

Ceramic Changes and Cultural Transformations at Paucarcolla-Santa Barbara

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In the southern quarter of Tawantinsuyu, referred to by the Inca as Collasuyu, were several political and ethnic groups that occupied the region surrounding Lake Titicaca. These groups were Aymara speakers led by hereditary dynasties that controlled different areas, the two largest and most powerful being the Colla and Lupaca (Julien 1983). These two groups inhabited the northern and western portions of the Titicaca Basin. They lived on the hills and pampas around the lake and subsisted on fishing, camelid herding, and cultivation of quinoa (a native cereal grain) and tubers such as potatoes and oca. Although the chronicles provide many different, and sometimes conflicting, accounts of events that occurred during the reign of the Inca, they still provide important information. The Colla were ruled by a lord named Zapana and were centered at the town of Hatuncolla in the northern portion of the Titicaca Basin. The Lupaca leader was named Cari and resided at the city of Chucuito located south of the modern city of Puno on the western edge of Lake Titicaca (Cieza de León 1959).

It is reported that the kingdoms of Colla and Lupaca were at war with each other. This is supported in the archaeological record by the abundance of hilltop fortifications called pukaras dating to the Altiplano Period (AD 1100-1450) in the Titicaca Basin. According to the chronicles, word was brought to Inca Viracocha, the fifth Inca, that Zapana, lord of Hatuncolla, had become very powerful and was planning on marching against Cuzco (Cieza de León 1959). The Inca was pleased by the news because he wanted to find another lord who had the audacity to do battle with him (Betanzos 1996). Both leaders, Zapana and Cari, wanted to defeat the other and be the only leader of the Titicaca Basin. Each sent out an emissary to the Inca to plead for their alliance and help in defeating their enemy. The Incas consulted their oracles and were told to go to the land of the Colla and seek the friendship of Cari and the Lupaca. The Inca told both groups that they were coming to make an alliance with them. However, Zapana learned that the Inca had lied and decided to wage war on the Colla with the help of the Lupaca. Tensions escalated and the two groups marched to the pampa near the village of Paucarcolla to wage battle:

Cari, who must have been brave, marched his men to a village named Paucarcolla, and before it the two most powerful tyrants of the region met with a force said to have numbered 150,000. And they joined battle after their fashion, which is said was bitterly fought and over 30,000 Indians were killed. Cari won the victory and Zapana himself was killed in battle. (Cieza de León 1959: 219).

After the death of Zapana, Cari seized Hatuncolla and took all of the riches back to Chucuito where he prepared lodgings for the arrival of Viracocha Inca. Viracocha was very displeased with the outcome, for he secretly wished the two kingdoms remain unstable so that he could conquer them and be the sole ruler of Collasuyu. He now realized that Cari and the Lupaca were too powerful to go up against and that he must make an alliance and quickly return to Cuzco so that no harm befell him. Viracocha told Cari that he was pleased he had won the battle and offered him one of his daughters as an alliance between the two kingdoms. Viracocha brought in a golden goblet from which the two leaders drank libations and celebrated the alliance with feasting, dancing, and music. Viracocha returned to Cuzco and the Titicaca Basin was not truly conquered until many years later during the reign of his son, Pachacuti Inca. The Incas

established many towns along the road system in the Titicaca Basin. One of the most important of these was Paucarcolla, located near the notorious battlefield.

Paucarcolla

The land around Paucarcolla was important during the Inca conquest and secured its place in the oral traditions as a result of this important battle that took place on its soil and the thousands of lives that were lost in the process. This site has a long history of occupation and was probably important to many communities throughout the prehistory of the Titicaca Basin. Paucarcolla is the name of the village settled by the Inca in the fifteenth century, which is still occupied to this day (Figure 1). Paucarcolla-Santa Barbara refers to the hill adjacent to the modern city which is currently used for farming and contains sparse habitation (see Appendix B for photographs). Although the earlier inhabitants left no written records, we can still reconstruct what may have occurred at Paucarcolla-Santa Barbara by examining the archeological record. It is obvious that the site was an important and strategic location to many polities throughout the prehistory of the Titicaca Basin. Paucarcolla-Santa Barbara has been continuously occupied for almost three thousand years and is one of the only sites in the Titicaca Basin that has ceramic refuse from all the major periods during that time. However, the nature of occupation at the site changed over time and the archaeological record provides us with some clues as to how these changes occurred. The ceramics and architecture that remain at the site tell us a story about the previous inhabitants at Paucarcolla.

The site of Paucarcolla-Santa Barbara is located on a large hill that stands out on the landscape and is near the lake edge (See Appendix B). From the top of the hill, one can see for many kilometers in every direction and monitor traffic on the road or in the Puno Bay. The people who lived at Paucarcolla-Santa Barbara were farmers and herders who used the hillsides for terrace agriculture and the pampa below for herding and raised-field agriculture. At some point in the past, elites emerged at the site and a religious complex was built at the top of the hill. Elites must have considered Paucarcolla-Santa Barbara to be an important ritual and administrative center because the site was continually occupied for over two thousand years. Elites in each new polity realized the importance of the site as part of their repertoire of administrative and religious centers. The question remains: Why was the site of Paucarcolla-Santa Barbara so important to the leaders of the earliest ranked and stratified societies in the Lake Titicaca Basin? Why did the site continue to be occupied generation after generation, even in the wake of repeated polity collapse?

