

## CHAPTER 6

### EXTERNAL CONTACTS

#### *Exchange and Complexity: Problems of Scale*

The ubiquitous presence of long-distance exchange goods in all three occupations of Jachakala, and the appearance of Tiwanaku-style ritual vessels in the Isahuara phase, necessitate a discussion of what role contact with groups outside of the La Joya region played in the site's developmental trajectory. There are many models in the archaeological literature detailing various modes of inter-regional interaction, but for reasons detailed below, employing the majority of these would entail falsely assuming causality in the evolution of complexity at Jachakala. In this respect, contact with the Tiwanaku State, evidenced by the introduction of Tiwanaku-derived vessel forms and iconography, is of particular interest to scholars of ancient statehood. However, the Tiwanaku goods at the site will be treated as just one class of exchanged goods in this chapter, in order to facilitate discussion of external contacts in a more general sense. Such external ties include, in addition to Tiwanaku, trade with peoples in the regions of Cochabamba to the northeast and Lake Poopó to the south.

Developing an approach centered on the local utilization of trade goods, rather than assuming passive incorporation into the Tiwanaku political sphere, necessitates a brief perusal of available models of interaction to identify appropriate tenets. The role of exchange in complexity has been the focus of dozens of studies, and has played an especially important role in models of state-hinterland relations (Adams 1992; Conrad and Demarest 1984; Kardulias 1999; Schortman and Urban 1992; Schwartz and Falconer 1994; Wattenmaker 1994). These projects typically emphasize two dimensions of social

interaction: the vertical integration of groups of different social scales (households, ethnic groups, communities, regions, states, etc.), and secondly, horizontal interaction between groups on the same level. When one of the trading partners is a powerful political entity, a capital-centric perspective is sometimes adopted wholesale.

Consequently, one persistent problem in models of inter-regional exchange is the general assumption that differences in scale (e.g., rural households and states) necessarily reflect differences in economic control over the people and products in question. Disparities in power between trading partners do not always mean exploitative relationships will develop. Trade relations are couched in culturally-derived terms, with certain expectations and guidelines that are not a priori the same as the colonial exploitation and forced tax collection so familiar from Western history books. This point lies at the heart of a current flurry of critiques of world-systems theory (Kardulias 1999; Stein 1999a, 1999b). Some counter-arguments stress the overemphasis of external influences on internal developments, and the denial of peripheral agency implicit in world-systems theory's assumption of core dominance (Stein 1999a:153-54).

For instance, recent archaeological and ethnohistorical studies documenting variability and flexibility in Andean statehood rightly stress the need to study how elements of social organization play into modes of integration and assertions of autonomy (Bermann 1997:93; D'Altroy 1992; Hastorf 1993; Malpass 1993). As Bermann argues regarding households, "Political ties ranging from voluntary affiliation to formal authority were couched in kinship structures, social hierarchy, and ethnic identity in the Prehispanic Andean states" (1997:95).

One result of this unequal focus on the more powerful (and archaeologically visible) party in inter-regional relationships is that little is known about how individual households are incorporated into and affected by distant states (Bermann 1997:94). Adopting a perspective centered on rural or "peripheral" households and communities provides a complement to urban processes of expansion and contraction. In doing so, moreover, households are given agency once acknowledged to be flexible, dynamic players capable of manipulating and negotiating the terms of their relationships with others. Even within the heartland of ancient states, different social groups are often only loosely integrated on both horizontal and vertical dimensions (Bermann 1997:109).

Therefore, one cannot assume that integrative mechanisms present at one site were universally employed to tie together communities within a state's territory or range of influence. The wide range of relationships between Tiwanaku and contemporaneous trading partners documented at sites from the Titicaca Basin to the Chilean coast highlights the need to focus on peripheral households' internal developments as the best means by which to measure Tiwanaku's influence on communities like Jachakala.

*Models of Exchange and Problems of Causality*

A second issue raised by recent work on the role of exchange relations in the origins of complexity involves causality. Both archaeological applications of both world-systems theory and more recent substitutes for it assume a bipolar core-hinterland relationship between trading partners. In fact, the concept of peripherality is itself somewhat inappropriate to the Jachakala case, because the core-periphery approach assumes all groups have a considerable degree of internal ranking (Hall 1999:9). Critiques of world-systems theory have proceeded along lines similar to applications of that borrowed paradigm. In other words, alternative approaches to relations between urban cores and marginalized groups, to lesser or greater degrees resistant to exploitation and/or incorporation, also assume economic or political interdependence between the two parties. Though Stein's distance-parity and trade diaspora models of interregional interaction (1999a, 1999b) recognize a wide range of relationships between trading partners, they assume competition between groups for the same resources.

