Architecture and Power on the Wari–Tiwanaku Frontier

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ABSTRACT

The Wari Empire expanded and maintained control over many areas in the Andes for nearly four centuries (600–1000 C.E.). This chapter documents changes in power relations and political institutions on the Wari–Tiwanaku frontier. The settlements of both polities are well documented along their border in the Moquegua Valley of southern Peru where Wari controlled their provincial settlements from the lofty heights of Cerro Baúl. We assess the changing nature of the incorporation of different social groups within the Wari political structure of the frontier province over the course of the Middle Horizon. As Tiwanaku social groups joined the Wari colony, new sets of public expressions of power emerged, both from within these Tiwanaku groups and from the Wari administration itself. By examining artifactual remains and the design of architectural spaces, we elucidate the changing power relations between Wari, their subject populations, and their Tiwanaku neighbors.

Keywords: **use of space, multiethnic interaction, state institutions, political organization, empire**

Wari architecture is a material manifestation of power and holds important clues to understanding how Wari state officials managed resources and legitimized their control. Recent research at Cerro Baúl and its satellites on the Wari southern frontier has elucidated the nature of power relations, agency, and ideology between Wari representatives and the various groups with which they interacted. Cerro Baúl, located in the Moquegua Valley of Peru (Figure 9.1), has been a prime focus of research seeking to understand the relationship between the Wari and the Tiwanaku during the Andean Middle Horizon, about 600–1000 C.E. (Williams 2001), because of the close proximity of large Tiwanaku colonies in the middle valley to Wari settlements in the upper drainage (Goldstein and Owen 2001; Moseley et al. 1991; Owen and Goldstein 2001). In this chapter, we explore the different architectural venues of power and the state institutions they reflect in two phases of occupation in the upper Moquegua drainage at the Wari provincial center of Cerro Baúl and at surrounding subsidiary sites.

The Wari built an environment imbued with symbols that were used to communicate their legitimacy in a number of ways (see Rapoport 1990). These symbols are most explicit in iconographic representations of ceremony portrayed on portable objects that served as accessories to state-sponsored activity. By studying the contexts of these practices in their spatial venues, these activities can be understood in greater depth as well-developed institutions designed to manage resources. The Wari repertoire of space exhibits multiple mechanisms to maintain power and exert influence. These spaces also represent activity sets that defined Wari state institutions.

In their farthest southern province, the Wari exerted influence and managed resources through the monumental center at Cerro Baúl. The site is dramatically placed on a stunning mesa feature located between the Torata and Tumilaca tributaries of the upper Osmore drainage (also referred to as the Moquegua Valley). Wari people did not originate in the Moquegua study area but moved into it as foreign
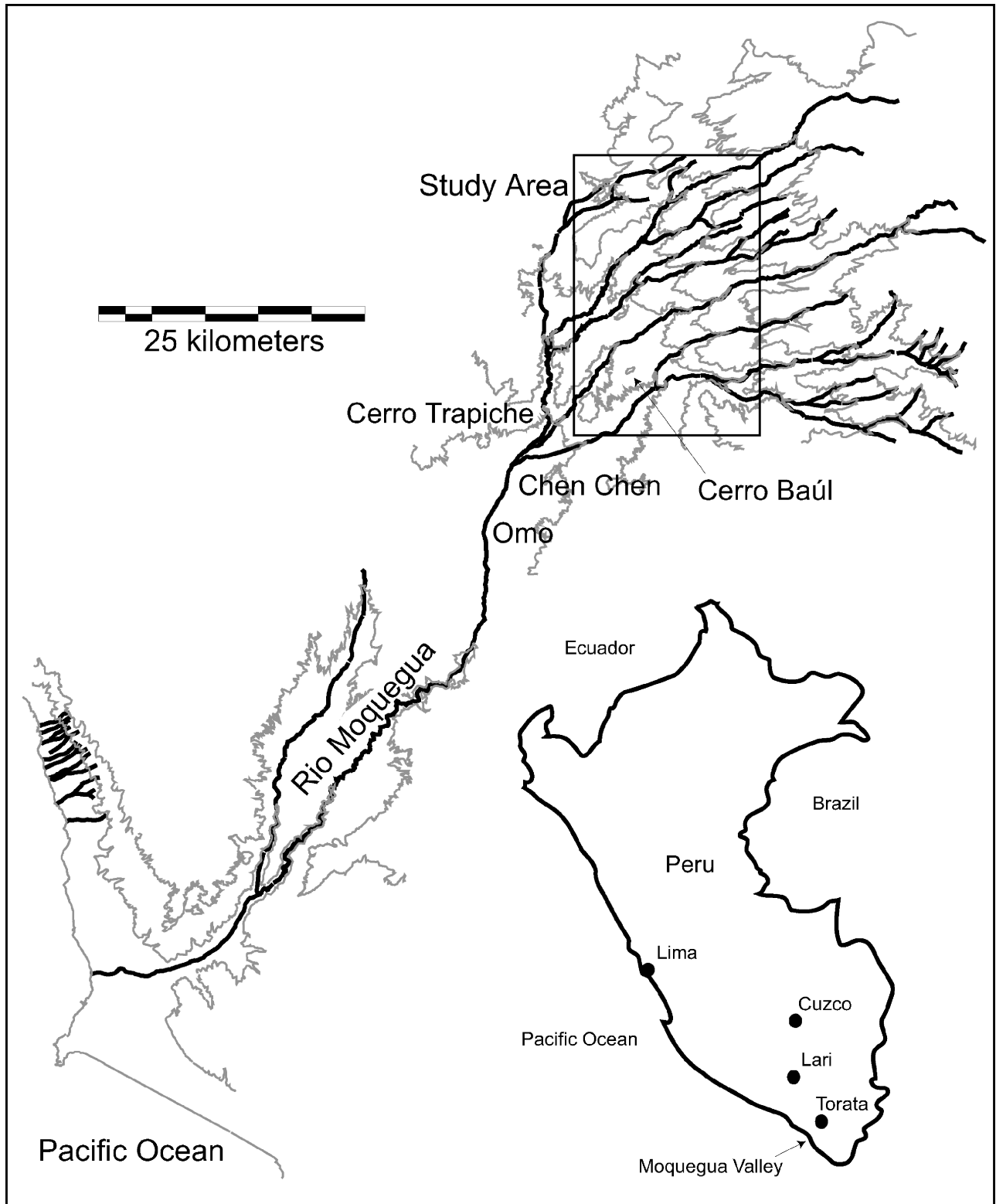
Figure 9.1. Middle Horizon sites in the Moquegua Valley.

colonists. The colony was planned by the Wari state and many structures were built with state-directed labor (Nash 1996). Seven sites in the valley exhibit Wari-related material culture: Cerro Baúl, Cerro Mejia, El Paso, Cerro Petroglifo, Cerro Trapiche (Moseley et al. 1991), Pampa del Arrastrado, and El Tenedor (Owen 1994). There are also patches of domestic terracing on the western slopes of Cerro Baúl (Figure 9.2). The settlements were accompanied by an extensive system of agricultural terraces and cultivated slopes irrigated by a canal over 10 kilometers in length (Williams 1997).

Architectural remains on Cerro Baúl are monumental in nature and predominately constructed of double-faced stone masonry, some of which was dressed. Cerro Mejia, Cerro Petroglifo, El Paso, Cerro Trapiche, and Pampa del Arrastrado have masonry remains resembling foundations, and adobe superstructure is apparent in some buildings. These sites have sectors of construction that exhibit similar spatial patterns to those of Cerro Baúl but are smaller in scale and do not exhibit the same quality of architecture (Nash 1996, 1997, 2002).

The Moquegua Wari colony is uniquely located within sight of Tiwanaku settlements down valley. The Wari center on Cerro Baúl may have been designed to manage relations with the bordering Tiwanaku polity or to maintain the boundary with a show of power and wealth (Isbell 1991). As the Cerro Baúl colony was located on a border that Wari shared with a politically strong and powerful polity, Wari institutions may have been manifested or rendered with extra care.

It is notable that the Wari and Tiwanaku shared common religious iconography. Their sociopolitical interactions may have had significant overlapping frames of reference. Such interactions may have promoted orthodoxy (Washburn 1995) or hybridization (Prior and Carr 1995) in symbolism, sumptuary custom, and ceremonial activity. The salient differences in the spatial settings of state institutions as represented by the architectural ruins of the Wari and Tiwanaku, however, demonstrate a significant difference in the organization of these states and the behaviors associated with management and power legitimization.

Structure and the Use of Space

In the Wari colony, similar spatial venues or architectural features were used at different levels of the political hierarchy (Nash 2002). The state's control of sumptuary custom regulated the parameters of variations in construction quality, size, and complexity of the facilities. These subtle differences can provide an accurate, though relative, guide by which to gauge the status of spatial settings (or more precisely their contained activity sets) and thus their impor-

tance or rank in the control hierarchy. The difference can be seen as one of scale (see Kowalewski et al. 1983). Lower-level administrators within a political system would exhibit fewer symbols of legitimization or manifestations of effective power, whereas the pattern of management activity may be similar but less complex.

Availability of raw material, skill of labor resources, cosmological concepts, environmental setting, and the rank of the officials using a spatial venue are all contributing factors that affect architectural size, quality of construction, and the designed volume of the architectural forms (Zevi 1957). Activity, however, is typically the most important factor determining spatial design (Norberg-Schulz 1985). The space required for a particular set of behaviors is of primary concern in architectural design. The shape of the space is tightly linked with the building's intended use. The institutions managing different facets of the state's power (resource accumulation, trade relations, religious legitimization, boundary maintenance, and so on) involve different types of activities and thus their built environments may exhibit variation in design. Symbolism and the need to portray appropriate behavioral cues or ambiance are also significant in shaping the volume of space (Rapoport 1990).

As Conklin (1990) has pointed out, changes in architectural form exhibit a particular inertia and thus may not reflect changing activity patterns as quickly as they might naturally be modified through interaction in such a dynamic social arena as a semipermeable political frontier. Nevertheless, charting changes in the morphology of spatial venues designed to contain political activity and power relations can provide a trajectory along which institutional power structures were modified to address state needs. Institutions are sets of practices and interactions that define the relationships between people in a society. By attaching these behaviors and their participants to architectural venues, we are seeking to typologize activity through the material manifestation of its context. Through documenting changes in the design of elite and public spaces and activity sets in these settings, we examine how Wari state institutions developed. In this chapter we apply this approach to the Middle Horizon architectural remains in Moquegua.