Data Recovery at Paucarcolla-Santa Barbara

The purpose of this research is to gain an understanding of the political organization at the site of Paucarcolla-Santa Barbara and how the nature of power changed through time. Some of the questions I posed while conducting research at the site during the summer of 2002 included: Where does Paucarcolla stand within the regional framework of the Titicaca Basin? Was it a political center or a village of farmers and herders? What types of activities were occurring at the site in the past? Did the site have a ritual component? How did the demographic and social organization of the site change over time? The best way to answer these questions was to thoroughly analyze the site on a regional level and look at the material remains for clues about the past. A systematic surface survey of the site and an analysis of the ceramic

Figure 1: Map of the Lake Titicaca Basin



and architectural remains were conducted to provide a clear picture of the function of the site through time. By surveying the entire site, it was possible to see where occupation took place during different time periods and I was able to gain insight into the nature of that occupation.

The systematic survey of Paucarcolla-Santa Barbara covered an area of approximately 6.4 hectares to include the entire hill and a small portion of the pampa at its base. Surface artifacts were collected and all time periods were represented on the surface due to generations of agricultural plowing. The pedestrian survey was conducted by myself, an archaeologist from the Instituto Nacional de Cultura en Puno, Fernando, and a woman from the village of Paucarcolla, Celsa Quispe. We walked the length of the site in transects set forty meters apart. We stopped and collected artifacts every forty meters in a diameter of one meter. Occasionally, very diagnostic ceramics were collected in between stopping points. However, this was difficult to control due to language difficulties, so a density analysis would probably not yield reliable results. The entire hill was mapped using a total station to capture the complex topography of the site. All visible pre-modern architecture was also recorded and later superimposed on top of the topography map.

Data Analysis

Over 2000 ceramic fragments from the survey were analyzed in a laboratory and the following features were recorded: slip color, paste color, paste type, design, rim type, munsell color, rim type, rim diameter, burnishing, wiping, incising, part of vessel, and vessel type (See Appendix A for ceramic illustrations). The ceramics were classified according to the existing typology for the northern Titicaca Basin (Stanish 2003). Each major epoch is associated with a political, cultural, and material change in the basin throughout its prehistory. The epochs within which ceramics have been found, include the Early, Middle, and Upper Formative, Middle Horizon, Late Intermediate, Inca, and Colonial Periods. The site of Paucarcolla-Santa Barbara had occupation in all these periods and this paper addresses all except the Early Formative and Colonial Periods. The archaeological material typology for the northern Titicaca Basin is as follows:

Middle Formative Period: Ceramics from this period consisted mainly of plainwares that were medium thickness and had medium to large inclusions with dense mica. Some vessels were slipped, but most were not, and the majority of vessel shapes were bowls or ollas (Steadman 1995). The higher quality elite wares associated with the Qaluyu style were slipped with red tones and were highly polished. Many had raised bands, some with notches evenly spaced throughout the band. The main elite vessel shapes were bowls and trumpets, probably used in ritual contexts.

The period marks the emergence of sunken court complexes and carved stone stelae (Chavez and Chavez 1975). These architectural elements reflect the development of elite ideologies with economic ties and beliefs spanning a large area. Therefore, evidence of sunken courts, stelae, or ceramics from other sites with these elements would indicate a connection to the regional elite ideology.

Upper Formative Period: Plainwares from this period are indistinguishable from the earlier forms and also have large micaceous inclusions. The elite wares from this period are polychrome with bold colors such as red, black, orange, and cream. These colors were used on separate sections of the vessel, which were then separated by deep incised lines, called *zone-incised* (Steadman 1995, Stanish 2003). This technique can be seen throughout the Titicaca Basin and even into the western Andes in the valley of Paracas (Goldstein 2000). However, each area is distinguishable from the rest due to their unique styles and motifs. Pukara zone-incised pottery is unique because of the linear incising and geometric shapes, such as l-shapes, rectangles, and triangles. The most prominent motifs include the feline, running figure, llamas, birds, and bodiless rayed heads (Franquemont 1986).

The ritual architecture during this period consists of terraced walled compounds, sunken courts and artificial mountains or pyramids. This period marks the beginning of the Kalasasaya Complex, which can be seen at the primary ritual center of Pukara (Stanish 2003). This architectural complex provides evidence of an official religious cult with regulated traditions. Individuals or groups attempting to associate themselves with this religion would want to emulate the elements present at the main religious site in order to legitimize their power and connection to the supernatural (Goldstein 1993). Therefore, satellite religious and administrative centers would have these architectural elements at a reduced scale.

Middle Horizon: The Tiwanaku expansion into the northern basin was marked by the appearance of Tiwanaku elite ceramic vessels. Some of these vessels were imported directly from Tiwanaku, but most were made locally using nearby clay sources and imitating Tiwanaku imperial iconography and designs (Stanish 2003). The main vessel shapes of the Tiwanaku elite

wares were keros (flared drinking cups), tazones (flared bowls), and incensarios (shallow bowls with pedestal feet). The presence of elite Tiwanaku wares suggests ritual and economic ties between Tiwanaku and satellite centers. These would have been used in rituals and feasts and served to tie individuals to the religious cult and to the leaders at Tiwanaku. The high quality of ceramics during this time period also suggests the presence of full-time craft specialists that were supported by the Tiwanaku elites (Janusek 1999). Local imitations of slightly lesser quality were produced at many of the satellite centers suggesting that these sites had specialists of their own who were supported by local elites.