Many studies of the ways in which villages assert and maintain their autonomy in the face of demands (whether for trade goods or tribute) from states focus most heavily on the effects of such contact on peripheral elites rather than local social structures (D'Altroy 1992; Smith 1986; Wells 1999:85). Hall's concept of a "marginalized" area is better in this context, because, in contrast to peripheral regions, marginalized groups are not involved in core-centered processes of political competition, economic specialization, and social stratification (1999:11). Their very marginality to urban-centered evolutionary trajectories makes them better suited to testing models of inter-regional relations in cases where ancient states dominated the ideological, rather than political, landscape.

Further, many of these proposed alternatives to the world-systems perspective center on inter-regional interaction between groups of elites, rather than independent agrarian households (D'Altroy 1992; Santley 1993; Sinopoli 1994; Smith 1986, 1994; Stein 1994, 1999a; Urban and Schortman 1999). In this respect, it is important to reiterate what Andeanists often stress, namely the association between persistent Andean kinship structures, religious and social ideologies, and inter-regional economic ties through camelid caravans of traders. This is an important point because long-distance exchange can and does occur without sponsorship, control, infrastructure, or demand for luxury goods from elites. Cooperation and a possibly high degree of autonomy are, in theory, fundamental to Andean exchange ties. In some cases, of course, competition and fluctuating disparities of wealth and power are essential backdrops to trade relations.

The Andean emphasis on kinship and well-established caravan networks of traders long before Tiwanaku appeared on the political landscape, can be generally contrasted with the state-controlled trading expeditions, military coercion, centralized surplus production and craft economies in Near Eastern and Mesoamerican hinterlands. Models derived from case studies in the latter areas can demonstrate tax or tribute extraction via mechanisms ranging from secondary centers to colonies, independent traders, and so forth. In the case of some Andean ceremonial states such as Chavín and Tiwanaku, however, I would argue that the concept of an economically exploited hinterland is less appropriate.

For example, Urban and Schortman emphasize the ideological changes that accompany the growth of asymmetrical relations, which function to justify differential access to both goods and labor (1999:126). In this schema, goods of exotic origin are most easily monopolized, but only “to the extent that non-local resources are needed and/or esteemed by the entire population” (1999:127). While unequal relations between and within communities based on prestige goods are notoriously unstable, they are still discussed in terms of the economic exploitation of peripheries by both urban areas and rural elites and the underdevelopment of the latter in consequence. Urban and Schortman confine their critique of models of inter-polity interaction to the absence of studies of the impact of foreign ideologies on rural communities, but I also take issue with the more general tendency to assume that exploitation underlies those relationships.

In fact, short-distance exchange goods in particular can be obtained without formalized exchange networks and hierarchical relationships. Ethnographic studies of camelid herding practices provide analogies for prehistoric altiplano populations. Tomka (2001:399) recently observed llama herders in the southern Peruvian puno who wove cloth, collected waterfowl eggs and firewood, and hunted while monitoring their herds. It is not difficult to imagine Prehispanic herders collecting small quantities of valued raw materials in their short- or long-distance migrations. Some exchange goods in this hypothetical model can be acquired directly by agro-pastoralists.

These are the reasons why, as I mentioned at the beginning of this chapter, the majority of the exchange models presented in the archaeological literature may be wholly inappropriate for cases like Jachakala and its relations with its trading partners. Because neither models derived from applications nor critiques of world-systems theory are applicable to the Jachakala case, and because Tiwanaku-style goods are but one kind of exchange item found at the site, a better approach to exchange must be found. This approach must not assume differences in control over the terms of trade between Jachakala and its partners, nor must it assume that Jachakala was exploiting smaller communities or being exploited by larger polities.

### *Goals of Analysis*

Simply put, the goal of mapping distributions of trade goods at Jachakala is to document associations between certain classes of trade items and differential patterns of utilitarian and luxury goods in various areas of the site. In this manner, possible roles played by those goods in long-term, internal developments ought to be clarified. Distributions of both symbolic capital (Tiwanaku wares and semi-precious stones) and utilitarian trade goods (primarily basalt) will be described to see if these correlate with the wealth differences documented in Chapter 4 and architectural patterns discussed in Chapter 5.

