

**IDEOLOGY AND THE DEVELOPMENT OF SOCIAL HIERARCHY AT THE SITE OF
PANQUILMA, PERUVIAN CENTRAL COAST**

by

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Submitted to the Graduate Faculty of
Arts & Sciences in partial fulfillment
of the requirements for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy

University of Pittsburgh

2011

UNIVERSITY OF PITTSBURGH
FACULTY OF ARTS AND SCIENCES

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University of Pittsburgh, 2011

The role of ideology in the development of hierarchical relations is investigated with archaeological data recovered at the site of Panquilma, a community of the 13th to 15th centuries located in the hinterland of one of the most important religious centers of the ancient Andes: Pachacamac. By focusing on a community dominated by an important religious center, this study offers a new perspective on the ways in which rural leaders used the ideological ascendance of the religious center and shows how this process was articulated with local economic and political forces in the development of social power. Toward this end three scenarios were envisioned in which ideology played different roles in the development of power. These three models were evaluated based on the relative importance that ideological control had in the development of power strategies in two segments of Panquilma's population: the ruling elites that resided in walled pyramid complexes and the heads of the different extended family groups that resided in the surrounding 15 household compounds.

Evidence from Panquilma indicates that, regardless of its proximity to Pachacamac, hierarchy at the site was mainly based on local political and economic conditions. Ideological factors were very important in the context of validating economic and political differences but did not constitute by themselves a viable source of power. Panquilma's ruling elite competed with other elite factions for prestige via feasting activities without any special religious

significance. However, when they were dealing with the lower ranking residents of the household compounds, the control of ritual space and esoteric knowledge validated the elite's economic supremacy and facilitated surplus extraction. In a similar manner, the development of inter-household relations between the leaders of extended families was based in great part on competition for economic resources, as evidenced by contextual and proportional information. On the other hand, within the compounds, the privileged position of the family's leaders was validated through religious notions of ancestry and redistributive mechanisms in the form of ancestor veneration rituals and feasting.

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ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

It is a pleasure for me to thank those persons and institutions who made this thesis possible. Financial support for pre-dissertation work at the Lurín valley was provided by the University of Pittsburgh including a graduate student summer field research grant from the Center for Latin American Studies, and travel grants from the Department of Anthropology. My 2008 fieldwork was funded by a dissertation research grant from the National Science Foundation (Award No. 0713828) and was carried out under permission of the Instituto Nacional de Cultura del Perú (Resolución No. 750). The University of Pittsburgh Center of International Studies provided funds to store the materials recovered during my project. The writing stage of this dissertation as well as course work during graduate studies was supported by a Heinz Fellowship in Latin American archaeology. Finally, the Site Museum of Pachacamac directed by Denise Pozzi-Scott provided valuable logistical and administrative help every time it was needed. I would like to highlight my gratitude to Denise whose support and valuable advises were critical to the development of my project.

I am especially grateful to my advisor Robert D. Drennan whose guidance, support and friendship was a constant during this whole process. His tireless commitment to the professional development of his students is only matched by his wisdom and integrity. Working close to him during these last years delineated the professional line that I want to follow in my career. I would also like to extend my warmest gratitude to James B. Richardson III. Jim's kind generosity and

knowledge have provided cohorts of Latin American students of the department of guidance and friendship. My deepest gratitude goes also to Marc Bermann whose advices and suggestions certainly made this dissertation better. I would also like to thank Mark Abbott for having the time and disposition to participate in my doctoral committee.

I would like to remark my gratitude to Krzysztof Makowski. Krzysztof has been one of the major figures of my career since I was his undergraduate student at The Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú. His kind support and intellectual advice were of great help during the processes of designing, collecting the data and writing the results of this research.

During field work several members of the surfer community of Punta Hermosa provided crucial resources for the development of this project. Among them I would like to highlight the donations made by Francisco Parodi head of El Dragón del Sur Cultural Center, Rodolfo Bejarano, C.E.O. of Plásticos Rey, and José Antonio Iturrizaga owner of Sauce Alto Resort and Country Club. For their vision and belief in the benefits of archaeological research for the protection of pre-Hispanic heritage my deepest gratitude. José Romo kindly agreed to provide his professional photographer skills to register the artifacts recovered from Panquilma with the same dedication and professionalism he uses when a big swell is coming in and the lineup is crowded. Finally, but by any means less important, my two good friends Sergio Landeo and Audaz Alfaro were the corner stones of the day to day functioning of my project. Based at Playa Norte Hotel Sergio and Audaz didn't save any effort to provide me and my volunteers of all the logistic facilities we needed to accomplish the goals of the project and of course to have a good time while doing it.

Special gratitude goes to my wonderful team of volunteers. This group of young talented archaeologists from very different academic backgrounds and nationalities successfully mastered

the challenges of doing archaeology in a foreign country. Their always good disposition towards teamwork made fieldwork a very pleasant process. Among them I would like to specially acknowledge the work of my good friend Manel Gracia, as well as the dedication and commitment of Mafalda De Oliveira Araujo Martins, Valentine Wauters, Vanessa Chang, Christophe Delaire, Marie Julie Declaire, Jennifer Johnson, Alexandra Carosielli, Sara Marsteller, Moritz Becker, Pedro Rivas, Andrew Neville, Robyn Cutwell, Silvie Byl, Maurice Owen, Michael Dalitz, and Lauren Kohout.

I would also like to express my greatest gratitude to the group of students from the Universidad Nacional Mayor de San Marcos and the Universidad Nacional Federico Villareal who were responsible for lab work during my research. Headed by Janet Oshiro, one of the best archaeologists I have worked with, they performed this task with efficiency, professionalism and talent. Among them I would like to acknowledge the work of Roberto Carlos Estevez, Ana Fernandez, Trine Svedsen, Ruben Romero, Magaly Moreno, and Rosángela Carrion. Rafael Schmitt kindly prepared most of the figures of this dissertation including the digital version of the ceramic drawings and the architectural map of Panquilma.

My friends from the department of anthropology were a very strong source of support during the process of writing this dissertation. I would like to specially acknowledge the help of Giancarlo Marcone a great colleague and a better friend whose useful critical voice made this dissertation better. I would also like to express my gratitude to Alexander Martin, Hugo Ikehara, Roberto Campbell, Laura Gamez, Francisco Romano, Sarah Taylor, Bill Locasio and Licet Muñoz who were always prompt to offer their help and support.

I would like to express my deepest gratitude to my family, especially to my parents: Sonia and Luis Enrique. My mother was a constant and reliable source of love and support. She

has always encouraged me to face the world with confidence, courage and good sense of humor. My father's wisdom and insights as well as his unconditional support constituted the greatest source of advice one could ever dream about.

I have saved the most important person to the last paragraph in order to highlight how special she is to me. These last months she have gave not only the love, serenity, peace and happiness that I needed to finish this task but also unavailable help editing the final version of this text. Thank you Camila!

1.0 INTRODUCTION

1.1 IDEOLOGY AND SOCIAL HIERARCHY

The question of how interested individuals or groups acquired and maintained elite social positions, and the role that ideology played in this process, is a subject of debate (Lohse 2007; Schreiber 2005; Rick 2005, 2004; Aldenderfer 2005, 2010; Van Buren and Richards 2000; Shennan 1982; Sprigs 1988; Earle 1997; Brumfiel 2006; Fogelin 2007; Swenson 2006, 2007, 2010; Smith 1998; Pauketat et al. 2002). The debate about the different roles played by ideology, economy and politics in the development of hierarchical relations is of particular relevance in the study of ancient Andean societies, where an intertwined relationship between these processes has been recognized in many archaeological and ethnohistoric works (Janusek 2004; Kolata 1992; Gose 1996, 2008; Bauer and Stanish 2001; Isbell 1997; Sillar 1992; Mackormac 1991; Millones 1990; Shimada 2004a; Bermann 1997; Silverman 1994; DeLeonardis and Lau 2004; Bawden 2004; Salomon and Urioste 1995; Salomon 1991; Salomon 1995; Lau 2002, 2008; Burger 2008; Makowski 2008; Castillo and Uceda 2008; Stanish 2001; López-Hurtado and Nesbitt 2010; Smith and Schreiber 2006; Arnold and Hastorf 2008; Vaughn 2004, 2006; Swenson 2006, 2007, 2010).

Cross culturally, the close relationship between material and non-material factors involved in the emergence and function of past complex societies has been addressed basically from three different perspectives. These different perspectives place emphasis in the different ways in which ideology is used in the strategies implement by ruling elites in order to develop and maintain their privileged position. The first one gives primacy to the elite's coercive control over key economic resources, with the role of ideology being to legitimate already established political and economic differences (Earle and D'Altroy 1989; Blanton et al. 1996; Brumfiel and Earle 1987; Costin and Earle 1989; D'Altroy and Earle 1985; Earle 1987, 2001; Gilman 1987, 1991, 2001; Spencer 1993; Welch 1996; Van Buren and Richards 2000; DeMarrais et al. 1996; Hayden 1995). A second approach holds that instead of a post-facto reflection of material circumstances, the control and manipulation of belief systems can have a central role in the elites' strategies to development and maintain hierarchical relations with the rest of the population (Shennan 1982; Sprigs 1988; Potter 2000; Pauketat 1992; Conrad and Demarest 1982; Conrad 1992; Bawden 2004, Lau 2002; Aldenderfer 2005; Rick 2005; Swenson 2008). A third approach holds that the elites' strategies that have at its center the competition for prestige and authority gives primacy to non-material but secular (rather than religious or ritual) processes in the development of social hierarchy (Brumfiel and Fox 1994, Elson and Covey 2006, Lau 2002).

1.2 ECONOMIC-BASED MODELS

For some scholars, success in the acquisition and maintenance of social hierarchy rested mainly in the elite's capacity to coercively control key economic resources (Earle and D'Altroy 1989: 188; Earle 1987: 294-296; Hayden 1995). In fact, according to Hayden (1995: 23), hierarchy is "directly related to economic production and the control of economic surplus". These resources are basically labor force, land and agricultural production, and specialized craft production (Blanton et al. 1996; Brunfiel and Earle 1987, 2002; Cobb 1996, 2003; Costin and Earle 1989; D'Altroy and Earle 1985; Earle 1987, 1997, 2001; Gilman 1987, 1991, 2001; Spencer 1993; Welch 1996; Vaughn 2006). For example, Earle found that although elite-controlled religious activities were very important in the organization of Hawaiian chiefdoms, an apex in political centralization was only achieved when the ruling classes finally monopolized the control over the agricultural land via the massive construction of irrigation works (Earle 1997: 101-103). A similar situation is proposed by Gilman (2001: 70) in southeast Spain during the transition from the Neolithic to the Copper and Bronze ages. Here, despite the presence of prestige items found in elite graves that could indicate a social dynamic based primarily in prestige competition. The presence of centralized storage facilities, the control over irrigation networks, and the distribution of defensively located water cisterns led to the conclusion that, although prestige-based political competition was very important for the elites, their main efforts were mainly based on the coercive control of agricultural land and water resources.

In the Andes, it has been argued that the elite's control over agricultural land and labor force played a central role in the political organization of highland societies. Here, since the first studies of John Murra (1962, 1980, 2000) scholars have suggested that the elites' distinctive

exploitation of different altitudinal ecological niches or “Andean archipelagos” led to the accumulation of wealth and the emergence of centralized societies (Kolata 1992; Earle 1996).

Elite control over specialized craft production has also been understood as an expression of the predominant role of economic control in the development hierarchical strategies. For example, in the northern extreme of the Andean region Langebaek (1991) proposes that Muisca rulers were able to accumulate the necessary surplus to secure their privileged position by controlling the production of specialized goods like blankets and gold work. These goods were traded with the lowlands communities in exchange for raw materials like cotton and gold. In Langebaek’s view (1991), hierarchy among the Muisca came from the accumulation of surplus that the leaders were able to acquire from trade, and not from the symbolic connotations of the items being traded (Martín: 2010).

Elite’s direct control over craft production as a way to secure power in the central Andes is certainly a subject of debate. On the one hand there are notorious cases of central Andean societies in which highly specialized production of valuable goods was under the direct supervision and distribution of the ruling elites. The most notorious example is obviously the Inka Empire. In this case, diverse ethnohistoric and archeological studies conclude that the production of highly specialized craft goods, especially textiles and metal artifacts, took place under the direct control of the state in official facilities. Many chronicles remark that, under the Inkas, entire populations of craft specialists were moved to different regions of the Empire including its capital city Cuzco (D’Altroy 2002, Espinoza Soriano 1970, 1973, 1975, 1983, 1987, Murra 1980). The production and controlled distribution of these goods played an important role in the administration of the Empire and constituted a key instrument for political advancement. According to D’Altroy (2002: 288) “The (crafted) products were then used to supply state

activities or aristocrats or were distributed through ceremonial largess to favored elites or individuals who had distinguished themselves in service to the state”.

Other examples of elite controlled craft production during the late pre-Columbian periods can be found in Shimada’s study of the Late Sican state (2004) in which metal artifacts were produced in public buildings under the control of state’s officials. According to Shimada, these goods were central in the diffusion of the political propaganda of the Late Sican state. Earlier evidence of centralized craft production can be also found in Pampa Grande during the Late Moche period. At this site workshops of artisans and coppersmiths were located at enclosed official buildings. According to Shimada (1994), elite control over the production of crafts was a central component in the re-composition of social hierarchy after the collapse of Cerro Blanco, the former Moche capital.

In all of these cases, one important aspect to consider is that hierarchical strategies based on economic control are always related to noticeable differences in terms of wealth accumulation between different sectors of the population. These differences can be expressed in the disparate amount of wealth and energy expended in the burials of certain members of society (Gilman 2001: 77). It can be also expressed in the presence of households showing more than usual concentrations of fine artifacts, refuse of craft production, and preferred food remains (Hirth 1993; Hastorf 1991; D’Altroy and Hastorf 2001), and the restricted distribution of facilities to process and store large quantities agricultural products (Eeckhout 2004, 2008, 2010).

From the perspective that these economic-based models propose, the elite’s employment of none material sources of social power, like religious ideology, as a part in their strategies is always the consequence of their already established economic control. In all of the cases mentioned before, for example, ideological manipulation was used to legitimate already

established political and economic differences. In this sense, Hawaiian elite-sponsored ritual activities (Earle 2001), Southeast Spain's production and acquisition of prestige goods (Gilman 2001), and the construction of temples in the Andean polities' capital cities (Kolata 1992) were possible and became necessary as a consequence of successful surplus extraction from the commoners (Gilman 1987, 1991, 2001; Lucero 2003: 524). Even though the control of these ideological expressions constituted a critical advantage over other competing elite groups, ideology's efficacy as a source of social power was derived from the control of the economic means necessary to materialize it (Van Buren and Richards 2000; DeMarrais et al. 1996). According to the DeMarrais, Castillo, and Earle (1996: 16-17) "Materialization of ideology is at the same time strategic processes in which leaders allocate resources to strengthen and legitimate institutions of elite control... with the resources to extend its ideology through materialization promotes its objectives and legitimacy at the expense of competing groups who lack those resources" (DeMarrais et al. 1996: 16-17). For example, Moche elites from the northern Peruvian coast recreated in their ceremonies and iconography their privileged position in society and the very recreation became an important component of their power. However, the success of these practices in maintaining Moche rulers in power rested not entirely on the esoteric or symbolic aspects of these rituals and representations but mainly in the capability of the elites to allocate resources to materialize them. The control over economic resources not only allowed elites to manipulate rituals and religious paraphernalia in their benefit, but also prevents other groups from challenging the validity of these ideological manifestations. "The costs of materializing ideology restrict access to this source of power, with the result that through control of key resources a ruling segment may be able to restrict the contexts of use and the transmission of ideas and symbols" (DeMarrais et al. 1996: 31).

1.3 IDEOLOGY-BASED MODELS

On the other hand, it has been argued that instead of a post-facto justification of material circumstances, the control and manipulation of belief systems on behalf of elite leaders can have a central role in the development and maintenance of social hierarchy (Shennan 1982; Spriggs 1988; Potter 2000; Pauketat 1992; Conrad and Demarest 1982; Conrad 1992; Bawden 2004; Lau 2002; Aldenderfer 2005, 2010; Rick 2004, 2005; Vaughn 2004; Pauketat et al 2002; Fogelin 2007; Swenson 2006, 2007, 2010). According to Aldenderfer (2010: 77) “actors of all kinds, be they aggrandizers, their followers and their opponents live their lives within a framework that is in part created and directed by religious practice”. Following Aldenderfer, religious practices are as important as economic ones because religion provides the ultimate “sanction for the emergence of social inequality or creates resistance to it” (Aldenderfer 2010: 77). In this sense, the set of communal experiences that ritual practices create in the population can be used to influence the course of events (Aldenderfer 2010: 81). From this perspective, social hierarchy “can often be accomplished effectively through controlling access to ritual knowledge and through the use and manipulation of symbols during ritual performance” (Potter 2000: 296). Ritual-based hierarchy has the potential to be very effective because “knowledge-based power is more difficult to challenge directly than power based on allocative resources” (Potter 2000: 297). Religion can be used as a tool in the hand of ruling elites in order to maintain traditions and social rules. However, ideological manipulation can also be a subversive tool. According to

Aldenderfer, the manipulation of religious practices can be also use to challenge and transform established forms of social organization (Aldenderfer 2010: 81). For example, Swenson (2006:112) argues that ritual performance and the manipulation of ceremonial space at the rural community level articulated dissenting political reactions towards established regional hierarchy during the Late Moche period. During this period, “pervasive social unrest and environmental perturbation inaugurated the Late Moche era, and this developments appear to have resulted in the collapse of the Middle Moche state based at Cerro Blanco” (Swenson 2006:113). In this scenario of social turmoil, the political fragmentation of the region was characterized by the emergence of inland ceremonial centers as well as by the adoption of new belief systems (Bawden 1996, 2001; Castillo 2000, 2001; Shimada et al. 1991). According to Swenson (2006, 2007, 2010) the adoption of new religious ideologies on behalf of rural leaders directly shaped the emergence of alternative political and economic systems in the Andean northern coast. In this scenario, the prolific construction of “hinterland ceremonial sites” was directly related with the emergence of new elite groups and the consequent appearance of distinctive social formations (Swanson 2006: 117).

In this case, emerging elite groups based at second tiered settlements located in the hinterland of the former Moche capital centered their power strategies in the performance of ritual feasting staged at newly erected independent religious centers (Swenson 2006, 2007). Architectural and archaeological evidences indicate during this period the performance of feasting activities in the central plazas and platforms of the new temples that included the manipulation of religious paraphernalia. Swenson (2006, 2007) argues that the location and characteristics of these banquets indicate their preeminent religious nature but at the same time this elite sponsored feasts served as vehicle for political advancement.

Along with the control over public ritual activities, particularly in the Andes, different forms of ancestor veneration practices have been identified as means for political advancement. According to Conrad and Demarest (1982; Conrad 1992), changes in ancestor veneration rituals motivated drastic social, political, and economic transformations at the onset of the Inka Empire. They argue that elite induced changes in royal ancestor veneration rituals tied up the resources of former emperors' corporate family groups, precluding the new emperor from inheriting any of those resources. In the context of the political competition between the different royal lineages inside the imperial court, this situation forced the new ruler to secure his position and build up his own fortune by expanding the empire. Following similar premises, it has been advanced that Andean societies were configured around "sacred propositions" rather than based on political, economic and coercive forces (Bermann 1997: 109; Silverman 1994:342). For example, according to Isbell (1997, 2004) ancestor veneration practices were the corner stone of Andean social organization. This social practice not only regulated ceremonies and religious festivities but also agricultural land distribution and labor force organization.

Diverse studies about this subject have demonstrated that since as early as 5,000 B.C. with the first Chinchorro mummified bodies (Moseley 1992:93-4; Rivera 1995; Vreeland 1998) different manifestations of ancestor worship has being identified across Andean cultural history (Isbell 1997, 2004). However, this type of religious manifestation was not always at the center of social differentiation. In some cases ancestor's monumental tombs, like Chullpa towers, were expressions of power validating in the landscape a group's ownership over natural resources (Isbell 1997), in some others ancestor worship were actively engaged in the development of new economic and political structures (Conrad and Demarest 1982, Potter 2000), or this practice

could even represented an arena for prestige-based factional competition (Lau 2002, DeLeonardis and Lau 2004).

Ancestor veneration practices in the central Andes laid at the foundations of a particular type of kin-based social organization: the Ayllu. Based on ethnographic and archaeological data, Janusek (2004:28) defines the Ayllu as the confluence of kin-based relations, productive activities, access to common lands, ritual practices, claims to common ancestry, and political activity. Among all of these constituent factors, according to Isbell, the most important is the claim of common descent from common a founding ancestral mummy (Isbell 1997). Ayllu members revered a common ancestor and through these claims get rights to land and resources (Janusek 2004:30). Hierarchy in this type of community is related to kin proximity to the founding ancestor of the Ayllu and it is usually divided in two moieties or partialities (Abercrombie 1986).

An important aspect here is that where ideology is a very important factor in the development of hierarchical strategies, resource control and wealth accumulation as the main goals of the leaders are eclipsed by the control and manipulation of ritual activities, religious paraphernalia, and esoteric knowledge. In fact, according to Potter (2000), ritual-based hierarchy is centered on the control of non-material resources such as esoteric knowledge and the meaning of symbols, which can be monopolized more effectively than economic resources. Consequently, the protagonist role of ideology in the acquisition and maintenance of social hierarchy is also evidenced by minimal economic differentiation on the part of elite groups (Drennan and Quattrin 1995; Lesure and Blake 2002; Potter 2000). For example Potter found that during the Pueblo IV phase in the American southwest the only material differentiation within the community was in the distribution of faunal remains related with the performance of

ritual activities. While households here exhibited similar amounts of wealth, distribution of deer and antelope became highly uneven among residential units during this phase (Potter 2000: 305).

The relationship between ideology as an active force of social hierarchy and the lack of sharp economic differences among society can also be noticed at the regional level. In the Alto Magdalena in the highlands of southwest Colombia Drennan and Quattrin (1995) identified clusters of settlements around monumental tomb complexes. In order to be confident that the reason behind this pattern was related to the ideological ascendance of these ritual places and not due to an economic reason, the authors explored other possibilities related with agricultural land availability. They found that, while settlement distribution was not utter nonsense in resource terms, it was certainly not the most efficient for the exploitation of the region's agricultural resources, nor did it indicate any particular economic advantage of one settlement over another. Drennan and Quattrin (1995) conclude that the centripetal force behind the observed settlement organization was the ideological importance that these ritual sites had.

1.4 POLITICAL COMPETITION-BASED MODELS

This approach holds that ruler's strategies based on the political competition for prestige and authority among other elite groups gives primacy to non-material but secular (rather than religious or ritual) processes in the development of social hierarchy. From this perspective, elite groups that were engaged in such a competition within societies constituted a pivotal factor in the emergence of hierarchy (Brumfiel and Fox 1994; Lau 2002, 2008; Elson and Covey 2006, Brumfiel 2006, Wernke 2006, 2007; Wernke and Whitmore 2009).

Such political competition in past complex societies is characterized by the exclusive display and restricted circulation of prestige goods among elite groups and their followers. These goods were used by elites as badges of social rank (without religious implications) and were carefully redistributed as rewards for services (Earle and D'Altroy 1989: 188). According to Peregrine (1992, 2000) in the Mississippian chiefdoms of North America leaders acquired power and prestige as the result of their control over the distribution of prestige goods necessary for the reproduction of social organization. According to Martín (2010): "The control of these resources allowed elites to grow in power and led to the development of Mississippian chiefdoms, but only because elites appropriated symbols that held great ideological power in society". Sometimes the display of these objects expressed the elite's exclusive control over exotic objects that evidenced their privileged connections with powerful neighbors (Helms 1979).

For example, Kristiansen (1987:83) proposes that the development of hierarchy during the Bronze Age in Europe was based on the long distance exchange of "rare, esoteric, symbolically charged objects whose distant provenance validated and reproduced elite control" (Martín 2010). However in both cases, because of the rare and unique nature of these items, they represent a very small part of the local economy and did not entail the extraction of surplus from local populations as a central part of their leaders' power strategies (Kristiansen 1987; Peregrine 2000).

Another scenario proposed for the political competition among elite factions is the performance of particular types of feasting activities (Lau 2002; Hayden 1996, 2001; Clarke and Blake 1994; Clarke 2001). Feast hosting provides a socially sanctioned scenario where ambitious individuals can compete for social prestige. The prestige gained in return reinforces the ascendance of aspiring leaders over a group of followers as factions or coalitions (Hayden 2001).

According to Lau (2002:280) “by sponsoring feasts, certain individuals derive unequal prestige and labor obligations that confer (them) economic advantage and political authority”.

In hierarchical societies feast sponsoring can become the institutionalized duty of political leaders that are looking to reinforce their ascendance over their followers and their position in respect to other competing factions (Hayden 2001). Not in vain Dietler (1996:90) refers to the broad range of feasting activities, especially public feasting, as “commensal politics” a specialized form of political competition in which a relationship of obligation, retribution, and loyalty was established between host and guest.

Commensal politics are a common practice in Andean societies. In current traditional Andean societies the communal organization of labor based on reciprocity served as a very efficient mode of production (Godelier 1977; Mayer 1974, 1977; Murra 1980; Bray 2003a). Here, members of households often need to contribute labor in cooperative projects, like canal cleaning or farming communal lands. In return the project sponsors organize work-party feasts, catering food and *chicha* maize beer (Allen 1988: 16-18). The person or groups of persons in charge of organizing these communal projects acquire especial status within the community but do not necessarily increase their chances for economic improvement.

Public feasting has been identified back in Andean prehistory from the Inka Empire where in order to palliate exploitative relationships in conquered territories state officials sponsored great feasts at provincial administrative centers (Morris 2003; Lau 2002). Archaeologists have extended the concept of feasting and labor obligation to pre-Inka times to explain monumental labor projects (Burger 1992; Moseley 1975) or as a prerequisite to the formation of complex societies (Gero 1990; Hastorf 1993). The historical depth of this practice in the Andes has motivated scholars to rethink the different roles that feasting activities played in

the development of Andean complex societies. Departing from the notion that food and feasting are important components in the negotiation and emergence of hierarchical relations, these authors propose different ways in which feasting activities were related to Andean cultural traditions such as reciprocal generosity, kinship based social organization, and ancestor veneration (Bray 2003b; Goldstein 2003; Cook And Glowacky 2003; Jennings 2005a, 2005b; Jennings and Bowser 2009; Moseley et al. 2007; Swenson 2006; Ikehara and Shibata 2005, Lau 2008, Goldstein, Coleman, and Williams 2009).

Bray (2003b) observes that during the Inka Empire labor services owed to the state by local communities were generally conceived in terms of reciprocal obligations in which the accomplishment of the task was followed by expressions of chiefly generosity. “An important aspect of reciprocal labor obligations in the Andes was the understanding that the work party would be fully provisioned by the sponsor in terms of raw materials, tools, and food, and drink” (Bray 2003: 94). Morris advances that despite the fact that most of the times these banquets took place in state’s facilities charged with official symbols and ritual activities, the nature of these banquets were more related to mundane economic reasons than to ritual practices (Morris 1995: 40). In these cases state hospitality was a reciprocal obligation but also a form of labor management for a vast array of works that ranged from field cultivation to the massive construction of public projects.

These type of feasts are characterized by been staged at public spaces, the consumption of massive amounts of food, and by the established asymmetrical relationship between guests and host. Bray (2003b) concludes that during the Inka Empire the state’s production and wide distribution of a specific assemblage of serving vessels was a clear manifestation of the importance of official feastings in the reinforcement of the hierarchical relationships that

articulated Cuzco and the empire's provinces. In this sense, by hosting large feasting the Inka was not only fulfilling his reciprocal obligations for the labor of his subjects but also reaffirming his dominant condition. According to Bray, "the production and distribution of a distinctive state pottery ensemble suggest a conscious strategy aimed at creating material symbols of social hierarchy and class difference" (Bray 2003b: 131).

Feasting activities in the Andes however, can also be related with the political interaction between elite groups. This interaction is particularly linked with the massive consumption of alcoholic beverages (Moseley et al. 2005). Jennings and Bowser (2009) argue that alcohol consumption in past complex societies was "central to the creation of identity, the construction and maintenance of power, the functioning of social networks, and the practice of religions". In the Andes in particular the production and consumption of *chicha* has been emphatically linked to the performance of feasting activities in diverse social arenas. *Chicha* drinking, for example, is a central piece of a type of hospitality in which reciprocal obligations are established. In Andean communities today the beneficiary of some type communal work is responsible to provide of food and drinks for invited laborers. Community members come in part to enjoy the banquet but also to provide their work in order to ensure that the host will return the favor when needed (Mayer 2002). This particular type of "delayed reciprocal labor" usually occurs in small networks of family and friends in a community (Jennings and Bowser 2009: 4). Another social context in which the consumption of alcoholic beverages is present is during feasting that followed the communal performance of work for the state. In this case the host is expected to throw a feast but it is not obligated to repay workers with work at a later date. As I have presented in the case of the Inka Empire, this type of exchange is asymmetric since no further retribution in terms of labor on the part of the host is expected (Jennings and Bowser 2009: 5).

However, the social context in which *chicha* drinking is more conspicuous is during banquets that entitle the exclusive participation of elite members (Moseley et al 2005, Goldstein, Coleman, and Williams 2009; Bray 2003b; Goldstein 2003). According to Jennings and Bowser (2009), drinking parties provide of an opportunity to reassert social position among elite members by the ostentatious display of wealth and generosity. “Offering jar after jar of beer” shows generosity on the behalf of the host, but is also a “representation of power” (Jennings and Bowser 2009: 5). In this scenario political positions and alliances are negotiated through drinking. In the Wari site of Cerro Baúl for instance, Moseley and his colleagues (Moseley et al. 2005) found that elite controlled *chicha* brewing facilities in the site produced alcohol for the exclusive consumption of the elite. In this sense, the central location of the brewery surrounded by elite household compounds and administrative buildings suggest that only elite members participated of the libations. *Chicha* “was served from pitchers to nobles assembled in the court in front of the fermentation room” been this place a space where different elite factions interacted with each other (Moseley et. al 2005: 17267). 28 large *kero* drinking vessels produced in seven distinct four-vessel sets were recovered in this area of the site. Based on size and ornamentation each set of vessels were possible to be ranked reinforcing the idea of different elite groups probably negotiating their political position during these events (Moseley et al. 2005: 17268).

Another context in which feasting activities and the development of hierarchical relations collide in the Andes is during the performance of ancestor veneration rituals. The role of feasting activities and ancestor veneration in the political competition for social prestige and authority in the Andes was addressed by George Lau (2002, 2004) in his study of the Recuay polity of the northern Peruvian highlands. Lau found that by A.D. 500 Recuay leaders combined ancestor

ceremonies and public feasts as part of community politics at a moment of particular social stress caused by the contact with the Wari Empire. By this moment, above-ground funerary structures associated with open plazas were constructed at the Recuay site of Chinchawas. These plazas showed traces of feasting activities like food waste and hearths along with Wari and local Recuay style ceramic sherds. Lau concluded that initial contact between the Recuay and the Wari Empire sparked the competition between Recuay elite groups that tried to legitimate their position and probably attract more followers by sponsoring feasts in which their ancestors were celebrated (Lau, 2002; 2004; DeLeonardis and Lau 2004).

It is important to remark here that, although the control and display of prestige goods on one hand and the performance of feasting activities on the other have an undeniable economic component, the value of such activities as strategies for acquiring and maintaining social rank is not directly related with their intrinsic economic value or cost; rather it is related with the social prestige that the performance of these activities confer (Drennan 1991). In the European Bronze Age and Mississippian cases, both Kristiansen (1987) and Peregrine (2000) agree that, unlike the Muisca in Colombia, the production and exchange of exotic or prestige items were so restricted that their use didn't affect the overall characteristics of the local economy (Martín, 2010). Their main value in securing the privileged position of the social segments that manipulated these items was related with their symbolic nature but not because of their economic cost. The same can be said about the performance of feasting activities. In this sense, except in the case of the Inka Empire which represents a different historical circumstance, feast sponsoring did not produce an economic return that was directly related with the amount of resources invested in the banquet. In the case of feasting activities as a component of communal projects like canal cleanse or land clearance, ethnographers agree that, while the real economic benefit is for the

whole community, feasts sponsors acquire special social status that gives them political preeminence (Godelier 1977; Mayer 1974, 1977).

In the case of the Recuays on the other hand, Lau (2002, 2004) is very clear about the preeminent political, rather than religious, role that the performance of feasting and ancestor veneration practices had in Recuay's social organization. Here ancestor commemoration ceremonies associated with public feasts appeared at elite sectors of the site of Chinchawas at a moment of social turmoil and internal political re-composition caused by the eminent contact with the Wari Empire. Lau (2002: 298) argues that "under internecine and external pressure to maintain power and resources, Recuay leaders were increasingly bent on consolidating authority over groups of followers". The arena for this political competition was the performance of feasting activities and ancestor veneration practices.

1.5 CONCLUSIONS

These three forces acting in the development of power strategies on behalf of the ruling segments of ancient complex societies relate to each other in different ways (Mann 1986), depending on what forces are pivotal and how they articulate with each other (DeMarrais et al. 1997). The primacy of one of these forces over another has profound influence on the function of the other two and overall strong implications for the long-term evolution of social process (Earle 1997:198). The study of the site of Panquilma located in the Peruvian central coast aimed to produce information that will contribute to this debate about the role of ideological processes and the way they relate to economic and political processes in the acquisition and maintenance of social rank.

Panquilma is a Late Intermediate/Late Horizon site (A.D. 1100-1535) located in a region where, according to ethnohistoric sources, social hierarchy was built around the religious prestige focused at one of the most important pilgrimage centers of the ancient Andes: Pachacamac (Rostworowski 1972, 1973, 1999, 2000, 2002). However little is known about the relationship between this ideological component of social hierarchy and more mundane social processes. By focusing on a community located in the hinterland of an important religious center, this study offers a new perspective on the way in which rural leaders used the ideological ascendance of the religious center and how it was articulated with local economic and political forces in the development of social hierarchy. In particular, this study evaluated the relative importance in the emergence of social hierarchy at Panquilma of the control of economic resources, the manipulation of ritual activities, and the political competition for prestige and authority.

2.0 ADDRESSING THE ROLE OF IDEOLOGY AT PANQUILMA

2.1 THE PERUVIAN CENTRAL COAST DURING THE LATE INTERMEDIATE PERIOD

Luis G. Lumbreras defined the Central Andean region during the seventies as one big geographical and cultural region also named the “Andean Nuclear Area” (Lumbreras 1981:66). It extends from northern Perú to south central Chile having as its natural boundaries the Pacific Ocean to the west and the Amazonian jungle to the east. Geographically, the main characteristic of this region is the presence of two different ecological zones: a coastal desert adjacent to a cold water ocean crossed by fertile valleys and a mountain chain with multiple ecological floors at different altitudes forming valleys and steppes (Lumbreras 1981:67).

In this region the Late Intermediate Period, hereafter LIP, A.D. 900-1476 (Rowe 1963:2, Menzel 1977:2-3) is characterized by the emergence of regional polities showing different sociopolitical and economic configurations. This apparent “balkanization” of the Andean social panorama during the LIP has been understood as a consequence of the fall of the Wari Empire (Conlee 2003, 2004, Conlee and Schreiber 2007: 2, Lambers et al. 2007, Covey 2008). The role that the fall of the Wari Empire had in the pan Andean political balkanization that characterized the LIP has being recently challenged. Some authors have questioned the effective political influence that Wari had in regions outside of its immediate core area like the northern coast and

highland (Shady 1982, 1987). Some others have questioned the role of Wari in influencing local social dynamics in the territories that were supposed to be under its control like the Cotahuasi valley in the southern Andean highlands (Jennings 2006a, 2006b) or the Lurín valley in the central coast (Marcone 2010).

In any event, when the influence of Wari disappeared from the Andean political landscape collapsed around 800 A.D. a number of local polities emerged (Conlee and Schreiber 2007, Covey 2008). These polities varied from chiefdom societies like the Huanca in the central highlands in which warfare and conflict among Huanca settlements was one of the most important social dynamics (Earle and D'Altroy 1986:189) to expansive state formations like the Chimú in the northern coast that at the height of its reign controlled the northern Andean coast (Von Hagen and Morris 1998:144, Covey 2008). Many of these societies were conquered by the Inkas not long before the Spanish contact marking the end of the LIP around A. D. 1470 (Rowe 1963:2, Menzel 1977:2-3). This temporal proximity has favored the existence of Spanish historic documents in which many of these pre-Inka polities are described. As we will see below, especially in the case of the Peruvian central coast during the LIP, these ethnohistoric accounts of pre-Inka societies have been until recently the primary guide for archaeological investigations and interpretations (Shimada 1991: XLV; Eeckhout 2000:39; Marcus and Silva 1988: 35, Makowski 2008, Conlee et al. 2004, Dulanto 2008).

