety of sculpture in the *Templete Semisubterráneo* has led some to consider it as a possible collection point for sculptural *huacas*, or sacred emblems. This may have anticipated the Inka practice of capture and display of the *huacas* of subject peoples (Chavez 1976, 1981; Isbell 1991:304), and perhaps even invested the *Templete* as a microcosmic representation of component ethnic or geographical quarters of the Tiwanaku state itself (Kolata 1991). Whether or not the *Templete* served as a cosmological map of empire, it must have been an important symbolic focus of the state’s secular and spiritual power.

TIWANAKU’S ALTIPLANO SATELLITE CENTERS

It has been suggested that Tiwanaku monumental architecture might be characterized as either pyramids related to exclusive ceremony or “open precincts” that served as congregation points for the public (Manzanilla and Woodard 1990:134). However, closer examination suggests that it would be an oversimplification to carry this dichotomy too far. As at the Akapana, sunken courts were, in fact, usually located atop terraced platform mounds. Mounds and courts together might be considered the key architectural elements of many of the “secondary temple centers” of Tiwanaku’s immediate hinterland in the Bolivian Lake Titicaca basin (Browman 1978a:343; Kolata 1986). A map compiled from known sites in Bolivia and Peru shows the distribution of satellite temple centers believed to have sunken courts (Figure 1, Table 1).

It is likely that additional mound complexes without cut-stone blocks on the surface may have escaped notice in an area whose wet climate favors the preservation and visibility of stone over adobe. Surface features and ceramics suggest a number of other likely Tiwanaku temple centers at Pajchiri (Bennett 1936), Ojje-puco (Ponce Sanginés and Mogrovejo Terrazas 1970:264–265), Llojepaya and Santiago de Machaca (Browman 1978a:328), Pokotia (Lumbreras 1974:63), the PK-6 and PK-7 mound complex (Kolata 1986:755–758), Pukuro-uyu (Browman 1978a:328), Turini, Sikuy Kollu, and Miraflores (Ponce Sanginés 1972), and TMV-561 or Wila Pukara at Tiwanaku (Albaracín-Jordan and Mathews 1990:114; Ponce Sanginés 1972:81). Potential temple sites on the Peruvian side of Lake Titicaca include Cota, Incatunahuirí, Tuma Tumani, Qenuani, Yanapata, Kajje, and Imicate (Hyslop 1976:85–87), and Tumuku or “Tucumu” (Rowe and Donahue 1975; Stanish 1991). It has even been suggested that a Tiwanaku-style semisubterranean temple was built in the Moraduchayuq zone of the Wari site in Ayacucho as early as A.D. 580 ± 60, perhaps using imported Tiwanaku technology or labor (Isbell 1991; Isbell et al. 1991:30, 50).

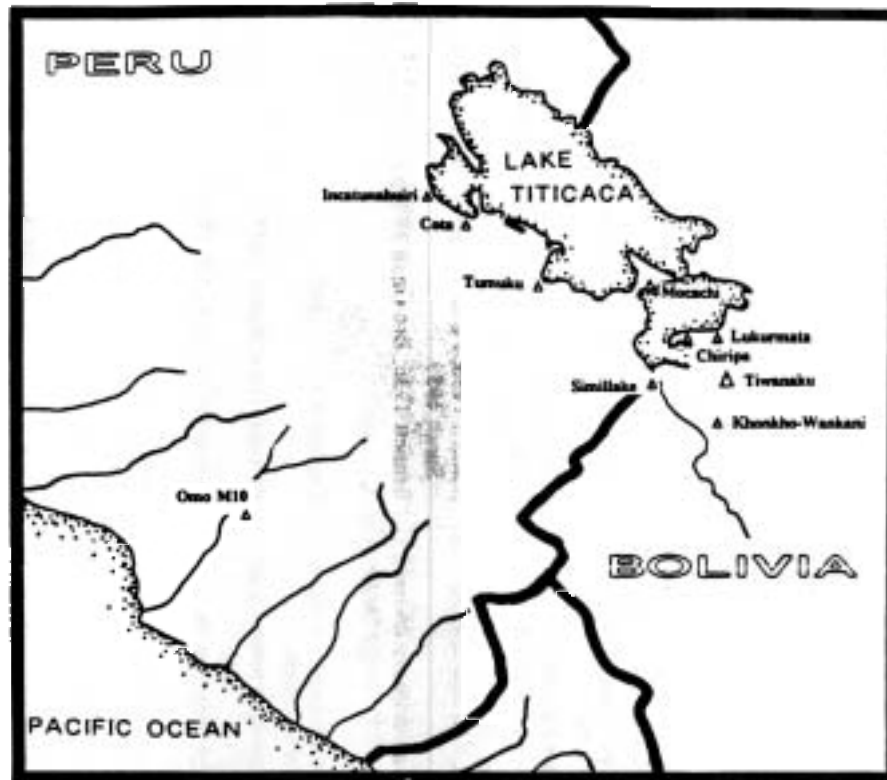


Figure 1. Distribution of Tiwanaku sunken-court temples in the south-central Andes.

The altiplano satellite centers display strong consistency in layout and construction details. Typically, as in the "small temple" of Lukurmata's Willakollu hill (Bennett 1936; Ponce Sanginés 1989; Rivera Sundt 1989) and the somewhat larger Tiwanaku-contemporary sunken-court temples at Chiripa (Bennett 1936; Browman 1978b), Khonkho Wankani (Portugal 1941; Rydén 1947), Mocachi (Casanova 1937, 1942), and Simillake (Posnansky 1934:295–296; Rydén 1947:153; Hyslop 1976: 85), sunken courts were set in the summit of a hill or artificial mound that was terraced and faced with large stone blocks. As at Lukurmata, access to the summit and its sunken court was controlled by staircases constructed of overlapping stone slabs flanked by cut-stone gateways (Bennett 1936: 483–485; Ponce Sanginés 1989). Tiwanaku-style stone sculpture has also been found at many of these sites.

Some of the Tiwanaku-style sunken-court temple centers might have been constructed as early as Bennett's Early Tiwanaku phase (Bennett 1934:448–453), now known as Tiwanaku III (Browman 1978b:810, 1980:111; Ponce Sanginés 1969:98). Sunken temples are notoriously difficult to date because of the rarity of datable construction fill or floor deposits and their tendency to fill with unrelated sediment after abandonment (Girault 1990:261; C. Ponce Sanginés, personal communication 1992). Nonetheless, the overwhelming dominance of Tiwanaku IV and V ceramics in offerings and throughout temple excavations at Lukurmata and Chiripa (Bennett 1936:504; Browman 1978b: 810), Khonko Wankani (Rydén 1947:154), Mocachi (Casanova 1942:363), and the Templete Semisubterráneo itself (Girault 1990; Ponce Sanginés 1969:56) suggest that the use of the sunken courts was at its height during Tiwanaku IV and V. As will be discussed below, this would make the apogee of the sunken-court temple complex contemporary with Tiwanaku's maximal territorial expansion.

Artifacts from the excavated sunken-court temples also shed light on the special activities that took place within the temple complexes. Fragments of the otherwise rare elaborate zoomorphic and pedestal-based vessels known as *incensarios* or *sahumarios* composed 87 percent of the sherd inventory within the Lukurmata temple (Bennett 1936:493). Recent examination of organic residues

Table 1. Some Known Tiwanaku Sunken-Court Temple Sites.

| Site | Dimensions (m) | Description | Source |
|------------------------------------|---------------------|---|---|
| Tiwanaku, Templete Semisubterráneo | | sunken court with <i>kalasasaya</i> -type masonry, stelae and sculptured heads, slab staircase | Bennett 1934; Ponce Sanginés 1969 |
| Tiwanaku, Akapana | 45 x 45 | sunken court on summit of terraced pyramid | Manzanilla and Woodard 1990 |
| Tiwanaku, TMV-561 Wila Pukara | 20 x 20 | platform with 60-cm depression in center and worked andesite blocks | Albarracín-Jordan and Mathews 1990; Ponce Sanginés 1972 |
| Lukurmata | 9.5 x 9.5 | sunken court on terraced hilltop, slab staircases | Bennett 1936; Ponce Sanginés 1989; Rivera Sundt 1989 |
| Chiripa | 23 x 21.5 | sunken court with <i>kalasasaya</i> -type masonry on terraced artificial mound (built over Formative ceremonial center) | Bennett 1936; Browman 1978b |
| Mocachi | 28 x 20 | sunken court with <i>kalasasaya</i> -type masonry on terraced hilltop, stelae and sculptured heads | Casanova 1937, 1942 |
| Khonkho-Wankani (Wancani) | 23 x 28 and 21 x 26 | two sunken courts with <i>kalasasaya</i> -type masonry on low terraced mound, stelae | Portugal 1941; Ryden 1947 |
| Simillake | 53 x 53 | sunken court with <i>kalasasaya</i> -type masonry, in stone-faced platform | Posnansky 1934; Ryden 1947 |
| Cota | 12 x 7 | sunken court (unexcavated) on terraced hilltop platforms | Hyslop 1976 |
| Incatunahuirí | 14 x 12-15 | sunken court (unexcavated) on promontory with scattered blocks | Hyslop 1976 |
| Tumuku (Tucumu) | 25 x 10 | sunken court (unexcavated) on hill, stela nearby | Rowe and Donahue 1975; Stanish 1991 |
| Omo M10 | 14 x 14 | sunken court in adobe terreplane | Goldstein 1989 |

on similar *incensarios* from Tiwanaku indicates that they were used to burn animal fats (Marchbanks 1991), a function in keeping with ethnographically known Aymara ritual practice (Abercrombie 1986; Buechler and Buechler 1971). In addition to the prevalence of sherds, some complete or reconstructible *incensarios* found behind walls (Bennett 1936:484) and in the surrounding terraces of the Lukurmata temple complex (Ponce Sanginés 1989:283; Rivera Sundt 1989:69) appear to have been specifically left as offerings. Similar high concentrations of *incensario* sherds have been noted in the sunken-court temples at Mocachi and Khonko Wankani (Casanova 1942:363; Rydén 1947:154), at the platform mound of Pajchiri (Bennett 1936:464), and at the Chiripa sunken court, where Browman (1978b:810) has noted that they “reaffirm the use of the temple as an important religious sanctuary.”