Overall, evidence suggests that zones differentially devoted energy to acquiring some goods or manufacturing tools from other, imported materials. Most, though certainly not all, of these imports derive from three areas of the south-central Andes (Figure 58): the Tiwanaku heartland in the southern Lake Titicaca basin, the region of Cochabamba

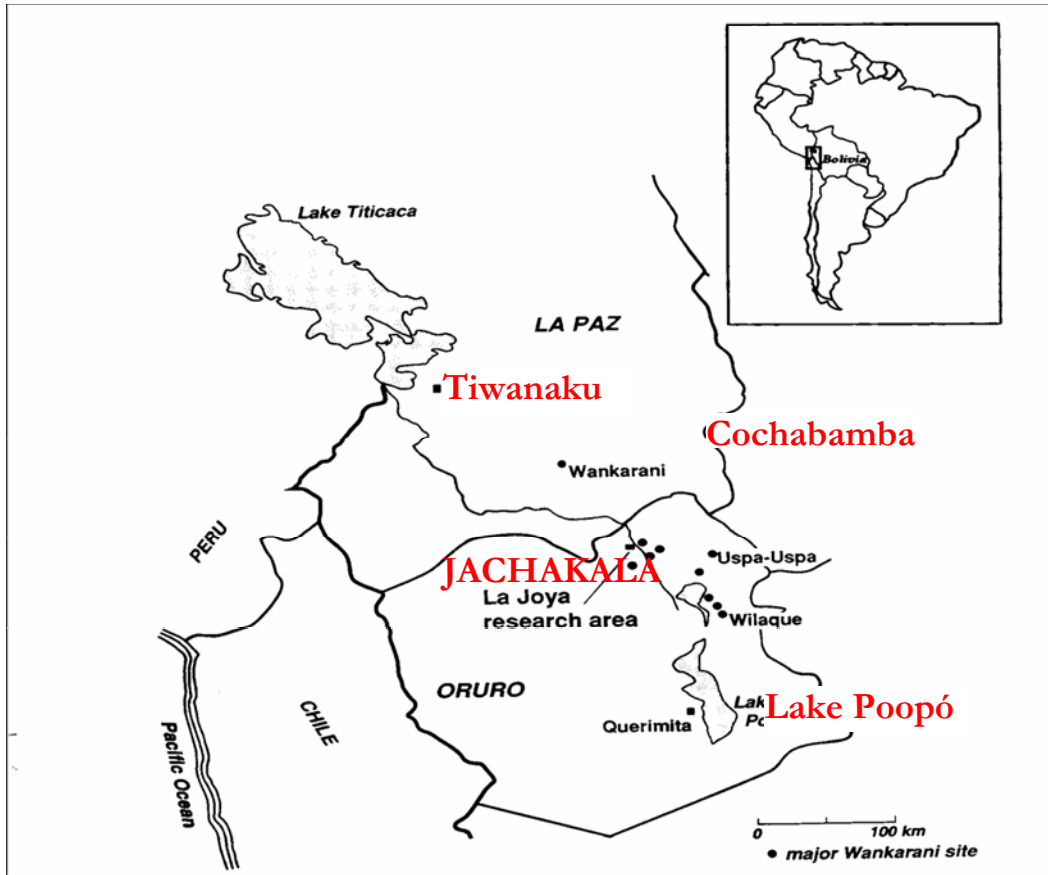


Figure 58. Location of Jachakala's major trade connections in adjacent areas of the Bolivian altiplano and Andean foothills.

to the northeast of La Joya, and Lake Poopó to the south. Particularly in the case of basalt, differences between central and southern zone households have already been explored in some detail. The presence of biface manufacturing and edge refurbishing debris in all areas of the site suggests that households produced and used their own agricultural implements. However, other classes of trade goods exhibit skewed distributions, especially during the Isahuara and Jachakala phases. These include obsidian and ópalo projectile points, marine shell fragments, and so on.