The Peruvian central coast during the LIP has been defined as the coastal strip that encompasses from the Casma valley in the north, which during this period was also the southern border of the Chimú Empire, to the Mala valley in the south. Twelve valleys of different extension and productive capacities cross this area. Agriculture in most of them is possible only with artificial irrigation (Segura 2001:25) (See figure 1). In the central coast, based primarily on

ethnohistoric information, the LIP is characterized by the presence of societies of a “modest scale of sociopolitical development” (Parsons and Hastings 1988:219). Systematic archaeological investigations implemented in the area during the last ten years are revealing a social panorama that most of the time does not match the societies portrayed in the ethnohistoric accounts (Eeckhout 2004, 2010). In this area, one clear example of the controversy between ethnohistoric accounts and archaeological data is the problem of the role of ideology in the social organization of the Ychsma polity of the Lurín valley.

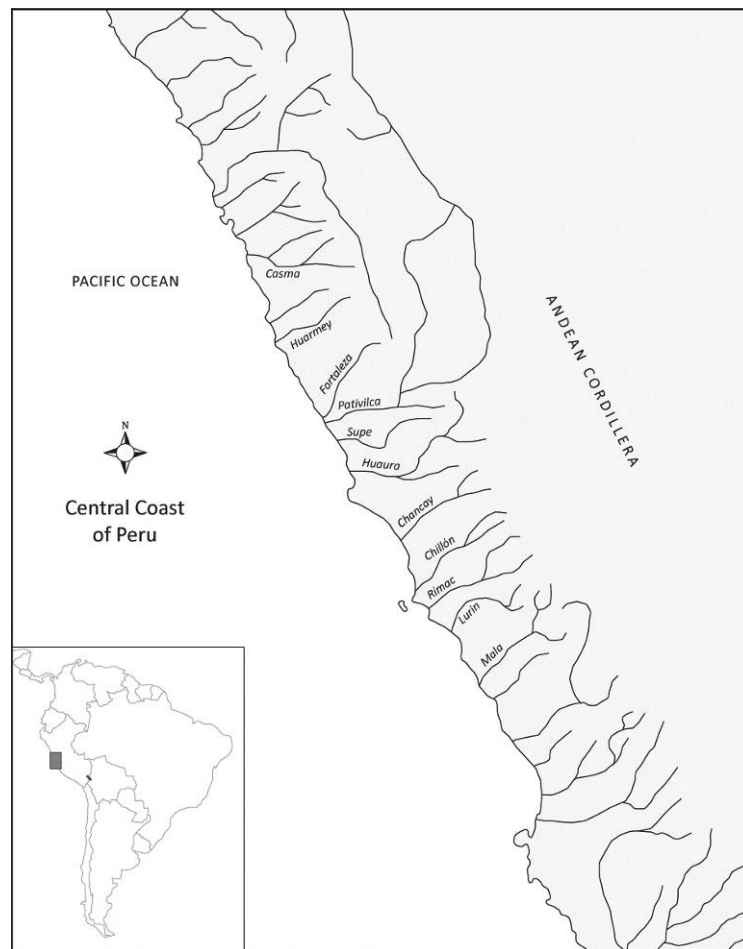


Figure 1. Andean Central Coast

2.2 THE YCHSMA AND THE ORACLE OF PACHACAMAC: ETHNOHISTORIC AND ARCHAEOLOGICAL BACKGROUND

According to ethnohistoric sources, before the Inka conquest of the Peruvian central coast, the lower and middle basin of the Lurín valley was populated by a coastal group called the Ychsma (Patterson 1985, 1991; Charney 2001). Maria Rostworowski's thorough analysis of these sources suggests that social hierarchy in the Ychsma society was primarily based on the cult of Pachacamac, one of the most important and feared deities of the Andean world. The cult of Pachacamac was centered at the site by the same name where pilgrims arrived to worship the deity and to consult the Oracle (Rostworowski: 1972, 1973, 1999, 2000, 2002). According to her analysis, the Ychsma society was composed by a number of loosely integrated groups, that "although politically independent shared their devotion to Pachacamac" (Rostworowski in Shimada 1991: XLV).

In fact, many Spanish chronicles remark that when the Inkas conquered the region the importance and prestige of the Oracle at Pachacamac was so great that they allowed the Ychsma priests to continue worshipping Pachacamac and their main temple at least was kept in use until the fall of the Inka Empire in 1535 (Cieza 1986 [1554]; Cobo 1979 [1653]; Garcilazo 1961[1609]: 239). Cieza de Leon's (1986[1554]: 57) account of the way in which the Inkas incorporated Pachacamac into the empire is very eloquent about the especial treatment that the Ychsma received under the empire's rule:

Pues como los ingas, señores tan principales, señoreasen el reino y llegasen a este valle de Pachacamac, y tuviesen por costumbre mandar por toda la tierra que ganaban que se hiciesen templos y adoratorios al sol, viendo la grandeza de este templo (Pachacamac) y su grande antigüedad, y la autoridad que tenía entre las gentes de

las comarcas, y la mucha devoción que a él todos mostraban, pareciéndoles que con gran dificultad le podrían quitar, dicen que trataron con los señores naturales y con los ministros de su dios o demonio que este templo de Pachacamac se quedase con la autoridad y servicio que tenía, con tanto que se hiciese otro templo más grande para el sol; y siendo hecho como los ingas mandaron su templo del sol se hizo muy rico y se pusieron en el muchas mujeres vírgenes.

However, according to the archaeological data, not everything remained the same at Pachacamac after the Inka conquest. During the less than 100 years that the Inka occupation lasted at Pachacamac, dramatic changes occurred in the sanctuary (López-Hurtado and Nesbitt 2010). These changes, mostly new construction, clearly show that the Inka now ruled the sanctuary. For example, Inka religious buildings like the Temple of the Sun were constructed in the highest and most prominent part of the site (See figure 2).



Figure 2. Inka Temple of the Sun on top of the archaeological complex of Pachacamac

The Inka also constructed secular and administrative buildings at Pachacamac, including the *Acllawasi* or house of the chosen women (See figure 3). According to the chronicles, this

building was the focus of state-controlled textile production and training of the chosen women, who were then given away in exchange for political favors (D'Altroy 2002; Hyslop 1990; Patterson 1985, 1991; Shimada 1991). Another change related to the Inka presence at Pachacamac is the abandonment of local public buildings, the pyramids with ramp, and the reoccupation of others (Rowe 1963; Shimada 1991).



Figure 3. *Acllahuasi* or house of the chosen women at Pachacamac

Coming back to the LIP, the ethnohistoric-based account of the predominant role that both the cult and the site of Pachacamac had in the Ychsma society has been used as the starting point for a number of archaeological interpretations (Cornejo 2000; Franco 1998, 2004; Bueno 1982; Jiménez Borja 1992; Ravines 1997) that portray Ychsma society as a “religious federation” in which social hierarchy was primarily based on the ideological ascendance of Pachacamac (Cornejo 2000). The most popular of these models was proposed during the eighties by Bueno (1982) and Jiménez Borja (1992). It is based on the study of Pachacamac’s most

representative pre-Inka buildings: the pyramids with ramps (Uhle 1903; Shimada 1991: XL, Ravines 1997:33, Eeckhout 2000:34; Conlee et al. 2004) (fig 5). There are 15 pyramids with ramp at the site of Pachacamac, and they occupy more than 30% of its constructed area (Uhle 1903; Shimada 1991: XL, Ravines 1997:33, Eeckhout 2000:34; Conlee et al. 2004). In this model the pyramids with ramp were religious embassies that represented the different Ychsma polities that worshiped Pachacamac (Bueno 1982). Ychsma elites at the central site acted mainly as priests, who performed the rituals and administered the resources needed for the maintenance of the cult, without exercising much political or economic control over the local population (Bueno 1982:33).

An alternative model has been proposed by Eeckhout (1995, 1997, 1998, 1998a, 2000a, 2000b, 2000c, 2003a, 2003b, 2004a, 2004b, 2005, 2006, 2008, 2010) and it is primarily based on data recovered during the excavation of one of these pyramids. In this model Eeckhout proposes that the pyramids with ramps were not religious embassies, but rather palaces of the Ychsma lords. In this view, the pyramids with ramps at the site of Pachacamac were built and occupied successively and functioned as “residences of local lords succeeding each other following a dynastic-like rule” (Eeckhout: 2003:149). In these buildings Ychsma rulers gave banquets and controlled the production and storage of diverse goods. At the death of the main occupant of the pyramid he was buried in his palace with prestige goods, luxury items and sacrificed adults and children. This moment was followed by the voluntary abandonment of the pyramid and the subsequent founding of a new one (Eeckhout 2000a, 2003a, 2004, 2005). In this model economic and political processes had a preeminent role in the development of social hierarchy in Ychsma society, with the cult of Pachacamac being an important but secondary source of social power. In this sense, the Ychsma society was basically a chiefdom centered at the site of Pachacamac that,

through a number of secondary sites like Panquilma, controlled the lowlands of the Lurín and Rimac valleys (Eeckhout 2000, 2004).

Although these contradictory models provide a basis for discussion of the role of ideology in the development of social hierarchy in Ychsma society, their almost exclusive focus on the study of a particular type of public building, the pyramid with ramp, and their primary emphasis on the site of Pachacamac present some limitations. As Eeckhout noticed in a recent review of the subject, “the opposition between secondary temples (or religious embassies) and successive palaces can be the product of an artificial dichotomy due to the absence of more radiocarbon dates” (Eeckhout 2004: 406). Eeckhout proposes that in order to overcome the limitations of this dichotomy more absolute dates are needed in order to elucidate if there was indeed a temporal succession between the different pyramids with ramps present at the site of Pachacamac. However, although the gathering of more radiocarbon dates for the different construction phases in each pyramid with ramp will shed light upon the history of these buildings it would not solve by itself the controversy about whether the Ychsma rulers were preeminently religious leaders or not. This becomes clear when we note that advocates of these two models use very similar patterns in their data to defend their different points of view. Evidence of feasting activities, storage facilities, buried offerings, funerary remains, dwellings, and abandonment events registered in the pyramids has all been used to support rival interpretations about the functions of the pyramids with ramps, and consequently about the nature of social hierarchy in Ychsma society (Eeckhout 2003, 2004; Franco 1998, 2004).

A novel third approach has been proposed by Makowski (2008, Makowski et. al 2009). Based on his recent excavations in the different perimetric walls, causeways, and accesses of the site of Pachacamac; Makowski presents a different scenario than the dichotomy proposed by the

embassies vs. palaces models. Radiocarbon dates and associated artifacts collected in these key areas are indicating that the planning of the core area of the religious center, which was traditionally attributed to Ychsma times, corresponded to the Inka administration of the site. These results would be indicating that, among other buildings, most of the pyramids with ramp present at Pachacamac were built during Inka times.

Following Makowski, the central role of Pachacamac in the organization of the Lurín valley was the consequence of the Inka control over this important site and not the product of the assumed religious or political ascendance that the sanctuary had during the LIP. Based on this argument it is possible to say that the capability of the ruling elite at the central site to influence the development of hierarchical relations at the secondary sites like Panquilma was not related to Pachacamac's religious or political ascendance, but as the consequence of a foreign political control. If this scenario is correct, during the LIP, in the absence of a supra regional polity controlling the religious center of Pachacamac, the development of hierarchical relations in the surrounding sites were the product of a combination of indigenous political dynamics and community level social processes. Among the regional factors we can count on the continuities and discontinuities in the regional role of Pachacamac (López-Hurtado and Marcone 2010), the pre-existing political ties among different Ychsma groups in the valley, and the relationship between these coastal groups and their highland neighbors the *Yauyos* (Marcone and López-Hurtado 2002). In terms of pre-Inka community level social processes, kinship-based organization and ancestry appear to be at the core of local political dynamics (Rostworowsky 2002).

Makowski's argument is pointing towards the necessity to integrate into the study of this important site other traditionally overlooked areas like accesses and perimetric walls in order to

get an integrated idea of the historical development of the sanctuary. In the same line Shimada proposes that in order to understand the social significance that Pachacamac had in the region it is necessary go beyond the exclusive study of the monumental architecture present at the site. He argues that the integration of different lines of evidence that include the study of the residential and mortuary areas becomes crucial if we want to have a comprehensive and dynamic image of this important site (Shimada et al. 2004b). Shimada's argument touches a central point for addressing Pachacamac's social dimension, the necessity to integrate the study of the different archaeological remains that are present at the site.

It is equally important, however, in order to understand the role of Pachacamac in the organization of Ychsma society, to situate this important religious center in the system formed by the other contemporary sites present in its hinterland. It is especially important to address, among other things, the nature of the rural elites that lived at the secondary sites and the influence that the religious center had in the development of their power strategies (López-Hurtado 2010a, López-Hurtado and Nesbitt 2010). According to Elson and Covey (2006) the study of the power strategies implemented by intermediate groups in society or intermediate elites presents the opportunity to complement our understanding of the different factors acting in the organization of past complex societies.

Elson and Covey's (2006) approach was conceived to understand the administrative role that intermediate elite groups had in the functioning of ancient states and empires. Implying always a degree of subordination to a supra local political entity. I argue that this type of methodological approach can be extended to other types of societies going beyond the administrative function of these intermediate groups to focus on the development of hierarchical relations on their rural communities regardless its dependence or not to a supra local political

entity. The study of the hierarchical strategies implemented by these rural elites in the case of Panquilma presents the opportunity to understand how the religious ascendance of Pachacamac interacted with local political and economic processes in development of social hierarchy at the site (López-Hurtado and Marcone 2010; Marcone and López-Hurtado 2010; López-Hurtado 2010a).

2.3 THE SITE OF PANQUILMA

The site of Panquilma is located in the lower Lurín valley at 400 m above sea level and 28 km up valley from Pachacamac (See figure 4). It is located above a dry stream bed on the left margin of the Lurín River, covering an area of 300,000 m² (Marcone and López-Hurtado 2002: 377). Previous research at the site revealed a complex settlement occupied during the Late Intermediate and Inka periods (Marcone and López-Hurtado 2002; López-Hurtado 2003, 2004a, 2004b, 2010; López-Hurtado and Nesbitt 2010). The ceramic analyses from these excavations were directed towards the identification of sectors associated with the different periods of occupation present at the site. In particular it's ought to determine the extent of the Inka occupation at the site. The analysis showed that Inka materials were confined mainly to the public sector. These results confirmed the notion about a primary LIP occupation of the site, and underscored the potential and viability of a study focused on addressing pre-Inka social dynamics (López-Hurtado 2005a, 2005b, 2006).

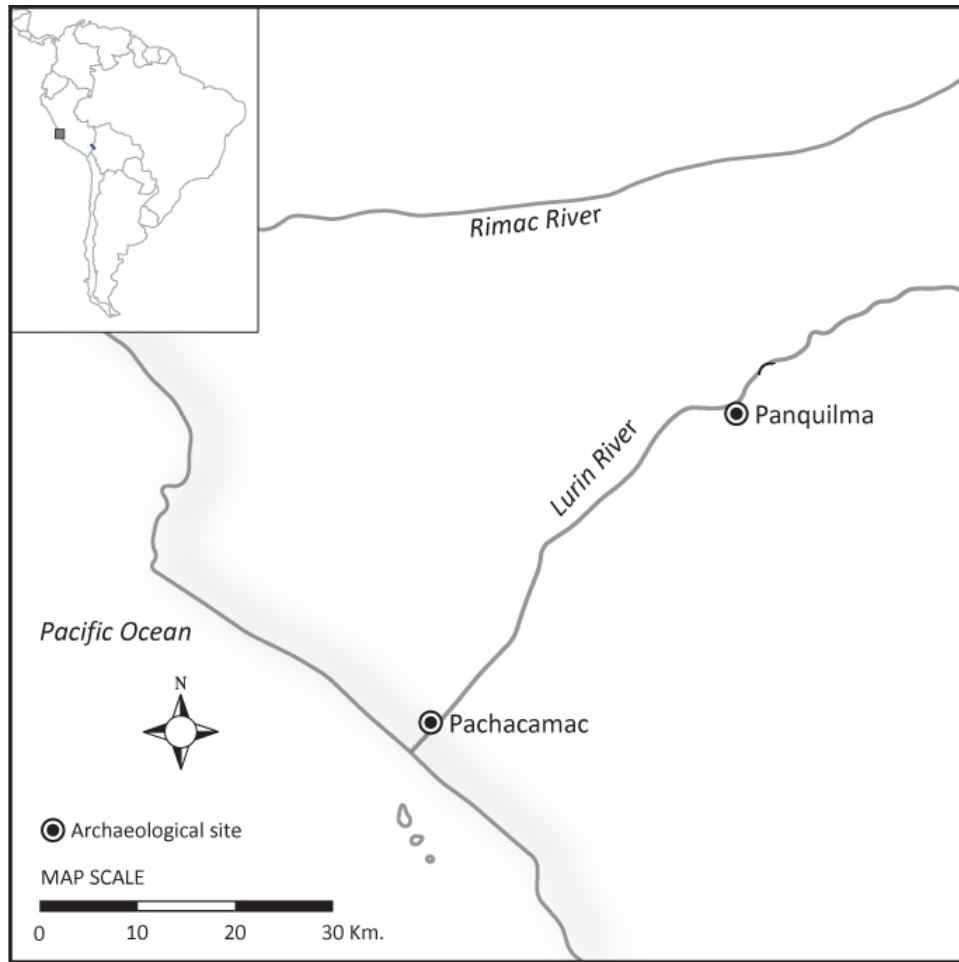


Figure 4. Location of Pachacamac and Panquilma in the Lurín valley

Panquilma is a multi-component site that includes among its remains public architecture and an elite domestic area located nearby, as well as a presumed non-elite domestic area located outside the site's core (See figure 5). These different architectural remains were clustered into three different sectors. Interestingly, these different sectors also present different types of funerary architecture.

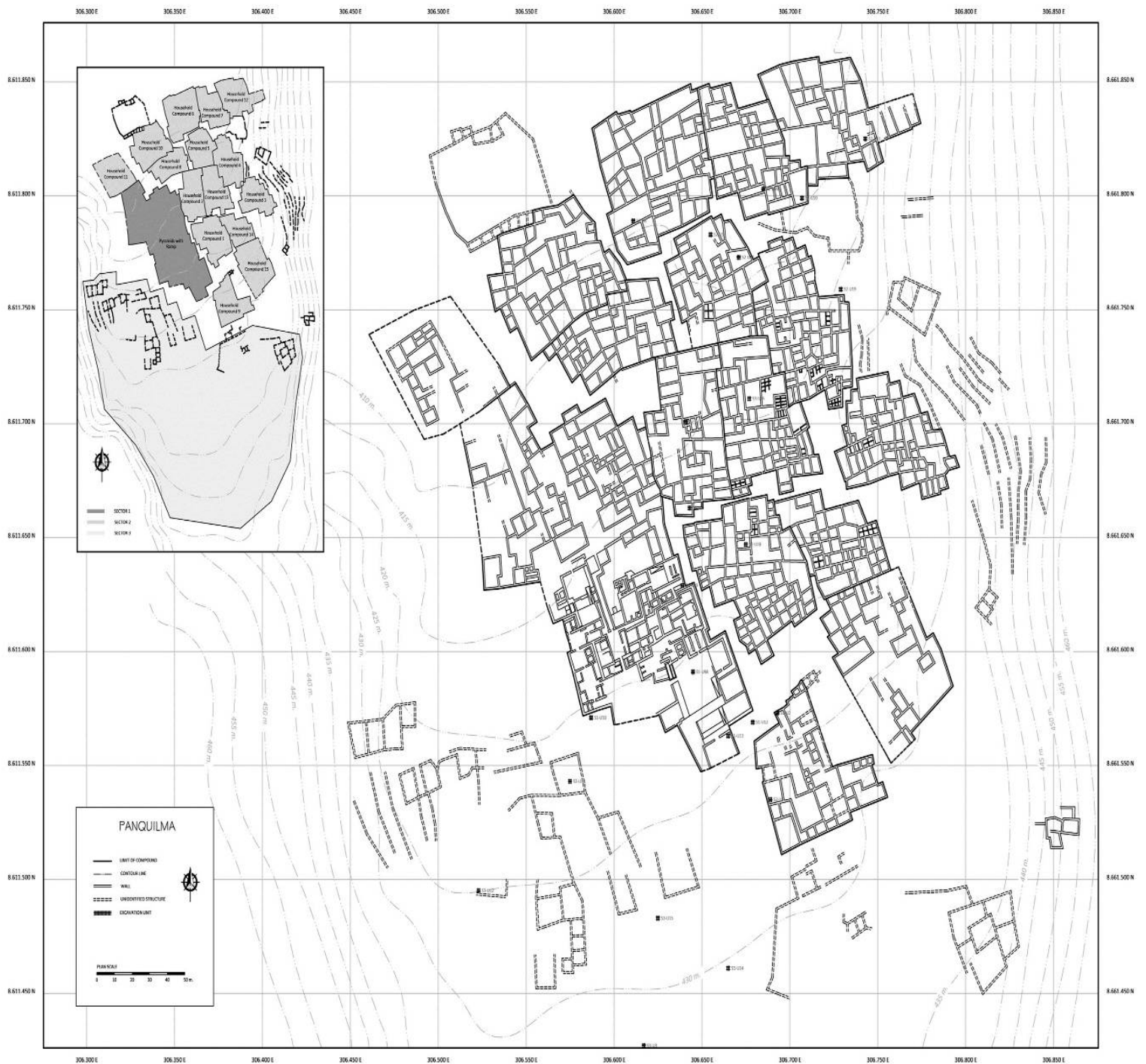


Figure 5. Map of the archaeological site of Panquilma

Sector 1 is characterized by the presence of three public buildings known on the central coast as pyramids with ramp. There are also a number of rectangular structures, presumably

storage rooms and dwellings associated with the pyramids. The public sector is separated from the rest of the site by a causeway that isolates it from the adjacent elite domestic sector.

Sector 2 adjoins the public buildings and is characterized by the presence of several walled multi-room structures, presumably elite household compounds. The typical household compound here is formed by a number of rooms organized around a big square patio. The patios generally show traces of intense activity like the remains of midden deposits and hearths. The compounds are organized by a number of causeways that cross the sector, and at least one of them separates it from the public buildings.

Sector 3 is located outside the site's core area without the presence of significant architectural remains in the surface. Given its location in the steepest part of the valley, the archaeological remains here were more exposed to mud slides that took place during rainy years. In fact, great parts of the remains present here are partially buried. This sector was identified as the location of a probable none-elite domestic area.

As mentioned above, each of these three sectors exhibited a different type of above-surface funerary architecture. In the case of sectors 1 and 2; the funerary architecture consists of clusters of square compartments, each of which contains multiple burials, located inside some of the public buildings, in sector 1, or inside the household compounds, in sector 2. In the case of sector 3, the funerary remains consist of clusters of shallow rounded individual tombs that are located on the margins of the occupied area (Marcone and López-Hurtado 2004; López-Hurtado 2010).

In order to determine the role of ideology in the development of the power strategies implemented by the rural elites of Panquilma, the present study seeks to determine the relative importance of the coercive control of economic resources and wealth accumulation, of the

restricted access to religious paraphernalia and the control of ritual activities, and of the display of secular sumptuary objects and the performance of feasting activities in the development of hierarchy at the site. This study also addresses the relationship that evidence of these different factors in social hierarchy had with already recorded differences in the funerary remains.

2.4 ADRESSING THE ROLE OF IDEOLOGY AT PANQUILMA

The archaeological evidence recovered during the excavations at Panquilma was used to evaluate the relative importance of different factors in the development of social hierarchy at the site. The idea is was not to conclude for instance, that hierarchy at Panquilma was entirely based on economic control, or based entirely on ideological or political processes. Rather, the analysis of the recovered materials addressed variations in artifact proportions between sectors at the site as well as variations during the different phases of occupation of the site. These changes in the artifact proportions between sectors and during the different occupation phases, along with important contextual information registered during the excavations, were used to elucidate the degree and the nature of social hierarchy, the prominence of different sorts of activities, and the connections of these activities to social hierarchy.

To approach the relative importance of economic, ideological and political social processes in the development of social hierarchy the following archaeological indicators and their implications were addressed in each of the three sectors of the site:

To the extent that the economic processes of resource control and wealth accumulation were important forces underlying social hierarchy we expected to find the following patterns of evidence.

1) The public sector (Sector 1) might present higher proportions or contextual information of some or all of the following indicators of differential consumption or resource control:

- Facilities for storage of large quantities of agricultural produce or other goods associated with the public buildings (Eeckhout 2004);
- Facilities for processing of large quantities of agricultural produce, like drying racks or large drying terraces known in the region as tendales (López-Hurtado 2004a, 2004b);
- Workshops for craft production like textiles or pottery (Eeckhout 2004);
- Concentration of refuse of craft production like needles, pigments, spindle whorls, molds for ceramic production, etc. (Hirth 1993; Eeckhout 2004);
- If there were elite residential areas inside the public buildings (Eeckhout 2004)—these areas should also show a higher proportion of costly artifacts like elaborate decorated pottery, shell, bone and stone ornaments (Hirth 1993; Lightfoot and Feinman 1982);
- Preferred food remains, such as animal bones, especially deer bone and/or bones associated with preferred cuts of meat (Costin and Earle 1989; Hastorf 1991);

2) The elite residential area (Sector 2) in comparison to non-elite areas (Sector 3) might present higher proportions of all or some of the following indicators of resource control and wealth accumulation:

- Higher proportions of costly artifacts like elaborate decorated pottery, shell, bone and stone ornaments (Hirth 1993; Lightfoot and Feinman 1982);
- Concentration of refuse of craft production within or adjacent to elite households (needles, pigments, spindle whorls, molds for ceramic production, etc. [Hirth 1993]);

One important line of evidence considered to determine economic based hierarchy was also the existence of proportional differences of these indicators of wealth among households inside the elite domestic sector (sector 2).

To the extent that ideological processes of control and manipulation of communal-scale ritual activities and religious paraphernalia were important forces of social hierarchy we expected to find the following patterns of evidence.

1) The public sector (Sector 1) might present higher proportions of some or all of the following indicators:

- The location of elite residential areas within the public architecture that indicate an unrestricted access to communal ritual space;
- Clean open spaces or plazas, sometimes characterized by restricted access, inside the public buildings (Díaz 2004; Potter 2000);
- Religious paraphernalia like anthropomorphic or zoomorphic figurines, whistles and rattles (Hirth 1993, Eeckhout 2004);
- Decorated clay spoons, inhaling tubes and special trays involved in the use of hallucinogenic drugs (Díaz 2004; Díaz and Vallejo 2008);

2) The elite residential sector (Sector 2) in relation to the non-elite residential sector (Sector 3) might present higher proportions of some or all of the following indicators:

- There should be a higher proportion of religious paraphernalia like anthropomorphic or zoomorphic figurines (Hirth 1993, Eeckhout 2004);
- There should be a higher proportion of decorated clay spoons, inhaling tubes and special trays involved in the use of hallucinogenic drugs;

An especially important indicator of ritual-based social hierarchy would be only minimal differences between the elite and non-elite residential areas with regard to indicators of wealth such as architectural markers of wealth, like bigger and more elaborated houses, and higher proportions of costly artifacts (Drennan and Quattrin 1995; Potter 2000).

To the extent that political competition for prestige and authority via control of prestigious objects and feasting activities was an important basis of social hierarchy we expected to find the following patterns of evidence.

1) The public sector (Sector 1) might present higher proportions of all or some of the following indicators of the political competition for social prestige:

- Evidence of massive consumption of food like middens and hearths in the plazas of the public buildings (Eeckhout 2004);
- Ceramic serving vessels appropriate for feasting activities, such as large headjars and bowls for chicha preparation and serving vessels for preparing large quantities of food (Clark and Blake 1994; Feinman, Kowaleswki and Blanton 1984; Hastorf 1991, 1993; Vaughn 2004).
- Items that lend themselves to the representation of social prestige, such as personal adornment, and weaponry (Hirth 1993; Díaz 2004).

2) Elite residential areas (Sector 2) in comparison to non-elite residential areas (Sector 3) might present higher proportions of all or some of the following indicators of the political competition for social prestige:

- Evidence of massive food consumption like middens and hearths in the patios of the household compounds;

- Ceramic serving vessels appropriate for feasting activities, such as large headjars and bowls for chicha preparation and serving vessels for preparing large quantities of food (Clark and Blake 1994; Feinman, Kowaleswki and Blanton 1984; Hastorf 1991, 1993; Vaughn 2004).
- Items that lend themselves to the representation of social prestige, such as personal adornment, and weaponry (Hirth 1993; Díaz 2004).

2.4.1 Field methods

The study of the site was carried out in two phases. The first consisted of the production of detailed maps that included information about the distribution and characteristics of the public and domestic buildings (whose remains are visible on the surface in this dry region), as well as their spatial association with the different types of funerary remains. Special emphasis was placed on recording the relationship between open domestic spaces, funerary structures, and surface evidence of feasting activities like midden deposits associated with patio compounds.

The second phase consisted of the excavation by natural strata of 23 2x2m test pits across the three sectors of the site; six in Sector 1, 12 in Sector 2, and five in Sector 3. Since the objective was to compare the proportions of particular kinds of artifacts in the three sectors, collection of good samples of artifacts from each sector was of the essence. In order to determine the variability in the proportions of artifacts between the different sectors at the site and during its occupation, the exact number and location of the excavation units was determined after mapping the site, following a stratified random sampling program. This made it possible to treat each of the three well defined sectors at the site as a completely separate population, calculating the sample size (number of test pits), and the values of interest independently for each sector.

The benefits of determining the number and location of test pits in this way are numerous. First, in cases where the sub-groups that conform the entire population are clearly different and easy to identify, stratified sampling has the potential to offer a better estimate for an entire population than the ones obtained from sampling the entire population directly (Drennan 1996: 241). Second, treating each sector as a sub-group offers a better opportunity for comparing the changes in the proportions of artifacts present during the different occupation periods of the site. Third, and most important, it would be essential for comparing proportions of artifacts between these sectors. This number of pits widely scattered through each sector in combination with a high ceramic density present at the site provided an adequate and accurate overall characterization of each sector's artifacts. Surface visibility of architectural remains and an excellent preservation of the activity areas excavated helped to contextualize the statistical results.

2.4.2 The recovered materials

Ceramic analysis is the most important line of evidence of this study. Ceramics composed by far the most numerous archaeological materials recovered during the study of Panquilma. The ceramic sample recovered during the excavations includes five entire vessels of different types including a 40 gallon chicha fermentation vessel, all of them found in primary contexts; and 8633 diagnostic fragments. The dry soil that characterizes the Andean coast contributed with the excellent preservation of the motifs that decorate most of the non-utilitarian ceramic fragments and entire vessels of the sample. The size of the sample and the good preservation of decorative motifs and forms provided confident proportional differences of vessel types between phases and sectors of the site, and a good chronological indicator to guide this comparison.

Ceramic material was classified following the typologies already developed for the region by Francisco Vallejo and Luisa Díaz (Vallejo 2004; Díaz and Vallejo 2005). Based on this typology, the ceramics recovered during the study of Panquilma corresponded to the Late Ychsma A (LYA) and Late Ychsma B (LYB). Inka-style fragments were also recognized in the sample. According to this typology the periods LYA and LYB correspond to the last phases of the Ychsma series. According to Vallejo this moment corresponds with “drastic social changes in Ychsma society when there is already some kind of contact with the Inka Empire”. Precisely one of the differences between LYA and LYB is that the latter (LYB) usually appears in stratigraphic association with Inka-style material (Vallejo 2004: 630). However continuity between LYA and LYB in technique, morphology, and decoration testify to the local nature of LYB despite its association with Inka materials (Vallejo 2004: 629-631). Inka-style fragments are present in the sample from Panquilma but they form a very small portion of it, 99 diagnostic sherds of a total of 8633. Ceramic analysis gave consideration to the identification of shape, decoration, paste, size, and number of vessels, and also the identification of “exotic vessels”.

3.0 SECTOR 3

3.1 LOCATION AND DISTRIBUTION OF THE VISIBLE REMAINS

Sector 3 corresponds to the area located at the southern extreme of the dry valley where Panquilma was placed. This is the area where the two hills that form the valley came closer together and where the terrain has a much more pronounced step. This area of the site ends where the two hills of the brook together forms a high stepped cone. Given its location in the steepest zone of the valley this sector has been severely affected by the action of mudslides during rainy El Niño years. The uneven relief of the terrain in this area responded to the successive accumulation of alluvial material during those years.

It is not surprising then that the only visible architectural remains in this sector are located on the hillsides away from the most exposed floor of the dry valley. There are basically two different types of remains located in these zones of Sector 3: isolated multi-room buildings and clusters of funerary cists.

3.1.1 Isolated multi-room buildings

There are a total of five isolated buildings all of them located outside the site's core on the hillsides of Sector 3. Two of them are located in the western slopes of the valley while the remaining three, including the biggest one, are located on the eastern slopes. Regardless of their

different sizes, these buildings share the same construction techniques and structural characteristics.

These structures were built of alignments of medium size stones held together by mud mortar. All walls were plastered and reached an average of 2 m high. The general layout of these buildings consists of rectangular rooms organized around walled unroofed patios and interconnected by a system of hallways and entrances. As I mentioned before all of these buildings were located outside the site's core in zones where no other constructions were placed. All of these buildings were surrounded by perimetric walls.

During the 2002-2003 field seasons at the site we excavated the biggest of these buildings: EA1. These excavations were intended to define the function and chronology of EA1, as well as the constructive sequence of the building. The results indicated that EA1 was built and used in a very short period of time. Excavation units placed in different rooms and patios of EA1 revealed a similar succession of floors and living surfaces. All of these surfaces were relatively clean with few associated archaeological materials. The presence of food remains and structures suited for living quarters indicated at least a partial domestic function of this building. In addition no remains of massive food consumption that could indicate the performance of feasting were registered in the patios of the complex.

The most interesting information recovered from the excavation of EA1 is the abundance of Inka style sherds (See figure 6). This is the only building excavated during the 2002-2003, and 2008-2009 field seasons where Inka style sherds constitute the majority of the ceramic assemblage. Based on these results, after the 2002-2003 seasons, we proposed that this building was the product of the direct Inka intervention at the site, and it was probably built around the time when the pyramids at the site were burned (Marcone and López-Hurtado 2002: 221). Given

the clear Inka character of this building, similar isolated structures in Panquilma's Sector 3 were also understood as Inka. For this reason these buildings were not included in the sampling program of the site that was carried out during the present study.



Figure 6. Inka style material recovered from EA1 during the 2002-2003 field season

3.1.2 Clusters of funerary cists

Clusters of funerary cists are distributed along the western and eastern hillsides that form Sector 3. As in the case of the other funerary remains located in Sectors 1 and 2, all of these structures were heavily affected by the action of looters. In addition occasional mudslides have completely destroyed some of the funerary architecture (See figure 7).



Figure 7. Funerary cists in Panquilma's Sector 3

We have registered a total of 48 funerary cists, most of them located in the eastern hillside of Sector 3. These structures are formed by semicircular alignments of rocks held by mud mortar without plaster. The average diameter of the better preserved ones was 2 m and they were never higher than 80 cm. Given the large amount of bones and ceramic fragments scattered by the looters around the cists, it is very probable that each cist contained multiple burials. These structures are organized forming clusters of four or five cists in which some of them even share the same walls. Once a group of cists was closed, another cluster was started a few meters away.

Cist interments have been identified in the central coast since the last phases of the Middle Horizon at the sites of Pachacamac (Uhle 1903, Shimada 2004) and Ancon (Ravines

1981, Kaufman 1994). The most representative of them were reported by Ravines (1981) and Kaufman (1994) at the cemetery of Ancon during the third phase of the Middle Horizon. The form of this type of funerary structure is rounded and usually presents the remains of a cane-made roof. The body was bundled and deposited in a flexed position. The offerings that accompanied the body were varied and numerous including fine decorated pottery and textiles (Díaz and Vallejo 2005).

These same general characteristics were present in the Early and Middle Ychsma Phases during the following Late Intermediate Period (Díaz and Vallejo 2005: 239). The studies of Valladolid (2000) and Casas and Dolorier (2004) at the early Ychsma site of Huallamarca account for the presence of a cemetery outside the constructed area of the site. The cemetery at Huallamarca was formed by clusters of cane-roofed circular cists. The funerary structures had diameters of 90 cm to 1.4 m and reached up to 1.6 m high. Like in the preceding Middle Horizon, these were individual interments where the body was bundled and placed in a seated flexed position, but in this case the quality and quantity of the associated offerings are much lower (Díaz and Vallejo 2005:238). Similar remains have been reported at other Ychsma sites like La Rinconada (Díaz 2002), Pachacamac (Franco 1993), Armatambo (Díaz 2002, Díaz and Vallejo 2004, 2005), and Macattampu (Tello 1999).

According to Díaz and Vallejo (2005), during the Late Ychsma Phase a drastic change in the funerary pattern occurred. During this period two distinct funerary traditions coexisted in Ychsma sites. Cist burials are maintained but they became bigger, up to 2.5 m of diameter, instead of single interments, multiple burials were placed inside the funerary structures. The body stopped receiving any kind of treatment like the application of pigments over the faces. Although the size of the bundles became bigger, the quality of the textiles became much lower

and without decoration. The number of the offerings decrease also been contained to one or two pieces of pottery per bundle. The most common piece of pottery present in this type of burial is the decorated Ychsma headjar.