The sunken-court temples also yield high proportions of what might be considered a separate category of “elite” artifacts. The structure at Lukurmata yielded a number of gold, silver, copper, and lapis lazuli beads (Bennett 1936:493), and jewelry fragments of metal and semiprecious stones have been reported also on the Akapana (Manzanilla 1992; Manzanilla and Woodard 1990:138) and at several other platform-mound centers (e.g., Kolata 1986:757). There is no indication that these status goods were intentionally left as caches, and they seem more likely to represent items lost in everyday elite usage, perhaps by temple personnel.

To summarize, existing surface surveys and excavations permit several generalizations about Tiwanaku’s temple-building program. Although further study in the circum-Titicaca altiplano is needed, the height of this architectural and ceremonial tradition clearly coincides with the apogee of Tiwanaku political growth. Evidence from the Lake Titicaca region suggests that two essential formal elements—sunken courts and platform mounds—were most often combined in temple structures. While sunken courts have often been seen as miniaturized reproductions of the Templete Semisubterráneo, most are located atop raised platforms that might be considered replications of Tiwanaku’s man-made mountain, the Akapana, itself now believed to have been the site of perhaps the greatest of all sunken courts. In the satellite temples for which plans are available, staircases and doorways progressively restricted access to the temple platforms. At their summits we find the sunken courts, inner sancta that housed the state’s sacred icons and witnessed a tradition of ritual offering and elaborate ceremony.

TIWANAKU EXPANSION AND THE MOQUEGUA VALLEY

All of the previously known Tiwanaku public structures are located in the Lake Titicaca basin, at elevations well above 3,500 m. The absence of any of the Tiwanaku monumental architectural forms outside of the altiplano has limited our understanding of the scope of Tiwanaku expansionism, and challenged the very conception of Tiwanaku as a true expansive state society. Nonetheless, for most of this century, finds of Tiwanaku artifacts from as far away as northern Argentina (Berberian 1977; DeBenedetti 1911; Tarrago 1977), the eastern slopes of the Andes (Bennett 1936; Byrne de Caballero 1984; Rydén 1957; Wassen 1972), the oases and river valleys of northern Chile (Berenguer 1978, 1985, 1986; Berenguer and Dauelsberg H. 1989; Bird 1943; Dauelsberg 1985; Focacci 1981, 1983; Lynch 1983; Mujica 1985; Mujica et al. 1983; Muñoz Ovalle 1983; Ponce Sanginés 1972; Rivera Diaz 1985), and southern Peru’s desert western sierra (Disselhoff 1968; Ishida 1960) have suggested that the Tiwanaku ruins were the epicenter of a widespread artistic style and religious cult. Clearly, to understand Tiwanaku as a demographic and political system we are also compelled to consider its extraterritorial influence as a regional player in areas peripheral to its homeland zone.

Since 1983, research by the Omo Archaeological Project in southern Peru’s Moquegua Valley has concentrated on the process through which Tiwanaku established dominion over this riverine oasis in the desert western sierra (Figure 2). This region has a rich potential for the irrigated cultivation of temperate crops such as maize and continued as a key area for direct exploitation by post-Tiwanaku highland polities (Murra 1968, 1972). The 1986–1987 excavation of domestic units at the 38-ha Omo site group (Figure 2, inset), the largest Tiwanaku settlement outside of Bolivia, found the sites’ town plan, domestic structures, and Tiwanaku domestic-artifact types to reflect the valley’s colonization by altiplano settlers in late Tiwanaku IV and its hegemonic integration during Tiwanaku

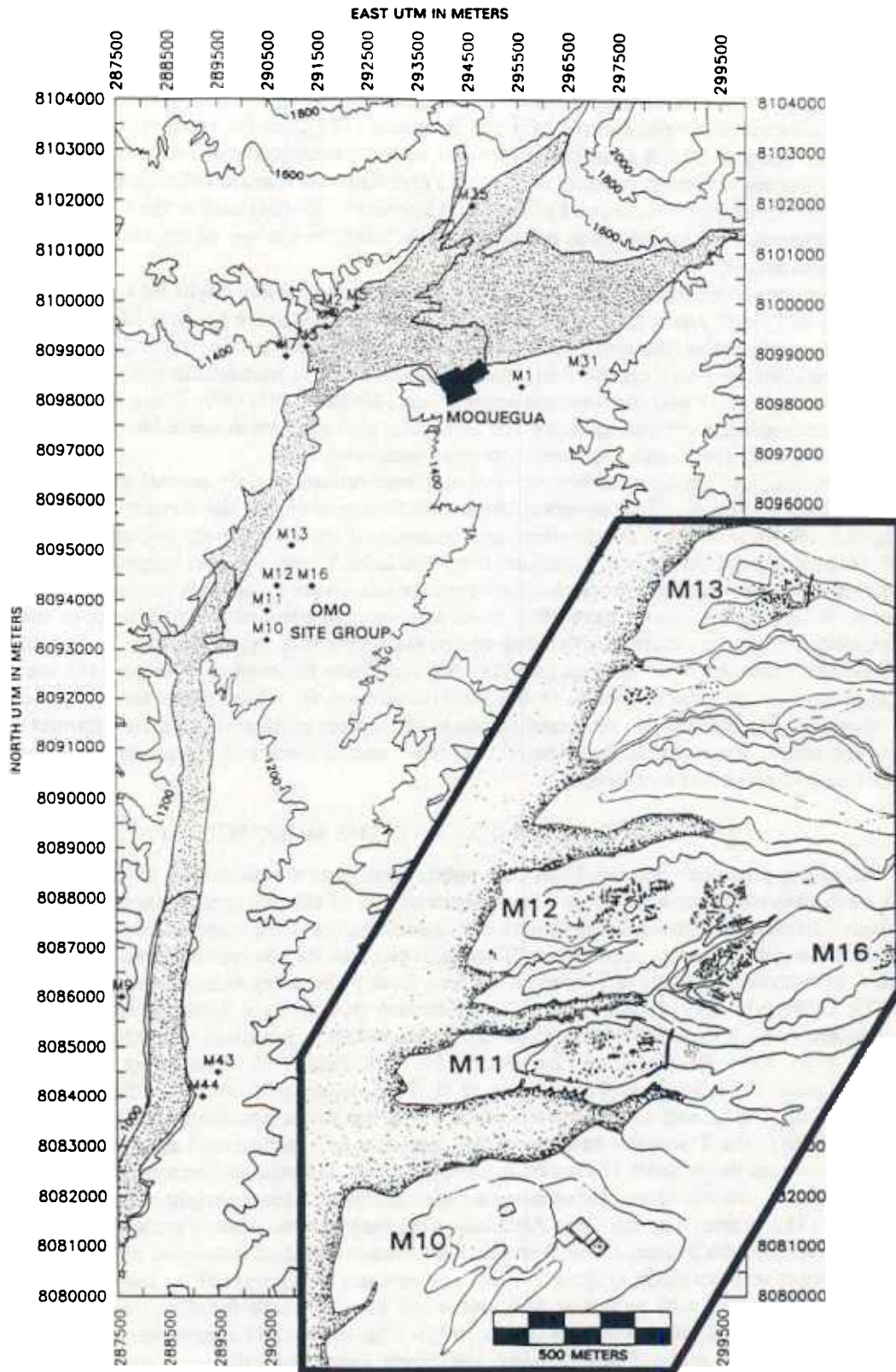


Figure 2. Tiwanaku-contemporary sites of the Mid-Moquegua Valley, contour interval 200 m, stippling indicates cultivated valley floor. Inset: the Omo site group.

| | | Titicaca Basin | | Moquegua Mid-Valley | | |
|-----------|--|----------------|--------------|---------------------|-----------------|-----------|
| | | North | South | | | |
| A.D. 1500 | | INKA | | INKA | | |
| | | Colla | Lupaca | Pacaque | Omasuyus | Estuquiña |
| | | | | | | Chiribaya |
| A.D. 1000 | | TIWANAKU V | | TUMILACA PHASE | | |
| | | | | CHEN CHEN PHASE | | |
| | | | | OMO PHASE | | |
| A.D. 500 | | TIWANAKU IV | | | | |
| | | Late Pukara | Tiwanaku III | | | |
| | | Middle Pukara | Tiwanaku I | Trapiche Phase | Huaracane Phase | |
| | | Initial Pukara | Chiripa | | | |
| 500 B.C. | | | | | | |

Figure 3. Comparative chronology for the Moquegua Valley and the Titicaca Basin.

