

**TIWANAKU CERAMIC STYLE AND ITS INFLUENCE ON
THEORY, INTERPRETATION, AND CONCLUSIONS OF
ANDEAN ARCHAEOLOGISTS**

Beth M. Haupt

ABSTRACT:

This paper investigates the interpretation of ceramic style in the context of Andean Archaeology. I will focus specifically on the ceramics of the Tiwanaku people that occupied the Lake Titicaca Basin for nearly a thousand years. Andean scholars have used two general approaches to the interpretation of Tiwanaku material culture, one emphasizing a bottom-up or local perspective and the other emphasizing a top-down capital-centric perspective. This project evaluates how scholars have used remains of ceramics to analyze the emergence and spread of Tiwanaku influence within the context of these two theoretical frameworks, and how each perspective has contributed to a better understanding of Tiwanaku civilization.

INTRODUCTION

The content of this paper examines two major approaches to interpreting the ceramic style of the Tiwanaku culture. The capital centric approach and local perspective approach. It will focus in the location of Tiwanaku, near the present city of La Paz, Bolivia, and Lukurmata, a site with major Tiwanaku influence on the Lake Titicaca basin, located several hours walk away from the core site of Tiwanaku. These two approaches are pertinent to the field of Andean archaeology because they have resulted in two very different interpretations of the Tiwanaku civilization. How does Tiwanaku corporate art affect the conclusions that archaeologists make on the Tiwanaku culture? This paper involves a discussion of the capital centric and local perspective approaches and the interpretations they form on the Tiwanaku culture.



Figure 1

Tiwanaku, a site near the present day city of La Paz, Bolivia, was a site that distinctly appealed to Andean specialists Max Uhle and Wendell Bennett. The Tiwanaku civilization was interesting to early Andean archaeologists because unlike the Inca, it never experienced European contact. The civilization lasted from approximately A.D 200-A.D.1200. long before the Inca or the Spanish ever came to conquer the Andes. Uhle was among the first scholars to study the site and the first professional excavations were conducted by Wendell Bennett nearly 100 years ago (Shamada 1991). The Tiwanaku developed throughout the Titicaca basin, including Lukurmata and periphery cities as far as the Moquegua river valley in Peru, and the region of Cochabamba, located in central Bolivia.



Figure 2

The roots of Tiwanaku culture emerged sometime in the Late Formative period, which occurred between B.C.200-A.D.300 (Young-Sanchez 2004), also referred to as the Tiwanaku I Phase. During this time the state began to grow, and by the Middle Horizon Phase, or Tiwanaku IV Phase, the society was producing corporate ceramic ware (ceramics that were standardized in style and motifs, often being mass produced and manufactured with efficient molds). These elaborate vessels, which carried a corporate style, appear to have been obtained and traded by elites, an indication that Tiwanaku was exhibiting some factors characteristic of a state level society. Other factors include administrative architecture, which appears to have held a great deal of ceremonial significance, trade relationships with periphery cities, camelid pastoralism, religion, evidence of military and raised field agriculture. Many of these things persisted throughout the time span of Tiwanaku and continued through its collapse into subsequent civilizations. The Tiwanaku collapse occurred ca 1200 A.D. Many scholars believe the collapse of the Tiwanaku was due to the increasing influence from other expanding civilizations, such as the Wari, which was developing into an empire on the borders of Tiwanaku during the Middle Horizon. Some Andean scholars have identified changes in ceramic style as evidence of the collapse of Tiwanaku as partly due to the expansion of the Wari Empire. It is known that many people continued to reside in Tiwanaku periphery areas such as Lukurmata and Cochabamba after the collapse (Bermann 1994), and this is also reflected in ceramic style. In fact, even the Inca made and used keros (elaborate flared cups), a vessel form typical of the Tiwanaku.