Keros were very standardized and almost all have a base measurement of nine centimeters in diameter. These ceramics were mainly used in ritual contexts for drinking libations such as chicha beer or burning incense during ceremonies. These vessels were also painted with vibrant colors including, red, black, orange, green, yellow, brown, and cream. Some of the most prominent patterns are the wavy line and step line. Motifs include felines, condors, llamas, trophy heads, and the staff god (Kolata 1993; Stanish 2003). Although the elite Tiwanaku wares stand out prominently in the archaeological record, Middle Horizon plainwares have not yet been identified or distinguished from earlier periods in the northern Titicaca Basin.

Late Intermediate Period: Ceramics from this time period were much less standardized and did not require a great deal of skill or specialization. In the northwestern Titicaca Basin, the Colla style ceramics were typically beige, brown, red-brown, or orange, and some had a washy slip. Vessel shapes include beakers, deep bowls, and ollas. The paste is very gritty with large angular rocky inclusions and no mica. Most tend to be undecorated, although some have thick black designs that were put on quickly and haphazardly (Carlevato 1988). Some ollas also have raised bands with punctates encircling the neck of the vessel. There have been many small ceramic figurines with cone-shaped heads that were found to be associated with this period, as well (Tschopik 1946).

The isolated clusters of slab-cist tombs during this period reflect a more dispersed settlement pattern as people began to rely more on a pastoral lifestyle. The above ground tombs suggest an emphasis on ancestor veneration. Also at some sites they are located in different clusters possibly reflecting moiety group organization.

Inca Period: This period shows a marked increase in the quality of ceramics. Pastes tend to be much finer with little to no inclusions. The slips come in many colors and the decoration is very detailed and precise. Designs are made with very thin straight lines and include cross-hatching, ovals, triangles, parallel lines, and the fern motif. Vessel shapes include thin plates (some with bird head handles) and aryballos (narrow-necked jar with a pointed base) (Carlevato 1988). Many of the vessels in the imperial Inca style were imported from Cuzco for the provincial elites; however, there is good evidence that many of the local pottery producers attempted to copy Cuzco-Inca styles by placing Inca motifs on crudely made, thick vessels. There is also a unique style that arose during this time period called Sillustani-Inca. This pottery employed many traditional Inca designs, such as linear patterns and cross-hatching, but with a much narrower scheme of colors. These ceramics are usually plates painted cream or buff and their designs are typically black, brown, or red-brown (Tschopik 1946).

Results of Data Analysis

The site of Paucarcolla-Santa Barbara began as a small farming community manufacturing plain unslipped ceramics that were used for subsistence-related activities, such as cooking, storing, and eating. The inhabitants most likely practiced terrace agriculture on the hill

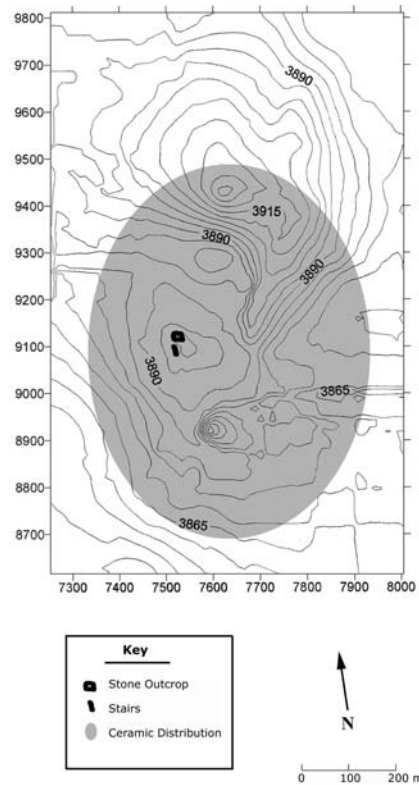
itself and raised-field agriculture on the pampa below. They also probably tended herds of camelids on the pampa as the modern inhabitants continue to do to this day. By the *Middle Formative Period*, the people of Paucarcolla were aggregated into a nucleated village community consisting of several households. The size of the occupation at the site during the Middle Formative Period is difficult to assess because the plain-wares are indistinguishable from the Upper Formative Period (See Figure 2 for a map of the ceramic distribution during the Middle and Upper Formative Periods). It seems as though the occupation was dispersed during these periods and covered a large portion of the site.

Paucarcolla-Santa Barbara was most likely a large village complex during the Middle Formative Period. However, the presence of high quality elite ceramics of the Qaluyu-style suggests that a more complex social organization was emerging at Paucarcolla-Santa Barbara (Appendix A: H6.9.32, H6.4.52, H6.14.14). High quality ceramics imported from other Qaluyu centers were used for rituals and feasts associated with the elite ideology. Therefore, it is likely that Paucarcolla-Santa Barbara had a sunken court that was used by its inhabitants and neighboring communities during annual celebrations. Also, there were some families or individuals at Paucarcolla-Santa Barbara who became linked to the Qaluyu elite ideology and had access to valuable trade goods from throughout the Qaluyu sphere of interaction. These items would have been used during rituals and feasts and would have served to raise the status of those individuals who had access to them. Exotic items would have been symbols of an individual's ties to the elite ideology and their ability to communicate with distant domains. These material symbols served to distinguish them from the rest of the population and increase their status and power within their community at home.