V (Goldstein 1985, 1989a, 1989b, 1990a, 1990b; Moseley et al. 1991). The correspondence of all aspects of quotidian material culture at Omo with those of the altiplano core area demonstrates the maintenance of an explicitly Tiwanaku identity in a territory fully annexed to the Tiwanaku state system. The Omo data demonstrate that large Tiwanaku colonial settlements actually predate the better-known Wari expansion of the Middle Horizon. The subsequent pattern of territorial incorporation also provides a sharp counterpoint to the nondemographic characterizations of long-distance elite trade and religious diffusion that have been formulated for the integration of Tiwanaku's more distant peripheries such as San Pedro de Atacama, in northern Chile (Berenguer 1989; Browman 1980:108–109, 1984a:122–123, 1985:64–65; Mujica 1985; Orellana 1985; Thomas et al. 1985; Torres 1985).

The incorporation of Moquegua into the territorial sphere of Tiwanaku did not occur instantaneously. The Omo Archaeological Project has built upon an independently derived chronology for Moquegua Tiwanaku by comparing the Moquegua sites and artifacts with those of the Bolivian altiplano (Figure 3). The initial Tiwanaku occupation of the Moquegua Valley, designated the Omo phase, is represented by the large M12 settlement component, located on a spatially distinct blufftop at the north end of the Omo site group (Figure 4). Excavations at M12 suggest a system of insular community groups of architecturally undifferentiated domestic units, clustered around distinct open plazas. The ceramic inventory of the Omo phase corresponds with types that were most common in middle levels of published altiplano Tiwanaku excavations (Bennett 1934, 1936; Casanova 1942; and especially Rydén 1947, 1957, 1959; see Goldstein 1985, 1989a). Often, but not always, these correspond with types of Bennett's (1934) Classic Tiwanaku style, now referred to as Tiwanaku IV (A.D. 375–725; Ponce Sanginés 1972). A wooden post from an excavated domestic structure of the

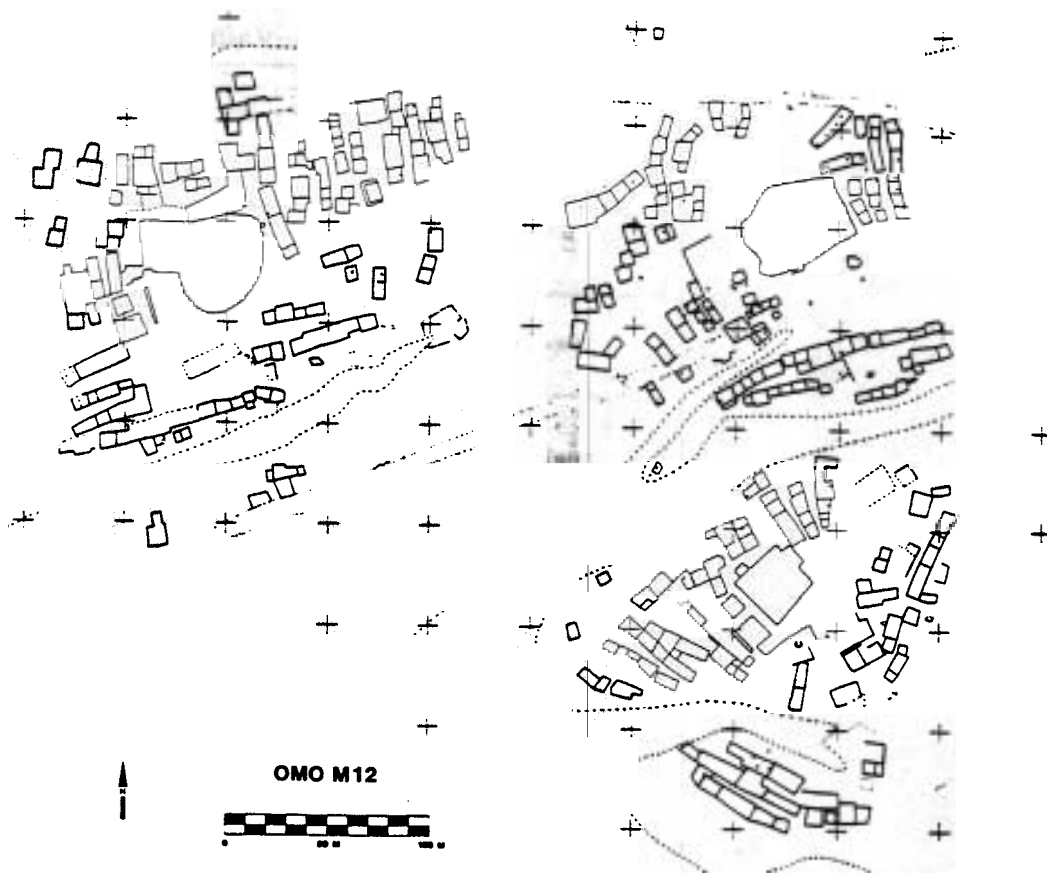


Figure 4. Omo phase site M12, Omo, Moquegua.

Omo phase at site M12 has a radiocarbon age of 1470 ± 70 B.P. (Beta-36639); cal A.D. 600, 1-sigma range = cal A.D. 538–648.¹

Elsewhere, adopting terms suggested by Luis Lumbreras, I have described a historical transformation in Moquegua from the “colonial” settlements of the Omo phase to a “provincial” system of the subsequent Chen Chen phase (A.D. 725–950; Goldstein 1989a, 1989b, 1990a, 1990b, 1993). There is no public architecture in the Omo phase. Nonetheless, excavations indicate that a few specific households enjoyed a monopoly of access to elite ceramics of the most elaborate types prevalent in the altiplano during Tiwanaku IV. Specialized facilities such as large ceramic storage vessels also suggest that some of these elite houses doubled as *chicherias*, or sites for brewing and ritual drinking of maize beer. Analogy with historic and contemporary Aymara communities suggests that the hosting of such activities, while critical to the structuring of social and political relations, seldom entails permanent office holding and can be relatively fluid over time (Abercrombie 1986; Buechler and Buechler 1971; Platt 1980). Thus the household-based rituals of the Omo phase may have been sponsored or presided over by elite, yet informally selected community leaders, and Omo-phase allegiance to Tiwanaku may have been articulated through lineage or moiety ties without the intervention of a permanent priestly or administrative class. It is not surprising that exclusively public architecture played little or no role.

A very different pattern prevails at site M10, the southernmost of the Omo blufftop sites (Figure 5). Site M10 was occupied during the Chen Chen phase (A.D. 725–950), Moquegua’s manifestation of Tiwanaku V. Despite an intensive and apparently deliberate site destruction process that has

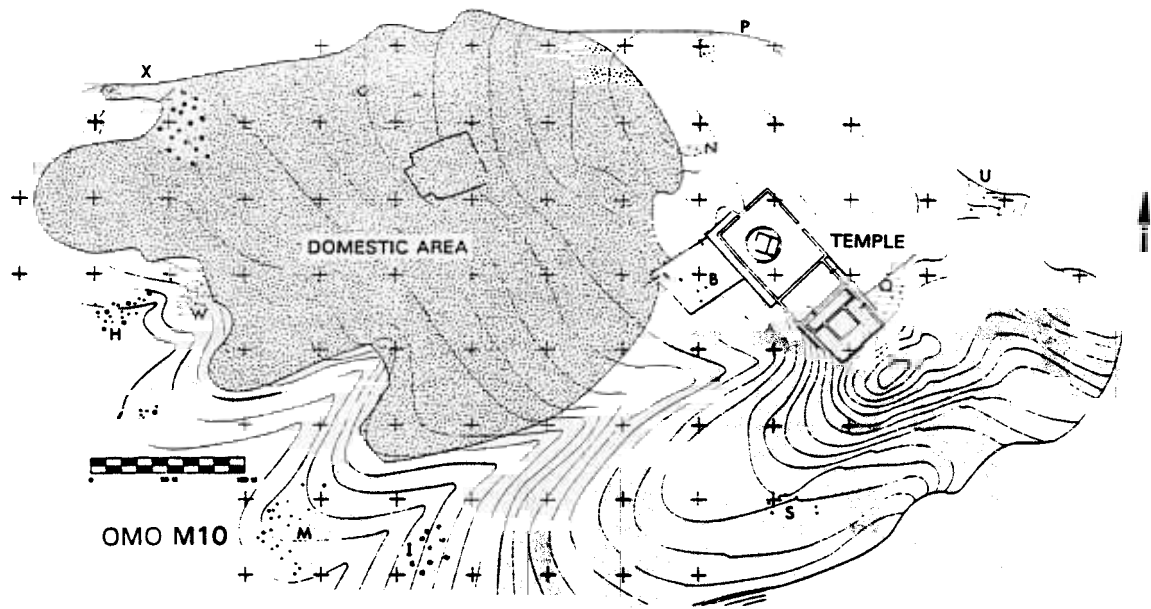


Figure 5. Chen Chen phase site M10, Omo, Moquegua, showing destroyed habitation area (*stippled*), cemeteries (*lettered*), and temple.

obliterated much of the M10 town plan, 1987 excavations of domestic units and associated middens defined rectangular cane-walled habitations in this 7.75-ha settlement. An in-situ wall post from excavated Structure 13 of the M10 domestic component has a radiocarbon age of 1120 ± 60 B.P. (Beta-26650); cal A.D. 897, 1-sigma range = cal A.D. 880–986. Eighteen spatially distinct cemeteries, most of them of exclusively Chen Chen phase/Tiwanaku V affiliation, ring the domestic site (Goldstein and Bermann 1992). However, Omo M10 is most remarkable among peripheral Tiwanaku settlements for the presence of a Tiwanaku temple structure.