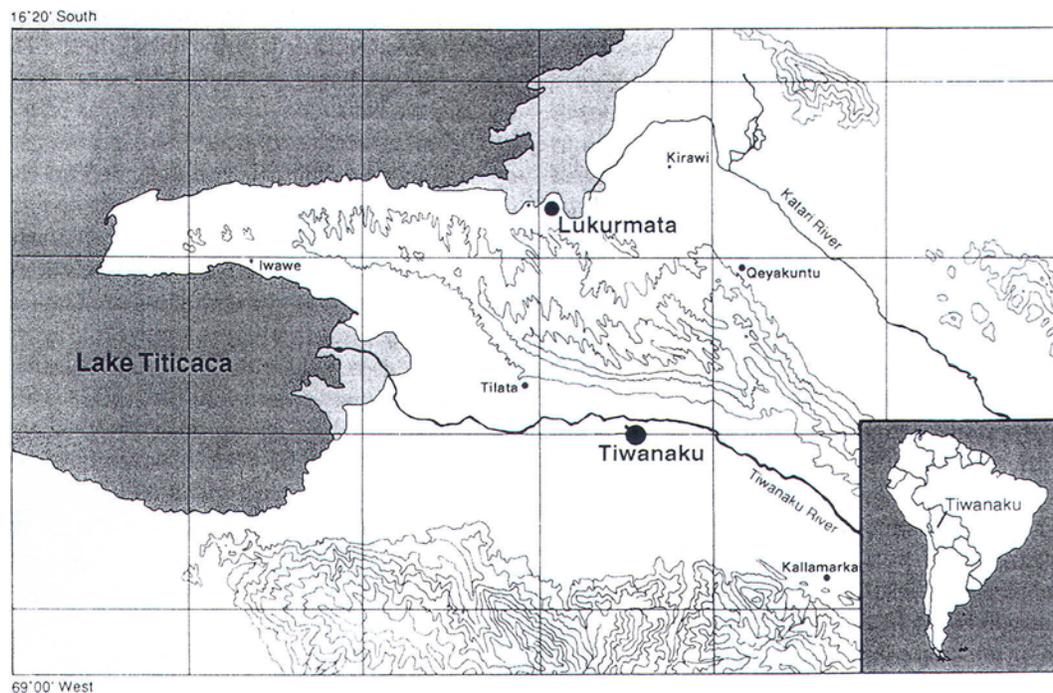


Figure 3
(After Janusek 2002:38)

A study of the interpretations of style in Tiwanaku ceramics is essential to archaeology because there are several different approaches being used in stylistic interpretation. This investigation will focus on two approaches: capital centric and the local perspective. It is useful to examine these approaches because of the strong implications each has for interpretation. For example, Christine Hastorf states that, “The early ceramics associated with Tiwanaku Qalassaya phase are incised, stamped, modeled, post-fire painted, flat-based bowls with pedestals. Felines are important from the beginning of this tradition, and there is a strong similarity in the designs between Pukara and Tiwanaku” (Hastorf 2005:90). This statement might lead an archaeologist to believe that Tiwanaku shares similarities with the earlier Pukara cultural tradition, thus implying that it evolved out of Pukara, which is considered one of the first corporate art styles (Moseley 2001). Also, the importance of felines may lead some to believe that felines were very important to the early Tiwanaku culture and were possibly considered to be an important deity. Also, Hastorf stated that stamping occurred on vessels. Later in the Tiwanaku culture, stamped

decorations appear on vessels which were being mass-produced. Leading archaeologists such as Alan Kolata to believe this was done in order to be monitored closely by the Tiwanaku state (Kolata 1993). Kolata's speculation of vessels being stamped in order to be monitored by the state is one that an archaeologist following a certain approach to interpretation would take. This approach will be examined more closely in the following paper.

When archaeologists analyze style in ceramic ware, they sometimes form an interpretation as to what type of lifestyle was associated with that culture. These interpretations subsequently affect the broader conclusions or hypotheses regarding the level of status differentiation in that society. In this paper I will present two different approaches of interpretation used by archaeologists and review how effective they are from an archaeological perspective. More specifically, I will begin my paper with a brief introduction to Tiwanaku and the region in South America that they inhabited, and then discuss style in ceramic ware and what approaches Andean archaeologists use when drawing conclusions about the Tiwanaku.

TIWANAKU BACKGROUND

Many archaeologists have concluded that the Tiwanaku evolved into a state level society around A.D. 400-500, which marks the onset of the Tiwanaku IV phase. The Tiwanaku state occupied areas of the Central Andes in South America in the Bolivian Altiplano (high plain) and also the Lake Titicaca Basin, which is located on the eastern edge of Peru and the Western border of Bolivia. The Tiwanaku culture evolved out of the earlier Chiripa and Pukara cultures, as household archeology indicates vast similarities in early Tiwanaku phases. (Janusek 2004) Ceramic style is very similar between Pukara and early Tiwanaku, and marks the beginning of a

common iconography shared throughout the subsequent civilizations and into the Inca. This iconography is represented throughout Andean iconography as some kind of humanistic figure, sometimes bearing warrior clothing, other times bearing heads that appear to be sacrificial. “These kneeling figures eventually became standing and then evolved into the figures that dominated the Classic Tiwanaku and Wari and on into the Inca, when the imagery of ritual power transferred into statecraft” (Hastorf 2005:88).