The Wari Polity

The Wari state exhibits characteristics that are reminiscent of material remains from imperial entities such as ancient Rome (Schreiber 1992). The Wari built centers of power in many areas (Isbell and McEwan 1991; Kaulicke and Isbell 2001). Through these installations they interacted with local polities and populations, obtaining resources and
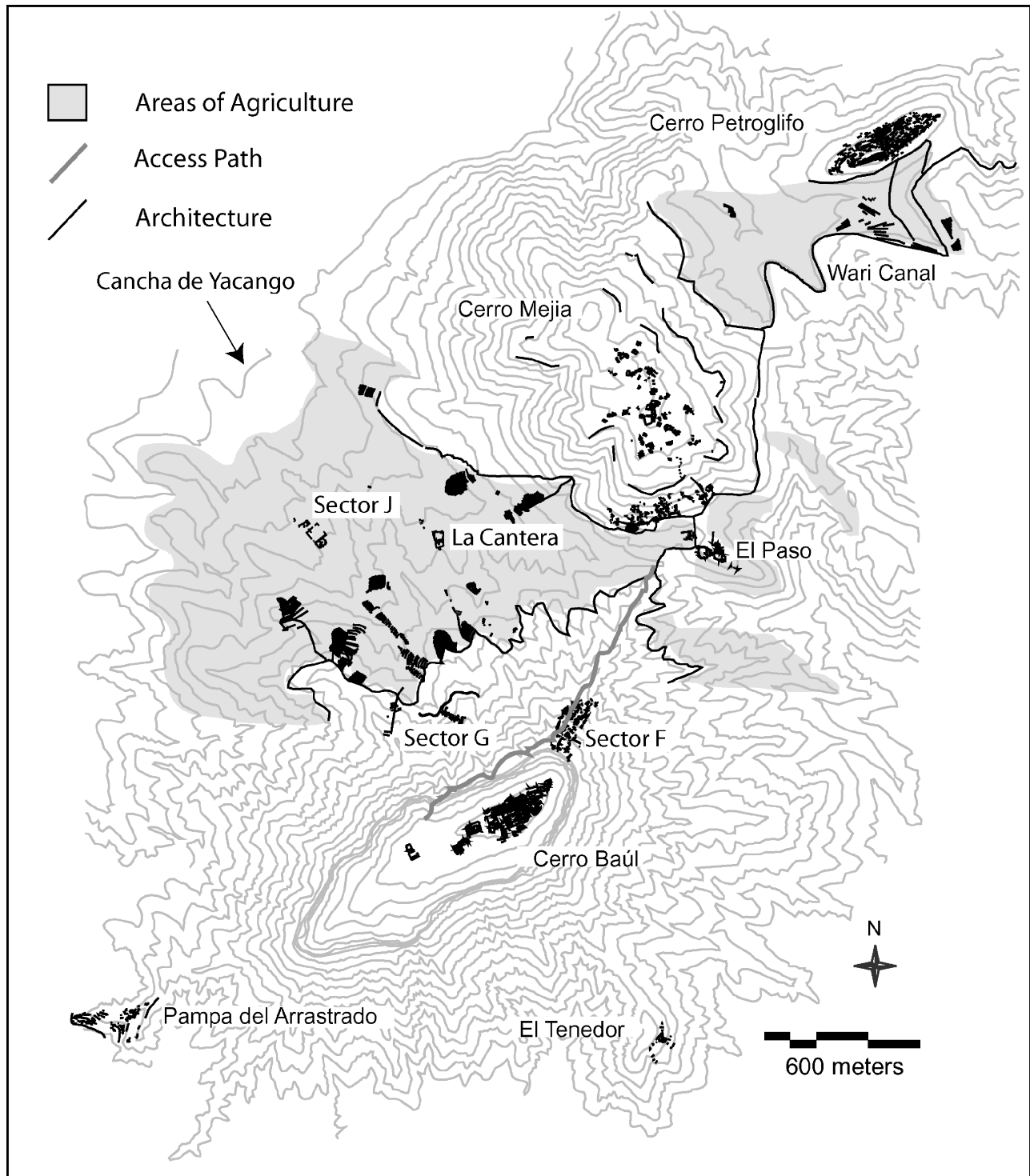
Figure 9.2. Wari colonial sites in the upper Moquegua drainage.

wielding influence. The Wari administrative elite controlled vast resources by exerting authority over the labor of others or influence over local leaders who possessed control of labor and resources. The state's need to interact with many different groups had important implications for the struc-

ture of state institutions. As an empire, state institutions required flexibility; one size would not effectively fit all regions (see Doyle 1986; Hassig 1992; Hyslop 1993; Menzel 1959; Moseley and Mackey 1972; Sinopoli 1994; Van Buren 2000).

Smaller political entities that controlled a more cosmologically unified population through a smaller, less varied set of elite administrators may exhibit less variety in the structure of edifices housing state institutions. The Wari, however, were controlling disparate regions with different resources and population sizes and in many instances coping with in situ institutions to accomplish state goals through local personnel. Thus the variation documented between administrative centers reflects the need to be flexible and the Wari state's ability to adapt its institutions to regional conditions.

Wari architectural canons reflect a uniformity that is not accidental but rather was purposefully designed. Nevertheless, the uniformity has been overstressed and subtle differences in the patterns of rooms and their orientation can have significant correlates to the different activity sets accommodated in each space. To some degree similar but variant strategies of control may have been executed at different levels within the political hierarchy. Thus it is important that excavation and the examination of the organization of activities be studied for many more structures. The findings presented here may only pertain to the Cerro Baúl colony specifically, because the region presented a unique set of situations that were solved in relation to the groups that were brought to the area or came under eventual control in this province. No doubt the region's proximity to Tiwanaku settlements and its heartland on the shores of Lake Titicaca engaged elite officials from the Wari core in the political affairs of Moquegua, perhaps more so than other provincial areas.

Architectural space exhibits standard characteristics but may house different sets of activities (see Protzen 1993). Space and architecture can take on symbolic representation and reflect a cosmological idea or symbolize affiliation with state, much as artifacts do when they portray a "corporate style" (Moseley 1979). The use of a structure as a symbol is but one example of the dialectic between the space people design for themselves and the space that shapes the moods and activities of people in its use (Bawden 1995; Geertz 1973; Kent 1990; Lawrence and Low 1990; Moore 1996).

Architectural features and the design of spaces proscribe behavior and structure activity. Nevertheless, interpretation of past behavior cannot be based on architectural form alone but requires some reference to comparable spaces of known function and, of course, the artifactual remains. Important design features can be inferred from what was recorded of Inka practice as well as from Wari iconographic imagery depicting ceremony.

Inka Constructed Space

The Wari preceded the Inka by several centuries, and we do not wish to imply that the Wari Empire operated in a similar manner, but by examining the Inka Empire and how it managed its resources and manipulated sociopolitical relations we can gain insight into the complexities that should be sought in the archaeological remains of Wari society. The Inka Empire was an incredibly complex society whose architecture incorporated a wide range of specialized activity areas that accommodated the many institutions that grew as the state developed.

The Sapa Inka, the absolute ruler of the empire, was also considered a sacred individual, a living deity who was served and worshipped even after his death (Betanzos 1996; Moseley 1992; Rowe 1946). Therefore Inka statecraft was seated in the pomp of political ceremony as well as in the awe of religious observance. The ethnohistoric accounts of the Inka polity describe public rituals in which the leader himself took part, as well as other social mechanisms that maintained the Sapa Inka's access to labor resources from every family within the empire's vast territory (Murra 1980; Rostworowski 1999; Rowe 1946). The following is a discussion of important Inka institutional spaces vital to the activities of this great ancient Andean civilization. Ethnohistory provides a great deal of information about the workings of the Inka polity; the following are merely highlights that illuminate the importance of different venues in Andean statecraft.

Public Space

Ethnohistoric accounts describe the Sapa Inka's leading role in large festivals such as *Inti Raymi*, an annual event associated with the June solstice and attended by the elites from the province of Cuzco and by visiting leaders from throughout the empire (Betanzos 1996; Cobo 1990; Garcilaso de la Vega 1966). This festival and others like it would have required a large open space. The large central plazas within the capital were a setting of regular religious ceremony. In hosting these gatherings and leading the rituals himself the Inka emperor fulfilled his obligation to mitigate between the gods and his subjects. He was responsible for the fertility and abundance of the crops and animals. Therefore those in attendance, the noble residents of Cuzco, and visiting leaders were obligated to the Inka ruler because they accepted his generosity, participated in the ceremony, and partook of the feast. The public ceremonies tied the empire together. Acting as host, the Sapa Inka legitimized his position and cosmologically secured labor resources through establishing the fealty of regional leaders for the coming year (Morris and Thompson 1985).

Provincial capitals also had facilities for public events. Huánuco Pampa and other large centers have large open plazas with elevated platforms (Hyslop 1990; Morris and

Thompson 1985) from which the Inka or his representative could preside over ceremonies, accept tribute, or make mandates over subordinate personnel (Cristóbal de Molina 1943:22). These simple architectural features created a space in which a leader could interact with those being led. The elite administrator's elevated position was symbolized by the elevated platform that provided a graphic display of the society's social hierarchy. The platform represented the power of the Inka over the people in the province (Hyslop 1990; see Moore 1996). Feasting in this venue created obligations of the local people to serve the sponsor of provincial ceremonies, the Inka state.

All public appearances of the Sapa Inka were formal performances and spectacular processions. Ceremonies in large open central plazas occurred regularly at the capital and at the major provincial centers. The Sapa Inka was carried upon a litter above everyone who gathered. He was accompanied by a retinue of ranked individuals distinguished by their dress and position relative to the ruler. Even military marches were ordered ceremonial affairs (Cieza de León 1959; Cobo 1990). The order of the processions demonstrated the established political order. They created in any space a sense of appropriate behavior and in the formal organization of the procession served as a visual cue to the audience of the expectations of an appropriate and acceptable set of behaviors. These processions were dramatic, as exemplified by the description of the fateful royal parade in 1532 at Cajamarca (Prescott 1942; Morris and Thompson 1985).

