Colonialism, architecture, domestic space, and the creation of subjects in the Chimú Empire

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A thesis submitted to McGill University in partial fulfillment of the requirements of the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

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Abstract

This dissertation examines how people incorporated into the Chimú Empire (AD 900-1470), a pre-Columbian polity of coastal Peru, became colonial subjects as well as their contributions to the maintenance and reproduction of the empire. Based on archaeological research at the site of Huasi Huaman, a settlement in the Jequetepeque Valley which was conquered by the Chimú Empire in the early 14th century, I argue that the political and economic decentralization that characterized the region before the conquest continued into the Chimú Period and influenced local responses to colonial rule. Chimú authority was not applied uniformly across the region as non-elite settlements retained relative autonomy as long as Chimú interests were being met. At the same time, local leaders took advantage of the conquest to promote their own ideologies and may have found new opportunities for political advancement by serving as intermediaries between their followers and the Chimú. My research shows the complexity of local responses to colonial rule and that not all subjugated peoples were equally incorporated into colonial society.

The research involved the mapping of architecture, surface collection, and the excavation of both ceremonial and domestic architecture to elucidate how architecture framed processes of subjectification. I found that during the Jequetepeque Valley's Lambayeque Period (AD 1100-1320), Huasi Huaman was occupied by a small population living in wattle and daub houses who built multiple platforms used in a range of activities such as feasting, craft production, and penning camelids. The diversity in form and function shows that multiple lineages or social groups were contributing to the creation of architectural spaces that helped define hierarchical social relationships.

Following the Chimú conquest of the Jequetepeque Valley in the early 14th century, there is a new emphasis on monumental architecture containing secluded interior spaces.

Based on the new emphasis on restricted space, I argue the Chimú incursion into the Jequetepeque Valley resulted in the introduction of new forms of ceremonial architecture at the site of Huasi Huaman. However, this new form of architecture was not the adoption of foreign Chimú symbols nor the appropriation of those of the regional Lambayeque elite, both groups to which the inhabitants of Huasi Huaman drew little affiliation. Instead, local leaders at Huasi Huaman created new forms of architecture to promote their own ideology at the expense of the non-elite inhabitants of the site who may have been able to contribute less to local ritual practices. The relative autonomy of local leaders and the lack of evidence for non-elites interacting directly with the Chimú shows the political and economic plurality of the region that persisted alongside the imposition of colonialism.

Résumé

Cette dissertation examine la manière dont les gens intégrés à l'Empire Chimú (900-1470 Ap. J.C.), une entité politique précolombienne de la côte Péruvienne, sont devenus des sujets coloniaux ainsi que leurs contributions au maintien et à la reproduction de l'empire. En me basant sur des recherches archéologiques au site de Huasi Huaman, une agglomération dans la Vallée de Jequetepeque conquise par l'Empire Chimú au début du 14^{e} siècle, je soutiens que la décentralisation politique et économique qui a caractérisé la région avant la conquête a continué pendant la période Chimú et a influencé les réponses locales à la domination coloniale. L'autorité Chimú n'a pas été appliquée de manière uniforme dans toute la région puisque les colonies non-élite conservaient une autonomie relative tant que les intérêts Chimú étaient respectés. Au même moment, les dirigeants locaux ont profité de la conquête pour promouvoir leurs propres idéologies et peuvent avoir trouvé de nouvelles occasions d'avancement politique en servant d'intermédiaires entre leurs partisans et les Chimú. Mes recherches démontrent la complexité des réponses locales à la domination coloniale et que les populations assujetties n'ont pas été toutes intégrées au même niveau dans la société coloniale.

Cette recherche a nécessité une cartographie de l'architecture, une collecte de surface, et l'excavation d'architecture cérémonielle et domestique pour élucider comment l'architecture encadrait les processus de subjectivation. J'ai trouvé qu'au cours de la Période Lambayeque de la Vallée Jequetepeque (AD 1100-1320), Huasi Huaman était occupé par une petite population vivant en maison de torchis qui ont construit plusieurs plates-formes utilisées pour une gamme d'activités telles que pour les festins, la production artisanale, et pour parquer des camélidés. La diversité de formes et fonctions démontre que plusieurs lignées ou groupes sociaux contribuaient à la création d'espaces architecturaux aidant à définir les relations

sociales hiérarchiques.

Après la conquête Chimú de la Vallée de Jequetepeque au début du 14^{e} siècle, une nouvelle emphase sur l'architecture monumentale contenant des espaces intérieurs isolés apparait. En me basant sur le nouvel accent mis sur l'espace restreint, je soutiens que l'incursion Chimú dans la Vallée Jequetepeque a comme effet d'introduire de nouvelles formes d'architecture cérémonielle au site de Huasi Huaman. Toutefois, ces nouvelles formes d'architecture ne représentent pas l'adoption de symboles étrangers Chimú ni l'appropriation de ceux de l'élite régionale Lambayeque, deux groupes envers lesquels les habitants de Huasi Huaman sentaient peu d'affiliation. Au lieu de cela, les dirigeants locaux à Huasi Huaman ont créé de nouvelles formes d'architecture pour promouvoir leur propre idéologie au détriment des habitants non-élites du site qui possiblement étaient moins en mesure de contribuer aux pratiques rituelles locales.

Acknowledgements

This dissertation is the product of the effort, advice, and guidance of many people all of whom I owe a great deal of gratitude. Foremost I would like to thank my graduate supervisor, Nicole Couture, for the extraordinary effort she put into guiding my growth as a scholar throughout my graduate studies. Thank you for always prioritizing your students and for all the time and effort you put into helping me develop my ideas and writing. I could not have asked for a better mentor.

I owe a great debt to Edward Swenson and John Warner for introducing me to the archaeology of North Coast Peru in 2007 and allowing me to participate in their research projects for three seasons. Both Ed and John taught me a great deal about archaeological fieldwork and how to conduct research in Peru. Ed deserves special mention for introducing me to my research site and helping me to develop my research questions. Thank you for being a source of support, feedback, and advice over the years.

I have received considerable support from Gwen Bennett and Andre Costopoulos who both served on my graduate committee. Thank you for helping me to develop my theoretical foundations and for providing feedback on my research. Andre has also gone out of his way to provide me with additional career advice which has been very much appreciated.

The fieldwork on which this dissertation is based would not have gotten off the ground without the extensive contributions of Arturo Rivera. I owe Arturo a great debt for going above and beyond to help the project, both in and out of the field. He deserves significant credit for his contributions to the excavations as well as his advice regarding the interpretation of the archaeological record. The fieldwork also benefitted from the contributions of Jorge Chiguala, Pablo Medina, Luis Tandaypan, Elizabeth de la Rosa, Victor

Vasquez, and Teresa Rosales. I would also like to thank Jorge Chiguala for his help getting my materials into the *deposito*.

My fieldwork was also enabled by the generous funding provided by McGill University and the Department of Anthropology through Arts Graduate Student Research Grants and the Bruce and Barbara Trigger Award.

During my time as a graduate student I have been lucky to have worked alongside many colleagues and friends who have encouraged and supported me along the way. My heartfelt thanks goes to Claudine Vallieres, Wes Mattox, Giles Morrow, James Crandall, Anna Guengerich, Guy Duke, and many others.

Finally, I would like to thank my family for their constant support and encouragement. My parents, Bill and Karen Hahn, have been a profoundly positive influence on my life. They have always encouraged my studies and it is to them that I owe much of my success. My brother and sister-in-law, Michael and Katie Hahn, have been another source of support. I am eternally grateful to both of you for inviting me into your home while I was preparing to go into the field and letting me take over your basement to store my things while I was away.

Table of Contents

Abstract i

Résumé iii

Acknowledgements v

Table of Contents vii

List of Tables xiii

List of Figures xv

Chapter 1 Introduction 1

Colonialism and the Production of Space 4

Colonialism and the Consolidation of the Chimú Empire 9

Research Questions 12

Organization of Dissertation 18

Chapter 2 The Archaeology of Empires and Colonialism 23

Definitions 24

Models of Empire 34

Globalist Models 35

Acculturation Models 35

World Systems Theory 37

Post-Colonial Models 39

Identity and Ethnicity 42

Gender 45

Class and Factions 49

Change and Continuity in Empire and Colonialism 53

Conclusion 57

Chapter 3 Colonialism and Architecture 59

The Production of Monumental and Domestic Space 60

Approaches to the Study of Architecture 62

Architecture and Memory 85

Landscapes, Thirdspace and Processes of Subjectification in Colonialism 86

Conclusion 94

Chapter 4 Huasi Huaman and the Jequetepeque Valley during the Late Intermediate Period 96

The Jequetepeque Valley 97

The Chimú Empire 98

Chimor and the Inca Model of Andean Sociopolitical Organization 101

Models of Expansion 107

Chimú Architecture at Chan Chan and in the Provinces 112

The Lambayeque of the Jequetepeque Valley 121

Cultural Similarities and Differences between Lambayeque and Chimú Populations 125

Huasi Huaman 127

Conclusion 141

Chapter 5 Research Methodology 143

Surface Collection 143

Mapping and GIS 146

Excavation....148
Terraces and Low Sectors....151
Platforms....154
Monumental Architecture....156
Laboratory Analysis of Remains....158
Conclusion....160
Chapter 6 Excavations....161
Terraces....161
Sector L - Unit 13....162
A-Superior - Unit 5 and Unit 20....168
Sector G - Unit 6....172
Summary of Terrace Excavation....174
Low Sectors....175
Sector K - Unit 16 and Unit 17....175
Sector G - Unit 12....185
Platforms....188
Platform I - Unit 1 and Unit 2....188
Platform H - Unit 3 and Unit 4....198
Platform B - Unit 10....204
Platform F - Unit 11....208
Platform N - Unit 15....211

Platform C - Unit 18 216
Monumental Architecture 221
Huaca A – Units 7, 8, and 9 222
Structure D - Unit 14 and Unit 19 234
Conclusions 241
Chapter 7 Materials Analysis 243
Ceramics 244
Ollas 244
Cantaros 246
Tinajas 247
Tazones 248
Ralladores 249
Comparison of Ceramic Forms from Huasi Huaman 250
Comparison of Rim Diameters 256
Comparison of Decoration 266
Faunal and Botanical Remains 272
Botanical Materials 287
Lithic Tools 297
Metalwork 298
Textiles and Other Personal Adornments 300
Conclusions 302

Chapter 8 The House, Domestic Activities, Craft Production, and the Subject 304
Introduction 304
The House at Huasi Huaman 307
Terraces 309
Low Sectors 311
Evidence for Long-term Occupations of Domestic Sectors 314
Population Estimate 315
Domestic Activities, Craft Production, Subsistence Practices, Household Ritual and Dwelling 317
Weaving 318
Cooking and Brewing 322
Ceramic Manufacture 326
Metalworking 328
Fishing and Agriculture 329
Household Ritual 331
Children as Relational Subjects 331
Conclusions 332
Chapter 9 Platforms and Monumental Architecture 336
Introduction 336
Lambayeque Period 337
Walls, the Organization of Space, and Comparison to Other Sites 347

Chimú Period 351

Conclusions 358

Chapter 10 Discussion and Conclusions 361

Huasi Huaman during the Lambayeque and Chimú Periods 362

The Longue Durée of the Jequetepeque Valley 367

Suggestions for Future Research 371

Significance of Research to the Study of Colonialism 373

Works Cited 376

List of Tables

Table 5.1: List of all the units showing their dimensions and UTM coordinates. 150

Table 7.1: Frequencies of ceramic forms by context. 251

Table 7.2: Cross tabulation of ceramic form by context. 254

Table 7.3: Pearson Chi-Square value of ceramic form by context. 255

Table 7.4: Symmetric measures for the frequency of ceramic forms by context. 255

Table 7.5: Frequency of decoration types by sector. 271

Table 7.6: Mammal, bird, and fish species at Huasi Huaman. 273

Table 7.7: The frequency of fish, bird, and mammal remains in the units of Sector A and A-superior. 274

Table 7.8: The frequency of fish, bird, and mammal remains in the units of Sector B, Platform C, Structure D, Platform F, and Sector G. 275

Table 7.9: The frequency of fish, bird, and mammal remains from Sector H, Platform I, and Sector K. 276

Table 7.10: The frequency of fish, bird, and mammal remains from Sector L and Sector N. 277

Table 7.11: Geographic distribution of identified fish species (Vasquez and Rosales 2012: 6, table 1) 280

Table 7.12: Gastropods and Bivalves recovered from Huasi Huaman and the proportion of total MNI. 282

Table 7.13: MNI of molluscs recovered from Huaca A and Sector A-superior. 283

Table 7.14: MNI of molluscs recovered from Platform B, Platform C, Structure D, Platform F, Sector G, and Platform H. 284

Table 7.15: MNI of molluscs recovered during excavation of Platform I and Sector K. 285

Table 7.16: MNI of molluscs recovered Sector L and Sector N. 286

Table 7.17: Botanical Species from Huasi Huaman. 288

Table 7.18: NISP of macrobotanical remains from Huaca A. 289

Table 7.19: NISP of macrobotanical remains from Sector A-superior, Platform B, Platform C, and Structure D. 290

Table 7.20: NISP of macrobotanical remains from Platform F, Sector G, and Platform H. .291

Table 7.21: NISP of macrobotanical remains from Platform I and Sector K. 292

Table 7.22: NISP of macrobotanical remains recovered from Sector L and Platform N. 293

Table 7.23: List of copper artefacts. 299

Table 7.24: List of textiles. 301

Table 7.25: List of beads.....302

Table 8.1: Carbon dates for Huasi Huaman's domestic sectors. 314

Table 8.2: Population Estimates by Sector for Huasi Huaman.....316

Table 9.1: Radiocarbon dates obtained for platform architecture.....338

List of Figures

Figure 1.1: Map of Peru highlighting the geographic extent of the Kingdom of Chimor (Redrawn and adapted from Moseley 2001: 244, figure 111). 2

Figure 1.2: Map of the Jequetepeque Valley showing the location of the research site at Huasi Huaman and other archaeological sites dating to the Chimú conquest of the valley (Redrawn from Cutright 2009: 45, figure 2.4) 10

Figure 1.3: Comparison of two Chimú compounds at Farfán, Chimor's provincial administrative center in the Jequetepeque Valley, and the compounds at Chan Chan. Architectural features characteristic of Chimor such as audiencias, walk-in wells, and burial platforms are labelled (Moore and Mackey 2008: 791, figure 39.4; 785, figure 39.1). 10

Figure 4.1: Map of the North Coast showing the two stages of Chimor's expansion according to the model proposed by Rowe (1948) and the location of major Chimú sites (Adapted from Moore and Mackey 2008: 788, figure 39.2). 108

Figure 4.2: Map of the North Coast showing the three stages of Chimor's expansion according to the model proposed by Topic (1990) and the location of major Chimú sites (Adapted from Moore and Mackey 2008: 788, figure 39.2)..... 109

Figure 4.3: Map of the North Coast showing the three stages of Chimor's expansion according to the model proposed by Mackey and Klymyshyn (1990) and the location of major Chimú sites (Adapted from Moore and Mackey 2008: 788, figure 39.2). 110

Figure 4.4: Map of the North Coast showing the three stages of Chimor's expansion according to the model proposed by Moore and Mackey (2008) and the location of major Chimú sites (Adapted from Moore and Mackey 2008: 788, figure 39.2)..... 111

Figure 4.5: Lambayeque architecture from the site of Cabur in the Jequetepeque Valley (Sapp 2011: 99, figure 4)..... 123

Figure 4.6: Northern Lambayeque architecture. (A) T-shaped platform mound of Huaca Susy at Chotuna (B) platform mound topped with a rectangular enclosure, Huaca Mayor at Chotuna (C) truncated pyramid of Huaca Rodillona at Batán Grande (Sapp 2011: 100, figures 5, 6, and 7). 123
Figure 4.7: Map of Huasi Huaman listing the names of all sectors. 130
Figure 4.8: Plan Map of Huaca A. 131
Figure 4.9: Image of Structure D taken from on top of the adobe wall to the south. 132
Figure 4.10: Plan of Platform B. 133
Figure 4.11: Plan map of Platform C. 134
Figure 4.12: Structure C, a platform with two terraces. 134
Figure 4.13: Front of Platform F as viewed from the plaza. 135
Figure 4.14: Plan map of Platform F. 135
Figure 4.15: Platform H, a simple structure constructed from piled cobbles and gravels, is similar to layout and construction to Platform I. 136
Figure 4.16: Plan map of Platform I. 137
Figure 4.17: Plan map of Platform N. 138
Figure 4.18: Image of Sector G taken from the foothill located to it east. 139
Figure 4.19: Sector K, a low area between Walls 1 and 2. 139
Figure 4.20: The reddish orange boulders scattered across Sector P. Some of these stones were erected upright and incorporated into the walls. If the boulders had significance, their meaning is unknown. 140
Figure 5.1: Location of units for the surface collection of ceramic sherds. 145
Figure 5.2: Map of Huasi Huaman showing the location of the 20 excavation units. 149

Figure 6.1: Plan of Level 1 of Unit 13 located on a terrace in Sector L. Of particular note is Feature 1, the location where a row of maize stalks were uncovered. This suggests the terrace contained a garden that was located next to a house. 163

Figure 6.2: Row of preserved maize plant stems located within subunit 13a on a terrace in Sector L. 164

Figure 6.3: Plan of Unit 13a in Sector L showing the location of features at the top of Level 2. Feature 1 is the in situ row of maize stalks. The ash deposits of Features 7 and 8 also contained the remains of maize stalks suggesting there was once another row located in this location that did not preserve very well. 164

Figure 6.4: Maize stems with preserved brace roots from the terrace excavated in Unit 13 of Sector L. The tops show signs of being cut as a result of harvesting and then being burnt. .165

Figure 6.5: (Left) Plant stems with the remains of roots recovered within Subunit 13a of the terrace within Sector L along with some of the maize cobs found nearby. Notice that the tops of the stalks show evidence of being cut with a sharp implement and are darkened from burning. (Right) Drawing of brace roots on a six-week-old maize plant for comparison (Hochholdinger 2009: 146, figure 1b). 166

Figure 6.6: North profile of the terrace located in Unit 13a of Sector L. 167

Figure 6.7: Plan map of Unit 5 located on a terrace in Sector A-superior. Features 2-5 probably are the remains of hearths and Feature 5 contains the skeleton of a fish (species not identified). 169

Figure 6.8: Profiles of Unit 5a. 170

Figure 6.9: The sterile surface of the slope underneath the terrace in Unit 5a of Sector A-superior. 170

Figure 6.10: Unit 20, located on a terrace of Sector A-superior, showing the location of an in situ olla (cooking pot). 171

Figure 6.11: Exposed first level of a terrace in Unit 6 of Sector G. The terrace contained little evidence for human habitation beyond two small ash deposits in the NW corner. 173
Figure 6.12: Plan of the terrace of Unit 6, located in Sector G. The small ash deposits were excavated with subunit 6a. 174
Figure 6.13: Profile drawings of Unit 6a. 174
Figure 6.14: Plan map of Level 1 of Unit 16 in Sector K. Much of the unit consists of burned domestic refuse. 177
Figure 6.15: Ash deposits covering much of Unit 16a in Sector K indicating the presence of a burned domestic refuse. 177
Figure 6.16: South profile of Unit 16a in Sector K. 178
Figure 6.17: Plan map of Level 1 of Unit 17 showing the surface of Platform K. Much of the northern end of the small platform was fire blackened. 179
Figure 6.18: Profile drawings for Unit 17a in Sector K. The first level is the prepared surface of the platform. Feature 3 shows part of the large ash deposit found underneath Platform K that likely resulted from the burning of an earlier wattle and daub structure. 180
Figure 6.19: Plan of level 3 from Unit 17a in Sector K showing the location of the remnants of a cane wall. The canes are not shown to scale. Much of the unit contained ash. 180
Figure 6.20: Preserved remains of a cane wall underneath the platform of Unit 17 in Sector K. 181
Figure 6.21: Remains of burnt cane wall in Unit 17 in Sector K. Grey area is likely wattle or plaster placed between rows of cane to strengthen the wall. 181
Figure 6.22: In situ copper needle and textile fragment found underneath the burned cane wall within subunit 17a in Sector K. 182
Figure 6.23: Spindle with thread made from a piece of cane that was recovered from subunit 17a in Sector K. 182

Figure 6.24: Spondylus bead uncovered during the excavation of Unit 17 in Sector K. It may have been left as an offering in the burned wattle and daub structure we found in the unit. 183
Figure 6.25: Hair found in Unit 17 in Sector K that may have been left as an offering. 183
Figure 6.26: Chimú blackware sherd from Unit 17 of Sector K depicting an animal in profile. The animal may be a lizard or feline. 184
Figure 6.27: Photo of Sector G taken from a small hill to its east. Wall 2 can be seen in the background. 186
Figure 6.28: Plan map of Level 1 from Unit 12 of Sector G. There was little evidence of human habitation uncovered in this unit. 187
Figure 6.29: West Profile of Unit 12 in Sector G. The ash deposits were shallow so they may be the result of natural fires or the locations of cooking fires that were only used once. occupation. 187
Figure 6.30: Plan map of Platform I showing the location of Unit 1 and Unit 2. 189
Figure 6.31: Unit 1, situated west of the upper terrace of Platform I, prior to excavation. We discovered the midden in this location. The area is covered in cobbles that eroded from the slopes of Cerro Merciélago. 190
Figure 6.32: Plan drawing of the top of level 1 from Unit 1, located in the courtyard off the side of Platform I. The ash deposits labeled as Features 1-3 are the top oof larger deposits of burned refuse. 191
Figure 6.33: Profiles of Subunit 1a located in the midden uncovered in the courtyard to the east of Platform I. Features 2, 5, 7, and 8 are compacted layers of feces. The dotted line marks the probable location of an earlier surface. 192
Figure 6.34: The beginning of Feature 7 in Platform I which consisted of a thick layer of probable human paleofeces that covered much of Subunit 1a. 192

Figure 6.35: Plan of the top of Level 3 of subunit 1a of Platform I showing the location of paleofeces and a mat made from plant material. 193
Figure 6.36: Two large boulders located to the north of a large midden containing a thick stratum of paleofeces in subunit 1a of Platform I. 194
Figure 6.37: Plan map of Level 1 of Unit 2 of Platform I. Sub-unit 2a was excavated in a large dark stain on the surface which we later determined to be the result of pooling rain water. The boulder likely found its way onto the platform due erosion on the mountain slope above the platform. 196
Figure 6.38: Profiles for Unit 2a located on Platform I. 197
Figure 6.39: Large boulders and cobbles exposed in the excavation of subunit 2a that served as the primary building material of Platform I. 197
Figure 6.40: Plan of Platform H showing the location of Unit 3 and Unit 4. 199
Figure 6.41: The north face of Platform H showing the ramp that was excavated as part of Unit 3. 199
Figure 6.42: Profile drawing of the south profile of SubUnit 3a showing the North Face of Platform H which was covered by the ramp. 200
Figure 6.43: The cut of Subunit 3a showing the face of Platform I (left) upon which the ramp was constructed. The stratum of sediment underneath the ramp was devoid of cultural materials and represents the natural hill on which the platform was constructed. 201
Figure 6.44: The surface of the Platform H's upper terrace prior to excavation. The circular depression in the center left of the image is pooled rain water. 202
Figure 6.45: Plan map showing Level 1 of Unit 4 placed so that it spans the two uppermost terraces of Platform H. The locations of a blackware bowl, gourd, and pacay fruit are marked with x's 203

Figure 6.46: Profile drawings of subunit 4a on Platform H. The fill of the upper terrace of the platform was not very thick and the sterile surface of the hill was reached in less than 20 cm over most of the subunit. 203
Figure 6.47: Partial blackware bowl placed within the construction fill of Platform H's uppermost terrace. A piece of a gourd bowl was found underneath. 204
Figure 6.48: Plan of Platform B showing the location of Unit 10. 205
Figure 6.49: Plan of Unit 10a on Platform B showing the location of camelid feces. 206
Figure 6.50: In situ camelid bones in the west profile of subunit 10a on Platform B. Camelid droppings are visible in the profile above the bones. 206
Figure 6.51: Profile drawings of Unit 10a on Platform B. Not the significant accumulation of camelid droppings visible in the north profile (Feature 2). 207
Figure 6.52: Plan map of Platform F showing the location of Unit 11. 208
Figure 6.53: Plan map of Level 1 of Unit 11 from Platform F. An earlier face of the platform was uncovered during the excavation of subunit 11a. 209
Figure 6.54: Stone wall representing the old face of Platform F before the construction of an extension. The wall was exposedduring the excavation of subunit 11a. 210
Figure 6.55: Profile drawings of Unit 11a from Platform F. 211
Figure 6.56: Plan map of Platform N showing the location of Unit 15. 212
Figure 6.57: Plan map of Level 1 of Unit 15 located on Platform N. 213
Figure 6.58: East profile from subunit 15a in Platform N. The unit contained four prepared floors showing extensive renovation which is unusual for Huasi Huaman. 213
Figure 6.59: Hearth features (Features 2-4) from level 6 of Unit 15, located on Platform N. The south and east portions of the floor have been previously destroyed when pits were dug through the floor (Feature 5), probably by looting. 214

Figure 6.60: Quartz crystal recovered from the floor context of Level 6 from Unit 15a of Platform N. 215
Figure 6.61: Plan map of Platform C showing the location of Unit 18. 217
Figure 6.62: Plan map of Unit 18 located on Platform C. Feature 2 is a claylined fire pit that appears to have been used in metalworking. 218
Figure 6.63: Retaining wall that separates the upper and lower terrace of Platform C. 219
Figure 6.64: Profile drawings of Unit 18a from Platform C. 220
Figure 6.65: In situ ground stone tool within Unit 18a on Platform C. The sediments around the ground stone on the left of the image are fire reddened clay from a probable pit kiln used in metalworking. 220
Figure 6.66: Ground stone tool from Unit 18a. It may have been used in metalworking. 221
Figure 6.67: Plan Map of Huaca A showing the location of units 7, 8, and 9. 223
Figure 6.68: Unit 7, located within the courtyard on top of Huaca A, pre-excavation. 223
Figure 6.69: Close up of poorly preserved portion of yellow and red mural on the south wall of Unit 7. 224
Figure 6.70: Drawing of east profile of Unit 7a on Huaca A. 225
Figure 6.71: Cobble stone “bin” (top left) and layer of plant material covering a pit in the courtyard of Huaca A. 225
Figure 6.72: Close up mat of plant material placed above a pit in unit 7a from Huaca A. ... 226
Figure 6.73: Plan map of Level 3 of Unit 7a on Huaca A showing the pit found underneath the plant matting. 227
Figure 6.74: Mural on the south wall of Huaca A's courtyard. Though highly weathered, it likely depicts a red and yellow checkerboard pattern. 227
Figure 6.75: Subunit 8a from Huaca A with the top of a plastered adobe floor exposed. The floor was destroyed from a previous disturbance such as looting. 228

Figure 6.76: Drawing of the east profile of Unit 8a from Huaca A. 230
Figure 6.77: Drawing of the north profile of Unit 8a of Huaca A. Note the irregular shape of the adobe brick in Level 4. 230
Figure 6.78: Plan map of Level 1 of Unit 9 from Huaca A showing the location of adobe bricks in relation to the ramp. 232
Figure 6.79: Six adobe bricks bordering the base of Huaca A's ramp that were uncovered during the excavation of subunit 9a. 233
Figure 6.80: Profile Drawings for Unit 9a of Huaca A. 233
Figure 6.81: Map of Structure D showing the locations of units 14 and 19. 235
Figure 6.82: Unit 14 in Structure D prior to excavation. The image depicts Room 2 from the south. 236
Figure 6.83: Eroded adobe “bench” or row of adobe bricks in the baffled entryway between the east and west rooms of Structure D. 237
Figure 6.84: Profile drawings of Unit 14a from Structure D. 238
Figure 6.85: North Profile of cleaned looter's pit from Structure D. 239
Figure 6.86: Exposed stone and adobe terraces constructed against southern wall of Structure D. 240
Figure 6.87: Remains of a niche in the badly eroded western adobe wall of Structure D. 241
Figure 6.88: Adobe bricks from within a looter's pit located in the small platform on top of Structure D. 241
Figure 7.1: Intact olla (type 18:5) with paleteado decoration recovered from Unit 20 of Sector A-superior. 245
Figure 7.2: The three most common olla types at Huasi Huaman. Types are taken from Swenson’s (2004: 732, figure 7.5) typology of ollas for the Late Intermediate Period Jequetepeque Valley. 246

Figure 7.3: The two most common cantaro types at Huasi Huaman. Types are taken from Swenson's (2004: 744, figure 7.8) typology for the Late Intermediate Period Jequetepeque Valley. 247
Figure 7.4: The two most common tinajas types at Huasi Huaman. Types are taken from Swenson's (2004: 746, figure 7.9) typology for the Late Intermediate Period Jequetepeque Valley. 248
Figure 7.5: The two most common tazon types at Huasi Huaman. Types are taken from Swenson's (2004: 754, figure 7.12) typology for the Late Intermediate Period Jequetepeque Valley. 249
Figure 7.6: The two most common types of ralladores at Huasi Huaman. 250
Figure 7.7: Pie charts showing the frequency of ceramic forms in the terraces. 252
Figure 7.8: Pie chart showing the frequency of ceramic forms in the low sectors. 252
Figure 7.9: Pie chart showing the frequency of ceramic forms from the platforms. 253
Figure 7.10: Pie chart showing the frequency of ceramic forms from the monumental architecture. 253
Figure 7.11: Pie chart showing the frequency of ceramic forms from Platform N. 256
Figure 7.12: Histogram of olla rim diameters for all of Huasi Huaman. 258
Figure 7.13: Histogram of olla rim diameters for low sectors. 258
Figure 7.14: Histogram of olla rim diameters from the terraces. 259
Figure 7.15: Histogram of olla rim diameters from the platforms. 259
Figure 7.16: Histogram of olla rim diameters from the monumental architecture. 260
Figure 7.17: Histogram of cantaro rim diameters from all of Huasi Huaman. 261
Figure 7.18: Histogram of cantaro rim diameters from the low sectors. 261
Figure 7.19: Histogram of cantaro rim diameters from the terraces 262
Figure 7.20: Histogram of cantaro rim diameters from the platforms. 262

Figure 7.21: Histogram of cantaro rim diameters from the monumental architecture 263
Figure 7.22: Histogram of tazon rim diameters for all of Huasi Huaman. 264
Figure 7.23: Histogram of tazon rim diameters from the low sectors. 264
Figure 7.24: Histogram of tazon rim diameters from the terraces. 265
Figure 7.25: Histogram of tazon rim diameters from the platforms 265
Figure 7.26: Historgram of tazon rim diameters from the monumental architecture. 266
Figure 7.27: Examples of decorated Chimú Blackware with piel de ganzo (goose bump) decoration. 267
Figure 7.28: Types of paleteado decoration encountered at Huasi Huaman. 268
Figure 7.29: Examples of mold made decoration. (1) Feline. (2) Human head wearing headdress. (3) Human head wearing headdress. (4) Human figure with portion of head, body, and right arm. 269
Figure 7.30: Examples of pottery decorated with a press mold band. 270
Figure 7.31: Other types of ceramic decoration. (1) Body sherd with impressed crabs. (2) Hand molded face. Both sherds are from surface contexts. 270
Figure 7.32: Llama bone exhibiting cut marks from processing found in the excavation of Platform B (Vasquez and Rosales 2012: 11, figure 4) 278
Figure 7.33: Paralonchurus peruanus bone with cut marks (Vasquez and Rosales 2012: 11, figure 3). 279
Figure 7.34: Frequency of fish, bird, and terrestrial animal remains between low sectors, terraces, platforms, and monumental architecture. 281
Figure 7.35: Frequency of mollusc shells collected in sector and platform units 287
Figure 7.36: Comparison of the proportion of common botanical species between the platforms, terraces, and low sectors. 296

Figure 7.37: Ground stones from surface contexts. (1) Grinding stone from Sector E, (2) fragment of an *argolla* (tool for breaking dirt-clods) from Sector L, (3) mortar from Sector D. 297
Figure 7.38: 1-2: Copper Needles. 3: Tweezers. 299
Figure 7.39: Beads from Huasi Huaman made from various materials. (1) Shell, (2) stone, (3) turquoise, and (4) spondylus shell. 301
Figure 8.1: Ceramic waster from an olla recovered from surface contexts in Sector N. 327
Figure 8.2: Ceramic mould for producing decorative faces on face-neck vessel. This mould was recovered from surface contexts in Sector L. 327
Figure 8.3: Illustration of Inca plowing festival showing men plowing agricultural fields while their wives assist (Poma 1936[1615]: 1153). 330
Figure 9.1: Map of Huasi Huaman depicting the isovistas of Huaca A, Platform B, Platform C, Structure D, Platform F, Platform H, Platform I, and Platform N. 339
Figure 9.2: Viewshed analysis for Platform H depicting where an individual can see and be seen from the observation point on the platform. 340
Figure 9.3: Viewshed analysis for Platform I depicting where an individual can see and be seen from the observation point on the platform. 341
Figure 9.4: Viewshed map for Platform N depicting where an individual can see and be seen from the observation point on the platform. 342
Figure 9.5: Viewshed map for Platform B depicting where an individual can see and be seen from the observation point on the platform. 343
Figure 9.6: Viewshed map for Platform F depicting the areas of the site that can see and be seen from the observation point on the platform. 345
Figure 9.7: Viewshed map for Platform C depicting the areas of the site that can see and be seen from the observation point on the platform. 347

Figure 9.8: Plan of the Late Moche settlement of San Ildefonso (Swenson 2006: 124, figure 5.5). 349
Figure 9.9: Plan of Catalina, occupied from the Late Moche Period to the Chimú Period (Swenson 2006: 124, figure 5.5). 349
Figure 9.10: Plan of the LIP settlement of Cerro El Morino de Chocofán (Swenson 2007: 72, figure 7). 350
Figure 9.11: Isovista of Huaca I at Pacatnamú (Moore 1996: 118, figure 3.19). 353
Figure 9.12: Viewshed map for Huaca A depicting where an individual can see and be seen from the observation point on the platform. 354
Figure 9.13: The remote monumental platform on which Structure D is located. The location of Structure D is marked by the arrow. 355
Figure 9.14: Viewshed map for Structure D depicting the areas of the site where an individual can see and be seen from the observation point on the platform. 356

Chapter 1 Introduction

The Kingdom of Chimor, also known as the Chimú Empire, was a pre-Columbian polity located in the North Coast region of Peru (Figure 1.1) dating from AD 900 to 1470. The polity originated in the urban settlement of Chan Chan located in the Moche Valley from which it expanded into regions to the north and south beginning in the early 14th century (Moore and Mackey 2008). At its maximum extent, the Chimú Empire spanned the region from the Casma Valley to La Leche Valley while its influence was felt as far north as the Piura region and as far south as the Chillon Valley, an area of close to 1000 km. The creation of an expansive empire enabled the extraction of wealth from newly established provinces which the lords of Chan Chan used to support the construction of lavish royal palace compounds and maintain an urban population of upwards of 30,000 artisans and retainers (Moseley 1975: 223; Topic 2009). Chimor's success made it the dominant political power in the North Coast region until it fell to an upstart power from the central highlands, the famous Inca Empire, during the late 15th century.

One of the first regions to be conquered by Chimor was the Jequetepeque Valley. An oral history of the conquest was recorded in the early 17th century by the Spanish Augustinian monk, Father Antonio de la Calancha. Calancha wrote that the inhabitants of the Jequetepeque Valley resisted Chimú subjugation, but were eventually defeated in battle and incorporated into the empire (Calancha summarized in Means 1931: 56-57). The Jequetepeque Valley marked the northern extent of Chimor for a century before a second wave of expansion pushed the boundaries of the empire further north (Mackey 2006; 2009; Moore and Mackey 2008).

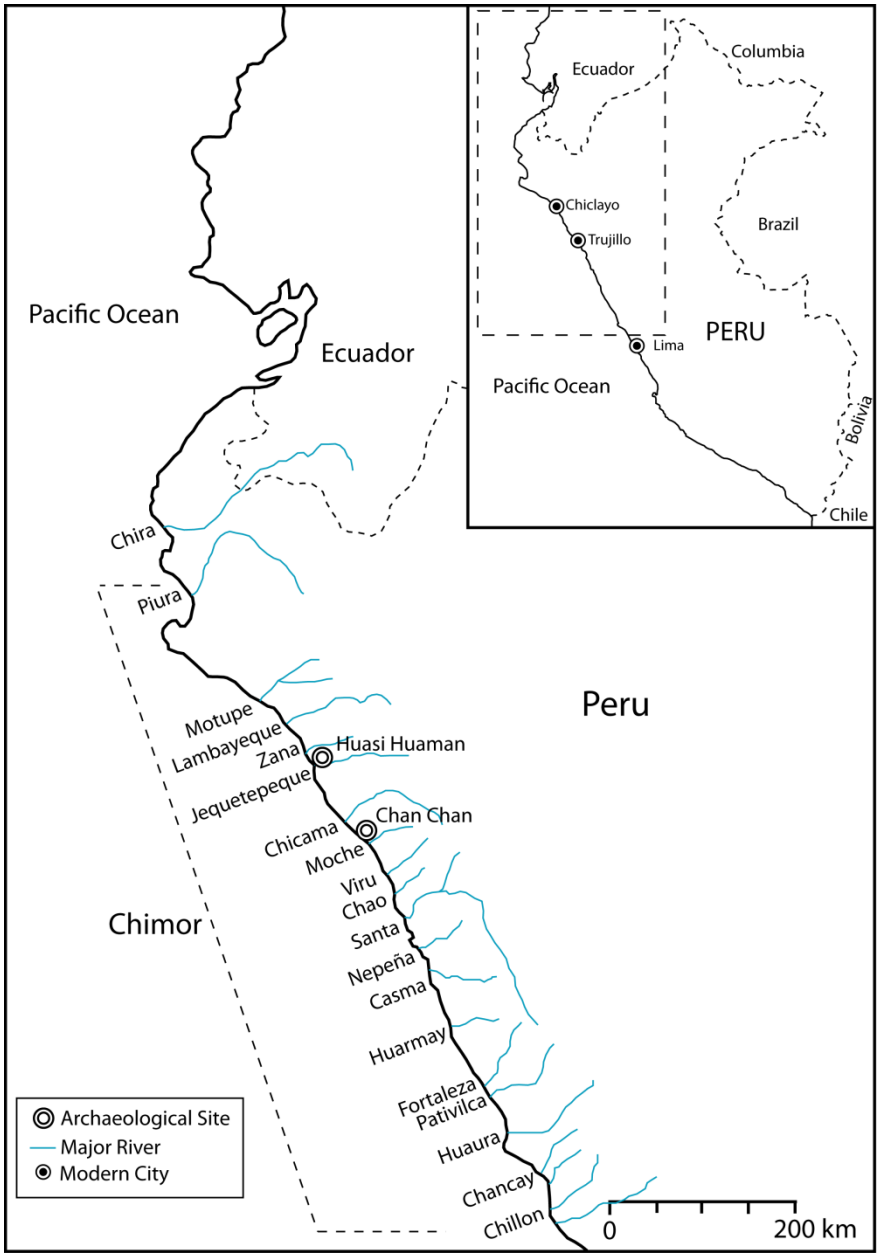


Figure 1.1: Map of Peru highlighting the geographic extent of the Kingdom of Chimor (Redrawn and adapted from Moseley 2001: 244, figure 111).

My dissertation examines how the inhabitants of the Jequetepeque Valley were incorporated into the Chimú Empire. I explore how power relations were mediated and contested through architecture and the processes that turned the Jequetepeque Valley into a colonial province. To what extent did Chimor's provincial subjects identify with the polity? What aspects of life became politically charged and contested? How did the political production of the state mediate the relationship between local lords, their followers, and

Chimú administrators? In other words, my dissertation explores the means through which the Chimú Empire was socially produced within one of its earliest provincial territories.

To answer my questions, I excavated and mapped the site of Huasi Huaman, a large hillside settlement located in the northern Jequetepeque Valley. Occupied both before and after the Chimú conquest, Huasi Huaman was inhabited by peoples affiliated with the early pre-Chimú polity of the region. It was never the residence of a Chimú official, but it appears to have become part of the administrative infrastructure they co-opted. As local leaders likely served as intermediaries between Chimú elites and the local inhabitants of the region (Swenson 2007: 84), the practices used by local lords to frame their relationship with their followers can provide information on the consequences of the incorporation of the region into the empire. Building upon the hypothesis that the Chimú conquest increased factional competition within the Jequetepeque Valley (Swenson 2007), I argue that Chimú colonialism in the Jequetepeque Valley and local responses to it were constrained by the political decentralization that characterized the region for several centuries. The Chimú conquest opened new avenues for political advancement for local leaders willing to serve as intermediaries between imperial elites and subjugated peoples, but the Chimú had little direct involvement with the day-to-day lives of their subjects. Local leaders at Huasi Huaman downplayed association with Chimú officials and rejected the symbols of the previous paramount elites, instead engaging their followers in spaces that emphasized local ideology. The relationship between local leaders and their followers was defined through ritual exclusion that limited the contributions of their followers to religious ceremonies. I suggest that the non-elite inhabitants of Huasi Huaman probably did not see themselves as newly made Chimú and continued to maintain much the same affiliations they held prior to the conquest.

Colonialism and the Production of Space

Colonialism is a term that has most often been used to refer to the European system of establishing colonies in foreign territories following the 15th century and the consequences that resulted from the spread of capitalism, the development of racial hierarchies, and the pillaging of natural and cultural resources (Gosden 2004: 1). While many scholars argue that this era represents a drastic departure from previous periods, primarily due to the consequences of the imposition of capitalism (Cohn 1996; Gosden 2004; Leone and Potter 1988; McGuire 2006), others have begun to question the exceptionalism of the modern era and the extent by which historical colonialism can be viewed as a unified process (Dawdy 2010; Schmidt and Waltz 2005; Stoler and Cooper 1997: 6; Taylor 2008). Following this line of thought, archaeologists have begun to explore the extent to which post-colonial theory can be applied to the ancient world (Dietler 2010; Stein 2004). Examining ancient empires through the lens of theory derived from historical colonialism provides an alternative theoretical framework to top-down approaches to the study of ancient imperial polities such as world systems theory (Wallerstein 1974) that have been criticized for ignoring the complexity of relationships, competing agendas, and plethora of agencies that characterize polities linked in asymmetrical power relations (Dietler 2004: 49; Lightfoot and Martinez 1995).

In this dissertation, I apply the lessons of research on historical colonialism to my research on the Kingdom of Chimor to tease out the ways in which asymmetrical power relations were constituted and reproduced at Huasi Huaman. My research stems from an interest in the contributions made by different segments of the provincial population in the Jequetepeque Valley to the development of the empire. Identifying the extent to which colonialism is an appropriate framework for understanding the provincial Chimú Empire necessitates a broader understanding of colonialism's forms and consequences. This

understanding is aided by the sustained interest the topic has generated in anthropology and the social sciences. Indeed, as over two-fifths of the world's population was living under colonial rule by the beginning of the 20th century (Dietler 2010: 19), few processes have had such an impact on the formation of the present world. I do not mean to suggest that the colonialism within the Chimú Empire directly correlates to that which occurred among much later societies nor do I intend to argue that aspects of historical colonialism stemming from capitalist economies fit neatly into non-capitalist societies such as Chimor. Nevertheless, historical studies of colonialism and post-colonial theory do provide invaluable comparative frameworks for interpreting its material expressions and social consequences, especially in regards to topics such as identity, gender, class, and factionalism.

One of the most significant contributions made by scholars studying historical colonialism has been to challenge previously taken-for-granted assumptions such as overly simplistic bifurcation of colonial societies into two groups: the colonized and the colonizers. Scholars have demonstrated that the impact of colonialism does not affect all groups and peoples equally, and that conceptions of class, race and gender have a large impact on individual experiences (Deagan 1973; Stoler 1991; Voss 2008a). Furthermore, shifting power dynamics and rivalries meant that some groups were better able than others to integrate themselves into colonial society (Patterson 1991). This research shows that groups traditionally categorized as either the colonized or the colonizers had complex agencies and often competing agendas that are lost in such a simple dichotomy (Bang 2009; Borgstede and Yaeger 2008; Brumfiel 1998; Comaroff and Comaroff 1984; Dawdy 2008; Deagan 2001; DeMarrais 2005; Lockhart 1994; Turner 2009). Colonial contexts are also rich settings for cultural blending, innovation, and hybridity (Bakhtin 1981; Bhabha 1985; Brathwaite 1971; Hill 1996; Lightfoot and Martinez 1995; Palmié 2006; Voss 2008b).

Archaeological studies of ancient colonialism have in turn contributed to the

understanding of the different forms by which colonialism can develop as well as its long term consequences (Alcock et al. 2001; Dietler 2010; Finley 1978; Gosden 2004; Lyons and Padopoulos 2002; Stein 2004). Archaeologists have shown that the nature of strategies employed by empires to rule subjugated territories was dependent on the sociopolitical organization of a region before incorporation into an empire. For example, an imperial presence is often most visible in regions that lacked an existing centralized administrative framework that could be co-opted (Alconini 2008; Morris 2004; Schreiber 1987). Archaeologists have also provided additional models for colonization beyond military conquest at the behest of imperial elite (Stein 2002; 2004; Goldstein 2005). Additional studies have demonstrated that ancient colonialism had an equally profound impact on the peoples incorporated into colonial projects in the past as it has had on the formation of the modern world. For example, the spread of the Roman Empire brought about the replacement and extinction of many local European languages (Dietler 2010: 22). Archaeological contributions to the study of colonialism have been especially important for understanding the processes of the consolidation of politically complex polities and the development of states (Scheidel 2006: 3).

One of the areas of research that has been particularly fruitful in the study of ancient empires is the connection between architectural space and the development of authority. Space is produced, according to Henri Lefebvre (1991), through three processes: spatial practice, representations of space, and representational spaces. Spatial practice is the spaces of everyday perception and routine that produce and reproduce social formations. It is related to the function of space. The second of the three processes, representations of space, are conceptual spaces linked to the relations of production and the knowledge they impose on those who use them. They include literal depictions and conceptions of space such as blueprints. Finally, representational space is where representations are made from a person

perceiving and experiencing a place. These three processes "combine together to produce a knowledge of how physical and symbolic space is constructed and how space affects those people who use it by the rules it imposes on them" (Hicks 2007: 2). The significance of Lefebvre's understanding of space to the study of power relations is that those who control the production of space control the reproduction of social forms, the imposition of the relations of production, and frame how people experience the world. The production of space can thus be a means of domination (Lefebvre 1991: 26). The production of space is not uncontested and as each society or mode of production produces its own space (Lefebvre 1991), I argue that colonialism creates a situation where the production of space may be contested as different groups vie for authority during the development of new sociopolitical relations.

An example of how power is intertwined with the production of space can be taken from contemporary place making. Anthropologist Setha Low (2000), in her ethnography on the construction and use of the Plaza de la Cultura in the city of San Jose, Costa Rica, shows how foreign and local interests influenced both the location and design of the plaza. The Plaza de la Cultura was constructed to serve as the location of an underground gold museum housing the country's pre-Columbian gold artefacts, but was also intended as a symbol of a new Costa Rican middle class style. Foreign investment, primarily from North America, ensured that the plaza was constructed in a tourist friendly area of San Jose near several American businesses such as a McDonalds. Its design reflected a blending of Costa Rican, European, and North American influences and was envisioned as a space skewed towards male activities such as women watching, meetings, and public gatherings (Low 2000: 145). However, though the Plaza de la Cultura shows how upper-middle class Costa Ricans used their political power to influence the production of space, it was not without contestation by other segments of Costa Rican society. The construction of the plaza resulted in the

demolition of several historically significant late 19th century houses that was met with protestation and many Costa Ricans' were highly critical of the design of the plaza; it was frequently vandalized after it opened to the public and gained a reputation as a dangerous space used by drug users and where unwanted sexual advances were common. The example of the Plaza de la Cultura shows how those with power, in this case Western corporations and the Costa Rican middle class, can use space to reflect their own social and economic interests. It also shows how space can be contested as those excluded by the dominant ideology may use it for activities other than what was intended.

In the case of empires, the production of space provides a point of contestation between imperial regimes and those newly incorporated into an empire. How space is produced thus provides a means to understand how different groups within an empire were framing their relationships with one another. Adam T. Smith (2003: 122, 145-146) argues that there is a need for archaeologist to identify the practical interconnections used to create affiliations between sites, especially in regards to how authority is produced through the ways people experience, perceive, and imagine space. I argue that there is a similar need to address how interconnections were created among factions and communities within settlements (see Brumfiel 1994). Studies of historical colonialism contribute to understanding the more subtle means by which interconnections between sites or polities may be negotiated on the ground level. For example, archaeologist Stephan Silliman (2001) argues that the complex intermingling of cultural traits brought on by colonialism results in previously taken-for-granted activities and practices moving into the realm of political contestation, becoming markers of identity and affiliation. These now politicized practices may then be used to resist the establishment of asymmetrical power relations, comply or simply get by within the new geopolitical landscape. Fortunately for archaeologists, the struggle for forging new identities in creating affiliations plays out through the material culture (Loren 2008). They can thus be

accessed archaeologically.

Colonialism and the Consolidation of the Chimú Empire

Research into the provincial administration of the Chimú Empire suggests that its imperial strategies differed from region-to-region depending on the amount of resistance they encountered (Mackey 2009). In the Jequetepeque Valley (Figure 1.2), the region where I conducted my field research, the Chimú built a new provincial administrative center at the site of Farfán (Conrad 1990; Donnan 1986a: 22; Mackey 2006) after removing the region's most powerful local elites at the site of Pacatnamú. The architecture at Farfán (Figure 1.3) was constructed so that it followed the conventions of the royal palace compounds or *ciudadelas* at the Chimú capital of Chan Chan (Conrad 1990). It consists of adobe compounds with plazas, u-shaped rooms called *audiencias* that were likely associated with elite administrators, and raised burial platforms. The presence of burial platforms, an architectural feature argued to have been synonymous with Chan Chan's royal elites, suggests that the Chimú sent a high status lord from Chan Chan to ensure Chimú policy was being carried out in the valley (Mackey 2006; 2011).

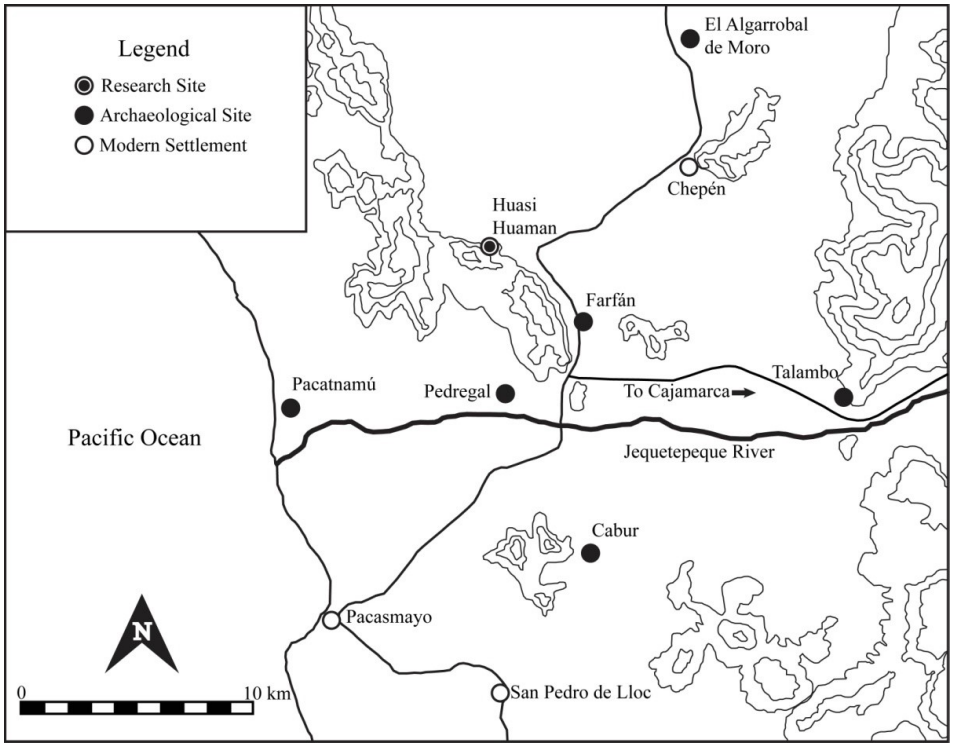


Figure 1.2: Map of the Jequetepeque Valley showing the location of the research site at Huasi Huaman and other archaeological sites dating to the Chimú conquest of the valley (Redrawn from Cutright 2009: 45, figure 2.4)

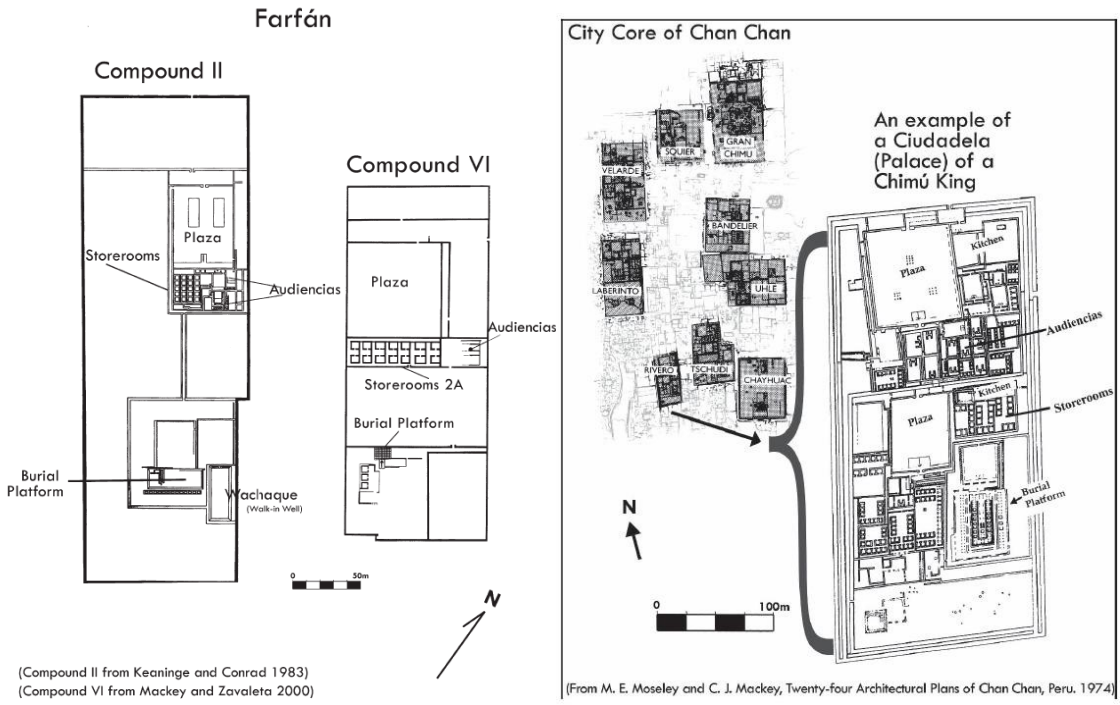


Figure 1.3: Comparison of two Chimú compounds at Farfán, Chimor's provincial administrative center in the Jequetepeque Valley, and the compounds at Chan Chan. Architectural features characteristic of Chimor such as audiencias, walk-in wells, and burial platforms are labelled (Moore and Mackey 2008: 791, figure 39.4; 785, figure 39.1).

Outside of Farfán, Chimor established enclaves at other important centers in the Jequetepeque Valley such as Talambo (Keatinge and Conrad 1983) and El Algarrobal de Moro (Mackey 2004). These enclaves are identified by the presence of Chimú style architecture built besides pre-existing local structures. Both sites were associated with the control of key resources such as roads, systems of irrigation, and information networks. Talambo was also an important site for controlling access to the highland polity of Cajamarca, a source for precious metals and camelid fibers. The construction of Chimú style architecture in the Jequetepeque Valley at Farfán and as enclaves at sites such as Talambo and El Albarrobal de Moro may have had the additional purpose of memorializing their conquest of the valley, reminding the valley's inhabitants of their subordinate position to the rulers of Chan Chan. The fact that the Chimú administrative structure at Talambo is oriented to a north-west alignment while the rest of the site follows a north-east alignment (Keatinge and Conrad 1983) highlights the Chimú desire to separate themselves from the local population.

Mackey (2009: 340) argues that the inhabitants of the Jequetepeque Valley may have had a long standing rivalry with the peoples of the Moche Valley, the homeland of the Chimú, resulting from competition for resources from the Cajamarca region. This may have contributed towards tensions between the two regions that continued into the Chimú occupation. As a result of these tensions and the armed resistance to Chimor's expansion into the valley, Chimor's strategy appears to have relied more on the contributions of intermediate elites, those local lords who occupied the middle position of the political hierarchy, than elsewhere in the empire. Indeed, archaeologists are beginning to recognize the pivotal role of intermediate elites as part of the administrative infrastructure co-opted by imperial powers in the administration and consolidation of their empires (Elson and Covey 2006).

In other regions, such as the Casma and La Leche valleys, the Chimú may have relied on a system of shared rule. In the Casma Valley, a new provincial center was built at the

previously unoccupied site of Manchán (Mackey and Klymyshyn 1990). Existing political centers in the valley continued to function alongside the Chimú provincial center, though local fineware vessels began to be replaced by Chimú forms (Mackey 2009: 338). In La Leche Valley, one of the last regions to be absorbed by the Chimú Empire, the Chimú leveled structures atop two early local monumental platforms at Túcume and constructed new residences for Chimú lords. However, local lords were left to reside in neighbouring platforms (Heyerdahl el al. 1995).

The Jequetepeque Valley is significant for understanding the development of Chimor's political strategies because it was the first province containing people who may have been recognized as ethnically distinct (see Mackey 20011). Elucidating how Chimú colonial rule was implemented and the means used to incorporate local peoples into the empire can provide insight into Chimú colonialism and the evolution of strategies applied to later provinces. My research at Huasi Huaman provides a local perspective from within the early province, examining the politicization of space and the development or continuation of social hierarchies. I hope to untangle the complex political relationships and competing agendas that most certainly existed within colonial Chimor.

Research Questions

My research is intended as a local analysis of the creation of a Chimú province, examining the extent to which Chimor's provincial subjects at Huasi Huaman interacted with the polity, how local peoples framed their relationships with both the Chimú Empire and other communities in the valley, and what processes led to the creation of Chimú colonial society. To guide my research, I organized my analysis into five research questions.

1) How did the inhabitants of Huasi Huaman become Chimú subjects? What were the processes of subjectification that took place within ritual and domestic spaces? To what extent was the production of power relations embedded in the production of these spaces?

My use of the term subject follows the work of Michel Foucault and Stuart Hall.

Foucault (1982) uses the word subject in two ways. In the first, subject refers to coming under the control or dependence of another. In the second, it refers to how a subject is "tied to his own identity by a conscience or self-knowledge" (1982: 781). People are produced as subjects through discourse. Both meanings of the word subject are inherently tied to power which Foucault (1982: 789) argues does not act directly on others, but constrains their ability to act or influences the actions they may take.

Stuart Hall (1996: 10) is critical of Foucault for not explaining why some individuals occupy some subject positions but not others. Taking a post-modern approach, Hall (1996: 598) argues that the subject consists of an identity that is situational and continually in transformation in relation to the ways people are represented or addressed in cultural systems. He introduces the term identity to refer to the meeting point between the practices that make people the subjects of particular discourses and the processes that produce subjectivities (Hall 1996: 5).

In this dissertation, my interest in how the inhabitants of Huasi Huaman became Chimú subjects follows a post-modern definition. That is to say I am interested in the extent and means to which the inhabitants of Huasi Huaman became dependent or under the control of the Chimú Empire, but also how the Chimú conquest influenced processes of subjectification and discourses that shaped local identities and affiliations. My analysis is primarily done through the archaeological study of architecture and the remains of the practices conducted within. By elucidating the formation of subjects at Huasi Huaman, I hope to contribute to the broader understanding of Chimú colonialism.

Broadly speaking, much of the space and architecture within Huasi Huaman can be grouped into the categories of ritual and domestic. I spend much of Chapter 3 discussing how architecture is important to the creation of subjects as it is the setting of the lived experiences of individuals though which daily repetitive interactions become embodied in habitus. Of

course, not everyone's lived experience is the same and differences in gender, ethnicity, age, and class influence the ways in which people interact with other people as well as their environment. My research follows archaeological concerns with identifying how power relations are produced and reproduced in daily contexts (see Hodder and Cessford 2004; Hutson 2010; Silliman 2001) to understand how colonialism was implemented and reproduced.

To identify the processes of subjectification, I turned to examining Huasi Huaman's domestic contexts and their relation to the ritual architecture. Understanding where people lived, the types of activities conducted in these spaces, and their relationship to other types of sectors of the site is significant as quotidian practices help form the embodied dispositions or habitus that inform their actions. Knowing how subjects were formed contributes to identifying the means and extent to which colonialism was imposed and reproduced among provincial subjects whose labour and resources were likely necessary for the maintenance of the empire. In other words, my examination of processes of subjectification is intended to demonstrate how a province of the Chimú Empire functioned at the ground level.

My research shows that at Huasi Huaman the physical location of houses may have contributed to creating different types of subjects even if the types of household activities appear not to have varied significantly across the site. Interestingly, the Chimú did not appear to take much interest in the day-to-day ongoings of people at the site and the inhabitants of the Jequetepeque Valley probably never saw themselves as newly made Chimú. Nonetheless, changes in ceremonial architecture suggest changes in ideology that were embodied in how local leaders framed their interactions with their followers.

2) Did the Chimú conquest of the Jequetepeque Valley enable innovative religious practices and political associations? Who were engaged in these activities and what was the consequence of factionalism within the Jequetepeque Valley?

The Jequetepeque Valley has been noted for its political decentralization stemming back into the Moche Period (Castillo and Donnan 1994a; Dillehay and Kolata 2004; Swenson 2006:

116). The extent to which this continued into the Lambayeque Period is a topic that requires further investigation, but the removal of the region's paramount elites at the city of Pacatnamú may have exasperated the tendency towards decentralization that was already present. Combined with the introduction of foreign Chimú culture, the increased politicization of previously taken for granted beliefs and practices may have enabled innovative religious practices and political associations. A goal of my research is to identify the social groups that participated in political activities and exercised the authority to produce the spaces used in political and ritual activities.

My research at Huasi Huaman shows that following the Chimú conquest, local leaders were building monumental structures with restricted space that emphasized their role in mediating ceremonial practices. As power is reproduced through the creation of place (Lefebvre 1991), the ability to control the production of ceremonial space enables groups to control the implementation of ideology. The result of the changes brought on by the Chimú conquest is that power was becoming more exclusive at Huasi Huaman. The new forms of political posturing between factions within the region and experimentation with religious expression may have benefitted the consolidation of the region by eroding the power base of those who might resist the Chimú and limit the abilities of the indigenous inhabitants to organize resistance.

3) In what ways was the production of ritual, administrative, and residential space interrelated in creating political and economic interdependencies between Huasi Huaman, other sites in the Jequetepeque Valley, and the Chimú Empire? What insight does this provide into the Chimú administration of the valley?

The prevalence of ceremonial architecture at Huasi Huaman suggests a prominent role for religion and ceremonial performance in interactions between social groups. At the same time, the presence of two sets of walls dividing the interior of the site demonstrates a conscious effort to delineate different types of spaces and even define social groups through

difference in access. The relationship between ritual, administrative, and residential space is thus important for understanding how the social groups living at Huasi Huaman presented their relationships to one another as well as their relationship to communities living elsewhere in the Jequetepeque Valley and the greater Chimú Empire.

Smith (2003) proposes three processes by which architecture materializes relations of domination, subordination, or compliance. These processes include memorialization, emulation, and authorization and I discuss these in detail in Chapter 3. However, I apply theory for the study of architecture to show that the types of symbols of power displayed at Huasi Huaman provides a means to address the creation of interconnections from the perspective of local leaders and non-elites in the negotiation of authority within the empire.

My research reveals a rejection of both the symbols of power associated with the pre-Chimú Lambayeque elite residing in the Jequetepeque Valley and a disinterest in adopting Chimú architecture that demonstrates the people living at Huasi Huaman did not try to affiliate themselves with the elites of either polity. Therefore Huasi Huaman does not contain the typical architectural symbols associated with subordination, domination, or compliance. Instead, Huasi Huaman shows continuity with local architectural traditions in the Jequetepeque Valley suggesting the inhabitants of the site retained a considerable degree of political and economic autonomy.

4) Where the architecture at Huasi Huaman exhibits the use of traditional Jequetepeque styles, does the function of these structures also demonstrate continuity with earlier practices or have these structures been adapted to new contexts? Where Chimú architectural styles are present, are they used in a characteristically Chimú way? In other words, are the inhabitants of Huasi Huaman adopting Chimú practices or adapting Chimú symbols to local practices?

Building upon the previous question, although Huasi Huaman's architecture may demonstrate continuity with local architectural traditions in the Jequetepeque Valley, the meaning and use of architecture does not necessarily remain constant through time and structures emulating traditional forms may be put to new purposes. For example, the truncated

pyramid at known as Huaca A, which Swenson (2004; 2007) suggests recalls local architectural traditions from several centuries earlier, was constructed under very different political and cultural circumstances than the earlier structures which may have inspired it. The addition of other architectural elements such as asymmetrical entry ramps and the presence of a sunken courtyard with painted murals reveals that its use reflected later interests. Indeed, the archaeological and historical record abounds with examples of cultures using earlier or foreign architectural traditions in order to argue fictive ancestry (for example, see Molina Montes 1987) and existing traditions being altered for new contexts (Joyce et al. 2001; Ranger 1983).

Similarly, increased research in the Jequetepeque Valley has resulted in a larger database of architectural information which can be compared to structures at Huasi Huaman. Architecture previously argued to contain Chimú architectural symbols, most notably the baffled entry and niche of Structure D (Swenson 2004: 967), can now be identified as not representing the emulation of foreign architecture, but architecture that was present in the Jequetepeque Valley for over a millennium prior to the rise of the Chimú (Warner 2010). I suggest the local responses to Chimú colonialism as played out in architecture may have been informed by the trend towards political decentralization which was already present and argue the sociopolitical and economic organization of the region prior to the conquest influenced the means and extent to which the Chimú imposed colonialism.

5) To what extent did non-elites interact with the Chimú polity? If the domestic terraces were occupied only part time and interactions mediated through a local lord, can Chimú and elite political policy be considered to have had much impact on everyday life?

Evaluating the degree to which the inhabitants of the Jequetepeque Valley identified with the Kingdom of Chimor requires an understanding of the means by which non-elites were engaged by Chimú administrators and, in the case of Huasi Huaman, local lords who likely served as intermediaries. The range of domestic activities found at Huasi Huaman including weaving, cooking, raising guinea pigs, and maintaining gardens suggests that the

site contained at least a small population of permanent occupants, even if the majority of the occupants may have only lived at the site seasonally or part-time given the limited preservation of residential architecture. This interpretation largely matches ethnohistorical evidence of coastal lords traveling to visit their subjects and maintaining ceremonial centers that were not widely occupied year round (Ramirez 1998). The presence of at least a small number of fulltime residents is significant as control over the production of space at Huasi Huaman enabled those with power to influence the formation of habitus for the men, women, and children living at the site as the ideologies embedded in architecture were being engaged with on an everyday basis.

The lack of evidence for a Chimú presence at the site beyond the limited use of Chimú pottery shows that most inhabitants did not interact directly with Chimú administrators. The recovery of Chimú pottery supports also supports my hypothesis that the Chimú were recruiting local leaders to serve as intermediaries as these intermediaries may have been given gifts of beer or other goods that were held in Chimú pottery when they traveled to Chimú administrative centers to receive instructions. Nonetheless, I suggest these local leaders retained significant autonomy as the Chimú did not interfere with the practices that created different types of subjects at Huasi Huaman nor the administration of the site itself as long as Chimú interests were being followed.

Organization of Dissertation

In the next three chapters of my dissertation I provide an overview of the theoretical framework for my research. Chapter 2 summarizes research on the archaeology of empires and colonialism. I argue that post-colonial theory derived from the study of historical colonialism provides a means of assessing how categories such as identity, ethnicity, gender, class and faction were challenged, created, and reproduced in ancient colonialism. In chapter 3, I summarize broad trends in the study of monumental and domestic architecture. More

specifically, I examine why architecture is pertinent to the study of colonialism by arguing that control over the production of space enables control over processes of subjectification and identity formation. In Chapter 4, I introduce the geographic and cultural setting of my research area, the Peruvian North Coast. I provide an overview of the Kingdom of Chimor, the largest indigenous polity to develop in coastal Peru, and the Lambayeque polity of the Jequetepeque Valley which may represent one of the first peoples the Chimú viewed as ethnically distinct that were incorporated into the empire. Most importantly, I introduce my research site of Huasi Huaman, a settlement in the Jequetepeque Valley that was occupied during both before and after the Chimú conquest. As a settlement whose leaders were likely co-opted by the Chimú elite in the political administration of the region, Huasi Huaman is an important site for understanding the development and nature of colonialism within the Chimú Empire.

I dedicate chapter 5 to discussing the methodological considerations of my dissertation research. I describe the four phases of the research: surface collection, mapping standing architecture, the excavation of twenty units, and laboratory analysis. I describe how each phase is used to identify the function of select structures, identify processes of subjectification, and provide a sample of data that was used to compare the archaeological materials from different sectors.

Chapter 6 presents the results of the mapping and excavation. I summarize what my team and I encountered during our excavations which included the domestic contexts, the remains of a camelid enclosure on one of the site's platforms, possible evidence of metalworking, and a garden with preserved maize stems located on a terrace. The archaeological materials recovered from the excavations are analyzed in detail in chapter 7. The materials which include ceramics, faunal remains, botanical remains, lithic tools, textiles, and metal implements are analyzed to determine the types and nature of activities conducted at

Huasi Huaman. I show that the inhabitants of the site utilized a wide range of local resources and had some access to resources from as far away as the Amazon. Comparison of faunal and ceramic data demonstrates differences between consumption that took place in the home and within ceremonial contexts. Seafood was a bigger part of everyday meals compared to the feasts hosted on some of the platforms.