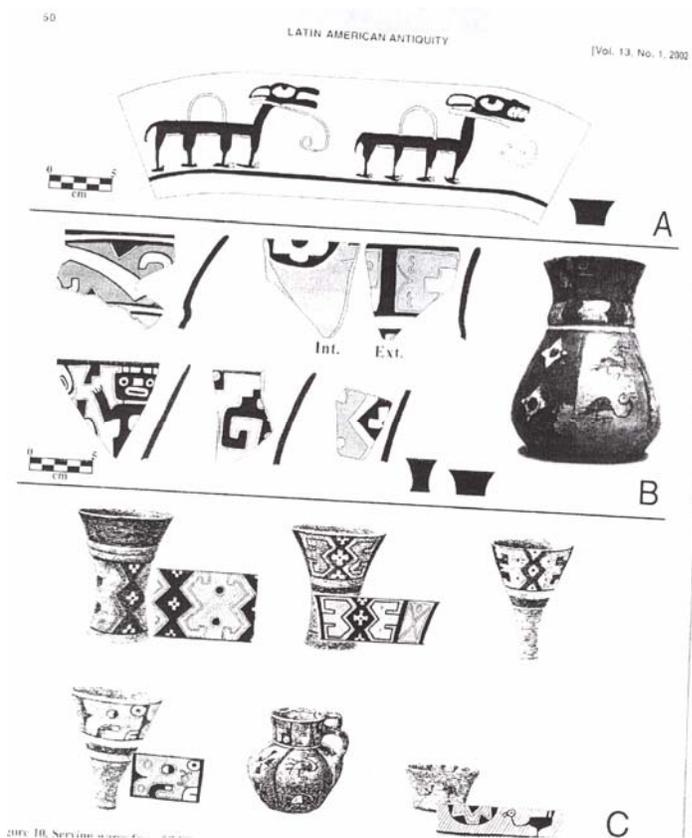


Figure 4
(After Janusek 2002)

METHODOLOGY:

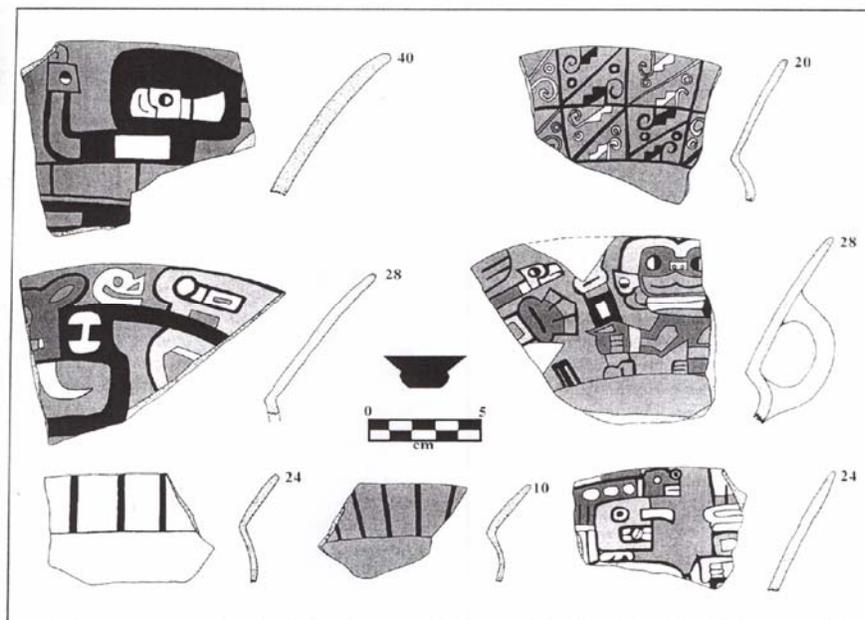
Before undertaking this project, I first attempted to examine how stylistic interpretation of Tiwanaku ceramics has influenced the cultural interpretations by Andean scholars. I read works by Mark Bermann (1994), Alan Kolata (1993), John Janusek (2002, 2004), Paul Goldstein

(2000), and others. It was difficult to obtain many works due to limited circulation or unavailability (e.g. dissertations) however; I found an adequate amount of information. I continued my studies by inspecting style and interpretations of style more closely.

What is Style and What Approaches do Archaeologists Take to Understand Style?

When referring to style, one should consider the style of the particular ceramic vessel as well as any recurrent theme in the vessel or in a series of ceramic artifacts. Motifs and iconography can fall into categories of style, and these may be analyzed when the archaeologist attempts to interpret the theme. In this paper, I will investigate two main approaches of stylistic interpretation, these are: the capital centric approach or top down, and the local perspective or bottom up approach. In understanding style, figure five provides perspective. It shows a common vessel style- a kero as well as some common motifs that were depicted on keros.