Sacred Space

The *Qorikancha* or enclosure of gold was a significant structure in the Inka realm. It was the primary temple of the sun and the center of the structured universe. *Ceques*, imaginary lines that radiated out from this building, organized the sacred landscape and may have also regulated rights to water and ritual responsibilities (Bauer 1998; Cobo 1956; Zuidema 1990). Conquistadors were informed they had to fast for a year before entering this most sacred space (Garcilaso de la Vega 1966). Ceremony reportedly associated with Inti Raymi and perhaps other events started with a large group of elite personages in a plaza outside the structure but continued inside the temple. Ritual within this sacred zone could only be witnessed by those of pure Inka blood (Cobo 1990). Others experienced limited participation; all but a few were excluded. Many types of ceremonial activities were said to have taken place in the Qorikancha, yet entrance was regulated. The architecture of the structure provides no clue to this special quality. Unlike the sacred monumental *huacas* of other Andean societies, which stand out as monumental mountain effigies (Bawden 1996; Kolata 2003), the

Qorikancha was not remarkable (Gasparini and Margolies 1980; Hyslop 1990). Clues to the Qorikancha's exceptional nature would only be discovered through comparative artifactual and ecofactual remains.

The rituals performed in the Qorikancha were another act of legitimizing the role of the Inka, a materialization of Inka ideology. Through acting on sacred knowledge within the temple, the Inka were preventing others from knowing how to maintain positive relations with the gods. Secret rites that took place within the Qorikancha fulfilled the Sapa Inka's obligations to the populace by providing prosperity to everyone in the Inka realm, a service only an initiated Inka of pure blood could provide (see MacCormack 1991). Other religious rites of this nature were conducted in sacred fields (Bauer 1996); however, the archaeological remains of these activities are not likely to be found.

Administrative Space

The Inka had a well-organized system of storage facilities (Levine 1992). *Qollqa* were silo-like structures built to keep a wealth of stores to support the state. It is unclear how these were managed on a daily basis; however, Guaman Poma (1980) and other chroniclers describe that officials were in charge of tracking the inventory stored in the qollqa and managing the distribution of these stored resources to fulfill the needs of the state (Cieza de León 1959; Murra 1980). These goods were important for supporting the activities of dignitaries, bureaucrats, and other full-time specialists in the service of the Inka and for people contributing their labor on a part-time basis for construction projects or military service. Stored goods were also needed to provide feasts and gifts in the seasonal calendar in the ongoing process of securing local participation in the Inka polity.

The qollqa are not settings of an institution but rather are evidence that institutions of resource collection and management existed (Morris 1986). Several different institutions coordinated to fill and use these structures. The qollqa are associated with collection, storage, and eventual distribution. Assemblages inside a qollqa, however, cannot reveal how relationships were established to collect these items or how these goods were used to achieve political goals. The regional distribution of qollqa has elucidated significant information about networks of resource movement (Morris 1992; Snead 1992). Structures used for the actual business of resource management have not been described in detail but have been reported from several Inka sites (Morris 1992; Snead 1992). Wari examples will be described below.

Kallanka structures provided a venue for grand feasts held during inclement weather (Garcilaso de la Vega 1966; Gasparini and Margolies 1980). Other occasions for

gatherings in these structures were for more formal interactions between officials of different ranks. Kallanka were rectangular structures with their longest axis built along one or more sides of large plaza spaces. Typically they occur in pairs and had many doors opening onto an important central plaza, although the interior space was continuous and not broken by dividing walls. The width of the space was so great that these structures had interior columns to support the roof (see Gasparini and Margolies 1980; Morris and Thompson 1985). They were present in Cuzco along the large central plazas. Kallanka are also found in the major provincial centers and similar constructions are located at some of the minor centers and way stations, called *tambo* (Gasparini and Margolies 1980; Hyslop 1990).

Ethnohistoric accounts describe the kallanka as council houses and places where justice was dispensed (Gasparini and Margolies 1980). It has also been reported that they were used to quarter traveling soldiers, dignitaries, and guests (Hyslop 1990). The descriptions of kallanka suggest that these gathering halls were the locations of negotiation between the state and visiting leaders. They also seem to have been a place where deals were made, gifts were exchanged, and compensations paid (see Betanzos 1996). Negotiations of this nature and many kinds of political affairs require face-to-face interaction, an important facet of any successful government. This kind of interaction may have also taken place in more isolated, small-group discussions within elite residential contexts, such as a specialized gathering space within a palace.

The *kancha*, meaning "enclosure," is an Inka-style construction that is not unlike Wari elite residential structures. These complexes are encompassed by a compound wall and have individual roofed rectangular rooms that open onto a central rectangular patio space. The Inka kancha differs from the Wari elite residence in that the rectangular rooms are typically not attached to each other and there may be portions of the outer enclosure wall visible from the patio (see Protzen 1993). Some kancha, however, closely resemble their earlier counterparts in the Wari culture (Figure 9.3). Gasparini and Margolies state that "the Qorikancha is basically analogous to other kancha-type structures. Its outside appearance must not have been very different from that of the Cuzco 'palaces' with well-finished walls and thatched roofs" (1980:228–231). The Inka kancha was not adopted by everyone; it seems to have been primarily a state style of construction. It is found at most Inka constructed centers and settlements. Hyslop suggests that kancha-style structures were components of palace complexes:

> Identifying a kancha in Inka architecture does not necessarily tell us about the activities carried out within it. It

is clear that kancha were the architectural basis for simple dwellings, just as they could compose the basis for a palace or temple. It would seem that the rooms within a kancha should have similar functions, but that is improbable, because sometimes kancha are composed of rectangular rooms, some with doors and others that are open-sided type. Much of the central sector of Cuzco was composed of kancha, and these groupings around patios served a variety of purposes: residences for kings and persons of royal lineages (*panaqa*), special production areas, and temples [1990:17].

Alone, the kancha were organized to provide space for a variety of activities; however, together in a complex these structures were associated with state-sponsored activities and attached to Inka elite residence (Niles 1987).

Concepts of Space

The resemblance between Wari elite residences and Inka kancha-style structures is undeniable. We suggest that there are other important connections between Inka and Wari concepts of space. These concepts and elements of the spatial organization of Wari structures at Cerro Baúl and other sites in the Moquegua colony will illustrate some of the institutions operating in the Wari provincial government. We will focus on three principal concepts of architectural manifestations of power: subordination, exclusivity, and procession. These concepts are artificial constructs, artifacts of our anthropological analysis that we will use in this discussion to describe ways in which Wari elites manipulated activities and their space. Thus the concepts are not mutually exclusive and may operate in concert within some environments. Elements such as size of the space, features, construction quality, setting, and the spatial distribution of the associated artifact assemblages are significant considerations in understanding the use of space. By analyzing manifestations of these concepts and the description of these key elements, we are able to categorize the nature of the institutions that used the architectural space for their operation.

Subordination

Architecture reflects subordination when it structures asymmetrical social interaction. This is expressed when a feature elevates actors above others within a space, as with a platform, or circumscribes the space that the dominant individuals inhabit, as with a large recess or niche in which a leader may not be elevated but is situated as the focus of a room. This can also be expressed in a more portable medium when an official is carried on a litter.
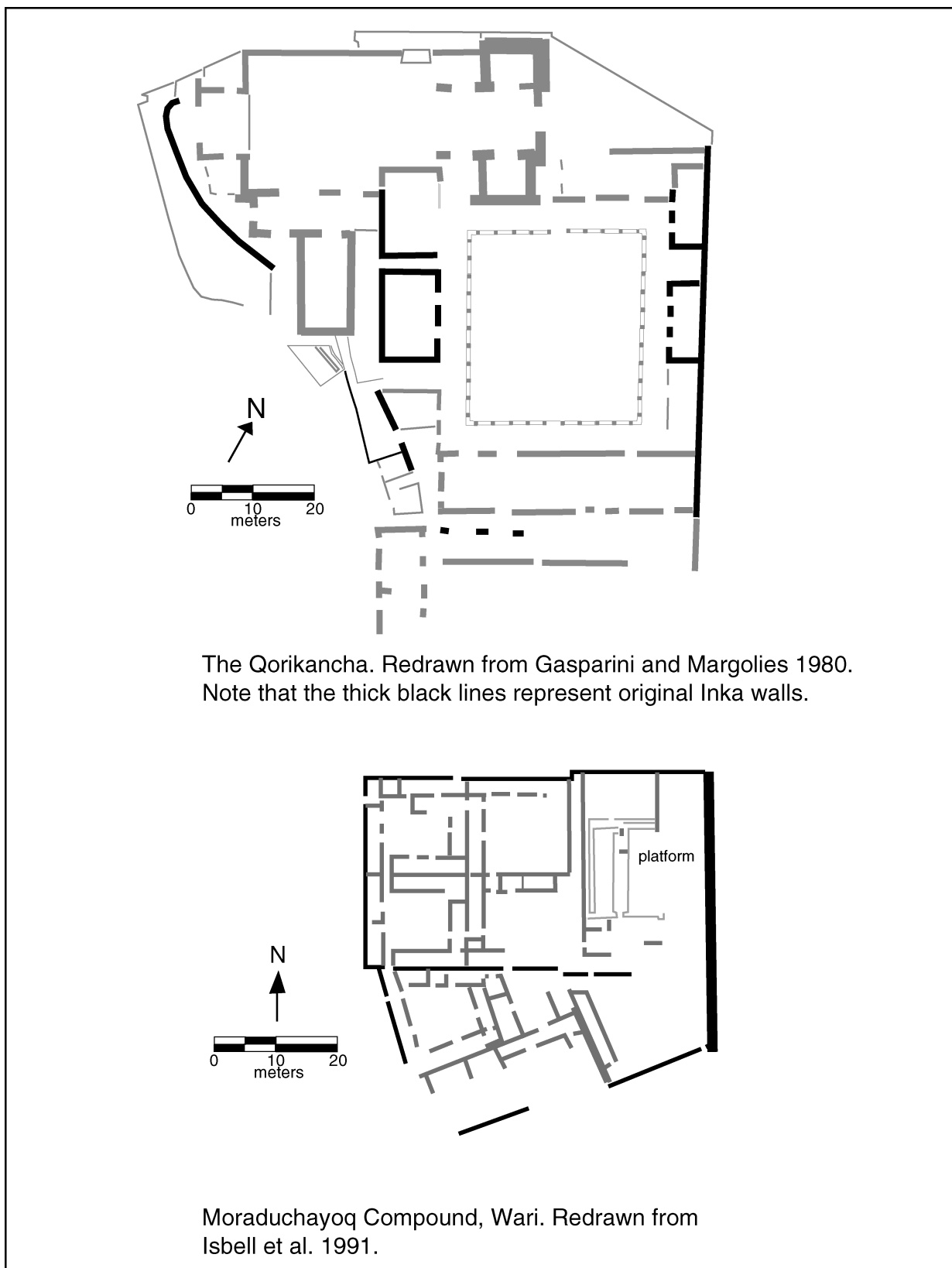
The Qorikancha. Redrawn from Gasparini and Margolies 1980.
Note that the thick black lines represent original Inka walls.