Since there are no elaborate residences left on the surface and the ritual architecture is undated, it is difficult to speculate whether this was one of several Qaluyu ritual centers in the Northern Titicaca Basin. The site is significantly larger than other nearby village sites, such as Huatta, that date to the same time period (Erickson 1987). There also does not seem to be a single primary regional center in the Titicaca Basin at this time, so Paucarcolla-Santa Barbara did not serve as a secondary center for a larger polity. Recent regional exploration has revealed that there are no other Middle Formative Period centers located near Paucarcolla-Santa Barbara (Carol Schultze, PhD dissertation in progress). However, previous research has identified several other centers in the northern and eastern part of the basin (Aimee Plourde, PhD dissertation in progress). It is therefore very tempting to speculate that this was a likely candidate for a Qaluyu center due to its location in the larger framework of Qaluyu-related sites.

The *Upper Formative Period* at Paucarcolla-Santa Barbara does not show marked differences from the previous period and was most likely continually occupied without site abandonment. The site probably continued to grow in size due to natural population growth and migration from the surrounding areas as many Middle Formative Period sites were abandoned. There is evidence of zone-incised elite pottery and ritual objects such as incensarios from the site of Pucara implying that some individuals had ties to this large primary ritual center (Appendix A: H6.12.11, H6.9.62, H6.4.45). Pucara developed into a complex chiefdom during this time period and many smaller second-tier satellite centers also arose with strong ties to the elites at the ritual center (Stanish 2003). There is a possible area at Paucarcolla-Santa Barbara that could be a replication of the Kalasasaya Complex (artificial mountain, sunken court, walled enclosure) that began to emerge in the basin at this time and was present at the site of Pucara (See Figure 2).

Figure 2: Formative Period Ceramic Distribution



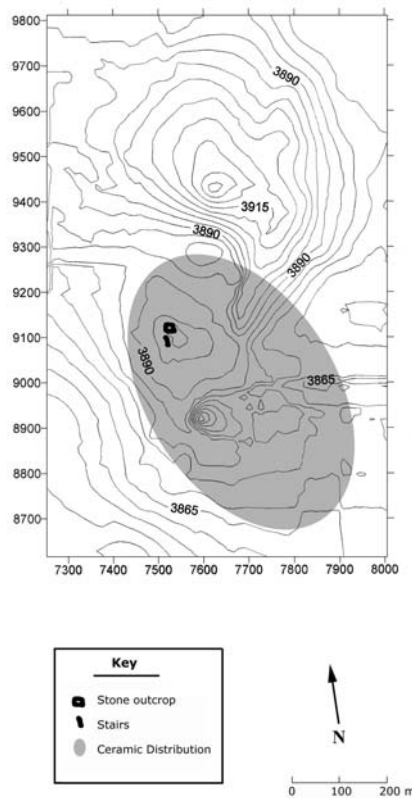
At the top of the hill, there is a large natural stone outcrop that resembles a pyramid or artificial mountain and two lines of neatly placed stones nearby that could be the remnants of a semi-subterranean sunken court (See Appendix B). Although these features are undated, they seem to be in congruence with the architectural complexes of this time period. These features could also be one of the reasons Paucarcolla-Santa Barbara was initially attractive to individuals looking for a sacred area to hold rituals. Since the components of the Kalasasaya Complex were important to the main religious traditions of the Formative and Tiwanaku Periods, this may be the reason why the site was continually occupied in a similar manner during these time periods.

By the Upper Formative Period, Paucarcolla-Santa Barbara was incorporated into the larger Pucara sphere of political and ideological influence. It is likely that there was a sunken court complex at the site during this time period and was probably a satellite center for the site of Pucara. The elites at Paucarcolla-Santa Barbara were linked to the elites at Pucara through shared ideology, religious iconography, and high-status Pucara ceramics that distinguished them from the rest of the population. Since the site of Paucarcolla-Santa Barbara is located on the ancient road in the middle of the eastern and western Cordilleras, it must have been an important location for the regulation of trade. The site would have been an important satellite center for Pucara, and administration of the site would have proven crucial to controlling trade in the northern Titicaca Basin during this time period.

After the collapse of Pucara as a major center, the people of Paucarcolla-Santa Barbara most likely reverted back to village life, subsisting on small-scale farming and herding. It was not until several hundred years later that the *Tiwanaku* state expanded into the northern Titicaca

Basin. Because of the strategic location of Paucarcolla-Santa Barbara on the main road between the eastern and western slopes of the Andes, it was an attractive enclave to the Tiwanaku administrative elites. The village sites of Huatta and Cerro Cupe (Erickson 1987) were probably administered by the elites at Paucarcolla-Santa Barbara during this time period and agriculture was being intensified in order to pay tribute and taxes to the Tiwanaku elites. Since the site was an enclave of the Tiwanaku state, there were most likely Tiwanaku-affiliated elites settled at the site to insure loyal administration of the area. However, the site was probably only a tertiary center within the greater Tiwanaku sphere and the nearby site of Isla Estevez most likely served as a secondary center for the northwestern Titicaca Basin.