Since there was no written language in Prehistoric South America, ceramics often portray very detailed images with complex iconography, thus providing fertile ground for ideological interpretation. For example, in Tiwanaku IV corporate art style, there is an increase in the representation of an anthropomorphic staff god/deity that is assumed to be some kind of “sacrificer” (Bermann 1994:149). This figure is also often referred to as the “Gateway god” due to his appearance on the Gateway of the Sun at the site of Tiwanaku (figure 8). Some claim this representation increased due to Tiwanaku expansion. Many archaeologists have attempted to explain these images on the vessels, and this project looks at how different styles have influenced different evaluations of iconography, such as iconography portraying individuals with higher or lower status.



This is an example of the diagnostic rim sherds recovered at the Putuni complex at Tiwanaku, depicting anthropomorphized creatures as well as warriors and geometric styles distinctive of the Tiwanaku.

Figure 5
After (Janusek 2002:47)

Coinciding with my study of approaches to stylistic interpretation, I examined what the iconography may signify and at what time periods or phases it occurred. This mainly consisted of more reference to works of Tiwanaku specialists, as well as reference to dissertations etc. that have examined style style, as used in material remains from the Tiwanaku civilization, the conclusions drawn from stylistic analysis.

Tiwanaku corporate style changed throughout the culture's different phases. As mentioned earlier, motifs varied but there was also standardization in the usage of slips and colors, which varied regionally. Usage of molds also played a role in the corporate art style, as this allowed for mass production and efficient, rapid manufacture.

Ceramic Manufacture

In order to conduct research on ceramic style, it is necessary to understand ceramic manufacture and style. It is also necessary to know that these vessels were often mass produced (Kolata 1993) and manufactured in a corporate style. Mass production occurred in a rapid and efficient way with the usage of molds.

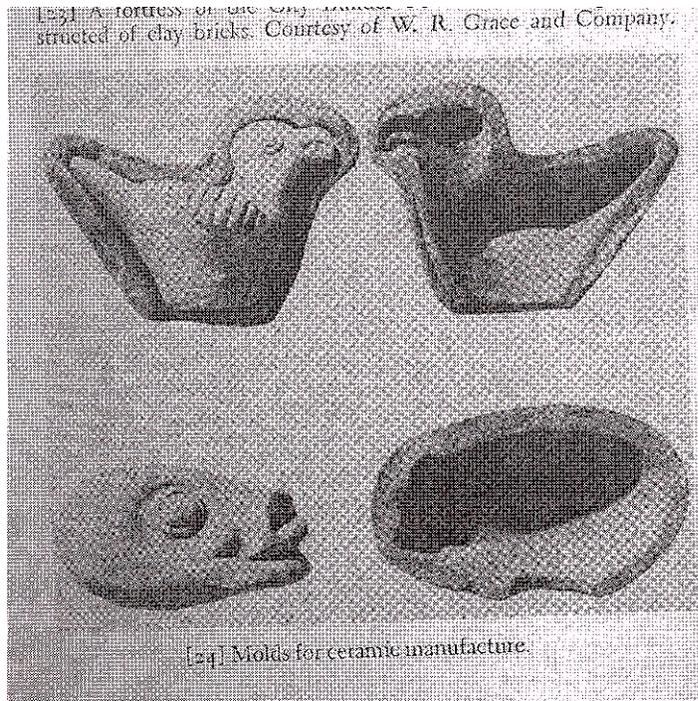
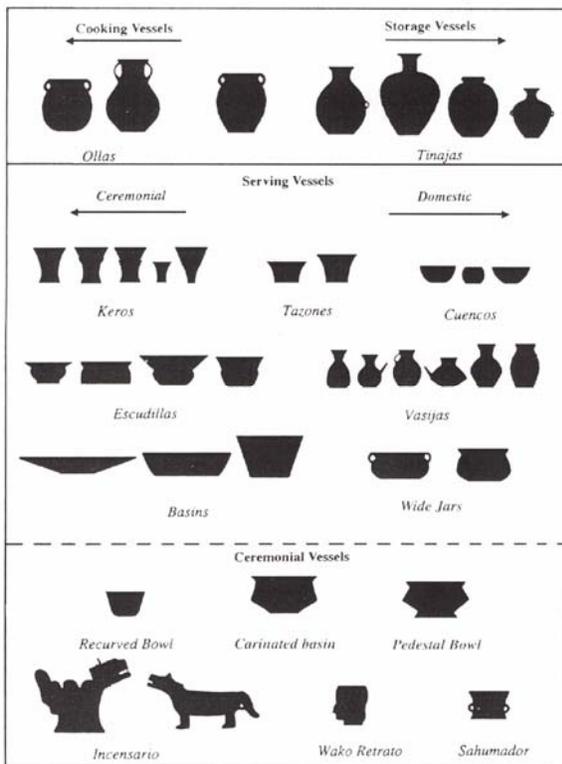


Figure 6
(After Bennet and Bird 1960)
Example of ceramic molds.