One sizeable class of trade goods remains to be studied: decorated ceramics. These goods deserves special attention because new ritual vessel forms, decorated

serving wares, stylized symbols of religious power (pumas, condors, llamas, etc.), and, presumably, ideological imports, all made their appearance sometime during the Isahuara phase. The inter-zonal differences in subsistence practices and wealth that mark the beginning of the Isahuara Period pre-date the introduction of Tiwanaku-style ceramic wares. The question that must be answered, then, is whether or not Tiwanaku-derived vessels and ideas helped shape the ways in which those wealth differences were expressed, socially and materially. In other words, how did trade goods from other regions, including but not limited to Tiwanaku religious paraphernalia, contribute to changes in Jachakala's social organization?

In order to answer this research question, it is necessary to first address two fundamental issues. One of these involves the various contexts in which trade items are found at Jachakala. The second issue is the nature of the assemblage of exchanged goods, which will be limited here to exotic pottery because the small quantities of marine shell, semi-precious stone materials, and so forth, are described in Chapter 4.

#### *The Domestic Context*

Exploring exchange relations in the context of Jachakala's social dynamics is, of course, the local perspective advocated by Bermann (1994, 1997), Erickson (1993), and others. External contacts and internal processes of change are best approached through the contextualization of foreign goods, as Stanish (1992) advocates. Incan goods and features in domestic and non-domestic contexts are separated in the Upper Mantaro Valley project to document multiple levels of Incan influence on local communities (Earle et al. 1980, 1987). One means of testing for external influences on local power structures is to document the presence or absence of trade goods in the domestic realm. Changes in the latter directly associated with those goods evidence a higher degree of control or influence than the restriction of Tiwanaku ritual wares to non-domestic contexts. In this way, the intensity of integrative mechanisms can be measured by other groups' intrusion on the domestic economy (Bermann 1997:96; Hastorf 1993; Stanish 1992).

The contexts at Jachakala in which Tiwanaku-style wares and other trade goods are found include both domestic and special-purpose structures. The former is, again,

divided into the central and southern zones of the community, with trade goods found in both. The latter includes features in the northern zone, such as two large temples, a possible camelid corral, and the cemetery. Lithic materials traded over variable distances, from basalt to obsidian, ópalo, and sodalite, as well as fragments of marine shells, appear in household middens in both residential zones, and in excavation units placed in the north. Ceramics of exotic origin are also distributed in both domestic and non-domestic contexts in the community. Because both classes of trade goods are not restricted to one context, as detailed in the section on the ceramics data, one must look elsewhere for clues as to their functions and meanings within Jachakala's social dynamics.

### *The Imported Ceramics Assemblage*

In addition to investigating the various contexts in which trade goods are utilized in a community, one can also explore the nature of the exchanged assemblage itself for clues as to its role in cultural processes. In the case of Tiwanaku-style pottery, both serving or feasting wares (such as kerus and flaring-sided bowls) and drug paraphernalia (such as incense burners and snuff trays) are widely distributed throughout the south-central Andes, from the Moquegua Valley on Peru's southern coast to San Pedro de Atacama in Chile. In each case where Tiwanaku goods are located, proponents of views of the state as either a regionally centralized, monolithic entity or a widespread religious cult interpret the presence of those goods differently. However, even in well-documented cases where imported pottery is accompanied by Tiwanaku-style public architecture and other, household-based domestic implements and material styles, the range of iconographic elements and vessel forms represented in a collection can differ significantly from those at the capital (e.g., Lukurmata). Similarly, highly variable ceramic styles and decorative elements were adopted into cultures in southern Bolivia and northern Chile and Argentina.

Hence, a second and equally important aspect of imported ceramics in the context of Jachakala's developing political economy is the particular, local range of forms represented at the site. A brief description of those forms, the postulated origins of a large portion of the imported assemblage, as well as the contexts at Jachakala where those pots



were recovered, together reveal certain patterns that tell us much about the role that Tiwanaku-style vessels played in these long-term changes.

Vessel forms can be generally divided into two broad classes, including ritual and drug paraphernalia, and serving or feasting wares. The former group includes several types of stylized puma or feline incense burners with false bases. Most of these are unslipped and unpainted, but identifiable by incised fragments of stylized animal figures such as pumas and llamas. Small, crudely formed unbaked ceramic figurine fragments (likely of local origin) are also addressed here because of their ritual implications. Also generally included in the drug cult material inventory associated with Tiwanaku are bone snuff trays and snuff tubes. Feasting vessels include kerus (for *chicha* or maize beer consumption) and *tazones* or flaring-sided bowls. Additional forms represented at Jachakala include narrow-necked *tinaja* jars, fragments of spittoons, false-based libation bowls and cups, and the common Tiwanaku plainware punctate-necklace jars. Three new vessel forms found at the site are small *cuenca* bowls, a flask, and a direct-sided bowl. These vessel forms are illustrated in Figure 49.