Moraduchayoq Compound, Wari. Redrawn from
Isbell et al. 1991.

Figure 9.3. Examples of kancha type structures.

At a large scale the principle of subordination is demonstrated in the settlement patterning of the Wari colony. Wari elites inhabited the lofty heights of Cerro Baúl, while non-Wari elites and commoners were restricted to smaller settlements such as Cerro Mejia or Pampa del Arrastrado. The walls circumscribing Cerro Baúl and the summit of Cerro Mejia reinforce this subordination as well as express the concept of exclusivity.

Exclusivity

Exclusivity refers to the restriction of entrance to or observation of certain settings where participation promotes group cohesion. The excluded parties alternatively may be allowed to watch a procession but not be a participant in this symbolic behavior. Exclusivity may incorporate various levels of inclusion as opposed to being a purely binary variable. It can function between levels of a social hierarchy (class-based discrimination) or between like groups participating at the same level (faction-based discrimination). An important result of exclusivity is the cohesion produced among those in the selected exclusive group. Thus this concept has two facets: it defines one group of people from another, the "in" crowd and the "out," at the same time as it binds members of those groups together through participation and shared experience either in the special space or in activities segregated from it.

Procession

Procession is an activity involving movement from one location to another and can be conducted between meaningful features in the landscape or take place in a built environment designed for activities of this nature. These activities have great antiquity as reflected in early Andean monumental architecture (Conklin 1985; Moore 1996; Quilter 1999). Platform mounds were built to emulate the mountainous landscape, and ritual associated with these monuments may have been focused toward controlling water and other natural phenomena (see Kolata 2003).

Procession is implied by some Wari iconography and related depictions from the Tiwanaku Gateway of the Sun. These scenes show a central figure atop a tiered platform holding staffs approached by two lines of beings coming from different sides. These converging figures are depicted as if in motion either running or flying (Cook 1994). Donnan and McClelland (1999:167) have interpreted some Moche iconography as depictions of ritual processions. In the presentation theme, a presiding individual at the top of a ramped or stepped platform is approached and offered a cup.

The processional venues may be constructed to represent metaphysical characteristics of the natural landscape and thus are designed to tie human ritual activities to the supernatural. In so doing, processions serve as actions of legitimization (Bauer 1996; Morris and Thompson 1985). The organization of a procession, that is, the order in which the figures stand, may represent the social order (see Cook 1994). Participation in these processions may reinforce and reestablish the political hierarchies acting in a society.

Architectural Elements and Design

There are important elements, components, or qualities of the constructed environment that can be changed, modified, or added to impact the nature of the activities possible in the space. These elements include size, features, construction quality, setting, and the associated artifacts.

The size of a spatial venue is important and permits the calculation of how many people participated in a particular activity or how many people could witness a particular behavior. Size has an implication in understanding the degree of exclusivity related to the context of the institution.

Features incorporated into the construction of a space provide an understanding of the nature of the activity and the flexibility of the intended use of a space. Benches, for instance, demonstrate a proscribed setting for long-term interaction and facilitate meals, feasting, and complex discussions. The benches themselves encourage people to sit and demonstrate where it is appropriate to sit. As such, bench constructions serve as cues that direct people's behavior within a space. Thus platforms, dais structures, and benches are features that can be accompanied by social custom to invoke subordination and exclusivity.

Construction quality not only indicates relative status differences to archaeologists but also was likely an important element to the people interacting in the spaces. Quality is recognized in several ways. The relative labor inputs into a structure are important. Factors such as the source of the building materials, whether the stone was shaped, and the height and thickness of the walls are examples of how labor inputs could be quantified. More qualitative but equally significant is the skill exhibited by masonry construction. More time and skill is reflected when fieldstones are used but walls are constructed so that they exhibit flat surfaces from the careful selection and placement of stones. Construction quality is subjective and its assessment by archaeologists is based on the ruined state of the architectural remains. Not all qualities that would have been notable are preserved. Nevertheless, it is significant to consider these factors in understanding potential cues or nonverbal communication that may have acted to structure behavior in the space.

Construction quality may not always be clearly ranked but may be linked to other ideas described with words such as sacred, profane, private, public, clean, dirty, and so on (Rapoport 1990). Spaces can have more than one use, but permanent features built into the spaces may help differentiate how Wari designers would have categorized them. In the case of Cerro Baúl, the preparation of the floor surface is a good example that raises many questions. The floor types vary from tamped clay to fine plaster and some floors are paved with flagstones. As we are unaware of the sumptuary laws for this cultural tradition it is impossible to judge which was considered better, plaster or flagstones. It may also be important to examine whether the nature of the space (residential, religious, administrative, and others) corresponds to one treatment or another. These differences may also be temporal, with elite tastes changing over the course of a few generations (Bourdieu 1996; Couture 2002).

The setting of an activity is significant to the nature of an institution. The idea or label given to a space is culture specific and linked to cultural norms and in some cases is linked to a group's cosmology (Rapoport 1990). At a regional scale the idea of setting refers to the colony's site hierarchy. An elite residence at the provincial center may contain a different suite of activities from an elite residence at a tertiary center even if the spatial arrangement is very similar (Nash 2002). Thus no single term can convey the nature of a particular setting and "thick description" is required (Bourdieu 1977; Geertz 1973; Ryle 1971). As archaeologists we cannot grasp at these cosmological meanings; however, through careful comparative study it may be possible to understand spatial categories and perhaps use analogy to approximate a meaningful label for the type of space and the behavior it contained.

The associated artifact assemblage and the distribution of these materials in the space provide the most important information about the use of the space. But the nature of the artifactual deposition must be treated with caution. It is tempting to assume a "Pompeii scenario" and take the artifacts at face value (see Schiffer 1985). If examined carefully, the distribution of the artifacts and the behaviors they imply should provide some clues to the nature of the deposition.

Artifacts can be considered in two ways as they pertain to activity in a space. Typically artifacts are thought of as tools. Consumption vessels and serving wares, stone tools, spindle whorls, and so on are used to infer a function or activity. Artifacts can also be used to establish ambiance. Fine ceramic wares placed in niches can communicate the status of the household; access to a variety of foodstuffs or rare items likely represented the position of the bearer to others. Artifacts in a space and used in a space can promote or prohibit activity as much as any permanent feature (Rapoport 1990).

The elements of size, features, construction quality, setting, and the artifactual assemblage will be discussed below in association with the three concepts of behavior and their embodiment in different social and temporal contexts. By describing architectural venues with these elements and concepts in mind we can begin to examine the different types of power being exerted by Wari state officials in Moquegua and the nature of the transformation or reorganization of power relations over time.

Wari Institutional Space at Cerro Baúl

We divide the Middle Horizon occupation of Moquegua into two time frames to compare changes in power relations: the early Middle Horizon (600–800 C.E.) and the late Middle Horizon (800–1000 C.E.). These time frames are still tentative in that we have not identified exactly when the reorganization took place (see Owen and Goldstein 2001; Williams 2001), but mounting evidence strongly supports at least two phases of political organization during the Wari occupation of the Moquegua region. This division allows us to assess the changes in the materialization of power in monumental and elite residential architecture from one phase to the next.

The Early Middle Horizon

In the early Middle Horizon, Wari established the principal administrative center at Cerro Baúl and a secondary center at Cerro Mejia (Figure 9.2). The first monument of power is the Platform Complex aligned with Picchu Picchu. It is located in Sector E on Cerro Baúl near the western edge of the summit (Figure 9.4). The complex includes a 16- by-20-meter tiered platform with a staircase leading down the south side into a walled rectangular sunken court (Figure 9.5). Opposite the platform is a terraced structure, a modification of natural features on the summit. It also has a central staircase, which aligns with that of the platform, leading down to the north. Standing on this terraced structure and looking across to the platform staircase beyond, one sees Picchu Picchu, a sacred ice-capped mountain peak in Arequipa, cradled by a dip in the intervalley ridge.