Molds helped achieve fast production of a relatively flawless vessel, which created a corporate style uniform to Tiwanaku. When referring to "corporate", I am referring to a common, recurrent theme that is standard of Tiwanaku style (in vessel style as well as decoration/motif), specifically Tiwanaku IV and onward. Corporate, standardized themes are seen throughout the Tiwanaku IV phase, and this leads many archaeologists to believe this was the time of Tiwanaku statecraft (Kolata 1993). Ceramic vessels manufactured in the Tiwanaku style are made of a common orange paste with a temper used to achieve durability during and after firing. Paste in the Tiwanaku IV period was fairly fine (Owen 1993), vessel walls were thin. The paste itself was

very smooth and error-free, made out of red feldspar (Owen 1993). Tiwanaku style vessels were often burnished, with small black burnishing pebbles. Ceremonial vessel forms range from Esquidillas, Tazones, Keros and more as displayed in figure four (Janusek 2004). These vessels pictured in figure four range in shape and form and are common to Tiwanaku corporate style. After the vessels were crafted, a slip was applied, “Most of the vessels are slipped red to tan on the exterior except for the flat base, and in a band around the inside of the rim. The red slips ranged from 10R3-4/6-8 to 2.5YR4-5/4-8 to 4-5/4-6, while the tans run on to 7.5YR5/6” (Owen 1993: Appendix B:12).

Depending on the color, vessels may have been painted before or after firing, and decorated with common motifs or design (Owen 1993). Often vessels were only slipped prior to firing and then painted and decorated afterwards, allowing bright colors and intricate detailing (Young-Sanchez 2004). The chart in figure four gives the viewer an idea of what the silhouettes



of ceremonial and non-ceremonial vessels look like. These are all very typical of Tiwanaku ceramic vessels. The manufacture of vessels in this standardized way throughout the Tiwanaku heartland is one indication that the Tiwanaku IV style was a corporate style, leading archaeologists to believe that it was state controlled.

Figure 7
After (Janusek 2002:58)

RESULTS:

The Capital Centric Approach:

Andean archaeologists often use the Inca as a model for the civilizations that pre dated them. This is typical of the capital centric approach. A capital centric view affects the way people perceive the societies that pre-dated the Inca because if they incorporate the Inca model into earlier civilizations, it may be implying that the certain civilization, such as Tiwanaku was actually not just a state-level society, but an empire. This may be hard for some to accept, given the evidence that Tiwanaku was more likely a powerful theocratic, state level society, rather than an empire as compared the to Wari empire which evolved in the late Early Intermediate Period (A.D. 400-600) and continued through the Middle Horizon (A.D. 600-700). There are strong differences between a state level society and an empire. Empires conquer other state-level-societies through military dominance. Empires such as the Wari and Inca are organized by road systems, which are used for transporting military, sending messages and trading goods. There is clear social stratification in an empire and monumental architecture that is administrative and non-ceremonial. The empire will also use its road systems to expand and conquer other lands and civilizations throughout a vast region, such as the Inca and the Wari. In the case of the Wari, it is evident that they were an empire because they were encroaching on land outside of the Ayacucho Basin and conquering it with the use of a military. Among both the Wari and the Inca, there is architecture which is clearly used for defensive purposes. There are not clear fortifications like these in the case of the Tiwanaku. Among the Tiwanaku, there is not a clear distinction between ceremonial and administrative architecture, and though they did establish links with “peripheral” villages, it does not seem apparent that they conquered them as the Inca did.

Many capital centric archaeologists speculate that the Tiwanaku were an empire. Until recently, there was not much evidence to argue otherwise, but it appears to be that Tiwanaku was a large urban center that attracted people from all over. They are not comparable to the Inca in terms of imperial rule, and this is important to keep in mind when using a capital centric approach, because the archaeologist is interpreting things based on an empire. This interpretation is very common and convenient, because archaeologists and historians really only have written ethno historic documents of the Inca, while there was no written history in the civilizations that pre-dated the Inca. Because of the greater knowledge of the Inca, archaeologists such as Alan Kolata have extrapolated this knowledge to interpretations of the Tiwanaku civilization.

It is also fairly easy for archaeologists to assume that Tiwanaku was an imperial civilization because of the abundance of elaborate crafted goods, or *exotica* as Paul Goldstein terms them (Goldstein 2000). “Exotica that are stylistically identified with ‘great’ traditions of state societies have attracted particular interest in discussions of the spread of sociopolitical complexity” (Goldstein 2000:336). When archaeologists encounter exotic goods, it is easy to conclude that only a state level society with a dominating capital could produce and distribute something so valuable.