In chapter 8, I use the data obtained through my excavations and analysis of material remains to present my interpretations of how the domestic contexts at Huasi Huaman framed processes of subjectification and the creation of power relations. My excavations show that the types of household activities did not vary between houses located on mountainside terraces and low sectors located between the walls. However, the physical differences between these locations as well as differential access patterns would have contributed to creating differences in habitus between the people living in these areas that in turn would create different types of subjects and relationships between groups. Though modest in its goals due to the lack of preserved ground plans for residential architecture, my analysis presents Huasi Huaman as a lived in settlement and I make some suggestions on how colonialism may have impacted day-to-day life even if the Chimú presence was indirect.

In Chapter 9, I discuss the results of my excavation of the platforms and monumental architecture. Using isovista and viewshed analysis, I argue that prior to the Chimú conquest, Huasi Huaman's ritual architecture shows a diverse range of functions including their use as burial platforms, locations for metalworking, feasting, and possibly the veneration of icons. The diversity suggests the presence of multiple hierarchically ranked social groups with no one group having complete authority over the production of space. At the time of the Chimú conquest, the use of rituals on platforms continues, but there is a new emphasis on monumental architecture with secluded interior space. I interpret this shift towards restricted architecture as

a result of the explicit politicization of architecture resulting from the imposition of the Chimú colonial order and the removal of the region's previous most influential elites. Local leaders were able to create new representations of space that enabled them to promote their own ideology at the expense of non-elites resulting their increasingly passive role in ritual performance.

Finally, I conclude with chapter 10 where I summarize my findings and discuss my interpretations in regard to the greater Jequetepeque Valley region before and after the Chimú conquest. Huasi Huaman contains little evidence that its inhabitants were affiliating themselves directly with the paramount elites of the region during both the Lambayeque and Chimú Periods. The lack of evidence of emulation, one of the means by which archaeologist Adam T. Smith (2003: 135) argues geopolitical relationships are reified, demonstrates that people living at Huasi Huaman saw themselves as distinct from both regional elites and imperial officials. While local leaders undoubtedly interacted with imperial officials in their role as intermediaries and had access to Chimú goods, they never became Chimú themselves. I see this as significant for understanding the nature of the political organization of the Jequetepeque Valley and how the Chimú incorporated its inhabitants into their empire.

Based on the fact that the inhabitants of Huasi Huaman emphasized local rather than regional affiliation, I question whether the pre-Chimú polity that existed within the region was politically centralized. I suggest instead that decentralization was part of the *longue durée* which informed and constrained Chimú Period political relations and how the Jequetepeque Valley developed into a colonial province. Political and economic decentralization meant that the Chimú did not impose colonialism evenly. They took control of key resources such as the headwaters of the valley's irrigation networks (Keatinge and Conrad 1983) and utilized the political infrastructure that was already in place, but many settlements retained significant

autonomy as long as Chimú demands were met. The decentralized character of the region may have lasted until its incorporation into the Inca Empire, which was less tolerant of local autonomy.

My research ultimately shows the necessity of investigating settlements beyond those associated with paramount elites to understand the complexity of colonial societies. Huasi Huaman is significant as it shows that the political and economic organization of a region prior to its subjugation influences how it can be incorporated into an empire. Furthermore, the site shows that resistance or acculturation are not the only outcomes of colonialism. As the authority of imperial elites can fall unevenly, subjugated peoples may retain considerably agency even when their leaders are co-opted as intermediaries.

Chapter 2 The Archaeology of Empires and Colonialism

In this chapter, I provide a critical overview of archaeological approaches to the study of empires and colonialism. My research into the nature of colonialism under the Chimú Empire is informed by comparisons to other archaeological studies of historical and pre-historical empires. These studies contribute a necessary understanding of the range of practices employed by empires as well as their consequences, thereby providing a valuable aid in the interpretation of the archaeological record. I argue that archaeology should move away from globalist models of empire that assume the subordination of colonized subjects is inevitable and simplify complex colonial entanglements into binary categories such as colonized and colonizers. Instead, archaeology should work to clarify the diverse range of strategies of control, collaboration, competition and resistance that occur within the context of empire. The politicization and contestation of affiliation through the production of space provides one archaeologically accessible means of exploring these issues.

The disciplines of anthropology and archaeology have had a long, often uncomfortable relationship with empire. Early anthropologists during the late 19th and early 20th centuries collaborated with colonial authorities to provide advice on how to govern the peoples they studied (Asad 1973; Malinowski 1929). Archaeologists, for their part, were involved in the cataloguing and curation of antiquities encountered during colonial expansion that were used to legitimize European imperial ambitions (Anderson 1983: 178-185). Sparked by a developing post-colonial critique (Asad 1973; Fanon 1966, Said 1978), anthropology began a long period of reflexive study in the 1970s where anthropologists confronted their complicity with imperial regimes (Asad 1973; Fabian 1983; Geertz 1973).

The nature of archaeological studies of empire has been informed by these events and

can be divided broadly into globalist and post-colonial models. Globalist models of empire are represented by early acculturation and world systems theory. They are characterized by the uni-directional transmission of culture from a core to subjugated peoples. More recent post-colonial models move away from binary categories to explore the diverse agencies within empires. In this chapter, I begin by providing a discussion on my use of the term empire and its relation to concepts such as colonialism and imperialism. I then go on to provide an overview of globalist and post-colonial models. While supporting the use of post-colonial models for the interpretation of ancient empires, I argue for the inclusion of practice and memory in the analysis of change and continuity within the context of colonialism. Finally, I argue that the study of the social production of space provides a means to accomplish this end.

Definitions

The term empire has been used to describe a vast range of different societies (Badian 1968; Barfield 2001; D'Altroy 1992; 1994; 2001a; 2001b; Doyle 1986; Hassig 1988; Morris and Scheidel 2009; Scheidel 2006; Smith and Montiel 2001) with scholars employing an almost equally diverse range of definitions to stress different elements of empire, such as warfare (Hassig 1988; 1992), economy (D'Altroy 1992; Ekholm and Friedman1979; Woolf 1992), politics (Doyle 1986; Eisenstadt 1963), and ideology (Conrad and Demarest 1984; Fritz 1986). What is common to these definitions is a conception of empires as polities that control other polities or peoples. While this provides a base definition, understanding what constitutes an empire is complicated by its often seemingly interchangeable use with terms such as colonialism and imperialism. The wide variation in how these terms are used requires me to clarify my own use of the terms and I will attempt to accomplish this here.

The word empire inspires an image of great scale and grandeur. It brings to mind the truly global empires that are epitomized by ancient Rome and the later European Empires that

developed following the 14th century. As such, it comes as little surprise that scale has been used as a defining characteristic of empires and some scholars have argued that the term should be restricted to polities that are at least sub-continental or continental in size (Barfield 2001: 29). In my view, this definition is too narrow as it restricts the term to only the largest polities, often mature states. The definition also denies the potential for diversity in the forms that empires might take and excludes many ancient polities that were organized differently than imperial Rome or modern Europe, yet employed similar strategies in colonizing other polities. For a definition of empire to be analytically useful, it must be more than a theoretical straightjacket and be able to encompass the wide range of forms that empires may take.

In working towards a definition of empire, I find the definition provided by Martin Finley (1978) to be helpful. A historian whose research focuses on the Greco-Roman world, Finley distinguishes empires from other political formations such as territorial states by the exertion of authority over other polities, groups or peoples for their own advantage. This authority is intended to be permanent, extending exploitation well beyond any initial conquest, though I add that empires may be established through other means than conquest (Goldstein 2005; Stein 2004). Finley (1978: 6) provides a coarse typology of the forms authority may take, including: the restriction of freedom of action in interstate relations; interference in local political, administrative, or judicial affairs; military conscription; tribute; confiscation of land, that may or may not be followed by the establishment of colonies; and other forms of economic subordination such as the enforcement of embargoes. What makes Finley's definition attractive over other definitions of empire is his recognition that empires may evolve into other types of political entities, such as territorial states when the peoples incorporated into empire take on a new shared identity. Finley (1978: 2) provides the example of the Roman emperor Caracalla granting Roman citizenship to almost all free inhabitants of the Roman Empire which he argues marked the end of Rome as an empire and its beginning

as a republic. Rather than seeing development into empire as an end in itself, the emphasis on how difference was maintained presents a view of empires that goes beyond simple classification and emphasizes the processes of political centralization (Scheidel 2006: 3). This definition emphasises the importance of identifying the extent to which empires were able to incorporate peoples into their ideological, economic, and administrative structures (Goldstone and Haldon 2009: 17).

Political scientist Michael Doyle (1986) further contrasts empires with hegemonies, whereby empires control both the domestic and foreign policies of subjugated peoples while hegemonies only control foreign policy. To illustrate this distinction, Doyle contrasts Athens with Sparta. He argues that Athens established a short lived empire during the period of 445-405 BC. It began with the establishment of an initially Spartan led alliance between Greek cities against the Persian Empire. After Sparta alienated its allies by its dictator-like leadership, the city of Athens took control of the alliance. Once in power, Athens was able to increase its domination of allied cities through enslaving the inhabitants of captured enemy cities, colonizing their lands, and using the resultant wealth to strengthen their own military. Athens could then use threat of military force to dissuade cities from leaving the alliance. Emissaries were sent to supervise payments of tribute which allowed Athens to indirectly control the policies of weaker cities. This created a situation where Athens was able to influence both the foreign and domestic policies of many of its former allies by ensuring they were democracies and using tribute payments to bolster its own navy. As subordinate cities were dependent on the Athenian navy for protection, they were hesitant to rebel.

In contrast to the Athenian Empire, Sparta as the leader of the Peloponnesian League (6^{th} to 4^{th} centuries BC) is an example of a hegemony. Sparta's authority did not extend into the domestic policy of its allies and lacked political unity (Doyle 1986: 75). No tribute was collected from allied cities nor did Sparta attempt to regulate trade or impose its influence on

their courts. Sparta's authority rested on maintaining its military strength at home and only minimally influenced the foreign policy of its allies.

A related term that is used with a similar ambiguity to empire is colonialism (Dietler 2004, 2010; Gosden 2004; Stein 2002, 2004). In defining colonialism and terms related to it, I turn to the work of archaeologist Michael Dietler (2004, 2010). He (2010: 18) defines colonialism as "the projects and practices of control marshalled in interactions between societies linked in asymmetrical relations of power and the processes of social and cultural transformation resulting from those practices." In this definition, colonialism encompasses the entirety of the means employed by a polity to create and maintain relations of inequality with another polity as well as the consequences of these practices and the transformation of people. Colonialism can serve to maintain colonization, defined as the imposition of political sovereignty over foreign territories during expansion (Dietler 2010: 18). Colonialism is also often supported by imperialism, an ideology or discourse that legitimizes the domination of one polity by another (Dietler 2010: 18). In other words, imperialism is what justifies or promotes expansion for the purpose of dominating other polities, colonialism is the means by which the domination is accomplished, and colonization is the act. As such, imperialism can exist without a polity ever developing into an empire. What is most appealing about Dietler's (2010) definitions is that rather attempting to demarcate colonialism as a uniform process, they encourage an examination of the diversity of ways in which asymmetrical power relations may develop between polities. Colonialism and imperialism can exist without necessarily having colonies (Dominguez 2002) and his definitions opens up the study of colonialism to polities that did not necessarily develop into successful empires.

Colonialism and the establishment of empire necessitate some form of expansion in order to engage other polities and peoples in asymmetrical power relations (Algaze 1993a; 1993b; Cowgill 1979; Finley 1978; Hassig 1988; 1992; Sinopoli 2001: 162; Woolf 1992:

283). The most obvious way in which this may occur is through military conquest and, indeed, many scholars emphasize the role of warfare in empire building (Barfield 2001; Cowgill 1979; Hassig 1988; 1992; Sinopoli 2001: 162; Woolf 1992: 283). Other scholars see warfare as secondary to a range of different factors as the cause for specific cases of imperial expansion. In the pre-Columbian Andes, William Isbell (1978) argues for environmental fluctuations and population pressures selecting for centralized administration among the Inca leading to the development of the Inca Empire. Geoffrey Conrad and Arthur Demarest (1984) attribute religion as the driving force in colonial expansion among the Aztecs and Inca. They argue that both the Aztecs and Inca started as chiefdoms developing among more powerful states and that this constant threat from their neighbours made them increasingly warlike (Conrad and Demarest 1984: 153). In the Aztec case, the need for a constant supply of human sacrifices for Aztec religious practices fueled military expansion. Among the Inca, the maintenance of the lands and property of deceased kings' by their royal lineage, or *panaqa,* who were also responsible for their ancestor cult, forced new rulers to conquer other territories to maintain their own positions and obtain the resources necessary to uphold Andean ideas of reciprocity where rulers were expected to redistribute wealth among their subjects. Conrad and Demarest (1984) suggest that these ideologies also limited the Aztec and Inca's abilities to maintain their empires as increasingly distant campaigns increased the cost of military expansions past the level of benefits that they provided so that expansionist ideologies became maladaptive to political stability. They provide the example of the Inca prince Huascar's attempt at reform by dissolving the *panaqas* of past kings resulting in civil war (Conrad and Demarest 1984: 183).

While many of these models include some element of military conquest, I do not mean to propose that all empires or relations of colonialism are necessarily established at the tip of a sword. In some cases, elites from other polities may welcome incorporation into

empire or the establishment of colonies on their territories if doing so is seen as politically beneficial to them (Algaze 1993a). Indeed, allegiance with local elites was sometimes a key strategy employed by empires (Alconini 2008: 66; Smith 2001: 144-145; Spalding 1984: 78). Alternative models provide convincing examples for empires developing more organically through diaspora, trade, or other non-violent means (Goldstein 2005; Stein 2004).

Other scholars have questioned the pervasiveness of colonialism within some empires. Archaeologist Kurt Jordan (2009), whose research covers the European colonization of North America, argues that colonialism may not have extended far beyond the radius of colonies during the early periods of colonization, and if it did, it may have only been indirectly. For example, Fort Ross, a Russian-American colony in California established to collect sea otter pelts for trade with China, maintained a four-tier ethnic and social hierarchy among its Russian, Creole, Alaskan and indigenous Californian inhabitants within the colony (Jordan 2009: 39). Despite the pervasiveness of the use of ethnic categories into the practices and material culture of the inhabitants of the colony, nearby indigenous communities such the Tomato Patch site, located only 5 km from Fort Ross, maintained considerably continuity with the lifeways that existed before the establishment of the colony.

Similarly, those unwilling to be incorporated into an empire may flee to the periphery of a polity's power. There, these refugees from colonialism may seek out an independent and self-sufficient lifestyle as a strategy to limit the ability of the polity to govern them (Scott 2009). By doing so, they reject the order and centralized administration that often accompanies inclusion in complex polities and lived in geographically difficult or isolated locations where they could easily hide or move.

Alternatively, the establishment of colonies may not be reflective of domination at all. Gil Stein (2004), whose research involves the archaeological investigation of Mesopotamian colonies, provides a helpful framework for understanding the interactions of

colonies with local peoples that does not assume the inevitability of imposition of asymmetrical power relationships between societies that is characteristic of colonialism. While some colonies may eventually dominate other groups, forcing them to reconfigure themselves politically and economically in order to follow the colonists' plans, interactions between colonists and local populations may also involve long-term competition or alliance. Long-term competition involves neither colonists nor local populations establishing domination over the other and the different groups compete for resources amongst each other. In alliance interactions, colonists work within the framework established by the local polity and will often change their own practices to follow local customs. Stein (2004) uses the early fur trade in the Americas as an example of this third form of interaction. Stein's framework is useful for understanding colonial interactions as he recognizes that colonies may be established without imperial ambitions and when they do exist, colonies may be established that do not succeed in dominating local groups. Therefore we must be cautious to not assume that all colonies are part of empires nor that domination by empires was inevitable.

Empires and colonialism also need not be the result of expansion instigated by imperial elites. Expansion may be the result of more organic processes of population movement such as diasporas. James Clifford (1994: 304-305), in his landmark paper on the subject, defines diasporas as expatriate minority communities with a history of dispersal that share myths or memories of a homeland of which they desire to return. Diaspora communities maintain a relationship with their homeland which gives them a shared identity while believing that they cannot or are unable to integrate with their host communities. Several archaeologists (Goldstein 2005; Stein 2002) have proposed that diaspora better explains some political formations that have traditionally been characterized as empires, though they recognize that expansion through diaspora may later lead to the formation of empire.

Stein (2002) provides an example in his study of the Mesopotamian Uruk colonial enclave within the site of Hacinebi in Anatolia. He argues that the colonial enclave at Hacinebi, a small 3.3 hectare settlement located in south eastern Turkey, can be best understood as a trade diaspora from the city of Uruk, one of the first urban state societies in Mesopotamia which dates to the 4th millennium BC. Within the settlement, which is located along the trade routes between Mesopotamia and the Anatolian highlands (Stein 2002: 910, a small enclave is identifiable by the production of Uruk style pottery and the presence of other Mesopotamian material culture. Diaspora populations, like colonies, may be marginalized by the host community, autonomous, or dominate them. In the case of the enclave at Hacinebi, Stein (2002) argues that those residing in the enclave were autonomous from the host community as they raised their own food, produced their own crafts, and controlled their own exchange system. This model challenges previous arguments that Uruk dominated the societies that it was in contact with (Algaze 1993a; 1993b).

Another model is that of Paul Goldstein (2005) for the pre-Hispanic Tiwanaku polity in Bolivia. He argues that Tiwanaku colonies in the Moquegua Valley of South Central Peru were not originally established at the behest of Tiwanaku's elite, but are best understood as diaspora communities of pastoralists from the Altiplano region that were followed only later by political consolidation by Tiwanaku. Inspired by modern movements of highland peoples within Peru, he argues that the Tiwanaku colonies were established by pastoralists settling in the Moquegua Valley in response to drought at higher elevations. These pastoralist settlers then invited their relatives to move there as well. The colonists maintained their culture, creating artefacts in Tiwanaku-style and maintaining ties to their family still residing in the Altiplano region. Goldstein (2005) speculates that it was only the demand for maize, a crop that does not grow in the high elevations of the Titicaca basin where Tiwanaku is located, that later encouraged the Tiwanaku polity to begin directly colonizing the Moquegua valley.

The Uruk and Tiwanaku diaspora models demonstrate the possibility that segments within complex societies may be capable of independent action. This shifts analysis to local expressions of empire rather than privileging the empire as a whole (Goldstein 2005: 7). Peripheral regions thus become important for understanding how empires form and are consolidated.

What is important to note is that empires need not be characterized by only one type of political relation and expansion may take a number of forms. In the case of the Inca Empire of pre-Columbian Peru, the existing political organization of subjugated territories influenced the imperial policies of the region (Alconini 2008; Malpass and Alconini 2010; Schreiber 1987). The Inca were most prolific in their building activities in regions that did not have existing administrative infrastructure, while they remodeled existing infrastructure and political organization in those that were already politically complex (Hastorf and D'Altroy 2001: 20; Schreiber 1987; Mackey 2006). For example, in the Carahuarazo Valley of southern Peru, the Inca were able to utilize much of the infrastructure constructed several hundred years earlier by the Wari, a highland empire that pre-dated the Inca (Schreiber 1987). The result was that the Inca constructed few imperial facilities in the valley and adapted the existing political organization to their purposes. This meant that the Inca maintained different types of political relations with subjects in different regions and shows they utilized a range of strategies.

One problem in the archaeological study of empires is the extent by which models of colonialism and empire can be applied to ancient and prehistoric societies. Some scholars make a distinction between the nature of recent European colonialism of the past couple centuries and ancient forms practiced by polities such as the Inca and Roman Empires (Cohn 1996; Gosden 2004). According to anthropologist Bernard Cohn (1996), whose work covers the British colonization of India, the continuity of rulership in ancient and pre-modern

colonialism was maintained through the theatrical display of power through processions and other rituals intended to make power visible. In modern colonialism, power is maintained through the ordering of people and space using practices such as census, writing, and the standardization of language. Likewise Chris Gosden (2004) argues that European colonialism was based on the concept of *terra nullius* where a territory's inhabitants were seen as not owning their territory due to a lack of agricultural improvements which serve to justify the mass appropriation of land by Europeans resulting in the destruction of indigenous social systems. According to Gosden (2004), this form of colonialism is characterized by widespread displacement and the death of colonized peoples through warfare and disease. In contrast, he characterizes ancient colonialism as involving a shared cultural milieu where forms of power operate within culturally understood norms or developing out of established relations of dependency between colonists and locals. The extent of colonization is limited to areas where these norms are shared.

While I do not deny the particularisms of individual cases of empire and colonialism, I question attempts to dichotomize historical European and ancient colonialism as I feel scholars such as Gosden (2004) downplay the extent in which ancient forms of colonialism could impact populations. For example, the Inca displaced massive numbers of people in their policy of resettlement to limit the abilities of subjugated groups to stage rebellions (D'Altroy 1994; 2001a). The displaced subjects, called *mitimakuna*, could consist of colonists loyal to the Inca sent to new regions of the empire to teach the Quechua language or pacify rebellious subjects (Rostworowski 1999: 173). *Mitimakuna* could also consist of rebellious subjects who the Inca exiled from their homelands and forced them to live elsewhere in the empire while their old homes were repopulated by loyal subjects. The Chimú population in the Moche Valley experienced the later first hand after their defeat by the Inca. Furthermore, I argue that in pre-historic contexts where no written accounts are available to clarify the

nature of colonialism, comparison to better understood historical contexts provides a necessary starting point to aid in the interpretation of the archaeological record. Only then can the variability of colonialism be understood. By taking this stance, I follow other recent scholars who have questioned the exceptionalism of the modern era (Dawdy 2010; Latour 1993).

To summarize my arguments, I define empires as polities that control foreign polities through either direct military conquest or as a result of more indirect means such as competition within a region by migrants with the local population. Empires can be distinguished from other political entities (such as states) in that colonizers and subjugated populations consider themselves to be distinct from each other. This belief is independent from whether either population is actually a coherent and unified group. While the emphasis on perceived difference between populations may make it difficult to identify when empire ends and a new form of political organization begins, I follow other scholars (Finley 1978; Scheidel 2006) by presenting empire as a possible means towards political consolidation rather than an end unto itself. Colonialism, in turn, is used to define the relationships and practices of inequality between an empire and subjugated societies. Colonialism refers to how empires work on the ground level rather than as an abstract whole. Now that I have defined my use of terms in this paper, I will turn to the question of why empire and colonialism are relevant to my research on the Kingdom of Chimor.

Models of Empire

Now that I have defined my use of terms and defended the relevance of scholarship on empire and colonialism to Chimor, I turn to critically summarizing the different models employed in the study of empires. These models can be divided into two broad frameworks which I call globalist and post-colonial. Globalist models approach empires from a top-down perspective, largely presenting the relationship between colonizers and colonized as one

where the culture of the colonized becomes replaced by that of the colonizers. In contrast, post-colonial models have developed as a critique to globalist models. They focus on the different effects of colonialism on smaller groups within these two categories and their contribution to the development of colonial societies. I argue in favour of the application of post-colonial models to the archaeological study of empire and then go on to discuss the role of change and memory in empires.

Globalist Models

Globalist models assume empires are created by powerful and unified core societies that impose their authority on foreign communities (Goldstein 2005: 8). Consolidation occurs through implied threat of force, coercion, or the use of terror (Sinopoli 1994: 167). Subjugated communities, which are seen as less complex and politically weak, adopt the cultural traits of the core (Doyle 1986: 136). Studies that follow globalist perspectives often examine empire from the top down. They include acculturation (Haverfield 1912; Herskovitz 1938; Redfield et al. 1936) and world systems models (Ekholm and Friedman 1979; Kohl 1987; Wallerstein 1994). In the following section, I will provide a critical overview of globalist models, highlighting their limitations.

Acculturation Models

Until the 1960s, anthropological scholarship into the effects of cultural contact and incorporation into empire most often employed models of acculturation that saw cultural traits being passed from more socio-politically complex peoples to less socio-politically complex peoples through cultural contact (Haverfield 1912; Herskovits 1938; Redfield et al. 1936). Among the earliest scholars to apply this model to the study of ancient empires was historian Francis Haverfield (1912) who studied the incorporation of Britain into the Roman Empire, a process he called Romanization. Haverfield argues that as pre-Roman Britain was less socially, politically and economically complex than Rome, they readily adopted Roman

culture during colonization. The introduction of Roman culture to the inhabitants of Britain was aided by Roman state policy that ultimately intended to eliminate distinctions between Romans and its provincial populations. Rome encouraged the colonization of Britain by Roman citizens, particularly military veterans, who later attracted other segments of the Roman population such as women and merchants (Haverfield 1912: 5). These colonizers brought Roman culture with them, which would then spread to the local population. Another factor leading to the Romanization of Britain was the provisioning of locals with Roman education, opening opportunities for them to become administrators in the Roman Empire (Haverfield 1912).

Acculturation models such as Haverfield's (1912) have since come under fire for presenting the cores of empires as monolithic and the flow of cultural traits as unidirectional. These models down play the severity of colonialism and present the adoption of the culture of the more politically complex society as both desirable to the subjugated population and inevitable (Silliman 2005). Archaeologist Martin Millet (1990) argues that the spread of Roman culture in Britain was not the result of its inhabitants recognizing the obvious superiority of Roman culture, but of local elites seeking to incorporate certain elements of Roman material culture into local practices as a new means of gaining and portraying prestige. In his view, the ancient inhabitants of Britain were adapting new cultural traits to local contexts rather than trying to become Roman wholesale. As Michael Dietler (2010: 55) writes for the case of the Greek and Roman colonization of Gaul, the use of foreign goods or customs is a "process of creative appropriation, transformation, and manipulation played out by individuals and social groups with a variety of competing interests and strategies of action embedded in local political relations and cultural perceptions." Furthermore, early acculturation models provide little explanation for the emergence of new practices and identities that may result from the complex cultural entanglements representative of

interactions within empires.

World Systems Theory

Based on the work of sociologist Immanuel Wallerstein (1974), world systems models became popular in the archaeology of empire in the 1970s and 1980s (Algaze 1993b; Ekholm and Friedman 1979; Kohl 1987). Wallerstein's theory is built on the foundation of Marx's (1973[1858]) argument that the development of capitalism in Europe was tied to colonialism and the exploitation of workers through plantations and mines. Marx argues that the establishment of colonies allowed Europe to expand while offsetting declines in profit and the saturation of the market with commodities at home. He also argues that European colonialism served as the vehicle by which capitalism spread to the rest of the world. Wallerstein (1974) adds that the spread of capitalism led to the emergence of a capitalist world economy in the 16th century. He classifies the regions of the world system into three categories which he calls cores, semi-peripheries or peripheries based on their level of industrialization and relation to other regions. The relationship between regions within these three categories is characterized by cores extracting resources and labour from the peripheries, which are then used by the cores to further develop themselves. This creates asymmetrical power relations between the core and peripheries where the peripheries are the source of resources for the core. Peripheries are never able to develop themselves and thus remain perpetually underdeveloped.

Wallerstein's (1974) model provided a novel understanding of the development and maintenance of global inequalities in the modern capitalist world. Although Wallerstein (1974) saw world systems as a modern phenomenon associated strictly with the development of capitalism, the restriction of the model to capitalist societies has been contested by some archaeologists who argue that world systems theory can also aid in understanding power relations in the ancient world (Ekholm and Friedman 1979; Kohl 1987). Scholars such as

Ekholm and Friedman (1979: 41) suggest that concepts of accumulation with capital as an abstracted form of wealth existed in the ancient world. They argue that a form of world system first appeared in Mesopotamia sometime after 3000 B.C., where initial surpluses in tribute taken from subjugated peoples living in the periphery of the region allowed for the development of capital accumulation. This system of capital accumulation developed as a result of Mesopotamian elites controlling external trade and imports (Ekholm and Friedman 1979: 44). The exploitation of peoples inhabiting peripheral zones by elites led to a system where substantial development occurred in the core while the periphery remained underdeveloped. As in the modern world system, the core imported resources from the periphery and turned them into manufactured goods (usually prestige goods). The goods were used by the elite of the core to further dominate the periphery.

A more critical application of the world systems model is provided by archaeologist Philip Kohl (1987). Like Ekolm and Friedman (1979), Kohl argues that Wallerstein understates the significance of intercultural exchange systems in the ancient world and that core-periphery relations can provide insight into the inequality inherent within these exchanges, but not without some modifications. For example, when he applies the world system model to the Bronze Age Middle East he identifies several core regions, but argues that instead of exploiting distant peripheries they exploited their own hinterlands (Kohl 1987: 20). He suggests that as peripheries were not intrinsically locked in exchange relations with cores unless directly conquered, peripheral areas of West Asia and Africa had greater freedom to withdraw from exchange relations or to enter into relations with another core. Another significant difference that Kohl (1987: 21-22) identifies is that a technology gap did not exist between cores and peripheries to the same degree that exists today. This means that Bronze Age peripheries did not lack the technological sophistication that would make them inherently militarily inferior to cores. Furthermore, centers of production would often be

located close to natural resources so that technologies such as metalworking would be refined outside of the core which served largely as a consumer.

While world system models are attractive for examining the relationships within empires at a macro-level, these models nonetheless retain many of the assumptions that made early acculturation models problematic. As a number of scholars have identified (Dietler 2004: 49; Lightfoot and Martinez 1995), the division of empires into core and periphery inherently frames analysis in binary oppositions and favours cultural exchange from the core to the periphery. This homogenizes the agencies of those peoples involved in and affected by colonialism and remains the substantial flaw of globalist models.

Post-Colonial Models

More recent research has tried to address the issue of agency within empires and colonial contexts. This research developed out of an interest in the effects of empire and colonialism on indigenous peoples and their contributions to colonial projects that stemmed from a rising critique of colonialism in the 1960s and 1970s. The post-colonial critique was sparked by members of colonized societies entering the academic discourse and writing about the effects of empire from the point of view of the colonized. One such figure is Frantz Fanon (1966) who, as a scholar born in the French colony of Martinique and a practicing psychiatrist in Algeria during the country's struggle for independence, provides a unique perspective on the effects of colonialism on both the colonizers and the colonized. He characterizes colonialism as an inherently violent enterprise where colonized peoples are oppressed and have their cultures destroyed through the systemic attempt by the colonizers to convince the colonized of their inherent inferiority. This involves the negation of the humanity and culture of colonial subjects, their displacement to the fringes of society, and enslavement. Colonized peoples may respond in various ways, but Fanon (1966) suggests they generally either seek to acquire the culture of the colonists and find a place for

themselves in the new colonial system or resist by advocating the formation of a national culture of their own. He notes that both responses have contradictions, but opposition to colonialism must take an equally violent form to succeed and it is rural populations, who are furthest removed from the colonizers, that have the greatest potential to overthrow colonialism.

Fanon's (1966) suggestion that colonization is often met with violence is coloured by his experience in Algeria where conflict erupted between colonial authorities and those seeking national independence, but he provides some valuable insights into how inequalities can persist beyond the life of the colonial enterprise. Following Marx (1973[1858]), Fanon argues that the European colonial nations were able to make themselves rich at the expense of their former colonies which put them in the position to further repress their development. Fanon is especially critical of international economic institutions which, he argues, place severe restraints on third world nations in a shallow attempt at reform in exchange for economic aid. Failure to meet reforms is then used to justify greater intervention by capitalist powers. In this way, Fanon sees colonial violence extending into the post-colonial world.

While Fanon was among the first to provide a critical perspective on the negative consequences of colonialism, the post-colonial critique was brought to anthropology by anthropologists such as Talal Asad (1973) who began to question the role the discipline played in European colonialism. He argues that anthropology needs to be seen as a product of colonialism itself with its roots in European bourgeois society studying the non-European societies they came to dominate during colonial expansion. Indeed, anthropologists were sometimes explicitly involved in providing colonial administrators with advice for governing the peoples they studied (see Malinowski 1929). Asad (1973) compares functionalist anthropology with Orientalism to demonstrate how anthropologists studying Africa and the Middle East were reluctant to discuss the European influence on the political systems they

were studying. Instead, anthropologists were purporting to identify the intrinsic character of these political systems when in reality they were studying systems that were the direct result of colonial rule and dependent on Europe for their continued existence. Eric Wolf (1982) is similarly critical of anthropological scholarship for presenting non-European societies, especially those without writing, as unchanging. He is also critical of scholarship that presents European colonialism as only impacting the colonized, glossing over its influences on Europe. Other scholars such as Benedict Anderson (1983: 178-185) highlight the involvement of archaeology in colonialism. The critique of the scholarly involvement in colonial rule was more widely popularized in the academic community by Edward Said (1978) who argues that the Orient was largely a creation of European scholars seeking to define themselves against an ethnographic other.

The post-colonial critique has launched a number of reflexive studies examining the role of anthropology in colonialism (Apter 1999; Mafeje 1998; Mudimbe 1988), but the critique's most important contribution for the archaeological study of empires and colonialism is the challenge of the assumptions held by acculturation and world systems models. No longer could colonialism be presented as largely a positive process. The post-colonial critique highlighted the need to add agency to models of empire by examining the contributions and involvement of different segments of the populations within empire. Post-colonial models have risen to this challenge by incorporating categories such as gender, class, and ethnicity (Stein 2002; van Dommelen 1997). This work has been influenced by the writings of Bourdieu (1977) and Giddens (1984) as well Foucault's (1982) work on subjectivity and subjugation. In the following sections will address the contributions of post-colonial models of empire through a discussion of identity and ethnicity (Bhabha 1985; 1994; Brathwaite 1971; Emberling 1997; Hannerz 1992; Palmie 2006; Ranger 1983; Voss 2008b); gender (Deagan 1973; Stoler 1991; Voss 2008a); and class and factions (Bang 2009; Brumfiel

1998; Comaroff and Comaroff 1984; Cooper 1992; DeMarrais 2005; Hastorf and D'Altroy 2001; Lockhart 1994; Turner 2009).

Identity and Ethnicity

The most damaging criticism leveled against the globalist models of empire is their tendency to present the effects of colonialism as unidirectional with little room for adaptation or innovation. Studies of historical colonialism following the post-colonial critique have demonstrated that the situation is much more complex and the mixing of cultures that can occur as a result of colonialism can lead to the creation of new traits or the adaptation of old traits to new contexts. A number of related models have been developed to explain this phenomenon such as hybridity, creolization, or ethnogenesis. These models build off of the work of Fredrik Barth (1969) in presenting cultural identities and ethnicity as fluid, interconnected, and situational rather than autonomous.

The term hybridity was developed by Mikhail Bakhtin (1981) as a linguistic model and popularized in the study of colonialism by Hommi Bhabha (1985; 1994). Hybridity is a term used to explain the emergence of new social and cultural practices and forms out of the mixing of cultures that occurs during periods of cultural contact. The term hybridization is generally used to refer to the "intentional, strategic, politically contestatory" (Dietler 2010: 51) creation of new cultural forms while the related term, creolization, refers to an unconscious fusion of cultural forms (Hannerz 1992; Palmie 2006). An example of hybridization is given by Bhabha (1985) in his study of the distribution of Bibles to Indians during the British colonization of India. While readily accepting the Bible from English missionaries, Indians were not converting to Christianity but using the Bible to articulate their own identity. In Indian society, ownership of scripture was traditionally the exclusive domain of the Brahman class. Ownership of a printed work was thus considered a novelty by common people and a means to mimic the traditional symbols of prestige held by the

Brahman. Ultimately, the Indian use of the Bible was a hybridization where people sought to contest traditional power structures.

An example of creolization is the gradual melding of British and West African cultures into a new Jamaican culture among settlers and slaves who colonized Jamaica during the period of 1770-1820 (Brathwaite 1971). Following the American Revolution, Jamaica was isolated from the rest of the English speaking New World, leading its inhabitants to forge their own cultural identity. In this context, both British colonists and West African slaves contributed to this new formation. However, the melding of cultures was hindered by the colonists' debasement of their African labour force, which leads Ulf Hannerz (1992: 265) to suggests that creolization "allows the periphery to talk back" as it stems from an affinity between groups involved in cultural contact as culture can be imported to imperial centers.

Scholars such as Michael Dietler (2010: 52) have expressed concern with the hybridity and creolization models for using biological metaphors for understanding cultural processes and indeed, the models should not be used uncritically for understanding the processes of ancient empires. An alternative but still related model is that of ethnogenesis which focuses on how some identities may become irrelevant and new identities emerge (Voss 2008b). As Barbara Voss (2008b: 34) describes, the term ethnogenesis developed as an alternative model to theories of racial purity and degradation that were prominent in the mid-1800s. New ethnic forms were seen as superseding previous ones that then became obsolete and the process was viewed as one of cultural improvement.

Though ethnogenesis first entered archaeological discourse through the work of V. Gordon Childe (1926), it was not until the work of Lester Singer (1962) and William Sturtevant (1971) that the term became popularized through the study of contemporary transformation in racial and ethnic identities of African Americans and Native Americans. These uses of ethnogenesis emphasize that it is a continuous phenomenon whereby identities

are always in transformation (Voss 2008b: 35). Categories of identity and association such as race, class, gender, ethnicity, or age are permeable social constructs. These identities are, as defined by Voss (2008b), the means by which social subjects create relationships of similarity and difference in comparison to others. By identifying with others, people perceive certain similarities as important while downplaying other kinds of variability. Identifiers contain many associated social properties of which only a small fraction are enunciated in discourse. For example, the Spanish colonial occupational term *soldado* implied that the person was an able-bodied adult male who was an unlanded Spanish colonist with an honorable status and a future landowner (Voss 2008b: 25). Geoff Emberling (1977) adds that states and empires may attempt to emphasize ethnicity as a strategy of political control. However, this is not a one sided process and, as Emberling (1977: 309) points out, peoples may choose to go along with colonial strategies or resist by taking steps to maintain or suppress their distinctiveness depending on what they believe to be in their best interest.

The research of Terence Ranger (1983) demonstrates how identity can be formed through the use of invented tradition in the context of colonial Africa. He argues that as many British colonies in Africa were white settlements, British colonists had to define themselves as natural to Africa and legitimize their subjugation of Africans who represented the majority of the population. One of the ways in which they tried to accomplish this was through the invention of school and regimental traditions to mark themselves as elites while defining themselves in a master-servant relationship to Africans (Ranger 1983: 221). In British colonies, colonists who in Britain would be considered part of the lower class took on an air of gentility through the glamorization of often menial jobs under the pretext of empire building. The white colonists excluded Africans, who were restricted to the position of servants, by reusing or inventing rituals of craft unionism.

Ceremony, particularly which related to the monarchy, took central stage in how both

British Colonists and Africans negotiated their positions (Ranger 1983: 229). The extravagance of British Monarchy was used as justification for the British colonists seeing themselves as modernizing Africa (Ranger 1983). These traditions were generally invented for specific colonial contexts and were just as often part of individual colonists' schemes to better position themselves in colonial society. Early British Colonists were willing to refer to African rulers using British terms for kingship in order to gain their concessions, but the practice was frowned upon during later periods. When colonies were well established, the British had little need to depend on local rulers for survival and wanted to emphasize British superiority (Ranger 1983: 237). In this later context, African rulers sought to gain the right to use European titles and symbols to negotiate their own authority, often using them in novel contexts (Ranger 1983: 243). In this way, the invented tradition of Britain was seen by Africans as a source of modernizing change.

The research on the formation of identity and ethnicity within empire illustrates how these categories can be negotiated and transformed conspicuously though ritual (Ranger 1983) or more subtly through quotidian practices (Voss 2008b). Some scholars have argued that ethnogenesis can be a form of subaltern resistance to domination (Hill 1996; Sider 1994) but Voss (2008b: 37) cautions that it can also be used as a way to consolidate institutional forms of domination and to assert power.

Gender

Research into gender has demonstrated that men and women could have very different experiences of empire and colonialism (Deagan 1973; Stoler 1991; Voss 2008a). Colonial officials often regulated the participation of each sex in the colonial enterprise (Stoler 1991; Voss 2008a) while intermarriage between colonists and locals had profound effects on sexual politics of colonial societies (Deagan 1973). Ann Stoler (1991) discusses how imperial authority and racial categories were structured through gender in the context of French

Indochina and the Dutch East Indies. She argues that colonial authority rested on the false premise that Europeans constituted a discrete biological and social entity that rendered Europeans as a natural community distinct from colonized peoples. In reality, colonial entanglements created contradictions and tensions in what was perceived to be a homogenous entity of colonizers where sexual relations with colonized women created problems around the question of who could be defined as a citizen or colonial subject. Women, both European and indigenous, were central figures in how these contradictions were confronted.

In the early days of French and Dutch colonialism, Stoler (1991) argues the immigration of women to colonies was consciously restricted due to fears that they would hinder European colonial enterprises by limiting male productivity by encouraging repatriation. Colonial administrators and companies often only employed unmarried men while limiting their ability to marry, instead encouraging their lower-status employees to take concubines among native women who also served as a source for domestic labour. Doing so was seen as ensuring the mental and physical health of male colonists who then did not have to worry about maintaining a middle-class lifestyle that was seen as necessary for the maintenance of European women.

Stoler (1991) argues that as more European women began to enter colonial life, it was seen as necessary to raise standards of living to protect them and guard against the degeneration of the white race. The concern for degeneration resulting from the mixing of European women with non-white men stemmed from at the time widely held belief in the theory of eugenics that promoted racist understandings of genetic quality. This led to increased segregation as enclosed spaces were constructed for women who were viewed as the protectors of European morality, especially in regard to male colonists. The segregation of European and indigenous populations was further promoted by perceived threats of rape against European women by indigenous peoples, despite a lack of evidence for their actual

occurrence. Stoler (1991) ultimately argues that sex in colonies was not just about access to women and their reproductive abilities but class, race, nationalism and European identity.

Archaeologist Kathleen Deagan (1973), researching the Spanish Colonial town of St. Augustine in Florida, shows how intermarriage between Spanish soldiers and indigenous women is exhibited in the archaeological record. She notes that remains associated with feminine activities such as cooking reflected indigenous cultural practices, while male oriented material culture such as artefacts related to warfare and construction are associated with Spanish culture. Deagan (1973) argues that the inhabitants of St. Augustine placed greater prestige upon Spanish culture as artefacts used in social contexts are almost always Spanish. Though indigenous women continued to use their own material culture, doing so was restricted to activities that took place away from the public in the home. In other words, Spanish material culture was more widely visible, but the artefacts associated with female quotidian practices remained indigenous. Deagan's work thus highlights the importance of the home to understanding the intermixing of cultures within colonialism.

Colonialism could also place new demands on indigenous labour which shaped women's labour and even diet in the home. For example, Brumfiel (1991), examining consumption during the Aztec rule of the Valley of Mexico, argues that tortillas became an increasingly important part of the everyday diet, replacing stews and other types of food. This increased the workload of women who had to grind maize to produce tortillas for their families, but provided a more portable food which enabled the Aztecs to extract more labour from their subjects. Similar changes in consumption patterns have been noted elsewhere among societies incorporated into empires. Christine Hastorf (1991) notes an increase in *chicha* production, a beer produced from masticated maize, in the Mantaro Valley of Peru after the region was incorporated into the Inca Empire. Stable isotope analysis of skeletons also showed that the level of maize in women's diets was lower than that of men indicating

that it was primarily men who participated in commensal politics hosted by the Inca state. Archaeologists Costin (1993, 1996), Gero (1992), and Gose (2000) argue women also lost control of their labour as chicha production and weaving became dominated by the Inca State.

Sexual politics was not restricted to the homes of colonists, but sometimes expanded to include indigenous communities within the sphere of a colonial influence. Based on their excavations of the Californian military settlement of El Presidio de San Francisco, Barbara Voss (2008a) argues that sexual conflict with the local indigenous population occurred through both sexual violence by Spanish soldiers conducting raids on nearby villages and attempts by the Catholic Church to impose Christian gender ideals. In the first case, the institutionalized rape of native women during raids resulted in the reorganization of settlements so that women's work spaces were located closer to their homes and the clustering of households together for protection (Voss 2008a: 197). Natives captured in battle were sorted by gender, with unmarried women and girls sent to live in mission run barracks called *monjeros* while men were used for forced labour. The purpose of the *monjerios* was to educate native women in Spanish gender norms and prohibit premarital sex (Voss 2008a: 196). Ironically, the *monjeros* exposed these women to greater risk of sexual abuse at the hands of Spanish soldiers employed as guards.

The research on sex and gender in colonial contexts highlights their complex role in colonial politics. In historical colonialism, gender influenced who could be involved in colonial projects and how differences in gender norms served as a point of contestation between the groups involved. This research demonstrates the different consequences of colonialism for men and women, highlighting the limitations of the overly simplistic representation of colonial societies as consisting only of the colonizers and the colonized.

Class and Factions

Another challenge of homogeneous representations of groups within an empire is provided by post-colonial models that study class factionalism. This research shows how peoples usually grouped together as the colonizers or colonized had diverging and often competing agendas (Bang 2009; Brumfiel 1998; Comaroff and Comaroff 1984; Cooper 1992; DeMarrais 2005; Hastorf and D'Altroy 2001; Lockhart 1994; Patterson 1991; Turner 2009). This research questions the degree to which empires and colonial enterprises can be viewed as coherent projects (Stoler and Cooper 1997: 6).

The impact of groups having competing agendas is exemplified in the work of Jean and John Comaroff (1984). Examining the impact of the Christian mission on the Tswana and Tshidi peoples of South Africa, the Comaroffs' argue that missionaries had different interests than those of colonial administrators and tried to avoid overtly mixing politics with religion. Missionaries viewed their involvement with the internal politics of the Tshidi and Tswana as indirect. Unfortunately, missionaries sought to end rainmaking ceremonies which were an intrinsic part of the authority of indigenous chiefs. This inadvertently brought them into indigenous politics as they eroded the legitimacy of chiefship (Comaroff and Comaroff 1984: 4).

When missionaries sought to directly influence the direction of colonial policies, European ideals for the separation of church and state hampered their ability to affect change. This belief meant that the few missionaries who involved themselves in politics alienated themselves from both bureaucrats and the missionary community. Where missionaries had the greatest impact on indigenous life was in the transformation of quotidian practices that prepared Africans to enter the European capitalist market economy (Comaroff and Comaroff 1984: 12). Along with the message that salvation came through work and self-construction, missionaries introduced new technologies such as wells, which made water a commodity that

could be obtained without reliance on a chief, and the plow, which reorganized the division of labour and concepts of time (see also Cooper 1992). They also introduced an emphasis on the individualization of households and the nuclear family as well as European concepts of modesty and shame in dress (Comaroff and Comaroff 1984: 13-14).

For my own research into the Kingdom of Chimor, I am particularly interested in the involvement of provincial leaders in Chimú colonialism. Research on the relations between provincial leaders and imperial polities, and within these two groups, has identified considerable factional competition that challenges assumptions of the homogeneity of groups within empires (Bang 2009; Brumfiel 1998; Deagan 2001; DeMarrais 2005; Lockhart 1994; Patterson 1991; Turner 2009). Elizabeth Brumfiel (1994) provides one model for understanding this phenomenon within specific groups such as elites. She defines factions as "structurally and functionally similar groups which, by virtue of their similarity, compete for resources and positions of power and prestige" (1994: 4). Brumfiel characterizes factions as non-revolutionary as they are competing to gain existing benefits though factional competition rather than to alter the entire power structure. She suggests that this competition can be a driving factor in new political and social developments.

Brumfiel (1998) provides an example of factional competition in her study of Aztec ideology and warfare. She contends that Aztec ideology not only linked warfare and conquest to maintaining order in the world, but provided a means to placate the younger sons of noble families. Younger sons were a potential source of political instability as they could attempt to wrest control of political power from their fathers and older brothers. Aztec ideology glorified warfare and provided an alternative path for upward mobility to these men (Brumfiel 1998: 8). Aztec warriors who distinguished themselves were given exclusive rights to specific forms of dress, had access to important rituals and clubhouses for military orders, and were themselves glorified as warriors of the sun. These privileges served to minimize factional

conflict among Aztec elites by indoctrinating elite men into the dominant ideology.

Another account of the significance of factions within colonial society is provided by Kathleen Deagan (2001) who explores the relationship between Spanish imperial policy and the accommodation of indigenous peoples and non-elite Spanish colonists. She argues that once the Spanish crown established their empire, indigenous peoples and non-elite Spanish colonists provoked changes in the structure of the empire through their own practices such as intermarriage, slavery, and economic ventures that had just as big an impact on the emergence of Spanish-American culture as colonial institutions. For example, Deagan (2001) argues that the initial religious and monarchical motivations for the colonization of the Americas did not prove to be very compelling for the Spanish colonists who quickly sought to transform the venture into one that promoted their own economic and social interests. The conquistadors sought to model their colonization on that of the *Reconquista* of Spain which had only concluded in AD 1492. This model allowed them to politically dominate the indigenous population who could be used as a source of labour and to re-appropriate the land of indigenous peoples for their own benefit. The Spanish crown, who justified the conquest on the grounds of religious conversion, conceded on the grounds that the indigenous population was not used as slaves and was reorganized into *reducciones* so that they could be more easily converted to Christianity.

Factional competition was not restricted to tensions between the Spanish crown and colonists, but also between conquistadores. This is exemplified by the violent rivalry between Francisco Pizarro, the conqueror of the Incas, and his captain, Diego de Almagro. Though former friends and allies, the two became enemies fighting over the right to govern Cuzco, the former seat of the Inca Empire (Prescott 2002[1847]: 263). Cumulating into armed battle, Almagro was eventually captured by Pizarro and executed in 1538 (Prescott 2002[1847]: 294-308).

Factional competition could also be encouraged among provincial populations to limit their ability to organize resistance to subjugation. The Inca Empire resettled subjugated populations, breaking their ties to their traditional landscapes, while forcing them to continue to wear their ethnic dress (D'Altroy 1992: 130; 1994; 2001a). The imposition of differences between subjugated populations limited their ability to organize rebellions against the Inca. For example, the conquest of the Kingdom of Chimor, which represented a sizable political threat to Inca rule of the coast, was followed by the dismantling of Chimor into valley wide polities and Minchancaman, the Chimú ruler, was held hostage in Cuzco (D'Altroy 1992).

Though I have so far highlighted the manipulation of factions by imperial elites, provincial elites and their subjects should not be considered passive victims to colonialism. For example, some provincial elites raised their status through their successful integration into the Inca Empire (Patterson 1991). Local leaders who were co-opted by the Inca benefited materially by providing their allegiance to the empire, but at the same time had to balance the demands of the Inca with the interests of their subjects (Patterson 1991: 101; Spalding 1984). Local leaders who placed more demands on their subjects than was customarily allowed or failed to convince their subjects to follow the wishes of Inca lords faced deposition and even death (Netherly 1977: 178-183). Contact with the Inca also opened up new opportunities not available within traditional frameworks for gaining prestige and new leaders gained prominence at the expense of traditional lords (Patterson 1991: 109).

Provincial elites themselves could also be involved in political struggles at the heart of the empire. The provincial population of the upper Mantaro Valley of central Peru sided with the Inca heir Huascar in the war of succession against his brother Atahualpa (D'Altroy 1994). Upon Huascar's defeat, the inhabitants of the valley were severely oppressed, resulting in their allying with the Spanish conquistadors during the subsequent Spanish conquest of the Inca Empire. Likewise, James Lockhart (1994) shows how indigenous groups

in Mexico, following the conquest of the Aztec Empire, antagonized rival ethnic groups and altered history to make the Aztec ruler, Moteuccoma (Moctezuma), a scapegoat when providing missionaries with oral accounts of the Spanish conquest.

Identifying the role of provincial elites in the development of empires is thus important for understanding the complex power relations characteristic of colonial contexts and moving beyond the dichotomist representations of globalist models of empire. This is especially true for empires such as Chimor that appropriated local elites in the administration of conquered territories.

Change and Continuity in Empire and Colonialism

Despite the contribution of post-colonial models in moving beyond the binary-categorization of peoples within empires and the unidirectional spread of cultural traits, understanding change in colonial contexts remains a challenge. Archaeologist Stephen Silliman (2009) criticizes the lingering tendency for archaeological studies of colonialism to present change and continuity as distinct and separate outcomes. He argues that material culture is typically categorized as colonial, indigenous, or hybrid, and the frequency of artefacts in these categories are used to determine the degree by which the indigenous culture was incorporated into the culture of the colonists. This approach denies the historicity of material practices as foreign-produced artefacts can be appropriated without losing one's cultural identity. Instead, research into change and continuity can be better served by questioning why certain aspects of culture changed or persisted. The work of Silliman (2001; 2009) and Dietler (2010) provide two archaeological examples of how this may be accomplished.

Silliman (2009: 215), in his discussion of colonialism in Connecticut during the 18th and 19th century, argues that the choices made by indigenous people in the use of material culture are derived from individual or collective memories embedded in practice. These

memories may be embodied in ritual and other behaviour, or inscribed in things like texts or monuments (Connerton 1989). Archaeologists incorporating memory into their studies have most often focused on memory inscribed in monuments and their use by ancient states to manipulate information in the enactment of power relations (Alcock 2002; Joyce 2003; Meskell 2003), but Silliman (2009: 215) suggests the study of groups within larger colonial projects can contribute to an understanding of how memory may be contested and used in practice.

Practice theory, derived from the work of Bourdieu (1977; 1990) and Giddens (1984), can be used to explore how memory is performed in quotidian practices. Silliman (2001) writes that social agents often act with specific strategies and intent for accomplishing their goals but their actions are limited to ways that allow them to function in the social world. These limits are delineated by what Bourdieu (1977) calls doxa that "demarcate the boundaries of the overtly political by delimiting the taken-for-granted aspects of social interaction" (Silliman 2001: 193). As doxa are considered to be self-evident truths, they are beyond the realm of political contestation (Bourdieu 1977: 164). Archaeologists need to identify doxic practices archaeologically for the cultures they study and these practices can be contained within things such as diet, bodily attire, burial practices, and production. Indeed, material culture is a significant medium through which new identities are mediated and forged in colonial contexts (Loren 2008). What is considered acceptable varies according to categories such as age, gender, and class but there can also be a degree of opinion and contestation. The parts of these practices that are within the doxa of the group do not carry political connotations, as alternative actions are not seen as possible. Especially in colonial contexts which are characterized by complex cultural entanglements, every day practices may become markers of identity and group affiliation which moves them into the realm of political contestation. Politicized practices within empires may be used to resist, comply with

or to simply get by and memory shapes how practices are used (Silliman 2001; 2009).

Silliman (2001) applies his framework to the analysis of stone tools at Rancho Petaluma, a Mexican-Californian *rancho* located north of the San Francisco Bay dating to the 1840s and 50s. *Ranchos* were land grants that required that the land be put to agricultural or ranching use. Natives were usually employed as the main work force. Unlike missions, *ranchos* put few restrictions on native dress, diet, or ritual practice. Silliman excavated a native residential area and nearby middens. He identified flaked obsidian tools that were still being produced by the native workers, despite European alternatives such as metal tools and more readily available glass. Though lithic production was embedded in conventional structures as there are set ideas of the correct way to manufacture tools, participation in the *rancho* system introduced alternatives which made the continued production and use of obsidian a political choice. Working on the *rancho* meant that natives could only produce these tools during their spare time and the nearest source of obsidian was 23 km away. This meant that the workers either had seasonal access to these resources or maintained exchange relations with groups living near the sources. Silliman (2001) suggests stone tool production provided a means for native workers to maintain contact with native groups not incorporated into the *rancho* system and therefore took on a symbolic importance.

Dietler's (2010) study of Greek and Roman colonialism in Mediterranean France provides another example of the importance of memory and practice in the study of the reasons behind long-term change and continuity. Using previously published data from dozens of excavations of Gallic sites in Southern France, shipwrecks, and his own participation in excavations at the Greek colony of Massalia, Dietler examines the long-term processes of Greek and Roman colonialism in southern France through trade, violence, foodways, ritual, and architecture. Rather than assume that the Gauls of southern France would naturally adopt Greek and later Roman culture as suggested in earlier Romanization

models, Dietler (2010) contends that archaeologists should rather question why Iron Age Mediterranean France would have any interest in Etruscan and Massalian goods and practices at all? Furthermore, he indicates that it is just as important to understand why some goods and practices were not adopted as much as those that were. Dietler (2010) argues that archaeologists must examine the ways in which things were consumed and in what contexts. This entails examining both the colonizers and colonized.

Dietler's study leads him to question whether Mediterranean France should be considered Hellenized. Early contact with Greek and Etruscan material culture, primarily through the Greek colony of Massalia established around 600 BC, would have been through traders looking to sell their wares to the local population. Traders were largely disdained in Greek society, who considered landed property as the primary honourable means of acquiring wealth. As such, most merchants were foreigners who sailed ships owned by others and manned by crews who were also foreigners. This means that southern France's first contact with Etruscan and Greek material culture was through merchants who were not representative of Greek culture at all. Furthermore, as southern France was a region with diverse languages and ethnic affiliations, sailors would likely not have been considered any more alien than other groups and the residents of Massalia may have even been considered local after occupying the region for several generations.

The types of goods desired in trade indicate to Dietler (2010) that the local Gallic population was interested in only goods that could be used in pre-existing local customs and practices. Gauls were most interested in obtaining wine from Greece, while other foreign goods were largely ignored. Wine was favoured by the Gauls as it had a longer-shelf life and higher alcohol content than locally produced beers and they could use it in their own practices of commensal politics. Consumption of wine in Gaul differed significantly from Greek and later Roman drinking habitants both in how the wine was drunk and its social

contexts (Dietler 2010: 216). Greek writings describe in disdain how the Gauls did not mix their wine with water as was customary among Greeks nor did they drink in the context of *symposia,* a Greek feasting event. Along with the continued practice to cook with animal fat instead of olive oil, the Gauls largely seem to have retained their customary foodways rather than attempt to mimic those of Greek colonists.

Turning to architecture, Dietler argues that the appearance of Greek derived innovations at Gallic sites such as fortification walls, mud bricks, stone architecture, and rectilinear settlement plans occurred over centuries. The adoption of Greek architecture was also not universal as many Gallic settlements remained conservative in their architectural styles. This evidence leads Dietler (2010: 272) to conclude that the spread of Greek architectural styles was largely not a conscious imitation of architecture at the Greek colony of Massalia, but the adoption of styles the local population encountered at other Gallic sites. Even if the styles originated at Massalia, most of the inland inhabitants of southern France would not have visited the colony.

The work of both Silliman and Dietler highlights how affiliation may be contested in the politicization of previously taken for granted practices and how collective memory can shape responses to the introduction of new practices and material culture. The means by which both are enacted through the material record provides an innovative means for archaeologists to examine the nature of ancient cases of colonialism. In my research, I argue that the production of space provides a potentially fruitful means of accomplishing this task.

Conclusion

Archaeological studies of empires in the last two decades have begun to shift away from globalist to agency-oriented models. The macro-scale orientation of globalist models provided researchers with little means to address the complexity of power relations, inherently grouping colonial relations into binary categories, such as colonized and colonizer,

while presenting change as largely unidirectional. By incorporating discussions on topics such as ethnicity, gender, and class, agency-oriented models have contributed to the study of empires by demonstrating the ability of different segments within colonial projects to act in their own self-interest and that the consequences of colonialism do not affect all groups equally.

Following Silliman (2009) and Dietler (2010), I argue for the inclusion of memory and practice to studies of the change and continuity that result from the formation of empires. Archaeologists must question not only why certain practices may be incorporated into new contexts but why others are not. Only by questioning the processes of change and continuity can archaeologists avoid the trap of assuming that the incorporation of subjugated peoples into empire was inevitable.

For my study of colonialism within the Kingdom of Chimor, the archaeology of empire and colonialism provides an understanding of the diversity of practices within colonialism and their consequences that can aid me in my own interpretation of the archaeological record. I suggest that there remains a need to explore change and continuity among the empire's provincial populations in relation to local memories and practice. Research such as that by Cutright (2009), Sapp (2002), and Tschauner (2006) have contributed towards this end by studying how provincial populations were incorporated into Chimor's political economy but more work can be done to identify the diversity of both practices that became politicized and those that did not under Chimú colonialism. Furthermore, the excavation of different types of settlements within the Chimú provinces can contribute an understanding of the uniformity of Chimor's incorporation of subjugated groups as well as the contributions of different segments of provincial populations in resisting or complying.

Chapter 3 Colonialism and Architecture

The purpose of this chapter is to provide an overview of different approaches to the study of architecture in archaeology and how these approaches might be used to study ancient colonialism in the context of the North Coast of Peru. I organize my discussion into four sections. In the first, I briefly discuss French Sociologist Henri Lefebvre's (1991) concept of the production of space. I argue that in the context of colonialism, the introduction of foreign ideologies moves the production of space out of the realm of doxa and into the realm of political contestation. Once space is politicized, its production becomes an important means through which identities can be constructed and contested. Archaeologically, this may be detected in the study of monumental and domestic space. I provide definitions of both types of architecture before moving onto providing an overview of different archaeological approaches to their study in the second section of this chapter.

In this second section, I provide a brief summary of several approaches to the study of monumental and domestic architecture that have been commonly used in archaeology. These include evolutionary-energetics, phenomenological, cosmological, communicative, and engendered models. I discuss their strengths and limitations to justify which aspects of these approaches I use in my own research.

The third section covers architecture and memory. More specifically, I discuss the need to study how people's memories and changes in ideology over time are reflected in the use of architecture. This is particularly relevant for my own research as the inhabitants of Huasi Huaman have been argued to have appropriated ancient architectural forms into their construction of the site (Swenson 2007).

Finally, I present discuss some approaches that I argue address my concerns with earlier archaeological approaches to the study of architecture. These are landscape and

Lefebvian perspectives. I also introduce the concept of Thirdspace and dwelling while arguing for their use as theoretical frameworks to study processes of subjectification within colonialism. In simpler terms, this section explores why monumental and domestic architecture are relevant to understanding extent to which people become members of a developing colonial society.

The Production of Monumental and Domestic Space

The phrase the "production of space" comes from the work of French sociologist Henri Lefebvre (1991) who argues that space is socially produced. Architecture is not just the backdrop through which social interactions occur, but social relationships and interactions shape space just as space shapes social relationships. As I discussed in Chapter 1, space may be understood as produced through the three processes of spatial practice, representations of space, and spaces of representation (Lefebvre 1991) that determine how physical and symbolic space is constructed and how it imposes rules on the people who use it (Hicks 2007: 2).

Each mode of production, society, or culture produces its own unique space that involuntarily inscribes social and spatial rules into the bodies of those who use the space (Gosden 2005). Therefore, who has the authority to control the production of space has significant sway in how society and power relations are reproduced. While many of the spatial rules and ideologies imbedded in architecture may normally be taken for granted, I suggest colonialism and the introduction of foreign ideologies provides an impetus to move the production of space into the realm of political contestation. Identifying the ways through which the production of space is involved in the processes of subjectification therefore provides a means for understanding the nature and pervasiveness of colonialism. Fortunately for archaeologists, space is produced through practices that leave behind material traces that can be identified in the archaeological record. This makes the production of space a

potentially informative means to study ancient colonialism.

The production of space is not restricted to overtly ideological buildings such as monuments or churches but includes mundane architecture as well such as the home, the path, or the alley. The act of moving through and living in these spaces plays a formative role in the construction of our habitus, the embodied dispositions that help define our identity (Bourdieu 1977). In the discussion that follows, I focus on monumental and domestic spaces. Though monumental spaces are often by intention overtly political, I argue that in many ancient societies, public and private spaces alike were interconnected in their role in the creation of social subjects. Monumental architecture often derived part of its significance in relation to more mundane spaces such as domestic dwellings and therefore none of these spaces should be considered in isolation.

Monumental architecture is defined as any building whose scale and elaboration exceeds the practical functions for which it is intended (Trigger 1990). The term may be applied to any building type including tombs, palaces, temples, and man-made mounds but it is their scale and elaboration that readily separates monumental architecture from common buildings. Indeed, monuments are intended to be easily recognizable. They are built so that they impart a message upon those who view them (Bradley 2003; Couture 2002: 1-28; Trigger 1990), though as Moore (1996b: 92) notes, their meanings may vary greatly and may not be intended to be recognizable to all members of a society (see Rick 2004).

Domestic space also cannot be ascribed to a single type of structure, though it is often the domicile of a household made up of some configuration of people sharing a kinship, economic, and social relationship (or some variation thereof). Rather than attempting to link domestic space to any architectural characteristics, it should be defined by the presence of culturally recognized activities and their culturally constructed meanings (Hendon 1996). As the activities that are deemed domestic may vary between cultures and within a culture

according to status and context, identifying how domestic space was conceptualized within its cultural context becomes a necessary component of its study. Nonetheless, domestic activities are often related to sleeping, reproduction, production, and consumption. These are all activities related to the maintenance of the household. Domestic spaces need not be restricted to family dwellings and may be found within a wide range of different settings including brothels (Costello 2000; Kennedy 1989; Seifert 1991), work camps (Lawrence 1999; Pappas 2004; Wood, 2004), plantations (Battle 2004; Bonine 2004; Clark 2005; Silliman 2004), palaces (Evans 2004, Salazar and Burger 2004) cooperatives (Spencer-Wood 2004), monasteries and nunneries (Gilchrist 1994; 2000; Kryder-Reid 1994), and boarding houses (Larsen 1994; Mrozowski et al. 1996).

While domestic space may seem mundane and far removed from the more often overtly political dimensions of monumental space, its influence on the formation of habitus ensures that domestic space is just as important to the reproduction of power relations as monuments. Indeed, the existence of a public/private divide has been increasingly undermined (Hart 1992; Marti 1993; Moore 1992; Silverblatt 1991; 1995; Wilk and Netting 1984). As anthropologist Sylvia Yanagisako (1979: 191) argues, "domestic relationships are often so inextricably intermeshed with relationships of political alliance that to separate the domestic aspects from the political aspects is to misconstrue these relationships."

Approaches to the Study of Architecture

A number of different approaches have been developed for the archaeological study of architecture. In this section, I provide an overview of some of the approaches that have most frequently been used in archaeology. These include evolutionary-energetics, phenomenological, cosmological, communicative, and engendered models. The evolutionary-energetics tradition, associated primarily with the study of monumental architecture, has at its foundation the work of V. Gordon Childe (1950) and Adams (1956) who during the 1950s

introduced the idea that monuments could be used as a diagnostic feature to recognize the development of cities and early civilizations. The construction of large scale monumental architecture was seen as predicating on the ability of a centralized authority to divert surplus labour to the construction of monuments while redistributing surplus agriculture to the provisioning of labourers whose participation in construction prevented them from fulfilling their own subsistence needs. This approach rests on an understanding of culture as what Leslie White (1975) has defined as a thermodynamic system, where by culture evolves according to the amount of energy that can be harnessed. Energetics, the study of the transformation, conversion, and movement of energy (Abrams 1989), developed as a means to test these evolutionary theories and to gain a better understanding of the social contexts which enabled the production of surplus food and labour that could be diverted to constructing monumental architecture.

Studies that employ energetics, such as those by Charles Erasmus (1965) and David Webster and Jennifer Kirker (1995), typically quantify labour in the form of "man days" representing the amount of work that went into constructing a monument. The "man days" are then used to estimate the labour demands enacted on a population and, if the time frame in which a monument was constructed is known, the size of the population. Both the studies by Erasmus (1965) and that of Webster and Kirker (1995) set out to investigate the labour demands enacted on Maya populations in the construction of their monumental ceremonial centers though they ultimately provide a critique of the assumptions first laid out by Childe (1950) that monumental construction necessitates centralized authority and dense populations.

Erasmus (1965) performed experiments employing teams of workers to engage in construction using ancient methods and then using their labour to calculate the labour investment needed to construct the Maya site of Uxmal. Recording the amount of work that

was accomplished in tasks such as earth movement, stone procurement, and masonry over a five to six hour work day, he estimates the population density of Uxmal from how much labour would be required to construct the site's monuments. Erasmus (1965) found that the site could have been constructed with a population density of only 75 persons per square mile with families contributing only twenty-five man days per year, significantly less than previous estimates for the site which predicted full time labour investment.

Webster and Kirker's (1995) study is similar though they work backwards from population estimates for Copán to test the hypothesis that the collapse of the site resulted from unsustainable labour demands by the site's elites. Using Temple 26, one of the most elaborate monuments, as a "currency" building, Weber and Kirker (1995) estimate the number of monumental buildings of the same type that could be constructed under different labour tribute schemes. Like Erasmus (1965), they found that even modest labour expropriation models could easily produce the number of monuments at Copán during the almost 600 years in which monumental construction occurred. They conclude that labour demands were unlikely to have been strenuous enough to cause the polity's collapse.

The work of Erasmus (1965) and Webster and Kirker (1995) demonstrate that the presence of monumental architecture does not require complex and highly centralized political organization or large populations to support surplus labour investment in activities outside of food production. Small populations using basic tools could carry out substantial construction projects on a rotating, seasonal schedule that would allow individual families to meet their own subsistence needs while a few members participated in construction. Such a scheme would minimize the stresses placed on society.

Childe (1950) and Adams' (1956) arguments that organized labour required a coercive authority has also been challenged (Dietler and Herbich 2001; Moore 1975; Refrew 1973; Webster and Kirker 1995). Colin Renfrew (1973) argues that the material culture of Neolithic

mound builders of Britain does not provide evidence for substantial differential status ranking that would indicate that monuments were built through the coercive power of a centralized authority. He cautions against attempts to fit societies into catchall categories as they fail to establish meaningful relationships that are indicative of new patterns (1973: 557). A possible alternative explanation to coercion for the mobilization of labour is provided by Michael Dietler and Ingrid Herbich (2001) who argue that feasts were often used to attract voluntary labour in the ancient world. Additionally, political complexity does not necessarily equate with the construction of monumental buildings. Webster and Kirker (1995) point to the Hawaiian polities which at their height had larger populations and were more politically mature than the Maya at Copán, yet as far as has been identified archaeologically, produced few monuments.