OMO'S TIWANAKU TEMPLE

At first glance, the dry dusty appearance of the Omo M10 temple seems to have little in common with the rain-washed temple mounds of the altiplano. However, this is due more to the differential preservation afforded by the two areas' contrasting environments than architectural style. Observation of the rapid postabandonment decay of modern Aymara adobe houses implies that some of the altiplano mound complexes may have long ago melted away in that region's relentless rains. In contrast, desert conditions at Omo have preserved a wealth of detail on architectural form, adobe construction technique, and abandonment and site-formation processes.

The M10 ceremonial structure is a set of three adobe-walled courts built on a stepped terreplane that ascends a small hill to the east of the destroyed habitation site on the M10 bluff. These are designated as the Lower, Middle, and Upper Courts. In addition, a contiguous rhomboidal platform abuts on the southwest side of the Lower Court. The southeastern half of this platform is distinguished by M10 Cemetery B, in which over 70 cylindrical cyst or pit tombs were mapped. Excavations in the Cemetery B Platform indicate that it is superimposed on the Lower Court mound and therefore the latest of the temple constructions. Nonetheless, the stone-cribbed construction fill of the platform contained organic midden with dense inclusions of ceramics and other artifacts of the Chen Chen phase/Tiwanaku V (Figure 6b). Moreover, excavation found the looted and intact burials of Cemetery B to represent standard Chen Chen phase/Tiwanaku V interments and to contain typical offerings of this phase (Figure 6a; Goldstein and Bermann 1992).

The largest of the three courts along the principal axis of the complex is the Lower Court, built on an artificially leveled rectangular platform. While surrounded by the remains of a low adobe

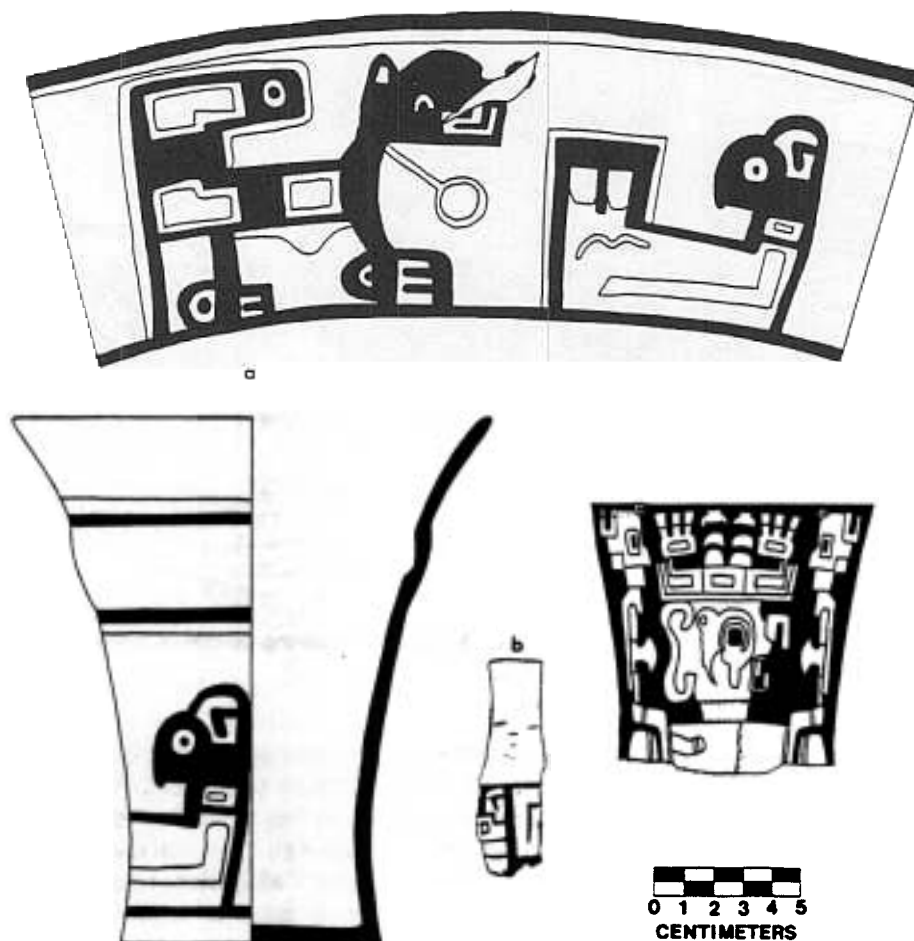


Figure 6. (a) Ceramic "kero," Cemetery B, Tomb B-7; (b) engraved bone tube, Cemetery B platform fill; (c) "Sacrificer" figure on tapestry fragment, Middle Court.

wall, it lies closest to the domestic site and irrigated valley bottom and appears to have been the part of the complex most accessible to the habitation area. The 42-x-57-m Lower Court has no internal divisions or prepared floor surfaces, and may well have served as an area of relatively unrestricted public assembly. Inside the court proper is a shallow trench or depression that forms a circular feature 23 m in diameter, the function of which is not known.

Passing through what appears to have been a central doorway in the southeast wall of the Lower Court, temple traffic may have funneled into the smaller Middle Court, a 20-x-37-m precinct that was surrounded on three sides by somewhat more substantial adobe walls. Test excavation also found the Middle Court's construction to be more elaborate than the Lower Court, with a floor of smoothed red clay, locally called *moro moro*, and walled galleries on either side of the central atrium. On its uphill (southeast) side, the Middle Court was dominated by the 3-m-high terraced face of the Upper Court terreplane. Fragments of broken stone blocks visible on the surface and intact blocks found in excavation indicate that this interface with the temple's highest level once boasted a striking facade of finely dressed stone.

Architecturally, the Upper Court was the most imposing and complex part of the M10 structure. While the architectural form of the Upper Court was obscured on the surface by collapsed and melted adobe and a deep looter's pit, topography suggested this 34-x-36-m leveled platform contained a sunken central walled area surrounded by rectangular rooms. The dense surface concentration of shattered stone block fragments suggested that the interior superstructure of the Upper Court had been faced with the same dressed stone used for its lower terrace face.

Excavations in the Upper Court

During the 1990 season of the Omo Archaeological Project, a program of topographic survey and test excavations was initiated in the Upper Court to verify and date the complex's cultural affiliation and to test for diagnostic Tiwanaku architectural features, particularly a sunken court. A series of 2-x-2-m test units was located to transect the Upper Court platform to determine its cultural stratigraphy, construction sequence, and final architectural form (Figure 7).

The sterile fill used to build up the Upper Court mound makes it difficult to date the initiation of construction of the terreplane itself. However, all ceramics found on floor surfaces of the Upper Court superstructure are of Chen Chen phase types, and there is no evidence that the mound corresponds to an earlier ceramic phase. A wood sample taken from the Upper Court's entryway lintel (see below) has a radiocarbon age of 1160 ± 50 B.P. (Beta-39679); cal A.D. 886, 1-sigma range = cal A.D. 789-954. Supported by the date of cal A.D. 897 from domestic Structure 13 at M10, this securely brackets the final construction and use of the Upper Court temple superstructure at the apogee of Tiwanaku's V expansion.

Stratigraphy indicated two distinct episodes of site destruction. A homogenous mixture of broken adobe fragments and smashed ashlar blocks suggests that the structure's walls were pushed over and systematically smashed during or very shortly after its abandonment. This intensive and intentional first episode of demolition could represent the same Precolumbian site destruction that accounts for the opening of numerous tombs in the M10 cemeteries and the extensive pitting of the M10 habitation site. The Precolumbian site destruction is unrelated to the Spanish Colonial looting that produced the Upper Court's large central crater and corresponding spoils. The two events were clearly separated in time by the intervening lens of volcanic ash from the eruption of Huayna Putina on February 19, 1600. The presence of sherds of Spanish colonial *botijas*, or "olive jars," above the volcanic ash layer may be compatible with a directed destruction of the Omo temple and removal of its idols by Spanish Colonial authorities during the extirpation of idolatry.