A “capital centric view” or “view- from- the- top-down” perspective accompanies the emphasis on capitals and regional patterns in much of Andean archaeology. Traditional approaches to pre-Hispanic states in the New World, either implicitly or explicitly, have stressed the center, stability, and integration of the state system. Smaller sites in the settlement hierarchy, when considered at all, are viewed from the perspective of the capital. (Bermann 1994:10)

According to the capital centric view, the capital creates corporate art, corporate ceramics, and corporate architecture, and spreads it all around its realm, thereby diminishing any

local style that pre-existed. The Tiwanaku IV corporate style was the dominating style of ceramics during the Tiwanaku IV period. At the site of Lukurmata, residents used the Tiwanaku IV style vessels. They may have produced the vessels themselves, as some kind of surplus manufacture, or they may have been on the end of a Tiwanaku trade route, thus receiving them through exchange. Capital centric archaeologists following the Inca model of statecraft believe that the Tiwanaku state was in control of all distribution of all fine arts. “Artisans and tradesmen were subsidized, and their products were geared to serve corporate ends” (Moseley 2001:78). Alan Kolata, who uses the capital centric approach, believes these vessels were being created as surplus (Kolata 1993), as Lukurmata was a secondary city in the Tiwanaku core. Mark Bermann on the other hand, believes that the site of Lukurmata, though close distance to the Capital city of Tiwanaku, may have just been on the end of the route, largely unaffected for the majority of Tiwanaku occupation by the capital city of Tiwanaku. The residents were affected by the Tiwanaku capital, but remained a small settlement no larger than 1,000 inhabitants, and it continued to survive as a smaller, lower class village that was not being dominated by the Tiwanaku capital. Bermann’s view from the bottom up, or local perspective approach to interpretation is quite contrary to the more typical capital centric approach,

The Local Perspective:

Bermann’s approach to archaeological interpretation focuses on the local community and the household (sometimes it is referred to as the “household perspective”). The local perspective is critical to archaeology because it looks at things in the context of how they related to the village or the household rather than exclusively to the capital. For example, in the local perspective, the site of Lukurmata appears to have evolved independently of Tiwanaku. It is

apparent that Lukurmata was occupied as early as B.C. 100, as structures 1-2 excavated at the site date to that time period (Bermann 1994). Lukurmata would have continued to thrive as a small village on the lake with enough resources to sustain itself. By A.D. 300, more structures were established at the site of Lukurmata, but domestic household pottery really had not changed at all. At this point, Tiwanaku was growing and was becoming a state level society; the two sites were for the most part mutually exclusive of one another, and there seems to be no cause and effect relationship (which is the focus of the capital centric approach) between the site of Tiwanaku and Lukurmata. “If we arbitrarily choose to compare particular features at the household and regional levels simply because it is *possible* to do so, we run the risk of creating chance “linkages” that are, in reality, only a product of the analysis method” (Bermann 1994:32). Taking this into consideration, archaeologists who favor the local perspective would not consider Tiwanaku as dominating of Lukurmata or Cochabamba, therefore avoiding the idea of verticality, but rather using the idea of local organization with the household level as playing a large role in the socio-political system. If household level activity was the primary occurrence at Lukurmata, then it is possible that the actual site of Tiwanaku was a central ceremonial site for a theocratic society, which mixes religion with the law, providing opportunities for kings to be gods. An empire, on the other hand, has a more distinct difference between religion and law, this is why it is referred to as *administrative*, rather than *religious*. Instead of serving as an administrative, political capital, some archaeologists believe the actual site of Tiwanaku was an elite residence where people came in a ceremonial manner. This would make it a religious center rather than a political center, which is characteristic of a theocratic society.

Thus, Tiwanaku influence was highly strategic, in many areas predicated on trade and influence rather than direct control. Most regions were home to vibrant political and cultural developments that are just now coming to light, fostering inquiry regarding the

influence these societies had on Tiwanaku development and integration. (Janusek 2004:71)

The role style plays in the evaluations of Tiwanaku corporate activity is crucial because by the Tiwanaku IV period (A.D. 500-800) at the site of Lukurmata, Tiwanaku IV was the main style present with the introduction to the corporate Tiwanaku of the staff god/deity (Bermann 1994). The introduction of the staff god was an important milestone in the evolution of Tiwanaku style because it is accompanied by a wider range of elaborate serving vessels along with the increase of pumas and llamas represented in iconography.