Figure 3: Tiwanaku Period Ceramic Distribution

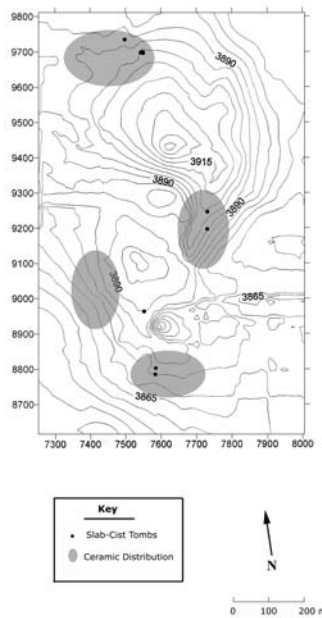


Paucarcolla-Santa Barbara also had a significant ritual component to the site during the *Middle Horizon*. The Kalasasaya Complex that was developed in earlier periods became a symbol of imperial Tiwanaku control. These architectural components are found at the majority of Tiwanaku enclaves including sites as far away as Moquegua (Goldstein 1993). The fact that the natural rock outcrop and a sunken court may have already existed at the site from earlier periods could explain why it was an especially attractive site for Tiwanaku administration (See Figure 3). Since the Tiwanaku cult incorporated old ritual elements into their imperial ideology, the inhabitants at Paucarcolla-Santa Barbara may have been familiar with the elements and less opposed to an alliance with the new religious cult. The presence of elite and ritual Tiwanaku-style artifacts, such as keros, tazones, and incensarios are clear indicators that ritual practice was

occurring at the site during this time period (see Appendix A). The number and quality of artifacts also indicate the importance of Paucarcolla-Santa Barbara within the Tiwanaku religious sphere (See Figure 3 for ceramic distribution). The site was probably the religious center for the immediate region and people from neighboring villages traveled to Paucarcolla-Santa Barbara for rituals and festivals. During larger rituals and feasts, people from the area probably traveled to Isla Estevez (Carol Shultze, PhD dissertation, in progress) or possibly to the center of Tiwanaku itself.

After the collapse of the Tiwanaku state, Paucarcolla-Santa Barbara ceased to be a center in the northern Titicaca Basin. The population at the site dispersed and the inhabitants once again returned to autonomous village life (See Figure 4). There was no longer a nucleated settlement at Paucarcolla-Santa Barbara during the *Late Intermediate Period* and the majority of ceramic refuse is found within or near the above ground slab-cist tombs common during this period. There are nine tombs total, three located on the southern part of the hill, two to the east, and four located at the northern edge (See Appendix B). There were probably more tombs located at the site, but were either looted long ago or the stones have been taken to build dividing walls for agricultural fields. Since the slab-cist tombs were small compared to some of the chulpa tombs found at neighboring sites, these probably represented corporate groups and were used in household ritual and ancestor veneration.

Figure 4: Late Intermediate Period Ceramic Distribution



The fact that there are few artifacts at the site dating to the Late Intermediate Period indicates that settlement was very sparse (See Appendix A). This is congruent with the pastoral subsistence pattern that dominated the basin following the collapse of Tiwanaku (Graffam 1992). The majority of groups were spread over the landscape and lived on hilltops near fortified pukaras for protection during frequent periods of warfare (Arkush and Stanish 2005). There was not a pukara at the site of Paucarcolla-Santa Barbara, but the inhabitants would have been very

close to nearby fortified sites at Hatuncolla and Sillustani. Hatuncolla served as the center for the Colla ethnic group and the burial center at Sillustani housed the tombs of the elite lineages (Julien 1983). Families living at Paucarcolla-Santa Barbara during this period probably visited Hatuncolla on a regular basis for rituals and protection during battles. However, Paucarcolla-Santa Barbara did not serve as a secondary center and the inhabitants were most likely pastoralists who resided at the site on a permanent or semi-permanent basis.

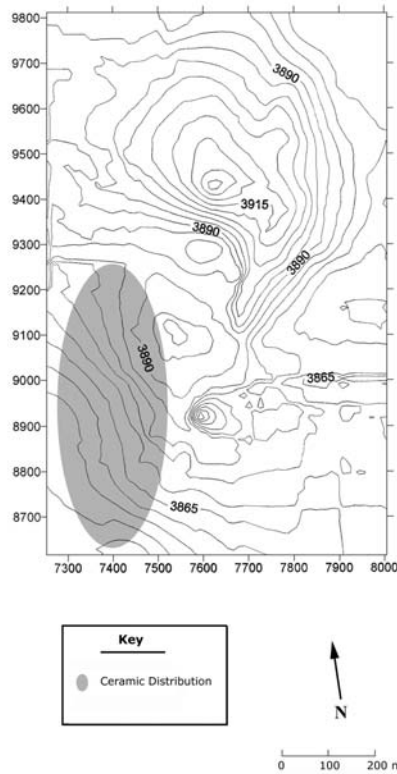
When the *Inca* expanded into the Titicaca basin dismantling the warring Aymara chiefdoms, they installed strategic administration at many sites along the road system. Paucarcolla, being located next to the road and near Hatuncolla, seemed to be a prime location to build a city. The Inca relocated groups from the hilltops into nicely aggregated urban cities along the road to ensure easy administration and control of the populations. People had to live in the Inca centers and walk to their fields located on the adjacent hills. This pattern can be seen at the site of Paucarcolla-Santa Barbara as the ceramic remains are almost exclusively located in the western part of the site near the modern, and presumably ancient, road (See Figure 5). There are little to no Late Horizon artifacts located on the top or sides of the hill. There are many Cuzco Inca ceramics indicating the presence of Inca elites for administering the production of surplus for the Inca Empire (Appendix A: H6.15.6). There are also a few Sillustani Inca ceramic plate fragments, indicating that some households had ties to elites at Hatuncolla and Sillustani.