Based on Díaz's (2002) work at the site of Armatambo, located 12 km south of Pachacamac, there is another type of burial tradition during the Late Ychsma phase. As well as in other contemporary sites like Panquilma, they reported the present of above-ground funerary structures inside the domestic buildings. Late Ychsma household compounds at Armatambo presented individual above the ground funerary structures usually associated with the compound's main patio. Offerings in these cases included fine ceramic artifacts, metal objects, and in some cases Inka style pottery.

The characteristics of the funerary remains located in Panquilma's Sector 2 and 3 corresponded to the two types of Late Ychsma burial recognized by Díaz at Armatambo (Díaz 2002; Díaz and Vallejo 2005). It is very interesting to notice that during this period Ychsma sites, including Panquilma, presented two different types of funerary remains. One located in the outskirts of the sites characterized by multiple cist burials with few offerings, and the other one characterized by individual above-ground funerary structures located inside domestic buildings. Offerings in this case were more elaborated and varied. This evidence is suggesting some kind of social differentiation reflected in distinct funeral practices among the settlers of the Late Ychsma sites.

3.2 WAS THERE A COMMONERS' OCCUPATION IN PANQUILMA'S SECTOR 3?

One of the objectives of the present study was to evaluate the possibility of a commoner's occupation in Panquilma's Sector 3. Given the spatial distribution of the architectural remains at the site in which there is a monumental public sector (Sector 1), and a hypothesized elite domestic sector formed by walled household compounds (Sector 2); the most likely candidate to host a commoners' occupation was Sector 3 located outside the site's core area. In addition, the presence of two different contemporaneous funerary traditions at the site in which multiple burial cists were located in Sector 3's hillsides reinforced the idea about the possibility of some sort of permanent occupation in this area. A first approximation to this area of the site was realized during the 2002-2003 field season.

3.2.1 The 2002-2003 Excavations at Sector 3

During the years of 2002-2003 the Site Museum of Pachacamac undertook under my supervision an evaluation project at Panquilma. The objectives of this project were to delimitate the southern border of the site, which coincided with the present study's Sector 3, and to propose an access road to a private property located in the neck of the valley. To this end a total of 27 2 by 2 m test pits were excavated in this Sector. 15 of these test pits were placed forming three parallel lines in the southern extreme of the valley.

The results of the first and second lines of test pits revealed consecutive sequences of alluvial events without any trace of cultural activities. The first evidence of cultural occupation in this area was registered in the third parallel line of test pits. In two of these test pits we found badly eroded scattered ceramic fragments in the rubble. We also registered ash lenses in the

profile of one of these test pits. Based on these results we established the boundaries of the site and stopped the excavation of parallel lines of test pits in the remaining area of Sector 3. It is worth to mention that aside from the cultural remains described above no contextual of architectural evidence of a permanent occupation was registered in Sector 3 during the 2002-2003 season at the site

3.2.2 The 2008 excavations at Sector 3

Based on the results of the 2002-2003 excavations, I decided to include Sector 3 in the sampling program that the present study carried out at Panquilma. Even though during the previous season at the site we didn't find traces of permanent occupation, given the objectives of the project, our test pits were intended to evaluate the least likely places where cultural occupation could be reported. For this reason the less steep floor of the valley that constitutes the largest part of Sector 3 was never evaluated.

This situation left open the possibility of Sector 3 as the locus of a commoner occupation at the site. In order to evaluate this hypothesis we excavated 10 2 by 2 m randomly located test pits in the previously unexcavated floor of the valley in Sector 3. The results obtained from these test pits were not very different from those obtained in the previous season of 2002-2003. Of the 10 randomly located test pits placed in the floor of the valley none produced contextual information of permanent occupation. The deposits excavated in these test pits were mainly formed by layers of mud and stones (See figure 8).



Figure 8. Northern profile of excavation unit S3-U6 showing succession of mud slides

The only evidence of occupation in Sector 3 was related to temporary camps or corrals. In the case of excavation unit S3-U8 for example we registered an alignment of rocks in the eastern profile. No mud mortar or foundations were observed. Instead the precarious stone wall was placed over and subsequently covered by thick mud depositions (See figure 9).



Figure 9. Unit S3-U18 west profile showing mud slides below and above precarious wall

Another evidence of the discontinuous occupation of this sector was the sporadic presence of ash lenses. As in the case of the wall registered in S3-U18, the ash lens observed in the northern profile of excavation unit S3-U3 was in between mudslides. This kind of evidence appeared at different stratigraphic levels with different mudslide events in between, indicating that the use of this area was not continuous (See figure 10).



Figure 10. S3-U18 north profile showing an ash lintel in between mudslide events

Aside from evidence about the irregular use of this area of the valley, the presence of funerary remains was registered nearby one of the isolated buildings. The excavation of test pit S3-U13 located in the eastern area of the sector less than 20 m from one of the isolated buildings revealed the presence of at least two stone graves. These two funerary structures were very different from the typical Late Ychsma burial (Díaz and Vallejo 2005). The two funerary structures registered in this excavation unit were individual subterranean stone cists and they were found after removing the upper layer of the test pit. While one of them was partially

destroyed by looters, the one located in the north-east corner of the excavation unit was almost intact.

In order to identify an occupational surface associated with the mouth of the two subterranean cists we expanded the excavation unit to the northeast to include the intact burial. We found that both graves were dug into mudslide layers without any particular surface associated with them. In fact, aside from the cultural materials recovered from the graves very few ceramic fragments were registered in this excavation unit.

As I mentioned, the characteristics of both burials indicate that they were not the product of the region's mortuary tradition. As I mentioned before both burials consisted of subterranean stone cists for individual interments. The cists were made out of medium to large rock slabs. This is very different from Ychsma cists which are made of medium to small round rocks. Another important difference is the depth of the matrix excavated to build the cist. In this sense, while Ychsma cists are mostly above-ground structures, the grave found in excavation unit S3-U13 was dug 2 m into the soil. Finally the most important difference between the types of cists is in the number of individuals buried in them. In contrast to the Late Ychsma tradition of multiple burials, these cists had only one individual each. The body was bundled and placed seated in a flexed position (See figure 11).

All of these characteristics foreign to the Ychsma region corresponded to Inka highland burial practices. The location of these two burials near one of the isolated buildings located on Sector 3 reaffirmed our assessment about the Inka nature of these buildings. As I have mentioned before the construction of these buildings can be related with the abandonment of the site's core and the instauration of the Inka administration in the valley (López-Hurtado and Nesbitt 2010a; López-Hurtado 2010b; Marcone and López-Hurtado 2002).



Figure 11. Cists excavated in S3-U13

3.2.3 The recovered materials from Sector 3

The amount of cultural materials recovered from this sector was very low. In a soil matrix characterized by the deposition of constant alluvial events, botanical and faunal remains were almost absent from the sample. As in the case of Sectors 1 and 2 ceramic fragments were the most abundant type of artifact recovered in the sample. However, because of the characteristics of the soil deposition, the ceramic fragments recovered in this sector were badly eroded. This situation caused that the recognition of certain features like decoration, use, or form almost impossible for most of the fragments.

Ceramic fragments were registered in only four of the ten test pits placed in Sector 3 (S3-U7, S3-U12, S3-U13, S3U-14). It is worth to mention that of all of these units, S3-U13 was the one where we excavated the Inka funerary cist which augmented the total amount of fragments recovered in Sector 3. A total of 317 diagnostic sherds (weighing 31.8 kg) were recovered from

the 10 excavation units placed in Sector 3, far less than the 1137 diagnostic sherds recovered from Sector 1 (seven test pits), and the 3433 recovered from Sector 2 (11 test pits), which weighed 78.4 kg and 237.4 kg, respectively.

Given the demonstrated absence of a permanent occupation in this area of the site, the sherds recovered here were not taken into consideration for the proportional analysis and later comparison with Sectors 1 and 2. The proportion of Inka sherds observed in Sector 3, however, was very different from the patterns obtained in Sectors 1 and 2. Sector 1 had slightly more Inka sherds (1.67%) than Sector 2 (1.48%). In contrast, Sector 3 had 5.99% Inka sherds. The explanation of this pattern is the presence of Inka isolated buildings located on the hill slopes of Sector 3 and the presence of an Inka burial area registered in S3-U13.

3.3 CONCLUSIONS

Despite the fact that a commoners' occupation was not found in Panquilma's Sector 3, evidence recorded in this area has greatly increased our understanding about the characteristics of social organization at the site. The presence of rural hamlets or scattered commoners' households located close to the agricultural fields has never been reported in the Lurín valley during the late pre-Columbian periods. If this is the case, the lack of evidence of a permanent occupation in Sector 3 indicates that the great majority of the population resided in the household compounds of Sector 2. In this sense, the lack of a commoner's occupation at Panquilma's Sector 3 could be signaling towards the existence of some kind of status distinction among the residents of the household compounds of Sector 2.

The presence of multiple clusters of funerary cists in this unpopulated area of the site contributed also to our understanding of Panquilma's social organization. According to Díaz and Vallejo (2005; Díaz 2002) two funerary traditions coexisted in Late Ychsma sites. The first one is characterized by individual above-ground funerary structures located inside multi-room household compounds. The second Late Ychsma funerary tradition is characterized by multiple cists interments clustered outside the populated areas. While the first type of funerary tradition included the presence of costly offerings; multiple cists interments are characterized by the modesty of their grave goods. If the absence of a permanent occupation in Sector 3 means that the vast majority of the population of the site lived in the household compounds of Sector 2; it would be possible to assume that while some members of a household compound were buried in individual above-ground funerary structures inside their domestic buildings, some others were disposed in multiple funerary cists located outside the site.

This distinction in burial practices among co-resident household members is also supporting the assumption for some kind of hierarchical organization inside these compounds. Many scholars argue that in the Andes residents of extended household compounds were members of extended families in which hierarchy was determined based on kin proximity to a founding ancestral figure. Part of the attributes of the central members of the extended family is the organization of labor and the performance of ancestor veneration rituals (Isbell 2004, Milliken 2006, Janusek 2004). Extended co-resident families organized in this way functioned also as units of production of agricultural and craft goods (Janusek 2009).

In the case of Panquilma, the absence of a commoners' occupation in Sector 3 and the coexistence of two different types of funerary traditions suggest that the vast majority of the population lived at hierarchically organized household compounds that functioned as corporate

groups. If this is the case, instead of focusing in the development of hierarchical relations between commoners, elite, and rulers; this study should be centered in the analysis of the relationship between these corporate groups living in Sector 2 and the ruling elite living in the residential areas of the pyramids with ramp of Sector 1.

4.0 SECTOR 1, THE PYRAMIDS WITH RAMP

4.1 THE PYRAMIDS WITH RAMP IN THE LURÍN VALLEY

Sector 1 corresponds to the public sector of the site of Panquilma. It is characterized by the presence of three public buildings known in the central coast as pyramids with ramp (PWR). According to Eeckhout (2003) a total of 43 PWR were built in the most important sites of the lower-middle Lurín valley during the late pre-Columbian periods. The vast majority of these buildings, 20 and 18 respectively, were erected at the central site of Pachacamac and the secondary site of Pampa de las Flores both located at the mouth of the valley. The rest of these buildings appear in minor quantities at the sites of Tijerales with five PWR, Panquilma with three, and one in the site of Huaycan.

The ubiquity of this type of building along the Lurín valley and overall at the central site of Pachacamac has motivated scholars to point out the importance that these buildings had in the development of the Ychsma society (Eeckhout 2000:34, Shimada 1991). The PWR are buildings that share a number of diagnostic features. The most remarkable of these are a big front yard or plaza, a ramp connecting the plaza with upper terraced levels and a number of rooms with different functions like, storages, workshops, dwellings, and occasionally funerary structures. Walls surround the entire compound with some restricted access (Bueno 1982:33, Shimada 1991 XL-XLI, 2004, Ravines 1985, Makowski et al. 2005; Eeckhout 1996, 2002, 2003, 2004) .

However despite the general similarities shared by the PWR present at Pachacamac and at the other sites of the valley, like Panquilma, Eeckhout (2003) noticed important differences among these buildings that may signal different functions among them (See figure 12)

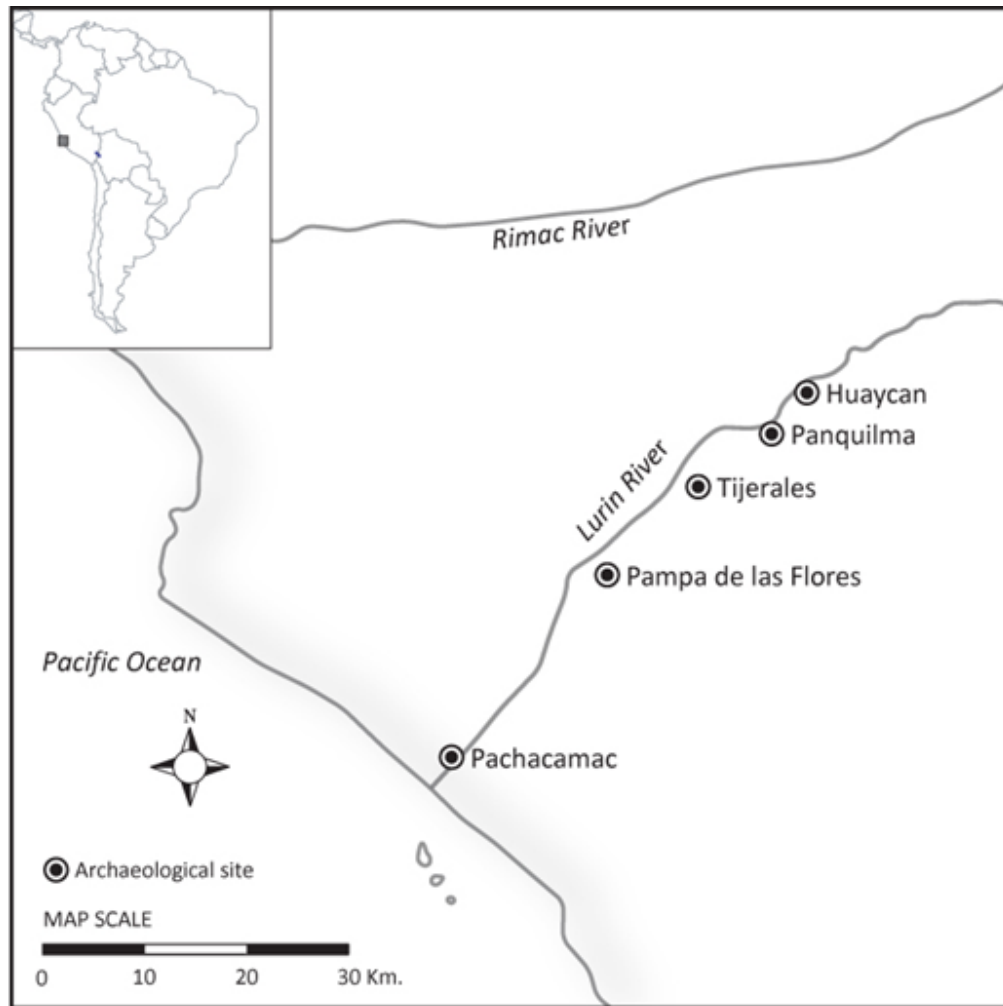


Figure 12. Sites with Pyramids with Ramp in the Lurín valley

Based on the location of the main ramp in respect to the plaza and platforms, Eeckhout (2003: 150) organized the PWR present in the Lurín valley into three different types. The first and, according to Eeckhout, most important type of PWR is the Pyramid with Central Ramp. Pyramids of this type are mainly located at the site of Pachacamac and Pampa de las Flores, 20 and 18 respectively. However, the biggest and most complex examples of Pyramids with Central

Ramp are located exclusively at Pachacamac (See figure 13). These buildings, according to Eeckhout (2003) had a preeminent administrative and elite-residential function. In fact, this particular type of PWR present at the site of Pachacamac is the one proposed by Eeckhout as the buildings that correspond to the palaces of the Ychsma lords at the chiefdom's capital.



Figure 13. Pyramids with Central Ramp at the sites of Pachacamac and Pampa de las Flores

The second type of PWR is composed by the pyramids with offset ramps (See figure 14). In these buildings the ramp is not located at the center of the plaza and platforms but at one side of the plaza leaning over one of the walls of the compound. Although one of these PWR is also present at the central site of Pachacamac, the vast majority of them appear only at sites in the valley, two in Tijerales and three in Panquilma. Administrative functions have not been proposed for these buildings; on the contrary according to Jane Feltham (1983: 319) pyramids with offset ramps like the ones located at Panquilma were “ritual houses with multiple functions, built in honor of certain groups of ancestors”. The presence of above the ground funerary structures inside these buildings would indicate the performance of this type of funerary rites as the main function of these buildings. However, Feltham doesn't provide any other evidence to support her argument. Neither the relationship between these structures with the restricted residential areas

of the pyramids, nor the characteristics of the activities performed at the pyramids' platforms and plaza are addressed by her.



Figure 14. Pyramids with Offset Ramp at the sites of Tijerales and Panquilma

The third type of PWR is the pyramid with lateral ramp (See figure 15). In these cases the ramp is located in the main plaza parallel to the platform of the building. The number and distribution of this type of PWR is very restricted, there are only three in the valley, one in Pachacamac, Pampa de las Flores, and Tijerales respectively. According to Eeckhout (2003: 163-164), pyramids with parallel ramps were used for ritual, instead of administrative and residential, purposes. Following him, in contrast to the pyramids with offset ramps, rituals in this type of PWR were not related with ancestor commemoration because not funerary remains were found during the excavations of one of these buildings at Pachacamac.

Evidenced collected at this PWR were related with the performance of rituals in which “numerous offerings of sacrificed animals and miniature textiles were discovered around different posts fragments that were probably pedestals for wooden idols” (Eeckhout 2003: 163). Following Eeckhout (2003: 164), more evidence that points towards the ritualistic, rather than

elite-residential, function of this type of buildings is that on the pyramid with lateral ramp that he excavated in Pachacamac “on the contrary with pyramids with central ramps, there are no traces of domestic activities within the patio, nor in any other sector of the monument”. However, it is worth mentioning that despite the convincing reconstruction of the activities that took place at this pyramid, there is no recorded evidence about the function of the two similar buildings present at Tijerales and Pampa de las Flores in the Lurín Valley.

4.2 THE PYRAMIDS WITH RAMP AT THE SITE OF PANQUILMA

Following this typology, the three PWR located at Panquilma’s Sector 1 correspond to the pyramids with offset ramps type. The complex formed by these three buildings is located in the south western section of Panquilma and it occupies approximately one third of its constructed area (See figure 15). The pyramid complex at Panquilma is separated from the rest of the site by a walled causeway that isolates it from the adjacent domestic sector.

In this sense, although in the case of Panquilma the PWR complex is integrated with the settlement web by a number of causeways and corridors, access to core area of these buildings are generally long, tortuous and probably restricted. This situation is indicating certain important differences between the populations of the PWR complex in respect to the residents of the adjacent household compounds. I argue that these differences in terms to access and control of community wide ritual spaces was very important in the development of hierarchical relations between these two segments of Panquilma’s population.

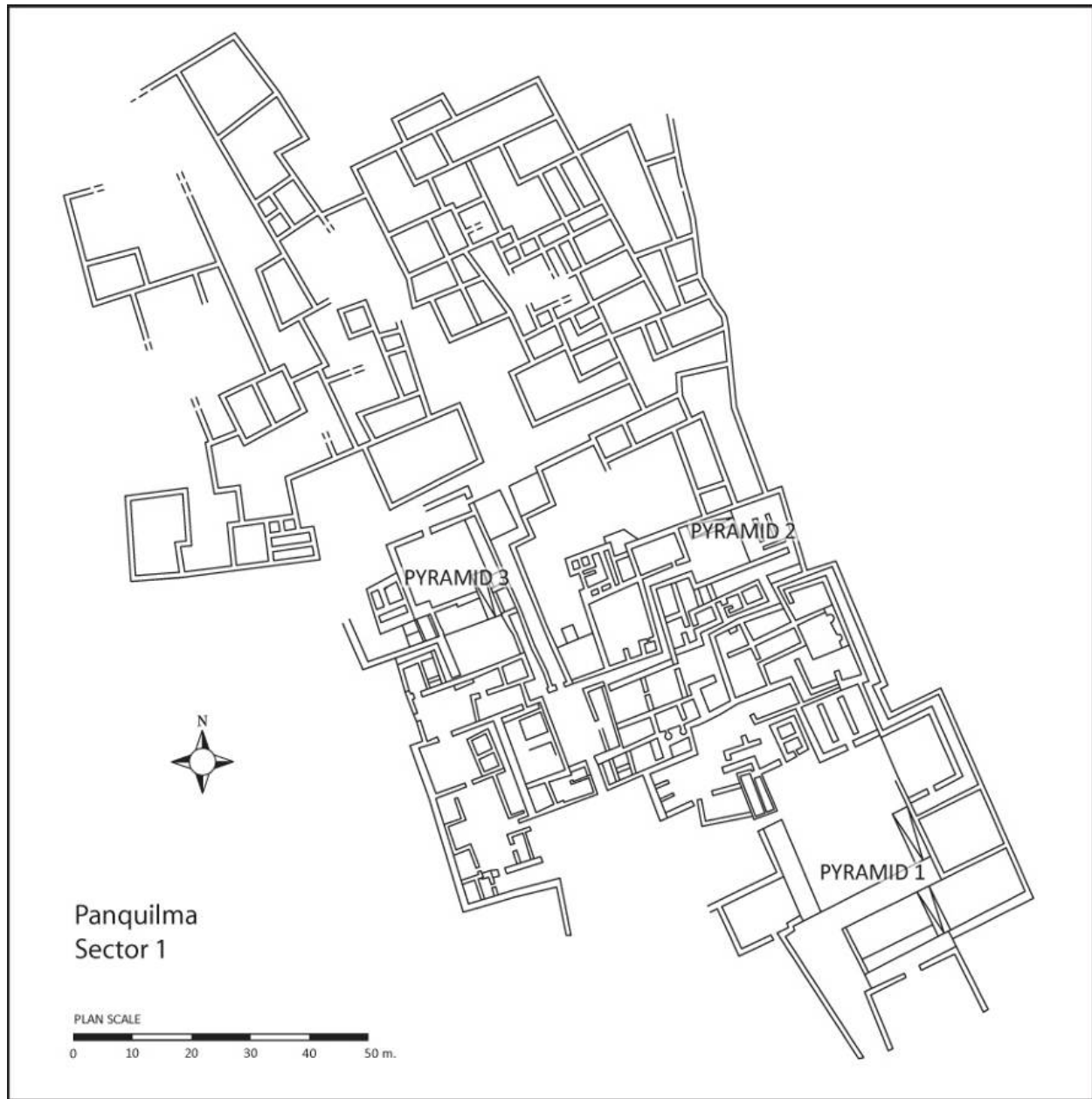


Figure 15. Panquilma's Pyramid Complex*

*adapted from Eeckhout 2003: 162

In fact, one excavation unit located at this sector revealed the foundations of one of the walls that enclosed the south eastern section of the PWR complex. We found that, despite the fact that the head of the wall identified at the surface of the excavation unit was not higher than 30 cm, the foundations of the plastered wall were found almost 2.5 m deeper (See figure 16). The

results of this excavation unit confirm the idea about the importance of ritual space control in Panquilma's organization.



Figure 16. Excavation unit S2-U12 showing southern external wall of Panquilma's pyramidal complex

As I mentioned before the PWR complex at Panquilma is formed by three pyramids with offset ramps. Pyramid 1 is located in the southeastern section of the complex. Pyramid 1 is the biggest public building of the complex and it is composed by a 20x20m walled plaza (See figure 17). The plaza is connected to a main sole platform by an offset ramp that rests over the eastern wall of the plaza. Two lateral parallel benches are located in the platform perpendicular to the axis of the building. As in the case of all PWR in the Lurín valley, rectangular structures, presumably dwellings and storages (Eeckhout 2003) are associated with

the building. Wooden posts in both plaza and platform indicate that both structures were ruffed. Access to the plaza from outside of the building correspond to what Eeckhout (2003: 150) typifies as “central baffled entrance”. This kind of entrance characterizes the pyramids with offset ramps and it consists in an access located directly opposite the central axis of the platform. The main characteristic of baffled entrances however is “a sort of screen that prevents the person from having a direct access from outside” (Eeckhout 2003: 150).



Figure 17. Panquilma's Pyramid 1

Pyramid 2 is the smallest and least preserved building of the public complex at Panquilma. Its plaza is 7x7 m and its main platform length is less than 4 m. It shares, however, all the distinctive architectural features that characterize Pyramids 1 and 2 like an offset ramp,

baffled entrance, lateral parallel benches, and rectangular structures associated with the pyramidal building (See figure 18).



Figure 18. Panquilma's Pyramid 2

Pyramid 3 is located in the northwestern section of the public sector and it is the second biggest building of the complex. Pyramid 3 shares many structural characteristics with Pyramid 1 like a walled plaza (10x12m) with a central baffled entrance. Two rectangular platforms erected over the southern end of the plaza wall crown the building (See figure 19). The plaza and the two platforms are connected by an offset ramp that rests over the eastern wall of the enclosure. Ramps of both Pyramids 1 and 2 share the same general orientation. As in Pyramid 1, two lateral parallel benches are located in the first platform and access to the plaza from outside the building is through a central baffled entrance.



Figure 19. Panquilma's Pyramid 3

Rectangular structures, presumably dwellings connected by corridors are located adjacent to the southern main platform of the building. Associated with these structures there are a number of storages and above-ground funerary structures. These are the best preserved examples of this type of mortuary architecture at the site. Funerary structures here are characterized by a rectangular form, well-kept plaster walls, and offering niches. Some of them showed the presence of steps to access the interior of the structure as well as the remains of cane-made roofs. Human remains in the form of bones scattered by the action of looters were identified in all of these structures. The characteristics recorded in this area of Pyramid 3 allowed to argue for the exclusive mortuary purposes of these rooms (See figure 20).



Figure 20. Funerary architecture in Panquilma's Pyramid 3

Excavations performed in this sector of the site during the 2002-2003 field season revealed that these buildings had a short life and an abrupt end (López-Hurtado 2010a, 2010b, 2010 in press; López-Hurtado and Nesbitt 2010; Marcone and López-Hurtado 2004). The goal of this project was to establish the legal boundaries of the site and to evaluate the impact of a road that crosses the site. For this reason many of the excavation units were placed in the periphery of the site or in the areas where the road had affected archaeological remains. However it was precisely during the excavation of the road's area when we were able to place three excavation units in Sector 1. Two of them in the main platforms of pyramids number one and three, and one in a midden deposited located against the external wall of pyramid number three (See figure 21).

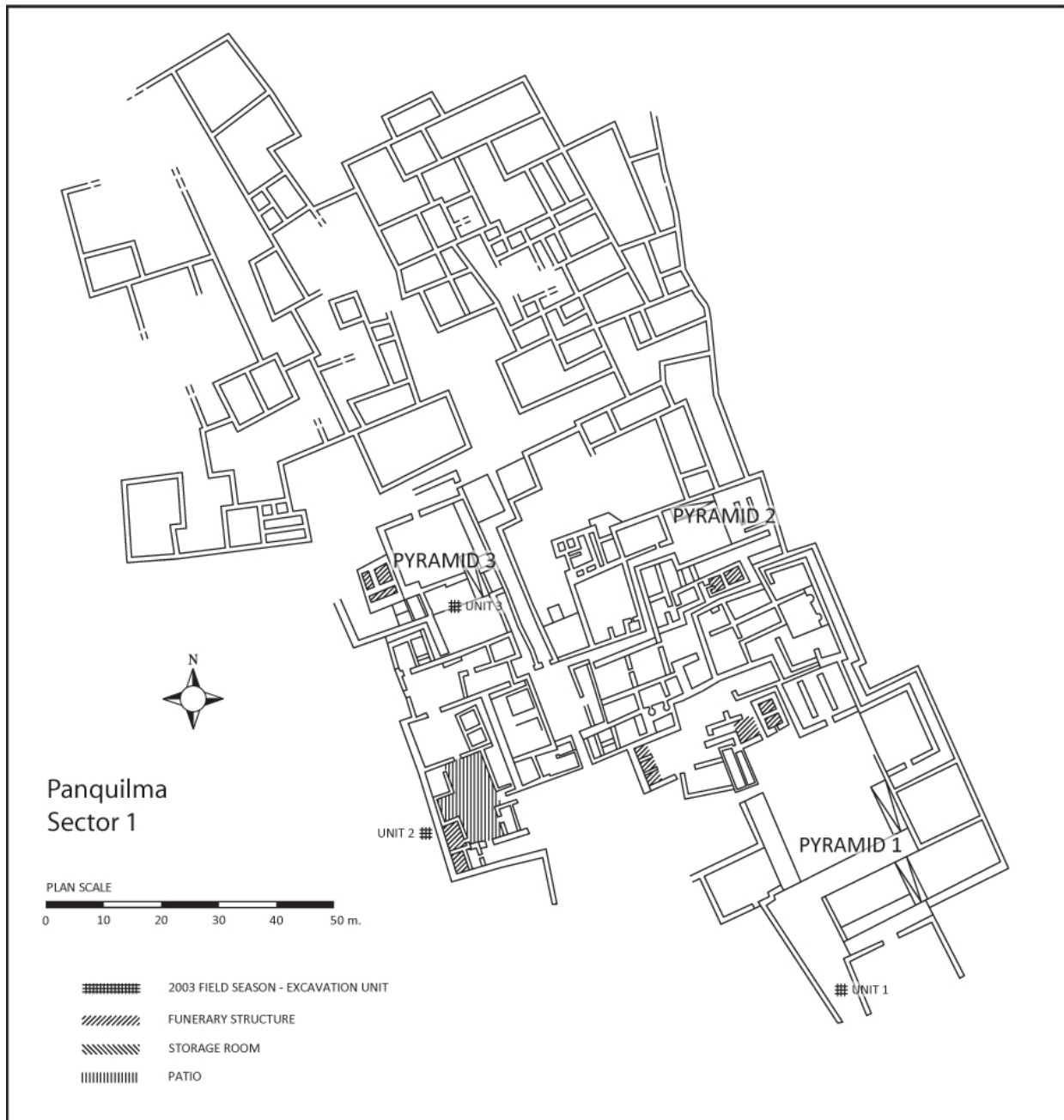


Figure 21. Pyramid Complex showing the location of the 2003 excavation units*

*adapted from Eeckhout 2003: 162

The excavations in the main platforms of the public buildings showed similar and interesting results. Only three remodeling events in an apparently short time in Pyramid 3's platform, and none in Pyramid's number one were pointing towards the relative short life of

these buildings. Also, the amount of material from these excavations was very scarce and the floors registered here were clean (See figure 22).



Figure 22. From left to right: three remodeling events in Pyramid 3 and only one remodeling event in Pyramid 1

As I mentioned, the abandonment of these buildings was abrupt and probably simultaneous. In both platforms we registered similar extensive burning events that occurred immediately before the abandonment of the buildings (See figure 23). These results, along with the presence of fragmentary Inka ceramics excavated from the midden located against the external wall of one of the pyramids and the construction of the isolated buildings of Sector 3 described in the previous chapter were interpreted as the result of the Inka imperial strategy in the area. From this point of view imperial direct intervention over the sites present in the valley, the suppression of the public buildings present at these sites, and the establishment of administrative centers like Huaycan up valley, pointed towards the introduction of a hierarchical order in the region (López-Hurtado and Nesbitt 2010). I argue that it is during this new organization of the valley that the site of Pachacamac acquired new political and religious dimensions.



Figure 23. From left to right intense burning events in Pyramids 3 and 1 main platforms

In addition, no surface indicators of midden deposits were registered in the main patios and platforms of any of these three buildings. In fact, as I will explain in the following section of this chapter, evidence collected during the excavations of two of these buildings (Pyramids 1 and 3) during the field seasons of 2002-2003 and 2008 respectively indicate that the floors of the main patios and platforms were mostly clean. This evidence in conjunction with the presence of restricted baffled entrances to the pyramid's main patio suggest that, in contrast to the PWRs of Pachacamac, the activities carried out in the main plazas and platforms of the Panquilma's pyramids did not include the massive consumption of food and beverages. In addition the presence of above the ground funerary structures was not associated with the pyramids' plazas, but with the elite residences located in restricted areas of these buildings. It is precisely only in this area where the presence of intense midden deposits were registered during both the 2002-2003 and 2008 seasons at the site.

4.3 CONTEXTUAL INFORMATION REGISTERED AT SECTOR 1

As a part of the sampling program carried out at the site during the present study, five 2x2 m excavation units were randomly located in Sector 1. The objective of these excavations was to address variations in artifact proportions between sectors at the site as well as variations during the different phases of occupation of the site and also to record relevant contextual information. These changes in the artifact proportions between sectors and during the different occupation phases was combined with important contextual information registered during the excavations to reconstruct the prominence of different sorts of activities, and the connections of these activities to the nature of social hierarchy. In this sense, contextual, architectural and proportional data was used in a complementary way in order to elucidate differences in the use of the different areas of the pyramid complexes as well as the characteristics of the most important activities carried out at these buildings. In especial, differences between the activities carried out in the domestic and public areas of Sector 1.

These five excavation units provided important contextual information about the activities carried on at this sector. Units S1-U13 and S1-U98 were located at Pyramid 1. These excavation units were located in the upper platform and main plaza of the building respectively. The areas excavated in these units corresponded to the public components of the building. Unit S1-U10 was located next to the external southern wall of Pyramid 2. The area excavated in this case corresponded to the residential occupation of Pyramid 2. Finally, units S1-U99 and S1-U12 were located in the walled causeway that encloses Sector 1 (See figure 24). In the case of unit S1-U99, it was located in the area of the causeway that connected Pyramid Complexes 1 and 2. This area corresponded to the space inside the public sector that was common to the residents of both pyramid complexes. In the case of S1-U12, it was located in the peripheral area of Pyramid

Complex 1. This area represented the border between Sector 1 and Sector 3 in the eastern border of Panquilma's public sector.

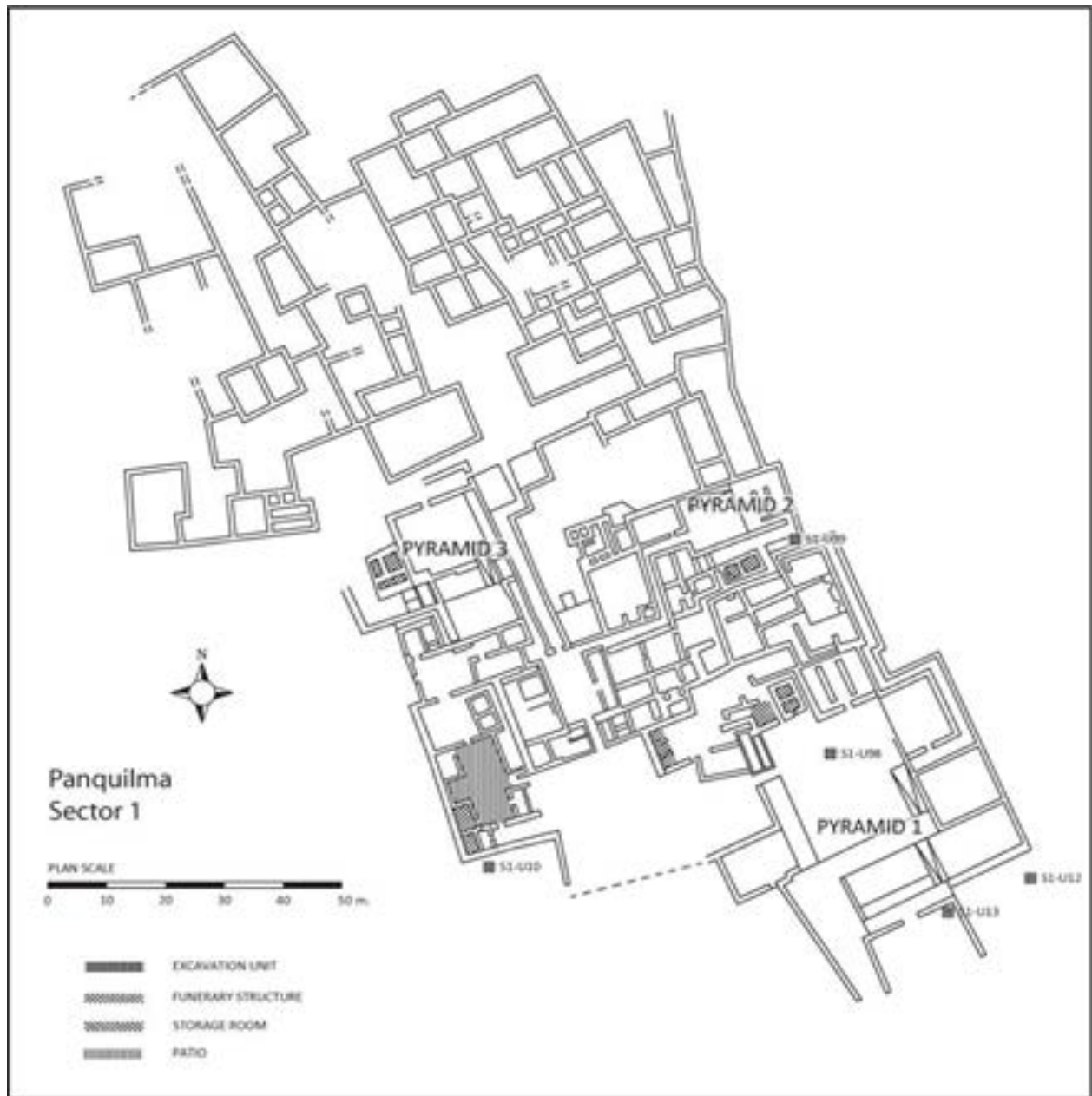


Figure 24. Pyramid Complex showing the location of the 2008 excavation units*

*adapted from Eeckhout 2003: 162

4.3.1 Excavation unit S1-U13

This excavation unit was located in the southeastern corner of the upper platform of Pyramid 1. Excavations here confirmed the 2002-2003 results about the short life and abrupt end of these buildings. Under the abandonment layer composed by the rubble of the upper wall of the building, we found the collapsed burned remains of the structure's roof. The platform's roof was composed of layers of cane and rope intertwined and covered with mud plaster. The sturdy consistence of the roof's remains suggests that it was a permanent structural feature of the platform (See figure 25).