As previously stated, along with the staff god, there is an increase of the depiction of llamas in ceramics at the time of the emergence of Tiwanaku IV style. Llamas have always been very important to Andean culture, and the cultures of the central Andes grew very reliant on them. They were domesticated much earlier than Tiwanaku emergence and an increase in the depiction of llamas occurred early in the Tiwanaku ceramic style. Llama domestication emerged in central Andean artifacts as early as the Wankarani culture (Janusek 2004), which was present prior to Tiwanaku emergence. “For various reasons, the Lake Titicaca Basin has long been a center of camelid domestication” (Lynch 1983:2). Camelids have adapted well to the harsh environment of the Titicaca Basin, this may partially be due to abundant grazing areas. Llamas served as a source of food for societies, as well as beasts of burden. This caused llamas to be a very ritual aspect of Andean societies, and the heavy reliance on them is probably why we see an increase in llama iconography. As mentioned earlier, the warrior staff god/gateway god is abundant in Tiwanaku iconography. The gateway god is often represented on very elaborate vessels. This figure is an individual representing very high status and is often anthropomorphized, wearing an elaborate outfit consisting of a crown of some kind, large ear spools, and carrying a staff. The gateway god however, is not a new representation in Andean

ceramics. This deity had a strong influence on many of the ceramic styles of the Andes including Wari, Moche and Pachacamac styles among many others.

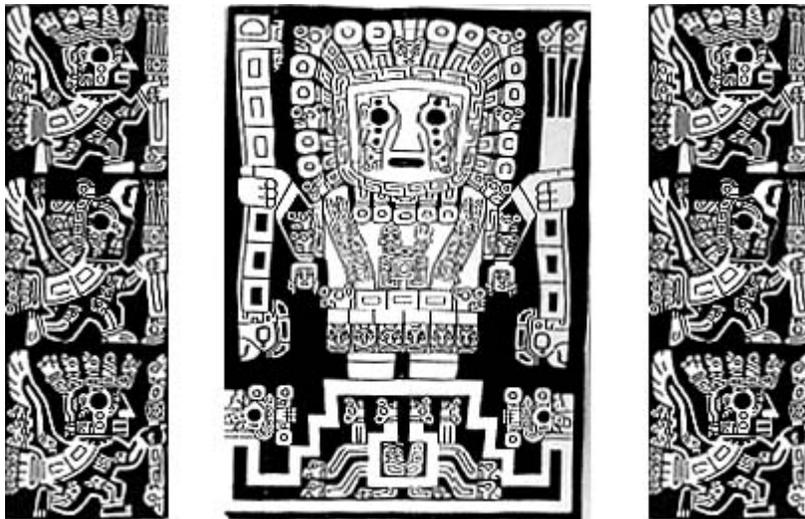


Figure 8
Representation of the
Gateway god.

This deity is very recurrent in iconography dating back to the Chavin culture, and has several names varying from location to location, such as the “Pachacamac Griffin” on more northern coastal societies. Max Uhle describes a good variation of him very well in his work on Pachacamac,

The face only with a headdress is to be seen here and with some decorations to indicate clothing. The descent of this design from the type of Tihuanaco is proved by many features; for instance, by the square shape of the face, its frontal position, the form of the eyes and the ornaments near them, the interlocking hooks in the headdress, and the tufted effect similar to a feather crown. (Shamada 1991:26)

This is significant because Lukurmata definitely was being influenced by Tiwanaku, but it does not appear that it was being directly *controlled* by Tiwanaku. More likely it is the case that because Lukurmata appeared on the end of a road or trade route the residents benefited from this location because they received ceramic influence from Tiwanaku and the surrounding societies of the Titicaca basin. This is the case because throughout the time of occupation at Lukurmata there are non-Tiwanaku ceramic styles present as well as other non-local styles. Dispersal of Tiwanaku style throughout the Titicaca basin as well as into other various parts of the Andes leads

to some mixed interpretations. This makes it appear that Tiwanaku was an expanding empire thus making it easier to favor capital centric theories.

“The appearance of Tiwanaku-style vessels at approximately A.D 500 was abrupt, and it was marked by the sudden appearance of a wide range of red-slipped serving and ceremonial wares. At both sites serving- ceremonial forms comprised a well-defined range of types, including common forms such as bowls (*tazons*), drinking chalices (*keros*), and small pitchers(*vasijas*), and less common or special serving vessels such as small bowls(*cuencos*), flaring bowls(*escudillas*),and large bowls(*Fuentes*)” (Janusek 2002:43).

It does appear that there was a burst of Tiwanaku style throughout the region, but at Lukurmata, Tiwanaku style vessels had gradually been increasing at the site, most evident in the Tiwanaku IV period.