Though the presence of monumental architecture may not predicate political complexity, some scholars nonetheless suggest a link between cultural complexity and energy expenditure in architecture (Abrams 1989; Hung 1995; Trigger 1990). As complex societies are able to produce greater quantities of surplus energy, more energy can be invested in the symbolic component of architecture with monuments serving the purpose of enhancing social integration. Monumental architecture thus becomes a symbol of group identity.

Michael Adler and Richard Wilshusen (1990) similarly argue for a positive correlation between group size and the scale of social integrative facilities such as monuments. They suggest that within relatively small non-stratified communities, integrative facilities house both secular and ritual activities, but as the size of the community increases, integrative facilities tend to be used almost exclusively for ritual purposes. This suggests that the symbolic character of public architecture such as monuments increases in order to address the ambiguity that arises from large group size where social distance may be significant.

Though social cohesion may be the result of some monumental construction projects,

social cohesion alone does not explain why their builders dedicate so much time and energy to massive constructions and why more modest architecture does not suffice. Different monumental buildings can also have different meanings for a society. As Jerry Moore points out (1996b: 95-97), one only has to contrast modern buildings such as the Washington Monument with the massive office of the American Internal Revenue Service to demonstrate that monuments inspire very different feelings. I follow Trigger's (1990) argument that it is their very monumentality which gives monumental constructions their significance to their builders and those who experience them alike. He argues that monuments are constructed to be monumental because they are symbols of conspicuous consumption. Conspicuous consumption, as coined by Veblen (1899), is extravagant spending in order to make a statement about access to wealth and the ability to spend it. Trigger (1990) argues that since the natural desire of humans is to expend as little energy as possible, monuments are statements about the ability of groups to control unusually large amounts of human energy. The construction of monuments allows these groups to demonstrate their ability to consume energy for non-utilitarian purposes. At the same time, non-elite participation in an activity that glorifies elites makes non-elites acknowledge their inferior status (Trigger 1990: 125).

The evolutionary-energetics tradition has challenged the early assumptions made by Childe (1950) and Adams (1956) while providing an explanation for why so much time and effort is put into constructing monuments. As acts of conspicuous consumption, monuments can be understood as claims by their builders about the nature of the world or the scope of their power. Caution, however, should be taken not to confuse these claims as truths (Morrison and Lycett 1994). It is precisely this ability of monuments to serve as claims which makes them an attractive vehicle for fixing ideologies on the world.

A criticism that is leveled against the evolutionary-energetics tradition is that its focus on energy excludes the experiential aspect of monumental architecture as well as the fact that

these buildings had sincere cultural meanings (Bruck 2005; Tilley 1994; Thomas 1993). Monuments were often the stages of ceremonial practice and incorporated into larger belief systems. Since monumental architecture serve as claims, their significance rests on the feelings they impose on those who experience them (Cummings 2002; Richards 1996; Watson 2001). The exclusion of experience and meaning from monumental architecture thus marks a limitation of the evolutionary-energetics tradition as energy expenditure alone does not account for the staggering variability in form and use of monuments.

A consideration of experience and culture in the study of architecture originated from the influence of scholars such as Edward Hall (1968), Amos Rapoport (1969a; 1969b), and Yi-Fu Tuan (1977). Much of this research initially focused on residential contexts, though it was later applied as a means to analyze monuments as well. Architect Amos Rapoport, in his book *House Form and Culture* (1969a), argues that architectural form is primarily determined by sociocultural factors modified by the environment and limitations in material and technology. To demonstrate this point, Rapoport (1969b) contrasts the architecture of the Navajo and Pueblo Indians of the American Southwest. Despite living in the same environment and having a similar economic and technological basis, the architecture of these two cultures is radically different. Pueblo architecture is characterized by the *pueblo*, the style of architecture from which the group is named, which consists of rooms with thick mud or stone walls arranged in closely built, compact, multi-storey flat-roofed buildings built in clusters. These clusters are arranged around an open space where ritual dancing and feasts are held. Rapoport links the form of *pueblos* to the Pueblo cosmology, arguing that architecture is built around the sacred center to mimic the orientation of the world.

In contrast to the Pueblo, the Navajo dwelled in structures grouped around individual families called *hogans*. *Hogans* are structures characterized by a conical frame covered in earth and brush. These structures could be built singularly, but are most often found in

clusters with families occupying five or six *hogans* located near sheep corrals, shades, storage structures and a special ceremonial *hogan. Hogan* design is based off of a mythical prototype and most Navajo architecture follows this prototypical form with only minor changes over time (Rapaport 1969b). Similar to *pueblos*, orientation took on a cosmological character as the Navajo believed that their homes should be oriented towards the east to catch the rays of the sun and divided their interior spaces into a female south and a male north. Rapoport (1966b: 77-78) argues that the sharp contrast between Navajo and Pueblo architecture can only be explained as the result of choices derived from distinct Navajo and Pueblo ideologies.

Around the same time Rapoport was writing, Edward Hall (1968) produced a study on how different cultures experience space and how cultural perceptions of personal space can regulate social interactions. Personal space varies according to the type of social relation and situation and is such a tacit part of social interaction that people generally only become aware of it when it is violated. Hall compares the conceptions of personal space between a number of different cultures. He found that middle class Americans maintained some of the largest personal spaces while Middle Eastern Arabs, at least during the time that he conducted his research, were comfortable with very little and expressed surprise at the idea that anyone would want to spend time alone (1968: 94). Hall goes on to show how different conceptions of what constitute comfortable personal space are reflected in the use of the built environment and through the positioning of semi-fixed objects such as furniture. People may thus feel uncomfortable occupying a structure built for a culture with a different perspective on personal space.

Geographer Yi-Fu Tuan (1977) provides one of the most well-read attempts to explore how different cultures experience space and place. He follows Rapoport (1969a) and Hall (1968) in arguing that culture is the predominate factor that influences the form and use of architecture, but suggests that the human body provides a common framework for how we

experience our surroundings as it is through our bodies that we move through space. In his view, even though culture may differ, the body represents a common starting point for all peoples. Broadly speaking, the body's dimensions divide the world into front and back, left and right, up and down, and male and female. The proportions of the body can be translated further into cultural orientation of space through ideas such as public/private or sacred/profane. For example, Tuan (1977: 43) suggests that many cultures give prominence to the right side of things stemming from the fact that the majority of people are right handed and that body parts are often used as units for measuring length or distance in construction.

Though Tuan's assumptions about the universality of the body are challenged by the existence of languages such as Guugu Yimithirr, an Australian aborigine language that makes no use of the body in orientation and instead relies entirely on cardinal directions (Haviland 1993), he goes on to make the important point that architecture has different meanings for people in non-literate societies compared to literate societies and those who employ specialized architects compared to those where everyone must construct and maintain their own buildings (Tuan 1977: 99). In non-literate and non-specialized societies, communal participation in construction may be part of social responsibilities and people are thus forced to think about architecture on a more regular basis. Construction depends on the direct connections between people, suppliers, producers, and consumers who simultaneously shape the landscape, social order and economic arrangements (Glassie 2000). Neighbours and kin provide a source for temporary labour during construction, with individuals filling different yet complementary labour roles so that work can be divided into specializations. Those who provide temporary labour in turn can expect to be reciprocated when they require temporary labour themselves (Dietler and Herbich 2001; Moore 1975). Tuan (1977: 99) suggests that in this type of society, architecture is a primary means of making claims and guiding behavior. The inscription of these claims to architecture is often accomplished through rituals

performed both during construction and during its use. Tuan postulates that the centrality of architecture only diminishes where literacy is introduced and writing surpasses architecture as the means by which claims and meanings are transposed.

The common argument made by Rapoport (1969), Hall (1968), and Tuan (1977) is that while factors such as the environment may dictate the availability of materials or the amount of insulation a structure must provide to protect against the weather to be habitable, sacred and social concerns tied to culture more often than not outweigh environmental factors in the construction of architecture. As cultural concerns play such a large role in shaping the form and use of architecture, the work of these scholars demonstrates the importance of considering these factors in archaeological studies of monumental architecture. Attempts to include experience, subjectivity, and cultural meaning in archaeology studies of architecture include phenomenological, cosmological, communicative, engendered and Lefebvian approaches.

Phenomenology

The studies that perhaps most explicitly attempt to account for the role of experience in the analysis of architecture are those that follow a phenomenological approach. Phenomenology involves trying to understand architecture and landscapes as they are experienced by embodied subjects. The development of this approach in archaeology can be best attributed to Christopher Tilley (1994) and Julian Thomas (1993). Their work has its roots in the phenomenology of German philosophers Edmund Husserl (1970; 1976) and Martin Heidegger (1967) who developed their line of thought as a result of what they see as the limitations of quantitative science in answering the question of being. The adaptation of Husserl and Heidegger's phenomenology takes the view that humans are beings embedded in the landscape and interconnected with the landscape. Archaeologists using a phenomenological approach therefore look at how people experience the environment, both

artificial and natural, with their senses and the emotional response they invoke in the viewer.

Tilley's (1994: 18) influential work examines the megalithic monuments of Western Europe where he argues that archaeology has too often studied monumental architecture in isolation. For the nature of the role that these monuments played in Mesolithic and Neolithic societies to be understood, they must be interpreted in relation to their surrounding landscape as place plays a fundamental role in the establishment of identity. People give landscape temporality and meaning through their narratives and myths which serve to mark individual and group experience. Tilley (1994: 204) argues that the construction of a monument freezes the perspectives of the landscape found in narratives and myths which allows the builders to establish control over topographic perspectives.

Tilley (1994) supports his argument on the centrality of landscape to the analysis of monuments in his analysis of Mesolithic and Neolithic stone monuments in south west Wales. Tilley notes that the majority of monuments from these periods were located near the coast, placed so that they were in close relation to bays, inlets, and peninsulas. Though proximity to coastal features seems to have been important to where monuments were placed, he observes that of the twenty-six coastal monuments he visited, the sea can only be seen from eight of them (Tilley 1994: 93). Interestingly, among the eight where the coastline was visible, it was distant coastlines that could be seen rather than those closest to the site. As the visibility of the sea does not seem to have been important to their builders, Tilley (1994: 86) argues that bays, inlets, and peninsulas were important instead as named markers which allowed the builders of the monuments to control perspectives of the landscape and how it was used in the formation of group identity.

Tilley (1994) also suggests that the monuments are placed to be visible between each other. The monuments are consistently located so that they are hidden from view behind linear or circular rock escarpments. Though hidden, those with the cultural understanding to

know how to read the landscape could use rock escarpments to identify where monuments would be located even if the actual monuments themselves were hidden from view.

Like Tilley (1994), Thomas (1990) argues that archaeologists should examine architecture from the perspective of the human subjects that experienced them. He (1993) criticizes archaeology's tendency to assume that the material world can be separated from the subject. He argues that as human experience is embedded, the subject and object are inseparably part of one another. Looking at megalithic tombs in Ireland, Thomas argues (1990: 175) that increased complexity in tomb form over time resulted in constraining and elaborating the process of gaining access to burial deposits. The complexity of the tombs that forced those entering them to go underground ensured that those attempting to gain access were forced to interpret them with all their senses, engaging the entire body with sights, sounds, and smells.

The phenomenological approach that developed out of the work of Thomas (1990; 1993) and Tilley (1994) proved especially popular to the study of megalithic monuments elsewhere in Britain where more recent research has attempted to compliment these early studies by using the archaeologist's experience to hypothesize interpretations of the monument in the past (Cummings 2002; Richards 1996; Watson 2001). Colin Richards (1996), for example, was interested in why different forms of monuments, such as those associated with the ancient village of Barnhouse in Orkney, are clustered together in similar topographic positions. For Richards, the site of Barnhouse represents the key to understanding the concepts that ordered the landscape and the placement of monuments in the Orkney region. He argues that space at Barnhouse was organized to emphasize concentricity and centrality. Dwellings are round structures with a central hearth and the village is similarly organized around an open central area. Evidence for craft production in the central area suggests to Richards (1996: 195) that the inhabitants of the site saw the center

as an area of transformation and creation. Richards uses this understanding of concentricity and centrality as the basis of his analysis of nearby monuments that were contemporary to Barnhouse such as the Stones of Stenness, a henge monument located only 200 meters from Barnhouse. It consists of monoliths surrounded by a ditch and an outer bank or wall and has a stone hearth in its center. In this way the spatial organization of the Stones of Stenness seem to parallel that of the dwellings at Barnhouse, reflecting similar ideas of concentricity and centrality (Richards 1996: 203-205). For Richards, the monuments of the late Neolithic are the formalization of the social landscapes of daily life. He writes (1996: 200) that the "role of each place in a landscape is physically constituted in terms of a transformation of the natural world."

The phenomenological approach has been criticized by archaeologists such as Joanna Bruck (2005: 51) who argues there is no way to know if the relationship that the archaeologists proposes was meaningful to people in the past. Phenomenology rests on the assumption that contemporary experiences of architecture can approximate the experiences of those in the past (Bruck 2005: 54). This is problematic as it requires the assumption that those who built and used ancient structures base their experience of the world on the same frame of references used by modern archaeologists. However, as Tilley argues (2004: 219-225) modern experiences at least provide a starting point for the interpretation of ancient structures. When dealing with cultures that left no written record that could provide insight into their ideologies, this is often all archaeology has to work with.

Cosmological Models

Comsological models focuses on trying to place architecture within the symbolic systems of their creators. Ancient societies are seen as designing their built environment so that it follows their cosmological models of the world. Underlying this approach is the assumption that metaphor gives buildings their meaning and helps to incorporate them into

cultural systems.

According to James W. Fernandez (1986), metaphors are strategies to predicate an inchoate situation. By choosing a metaphor to represent something, people are forced to choose one domain or another, orienting the object to which they are applying the metaphor on a continuum with other things. By creating orientational relationships, metaphors allow people to create order in the world (Fernandez 1986: vii) and allow for complex and abstract ideas to be made concrete and easily graspable (Lawrence and Low 1990: 472). For ancient societies, using architecture as metaphors for cosmology allowed them to recreate the cosmos on earth and imbue the landscape with a sacred essence.

The idea that monuments and other forms of architecture were cosmological models in the ancient world can be credited to Mircea Eliade (1959). He argues that many ancient peoples saw reality as an imitation of a celestial archetype. Those holding this world view often employ the center embodied in sacred architecture as a symbol for the location of the act of creation. Through this metaphorical association with the cosmos, architecture is imbued with meaning and power which enables further acts of creation. Uninhabited territories, in contrast, lack creation and are seen as places of chaos and danger. For these lands to be converted to areas where creation may occur and in turn allow human habitation, rituals must be performed to establish a new center of creation following the celestial prototype. Eliade (1959) argues that monuments and sacred structures are often built to fulfill the role of a new center, functioning as *axis mundi*, the meeting point of earth with the cosmos. Monuments, as divinely imbued centers of creation, are statements about the ideal representation of the world, acting as *imago mundi*.

The strength of Eliade's (1959) cosmological model is that it places monuments and the whole human landscape in the larger context of cultural belief systems. This strength has made it an attractive model and it has been widely applied in anthropology and archaeology

(Blier 1987; Geertz 1980; Leone 1984; Matos Moctezuma 1987) as well as in cultural geography (Wheatley 1971). Some of these applications have sought to supplement Eliade's (1959) model by focusing on more specific types of architecture such as households (Blier 1987), monuments (Leone 1984; Matos Moctezuma 1987), and cities (Wheatley 1971).

One widely cited study to employ the cosmological model to analyze a specific monument is Eduardo Matos Moctezuma's (1987) interpretation of the Aztec Templo Mayor in Tenochtitlan. Matos Moctezuma argues that the Templo Mayor embodied the Aztec world view, recreating the organization of the world in the plan of the city. The monument was an *axis mundi*, serving as the center of the universe with the city of Tenochtitlan organized around it in four quarters to represent the four directions of the universe. It was marked as a place of creation by being built upon the symbolically potent site where the city's founders witnessed the omen of an eagle perched upon a cactus devouring a snake, a sign they took to indicate the location of where they should build their capital. By building one of their most important monuments on this location, the Aztecs harnessed the sanctity of the location while conspicuously demarcated sacred space within the city (Matos Moctezuma 1987: 190). In this way, the Templo Mayor was part of a visible representation of the ordering of the world and, by proxy, the people residing in the city.

Matos Moctezuma (1987: 199) goes on to discuss how the temple was embellished so that it became a "living myth." It was constructed to mimic the two sacred mountains of Coatepec, associated with the god Huitzilopochtli, and the Mountain of Sustenance, associated with the god Tlaloc. These two mountains played important roles in myths about the afterlife, serving as the first stage of the journey to Mictlan, the lowest level of the Aztec underworld (Matos Moctezuma 1987: 194). The temple was further embellished with sculptures of deities reenacting myths related to the two sacred mountains. The statue of the goddess Coyolxauhqui, depicted decapitated and dismembered, is located at the base of a

staircase while her assailant, her brother Huitzilopochtli, is depicted as a statue at the top of the monument. The locations of these statues on the Templo Mayor correspond to the mythic defeat of Coyolxauhqui by her brother and the casting of her remains to the earth (Matos Moctezuma 1987: 199). By depicting their myths in the masonry of the monument, the Aztecs were moving beyond metaphorical associations and literally recreating their cosmological prototype on earth.

While applications of the cosmological model such as that by Matos Moctezuma (1987) provide a rich interpretation of ancient worldviews, it is important to emphasize the fact that monuments were statements made by certain groups not only about the nature of the world, but also the nature of power relations. Recognizing the link between monuments and the naturalization of inequality, some studies have sought to use Eliade's (1959) model to explore the role of monuments in power relations (Geertz 1980; Leone 1984).

Geertz (1980), for example, argues that the palace of the king in the pre-colonial Balinese state of Negara was a microcosm of the supernatural order with the body of the king linking heaven and earth as an *axis mundi*. By serving as the home of the king, the palace was his temple and a divine icon in its own right (Geertz 1980: 108). The palace also served as a stage where the performance of the social order could be played out in elaborate ceremonies and spectacular display. The conspicuous extravagance of the king exemplifies his greatness and presents the model by which the peasantry was supposed to follow. The extravagance of Balinese court life has led Geertz (1980: 13) to argue that "power served pomp, not pomp power" where pomp was the driving force of politics and distinguished those who were living a proper life.

Mark Leone (1984) takes the opposite argument of Geertz, arguing that pomp serves power in his study of the Aztec Templo Mayor in Mexico. Using Marx's concept of false consciousness, Leone (1984: 26) writes that "the function of ideology is to disguise the

arbitrariness of the social order, including the uneven distribution of resources, and it reproduces rather than transforms society." Monuments and the built environment play a central role in this by physically embedding different strata within a cosmological framework. The Aztec elites that resided near the Templo Mayor associated themselves with the act of creation and by dominating ritual, could present themselves as necessary for the reproduction of the world. By doing so, the inequalities within Aztec society were presented as cosmologically ordained.

Though Eliade's (1959) cosmological model has provided some rich archaeological interpretations of architecture, many of the studies that follow a cosmological approach benefit from the existence of ethnohistorical accounts or writing left behind by members of the society being studied. These provide insight into the nature of past belief systems that those who employ phenomenological methods often do not have as a starting point. Where accounts of cosmological systems do not exist, the use of the cosmological model risks the same criticism leveled against phenomenological studies in that there is no way to test whether cosmological links were considered meaningful or if they are the products of modern imaginations.

Communicative Models

Communicative models provide an alternative way of understanding architecture that does not rely so heavily on modern experience or extensive knowledge of past cosmological systems by studying the ways in which meaning is portrayed rather than the meaning itself (Blanton 1989; Emerson 1997; Glassie 1975; Hillier and Hanson 1984; Monroe 2003; Moore 1996b). This tradition is united by the idea that space communicates information about itself so that users with the cultural background to understand it know how to act in the culturally proscribed ways communicated by the space (Smith 2003: 61). Though archaeologists may lack the cultural background to identify what is being communicated by a structure, the way

meaning is being communicated may nonetheless provide some insights into questions relating to how different groups express ideology in architecture. This makes communicative models particularly attractive for research such as mine which hopes to use architecture to study how the production of space was implemented in colonialism.

One of the first studies to employ a communicative model is folklorist Henry Glassie's (1975) study of around 100 houses dating to the late 18th and early 19th centuries in Virginia. He devised a set of rules or "grammar" for the households based on their room sizes and shapes, as well as the locations and number of elements such as windows, doors, and chimneys that outlined the decisions the builders made when constructing the houses. He found that families constructed their households according to an architectural repertoire shared by the larger community that represented the perfect ideal. Creating an ideal representation would take precedence over practicality in the placement of windows and doors to agree with community expectations in areas of the house that were visible to the public such as the façade or interior rooms where guests might be permitted. These publically visible aspects of the household represented the individual expression of the occupant's public persona. The more private areas of a household such as upper floors where guests were not typically permitted, were more likely to be constructed according to the builders' preferences regarding practicality and taste. Though Glassie spends little time discussing power relations within households, such as who within a family gets a say in how their public persona is presented, his study nonetheless demonstrates how household architecture communicates claims about belonging to the community. Glassie's work inspired a number of attempts to find similar patterns in American historical archaeology (Deetz 1977; Kent 1993; Leone 1984; 1988), though his influence on the study of ancient monuments has been more limited.

Richard Blanton (1989), sharing Glassie's (1975) argument that buildings

communicate information, provides an early use of a communicative model to the study of monuments. Working in the Oaxaca Valley of Mexico and studying sites in the hinterland of Monte Alban, Blanton (1989) analyzes the role of monumental buildings as communicative media for expressing the ability of elites to organize resources. He (1989: 415) argues that in politically centralized societies there is a great degree of formalization in elite interactions with the populace. Formal architecture is used to frame elite activities. Blanton uses renovations to hinterland monuments to make their proportionality and orientation similar to monuments found at Monte Alban to identify how Monte Alban's influence may have fluctuated over time. Though Blanton's study can be criticized for not considering that hinterland sites may also contribute to the merging of styles and that these interactions do not always involve unidirectional transformations by a core (Deagan 1973, 2001; Jordan 2009), the strength of his approach is that while he acknowledges the limitations inherent in archaeology in identifying the undoubtedly rich worldviews and beliefs held by ancient peoples, he nonetheless demonstrates how archaeology can be used to identify changes in the statements being made through monuments and other structures.

A more formalized method in identifying communicative architectural patterns is presented by Bill Hillier and Julienne Hanson (1984) who map access patterns within buildings. Their method involves the creation of what they call gamma or access maps which reduce the plan of a building to a graph of the access patterns between rooms from the entrance. Each room is given a number based on its "depth" from the entrance, measured by the number of rooms that must be passed through to get to it. The maps produced by this exercise can then be described qualitatively according to their symmetry and distributedness. A plan is described a "distributed" when there is more than one non-intersecting route between two points and "non-distributed" when there is only one (Hillier and Hanson 1984: 94). Similarly, for two points *a* and *b*, a graph is symmetrical when access to *b* is not

controlled by *a* (Moore 1996b: 185). A comparison of the forms of different gamma maps can aide in the identification of changes that constitute the generic class of architecture within a site over time. The benefit of using gamma maps is that they ignore the differences between room sizes, aiding in the identification of changes in architecture that may not be readily apparent upon initial inspection.

One example of the use of gamma maps that is particularly relevant to my research is the work of Jerry Moore (1996b) who mapped access patterns in the monumental compounds of the Chimú Empire (AD 900-1470) of pre-Hispanic Peru. Moore (1996b: 200) applies gamma maps to compare changes over time in access to central burial platforms within the monumental compounds at the Chimú capital of Chan Chan and found that access to the central sectors of the compounds became less deep over time suggesting to him that the accessibility to elite burial platforms were increasingly central to their design. Furthermore, upon comparing route maps between the monumental architecture of Chan Chan and Chimú provincial regional administration centers such as Farfán and Manchán, Moore (1996b: 211-217) argues that the Chimú administrative architecture was characterized by a trilinear route path that was also characteristic of the later compounds at Chan Chan, showing similarities in the organization of architecture between the capital and provincial sites.

Monroe (2003) employs a similar method in his analysis of change over time in six royal palaces dating from the 17th to 19th centuries at the site of Cana in Dahomey, West Africa. Ethnohistorical accounts indicate that Dahomey royal palaces were divided into a series of public, semi-public, and private spaces. Courtyards located outside of the palace gate were public spaces used for ceremonies where the king performed the sacrifice of captives or the distribution of gifts to his subjects. Royal officials also participated in these ceremonies to legitimize their authority through the display of their association to the king. Space was more restricted in the interior of the palace where it was divided into semi-public

and private areas. In semi-public spaces such as interior courts and waiting rooms, the king carried out state matters and less public state rituals (Monroe 2003: 307). In these areas, he received visitors, held court, resolved disputes and performed sacrifices to his ancestors. Access to semi-private space was generally restricted to the king and his family, guests, officials, and the king's female bodyguards. Private space, represented by the royal family's private residence, was much more restricted and was only accessible to the king, his wives, children, and closest advisors. The privacy of these places was so central to the king's royal identity that he would burn them to the ground if his lands seemed likely to be conquered by invaders rather than allow the possibility of foreign intrusion.

From his excavations of six palaces, Monroe (2003: 335) calculates the degree by which access was restricted over time to measure changes in the segmentation and hierarchy of space in order to understand changes in the degree of social control. Though using a similar method to Hillier and Hanson (1984), Monroe measures the "depth" of courts instead of rooms within the palaces to their nearest gateway as poor wall preservation made it difficult to identify doorways. He calculated a coefficient of spatial distance corresponding to the average value of all courts per palace multiplied by the number of courts per total palace area. Using this measurement, Monroe identified a sharp increase in restricted access during the late 18th century, which he attributes to the development of a more hierarchical political structure.

Though the access maps employed Hillier and Hanson (1984) and Monroe (2003) provide some potentially useful methodology for identifying differences in the ideology behind architecture, a significant limitation of access maps is that even when architecture follows the same conventions, the activities that occur within can vary. This holds especially true for when a building's occupants are not its architects and care must be taken to consider architecture in conjunction with other archaeological remains when available to get a clearer

picture of how a space was used. The importance of culture and the role of identity derived from categories such as gender, class, and sexuality are central to the next model I wish to discuss, the engendered approach.

Engendered Approaches

Engendered approaches to the study of architecture have their origin in feminist archaeology which itself was a response to the andro-centralist biases of the processual archaeology of the 1960s and 1970s. Early feminist archaeologists such as Margaret Conkey and Janet Spector (1984), criticized the projection of contemporary Western gender norms onto the past, instead arguing that gender, along with other identity categories like class and sexuality, were culturally constructed. Additionally, feminist archaeologists were critical of the emphasis on stereotypically "male" public activities to explain processes of social evolution and the development of complexity. Feminist archaeologists instead championed the study of microscale processes, particularly those associated with the household. During the 1990s, engendered archaeology branched out from feminist archaeology by incorporating a larger breadth of theoretical perspectives. These include Marxism (Little 1994; Scott 1994), practice theory (De Cunzo 1995; Wilkie 2000), performance theory (Joyce 2000a; 2000b; Meskell and Joyce 2003) and queer theory (Casella 2000; Gilchrist 2000; Voss 2000).

The aim of engendered archaeology is not to identify the correlates of gender roles in the archaeological record but to "produce a visibility of gender as a social force" (Tringham 1991b: 13). This means that gender and other categories of identity are important in the constitution of social relations within the production of space and, more generally, the meanings assigned to material culture. This point is illustrated by the work of Susan Kent (1984) who demonstrates that the use of architectural space from the same tradition can vary greatly depending upon the cultural background of its inhabitants. Though Kent bases her research on modern Euro-American households, her study shows how gender and culture can

influence the use and meanings of material culture that is otherwise the same.

Kent (1984) conducted an ethnographic study of contemporary middle class Euro-American, Spanish-American, and Navajo families in Euro-American style multi-room households. To compare activities between households, she used a continuum with the segmentation of activities on one side and unity on the other. She identified a relationship between the segmentation of activity within space and cultural conceptions of the differences between the sexes and the rigidity of divisions of labour. The Euro-American families exhibited the most pronounced differences between the sexes and had the greatest degree of division of labour. This was reflected in the use of activity areas that were sex-specific and monocultural. Family members had individual bedrooms and where there were multiple bathrooms, bathrooms were most often divided between the sexes. Additionally, functionally related activities were restricted to specific rooms. Kent also observed that Euro-Americans had a high proportion of sex-specific and monofunctional artefacts which may be useful for recognizing similar uses of space in the archaeological record.

In contrast to Euro-Americans, the Spanish-American and Navajo families were less rigid in their understanding of the differences between the sexes and the division of labour. Families shared rooms and beds, even when additional bedrooms were available. Both sexes also performed many of the same household tasks. The multi-functionality of activity spaces was also reflected in the material culture with more multi-functional and less sex-specific artefacts. Though Kent's (1984) study does not span enough time to test whether later generations of the Spanish-American and Navajo families would adopt dominant Euro-American attitudes towards the use of space, it nonetheless demonstrates that even when architectural traditions are the same, the use of spaces can vary according to the cultural perceptions of its users. The implication for the studies that employ space and architecture is that even when structures may appear similar, their actual meanings are dependent on the

culture, gender, status, and sexuality of their inhabitants. On the other hand, without historical records and or reliance on cross-cultural analogies, identifying different agendas and competition within households is often not possible for archaeologists (Nash 2009: 207).

Two scholars who have employed the engendered approach to the study of ancient architecture are Ruth Tringham (1991a; 1991b) and Lynn Meskell (1998). Tringham (1991a), working on Neolithic Vinca culture houses in Yugoslavia, focuses on the role of social relations within the household. At the site of Opovo, she used the lack of evidence for the full range of domestic production activities in comparison to other sites to argue that Opovo was likely only occupied seasonally for specialized activities such as antler procurement. Furthermore, the inhabitants of the site were likely of the same sex or a similar age group.

Meskell's (1998) research shows how ancient Egyptian households were engendered in Deir el-Medina, a settlement of craftsmen and their families who worked on the royal tombs in the Valley of the Kings. She compares the features within households at the settlement to more recent ethnohistorical accounts of Arab households to argue that specific rooms were associated with women, men, and servants. These formal associations, however, were fluid in practice as men spent a good portion of their time away from their families living in work camps as they fulfilled their roles as craftsmen on the royal tombs. This meant that spaces formally identified with males, were likely informally used by women, children, and servants when the men were away. By including gender and other categories of identity in their interpretations, scholars such as Tringham (1991a; 1991b) and Meskell (1998) provide a richer interpretation of space and architecture than can be provided by solely addressing function alone.

Other scholars following the engendered approach have also employed fiction to bring out the experiences of individuals and make their interpretations more accessible to a general audience (Costello 2000; Spector 1993; Tringham 1991a). While this method provides an

alternative means to flesh out archaeological descriptions, it also runs the risk of injecting too much of the archaeologist's imagination into the interpretation at the expense of the actual archaeological data.

Architecture and Memory

The approaches to the study of architecture presented above rarely address questions of memory and changes in ideology that are reflected in how people use architecture (Couture 2002). This is a concern as architectural traditions are often appropriated by other cultures or later groups (Hingley 1996; Ousterhout 2004; Williams 1998) and used to present real or fictive connections between groups (Abu El-Haj 1998; Molina Montes 1987). As new claims may be made or existing claims changed, memory and time must be considered in the archaeological study of architecture (Bradley 2003; Couture 2002; Meskell and Van Dyke 2003; Mills and Walker 2008).

To once again use the example of the Aztec Templo Mayor in Tenochtitlan, Augusto Molina Montes (1987) argues that the temple exhibits minimal architectural innovation. Instead the Aztecs borrowed elements from earlier Toltec architectural traditions. These elements, such as carved benches and the layout of interior space at the Temple of the Eagle Warriors, replicated architecture at the Toltec site of Tula. Molina Montes suggests that Aztec elites were actively associating themselves with the earlier Toltecs as an attempt to claim ancestry. As the Toltecs were a culture with significant symbolic capital, by claiming to be their descendants the Aztec elite could legitimize their own power claims.

Far from being only an ancient practice, the appropriation of monuments for new purposes continues today. Nadia Abu El-Haj (1998) provides a contemporary example in her study of archaeology in the nationalism of the modern Israeli state. She argues the Jewish Quarter in the Old City of Jerusalem was transformed to give it a specific Jewish history. After being incorporated into Israel following the Six Day War, the quarter was rebuilt to replicate

an ancient city, portraying an image of an alleged Jewish counterpart in antiquity. The Tower of David, an ancient citadel actually constructed in the second century B.C. when the Levant was under foreign rule, was converted into a museum to display Jerusalem's history and its non-Jewish origins largely deemphasized to integrate the monument into the Israeli state narrative of the Jewish past. Abu El-Haj (1998) argues that despite the city of Jerusalem being controlled by non-Jews for much of its history and inhabited by people from diverse cultural backgrounds, Israeli nationalist sentiments tend to result in the Israeli state being projected into the past while portraying its non-Jewish inhabitants as ephemeral and transient in a unified Jewish narrative.

Architecture may also be renovated, added onto over time, and applied to new contexts so that any claims intended by their original builders no longer hold true for their later use (Harvey 2003; Sinopoli 2000: 305). The Tower of London, for example, was originally constructed by William the Conqueror in the late 11th century as a royal palace, military barracks, and a symbol of William's military prowess (Diehl and Donnelly 2004: 9-12). Over its thousand year history, the Tower of London has been used as a prison for nobles (Diehl and Donnelly 2004: 69-83; Rowe 1972: 42-44), the home of the Royal Mint (Rowe 1972: 10) and today, a tourist destination. What studies on memory reveal about ancient architecture is that even when the physical forms change little over time, their meanings and use can. If architecture is used as a means to study past colonialism, consideration must be given to the changing social circumstances in which it is used.

Landscapes, Thirdspace and Processes of Subjectification in Colonialism

I have so far given a critical overview of some of the common models applied in the archaeological study of architecture while arguing for the need to include a theoretical framework that takes into account memory and change over time. As the production of space is involved the reproduction of the social order, change brought on by colonialism may be

played out through architecture. This necessarily raises questions about who is able to produce space and what kinds of claims about the social order are they trying to make. Moore (1996b: 220) writes that "architecture often contains explicit material statements about human intention and imagination, expressing human desires to literally shape the world." Indeed, shaping the world with architecture has real social consequences. Those who are able to dominate the control of resources, labour and the knowledge of architectural technology are able to alter the cultural landscape so that they can influence, regulate, delimit, and control daily life (Lefebvre 1991; Smith 2003).

Recent archaeological approaches have provided a means of addressing issues of memory while at the same time providing a theoretical framework for exploring how architecture may produce reproduce the social order. These landscape and Lefebvian perspectives often stress the role of ritual in placemaking and the creation of the social order (Swenson 2013: 472). The landscape perspective involves not only the examination of ceremonial and domestic architecture, but how the built environment is incorporated into, settlement systems, and infrastructure (David and Thomas 2008; Smith 2003; Swenson 2013). Building upon practice theory, the past is recognized as persisting into the present which informs choices made in the construction of the build environment (Fogelin 2007: 79; Pauketat and Alt 2009).

Lefebvian perspectives provides another means of addressing memory in the study of architecture. One such approach is the concept of Thirdspace which is the reformulation of Lefebvre's concept of lived space by Edward Soja (1996) into a "critical consciousness of place through praxis, the spaces where place-making is realized and subjectivity negotiated" (Swenson 2012: 5) It is a place where political strategies are formulated, moving beyond what is presently known and taken for granted (Soja 1996: 34). As the experience of space influences representations of place according to a person's individual experiences, memory,

and dispositions, “thirdspaces are places of becoming and self-awareness, where identities are forged and contested” (Swenson 2012: 5).

The interpretation of ancient architecture in the Jequetepeque Valley as thirdspace has been successfully done by Edward Swenson (2012) in his study of ritual at the Late Moche site of Huaca Colorada which is located in the southern valley. He argues that ritual creates spaces of alternative experience whose meaning is potentially variable, imbuing the locations were ritual takes place with the qualities of thirdspace. It is in such spaces where identity can be scrutinized and questioned. Among the types of space discussed in this chapter, monumental architecture represents the more explicit attempt to make a claim about the order of the world and I suggest that it is this quality of monumental architecture that makes it an ideal location for rituals intended to invoke questions of identity. Through the rituals performed on them, monumental architecture may be given the qualities of thirdspace and thus make explicit questions of identity and subjectivity.

Though monumental architecture may require more initial investment to construct, once built monumental architecture is a relatively efficient medium for communication as it is highly visible and can often last for centuries (Blanton 1989: 413). Trigger (1990) argues that monuments are most commonly constructed when political power is in its formative stages or when power is in the process of becoming centralized. Indeed, the archaeological record abounds with examples of ancient polities, especially empires, constructing monuments as part of their strategies to consolidate their authority. During the New Kingdom period (1570–1070 BC) in Egypt, elaborate monumental temples were central to the subjugation and administration of new territories (Kemp 1970). New Kingdom temples were both claims about the pharaoh’s ability to control labour and self-sufficient economic units with settlements of priests, scribes, and laborers to enable the economic exploitation of conquered lands.

For Trigger (1990), part of the reason monuments are effective tools for making claims about authority is that participation in their construction forces labourers to acknowledge their subordinate position to the elites that sponsored and organized the construction. While this may be true in some cases, an overly strict dichotomy between the role of elites and non-elites in the construction of monumental architecture obscures the multivocal and complex nature of the claims that go into them and monuments just as often serve as places of contestation. This point is illustrated by the monumental temples of Southern India during both the Chola (A.D. 849-1279) and Vijayanagara (A.D. 1336 – 1646) periods. During the Chola period, local agrarian leaders donated lands to the temples in order to exempt themselves from taxation to the king while gaining social prestige at the local level through demonstrating their generosity and increasing their ability to influence temple decisions (Heitzman 1987). During the imperial Vijayanagara period, this practice continued with local elite and religious elites competing by making donations of land, goods, and currency. These were used as a means of legitimization and competitive display as donations were recorded on the temple walls (Heitzman 1987; Sinopoli 2000: 373).

Thirdspace acknowledges the differences between space as representational spaces and as spaces of representation. Monumental architecture may be claims about the nature of reality and political relations, but that does not necessarily mean that they reflect reality (Morrison and Lycett 1994). When tied to elite ideology, they are often indicative of what is seen as essential to the survival of elites and the institutions of the polity (Sinopoli and Morrison 1995), but their audiences may vary and need not necessarily be intended for all members of society (Moore 1996b: 92). The ability to understand the intended statements embedded in architecture may also play a role in the legitimization of inequality as those who cannot read monuments may have to rely upon those who can (Rick 2004). Monuments may also be centers of resistance and the claims made by their builders can be ignored or take on

different meanings (Dillehay 2007; Hung 1991; Pile 1997; Rowe 1972; Swenson 2006). Those who have the spaces of domination imposed on them try to create new meanings and to appropriate space for their own ends (Pile 1997: 16).

For example, the Tower of London, built by William the Conqueror to symbolize his strength, was largely detested by his new subjects as a symbol of oppression and William's unreasonable demands (Diehl and Donnelly 2004). In contemporary times, the Tiananmen Square of China became the stage of a major protest against the ruling communist regime in 1989 and continues as a place of contestation and resistance between proponents of democracy and the Chinese government (Hung 1991). By recognizing that monuments take on and create multiple meanings and do not represent a single unified claim about the world, archaeology can contribute a more nuanced understanding of how ancient peoples materialized their contestation of politics, social position, and identity through monumental architecture.

Though much of my discussion has so far focused on monumental architecture, domestic architecture is equally important to the formation of identity and the subject. It is may be less visible and as a result less overt in its political role in the production of space, but given the fact that domestic architecture is often the most frequent types of space that people interact with, it plays a significant role in the shaping of habitus or the embodied beliefs and dispositions that determine how people interact with each other and the world. Additionally, houses may communicate information about the ethnicity (Stanish 1989), identity, or social status of their inhabitants and the activities conducted within often define and reproduce social obligations (Hendon 1996). Like monumental architecture, households may also be the locations of ritual (Plunket 2002) and thus take on qualities of thirdspace themselves. In the case of colonialism, the residential space provides a means to identify the extent by which colonial powers pervaded the lives of their subjects and how these subjects were transformed

into subjects of the empire.

In the physical layout and location of residential space, those with the authority to plan settlements (usually elites) may impose a common plan on household space. As we have seen in the Aztec example of Tenochtitlan, by organizing residential space in association with monumental or elite space, those with the ability to produce space may situate the common residential space so that it defines their inhabitants in a subordinate position to themselves. Even when elites do not directly intervene in the production of residential space, the community remains an influence as households are constructed to follow expectations and demonstrate practical affiliation with neighbours (Glassie 1975).

Archaeologist Scott Hutson (2010: 5) offers the concept of dwelling in an attempt to create a "bridge between archaeology and subjectivity." Dwelling is the situated practices between people, places, and things that produce social beings. Dwelling intersects with habitus in that practices are embodied through every day practices such as cooking and interacting with space and other people. Where it differentiates itself from the concept of habitus is its extension into subjectivity, a concept he borrows from Foucault (1982). Subjects are not only shaped by other people and objects, but subjects also shape people and objects (Hutson 2010: 16). However, the ability to act as subjects is influenced by cultural norms and expectations. As Terrence Turner (1980: 114) writes, "culture is not only the necessary medium through which we communicate our social status, attitudes, desires, beliefs and ideals (in short, our identities) to others, but also to a large extent constitutes these identities, in ways which we are compelled to conform regardless of our self-consciousness or even our contempt."

Subjectification refers to the discourses that produce individuals. While Hutson downplays the extent to which subjectification can lead to alienation and exclusion, something that is an inherent aspect of Foucault's use of the term (see Foucault 1977), I

suggest his integration of the work of Bourdieu into that of Foucault does have something to offer for studying how the processes of subjectification shape categories of gender, age, and status. For Hutson (2010), dwelling is this process and the everyday practices that people do are what make them people. For archaeological studies of identity formation, the benefit of a studying dwelling is that it allows the study of the production of space to be integrated with practice as both work towards the creation of subjects. In studying ancient colonialism, understanding the processes of subjectification is necessary for exploring the ways to which new identities emerged as pre-existing cultural expectations on what it meant to be a functioning member of society were merged or replaced by new expectations brought on through colonialism.

Working at the Maya site of Chunchucmil in Mexico, Hutson (2010: 105) argues that the relationship between a house and its inhabitants is more than a reflection of social relations (in his case, relations of inequality reflected in household construction), but that the house influences the processes of subjectification of an individual so that someone raised in a stone house grows to be a different person than one grown in one made from wattle and daub. Those raised in one type of building would also not be accustomed to the experience of residing in the other type, leading to the formation of very different dispositions. For example, Hutson (2010: 211) argues that the inhabitants of Chunchucmil reproduced the general architectural layout of their childhood homes in their later constructions so that later house architecture reflects the spatial experiences of builders' childhoods. This process extends across generations so that spatial experiences are passed down to children and grandchildren who reside in the spaces built by parents and grandparents. In the words of Meskell and Joyce (2003: 51), "participation in the bodily experience of ancestors was an effect produced in the bodies of young people by their experience of the same architectural settings used by their predecessors." Through the lived experience of space, social and spatial

rules are internalized and obeyed unconsciously rather than formally taught (Gosden 2005: 202). In this way, objects influence the identity of people as people influence the identity of objects.

While Hutson's analysis of subjectification shows some of the subconscious ways in which power relations and categories of identity are produced and reproduced, Archaeologist Adam T. Smith (2003) provides some suggestions on how empires may use space to realign consciously subordinate polities to follow the wishes of the imperial regime in his discussion of geopolitics: how authority is produced and reproduced in the built environment and the imagination of the proper political order of the world through the demarcation of difference, hegemony, exclusion, and inclusion. Smith (2003: 135) argues that the production of the political landscape not only relies on the reinforcement of relations of power in the experience of space, but through creating a perception of geopolitical relations. He suggests three ways in which geopolitical relationships can be reified: memorialization, emulation, and authorization.

Memorialization can be defined as constructions that are intended to recall memories of specific events and reiterate a polity's position in the political order (Smith 2003: 136). Memorialization works by providing a visible reminder of a polity's superiority or reminding others of their subordination. Acts of memorialization might include the erection of a stele depicting the conquest of one polity by another or the construction of monuments. Emulation is considerably more subtle and involves local elites using the architectural symbols of foreign elites to bolster their authority. The catch is that by emulating a foreign power, they also bolster the geopolitical authority of those they emulate (Smith 2003: 137). Finally, authorization is the expression of status through linking geopolitical relations to the cosmological order. Such a political strategy has been suggested for several ancient polities including China (Wheatley 1971), the Inca (Niles 1992), and Tiwanaku (Kolata and Ponce

1992).

What Smith's (2003: 145-146) work highlights is the need for archaeologist to identify the practical interconnections used to create affiliations between sites. Through warfare, alliance, and the competing agendas of factions within societies, these interconnections were not static, but shifted over time and thus may contribute a more diachronic view of empires. While Smith's (2003) concepts of memorialization, authorization, and emulation provides some suggestions on how affiliations may be created at the level of elites, studies of historical colonialism contribute to understanding the more subtle means by which interconnections between sites or polities may be negotiated on the ground level.

Conclusion

In this chapter, I have provided a brief overview of some of the common archaeological approaches to the study of architecture. Though far from a complete review of the literature, my overview presents some of the strengths and limitations of evolutionary-energetics, phenomenological, cosmological, communicative, and engendered models. My research adopts aspects of these models, but adds theory based on the work of scholars using Landscape perspectives as well as theory derived from the work of Lefebvre, Foucault, and Bourdieu to address the role of memory and change, both of which I argue are significant for understanding how architecture can be used in processes of subjectification and geopolitics in the context of colonialism and empire.

I also attempt to portray monumental, public, and residential architecture as intertwined in the creation of subjects and identity. While the social production of monumental or public space may reflect more overt attempts by colonial authorities or local leaders to make claims about their authority, domestic space is equally important to the study of colonialism as it is a significant part of what shapes individual habitus. Additionally, the meaning and function of each type of architecture is informed by its relationship to other

types within a site. In other words, the cultural significance of monumental architecture is at least partially derived from the relationship to other types of architecture and vice versa.

Chapter 4 Huasi Huaman and the Jequetepeque Valley during the Late Intermediate Period

Now that I have established the theoretical framework of my research, I dedicate this chapter to the geographic and cultural setting of the region where I conducted my dissertation research. I introduce North Coast Peru, the Jequetepeque Valley, and the two polities that were active in the region during the Late Intermediate Period (AD 1000-1476), the Chimú Empire (AD 900-1470) and the Lambayeque polity (AD 1100-1320) of the Jequetepeque Valley. My discussion of the Chimú Empire covers how models derived from the Inca have been used to aid the interpretation of the Chimú, the different models of the Chimú expansion, and an overview of Chimú architecture and its use in studying Chimú political organization in the provinces of the empire. In my discussion of the Lambayeque Polity of the Jequetepeque Valley, I briefly summarize arguments for the origins of the polity and show that the polity in the Jequetepeque Valley is politically distinct from the Lambayeque polity or polities found to the north. I also compare the Lambayeque Polity to the Chimú Empire to discuss the extent to which the Jequetepeque Valley was culturally distinct. As the conquest of the Jequetepeque Valley was the first attempt to subjugate people the Chimú may have viewed as ethnically distinct, it makes the region significant for understanding the development of Chimor into an empire. Finally, I provide an overview of my research site, Huasi Huaman. I discuss previous research at the site and describe its architectural remains.

The Peruvian coast is a narrow desert region spanning over 50 river valleys that is bordered by the Pacific Ocean to the west and the Andean mountains to the east. The upwelling of cold waters from the depths of the ocean floor by the Humboldt Current creates an unparalleled productive environment for marine life which has long been utilized by the

inhabitants of the region. The Humboldt Current also influences the climate, creating extremely arid conditions with very limited rainfall. This aridity is punctuated by cyclical periods of catastrophic rainfall brought on by El Niño (ENSO) events that cause flooding, damage crops, and erode mud brick architecture. Despite these environmental extremes, the region has long been densely populated by peoples who have left behind rich cultural histories.

The North Coast region, spanning from the Casma Valley in the south to the Motupe Valley in the north, marks one of the most archaeologically studied areas of the Peruvian coast. Though Peru is most well-known for the Inca, the highland empire which at its height spanned much of the Andes from southern Ecuador to northern Chile, the Inca were relative late comers among the complex societies of the ancient Andes. Indeed, the North Coast had been the birthplace of several complex polities dating back centuries before the Inca established their empire in the 15th century. This includes the Chimú polity which is the focus of this dissertation.

The Jequetepeque Valley

The Jequetepeque Valley is located approximately 150 km north of Trujillo and is the third largest valley on the Peruvian coast with an area of approximately 56,184 hectares (Keatinge 1982: 204). Fed by the Jequetepeque River that runs east-west from its headwaters in the Andean highlands, the region is one of the most agriculturally fertile of the coast despite annual rainfall of only 15.6-31.3 mm (Cutright 2009: 35). Mountains running parallel to the river's north bank serve as a natural wind barrier that protects crops from harsh winds and allows for higher agricultural yields than regions to the north and south (Eling 1987: 104). To overcome the naturally dry conditions and take advantage of the protective mountains, pre-Hispanic populations during the Moche (AD 100-650) and Chimú (AD 1320-1470) periods built substantial irrigation networks, allowing for the cultivation of as much as

88,000 hectares of land, primarily on the north bank (Eling 1987: 107; Moseley 1982). This agricultural fertility has long enabled the Jequetepeque Valley to support a dense population as attested by numerous archaeological sites such as Huasi Huaman, San Jose de Moro, Cerro Chepén (Castillo 2010), El Algarrobal de Moro, Talambo (Keatinge and Conrad 1983), Farfán (Conrad 1990; Mackey 2006), and Pacatnamú (Donnan and Cock 1986; 1996).

Habitation on the south bank has been impacted by sand inundation on much of the Mojucape plain (Dillehay and Kolata 2004; Moseley et al. 2008). Un-irrigated areas are characterized by sparse vegetation such as cacti and scattered algarroba trees among barchan sand dunes. The presence of numerous pre-Hispanic ruins provides evidence to indicate that this region was once more densely inhabited. These ruins include sites such as Jatanca (Warner 2010), Tecapa, Huaca Colorada, and Dos Cabezas. Desertification as a result of deforestation and a lowered water table from over irrigation has been blamed for the pre-Columbian abandonment of much of the southern valley (Dillehay and Kolata 2004: 4327; Ubbelohde-Doering 1967: 86).

Aside from its agricultural fertility, the Jequetepeque Valley was important in the pre-Columbian world for its location at the crossroads between the coast and the highland region of Cajamarca (Hecker and Hecker: 90; Kosok 1965). Located east of the Jequetepeque Valley, the Cajamarca region was a valuable source of copper, a metal used to produce tools and elaborate adornments used in the pageantry of North Coast elites. Combined with its agricultural fertility, the Jequetepeque's access to resources made the region comparatively wealthy in relation to its neighbouring valleys. This wealth may have also contributed to the motivation of the increasingly powerful Chimú polity to expand into the region.

The Chimú Empire

Sometime during the 10th century AD, construction began at the site of Chan Chan in the Moche Valley. The early history of the settlement and the developments that led to the

political consolidation of its home valley remain poorly understood in no-small-part due to its colossal growth in subsequent years making the earliest occupations difficult to identify. Mythological accounts of the city's founding, collected during the Spanish colonial period, state that it was established by a foreign lord named Taycanamo who had arrived by sea on a balsa raft (Rowe 1948: 28-30). Taycanamo so impressed the local population that they made him their lord and he constructed Chan Chan as his new home. The Chimú origin myth bears similarities to other North Coast dynastic origin myths such as that of the Sicán lord Naymlap in the Lambayeque Valley (Donnan 1990; Netherly 1990: 470-473), demonstrating that claims of foreign ancestry provided a common means through which coastal rulers distinguished themselves from their common subjects.

What is supported by the archaeological evidence is that prior to the development of the Chimú, the Moche Valley was home to a polity belonging to the Moche archaeological culture (AD 100-750/800). Archaeologists have identified at least three Moche polities centered on the Lambayeque, Jequetepeque, and Moche Valleys (Castillo and Quilter 2010). They appear to have been politically independent though all three contain broad similarities in material culture and elite iconography. The last phase of the Moche Period (AD 600-750/800) in the Moche Valley was characterized by increased urbanism with much of the region's population concentrating in the city of Galindo (Bawden 1996: 286).

Following the Moche Period, a new city rose to prominence in the Moche Valley at the site of Chan Chan. Though the reasons for the rise of Chan Chan remain poorly understood, the new city reflects an innovative political ideology that led to the development of a new polity that archaeologists call the Kingdom of Chimor or the Chimú Empire. The rising wealth and political status of the city attracted large numbers of migrants from the surrounding hinterland, resulting in the urbanization of the Moche Valley at an unprecedented scale and the development of new elite material symbols of power. Most of these migrants

served as retainers or craft specialists attached to the Chimú lords (Topic 1982; 2009). Urbanization and a large population not engaged in fulltime agriculture also placed new pressures on the Chimú to acquire food and resources to sustain their capital. These pressures may have promoted the polity to expand into neighbouring regions, turning Chan Chan into the capital of a multi-valley polity. In only a few centuries the inhabitants of Chan Chan were able to consolidate their control over the Moche, Chicama, and Virú Valleys before expanding their control and influence over a territory which at its height may have spanned as much as nearly 1000 km of the Peruvian coast. Chimor eventually met its match in the Inca who conquered and dismantled the coastal polity in the late 15th century. Due to its expansive rule and complex social hierarchy, Chimor, at least among many of those who study it (Keatinge and Conrad 1983; Moore 1996; Moore and Mackey 2008), is considered to be one of a handful of Andean polities that can be labelled as an empire along with the Inca (D'Altroy 1992; 2001a; 2001b; Hastorf and D'Altroy 2001; 2009), Wari (Nash and Williams 2004; Schreiber 1987; 1992) and Tiwanaku (Goldstein 2005).

I dedicate the remainder of this chapter to briefly summarizing current scholarship on Chimor and the pre-Chimú inhabitants of the Jequetepeque Valley. I begin by discussing the application of Inca and post-Spanish Conquest models of Andean socio-political organization to Chimor. While emphasizing what these models have contributed to understandings of the nature of authority and elite status on the coast, I highlight some of the potential limitations of these models for addressing a polity that had some significant differences with the Inca. My discussion then turns to models for the chronology and nature of the Chimú expansion. I argue for a 14th century date for the conquest of the Jequetepeque Valley and discuss why models of colonialism are relevant to discussing Chimor. Finally, I compare the pre-Chimú inhabitants of the Jequetepeque Valley with Chimor. Following Lefebvre's (1991) argument that each culture produces their own distinct form of space, I compare the architecture of the

two polities to demonstrate their differences.

Chimor and the Inca Model of Andean Sociopolitical Organization

As the Chimú Empire left behind no written record, research into the sociopolitical organization of the empire has relied heavily on the interpretation of ethnohistorical accounts recorded by the Spanish during the 16th and 17th centuries. Most of these accounts describe practices within the Inca Empire (AD 1438-1532) or among its descendants during the Spanish Colonial Period, but a few accounts mention life within the Chimú Empire before the arrival of the Inca (Calancha 1639). The Inca conquest of the North Coast took place only sixty years prior to the arrival of the Spanish in AD 1532 so life within the Chimú Empire was not entirely forgotten when the Spanish began chronicling indigenous histories. These sources are invaluable insights into pre-Columbian indigenous life on the coast and are often used as a starting point to aid in the interpretation of the archaeological record.

Despite their importance, the ethnohistorical sources reflect the priorities and agendas of those who provided and recorded the accounts so they are themselves imperfect sources. Many were also recorded decades after the Inca Empire was dismantled so the practices they record may already have been altered by Spanish influence. Therefore, the ethnohistorical sources must be used cautiously and are often best approached as propaganda that may have been adapted and altered to reflect concerns over the time of their telling (Conrad 1990). Nonetheless, they often provide the only available data on many aspects of North Coast sociopolitical organization and are thus a necessary starting point on any discussion of pre-Columbian Andean sociopolitical organization.

In the discussion that follows, I present a brief summary of Inca sociopolitical organization and how it has been used as a model for earlier polities such as Chimor. I then turn to discussing the work of scholars such as Patricia Netherly, Susan Ramirez, Maria Rostworowski, and Tom Zuidema who have used the ethnohistorical record to elucidate the

nature of Chimor's sociopolitical organization.

The Inca Empire, which they called Tahuantinsuyu or the Land of Four Quarters, was the largest pre-Columbian polity in South America. The Inca divided their empire into four quarters or provinces with their royal capital of Cuzco at the navel. The ethnohistorical accounts (Cieza de León 1967[1553]), supported by extensive archaeological research (Julien 1988), indicate that to govern the widely disparate populations from which they drew their subjects, the Inca organized their administrators into a nested hierarchy. The system was organized with the Inca ruler at the top and low level provincial *curaca* at the bottom who served as intermediaries between the state and their subjects. The Sapa Inca, or Inca King, appointed a close family member to serve as his representative in each of the four provinces of the empire (Murra 1956: 70-71; Zuidema 1990). Within each province, the royal administrator employed a number of lesser lords to serve as intermediaries with each of these lords also serving as the patrons of lesser lords. This nested system continued all the way down to lords of 10 households, built upon pre-existing extended kinship groups called *ayllu*. In this way, the Inca Empire was able to utilize the already established administrative networks of subjugated polities so that they could enact their policies throughout their empire and mobilize their subjects to fulfill labour obligations. This system of organization relied upon local authority in the provinces while at the same time transforming local authority to "be the structural equivalent of provincial administration elsewhere" (Julien 1988: 273).

Archaeological evidence for how this system of provincial administration actually worked comes from the site of Huanuco Pampa, the Inca provincial administrative center of Chinchaysuyo. Archaeologists Morris and Thompson (1985) uncovered the remains of the large scale production of chicha maize beer for use in commensal hospitality. Morris (2004) argues that the building in which the feasting took place was a palace used by the Inca ruler when he visited Huanuco Pampa and it was constructed with a tripartite division of

ceremonial plazas that acted as a microcosm of Inca society that linked the Inca with the non-Inca they ruled with people recognized as Inca-by-privilege.

Though the Inca ruler himself would have rarely been present, commensal hospitality at Huanuco Pampa served as a mechanism for bringing people into Tahuantinsuyu by recreating and maintaining power relations. Commensal hospitality uses feasting to portray political relations as how they wish to define them (Dietler 2001: 69; Hayden 2001: 29-30). Even in societies such as the Inca Empire where authority was institutionalized and tribute was obligatory, the system depended on the reproduction of consent through practices that have symbolic resonance with the society as a whole (Dietler and Herbich 2001: 244). The act of generosity in providing food and drink concealed the asymmetrical power relations underlying the practice (Bourdieu 1994: 166-167).

Other Inca strategies of rule included the incorporation of local deities into the state religion in a practice known as *huaca* capture (Rowe 1982: 109) and the relocation of rebellious subjects to regions loyal to the Inca (D'Altroy 1992: 187; 1994; 2001; Rowe 1946: 269-270). *Huaca* capture involved the Inca taking the idols or mummies representing local deities back to the capital city of Cuzco while introducing the worship of the principal Inca deity, Inti. The Inca would then support the cult of the local deity while at the same time holding the idol or mummy hostage to ensure their good behaviour. It also served as a mechanism that enabled the Inca ruler to consult subordinate groups (Gose 1996) as *huacas* acted as oracles which were regularly consulted for advice. Therefore, the taking of *huacas* from provincial peoples was not only about subjection, but a practice that facilitated the administration of the provinces.

The other strategy employed by the Inca, relocation, limited the ability of their subjects to organize rebellions as they emphasized ethnic differences between communities (D'Altroy 1992: 187; 1994; 2001; Rowe 1946: 269-270). Relocated communities were forced

to retain their ethnic attire to hinder their ability to forge new identities. They were often also relocated alongside communities who were loyal to the Inca.

The Chimú use of practices similar to the Inca is suggested by ethnohistorical and archaeological sources. Ethnohistorian Patricia Netherly (1990) argues for the existence of a system of nested administrators that utilized local leaders as collaborators. She presents a case for coastal populations being organized into a hierarchical series of moieties called *parcialidades* by the Spanish, with each level presided over by a pair of asymmetrically ranked lords. *Parcialidad* membership was tied to hereditary economic specialization so that groups such as fishermen or artisans belonged to their own *parcialidades*. As with the Inca system, the strength of this form of sociopolitical organization was that it would have enabled high-ranking lords to access the managerial and leadership skills of subordinate lords who could act as intermediaries with their own subordinates on his or her behalf while still using the political structure that was already in place (Netherly 1990: 463).

At the pinnacle of the political hierarchy were the Chimú royalty who resided in Chan Chan. One ethnohistorical source, the Anonymous History of Trujillo, provides a list of rulers beginning from the reign of the first Chimú ruler up until the Spanish Colonial Period. The history lists four named rulers and another five to seven unnamed ones. Netherly (1990) proposes that the list is evidence of the structural principal of duality that took form in the concept of *parcialidades*. She argues that the list expresses an upper moiety consisting of the named rulers and a lower moiety made up of the unnamed rulers. Other scholars, however, view the list as too fragmentary to make any assertions about the structure of Chimú rule (Conrad 1990; Zuidema 1990). Geofrey Conrad (1982) argues that Chimú rulership is better explained by the principle of split inheritance where new kings inherited only the position of power while the previous ruler's wealth passed to his secondary heirs who maintained his palace and worship after death.

The concept of *parcialidades* is linked to a concern with the control of labour rather than land and resources as was the case in European systems of rulership. Ethnohistorian Susanne Ramirez (1998) argues that a lord's authority was directly measured by the number of subjects they presided over. By increasing the number of their followers, lords (or those wishing to become one) enjoyed the possibility of some degree of upward mobility. For example, men could reach the status of minor lord by producing large families (Ramirez 1996: 25). A man's children were considered to be subject to him so that men with large families were automatically considered to preside over a number of people equal to their offspring. Status could be passed down through decent, but it was not always the first born son who succeeded their father. Lords chose their successors based on perceived competence and ability (Ramirez 1998).

The nested system of leadership employed on the North Coast enabled lords higher up in the political hierarchy to utilize the administrative skills of lesser leaders in the administration of their subjects. Similarly to the previously discussed example at the Inca provincial center of Huanuco Pampa, interactions between lords and their subjects were couched in a framework of reciprocity involving rulers presenting themselves as generous patrons and providers to their subjects. Lords hosted their subjects while offering them food and drink while their subjects honored their patrons by reciprocating through providing a portion of their labour (Ramirez 1996; 1998). Ramirez (1998) suggests that these interactions typically took place within two contexts: during important religious festivals which lords hosted at religious centers and in the communities of subjects. In the first case, these interactions were framed within a lord's role as the earthly representative of his subjects to the supernatural and his role in ensuring agricultural prosperity. In the second context, lords traveled to the communities of their subjects to address them directly, with more significant lords carried on litters and accompanied by a retinue of musicians, dancers, and jesters

(Ramirez 1996: 20). As with the Inca, commensal politics was a significant part of how a lord both maintained their position and ensured their subordinates fulfilled their labour obligations. A *curaca's* position was maintained by their generosity. Lords who were viewed as stingy were ignored and those who further failed to fulfill their obligations could be murdered or replaced.

Though Chimor may have employed a similar strategy to the Inca of using local lords as intermediaries, the archaeological evidence also suggests notable differences between Inca and Chimú administrative and ritual practices. For example, the remains of plazas in Inca and Chimú settlements suggests that the Inca were much more inclusive in their approach to statecraft and sponsored rituals that involved entire communities (Moore 1996a).

I have so far presented a unified view of Inca and Chimú elites when there was likely considerably factionalism within both the ranks of the imperial regimes and the local polities they came to control. For example, María Rostworowski (1960) highlights the factional competition that accompanied each royal succession among the Inca ruling elite where those aspiring to power fought each other through intrigue, armed conflict, and fratricide. This is apparent in the civil war between the last of the Inca kings before the Spanish Conquest, Atahualpa, and his brother Huascar which was fought over royal succession between competing factions. At the end of the war, the victorious Atahualpa destroyed the mummy and retainers of the earlier Inca ruler, Thupa Inka, because it was the royal household (*panaqa*) of which Huascar's mother belonged and the connection to which Huascar derived his claim to power (D'Altroy 2001: 213-214). Moreover, research on historical colonialism shows that officials sent to govern a province may attempt to realign the implementation of strategies imposed by the imperial capital to support their own interests (see Deagan 2001). Factions within provincial populations may have also collaborated with imperial regimes just as others resisted (Patterson 1991: 101). This is seen in the Chimú Empire in the regions

where the local elites surrendered to the Chimú and were allowed to rule alongside imperial officials (Heyerdahl et al. 1995). Now that I have described the application of Inca models of sociopolitical organization to Chimor and its challenges, I move on to summarizing the models of Chimor's expansion.

Models of Expansion

A number of models have been proposed for the chronology of Chimor's expansion. As many of these models place the timeframe of Chimor's expansion into the Jequetepeque Valley at as much as two centuries apart, identifying which model a scholar uses becomes important for understanding how they interpret the archaeological record of the valley. As much of the early models are based on survey and limited excavation, I argue for the use of the Moore and Mackey (2008) model which utilizes dates from extensive excavations at Chimú administrative centers such as Farfán for the Jequetepeque Valley.

One of the earliest models to outline the possible stages of Chimor's expansion is that of John Rowe (1948) in his seminal paper. Relying primarily upon a limited number of Spanish ethnohistorical accounts of pre-Columbian oral histories such as the Anonymous History of Trujillo, a manuscript from 1604 by an unknown author that describes an ethnohistorical account of the history of the Kingdom of Chimor, Rowe proposes a two stage expansion (Figure 4.1). The initial stage involved the expansion north to the Jequetepeque Valley and south as far as the Santa Valley. Using the list of Chimú rulers from the Anonymous History of Trujillo, Rowe (1948: 7) estimates the average reign of each ruler and counted backwards from the date of the Inca conquest of the coast to arrive at a likely timeframe for this first stage of conquest at AD 1370. This was followed by a second expansion to the Tumbes Valley in the far north of the North Coast and the Chillon Valley to the south which Rowe (1948: 8) hypothesizes to have occurred during the mid-15th century.

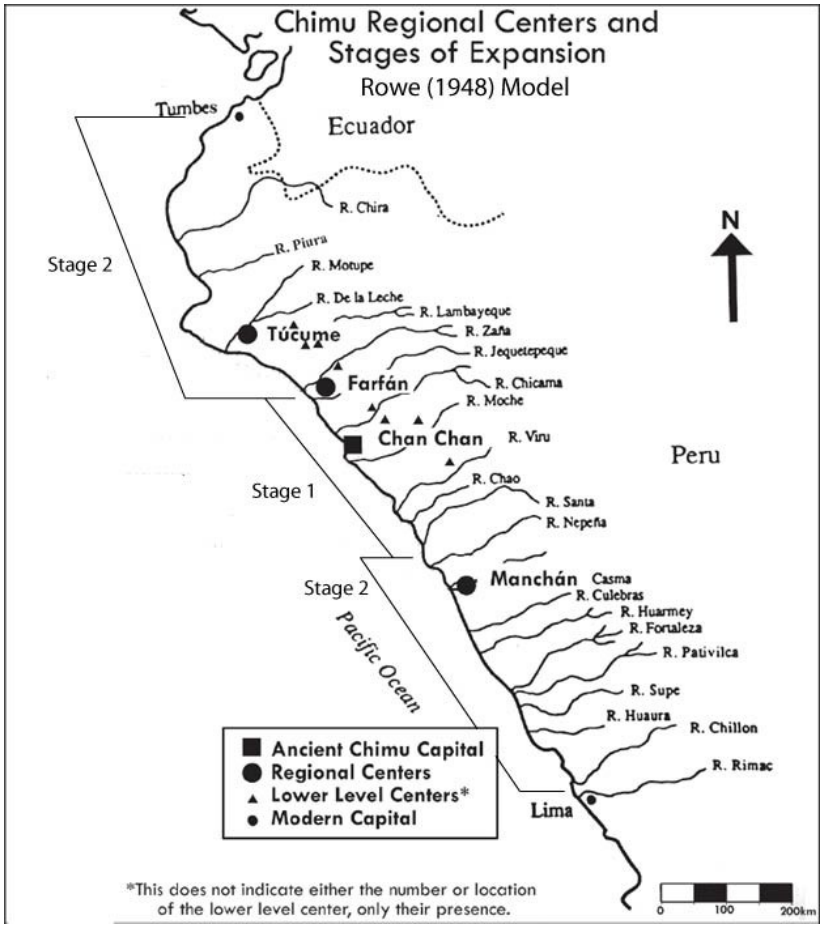


Figure 4.1: Map of the North Coast showing the two stages of Chimor's expansion according to the model proposed by Rowe (1948) and the location of major Chimú sites (Adapted from Moore and Mackey 2008: 788, figure 39.2).

The limited availability of systematic archaeological research necessitated that Rowe (1948) estimate the dates for his timeline, but his model nonetheless provides the starting point upon which all later understandings of the Chimú expansion have built upon. A flurry of research on Chimor was published during the 1970s and 1980s due to the excavation of several significant sites in the coast of Peru. Most important was the Chimú capital of Chan Chan, but the period also saw excavation at regional centers such as Manchán and Farfán. These excavations, along with the advent of carbon dating, enabled scholars to revise the initial model. Chief among the revisions was the discovery that the expansion must have occurred much earlier and subsequent models have sought to clarify this date.

One of the models that arose from this wave of research is that proposed by Theresa

Topic (1990). Topic (Figure 4.2) suggests that Chan Chan consolidated its control of the Moche Valley and expanded into the neighbouring regions of the Chicama and Virú valleys as early as AD 900-1000/1050, quickly establishing itself as a multi-valley polity. Between AD 1130 and AD1200, the Chimú conquered the Jequetepeque Valley and the Santa Valley. Finally, between AD 1300 and AD 1400, Chimor made a final grasp for resources and reached the Tumbes and Chillón Valleys.