Figure 25. Burned remains of the pyramid's roof

Under the roof's remains we found a well-made mud floor. The floor was very clean without the presence of any kind of artifacts and it showed intense burned traces produced by the

collapse of the roof when it was burned. Associated with the floor we registered a bench located in the southern edge of the excavation unit. The bench and the walls that surrounded it were well plastered. We didn't identify any remodeling event associated with the floor or bench. As well as in the case of the platform's floor, both the bench and the walls surrounding it showed intense burn traces (See figure 26).



Figure 26. Extensive burning event in the main platform of Pyramid 1

Under the floor we found a fill layer that was made to support it. The floor's fill was composed of compacted dirt and stones without cultural material. This layer was directly on top of the constructive fill of the building indicating that the only one floor was made and used during the life of the building. The constructive fill layer was composed by loose sandy soil mixed with medium and big rocks. We found that cultural material like ceramic sherds were used as a part of the constructive fill. The sherds used as part of the constructive fill were mainly

fragments from domestic vessels like pots, and most of them exhibited traces of use indicating that there were discarded after being used. Of the few diagnostic sherds recovered from the constructive fill all of them correspond to the Late Ychsma phase without the presence of Inka-style fragments.

To test if there was any change in the constructive fill that can indicate another constructive phase of the building, we decided to explore the depth of this layer excavating artificial levels of 20 cm. After excavating 1 m without finding any stratigraphic change that could indicate a different constructive phase of the building we decided to stop the excavation of this unit.

4.3.2 Excavation unit S1-U98

Unit S1-98 was located in the plaza of Pyramid 1 and it revealed an intense, but short, use of the Pyramid's plaza. After removing almost 2 m of wind-carried dirt deposition, we registered a succession of six mud floors very well prepared and kept. The floors were separated by thin fill layers of dirt indicating a short period of time between the uses of each of them. This characteristic also indicates that this area of the pyramid received a constant maintenance process. The six floors excavated in this unit showed a number of small (approximate 30 cm in diameter), irregular, shallow holes not deeper than 30 cm. In each of the six floors, these holes were located without following any apparent pattern. In fact, sometimes holes that were made on previous floors are intersected and even disrupted by the ones made on the following floor (See figure.27).



Figure 27. Offering wholes caved in the floor of Pyramid 1' main floor

The floors registered in this unit were relatively clean, some of the holes however showed different kinds of remains. Aside from fragmentary ceramics, some of them, like holes 18, 13, and 9 located in the floor registered as layer 7, showed small amounts of botanical remains like maize cobs (*Zea mays*) and cotton (*Gossypium barbadense*). In some others like holes 11 and 16, we found a variety of malacologic remains like *Mezodesma donassium* and *Oliva peruviana*. Small artifacts were also buried in these holes such as personal adornment items including metal. However, the most diagnostic findings recovered from these holes were four *Spondylus* valves and one anthropomorphic figurine recovered from hole 7 registered in floor 4, and hole 5 registered in floor 6 respectively (See figure 28).



Figure 28. Anthropomorphic figurine and two *Spondylus* valves from Pyramid 1's plaza

4.3.3 Excavation unit S1-U10

This unit was located adjacent to the exterior face of the southwestern wall of Pyramid 2. This section of Pyramid 2 coincided with the residential area of the pyramid complex. The profile of this unit shows two distinct occupation phases. The last one is characterized by a dense deposition of trash associated with activities carried out by the residents of Pyramid 2 in their domestic areas. This deposition coincided with the peak in the use of the pyramid complex. The first occupation phase is characterized by a much less intense domestic refuse deposition produced before the peak in the use of Pyramid 2 (See figure 29). Data recovered from this excavation unit was used to define and characterize the two occupational phases registered at the site.



Figure 29. Excavation unit S1-U10's northern profile showing two occupational episodes

The midden deposits registered for the last occupation phase were a 1 m in depth in the excavation unit's profile showing an intense and continued deposition of discarded natural and cultural remains. The most numerous type of cultural remains recovered for this phase was ceramic fragments. However a vast array of other cultural and natural materials such as botanical, malacological, and faunal remains, along with artifacts made of wood, bone, stone and other materials were also registered. The following layers excavated here correspond to the first phase registered, before the midden formation in this unit, also showed a wide array of materials that came from a domestic context. The difference in the intensity of the deposition of these materials is very noticeable. For example the total weight of ceramic sherds collected during the excavation of the second phase weight 41,175 g. This situation changes noticeably during for the first phase where the total weight of ceramic fragments recovered drops to 7,720 g. The materials

registered during the excavation of this unit will be treated in detail in the section about the recovered material of Sector 1.

4.3.4 Excavation unit S1-U99

This unit is located in the causeway that separates Pyramid 2' areas in Sector 1 from the household compounds that characterize Sector 2, at approximately 20 m east from Pyramid 2's main plaza. As in the case of S1-U10 we also registered two occupation phases in this excavation unit. The last occupation phase was related with the use and maintenance of the walled corridor that separates Sector 1 from Sector 2. Here we registered a well-made mud floor that showed the absence of traces of frequent use indicating that transit on this corridor was somehow restricted. Part of the maintenance works that we registered in this unit was the construction of a stone-made channel that runs parallel to the corridor at the same level of the floor. Buried under the floor next to the channel we found an offering composed of ceramic sherds, coca leaves and diverse botanical remains placed together there as a propitiatory offering for the channel maintenance.

We also found an inhaling tablet associated with the offering described. Excepting for the coca leaves, the quotidian characteristics of the materials that composed the offering, like plain sherds, indicates that the channel's maintenance was a common practice that entitled the performance of certain type of ritual. This practice was probably related with the mudslides registered in Sector 3. The first phase registered in this unit showed a decrease in the amount of materials recovered. This phase was found below the structure's foundations indicating that it pre-dated the construction of at least this part of the pyramidal complex (See figure 30).



Figure 30. Left: channel maintenance. Right: inhaling tablet found in the channel.

4.3.5 Excavation unit S1-U12

This unit was located in the peripheral wall that encloses the northern section, behind the main platform of Pyramid 1. As I mentioned before the most interesting thing registered here was an over 2 m high wall that indicates that the pyramid complexes were isolated from the domestic sector. This wall was covered by alluvial sediments but showed no traces of being remodeled; indicating that after the abandonment of the site this part of Sector 1 was exposed to mud slides during the rainy years. We excavated until we identified the foundations of the wall at 2.5 m depth. In the case of this wall the foundations were placed right over the sterile soil.

4.4 THE RECOVERED MATERIALS FROM SECTOR 1

In order to accurately reconstruct the proportional differences between the different kinds of artifacts in each of the occupational phases of Sector 1, I compared patterns obtained from two distinct areas of Panquilma's pyramid sector: 1) Pyramid 3's residential area and 2) the main plaza of Pyramid 1. Patterns in the proportions of artifacts and ecofacts present in the residential area were characterized using the materials recovered from excavation unit S1-U10. This excavation unit was characterized by the presence of an intense midden deposit in the upper layers of this unit followed by deeper layers composed of normal domestic refuse. Material from this unit offered the opportunity to compare artifact assemblage variation between these two very clear and different occupational phases in the areas where the ruling elite resided.

The second area of the pyramid sector characterized by the proportional analysis of the excavated materials was the main plaza of Pyramid 1. As I mentioned early in this chapter, excavation unit S1-U98 located in Pyramid 1' main plaza revealed this area as the scenario for the performance of ritual activities. The proportional analysis of the materials recovered here was destined to characterize these rituals and overall to provide of proportional patterns that could be compared with the ones obtained in the residential area.

4.4.1 Ceramics

As mentioned before, the analysis of the ceramic remains recovered at Panquilma is the most important line of evidence of this study. Ceramics composed by far the most numerous archaeological materials recovered during the study of Panquilma. In Sector 1 we recovered a total of 1,137 diagnostic sherds of which 937 correspond to LYA and LYB phases in the Díaz

and Vallejo (2004) typologies and 29 to Inka-style fragments. Although Inka-style fragments were present in the two occupation phases identified at Sector 1, the big proportional differences between local and Inka-style materials (see below) indicates that the primary occupation of the sector and the activities that this study identified correspond primarily to Ychsma social dynamics.

In order to identify the prevalence of certain activities and the role that these activities had in the development of social hierarchy at Sector1, this study compared changes in the proportional presence of costly elaborated pottery between the two phases recorded at the site that could indicate an economic based-system (Hirth 1993; Lightfoot and Feinman 1982).

To identify the presence of specific types of costly artifacts among the ceramic sample from the sector we used the following indicators:

1. Finish. In terms of the fragment's finish, seven different finishes were identified in the sample: finish 1 ("alisado burdo"), finish 2 ("alisado fino"), finish 3 ("alisado burdo con estrias), finish 4 ("alisado regular con estrias"), finish 5 ("bruñido), finish 6 ("pulido"), and finish 7 ("engobe"). We selected finish 2, finish 5, and finish 6 as indicators of costly ceramic artifacts.

Despite differences in terminology and in the periodization of the Late Ychsma phase, there is a consensus among scholars working in the area about the different types of finishes that characterize Late Ychsma vessels (Vallejo 2004, Feltham and Eeckhout 2004, Makowski and Vega Centeno 2004, Diaz and Vallejo 2002). In this sense, Late Ychsma utilitarian, and the great majority of serving vessels, are usually finished using light "engobe" paint, or a rough and uneven "alisado". These types of finishes, "engobe" in particular, are associated to the mass production of serving vessels, especially open plates and headjars. On the other hand, the types of finishes selected in the present study as an indicator of costly, or special, ceramic artifacts are

associated mostly to special types of vessels like miniatures and polished carenated bowls. Miniatures and polished bowls are also characterized by been made using dark uncommon pastes.

2. Paste. In terms of the fragment's paste, seven different pastes were identified in the sample: paste A (orange with medium inclusions and medium grain), paste B (dark orange with fine inclusions and fine grain), paste C (light grey with fine inclusions and fine grain), paste D (Brown with thick inclusions and medium grain), paste E (light orange with fine inclusions and fine grain), paste F (dark grey with medium inclusions and medium grain), and G (Yellow with medium inclusions and medium grain). We selected paste B, paste C, paste E, and paste F as indicators of costly ceramic artifacts.

As in the case of vessel finish, the different kinds of pastes used in the elaboration of utilitarian and serving Late Ychsma ware have been identify in the literature. Pastes were made out of clay obtained from three surrounding eco-zones (Vallejo 2004: 599). Coastal clays produced medium grain orange and yellow pastes used mainly in the elaboration of headjars and open plates. Brook and hillside clays produced dark brown medium grain pastes used mainly in the elaboration of olla vessels. Coastal clays were also used to produce a fine-grained, light orange paste used in the elaboration of special polished vessels like carenated bowls. Other especial types of vessels like miniatures were made using uncommon black and gray fine-grained pastes.

Decoration was not taken into consideration because during this period, regardless of how special they were, most of the ceramic types are decorated. In the sample recovered from the site even cooking pots with traces of use exhibited some kind of decoration. The same can be said about jars that are usually decorated applying a red painted line. The wide distribution of

decorated fragments among all formal categories present in the sample make it pointless to compare the proportion of decorated vs. not decorated fragments as an indicator of economic prevalence.

This study also addressed proportional differences in the presence of specific types of ceramic artifacts appropriate for feasting activities that could indicate internal political competition for prestige among elite factions (Clark and Blake 1994; Feinman, Kowaleswki and Blanton 1984; Hastorf 1991, 1993; Vaughn 2004). The artifacts selected as indicators of feasting activities and intra-communal political competition is serving vessels, and foreign vessels. It is worth to mention here that even before archaeologists focus their attention in the identification of feasting; it was widely recognize that elites tend to have more serving vessels than commoners (Adams 1982). They are belief to eat more formally and serve more guests. This is the reason why, in order to avoid an oversimplified approach to these materials, the proportional presence of serving vessels obtained during this study were always interpreted in relation to contextual and architectural evidence. The goal of this analysis was to use these three lines of evidence in order to identify the performance of banquets in particular areas of the public sector. Even more important, it was aimed to address the nature of these feasts in terms of their relation with the development of hierarchical relations in the community. The indicators used to identify these specific types of feasting-related ceramic artifacts were:

1. Form. 13 different forms were identified in the sample: form 1 (“olla”), form 2 (jar), form 3 (open plate), form 4 (deep plate), form 5 (cup), form 6 (bowl), form 7 (miniature bowl), form 8 (“jarron”), form 9 (figurine), form 10 (“piruro”), form 11 (miniature jar), form 12 (bottle), and form 13 (decorated jar). In order to identify the presence of serving vessels, from the 13 formal categories present in the sample, the following where selected: decorated jars or headjars

(form 13), open plate (form 3), deep plate (form 4), cup (form 5), bowl (form 6), and bottle (form 12).

2. Style: In the case of exotic artifacts, Inka-style artifacts were considered not as an absolute chronological indicator, but as an indicator of prestige-based political competition.

4.4.1.1 Pyramid 3' residential area

4.4.1.1.1 Changes in the proportional presence of costly artifacts between Phase I and Phase II

As it is possible to observe (See figure 31) there is a noticeable and significant increase of costly ceramic fragments between Phase I and Phase II. During Phase I, the proportion of fine-paste fragments at a 95% confidence level was determined to be $9.6\% \pm 3.13\%$. This situation changed drastically during Phase II (midden deposit) when at a 95% confidence level we found that $23.6\% \pm 3.13\%$ of the fragments in the sample corresponded to fine-paste vessels.

These results were consistent with the ones obtained using fine vessel finish as an indicator of costly artifacts. In this case during pre-midden Phase I we found that at a 95% confidence level only $11.8\% \pm 5.8\%$ of the fragments received a special finish. In contrast, during Phase II, again at a 95% confidence level, $24\% \pm 3.1\%$ of the fragments exhibited a special finish.

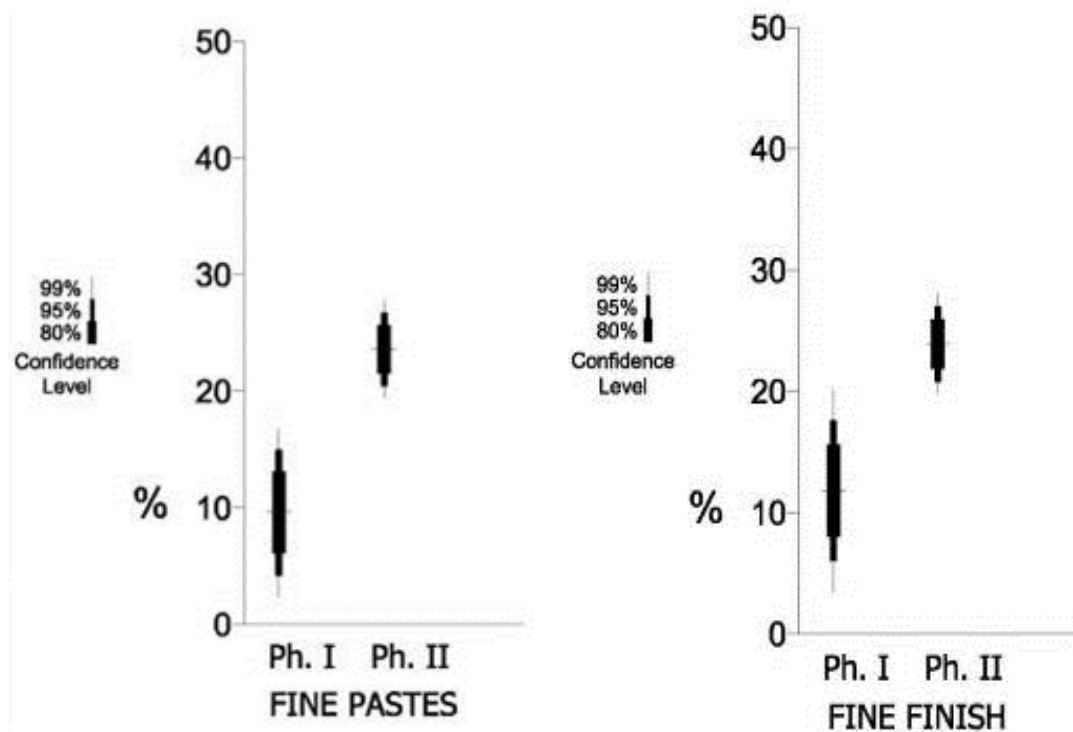


Figure 31. Propotional difference of costly ceramic artifacts between Phases I and II

The most representative ceramic types representing costly artifacts in the sample are mineatures and polished black-paste plates (See figure 32).

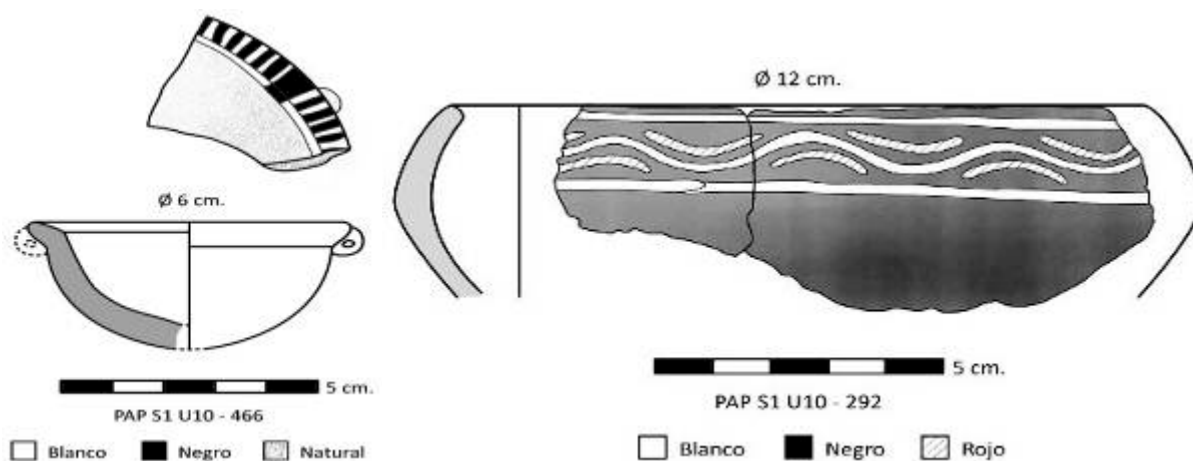


Figure 32. Most representative types of costly ceramic artifacts

These results indicate that there was an important increase in the proportional presence of costly artifacts between Phase I and Phase II in the residential area of the pyramids' sector. In addition, architectural and stratigraphic evidence indicate that the higher proportions of fine-pasted and fine-finished ceramic vessels recorded during Phase II was accompanied by the construction of big storage facilities and drying terraces in the residential areas of the pyramid complexes. Based on this pattern in which the presence of different economic indicators increased in this area during Phase II, it is possible to say that the accumulation of wealth become one important factor in the social dynamics of the residents of this sector of the site.

4.4.1.1.2 Changes in the proportional relationship between costly ceramic artifacts and serving vessels between Phase I and Phase II

The noticeable increase in the proportions of costly ceramics between phases 1 and 2 was accompanied by an even higher proportional increase in the presence of serving vessels. As we can see in figure 23, during Phase I there is not a significant difference between the proportions of costly ceramics and serving vessels. The proportion of serving vessels during Phase I at a 95% confidence level was $12.2\% \pm 9.2\%$. Very close to the proportional values of costly ceramics obtained in the same occupational phase using fine-paste sherds (95% confidence level, $9.6\% \pm 3.13\%$), and fine-finish fragments (95% confidence level, $11.8\% \pm 5.8\%$).

It is worth to mention that given the characteristics of the Late Ychsma ceramic assemblage, the overlap between these two categories (serving vessels vs. costly artifacts) is minimal. Serving and utilitarian vessels were mostly made using common pastes and didn't receive any special finish. However, despite the minimal overlap between these two categories,

in order to accurately compare the proportional differences between costly artifacts identified based on paste and finish vs. serving wares identified based on vessel form, in the few cases when serving forms were made of fine pastes or received special finish we removed these cases from this sample and were counted as costly artifacts.

This equal relationship between costly ceramic artifacts and serving vessels observed in Phase I changed noticeably during Phase II. In this phase, as it can be seen in figures 24 and 25, despite the recorded proportional increase of costly ceramics, there is an even higher proportions of serving vessels. In this sense, during Phase II, at a 95% confidence level $49.2\% \pm 5.2\%$ of the sample recovered from the midden corresponded to serving vessels. This value is considerably higher than the ones recorded for this phase using fine-paste (95% confidence level, $23.6\% \pm 3.13\%$), and fine-finish (95% confidence level, $24\% \pm 3.1\%$) ceramic fragments as indicators of costly ceramics (See figure 33).

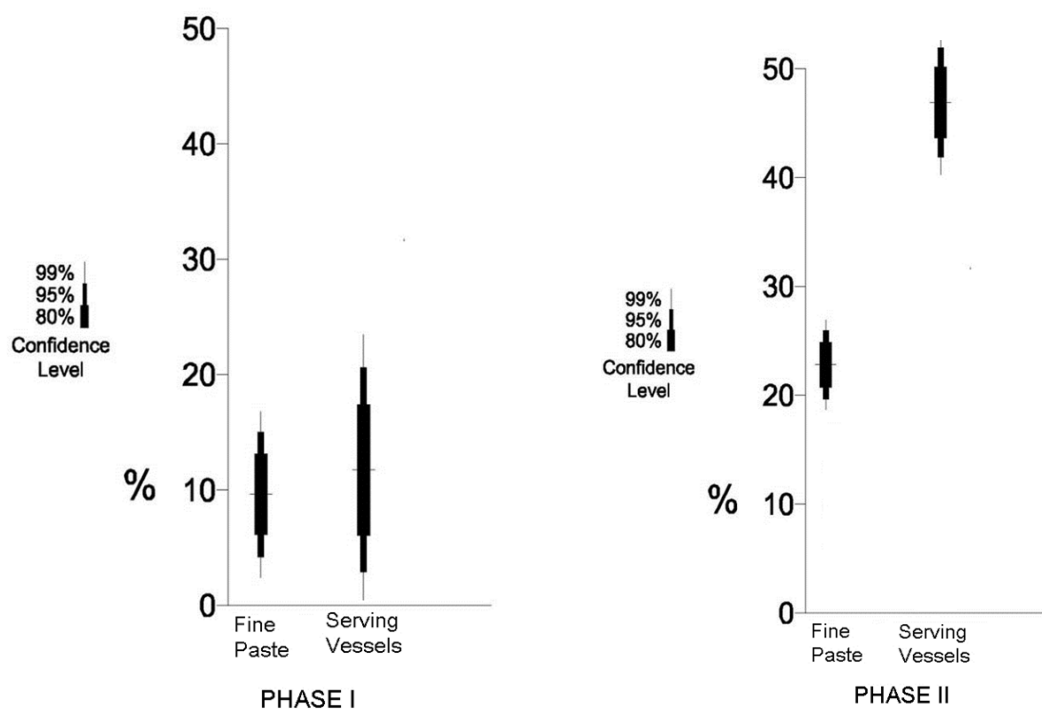


Figure 33. Proportional relationship between costly ceramics and serving vessels

The most representative type of serving vessel in the sample is the headjar (See figure 34)

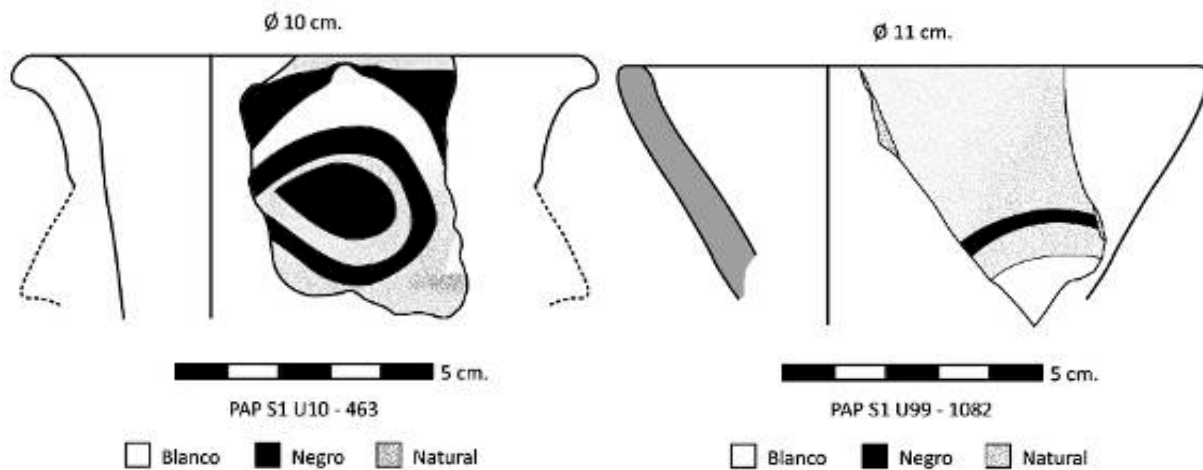


Figure 34. Headjar vessels excavated from midden in excavation unit S2-U10

These results are indicating a pattern in which during Phase I there is not a significant proportional difference between costly ceramic artifacts and servings vessels. This relationship changes noticeably during Phase II when despite the increase of costly ceramics, serving vessels appear in a much higher proportion. The results obtained from the residential area of Pyramid 3 (S1-U10) show that, during Phase II the relationship between costly and serving vessels is characterized by a much higher proportion of serving wares in the sample.

As I mentioned before, the proportional increment of costly ceramics along with the construction of bigger storage facilities and drying terraces in the residential areas of the pyramid complexes indicates that the accumulation of wealth constituted an important factor in the social dynamics of the residents of Sector 1. However, changes in the relationship between costly ceramics and serving vessels during Phase II in which, despite the increase of costly artifacts, serving vessels appear in a much higher proportion indicate that the intense performance of feasting activities constituted also a very important activity in this area of the pyramid sector.

4.4.1.1.3 Changes in the proportional presence of prestigious foreign Inka ceramics between Phase I and Phase II

In terms of the presence of exotic vessels, in this case Inka-style fragments, we found that during Phase I, at a 95% level of confidence, only $0.9\% \pm 1.23\%$ of the fragments in the sample were Inka. This situation changed during Phase II when, at a 95% level of confidence, we identified that $4.6\% \pm 1.8\%$ of the fragments were Inka (See figure 35).

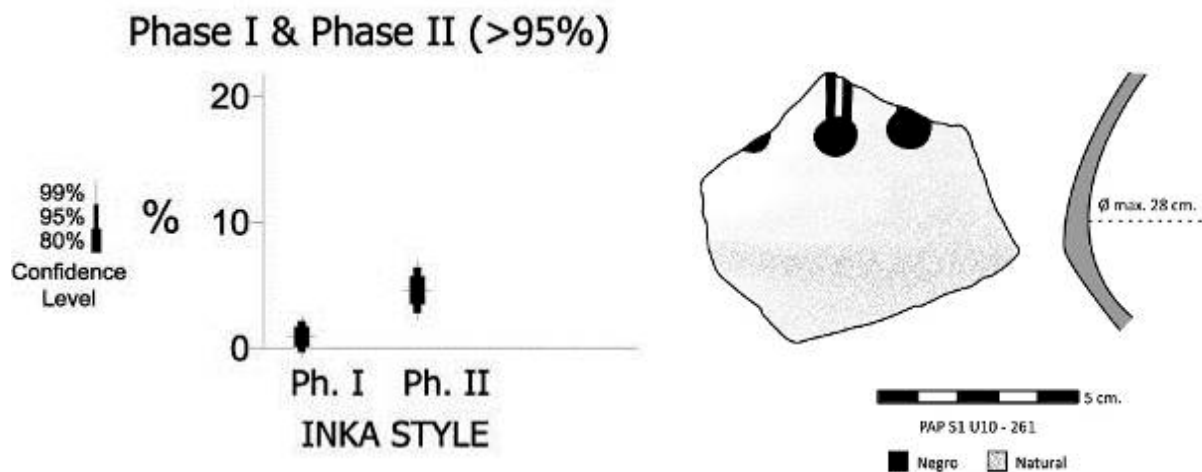


Figure 35. Proportional precense of foreign Inka ceramics and most representative styles

These results are indicating that, although small, there is an increase in the proportional presence of Inka style fragments between Phase I and the peak in the use of this area during Phase II. This is signaling that although reduced the display of Inka style ceramics as indicators of prestige was present during these banquets. Given the scarcity of Inka materials the sample it was very difficult to recognize the prevalence of particular vessel forms. Among the recognized forms we have bowls and jars.

Architectural evidence indicates also the presence of a big open patio common to the residential areas of both Pyramid 3 and Pyramid 1. Given the proximity of this patio to the

location of the excavated midden deposit it is very possible that this shared open area was the focus of the banquets indicated by the proportional analysis of this excavation unit (See figure 36).

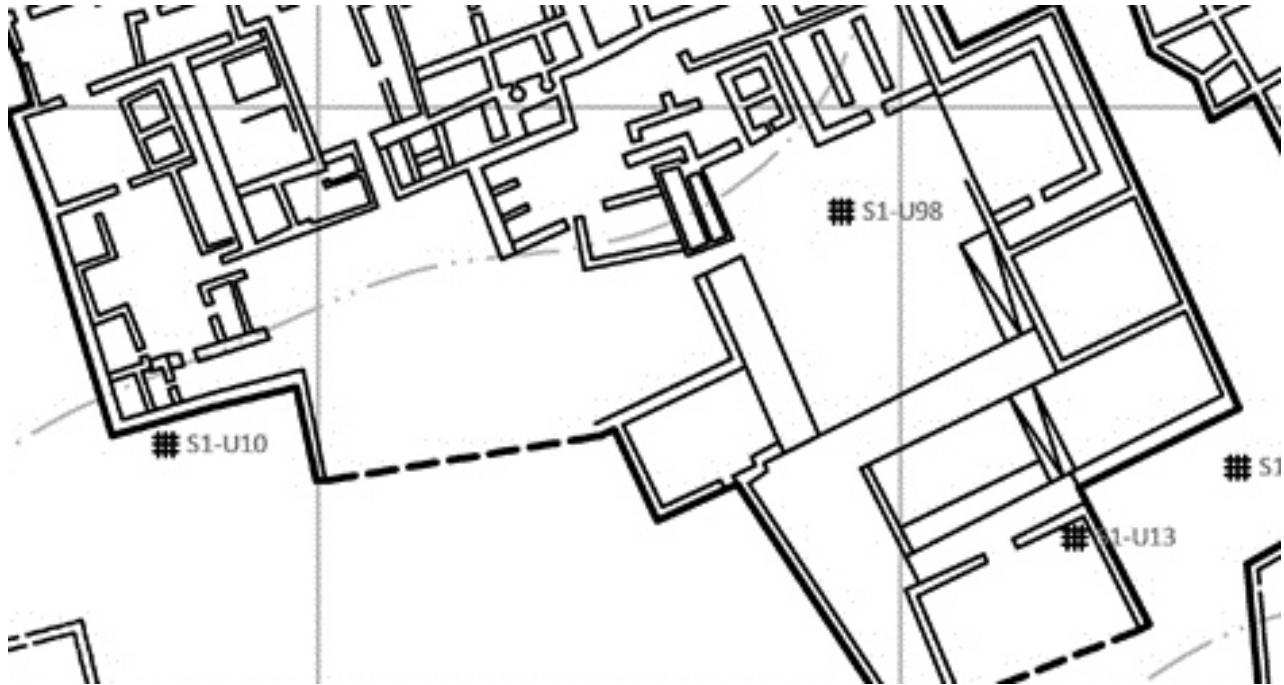


Figure 36. Open patio in between the residential areas of Pyramids 1 and 3

4.4.1.2 Pyramid 1's main plaza

4.4.1.2.1 Proportional relationship between costly ceramic artifacts and serving vessels

As I mentioned before, in the main plaza of Pyramid 1 the excavation of S1-U18 revealed the succession of eight consecutive floors. The comparison of the stratigraphical information recorded in the excavation units located in the pyramids' sector indicates that, as in the case of the midden deposit of the residential area, the use of the plaza's floors corresponded to occupation Phase II. As in the case of the pyramid's platform, the plaza's floors were mainly clean without evidence for the massive consumption of food and beverages. Instead, a number

of holes were dug in the plaza's floor where small offerings were placed inside. These offering features were mainly composed by costly items like metal artifacts and *Spondylus* valves, but also contained abundant ceramic fragmentary. Based on this contextual evidence I argued before in the chapter that the activities registered in Pyramid 1's plaza were pre-eminently ritualistic, and that no evidences of feasting activities were registered. The results of the proportional analysis of the fragments recovered from these features not only corroborate this argument, but also add an interesting economic component to the rituals performed in this area of the building.

In excavation unit S1-U98 located in the pyramid's plaza, the proportional relationship between costly ceramic artifacts and serving vessels observed in the midden deposit of Pyramid 3's residential was not observed. It is worth to mention that despite the fact that these two deposits are different in nature and can't be statistically compared, one is a midden deposit and the other is a number of offering features, the different patterns obtained in these two deposits along with architectural and contextual evidence provided a point reference to address the different activities carried out at these two areas of Sector 1.

As it is possible to see in figure 37, in Pyramid 1's plaza occupied during Phase II costly ceramics appear in a considerably higher proportion than serving vessels. These results are very different than the one recorded in the midden deposit (95% level of confidence, $24\% \pm 3.1\%$ of fine-finish ceramics vs. $49.2\% \pm 5.2\%$ of serving vessels). In contrast, at a 95% confidence level, the proportion of costly fine finished artifacts recorded in the main plaza of Pyramid 1 is $27.5\% \pm 8.3\%$, while the proportion of serving vessels is only $16\% \pm 8.8\%$. In addition, the presence of the finest types of paste (paste G) and finish (finish 6) from the whole sector's sample was registered here.

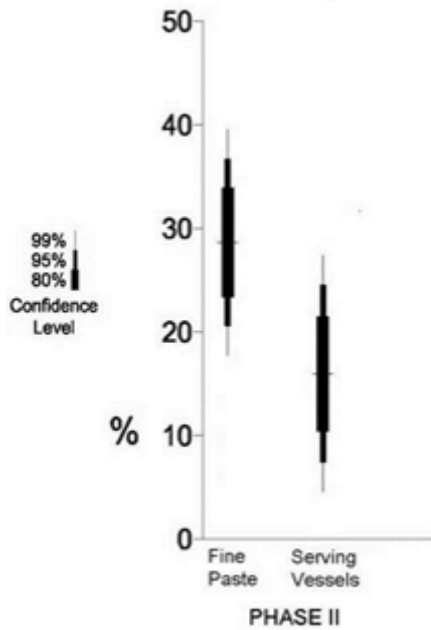


Figure 37. Relationship between fine-paste vessels and serving ware in Pyramid 1

This relationship between costly ceramics and serving vessels indicates that, as signaled by previously presented architectural and contextual information, the activities carried out at the main plazas and residential areas of the pyramidal complex of Panquilma were very different in nature. In this sense, feasting activities constituted the most important factor in the social dynamics in the residential areas of the public buildings. The performance of ritual activities at the Pyramids' main plaza did not involve the mass consumption of food and beverages but instead the offering of diverse goods deliberately placed in small holes dug up in the Plaza's pyramid. Among these goods we identify costly items such as complete *Spondylus* valves and metal laminas.

Architectural evidence indicates that these rituals were presided over and access to them from the adjacent household compounds was controlled by members of the ruling elite. As it is possible to see in figure 28, access to Pyramid 1's main plaza and upper platforms was unrestricted from the residential areas of the public buildings. The same evidence also indicates

that access to the pyramids' plazas from the adjacent household compounds was restricted by a system of tortuous high walled causeways and baffled entrances. Given the size of the plazas and the obstacles that the attendees had to pass through to get to this ritual space, it is very possible that only selected members of the household compounds of the domestic sector were able to participate of these ceremonies (See figure 38).



Figure 38. Pyramid 1 separated by a walled causeway from the households

4.4.2 Special finds

Some of the special finds recovered in the public sector of Panquilma were presented as part of the contextual information registered in the different excavation units described above. In this section of the chapter I complement this information presenting a comprehensive account of the distribution of these artifacts in the different areas of the pyramid complex. Emphasis will be placed in the relationship between the nature of these artifacts and the area, residential or public, areas of the pyramid complex activities identified in the different areas of Sector 1.