CONCLUSIONS

The Tiwanaku IV period was a time of major advancement for the Tiwanaku civilization, a time when archaeologists such as Alan Kolata are convinced Tiwanaku expanded and conquered, thus forming an imperialistic state that was similar to the Inca. The Tiwanaku IV phase is divided into sub-phases by archaeologist John Janusek and others into the Early Tiwanaku IV phase, which occurred at approximately A.D. 500-600 and the Late Tiwanaku IV phase, which occurred A.D. 600-800. During the late Tiwanaku IV phase, a great burst in stylistic variety occurred throughout the Tiwanaku territory. Smaller sites were affected by the Tiwanaku style, and even locally produced vessels contained common Tiwanaku themes. Also, throughout Tiwanaku sites on the Lake Titicaca basin, there is an increase in elaborate ceremonial vessels such as *insensarios* and *keros*. Zoomorphic features dominate the iconography on Tiwanaku IV vessels, and some archaeologists have come to the conclusion that this indicates usage by individuals of higher status. Because there is a continued use of undecorated/plain bowls by households for domestic use, and an increase in decorated, distinctly

ceremonial vessels, this indicated a differentiation in status at Tiwanaku, as well as its secondary site of Lukurmata (Janusek 2004). The increase in Zoomorphic iconography led some archaeologists to the conclusion that there was an increase in religion throughout the Tiwanaku culture, most likely with an increase in the practice of Shamanism, deity worship, and ritual ceremonies. The Tiwanaku style was gradually leaning away from the traditional early Pukara style, and shifting to a new, corporate ceremonial style common throughout the Tiwanaku realm. These changes in style and iconography indicate that Tiwanaku was highly religious and that the occupants participated in ceremonial ritual activity. Ceremonial vessels are often found in burial context, signifying great care for the dead: “These vessels- principally *keros* and *tazones*, two varieties of a flaring cup- are found in mortuary and domestic contexts of all strata of society; access to them seems to have been almost universal”(Bandy 2001:221). This implies that ceremonial wares were not limited only to the elite residents, but that residents of all classes obtained these highly prized items.

Due to the more adequate understanding of the Inca Empire based on the information we know from the Spanish conquistadors and ethnographic/ethno-historical accounts that were written at the time, such as those by Guoman Poma- (an indigenous Inca who converted to Catholicism and was educated by the Spanish), it is logical to base our knowledge of Tiwanaku on the Inca. All we know about Tiwanaku from ethno historic accounts is the vague mention of it when the Inca are speaking of their history and the god Viracocha. However, though the Incas offered little mention of Tiwanaku to the Spanish chroniclers by the Incas, it is logical to incorporate these few pieces into our knowledge into of the Tiwanaku civilization. Some archaeologists also find it logical to base the format of the Tiwanaku civilization on the Inca as

well, formulating a theory that the Tiwanaku was an empire that was similar to the Inca, but on a smaller scale. Archaeologists such as Alan Kolata pursue this theory by examining corporate art as manufactured by artisans working for the state, and distributed by state authorities to wealthy elites. Sites such as Lukurmata would have been peripheral cities of the Tiwanaku core (Kolata 1993). It does seem likely that Lukurmata was a periphery city on the Tiwanaku trade route, possibly the biggest one, but it is agreed among archaeologists that Lukurmata never exceeded a population of 1,000 inhabitants (Bermann 1994) and that social stratification was never highly evident (Janusek 2004). It is likely that throughout its lifetime, Lukurmata benefited greatly from the influx of Tiwanaku trade goods. Due to raised field agriculture, Lukurmata may have seen a lot of Tiwanaku traffic. There probably was class differentiation and this may be due to the *pampa koani* (raised field agriculture system located around Lukurmata). Even taking all these factors into consideration, it seems more likely that Lukurmata was always a small village or hamlet that was influenced by Tiwanaku style and civilization, but it seems most likely that it did not have some kind of vertical trade arrangement with the Tiwanaku capital.

It is difficult to say whether the top down or bottom up approach is more accurate. It is evident that the two are not mutually exclusive and it is important for an archaeologist to have a good understanding of both. There are benefits to both approaches as well as shortcomings. As mentioned earlier, it appears to be more convenient for archaeologists to use the top down approach. It has been used much longer than the bottom up which is relatively new to the field of Andean archaeology. In my opinion, I think it is more beneficial to use the bottom up perspective, as it probes to greater depth, incorporating things other archaeologists might neglect, like the non-diagnostic ceramic artifacts in household archaeology. It is obviously more exciting

to study the ceremonial artifacts of a certain civilization, but this can skew interpretation greatly. Basing the Tiwanaku on the Inca is not incorrect, as cultures evolve out of one another, but it is to uncritically compare the two civilizations. The Tiwanaku had corporate architecture, corporate art, status differentiation and evidence of a military, but it was more likely a theocracy, rather than an administrative empire. If we base our knowledge of Tiwanaku on an actual administrative empire, comparable to the Inca, we are not receiving an accurate understanding of the culture, and this is why it is helpful to take household archaeology and the “local” or “bottom up” perspective into consideration.

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