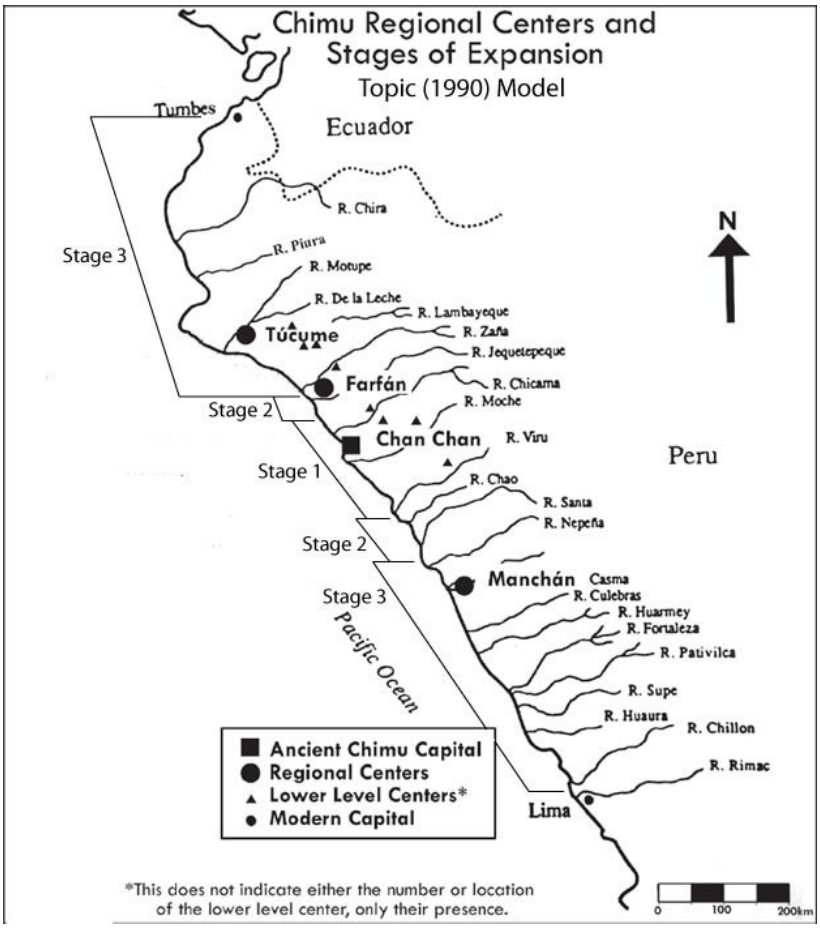


Figure 4.2: Map of the North Coast showing the three stages of Chimor's expansion according to the model proposed by Topic (1990) and the location of major Chimú sites (Adapted from Moore and Mackey 2008: 788, figure 39.2).

Carol Mackey and Klymyshyn (1990), whose work focused on the provinces of the empire, proposed an alternative model marked by three phases (Figure 4.3). First, the Chimú consolidated their heartland of the Moche, Chicama, and Virú valleys then rapidly expanded into the Jequetepeque and Santa Valleys. During the second phase, Chimor expanded

northward from the Jequetepeque to the Tumbes Valley. In this phase, there was a consolidation of the region between the Zaña to Motupe Valleys. Further north, the Chimú presence between the Motube and Tumbes Valleys may have been limited to indirect influence. In the third and final phase, the model argues for the southern expansion of the polity from the Santa to the Chillón Valley. The consolidation of the area between the Nepeña and Casma Valleys is argued to have occurred at around AD 1305. Limited consolidation also took place in the Culebras and Huaura Valleys, but the Chillon and Rimac valleys were only influenced by Chimor and never controlled.

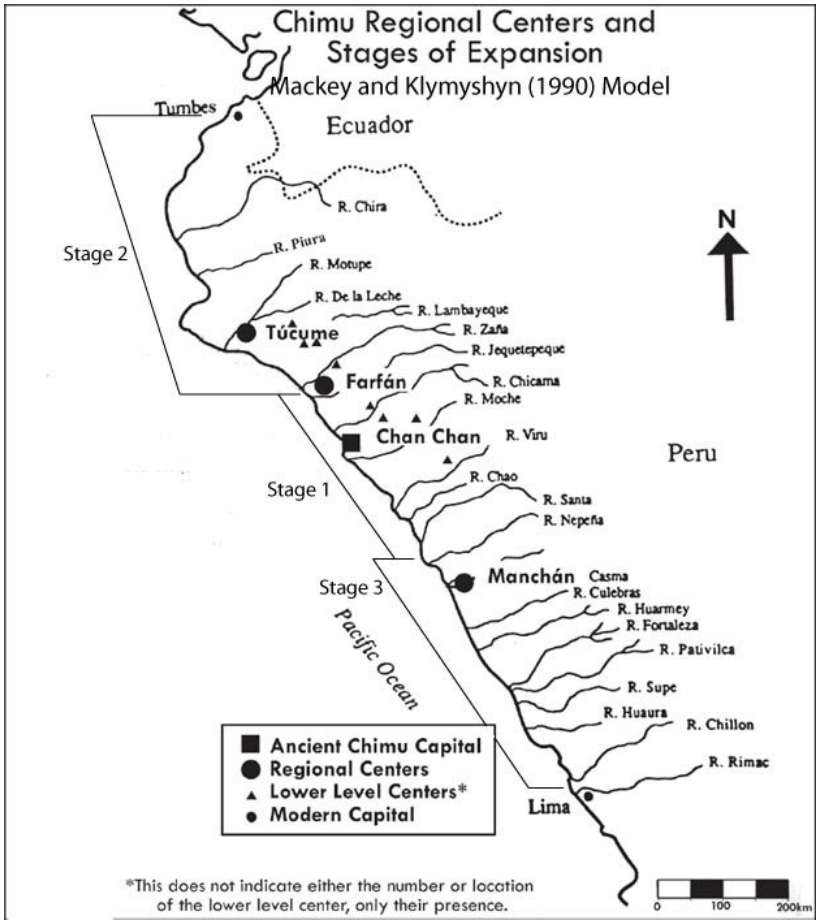


Figure 4.3: Map of the North Coast showing the three stages of Chimor's expansion according to the model proposed by Mackey and Klymyshyn (1990) and the location of major Chimú sites (Adapted from Moore and Mackey 2008: 788, figure 39.2).

The latest model for the Chimú expansion is the model proposed by Jerry Moore and Carol Mackey (Figure 4.4). Utilizing data derived from substantial excavations at Farfán and

the Chimú components of Túcume, they challenge the early dates proposed by Topic for the expansion of the polity into the Jequetepeque Valley and further north up to Tumbes. This model proposes three phases. The first was the conquest of the Jequetepeque Valley by AD 1320, following on the heels of the consolidation of the Chimú heartland. The second stage involved the expansion south to the Casma Valley by AD 1350 and to the north to La Leche Valley between AD 1360 and 1400. Third and finally, Chimor expanded as far south as the Chillón Valley and its influence was felt as far north as Tumbes. During this time, Chan Chan reached a population estimated at around 30 000 inhabitants and the city covered an area of 20 square kilometers with a 6 square kilometer core (Moore and Mackey 2008). This made Chan Chan one of the largest urban centers in the pre-Columbian New World.

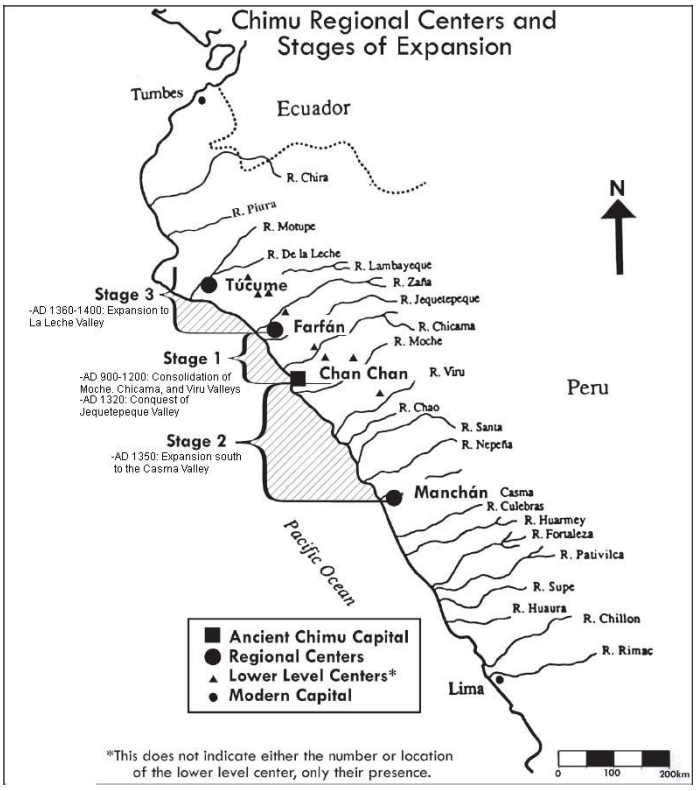


Figure 4.4: Map of the North Coast showing the three stages of Chimor's expansion according to the model proposed by Moore and Mackey (2008) and the location of major Chimú sites (Adapted from Moore and Mackey 2008: 788, figure 39.2).

The implications of the different models of Chimú expansion for studies such as my own that intend to examine how the provincial populations of the polity responded and

adapted to incorporation into the Chimú Empire are significant as knowing when the Chimú arrived in provincial regions such as the Jequetepeque Valley can influence the interpretation of the archaeological record. For example, adaptations in local interactions with elites or the organization of ceremonial space would suggest different conclusions depending on whether they happened before a Chimú conquest, immediately after, or several decades later. In this dissertation, I follow Moore and Mackey's (2008) model for a very early conquest. As they bases their model on dates obtained from Mackey's excavations at Farfán, the foremost Chimú settlement in the Jequetepeque Valley and a site that was central to the administration of the region, I argue that this model provides the most convincing evidence for the timeframe of the conquest of the region.

Chimú Architecture at Chan Chan and in the Provinces

Much of the contributions of archaeological research to the understanding of the sociopolitical organization of Chimú Empire have been derived from the remains of their settlements and administrative architecture. As Lefebvre (1991) argues, power is ultimately exercised through the control, the production, and the experience of space. The extent by which space was politicized as a result of the introduction of Chimú architecture provides a means of studying the processes by which people became Chimú provincial subjects.

The identification of the territorial extent of the Chimú Empire and the nature of its interactions with its provinces has relied upon archaeological research conducted at the Chimú urban capital of Chan Chan in the Moche Valley where extensive research by the Chan Chan Moche Valley Project has produced much of what we know about the corporate architecture of Chimor's royal rulers and elite administrators (Moseley and Day 1982). This research has determined that Chan Chan is composed of four types of architecture: *ciudadelas* (palace compounds); pyramids called *huacas*; intermediate elite structures; and the housing of lower status craft specialists called small irregularly agglutinated rooms

(SIAR). The presence of architecture outside of the Moche Valley resembling *ciudadelas* and intermediate elite structures has been used to argue for the presence of Chimú nobility sent to oversee the administration of subjugated territories and thus the extent of the empire (Mackey 1987).

Chan Chan's *ciudadelas* are ten monumental adobe compounds ranging in size from 87,900 square meters to 221,000 square meters with compound walls of up to 9 meters in height (Day 1982a: 55). They have generally been interpreted to have served as the palaces of Chimor's royal rulers in both life and death, with deceased kings buried in burial platforms constructed within where they would be venerated by the descendants of their retainers (Day 1982a; Kolata 1990; Moore 2004, 2005: 197-207-; Moore and Mackey 2008; Pillsbury and Banks 2004) though Rowe (1995: 30) provides an alternative interpretation, arguing that they were largely funerary structures due to the lack of identifiable apartments for a royal family. Each *ciudadela* is hypothesized to have been constructed sequentially following the coronation of a new king (Day 1982a) or alternatively, as paired sets representing dualistic or quadripartite rule (Netherly 1990: 482-484).

Ciudadelas share a number of patterns and architectural features which have been classified as Chimor's royal corporate architecture. Almost all the *ciudadelas* share a tripartite division of interior space with access to the compounds strictly controlled through a baffled entrance in the north wall of the compound (Day 1982a: 57; Pillsbury and Banks 2004). These entrances lead into plazas where food prepared in nearby kitchens could be served as part of rituals of commensal politics essential to Andean ideals of lordship and reciprocity (Netherly 1977; Ramirez 1998). Other administrative functions within the *ciudadelas* are embodied in the presence of U-shaped rooms called *audiencias* which have most often been interpreted as multifunctional living and working quarters for Chimú elites involved in state administration (Andrews 1974; Kolata 1990; Moore and Mackey 2008: 786; Topic 2003).

John Topic (2003) has argued that these structures are indicative of a formal bureaucracy controlling the flow of information within the site. *Audiencias* are often located nearby storerooms which are hypothesized to have held manufactured goods produced from the extraction of resources from the provinces and possibly redistributed as part of commensal politics (Day 1982; Klymyshyn 1987). The administration interpretation of the U-shaped rooms has been criticized by other scholars (Campana 2006; Moore 1992). Campana (2006), for example, suggests that they were small shrines that housed *huacas* or religious icons based on the discovery of associated offerings in the excavation of these structures.

Other common components of Chan Chan's royal architecture include large rectangular walk-in wells dug down to the water table and accessed via ramps. Aside from providing a source of drinking water, these wells may have been used as sunken gardens. Finally, all but one of Chan Chan's *ciudadelas* contain burial platforms which are identified as one of the most significant symbols of high status in Chimor, serving as the final resting places of Chimor's rulers and highest ranking elites (Conrad 1982). Unfortunately all of Chan Chan's burial platforms were looted in antiquity so little is known of their contents, but the location of the burial platforms within *ciudadelas* distinguished their occupants as worthy of being revered even after their death marking an extravagant display of status in a society where the common population was often buried in unmarked cemeteries (Moore 2004).

Intermediate elite compounds, of which there are 35 in the city, are smaller than *ciudadelas*, ranging in size from 600 to 109,000 square meters. Many have *audiencias*, walk-in wells, plazas, and storerooms and a few even have burial platforms, yet are differentiated from *ciudadelas* by the fact that none contain all of these elements together (Klymyshyn 1982: 120). Due to their intermediate nature between the royal compounds and the residence of craftsmen, these structures are interpreted as the residences of Chan Chan's non-royal nobility and administrators (Klymyshyn 1982). Together with the *ciudadela*, these structures

mark the common elements of Chimor's elite architecture and demonstrate that the number of architectural symbols a structure has is indicative of the rank of its inhabitants.

The corporate architecture of Chan Chan marks a shift in the style of monumental architecture in the Moche Valley. Earlier inhabitants such as the Moche favoured monumental adobe brick huacas that were the focus of ritual ceremonies such as human sacrifice. A number of scholars have debated the origins of the Chimú *ciudadela* and have reached different conclusions on the sites, time periods, and cultures that served as the inspiration. McEwan (1990) argues that the Chimú were inspired by the architecture of the Wari, a highland polity dating to AD 540-900, on the basis that both societies built rectangular structures with restricted access and a tripartite division of interior space, but most scholars agree that Chimor's architectural style derived from coastal developments rather than influence from the highlands.

Michael Moseley and Kent Day (1982), William Conklin (1990), and Gregory Lockard (2008) have hypothesized that Chan Chan's strict division of space between elites and commoners has its origins in walls of Galindo, a Late Moche site in the Moche Valley. Conklin (1990) also argues that the Chimú drew inspiration for the u-shaped *audiencias* from structures at Huaca del Sol and Huaca de la Luna and the monumental scale of its *ciudadelas* from the Late Moche urban settlement of Pampa Grande in the Lambayeque Valley. While the site of Galindo in particular lends a credible source for some of the developments found in Chimú architecture, other scholars have noted that the architectural elements that define Chimú architecture are present in even earlier contexts. Joanne Pillsbury and Leonard Banks (2004: 279) argue that the Chicama Valley Gallinazo and Moche center of Mocollope contains formal analogs for all the features of *ciudadelas* except for *audiencias* and wells.

John Warner (2010) pushes the roots for Chimú architecture even earlier, proposing that the Chimú were taking inspiration from coastal ruins built by the Gallinazo and Salinar

that dated to nearly a millennium earlier. Working at the Late Formative Period ceremonial center of Jatanca in the Jequetepeque Valley, Warner (2010) draws attention to the striking similarities between the ciudadelas at Chan Chan and the much smaller compounds at Jatanca. He suggests that the inhabitants of the Moche Valley may have looked to the ruins of much earlier coastal sites to find architectural symbols to solidify their legitimacy while bypassing the adobe huacas that had become synonymous with the failings of regimes of the Late Moche Period. The use of archaic architectural traditions at Galindo may have been a response to a period of rapid social change (Bawden 1982; 1996) and these traditions were further defined at Chan Chan to suit the greater social stratification of the Chimú Empire. Warner (2010: 590-591) further speculates that Chimú attempts to claim connections to the real or imagined past may have also been used to justify the conquest of neighbouring regions such as the Jequetepeque Valley. Warner's (2010) hypothesis follows Conrad's (1990) argument that Chimú origins myths proposing that the founder of the royal dynasty immigrated to the Moche Valley from somewhere in the north as a justification for conquest. If the mythology was linked to the presence of visible ruins, the Chimú may have presented themselves as reclaiming an ancestral homeland. This represents a type of emulation (Smith 2003), but instead of emulating foreign elites, the Chimú emulated past elites.

In contrast to the monumental proportions of Chan Chan's elite architecture, the city's large population of resident craft specialists and retainers lived in wattle and daub (*quincha*) structures (SIAR) with adobe and stone foundations situated in four large neighbourhoods around the royal compounds (Topic 1982). This type of architecture appears to have been common to non-elite households across the North Coast as it has been found at both Chimú and non-Chimú sites such as Manchán (Moore 1985) and Pacatnamú (Gumerman 1991) (though see Hayashida 2006 for differences between Sicán and Chimú domestic structures at Pampa de Chaparrí in the Lambayeque Valley). At Chan Chan, these lower status residents

occupied a unique space in Chimú society. They were craft specialists supported entirely by the redistribution of goods from the royalty and nobility residing in the *ciudadelas* and intermediate elite architecture (Topic 2009). Crafts included metal and ceramic production as well as the weaving of textiles (Topic 1982). Though the barrios of SIAR were built around the royal *ciudadelas,* retainers were kept separate from their patrons by the high walls and controlled access of elite architecture. The strict separation of social classes appears to be an important tenet of Chimú ideology (Moore 1992; 1996b: 218-219).

Following the expansion of the Chimú polity was the construction of distinct Chimú architectural forms at provincial administration centers such as Farfán and as intrusive buildings at sites that controlled key agricultural, water, and information networks. The degree to which provincial architecture conforms to the architectural canons of Chan Chan has typically been used by scholars to determine whether the site was constructed by Chimú nobility rather than provincial lords and the rank of Chimú elites in the administrative hierarchy of the empire (Keatinge 1974; Keatinge and Conrad 1983; Mackey 1987; 2009). Indeed, Mackey (1987: 126) argues that the presence of a compound containing an *audiencia* is the minimum criteria for a Chimú administrative center and suggests a four tier hierarchy with Chan Chan at the top. Three provincial sites contain architecture that closely conforms to the architectural canons of Chan Chan and are thus considered to be secondary administrative centers in the empire. These are Farfán in the Jequetepeque Valley, Manchán in the Casma Valley, and Túcume in La Leche Valley (Mackey 1987; 2009). These three sites are argued to have contained the homes of high ranking Chimú lords sent from Chan Chan (Conrad 1990; Heyerdahl et al. 1995; Mackey 1987; 2006; Mackey and Klymyshyn 1990). Farfán, for example, is suggested to be the most likely location of the residence of the Chimú general, Pacatnamú, who distinguished himself through the conquest of the Jequetepeque Valley (Conrad 1990). The Chimú structures at Manchán, Farfán, and Túcume follow in

abbreviated and altered form the elite architecture of Chan Chan consisting of compounds with plazas, *audiencias*, storerooms, burial platforms and share similar access patterns (Moore 1996b: 210).

Though the compounds of secondary administrative centers contain many of the architectural elements that define Chan Chan, they nonetheless contain some local variations. Manchán's compounds, for example, lack the baffled entryways leading into plazas, north oriented doors, and trilinear access routes that characterize the other sites. Farfán (Keatinge and Conrad 1983: 280) contains these elements but lacks the urban non-elite residents of Manchán and Chan Chan. Túcume, a Lambayeque capital before the Chimú conquest, had two of its platforms remodelled for use by Chimú administrators to include a burial platform, but retains many Lambayeque architectural elements (Heyerdahl et al. 1995). These differences may reflect adaptations to local circumstances (Moore 1996b: 210) or changes in colonial policy between different waves of expansion (Mackey 1987: 129). The minimal evidence for living areas also suggests that Chimú lords may have divided their time between Chan Chan and their provincial centers (Mackey 2009: 340-341).

Below secondary centers are tertiary and quaternary centers such as Talambo (Keatinge and Conrad 1983) and El Algarrobal de Moro (Mackey 2004), both in the Jequetepeque Valley. These sites exhibit more variation in their use of Chimú architectural elements and are smaller in size. El Algarrobal de Moro contains plazas, storerooms, and *audiencias* while the Chimú administrative compound at Talambo, an intrusive construction in a pre-existing site, contains an entry courtyard and *audiencia* but lacks storerooms and burial platforms (Keatinge and Conrad 1983). While the use of Chimú architectural symbols to identify the presence of Chimú administration has proved fruitful in understanding the organization of the empire, it nonetheless warrants caution that Chimor may have imposed their authority through multiple institutions, some of which may not have required the

presence of specific architectural symbols (Moore 1992: 110).

Differences in Chimú administrative architecture between regions has been used to argue that Chimor employed different strategies of political control (Mackey 2009). In the Jequetepeque Valley, which the ethnohistorical accounts indicate violently contested Chimú rule and was subjugated only after being defeated in battle, the Chimú imposed direct rule where-by they replaced the previous paramount lords with their own nobles (Conrad 1990; Donnan and Cock 1986). In the Casma and Lambayeque Valleys, the Chimú implemented a system of shared rule as Chimú structures are built alongside those of the local elites who retained their positions under Chimor (Mackey 2009). Carol Mackey (2009) suggests that the lords of these regions surrendered or allied with the Chimú and were thus allowed to maintain their positions though subordinate to their new rulers in Chan Chan.

The nature and location of state administrative structures have also been used to infer state strategies in the governance of the empire. In the Jequetepeque Valley, the Chimú appear to have been concerned with the control of agricultural production (Keatinge and Conrad 1983). The administrative control of Talambo, a site located at the neck of the valley, enabled the control of the headwaters that fed the irrigation networks of much of the rest of the valley. Similarly, Algarrobal de Moro is associated with the extensive field networks of the north valley. By controlling irrigation networks, the Chimú ensured political and economical control over large areas of the region (Kremkau 2009: 121). Archaeologists Tom Dillehay and Alan Kolata (2004: 4329), who conducted a systematic survey of the valley's settlement patterns, argue that "(t)he Chimú strategically aggregated populations, restricted residential mobility, and linked urban residents directly to costly integrated agricultural landscapes" with the intention of maximizing the use of water resources. This interest in agricultural production is supported by Robyn Cutright's (2009) excavation of domestic residences at Pedregal where she argues that the Chimú state refocused agricultural production to produce

large quantities of maize and cotton for possible redistribution by the state.

Despite the replacement of the upper levels of the local political hierarchy in the Jequetepeque Valley, lower level elite centers continued to exist and much of the population appears to have been allowed to maintain their identity. Carol Mackey (2011) argues that the inhabitants of the Jequetepeque Valley maintained a "Lambayeque ethnic identity" or at least maintained Lambayeque religious values well into the Spanish Colonial period despite three consecutive conquests by the Chimú, the Inca, and finally the Spanish. She suggests that much of the administration of the valley may have been done by low ranking Chimú administrators residing in sites such as Talambo and Algarrobal de Moro or local leaders serving as intermediaries. Farfán may have been used primarily by visiting Chimú lords for commensal hospitality which showed the state's largess by hosting local leaders or representatives and providing them with food and drink. By limiting contact with the ethnic Lambayeque, Mackey (2011: 165) argues the "Chimú in the Jequetepeque Valley employed the use of strict social and political boundaries, maintaining physical distance between the higher ranking centers and the lower level ethnic communities."

Evidence for the Chimú use of commensal politics in the Jequetepeque Valley has recently been uncovered at San Jose de Moro by Gabriel Prieto (2011) in his excavation of Area 35 of Huaca Alta. His excavations uncovered an elite residence that contained a large brewer with the capacity to produce enough chicha beer for thousands. Prieto (2011) interprets the residence and brewery as the home of a master brewer used by the Chimú to supply their state sponsored feasts. The use of a master brewer may represent the Chimú co-opting the production of chicha from extended family groups who were the main producers of the alcohol prior to the conquest.

Outside of the Jequetepeque Valley, the Chimú appear not to have replaced the most prominent centers, presumably because the local lords of the Lambayeque/La Leche and

Casma Valley regions surrendered or allied themselves with the Chimú rather than faced them militarily. Here, Chimú administrative buildings were constructed alongside pre-existing administrative architecture so Chimú nobles could directly supervise local lords (Tschauner 2001). Nonetheless, some degree of territorial control appears to have been imposed on these regions. In the Lambayeque Valley, for example, Tschauner (2001) argues that the construction of Chimú tertiary centers transcended existing polity borders.

The Lambayeque of the Jequetepeque Valley

The continuation of the "Lambayeque ethnic identity" (Mackey 2011) after the Chimú conquest of the Jequetepeque Valley and the use of existing administrative infrastructure below the most prominent centers necessitates the examination of the polity that existing in the Jequetepeque Valley before it became a territory of the empire. Its inhabitants were part of a loose federation of polities located in the northern valleys of the North Coast. Archaeologists use the label "Lambayeque" to refer to these polities, taken from the name of the region where it was first identified, though Sicán is often used by specific scholars working in the Lambayeque Valley (Shimada 1990). I use the label "Lambayeque" then, not only to refer to the residents of that valley, but also to the chronological period between AD 1100-1320 for the Jequetepeque Valley (Mackey 2011: 149).

The appropriateness of the Lambayeque label and the exact nature of the political situation during this period has been a subject of considerable debate. Archaeologist Luis Jaime Castillo (2001) argues that the Northern Lambayeque polity invaded the Jequetepeque Valley around AD 950 based on the presence of Northern Lambayeque fineware ceramic vessels in burials at San Jose de Moro and the disappearance of ceramics at the site belonging to what Castillo calls the Transitional style (see also Prieto 2010). Christopher Donnan (1997: 12) argues that Pacatnamú in the Jequetepeque Valley was part of a northern Lambayeque political sphere though he is vague on whether this is a result of conquest or some other

processes. Swenson (2004: 325), however, notes the carbon dates come from the period when the valley likely had already fallen to the Chimú and may reflect the continued veneration of Lambayeque deities.

The hypothesis that the Jequetepeque Valley was conquered or politically dominated by the Lambayeque Valley polity is contested by William Sapp (2002; 2011); he argues the two are separate polities that developed contemporaneously. Comparing Late Intermediate Period monumental architecture and ceramic sequences between the Lambayeque and Jequetepeque Valleys, Sapp convincingly uses differences in corporate architecture between the two regions to argue that they shared similar sociopolitical and religious beliefs, but were politically independent. The Lambayeque architecture of the Jequetepeque Valley (Figure 4.5) consists of a principal truncated pyramid (Principal Huaca) flanked by a platform and a large entry courtyard to the north (Sapp 2011: 98). To the south is a residential quadrangle divided into smaller rooms and courtyards. Lambayeque architecture north of the Jequetepeque Valley (Figure 4.6) consists of platform mounds topped with rectangular enclosures, T-shaped platform mounds with a central ramp, and steep-sided truncated pyramids (Shimada 1981: 411-412).

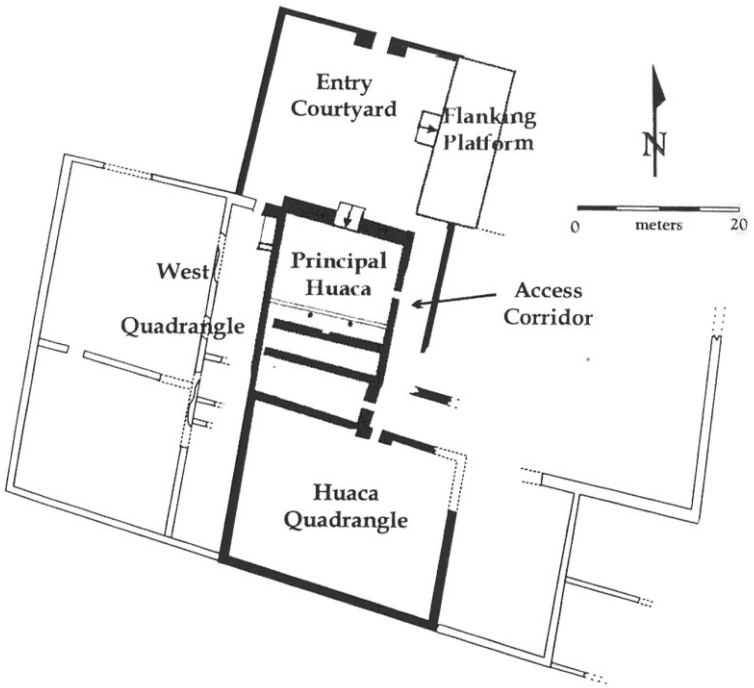


Figure 4.5: Lambayeque architecture from the site of Cabur in the Jequetepeque Valley (Sapp 2011: 99, figure 4).

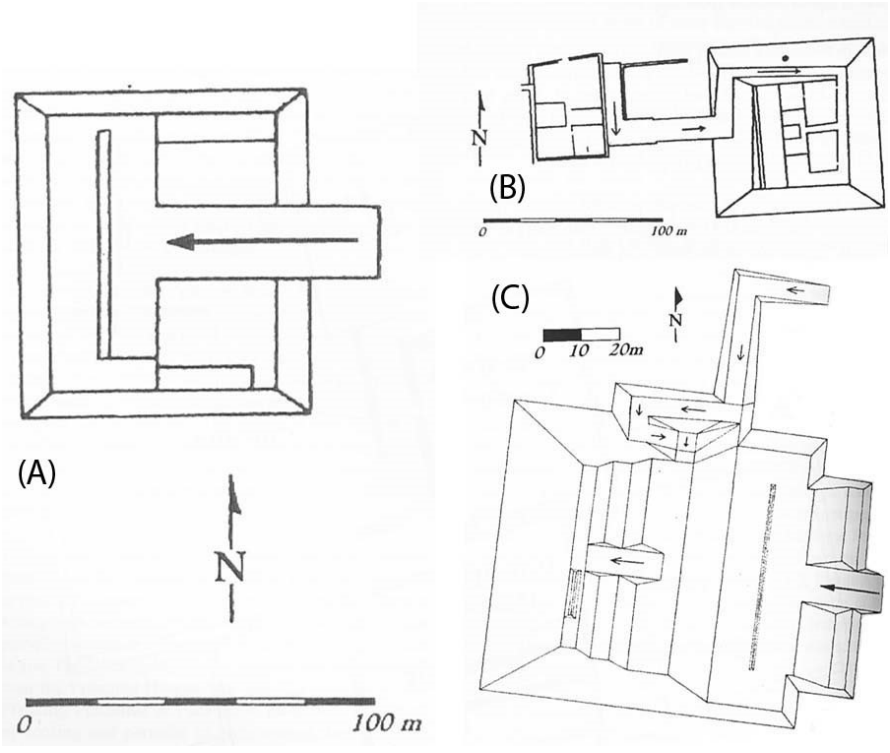


Figure 4.6: Northern Lambayeque architecture. (A) T-shaped platform mound of Huaca Susy at Chotuna (B) platform mound topped with a rectangular enclosure, Huaca Mayor at Chotuna (C) truncated pyramid of Huaca Rodillona at Batán Grande (Sapp 2011: 100, figures 5, 6, and 7).

The Lambayeque period of the Jequetepeque Valley is best known from the site of Pacatnamú, a large ceremonial complex and elite center located on a bluff rising above the Pacific Ocean on the north bank of the Jequetepeque River. The site was first occupied during the Moche Period at approximately AD 300 and was continuously occupied up to AD 1050-1100 when it was briefly abandoned, possibly due to an El Niño event (Moore 1996b: 65). This decline was short lived as they site was reoccupied between AD 1100-1150 and continued as a major Lambayeque center until the 14th century when the Chimú conquest of the Jequetepeque Valley caused the site to decline and be abandoned (Donnan 1986a: 22). Though the sociopolitical organization and degree of centralization within the Jequetepeque Lambayeque polity is not well understood, the organization of architectural space at Pacatnamú provides some clues, especially in regards to how the polity differed from Chimor.

Architecture at Pacatnamú is characterized by 60 mounds and 37 *huaca* complexes densely packed into a 1 km square core (Donnan 1986a; 1986b; 1986c). *Huaca* complexes share a number of common features and are classified by Christopher Donnan (1986c) into Type A and Type B complexes. Type A complexes are entered by a pilastered entryway located in the northern wall of the complex which leads into an entry courtyard with a principal *huaca*. The *huaca* is flanked by a ramped platform on the northeast side. In the entry courtyard, one or two altars are situated so that they align with the ramp of the principal *huaca* or flanking platform. Along the back of the principal *huaca* is a series of doorways and corridors leading to a rectangular enclosure called a *huaca* quadrangle which is divided into a series of rooms and courtyards. Type B complexes are similar but lack the flanking platforms and sometimes do not have the courtyard altars found in Type A complexes. The Major Quadrangle at Pacatnamú contrasts with the *ciudadelas* of Chan Chan in that it is not divided into three sectors with distinct primary functions (Donnan 1986b: 80). Furthermore,

Pacatnamú lacks the extensive storerooms of Chan Chan indicating that the storage and redistribution of goods was not a major concern.

The presence of architecture that follows the conventions of Pacatnamú's Lambayeque architecture has been noted at other sites associated with local lords in the Jequetepeque Valley such as Cabur and continues on into the Chimú and Inca Periods of the valley (Sapp 2002). The persistence of local Lambayeque traditions in spite of Chimú intrusion highlights the importance of understanding change and continuity among the local populations. While other scholars have already begun to address this problem from the perspective of local lords (Sapp 2002) and domestic consumption and production (Cutright 2009), the role of architecture in mediating colonial relations requires further study to elucidate how the Jequetepeque Valley was turned into a colonial province. This raises a number of questions, such as whether Chimor should be considered an empire and whether colonialism is an appropriate model for interpreting the Chimú presence in the Jequetepeque Valley. I address these questions in the following section of this chapter.

Cultural Similarities and Differences between Lambayeque and Chimú Populations

The intermixing of Chimú and Lambayeque cultures brought on by Chimor's expansion raises the question: How different were the Lambayeque and the Chimú? As I have defined empire on the basis of difference (imagined or real) between an imperial polity and its subordinate polities, I must first show that these terms are applicable if I am to use colonialism as an analytical framework for my research.

While the Chimú and Lambayeque likely shared a number of cultural traits, they also differed in significant ways, the most visible being the production of monumental ceremonial and elite administrative space. The Chimú favoured compounds with large enclosed plazas and administrative activity focused around *audiencias*. The architecture of Lambayeque lords in the Jequetepeque Valley is differentiated by the construction of principal huacas associated

with residential quadrangles, northern courtyard and flanking platform. These differences show differences in the production of space especially in regards to elite symbols of power. However, Lambayeque and Chimú architecture also suggests similarities in how these groups understood elite status and the interactions between lords and their subjects. Elite compounds at both Chan Chan and Pacatnamú appears to maintain a strict separation in space between different social strata (Sapp 2002: 143).

Differences in the architecture of non-elite residences between Chan Chan and provincial areas are less pronounced as both used wattle and daub construction though differences exist between the layout of settlements and the locations of spaces such as kitchens. For example, the site of Quebrada Santa Cristina in the Casma Valley has communal kitchens and a short occupation characteristic of its role as a state maintained settlement for agricultural workers providing labour service (Moore 1988: 272). Other settlements in the region that were not maintained by the state show longer occupation and considerable more evidence for renovation in residential architecture. In this case, the differences are due to the degree of state involvement and the Chimú may have taken more direct involvement in sites that were involved in activities closely tied to imperial interests (Moore 1985: 244).

Beyond the differences in the built environment described above, ethnohistorical accounts record the use of multiple languages on the North Coast implying ethnic differences between regions. The Spanish chronicler Calancha noted that the indigenous populations spoke Muchic in the region spanning from the Jequetepeque to the Motupe Valley, Sec in the Tumbes Valley, and Quingnam in the Moche, Virú, Chao, and Chicama Valleys (Rowe 1948: 3). Unfortunately these languages disappeared as the result of the cultural and demographic upheavals that resulted from the Spanish Conquest, so only a limited vocabulary of words have survived. It is not clear how mutually intelligible they were though they were probably

closely related and Quingnam may have been used as a common language (Rowe 1948: 33). These differences in language nonetheless suggest that coastal populations were not homogenous and cultural differences existed.

Turning to my question of whether research on empire and colonialism provides a productive framework for interpreting the Kingdom of Chimor, I argue that it meets my definition of an empire as a polity that controls other societies while its own peoples are presented as distinct from subjugated groups. Chimor subjugated other societies through military conquest and alliance while installing noble administrators to control key resources and ensure local leaders implemented colonial policies (Conrad 1990; Mackey 1987; Moore and Mackey 2008). Despite the persistence of local administrative networks, Chimor was able to influence local policy in at least some regions by encouraging local populations to produce specific staple crops for tribute (Cutright 2009).

Huasi Huaman

Huasi Huaman is a settlement located between the foothills on the east face of Cerro Murciélago on the north bank of the Jequetepeque River covering an area of 0.19 square km (Eling 1987; Dillehay et al. 2009: 67-71; Hecker and Hecker 1990: 13-14; Swenson 2004: 954-967; 2007). It may have been situated so that it controlled the crossroads of irrigation and transportation networks. The site is characterized by diverse architecture, including a monumental pyramid, platforms, residential terraces, graveyards, and extensive interior walls. The site was first studied by H.D. Dissehlhoff in the 1950s, who conducted test excavations and uncovered a polychrome mural (Hecker and Hecker 1990: 14). These excavations were never published so the location of Dissehlhoff's discovery is uncertain, though my excavations point to the monumental pyramid, Huaca A, as the likely location. Several decades later, Herbert Eling (1987: 397-398), who was conducting research on the irrigation systems of the Jequetepeque Valley, identified the site as a "provincial elite center" which he

named Kanchape and produced a partial map of the standing architecture. Wolfgang and Gisela Hecker (1990: 13-14) also briefly mention the site using its present name of Huasi Huaman and describe it as a city of terraces.

More recent research under the direction of Tom Dillehay and Alan Kolata (Dillehay et al. 2009) involved the excavation of six test pits in four sectors of the site (A, B, G, and H). Dillehay et al. (2009: 70) date the site to AD 1285-1445, Peru's Late Intermediate Period, the approximate timeframe of the Chimú conquest of the Jequetepeque Valley. The Late Intermediate Period occupation date for the site is further confirmed by the work of Edward Swenson (2004: 956; 2007) who argues that ceramic sherds recovered through surface collection are almost exclusively from this period. He also produced a more detail map of the standing architecture (Swenson 2007: 75, figure 10).

Swenson (2004: 965-966) argues that the site was the center of a local macrolineage or chief who occupied the settlement episodically. More interesting is Swenson's argument that Huasi Huaman's monumental architecture, specifically Huaca A, was built in the style of ceremonial architecture from several centuries earlier but on a much larger scale, and ignored the architectural traditions of the more recent Lambayeque elite centers in the Jequetepeque Valley. This conscious archaism is mixed with what he suggests is the potential integration of Chimú elite architectural symbols such as a niche and baffled entrance in Structure D (Swenson 2004: 962; 2007: 78) though both features are present in Lambayeque architecture and have been reported at much earlier sites in the Jequetepeque Valley (Donnan 1986b: 67, figure 2; Warner 2010) so their presence at Huasi Huaman need not be attributed to borrowing from the Chimú. Swenson (2007: 77) suggests that the use of pre-Lambayeque architectural traditions may represent an attempt by the sites inhabitants to bypass traditional power structures of the Lambayeque elite by emphasizing local precedence. This represents a twist of Adam T. Smith's (2003) concept of emulation as what is being emulated is the

architecture of past elites rather than foreign elites. The complex intermixing and adaptation of architectural styles from several different polities and time periods makes Huasi Huaman an ideal context to examine the different means by which architecture and space can be used to mediate responses to Chimú colonial rule.

Huasi Huaman is architectural similar to many other elevated settlements that were being constructed during the Late Intermediate Period (Swenson 2007). Sites such as Cerro El Molino de Chocofán (Eling 1987: 382; Hecker and Hecker 1990: 43; Swenson 2007: 72-74), located in the southern valley 15 km south of Huasi Huaman, were also built on the slopes of mountains and contain domestic terraces and multiple platforms which Swenson (2007: 73) argues reflects separate social groups maintaining their own ritual architecture while part of a larger kinship or political system. The similarities between Huasi Huaman and other hinterland sites thus makes my analysis of architecture at Huasi Huaman significant for identifying larger trends in the greater Jequetepeque Valley region during the Lambayeque and Chimú Periods.

Building upon the mapping work of Edward Swenson (2007: 75, figure 10), I divide Huasi Huaman into 17 sectors (Figure 4.7) based on the natural topography, placement of dividing walls (Walls 1 and 2), and location of structures. Broadly speaking, all of these sectors can be classified into five types of spaces: low sectors, terraces, platforms, monumental architecture, and other. In the section that follows, I provide a brief summary of each type of space and describe the sectors and structures that belong to each type.



Figure 4.7: Map of Huasi Huaman listing the names of all sectors.

Monumental Architecture

In Chapter 3, I defined monumental architecture as any building whose scale and elaboration exceeds the practical functions for which it is intended (Trigger 1990). At Huasi Huaman there are two structures that stand out from the rest of the architecture at the site due to their size and architectural complexity. These are Huaca A and Structure D.

Huaca A is a truncated pyramid that dominates the eastern sectors of the site (Figure 4.8). It measures 80 x 50 meters and is nearly 20 meters tall (Swenson 2007: 75). It was constructed using stone and adobe which form multiple terraces reached by climbing two ramps that cut through the center of the structure. The uppermost terrace contains a sunken courtyard with plastered stone walls where activities conducted within would not have been

visible to people below. Previous test excavations on Huaca A by Dillehay et al. (2009: 70) date the use of the pyramid to AD 1285-1445, sometime around Chimor's conquest of the Jequetepeque Valley. Despite its Late Intermediate Period date, Swenson (2007: 75) argues that the structure was built in the style of the Jequetepeque Valley's Late Moche Period (AD 600-850) platforms from several hundred years earlier.

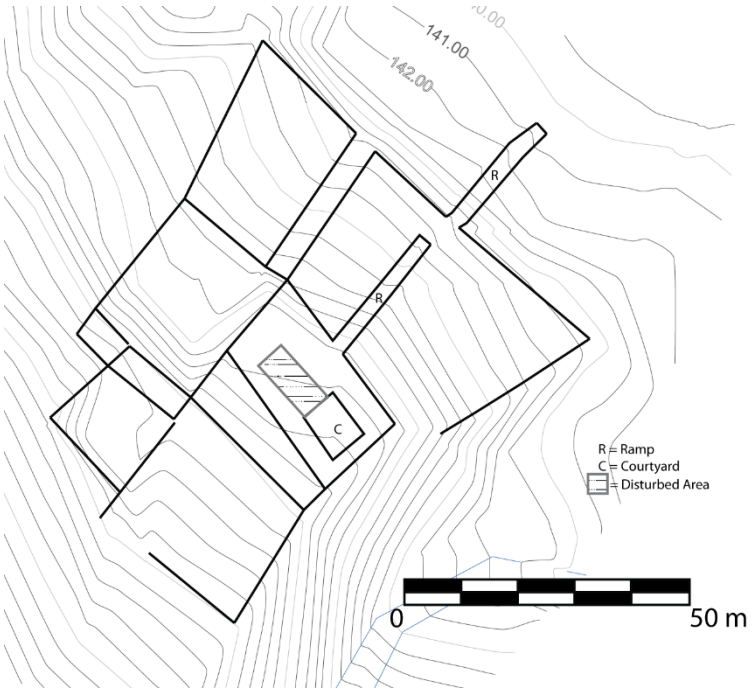


Figure 4.8: Plan Map of Huaca A.

Structure D is a 20 x 14 meter stone and adobe structure whose architectural complexity and high location makes it likely to have been one of the most important structures in the settlement (Figure 4.9). It is situated on top of a monumental stone platform built on top of the steep slope of the mountain which gives it a commanding view of the entire site and surrounding region. Well-defined baffled entrances and the eroding remains of an adobe wall with niche are visible within. The presence of benches and an adobe platform suggest to me it was a proscribed setting for long-term interaction and discussion, perhaps centered on an icon or mummy displayed on the adobe platform.



Figure 4.9: Image of Structure D taken from on top of the adobe wall to the south.

Platforms

Huasi Huaman platforms are structures that are much smaller and of less complex construction than the monumental architecture. They show a great deal of variability in form and function. I provide a brief description of the eight platforms below.

Platform B (Figure 4.10) is a large platform located to the northwest of Huaca A. It was built to incorporate a natural rise in the topography, giving the platform the appearance of being much larger than it actually is. Ample camelid droppings and bones with cut marks reveal that it housed camelids, perhaps for the provisioning of meat in feasting. An open area that likely served as a plaza is located to its north and was probably used in association with rituals that took place on the platform. As there are no visible ramps leading to its summit, Platform B is best accessed from the slope of the cerro to its south suggesting that access was

restricted to those who were able to enter Huaca A. If this was the case, Platform B and Huaca A were probably used contemporaneously.

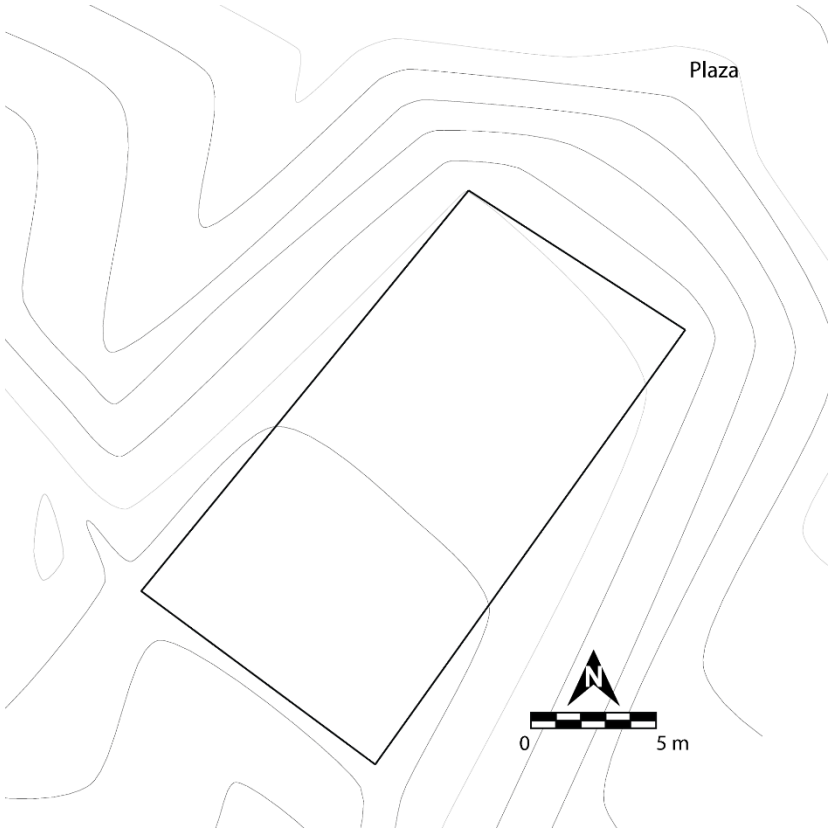


Figure 4.10: Plan of Platform B.

Platform C, located on the upper slopes of the hill northwest of Sector A-superior, is a two terraced platform (Figure 4.11 and Figure 4.12). Swenson (2004) found a grinding stone on the surface of the platform suggesting that the platform was used in food or craft production. My excavations support the platform's use in craft production as a clay-lined firing pit containing a highly polished grinding stone may be evidence of metalworking.

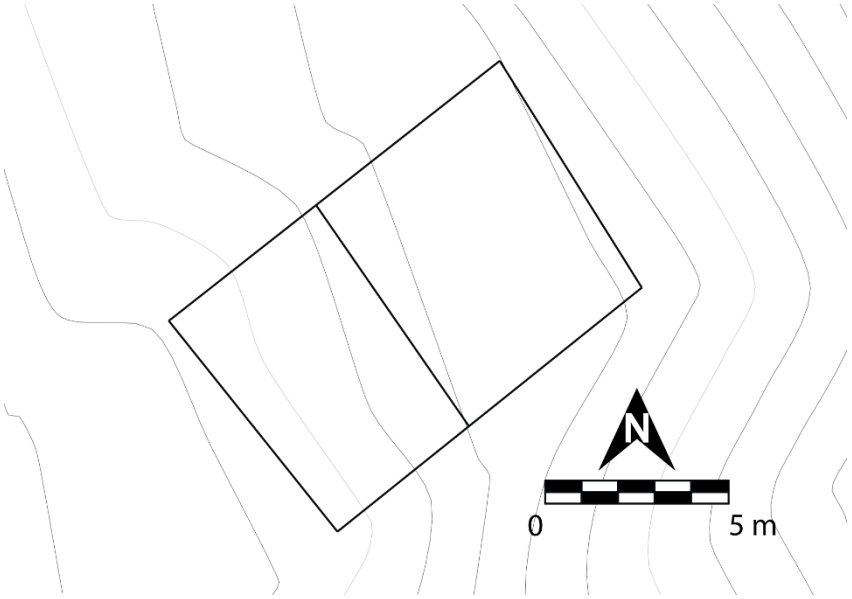


Figure 4.11: Plan map of Platform C.



Figure 4.12: Structure C, a platform with two terraces.

Platform F is a two-terraced platform which is bisected by Wall 2 and fronted by a small plaza (Figure 4.13 and Figure 4.14) where Swenson (2004) reported a large number of decorated bowls. Human remains from looted burials are visible on the surface which leads me to suggest the platform was used in mortuary rituals. An earlier face of the platform uncovered during my excavations, shows that the lowest terrace was expanded after

construction.



Figure 4.13: Front of Platform F as viewed from the plaza.

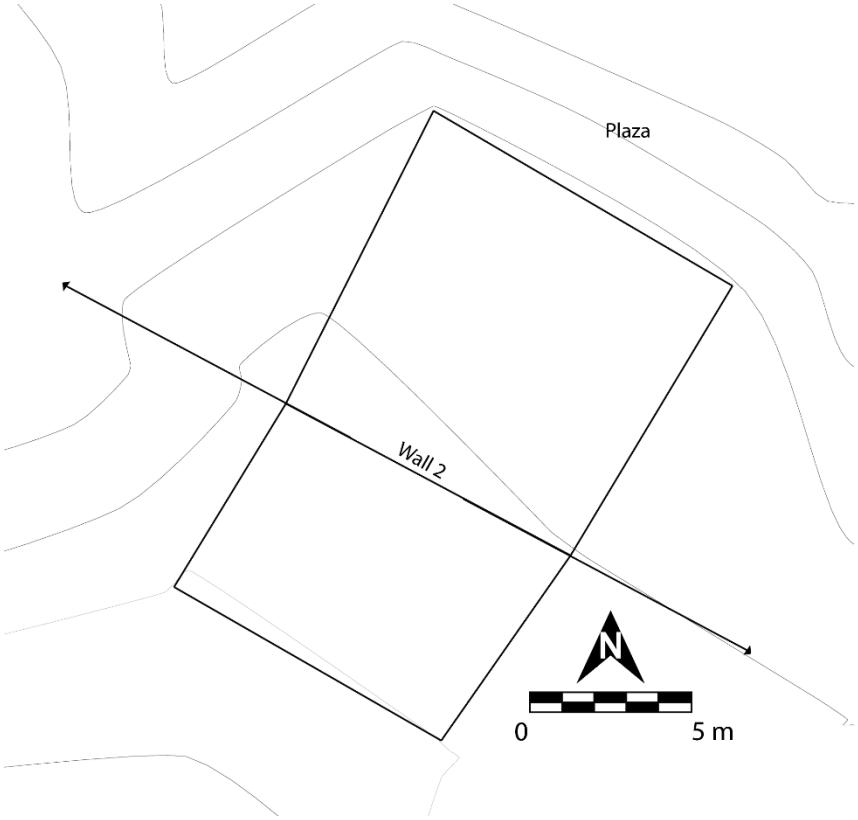


Figure 4.14: Plan map of Platform F.

Platform H is a three terraced platform that was constructed in the northeast corner of

the site on a foot hill between Walls 1 and 2 (Figure 4.15). It is fronted on its north face by a ramp which provides access to its lowest terrace. The uppermost terrace merges into the natural slope of the hill.

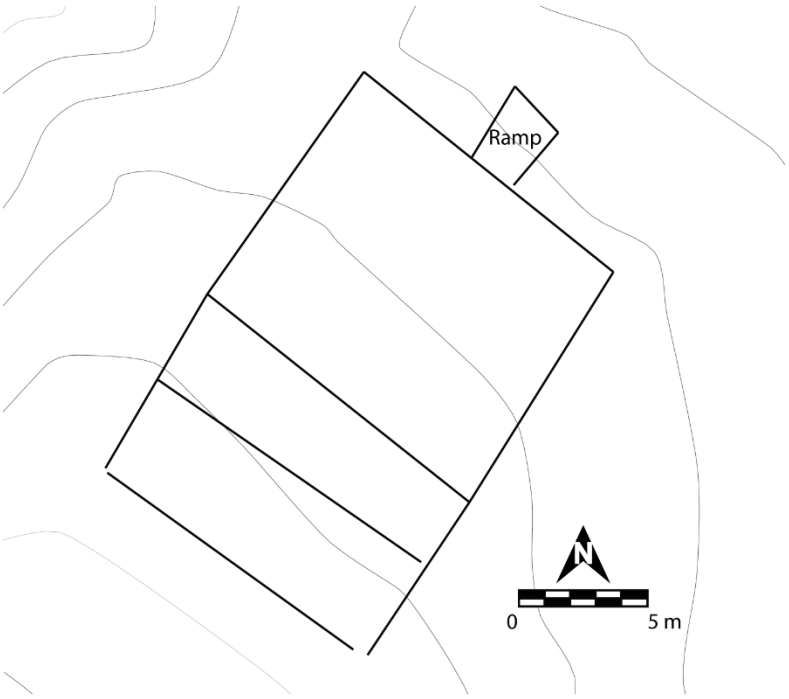


Figure 4.15: Platform H, a simple structure constructed from piled cobbles and gravels, is similar to layout and construction to Platform I.

Platform I shares a similar layout to Platform H with a ramp providing access to its lowest terrace on the north face (Figure 4.16). Unlike Platform H, its upper terraces rest beside a part of the hill which has been leveled, providing a courtyard space that can only be reached through the platform. This area contained a thick layer of human feces mixed with food remains.

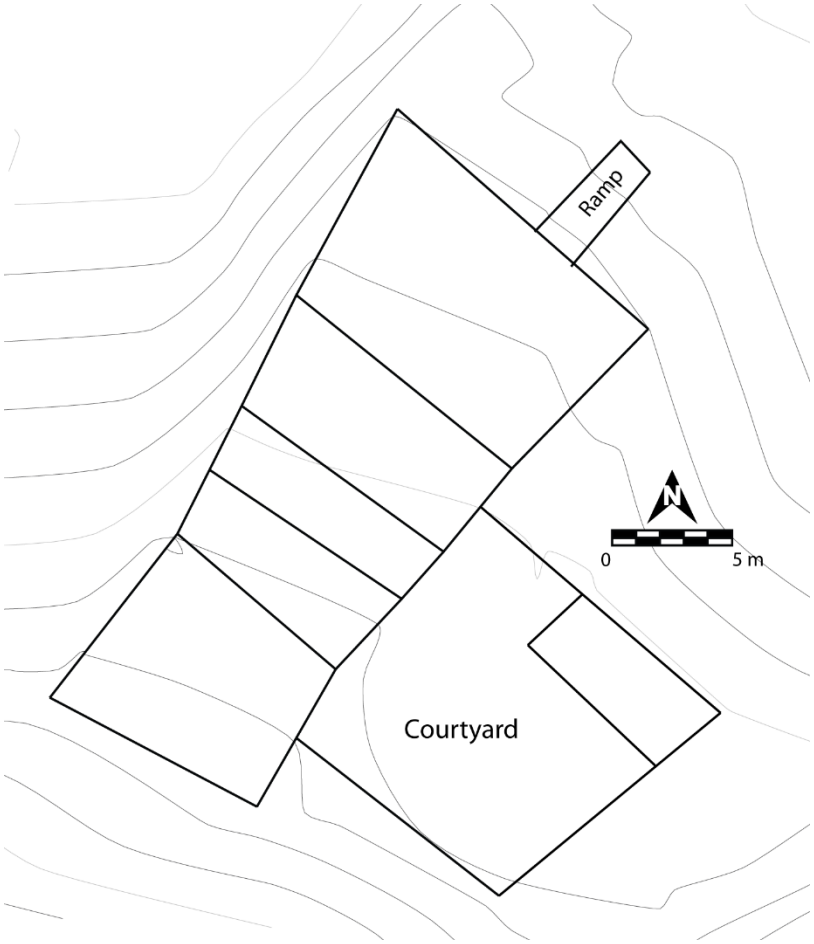


Figure 4.16: Plan map of Platform I.

Platform M is a large terraced platform located in Sector M below a series of residential terraces on the slopes to the south. The platform contains a small open plaza with ramp leading up to a raised room.

Platform N (Figure 4.17) is located in the northwest area of the site in Sector N. It is a platform made with three terraces. Each terrace contains rooms with walls made of cobblestone.

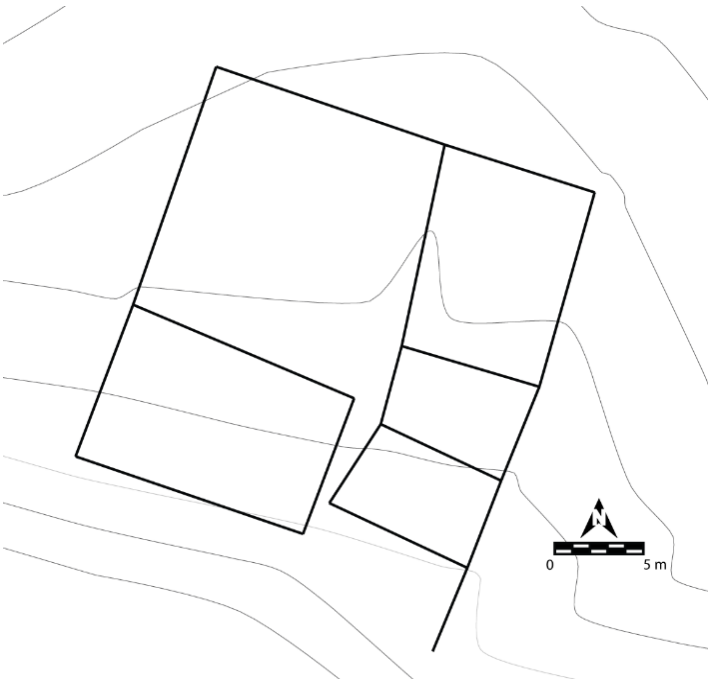


Figure 4.17: Plan map of Platform N.

Low Sectors

I use the label "low sector" to refer to the areas of the site at the base of Cerro Murciélago which are located behind the walls. I include sectors E, G, K, and P in this category.

Sector E is a mostly flat area located between Huaca A and Wall 2. On two terraces located within this sector, the recovery of ample surface ceramics, an in situ storage vessel, and grinding stones suggest that it was a location for preparing food, some of which may have been used in ceremonies hosted on Huaca A or the smaller platforms.

Sector G is a low area located between Walls 1 and 2 to the north of Platform F (Figure 4.18). What appear to be rectangular piles of stone may be the outlines of where ephemeral structures were once located whose walls have since deteriorated, but my excavations uncovered minimal evidence for habitation and the sector was likely never intensively occupied. A few terraces have also been constructed at the bottom of the foothills that surrounds the sector to the east and west.



Figure 4.18: Image of Sector G taken from the foothill located to it east.

Sector K is a low flat area located between Walls 1 and 2 in the western most portion of the site (Figure 4.19). The sector is extensively looted, but contains abundant surface debris showing that it was the location of domestic occupation. A small platform (Platform K) shows that at least one new structure was added for ritual activities.



Figure 4.19: Sector K, a low area between Walls 1 and 2.

Sector P is the western most sector at Huasi Huaman and consists of dozens of reddish orange boulders (Figure 4.20). The purpose of this sector is unknown, but the inclusion of the boulders within the boundaries of the walls and the erection of some of these stones as part of the interior dividing wall suggests that they had some significance to the builders of the site.



Figure 4.20: The reddish orange boulders scattered across Sector P. Some of these stones were erected upright and incorporated into the walls. If the boulders had significance, their meaning is unknown.

Terraces

Terraces line the slopes of Cerro Murciélago and the foothills at its base. The three sectors that contained terraces which I excavated are Sector A-superior, Sector G, and Sector L. Most of these appear to have been the location of residential structures.

Sector A-superior is a series of terraces built on the hill slope above Huaca A. The

elevated location of the terraces provides a commanding view of the lower sectors of the site and much of the surrounding valley. On clear days, Cerro Guadalupe and Cerro Chepén, both sites that contained important temples and were occupied at the same time as Huasi Huaman, can be seen several kilometers to the east. My excavations lead me to conclude that many of the platforms in this sector once contained wattle and daub domestic structures.

Sector G was already described in my discussion of the low sectors, but it also contains a few terraces located near the base of foothills to the east and the west. I found little archaeological remains suggesting the terraces of these sector were not as intensively occupied as either Sector A-superior or Sector L.

Sector L is a centrally located sector constructed between two foothills below Structure D. It contains well preserved terraces that show evidence of domestic habitation and limited agriculture.

Other

I use the category "other" to refer to any structures or spaces that do not fit into the other four categories. These are sectors J and O. I did not excavate either sector so their discussion in my dissertation is limited.

Sector J consists of a series of rectangular stone structures located on a flat area above Sector M. We did not target this area for excavation during my field research so the function of these structures is not currently known.

Sector O is located outside boundaries of the northern exterior wall of the site. Extensive looters' pits have exposed human remains and burial offerings, indicating that this area is a cemetery.

Conclusion

In this chapter, I introduced the region of the Jequetepeque Valley and the archaeological cultures most relevant to my research: the Chimú and the Lambayeque. I

compared and contrasted the two polities in order to show that the Lambayeque polity of the Jequetepeque Valley was culturally and ethnically distinct from their Chimú conquerors. I compared the two architecturally, describing how Chimú elite architecture is characterized by compounds containing features such as audiencias, storerooms, burial platforms, plazas, and baffled entryways while Lambayeque elite architecture is characterized by the huaca quadrangle. The differences between the Chimú and Lambayeque are significant as it makes the Jequetepeque Valley an important region for understanding the development of the Kingdom of Chimor into an Empire as it was the first region where the Chimú ruled over people who were very different from them.

I also introduced Huasi Huaman, the settlement where I conducted my research. I summarized previous research at the site and described the different types of architecture which included platforms, the remains of wattle and daub houses built on terraces and the low sectors between two walls, and monumental architecture. An understanding of the architectural symbols of power within both polities is significant to my research at Huasi Huaman as it shows how its architecture is different. As a settlement whose leaders were most likely co-opted to act as intermediaries between their followers and imperial Chimú officials, the site provided an opportunity to explore changes brought on by the conquest and how the people in the Jequetepeque Valley viewed themselves in relation to their conquerors. In my next chapter, I describe the research methods in my investigations of the sectors and spaces described here.

Chapter 5 Research Methodology

To identify processes of subjectification and the creation of sociopolitical affiliations at Huasi Huaman, my research strategy was designed to identify (1) how residents of Huasi Huaman became Chimú subject and the extent to which power relations were imbedded in the production of space, (2) the extent to which the Chimú conquest enabled innovative forms of religious practice and political posturing, (3) how the production of space was implemented in the creation of interconnections between non-elites of the Jequetepeque Valley, local elites, and the Chimú polity, (4) whether archaic architectural styles were used the same way as they were in the past, and (5) the extent to which non-elites interacted with the Chimú polity. In this chapter, I discuss my research methodology in order to show how I went about answering these five questions.

As my research targeted both domestic and ceremonial spaces, I hoped to provide an understanding of how subjects and practical interconnections with the Chimú Empire were formed while taking into account the varied perspectives that existed among different segments of the site's inhabitants. My research strategy involved systematic surface collection, the mapping of standing architecture, excavation and the laboratory analysis of recovered materials. This research was conducted over a period of 10 months from October 2011 to August 2012. My approaches for each of the three stages of research are described in the sections that follow.

Surface Collection

The first phase of my research was the systematic collection of ceramic sherds, primarily from terrace contexts of sectors A-superior, L, M, and N as well as the low Sector K. As Swenson (2004: 956-959) previously conducted a surface collection in the eastern sectors of the site that focused on ceremonial platform architecture, my surface collection was

intended to provide a more extensive understanding of the activities conducted within quotidian contexts and enable statistical comparisons between sectors. More specifically, my surface collection was intended to identify areas of the site which may have been residential.

Surface collection involved collecting diagnostic sherds from thirty-two collection units (Figure 5.1). These units were placed so that they followed the dimensions of terraces and rooms or, when none were visible as in the case of Sector K, units were restricted to 5 m in diameter and laid out using the dog-leash method of attaching a 2.5 m string to a nail and collecting all the diagnostic sherds within. This includes rim sherds and sherds with decorative elements such as paint, slip, or mold-made designs. Decorated sherds were also taken back to the lab so that they could be drawn or photographed. This phase of the project resulted in the collection and analysis of 878 diagnostic sherds. Combined with the 864 sherds collected as a result of our excavations, a sample of 1742 diagnostic sherds could be used for statistical analysis.

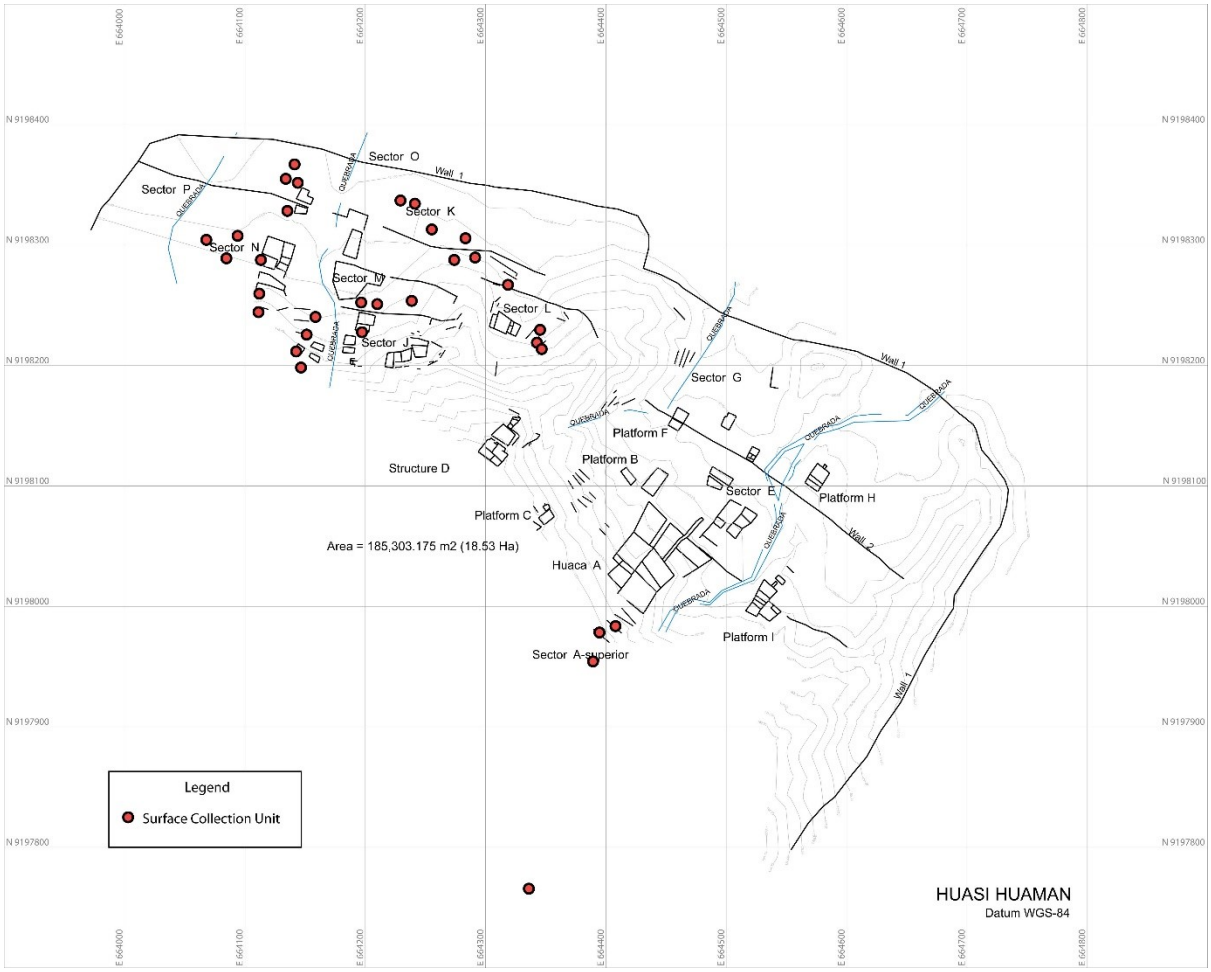


Figure 5.1: Location of units for the surface collection of ceramic sherds.