An in situ ritual burning event from within the construction fill of the platform yielded a ^{14}C date of 1366±35 B.P. (600–770 C.E. calibrated at two sigma). This monument had no peers in the Moquegua Valley at this time. While modest in scale compared to the Akapana at Tiwanaku, it is the first large-scale public monument in Moquegua. The 1,500-square-meter Cerro Baúl monument incorporates a platform summit, a sunken court, and a terraced structure.
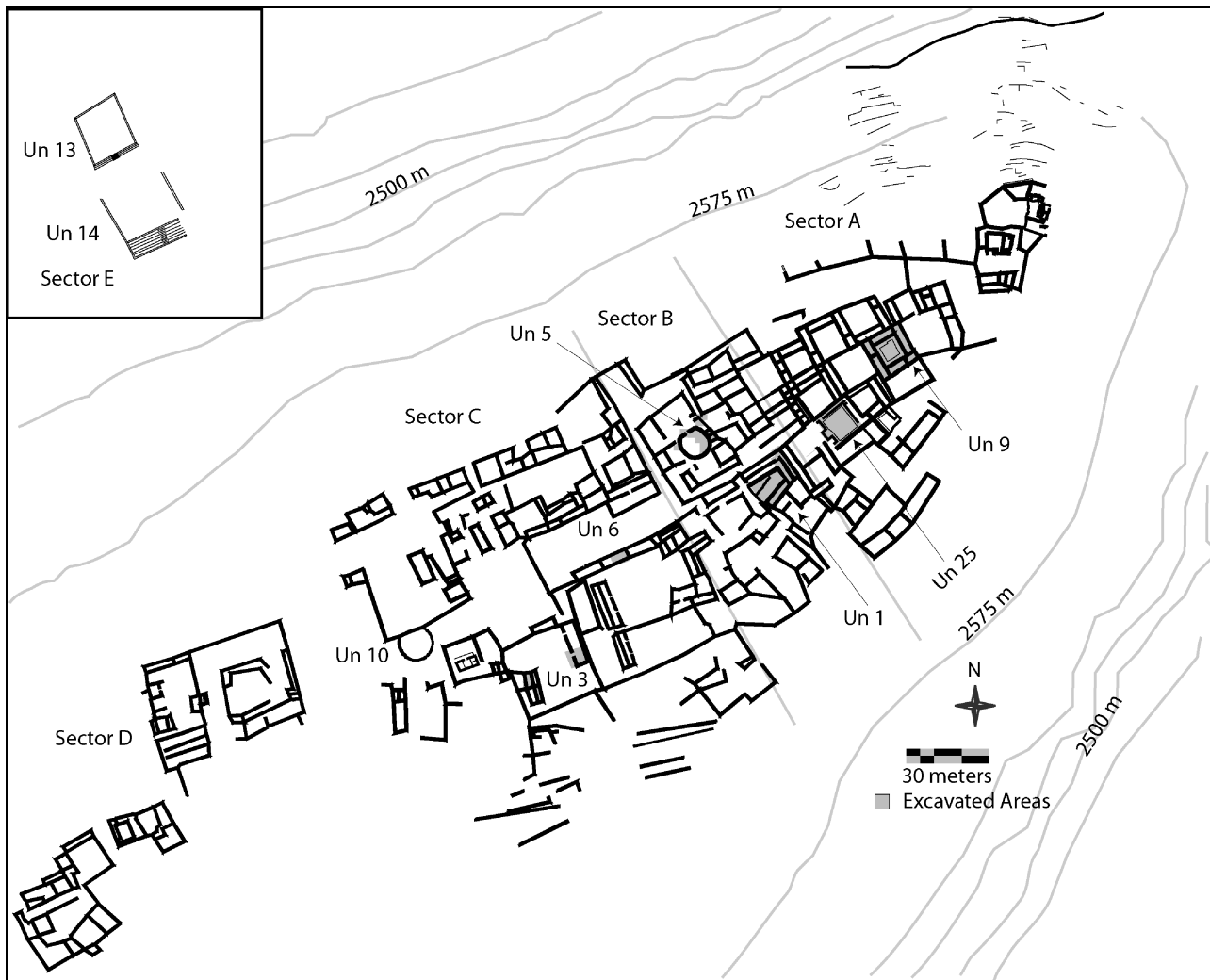
Figure 9.4. The summit of Cerro Baúl.

The terraced structure consists of six terraces 20 meters in length, each approximately 1 meter wide and approximately 50 centimeters high.

There are several scenarios that could explain the activities around which this space was designed. Currently, the architectural elements and setting support the following interpretation. Based on the quality of the modified southern monument, the terraces or tiers may have provided a seating area to view activity on the platform. Assuming seating every meter on every terrace, 120 spectators could view events from this structure.

The spectator's focus is oriented toward the sunken court and the platform beyond. The top surface of the platform is only 1.2 meters above the lowest terrace. In the background, the peaks of Picchu Picchu are unmistakably aligned with the two staircases and the platform. The artificial space created mimics the natural space beyond, and we hypothesize that

at least part of the public-scale rituals, incorporating over 100 individuals in the events, was focused on the distant mountain peaks.

The alignment of descending and ascending staircases oriented toward the Picchu Picchu peaks suggests that any individual in the space may have participated in the procession during the course of the gathering. Ceremonial movements may have linked the natural world with the cosmological one, as mountains are seen as intermediaries between the worlds in native Andean cosmology (Bolin 1998). Such a performance is full of significance and may have served to legitimate the roles of those in power. Nevertheless, even though the platform is elevated, it does not place all the spectators in a spatially inferior position to the ritual actors. Ritual specialists may have performed the rituals on behalf of higher ranked elites governing the province. We cannot be sure who the actors were; however, the size of the space
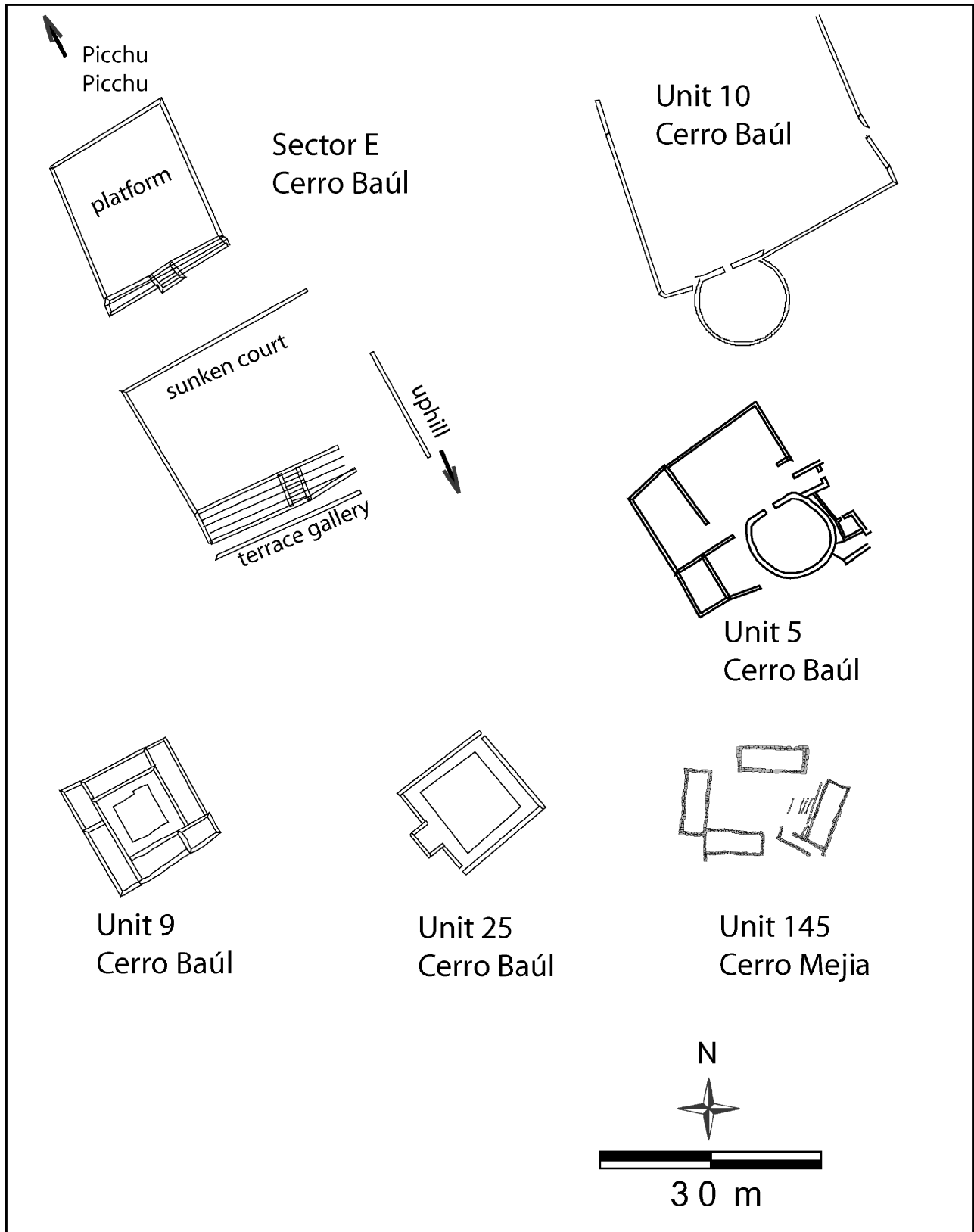
Figure 9.5. Early Middle Horizon monuments 600–800 C.E.

suggests that just over 100 individuals could have been a part of the event.

In a Wari colony with at least seven sites and a populace of several thousand individuals (Williams and Sims 1998), the defined setting of this activity reflects a certain degree of exclusivity. The complex is uncircumscribed by walls and the activities taking place on the platform could be noted, though not in great detail, from settlements hundreds of meters below in the Torata Valley. The platform complex exhibits the concept of subordination, and the processional ceremonies potentially enacted in this venue would have legitimized the Wari governor's right to power and perhaps established ranks among the participants maintaining the political order.

In contrast to the events envisioned in this space, rituals within the established walled compounds on the other side of the mesa summit were much more intimate. Two classes of architecture are notable in this regard. One class is composed of the two D-shaped temple structures on the summit of Cerro Baúl. The other class consists of patio-centered compounds located on the summits of both Cerro Baúl and the adjacent Wari settlement of Cerro Mejia.

The D-shaped structures are located on either side of the later phase monumental core of Cerro Baúl. Both face northeast, measure approximately 10 to 12 meters in diameter, and have associated plazas larger than 10 meters square. The western structure, Unit 10, has yielded the oldest ^{14}C date of the two, 640–810 C.E. calibrated at two sigma. The eastern structure, Unit 5, dates to 160 radiocarbon years later, based on two dates processed from that space (Williams 2001). These Unit 5 dates may represent use or remodeling rather than original construction.

D-shaped structures have been described as ritual venues of sacrifice and propitiation (Cook 2001). These sacred spaces provided venues for political interaction through participation in restricted religious rites. These actions may have been limited to the highest levels of the Wari elite; however, both temples open onto plaza spaces (Figure 9.5). Perhaps similar to activities at the Inka Qorikancha, lower-ranking individuals were allowed to witness or participate in some acts in the plaza space but were not allowed to enter or participate in the activities inside the D-shaped temple.

The space lacks a clear focus of subordination in the architecture, with no single platform and 16 different wall niches in the inner sanctum. The two D-shaped structures and the complexes that envelope them, as in the first monument, served to connect the natural and supernatural (Cook 2001). They may have encompassed procession but are much more exclusive in their access to the activities of the interior sacred spaces. Furthermore, elaboration of the dominant position of one space to another through features of subordination, outside the exclusive access to the inner sanctum, is not present in the D-shaped structures; instead, exclusive access defined the relative status of the participants. This contrasts with the use of features and concepts expressed in the next class of architecture found in Sector A.

Unit 25 is a plaza compound approximately 10 meters square, incorporating a 50-centimeter-wide bench around all four sides. On the west side, the bench surface extends into a two-by-four-meter niche or wall recess. The plaza has two narrow entrances via corridors, one on the northeast side and the other on the southwest side. A broad entrance leads to an adjacent plaza to the east. Large quantities of serving and storage vessels, currently under analysis, covered the floor of this abandoned structure. Although no dates have yet been processed from this context, six dates from this sector cluster in the early period.