For the purposes of the following analysis of Tiwanaku-style ceramics, the category of ritual wares includes false-base fragments (which may derive from incense-burners or libation bowls) and incense-burners. Serving wares include Tiwanaku IV kerus and *tazones*, Tiwanaku V kerus, *tazones*, and *tinajas*. A third, miscellaneous category includes the non-local, non-Tiwanaku libation bowl and cup fragments, the spittoons, and punctate-necklace jars. This division of the Tiwanaku-style ceramics from Jachakala is intended only to facilitate quick inter-zonal comparisons of ritual and feasting patterns involving those types of pots. It is not an analytical but a presentation tool.

#### *Ubiquity Analyses: Ceramic Imports*

Because quantities of decorated sherds and other imports at Jachakala are too limited to subject to inter-zonal comparisons, a ubiquity analysis presents an analytical alternative. This is a good way to get around the problem of a single smashed vessel in one unit skewing sherd density measurements. The twenty-two units included in this analysis are all two-by-two meter pits excavated to sterile soil, and undifferentiated by period. The results presented in Table 13 represent the number of units, in both each zone

Table 13. Ubiquity analysis results performed on imported ceramic assemblage at Jachakala.

<i>Vessel form</i>	<i>South (4 units)</i>	<i>Center (11 units)</i>	<i>North (7 units)</i>	<i>Total (22 units)</i>
<i>Ritual vessels:</i>				
<i>False base</i>	0	2 (18.18%)	2 (28.57%)	4 (18.18%)
<i>Incense-burner</i>	1 (25%)	3 (27.27%)	2 (28.57%)	6 (27.27%)
<i>Serving vessels:</i>				
<i>Tiwanaku IV keru</i>	1 (25%)	4 (36.36%)	4 (57.14%)	9 (40.91%)
<i>Tiwanaku IV tazón</i>	0	3 (27.27%)	3 (42.86%)	6 (27.27%)
<i>Tiwanaku V keru</i>	0	3 (27.27%)	4 (57.14%)	7 (31.82%)
<i>Tiwanaku V tazón</i>	0	4 (36.36%)	4 (57.14%)	8 (36.36%)
<i>Tiwanaku V tinaja</i>	0	1 (9.09%)	2 (28.57%)	3 (13.64%)
<i>Miscellaneous:</i>				
<i>Libation bowl, cup</i>	0	0	2 (28.57%)	2 (9.09%)
<i>Spittoon</i>	0	0	1 (14.29%)	1 (4.55%)
<i>Punctate-necklace Jar</i>	2 (50%)	1 (9.09%)	3 (42.86%)	6 (27.27%)
<i>Figurine fragments</i>	1 (25%)	1 (9.09%)	1 (14.29%)	3 (13.64%)

and for the total of twenty-two, in which at least one sherd of a certain vessel type was recovered. For instance, Tiwanaku IV keros are present in just one southern zone unit, which is twenty-five percent of the four southern zone units excavated to sterile soil. This approach has the additional benefit of equalizing the different numbers of units excavated in each zone. The idea is that, had twenty units been opened up in the south, twenty-five percent of them, or five units, would likely contain fragments of Tiwanaku IV keros. Consequently, the proportions of the units with imported ceramics (given in parentheses in the table), rather than the counts, should be compared between zones.

Several patterns are revealed by the ubiquity analysis of the imported ceramic assemblage. First, sherds from the two categories of ritual vessels appear more or less with the same frequency in all three areas of the community. While figurines similarly appear in all three zones, they were found in a much higher proportion of southern zone

units (25%) than those in the two other areas. Serving or feasting vessels, with the exception of Tiwanaku IV-style kerus, are found in about a third of the central zone units and over half of those in the north. Spittoons, libation bowls and cups, on the other hand, are entirely restricted to the northern zone. These general patterns support two separate points. First, different things were occurring in the northern zone than in the other two sections of the site. This contention is based on the presence of fragments of non-local, non-Tiwanaku libation vessels here that were not recovered elsewhere. Secondly, feasting wares with Tiwanaku-style slips and decorations occur much more often in the center and, especially, the north, than they do in the south. If these patterns are representative of the differential spatial contexts of rituals and feasting activities, then one can tentatively argue that feasting occurred in the center and north, while rituals involving incense-burners and figurines were practiced in all three zones.