One item of personal adornment was recovered in the residential area of Pyramid 3 (S1-U10, midden deposit), during the second occupational phase. It consists of a wooden hair adornment. Some authors have suggested that the prevalence of items of personal adornment among elite groups is evidence of competition for social prestige (Vaughn 2004). In this case it is interesting that the finding of this hair adornment coincided with patterns of higher proportions of serving vessels and maize cobs that registered in the same excavation unit (See figure 39). In addition and contrary to what was found in the public areas of the pyramid complex, no religious paraphernalia were registered in the pyramid's residences.



Figure 39. Hair adornment found in excavation unit S2-U10

As I mentioned, we found that artifacts recognized in the literature of the region as religious paraphernalia were only present in the public areas of the pyramid complex. In other words we only found religious items in areas of the pyramid complex where there was interaction between residents of both the pyramids and the household compounds.

In this sense, in S1-U13 in the Pyramid 1 main platform, we found a worked bone ornament (See figure 40). This artifact was found along with the reused materials that formed the constructive fill of Pyramid 1 during the second occupational phase of Sector 1. Although there is no contextual evidence that supports the ritual interpretation of this artifact, similar bone artifacts have been reported by Eeckhout (2003: 163-164) at Pachacamac in ritual contexts in the main Plaza of a Pyramid with Offset Ramp. In this building Eeckhout reported the presence of similar bone artifacts, sacrificed animals, and miniature textiles around the remains of posts holes that probably supported wooden idols.



Figure 40. Bone-made artifact found in the main platform of Pyramid 1

The highest concentration of ritual-related items was registered at the main plaza of Pyramid 1 in the excavation unit S1-U98. As I mentioned above, in this unit we registered a sequence of eight consecutive floors in which different kinds of offerings were deposited in small holes dug in the floors. The most notable of these offerings were four complete *Spondylus* valves. Here we also found a broken female figurine deposited in one of the holes. *Spondylus* valves and figurines have been identified in the literature as a component of the religious paraphernalia of the LIP and LH periods (Eeckhout 2004, Diaz and Vallejo 2005, Makowski).

Finally, in S1-U99, an excavation unit located outside the pyramid buildings in a walled causeway and water channel that divides the public and domestic sectors, we found remains of coca leaves buried at the foundations of the causeway. The use of coca leaves have been recognized in archaeological, ethnohistoric, and ethnographic works as an important component of ritual practices in the Andean region (Allen 1988). In the same context we also found a wooden inhaling tablet, probably used for the ritual consumption of hallucigenetic substances. We interpreted this finding as a part of a propitiatory offering related with the construction or maintenance of the wall and channel. Propitiatory offerings associated with architectural changes are not uncommon at all in the Andean region. However, it is important to notice that in the case of Panquilma's public sector these ritual practices were not confined to the pyramid complexes' main plazas but also took place in more common spaces. It is interesting to note also that no ritual paraphernalia was found in the midden deposit excavated in the residential area of Pyramid 3 (S1-U10).

4.5 CONCLUSIONS

Evidence collected in Sector 1 indicates that at least the two biggest pyramids of the site (Pyramids 1 and 3) were heavily used during the last occupational phase at the site (Phase II). Contextual evidence collected during the 2003 and 2008 seasons indicate that both Pyramids 1 and 3 had a short life and an abrupt end. In this sense, only three short remodeling events were registered in 2003 at Pyramid 3, while only one was registered in Pyramid 1. As for the abandonment of these buildings, intense burns were identified in the platforms of these buildings immediately below the abandonment layer which also coincided with the abandonment of the site.

Evidence of the abrupt end of these buildings contrasts with the information registered by Eeckhout in Pachacamac (2004). Eeckhout proposes a dynastic succession in the construction and use of the pyramids with ramp at this central site, based in great part in the identification of ritual abandonment events characterized among other things by costly offerings, sacrificed animals, and elite burials. This ritual abandonment was followed by the construction of a new pyramid building, most of the times, on top of the old one.

In contrast, no ritual abandonment events that could indicate a similar temporal succession between Pyramid 1 and Pyramid 3 in Panquilma were registered. In fact, stratigraphical information recorded in these two buildings indicates that both the midden deposition in the residential areas of Pyramid 3, and the construction and use of Pyramid 1 occurred during the same second occupational phase of the site and these two deposits were followed by the abandonment of the site. In fact, the materials recovered in the excavations performed in these two buildings are stylistically homogenous, Late Ychsma A and B styles,

with a v ery small presence of Inka style ceramics in both pyramids. These architectural, contextual, and stylistic evidences are indicating that, even though it is possible that Pyramid 3 is older than Pyramid 1 (we in fact identified a pre-midden deposition that corresponded to occupational Phase I in the residential area of Pyramid 3), at some moment during Phase II and until the destruction and abandonment of these public buildings, at least their residential areas functioned at the same time.

Architectural evidence also indicates that each of these buildings were in fact architectural complexes that can be divided into two components: a public area characterized by big walled plazas with baffled entrances, and a residential area characterized by dwellings, patios, and storage facilities. As indicated by Feltham (1984) above the ground funerary structures were present at these buildings but they were not always associated with the main plazas but also with the residential areas of the public buildings.

In terms of the activities carried out in these two different areas of the pyramid complexes, architectural, contextual and proportional information recovered from S1-U98 indicates that, in contrast to what Eeckhout proposes for the pyramids with central ramp at the site of Pachacamac, no evidence of feasting activities was recorded in the plazas of these buildings. Unlike Pachacamac, in the main plaza of Panquilma's Pyramid 1 t here are no evidences for the presence of hearths or for the massive consumption of food and beverages. In addition, big middens in Sector 1 were only registered in association to the residential areas not nearby the pyramids' plazas like in Pachacamac.

Instead, evidence suggests that the pyramids' main plazas in Panquilma were the focus of ritual activities in which costly offerings like *Spondylus* valves and bone ornaments were

deposited. Architectural evidence that indicates the unrestricted access to the pyramidal buildings from the residential areas of Sector 1 is suggesting that these rituals were presided over by members of the ruling elite. The parallel benches present in the platforms of the three pyramids indicate also a certain degree of secretism in which ritual officiants performed while turning their back to the ceremony's attendees located in the plazas. This evidence in conjunction with architectural evidence about the controlled access to the pyramid's plazas from the household compounds indicates that the ruling elite controlled the access to ritual knowledge and ritual space.

Evidence also suggests that these rituals were attended at least by certain residents of the household compounds of Sector 2 that had to follow a tortuous system of high walled causeways and baffled entrances to get to the plazas. In fact, given the size of the plazas and the difficulties that the attendees has to pas to get to this ritual space, and the costly nature of the offerings deposited there it is very possible that only selected members of the household compounds were able to participate of these ceremonies.

All of these evidences indicate that ritual knowledge and ritual performance in the pyramids were controlled by the ruling elite at the site. In other words, part of the attributes of, at least some members, of the ruling elite was to be religious specialist or priests of some sort. In this sense it is very possible to say that the control over ritual activities and religious paraphernalia in the context of these ceremonies constituted an important factor in the development of hierarchical relations between the ruling elite and the residents of the household compounds of sector 2.

In the case of the residential areas of the pyramid complex, contextual and proportional evidence indicates that, especially during Phase II, the internal patios of the pyramid's residential areas were the center of intense feasting activities. In fact, the proportional analysis of the remains recovered from S1-U10 indicates that, during the second occupational phase which corresponds with the peak in the use of these buildings, although there is a proportional increase of costly artifacts and preferred food remains, feasting activities constitute the most important practice here. It is very interesting to notice that religious paraphernalia like human figurines and inhaling tablets were only found in the public spaces of these buildings, like the pyramids main plazas, but not in the midden deposits of the residential areas.

In terms of the research questions that this study pursues these findings indicate that the ruling elite at Panquilma based their power strategies along two parallel lines. The first line is related with the negotiation, establishment and maintenance of hierarchical relations between the different factions that formed the ruling elite at Panquilma, probably represented by each of the three contemporaneous pyramid complexes present at the site.

In this sense, in the excavation of a midden deposit associated with an open patio close to the residential area of Pyramids Complex 3, we found that, on the contrary to what we recorded in the same excavation unit during Phase I, the equal relationship between costly ceramics and serving vessels changed noticeable during Phase II. During this second phase, despite the noticeable increase in the proportions of costly ceramics in relation to the values recorded for the previous phase, the relationship between costly artifacts and serving ware is characterized by a strong major proportional presence of serving ware.

As I have discussed in Chapters 1 and 2 the identification of feasting activities among elite segments of a population should not be based solely in the higher presence of serving vessels or in the dense formation of midden deposits. As Smith (1987) noticed, for a number of reasons that are intrinsically related to their upper status, elites tend to have more serving vessels than commoners. In addition, the performance of feasting is not always related to the political competition for prestige and authority among aspiring or enthroned leaders. As I have mentioned in Chapter 1, even though the “commensal politics” that develop around feasting are an important factor in the organization of ancient complex societies; they are not always related to the competition for prestige and authority. Sometimes, like in the Inka Empire, feastings function as a redistributive mechanism in which leaders reward their followers’ labor in public projects (Bray 2003b; Morris 1993). Sometimes, like in the emergence of Late Moche independent polities, feasting are an integral component of community-wide religious activities in which the sense of communality and religious identity is reinforced (Swenson 2007). Finally, sometimes, feastings do not involve the whole community but is restricted to elite groups like in the case of the Wari site of Cerro Baúl (Moseley et al. 2005). According to Moseley and his colleagues (2005) and to Jennings and Borrow (2009), feasting among elite member is usually performed in restricted, in opposition to public, areas and involve the conspicuous consumption of alcoholic beverages. It is in these particular cases where it is more accurate to interpret feasting as a mechanism for the political competition among elite members.

The varied roles that the performance of feasting activities had in the organization of past complex societies require us to consider different lines of evidence at the moment of interpreting the characteristics and nature of these banquets. In the case of Panquilma’s public sector these banquets were not carried out at the public buildings’ main plazas, but in patios located inside

the ruling elites' residential areas. In addition, the above mentioned higher proportion of serving ware during Phase II was characterized by a prominent presence of decorated headjars libation vessels. Finally, the argument about the mainly secular rather than religious nature of these banquets is reinforced by the absence of religious paraphernalia in the sample collected in the residential areas of the pyramid building.

All of these different lines of evidence indicate that the political competition for social prestige among the residents of the different pyramid complexes at the site constituted a very important factor in the development of hierarchical relations among Panquilma's ruling elite. In this scenario it is very possible that the different groups that formed the ruling elite based their power strategies in the competition for social prestige and authority among themselves via the performance of feasting activities.

The secular nature of the political competition among elite groups is also indicated by the increase in the proportional presence of costly artifacts during Phase II signaling that economic control was also an important component in the development of a hierarchical relation between members of the ruling elite of Panquilma. In fact the presence of big storage facilities in the three different pyramidal groups, and the presence of drying terraces next to the public buildings in the eastern hillsides of the site are reinforcing this idea. However the biggest proportions of serving vessels in relation to costly artifacts indicate that economic control was indeed important but it was eclipsed by the political competition for prestige and authority among the ruling sector of the site in the development of hierarchical relations.

The second strategic line is related with the ruling elite of the site establishing hierarchical relations between them and the residents of the household compounds that formed

the domestic sector. By now, evidence indicates that elite control over ritual activities constituted a very important component in the development of hierarchical relations between the members of the ruling elite and the residents of the nearby household compounds.

5.0 SECTOR 2, THE DOMESTIC SECTOR

5.1 DOMESTIC REMAINS IN THE LURÍN VALLEY

As I mentioned before no independent domestic structures have been identified at the site of Pachacamac. In this sense, many authors coincide that at least for the LIP, the constructed landscape of this central site was dominated by the exclusive presence of the monumental complexes (Shimada 1991). The constructed landscapes of the other contemporary Ychsma sites located in the lower Lurín Valley are quite different. Unlike Pachacamac, in these sites the public buildings are integrated into a web of independent domestic structures located around (Eeckhout 2003: 154). Public buildings and independent domestic structures in these sites are connected by a system of causeways and entrances that regulate the circulation from one sector to the other.

This distinct characteristic shared by most of the LIP sites of the lower Lurín Valley has been addressed as a distinct marker of political organization and ethnic differentiation. Angel Sánchez's (2000) study of the settlement patterns of the upper and lower Lurín defined the eastern borders of the Ychsma polity based on the distribution and characteristics of the domestic architecture present in the lower and upper Lurín Valley. He found that the sites located in the upper section of the valley were characterized by the presence of irregular rounded stone-made houses agglutinated on the side of the valley's hills. In these cases public structures like platforms and "ceremonial buildings" were not located in the sites' core but in some of the

hilltops that overlooked the settlements (Sánchez 2000: 142). In contrast, following Sánchez, Ychsma sites located in the lower section of the Lurín Valley presented an internal distribution of “regular rectangular rooms” characterized by the presence of independent clusters of rectangular structures surrounded by plastered walls. Public buildings were located inside the settlements and were mainly represented by different types of PWR (Sánchez 2000: 144).

An interesting exception to Sánchez’s distribution pattern in the Lower Lurín can be found at the site of Pueblo Viejo. At this site Makowski (2004) found that domestic structures were clustered in separated distant sectors along the site. Domestic sectors in Pueblo Viejo were formed by interconnected rectangular stone-made dwellings without plaster. These dwellings shared common areas like open patios and drying terraces. Based on the paleobotanical analysis of patios and terraces’ soils Makowski argues that these areas were used to process large amounts of agricultural goods. No public buildings are present at the site instead groups of storage facilities were located at the center of the settlement.

According to Makowski, the atypical distribution and characteristics of domestic structures and storage facilities in Pueblo Viejo are explained as a consequence of the Inka invasion of the Lurín Valley during the Late Horizon Period (A.D. 1460-1535). Makowski argues that Pueblo Viejo was a settlement created by the Inka Empire and occupied by a foreign population introduced into the region by the expansionist state. The main objective of this settlement was the acquisition, treatment, and storage of agricultural goods from the lower valley as a part of the Inka administration of the region.

Aside from Pueblo Viejo, during the present study the systematic review of all the Ychsma settlements located in the lower Lurín Valley has revealed more shared characteristics between the domestic sectors of these sites. The sites visited were identified based on the

literature of the region and selected based on a simple common characteristic: to be registered as an LIP settlement that, like Panquilma, presented both public and domestic architecture (Patterson 1966; Negro 1992; Sánchez 2000; López-Hurtado and Nesbitt 2010; Eeckhout 2003). These sites are Pampa de las Flores (the closest to Pachacamac in the lower valley) Tijerales, Tambo Inka, Villa Toledo, Rio Seco, Huaycan, Panquilma, Molle (See figure 39). Work at these sites consisted in the systematic recognizance and mapping of surface architectural remains that included the characterization of both public and domestic buildings.

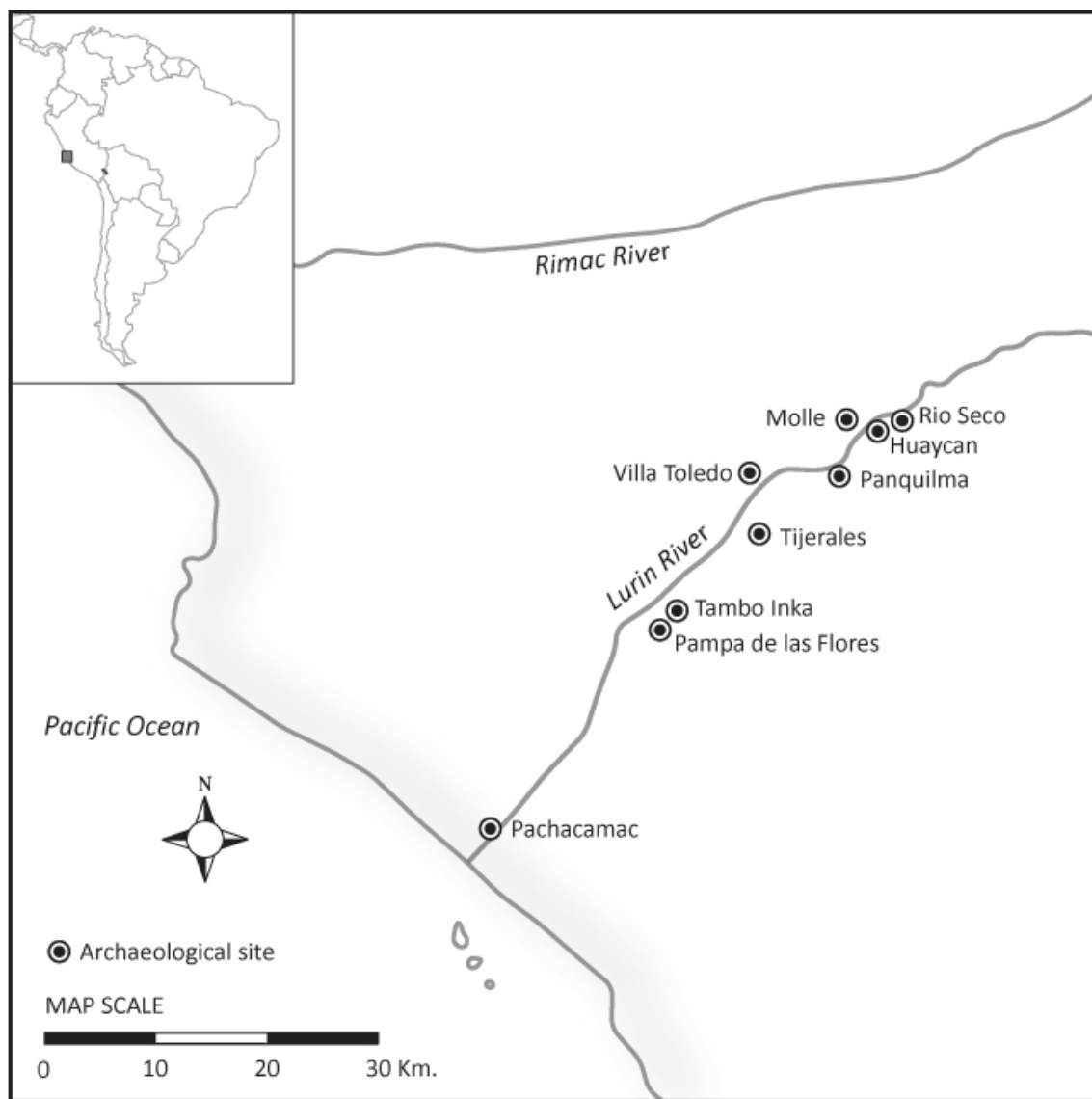


Figure 41. Sites with domestic remains in the lower Lurín valley during the Late Periods

Based on this work we can say that the domestic sectors of all of these sites are composed by independent walled household compounds formed mainly by rectangular rooms and open patios. Based on the best preserved examples of compounds' perimeter walls recorded at the site of Tijerales, Ychsma household compounds were surrounded by 2.5 m. high walls (See figure. 42).



Figure 42. Household compound's perimetric wall at the site of Tijerales

The internal organization of the typical Ychsma household compound includes a number of rectangular plastered rooms located around unroofed patios. Some of these rooms showed the

presence of benches, wall niches and in some cases such as Tambo Inka, Panquilma, and Molle, some of the patios and rooms showed the presence of wall paintings and carved motifs (See figure 43). Another common characteristic of Ychsma household compounds in the Lurín Valley is the presence of clusters of storage facilities and above-ground funerary structures.



Figure 43. From left to right carved motifs and wall paintings at a household compounds

Previous studies about the LIP in this section of the valley agree that during this period most of the population of the lower Lurín Valley was concentrated at these sites (Patterson 1982; Cornejo 2000; Sanchez 2000; Marcone 2004; Marcone and López-Hurtado 2002). All of these densely populated sites with several walled household compounds and public buildings are occur in an area that covers less than 40 km up-valley from the central site of Pachacamac. This area encompasses from the mouth of the Lurín, where Pachacamac is located, to the site of Rio Seco at 550 m above sea level at the eastern border of the Ychsma polity.

5.2 PANQUILMA'S DOMESTIC SECTOR

As in the case of all Ychsma sites aside from Pachacamac in the Lurín Valley, in Panquilma, the elite domestic sector adjoins the public buildings and is characterized by the presence of 15 independent household compounds. Although all of them share similar structural characteristics, these compounds can be divided in two groups based on their distribution: central Compounds located almost adjacent to the pyramidal complexes of Sector 1, and peripheral compounds located towards the north and south eastern hillsides of the site (See figure 44).

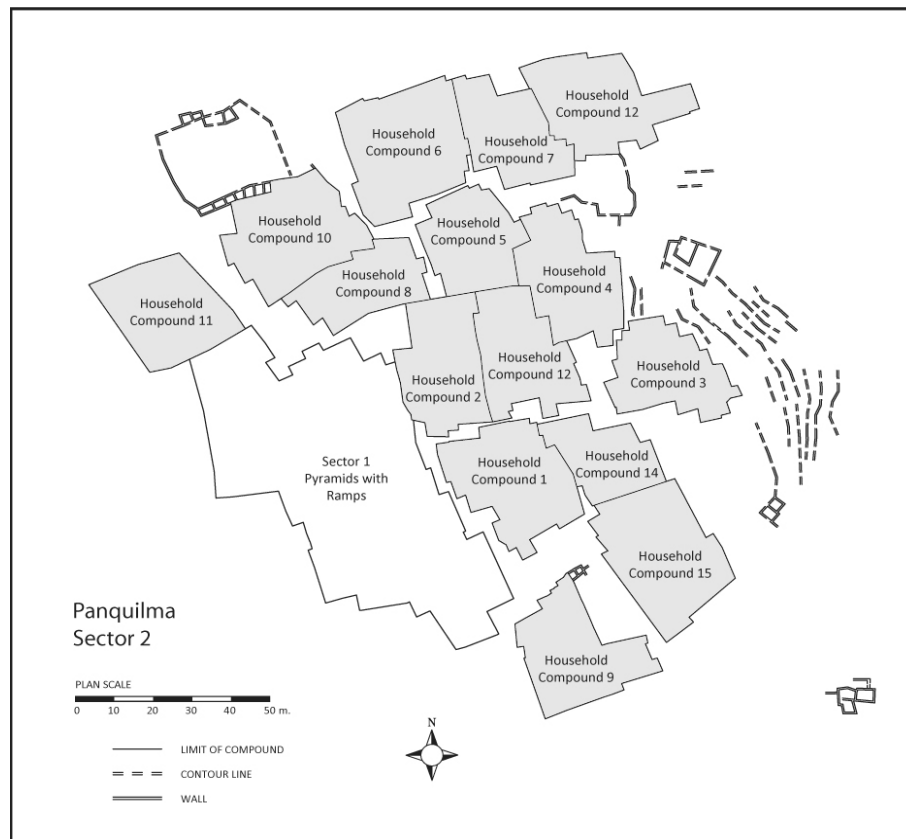


Figure 44. Household compounds at Panquilma

The group of central compounds is formed by four of these residential complexes (Compounds 1, 2, 13, and 14). These compounds have an average perimeter of 242 m in which the biggest, Compound 1, has a perimeter of 273 m, and the smallest, Compound 14, a perimeter of 196 m. Given its location in central area of the valley central compounds in Panquilma were more protected against mudslides during the rainy years showing a better preservation.

The group of peripheral compounds on the other hand is formed by 11 of these domestic complexes (Compounds 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, and 15). These compounds are distributed in the southern and northern extremes of the site or in the eastern hillsides that encloses the valley. Peripheral compounds have an average perimeter of 244 m in which the biggest compound has a perimeter of 281 m and Compound 5 has the smallest perimeter of 201 m.

Despite this small variation in average size, central and peripheral compounds at Panquilma share five architectural features. They all show the presence of continuous walls enclosing clusters of storage facilities, small patios, at least one big plaza, multiple rectangular rooms, and a reduced number of above-ground funerary structures usually grouped near the plazas. The difference between central and peripheral compounds is more perceptible in the terms of size, number, and distribution of these architectural features. It is possible to observe that central compounds have more rooms and the biggest plazas, as well as more small patios and storage facilities. Similar differences, however, are not present in the case of funerary structures. If we compare central Compound 1 and peripheral Compound 4 as the best preserved example of each group of domestic complexes it is possible to see these differences in detail.

Compound 1 (See figure 45) is located in the central area of the settlement. Along with the adjacent Compound 2, Compound 1 is one of the biggest domestic complexes of the site. It is

located in the central part of the site adjacent to the eastern side of one of the causeways that separated the domestic and public sectors. Given its location in the most protected area of the site, Compound 1 has the best preserved sample of domestic architecture of Panquilma. In addition, one (S2-U18) of the total of 13 randomly distributed excavation units in Panquilma's domestic sector (Sector 2) were located in this compound, providing good contextual and chronological evidence that helped to characterize this central domestic complex. In Compound 1, 22 plastered rectangular rooms, probably dwellings are located in the central and northern area of the complex. While the majority of these rooms are relatively small, ranging from about 5x4 m to about 8 x 6 m, there is a group of bigger rooms (10x10 m and 15 x 10 m respectively) located in the central area of the compound adjacent to the complex's main patio.



Figure 45. Central Compound 1

Storage features are clustered in the peripheral areas of the compound adjacent to the smaller patios. These features are above-ground rectangular structures that most of the cases have two stores divided by a wooden and cane top. The average storage structure is 1.5 m in height and 2 m on each side and they are usually clustered in groups of four or six structures (See figure 46). In Compound 1 we identified the presence of at least five storage clusters located in the peripheral areas of the compound. During the present study in the neighboring central Compound 2 we excavated one of these structures (S2-U3) finding numerous goods that varied from ceramic vessels to textile production tools like spindle whorls. Detailed information about this excavation and materials recovered will be presented in a following section of this chapter.



Figure 46. Storage cluster and detail of one storage facility (right) in Compound 1

Above-ground funerary structures are another common feature of these domestic compounds. Unfortunately, as in the case of Sector 1, all of these structures were heavily looted especially during the last three decades (López-Hurtado and Marcone 2002). However, a lot of important information can still be recovered. The architectural characteristics of these structures

are almost intact. In addition, many of the archaeological remains such as human bones and ceramic fragments are found scattered around the tombs, where they were left by the looters.

In the case of Compound 1 for example, the presence of four above-ground funerary structures was registered inside a room adjacent to the biggest central patio of the domestic enclosure. The four funerary structures were located side by side leaning over the southern wall of the room (See figure 47). These above-ground structures were not taller than 1.5 m, exhibited a rectangular shape, plastered walls, offering niches, and traces of a retractable roof. This roof was made of cane, wood, and rope and rested over the structure's stone dentils. This type of cover of the funerary structure, unlike the ones found in Sector 3 made of stone slabs and mud mortar, allowed for the tomb to be opened periodically without damaging the funerary structure.



Figure 47. Above-ground funerary structure in Compound 1

Household compounds in Sector 2 have two types of patios: small patios and big plazas. Small patios are not bigger than 12x12 m and are usually located in the peripheral areas of the household compounds. Small patios are mostly associated with the presence of clusters of

storage facilities, and either small or big rooms. Surface remains of midden deposits are usually associated with these patios indicating that these areas were mostly devoted to the preparation of food. Excavated contextual evidence recovered from one of these patios in Compound 13 (S2-U15) corroborates this observation.

In the case of Compound 1 we registered the presence of a series of three small patios of 12x10 m, 9x7 m, and 12x7 m respectively. These patios are located in the peripheral areas of the compounds adjacent to the northern, southern, and eastern walls of the enclosure. In the three cases surface remains of midden deposits were identified inside the patios or on the other side of the patio's wall outside the compound. The presence of midden deposits along with excavated evidence recovered from one of these patios (S2-U18) indicated that small patios were used for the preparation and consumption of food. The excavation and the artifacts recovered from the excavation unit S2-U18 will be covered in detail in a following section of this chapter.

Compound 1 has a number of three big patios (15x18 m, 14x20 m, and 16x22). The biggest of these three is located in the central area of the domestic complex adjacent to two small patios to the west and the compound's funerary structures to the north (See figure 48). One of the most important characteristics of big patios is the presence of surface evidence of intense use. The biggest rooms of the compound are located surrounding this complex of small patios, a big plaza, and above the ground funerary structures. These rooms are usually located in the central areas of the compounds. In some cases these rooms were transformed into clusters of storage facilities followed by the construction of a new rectangular structure.



Fig 48. Complex of patios in Compound 1 note surface features showing intense use of this area

In contrast to the plazas recorded inside the public buildings of Sector 1 where these open spaces were clean, big household plazas show surface remains that indicate an intense use. Surface remains in big patios are characterized by traces of burning, abundant ceramic fragments, and scattered food remains like camelid bone. In Panquilma's Sector 2 as well as in the sites of Moye and Tambo Inka some of the walls of the big plazas inside domestic compounds were decorated with paintings or relief carvings. While remains of wall paintings were not uncommon in Sector 2, only one compound (Compound 5) located in the central area of the sector exhibited the presence of relief carvings in one of its walls (See figure 49).



Figure 49. Big patio in Compound 5 showing carved motives, with surface features showing intense use of this area

The difference however rested in the distribution and number of these architectural features. In peripheral Compound 3 for example, the distribution, number, and size of storages, patios, rooms, and funerary structures are different in respect to Compound 1. Compound 3 (See figure 50), is located in the eastern hillsides of the valley. In contrast to the 24 rooms registered in Compound 1, only 13 rooms were built in Compound 3. As in the case of Compound 1 room sizes are variable and the biggest rooms are located adjacent to the biggest plaza of the compound where the funerary structures are located. Given the pronounced steep terrain that characterize the hillside area of the site, the place where Compound 5 was placed can be perceived as a less desirable area to settle in relation to the floor of the valley where central Compound 1 was built.



Figure 50. Peripheral Compound 3

Like Compound 1, Compound 3 has a number of rectangular storage structures distributed in the peripheral areas of the compound. In particular, Compound 3 has three clusters of storage facilities associated with compound's small patios (See figure 51). The size and number of the storage structures that form the cluster are smaller than the ones registered in Compound 1. In this sense, while four clusters of approximately eight storage structures each were registered in Compound 1, only three clusters of approximately three to six storage structures were registered in the peripheral Compound 3. This situation is indicating that even though both groups of compounds controlled some amount of goods that were worth of been stores.



Fig 51. Cluster of storage structures in Compound 3

In contrast to Compound 1, only two above-ground funerary structures were identified in Compound 3. However, as in the case of Compound 1, they were both built side by side in association to one of the big plazas of the domestic compound (Figure 52). Also these funerary structures shared all the characteristics of the ones observed in Compound 1 such as the presence of a retractable roof that lies on top of stone dentils, plastered walls, and offering niches. This situation is indicating a similar use of above-ground funerary structures in both central and peripheral compound. The central location of this type of funerary structures in both groups of compounds suggests the importance that activities organized around these remains had in the organization of this domestic space.



Fig 52. Funerary structures in big patio of Compound 5

As in the case of Compound 1, Compound 3 has a number of big plazas and small patios distributed along the domestic complex. The difference is in the number and size of these architectural features. In Compound 3 we registered 5 small patios and 3 plazas. While the sizes of small patios are similar to the ones registered in the central Compound 1, the size of big patios registered in Compound 3 are noticeably smaller than the ones recorded in the central domestic complexes. The biggest patio of Compound 3 where the funerary structures were registered measured 10x15 m, while its equivalent in Compound 1 measured 16x22 m.

In sum, all 15 compounds present in Sector 2 present the same architectural features and similar average perimeters. However, it is possible to argue based on the different sizes and number of rooms present in each compound that central compounds were probably more densely populated than peripheral ones. Based on stratigraphic data collected in both compounds Compound 1 was occupied during both phases of the site, but Compound 3 was occupied just during the last phase. Both compounds nevertheless showed evidence of an almost continuous remodeling process of rooms and patios. Patios are closed to build rooms, rooms sometimes are

turned into storage clusters, and some accesses are sealed while others are opened. Hirth (1993) characterizes this type of change in domestic spaces as the “household developmental cycle”. According to Hirth (1993) households grow as the extended family grows with the central members of the residential group being the ones most closely related in terms of kinship to the household’s founder.

The architectural evidence recorded in Sector 2 indicates that there were some sort of hierarchical differences among the co-resident members of the different domestic complexes. Central bigger rooms associated with the compound’s plazas and above-ground funerary structures in contrast to small rooms in the peripheral areas of the compounds is an indication of this. Similar evidence, along with evidence about differences in intra household distribution of determined types of artifacts has been used to argue similar intra-household social differentiation in Mesoamerica (Santley 1993). In the Andes, Isbell argues that extended household compounds at the site of Conchopata were the residences of hierarchically organized extended families. In this organization certain members of the extended families were dedicated to the production of craft goods such as ceramics and textiles while others worked on the adjacent fields. Hierarchy within the extended family was based on the kin relationship of the extended family to the founding members of the family group (Isbell 2004, Milliken 2006). In the case of Panquilma similar architectural evidence indicates that these hierarchical differences among household members are present in both central (older) and peripheral (younger) household compounds.

Architectural evidence also provides information about the factors determining the nature of the differences among household compound members. The presence of big central patios or plazas in each compound is one of the indicators of the nature of social differentiation at the site. All the big patios present in all of the 15 compounds of the site show evidence of intense use like

traces of burning, organic refuse, and heavy concentrations of ceramic fragments, all possibly related to feasting activities I will present later in this chapter excavated evidence from S2-U10 in Compound 7 that supports this idea.

The central location of these plazas inside the compounds and their spatial proximity to the bigger rooms of the domestic complex connects these banquets to the residents of the biggest rooms. In addition, the spatial association of these big plazas and rooms with above-ground funerary structures suggests a relationship between the performance of feasting activities and the household's ancestors.

Of the total number of funerary remains registered at the site, 30% were in above-ground structures located inside the compounds, 3% were located inside the pyramids and 67% were in the unpopulated areas of Sector 3. It is worth mentioning, however, that given the location of Sector 3's funerary structures in an area of the site that has been heavily affected by mudslides. Thus, the proportion of funerary remains in this sector is very likely to be more than the value we were able to register.

The central structural characteristics common to all funerary structures recorded inside the domestic compounds of Sector 2, along with their association with open spaces like plazas have been identified by McAnany (1995) as evidence of ancestor veneration rituals. According to her, provision for entryways into funerary structures or mechanisms for easy access to the dead, such as communication devices or above the surface entrances to the funerary structure are some of the archaeological evidences that indicate ancestor veneration practices (McAnany 1995, Isbell 1997, Milliken 2006). In addition, there should be evidence for the "performance of reaffirmation rituals" (Marcus 1992:63 [from McAnany 1995:31]). These rituals could take

many forms such as feasting activities, processions, and/or dedicatory rituals (McAnany 1995:31-39). In the case of the funerary structures of Sector 2 they are usually located inside closed rooms whose only access is facing the biggest patio of the compound.

On the other hand, the distribution and architectural characteristics of the domestic complexes present in this area provide also a number of indicators about the nature of social relations between the different central and peripheral household compounds at the domestic sector of the site of Panquilma. In first place the presence of high perimetric walls indicate at least a relative independence between compounds. On the other hand the privilege spatial proximity of the oldest, biggest, and more populated compounds in relation to the public buildings of the site is denoting the presence of some kind of hierarchical relationship. The presence of clusters of storage facilities in the 15 complexes of Sector 2 suggests that the control of certain goods was equally important in the development of both central Compounds and peripheral ones.

5.3 CONTEXTUAL INFORMATION REGISTERED IN SECTOR 2

As a part of the sampling program carried out at the site, a total of 13 2x2m excavation units were randomly located in Sector 2. As in the case of Sector 1, the objective of these excavations was to address variations in artifact proportions between sectors at the site as well as variations during the different phases of occupation, and in the particular case of Sector 2 differences between bigger central and smaller peripheral household compounds. These changes in the proportions of artifacts between sectors and during the different occupation phases was combined with contextual information registered during the excavations to reconstruct the

prominence of different sorts of activities, and the connections of these activities to the nature of social hierarchy within and between household compounds.

Of the 13 units excavated in Sector 2, six provided important contextual information about the activities carried on at the different household compounds. Units S2-U4 and S2-U18 were midden deposits located in the patios of Compounds 1 and 2 respectively. Unit S2-U3 was devoted to the excavation of a storage structure also located in Compound 2. Units S2-U10 and S2-U13 registered the presence of *chicha* fermentation vessels in the patios of household compounds 5 and 12. Both of these units were coincidentally located in peripheral compounds. Finally, S2-U15 reported the presence of a food processing facility in one of the small patios of Compound 2.

5.3.1 Units excavated in central compounds

5.3.1.1 Excavation unit S2-U4

Unit S2-U4 was placed against the south east corner of one of the patios of central Compound 2 (See figure 53). The surface of the unit was disturbed by a looter's hole that exposed a dense midden deposit. In this excavation unit we recorded the same two occupational phases identified in Sector 1 (S1-U10). As in the case of Sector 1, Phase I is characterized by a loose deposition of dirt containing a big array of refuse especially ceramic fragments. This type of deposition was interpreted as the product of domestic activities. However, no formal floors or other architectural remains were registered during this phase.