Paucarcolla was a secondary urban center at this time, and was only slightly smaller than Hatuncolla and Chucuito. The Toledo Taza, a document that was sent back to the Spanish Crown, reported the population size and number of taxpayers in each community. This document reports that shortly after Spanish colonization, Paucarcolla had 1,003 taxpayers (men between the ages of 20 and 60) and 4,576 total individuals (men, women, and children). The inhabitants of Paucarcolla paid tribute in the form of meat, wool, dried fish, and salt (Cook 1975). The site is believed to be approximately 25 hectares and was closely associated with Hatuncolla. "Paucarcolla may have been a provincial capital in its own right, or just a town subordinate to the capital at Hatuncolla" (Julien 1983: 59). The sites appear to be contemporaneous and share several ceramic types made from the same clay source, suggesting a common ceramic production area. However, the size of the Inca Period occupation at the site suggests that Paucarcolla was a separate and important provincial center.

Conclusions

Although Paucarcolla-Santa Barbara never became a primary regional center in the northern Titicaca Basin, it was an important and strategic site to many expansive polities. It was located on the ancient road between the eastern and western cordilleras of the Andes, making it a key place for the regulation of long-distance trade. The first elites to emerge at Paucarcolla-Santa Barbara relied on alliances with other elites, connections to the emerging ideology, and access to exotic goods in order to increase their status and power. Paucarcolla-Santa Barbara is one of the few sites in the Titicaca Basin that was occupied for several consecutive time periods. Because of its strategic location on the road system and its widespread view of the surrounding area, it was prime location for administration because it allowed for the regulation of traffic moving through the area.

Figure 5: Inca Period/Late Horizon Ceramic Distribution



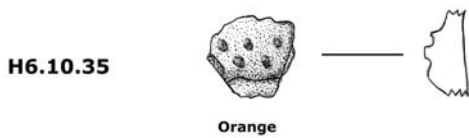
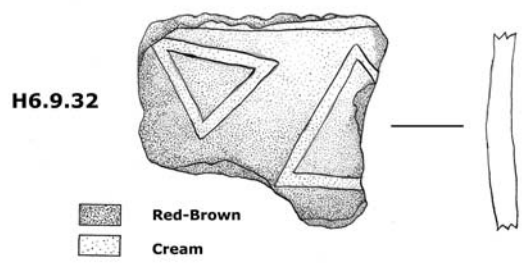
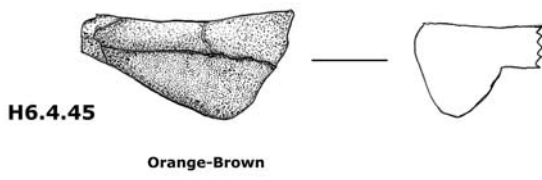
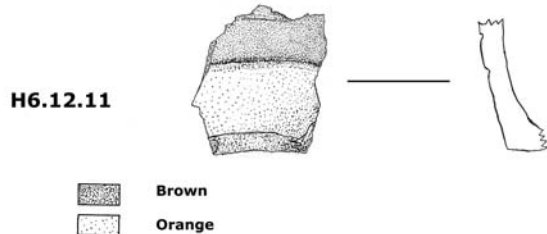
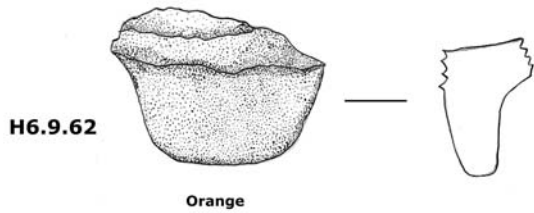
Since the site was occupied by so many successive polities, it provides us clues to the changing nature of power in the Titicaca Basin throughout time. The changes in ceramic styles at the site reveal the changing religious and political affiliation of the elites through time. Also, the distribution of ceramics reveals information about changes in the political and economic spheres, such as the dispersal of settlement and shift towards a pastoral economy after the collapse of Tiwanaku.

During the Middle and Upper Formative Periods the elites probably did not have coercive power and people were incorporated into the religious and political spheres through persuasion. There were many enticements to those who were affiliated, including exotic trade goods, information, a sense of belonging, protection, rituals, feasting, and an ideology that explained the natural and the supernatural. Even though there is evidence throughout the Titicaca Basin of power being gained through competition, warfare, and the taking of trophy heads, power and order was *sustained* through the incorporation of communities into the religious sphere. By giving feasts in which exotic goods and intoxicating substances were given to the commoner population, elites kept their followers content through the perceived benefits of their affiliation. Long-distance exchange arose as a necessary means for leaders to provide incentives to their followers so they would continue to support the elites and provide them with surplus goods.