Excavations found the Upper Court to reflect what is for Moquegua an unusual concern for detail in its construction and maintenance. The platform forming the base of the Upper Court terreplane was constructed of walled terraces and cribbing compartments built of mud-mortared adobes set over foundation courses of cobbles. Superimposed terrace faces and fill zones exposed in a test trench on the southwest exterior of the Upper Court indicate several episodes of expansive reconstruction or the buttressing of retaining-wall sections that were collapsed by earthquakes or natural slump. Fill alternated between dry gravel and sand from nearby borrow pits and wet-laminated red clay similar to the flooring in the Middle and Upper courts, which was brought from a more distant source. The contrast of the clean fill used in all these reconstruction episodes of the Upper Court platform with the midden fill used in the Cemetery B platform is noteworthy, and could suggest a higher degree of sanctity for the Upper Court.

Great care is also evident in the construction of the Upper Court superstructure, where a single course of finely worked ashlar blocks was used as the foundation for most interior walls (Figure 8). Because of the intentional destruction of walls, the foundations of the Upper Court superstructure were only found intact in areas buried under particularly deep layers of adobe wallfall. Elsewhere, the outlines and construction of walls could be construed from ashlar fragments and stone-shaped impressions and remnants of mud mortar left in the red clay floors. The ashlar blocks were all rectangular, although sizes varied considerably. Three or more faces of each ashlar were extraordinarily well smoothed by abrasion, while nonvisible sides were left unpolished. The vertical edges of each stone were closely fitted to its neighbors without any mortar or space between blocks. Ashlars in the same course varied in height and length. This technique is very similar to the distinctive masonry of the Pumapunku Temple, the Temple Semisubterráneo (Ponce Sanginés 1969:63) and Akapana summit structures (Manzanilla 1992:57) at Tiwanaku, and the Willakollu temple of Lukurmata (Bennett 1936:471-481). While the ashlar blocks found in situ in the Omo M10 Upper Court were flat slabs placed on either side as a facade, floor impressions suggest more elaborate jambs and some blocks that may have spanned the entire thickness of the wall. All walls, including the stone-foundation courses, were finished with mud plaster and some were painted with a red pigment.

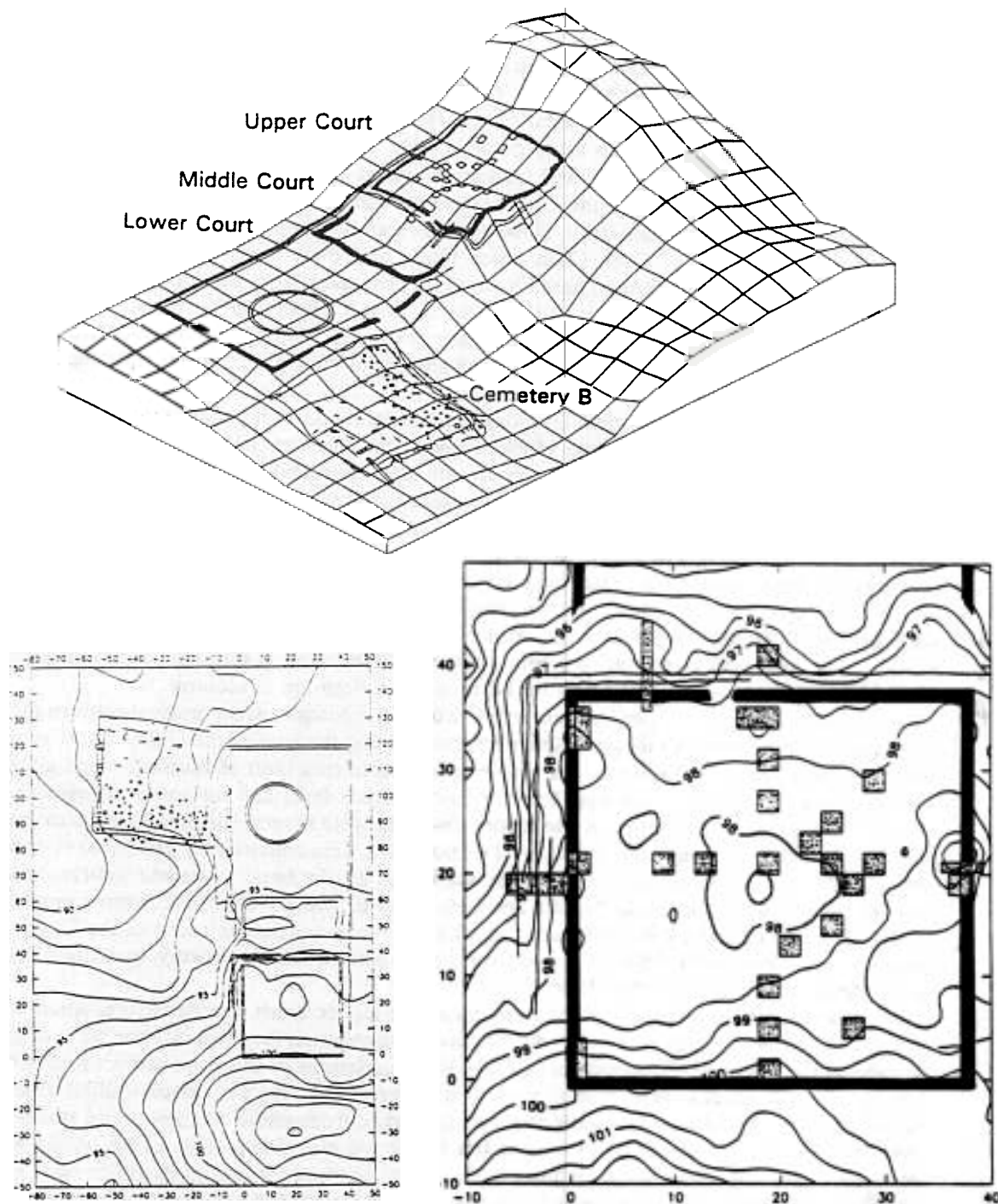


Figure 7. Plan and surface plot of Omo M10 temple, showing excavation units in the Upper Court (*stippled*).

Excavated adobes were all rectangular and flat, with typical bricks measuring 50 x 40 x 8 cm. The adobe matrix included reeds, textile scraps, fibers, other organic inclusions, fragments of Tiwanaku ceramics and occasional highly eroded sherds of “neckless ollas” of the pre-Tiwanaku “Huaracane” phase (Feldman 1989; Goldstein 1989a). As the Huaracane sherds were included only in debris from the bricks themselves, rather than in occupation floors, their presence is attributed

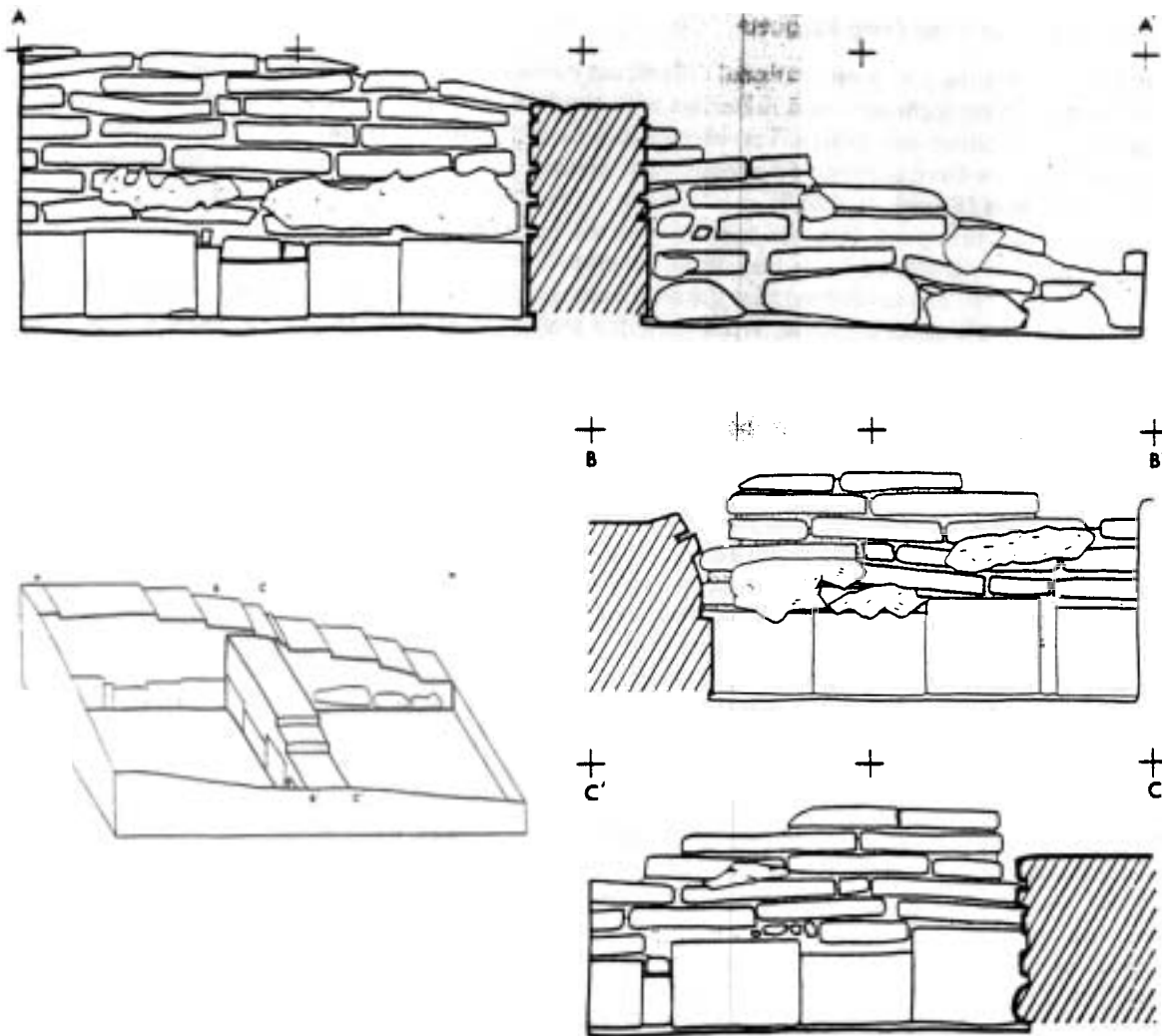


Figure 8. Typical wall elevations, M10 Upper Court, showing ashlar block foundations and adobes.