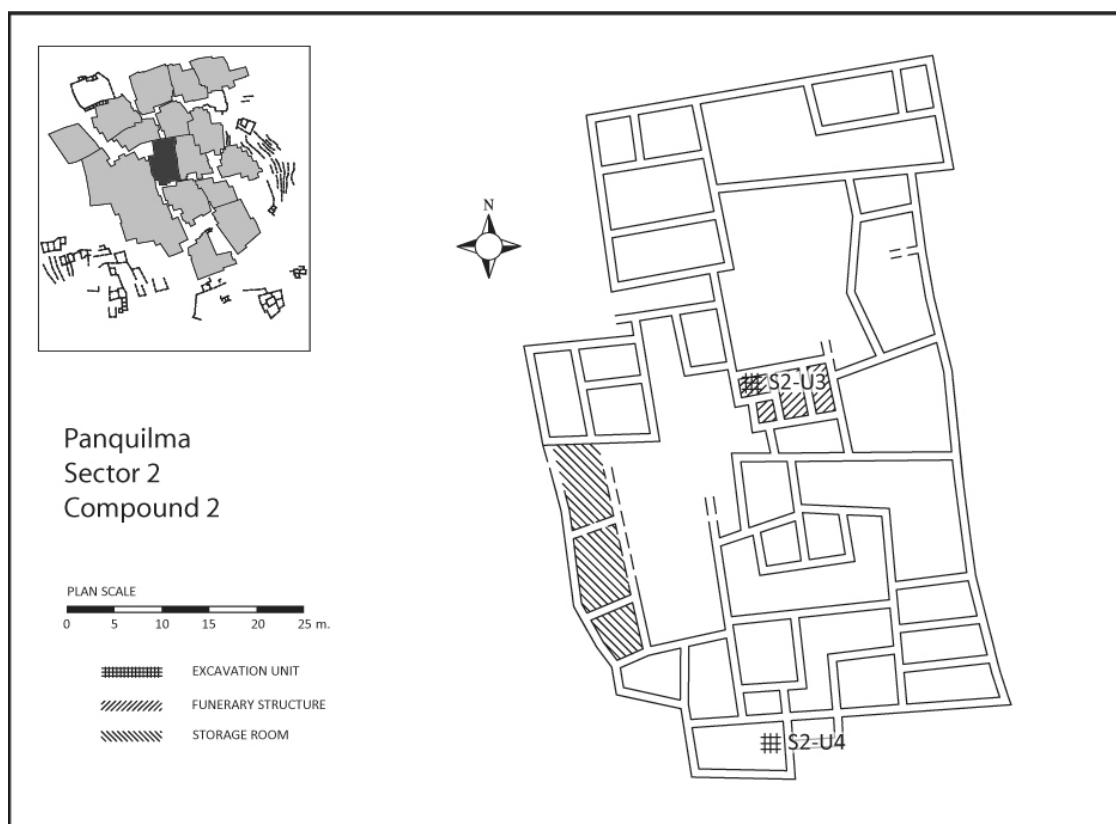


Figure 53. Compound 2 showing the location of excavation units S2-U3 and S2-U4

During the second and last phase we registered a dense midden deposition that occupied 1.5 m of the southeast corner of the unit's profile revealing an intense and continued deposition of discarded natural and cultural remains (See figure 54). The characteristics of this deposition were very similar to the ones observed in the midden deposit excavated in Sector 1 (S1-U10). The most numerous type of cultural remains recovered for this phase were ceramic fragments. Most of which were serving vessels. However a vast array of other cultural and natural materials like botanical, malacological, and faunal remains, along with artifacts made of wood, bone, stone and others were also registered. Among the botanical remains the most prevalent were maize cobs.



Figure 54. Midden deposit excavated during second occupational phase in S2-U4

While I will further develop the question of the different kinds of artifacts found at the midden deposit of S2-U3, the most important contextual information recovered here was, in the first place, the presence of the same two occupational phases registered in Sector 1. The characteristics of these two phases were also similar than the ones registered in Sector 1. In both cases a period of time characterized by normal domestic deposition is followed by a period characterized by intense feasting performance.

The second most important piece of contextual information was the understanding of the relationship between the construction of the wall that enclosed the one of patios of Compound 2 and the formation of the midden deposit. The excavations revealed that the beginning of the intense accumulation of trash that characterized the second occupational phase registered was

associated with the construction of the patio's wall (See figure 55). This situation is indicating that the second phase was a period when household compounds started to grow.



Figure 55. Foundations of the patio's wall at the same stratigraphical level than the begging of the midden deposit

This contextual evidence indicates that the changes that occurred during Phase II not only involved the intense accumulation of trash but also the formalization of more patios in the household compounds. This reinforces the argument about the importance of the performance of feasting activities in certain areas of the compounds. It also indicates a noticeable augmentation of the population at the site during the last occupational phase.

5.3.1.2 Excavation unit S2-U18

The excavation of this unit also recorded the presence of a midden deposit associated with the second occupational phase of the site. However, instead of being located in association with a big patio, excavation unit S2-U18 was located in one of the several small patios registered at central Compound 1 (See figure 56).



Figure 56. Compound 1 showing the presence of excavation unit S2-U18

As in the case of S2-U4 the midden deposition registered in this excavation indicate a big change in the characteristics of the archaeological deposition between the first and last occupational phases at the site (See figure 57).



Figure 57. Domestic refuse accumulation during the second occupational phase

In the case of the excavation unit S2-U18 the context excavated corresponded to a normal domestic deposition. In contrast to the 1.5 m midden deposit registered in S2-U4, here the deposition of trash is not bigger than 50 cm. The difference between both refuse deposits is indicating that they were the product of different types of activities. In this case the refuse accumulation has the characteristics of domestic refuse instead of the product of feasting activities as in S2-U4.

5.3.1.3 Excavation unit S2-U3

Excavation unit S2-U3 was placed over a cluster of four above-ground storage facilities located inside central Compound 2 (See figure 58). The four rectangular storage structures shared one

common wall that formed the axis of the four continuous structures. All four structures were heavily looted, making difficult to assess their original height. However, based on better preserved similar structures in other domestic compounds of Sector 2, it is possible that these storage structures had two stories and a total height around 1.5 to 2 m.



Figure 58. Surface layer formed by rubble of the remains of storage facilities

The equivalent of the surface layer in this unit consisted of the uneven rubble formed by the collapsed walls of the storage structure upper story, wind-carried dirt, and fragmented ceramics probably a product of the looters' activity. Given the fact that the whole cluster was heavily disturbed and that the location of this excavation unit, which was randomly determined by our sampling program, didn't favor the collection of representative samples; we decided to undertake the complete excavation of one of the four storage compartments. For this reason the

artifacts collected in this excavation were not taken into consideration in the proportional analysis.

We decided to excavate the north east storage compartment. After removing almost one meter of rubble we identified the top of the first story of the structure that was apparently undisturbed. The tap was formed by flat stone slabs held together by lateral wooden bars. The tap was supported by a system of dentils built on the compartment's walls that facilitated access to the stored goods (See figure 59). The position of the tap observed at this moment of the excavation indicated a primary deposition supporting the idea that the first story of the storage compartment was intact and that the looters only altered and finally destroyed the upper level of the structure. Given the possibility to register a complete primary deposition of stored good inside a household compound we decided to extend the excavation to cover the whole storage compartment.



Figure 59. Intact top of the storage structure's first story

After extending the excavation unit up to the external wall of the compartment and removing the top of the structure we found the vast array of artifacts that were kept there (See figure 60). As in the case of S2-U4 and S2-U18, detailed information about the artifacts recovered from this excavation unit will be provided in a following section of this chapter. Only general information is provided as contextual indicator of the kind of wealth that his household compound controlled.



Figure 60. First store of the excavated storage after removing the tap

Among the artifacts in the structure were two big storage vessels, abundant serving ware such as sets of dishes and bowls, and a case full of weaving artifacts like spindles and spindle

whorls. A mixture of shelled corn cobs, pieces of cane, and dirt was used as fill to keep these goods from falling over and getting damaged. After removing the layer formed by these goods and the fill that protected them we found the components of a back-strap loom. The wooden bar and spatula were deposited over the mud floor of the storage compartment (See figure 61).



Figure 61. Back-strap loom and spatula placed over the mud floor of the storage structure

The excavation of this unit revealed that during the second occupational phase at Panquilma, when midden deposits began to accumulate and household compounds started to grow, a big array of goods were stored inside these domestic structures. The contextual information recorded in S2-U3 revealed that serving and storage ware as well as textile production implements were the most representative types of goods stored here. In this unit there

were no fine vessels. In addition, the abundant use of shelled corn cobs as fill indicates that large amount of corn that these households controlled.

5.3.1.4 Excavation unit S2-U15

In one of the small patios of central Compound 13 (See figure 62) located in the central area of the complex we excavated a food processing area.

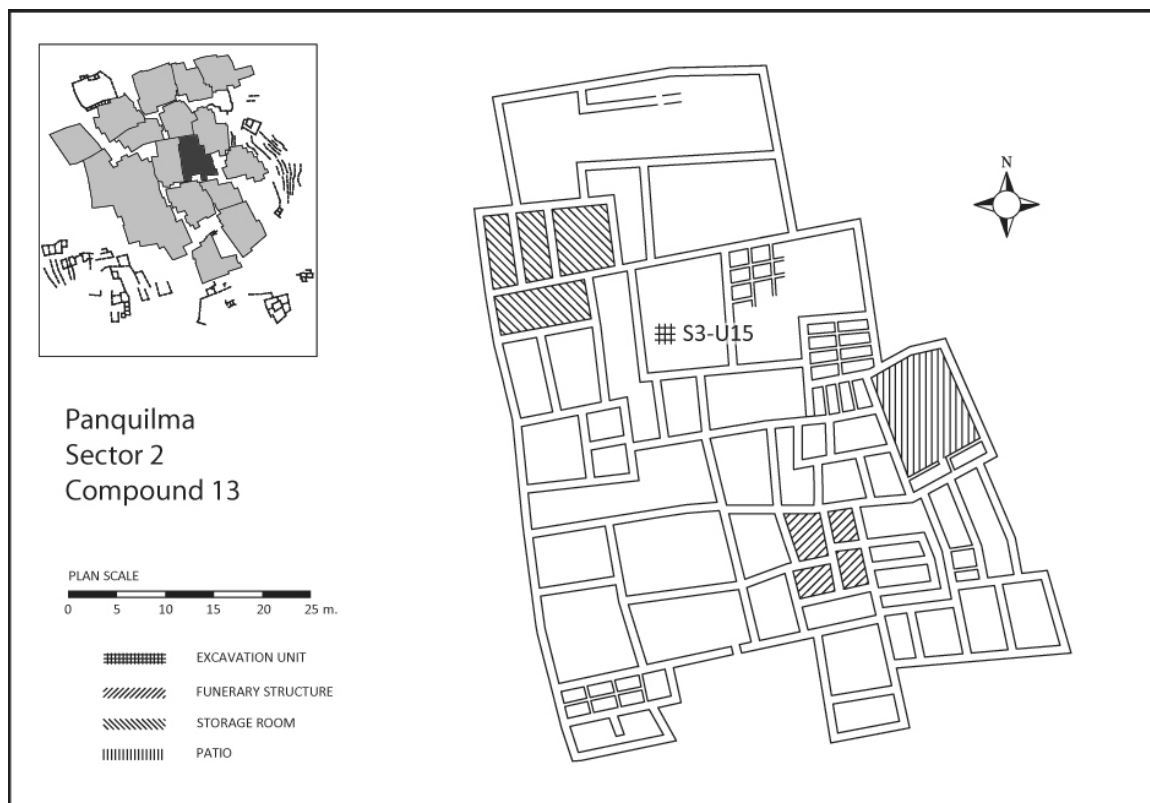


Figure 62. Compound 13 showing the location of excavation unit S3-U15

This area included two hearths, an area for grinding, and a guinea pig enclosure. Stratigraphical evidence indicates that that this central area of the compound was devoted to food preparation during both occupational phases. Given the good preservation of the context it was possible to determine that during Phase I this area was formed by only one hearth. During Phase

II, the original hearth was still functioning while the second heart and the guinea pig enclosure were added to the food processing facility (See figure 63).



Figure 63. Left: Food processing area. Right: detail of guinea pig enclosure built during Phase II

This evidence indicates that, at least in the central compounds, during Phase II there was a bigger demand for food in general and also for certain types of products like guinea pigs. In addition, the central location of this food processing area indicates that these areas associated with the biggest dwellings and patios of the compound are the oldest occupations recorded at the site. According to the information recorded in this unit, these special dishes were prepared in the central area of the compound associated with the biggest rooms and patios of the domestic complex

In sum, evidence recorded in the four excavation units located in three of the four central household compounds indicates that this household complexes were occupied during both phases. In all three compounds Phase I is characterized by the presence of normal domestic refuse that included areas for food preparation like in S2-U15 located in Compound 13. In contrast, Phase II is characterized among other things by an intense accumulation of midden

deposits in the compound's open spaces. That is the case of the big midden deposit registered in excavation unit S2-U4 located in Compound 2.

The drastic increase in the deposition of middens recorded in Compound 2 was accompanied by the expansion of food processing facilities as recorded in excavation unit S2-U15 located in Compound 13. Central household compounds during Phase II are also characterized by the storage of great quantities of serving and storage vessels as well as textile production utensils as recorded in excavation unit S2-U3 located in Compound 2. This evidence is indicating that during Phase I the performance of normal domestic activities was common in these domestic complexes, but the intense performance of feasting activities and the control over certain resources and utilitarian goods acquired a central role in the development of the central Compounds at the site during Phase II.

5.3.2 Excavations in Peripheral Compounds

5.3.2.1 Excavation unit S2-U10

In one of the patios of peripheral Compound 7 we excavated a 50 gallon *chicha* fermentation vessel (See figure 64). This is the area of the site that exhibits the worst architectural preservation. This whole area was badly disturbed and many walls were dismantled and used in the construction of a modern corral. For this reason the architectural layout of this household compound could not be reconstructed with the same accuracy that compounds 1 (S2-U3, and S2-U4), 2 (S2-U18), and 13 (S2-U15) were. Another problem regarding the poor preservation of this part of the site is that since this area was used as a modern corral, the superficial layers were heavily disturbed and consisted largely of animal droppings.



Figure 64. Compound 7 showing the location of excavation units S2-U10 and S2-U99

Fortunately, after the disturbed upper layers were removed we identified the remains of two plastered walls forming a corner (See figure 65). This information corroborated the previous identification of this area as corresponding to the interior of one of the plazas of Compound 7. After excavating the first cultural layers we discovered the mouth of a 50 gallon *chicha* fermentation vessel in the northern profile of the 2x2 m excavation unit. We extended the excavation unit 1.5 m to the north in order to be able to register what looked like a primary context of *chicha* fermentation inside the big patio of a household compound. In this particular case, since the terrain covered by the excavation unit was much more even than in the case of the storage compartment (S2-U3), it was possible to separate the artifacts coming from the original 2x2 m unit from the artifacts excavated in the unit's extension. For this reason the materials

recovered from the original 2x2 m excavation unit were integrated into the proportional analysis of the artifacts of Sector 2.



Figure 65. South western corner of one of the big patios present in Compound 7

After extending the excavation to reach the same cultural levels identified in the original excavation unit we found that the mouth of the fermentation vessel was at the same level as the patio's use surface (See figure 66). The rest of the body of the 50 gallon fermentation vessel was buried in sterile soil deeper than the patio's wall foundations. This situation corroborated the notion that this context corresponded with the second occupation phase at the site. It also indicated that this compound was occupied only during the last occupational phase indicating that peripheral compounds were only occupied during the last occupational. More importantly, the association between the fermentation vessel and the patio's surface indicates that feasting was also an activity carried out in peripheral compounds as well.



Figure 66. Mouth of the fermentation vessel at Phase II occupational level

The form and decoration of the fermentation vessel recovered in S2-U10 are characteristic of the LYB Ychsma phase which corresponded to the ceramics recovered during the second occupational phase in Sector 1.

Contextual information recovered in this unit indicates that during the second occupational phase at Panquilma the populated area of the site included the northeastern section of the valley where the site is located. Information from S2-U10 also indicates that the activities carried out at the compounds located in this area of the site were not particularly different from the ones registered at the central Compound 2 (S2-U15), and Compound 5 (S2-U13). In this sense the presence of storage facilities containing serving ware (S2-U3) and the accumulation of

big midden deposits associated with households' patios are indicating that feasting activities were very common during Phase II.

5.3.2.2 Excavation unit S2-U13

This excavation unit was located in a small patio of peripheral Compound 5 (See figure 67). Given its location next to the eastern wall of the patio the superficial layer in this excavation unit was mainly composed of fallen remains of the patio's wall. After removing this layer we found a deposition composed by domestic refuse very similar to the one registered in the small patio of Compound 1 in S2-U18. This deposit corresponded to the second occupational phase registered at the site which, as in the case of S2-U4 and S2-U10, corresponded also to the construction of the patio's wall.

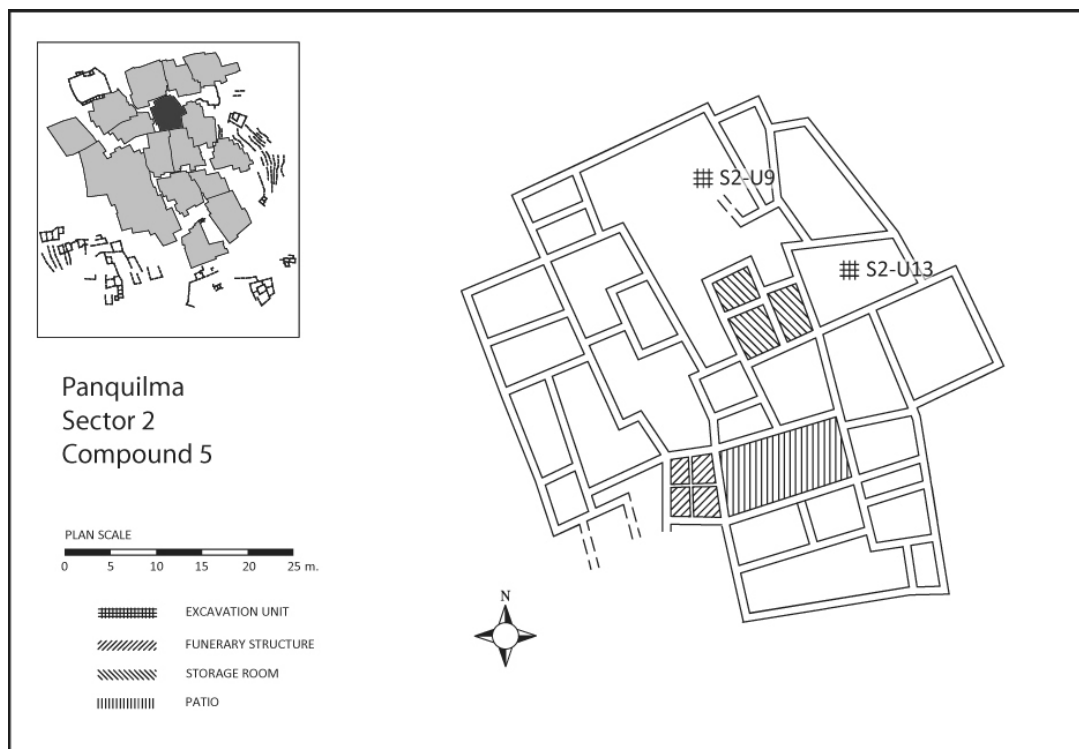


Figure 67. Household compound 5 showing the location of excavation units S2-U19 and S2-U13

As observed in Compound 7 only the last occupational phase was registered in this patio. The deposit consisted on domestic refuse very similar to the ones registered at the small patio of central Compound 1 during the same occupational phase. The interesting thing is that in the trench made during Phase II to build the foundations of the patio's wall we found an intentionally fragmented 20 gallon chicha fermentation vessel. Half of it was placed under the base of a household wall (See figure 68). The recurrence of this type of vessel in this area of the site indicates that *chicha* fermentation and the performance of feasting activities were one of the central activities in peripheral compounds.



Figure 68. Broken fermentation vessel left as an offering in the foundation of the patio's wall

5.3.2.3 Excavation units S2-U8 and S2-U99

Both excavation units were located in small patios at Compounds 6 and 7 respectively. In both cases the results corroborated that peripheral Compounds were built and occupied during Phase II (See figure 69).



Figure 69. Household compound 6 showing the location of excavation unit S2-U8

Results recovered in both units indicated the accumulation of domestic refuse associated with the use of small patios (See figure 70). The characteristics of this deposition were very similar to the one recorded in S2-U18 located in a small patio of central Compound 1.



Figure 70. Units S2-U18 (right) and S2-U99 (left) showing the accumulation of domestic refuse during Phase II

The rest of the excavation units (S2-U2, S2-U5, S2-U9, S2-U11, and S2-U19) located in peripheral Compounds 4, 5, 9, and 12 did not provide contextual information. Most of these units were located in areas exposed to mud slides like in the case of S2-U2 and S2-U5 in Compound 9 in the farther southern end of the valley. The same situation was observed in units S2-U11 and S2-U19 that were located in the stepped eastern hillside of the site. This area of the site was constantly affected by mud slides and rock avalanches that destroyed most of the cultural remains. Finally excavation unit S2-U9 located in Compound 5 didn't present archaeological occupation.

In sum, contextual information recorded in the peripheral compounds indicates that these household complexes were only occupied during Phase II. The excavation of several fermentation vessels in Compounds 5 and 7 indicate that, as well as in the case of the central compounds, feasting activities constituted important activities in peripheral Compounds.

5.4 RECOVERED MATERIALS FROM SECTOR 2

As in the case of Sector 1, the analysis of the recovered materials from the domestic compounds was based on the reconstruction on the proportional differences between the different types of artifacts at this area. In order to better compare the results obtained in the domestic and public sectors of the site, and between central and peripheral compounds specific archaeological deposits were selected for the analysis of these materials.

In order to assess proportional differences between the public and domestic sectors priority was given to the materials recovered in central compounds where both occupational phases were registered. In particular, patterns obtained from the analysis of the material recovered before and during the intense midden deposition excavated in central Compound 2 (S2-U4) were compared with patterns obtained from a similar context recorded in a midden deposit of the pyramid complex (S1-U10). Differences between the two deposits during Phases I and II provided information about changes in the nature of the social position of the ruling elite in relation to the residents of the oldest surrounding compounds during both occupational phases. Proportional differences recorded in this excavation unit were also used to address the development of hierarchical relations, as indicated by the spatial and contextual evidence discussed before, among members of the same compound during the two occupational phases.

A similar approach was taken towards the analysis of the materials recovered from the food processing area excavated in central Compound 13. Changes in artifact patterns as well as

changes in food consumption between the two occupation phases were regarded as informative of the development and the nature of hierarchy within household compounds.

In order to address the nature of the hierarchical relationship between central and peripheral compounds priority was given to the comparison of patterns obtained from the domestic refuse deposited in the small patios of both types of domestic complexes. In particular, results obtained in small patios of peripheral Compounds 5, 6, and 7 in the northern extreme of the site (S2-U99, S2-U8, and S2-U 13) were compared with results obtained from one of the small patios of central Compound 1 (S2-U18).

5.4.1 Ceramics

In Sector 2 we recovered a total of 3433 diagnostic sherds of which 3266 correspond to LYA and LYB phases in the Díaz and Vallejo typologies and 51 to Inka-style fragments. Indeterminate fragments in this sector were 3% (116). As in the case of Sector 1, although Inka-style fragments were present in the two occupation phases identified at Sector 2, the fact that they occurred in such tiny proportions indicates that the primary occupation of the sector and the activities that this study identified correspond basically to Ychsma social dynamics.

In order to identify the prevalence of certain activities and the role that these activities had in the development of social hierarchy at the household compounds that formed Sector 2, this study examined changes in the proportions of costly elaborated pottery that could indicate economic differentiation among households (Hirth 1993; Lightfoot and Feinman 1982).

To identify specific types of costly artifacts among the ceramic sample from the sector we used the same indicators presented in the previous Chapter 4. In the case of the evaluation of the proportional presence of serving vessels, the same vessel forms selected in Chapter 4 were used.

5.4.1.1 Proportions of costly ceramics in central compounds

Previously analyzed contextual and architectural information suggested the presence of hierarchical distinctions within the residents of both central and peripheral compounds. In order to address the importance of the accumulation of wealth in the development of these hierarchical relations within members of the central compounds, proportions of costly ceramics during phases I and II were compared. Two groups of artifacts were selected to establish the possible differences in the proportions of costly ceramics between these two occupational phases.

The first group was formed by the materials recovered in the excavation unit S2-U4 where the presence of an intense midden deposit located in Compound 2 was recorded. The second group was formed by the materials recovered in excavation units S2-U15 and S2-U18 located in one of the small patios of compounds 1 and 13 respectively. Given the similarity of both deposits (normal domestic refuse), the artifacts recovered from both excavation units were collapsed and analyzed together.

1. Proportions of costly ceramics during Phase I and Phase II in excavation unit S2-U4 (midden deposit)

Unit S2-U4 was excavated in a patio of central Compound 2 (See figure 51) and corresponded to an intense midden deposition during Phase II, preceded by a normal deposition of domestic refuse during Phase I. This deposit was very similar to the one registered in the residential area of Pyramid 3 (S1-U10) where an equally intense midden deposition was recorded during Phase II.

The midden deposition excavated in S2-U4 reached almost 2 m depth in the excavation unit's profile and produced 939 diagnostic sherds. As I mentioned in Chapter 2, the location of

all the excavation units at the site were defined following a random sampling program that allowed for the accurate reconstruction of artifact's patterns. The high sherd density recorded in this unit, the characteristics of the deposition, and the method used to define its location allowed the results obtained from this unit to accurate representation of this type of midden deposits of the central compounds of Sector 2. In this sense, in contrast to the results obtained in Pyramid 3, where a drastic increase of costly ceramics was recorded, the increase of this type of artifacts between Phases I and II in the midden of Compound 2 was significant but moderate (See figure 71).

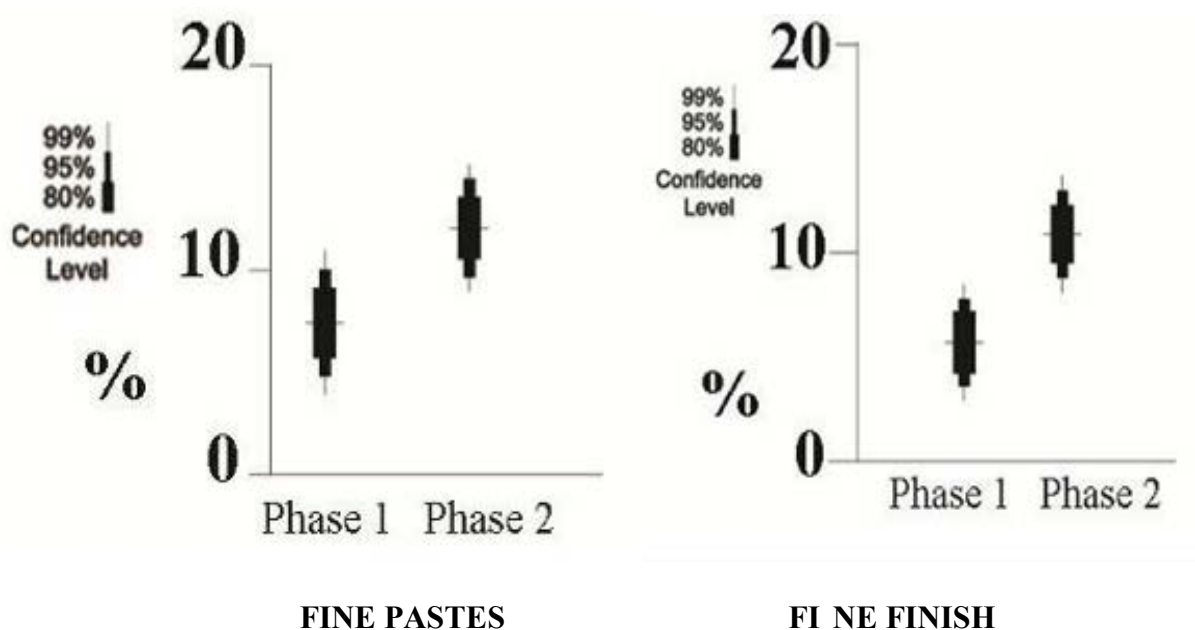


Figure 71. Moderate increase in costly ceramics between phases 1 and 2 was found using fine paste (left) and finish (right) as indicators

As it is possible to see in figure 70, during Phase I, the proportion of fine-paste fragments at a 95% confidence level was determined in $7.4\% \pm 2.6\%$. This situation changed moderately during Phase II when at a 95% confidence level $12\% \pm 2.4\%$ fragments of the sample corresponded to fine-paste vessels. This results were consistent with the ones obtained using fine

vessel finish as an indicator of costly artifacts. In this case during pre-midden Phase I we found that a 95% confidence level $5.7\% \pm 2.3\%$ of the ceramics recovered received a fine finish. As in the case of fine pastes, this situation changed moderately during Phase II when at a 95% level of confidence $10.9\% \pm 2.1$ of the ceramics recovered received a fine. The most noticeable types of costly ceramic artifacts were formed finely polished miniatures, and complex decorated forms that included zoomorphic, geometric, and abstract designs (See figure 72).

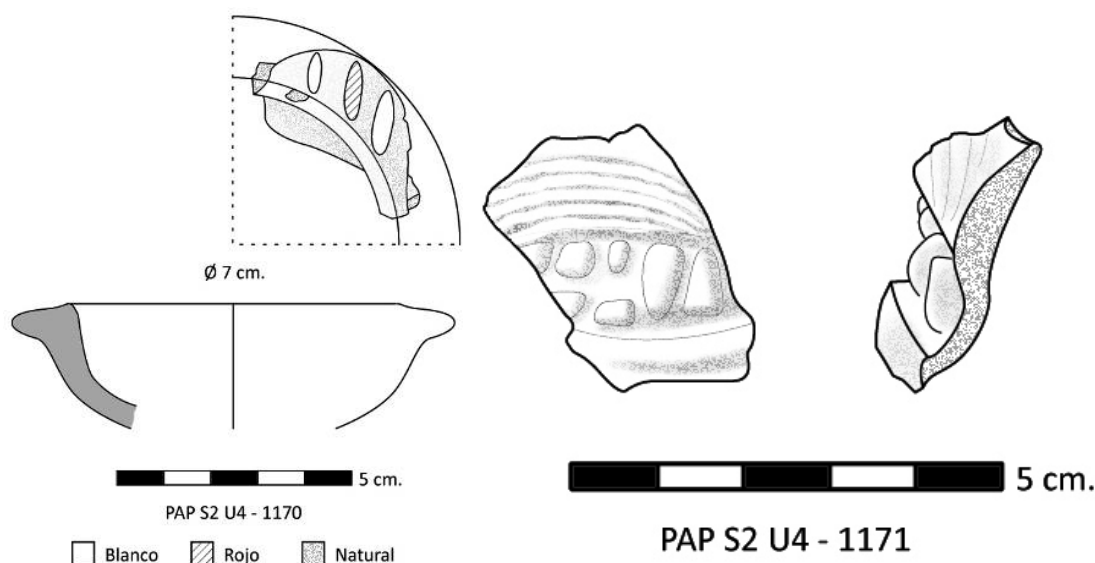


Figure 72. Most representative types of costly ceramics artifacts

2. Proportions of costly ceramics in during Phase I and Phase II in excavation Units S2-U15 and S2-U18

Excavation units S2-U15 and S2-U18 were located in two small patios of Compounds 1 and 13 respectively. Contextual information indicated that these areas were devoted to normal domestic activities such as the daily preparation and consumption of food (See figure 73). The artifacts recovered in these two units were not the product of an intense midden deposition like in S2-U4, but corresponded to what we can call normal domestic refuse. Nevertheless, sherd density registered in these two excavation units was also very important: 1317 di agnostic

fragments. Given the fact that these two excavation units represent two out of four central compounds identified in Panquilma's Sector 2, and based on the high sherds density recorded, the results obtained from this analysis provided of a reliable representation of central household compounds artifacts' patterns.

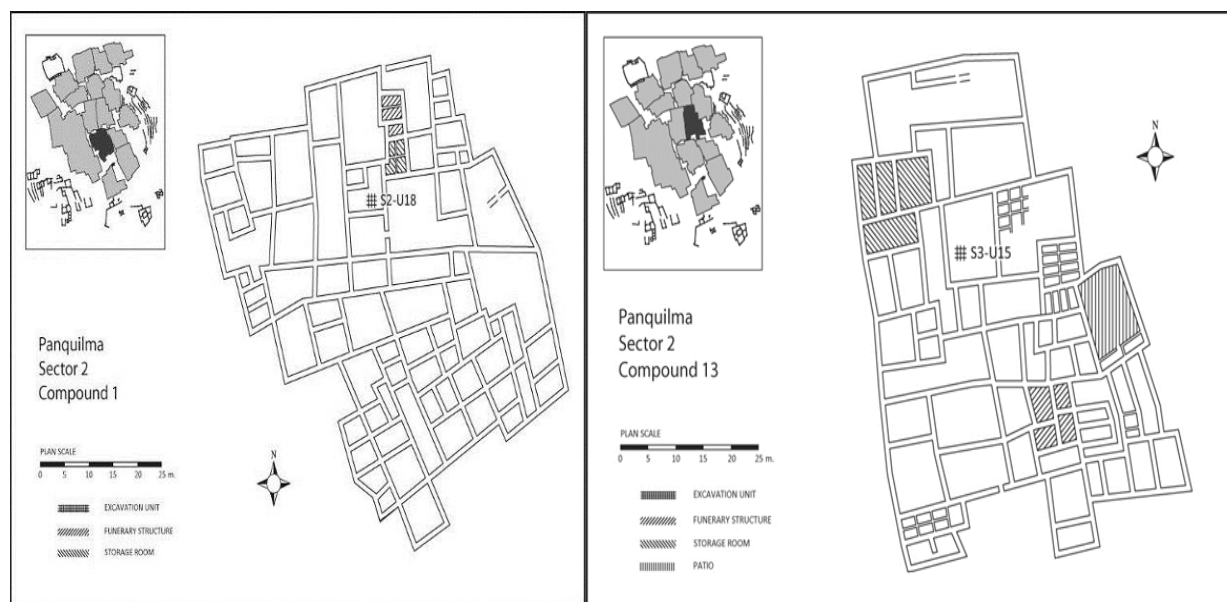


Figure 73. Left: Compound 1 showing the location of excavation unit S2-U18; Right: Compound 13 showing the location of excavation unit S2-U13.

As it is possible to see in figure 74, the pattern of a significant but moderate increase of costly ceramics recorded during Phase II in the midden deposit of S2-U4 (Compound 2) was also present in compounds 1 and 13 (See figure 74). This pattern along with contextual information indicates recorded in central compounds 1 and 2 indicate that the second occupational phase at the site was characterize by intense feasting activities and an increase in the control of costly goods. This period coincided with a process of growth and formalization of the household compounds. Given these patterns it is very possible that this process of growth ad formalization of the domestic space was also characterized by the augmentation of the population.

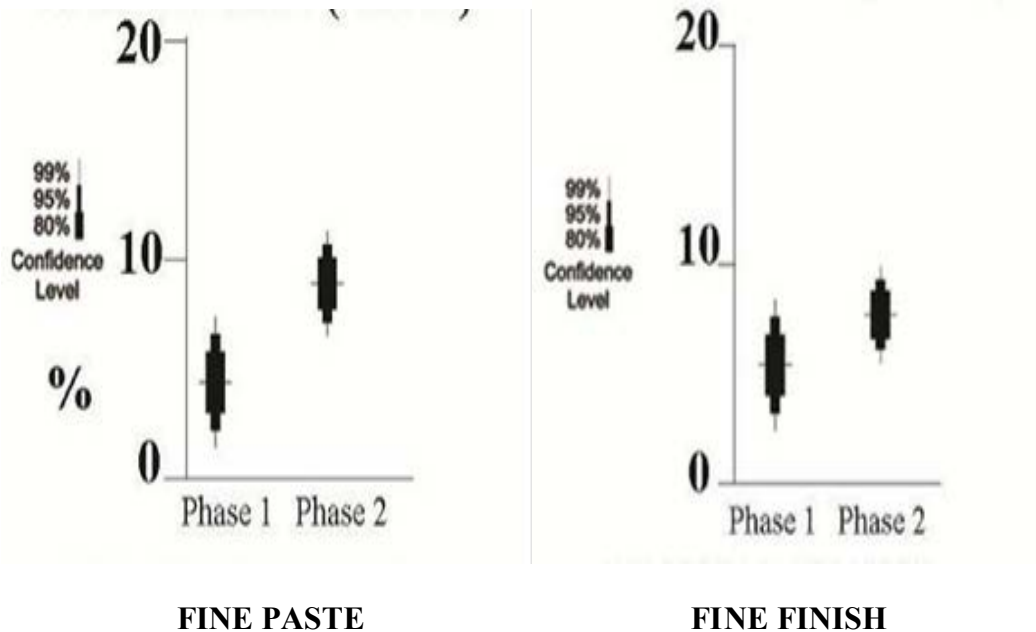


Figure 74. Proportions of fine-paste (left) and fine-finish fragments during phases 1 and 2 in units S2-U15 and S2-U18

These results indicate that, at a 95% confidence level, during Phase I, $4.4\% \pm 2.2\%$ of the ceramics present in the sample were made using fine pastes. As in the case of the intense midden deposition registered in sS2-U4, there is a small but significant increase of this type of artifact during Phase II. In this phase, at a 95% level of confidence, $9\% \pm 1.8\%$ of the ceramics of the sample were made using fine pastes. This pattern persists when fine finish is used as an indicator for the presence of costly ceramic artifacts. In this case, at a 95% confidence level, $5.4\% \pm 1.1\%$ of the ceramics during Phase I received a fine finish. As observed in the case of fine-paste ceramics, this situation changed during Phase II when, at a 95% confidence level, $7.7\% \pm 1.6\%$ of the ceramics in the sample received a fine especial finish.