*Ubiquity Analyses: Non-Ceramic Imports*

Table 14 gives the quantities and proportions of units in each zone in which other imports are recovered. These are the same materials briefly mentioned in Chapters 3 and 4, but presented again here to directly compare patterns of imported ceramics, lithics, and other materials. Only basalt is excluded because it is found in every unit excavated at Jachakala, making inter-zonal comparisons meaningless from the perspective of ubiquity measures.

Semi-precious stones imported to Jachakala include obsidian, ópalo, and sodalite. Obsidian and ópalo are divided into projectile points, flakes and cores, with an additional category of rounded and polished ópalo stones of unknown function. The single carved sodalite bead is included because this stone is also imported. The four categories of bone implements included in this ubiquity analysis may or may not have originated from the Tiwanaku capital, because debris from their manufacture would be too difficult to identify in midden contexts. Regardless, they are included as imports because of their direct associations with Tiwanaku. Camelid mandible tools and pyroengraved fragments of bone are commonly found at Tiwanaku-contemporary sites in the south-central Andes. Smoothed bone snuff tubes, spoons or spatulas, and trays are often part of the drug

Table 14. Ubiquity analysis results performed on imported materials and implements other than ceramic vessels.

<i>Imports</i>	<i>South (4 units)</i>	<i>Center (11 units)</i>	<i>North (7 units)</i>	<i>Total (22 units)</i>
<i>Lithics:</i>				
<i>Obsidian points</i>	0 (0%)	1 (9.09%)	1 (14.29%)	2 (9.09%)
<i>Obsidian flakes</i>	2 (50%)	6 (54.55%)	1 (14.29%)	9 (40.91%)
<i>Obsidian cores</i>	0 (0%)	5 (45.45%)	2 (28.57%)	7 (31.8%)
<i>Opalo points</i>	2 (50%)	1 (9.09%)	1 (14.29%)	4 (18.18%)
<i>Opalo flakes</i>	0 (0%)	6 (54.55%)	0 (0%)	6 (27.27%)
<i>Opalo cores</i>	0 (0%)	2 (18.18%)	0 (0%)	2 (9.09%)
<i>Opalo polished</i>	0 (0%)	2 (18.18%)	0 (0%)	2 (9.09%)
<i>Sodalite (bead)</i>	0 (0%)	1 (9.09%)	0 (0%)	1 (4.55%)
<i>Bones:</i>				
<i>Mandible tools</i>	0 (0%)	3 (27.27%)	2 (28.57%)	5 (22.73%)
<i>Pyroengraved</i>	0 (0%)	1 (9.09%)	0 (0%)	1 (4.55%)
<i>Snuff tubes</i>	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	1 (14.29%)	1 (4.55%)
<i>Snuff trays</i>	3 (75%)	4 (36.36%)	1 (14.29%)	8 (36.36%)
<i>Other:</i>				
<i>Marine shell</i>	0 (0%)	4 (36.36%)	2 (28.57%)	6 (27.27%)

consumption paraphernalia associated with the state (Bermann 1994:143). A limited number of these also appear at Jachakala, indicating that, like at Lukurmata, the ingestion of hallucinogenic drugs may have been part of Jachakala household rituals. Finally, marine shell fragments imported from the Pacific coast are included in the following analysis of exchange goods.

As Table 14 shows, there are definite patterns revealed by comparing the proportions of units in which each class of goods are found in each of the three areas of the site. With the exception of obsidian flakes and ópalo projectile points, each of which are recovered from half of the units in the south, these materials are only found in a portion of the central and northern zone units. Camelid mandible tools, again associated with Tiwanaku, are recovered from about one third of the units in the center and north,

while snuff tubes are only found in the north. Marine shell fragments are similarly restricted to about a third of the units in the center and north.

Examining these two sets of imports together reveals general similarities between the center and north, in their exclusive access to certain classes of semi-precious stones, marine shell, and Tiwanaku-style feasting wares. Clearly, similar activities involving these artifacts were occurring in both areas of the site. By contrast, higher proportions of units in the south have bone snuff trays, ópalo points, and punctate-necklace jars. This zone's access to both the snuff trays and incense-burners suggests that household rituals involving the ingestion of hallucinogens were practiced by a sizeable proportion of the residents there. Overall, however, it appears that higher proportions of those living in the center (and those dumping refuse in the north) maintained access to imported ceramics, semi-precious stone, and other materials.