The data revealed in this paper sheds new light onto the cultural sequence for the Andean highlands and the Lake Titicaca Basin. Several archaeologists currently working in the area are

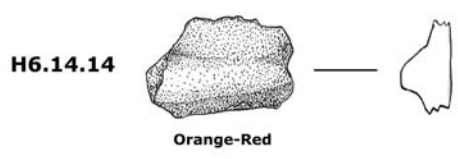
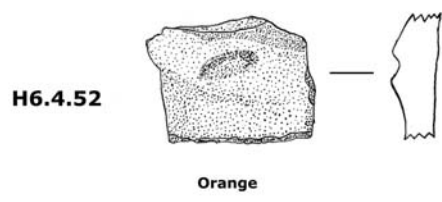
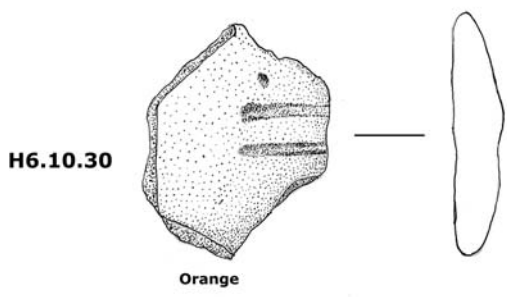
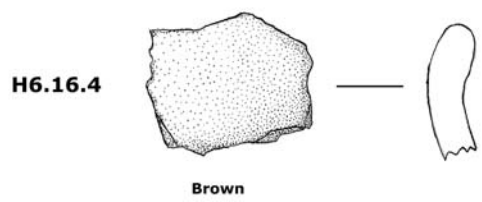
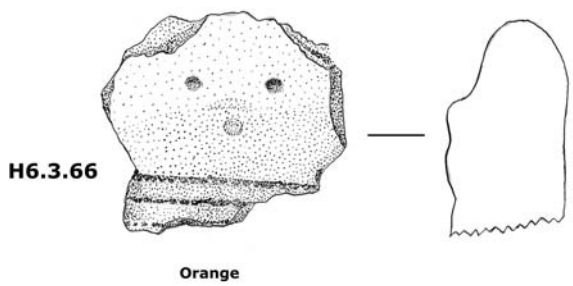
slowly beginning to assemble the various pieces of the prehistory of the Lake Titicaca Basin. Although this paper only outlines the site of Paucarcolla-Santa Barbara, each new project provides one piece of the larger puzzle. The results from the site of Paucarcolla-Santa Barbara have contributed to the understanding of economics, ideology, and power in the Titicaca Basin and helped fill in some of the gaps that existed in the archaeological record. Hopefully, the research and results presented in this paper will be useful in cross-cultural comparisons and will contribute to a better understanding of the role ancient politics, economics, and ideology played in the ancient communities of the Titicaca Basin.

Formative Period



0 1 2 cm

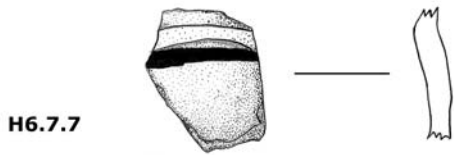
0 1 2 cm



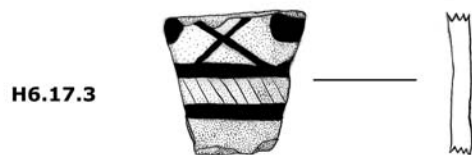
0 1 2 cm

0 1 2 cm

Tiwanaku Period



Black
Red-Brown
Cream



Red
Orange
Black



Orange
Black
Red
Cream



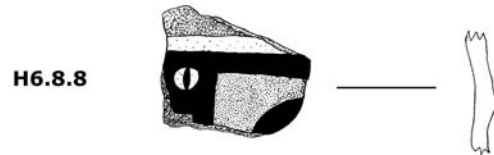
Orange-Red
Black

0 1 2 cm

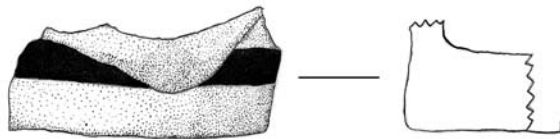
0 1 2 cm



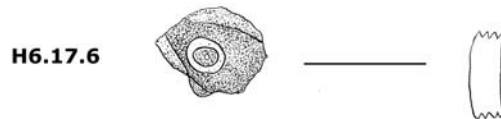
Cream
Red-Brown
Black



Red-Brown
Green
White
Black



Black
Orange



Cream
Orange-Red
Red-Brown

0 1 2 cm

0 1 2 cm

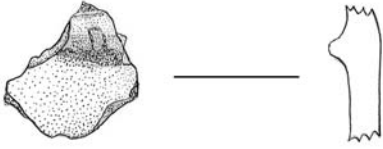
Late Intermediate Period

H6.4.63



Orange

H6.8.44



Orange-Brown

H6.11.9



Orange

H6.11.31



Orange

H6.17.10

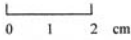


Orange-Red

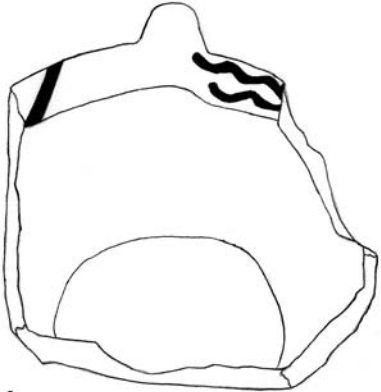
H6.14.36



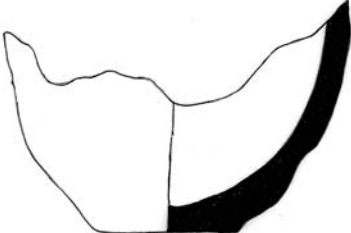
Orange



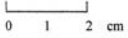
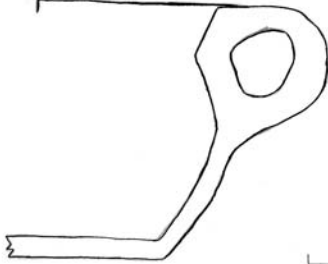
H6.18.1