As in the case of S2-U2 fine-paste and fine-finished costly ceramics were mostly represented by complex forms like miniatures and decorated vessels exhibiting zoomorphic, abstract and geometric motifs (See figure 75).

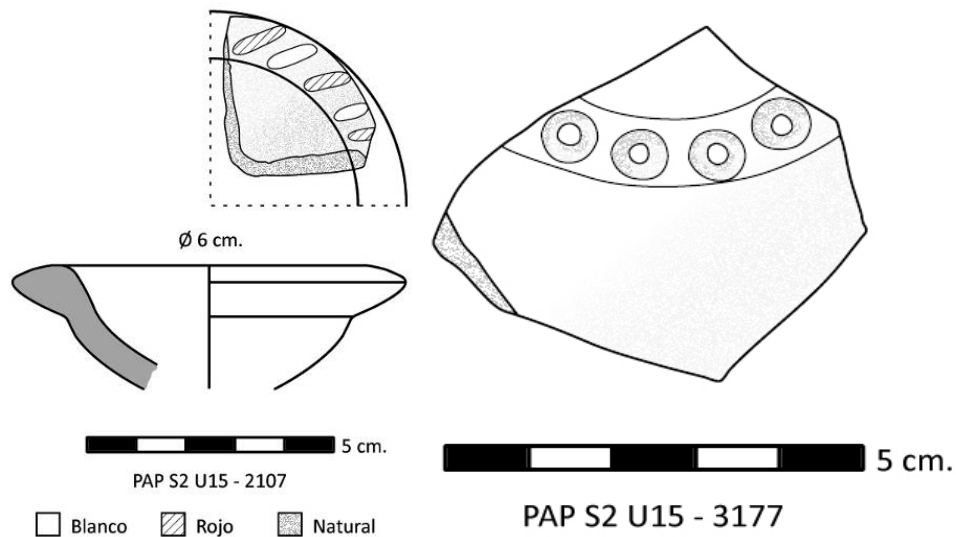


Figure 75. Most representative types of fine ceramics recovered from both excavation units.

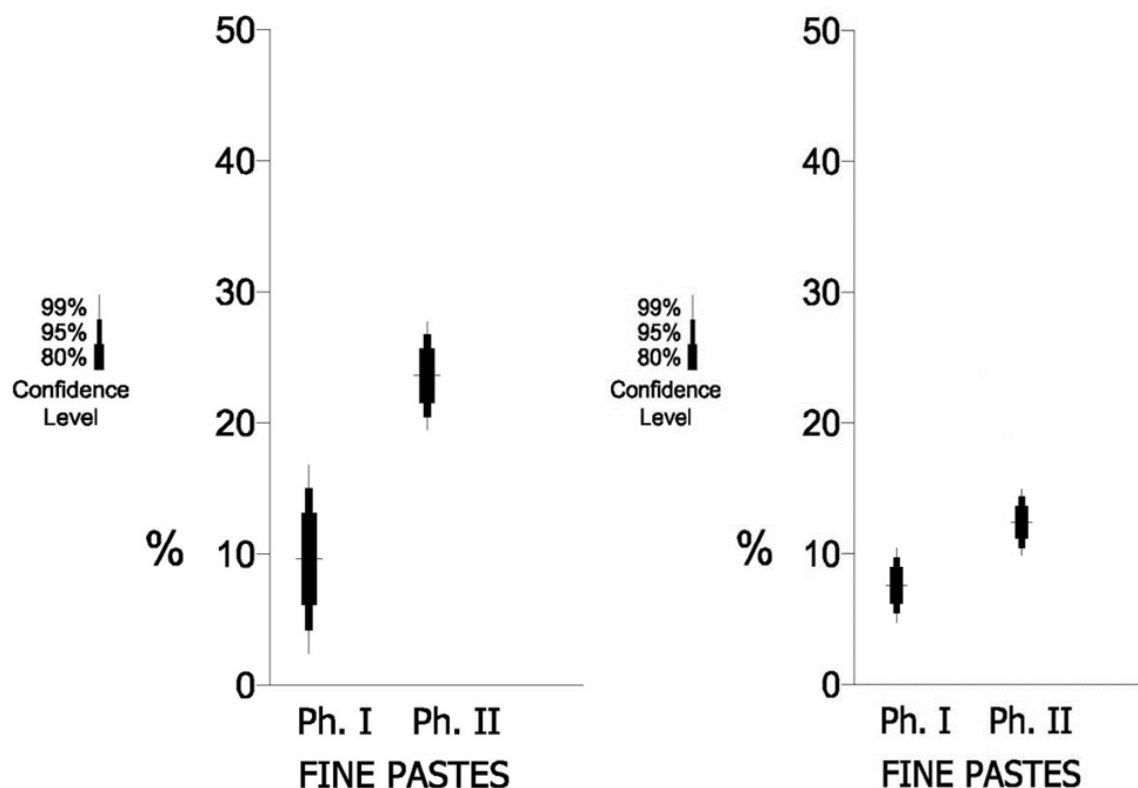
In sum, results obtained from the intense midden deposit recorded in one of the plazas of Compound 2, and from two of the small patios of compounds 1 and 13 respectively indicate the same pattern of a moderate but significant increase of costly ceramics between Phases I and II.

This pattern indicates that, in some degree, during Phase II, central household compounds increased their capability to control costly artifacts. This argument is reinforced by the presence in these compounds of storage structures containing, as indicated by the excavation unit S2-U3, a vast array of goods including fine complete vessels and utensils for textile production. However, given the moderate magnitude of this increment, it is possible that this tendency towards the accumulation of wealth was also present during Phase I and that what we are observing during Phase II is a continuation of this trend. It is for this reason that the comparison between the results of the midden deposit of Compound 4 and the one excavated in the residential area of Pyramid 3 is central to contextualize the moderate increment of costly ceramics between Phases I and II in central compounds.

5.4.2 Differences in the proportions of costly ceramics between central compounds and the pyramid complexes

In order to address the importance of wealth accumulation in the development of hierarchical relations between the ruling elite living in the pyramid complexes and the residents of the central household compounds, proportions of costly ceramics artifacts recorded in the midden deposits of these different areas of the site were compared. The results of this analysis indicate that during Phase I there was not a significant difference in the presence of fine-paste ceramics between the residential area of Pyramid 3 and Compound 2. At a 95% confidence level, during Phase I, $9.6\% \pm 3.13\%$ of this type of ceramics was registered in the residential area of Pyramid 3. A very similar result was recorded in Compound 2 where, at a 95% confidence level, $7.4\% \pm 2.6\%$ of the sample corresponded to fine-paste ceramics.

This similar relationship in the proportions of fine-paste ceramics recorded in the residential area of Pyramid 3 and in Compound 2 changed drastically during Phase II. During this phase there was a noticeable increment in the proportion of fine-paste ceramics in the residential area of Pyramid 3. At a 95% confidence level $23.6\% \pm 3.3\%$ of the sample corresponded to fine-paste ceramics. This situation is very different to in Compound 2 where only a moderate increase in the proportion of fine paste-ceramics was recorded. In this case, at a 95% confidence level, only $12\% \pm 2.4\%$ corresponded to fine-paste ceramics (See figure 76). This pattern indicate that after a first period of time when the residents both sectors of the site have similar access and control over fine-paste ceramics, during the following period this control was a prerogative of the residents of pyramid complexes.

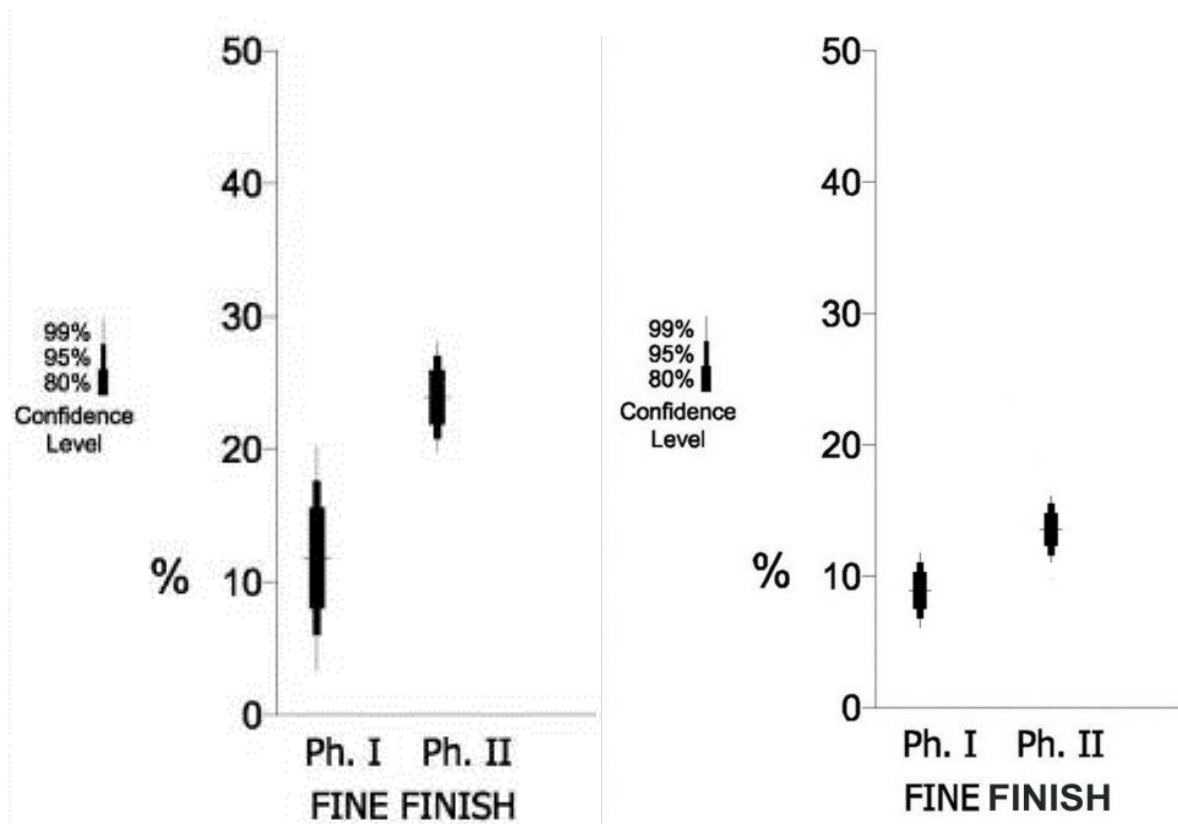


RESIDENTIAL AREA OF PYRAMID 3

HOUSEHOLD COMPOUND 2

Figure 76. Changes in the proportions of fine-paste ceramics between Phase I and Phase 2 in Pyramid 1's residential area and Compound 2

A similar pattern was recorded when fine finish was used as an indicator of costly ceramics. During Phase I, at a 95% confidence level, $11.8\% \pm 5.8\%$ of the sample corresponded to fine-finish ceramics in the residential area of Pyramid 3. A similar proportion of fine-finish ceramics was recorded in Compound 2, at a 95% confidence level, $5.7\% \pm 2.3\%$. As in the case of fine-paste ceramics, this situation changed drastically during Phase II. In this phase, at a 95% confidence level, $24\% \pm 3.1\%$ of the sample recovered from the residential area of Pyramid 3 corresponded to this type of artifact. In contrast, at a 95% confidence level, only $10.9\% \pm 2.1\%$ of the ceramics recovered in Compound 2 received a fine finish (See figure 77).



RESIDENTIAL AREA OF PYRAMID 3

HOUSEHOLD COMPOUND 2

Figure 77. Changes in the proportions of fine-finish ceramics between Phase I and Phase 2 in Pyramid 1's residential area and Compound 2

The patterns obtained from the domestic and the public sectors of the site are indicating that the proportions of costly artifacts were very similar between both sectors during Phase I. This situation changed during Phase II when the marked increase of costly artifacts in the public sector of the site is not matched in the domestic sector of the site. This difference in the presence of costly artifacts during Phase II between the public and the domestic sector is indicating that the residents of the pyramid complexes controlled bigger amounts of costly ceramics. Given the fact that contextual and architectural evidence recorded in Sector 1 indicates the construction of storage facilities and drying terraces in the pyramids complexes during this phase, it is possible to assume that this control also included other types of goods like agricultural products. In this

scenario it is possible to argue that, in addition to their control over ritual activities, one important component in the hierarchical position of the ruling elite of Panquilma rested in their differential control over costly goods and agricultural produce.

5.4.3 Differences in the proportions of costly ceramics between central and peripheral compounds

In order to address if the recorded relationship of disparity in the presence of costly ceramic artifacts between Pyramid's 3 residential area and central Compound 2 was also present between central and peripheral compounds. The results obtained from excavation units S2-U15 and S2-U18 located in central Compounds 1 and 13 respectively (See figure 72) were compared to the results obtained from excavation units S2-U8, S2-U13, and S2-U99 peripheral Compounds 5, 6, and 7.

As in the case of both excavation units S2-U15 and S2-U18 located in two of the four central compounds; units S2-U8, S2-U13 and S2-U99 were located in one of the small patios of three out of nine peripheral compounds. In all of these cases the deposits recorded corresponded to normal domestic refuse. Given these similarities, the materials recovered from these excavation units were, as in the case of the excavation units located in the central compounds, analyzed together. Although these three randomly located excavation units may appear to be insufficient to represent the whole group of peripheral compounds; given the methodology used to determine their locations and the sherd density present in all of these excavation units, they provide an accurate representation of this type of domestic unit. These units were located following a sampling program of the site in which a number randomly located test pits was established in order to obtain an accurate reconstruction of site-wide artifact's patterns. In

addition, the high density of diagnostic sherds (1309) registered in these units allowed for high confidence levels and very small error ranges at the moment of calculating artifact's proportions.

Results obtained from this analysis indicate a slight but significant difference in the proportions of costly artifacts between central and peripheral compounds. As it is possible to observe in the following figure during Phase II, at a 95% level of confidence, $9\% \pm 1.8\%$ of the ceramics of the sample taken in central Compounds 1 and 13 were made using fine pastes. A slightly different, but significant, result was obtained in peripheral Compounds 5, 6, and 7 during the same occupational phase. In this case, at a 95% confidence level, $6.4\% \pm 1.7\%$ corresponded to fine-paste ceramics.

The same patterns were observed when fine-finish fragments were used as an indicator of the presence of costly ceramics. In central Compounds 1 and 13, at a 95% confidence level, $7.7\% \pm 1.6\%$ of the ceramics recovered in these compounds receive a fine special finish. In the case of peripheral Compounds 5, 6, and 7, at a 95% confidence level, only 4.7 ± 1.25 of the sample corresponded to finished ceramics (See figure 78).

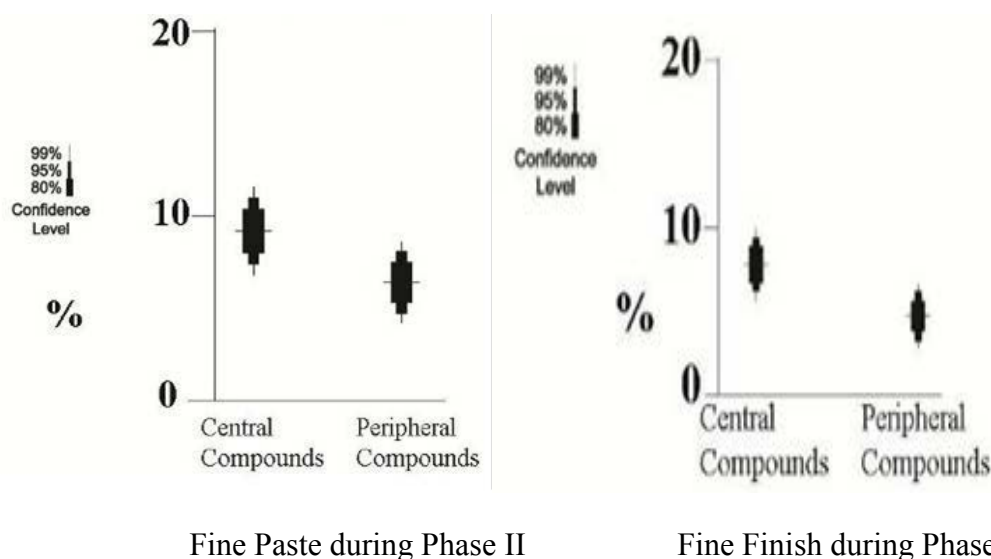


Figure. 78. Proportions of costly ceramics in central and peripheral compounds during Phase II

The proportional analysis of the recovered materials indicates that central compounds had a slightly, but significantly, higher proportion of costly items. It is worth to remember that both central and peripheral compounds during Phase II present multiple clusters of storage facilities behind their walls. The excavation of one of these storage structures in central Compound 3 revealed that diverse types of goods were stored in these structures. Among them, the most notorious were storage and serving vessels as well as textile production utensils. The presence of big central plazas, small patios, agglutinated rooms as well as evidence of constant growing and remodeling in both central and peripheral compounds indicate that these domestic structures were densely populated. In addition, the presence of above-ground funerary structures associated with the central big plazas in both central and peripheral compounds indicated that, in the same line as many archaeological and ethnographic studies in the Andean region (Isbell 2004; Allen 1988; Spalding 1984; Janusek 1999, 2004), multi-room household compounds were the center of kin-based family corporate groups. These corporate groups functioned as units of agricultural and craft production and were organized in terms of kin proximity to a founding figure. Central members of these groups were in charge of organizing labor, redistributing resources, and the performance of ritual activities such as ancestor veneration rituals.

In this scenario, the control of over economic resources such as costly ceramics, craft production utensils, and probably agricultural produce constituted a very important factor not only in the organization of these corporate groups but also in the establishment of hierarchical relationships with similar neighboring household compounds. In the case of Panquilma, this analysis is revealing that, in addition to being located in closer proximity to the pyramidal public buildings, central compounds were slightly more successful in securing the necessary resources to fulfill the redistributing duties of the head of the household compounds.

5.4.4 Relationship between costly ceramics and serving vessels in central compound 2 during Phases I and II

Previously analyzed contextual and architectural information suggested the intense realization of feasting in both central and peripheral compounds. In order to address the importance of feasting activities in the development of intra-compound hierarchical relations among members of the central compounds, proportions of serving vessels during Phases I and II were compared. The sample of artifacts that were selected to establish the possible differences in the proportions of serving vessels was formed by the materials recovered in the excavation unit S2-U4 where the presence of an intense midden deposit located in Compound 2 was recorded.

As I mentioned before, excavation unit S2-U4 was excavated in a patio of central Compound 2 and corresponded to an intense midden deposition during Phase II, preceded by a normal deposition of domestic refuse during Phase I. In contrast to the moderate increase in the proportions of costly ceramics between Phases I and II, there is an important proportional increase of serving vessels. During Phase I there is not a significant difference between the proportions of costly ceramics and serving vessels. In this sense, the proportion of serving vessels during Phase I at a 95% confidence level was $11.4\% \pm 4.9\%$. Very close to the values of the proportions for the presence of costly ceramics obtained for the same occupational phase using fine-paste sherds (95% confidence level, $7.4\% \pm 2.6\%$), and fine-finish fragments (95% confidence level, $5.7\% \pm 2.3\%$).

This similar relationship between costly ceramic artifacts and serving vessels observed in Phase I changed noticeably during Phase II. In this phase, despite the recorded moderate proportional increase of costly ceramics, there is a much higher proportional presence of serving vessels. In this sense, during Phase II, at a 95% confidence level $30\% \pm 3.7\%$ of the sample

recovered from the midden corresponded to serving vessels. This value is considerably higher than the ones recorded for this phase using fine-paste (95% confidence level, $12\% \pm 2.4\%$), and fine-finish (95% level of confidence, $10.9\% \pm 2.1\%$) ceramic fragments as indicators of costly ceramics (See figure 80).

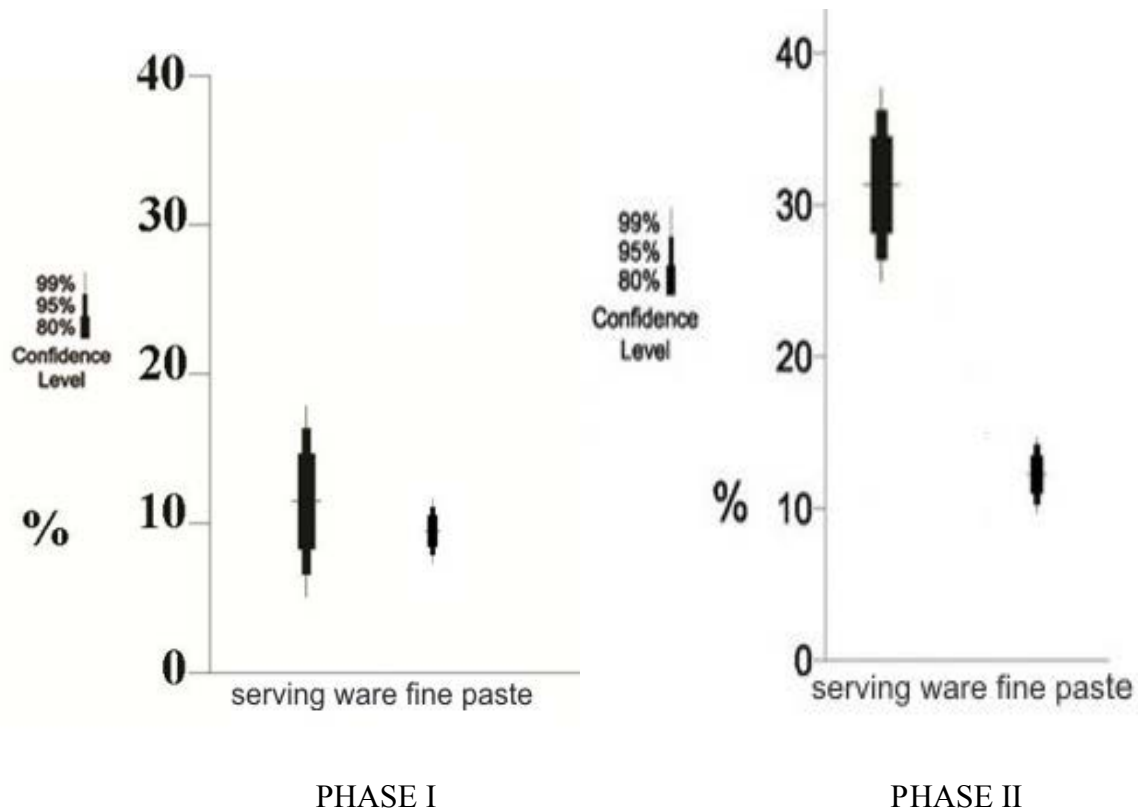


Figure 79. Proportional relationship between serving ware and costly ceramics during Phases I and II in Compound 2

The most representative types of serving ware recovered in this excavation unit were formed by headjars, and decorated plates and bottles (See figure 81). This type of vessels is constantly present in feasting contexts and it is related with ancestor veneration practices in the central coast (Diaz and Vallejo 2005).

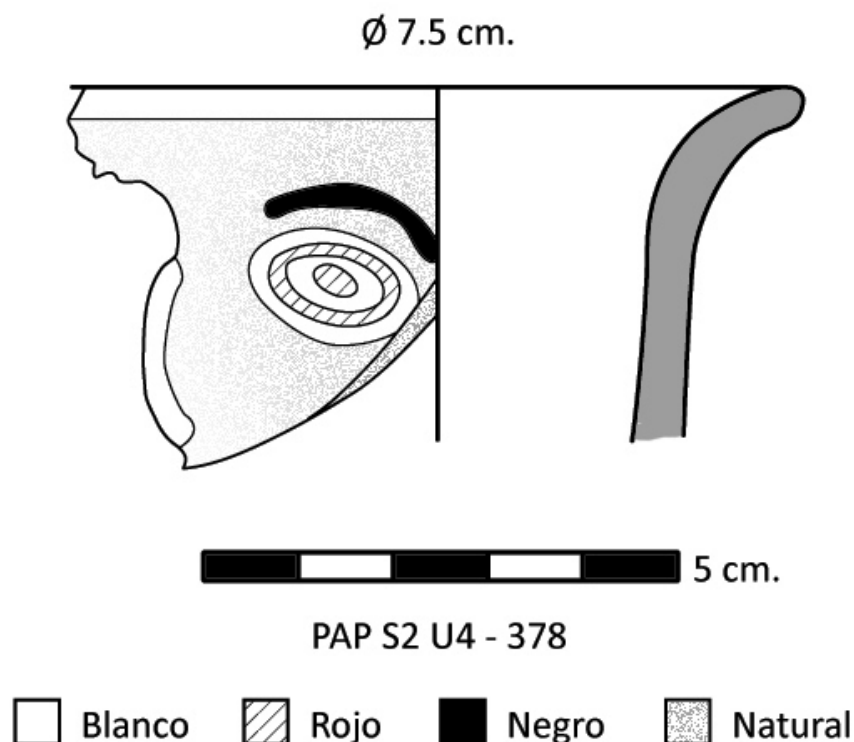


Figure 80. Head jars constituted one the most important types of serving vessels recovered in this excavation unit

Patterns observed in the ceramics recovered from this unit indicate that there was not a significant difference between costly ceramics and serving vessels during Phase I. During Phase II, despite the moderate increase of costly ceramics, there is a much higher increase in the proportion of serving vessels. The relationship between control over costly artifacts and the performance of feasting activities during Phase II indicates that, as explained above, along with the performance of ritual activities, the control and redistribution of economic resources among household members in the context of feasting activities was one of the roles of the central members of the extended family.

5.4.5 Differences in the relationship between costly ceramics and serving vessels between central and peripheral compounds

In order to address if the proportional relationship between costly ceramic artifacts and serving vessels recorded during Phase II in central Compound 2 was also present in the peripheral compounds I have compared the results from the same groups of central and peripheral compounds used to estimate the proportional difference of costly ceramics. Both sets of materials came from normal domestic refuse located in small compounds patios. In this sense, the results obtained from excavation units S2-U15 and S2-U18 located in central Compounds 1 and 13 respectively (See figure 72) were compared to the results obtained from excavation units S2-8, S2-U13, and S2-U99 peripheral compounds 5, 6, and 7 (See figure 76).

As it is possible to see in figure 80, the same relationship between costly ceramics and serving vessels recorded during Phase II in central Compound 2 is also present in central Compounds 1 and 13, and in peripheral compounds 5, 6, and 7. In both cases there is a much higher proportion of serving vessels during Phase II. In central compounds 1 and 13 during Phase II, at a 95% confidence level, the relationship between fine-paste ceramics and serving vessels was $9\% \pm 1.8\%$ of fine-paste ceramics vs. $22.3\% \pm 3.1\%$ of serving vessels. The same relationship was observed when fine-finish fragments were used as an indicator of costly ceramics. At a 95% confidence level $7.7\% \pm 1.6\%$ of the fragments corresponded to fine-finish vs. $22.3\% \pm 3.1\%$ of serving vessels.

A similar relationship between costly ceramics and serving vessels was recorded in peripheral compounds 5, 6, and 7. At a 95% confidence level, $6.4\% \pm 1.7\%$ of the sample corresponded to fine-paste fragments. In contrast, at a 95% confidence level, $19.1\% \pm 1.3\%$ corresponded to serving vessels. Similar results were obtained when fine-finish fragments were

used as an indicator of costly ceramics. In this case, at a 95% confidence level, $4.7\% \pm 1.2\%$ of the sample corresponded to fine-finish fragments. As in the case of fine-paste fragments the proportions of this type of artifact and serving vessels is very different (See figure 82). These results are indicating that the performance of feasting activities was equally important in both groups of compounds.

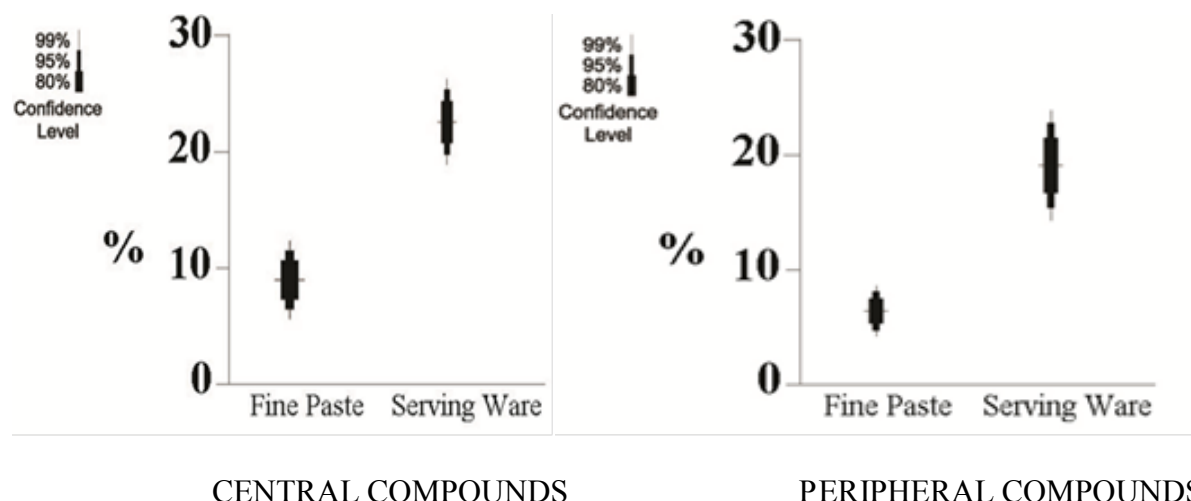


Figure 81. Proportional difference between serving ware and costly artifacts central and peripheral compounds

As in the case of excavation unit S2-U4 the most representative types of serving vessels were simple decorated plates, headjars, and bottles (See figure 83).

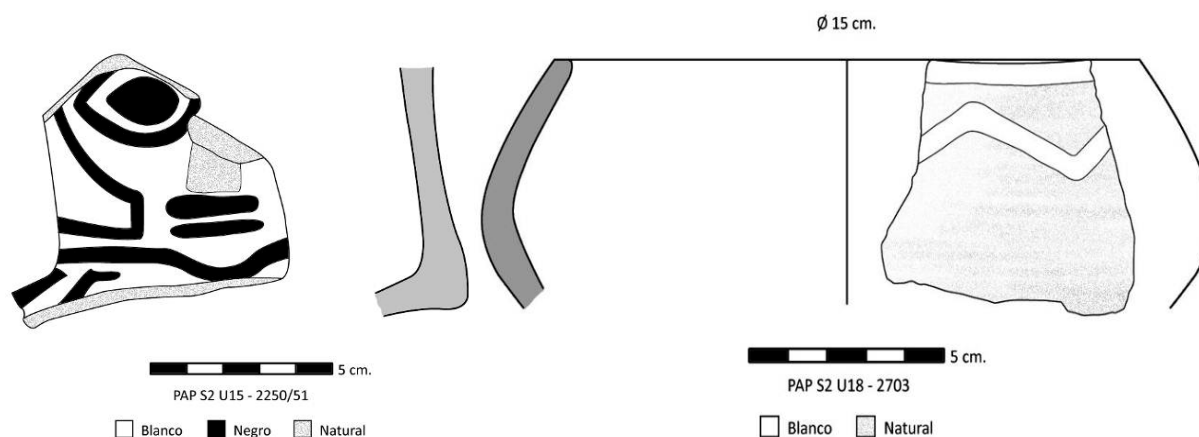


Figure 82. Most representative types of drinking jar and simple decorated bowl

The results obtained from the proportional analysis of the ceramics recovered in Sector 2 provided important observations about changes in the nature of hierarchy at the site of Panquilma during Phases I and II. In terms of the nature of the relationship between the ruling elite of the site that lived in the pyramidal complexes and the residents of the 15 household compounds. Contextual and proportional information collected in the public sector, especially in the main plaza of Pyramid 1, indicates that the control of ritual activities in the pyramids' main plazas constituted an important factor in the hierarchical position of the ruling elite. Results obtained from the intense midden deposition excavated in central Compound 2 added an economic factor to our understanding of the nature of hierarchy at the site.

The comparison of the patterns obtained in this excavation unit (S2-U4) with the patterns obtained from a similar deposit excavated in the residential area of the pyramid complex indicate that during Phase I both sectors of the site exhibited similar percentages of costly items. During Phase II however the proportions of costly artifacts increased almost three times in the pyramid complexes. During the same phase, however, only a moderate proportional increase of costly ceramics was registered at the adjacent central Compound 2. The sharp difference in the presence of costly ceramics during Phase II between the residential area of Pyramid 3 and central Compound 2 indicate that along with the elite's control over ritual space, wealth accumulation was also very important in the hierarchical relations between the ruling elite and the residents of the compounds. The construction of big storage facilities and drying terraces for agricultural produce during this phase in the public sector corroborates this idea.

It is very interesting to notice also that, unlike household compounds, no evidence of craft or agricultural production was recorded in the pyramid complexes. In addition, evidences of public feastings identified in the big plazas of the domestic compounds were not present in the

main plaza of Pyramid 1. As I discussed above, if household compounds were the center of kin based corporate groups that functioned as units for craft and probably agricultural production; the pyramid complexes worked mainly as ritual spaces under the elite's control. The lack of evidence for the mass consumption of food and beverages in the pyramid's plaza dismissed the idea of a possible redistributive function of these rituals. In this sense, the presence of higher proportions of costly goods and big storage facilities in the elites' complexes indicates that surplus extraction on behalf of the ruling elite was a very important component of hierarchy and it was deeply related with their control over ritual performance.

In terms of the nature of hierarchical relations between central and peripheral compounds, these patterns are indicating that both types of compounds had access to similar amounts of wealth. The small but consistent difference in the control of costly items in favor of the oldest and bigger central compounds can be pointing towards economic factors acting in the development of hierarchical relationships between central and peripheral compounds. In this relationship the accumulation of wealth among important members of both central and peripheral compounds alike was important in order to keep the redistributive mechanisms that, along with ancestor veneration practices, keep the corporate family group together. Patterns reconstructed from the small patios of two central and three peripheral compounds are indicating that in this endeavor the leaders of the oldest and central compounds were slightly more successful.

Regarding the development of hierarchical relations among the residents of the central and older compounds, data obtained from this excavation unit indicate that feasting activities were very important during Phase II in Compound 2. These festivities took place in big patios inside the residential compound and were associated with the presence of above the ground funerary structures in the same area. As I discussed above, similar archaeological and

ethnographic evidences recorded in other Andean regions (Spalding 1984; Allen 1988; Isbell 2004; Janusek 1999, 2004) indicate that household compounds were the base of extended family groups that functioned as kin-based corporate groups. Labor organization and the redistribution of resources constituted part of the prerogative of the central members of these groups. In the case of Panquilma during Phase II, evidence of the intense performance of feasting activities in big plazas located inside both peripheral and central compounds indicates the importance of feasting activities as redistributive mechanisms in the social organization of each compound. In both cases these banquets took place in plazas associated with above-ground funerary structures suggesting their relation with ancestor veneration rituals.

5.4.6 Special finds

The objective of the analysis of the distribution of special artifacts recovered during the excavations at the site was to establish differences in the activities between central and peripheral compounds. This analysis provided important information that complemented the proportional patterns observed in the ceramic analysis.

5.4.6.1 Central compounds

5.4.6.1.1 Excavation unit S2-U3

Storage facility in Compound 2: Special finds in this excavation unit provided information about the specific types of goods stored. As I mentioned early on this chapter, a vast array of artifacts were recovered in this excavation unit including serving and storage vessels and religious

paraphernalia like anthropomorphic and zoomorphic figurines, and rattles. However, the most represented type of artifacts present in this storage structure was utensils for textile production. These utensils ranged from multiple decorated spindle whorls, a sewing box (where some of the spindle whorls were found), and the wooden structure of a back-strap loom (See figure 84). These findings indicate that textile production was part of the economic activities of the household compounds.



Figure 83. Utensils for textile production found in storage facility of Compound 2

Based on these finds and on above presented contextual and proportional evidence it is possible to suggest that craft production was one of the main activities of the extended family groups that lived in Panquilma's household compounds. The absence of evidence for similar activities in the pyramid complexes of Sector 1 suggests that elites did not control or administer the production of these goods but that it was organized along kin based household principles.

5.4.6.1.2 Excavation unit S2-U4

Intense midden deposit associated with the performance of feasting in Compound 2: As in the case of S2-U3 the special finds recovered in this unit included textile production utensils like spindle whorls and cotton fiber. This finds corroborates our initial argument about household compounds as independent units of craft production. Based on the data recovered one fo the most important types of items produced in this domestic areas were textiles.