Statistical analysis was performed using SPSS software to determine whether any significant differences in the frequencies of vessels could be identified between different contexts. I performed a Pearson's chi-square analysis to identify whether certain vessel forms were more common in specific sectors. I also compared the means of rim diameters. These tests were intended to help identify differences in the nature and context of food preparation and consumption. If, for example, feasts were held in some sectors or structures, these areas may be identifiable by the presence of the high frequency of serving vessels. Similarly, if feasts were being organized for large numbers of participants, the presence of large vessels may indicate the locations where food preparation was taking place. The distribution of evidence for tasks related to dining and food preparation can reveal the extent to which the

community contributed to rituals on the platforms which has implications for understanding the extent to which non-elites could influence public expressions of ideology (Jennings and Chatfield 2008).

Beyond feasting, the location of vessels for cooking and serving food can also demonstrate that areas of the site that were likely the locations of residential architecture. As wattle and daub structures do not always preserve despite the arid conditions of the Jequetepeque Valley, the locations of discarded waste from everyday household activities show that people were living nearby. As previous research was interested primarily in Huasi Huaman's ritual architecture (Swenson 2004; Dillehay et al. 2009), identifying the locations where people lived is necessary for gaining a better understanding of the site.

Mapping and GIS

The second phase of the research was to build upon the early map produced by Swenson (2007: 75, figure 10) to incorporate more of the topography and terraces that define much of Huasi Huaman's built environment. This phase was conducted over a period of three days by Peruvian topographer Luis Tandaypan who was hired to map the site using a total station and establish 4 permanent datums on the slopes around the site using cement. The production of this map served the purpose of determining the relation of the terraces to platforms and other ceremonial architecture. I hoped to be able to determine the visibility of platforms in domestic contexts and the use of the landscape and perception in the architectural construction. Identifying how the builders constructed space to define social groups through spatial relations of exclusivity and inclusivity provides insight into the reproduction of power relations and changes in how relations were mediated through architecture between the Lambayeque and Chimú Periods.

Visual analysis of the digital elevation model produced through total station mapping was done using a combination of ArcGIS and AutoCAD software. Little of Huasi Huaman's

domestic architecture has preserved, resulting in a need to use methods that are not dependent on the recreation of how people moved through space. The simplest of these tests is viewshed analysis, which indicates the areas of a map where a specified structure is visible. Using ArcGIS software, I placed an observation point on the most visible terrace of each structure and used an offset of 1.5 meters to represent an arbitrary estimate for the height of a person standing on the platform. The viewshed analysis then shades in the areas were the person would be visible. The benefit of viewshed analysis for my research is that it provides a quantifiable means of determining the inclusivity of each structure by showing the visibility of any ritual performances that may have taken place within and the extent to which the ritual performance on the terraces may have been related to other sectors such as terraces and open areas.

Isovistas were also calculated for the excavated platform and monumental architecture. The projection of isovistas differs from viewshed analysis by measuring the distance at which different visual thresholds are reached when approaching a structure. Drawing upon Tadahiko Higuchi's (1983) study of the visual impact of Japanese landscapes, Jerry Moore (1996b) employs isovista analysis to study changes in the visual impact of pre-Columbian mound monuments over time. He maps the distance at which the view of a structure would fill 18, 27, and 45 degrees of an observer's vision. These three angles correspond to changes in perspective when approaching a monument. At 18 degrees, the monumental proportions become apparent, at 27 degrees the monument fills the viewer's field of vision, and at 45 degrees architectural details become visible (Higuchi 1983: 47). To calculate the distances at which these thresholds occur, the highest point of a structure is selected as the focal point. Using the height of the structure and the angle of the desired isovista, distance is calculated using simple trigonometry. The points at which the isovistas occur are then compared to architectural features or the landscape to show how the builders used architecture to influence

the perspective of people seeing the structure. Since Huasi Huaman contains platforms with widely varied architectural layouts, a combination of viewshed analysis and isovistas provides a means to analyze and compare the visual impact of these monuments and perhaps show differences in the nature of ritual activities performed on them.

Excavation

Excavation, the third phase of the project, focused on four types of spaces: low sectors (Sectors G and K), terraces (Sectors A-superior and L), monumental architecture (Structure D and Huaca A), and platforms (Platform B, Platform C, Platform F, Platform H, Platform I, and Platform N). These sectors were selected for excavation as they represented a range of different ceremonial, administrative and domestic contexts. Within these sectors, we excavated a total of 20 units (Figure 5.2 and Table 5.1) strategically placed to target areas that did not appear to have been disturbed by looting. We employed a general excavation strategy that involving the cleaning off of the top sediments to expose a 5x5 meter area of the upper surface of structures and the excavation of smaller 1x1 or 2x2 meter sub-units on an identifiable feature such as a hearth or burning event, midden, pit, or architectural feature such as a ramp. As the deposition contexts of Huasi Huaman is universally shallow and no more than a few centimeters of sediments needed to be removed to reach the uppermost surface, 5x5 meter units proved to be viable excavations for the small team I employed. The smaller 1x1 and 2x2 meter subunits exposed the rest of the stratigraphy in the units since cultural deposits rarely extended more than 20 cm below the surface and these smaller subunits thus generally tended to be shallow excavations as well.

The exceptions were Units 5, 14, 19, and 20. Unit 5, a terrace located in Sector A-superior, was 4x6 meters to better cover the dimensions of the terrace on which it was situated. Units 14 and 19, both located in Structure D covered 10x5 and 10x2 meter areas respectively to better expose the rooms and architectural features of the building. Unit 20 was

a 1x1 meter test unit that was excavated to recover an intact cooking vessel located on a terrace of Sector A-superior that had been exposed by rain and was collected to ensure its preservation.



Figure 5.2: Map of Huasi Huaman showing the location of the 20 excavation units.

Table 5.1: List of all the units showing their dimensions and UTM coordinates.

Unit	Sector	UTM of Datum	Dimensions	Dimensions of sub-unit
1	I	664530E 9197997N	5x5 m	2x2 m
2	I	664534E 9198009N	5x5 m	1x1 m
3	H	664575E 9198113N	5x5 m	1x1 m
4	H	664562E 9198099N	5x5 m	2x2 m
5	A-Sup	664380E 9197346N	4x6 m	1x1 m
6	G	664535E 9198152N	5x5 m	1x1 m
7	A	664449E 9198020N	5x5 m	2x2 m
8	A	664439E 9198032N	5x5 m	2x2 m
9	A	664456E 9198053N	5x5 m	1x1.7 m
10	B	664439E 9198104N	5x5 m	2x2 m
11	F	664450E 9198142N	5x5 m	1x1 m
12	G	664501E 9198203N	5x5 m	1x1 m
13	L	664340E 9198221N	5x5 m	2x2 m
14	D	664307E 9198130N	10x5 m	1x1 m
15	N	664127E 9198278N	5x5 m	2x2 m
16	K	664192E 9198334N	5x5 m	2x2 m
17	K	664142E 9198339N	5x5 m	2x2 m
18	C	664339E 9198063N	5x5 m	1x1 m
19	D	664294E 9198130N	10x2 m	-

My excavation strategy was selected so that a large surface area could be exposed to identify features while using smaller subunits to determine the depth of occupation and the presence of renovation to structures. As much of the site showed evidence of deflation and shallow cultural deposition, an emphasis on horizontal rather than vertical excavation enabled us to recover more data. This methodology adapts methods employed previously in the excavation of Chimú period domestic contexts (see Moore 1985).

We used trowels and hand brushes to carry out the excavations and all sediments were screened using a 1/8 inch wire mesh which enabled us to collect small seeds, guinea pig droppings, and very small artefacts such as beads. We also collected sediment samples from hearths and ash deposits to be run through flotation, enabling the analysis of microbotanical remains and other small finds. This approach enabled us to collect a wide variety of faunal and plant remains from Huasi Huaman despite the shallow deposition that characterizes most

of the excavation contexts at the site. In the discussion that follows, I provide a detailed overview of each sector, the excavation conducted within, and how the excavations were intended to contribute to answering my research questions. I begin with the terraces and low sectors, the two areas that contained the site's domestic architecture. I then look at the platforms and monumental architecture.

Terraces and Low Sectors

Hecker and Hecker (1990: 13-14) have described Huasi Huaman as a "city of terraces" due to the number of terraces constructed on the hill above the lower sector of the site. These terraces contain scattered domestic refuse and my excavations show that they were probably the location of wattle and daub houses built by residents. Domestic refuse is also abundant in many of the low sectors located in flat expanses between the walls and our excavations revealed that these areas, specifically Sector K, were also the location of dwellings. The evidence for non-elite housing suggests the participation of non-elite segments of the valley's population, perhaps the members of a lineage or *parcialidad*, in activities at Huasi Huaman. The excavation of these spaces was used to provide a means to answer my first and fifth questions: What processes contributed to the creation of Chimú subjects and to what extent did non-elites interact with the Chimú polity? My excavations of the terraces investigated the nature of the occupation of the terraces to determine whether they represent continual or intermittent occupation and the types of activities practiced there. This research helped to clarify who resided in these areas, the extent to which non-elites interacted with local leaders, and the impact of the production of space and quotidian practices of people belonging to different ages, genders, and social classes. If, as I argue, local leaders were engaged as intermediaries between the Chimú and their provincial subjects, identifying the nature of this relationship contributes to the understanding of the developing entanglement of power relations within the Jequetepeque Valley region as it

became a province of Chimor.

My identification of the domestic terraces as continuously or intermittently occupied benefited from previously published excavation data from roughly contemporary sites elsewhere in the North Coast (Cutright 2009; Moore 1985). If the domestic terraces of Huasi Huaman were occupied continuously, I expected to find evidence of some of the following: 1) everyday activities related to occupation and the maintenance of a household such as craft production, subsistence, and individual ritual activities; 2) consumption of a wider range of foods than those typically associated with feasting such as maize or llama or differences between food consumption on the terraces and the platforms; 3) evidence of the remodelling of houses or changes in room function. First, if the occupation of domestic terraces was continuous and not only associated with intermittent ritual activities, it would be expected that those residing on the terraces would be engaged in activities related to maintaining their household. This should be preserved by the presence of artefacts related to production, cooking or other activities required to maintain the inhabitants of the terraces. Secondly, if the occupation of Huasi Huaman extended beyond participation in ritual activity, consumption would likely consist of more than just foods typically associated with Andean feasting such as llama or maize. Finally, when there was evidence for the layout of structures such as impressions or remains of cane walls or even the placement of cooking hearths, continuous occupation of the domestic terraces by families should provide evidence of remodelling or changes in the function of rooms. As families change in size, existing structures require repair, or the activities conducted in different rooms change over time, households may be remodelled to adjust to the changing needs of a family (Moore 1985: 204). Archaeological evidence of some of the above would indicate that the inhabitants of Huasi Huaman more frequently interacted with local leaders at the site and that control over the production of space at sites with large ceremonial components had potentially considerable consequences

for the development of habitus and the formation of subjects in the Jequetepeque Valley.

The second model for the domestic terraces is intermittent occupation. This type of occupation has been previously suggested by Swenson (2004: 965) and was the model I considered most likely going into the research. In this case, ideologies embedded in the built environment would be less frequently experienced by non-elites in their everyday lives. As such, attempts at emulation, memorialization, or authorization (Smith 2003) by local leaders in the construction and use of ritual architecture would have a different impact on non-elites who would only visit Huasi Huaman during festivals. If the hypothesis for intermittent occupation was correct, I expected to find some of the following: 1) absence of activities for maintaining the livelihood of families beyond participation in ceremonies conducted on the platforms; 2) minimal evidence for everyday household consumption outside of feasting; 3) lack of evidence for the remodelling of structures or changes in the function of rooms.

We excavated a sample of seven units located in the terraces and low sectors of A-superior, G, K, and L. These sectors were chosen not only because they are among the best preserved, but represent distinct areas of the site. This strategy was undertaken as it could potentially reveal differences in domestic practices over time or, if all sectors were occupied concurrently, between different types of domestic space. Of the seven domestic units, two units were excavated in Sector K (16, and 17), two units in Sector G (Units 6 and 12), two in Sector A-Upper (Units 5 and 20), and one unit in Sector L (Unit 13). All except Units 5 and 20 were 5x5 meters in size with a 2x2 or 1x1 meter subunit. Unit 5 was changed to 4x6 meters to better encompass the dimensions of the terrace on which it was located while Unit 20 consisted of only a 1x1 meter test unit. Following the previously outlined general excavation strategy, all artefacts such as diagnostic sherds were collected from the present surface followed by the removal of sediments to expose the first use-surface. Any features such as hearths, post holes, or preserved wattle and daub wall foundations were mapped on

graph paper to record their positions. Sediment samples were then taken from any hearths or middens in order to take flotation samples for the analysis of archaeobotanic remains. Finally, a smaller 1 x 1 m or 2 x 2 m subunit was excavated in order to identify the unit's stratigraphic sequence and any evidence of remodelling or earlier occupations.

When suitable carbon samples were recovered, they were bagged separately so they could be dated using AMS dating. By dating these sectors, I intended to determine which terraces were occupied concurrently and whether they were occupied at the same time as the platforms.

Platforms

The most numerous standing structures at Huasi Huaman beyond the domestic terraces are eight multi-terraced platforms first named and identified by Swenson (2004: 959-961). These are Platforms B, C, F, H, I, M, and N. We discovered a new single terraced platform in the excavation of Unit 17 in Sector K, which I have called Platform K. These platforms were constructed primarily from gravel and cobles. Floors were not plastered, but consisted of graded sediments, usually silty-clay. A matting of plant material covers the floor of some of the platforms and many contain faced stone retaining walls constructed to support the platform tiers. We excavated all of the platforms except for Platform M.

Platform B is a 6 m high platform consisting of a single terrace located directly to the northwest of Huaca A (Swenson 2004: 961). Several looters' pits reveal that the platform was constructed by layers of fill and reed matting and is rich with organic remains such as rope, textiles, and food. Swenson (2004: 961) suggests the structure was used for mortuary rites and ritual performance, though my excavations show a more multipurpose function that included the penning, butchering, and consumption of camelids. The excavation of Platform B involved the excavation of Unit 10, a 5x5 meter unit located on the northeast corner of the platform. Its excavation was intended to provide an understanding of the use of the platform

and its relation to Huaca A.

Platform C is twin-terraced platform located on the upper slope of the mountain. Swenson (2004: 961) identified several grinding tools in close proximity to the structure, leading him to hypothesize it may have been used in the preparation of food or even the production of craft goods. Unit 18, measuring 5 x 5 m, was located on the upper south terrace. This unit was intended to help confirm if the platform was used in production, identify the locations of activities that may have served to define social groups within Huasi Huaman, and determine the extent to which these activities may have been involved in establishing affiliation with the larger polity.

Platform F is a small single terraced platform located on the lower basin of the site. As Wall 2 is constructed over it, the excavation of this platform was intended to not only uncover the purpose of the platform, but to also provide a possible means of dating the construction of the wall. Unit 11 was placed on the northern half of the platform, covering a 5 x 5 meter area. Unfortunately, carbon from secure contexts was not recovered during the excavation of this unit, but we did find evidence of the modification of the platform and how the natural landscape was incorporated into its construction.

Platform H and Platform I were constructed from three raised terraces with the lowest terraces to the north fronted by a stone ramp. The two platforms are only 65 meters apart, but are separated by Wall 2. The similarities between them led Swenson (2004: 961) to argue that they were "intended to stage equivalent activities for a small and possible select group of individuals." In other words, they may have been used to host ritual activities by small groups such as lineages or moieties within the site. Our excavations support Swenson's argument. Unit 3 was be placed in the entry ramps leading onto the platforms. As ramps were sometimes associated with offerings or hearths in the pre-Chimú Jequetepeque Valley (Keatinge 1986: 154), Unit 3 helped to address my fourth research question regarding the

continuity of ritual practice with pre-Chimú forms. Unit 1 was placed on the side area located off the upper section of Platform I while Units 2 and 4 were placed on the platform terraces. These units are intended to clarify the nature of activities conducted on the platforms.

If the two platforms were in use at the same time and for equivalent activities, the platforms would provide evidence for the maintenance of social divisions in the ritual activity of the site as different groups would have been conducting similar rituals on separate platforms. Alternatively, if one of the platforms was a later addition to Huasi Huaman and neither platform was in use at the same time, the excavation of Platforms H and I may suggest that construction was part of ritual activity at Huasi Huaman. Comparing the dates of these platforms to other structures also serves as a means to determine the extent to which different forms of ritual practice were introduced, fell out of practice, or adapted.

As with the domestic platforms, carbon samples were collected and two were selected for AMS dating. These dates showed that not all the sectors were in use concurrently and that the smaller platforms were among the earliest ritual architecture constructed at the site. My interpretations of the AMS dates are presented in chapters 6 and 9.

Monumental Architecture

While Huasi Huaman contains several multi-terraced platforms, the site is dominated by the much larger Huaca A and Structure D. My excavation of Huaca A, the truncated pyramid with a sunken courtyard on the summit, involved the excavation of three 5 x 5 meter excavation units strategically placed to elucidate the spatial organization of the structure, its history of renovation, and the nature of ritual activities practiced within. The first excavation unit, Unit 7, is a 5 x 5 meter unit situated in a depression in the upper terrace of the *huaca*. The purpose of this unit was to clean out the depression in order to clarify the spatial organization of the pyramid and confirm the depression is a courtyard. Unit 8 (5 x 5 m) placed to the west of Unit 7 to examine how the depression may have been accessed and to

clarify the renovation history of the structure by determining the number of use floors and whether the structure had been modified following Chimor's conquest of the valley. The third and final unit placed on Huaca A, Unit 9, was located on the lowest terrace, straddling the location between the top of the lower ramp and the entrance of the upper ramp. Not only was this unit intended to clarify the use of the lower terraces in contrast to the *huaca's* summit, it was used to expose the upper ramp and determine whether the asymmetrical alignment of the ramps was intentional. By exposing the ramp, I was able to then compare the structure to truncated pyramids found at other sites in the Jequetepeque Valley.

Structure D, the second building that I identify as monumental, occupies a more secluded position on the slopes high above the majority of the platform architecture. Built on a well preserved stone platform, Structure D was built using a combination of stone masonry and adobe bricks. Containing baffled entryways and at least one niche, Swenson (2004: 967) suggests that it shows the adoption of Chimú architectural symbols of power, though similar architectural features are known at pre-Chimú sites in the Jequetepeque Valley such as Pacatnamú (Donnan 1986b: 73; 1986c:168). Nonetheless, rooms with baffled entryways and niches are often associated with administrative activities or elite living spaces within corporate Chimú architecture such as those in ciudadelas and intermediate elite architecture at Chan Chan (Andrews 1974; Donnan 1986b: 80; Moore and Mackey 2008: 786) raising the possibility that Structure D was modeled to mimic elite residential architecture or had an administrative function.

We excavation Structure D with two units, Units 14 and 19. Unit 14 was a 5 x 10 meter unit that spanned the first two rooms of the structure. The excavation involved the removal of surface debris to expose the floor and articulate the locations of three preserved baffled entryways within. The entire structure was mapped using a compass and measuring tape. We excavated a 1x1 meter subunit in the center of the eastern room to expose the

stratigraphy while straightening the sides of a looter's pit in the western room so that both rooms could be compared. Unit 19 was excavated to identify how the stone and adobe architecture intersected. It was a 10x2 meter unit placed along the southwest corner of the back wall and ending on an adobe platform to the north. Unlike other units, this excavation was intended only to expose surface architecture so we did not excavate a smaller subunit.

Both Huaca A and Structure D contained some adobe brick construction which opened up my analysis to include comparison to existing research on adobe brick seriation. Alan Kolata (1982) studied the adobe bricks found within Chan Chan's ciudadelas to determine the chronology of their construction. McClelland (1986) performed a similar study of adobe bricks among the Lambayeque of the Jequetepeque Valley at the site of Pacatnamú. By comparing bricks to research at Chimú and Lambayeque sites, I was able to determine the relative time periods of construction or renovation which is also helpful for determining if portions of either structure were built at different times and to date them in comparison to other constructions.

Laboratory Analysis of Remains

The fourth and final component of my research was the analysis of any archaeological remains recovered during excavation and surface collection. This involved the analysis of ceramic, lithic, faunal, and archaeobotanical remains. Sediments samples collected in the field were run through flotation in the project lab in Pacasmayo. This involved floating the samples in a bucket of water and collecting the lighter sediments in a cloth strainer. As I do not have the equipment or expertise in archaeobotanical analysis to study these samples myself, the microbotanical samples, along with the faunal remains, were submitted to biologist Victor Vasquez at the Arqueobios lab in Trujillo for analysis. However, I analyzed macrobotanical remains and shells myself with reference to botanical research conducted at Pedregal (Cutright 2009) and Pacatnamú (Gumerman 1991). This analysis involved the

identification of the types of plants and shells recovered from Huasi Huaman at a genus level through comparison to the types of species encountered at Pedregal and Pacatnamú. The number of individual specimens (NISP) was recorded for botanical remains while the minimum number of individuals (MNI) was used for shells to reflect the quality of data available. These counts were used to compare the frequencies of species between different contexts of the site. Differences in the types of food remains may indicate areas used in the preparation or serving of foods for commensal politics, especially in areas where meat or maize are found in high quantities.

My analysis of ceramics relied on the ceramic typology established by Swenson (2004: 734, figure 7.5; 744, figure 744; 746, figure 7.9) for the Jequetepeque Valley in his dissertation research. I also used the results of Robyn Cutright's (2009) ceramic analysis at Pedregal as a secondary reference. Diagnostic sherds were classified according to ten criteria. These were form, type, rim diameter, thickness, colour, surface treatment, decoration, paste, temper, and firing. These sherds were then drawn. Decorated sherds were also photographed. The catalogued ceramics were then added to the data collected during surface collection for statistical analysis through SPSS software.

Though much less frequent than ceramics, lithics, copper tools, beads, and textiles were also photographed and examined in the lab. The artefacts were photographed and described to record their form, material, and probable use. In the case of textiles, warp and weft were recorded along with any evidence of dyeing or decoration.

The final source of data was carbon samples. Four samples taken from secure contexts were selected and exported back to Canada where they were sent for AMS dating at the Centre D'Études Nordiques at the Université Laval in Quebec. This provided a means to determine the chronological depth of the site and how the production of space changed to reflect the sociopolitical contexts of the Jequetepeque Valley.

Conclusion

My research involved three stages of work: surface collection, excavation, and laboratory analysis. My surface collection was intended to identify areas of the site which may have been the locations of residential architecture. This helped me identify where people were living at the site and the types of activities that were part of everyday life, both of which informed by decisions for the location of excavation units. My excavation strategy was chosen to cover a wide horizontal area while sampling a large variety of different types of spaces. As deposition was very shallow throughout the site, this strategy allowed me to recover significant quantities of data for analysis while using a small team to excavate. Finally, my laboratory analysis included the examination of lithic, ceramic, faunal, textile, and archaeobotanical remains, allowing me to identify the types of activities associated with different architectural contexts.

Chapter 6 Excavations

We excavated 20 units that were selected to target a sample of structures spread among the terraces, low sectors, platforms, and monumental architecture. In this chapter, I provide a detailed summary of our findings. Beginning with the terraces, I describe our excavations of three terraces and present the evidence for their use as locations of residential habitation. This includes evidence for cooking, raising guinea pigs, maintaining gardens, and weaving. I then describe our excavations of the second location for domestic architecture at Huasi Huaman, the low sectors. The excavations provide evidence of many similarities between Sector K and the terraces, but reveal Sector G may not have been the location of residential occupation and instead may have been used as open space that was used in relation to ritual activities on the platforms.

Moving on to the platforms, I describe our excavations of six platforms located across the site. The excavations show that platforms were used for a range of activities such as feasting, processions, penning camelids, metalworking, and mortuary rituals. We also found that most of the platforms were constructed during the Lambayeque Period.

Finally, I present the results of our excavations of the monumental architecture, Structure D and Huaca A. I describe the courtyard and bichrome mural uncovered during our excavation of Huaca A and present the results of our AMS dating that shows both Huaca A and Structure D underwent their final construction at the time of the Chimú conquest.

Terraces

We excavated four terraces spread across Sector A-superior, Sector G, and Sector L. My excavations show that the terraces at Huasi Huaman were the location of residential occupations, probably consisting of wattle and daub houses that have not preserved. The discovery of in situ maize stalks that were probably part of a household garden demonstrate

that at least some of the terraces were occupied long term. I present the details of my excavations of the four terraces below.

Sector L - Unit 13

Size of Initial Unit: 5x5 m
Size of Subunit: 2x2 m
Depth of Subunit: 20 cm

This unit is located on the lowest terrace of a series of three terraces located in Sector L on the same foothill as Structure D to the south. It proved to be one of the most important units of our research, providing evidence for the presence of small but long term habitation on the terraces through our discovery of the remains of a garden where maize was grown. Using AMS dating, we dated a carbonized cob of maize found in secure contexts to between AD 1273 -1385. This places the occupation of the terrace in the late 13th century or 14th century.

The terrace of Unit 13 exhibits several differences that set it apart from the other three terraces we excavated. Level 1 consisted of ash rich yellow silt that was full of organic remains (Figure 6.1). The colour and size of the sediment stands out from that found in the other terraces, probably indicating that the sediment was not gathered from the area immediately around the terrace. Ash was also present in abundance, demonstrating more evidence of fire than the few small hearths identifiable in Units 5 and 6.

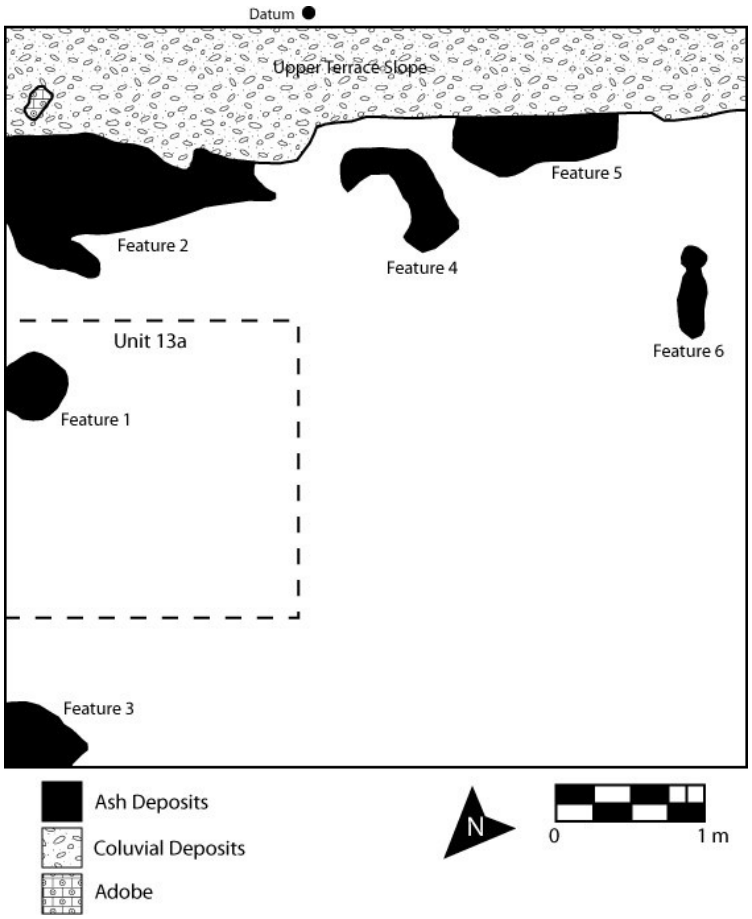


Figure 6.1: Plan of Level 1 of Unit 13 located on a terrace in Sector L. Of particular note is Feature 1, the location where a row of maize stalks were uncovered. This suggests the terrace contained a garden that was located next to a house.

After excavating the first level, a 2x2 meter subunit was excavated along the north profile. During the excavation of the subunit, we quickly encountered a row of maize stalks that we initially interpreted as a row of canes representing the remains of a wall from a structure (Figure 6.2 and Figure 6.3). However, as we continued the excavation, we discovered that the stalks had preserved roots (Figure 6.4) and found maize cobs with the ears still attached nearby. This led us to conclude that the row of stalks was probably not a wall, but the remains of a row of plant stems from crops grown on the terrace. Due to the presence of brace roots and the maize cobs found nearby, the crops are most likely maize.



Figure 6.2: Row of preserved maize plant stems located within subunit 13a on a terrace in Sector L.

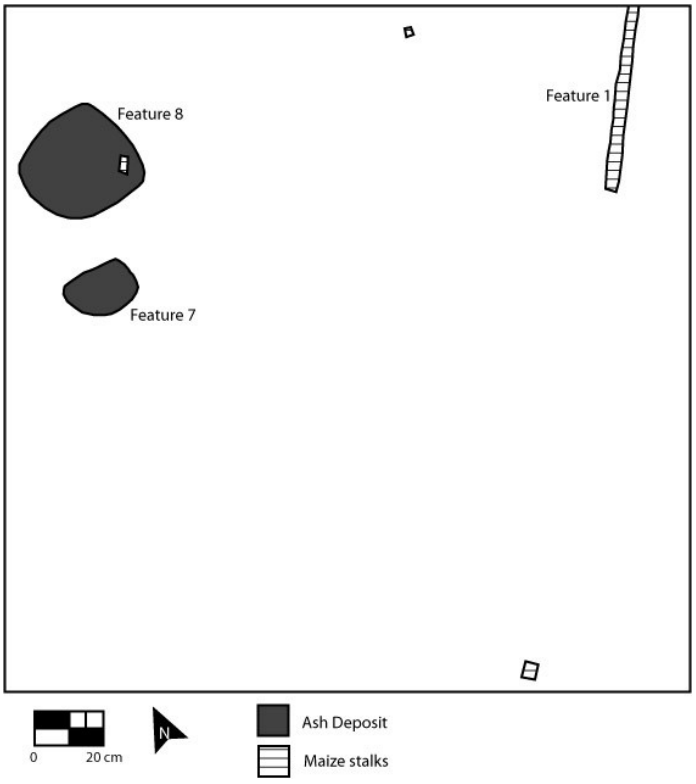


Figure 6.3: Plan of Unit 13a in Sector L showing the location of features at the top of Level 2. Feature 1 is the in situ row of maize stalks. The ash deposits of Features 7 and 8 also contained the remains of maize stalks suggesting there was once another row located in this location that did not preserve very well.

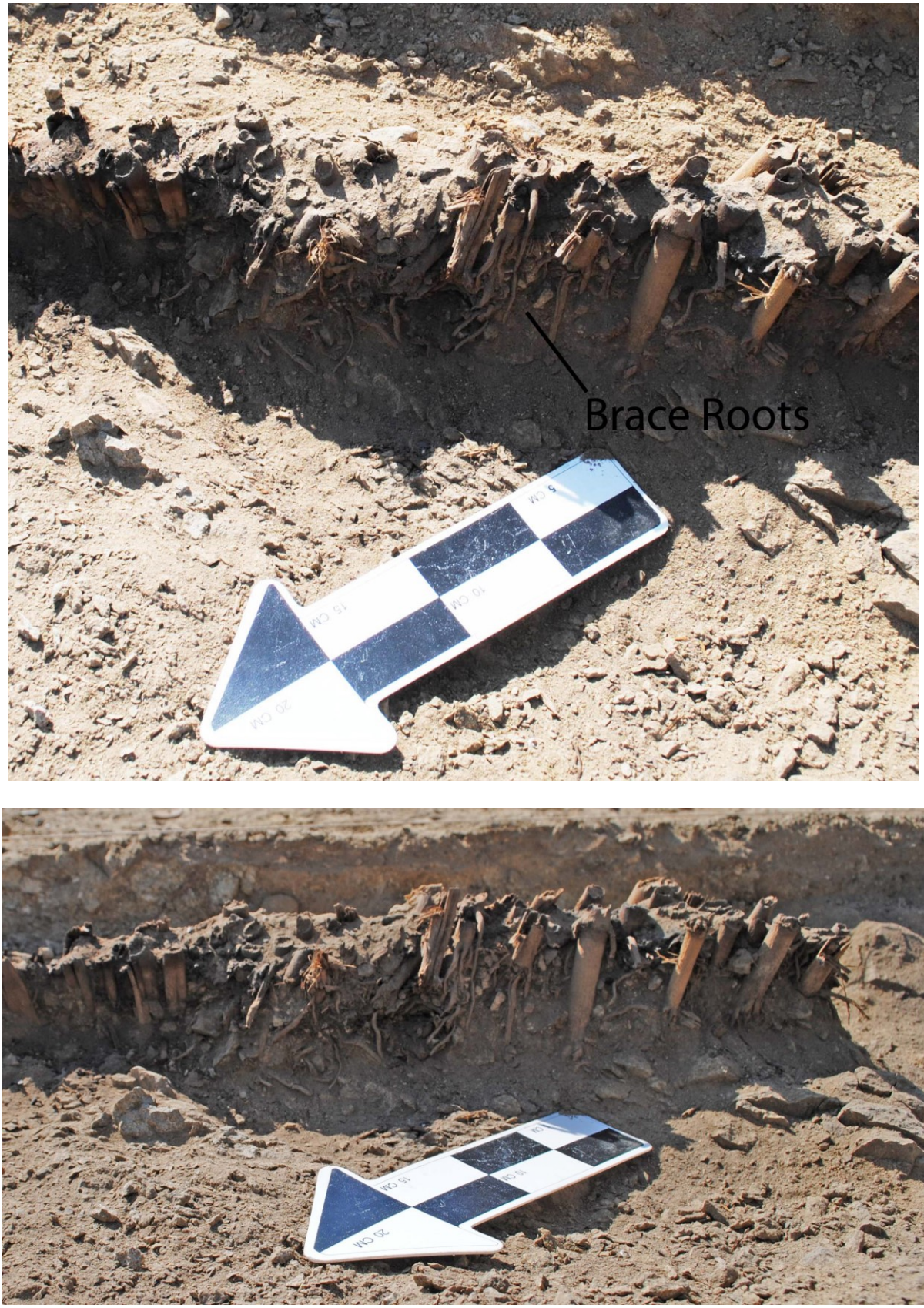


Figure 6.4: Maize stems with preserved brace roots from the terrace excavated in Unit 13 of Sector L. The tops show signs of being cut as a result of harvesting and then being burnt.

The well preserved brace roots (Figure 6.5) show that the plants were likely alive on the terrace. Smaller primary and lateral roots are not as well preserved, likely due to burning as exhibited by the ash deposit in which the stalks were situated (Figure 6.6). The fire that created the ash deposit also resulted in the partial carbonization of the stalks themselves which likely accounts for their preservation. All the stalks have been cut at the ends, suggesting harvesting with a knife or edged implement. The possible presence of multiple rows is suggested by the additional stems recovered from Feature 3 though that row was not well preserved. One potential problem with this interpretation is the unusual placement of the maize in paired rows of stems, a placement that is not typically seen in maize agriculture. This may indicate the plants were moved to the terrace after being grown elsewhere, but the combined evidence from the terrace leads me to favour the first interpretation.

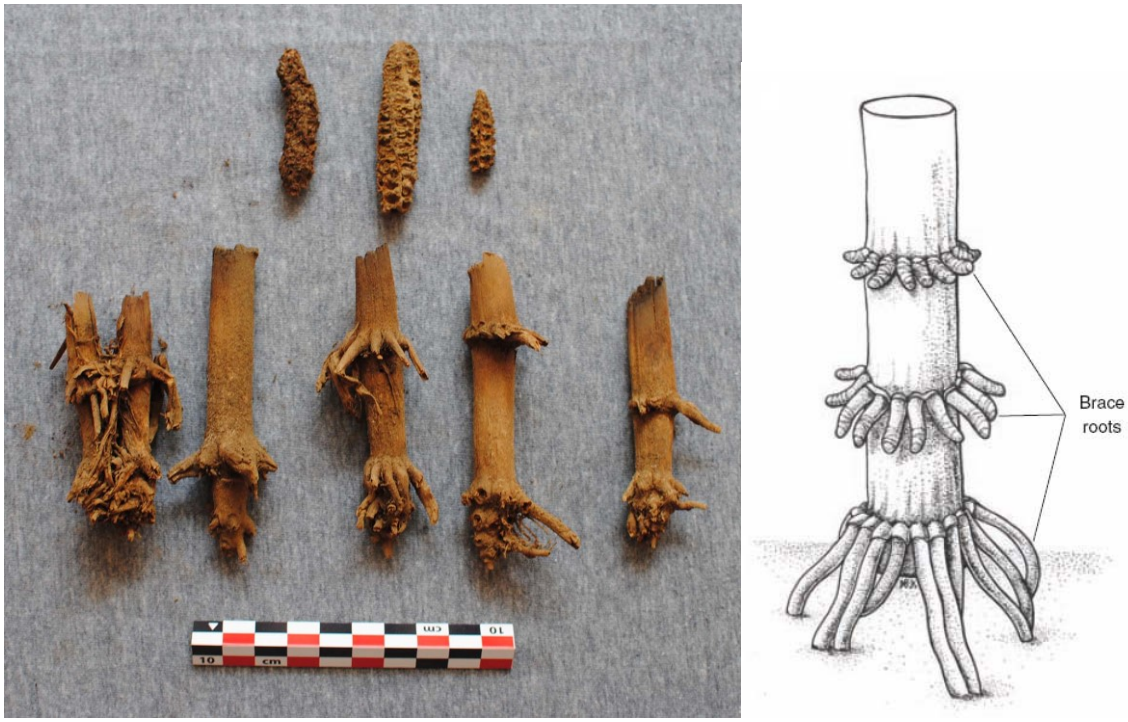


Figure 6.5: (Left) Plant stems with the remains of roots recovered within Subunit 13a of the terrace within Sector L along with some of the maize cobs found nearby. Notice that the tops of the stalks show evidence of being cut with a sharp implement and are darkened from burning. (Right) Drawing of brace roots on a six-week-old maize plant for comparison (Hochholdinger 2009: 146, figure 1b).

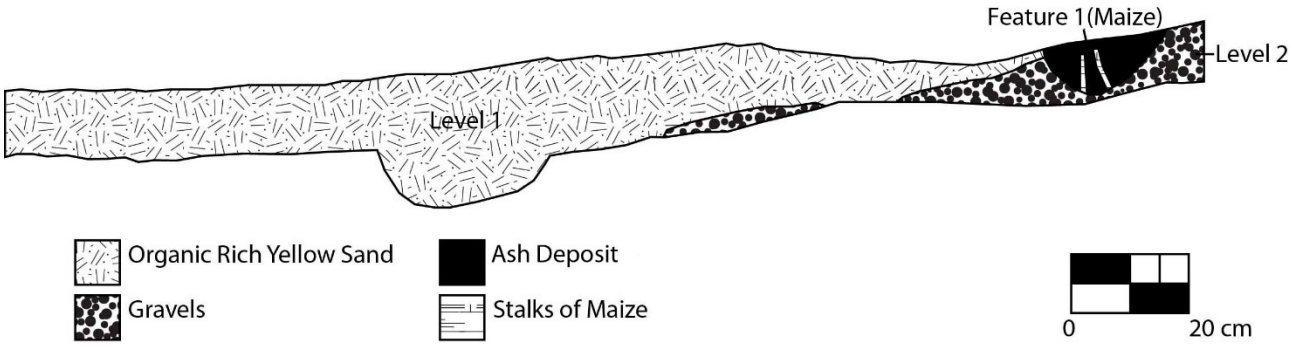


Figure 6.6: North profile of the terrace located in Unit 13a of Sector L.

If my interpretation is correct, the lower terrace may represent a garden associated with a house built on the upper two terraces. Other food remains, particularly donax shell, and dozens of sherds belonging to cooking and serving vessels were abundant on the terrace showing that food was also being prepared or consumed within close proximity of the crops. In our excavation of level 1, we also found a seed wrapped in a textile fragment that may represent an offering showing that activities on the terrace had a ritual component. However, these activities may also be related to tending or harvesting to the crops themselves. Unfortunately, excavation of the upper terraces would have required additional permission from the Peruvian Ministerio de Cultura which we were unable to obtain before the end of the excavation so the other terraces of Sector L must wait until another excavation season.

The presence of maize agriculture on at least one of the terraces at Huasi Huaman raises a number of questions but also provides significant evidence on the nature of the occupation of the site in general. Maize typically has a growing period of six to eight months and requires constant care to prevent germinating seeds from being eaten by pests. As the crops were being grown on a hillside terrace high above irrigation networks and in a region with very little rainfall throughout the year, it would have necessitated that water be carried up the slope to water them. The difference in sediment between this terrace and the others that were excavated may also be the result of soil being brought from nearby agricultural

fields that would better support agriculture than the gravels associated with the mountain. Ethnohistorical accounts of Inca maize agriculture describe maize crops being watched over day and night to prevent pests from eating seeds and sprouting crops. Maize crops were also guarded when they were close to harvest to prevent theft (Rowe 1946). While earlier interpretations of Huasi Huaman argued that the settlement was occupied only episodically (Swenson 2004: 965), the discovery of maize agriculture on the terrace means that there must have been a small population of residents who maintained the site year round.

A-Superior - Unit 5 and Unit 20

Unit 5
Initial Unit Size: 4x6 m
Subunit Size: 1x1 m
Subunit Depth: 10 cm

Unit 20
Size of Initial Unit: 1x1 m
Size of Subunit: N/A
Depth of Subunit: N/A

We excavated two separate terraces located on the slopes above Huaca A in Sector A-superior. Scatters of domestic ceramics on the surface of these terraces suggested that they were the location of residential housing and our excavations support this hypothesis as we recovered evidence of a number of different domestic activities such as cooking, weaving, and raising guinea pigs. The first of the two excavations in Sector A-superior was Unit 5 which was situated on one of the largest terraces in the sector. Its location was also chosen due to the dense scatter of ceramics on the terrace surface.

Removal of surface sediments from the terrace revealed 5 features consisting of small ash deposits (Figure 6.7). Feature 5 included several articulate fish bones indicating that at least some of these ash deposits represent cooking fires. A 1x1 meter subunit, Unit 5a (Figure 6.8), was then excavated into the terrace. The unit revealed that the terrace was constructed

by piling sand and gravel onto the natural surface of the mountain slope (Figure 6.9). The sediments used to create the terrace were shallow. Sterile sediments were reached at only 10 cm below the surface.

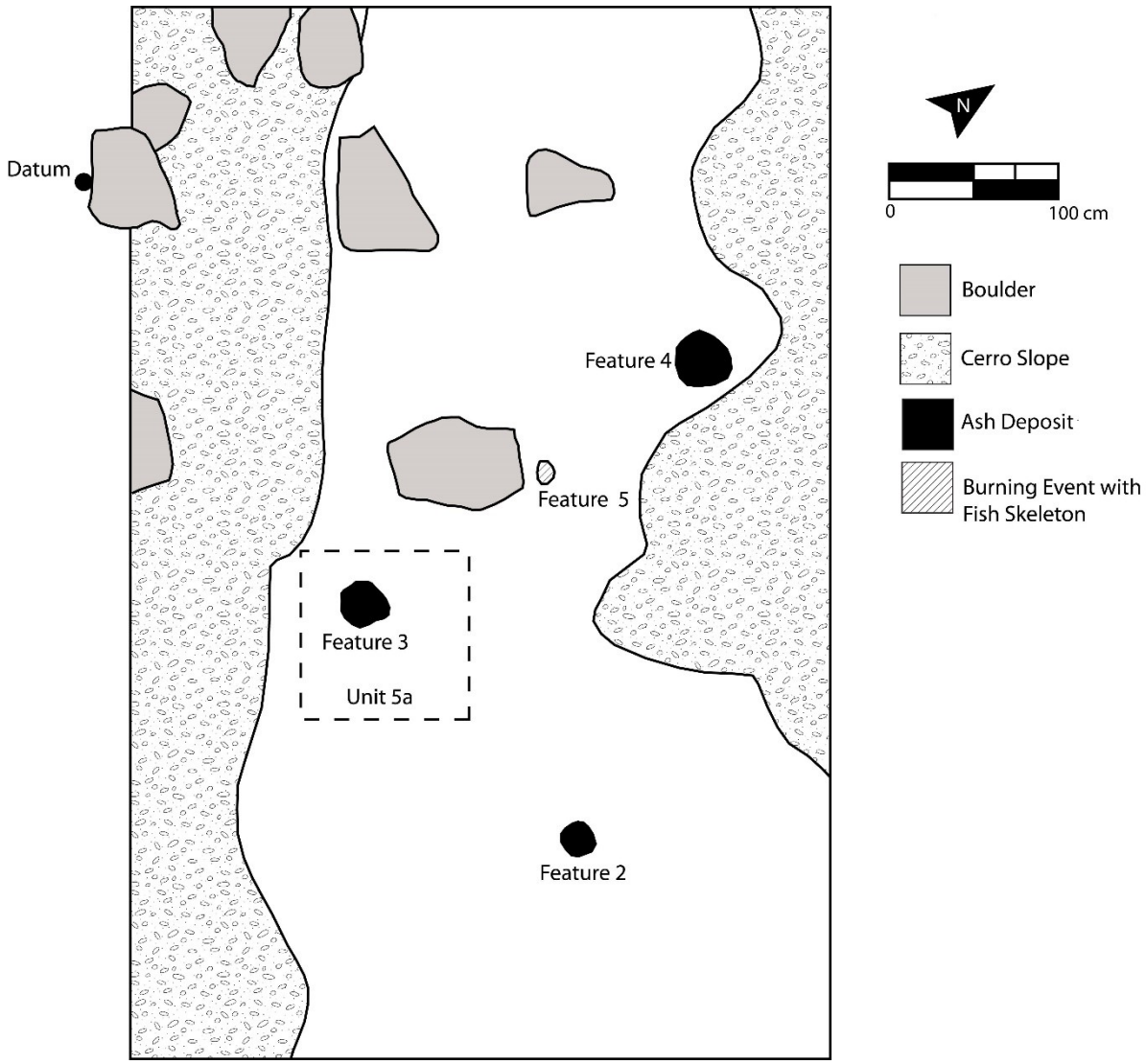


Figure 6.7: Plan map of Unit 5 located on a terrace in Sector A-superior. Features 2-5 probably are the remains of hearths and Feature 5 contains the skeleton of a fish (species not identified).

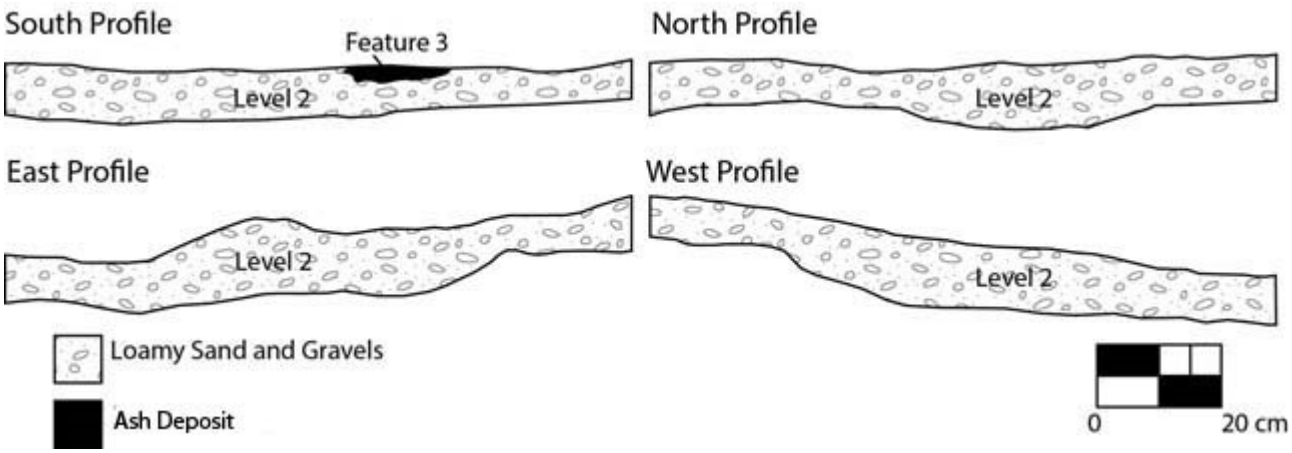


Figure 6.8: Profiles of Unit 5a.



Figure 6.9: The sterile surface of the slope underneath the terrace in Unit 5a of Sector A-superior.

The shallowness of the deposition on the terrace and limited quantity of faunal and botanical remains raises some questions regarding the duration of occupation. Given the abundance of ceramics in this unit (see Chapter 7) and the presence of guinea pig droppings and weaving implements in the nearby test pit of Unit 20 (see below), I suspect the lack of evidence for long term habitation in Unit 5 may be that the terrace was only used as a patio and the remains of the house it was associated with is on a nearby terrace that was not excavated. Given the narrow size of many of the platforms, a single household likely

occupied multiple adjacent terraces. Therefore the differences in the material recovered from the terraces I excavated probably reflects differences in use of specific terraces rather than differences in the type and duration of occupation between sectors.

The other terrace from A-superior which we excavated is located downslope to the north of Unit 5. This excavation, which I assigned the name Unit 20, was a small 1x1 m test unit that was excavated to investigate an intact and in situ *olla* or cooking pot (Figure 6.10) whose rim and neck were exposed on the surface of a terrace in Sector A-superior. Despite its small size, the unit contained an abundance of materials for different types of domestic activities that were conducted on the terraces including cooking, weaving, and raising guinea pigs. The excellent preservation of materials in this unit is likely the result of greater sediment deposition from colluvial processes on this terrace compared to the other terraces. Two levels of colluvial sediments were removed from the unit which consisted of sand and gravel before we reached the surface of the platform on which the terrace rested. Little ash was found in the area immediately around the olla which makes it unlikely that it was left in the remains of a cooking fire, but abandoned where it was set aside for storage.



Figure 6.10: Unit 20, located on a terrace of Sector A-superior, showing the location of an in situ olla (cooking pot).

Though it was not in a hearth when we uncovered the olla, its surface was heavily

burnt demonstrating its use in cooking. I removed sediments from its interior hoping to find seeds or food remains which might have been present if it was being used for storage or as residue from cooking, but this proved to not be the case. As the flotation samples came back negative, this particular olla was probably not abandoned with food left within.

Though the interior of the olla lacked botanical remains, they were abundant in the sediments around it, particularly seeds from soursop fruits which were prevalent throughout the site. Dozens of preserved droppings from guinea pigs were also collected from the screen indicating that guinea pigs were being raised on the terraces as well.

Besides the cooking pot, we recovered a copper needle, textile fragments, and several pieces of different colored threads that ranged from light brown to black. The evidence for textile production in A-superior suggests that the inhabitants of the area were carrying out a range of domestic chores, and activities on the terraces were not restricted to cooking and eating. Though only a test unit, the abundance of remains indicating a wide variety of activities provides evidence that at least some of the terraces of Sector A-superior were occupied for extended periods.

Sector G - Unit 6

Initial Unit Size: 5x5 m
Subunit Size: 1x1 m
Subunit Depth: 10 cm

The last of the excavated terraces is Unit 6, a 5x5 meter unit located on a small terrace at the base of the hill on the east side of Sector G. Unlike many of Huasi Huaman's terraces which are located high up the slopes of the mountain, this is located just above ground level in Sector G. It is also situated between Walls 1 and 2, placing it in a different spatial context than the terraces built above ceremonial architecture to the south (Units 5, 13, and 20). The excavation of Unit 6 provided an opportunity to determine whether it was being used for practices similar to the terraces located on the upper slopes. We found that the terrace was

used only ephemerally, providing a contrast with the terraces on the higher slopes of the mountain.

Removal of the thin layer of surface sediments exposed two small ash deposits (Figure 6.11 and Figure 6.12) comparable to the small ash deposits in Unit 5. Unlike Unit 5, the surface of the terrace had few ceramic sherds or faunal remains suggesting that any habitation was minimal. Excavation of the two features revealed shallow deposition. The two features were rich in ash and likely function as cooking hearths, but were probably not associated with a residence that was occupied long term as the small number and shallowness of the two ash deposits (Feature 1 and 2) is indicative of limited use. We concluded the subunit when we encountered sterile sediments belonging to the natural surface on which the terrace had been constructed (Figure 6.13).



Figure 6.11: Exposed first level of a terrace in Unit 6 of Sector G. The terrace contained little evidence for human habitation beyond two small ash deposits in the NW corner.

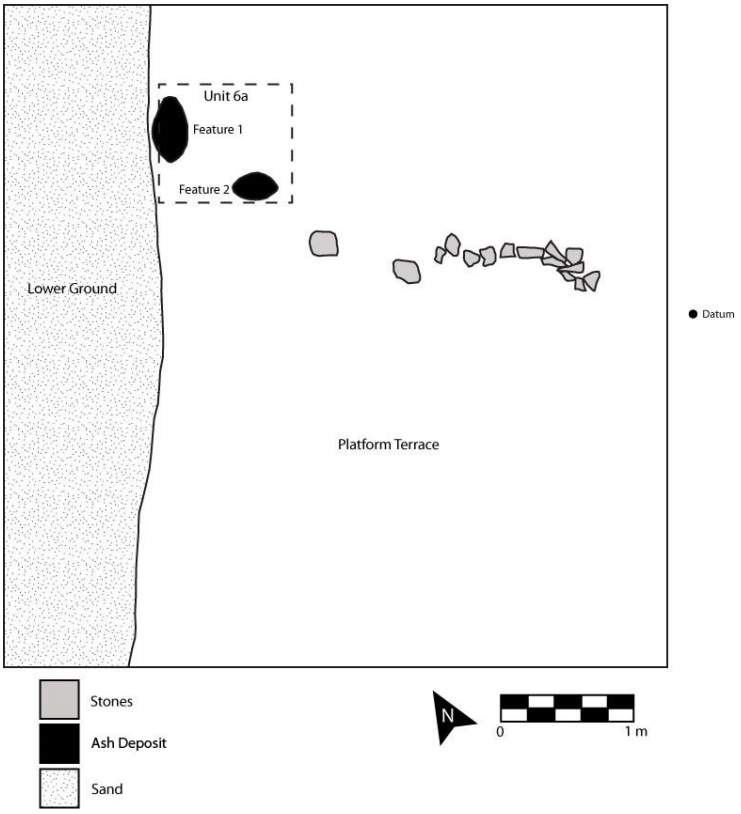


Figure 6.12: Plan of the terrace of Unit 6, located in Sector G. The small ash deposits were excavated with subunit 6a.

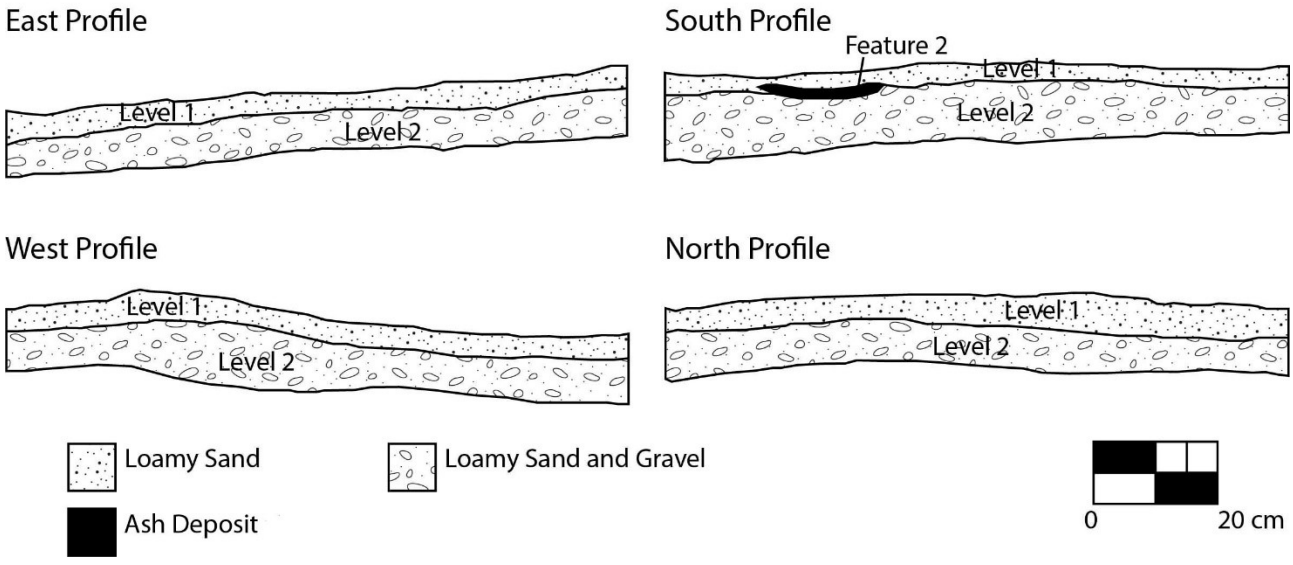


Figure 6.13: Profile drawings of Unit 6a.

Summary of Terrace Excavation

Three of the four of the excavated terraces contained evidence of their use as residential contexts. The three terraces located on the upper slopes of Cerro Murciélago were

likely occupied by people living on the terraces for at least most of the year, if not year round, as seen by the presence of a garden where maize was grown. The lower terrace in Sector G, in contrast, may have only been occupied ephemerally or used for some other purpose that left little archaeological evidence behind.

Low Sectors

We excavated the two low sectors, G and K, using three excavation units. Our research shows substantial differences in the quantity of material remains between the two sectors. Sector K contains far more evidence for human habitation than Sector G. The differences in the quantity of materials we recovered from both sectors shows the function and nature of occupation of the two areas must have differed. Combined with the similar lack of archaeological remains in the terrace of Unit 6 in Sector G, any occupation in that sector must have been only ephemeral and it may have never been the location of residential architecture. I present the details of my excavations of the low sectors in the section that follows.

Sector K - Unit 16 and Unit 17

Unit 16
Size of Initial Unit: 5x5 m
Size of Subunit: 2x2 m
Depth of Subunit: 40

Unit 17
Size of Initial Unit: 5x5 m
Size of Subunit: 2x2 m
Depth of Subunit: 31 cm

Located in the low area, between Walls 1 and 2, Unit 16 and Unit17 are in an area with scattered domestic refuse on the surface and is pot marked with looters' pits. We chose to excavate this location in order to determine whether it was comparable to the domestic terraces located on the slopes of the mountain to the south. The two units revealed that Sector

K was a densely occupied area that once contained wattle and daub houses. Though there are a few scattered human long bones on the surface of Sector K, these likely were transported post-occupation as a result of looting in the cemetery in Sector O to the north. The sector contained both *tinajas* (storage vessels) and *ralladores* (grater bowls), two vessel types not typically associated with burial offerings in the Jequetepeque Valley (Cutright 2011: 89) which supports my interpretation of the sector as a location of residential architecture.

The first of the two units, Unit 16, is dense with domestic refuse and has seven ash deposits visible at the top of Level 1 (Figure 6.14). We placed a small 2x2 m sub-unit (Unit 16A) on the largest of these features in the SE corner of the unit (Figure 6.15). This excavation showed that the ash was mixed with food remains, particularly various types of carbonized seeds such as soursop, and a few fragments of textiles. Aside from the ashy domestic deposits, the sediment of Level 1 consisted of semi-compact sand and gravel (Figure 6.16). Level 2, located under the domestic refuse, consisted of sand and gravel sediments similar to that of Level 1. It also contained domestic refuse, but not nearly at the amount of the previous level. Sterile was reached in Level 3, a stratum consisting of reddish sand and gravels. As no further evidence of occupation was recovered from this level, the unit was closed.

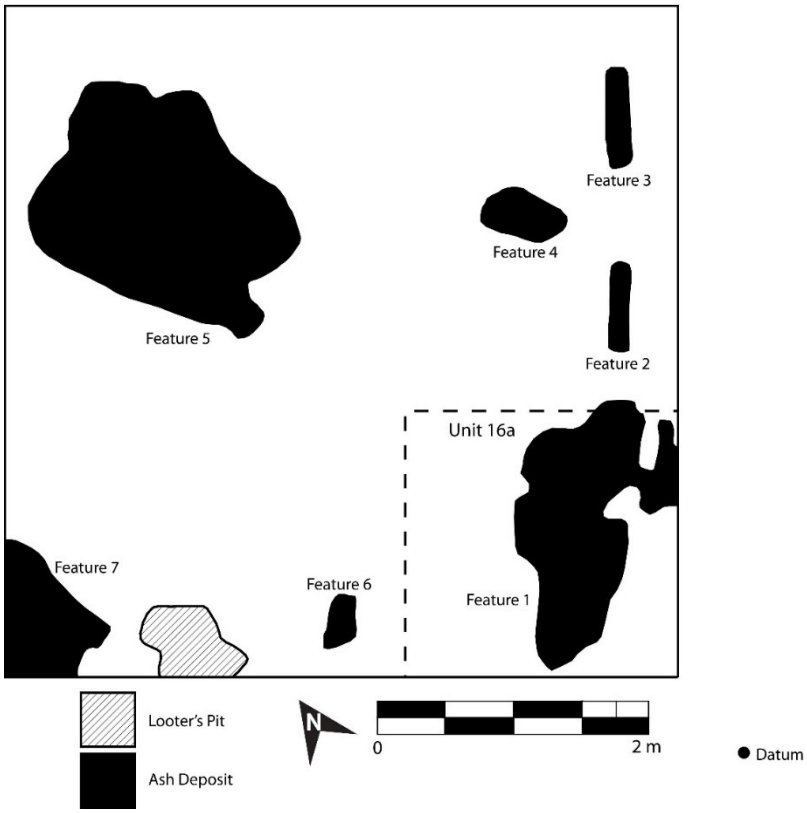


Figure 6.14: Plan map of Level 1 of Unit 16 in Sector K. Much of the unit consists of burned domestic refuse.



Figure 6.15: Ash deposits covering much of Unit 16a in Sector K indicating the presence of a burned domestic refuse.

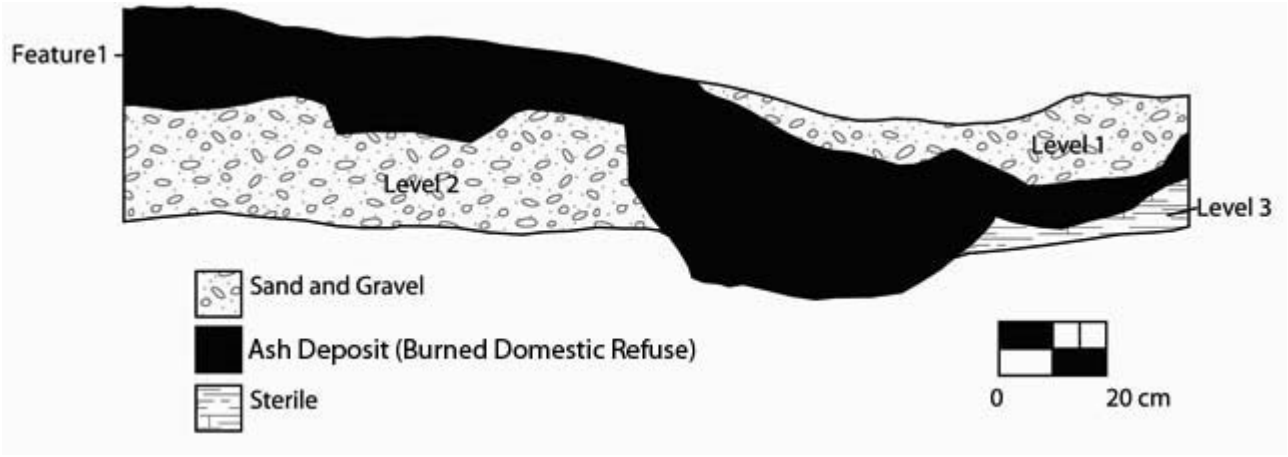


Figure 6.16: South profile of Unit 16a in Sector K.

The second excavation unit in Sector K, Unit 17, is located a few dozen meters west of Unit 16. To our surprise, we immediately came down on a prepared surface belonging to a previously unidentified platform which I have called Platform K. It appears to be single rectangular terrace and abutted by a small rectangular extension visible by a slight rise in level. Unlike the surrounding sediments, it had been largely untouched by looting. Though we did not uncover the entire surface of the small platform, we mapped in the approximate location of its corners with a total station to ensure that it was included in the site map. The surface of the platform, Level 1, was heavily burnt (Feature 1) on its northern side (Figure 6.17). We selected the northwest corner of the surface for excavation in order to incorporate a large part of the feature in our excavation. As there was not much evidence of how the platform was used, the focus of my description of this unit will be on the domestic remains found underneath. These consisted of the burnt remains of a wattle and daub house dating to between AD 1296-1399, a range that places it into the Chimú Period of the site. This unit provides the best evidence that Sector K was primarily devoted to domestic habitation.

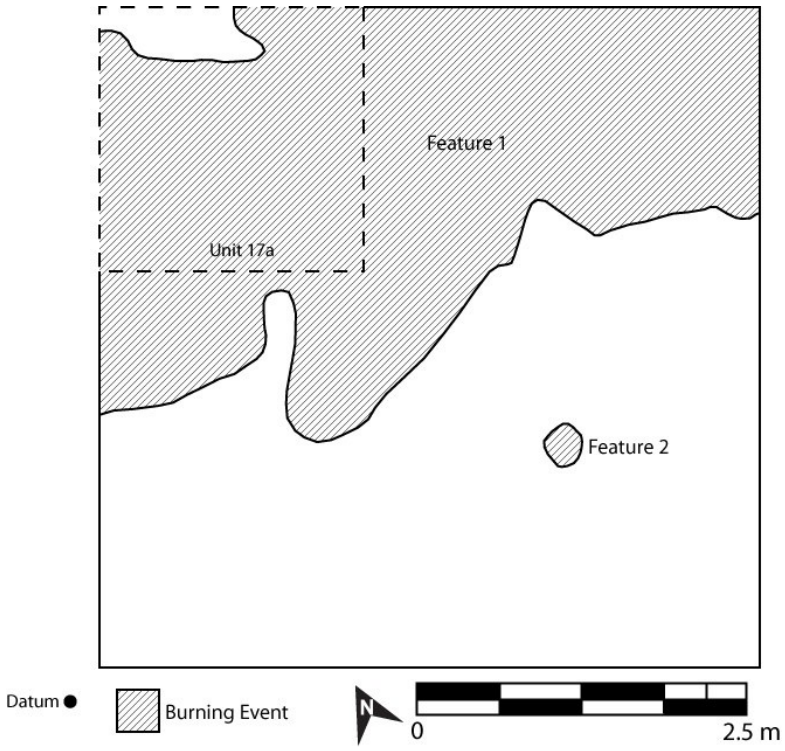


Figure 6.17: Plan map of Level 1 of Unit 17 showing the surface of Platform K. Much of the northern end of the small platform was fire blackened.

The stratigraphy underneath Platform K which was associated with domestic contexts consisted of yellow coloured fine sand which was much less compact than the floor of the platform above it (Figure 6.18). This level was filled with ash and contained the remains of cane belonging to a cane wall of a domestic structure that had been burnt to clear room for the construction of the platform (Figure 6.19 and Figure 6.20). A layer of grey plaster (Figure 6.21) was identified between the carbonized remains of a collapsed wall indicating that after the cane had been inserted into the ground, plaster was used to bond and strengthen the wall.

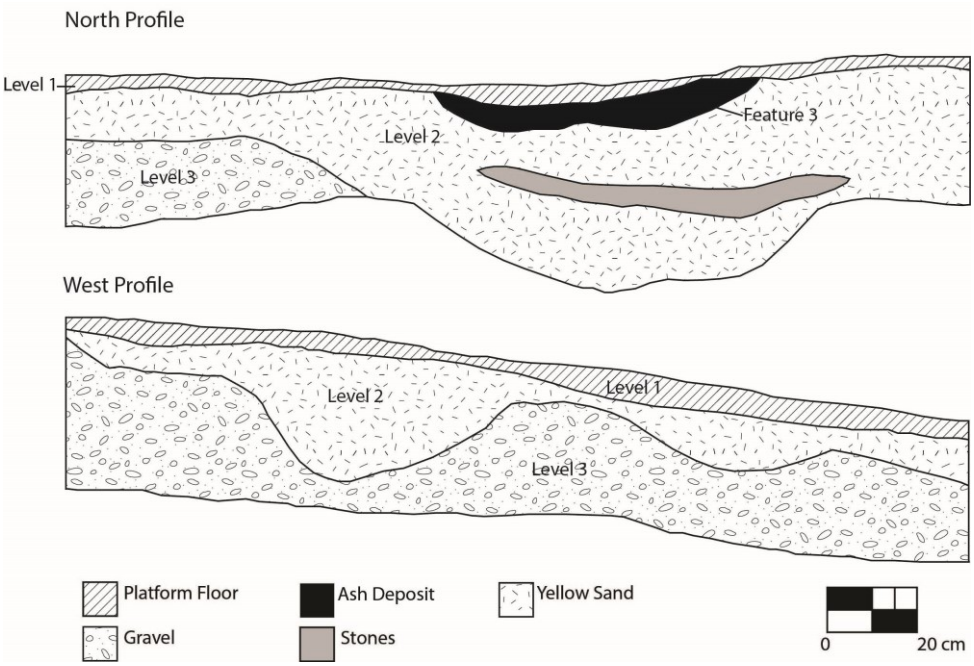


Figure 6.18: Profile drawings for Unit 17a in Sector K. The first level is the prepared surface of the platform. Feature 3 shows part of the large ash deposit found underneath Platform K that likely resulted from the burning of an earlier wattle and daub structure.