The space enclosed by this structure incorporates approximately 30 linear meters of bench seating, excluding the elevated platform, and is approximately 100 square meters in area. This kind of benched space is an appropriate venue for gatherings. People sitting on the benches could engage in conversations. If all of the available seating area were used and each person occupied one meter of the bench, a fair estimate for such a gathering would be limited to 30 people. Based on the assemblage of vessels associated with this space, which included fragments hailing from as far away as Cajamarca, 1,200 kilometers to the north, this was an exclusive group of individuals.

Similar spatial configurations in the patio of Unit 9 suggest this activity may have been repeated, although at a slightly smaller scale. Evidence of feasting is also present. Unit 9 exhibits the organization of a Wari elite residence, with rectangular abutting rooms opening onto a central patio (Isbell 1989, 1991; McEwan 1987, 1991; Schreiber 1992). As such, it represents concepts of space perpetuated in some form by the Inka kancha of later times. Two radiocarbon dates from Unit 9, 540–660 C.E. and 650–780 C.E. calibrated at two sigma, show that this symbolic architectural form coincides with the earliest phase of Wari imperial expansion. Both Unit 25 and Unit 9 seem to be part of a larger elite residential complex and may represent different components of a formal palatial structure. The enclosed plaza structure was possibly a component of an elite residential compound, designed to entertain a maximum of 30 people with no visibility to the outside world. A similar venue exists within a more discrete elite residential structure and may have been reserved for the highest ranking members of the society or restricted to the use of the governor's kin group.

On Cerro Mejia, Unit 145 resembles the construction of Unit 9 to some degree. This structure has a slightly raised platform and three stairs leading to an elevated rectilinear space to the east (Figure 9.6). The highest stair extends across
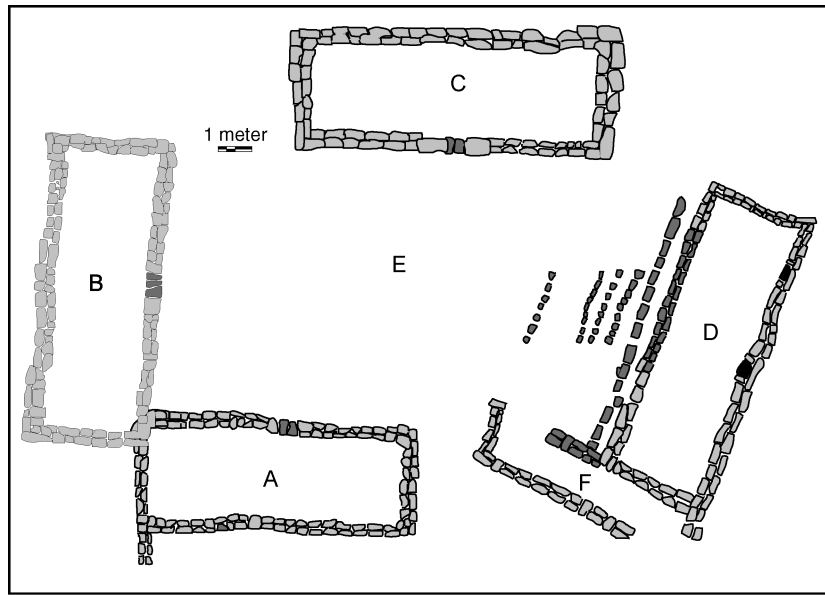
Figure 9.6. Unit 145, summit of Cerro Mejia (from Nash 2002).

the front of this structure to form a bench. The room is open to the patio but was roofed. The east wall has two niches placed so that from the patio they could be viewed on either side of the stairs approaching this sheltered dais. Similar structures are modeled as Wari ceramic vessels (see Bonavia 1994:221, fig. 167). Three other rectilinear rooms are arranged around a central trapezoidal patio dating to about 700 C.E. (Nash 2002).

Unit 145 on Cerro Mejia is shaped like Unit 9 on Cerro Baúl; however, the quality of construction is considerably lower and an enclosure wall has not been located. Only the eastern elevated room is paved with flagstones. A secondary lower platform provides a place of honor for esteemed subordinates. An intensive food preparation area was uncovered in the northern room. This facility would have supported feasting activities. Storage pits are located in the eastern and southern rooms. The official living in this elite residence may have distributed some resources or participated in gift exchange, and the diversity of products in this residence suggests that many goods were accepted as tribute or gifts (Nash 2002).

Unit 145 on Cerro Mejia exhibits qualities of subordination, exclusivity, and procession all in one venue. It is a multipurpose structure that reflects the modest access to labor resources at this level in the political hierarchy. The officials at Cerro Mejia had one spatial venue to serve a variety of activities. There are two elevated planes that allow two levels of subordination. Exclusivity may not be expressed via accessibility but rather through the explication of the political hierarchy represented by the relative position in the patio

space. Processions would have been limited, but as ranked individuals ascended to the lower and upper platforms and took positions similar to those depicted on textiles and ceramic vessels, they were behaving in a symbolic way that invoked an explicit cosmological meaning. The platforms in the central patio of Unit 145 on Cerro Mejia exhibit the concept of subordination, and processions enacted in this venue would have legitimized Wari's right to power and perhaps established ranks among participants maintaining the political order.

Cerro Mejia also exhibits platform construction in a public venue. A set of four platforms is centrally located among the summit architecture. Two platforms lie on the eastern edge of an abnormally flat surface. Two smaller platforms define the northern edge of the space (Figure 9.7). This zone was modified to produce a plaza for the gathering of a large group of people. These events were important to establish continued subordination of the populace below the provincial governor or his regional representatives. The legitimizing performances may have included feasts that created labor obligations or rituals that ensured productivity for the coming year. Undoubtedly, this public space was an important venue of power for local administrators and state officials.

Summary

During the early phase of Wari occupation, state institutions stressed activities that legitimized Wari power in a public way. These power relations were set in a state-created
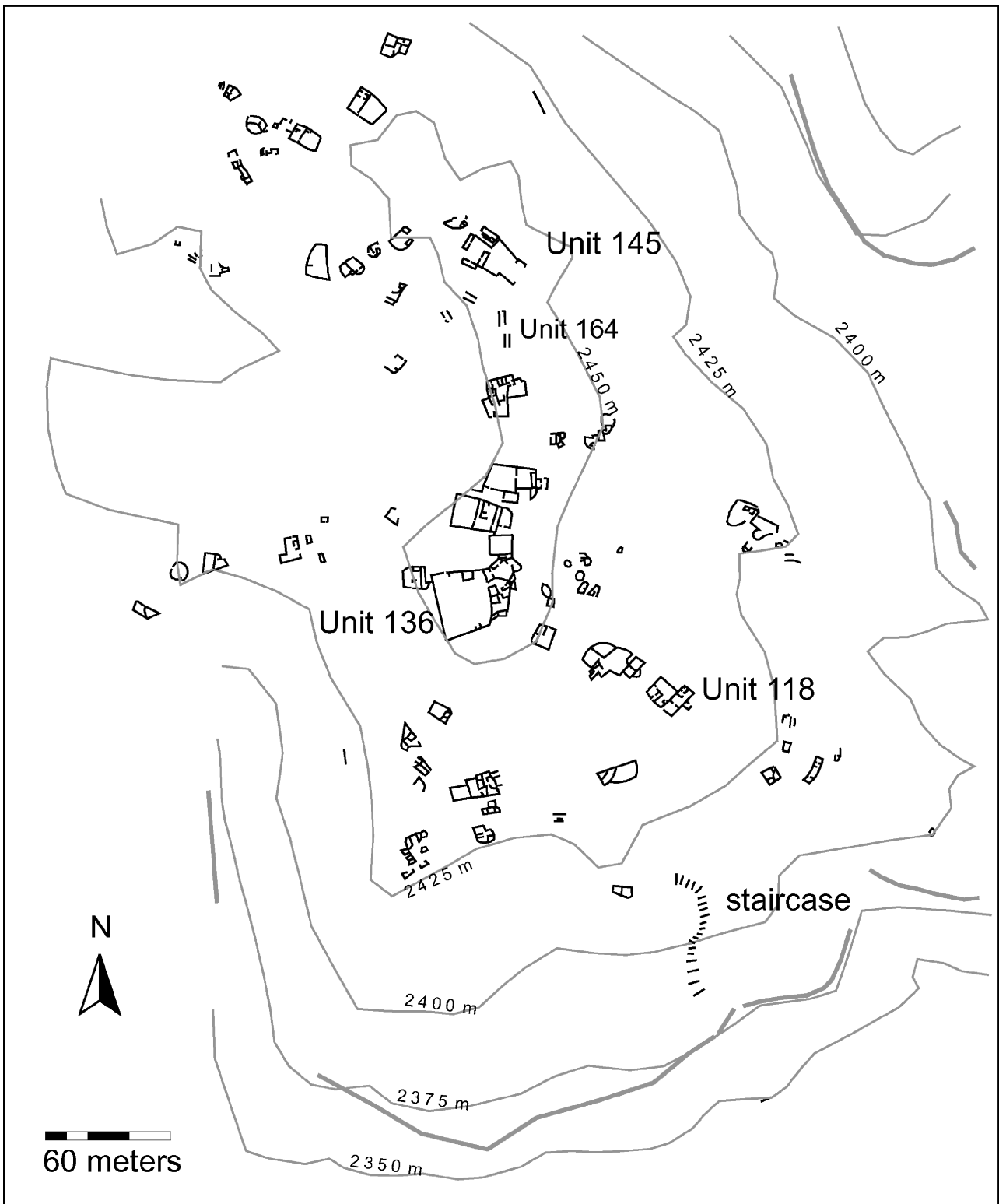
Figure 9.7. Cerro Mejia summit structures (from Nash 2002).

venue evoking basic precepts of Wari belief and ritual structured to replicate the cosmological hierarchy within the human landscape. Additionally, spaces were designed where an exclusive group of nobles could negotiate relationships through feasting, gift exchange, and face-to-face interaction. Some structure types contain architectural features that elevate a small host of individuals relative to the rest. On Cerro Baúl the Picchu Picchu platform emphasizes procession and various levels of inclusion; the other classes of architecture emphasize exclusivity and sometimes marked subordination.