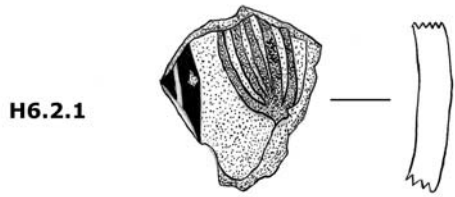
H6.9.5



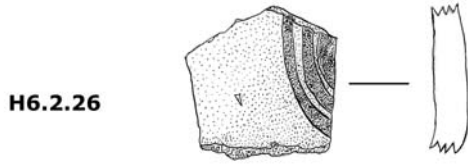
H6.9.44



Sillustani-Inca



Brown
Brown-Black
Black



Brown-Black
Brown



Cream
Brown-Black

0 1 2 cm



Brown
Black



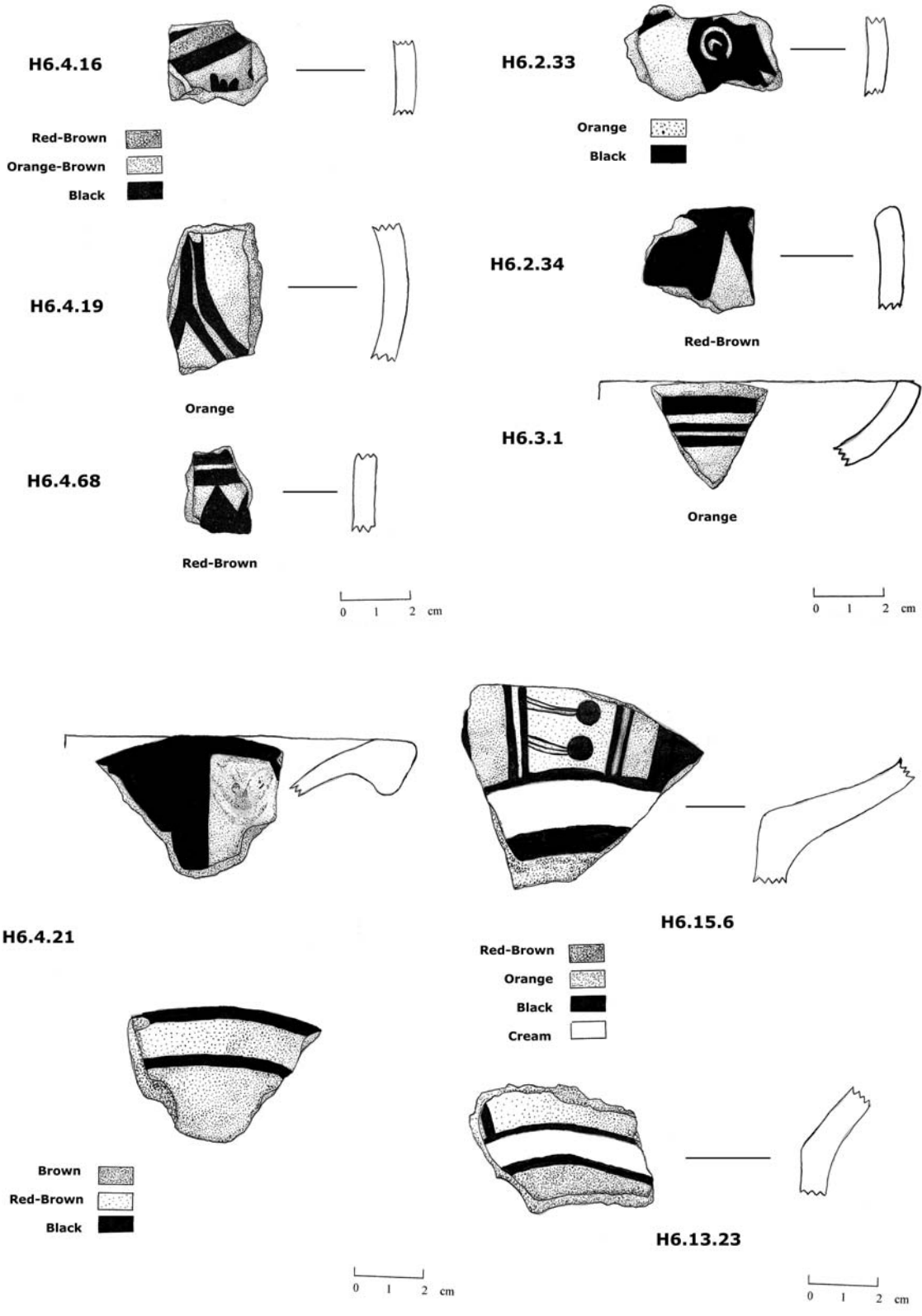
Cream
Red-Brown
Black



Brown-Black
Brown

0 1 2 cm

Inca Period/Late Horizon



Photographs of Paucarcolla-Santa Barbara



Above Ground Slab-Cist Tomb from Northern Part of Site



Above Ground Slab-Cist Tomb from Southern Part of Site



View of Paucarcolla-Santa Barbara from the highway



View of Paucarcolla-Santa Barbara from the pampa



Rock Outcrop (part of possible Kalasasaya Complex)



Stone Stairs (possible sunken court)

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