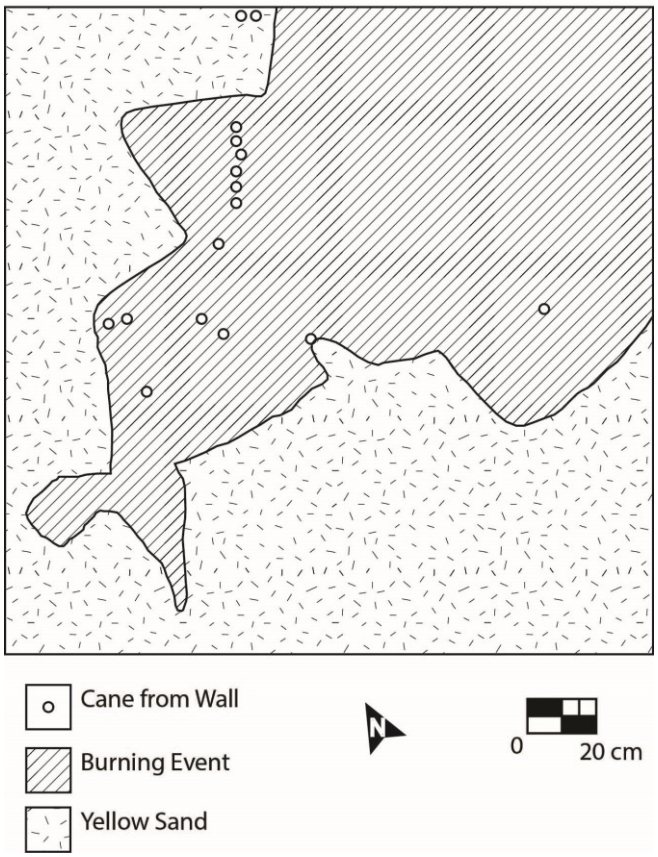


Figure 6.19: Plan of level 3 from Unit 17a in Sector K showing the location of the remnants of a cane wall. The canes are not shown to scale. Much of the unit contained ash.



Figure 6.20: Preserved remains of a cane wall underneath the platform of Unit 17 in Sector K.



Figure 6.21: Remains of burnt cane wall in Unit 17 in Sector K. Grey area is likely wattle or plaster placed between rows of cane to strengthen the wall.

Within the remains of the burnt down house, we found some artefacts associated with domestic activities beyond cooking. Weaving was identifiable through the recovery of a copper needle (Figure 6.22), a spindle made from cane with thread still wrapped around it

(Figure 6.23), several textile fragments, and cotton seeds. We also recovered a spondylus bead (Figure 6.24) and some hair (Figure 6.25) that may have been left as an offering after the house was destroyed.



Figure 6.22: In situ copper needle and textile fragment found underneath the burned cane wall within subunit 17a in Sector K.



Figure 6.23: Spindle with thread made from a piece of cane that was recovered from subunit 17a in Sector K.

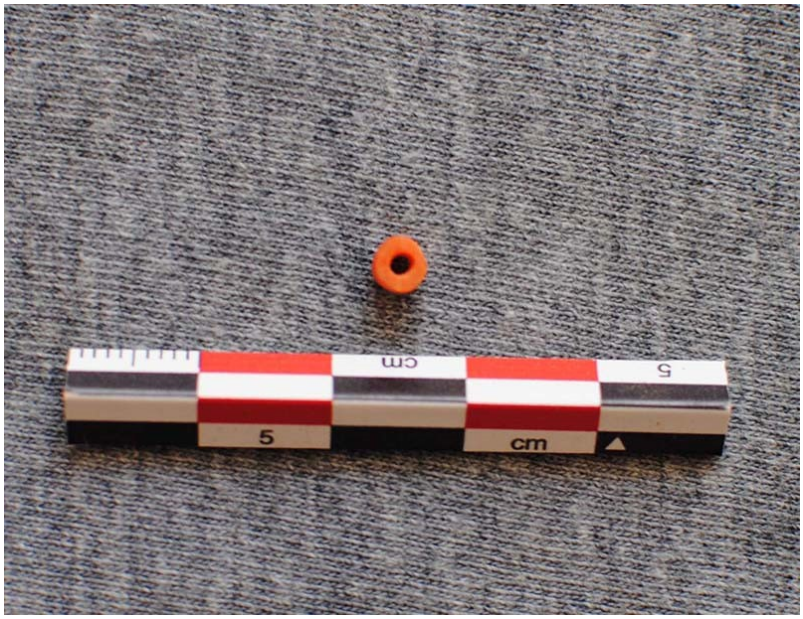


Figure 6.24: Spondylus bead uncovered during the excavation of Unit 17 in Sector K. It may have been left as an offering in the burned wattle and daub structure we found in the unit.



Figure 6.25: Hair found in Unit 17 in Sector K that may have been left as an offering.

We also collected a sherd from a Chimú blackware vessel from within Level 3, located directly beneath the surface of Platform K. The sherd (Figure 6.26) depicts the head of an animal, probably a lizard or feline, in profile. The recovering of the sherd from secure

contexts beneath the platform allows us to identify that the platform was constructed sometime after the Chimú established their presence in the Jequetepeque Valley. This was also confirmed by the AMS dating of wood charcoal from Feature 3 of Level 3, the feature which contained the burnt remains of a wattle and daub structure. The charcoal was dated to 615 BP (± 20) which puts the destruction of the house as occurring in the early 14th century. This period corresponds to after the arrival of the Chimú in the Jequetepeque Valley. It is tempting to argue that the removal of domestic architecture for the construction of a small platform is a response to changes in political practices brought on by the conquest.



Figure 6.26: Chimú blackware sherd from Unit 17 of Sector K depicting an animal in profile. The animal may be a lizard or feline.

Unit 17 further confirms the identification of Sector K as a domestic space, though the presence of a platform over earlier domestic architecture may reflect changes in how space was being used. It suggests that local ritual practices flourished in the Chimú Jequetepeque Valley despite the disruption caused by the decline of Pacatnamú and tribute demands placed on the valley's residents. The range of domestic activities evident in Sector K means that the occupation of the sector lasted long enough that people needed to complete the chores necessary to sustain their households.

Sector G - Unit 12

Size of Initial Unit: 5x5 m
Size of Subunit: 1x1 m
Depth of Subunit: 20 cm

Unit 12 is located between Walls 1 and 2, beside a *quebrada* and northeast of the plaza of Platform G. The location was selected for excavation as it provided a comparison to Units 16 and 17 in the spatially similar Sector K. Additionally, its proximity to the plaza where Swenson (2004: 962) collected a high frequency of decorated serving bowls led me to hypothesize that the space may have been incorporated into activities on the ceremonial architecture such as Platform F. I hoped to determine the relationship between potential domestic space and ceremonial architecture in the production of space at Huasi Huaman. Though the similarities in location of Sector G and Sector K would suggest they were used for similar purposes, our excavations show substantial differences in the quantity of archaeological remains between the two sectors. Indeed, Sector G is relatively barren. I argue that Sector G may have seen only ephemeral occupation or was used as an open space that was incorporated into the ritual activities on nearby platforms such as Platform F.

Though Sector G has few artefacts visible on the surface, piles of gravels and cobbles form vaguely rectangular patterns on the ground (Figure 6.27). I initially optimistically hypothesized they might indicate the location of now eroded cane or wattle and daub walls from structures. However, as both 12 and the terrace of Unit 6 proved to have sparse evidence of human habitation, the deposition of the gravels and cobbles may be the result of a combination of natural aeolian and colluvial processes.



Figure 6.27: Photo of Sector G taken from a small hill to its east. Wall 2 can be seen in the background.

Our excavation of Unit 12 involved the clearing of surface sediments from a 5x5 meter area (Figure 6.28). The exposed level was bare except for only three shallow ash deposits, probably the remains of cooking fires, located along the western profile of the unit. A 1x1 m sub-unit (Unit 12A) was then placed around the three features and excavated down until sterile sediments were reached underneath level 2 (Figure 6.29). Each of the features were excavated separately and sediment samples were collected from the largest two (Features 1 and 3) for flotation and analysis back at the lab.

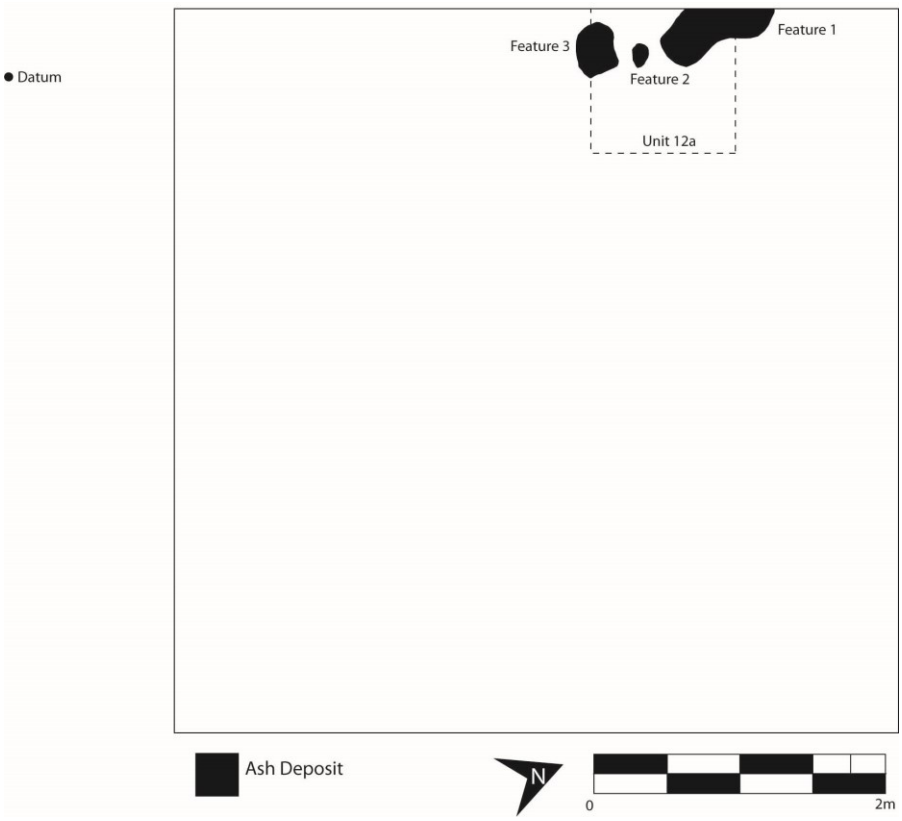


Figure 6.28: Plan map of Level 1 from Unit 12 of Sector G. There was little evidence of human habitation uncovered in this unit.

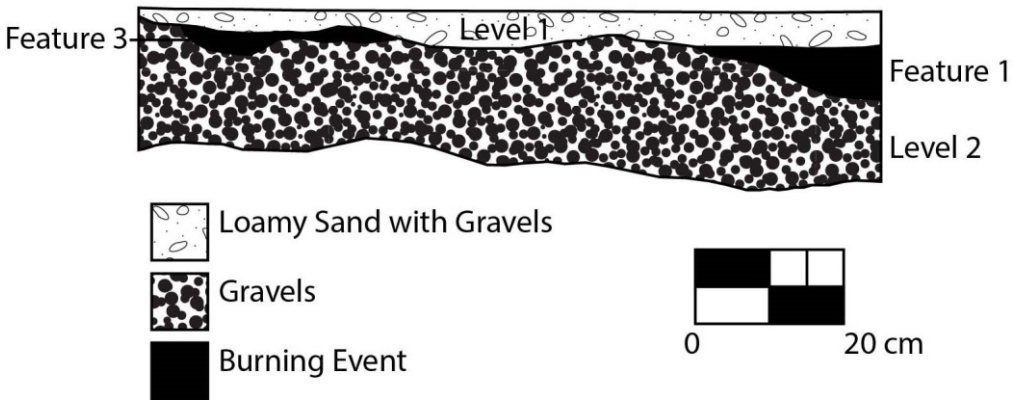


Figure 6.29: West Profile of Unit 12 in Sector G. The ash deposits were shallow so they may be the result of natural fires or the locations of cooking fires that were only used once.

As I previously argued, the stark contrast between Sector G and Sector K is apparent by the minimal presence of archaeological remains. It is likely that the sector was only in use during ceremonies hosted on the ceremonial architecture to the south. As the radiocarbon dates show much of the present extent of Huasi Huaman was defined during its Lambayeque

occupation, the differences between the two sectors is unlikely to be the result of changes in its domestic occupations over time and Sector G was never used as a location for substantial habitation.

Platforms

We excavated seven platforms within Huasi Huaman. Given that we found evidence of platforms being used as the location of feasts, a camelid enclosure, metalworking, an elite residence used in shamanistic rituals, and possibly burial platform, this category reflects a great deal of variability in function, use, and location. In this section, I present the details of our excavations of Platform I, Platform H, Platform B, Platform C, Platform F, and Platform N.

Platform I - Unit 1 and Unit 2

Unit 1
Size of Initial Unit: 5x5 m
Size of Subunit: 2x2 m
Depth of Subunit: 35 cm

Unit 2
Size of Initial Unit: 5x5 m
Size of Subunit: 1x1 m
Depth of Subunit: 30 cm

We excavated two units on Platform I (Figure 6.30), a multi-terraced platform entered by climbing up a cobble ramp located on its north face. The excavations revealed that though the surface of the platform was kept clean, there was a large midden containing feces immediately beside it. The presence of a midden filled with human feces mixed with food remains suggests that the platform was used in feasts that probably lasted several days. People were consuming food and then staying on the platforms long enough to need to excrete it in the midden. AMS dating of charcoal from the midden to AD 1259-1290 indicates that the platform was being used during the mid-to-late 13th century. This date places the platform as a structure that was used during the Lambayeque Period.

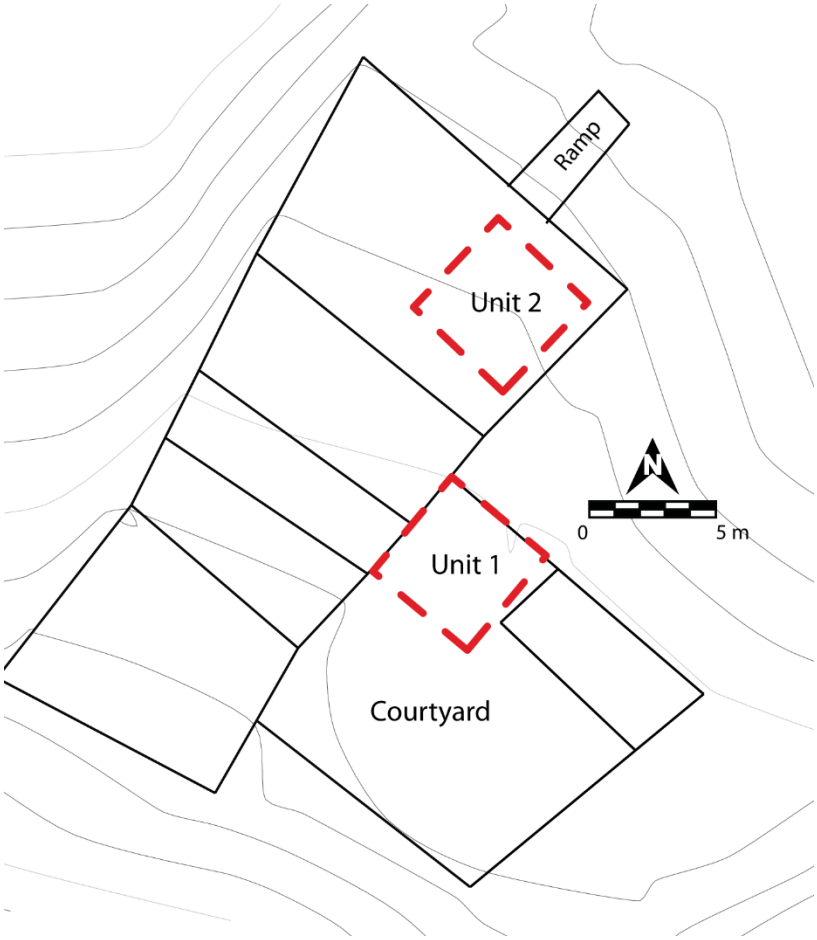


Figure 6.30: Plan map of Platform I showing the location of Unit 1 and Unit 2.

The first of the two excavation units, Unit 1, is located in a leveled area on the hill directly off the upper terraces of Platform I. Many loose cobbles cover the surface (Figure 6.31) due to colluvial deposition from the upper slopes of the mountain or erosion from the platform where cobbles were used as construction fill. I selected this location for excavation to determine how the leveled area was used in relation to the platform and to determine whether it was natural or part of Platform I. Excavation involved the cleaning of a 5x5 meter area of the surface and then excavating a 2x2 meter subunit (Unit 1a) within its confines.



Figure 6.31: Unit 1, situated west of the upper terrace of Platform I, prior to excavation. We discovered the midden in this location. The area is covered in cobbles that eroded from the slopes of Cerro Murciélago.

The excavation revealed that the area was not a side terrace to Platform I as originally suggested by Swenson (2004: 955, figure 9.37), but a flattened area of the slope. There was no evidence of a prepared floor surface so the area was likely leveled through the removal of sediments, perhaps for the construction of the platform. The surface of Level 1 (Figure 6.32) contained evidence of burning in the center of the unit (Features 1, 2, and 3). We excavated the ash deposits with Unit 1a and discovered that they were from the burning of waste materials, including excrement. Excavating down until we encountered sterile sediments, we identified three levels (Figure 6.33). The first level consisted of semi-compact loamy sand with a depth of only a few centimeters. This level appears to have been deposited by natural colluvial processes from erosion on the upper hillside. Below this first level was a much thicker level of loose sands and gravels that continued down into Level 3. Within Levels 2 and 3 were eight features. Seven of the features consisted of deposits of feces mixed with

botanical remains. The largest of the deposits, Feature 7, extended across almost the entirety of the unit (Figure 6.34) and whose bottom marks the location of a paleosurface. The deposits of feces were densely compacted and distributed in a largely continuous layer, making it difficult to distinguish individual stool, but no pellets characteristic of llama or guinea pig droppings were encountered making it likely that the deposits are human feces.

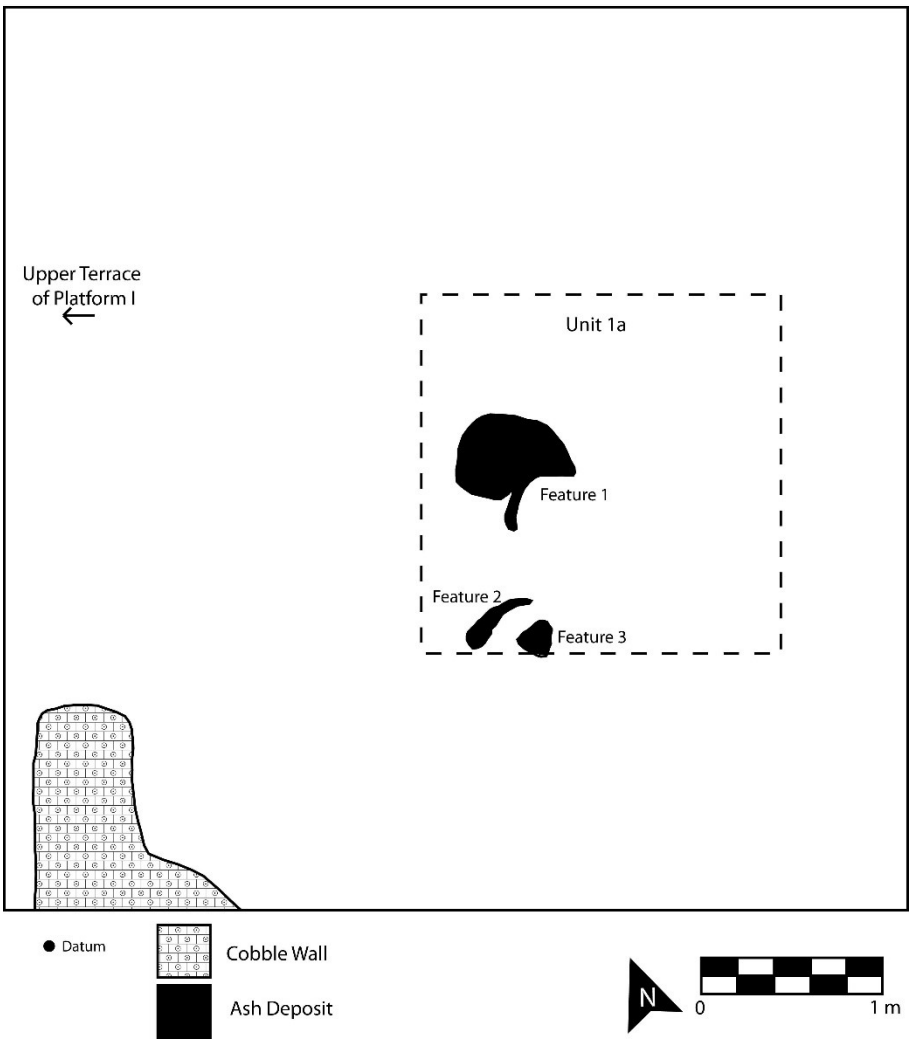


Figure 6.32: Plan drawing of the top of level 1 from Unit 1, located in the courtyard off the side of Platform I. The ash deposits labeled as Features 1-3 are the top of larger deposits of burned refuse.

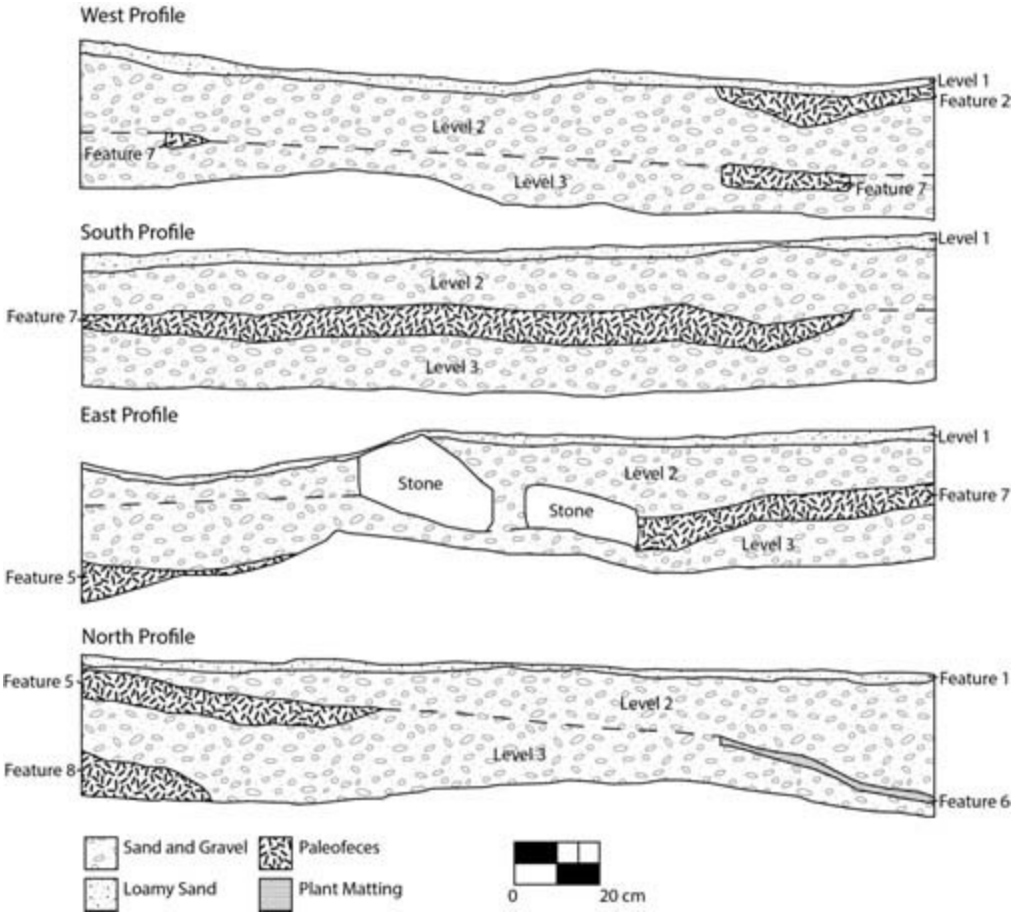


Figure 6.33: Profiles of Subunit 1a located in the midden uncovered in the courtyard to the east of Platform I. Features 2, 5, 7, and 8 are compacted layers of feces. The dotted line marks the probable location of an earlier surface.

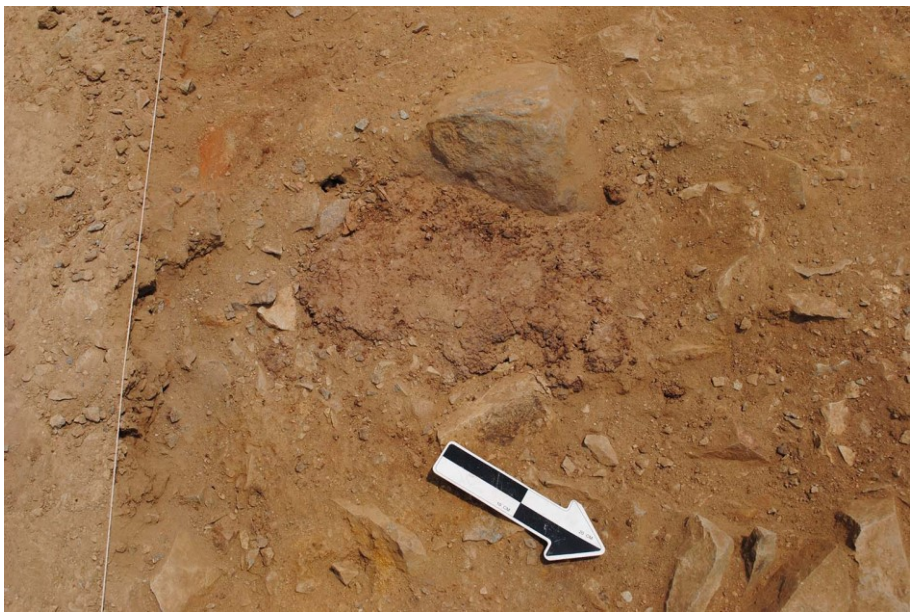


Figure 6.34: The beginning of Feature 7 in Platform I which consisted of a thick layer of probable human feces that covered much of Subunit 1a.

Further evidence for a paleosurface at the bottom of the feces features is Feature 6 (Figure 6.35), a small mat made from plant materials identical to another encountered over a refuse pit on Huaca A of Unit 7. It was laid out flat against the ground covering only sterile sediments. Its purpose remains unclear.

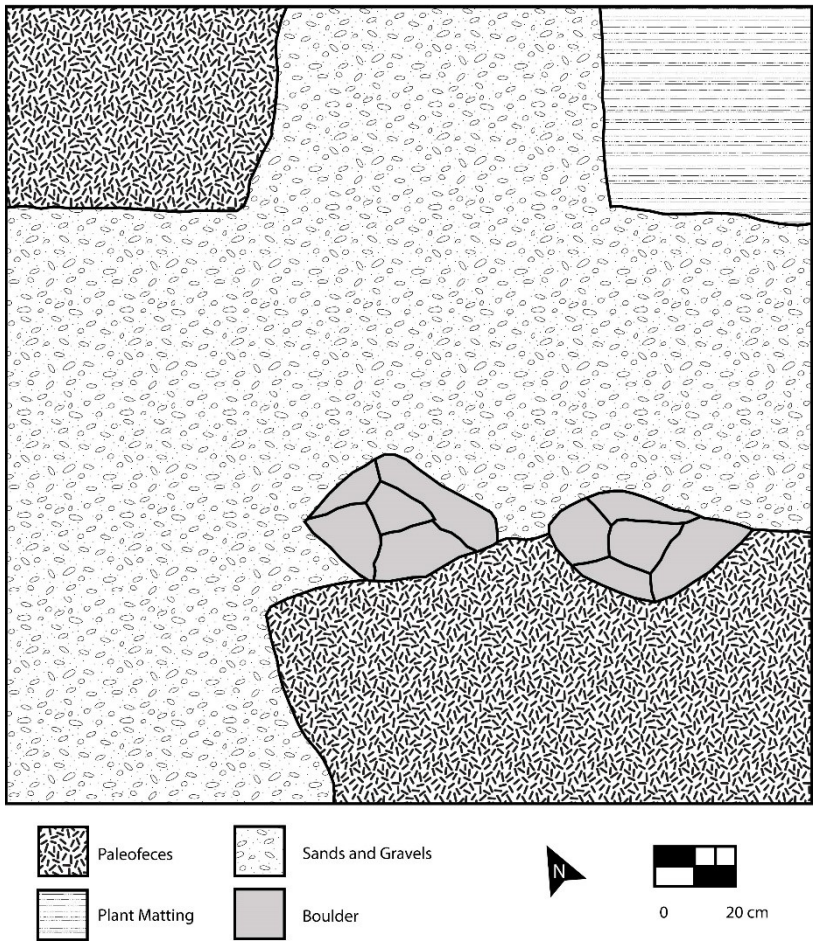


Figure 6.35: Plan of the top of Level 3 of subunit 1a of Platform I showing the location of feces and a mat made from plant material.

The presence of human excrement immediately beside Platform I and its isolation from any other area makes it almost certain that the waste relates directly to the activities conducted on the platform. The lack of identifiable living space within the platform or near the unit suggests that the refuse is unlikely from domestic activities, but the result of rituals conducted on the platform. The presence of ample food remains within the waste suggests that feasting may have been a component of these activities. The quantity of feces, extending

beyond the 2x2 meter area of the subunit also provides evidence not only to indicate that the refuse was probably deposited over an extended period of time, but shows multi-day use of the platform. The feasts conducted on the platforms would have needed to last long enough for people to digest and excrete the waste from what they were eating. It is tempting to suggest the two conveniently placed boulders (Figure 6.36) in the middle of the unit served as a place to stand for people relieving themselves which would have enabled them to stand out of the filth.



Figure 6.36: Two large boulders located to the north of a large midden containing a thick stratum of feces in subunit 1a of Platform I.

The location of feces in close proximity to a ritual structure where food was consumed raises questions about hygiene and attitudes towards waste in North Coast Peru. While we see human excrement as not the topic of polite conversation, something that is best to be avoided, and certainly not something we would want to leave around places where we eat, our aversion to feces is not universal (Hawkins and Muecke 2003). Though anthropologist Mary

Douglas (1966) argues excrement represents impurity and disorder as it represents the boundary of the body, different bodies defecate in different socially constructed ways (Morrison 2008: 2) and the meaning of filth can change according to its context. For example, Mikhail Bahktin (1968: 175) argues that during the Carnival of Fools in Medieval France, excrement was seen as an intermediate form between the living body and the corpse as like the decaying corpse, it fertilizes the earth.

Similarly, refuse disposal is itself an "intrinsically social practice" that involves classifying and categorizing particular substances (Marciniak 2005: 76). Societies usually have customary ways to dispose of waste that are influenced by their norms, but variability exists between individuals in how they dispose of their refuse (Vallieres 2012: 270-271). Even within the same society, people can have very different attitudes towards cleanliness (Miller 1979: 92).

The presence of a midden with human waste beside a ritual structure at Huasi Huaman therefore implies that the close proximity between the two was not seen as problematic. The accumulation of thick layers of waste in association with Platform I shows that it was not being removed following activities on the platform to maintain cleanliness despite the fact that the surface of the platform itself appears to have been kept free of debris. The short distance between the waste and the platform may have been considered far enough away for standards of cleanliness at the time or the waste may even have taken on a different meaning during ritual activities.

The second excavation located on Platform I, Unit 2, was placed on the first terrace of the platform, immediately east of the entrance ramp. We chose this location for excavation as it provided a means to investigate the activities that may have been performed near the entrance of the platform and to provide a comparison to the Platform H which shares a similar architectural layout. The surface of the platform proved to have been well maintained

and swept clean of debris from the activities that took place on it. Given the presence of the substantial midden we uncovered in Unit 1, the lack of hearths or evidence for food preparation leads me to conclude that the food consumed in feasting activities on the platform must have been prepared elsewhere. The only feature visible on the surface was an area of staining due to water damage (Figure 6.37).

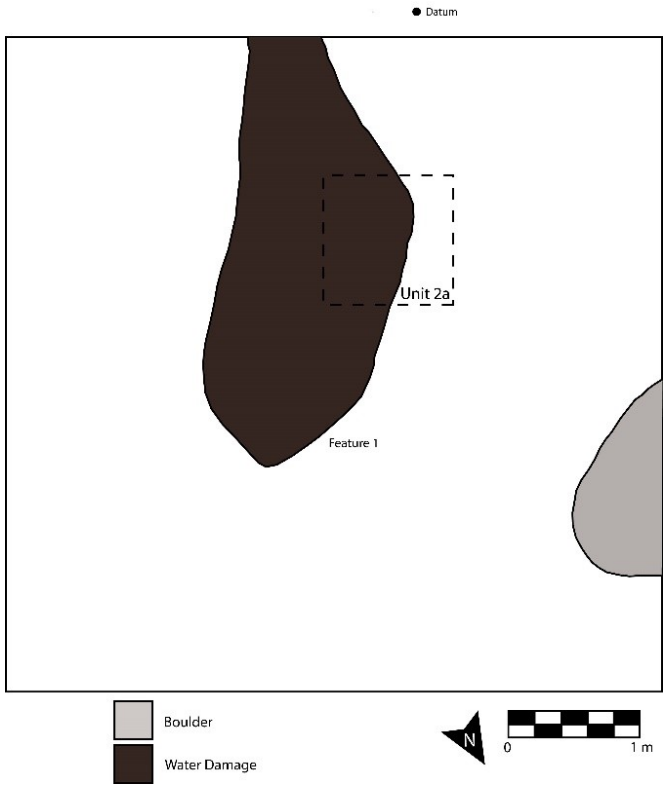


Figure 6.37: Plan map of Level 1 of Unit 2 of Platform I. Sub-unit 2a was excavated in a large dark stain on the surface which we later determined to be the result of pooling rain water. The boulder likely found its way onto the platform due erosion on the mountain slope above the platform.

We excavated a 1x1 meter subunit in the center of the initial unit to get a better idea of how the platform was constructed. Subunit 2a consisted of three levels (Figure 6.38). Level 1 was the surface of the platform consisting of compact loamy sand. The water damage (Feature 1) gave much of the surface a dark brown colorization. Level 2 was made up of semi-compact loamy sand. This level was mostly sterile, containing only a few shells and seeds. However, below this level was a woven matting of cane that extended across the unit

and divided Level 2 from Level 3 which consisted of sands and gravels. The cane matting may have been used in the construction of the platform to retain loose sediments. We ended the excavation of the unit when we encountered large cobbles and boulders which appear to be the primary construction material used in the platform (Figure 6.39).

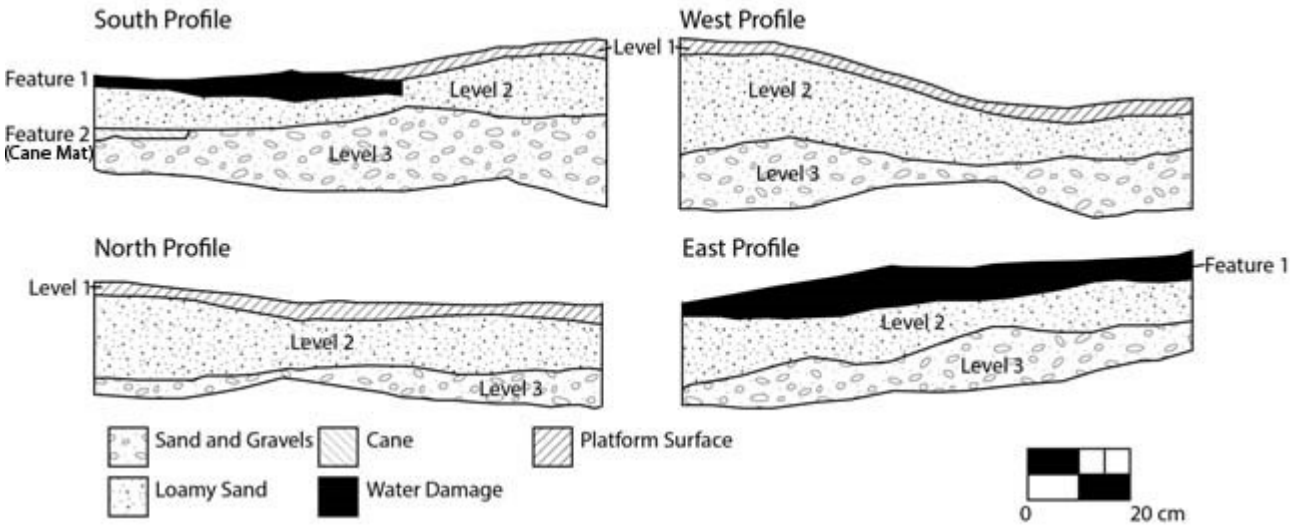


Figure 6.38: Profiles for Unit 2a located on Platform I.



Figure 6.39: Large boulders and cobbles exposed in the excavation of subunit 2a that served as the primary building material of Platform I.

This subunit demonstrated that the majority of the platform was constructed by the

piling together of large cobbles and boulders mixed with sands and gravels. Finer sediments were then used to give the platform its shape and form the surface. The simplicity of the construction is further demonstrated by the incorporation of the natural topography as the base of the platform to make it appear much larger than it actually is. This was a common construction strategy at Huasi Huaman as we identified the same strategy used for the construction of other platforms.

Platform H - Unit 3 and Unit 4

Unit 3
Size of Initial Unit: 5x5 m
Size of Subunit: 1x1 m
Depth of Subunit: 85 cm

Unit 4
Size of Initial Unit: 5x5 m
Size of Subunit: 2x2 m
Depth of Subunit: 20 cm

Platform H is located 65 meters to the north of Platform I, but the two are separated by a wall. Like Platform I, it consists of multiple terraces fronted by a ramp on its north face. The similarities in form suggests that it was being used for comparable activities (Swenson 2004: 961). We excavated two units in this platform (Figure 6.40). The first, Unit 3, is centered on the ramp (Figure 6.41) leading up to the first terrace of the platform. The second, Unit 4, was placed to incorporate an area of the upper two terraces of the platform. As with Platform I, the surface of the platform was free of archaeological remains and was probably kept clean during its use though we did not excavate around the platform to determine if there was a midden which would have provided further evidence to show its use in feasting rituals. Nonetheless, these excavations contributed to our understanding of the construction of the platform, showing that the ramp was added after the platform was built, and providing some evidence to suggest the platform may have been used into the Chimú Period.

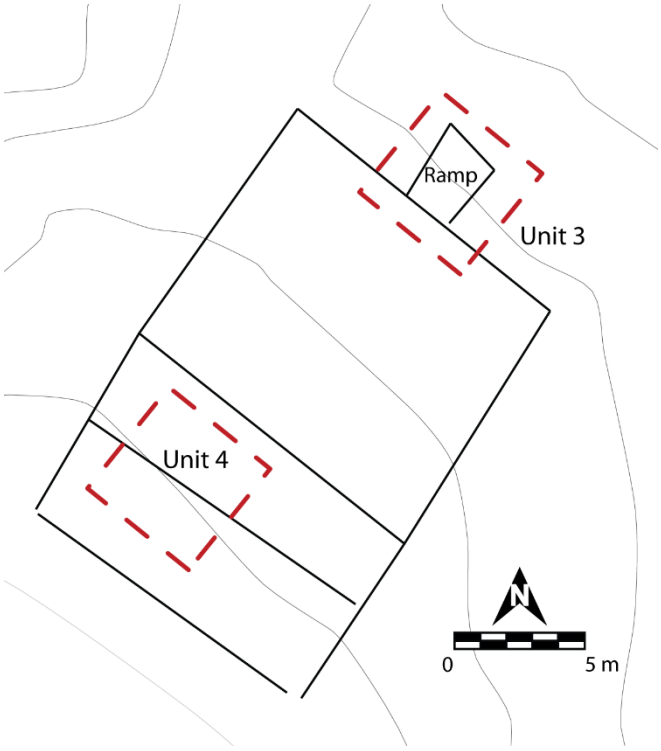


Figure 6.40: Plan of Platform H showing the location of Unit 3 and Unit 4.



Figure 6.41: The north face of Platform H showing the ramp that was excavated as part of Unit 3.

The location of Unit 3 was selected as ramps were sometimes the locations of offerings made during construction during the Lambayeque period and Swenson (2004: 671)

often encountered hearths located beside ramps in Late Moche platforms from the Jequetepeque hinterland. The excavation of this ramp therefore provided a means to not only explore how platforms were constructed, but the degree of religious continuity between Late Moche and Late Intermediate Period sites in the Jequetepeque Valley.

Subunit 3a (Figure 6.42) was placed in the ramp where it intersects with the face of the platform. The platform was built first and then the ramp was constructed by piling cobbles and boulders against the front face of the platform (Figure 6.43). Both structures rested on a natural foothill (Level 2) and, like Platform I, the natural topography was used to make the platform appear larger and save effort in construction. Our excavation of Platform H revealed no offerings placed at the base of the ramp or evidence of hearths which suggests that despite continuity in ceremonial architecture, activities conducted on the platforms may not have followed Late Moche practices identically.

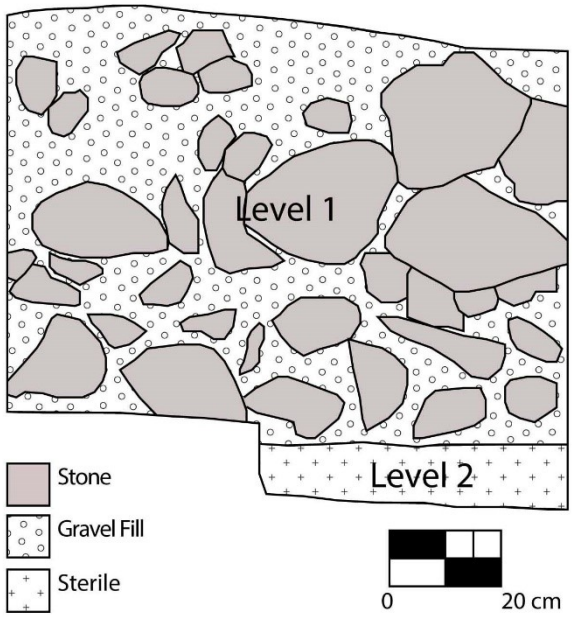


Figure 6.42: Profile drawing of the south profile of SubUnit 3a showing the North Face of Platform H which was covered by the ramp.



Figure 6.43: The cut of Subunit 3a showing the face of Platform I (left) upon which the ramp was constructed. The stratum of sediment underneath the ramp was devoid of cultural materials and represents the natural hill on which the platform was constructed.

Unit 4 (Figure 6.44) was placed on the uppermost terrace of Platform H. The unit was intended to provide a means to determine how the platform was used and whether activities conducted on this part of the structure were similar to those conducted within the architecturally similar Platform I. The excavation of surface sediments to expose the upper clay surface of the terrace resulted in the collection of minimal ceramics, shell, bone, or botanical remains, suggesting that the surface of the platform was probably kept clean, as was the case with Platform I. We also did not encounter any evidence of fire which might have indicated food preparation on the platform. As we did not excavate in the periphery of the platform and did not encounter any nearby middens, our research was inconclusive on determining whether feasting may have been conducted on the platform, though its similarity to Platform I suggests the two platforms were used for comparable rituals.



Figure 6.44: The surface of the Platform H's upper terrace prior to excavation. The circular depression in the center left of the image is pooled rain water.

Excavation of Subunit 4a (Figure 6.45 and Figure 6.46) revealed that the construction of the platform's upper terrace was shallow, utilizing the slope of the hill to give it height. The sterile surface of the hill was reach at a depth of only 20 cm below the surface of the platform. Within the fill of the platform, consisting of semi-compact loamy sand and gravels, we recovered a blackware bowl placed over a gourd bowl and a *pacay* fruit found over a meter away to the northeast (Figure 6.47). The bowl is significant as it provides a means of relatively dating the construction of the upper platform of the terrace. The ceramic and gourd bowls were only about 60% complete so it is unlikely they were intended as offerings as they were broken before internment. The blackware bowl has a burnished interior making it similar to Cutright's (2009: 532) Type D bowls and Chimú bowls recovered by Tschauner (2001: 665, figure A.6) in the Lambayeque Valley, but lacks elbowing between its base and rim. If this is a Chimú period bowl, the upper terrace of the platform was constructed during the Chimú period which would suggest Platforms H and I saw continuous use from the

Lambayeque to Chimú periods.

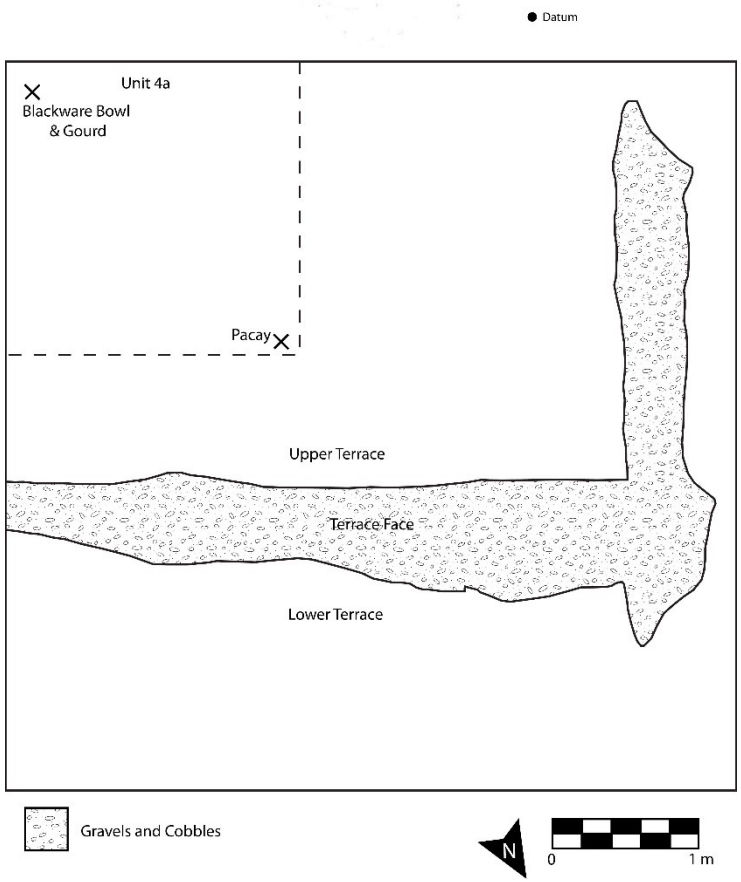


Figure 6.45: Plan map showing Level 1 of Unit 4 placed so that it spans the two uppermost terraces of Platform H. The locations of a blackware bowl, gourd, and pacay fruit are marked with x's.

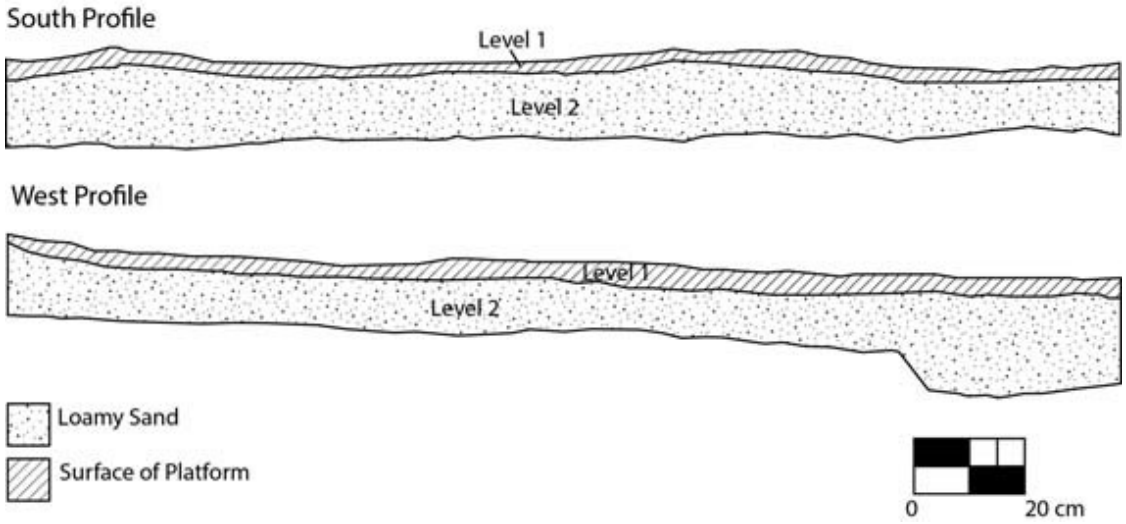


Figure 6.46: Profile drawings of subunit 4a on Platform H. The fill of the upper terrace of the platform was not very thick and the sterile surface of the hill was reached in less than 20 cm over most of the subunit.



Figure 6.47: Partial blackware bowl placed within the construction fill of Platform H's uppermost terrace. A piece of a gourd bowl was found underneath.

Platform B - Unit 10

Initial Unit Size: 5x5 m
Subunit Size: 2x2 m
Subunit Depth: 30 cm

Platform B, a large single terraced platform located west of Platforms H and I, was excavated with a single excavation unit (Unit 10) placed on the northern end of the platform (Figure 6.48). Though one of the largest platforms, measuring 6 meters in height, it shares one similarity with the smaller platforms in that it was constructed on a natural foothill of the mountain, giving the platform the impression of being much larger than it actually is. The purpose of this unit was to determine the function of the platform and how it compared to other types of platforms at the site. Our excavations recovered a small camelid enclosure on the top of the platform showing that at least during the final use of the structure, it was being used as the location to pen and butcher camelids, possibly for the redistribution of meat. This makes Platform B an important structure for understanding how interactions between local

leaders and the non-elite population may have been framed.

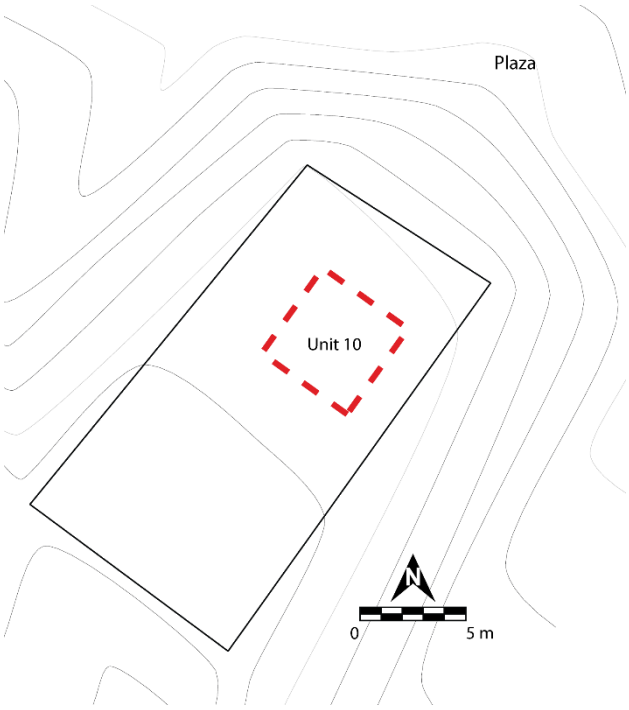


Figure 6.48: Plan of Platform B showing the location of Unit 10.

After clearing off the aeolian and colluvial sediments from the surface of the platform, we placed Subunit 10a (2x2 m) to straddle a ridge of stone going horizontally across the unit. Excavation revealed that this ridge was a small step constructed of stone cobbles and adobe bricks. A small opening in the step marks the entrance to the upper portion. This entrance was covered with camelid droppings (Figure 6.49) mixed with stems of cane and a few camelid bones (Figure 6.50). The presence of droppings and llama remains is surprising as it suggests that llamas were being kept on top of the platform, leaving a substantial layer of droppings over much of the northern portion of the subunit. Large quantities of algarroba pods also support this conclusion as the plant was frequently used as llama feed (Cieza de León 1959[1553]; Rostworowski 1981: 61). The combination of camelid droppings and algarroba matches archaeological evidence of camelid enclosures at sites such as Cerro Sapamé in the Lambayeque Valley (Shimada 1981) though deposition was much less thick suggesting that a small number of camelids were being kept on top of the platform.

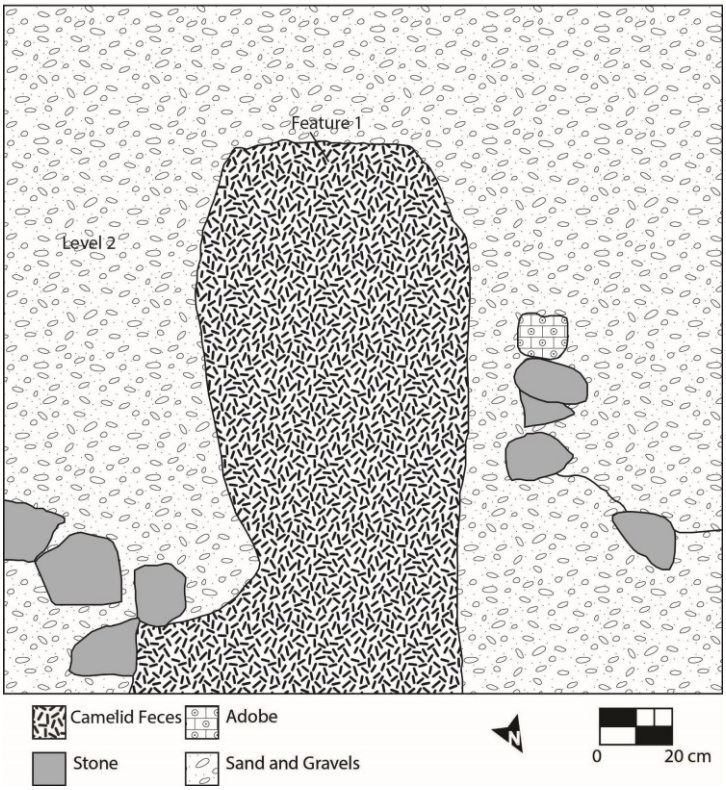


Figure 6.49: Plan of Unit 10a on Platform B showing the location of camelid feces.



Figure 6.50: In situ camelid bones in the west profile of subunit 10a on Platform B. Camelid droppings are visible in the profile above the bones.

Some of the camelid bones recovered in proximity to the pen exhibited cut marks showing that butchering was occurring close by. Though we did not excavate a large enough area to find the full extent of the enclosure, it must not have been very large as the probable entrance we identified is not far from the edge of the platform. The enclosure therefore may have only been a temporary holding area for camelids that were going to be butchered as part of activities on the platform.

Stratigraphically, the subunit contained two levels. Level 2 was a loamy sand resting on top of Level 2's sand and gravels (Figure 6.51). Beneath these levels was a roughly made surface of large stones. The layer of feces (Feature 1) rests on this surface indicating that the stones were likely the surface of the pen.

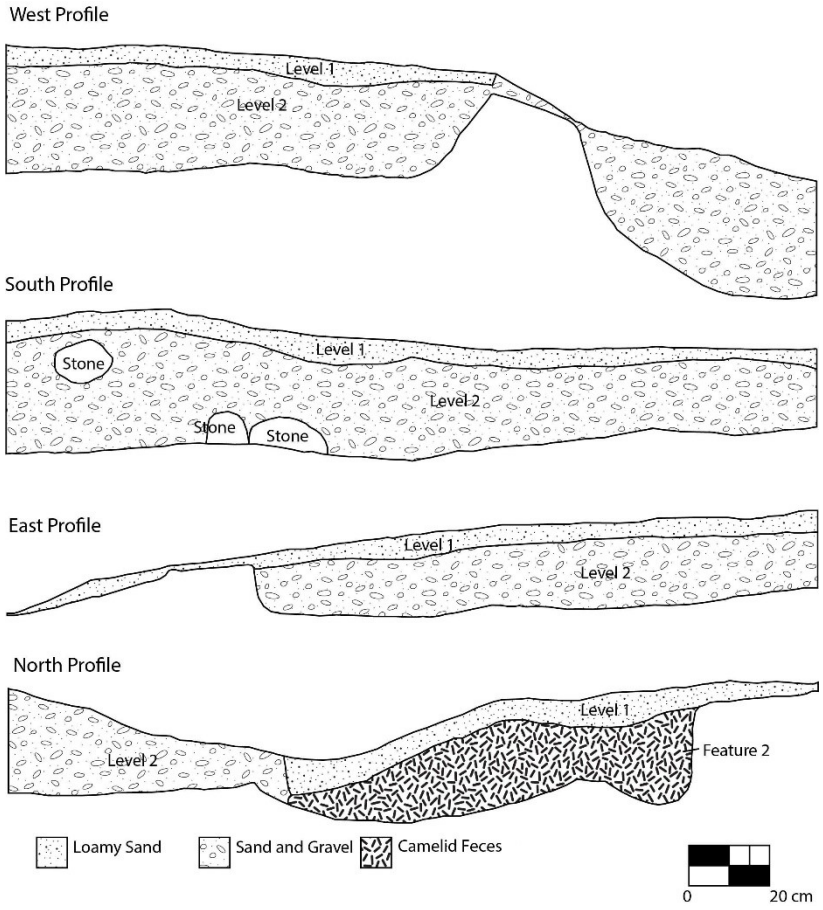


Figure 6.51: Profile drawings of Unit 10a on Platform B. Not the significant accumulation of camelid droppings visible in the north profile (Feature 2).

Platform F - Unit 11

Initial Unit Size: 5x5 m
Subunit Size: 1x1 m
Subunit Depth: 65 cm

Platform F (Figure 6.52) is a small platform located northeast of Platform B that is fronted by a large plaza. The platform is unique at Huasi Huaman as it is bisected by Wall 2 which suggests that the platform is an early constructed that predates the construction of the site's walls. The presence of scattered human long bones on the heavily looted uppermost terrace of the platform points to its likely use as a burial platform which was used in mortuary rites. Our excavation (Unit 11) was placed on the northern end the platform. We failed to recover any remains that could be used to date the structure, though we discovered that the northern end of the platform was extended after its initial construction. This shows that the structure had gone through at least one renovation during its use.

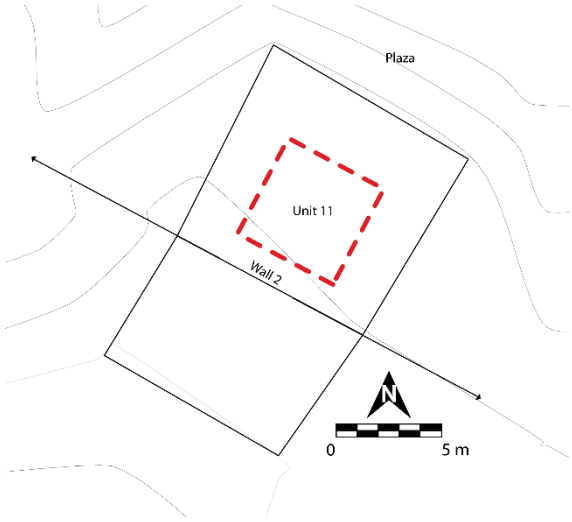


Figure 6.52: Plan map of Platform F showing the location of Unit 11.

Much of the northern terrace was pot marked by looter's pits (Figure 6.53) though we also identified a small ash deposit in the north east corner of the unit (Feature 1). As we cleaned off the loose surface sediments to fully expose Level 1, we discovered that one of the looters pits had exposed the face of a stone wall that appeared to cut through the center of the

terrace. Intrigued by the stone wall face, we decided to place our subunit to the west of the looter's pit to determine if it extended across the entire terrace and to determine if it connected to any floors.

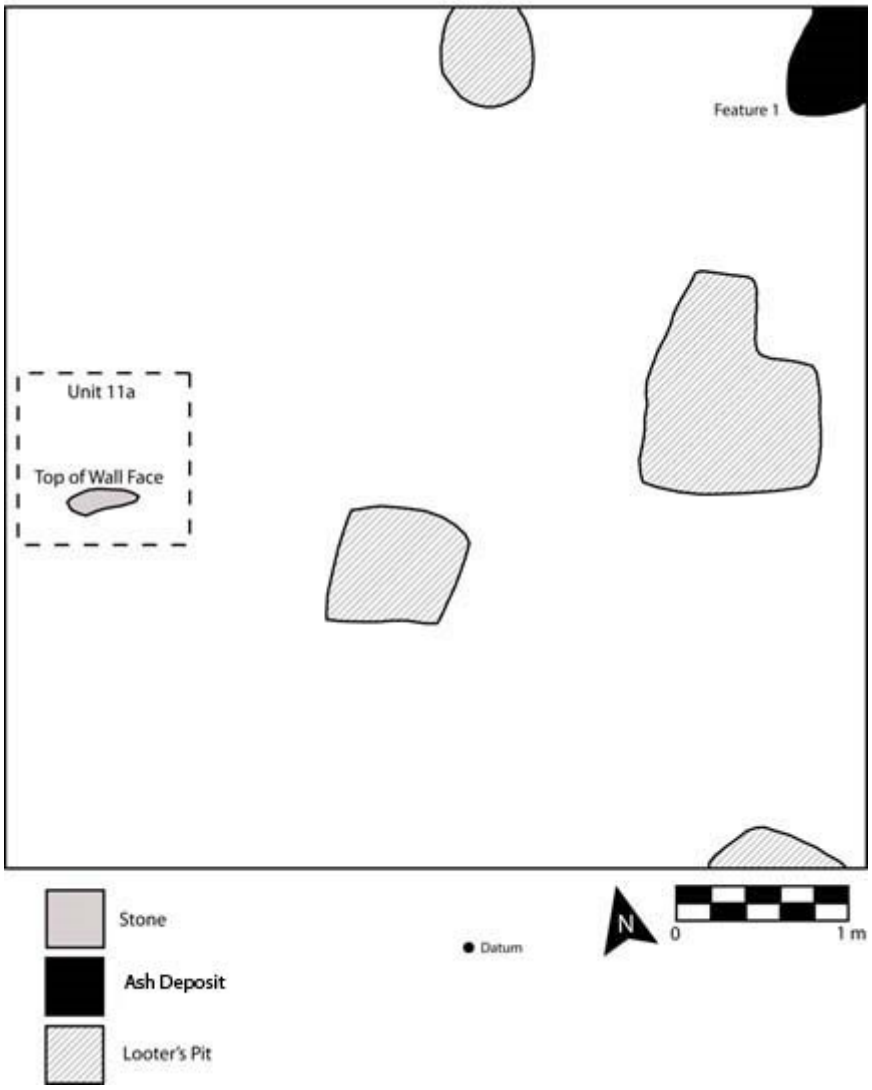


Figure 6.53: Plan map of Level 1 of Unit 11 from Platform F. An earlier face of the platform was uncovered during the excavation of subunit 11a.

Through our excavation of the subunit we were able to determine that the stone wall face does continue to extend across the terrace (Figure 6.54), showing that the platform had been extended northward to increase its size. Level 1 consisted of compact loamy sand that is mixed with gravels (Figure 6.55). In Level 2, we encountered larger gravels which continued down until we reached sterile sediments. Our excavation of the face of the terrace indicates

that much of the first terrace of Platform F appears to have been part of a natural hill. The platform served to create a level surface on which rituals could have been performed to participants or viewers standing within the plaza located on the north. Though few artefacts were recovered during our excavation of this unit, Swenson (2004: 962) reports finding numerous bowls on the plaza in front of Platform F, so any eating or drinking that may have been part of the ritual activities centered on the platform may have occurred within the confines of the plaza below rather than on the platform itself. These rituals may have been a component of the mortuary ceremonies held to honour the individual or individuals interred within the upper terraces of the platform.



Figure 6.54: Stone wall representing the old face of Platform F before the construction of an extension. The wall was exposed during the excavation of subunit 11a.

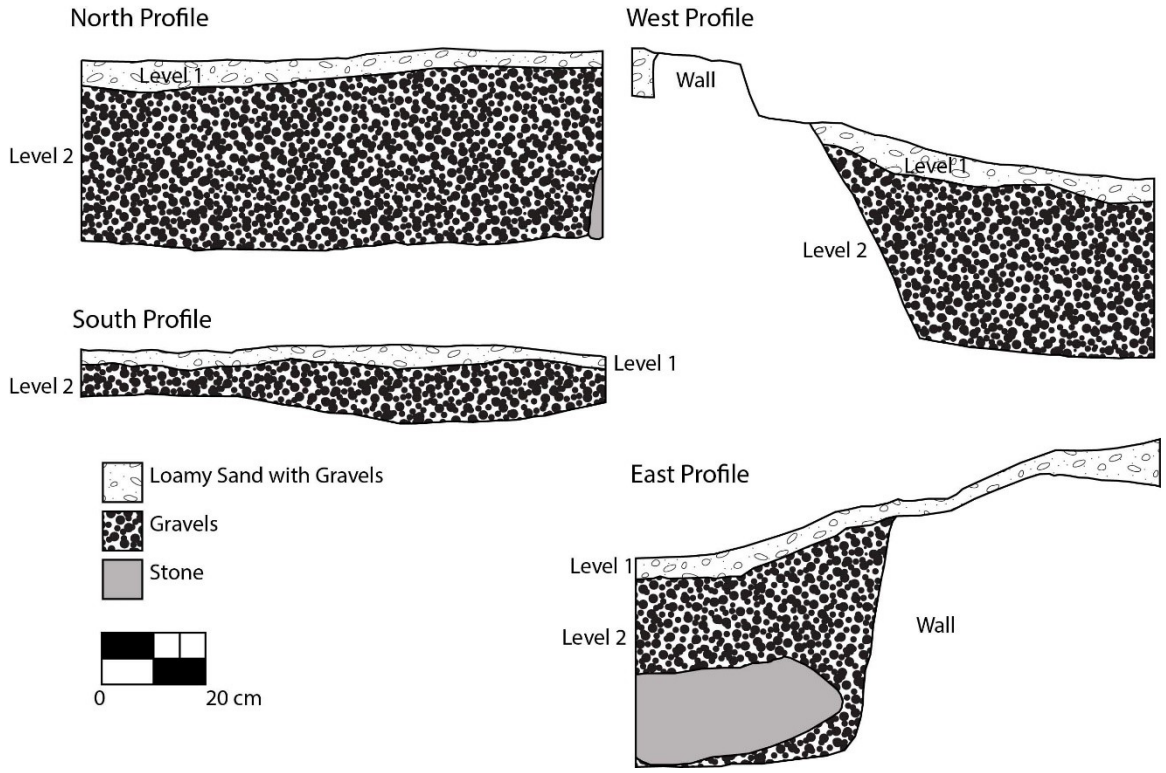


Figure 6.55: Profile drawings of Unit 11a from Platform F.

The presence of a mortuary platform suggests the presence of a local leader or lineage who had enough status within the site to be afforded a privileged burial in a platform rather than in the cemetery of Sector O. Their placement in a platforms shows that they were also important enough to be venerated after their death. We were unfortunately unable to recover a suitable carbon sample for dating though the platform undoubtedly dates to sometime during the Lambayeque Period due to the wall being built over it. The renovations to the lower terrace of the platform suggest that the platform saw multiple uses and may have thus been used for some time.

Platform N - Unit 15

Size of Initial Unit: 5x5 m
Size of Subunit: 2x2 m
Depth: 57 cm

Unit 15 is located in a mounded stone walled room of Platform N (Figure 6.56), a multi-tiered platform in Sector N. It stands out from the other platforms due to its well-made

construction and the fact that it has clearly defined rooms on its summit. Its excavation was designed to determine the function of the platform so we could compare the western sectors of the site with the east. It also served as a means of determining how the hill slope sectors of M and N related to the mostly domestic Sector K. Our excavations show that Platform N is one of the earliest structures at the site, dating to between AD 1224 and 1281. I argue that the platform may have been an elite residential structure where shamanistic rituals were also performed.

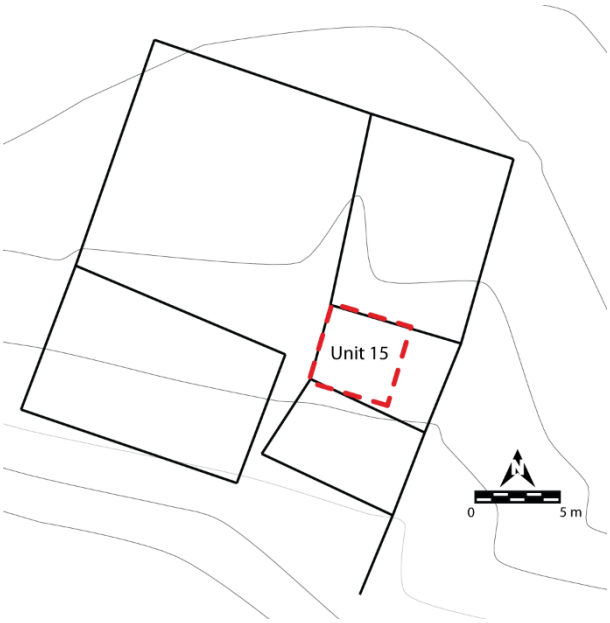


Figure 6.56: Plan map of Platform N showing the location of Unit 15.

In our excavation of Unit 15, we cleaned off the loose sediments to expose the upper surface which was a floor made of compacted loamy sand (Figure 6.57). There was no evidence of any ash deposits indicating a hearth or other burning event. We placed the subunit (Unit 15a) in the NW corner of the room which allowed our excavation to follow the stone walls down so we could identify when we reached the bottom of the wall while identifying any floors produced from remodelling. This subunit proved to be one of the more stratigraphically complex as we identified nine separate levels (Figure 6.58), four of which were floors.

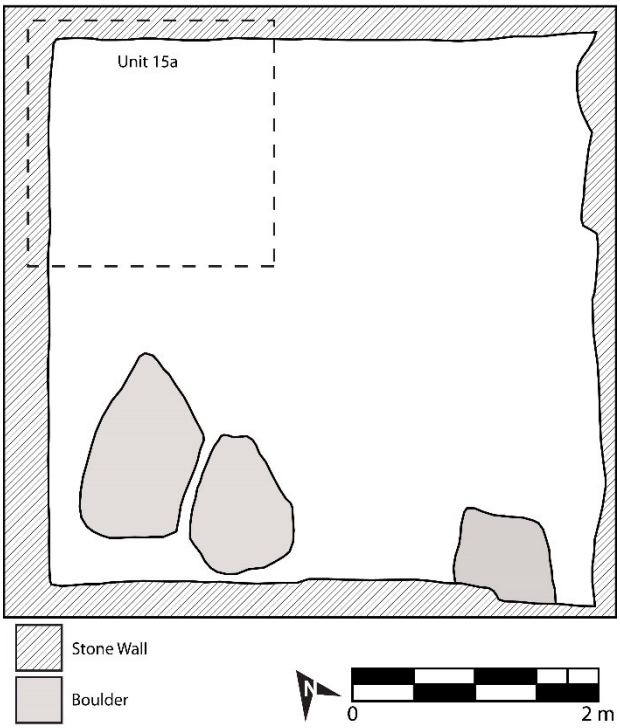


Figure 6.57: Plan map of Level 1 of Unit 15 located on Platform N.