Structures exhibiting similar components were present on Cerro Mejia. These included elite residential structures with patio spaces that permitted interaction in an atmosphere of subordination. Platforms were set in a public space to achieve a similar effect but with a larger group of people. The structures on Cerro Mejia represent control at a different scale and were no less important to achieving the state's goals in the region than those constructed on Cerro Baúl.

The Late Middle Horizon

During the second phase of occupation, new spatial forms are introduced. The constructions are massive. The sizes of the spaces are larger and thus the numbers of people that could be brought together in these venues is considerably greater. On the summit of Cerro Baúl, a massive reconstruction event (Williams 2001) establishes at least six large plaza complexes in Sector C (Figure 9.8), each greater than 30 meters across. These walled compounds exhibit different forms, but all seem to be related to administration and lack residential remains. For example, Unit 6 in Sector C is one of three rooms in a series. It was elevated above the associated plaza and entered via a small flight of stairs. This construction had two stories and a high bench along both long walls. Inside this space there are no platforms or overt symbols of subordination.

Another new kind of complex, typified by Unit 3 in Sector C, was designed to store large quantities of goods and to manage these stores in a formal way (Figure 9.8). Unit 3 contains a cluster of four rooms with elevated wooden floors, elevated thresholds, and food-related botanical materials (Williams 2001). The design of these storerooms would have permitted increased air circulation and aided in the preservation of perishable items. Similar elevated floors have been found in small circular structures at the site of Cerro Amaru in the vicinity of Viracochapampa, a Wari site in the Huamanchuco area (Topic 1991; Topic and Topic 1984). Later Inka qollqa in this region were built in a similar fashion (Topic and Chiswell 1992). A rectangular room along

the eastern wall of the Unit 3 compound was elevated above the plaza and seems to have had a platform or bench built along the exterior wall on either side of its entrance. The organization of this compound suggests that these storage facilities were directly managed by an individual accorded elevated status by the architectural arrangement of Unit 3.

These new structures in Sector C are characterized by a lack of domestic debris and have larger-scale architecture than their earlier cousins, the small, sometimes residential, patio compounds discussed earlier. The added monumentality of these constructions may have amplified the feelings of subordination people experienced in the vicinity of or inside these structures. The examples that have been tested, Unit 3 and Unit 6, both use elevation to maintain a visual element of status difference. These facilities are walled compounds and thus access was through controlled passages that brought people through large outer plazas and may have been strictly regulated. Their size alone may have been awe inspiring.

Given that these large plaza compounds equaled or exceeded 1,000 square meters in area, they could accommodate up to ten times as many people as the small patio compounds. The general paucity of material remains, in contrast to the quantities associated with the smaller patio compounds of earlier times, suggests a different function altogether for these new monumental structures. These compounds did not invite the interpersonal relations of the earlier structures but stood as edifices to state administration.

We should note that the smaller patio compounds might have continued in use into this period as areas for small gatherings. These structures may have become more formalized over time. For example, Unit 1 on Cerro Baúl, which has been described as a ritual libation hall where elite feasting took place (Feldman 1998), was remodeled through its use life and seems to have been of importance throughout the entire Wari occupation (Williams 2001).

The central patio of Unit 1 is a 12-by-8-meter trapezoidal space (Figure 9.8), similar in form to that of Unit 145 on Cerro Mejia. Unit 1 has two rectangular rooms to the northeast and northwest (Williams 2001). This scheme of organizing space around a patio also occurs at the Wari site of Pikillaqta in Cuzco (McEwan 1987). In the patio, Robert Feldman (1998) describes a low terrace that cuts diagonally from the northern corner to the middle of the southwest wall. This low terrace may have been a triangular bench or platform functioning to provide a place of superiority during small-scale face-to-face interactions. Ceramic vessels recovered in this context distinguish this structure from others because of their high quality of production and the presence of hybrid Wari–Tiwanaku design elements. It may have been the prime venue for negotiations and exchange between representatives of the two states.
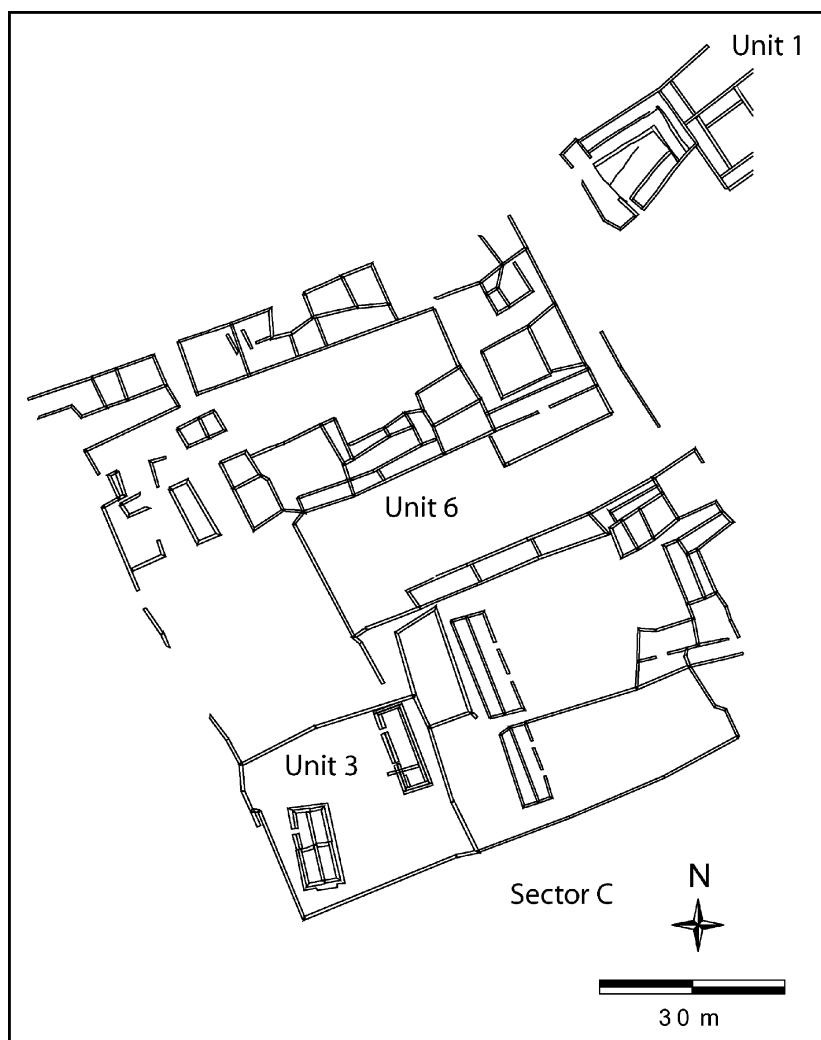
Figure 9.8. Late Middle Horizon monuments (800–1000 C.E.) on the summit of Cerro Baúl.

Elsewhere at the site, at least one and possibly both of the two D-shaped structures continued to be utilized in this phase. Thus, we should not see the large plaza compounds as replacing the small patio groups or D-shaped temples but as complementing the nature of Wari power by adding a new dimension of architecture. The potential reduction in the number of these smaller units operating in the later phases of the Wari occupation, however, may reflect a significant shift in the way power was being expressed. An emphasis on personal interaction in small exclusive venues was replaced by more formal interaction in larger, more imposing spaces that were nevertheless exclusive in their use of walls and compartmentalization.

Concurrent with the shifts on the summit of Cerro Baúl, there was an increase in Tiwanaku habitation both in the Middle Valley around the sites of Omo and Chen Chen and around Cerro Baúl. Public monuments were constructed in association with these settlements, the most notable being the Tiwanaku temple at Omo (Goldstein 1989) (Figure 9.9). The Omo temple resembles features of the Akapana. It was an imposing statement of Tiwanaku state power in the middle Moquegua Valley. Goldstein (1993) dates the structure from a wood sample taken from the upper court entryway lintel to 1160 ± 50 B.P., which is contemporaneous with the reconstruction phenomenon of the large plaza complexes on Cerro Baúl.

On the slopes of Cerro Baúl, a new type of monument was introduced at approximately the same time. Three tripartite enclosures seem to mimic in some respect the monument at Omo with three courts but are much less elaborate and rustic in nature. Owen (1998) investigated one of these enclosures at La Cantera and dates the structure to approximately 900 C.E. based on radiocarbon dates of 1180 ± 80 B.P. and 1080 ± 70 B.P. We identified two further structures
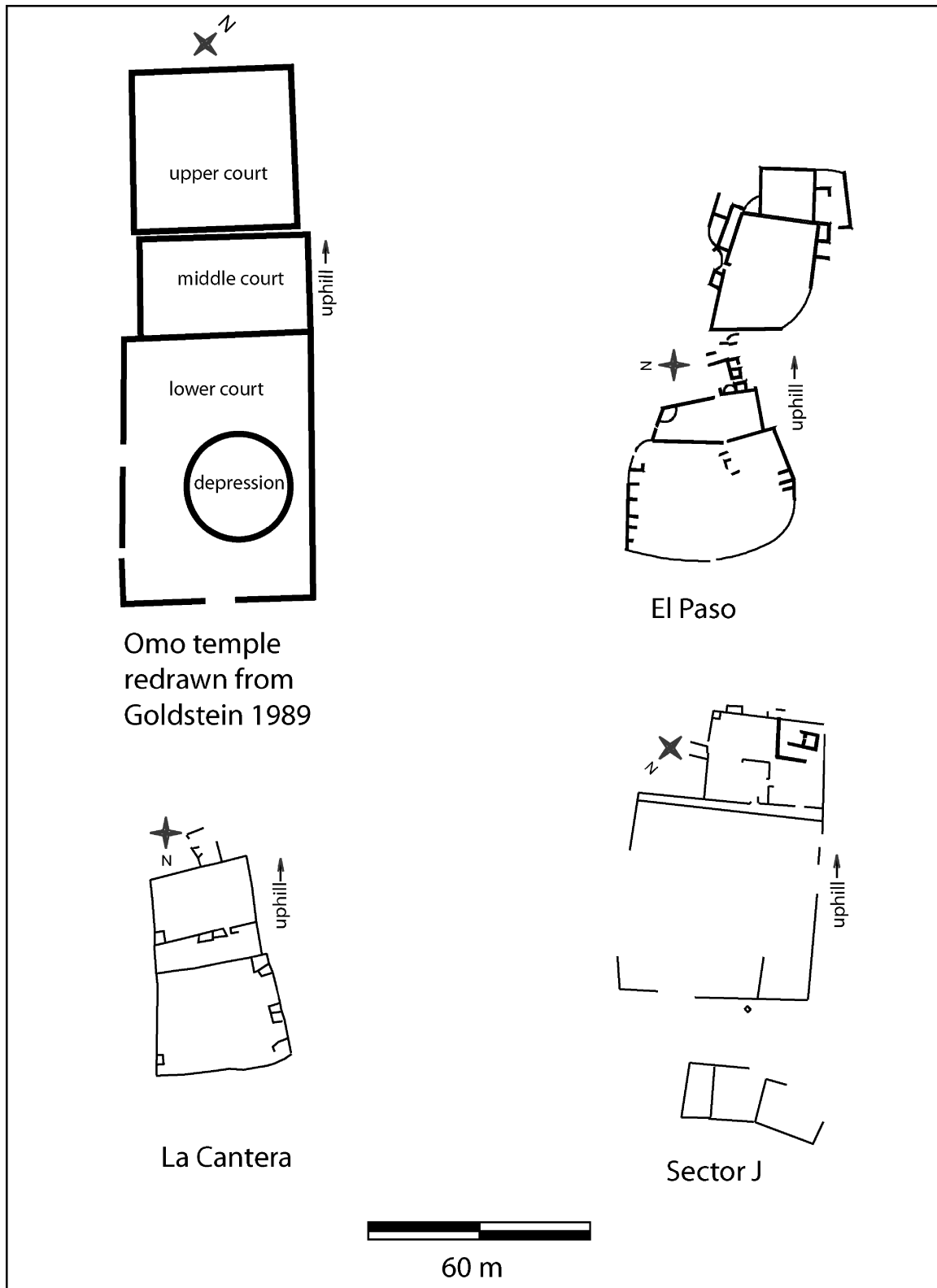
Figure 9.9. Late Middle Horizon monuments (800–1000 c.e.) in the Moquegua region.