#### *Interpretations of Patterns in Exchange Goods*

These patterns can be interpreted in one of two ways. Either those living in these areas of the site differentially participated in exchange networks, or activities in which imported goods were used were spatially restricted to certain zones. In the latter case, the distributions of those goods tell us more about the confinement of some rituals or feasting activities to special purpose contexts or structures than they do about who participated in those activities. In other words, community-wide feasts or rituals including the entire populace but restricted to certain places might leave these patterns.

On the other hand, the similar distributions of goods in the central and northern zones can signify the differential participation of those people in both exchange networks and the activities in which those imports were consumed. Then these differences suggest more direct ties between the central zone residents and the northern zone structures. Activities in which those goods may have played a role, such as feasting, could be one part of the political economy that distinguished the center from the south. If access to the northern area was highly restricted, then households in the center were clearly doing some different things than their neighbors in the south. The acquisition and consumption of certain classes of trade goods from several distant regions was an integral part of those different activities.

## RELATIONS WITH TIWANAKU

*Iconography and Ideology*

The range of iconographic elements represented in the Jachakala assemblage of Tiwanaku-style ceramics is briefly described to address possible relations with the state. Iconography at Jachakala excludes many common symbols of religious (and secular) state power. Symbols commonly appearing on Tiwanaku ceramics from the capital include stylized human figures, many pumas and condors, representations of the Staff God and his entourage, and so forth. At Jachakala, on the other hand, the vast majority of Tiwanaku IV and V-style sherds depict simple geometric motifs. A few exceptions include a puma figure, condor, and what appears to be the sun (or a disc with radiating lines). Mojocoya-style stick figures on two keru sherds identify the vessel's origins as Cochabamba. In fact, decorative elements painted on the deep-red Tiwanaku IV or medium-orange Tiwanaku V slip are quite often similar to Mojocoya versions of Tiwanaku pottery. It seems reasonable to assert, then, that many of the pieces in the Jachakala assemblage were directly imported from the Cochabamba province to the northeast, though a few pieces do look like they came from Tiwanaku itself (Bermann, personal communication).

This raises a whole other set of issues regarding the role of iconography in Jachakala's inter-zonal and inter-household wealth differences, and how central zone households' ties to the restricted northern zone functions were expressed and shaped by Tiwanaku-derived elements and ideas. The particular form of prestige or symbolic capital hoarded by certain households in the community differs from common representations at Tiwanaku itself. Here, pictures of powerful figures in the religious sphere, from animals to deities, are much more common than they are at Jachakala.

One also cannot assume that Tiwanaku-style vessels and decorations on pots, as well as camelid mandible tools, pyroengraved bone fragments, and so forth, were assimilated wholesale into Jachakala's culture together with the associations and meanings attached to them in ceremonies at the capital. As Bermann argues for Tiwanaku I bowls at Lukurmata, the meaning and value of imported ceramics (and other classes of exchange goods) were "locally and contextually constructed, rather than intrinsic"

(1994:78). Ideologically charged items from distant regions were integrated in different ways into Jachakala's intra-site patterns, activities, and inter-household relationships. Some, like the small quantities of drug paraphernalia and incense-burner fragments found at the site, were somehow incorporated into a long-standing tradition of household-based rituals. Other activities, such as feasting, were probably newly constituted by the introduction of imported serving wares.

The important point is that the meanings attached to kerus at Tiwanaku or obsidian projectile points in Arequipa, Peru did not necessarily circulate through the south-central Andes unchanged. Wilk puts the point best in his argument that researchers should consider the complex interaction between cultural constraints and rules with the introduction of new goods and new meanings attached to both them and existing material categories and ideological structures (1990:35).

#### *Tiwanaku and the Question of Causation*

My intention is not to study the Tiwanaku State from the periphery, but rather to concentrate on Jachakala's history itself and what role, if any, contact with other political entities or regions played in it. The marked variability in ritual pottery assemblages from different areas of the south-central Andes may be indicative of the nature of the Tiwanaku State's ideological (but not economic or political) influence on these regions.