to the borrowing of adobe mud from old cultural midden deposits. Kolata (1986:753) has reported a similar presence of Chiripa Formative sherds above Tiwanaku IV floors at sites in the Pampa Koani. Bricks of a less common adobe variety that contained dense inclusions of grasses were found in lower wallfall contexts that suggest their association with the upper courses of the outer-complex walls.

As might be expected in a ceremonial structure, the relative scarcity of cultural material and the absence of domestic features on the Upper Court's prepared-floor surfaces suggest fastidious cleaning during occupation. Where present, primarily in the peripheral rooms adjacent to the central area, floor deposits were limited to thin layers of compacted organics with minimal Chen Chen phase ceramic deposits. Floors were often directly overlain, and separated from adobe wallfall, by straw-like riverine reeds or fist-sized bundles of *ichu* grass, 30 cm in length. These would not appear to be the remains of roofing per se, but rather a protective walltop layer. Use of this technique to protect adobe walls from rain is considered diagnostic for altiplano architecture. Since the Moquegua area is a hyperarid zone, this might be considered a vestigial continuation of altiplano tradition, and thus another marker for the cultural orientation of the builders.

The Temple Plan and the Omo Maqueta

While environmental and preservational differences make it difficult to directly compare the Omo temple's construction technique and materials with those of the altiplano temples, it is possible to trace parallels in architectural design. Test excavations in the Upper Court and surface measurements of the M10 complex have permitted a preliminary reconstruction of the complex as it stood during its final occupation (Figure 9). While only further excavation can confirm details of room access and interior walls, this gives us some idea of how the complex may have appeared to Tiwanaku provincials and how it served as an instrument of state control.

Excavation in 1990 has confirmed that the only access to the Upper Court complex was from the Middle Court, via a central staircase. While only the stone slab of the bottom step was discovered in situ in the Middle Court, plaster and mortar impressions indicate an overlapping series of large stone slabs similar in construction to the stairways of several altiplano Tiwanaku monuments. Finely cut stone blocks found at the base of the stair appear to have fallen from above, indicating that a splendid facade faced the Middle Court on either side of the staircase.

At the top of the stairs, entrance to the Upper Court complex was physically controlled by a single doorway less than 1 m in width. The door's sill was indicated by three in situ stone blocks found in excavation, and a deep circular pivot hole and semicircular grooves in the sill stones indicate that a swinging door may have secured this gateway. This would appear to be a unique occurrence, as hinged doors are extremely rare in the Precolumbian New World (J. Rowe, personal communication 1991). Adjacent to the door sill, the impressions of ashlar blocks set in the clay floor indicate the location of a stepped series of door jambs. Plaster fragments indicate that the perpendicular surfaces of the door jambs were alternately painted in vivid red, yellow, and green pigments, as were cut-stone architectural elements at Tiwanaku (Conklin 1991:285).

The Omo door jambs were capped by an unusual architectural element that might best be described as a wooden imitation of a stone lintel. Fallen immediately behind the door sill, the beam-shaped lintel was constructed of three heavy logs bound together with braided vegetable fiber, with interlaced tufts of *ichu* grass used to anchor a covering of mud plaster. The mud plaster surfaces were carefully smoothed and painted with gray-white and yellow pigments. Both the step-like recessing of the door jambs and "faux stone" architrave of the central entryway mimic the famed monolithic entryways of the Tiwanaku site, and may have symbolized the physical restriction or "funneling" of access to the inner sanctum of the Omo temple.

Passing through this gateway, a visitor to the Upper Court would have arrived in an antechamber flanked on either side by galleries of small walled rooms with well-plastered floors and lightweight, post-supported roofs. While only further excavation can confirm their function and access patterns, the absence of standard domestic debris and finds of minuscule jewelry fragments suggest that these rooms could have served either for storage or as administrative offices for a provincial elite.

Through another axial gateway, one entered the 16-x-15-m walled central area at the heart of the complex. The mud-plastered walls of this inner sanctum were painted a bright red, with some decoration in green. In the center of the room was a sunken court 10.5 m square and 50 cm deep. Although the center of the court was damaged by both the original site destruction and Spanish Colonial period looting, impressions left in the surviving parts of the red-clay floor indicate that it had once been lined with ashlar blocks that had subsequently been removed and shattered.

A test excavation in the center of the sunken court found the outlines of a deep pit that extended 2.7 m into sterile soil beneath the court's clay surface. This is considerably deeper than the deepest penetration of either looting episode, indicating that some large object, presumably an idol of unknown material, had originally been set in the center of the sunken court, and later removed. It appears that the Omo sunken court, like those of the Tiwanaku homeland, once housed a massive stela; indeed, fragments of stone sculpture found elsewhere at the M10 site represent local derivations of Classic Tiwanaku style.

Behind the sunken-court room, surface indications and test excavations suggest a substantial building with particularly massive adobe walls, perhaps of more than one story, and a thatched roof. Block fragments and impressions in the clay floor indicate foundations of finely cut stone.

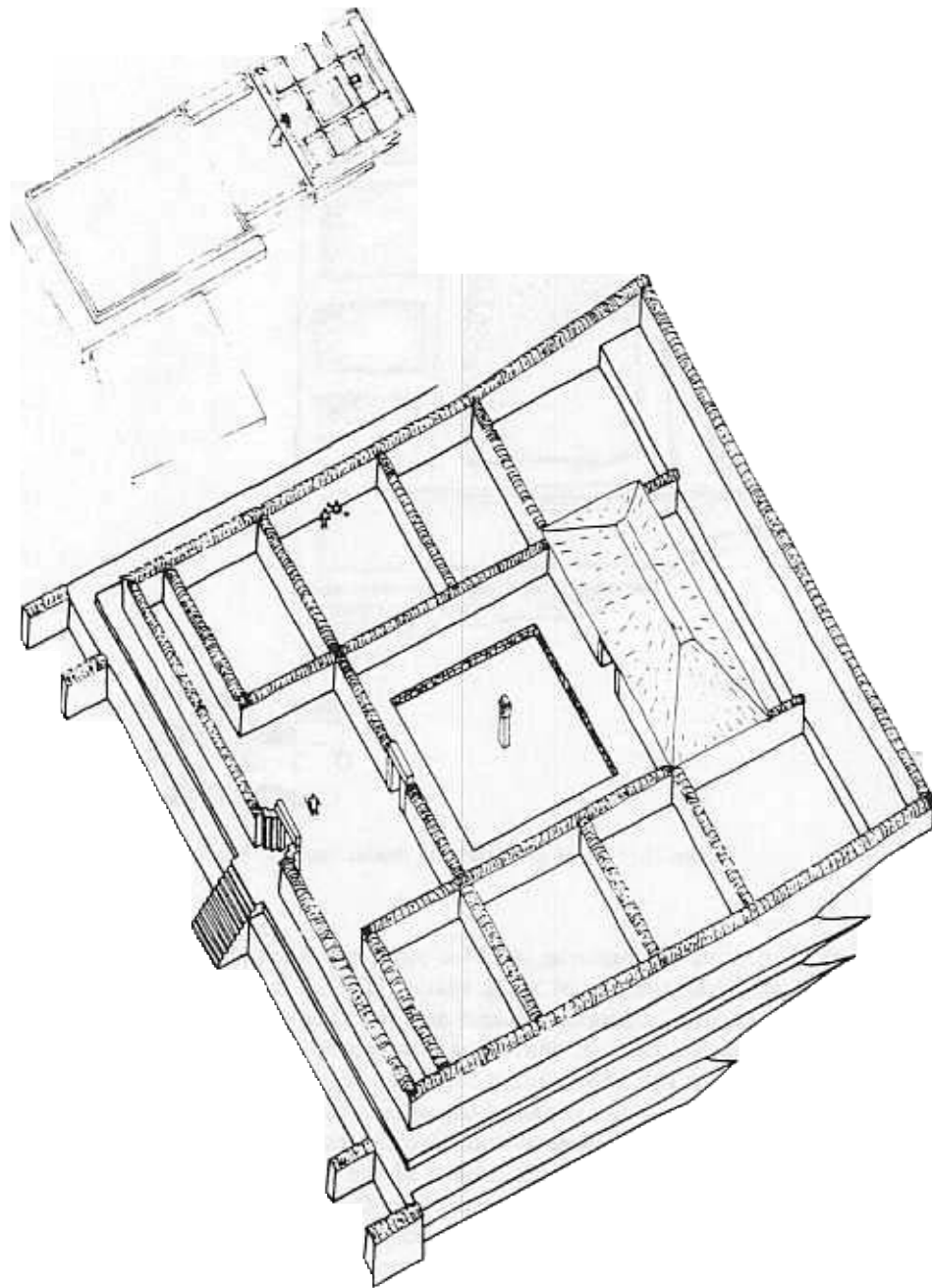


Figure 9. Isometric reconstruction of the M10 Temple Upper Court.