of the same style, El Paso and Sector J, both of which we have sampled through excavation (Figure 9.9).

According to Moseley (personal communication, 2001), all three structures appear to have been built over Wari agricultural land used during the early Middle Horizon. Nash's excavations in the middle and lowest enclosures of the El Paso complex, Unit 11A and 11B, revealed agricultural soil beneath the floor and an earlier structure's foundation. A hearth associated with the earlier structure yielded a date of 1174±43 B.P. (780–940 C.E. calibrated at two sigma). Since the hearth slightly predates the construction of the El Paso structure, we infer the construction date for the structure to be about 900 C.E. Ceramic assemblages from the surface and excavations demonstrate a mix of Tiwanaku- and Wari-influenced wares. Radiocarbon evidence from Sector J confirms the contemporaneity of all three structures with a date of 1220 ± 52 B.P. (680–960 C.E. calibrated at two sigma).

Unlike the Omo temple or the platform complex in Sector E of Cerro Baúl, these tripartite enclosures contain no artificial manipulation of elevational space. All are oriented along hillsides to take advantage of the natural topography. Thus, progression from the large lower court to the smaller upper courts is always uphill. The remains of the enclosures are low and built of fieldstone, not the ashlar blocks with adobe superstructure described by Goldstein (1993) at Omo. In contrast, La Cantera, Sector J, and the El Paso complex have walls that do not exceed 70 centimeters in height and have no subsurface foundation. There is no evidence for any kind of superstructure. We estimate that the labor required to construct the monuments was limited and the work was perhaps accomplished by a small group over a matter of a few weeks.

There is no midden associated with these complexes, nor is there any architecture of subordination, as with the platforms we saw in other contexts. The small rooms along the sides of the plazas may represent areas where small *pagos*, or offerings to the earth, were made, perhaps as part of some progression from the large lower plazas to the more restricted upper plazas. These complexes are compartmentalized as one ascends the slope, but the walls were not high enough to shield external viewers from the activity that these venues structured. As there are three of them in a relatively small region and as each could accommodate a large group of people (over 100), they do not seem to exhibit qualities of exclusivity, although each may have represented a faction. Exclusivity in this instance does not seem to have required a visual cue or overt enforcement and may not have been a significant factor.

In Moquegua, recent radiocarbon assays of contexts associated with Omo- and Chen Chen-style ceramics suggest that the styles are contemporaneous (Goldstein and Owen 2001). In the past, these two styles were associated with wares from the Tiwanaku heartland (Goldstein 1989). Omo-style wares were correlated to the Tiwanaku IV vessels and Chen Chen-style ceramics were correlated with the Tiwanaku V vessels. A more rustic Tiwanaku-related derivative style called Tumilaca was thought to postdate the Tiwanaku occupation of the region. This style also seems to be affiliated with the Middle Horizon but continues after both states have withdrawn from the area. These styles may be related to self-defined groups within Tiwanaku society or may represent the distributions of wares sponsored by competing groups of elites.

The scale of the sociopolitical units that constructed the three complexes on the flanks of Cerro Baúl was probably smaller than a valley-wide social group. We suggest each of these structures may have been associated with a small village on the slopes of Cerro Baúl inhabited in the later half of the Middle Horizon and exhibiting locally produced Tiwanaku- and Wari-influenced wares. The settlements of Cancha de Yacango, Sector F, and Sector G may have built and used these structures (Figure 9.2).

These uniquely local Tiwanaku-related enclosures, so rustically constructed, may represent social groups' or individual community leaders' attempts to establish their own source of local monumental power. As such, they may even represent a not-so-subtle resistance to the larger monument of power, the Omo temple. Williams has argued elsewhere that the late Middle Horizon may be a time of factionalization in the Tiwanaku state (Williams 2002). These monuments may represent manifestations of different social groups exerting their own form of power. In the upper valley, these monuments were built on the slopes of Cerro Baúl over former tracts of agricultural fields fed by the Wari irrigation system. The associated Tiwanaku-related settlements would have been dependent on the Wari economic resources provided by the Wari infrastructure of canal-fed agricultural fields. The agricultural economy was apparently reorganized in concert with the new construction of monumental spaces on the summit of Cerro Baúl, perhaps in response to a shift in the demographics of subordinate populations.

It seems that the venue of public ceremony shifted from the summit of Cerro Mejia, with its platforms and state-structured ritual, which was not occupied in the later Middle Horizon, to more locally controlled phenomena. This shift may reflect a conscious change in the Wari political system to a more indirect strategy of control or the decline of state prominence and power in the region. Equally, these monuments may have been erected to compete with the Tiwanaku state religious apparatus at Omo and perhaps served to resist the Wari power structures created on the revered summit of Cerro Baúl as well (see Brumfiel and Fox 1994).

Shifting Power, Changing Activity

In essence, examining the nature of power from the Wari frontier in Moquegua documents a transformation at two levels. At Cerro Baúl acts of legitimization are established through ritual behavior at the Picchu Picchu-focused platform complex and the D-shaped structures, both of which exhibit exclusory mechanisms to reinforce and maintain the political hierarchy. The Picchu Picchu complex uses the visual cues of an elevated platform to symbolize differences in power and control. These venues seem to have continued in use throughout the Wari occupation and were linked to a ritual calendar that allowed the Wari elite to behave as mediators to the gods and thus displayed their ability to ensure prosperity.

In the initial phase of Wari control in the Moquegua region, political relationships were built under the guise of personalized hospitality and reciprocity. Face-to-face negotiations seem to have primarily taken place in elite residential contexts and specialized gathering areas associated with a particular estate or palatial complex. Later, the state built specialized nonresidential venues for face-to-face negotiations, formalizing the behavior of establishing political relationships. By taking this activity out of the residential context, people coming to negotiate or establish relationships with Wari governors were doing so in a setting that established their relationship with the state rather than a particular governor and his estate. The hospitality they received and the resulting obligation was not loyalty attached to an individual leader but rather was owed to the state and its representative. This may have allowed the provincial governors to rotate these responsibilities, substitute subordinate officials for some levels of political interaction, or return more often to the heartland leaving others in charge of administering the province. These new monumental nonresidential constructions may represent a material manifestation of a developing bureaucracy.

On Cerro Mejia a central platform plaza complex provided a venue for lower-level elites, local or imported, to establish obligations through feasting and festival. This regional gathering was structured in association with Wari notions of spatial organization and leaders occupying Wari-style structures. The population living on domestic terraces of Cerro Mejia does not exhibit local material culture and may represent imported colonists from more than one region (Nash 2002). It is currently unclear how many small settlements were participating in Wari society through connections between local leaders and Wari officials at Cerro Mejia. In the later phase of the Wari occupation, Cerro Mejia is not occupied

Local Tiwanaku-related forms of ritual architectural compounds appear on the slopes of Cerro Baúl and at El Paso. These structures allowed large groups to come together; however, no effort was made to unify the subordinate population. Feasting and group ritual allowed lower-level elites to establish obligations on their own behalf. These local leaders may have acted as agents of the state but used their own directed rituals and ceremonies to create dominance within their own communities. The complexes likely competed more with each other and Tiwanaku state religious power than with the Wari administrative power, but these factional compounds cannot be ruled out as resistance to Wari state structure. It is also evident that intimate interactions may have remained important in some ongoing relationships. Unit 1 on Cerro Baúl may have continued to be an important context of diplomacy between the Wari and Tiwanaku states. Nevertheless, in general it appears that intimate personalized interaction became less pronounced, and the state and the formal state representative became the principles in the operation of state institutions and resource management.

The power relations inferred from architectural design elements and concepts we have defined as subordination, exclusivity, and procession allow some interpretations of the nature of changing Wari state institutions. The Wari state managed a number of resources; this required establishing their power through subordination, limiting access to their power through exclusivity, and legitimizing their power and the political hierarchy through acts of ritual procession. Hospitality provided another mechanism of political interaction, and spatial venues were carefully designed to promote face-to-face interaction while exhibiting visual cues of subordination and exclusivity. The summits of Cerro Baúl and Cerro Mejia exhibit other spatial venues that have unique characteristics and remain to be tested. Continuing research of Wari architecture, documenting the design of these spaces and the activities conducted in them, will broaden our understanding of the changing nature of the expansive Wari state and the development of powerful Andean state institutions.

who have worked with us over the past several years on the Baúl complex. Finally, we thank the people of Moquegua for participating with us in the process of discovering their great heritage. Any flaws in interpretation are, of course, our own.

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