Given these differences between Jachakala's Tiwanaku-style assemblage and Tiwanaku pottery from the capital and elsewhere, it seems reasonable to argue that Jachakala was not a colony of the state. There is no architecture or concentration of household goods suggestive of Tiwanaku administration. There is also no evidence that Tiwanaku exploited Jachakala; such evidence might include clear indicators of the centralized accumulation of resources, centralized control over craft production, or tribute extraction.

I would further argue that the state played little or no direct role in guiding internal changes in Jachakala's sociopolitical structure. Here, diachronic trends demonstrate a long and gradual development of inter-zonal wealth differences as early as the Niñalupita Period, and continuing throughout the Isahuara and Jachakala Periods. Since the site's chronology is based on systematic shifts in proportions of lithic and

faunal artifacts across the site, it is clear that these patterns predate the appearance of Tiwanaku-style goods. This is an important methodological point because had the site's chronology been defined by the presence or absence of Tiwanaku-style ceramics (i.e., a two-period chronology that includes pre-Tiwanaku and Tiwanaku-contemporary levels), it would have appeared as if fairly major changes accompanied those goods. Causation for those changes might have been mistakenly assigned to the very thing used to define the point at which they occurred (the introduction of Tiwanaku ceramics). While I am certainly not advocating the abandonment of ceramic chronologies, we should take care to separate hypotheses about the causes of diachronic changes from the chronological tools we use (to test those hypotheses and) to explore the histories of sites and regions. Only in doing so was I able to demonstrate that inter-zonal wealth differences in fact predated the appearance of Tiwanaku goods. In fact, from this local perspective, it could have been the processes of socioeconomic differentiation that led to the demand for Tiwanaku and other exchange goods.

## CONCLUSIONS

The Jachakala case seems to be a good example of an active trading community who voluntarily adopted some pottery styles and, perhaps, ideas from the changing religious landscape, while not sacrificing any of their economic or political autonomy in the process. Shennan (1982) argues that ideology is an active force in social dynamics in the expression and creation of differences between groups of people. However, those who adopt ideologies also actively choose which symbols to use to express themselves, as well as how and where to display those symbols. It would be a matter of conjecture to start extrapolating changes in Jachakalan ideologies from the particular patterns in iconography painted on the ceramics. Nevertheless, one can still acknowledge the central zone residents' role in choosing what and how to display their new wealth and social status in the emerging political economy of the community.

Some differences in the kinds of activities involving imported goods practiced in the three zones of the site are demonstrated by the ubiquity analyses discussed above. These patterns, particularly in those artifact categories present in similar proportions of



units in the center and north, present another line of evidence for the former's differential participation in the activities conducted in the northern zone structures. In addition, residents of different sections of the community participated to variable degrees in trade networks, or conversely, had different levels of access to the goods imported through a range of exchange ties. Whether access was restricted to the goods themselves or to the activities associated with different types of exchange items, these patterns provide another window on the specific kinds of inter-household differences that constitute the emerging social and economic differentiation at Jachakala.

The appearance and restricted distributions of different classes of imported goods reflect changes in what Hirth terms the economic ideology, referring to the ownership, use, and conversion values of resources (1996). The use of feasting wares (if *kerus* and *tazónes* served the same functions at Jachakala and Tiwanaku) and the addition of incense burners and snuff trays to household ritual practices may represent the development of short- or long-term accumulation rationales for ritual gift-giving or feasts (Hirth 1996:225). However, for social status distinctions to accompany the differential participation in exchange networks by central zone residents, an established system of resource conversions is necessary. Resource conversion values are easier to establish, I would argue, when goods are imported through trade networks because some goods are exchanged for others. By contrast, the value of a locally-produced decorated jar would be more difficult to pin down in societies where these are not regularly traded.

The key point of this argument linking exchange goods at Jachakala with changes in the society's economic ideology is that such changes can occur without the stimulation of political leadership. Certain classes of trade goods played an important role in, perhaps, expressing or justifying some of the inter-zonal differences in the domestic economy of the center and south. However, trade as a prime-mover in models of interregional relations such as world-systems theory does not work for Jachakala, because differences developed prior to the appearance of goods imported directly or indirectly from a much more powerful political entity. The causation inherent in this and similar models is rightfully questioned then, if communities as small as Jachakala can trade with a state without leaving material traces suggesting exploitation in any sense.