However in this case the most represented type of artifact was the great amount of religious paraphernalia that included rattles, zoomorphic and anthropomorphic figurines as well as whistles (See figure 85). It is worth to mention that in a similar midden deposit excavated in the pyramid complex, also associated to the performance of feasting, no religious paraphernalia was registered. This evidence was interpreted as an indicator of the prevalent secular nature of feasting in the residential areas of the pyramid complexes. In contrast, the presence of religious paraphernalia in feasting contexts in the household compounds reinforces the idea already indicated by architectural information of the association between these redistributive banquets and the performance of ancestor veneration rituals.



Figure 84. Religious paraphernalia found in a midden deposit of Compound 2

5.4.6.2 Peripheral compounds

5.4.6.2.1 Excavation unit S2-U10

This excavation unit was placed in one of the patios of peripheral Compound 7 and it revealed an area devoted to the fermentation of great quantities of *chicha*. In this excavation unit we found an in situ 50 gallon fermentation vessel. Special finds in this excavation unit included a zoomorphic figurine and items of personal adornment. It is the only excavation unit located in

peripheral compounds that revealed the presence of religious paraphernalia (See figure 86). Information recorded in this excavation unit confirmed the idea about the realization of feasting in peripheral compounds and about the relationship between these activities and religious activities, presumably related to ancestor veneration.



Figure 85. Above: religious paraphernalia found in Compound 7. Bellow 50 gallon fermentation vessel found in the same household compound

5.5 CONCLUSIONS

Two groups of household compounds were identified at the site: central household compounds and peripheral household compounds. The most important differences between these two groups of residences is that central ones are located closer to the pyramid buildings, they were occupied during both occupational phases at the site, and finally, they exhibit slightly higher proportions of fine-finish and fine-paste ceramics. Given the difference in the number and distribution of rooms and patios between these two groups of compounds it is possible that central compounds were not only older but also inhabited by more people than peripheral ones.

Despite these differences, there are number of important similarities between central and peripheral household compounds. Both groups of compounds were surrounded by high perimetric walls; both were organized in a number of patios, rooms and at least one big plaza. In addition, clusters of storage facilities were located inside both central and peripheral compounds. Based on the excavation of one of these structures we know that diverse types of goods including fine pottery, serving vessels, and utensils for textile production were stored in them.

In central and peripheral compounds alike big plazas are associated with one or two clusters of above-ground individual funerary structures. These plazas invariably present surface evidence of intense use that included traces of hearths, abundant food refuse, and ceramic fragments. Excavated evidence from a midden deposit associated to one of these plazas indicates that feasting activities were periodically realized in these spaces. The proportion of serving vessels in relation to costly vessels in this midden deposit is almost three times higher. Similar results were obtained when the proportional relations between serving vessels and costly ceramics were compared in samples taken from both central and peripheral compounds.

The presence of above-ground funerary structures in association with both central and peripheral compounds' plazas suggests a relationship between this feasting and ritual practices related to ancestor veneration. This idea is reinforced by findings of ritual paraphernalia like figurines and rattles in both groups of household compounds' plazas. Finally, both groups of compounds show evidence of a constant process of remodeling and expansion. Patios are closed to build rooms, rooms sometimes are subdivided to build storage facilities, and some accesses are sealed while others are opened. Hirth (1993) characterizes this type of process in domestic spaces as the "household developmental cycle". Based on his work in western Mesoamerica he proposes that households grow as the extended family grows with the central members being the ones most closely related in terms of kinship with the household's founder.

Based on diverse ethnographic and archaeological work in the Andes, many scholars have suggested a similar organization (Allen 1988, Spalding 1984, Janusek 1999, 2004, Isbell 2004). In these cases, household compounds were the base of extended family corporate groups. These groups were organized around kin principles and claims of common ancestry. Extended families living in these compounds constituted the basic units of production of craft and agricultural goods.

Hierarchical relations inside these extended families were articulated in terms of kin proximity to the group's founding ancestor. Among the functions of the household's leader was the organization of labor, the redistribution of resources, and the performance of ritual activities. In the case of Panquilma, these feasting in which ancestor veneration rituals constitute an important component was without doubt a very important factor in intra household organization. Probably these banquets related to ancestor worship were part of redistributive mechanisms

destined to prevent fission of the extended household's group and to validate the privileged position of the central members of the family.

Evidence from Panquilma's Sector 2 offers an avenue for understanding the development of hierarchical relations between these corporate groups. As I mentioned above, central and peripheral compounds share a number of important characteristics, but there are also some noticeable differences. In terms of the development of hierarchical relations between the two groups of households the fact that central compounds are older and probably more populated is certainly a factor to take into consideration. In addition, central compounds exhibited moderate but significantly higher proportions of costly ceramics. This is indicating that even though all of these compounds controlled comparable amounts of wealth, central compounds were slightly more successful at that, possibly revealing a competition for economic supremacy between compounds. In a scenario in which both central and peripheral compounds are populated by extended family groups organized around redistributive mechanisms and claims of common ancestry, it is possible to say that control over economic resources constituted an important factor on behalf of family leaders.

In this context, resource control secures the means to fulfill the redistributive duties of the family leader, preventing household fission. Moderate but significantly higher proportions of costly ceramics in older and presumably more populated household compounds is suggesting that in the quest for resource control, central compounds were slightly more successful. Another conspicuous indicator of inter-compound hierarchy is the fact that central compounds are located closer to community-wide ritual spaces represented by the pyramids' plazas. However, evidence of the presence of high walls surrounding the pyramid complexes indicates that access to ritual space was equally restricted to members of both central and peripheral compounds.

Finally, evidence collected in Sector 2 c ontributes to our understanding of the development of hierarchical relations between household compounds' members and the ruling elite of the site. Chapter 4 established the important role of ritual performance in the development of social relationships between the ruling elites of the site and members of the household compounds. The proportional and contextual analysis of the artifacts recovered in central Compound 2 (intense midden deposit) added an important economic component of this hierarchical relationship.

During Phase I there is not a significant difference in the proportions of costly ceramics between the residential area of Pyramid 3 and central Compound 2. During Phase II we recorded a drastic increase in the proportions of costly ceramic artifacts in the residential area of Pyramid 3. This important proportional increment was not matched in Compound 2 w here only a moderate increase in the proportions of this type of ceramics was recorded during the second occupational phase. The difference in the proportions of this type of artifacts during Phase II between the residential area of Pyramid 3 and Compound 2 i ndicates that during the second occupational phase, characterized as the peak in the use of the pyramids, the residents of the pyramid complex controlled considerably bigger amounts of costly items than the residents of the compounds. In addition, the construction big clusters of storage structures and drying terraces in the pyramid complex suggests that this control was also extended to other types of craft goods such as textiles and agricultural products.

This big economic disparity between the pyramid complex and the households indicates that the performance of elite controlled ritual activities in Pyramid 1's main plaza during Phase II was not the only factor in the hierarchical relationship between the ruling elite and the compounds' residents. Instead it was deeply related to economic and political differences

between these two segments of the community. If as discussed above the household compounds functioned as production units, the lack of evidence for productive activities in the pyramid complex could be indicating that surplus extraction from the households' corporate groups on behalf of the ruling elite was validated through ritual performance.

In sum the role of ideology in the development of hierarchical relations in the domestic sector is indicating that ideology was decisive only when it was used to validate vertical relationships. In between household compounds it seems like the competition for economic resources was very important. On the other hand, ideology in the form of ancestor veneration rituals appears to be an important mechanism in articulating the hierarchical positions of certain household members. The same can be said in the case of the relationship between households' corporate groups and the ruling elite. In this case ideology in the form of elite-controlled ritual activities appears to be very important in maintaining the elite's privilege position.

6.0 CONCLUSIONS

6.1 THE ROLE OF IDEOLOGY IN THE DEVELOPMENT OF SOCIAL HIERARCHY AT PANQUILMA

In the present work I have approached the question about the role of ideology in the development of hierarchical relations using data recovered at the site of Panquilma, a X III-XV century community located under the influence of one of the most important religious centers of the ancient Andes: Pachacamac. To this end I evaluated three models in which ideology played a different role in the development of hierarchy. These three models were evaluated based on the relative importance that ideological control had in the development of hierarchical strategies in two segments of Panquilma's population: the ruling elites that resided in walled pyramid complexes and the heads of the different extended family groups that resided in the surrounding 15 household compounds.

In the first model the role of ideology was always intrinsically related to economic and political disparities. From this point of view the most important factor in the development of successful hierarchical strategies rested in the acquisition and maintenance of direct control over key economic resources. In the Andes these resources are basically labor force, land and agricultural production, and specialized craft production. Once economic supremacy was achieved, elite-sponsored ritual activities, the production and control of religious paraphernalia

and the construction of temples were possible and became necessary as a consequence of the successful surplus extraction from the commoners (Gilman 1987, 1991; Lucero 2003: 524). Even though the control of ideology also constituted a critical advantage over other competing elite groups, its efficacy as a source of power was derived from the control of the economic means necessary to materialize it (Van Buren and Richards 2000: 3; DeMarrais et al. 1996).

In the Andes, economic control on behalf of the elite is related to the development of ideologically charged redistributive mechanisms that validated these disparities. In the case of the Inka Empire, surplus extraction in the form of labor or agricultural production was rewarded in the context of state sponsored feasting. This feasting was usually organized around religious festivities and took place in official buildings ideologically charged with symbols and architectural features that expressed the dominance of the state, like *ushnu* platforms (Morris 2003; Bray 2003a, 2003b). In a similar manner, the serving ware used during these banquets was decorated in the very distinctive Inka imperial style (Bray 2003a, 2003b). As Justin and Bowser (2009) argue, this type of redistributive feasting can't be directly framed in the context of Andean cultural tradition of reciprocity because the labor or goods extracted are not later returned by the host. In these cases ideology worked as an important supporting mechanism that facilitated surplus extraction.

The prevalence of economic control in the development of successful hierarchical strategies is evidenced, among other factors, by the disparate distribution of wealth between different segments of the population. It can be expressed, for example, in the presence of elite households showing more than usual concentrations of fine artifacts, refuse of craft production, and preferred food remains. Another indicator of hierarchical organizations based on the

implementation of economy-based strategies is the restricted distribution of facilities to process and store large quantities agricultural products.

In the case of the central Ychsma site of Pachacamac during the last decades of the LIP, the presence of elite residences inside public buildings (Pyramids with Ramp) containing high densities of costly artifacts, preferred food remains, and extensive storage facilities have been signaled as evidence for the prevalence of economic and political factors in the organization of the Ychsma polity (Eeckhout 1999, 2002, 2003, 2004, 2010). The presence of evidence indicating the intense performance of feasting activities in the main plazas in some of these public buildings would be part of the ideologically-charged redistributive mechanisms above discussed. The fact that these palatial buildings were located in close proximity to other buildings exclusively related to ritual activities signal that the pyramids with ramp during the LIP, as proposed by Eeckhout (2004, 2010), acted mainly as centers for political power. Under these premises, the role of ideology in the development of hierarchical relations in Pachacamac during the late pre-Inka period was deeply dependent on economic and political factors.

The second theoretical scenario that this study evaluated proposes that, instead of a post-facto reflection of material circumstances, the control and manipulation of belief systems can have an active role in the development of successful hierarchical strategies. From this perspective, the implementation of social hierarchy rested mainly on the elite's capability to monopolize ritual knowledge expressed on their exclusive control over religious paraphernalia and ritual performance. An important aspect here is that where ideology is the central factor in the development of successful hierarchical strategies, resource control and wealth accumulation as the main goal of the leaders is eclipsed by the control and manipulation of ritual activities and religious paraphernalia. Consequently, the protagonist role of religious activities in the

acquisition and maintenance of social hierarchy is also evidenced by minimal economic differentiation on the part of elite groups.

The active role of ideological processes in the political configuration of the Andean northern coast during the Late Moche periods has been advanced by Swenson (2006, 2007, 2010). According to Swenson, the prolific construction of ceremonial centers located in rural communities during the disintegration of the Moche state was a key factor in the political reconfiguration of the region (Swenson 2006). In this scenario, in the absence of the encompassing authority of the Moche state, rural communities reorganized themselves based on religious precepts. Differences in the characteristics of these “hinterland religious centers” are interpreted by Swenson as an indicator that the role of religion in this reconfiguration was based mainly on local communities’ religious practices without supra-communal influences (2006: 118).

A common arena proposed in the Andes to explain the active role of ideology in the development of hierarchical relations is the practice of ancestor veneration rituals. According to Isbell (2004), the configuration of Andean societies is based on claims to common ancestry. Proximity in terms of kinship to the community’s founding ancestral figure is a source of status and plays a big role in determining hierarchy (Janusek 2004, 1999; Isbell 2004; Lau 2002). In this type of communities, called *Ayllus*, even the organization of productive activities is articulated around these premises inside the local community or even at the household level without direct intervention of the ruling elites (Janusek 1999).

In the case of Pachacamac, based on mainly on ethnohistoric accounts, it has been proposed by Bueno (1982) that this important site acted as the religious capital of a federation of independent polities that “shared their devotion to Pachacamac”. From this point of view, the

Pyramids with Ramp present at Pachacamac were not the palaces of the Ychsma chiefs but religious embassies that represented the different polities that formed the federation. From this point of view the role of Pachacamac in the political configuration of the Ychsma polity was only symbolic without direct intervention in the region's political and economic processes.

The third approach holds that successful power strategies can be based on the acquisition of intra-group social prestige. This type of strategy gives primacy to non-material but secular (rather than religious or ritual) processes in the development of social hierarchy. From this perspective, elite groups engaged in political competition for prestige within their societies constituted a pivotal factor in the development of social power. Prestige-based strategies are characterized by the exclusive display and restricted circulation of special goods among elite groups and their followers. These goods were used by elites as badges of social rank and were carefully redistributed as rewards for services. However because of the rare and unique nature of these items, they represented a very small part of the local economy and did not entail the extraction of surplus from local populations as a central part of their leaders' power strategies.

Another scenario proposed for the political competition among elite factions is the performance of feasting activities. Feast hosting provides a socially sanctioned scenario where ambitious individuals can compete for social prestige. The prestige gained in return reinforces the ascendance of aspiring leaders over a group of followers as factions or coalitions. According to Lau (2002:280) "by sponsoring feasts, certain individuals derive unequal prestige and labor obligations that confer (them) economic advantage and political authority". In this case in particular, feasting activities did not function as redistributive mechanisms in which rulers reward the followers in context of a banquet; but as the main arena for the political competition between elite factions. In the Wari site of Cerro Baúl, Moseley and his colleagues (Moseley et al.

2005) argue that members of the elite interacted with each other in the context of drinking parties. Jennings and Borro (2009) coincide in the idea that drinking events in the Andes provide of an arena for the political advancement of interested elite factions. This particular type of feasting is not performed in public spaces like plazas and is usually restricted to a small number of commensals (Moseley et al 2005).

These three forces acting in the development of power strategies in ancient complex societies relate to each other in different ways (Mann 1986), depending on what forces are pivotal and how they articulate with each other (DeMarrais et al. 1997). The primacy of one of these forces over another has profound influence on the function of the other two and overall strong implications for the long-term evolution of social process (Earle 1997:198). The study of the site of Panquilma aimed to provide information to the debate about the different ways in which ideological processes related to economic and political ones in the acquisition and maintenance of social rank from a new perspective.

Panquilma is located in a region where, according to ethnohistoric sources, social hierarchy was built around religious prestige focused at one of the most important pilgrimage centers of the ancient Andes: Pachacamac (Rostworowski 1972, 1973, 1999, 2000, 2002). However little is known about the relationship between this ideological component of social hierarchy and more mundane social processes. By focusing on a community located in the hinterland of an important religious center, this study has provided an understanding of the way in which the ideological ascendance of the religious center related to local economic and political forces in the development of social hierarchy.

6.2 THE SITE OF PANQUILMA

The site of Panquilma is located in the Lurín valley at less than a day's walk up valley from the religious center of Pachacamac on the coast. Among its remains Panquilma exhibits public buildings in the form of three pyramids with ramp, as well as a densely populated domestic area formed by 15 m multi-room household compounds. Aside from Panquilma, there are at least another five sites that share the same characteristics in terms of the presence of walled public complexes surrounded by domestic compounds. All of these sites are distributed in less than 50 km from the site of Pachacamac in the coast to the up-valley site of Río Seco close to the eastern border of the Ychsma polity. In addition, as I presented in Chapter 5, the residential sectors of these sites occupy similar areas implying roughly similar population sizes. Given the characteristics and distribution of these sites in the Lurín valley it is possible to argue that along with Panquilma, these sites were secondary settlements in a type of organization in which Pachacamac was on top.

The site of Panquilma was occupied during the Late Ychsma and Late Horizon periods and presents two occupational phases before it was abandoned. During the earliest occupation phase (Phase I), we found evidence that at least one of the pyramids (Pyramid 3) and four of the 15 household compounds (central compounds) were occupied. It is during this phase when the site started to grow and small but significant differences in terms of wealth started to be identified in the public sector with respect to the surrounding household compounds.

Evidence also indicates that it is during the following Phase II when the site's growth process reaches its peak before its abandonment. During this last phase (Phase II), Panquilma's public sector was formed by an enclosed complex of three pyramids with ramp and associated residential areas (Sector 1), and a domestic sector formed by 15 multifamily household compounds (Sector 2). Household compounds during this phase were organized in two groups: central compounds and peripheral compounds. Although central and peripheral compounds are similar in terms of size and structural characteristics, central compounds are older, are located in close proximity to the public buildings, control slightly higher amounts of wealth and are presumably have larger numbers of inhabitants than the peripheral ones.

Finally, we found no evidence of occupation in Panquilma's Sector 3 during either occupational phase. In this sector located outside the site's core we only found a few isolated buildings and clusters of funerary cists. According to the information recovered in Sector 3, this area of the site was destined mostly for funerary purposes during the LIP in the form of clusters of mortuary cists. Importantly for the present study, evidence recovered in Sector 3 indicated, in contrast to what preliminary studies suggested, the absence of a commoner's occupation in this area of the site.

6.2.1 Panquilma's public sector

Panquilma's pyramid complex is formed by a high-walled group of three pyramid complexes, each of them formed by a pyramid with ramp associated to a residential area with open patios and clusters of storage facilities. Two distinct areas are present in each of these three pyramid complexes: a public area formed by a central plaza connected to a number of elevated platforms

by a ramp (the pyramid buildings per se); and a residential area located adjacent to these pyramid buildings that was formed of rectangular rooms, clusters of storage facilities, above-ground funerary structures, and open patios. These three pyramid complexes are located side by side and are separated from the rest of the settlement by high enclosing walls and a system of causeways that restricted the access to these buildings.

Given the characteristics and distribution of the three pyramid complexes present at Panquilma's public sector, it is possible to argue that each of these buildings was the base of a different elite lineage. This argument is supported by, in the first place, architectural, stratigraphic and stylistic evidence that indicates the rough contemporaneity of these three complexes. Similar and short remodeling events characterized by the presence of Late Ychsma B ceramics followed by the abandonment of the buildings in both Pyramids 1 and 3 indicate that both pyramids functioned together at least during the last occupational phase of the site. In a similar manner, contextual evidence recorded in the plaza and platforms denotes that both buildings had an abrupt end. In both cases intense burning events were registered in these buildings before their abandonment. These events are very different to the ritual abandonment contexts for such buildings at Pachacamac, that included offerings and human interments, used by Eeckhout in Pachacamac to argue for a dynastic succession of the pyramids with ramp. In the case of Panquilma the pyramids with ramp were burned before the abandonment of the site, presumably as consequence of the Inka presence in this part of the Lurín valley. Finally, contextual evidence recorded in the internal part of the enclosing wall that separated the public sector from the household compounds showed that the internal causeways of the public sector that communicated pyramid complexes 1 and 2 were receiving maintenance until the abandonment of the site. These lines of evidence indicate that during Panquilma's Phase II at

least the residential and public areas of Pyramids 1 and 3 were functioning and that the walled causeway that connected Pyramids 1 and 2 was in use.

In the second place, the presence of above-ground funerary structures, storage facilities and domestic areas in each of these buildings, along with evidence of the contemporaneity of the pyramid complexes, supports the argument of different elite lineages present in Panquilma's public sector. As I presented in Chapter 4, the structural characteristics of the above-ground funerary structures present in the pyramid complexes showed some of the features mentioned by McAnany (1995) that characterize ancestor shrines in Mesoamerica. In a similar manner, in the Andes, funerary structures exhibiting similar features, like retractable roofs to facilitate access to the bodies, have been identified as evidence for ancestor veneration practices (Isbell 1997; Milliken 2008; Janusek 2004, 2008). In these cases, above-ground funerary structures have been defined as the centers of power and identity in a society based on kin principles (Janusek 2004; Isbell). Ancestor veneration practices in elite contexts are recognized as the arena where political privileges of a kin group were reinforced and at the same time negotiated (Milliken 2008).

These lines evidence suggest that each of the three pyramid complexes present in Panquilma's public sector was the base of a distinct elite kin group or lineage. Furthermore, the presence of big storage facilities in each of these complexes indicates that each of these lineages had exclusive control over the goods stored in the domestic areas of their buildings, and also controlled the access to the plazas, a community-wide ritual space, in the public areas of the pyramid complexes. Architectural information recorded in this area of the pyramid complex shows that access to the plazas and platforms of the three pyramid buildings was unrestricted from each complex's residential area.

Once the presence of elite lineages based in the different pyramid complexes is established, the question about the different activities carried out at the residential and public areas of these complexes became of most importance. Information recovered during this study has provided an interesting understanding about the nature of the most important activities carried out at these two distinct areas of the pyramid complexes. More important, the analysis of this information has shed light about the relationship between these activities and the development of hierarchical strategies on behalf of the ruling elites of the site.

6.2.1.1 The residential area of pyramid complex 3

Architectural, contextual, and proportional information collected in the residential area of this pyramid complex has determined that, during Phase II, the realization of intense feasting in the residences' patios was a dominant activity. While the proportional relationship between costly ceramic artifacts and serving vessels during Phase I were almost equal, the subsequent Phase II was characterized by a much higher proportion of serving ware. The abundant presence of libation vessels like headjars in the serving ware assemblage during Phase II indicates that *chicha* drinking constituted an important part of these feasts. The fact that these banquets were performed in the restricted residential areas of the pyramid complexes suggests that the commensals that participated in these events were mainly members of the ruling elite of the site. In this scenario it is possible to argue that the realization of these banquets constituted an important arena in which members of the three elite lineages, represented by each of the three pyramid complexes, interacted with each other.

Similar scenarios have been proposed for the site of Chan Chan in the northern coast (Moore 2004) and Cerro Baúl in the southern Andes (Moseley et. al 2005). In both cases, elite members centered in walled palatial compounds interacted in the context of feasting activities in which, at least in the case of Cerro Baúl, *chicha* drinking constitute an important component. According to Moseley and his colleagues (2005), abundant fragments of intentionally broken libation headjars in a palatial compound of the Wari site of Cerro Baúl were found in association with elite-controlled brewing facilities. Iconographic analysis performed on these ceramic remain reveal the presence of at least six groups of headjar vessels in the assemblage. Based on differences in the complexity of the motives a hierarchical relationship among the six groups of libation vessels was suggested. The result of this analysis was interpreted by Moseley and his colleagues as a proof of inter-elite factions interacting in the context of banquets and drinking parties. In this context different elite groups exhibited in their drinking vessels the insignia of their ranks and lineages in a competition to reassert or gain more prestige among their seeming peers.

In the case of Panquilma evidence about the intense performance of feasting activities in the residential area of Pyramid 3 indicates a similar scenario in which different lineages of the ruling elite interacted while asserting their prestige. As in the case of Cerro Baúl, headjars constitute the most popular serving vessel in this type of context. In the central coast, headjars have been related to *chicha* consumption in the contexts of feasting and ancestor veneration practices. In the assemblage recovered from the residential area of Pyramid Complex 3 in Panquilma, aside from the religious connotation given to headjars in the central coast, no evidence of religious paraphernalia was recovered. Instead, the non-utilitarian assemblage was formed by items of personal adornment and fine-finish and fine-paste vessels. Based on these

findings I argue that, even though religious practices were very important in the social dynamics of the residents of the pyramid complexes, the nature of the inter-elite relationships developed during these banquets was predominantly secular.

6.2.1.2 The main plaza of pyramid 1

In contrast to the pyramids' residential areas, architectural, contextual and proportional information recorded in the main plaza of Pyramid 1 indicates that, instead of the realization of feasting (no evidence of mass consumption of food and beverages was identified here), this area was devoted to the performance of ritual activities. The distribution of residential areas and public spaces in Pyramid Complex 1 indicates that access to the platforms and plazas was unrestricted from the complex's residential areas but controlled for people from the outside. It is possible to argue that these rituals were presided over by members of the ruling elite and were attended by at least certain members of the household compounds of Sector 2. Access to this ritual space from the household compounds of Sector 2 was controlled by the ruling elite through a system of high-walled causeways and baffled entrances. The parallel benches present in the platforms of the three pyramids indicate also a certain degree of secrecy in which ritual officials performed while turning their backs to the ceremony's attendees located in the plazas. Instead of consuming food or beverages, these rituals involved the offering of costly items like *Spondylus* valves, small metal plaques, and ceramic figurines. This evidence, in conjunction with architectural evidence about the controlled access to the pyramid's plazas from the household compounds, indicates that the ruling elite controlled access to ritual knowledge and ritual space. Evidence collected in this area of the pyramid complex indicates that control over ritual practices

and ritual space by the ruling elites constitutes a very important source of power in the development of hierarchical relationships between them and the residents of the household compounds.

6.2.2 The parallel strategies of Panquilma's ruling elites

In terms of the role of ideology in the development of the ruling elites' hierarchical strategies we found that it played different roles depending on the different types of interaction in which elite members were involved. Based on the type and nature of the activities identified in Sector 1, it is possible to say that Panquilma's ruling elite based their privileged position on a set of parallel strategies. One strategy was directed towards the negotiation and establishment of inter-elite hierarchical relations, and the second one related to the establishment of hierarchical relations among the residents of the household compounds of Sector 2.

The development of hierarchical relationships between the different lineages or kin groups that formed the ruling elite, although it was in great part based on ritual notions of ancestry and hierarchy, was characterized by the competition for prestige between these groups. These competing elite lineages were probably each represented by one of the three pyramid complexes present in this sector of the site. The competition took place in the context of banquets and drinking parties in their residential areas. Given the characteristics of the artifacts recovered in this area, the character of the inter-elite interaction during these banquets appears to be more secular than religious in nature.

On the other hand, elite control over community-wide ritual activities in the main plazas of the pyramid buildings was a very important component in the development of hierarchical

relations between the ruling elites and the residents of the household compounds of Sector 2. Instead of banquets, ritual events were the most important type of activity performed in the plazas and platforms of the public areas of the pyramid complexes. These rituals were attended by certain members of the household compounds of Sector 2 and presided over members of the ruling elite from the parallel benches of the pyramid's platforms. Costly and exotic items were offered by the attendants in the plazas, and on the elevated platforms elite members performed their rituals with their backs turned toward the audience so the details of the rites could not be seen. It appears then that the control over esoteric knowledge and ritual space was very important in the hierarchical relations between ruling elites and residents of the household compounds. In addition, the presence of big storage facilities in the pyramid complexes and high proportions of costly ceramics, along with lack of evidence about craft or agricultural production utensils in this area of the site, suggest that these rituals validated some type of surplus extraction from the residents of the household compounds

6.2.3 Panquilma's household compounds

The domestic sector of Panquilma is formed by 15 walled household compounds. These compounds can be divided in two groups: central compounds and peripheral compounds. While central compounds were the only ones occupied during Phases I and II, and were slightly bigger and more populated; the two types of compounds share a number of characteristics. Both has high enclosing walls, numerous rectangular rooms, clusters of storage facilities, big central plazas with associated above-ground funerary structures associated to these plazas. In addition both types of compounds show a continuous process of growth and remodeling.

An important difference though is that older central compounds are located closer to the ritual spaces of the public sector of the site. However, only a moderate, but significant, difference in the proportion of costly ceramic artifacts was recorded between central and peripheral compounds during Phase II. This indicates that even though all of these compounds controlled comparable amounts of wealth, central compounds were slightly more successful. I argue that, despite these differences, at least during Phase II, both central and peripheral compounds were populated by extended family groups. Organization among these groups was based on kin proximity to the apical or founding ancestor of the family group. These ties of blood relationship articulated not only the performance of rituals but also the organization of economic activities like redistributive processes and craft or agricultural production.

In fact, according to Hirth (1997), in Mesoamerica, these same characteristics depict household dynamics in which extended families are organized around the founding members. The constant process of growth and of remodeling the household's space reflects the "developmental cycle" of the extended family group. Santley (1993) argues that in the Mesoamerican site of Loma Torremote similar extended household compounds were hierarchically organized with the nuclear family of the founding members being the ones holding hierarchical positions. Differences in sizes of patios and dwellings as well as of differentiated distributions of sumptuary artifacts in horizontally excavated household compounds supported this argument.

6.2.3.1 The importance of ancestry in Panquilma's household compounds

In the Andes, according to Janusek (2004) the basic corporate group that formed *Ayllu* communities was a common descent group settled in an extended household compound. In the Titikaka basin from at least the middle horizon (Janusek 2004) up to recent times (Abercrombie 1986, 1998) households consisted of “residential compounds or clusters of compounds incorporating several dwellings, corrals, storage buildings, and activity areas focused around one or more common patios” (Janusek 2004:30). Janusek argues that “each household was centered on the oldest resident couple, its proximate ancestors, and its progenitors, and the man generally represented the household in the public arena of more encompassing groups” (Janusek 2004:32). Extended families based at multi-room household compounds were also the basic unit of production and in the case of the Andean community of Kuta in the Titikaka basin they were patrilocal.

As in the case of the communities of the Titikaka basin, different lines of evidence presented in this study argued for the presence of intra-compound differentiation. This evidence highlighted the importance of descent and the performance of ancestor veneration ritual in the internal organization of these household compounds. Architectural, contextual and proportional information recorded in patios and plazas of both central and peripheral compounds revealed consistent evidence of the intense realization of feasting activities during Phase II. The fact that these banquets took place at big central plazas inside the compounds where the presence of above-ground funerary structures has been registered, suggested its relationship with ancestor veneration rituals. This idea is reinforced by the presence of religious artifacts like rattles and whistles in feasting contexts in both central and peripheral compounds. Banquets in which

ancestor veneration rituals constitute an important component were without doubt a very important factor in the development of intra-compound hierarchy. Probably these banquets were also an important mechanism to validate the privileged position of the central members of the group. However these banquets were also a distributive mechanism in which part of the fruits of the work of lesser ranked members was redistributed by the extended family's leaders in the form of food and beverages.

6.2.3.2 Household compounds as basic units of production

Janusek (2004, 1999) argues that in the Titikaka basin, craft and agricultural production was not developed under the direct control of elite groups but was articulated around kinship principles. Based on ethnographic and archaeological information, he suggests that productive activities were organized mainly at the household level. As I have argued, at Panquilma these households were formed by extended family groups that share a common ancestral descent. At the same time groups of independent households were organized in *Ayllu* communities in which dual principles of organization and the claim of a common apical ancestor constituted the main organizational principle. In this scenario in which "individual households formed larger corporate groups within a nonmarket economy, the production of very few goods would have been independent of supra-household control" (Janusek 1999: 111). The principles around which craft production was articulated in this case were not dictated by the elite's administrative precepts. Instead it was organized along kin relationships and claims of common ancestry. This mode of production was practiced at the rural community level and even at the urban level in the case of Tiwanaku (Janusek 1999).

In Panquilma, regardless the presence of big storage facilities in the pyramid complexes of Sector 1, the only evidence of specialized craft production, mainly textiles, was found in the household compounds of Sector 2. If household compounds in Panquilma were indeed the basic units of production, it is very possible that it was organized around the extended family's hierarchical structure and so outside the control of the ruling elite. However, despite the lack of control over productive processes, data collected in Sector 1 indicates that the ruling elites of the site had access to these resources.

6.2.4 Household compound's residents and ruling elites

As I have discussed above, elite-controlled ritual performance was very important in the development of hierarchical relations between the ruling elites of the site and the residents of the household compounds who attended these ceremonies. I have also argued that, given the presence of big storage facilities along with the lack of evidence for craft or agricultural production in the pyramid complexes, ritual performance on behalf of the ruling elite not only consolidated their privileged position but also facilitated the process of surplus extraction from the residents of the household compounds. The proportional and contextual analysis of the artifacts recovered in central Compound 2 (intense midden deposit) provided more information about the economic component of this hierarchical relationship.

During Phase I there was not a significant difference in the proportions of costly artifacts between Pyramid Complex 3 and Compound 2; but during Phase II, in addition to the presence of large storage facilities in the pyramid complexes, there were drastic differences in the proportions of costly artifacts between the residential area of Pyramid Complex 3 and Compound

2. This evidence indicates that the residents of the pyramid complex controlled much bigger amounts of wealth than the residents of the compounds. From the evidence collected in the public sector we know that wealth was represented by agricultural produce (mostly maize), finely woven textiles, fine-paste and polished ceramics, and better access to foreign-style vessels. This big economic disparity between the pyramid complexes and the households suggests that the performance of elite-controlled ritual activities in the plaza of Pyramid Complex 1 during Phase II was not the only factor acting in the development of hierarchical relations between the ruling elite and the residents of the compounds. Instead it was deeply related to the development of sharp economic and political differences between these two segments of the community.

6.3 PACHACAMAC AND PANQUILMA POWER RELATIONSHIPS DURING THE LATE PERIODS IN THE CENTRAL COAST

The political organization of the Lurin Valley during the LIP, prior to the Inka invasion or during the first years of it, is very similar to that one registered by Janusek in the Titikaka basin. As I have mentioned in Chapter 2, this is a period of political re-composition in the central Andean region and the Lurín valley was not an exception. According to Rostworowski (2000) the Ychsma polity was formed by a number of independent *señoríos*. According to Janusek (2004) under certain circumstances or for a given objective *Ayllu* communities of different ancestral lineages can get together to form macro *Ayllus* without necessarily affecting their political independence. Principles of ancestry are still present in the organization of the macro *Ayllu* but

the figure of the apical common ancestor takes the form of a deity like the region's snow peak or a very important religious center.

In the lower Lurín, the presence of similar settlements in terms of population size and architectural characteristics and the fact that all of them were located less than 100 km up-valley from Pachacamac suggest that these settlements were fairly independent from each other. In other words, the settlement pattern of the lower Lurín valley during the LIP does not conclusively indicate the presence of a hierarchical relation between these sites. However we didn't find any evidence of conflict, like defensive walls or weaponry, between these settlements. On the contrary most of these sites are located along an ancient road that connected the lower and upper valley. Evidence from Panquilma indicates that these communities were headed by rural elites that based their power on the control of economic resources and the exclusive performance of ritual practices. Power relationships among these rural elites were based on the competition for prestige in the form of feasting activities in which only elite members participated

The role of Pachacamac in the organization of the lower Lurín valley seemed to be more symbolic than politically effective. Data from Panquilma indicates that the social dynamics of the different elite factions were more related to local political and economic conjunctures than to their connection to the coastal religious center. In fact recent data collected by Makowski (2008) suggests that Pachacamac did not have the protagonist role in the political landscape of the Lurín Valley before the Inka presence in the valley.

Following Makowski (2008) it is after the Inka conquest of the coastal shrine when it is transformed into a pan-Andean pilgrimage center and the political capital of the Ychsma province. This moment coincides with the destruction and abandonment of the pyramid complexes in the valley and the foundation of an Inka administrative center at the site of

Huaycan located 10 km up valley from Panquilma. Inka control over the religious center of Pachacamac not only transformed the coastal shrine but also introduced a hierarchical structure previously unknown in the lower Lurín Valley.

6.4 THE ROLE OF IDEOLOGY IN THE DEVELOPMENT OF SOCIAL HIERARCHY

The present study has evaluated the relative importance of ideology in the development of successful power strategies to achieve and maintain hierarchical positions. In the case of Panquilma we have found that ideological factors were very important in the context of validating economic and political differences. Panquilma's ruling elite based their power strategies at the moment of dealing with other elite factions on the competition for prestige via the realization of feasting activities without any special religious significance. However, at the moment of dealing with the residents of the household compounds, elite control over ritual activities became very important. The control over ritual space and esoteric knowledge validated the elite's economic supremacy and facilitated surplus extraction from the household compounds.

In the case of the role of ideology in the development of power strategies by the leaders of both central and peripheral compounds I found a similar pattern. The establishment of hierarchical inter-household relations between the leaders of the extended families was based in great part on the competition for economic resources as evidenced by contextual and proportional information. On the other hand within the compounds, the privileged position of the family's leaders was, on the one hand, validated through notions of ancestry, but on the other

hand, also based on redistributive mechanisms in the form of feasting activities. Once again ideology is appears as an important factor in the development of power strategies in a context of political and economic disparity.

As Aldenderfer noted, although very important, “religion in and of itself does not appear to be capable of creating a lasting foundation for persistent inequality. This foundation can only be created by a combination of religious authority and some form of secular power. Religion enables aggrandizers in their pursuits, but does not guarantee their success. Wealth and other forms of social power still matter. Nevertheless, religion must be re-situated in the causal mix of factors that lead to the appearance and maintenance of, as well as resistance to, attempts to create persistent inequality if we are to craft more plausible interpretations of its appearance in the past” (Aldenderfer 2010: 93).

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