This structure enjoyed a commanding panorama of not only the sunken-court chamber and its side galleries, but of the entire ceremonial complex and domestic site of M10. It is perhaps no coincidence that this part of the Upper Court also affords a rare view of the summit of distant Cerro Baul, to the north, Moquegua's largest and most impressive Wari site.

The architectural plan of the Upper Court takes on greater significance in view of a small carved-stone model or *maqueta* found near a looted tomb at Omo in the 1970s (Figure 10; A. Belen and R. Pari, personal communication 1987). This 15-x-13-cm fragment was carved from the same

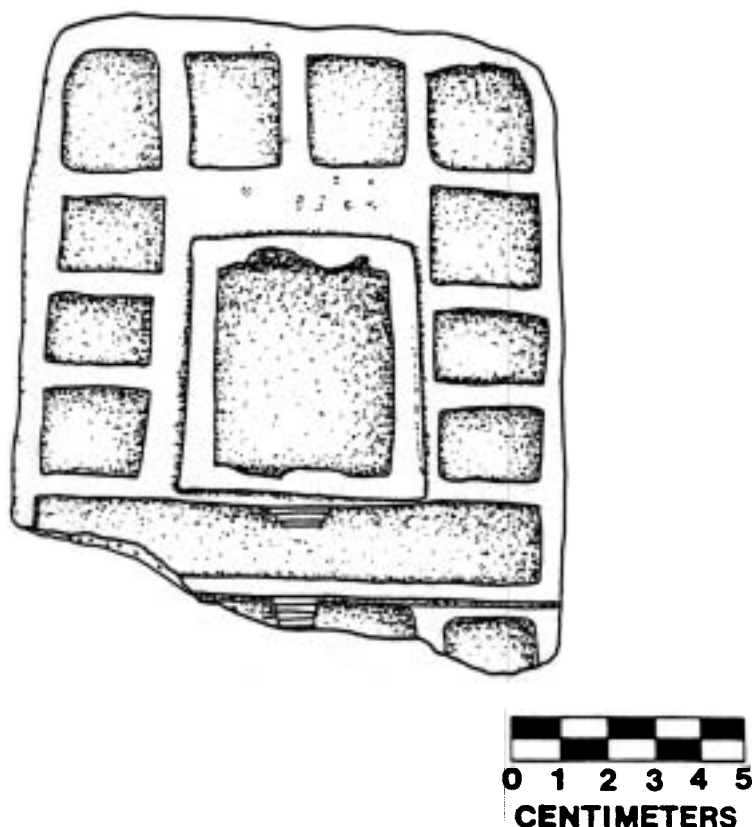


Figure 10. Stone architectural model found at Omo M10.

lightweight porous volcanic tuff material used for other stone sculpture found at Omo. Now in the collection of the Catholic University of Santa Maria (UCSM) in Arequipa, the *maqueta* exhibits a number of strong similarities in proportion and details to the Omo ceremonial structure. Depicted is an approximately square structure, consisting of a central walled and sunken court surrounded on three sides by 10 smaller rooms separated from one another by lower walls. On the fourth side, a single-walled room runs the entire width of the square structure. Adjacent to this long room, the *maqueta* fragment indicates a miniature central staircase that descends to the center of three rooms on a lower level. Although the *maqueta* is broken at the base of the staircase on this lower level, its resemblance to the Upper and Middle Courts of the Omo temple is striking. With the “real-life” confirmation of the gallery rooms of the Middle and Upper courts, the central sunken court of the Upper Court, the transverse antechamber and the central staircase, there can be little doubt that the Omo *maqueta* is a model of the actual M10 structure.

The creation of carved architectural miniatures was an established Tiwanaku practice. The best known is a massive stone block depicting a sunken court with miniature staircases that is visible today in the Kantatayita section of the Tiwanaku site. Posnansky (1945:109, 111, 123) argued that the Kantatayita stone was a model of a particular sunken court that faced the western terrace of Kalasasaya. Smaller portable models of domestic and ceremonial architecture have also been reported at the site (A. Kolata, personal communication 1989; Ponce Sanginés 1972:73). The Omo *maqueta* appears to be the only case that directly corresponds to a specific existing structure.

As with any Precolumbian object without any readily apparent utility, it is difficult to interpret the function of the Tiwanaku *maquetas*. However, miniatures of houses and farms are commonly used today to invoke prosperity in Aymara festival contexts. Typically, they will be included with coca leaves, llama fat, and alcoholic libations in offering packages or as amulets (Girault 1987:564).

The ritual building of model houses and farmsteads has been reported in twentieth-century Aymara offering ceremonies on the Akapana itself (Reinhard 1990:161), and a similar practice continues to this day in Moquegua atop Cerro Baul, a massive natural outcrop that is locally considered to be sacred.

Material Remains and Ritual Activities

Generally, the M10 temple complex had few of the midden deposits and cultural materials that characterized the domestic sectors of the site. Plainware vessels, and even mundane fineware serving vessels such as *keros* were quite rare. However, of the few artifacts present in floor deposits, elite and ritual-related objects comprised a far higher proportion than in domestic areas. Fragments of Tiwanaku zoomorphic and pedestal base *incensario* vessels were relatively well represented throughout the excavations, just as they were in the Lukurmata and Chiripa sunken courts. These include two size categories of what Bennett (1934) called "hollow base libation bowls" (Figure 11a–b), and small oval-based zoomorphic vessels. A lesser known ceramic category associated with temple functions consists of relatively crude miniature plainware vessels (Figure 11c). A cache of smashed miniature pots was found in excavations at the base of the Omo temple stairway. While these vessels are seldom found in domestic contexts at Omo, they do appear as tomb offerings. Similar vessels have also been reported in association with *incensarios*, camelids, and other offerings in burials and ritual caches on the summit of the Akapana (Manzanilla 1992:70).

An especially active locus of ritual offerings in the Omo temple was in a low passageway area between the roofed structure and the uphill enclosure wall. This enclosed and secluded area was the site for sacrifices of young and fetal camelids. Recent excavations in the Akapana at Tiwanaku have exposed similar sacrificial offerings of groups of camelids, along with caches of deliberately smashed ceramics and perhaps sacrificed human remains (Manzanilla 1992; Manzanilla and Woodard 1990). In the Omo temple, near the southern corner of the Upper Court, one camelid fetus was deposited together with a starfish, perhaps as a symbolic offering that represented the highland and coastal extension of Tiwanaku control.

Quite apart from these deliberate offerings, a number of isolated small fragments of luxury objects of adornment were found in the Omo temple in contexts that suggest accidental loss, rather than formal sacrifice. These include fragments and beads of a variety of materials such as lapis lazuli, malachite, and spondylus shell, probably imported from Ecuador. A Tiwanaku tapestry fragment depicting a staff-bearing "Sacrificer" figure with winged eyes, wearing a typical tripartite headdress, and carrying a puma-headed staff was found in a test excavation in the northeastern gallery of the Middle Court (Figure 6c). Tapestry, by far Tiwanaku's most labor-intensive and iconographically expressive textile medium, may also be considered a highly elite article (Conklin 1983). Unlike in areas of long-distance Tiwanaku elite exchange like San Pedro de Atacama, Chile, tapestry is rarely found in domestic or mortuary contexts at Omo, where Tiwanaku warp-face plainweaves predominate (Oakland 1986, personal communication 1987).

The association of tapestry and exotic jewelry with the Omo temple suggest that elaborate vestments were of limited distribution in the provincial Tiwanaku sphere. Their concentration in the temple, perhaps implying the presence of elite priestly or administrative specialists, takes on greater import in the light of the recent discovery of an elite residential precinct atop the Akapana at Tiwanaku (Manzanilla 1992; Manzanilla and Woodard 1990). With finds such as these and discoveries elsewhere in Moquegua of Tiwanaku four-pointed knotted polychrome hats and metal ear spools—both in ceramic representation and in the archaeological record—we may be on the verge of delineating the emblems of Tiwanaku's priests and political officers.