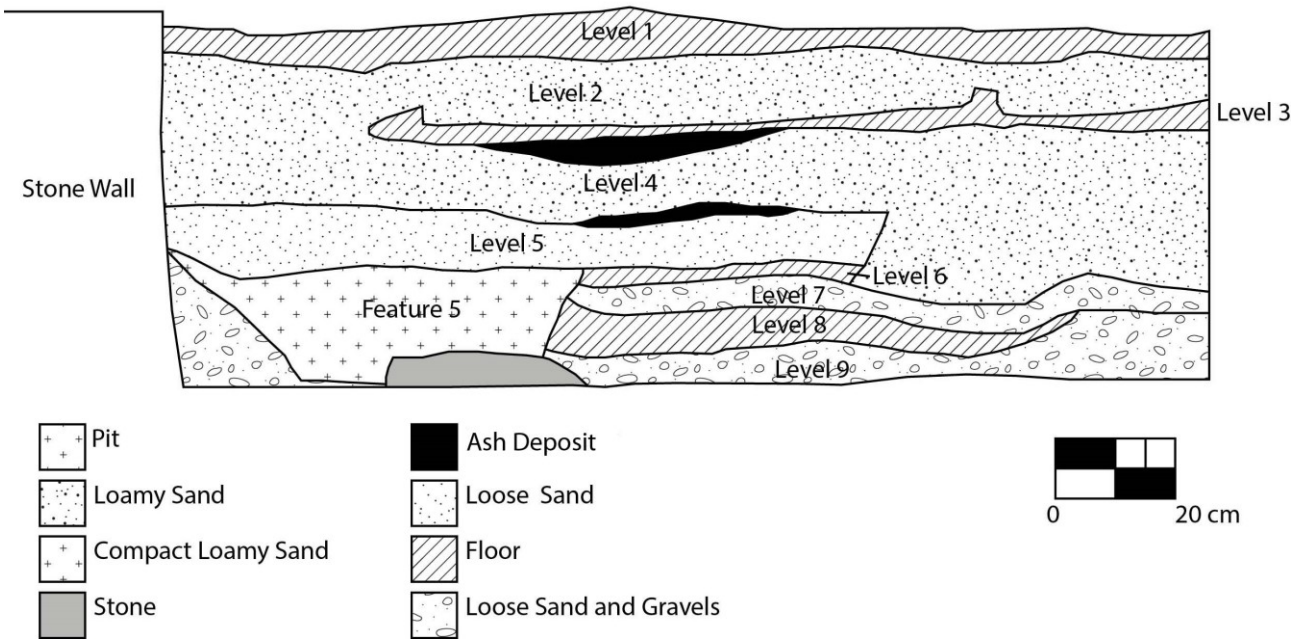


Figure 6.58: East profile from subunit 15a in Platform N. The unit contained four prepared floors showing extensive renovation which is unusual for Huasi Huaman.

Underneath the stratum of Level 1, was a stratum of loosely compacted loamy sand. It contained various botanical and faunal remains as well as some chalk, guinea pig feces, and

cane that may have been part of a wall or mat. Another floor made from compacted clay was encountered in level 3. Within this level was an ash deposit (Feature 1) consisting of an ash lens with a textile fragment located at the bottom. Level 4 was made up of a stratum of very compact loamy sand that contained more chalk fragments and food remains. Level 5 was a stratum of construction fill made from fine sand. It had a relatively large amount of ceramic sherds with botanical remains and guinea pig feces mixed in. The southern portion of the level appears to have been dug into and this pit extended down until the end of our excavation, going through floors located in the earlier levels. Underneath the construction fill was an earlier clay floor (Level 6). Level 6 contained four hearths (Features 2-4) (Figure 6.59) filled with carbonized plant remains. These hearths also contained fragments of broken *ollas* which suggest that the plant remains may have been used as fuel for cooking fires though their use in burning ceremonial offerings cannot be ruled out given the evidence of ritual artefacts in the room (see below).



Figure 6.59: Hearth features (Features 2-4) from level 6 of Unit 15, located on Platform N. The south and east portions of the floor have been previously destroyed when pits were dug through the floor (Feature 5), probably by looting.

Beside the hearths, another unique discovery from within Level 6 was a small unworked quartz crystal (Figure 6.60). Quartz crystals were used by healers as they were associated with light and purity that were believed to drive off evil magic and spirits (Donnan 2011: 90). It's presence in the room suggests that Platform N may have had a role in healing or that the people living there were healers. This is also supported by the recovery of small quantities of coca leaves and hallucinogenic plants (*Anadenanthera peregrine*) from this excavation (see Chapter 7). Nonetheless, our discovery of guinea pig feces and chalk points to domestic activities taking place as well. This leads me to suggest that the platform may have been an elite house. The floor in the southern portion of the subunit had been destroyed by the pit that began in Level 5. A separate pit (Feature 5) was also located along the east profile and continued down into Level 9. A thin level (Level 7) of construction fill made up of sand and gravel sediments separated the floor of Unit 6 with another floor in Level 8. The largest of the hearths from Level 6 cut into this floor, but ended soon after. No additional hearths were found. We finally encountered the bottom of stone walls in Level 9 and ended our excavations at this level.

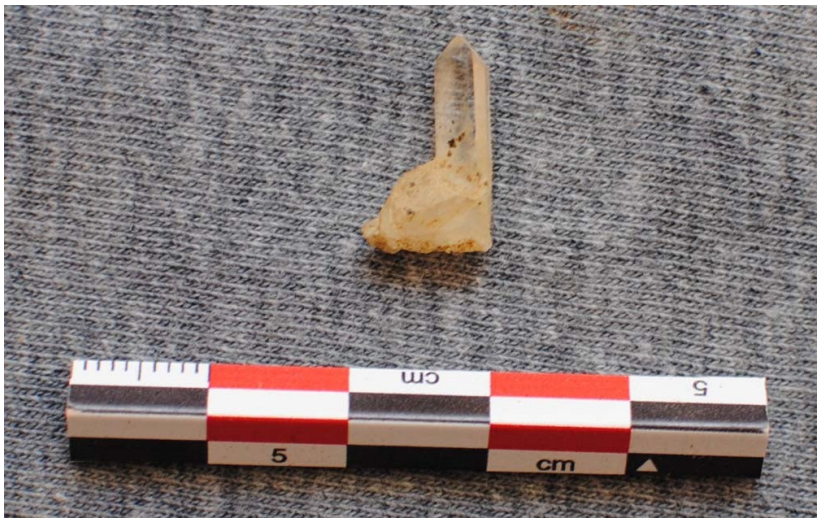


Figure 6.60: Quartz crystal recovered from the floor context of Level 6 from Unit 15a of Platform N.

The presence of four floors indicates that the platform on which Unit 15 is located

underwent more renovation than any of the other terrace platforms at Huasi Huaman. We collected a fragment of wood charcoal from underneath the floor of level six which was dated to AD 1224-1281 (corrected) through AMS. This means that the renovation that led to the construction of the second floor took place after this date. The early 13th century date for the platform makes it the earliest known structure at Huasi Huaman. Most importantly, as the date for Platform I was only a few decades later, the current spatial extent of Huasi Huaman was probably defined during its early Lambayeque occupations.

The layout of Platform N and the extent of its renovation bear some similarities to elite residences converted into ceremonial platforms excavated by Swenson (2011) in the northern Jequetepeque Valley. At Cerro Serrano near the modern day city of Chepén, Swenson excavated a four tiered platform where he interpreted the earliest construction as representing an elite household, but later renovations showed that it was converted into a ceremonial platform, likely by lower-status community members. He argues (2011: 143) that the "huacafication" of earlier elite architecture represents an idealization of the social universe before the Chimú conquest. Though my excavation of Platform N was limited to one unit, hardly enough to get a complete picture of its use, the multiple deep hearths and chalk, a material used by women during weaving (Cutright 2009: 247), points to the platform possibly having a domestic function in its earliest levels that might have changed to a more ceremonial role with later renovations The similarities between my findings and Swenson's work at Cerro Serrano leads me to speculate that Platform N may represent a similar huacafication of an elite structure.

Platform C - Unit 18

Initial Unit Size: 5x5 m
Subunit Size: 1x1 m
Subunit depth: 40 cm

The final platform we excavated was Platform C (Figure 6.61), a two-tiered platform located on one of the upper slopes of Huasi Huaman. Swenson (2004: 961) hypothesized that the platform may have been used in food preparation due to a grinding stone he found associated with the platform. Our excavations sought to clarify the use of this platform and to determine if any functional differences existed between platforms located on the upper slopes of the site and the more accessible platforms in lower sectors such as I and H. We found that instead of being used in food preparation, the platform was probably used as the location of metal working, containing a clay lined kiln and in situ ground stone for working metal. This platform is therefore significant for providing evidence of craft production outside of domestic contexts. Its location on a platform located high on the slopes of the mountain suggests the activity may have been kept away from living areas and possibly controlled by local leaders or associated with a specific lineage who built the platform.

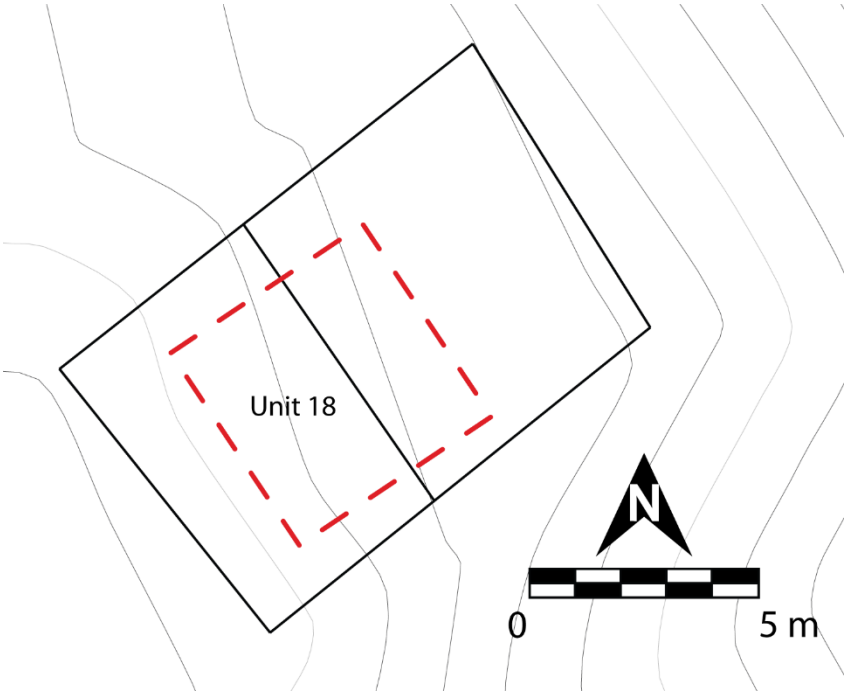


Figure 6.61: Plan map of Platform C showing the location of Unit 18.

We placed a 5x5 meter unit (Unit 18) in the middle of the platform so that it covered a portion of both terraces (Figure 6.62). This also allowed us to clean the retaining wall to get a

better idea of how it was constructed. The retaining wall (Figure 6.63) was constructed from cobbles and boulders that would have been easily collected from the surrounding slope of Cerro Murciélago and remain abundant at the site today. Some of the stones appear to have been modified to present a flat surface and were piled together and faced to create a rough wall to support the mass of the upper terraces.

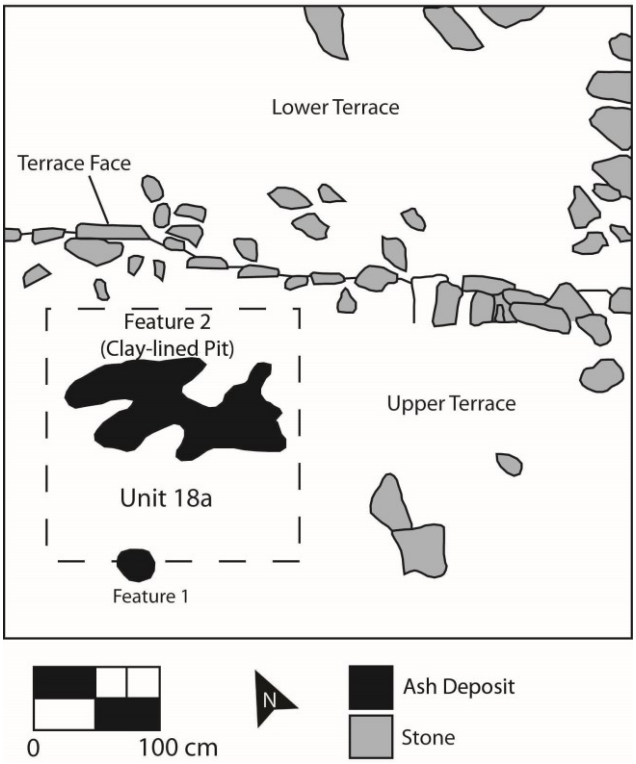


Figure 6.62: Plan map of Unit 18 located on Platform C. Feature 2 is a claylined fire pit that appears to have been used in metalworking.



Figure 6.63: Retaining wall that separates the upper and lower terrace of Platform C.

The removal of surface sediments to expose the surface of the platform revealed a large ash feature (Feature 2) consisting of fire blackened gravels and sands on the upper terrace. This feature was chosen for excavation and a 1x1 meter subunit called Unit 18a was then excavated. Within the subunit (Figure 6.64), we followed the feature down through two levels made up of sands and gravels. The walls of the pit were lined with fire reddened clay showing that it was used in producing high temperature fires. At the bottom of the feature, we found a large ground stone tool made from black basalt that had been highly polished at one end (Figure 6.65). The asymmetrical shape of the ground stone as well as its highly polished surface (Figure 6.66) makes it unlikely to have been used in food preparation and was more likely a tool used in craft production. Underneath the feature, we encountered a level of large cobbles and boulders which served as the main building material for the platform and the excavation was concluded at this level.

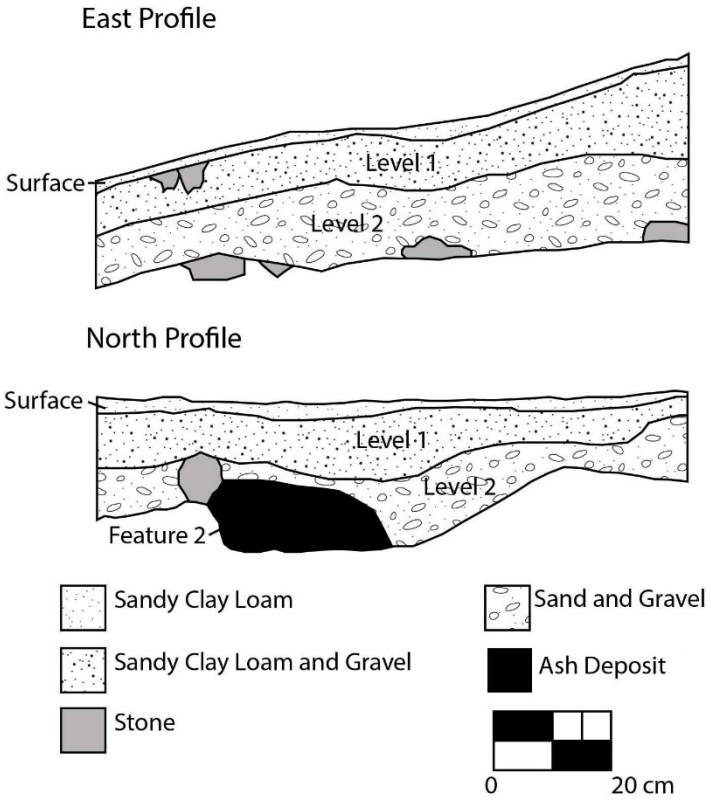


Figure 6.64: Profile drawings of Unit 18a from Platform C.



Figure 6.65: In situ ground stone tool within Unit 18a on Platform C. The sediments around the ground stone on the left of the image are fire reddened clay from a probable pit kiln used in metalworking.



Figure 6.66: Ground stone tool from Unit 18a. It may have been used in metalworking.

Feature 2, the pit lined with fire reddened clay, recalls descriptions of pit kilns at sites associated with informal low-quantity metallurgy (Shimada and Wagner 2001: 27). These kilns often were constructed from pits lined with clay and covered with ceramics to form a dome that trapped in air and heat. The polished ground stone tool also resembles tools associated with metallurgy at Chotuna (Donnan 2011: 36, figure 31). However, we did not recover copper slag, ceramic or cane blow tubes, or crucibles in association with this platform which would have made the identification of Feature 2 as a kiln unquestionable. Nonetheless, if my interpretation is correct, the function of Platform C may have been as an area for low-quantity metalworking.

Monumental Architecture

We excavated five units within Huaca A and Structure D, the two monumental structures at Huasi Huaman. Based on ceramic, adobe brick, and an AMS date obtained by

Dillehay et al. (2009: 70), I argue that both structures date to around the time of the Chimú conquest of the Jequetepeque Valley. Our excavations also show that both structures contain secluded interior spaces which suggests to me that ritual space became more exclusive at Huasi Huaman following the Chimú conquest.

Huaca A – Units 7, 8, and 9

Unit 7
Initial Unit Size: 5x5 m
Subunit Size: 2x2 m
Subunit Depth: 130 cm

Unit 8
Initial Unit Size: 5x5 m
Subunit Size: 2x2 m
Subunit Depth: 110 cm

Unit 9
Initial Unit Size: 5x5 m
Subunit Size: 1x1.7 m
Subunit Depth: 30 cm

Huaca A, a truncated pyramid platform, was excavated with three units (Figure 6.67) targeting different types of spaces within the structure. The first of these units (Unit 7) was placed in the south east corner of a large depression (and Figure 6.68) on the summit of Huaca A. This location was chosen for excavation to determine if the depression was a courtyard or the result of looting, helping to determine how people moved through the huaca and its use. Our excavations allowed us to quickly determine that the depression was indeed a courtyard and not a looter's pit as we exposed a badly weathered mural (Figure 6.69) on the southern wall showing that this was a part of the pyramid's construction.

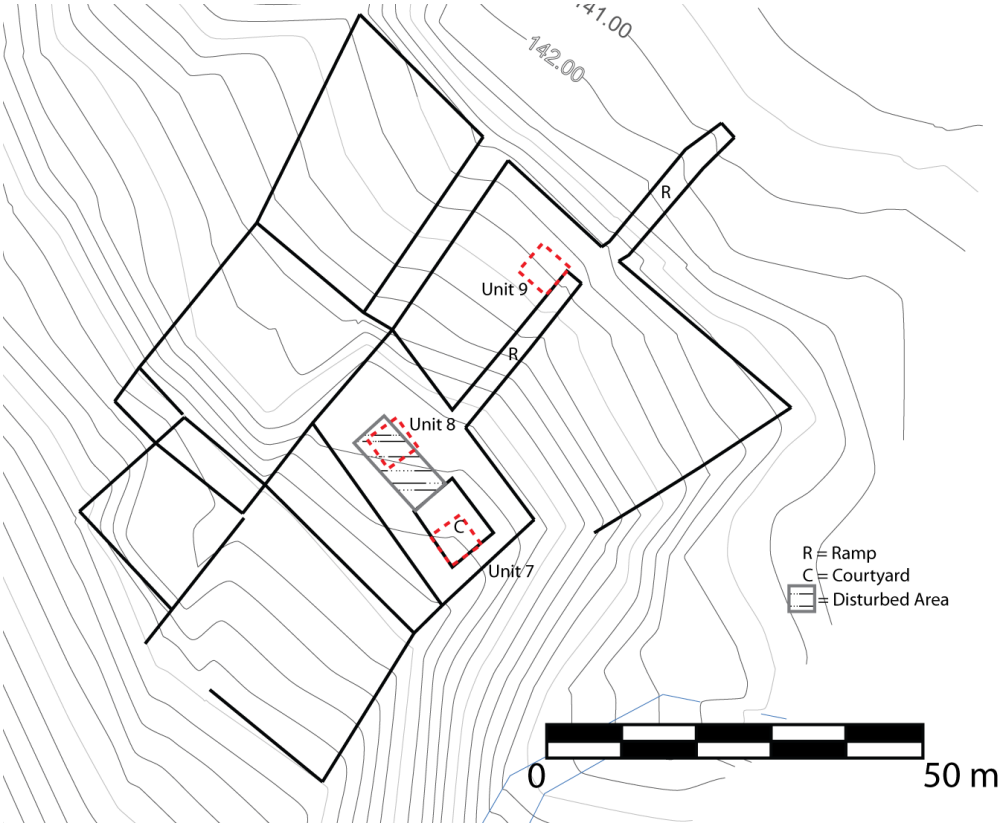


Figure 6.67: Plan Map of Huaca A showing the location of units 7, 8, and 9.



Figure 6.68: Unit 7, located within the courtyard on top of Huaca A, pre-excavation.

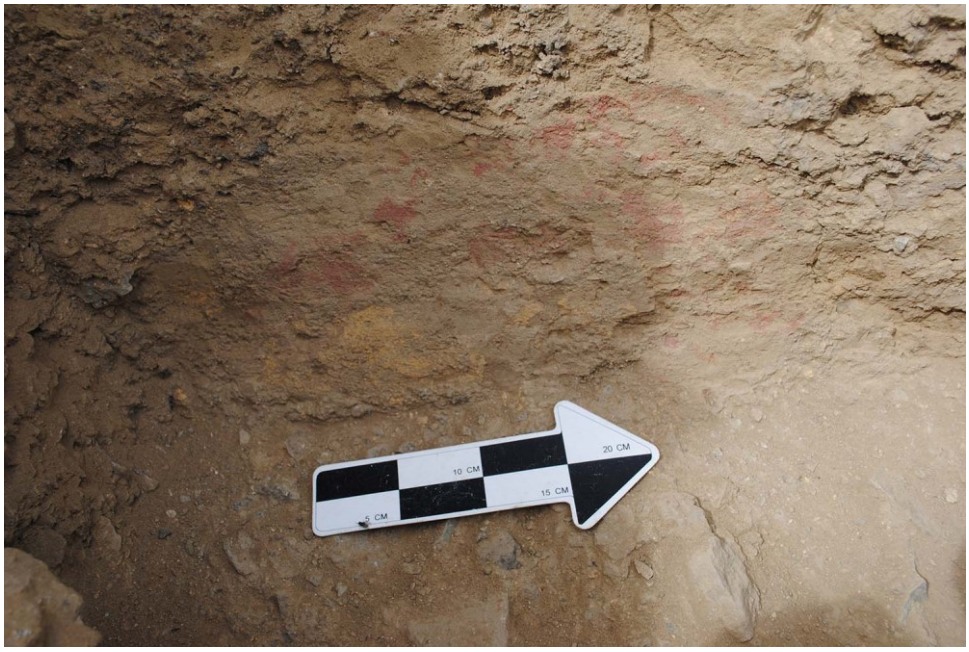


Figure 6.69: Close up of poorly preserved portion of yellow and red mural on the south wall of Unit 7.

We excavated a 2x2 meter subunit, Unit 7a (Figure 6.70), in the southeast corner of the courtyard to better understand the stratigraphy. It consisted primarily of collapsed wall fall from the erosion of the pyramid. We identified four levels. The first was made up of sands and gravels. The second consisted of clay, likely melted adobe brick, mixed with yellow sands. Within this level we began to uncover a thin wall of pilled stones which extended into level 3 and appears to be a bin or retaining wall (Figure 6.71). Unfortunately, only the corner of this feature was situated in the unit, but it may have been used as retaining wall for the casemate construction of the *huaca's* interior. Another stone wall was located fifty cm south of the bin and underneath level 3, which consisted of loamy sand mixed with gravels. Between the two walls we discovered a mat (Figure 6.72 and Figure 6.73) made of wood or some other plant material. This mat was similar to the one in Unit 1a, but much larger. Underneath, we uncovered a refuse pit with camelid bones and fragments of broken pottery. This level (Level 4) consisted of sands and gravels noticeably less compact than the other levels in the unit.

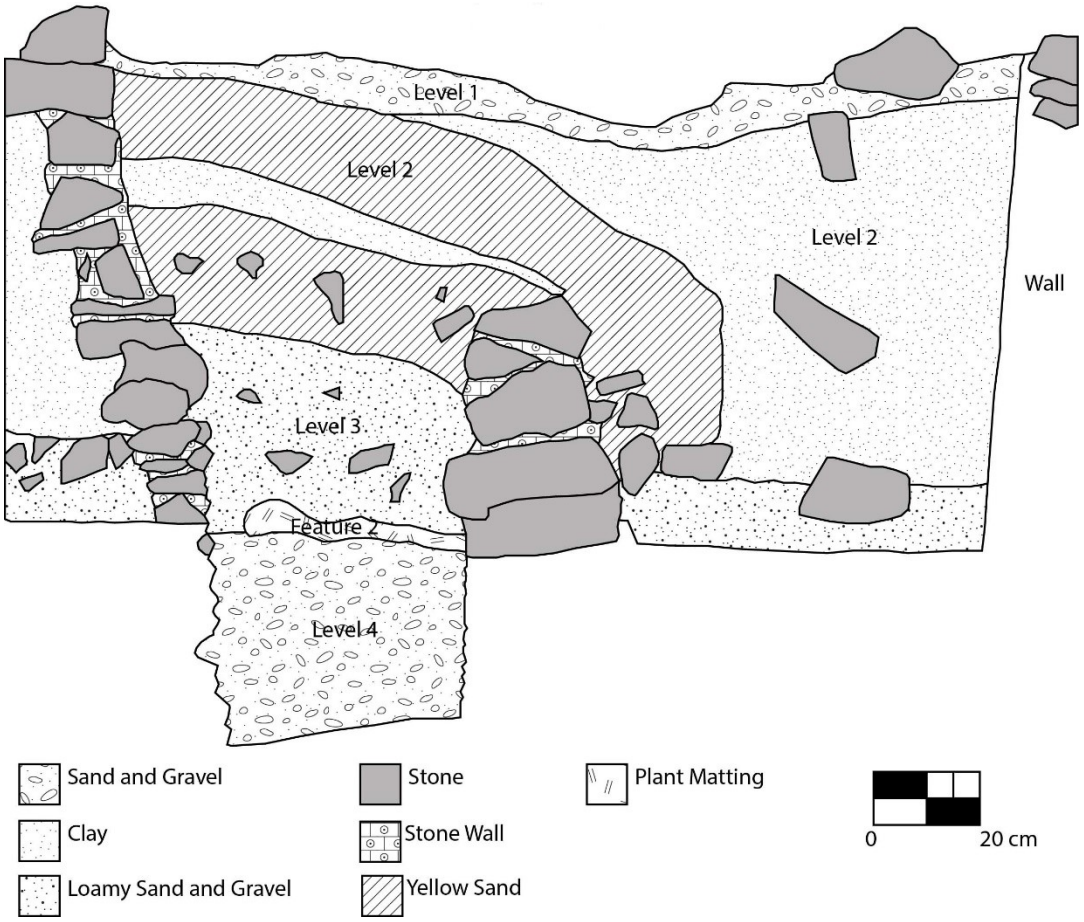


Figure 6.70: Drawing of east profile of Unit 7a on Huaca A.



Figure 6.71: Cobble stone "bin" (top left) and layer of plant material covering a pit in the courtyard of Huaca A.



Figure 6.72: Close up mat of plant material placed above a pit in unit 7a from Huaca A.

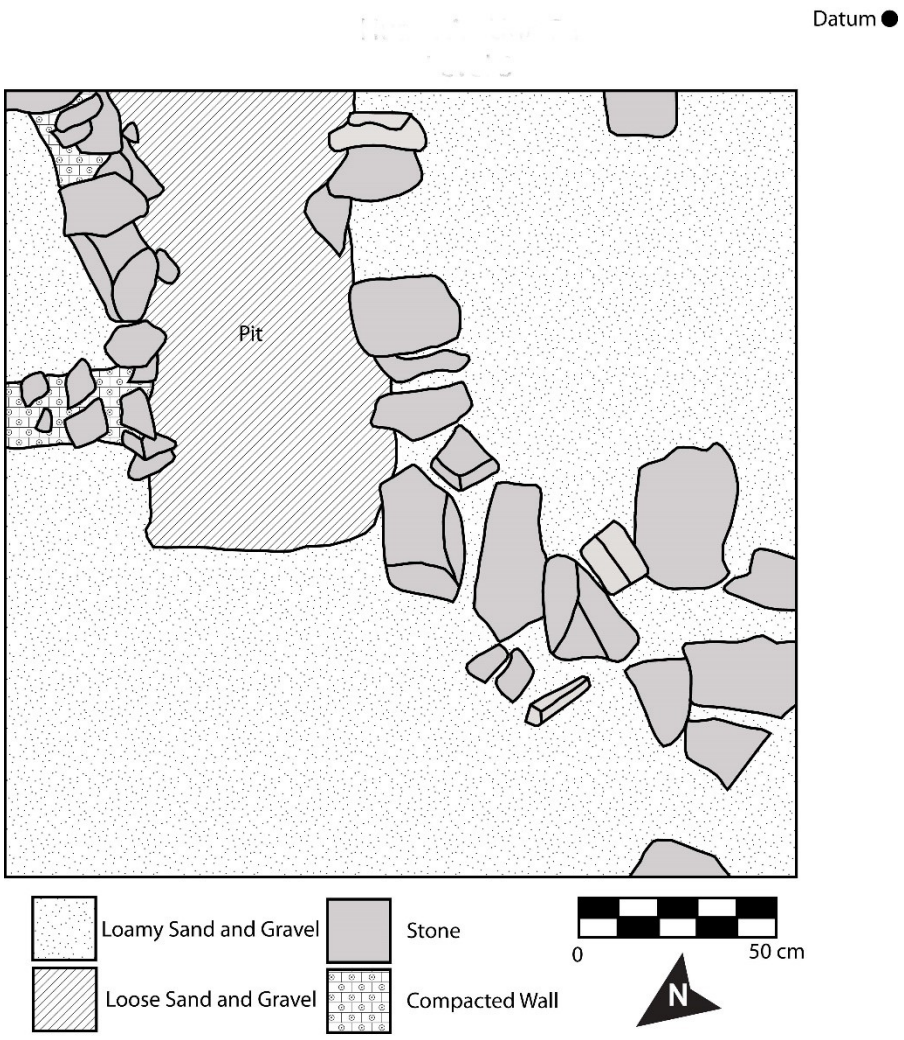


Figure 6.73: Plan map of Level 3 of Unit 7a on Huaca A showing the pit found underneath the plant matting.

The mural (Figure 6.74), located on the south wall of the courtyard, consists of red and yellow painted adobe and plaster. Unfortunately, it was severely weathered and much of its paint has eroded off. However, Dissehlhoff reported discovering a red and yellow checkerboard pattern mural at Huasi Huaman in the 1950s. Though Dissehlhoff never published the location of the mural, our discovery at Huaca A is probably his mural.

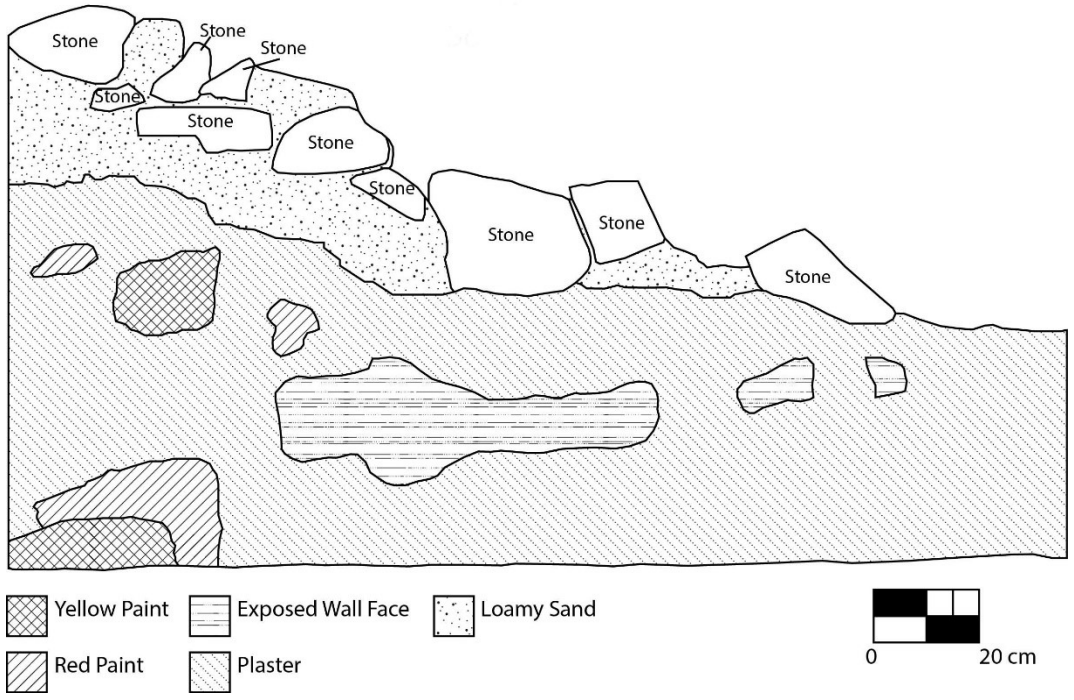


Figure 6.74: Mural on the south wall of Huaca A's courtyard. Though highly weathered, it likely depicts a red and yellow checkerboard pattern.

The discovery of a sunken courtyard on the summit of Huaca A is significant for understanding how space was used to mediate power relations as it represents an elaborately decorated space that is hidden from observers standing at the *huaca's* base. Access to the courtyard was restricted and any rituals performed within would have been limited to a privileged few.

The second of the units in Huaca A, Unit 8, was located to the west of Unit 7 in a trench-like depression running out of the courtyard. This location was chosen for excavation

as I speculated that it might be a hallway providing entrance to the courtyard which would facilitate the study of movement through the building. However, our excavations show that this is an area of disturbance created post-abandonment, making the identification of whether this was a hallway or just a looter's pit difficult. Cleaning off the surface sediments exposed a face of a wall on the north though damage portions of a prepared floor were visibly extruding from its sides, indicating that the floor had been dug through and removed (Figure 6.75). To better understand the stratigraphy of the unit, I decided to make a cut of the damaged wall (Unit 8a) in order to expose a profile with the hope of identifying the number of floors which may have been destroyed by the post-abandonment disturbance of the area. We uncovered evidence of at least two floors, including the one mentioned above, suggesting that the summit of the pyramid had undergone a number of renovations during its use.



Figure 6.75: Subunit 8a from Huaca A with the top of a plastered adobe floor exposed. The floor was destroyed from a previous disturbance such as looting.

The excavation of Unit 8 preceded with subunit 8a (2x2 m) located along the wall in the north of the excavation unit. We identified seven levels, including the two floors (Levels 2 and 5). We began with the removal of the sand and gravel overburden of Level 1 to expose

the plastered adobe floor of Level 2 (see Figure 6.76 and Figure 6.77). The floor extended out of the wall, suggesting that what now looks like a hallway was once a raised floor. Level 3 was a level of construction fill used to support the floor above. The stratum contained compact sands, gravels, and large cobbles. Level 4 designated the material of the wall which consisted of boulders, cobbles, and adobe bricks bonded together with a clay mortar. The base of the wall was cut by a second floor (Level 5). Like the floor in Level 2, this floor had been destroyed by previous looting, excavation or erosion and only a portion of it remained intact within our excavation unit. Level 6 contained gravels and cobble construction fill and abutted the base of the wall. The final level encountered during our excavation, Level 7, was made up of loamy sand and continued underneath the Wall. Within this level, we discovered two ash deposits containing carbonized wood, perhaps the remnants of offerings made prior to the construction of the upper levels or the remnants of activities from an early use of the pyramid. As we had reached the end of the wall, we concluded the excavation of Unit 8a with this level.

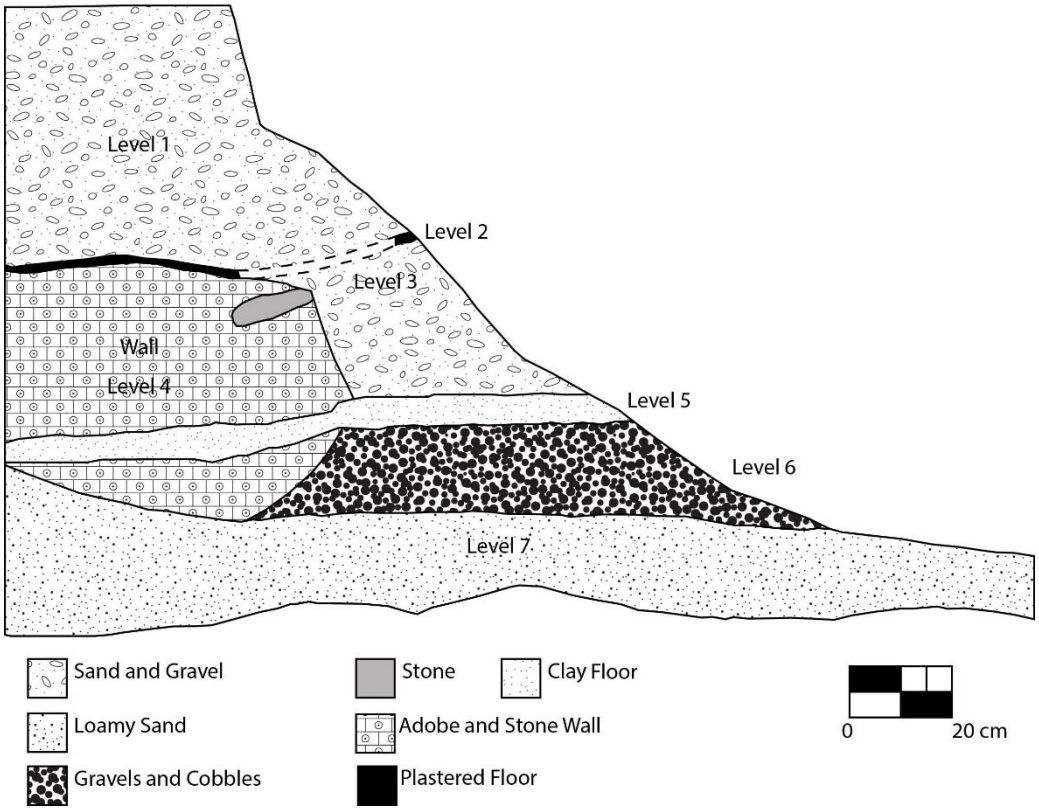


Figure 6.76: Drawing of the east profile of Unit 8a from Huaca A.

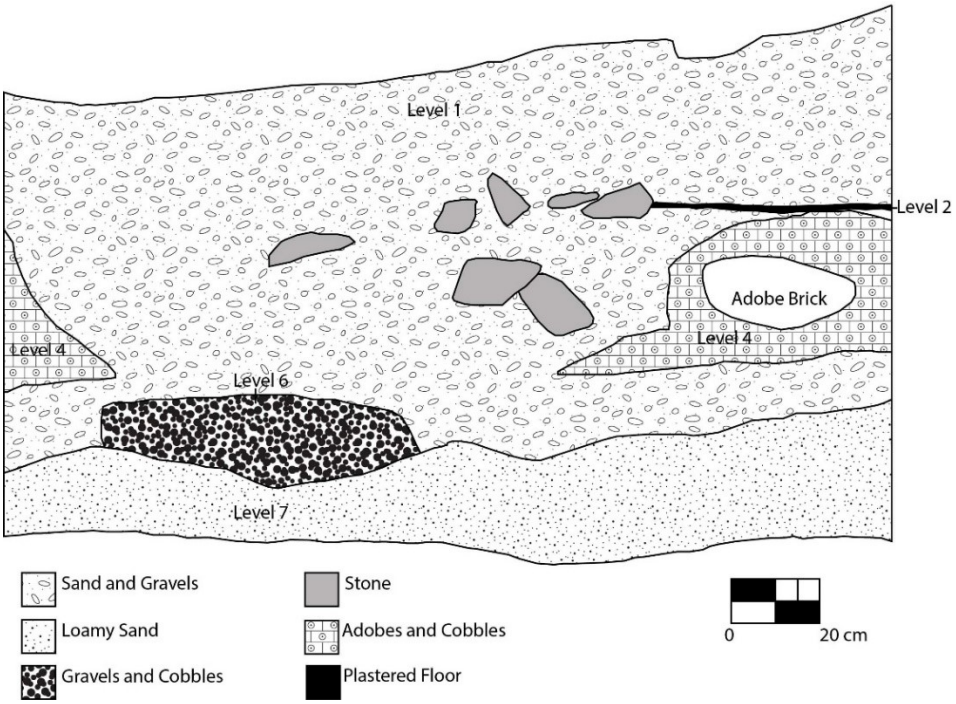


Figure 6.77: Drawing of the north profile of Unit 8a of Huaca A. Note the irregular shape of the adobe brick in Level 4.

Though the destroyed floors demonstrate that Unit 8 was disturbed and was thus not conclusive in providing evidence for how people accessed the nearby plaza, the unit nonetheless provided us with some insights into the construction of Huaca A. Though the wall was not made entirely from adobe, a few adobe bricks were recovered from within. The adobes were of an irregular shape most typical of later adobe brick types (McClelland 1986). The ovoid brick shapes contrast with the flat-rectangular bricks uncovered at the base of the ramp of Unit 9 (see below). The difference in brick types suggests that that the lower terraces of Huaca A represent a separate construction phase than that of the current summit.

The final excavation of Huaca A is Unit 9 which was placed on the first terrace reached by the first of the two ramps leading up to the summit. This location was chosen for excavation as it provided a means of understanding the unusual access pattern for the huaca. In light of what we discovered in the excavation of Unit 8 and the uncovery of a different type of adobe bricks used in the construction of the upper portion of the pyramid, I argue that the two asymmetrically aligned ramps were constructed during different construction phases and that Huaca A had been continuously renovated during its use. Unfortunately, we were unable to recover carbon for dating from the lower area of Huaca A, but given the dating of the summit to the timeframe immediately around the Chimú conquest, it would not be unreasonable to suggest that the early construction dates to the Lambayeque Period.

During our excavation of Unit 9, we uncovered a large dark stain resulting from water damage was located at the base of the second ramp leading up to the summit. Within this area, we cleared off the surface sediments revealed the top of three adobe bricks (Figure 6.78) could be seen, likely functioning as a brace on the side of the ramp. As the presence of adobe bricks provided a possible means to relatively date the construction of the lower terrace of the ramp using the adobe brick seriation created for Pacatnamú by McClelland (1986), I decided to excavate a small 1.7x1 m subunit to expose the bricks and see their relationship to the

ramp.

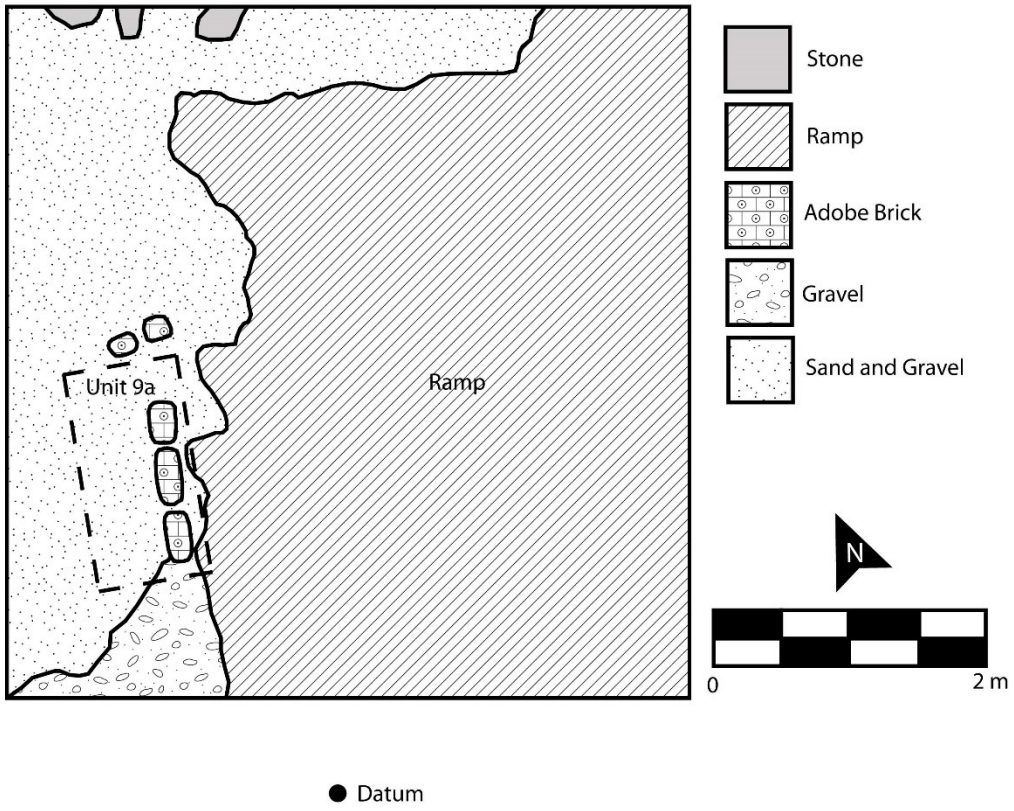


Figure 6.78: Plan map of Level 1 of Unit 9 from Huaca A showing the location of adobe bricks in relation to the ramp.

The subunit (Unit 9a) uncovered an additional three adobe bricks, bringing the total to six (Figure 6.79). The shape of the bricks are rectangular but lack the markings from cane molds suggesting that they correspond to a later type in McClellend's (1986) adobe brick seriation, but prior to the arrival of the Chimú. Based on this evidence, the construction of the ramp and lower terrace of the platform was likely earlier than the construction of the wall exposed in Unit 8a, showing that the upper terrace is a later addition. Beneath Level 1 (Figure 6.80) was a level of gravels (Level 2) above a level of fine sand (Level 3). Level 4 consisted of clay and is likely the floor of the terrace on which the ramp was constructed. Underneath the floor we encountered large boulders which were used to construct the majority of the huaca. This technique of using boulders to create the shape of the structure and finishing it off with finer sediments was also employed in construction of the platforms we excavated such

as Platforms H and I.



Figure 6.79: Six adobe bricks bordering the base of Huaca A's ramp that were uncovered during the excavation of subunit 9a.

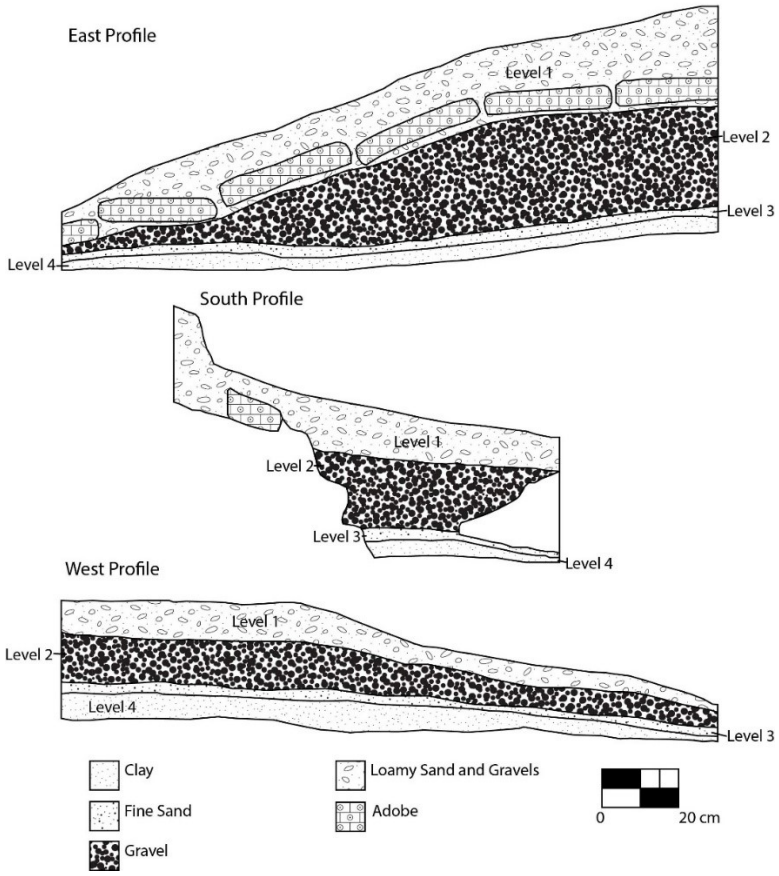


Figure 6.80: Profile Drawings for Unit 9a of Huaca A.

Structure D - Unit 14 and Unit 19

Unit 14
Size of Initial Unit: 10x5 m
Size of Subunit: 1x1 m
Depth of Subunit: 20 cm

Unit 19
Size of Initial Unit: 10x2 m
Size of Subunit: N/A
Depth of Subunit: N/A

The last of the structures we excavated is Structure D, one of the most architecturally complex constructions at Huasi Huaman. It consists (Figure 6.81) of a series of rooms entered by a baffled entrance on the north and rests on a monumental stone platform built on one of the highest hills of the site. The base of its walls are constructed from boulders and cobbles, while the upper portions of the walls, at least in the south, are constructed from adobe bricks. Though all the adobe bricks are extremely worn from weathering, comparison to the adobe brick typology produced for the site of Pacatnamú suggest that they are comparable to Pacatnamú's flat-bottomed ovoid bricks which McClellend (1986) argues belong to the final phase of construction. If adobe bricks at Huasi Huaman are comparable, Structure D's adobe walls were likely constructed near the end of the Jequetepeque Valley's Lambayeque Period or soon after. These bricks also appear to be similar to those found in the wall excavated in Unit 8 of Huaca A suggesting the two monumental structures were contemporaneous. The Chimú Period use of the structure is supported by the discovering of a Chimú blackware ceramic sherd from the contexts of a small hearth in Room 2. Based on its secluded location and the presence of a small adobe platform in Room 1, I suggest that Structure D may have been used to house an icon or mummy that was venerated by the site's inhabitants.

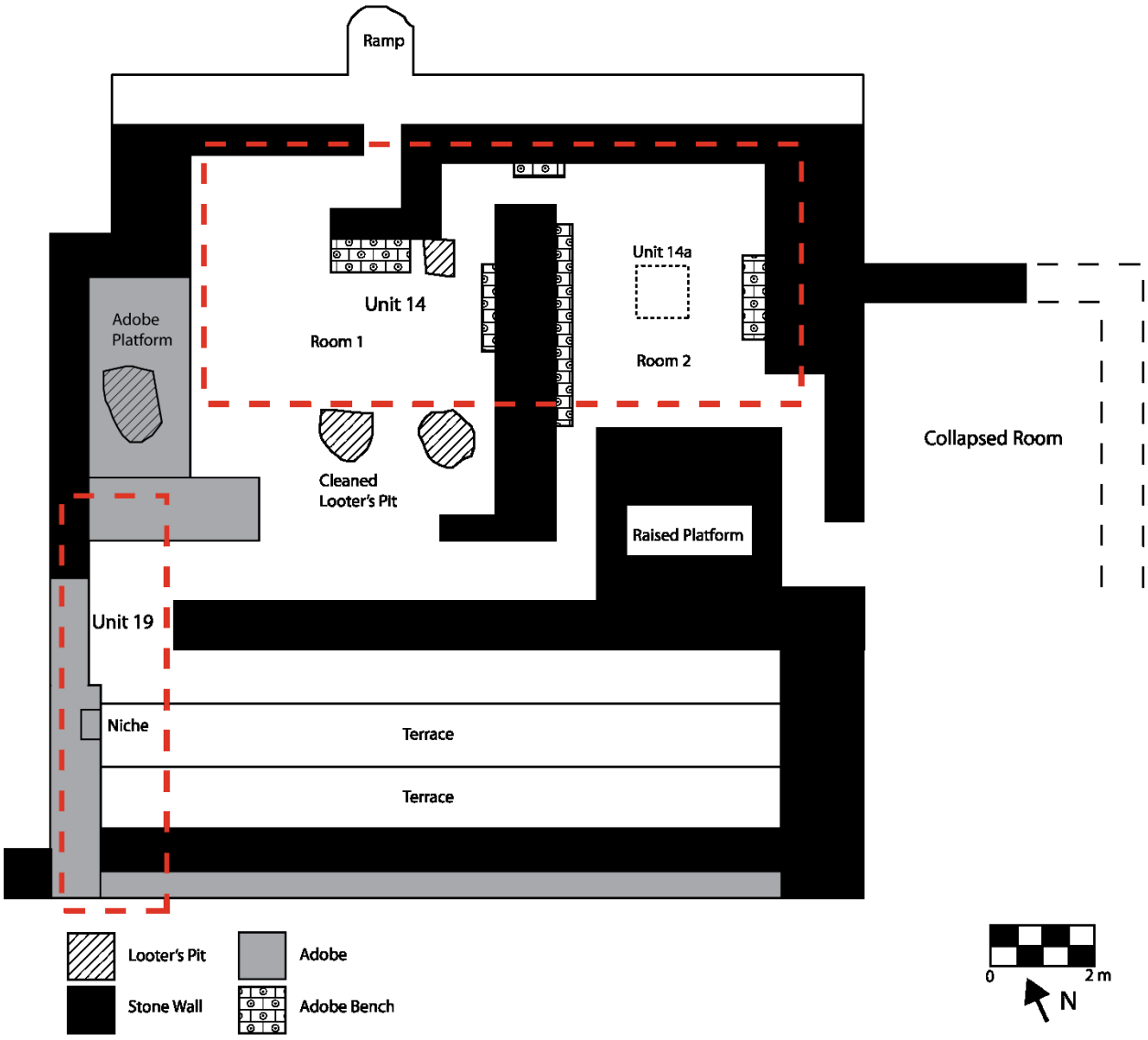


Figure 6.81: Map of Structure D showing the locations of units 14 and 19.

We excavated two units in Structure D (Unit 14 and Unit 19). Unit 14, the first of the two excavation units, was a 10x5 m excavation that spanned the northern end of rooms 1 and 2. This area was selected as it included three baffled entryways, including the main entrance to the structure, and could therefore help to clarify access patterns within the structure. Excavation involved the cleaning and removal of rubble from the surface to expose the floor and any buried features (Figure 6.82). After we removed the rubble, we then mapped the standing architecture.



Figure 6.82: Unit 14 in Structure D prior to excavation. The image depicts Room 2 from the south.

Within the two rooms that were excavated, we found that the walls were fronted by a single layer of grey adobe bricks, including within one of the baffled entrances (Figure 6.83). Centuries of erosion by wind and rain had turned much of these bricks into piles of melted clay, but where they were not preserved their presence was visible by grey stains around the edges of the rooms. These bricks may be small adobe benches that bordered the room. Similar architectural features have been identified at sites contemporaneous to Huasi Huaman in the Jequetepeque Valley (Cutright 2009: 122). A more substantial bench was discovered in front of the baffled main entrance though it was also poorly preserved so much of its shape could not be determined.



Figure 6.83: Eroded adobe “bench” or row of adobe bricks in the baffled entryway between the east and west rooms of Structure D.

We decided to place Unit 14a in the center of Room 2 which is accessed by two baffled entrances. Underneath the compact loamy sand of Level 1 (Figure 6.84), we encounter a lens of ash extending across much of the 1x1 meter unit in Level 2 which consisted of a prepared floor representing the original surface of the structure. Within this level we discovered a sherd of Chimú fine blackware decorated with *piel de ganzo*, a decoration type characteristic of Chimú pottery (see chapter 7). The significance of this find is that it demonstrates that Structure D was in use during the Chimú Period. Underneath the feature was a level of sterile sands and gravels that served as construction fill.

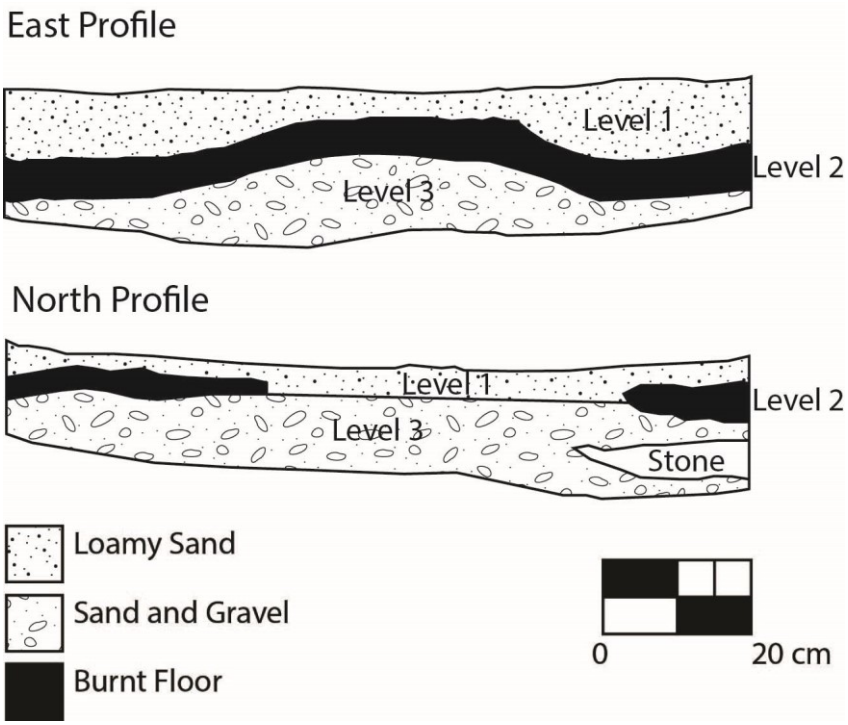


Figure 6.84: Profile drawings of Unit 14a from Structure D.

One of the looter's pits in the western most room was also cleaned and straightened so that we could expose another profile without further damaging the structure. The stratigraphy proved to be the same as Unit 14a (Figure 6.85). Level 1 constituted of colluvial loamy sands, Level 2 consisted of a prepared floor representing the initial surface, and Level 3 was sterile construction fill. The similarity between both rooms suggests that they were likely constructed at the same time and the floors were not renovated after initial construction.

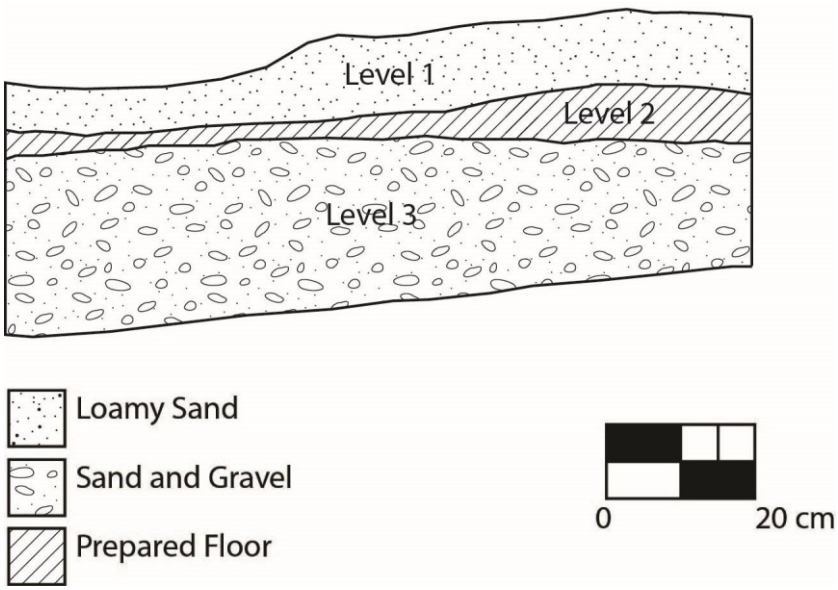


Figure 6.85: North Profile of cleaned looter's pit from Structure D.

The second excavation unit, Unit 19, was placed along the southwest corner of the structure to expose the southern wall where the adobe and stone construction intersected. With this excavation, we intended to determine whether the stone and adobe walls were built at the same time or if one was a later addition. Our excavation of unit 19 shows that the adobe retaining wall was fronted by two small stone terraces (Figure 6.86) that were themselves finished by being fronted with adobe bricks placed along a rough course. As the adobe bricks are placed over the stone architecture, the adobe bricks appear to have been added after the initial stone construction.



Figure 6.86: Exposed stone and adobe terraces constructed against southern wall of Structure D.

The adobe walls included at least one niche (Figure 6.87), though as was the case of the adobe bench found in the front rooms we excavated in Unit 14, it has been heavily eroded by rain and wind so more niches may have existed than can presently be identified. An examination of the adobe bricks (Figure 6.88) that make up much of Structure D shows that they most resemble the flat-bottomed ovoid brinks described by McClelland (1986: 29) at Pacatnamú. As this is the same type of the adobe encountered on the summit of Huaca A, the final construction phase of Huaca A was probably at around the same time as the construction

of the adobe walls in Structure D.



Figure 6.87: Remains of a niche in the badly eroded western adobe wall of Structure D.



Figure 6.88: Adobe bricks from within a looter's pit located in the small platform on top of Structure D.

Conclusions

Our excavation of Huasi Huaman shows that it was a settlement with at least a small

number of long-term inhabitants living on both the terraces and low sectors. Of the two low sectors we investigated, Sector K may have been the only one to see extensive domestic habitation as Sector G was almost devoid of archaeological remains. Instead, Sector G may have served as open space that was incorporated into the rituals performed on nearby platforms.

The platforms demonstrate a great deal of diversity in function and architectural layout, though many were probably used to host small scale feasting rituals and processions. The architectural differences and associated finds show that these rituals may have had very different contextual meanings. For example, human remains from looted burials are present around Platform F, providing some evidence that it was probably used as a burial platform to venerate dead ancestors. Platform B, on the other hand, had a small camelid enclosure on its summit where animals were held and butchered. Other platforms show very different uses such as Platform N which may represent an early elite house occupied by a healer and Platform C which was the location of metalworking. Our carbon dates show that most of the platforms were early constructions dating to the Lambayeque Period though their use may have continued into the Chimú Period.

The monumental structures, Huaca A and Structure D, both show evidence of renovation though their final forms were reached around the time of the Chimú conquest. The emphasis on size and secluded ritual space hints at a new emphasis on exclusive rituals, perhaps including the veneration of an icon or mummy. In the next chapter, I provide a detailed analysis of the archaeological materials that we recovered during excavation and surface collection.

Chapter 7 Materials Analysis

The material remains we recovered from Huasi Huaman provides a means of better understanding the types of activities conducted within different architectural spaces. This in turn helps to elucidate who was living at the site, how it was used, and to what extent ritual and quotidian practices changed over time. Ultimately, the analysis of archaeological remains will assist in the analysis of the processes complicit in the creation and contestation of subjects.

I use this chapter to outline my analysis of Huasi Huaman's material record. I begin with an analysis of the ceramic materials and describe the five general forms found at the site. Comparing ceramic forms, rim diameters, and decoration between contexts, I found that cooking and storage vessels were more common in domestic contexts, but rim diameter and decoration were not different at a statistically significant level.

Next, I present the data for the faunal and botanical remains recovered during excavation. The inhabitants of Huasi Huaman utilized a range of local terrestrial and marine resources, but also had access to plants from as far away as the Amazon. Many of these resources were used for food, but others were used for utilitarian, ritual, or medicinal purposes showing a broad range of activities at Huasi Huaman. Comparison of faunal remains between contexts shows that meat was consumed more frequently on the terraces while sea food was a larger part of everyday consumption.

The rest of the chapter is dedicated to describing the other tools and craft products including lithic tools, copper artefacts, textiles, and beads. I argue that while lithic tools are uncommon at Huasi Huaman, those recovered show their use in activities such as metalworking, agriculture, and food processing. Similarly, the recovered copper pieces show that the inhabitants of the site had access to copper needles, beads, and tweezers. I suggest

that the copper artefacts may have been made by itinerate specialists on Platform C and distributed by local leaders to their followers. Finally, my description of textiles and personal adornments reveals that most are simple undyed textiles made with a single warp and weft, but a few inhabitants of Huasi Huaman had access to more elaborate textiles and beads made from spondylus and turquoise.

Ceramics

I collected a total of 1742 diagnostic rim and decorated sherds during the excavation and surface collection. I was able to classify the majority of these sherds into five general forms: *ollas* (cooking pots), *cantaros* (restricted neck vessels), *tinajas* (storage jars), *tazones* (bowls), and *ralladores* (grater bowls). To identify types within each form, I relied upon Edward Swenson's (2004: 733, 744, 746, 754, 756) ceramic typology for the Late Moche and Late Intermediate Period Jequetepeque Valley as well as Robyn Cutright's (2009) analysis of Late Intermediate Period ceramics from Pedregal, a site contemporary to Huasi Huaman. I provide a brief description of each form and discuss the most common types encountered during our project below.

Ollas

Ollas (Figure 7.1) are wide mouthed vessels with short necks that are designed for cooking and serving liquids such as soups and stews. They have globular bases which enable their contents inside to be evenly cooked when placed over a fire. Indeed, evidence of frequent contact with open flames is visible on many of the olla sherds we collected which often exhibit fire blackened surfaces. As with modern day cooking pots, sizes could vary depending on the amount of food being prepared and the number of people being fed. Ollas may also have sometimes doubled as storage vessels or used to contain food left as offerings. At Farfán, for example, ollas were used to store food that was left as grave offerings in burials (Cutright 2009: 234).



Figure 7.1: Intact olla (type 18:5) with paleteado decoration recovered from Unit 20 of Sector A-superior.

At Huasi Huaman, ollas are the most common form of vessel making up 39% of all diagnostic rim sherds. The prevalence of ollas is echoed at other LIP sites in the Jequetepeque Valley such as Pedregal (Cutright 2009: 234) and Farfán (Cutright 2005) where they made up 30.1% and 37% of the assemblages for each site respectively. The most frequently encountered types (Figure 7.2) were Swenson's types 18:5 (50% of all ollas), 16:5 (16% of all ollas), and 21:6 (17% of all ollas) which he assigns to the Late Intermediate Period (Swenson 2004: 732, figure 7.5). A few olla sherds belonging to types associated with the Late Moche Period were also recovered such as types 14:4, 15:4, and 9:3. However, Late Moche sherds made up only 3% of the total assemblage. Type 9:3 sherds were also recovered at Pedregal (Cutright 2009) suggesting that some Late Moche types may have persisted into the Late Intermediate Period and therefore probably does not indicate a Late Moche Period occupation of Huasi Huaman.

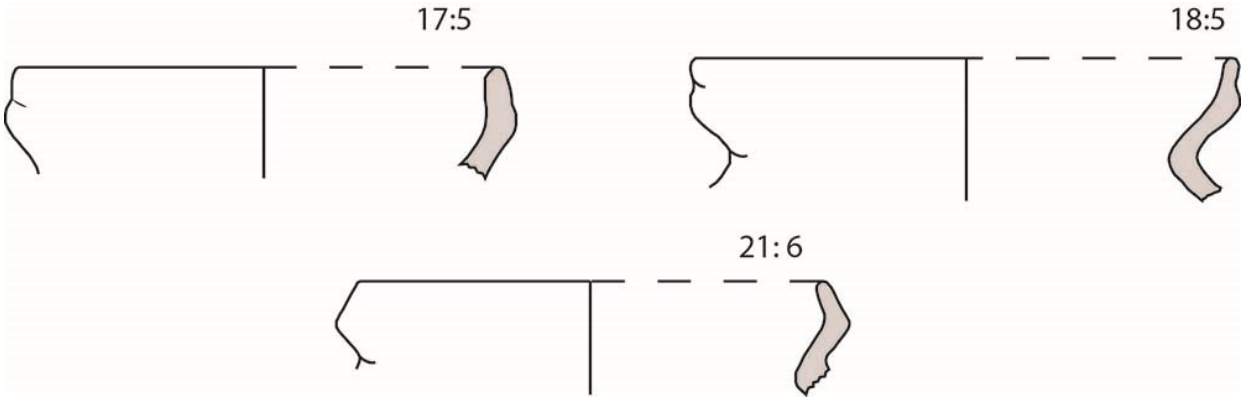


Figure 7.2: The three most common olla types at Huasi Huaman. Types are taken from Swenson's (2004: 732, figure 7.5) typology of ollas for the Late Intermediate Period Jequetepeque Valley.

As a cooking vessel, decoration on ollas tended to be minimal. When present it was most commonly limited to a simple buff wash or *paleteado* (paddle impressed) patterns. Some vessels were decorated with both.

Cantaros

Cantaros are restricted-neck vessels used for storing and serving liquids. It is unlikely they used in cooking and their exterior surfaces are less commonly burnt than ollas. Decoration was typically restricted to covering the surface or rim with buff wash. Cutright (2009: 236) argues that the mean diameter of cantaros decreases throughout the Late Intermediate Period based on her research at Pedregal.

Cantaros were uncommon at Huasi Huaman making up only 9% of the recovered rim sherds. The small number of identified types indicate minimal variability with Swenson's types 46:17 (52%) and 47:17 (35%) being most common (Figure 7.3). The gentle flaring on these two types is similar to cantaros Tschauner (2001: 645) associated with the Lambayeque and Chimú periods in the Lambayeque Valley and showing similarity in ceramic forms between the region and the Jequetepeque Valley.

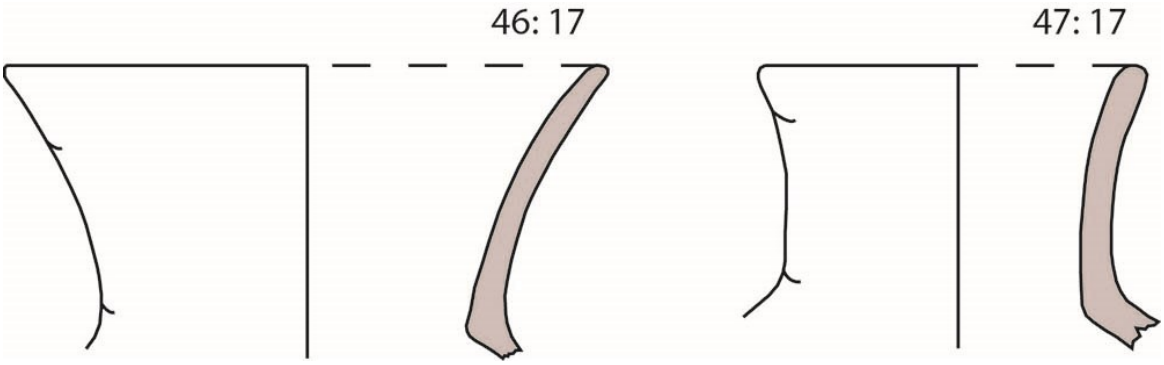


Figure 7.3: The two most common cantaro types at Huasi Huaman. Types are taken from Swenson's (2004: 744, figure 7.8) typology for the Late Intermediate Period Jequetepeque Valley.