DISCUSSION

Evidence from the altiplano reviewed above suggests that the typical Tiwanaku temple structure consisted of an artificial mound or landscaped hillside retained in stepped terraces to form tiered platforms. Square or nearly square stone-lined sunken courts were often located in the highest terrace of these temple mounds. Temple structures were generally symmetrical, with access to the sunken

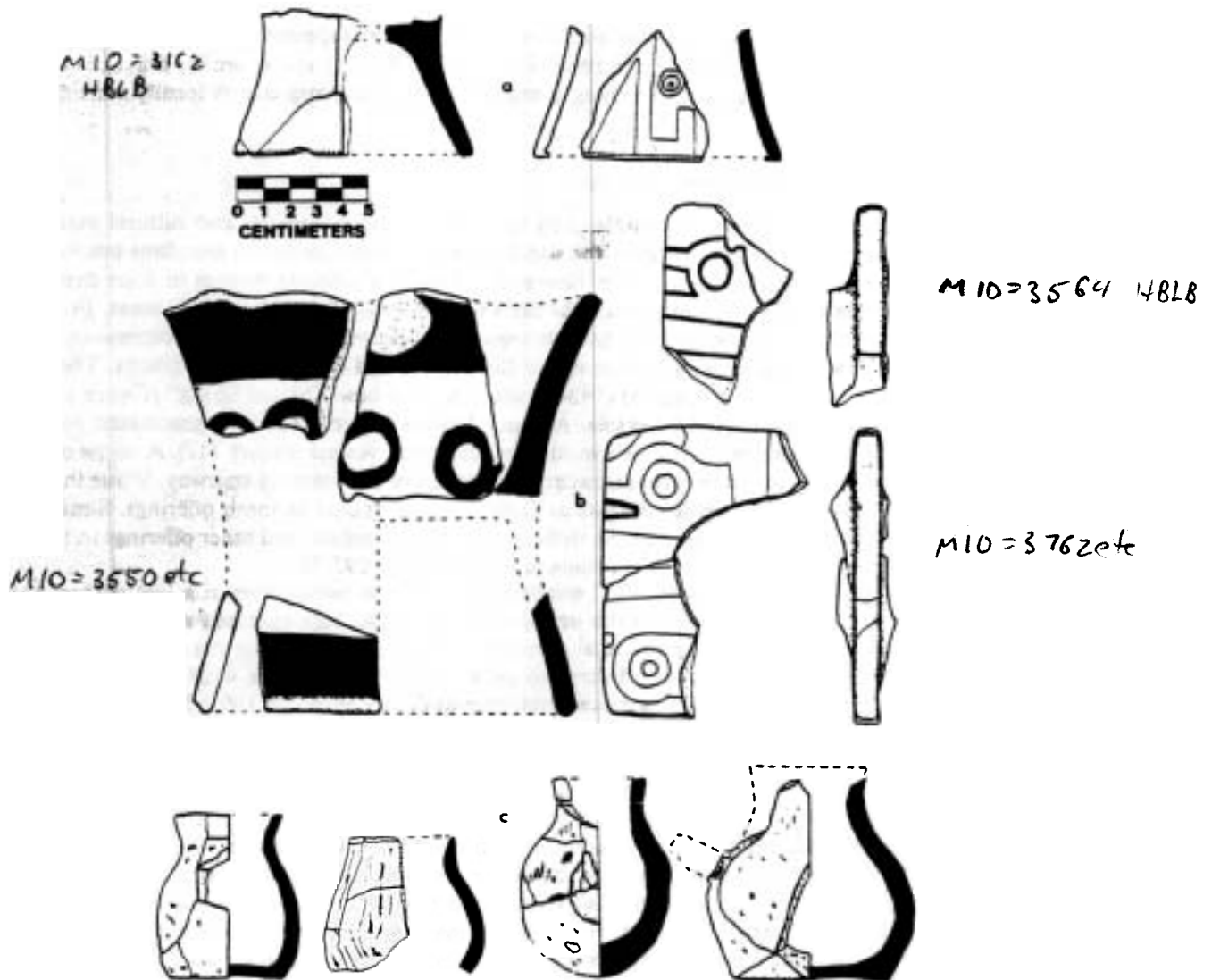


Figure 11. (a) Small pedestal base *incensario*; (b) medium-size *incensario* and square puma collar fragments; (c) miniature plainware vessels.

court restricted by entryways and staircases made of overlapping stone slabs. Stone stelae or other sculpture set at the centers of the sunken courts were the pivotal elements of these ritual complexes. Ceremonial objects such as elaborate ceramic incense burners and faunal or even human remains are often found in caches that indicate a tradition of ritual offerings. Specific categories of luxury artifacts such as jewelry are also well represented, suggesting the presence of elite individuals in the Tiwanaku temples.

Earlier, it was proposed that Andean provincial ceremonial centers are often smaller, more schematic miniatures of their imperial capitals. If Tiwanaku monumental architecture is considered an amalgam of artificial terraced platforms and rectangular walled and sunken-court enclosures, the Omo M10 ceremonial precinct, like the satellite sunken-court temples of the altiplano, replicates Tiwanaku ceremonial architecture on a reduced scale. The temples' configuration, stepped temple platforms, and sunken courts reflect the physical arrangement of altiplano Tiwanaku's centerpiece, the massive pyramid of Akapana. On yet another level of sacred miniaturization with resonances in the ethnographic record, the Omo complex was directly represented by an architectural model

or *maqueta*, a practice also known from altiplano Tiwanaku. In imitation of Tiwanaku's major monuments, the Omo complex may have been adorned by facsimiles of Tiwanaku sculpture, including a large stela, placed centrally on the highest tier of the structure. As in the altiplano monuments, the presence of elite jewelry and clothing fragments and ritual offerings of young and fetal camelids, elite zoomorphic ceramics, and even a starfish support the veneration of the Omo complex as a provincial seat of both secular power and cultic attraction.

Conklin (1991) has described an emphasis on access-controlling gateways and horizontal spanning architraves as the defining element of a doorway cult of Tiwanaku. His analysis of Tiwanaku architectural geometry, the use of gateway depictions as iconic devices, and the prevalence in sculpture of icons of moving figures within architectural contexts points to a Tiwanaku public architecture that was designed to impress religious and civic meaning through ritual movement and controlled passage. This interpretation portrays an altiplano Tiwanaku monumentalism that stressed ritual procession through sacred precincts and toward venerated and protected sacred objects.

The way in which movement was controlled in the Omo M10 complex lends support to a similar focus in provincial Tiwanaku monuments. As symbolized by the Omo *maqueta* and confirmed by excavation, access to the Upper Court platform was restricted to one central staircase and gateway. As the "pilgrim" progressed toward the Upper Court, the reduction in the courts' size, their increasing decorative and architectural elaboration, and the process of filtering and review implied by the gateways and staircases all suggest a transition from public to increasingly restricted sacred space. The stela that once stood in the center of the Omo temple's sunken court was, in a sense, at the heart of a protective labyrinth that could provide the mystical setting necessary to turn a carved piece of stone or wood into a *huaca*—an oracle object worthy of veneration and sacrifice and a focus of supernatural power. Building on a view of Tiwanaku public architecture as a vessel for ritual procession, we might envision a scenario of channeled movement through the M10 structure, from lower public levels into increasingly restricted precincts presided over by a priestly elite. Perhaps the supplicant was also shunted through administrative offices to take part in more worldly activities of taxation and obeisance. By controlling religious practice, Tiwanaku provincial elites could solidify their position as ritual intermediaries and sole conduits to the political power of the Tiwanaku core.

The definition of a Tiwanaku sunken-court temple complex at Omo, 300 km southwest of the site of Tiwanaku, is the first confirmation of this characteristic architectural type outside of the Lake Titicaca basin. In contrast to the household-centered ritual that integrated Omo phase colonial communities, the appearance of a specialized complex for state-centered ceremony and administration underscores the explosive expansion of the Tiwanaku state during Tiwanaku V (A.D. 725–1000) and the transformation of a loosely integrated string of colonies to a centrally governed provincial system.

The downfall of this system came from within. All indications suggest that the sudden and deliberate destruction of the Omo site in the tenth century came at the hands of rebellious Tiwanaku provincials, rather than any outside agent. The reuse of cut stones robbed from the sacked temple in some later Chen Chen phase tombs at Omo confirms that the temple was dismantled by people who continued to use Tiwanaku V ceramics and observe Tiwanaku burial traditions. In the material culture of the subsequent Tumilaca phase (A.D. 950–1050), Tiwanaku state icons such as the Front Face deity and Sacrificer figures disappear, further supporting a rejection of Tiwanaku state ideology. Despite the severance of their political allegiance to the Tiwanaku federation, settlers of altiplano origin continued to occupy Omo and other Moquegua sites. The descendants of the Moquegua provincials would carry on a Tiwanaku-derived cultural tradition for at least another century. While cultural tradition is persistent, central authority, even when supported by a powerful religious ideology and strong cultural bonds, survives only in balance with the resistance of local interests. The dismantling of Omo's temple, and the ideology it represented, marks not only the collapse of Tiwanaku's state system, but the end of one of the Andes' first experiments in imperial rule.

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NOTE

¹ The three Beta Analytic radiocarbon dates presented in this paper were calibrated using Stuiver and Pearson (1986).