Sherds of Chimú blackware cantaros were also recovered from Huasi Huaman. When decorated they exhibited typical Chimú motifs including waves and *piel de ganso* (goose bump) stippling (Cutright 2009: 234). Chimú blackware was likely produced at sites with Chimú elites, indicating that at least some individuals at Huasi Huaman were interacting with Chimú administrators and their retinue, probably at the nearby site of Farfán. Though uncommon, they were encountered in cemetery, domestic, and ceremonial contexts indicating that they were being incorporated into several facets of life and not being rejected by the local population of the region.

Tinajas

Tinajas are large, generally crudely made storage vessels. Their thick walls contain coarse grit temper and are often poorly fired, giving them a much coarser appearance than other forms of vessels. They have very wide mouths with rim diameters frequently greater than 40 or 50 centimeters. Tinajas were likely used for the storage of either liquids or foods. At Farfán, tinajas have also been found in association with materials related to chicha production indicating the use of these vessels in storing and fermenting alcohol (Mackey 2006).

Tinajas made up 14% of the recovered rim sherds. Swenson's (2004: figure 7.9) types

61:19 (10% of all tinajas) and 62:20 (80% of all tinajas) were the most frequently identified (Figure 7.4). Swenson (2004: 746, figure 7.9) argues that Type 61:19 was used throughout the Late Moche and Late Intermediate Periods while Type 62:20 was used only during the Late Intermediate Period. Decoration most commonly consisted of a splatter of buff wash though a few rare examples of rims impressed with geometric shapes were identified.

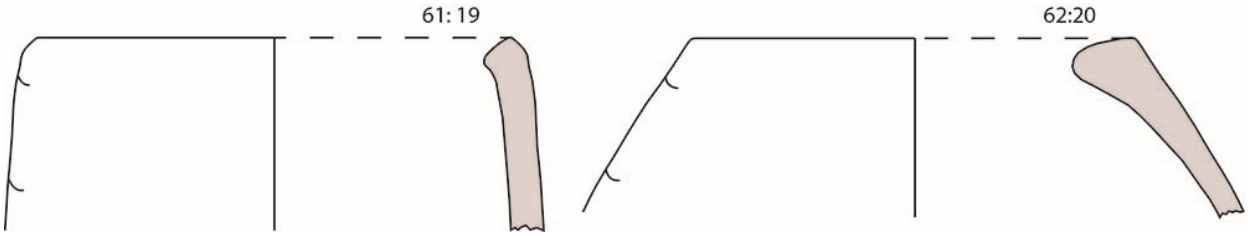


Figure 7.4: The two most common tinajas types at Huasi Huaman. Types are taken from Swenson's (2004: 746, figure 7.9) typology for the Late Intermediate Period Jequetepeque Valley.

Tazones

Tazones are the most common serving vessel at Huasi Huaman and the second most common form after ollas. They make up 22% of the assemblage of rim sherds. Their shape makes them ideal for serving and consuming soups and stews. The most common types of tazones (Figure 7.5) were Swenson's (2004: 754, figure 7.12) types 78:26 and 80:27. Type 78:26 sherds accounted for 65% of all tazones while Type 80:27 accounted for 34%.

As with other ceramic forms, the most common type of decoration was the application of a simple buff wash. Some bowls were decorated with press band molding containing geometric patterns, a decoration technique associated with the Lambayeque and also encountered in the Lambayeque Valley during the Sicán Period (Tschauner 2001: 644). We also recovered several Type 80.27 tazones that were reduced and had highly burnished interiors. This method of manufacture is very similar to that displayed by many of Cutright's (2009: 532) Type D vessels which she assigns to the Chimú, but the reduced tazones at Huasi Huaman have curved sides instead of prominent elbows. The blackware bowls at Huasi

Huaman most resemble bowls recovered by Garth Bawden (2005: 27, figure 13) at the Moche site of Galindo which also suggests a Moche Valley origin for this vessel type.

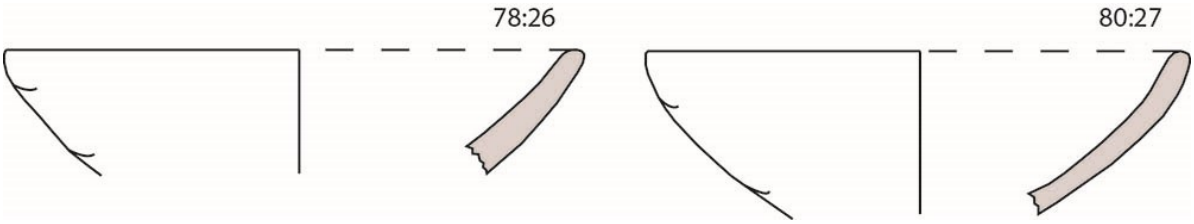


Figure 7.5: The two most common tazon types at Huasi Huaman. Types are taken from Swenson's (2004: 754, figure 7.12) typology for the Late Intermediate Period Jequetepeque Valley.

Ralladores

Ralladores are bowl-shaped vessels with incised curved or linear patterns on the interior. These patterns were likely used to grate soft foods such as plant materials as the patterns typically show minimal use-wear indicating that they weren't used to process hard foods. Unlike other forms of vessels, ralladores were not typically included as part of grave offerings (Cutright 2011: 89). The presence of ralladores therefore proved useful in distinguishing domestic and cemetery contexts.

We only recovered 29 (2%) rallador sherds at Huasi Huaman indicating their rarity in the assemblage. Swenson (2004: 756, figure 7:13) used the pattern of the grating for his typology of ralladores rather than rim shape. We recovered five sherds belonging to Types 88 and ten belong to Type 89 (Figure 7.6) while the rest were too incomplete to assign to a type. Unfortunately, this is not enough to recognize any statistically significant patterns in grating types.

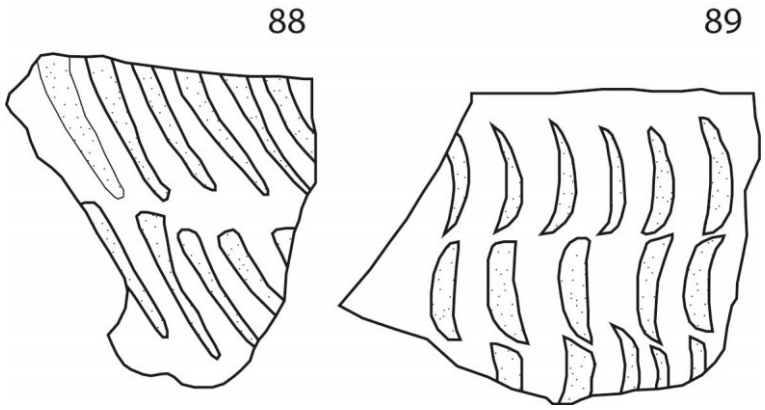


Figure 7.6: The two most common types of ralladores at Huasi Huaman.

Comparison of Ceramic Forms from Huasi Huaman

To determine whether the frequency of ceramic forms shows differences in the activities conducted within the different types of spaces at Huasi Huaman, I group the ceramics according to the four broad categories of platforms, low sectors, terraces, and monumental architecture based on where the sherds were recovered. I then performed Pearson's Chi-square and Cramer's V calculations using SPSS statistical software to determine whether there was a statistically significant difference between the frequencies of ceramic forms as a result of their context. The results of my comparison are presented below.

The ceramic forms I used in this analysis include the five forms mentioned in my discussion of ceramics in the previous section: ollas, cantaros, tinajas, tazones and ralladores. The sixth category, unidentified, refers to body sherds that were collected due to the presence of decoration, but could not be classified by form. Table 7.1 shows the frequency of the five ceramic forms between each of the three broad contexts. Ollas (cooking pots) make up the largest percentage of ceramics in the domestic contexts, accounting for 41.79% of ceramics on the terraces (Figure 7.7) and 42.11% of ceramics in the low sectors (Figure 7.8). This compares to 27.88% of ceramics from the platforms (Figure 7.9) and 31.2% of ceramics from the monumental architecture (Figure 7.10). The other ceramic form with a notable difference in frequency between contexts are tinajas (storage jars) which are similarly more frequent in

the domestic areas of the site. They account for 16.75% of ceramics from the terraces and 15.63% of ceramics from the low sectors, but only 6.67% of ceramics from the platforms and 6.4% of ceramics from the monumental structures. These differences suggest that cooking, storing food, and possibly brewing alcohol were more commonly conducted in the setting of the home. However, are these differences large enough to reject the null hypothesis that there is no relation between ceramic form and context?

Table 7.1: Frequencies of ceramic forms by context.

Ceramic Form vs Context

Count

		Context				
		Platform	Low Sector	Terrace	Monumental	Total
Form	Olla	92	283	257	39	671
	Cantaro	39	61	45	16	161
	Tinaja	22	105	103	8	238
	Tazones	89	124	156	21	390
	Ralladores	4	12	13	0	29
	Unidentified	84	87	41	41	253
Total		330	672	615	125	1742

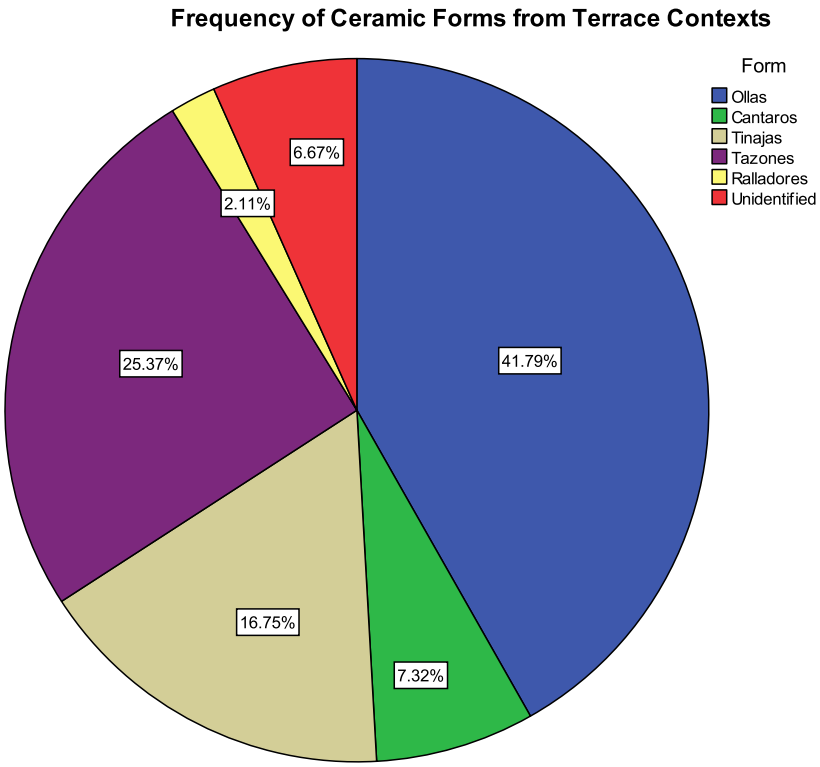


Figure 7.7: Pie charts showing the frequency of ceramic forms in the terraces.

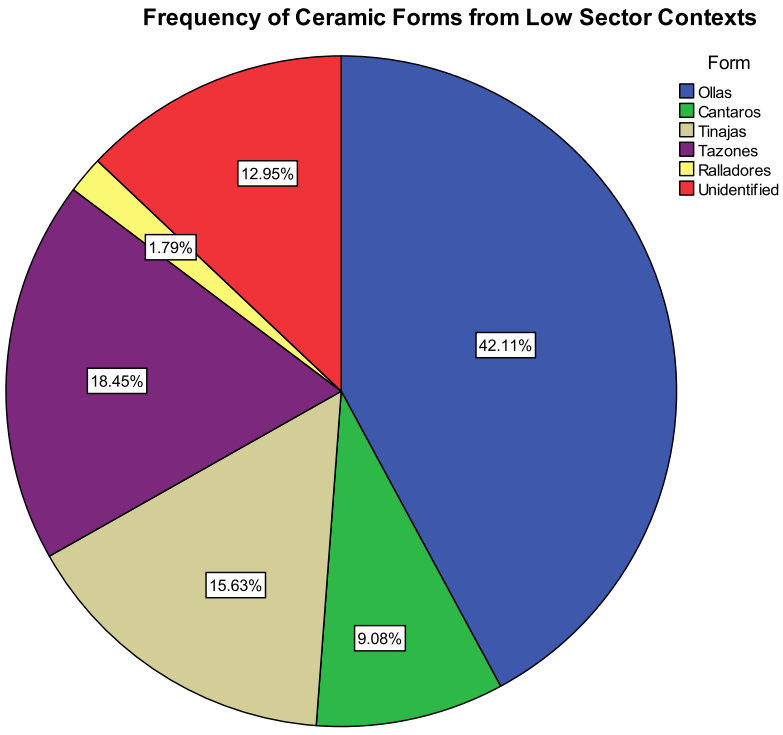


Figure 7.8: Pie chart showing the frequency of ceramic forms in the low sectors.

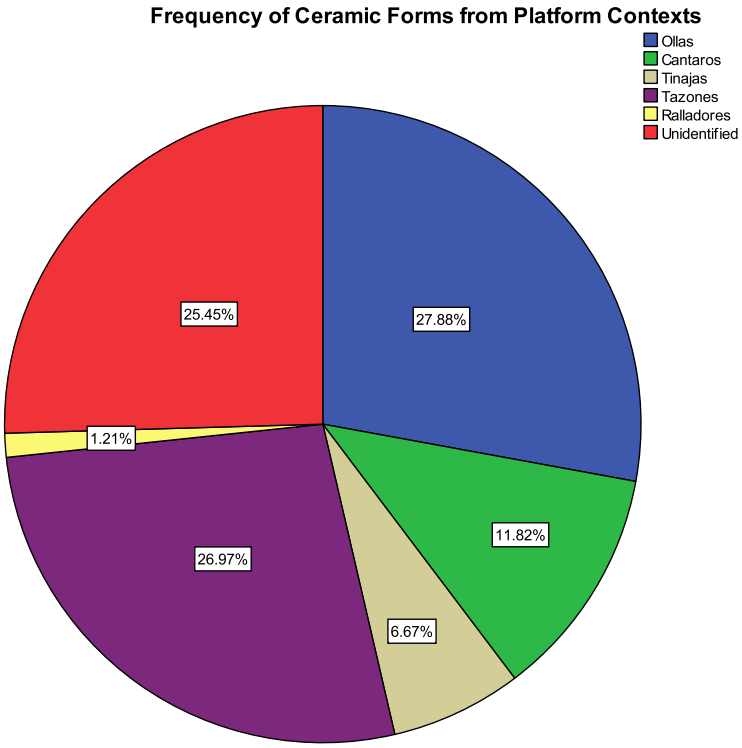


Figure 7.9: Pie chart showing the frequency of ceramic forms from the platforms.

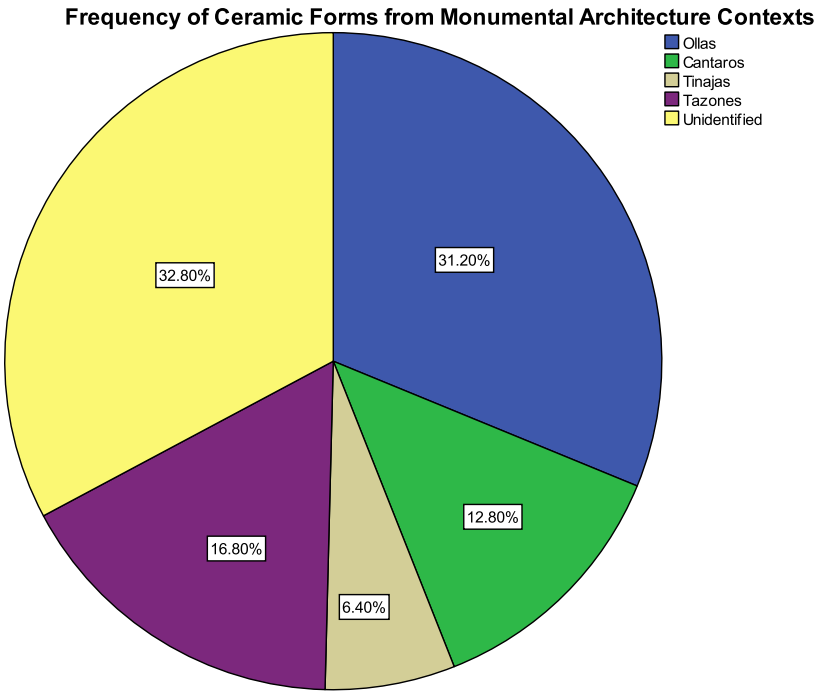


Figure 7.10: Pie chart showing the frequency of ceramic forms from the monumental architecture.

Using SPSS, I performed a cross tabulation to determine if there was a statistically significant relationship between ceramic form and context (Table 7.2). As a chi-square value of 143.195 (Table 7.3) is significant at the 0.05 level which means that the null hypothesis can be rejected. This means that there is a statistically significant relationship between the frequency of ceramic forms and their location within the site. To determine the strength of the relationship, I calculated a Cramer's V value of 0.166 (Table 7.4) which indicates a small relationship. Therefore, I can conclude that context had a small effect on the frequency of ceramic form at Huasi Huaman.

Table 7.2: Cross tabulation of ceramic form by context.

Ceramic Form * Context Crosstabulation

			Context				
			Platforms	Low Sectors	Terraces	Monumental	Total
Form	Ollas	Count	92	283	257	39	671
		Expected Count	127.1	258.8	236.9	48.1	671.0
		% within Form	13.7%	42.2%	38.3%	5.8%	100.0%
	Cantaros	Count	39	61	45	16	161
		Expected Count	30.5	62.1	56.8	11.6	161.0
		% within Form	24.2%	37.9%	28.0%	9.9%	100.0%
	Tinajas	Count	22	105	103	8	238
		Expected Count	45.1	91.8	84.0	17.1	238.0
		% within Form	9.2%	44.1%	43.3%	3.4%	100.0%
	Tazones	Count	89	124	156	21	390
		Expected Count	73.9	150.4	137.7	28.0	390.0
		% within Form	22.8%	31.8%	40.0%	5.4%	100.0%
	Ralladores	Count	4	12	13	0	29
		Expected Count	5.5	11.2	10.2	2.1	29.0
		% within Form	13.8%	41.4%	44.8%	.0%	100.0%
	Unidentified	Count	84	87	41	41	253
		Expected Count	47.9	97.6	89.3	18.2	253.0
		% within Form	33.2%	34.4%	16.2%	16.2%	100.0%
Total		Count	330	672	615	125	1742
		Expected Count	330.0	672.0	615.0	125.0	1742.0
		% within Form	18.9%	38.6%	35.3%	7.2%	100.0%

Table 7.3: Pearson Chi-Square value of ceramic form by context.

Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	143.195[a]	15	.000
Likelihood Ratio	143.926	15	.000
Linear-by-Linear Association	10.403	1	.001
N of Valid Cases	1742		

a. 1 cells (4.2%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 2.08.

Table 7.4: Symmetric measures for the frequency of ceramic forms by context.

Symmetric Measures

		Value	Approx. Sig.
Nominal by Nominal	Phi	.287	.000
	Cramer's V	.166	.000
N of Valid Cases		1742	

The differences in the frequencies of forms are most obvious in ollas and tinajas. This suggests that the cooking and storage of food were not as prevalent on platforms. If the platforms were used in feasting and commensal politics, much of the food may have been prepared elsewhere in the site and brought to the platforms for consumption. This matches the minimal evidence for hearths or cooking fires on these structures.

I also previously suggested that Platform N may have been an elite residence based on the presence of chalk and guinea pig feces. Analysis of the frequency of ceramic forms (Figure 7.11) found during the excavation of the platform show that it is more similar to the other platforms than the domestic sectors of the site. Despite the hearths uncovered in Level 6 (see chapter 6), ollas were not as large a percentage of the ceramics as terraces and low sectors. This does not discount my interpretation of the platform, but it shows that the nature of any cooking and serving done on the platform was likely different from that of the non-

elite domestic contexts.

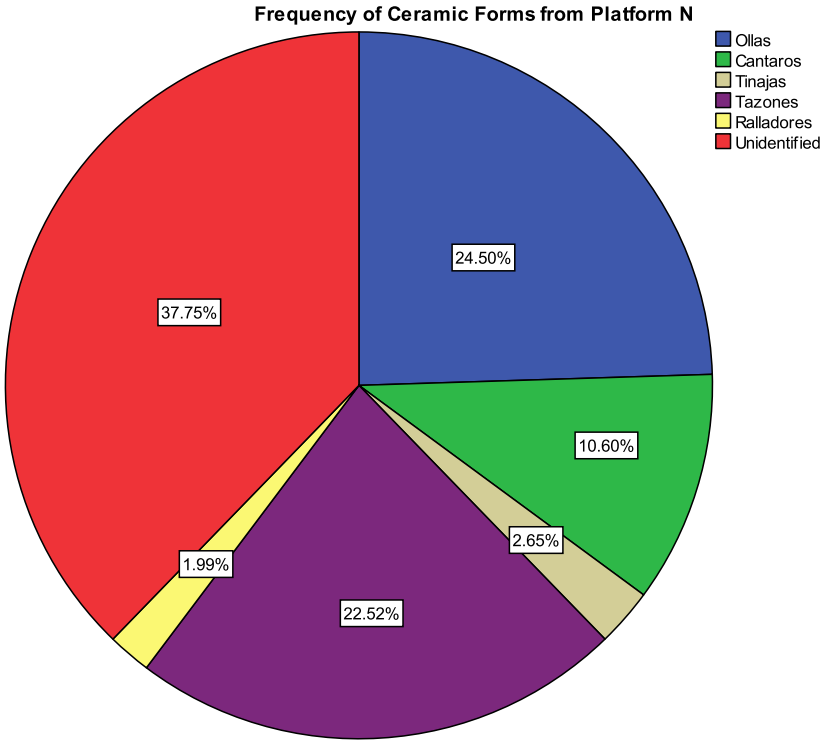


Figure 7.11: Pie chart showing the frequency of ceramic forms from Platform N.

Comparison of Rim Diameters

As we recovered only one complete vessel during the excavation, I am unable to calculate the volumes of each vessel form. Instead, I use rim diameter as an approximate measure of the size of vessels of the same form. I do this under the assumption that large vessels of the same form will also have larger rim diameters than similar vessels of a smaller size. The purpose of comparing vessel size (or in this case, rim diameter) is that if large vessels are frequently recorded in a specific sector, it may indicate that some areas were used to prepare or serve larger quantities of food than were consumed in everyday domestic contexts. Alternatively, uniformity in vessel size between different areas could indicate that the demands of food preparation and serving did not require vessels much different than those employed in everyday use. Any food served as part of feasting rituals performed on the platforms may therefore have been intended for small numbers of people. A lack of

distinction between ceramics in different areas might also indicate that no one group controlled the preparation of food for ceremonial events. Therefore, the analysis of vessel size has the potential of providing insight into the nature of food preparation and consumption within Huasi Huaman. My analysis shows that there were not significant differences in the mean size of vessels between contexts. I present a detailed discussion of my analysis below.

As with my analysis of the distribution of forms, I group my data according to whether they were found in association with the terraces, low sectors, monumental architecture, and platforms. I exclude tinajas and ralladores from my analysis as the rims of tinajas were so large that they often measured beyond the upper dimensions of my rim diameter chart while the rims of ralladores were rare and not recovered in numbers that would be statistically significant. The omission of these two vessel forms enables me to focus on the most prevalent cooking and serving vessels: ollas, cantaros, and tazones.

Figure 7.12 shows the frequency of olla rim diameters across the entire site. The mean diameter of all ollas at Huasi Huaman is 12.51 cm with a standard deviation of 3.057. There was little difference in diameters between ollas between contexts. Ollas from the low sectors (Figure 7.13) had a mean diameter of 12.6 cm with a standard deviation of 3.131 and those from terraces (Figure 7.14) had a mean diameter of 12.42 cm and a standard deviation of 2.754. This compares to a mean diameter of 12.53 cm with a standard deviation of 3.576 for platform contexts (Figure 7.15) and a mean of 12.35 cm with a standard deviation of 3.19 for the ollas found within the monumental architecture (Figure 7.16). The similarities in mean rim diameter between the four contexts leads me to conclude that there is unlikely to have been a relationship between the size of *ollas* and the location in which they were used.

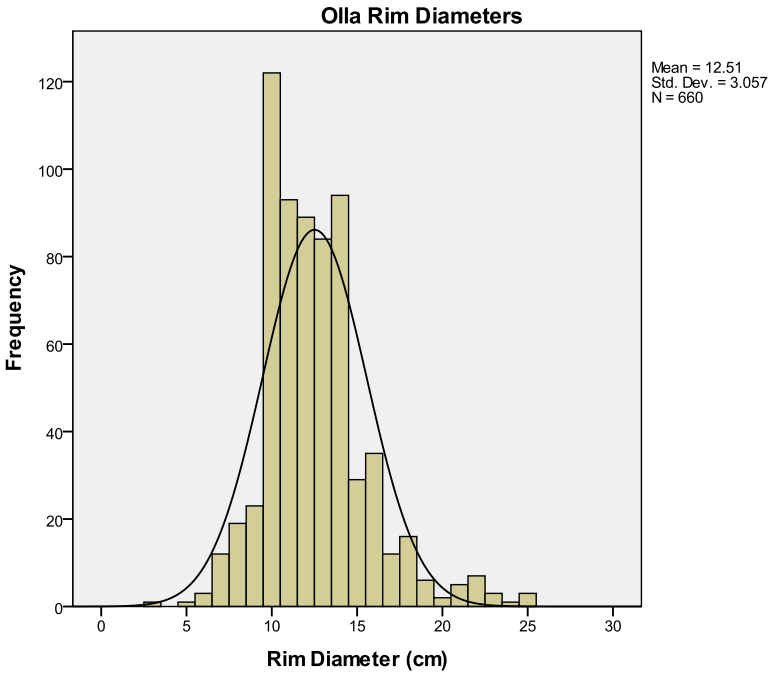


Figure 7.12: Histogram of olla rim diameters for all of Huasi Huaman.

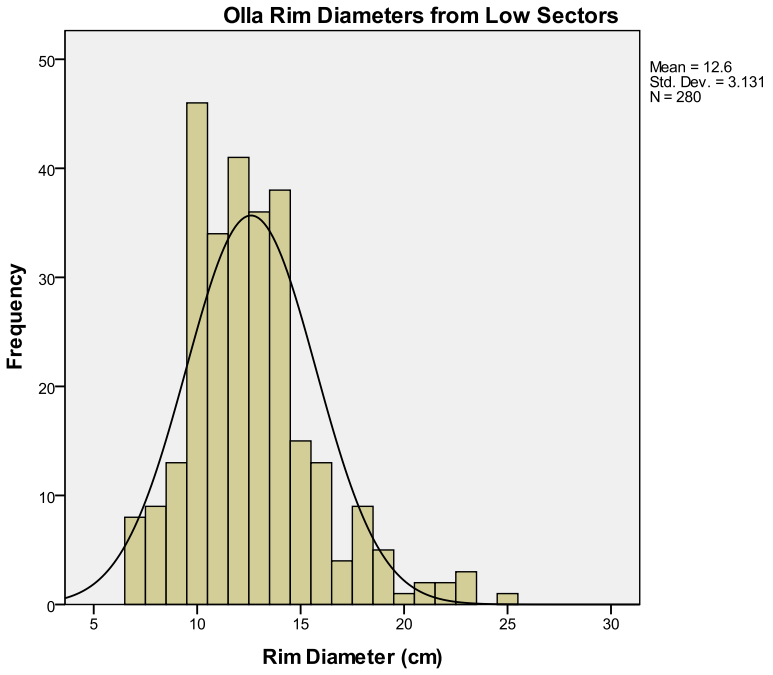


Figure 7.13: Histogram of olla rim diameters for low sectors.

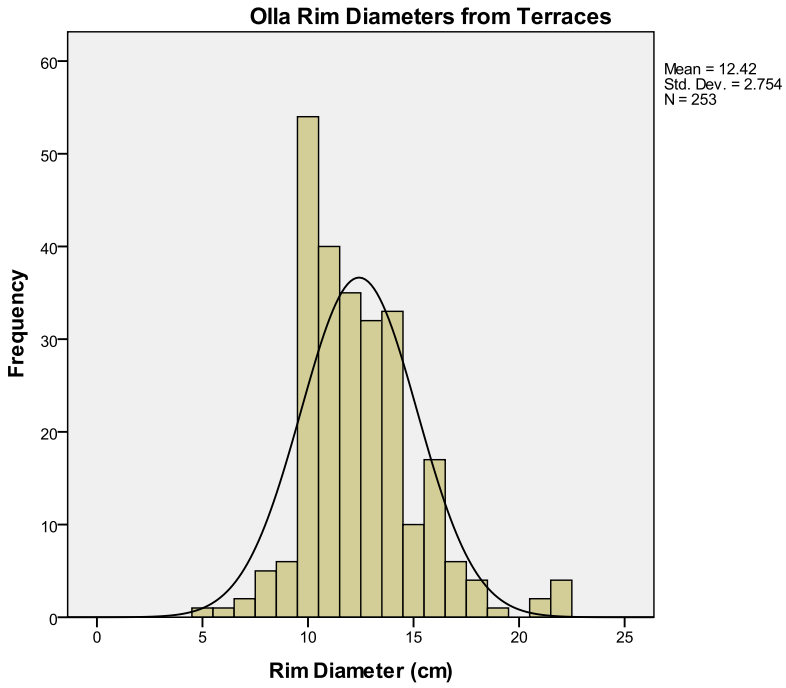


Figure 7.14: Histogram of olla rim diameters from the terraces.

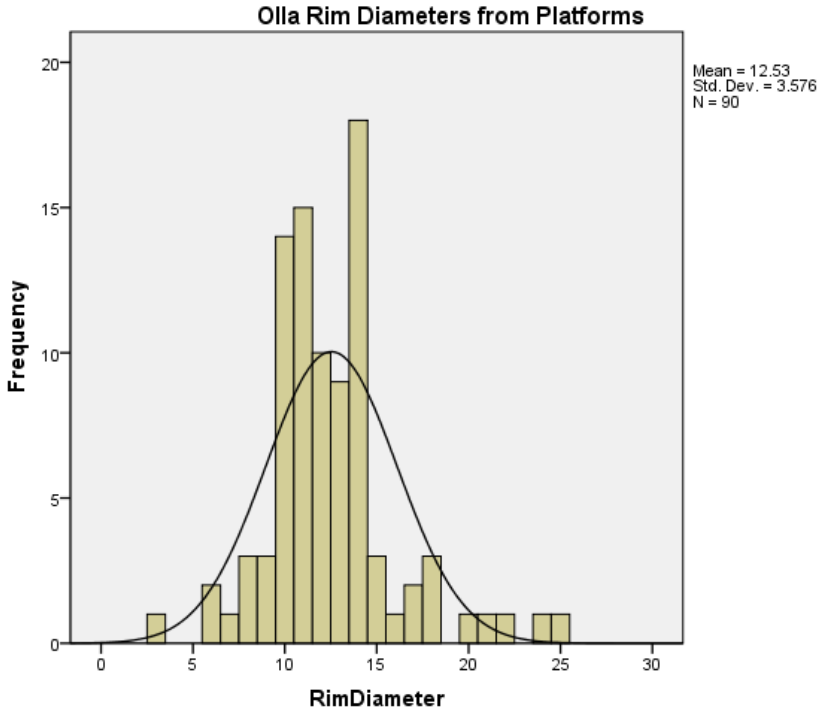


Figure 7.15: Histogram of olla rim diameters from the platforms.

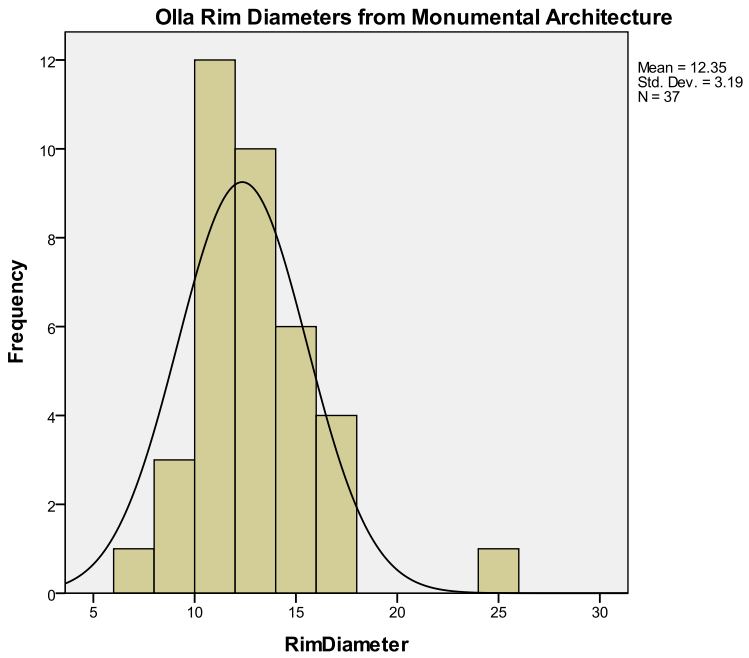


Figure 7.16: Histogram of olla rim diameters from the monumental architecture.

Figure 7.17 shows the frequency of cantaro rim diameters. The average cantaro has a mean rim diameter of 15.19 cm and the assemblage has a standard deviation of 5.351 demonstrating a higher degree of dispersion from the mean than was recorded for ollas. Cantaros recovered from the low sectors (Figure 7.18) have a mean diameter of 14.43 cm and standard deviation of 5.601. Interestingly, the cantaros found on the terraces (Figure 7.18) are larger with a mean diameter of 16.65 cm with a standard deviation of 5.446. The cantaros from the platforms (Figure 7.20) have a mean diameter of 14.32 cm and standard deviation of 4.443 while those from the monumental architecture have a mean diameter of 15.64 cm with a standard deviation of 5.652.

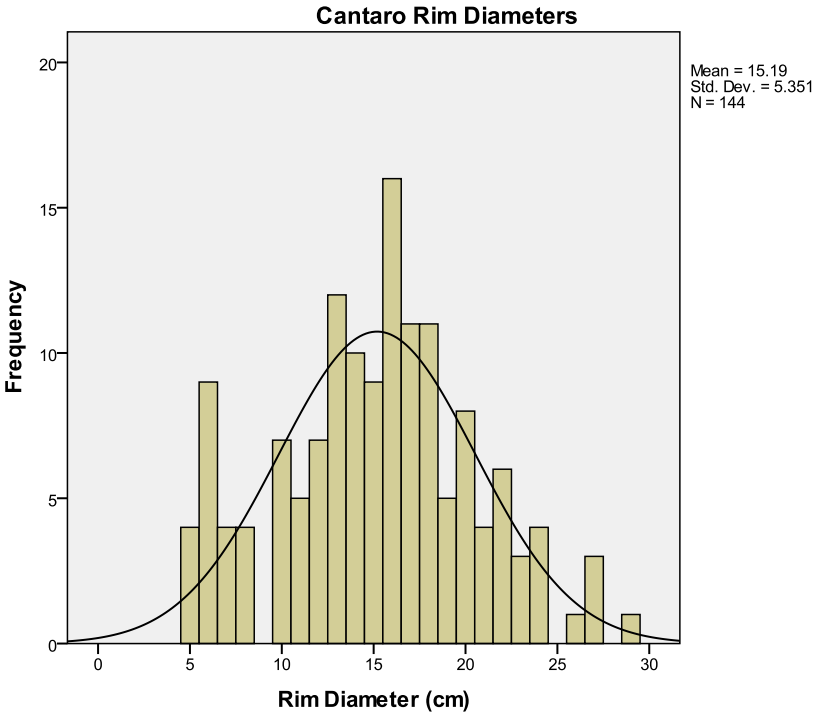


Figure 7.17: Histogram of cantaro rim diameters from all of Huasi Huaman.

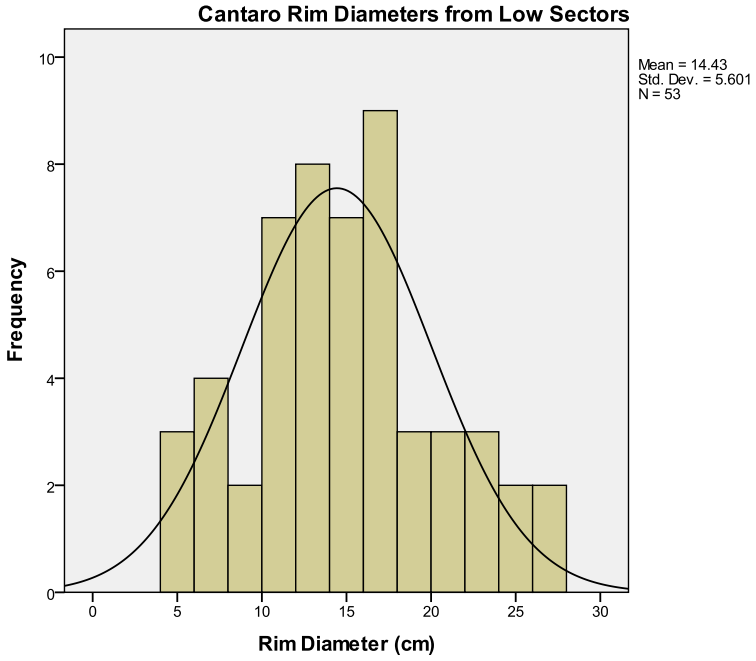


Figure 7.18: Histogram of cantaro rim diameters from the low sectors.

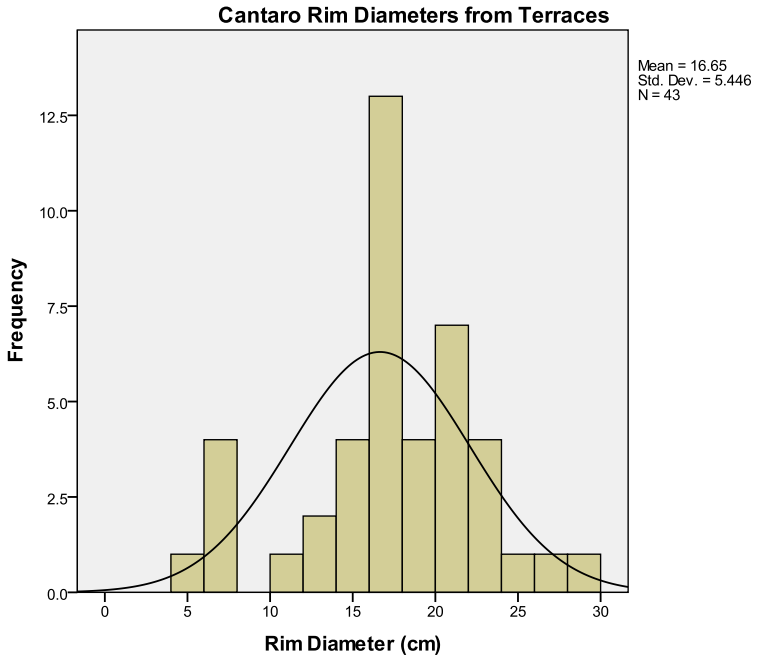


Figure 7.19: Histogram of cantaro rim diameters from the terraces

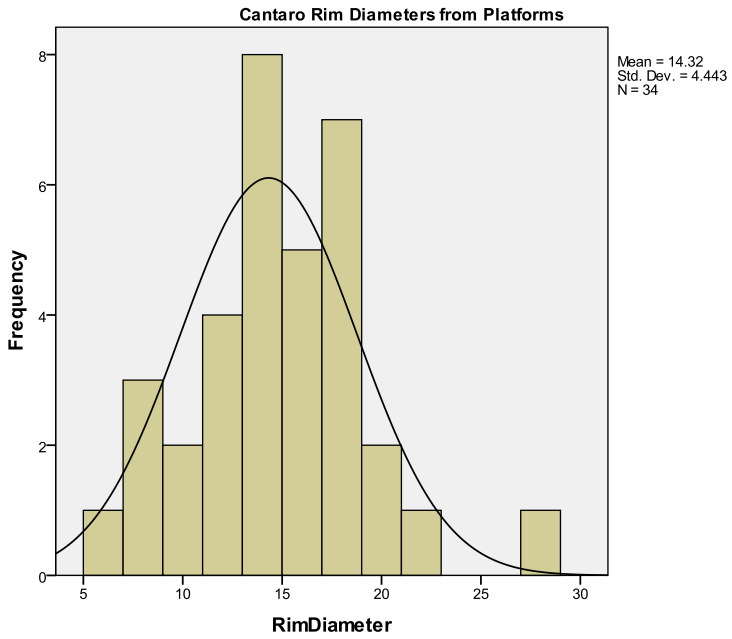


Figure 7.20: Histogram of cantaro rim diameters from the platforms.

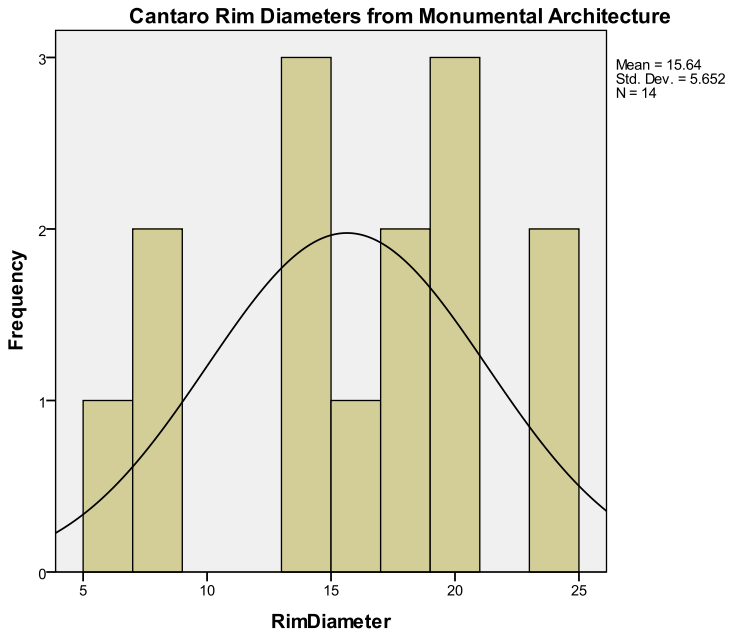


Figure 7.21: Histogram of cantaro rim diameters from the monumental architecture

Tazones (bowls) have a mean rim diameter of 23.26 cm with a standard deviation of 4.18 (Figure 7.22). The tazones from the low sectors (Figure 7.24) have a mean rim diameter of 22.59 with a standard deviation of 4.069 and those from the terraces (Figure 7.24) have a mean rim diameter of 23.83 cm with a standard deviation of 4.293. This compares to the tazones from the platforms that have a mean diameter of 23 cm with a standard deviation of 3.949. Those from the monumental architecture have a mean diameter of 23.26cm with a standard deviation of 4.42. Tazones thus appear to have similar rim diameters between all four contexts.

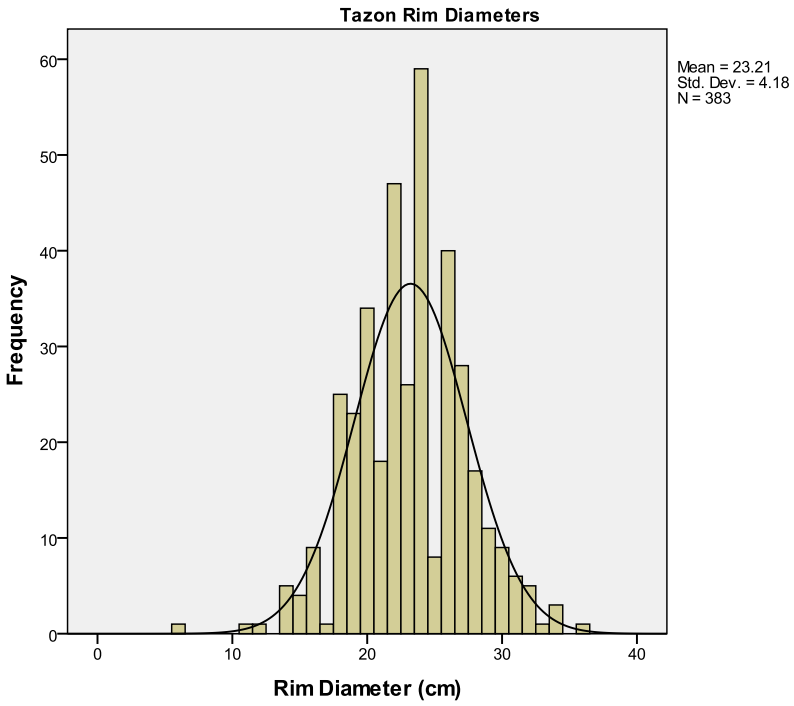


Figure 7.22: Histogram of tazon rim diameters for all of Huasi Huaman.

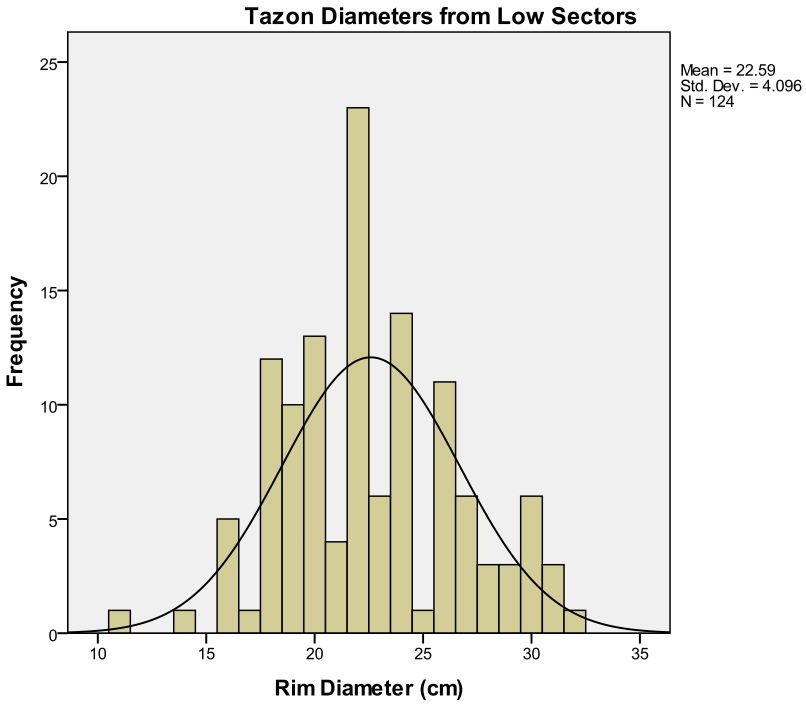


Figure 7.23: Histogram of tazon rim diameters from the low sectors.

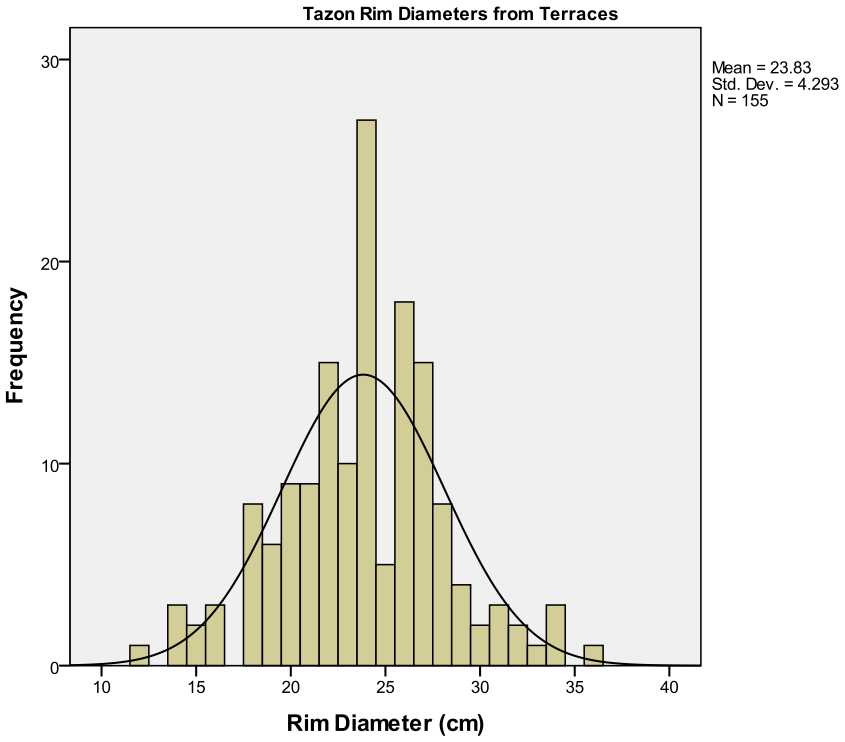


Figure 7.24: Histogram of tazon rim diameters from the terraces.

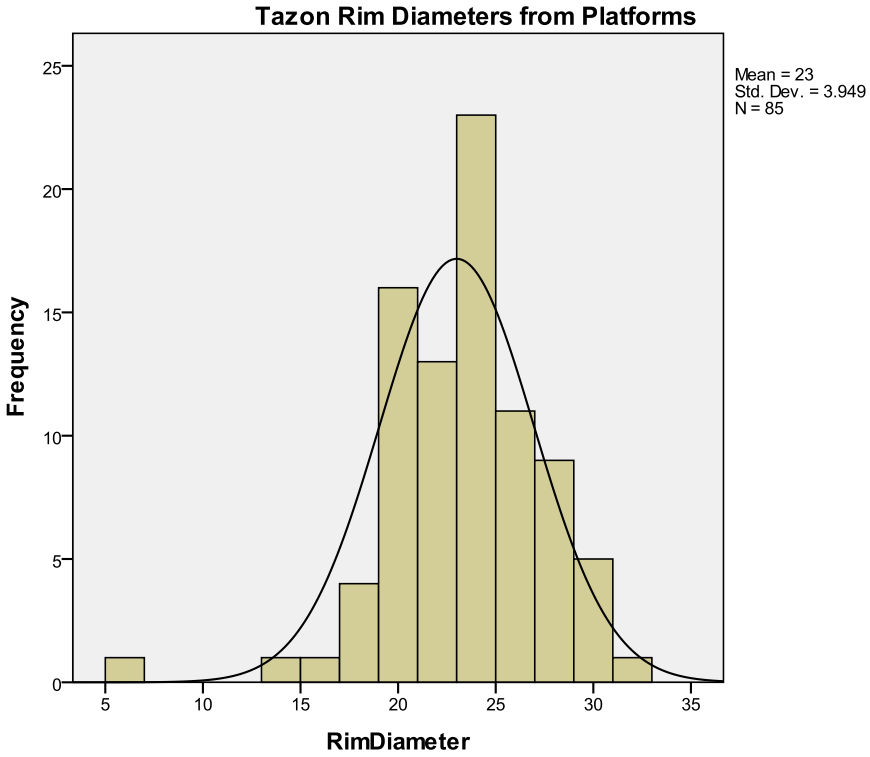


Figure 7.25: Histogram of tazon rim diameters from the platforms

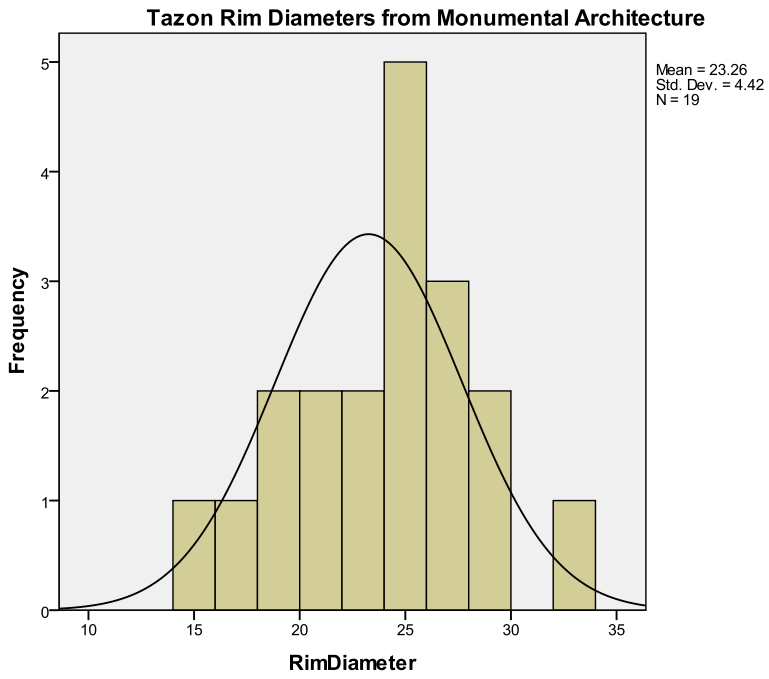


Figure 7.26: Histogram of tazon rim diameters from the monumental architecture.

My comparison of rim diameters demonstrates that though there is variability in the rim sizes of vessels of the same form, there is not much difference in rim sizes between contexts.

Comparison of Decoration

Decorated sherds made up only 12% (N=212) of the collected diagnostic sherds. I categorize ceramic decoration into seven broad categories: blackware, paleteado (paddle impressed), mold made, press mold banding, incised, painted, and other. A brief description of each decoration type is provided below. For this analysis, I exclude buff wash as a category of decoration as it is prevalent on all vessel forms and therefore is unlikely to have been viewed as indicative of fine vessels. I summarize the decoration types below.

Reduced Blackware: Pottery that was fired within an environment with intentionally reduced oxygen levels in order to produce a fine paste with grey or black colour. The surface is usually highly polished and fineware examples are often decorated with piel de ganzo (Figure

7.27) or raised dots, a decoration style which is characteristic of Chimú pottery. The fine blackware at Huasi Huaman is likely Chimú produced pottery that was obtained through interactions with Chimú administrators at Farfán. Less finely made blackware bowls that are common finds at Huasi Huaman also likely came from the Chimú based on comparison to similarly made bowls at other sites (Bawden 2005: 27, figure 13; Cutright 2009: 532; Tschauner 2001: 644)

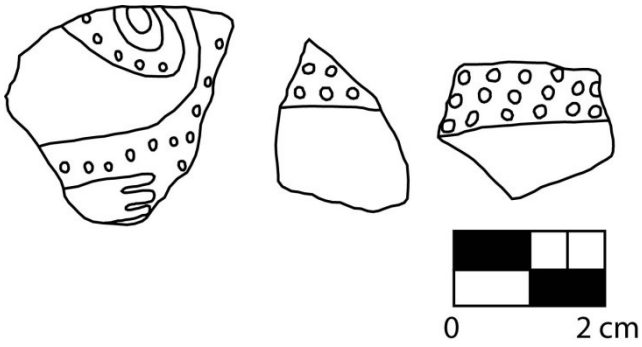


Figure 7.27: Examples of decorated Chimú Blackware with piel de ganzo (goose bump) decoration.

Paleteado: This technique involves the use of a usually wooden paddle to impress geometric designs on the surface of the vessel. At Huasi Huaman, this method of decoration was typically applied to ollas and I identified five types of impressed designs (Figure 7.28). Type 1, resembling a simple net pattern, was the most frequently encountered with type 3 being a distant second. The other three types were much rarer and sometimes only represented by one or two sherds.

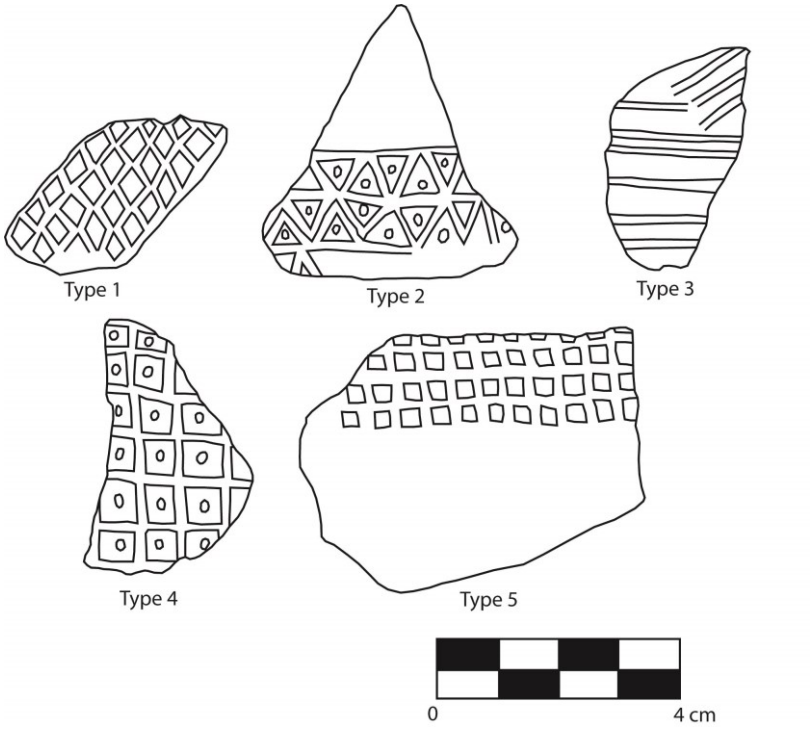


Figure 7.28: Types of paleteado decoration encountered at Huasi Huaman.

Mold made: This category covers a wide range of mold made designs (Figure 7.29). These included felines, humans or supernaturals, and various natural motifs.



Figure 7.29: Examples of mold made decoration. (1) Feline. (2) Human head wearing headdress. (3) Human head wearing headdress. (4) Human figure with portion of head, body, and right arm.

Press Mold Banded: A type of mold made decoration with geometric shapes and patterns appearing within a band around the circumference of a vessel (Figure 7.30).

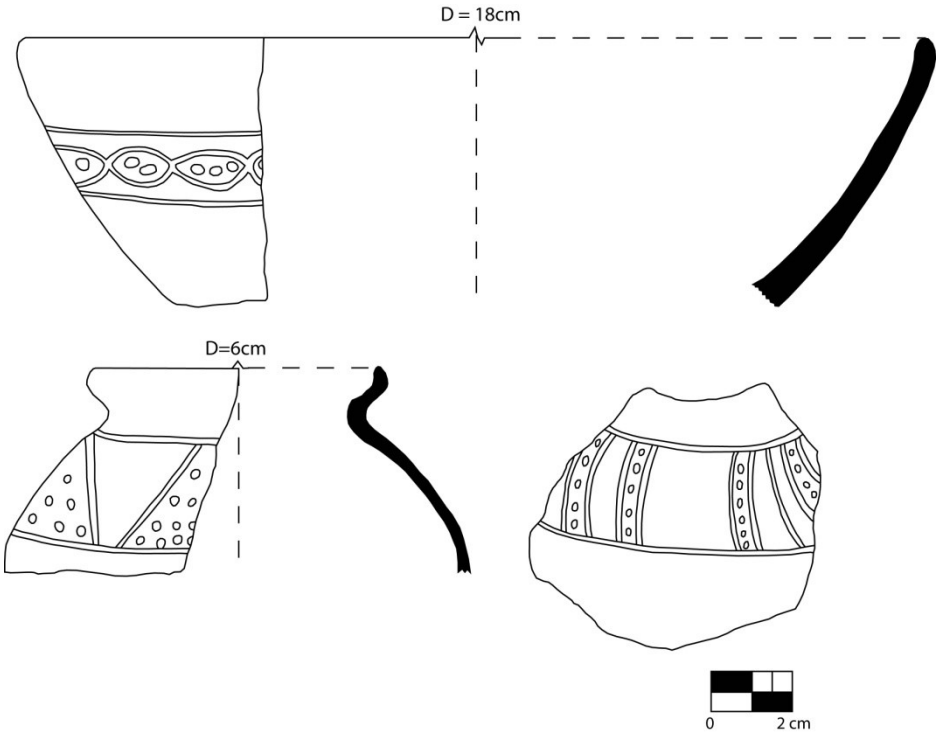


Figure 7.30: Examples of pottery decorated with a press mold band.

Painted: Pottery painted with red, black, or brown lines or other simple patterns. Some of the sherds were first covered with a cream slip.

Incised: Incised designs which often depict geometric patterns. Some of the sherds of this type depict patterns associated with Lambayeque fineware.

Other: A broad category of decoration types that do not easily fit into the other categories. I present some examples in Figure 7.31.

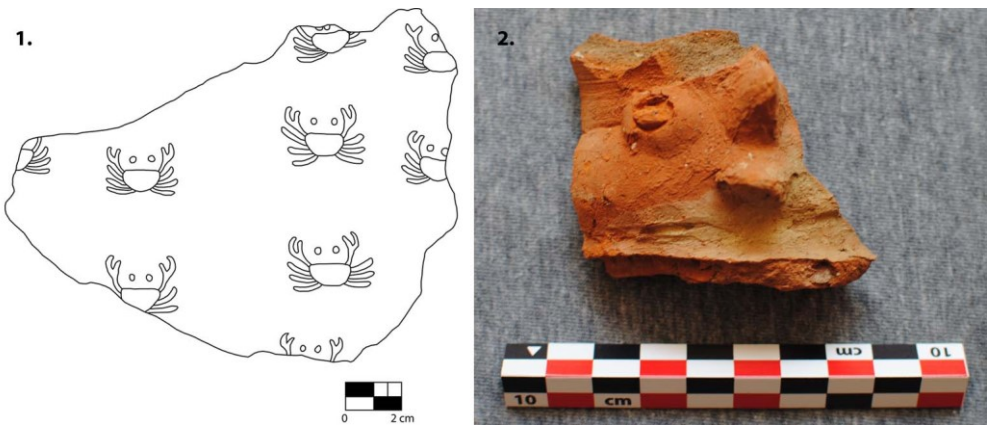


Figure 7.31: Other types of ceramic decoration. (1) Body sherd with impressed crabs. (2) Hand molded face. Both sherds are from surface contexts.

The frequency of decorated sherds found in each sector is presented in Table 7.5. The frequency table shows that highest frequencies of decorated sherds were recovered from the western sectors of the site (Sectors K, L, M, and N). This is likely a result of most of the surface collection units being placed in these sectors and the fact that the eastern sectors had already seen surface collection during the work of Swenson (2006).

Table 7.5: Frequency of decoration types by sector.

	Sector													
Decoration Type	**Huaca A**	**A-superior**	**B**	**C**	**D**	**F**	**G**	**H**	**I**	**K**	**L**	**M**	**N**	**Total**
Incised									1		1	1	2	5
Paleteado type 1	1	1	2				7	2	1	9	3	1	8	35
Paleteado type 2	1													1
Paleteado type 3	5	2	1				2		2		1		4	17
Paleteado type 4				1			1							2
Paleteado type 5		1						1						2
Reduced Blackware	6	2			1		1	5	1	7	22	4	12	61
Painted	6	5	2	1	3			2	4	6	7		9	45
Pressed mold Bands	1	3							1	1	1		8	15
Moldmade	1	1	1				1		1	10	3	3	3	24
Other											1		5	6
Total	**21**	**15**	**6**	**2**	**4**	**0**	**12**	**10**	**11**	**33**	**39**	**9**	**51**	**213**

Blackware vessels, both Chimú fineware and the more coarsely produced bowls, were recovered from throughout the site. The highest frequency of these vessels was Sector L, the same sector where we found evidence of agriculture on the terrace of Unit 13. Though most of the recovered blackware came from surface contexts, its prevalence suggests that many people within Huasi Huaman had access to ceramics produced by the Chimú. This also suggests that habitation of Sector L continued into the Chimú period.

The high frequency of decorated vessels in association with Platform N provides some additional support for Platform N serving as the location of a high status residence. It contained more decorated sherds than any other sector in the site showing without a doubt that dining within the platform was set apart from the other sectors. This also shows that those using the platform were probably involved in commensal politics.

Faunal and Botanical Remains

Botanical and faunal remains left behind as refuse from food preparation and dining activities are common at Huasi Huaman and were generally well preserved. These remains provide a picture of some of the foods consumed at the site or, in the case of non-food plants, utilized for other purposes such as medicine. This data reveal that the inhabitants of Huasi Huaman utilized a wide range of local food resources while obtaining access to resources from the distant tropics and Amazon through exchange networks. People raised dogs, guinea pigs, and even camelids for consumption while harvesting fish, shellfish, and marine gastropods from the Pacific Ocean. They also had access to several varieties of terrestrial gastropods which are native to coastal Peru and a diverse range of plant species which were used for food, religious, medicinal, and utilitarian purposes.

The analysis of faunal remains for fish, birds, and mammals was conducted by biologists Victor Vasquez and Teresa Rosales of the Arqueobios laboratory, Universidad Nacional de Trujillo, Peru. Vasquez and Rosales (2012) were hired to identify the genus or species of the specimens of faunal remains that we recovered during the course of excavation. A list of identified species and their proportion of the total number of individual specimens is provided in Table 7.6. The frequency of faunal remains for each unit is presented in Table 7.7, Table 7.8, Table 7.9, and Table 7.10.

The recovered mammal remains show that domesticated animals consumed at Huasi Huaman included guinea pigs, dogs, and camelids. The ubiquity of guinea pig feces in the excavated units as well as our discovery of the small camelid pen on top of Platform B in Unit 10 suggests that domesticated animals were kept in the site itself. Guinea pigs were likely the most prevalent domesticated species regularly consumed as they can be raised with minimal care and fed from kitchen scraps (Rowe 1946: 219), making them an ideal source of protein that does not require a substantial devotion of time or resources. Camelids, which

were used as pack animals in the Andes as well as for their meat and hair, require substantially more effort to raise.

Table 7.6: Mammal, bird, and fish species at Huasi Huaman.

Classification	Common Name	Proportion (N=278)
MAMMALS		
Familia Muridae	Rodents	11.36
Familia Caviidae		
Cavia porcellus	Guinea Pig	4.4
Familia Canidae		
Canis familiaris	Domestic Dog	6.83
Familia Camelidae		
Lama sp.	Camelids	16.96
BIRDS		
Familia Phalacrocoracidae		
Phalacrocorax bougainvillii	Guanay Cormorant	0.72
Familia Icteridae		
Dives dives	Melodious Blackbird	0.36
FISH		
Clase Chondrychthyes		
Familia Carcharhinidae		
Carcharhinus sp.	Shark	0.36
Familia Rhinobatidae		
Rhinobatos planiceps	Flathead Guitarfish	0.36
Familia Myliobatidae		
Myliobatis sp.	Eagle Ray	1.08
Clase Osteichthyes		
Familia Ariidae		
Galeichthys peruvianus	Sea Catfish	0.72
Familia Clupeidae		
Sardinops sagax sagax	South American Pilchard	0.36
Familia Mugilidae		
Mugil cephalus	Striped Mullet	0.36
Familia Sciaenidae		
Paralonchurus peruanus	Peruvian Banded Croaker	38.85
Cynoscion sp.	Weakfish, Sea trout, and Corvina	0.36
Sciaena deliciosa	Lorna Drum	4.32
Sciaena gilberti	Corvina	0.72
Pareques sp.		0.36
Familia Serranidae		
Paralabrax sp.	Seabass	0.36
Familia Pomadasyidae		
Anisotremus scapularis	Peruvian Grunt	1.08

Table 7.7: The frequency of fish, bird, and mammal remains in the units of Sector A and A-superior.

	Sector A-superior							Sector A															
	Unit 5			Unit 20				Unit 7				Unit 8								Unit 9			
Taxa	**S**	**1**	**2F5**	**S**	**1**	**2**	**S**	**2**	**3**	**4**	**S**	**1**	**2**	**3**	**4**	**5**	**6**	**7**	**2**	**4**
Carcharhinus sp.																				
Rhinobatos planiceps																				
Myliobatis sp.									1											
Galeichthys peruvianus																				
Sciaena deliciosa	1	1																		
Scianea gilberti																				
Cynoscion sp.																				
Paralonchurus peruanus	2	2					1	1	2	3	7	1	1	1			4	4		
Pareques sp.									1											
Paralabrax sp.																				
Anisotremus scapularis																				
Unidintified Fish																				
Phalacrocorax bougainvillii								2												
Dives dives																				
Unidentified Bird														1	1					
Muridae	2		2				1	3		2			1							1
Cavia porcellus				1	1	4			1									1		
Canis familiaris									1			1				1				
Lama sp.	2	2						1		1	6		1		3	1	3			
Unidentified Mammal	2						1											2	1	
Total	**9**	**5**	**2**	**1**	**1**	**4**	**3**	**7**	**6**	**6**	**13**	**2**	**3**	**2**	**4**	**2**	**7**	**7**	**1**	**1**

Table 7.8: The frequency of fish, bird, and mammal remains in the units of Sector B, Platform C, Structure D, Platform F, and Sector G.

	Platform B				Platform C		Structure D			Platform F		Sector G		
	Unit 10				Unit 18		Unit 14			Unit 11		Unit 6		Unit 12
Taxa	**S**	**1**	**2**	**2F1**	**2**	**3**	**S**	**1**	**2F1**	**1**	**2**	**S**	**1F1**	**1**
Carcharhinus sp.														
Rhinobatos planiceps														
Myliobatis sp.														
Galeichthys peruvianus														
Sciaena deliciosa														
Scianea gilberti														
Cynoscion sp.														
Paralonchurus peruanus	1	2	1		1		2	1	2		1			
Pareques sp.														
Paralabrax sp.														
Anisotremus scapularis														
Unidintified Fish														
Phalacrocorax bougainvillii														
Dives dives			1											
Unidentified Bird														
Muridae	1	1					3					1		
Cavia porcellus										1				
Canis familiaris												1	1	
Lama sp.	1		1											
Unidentified Mammal			1			1			1					1
Total	**3**	**3**	**4**	**0**	**1**	**1**	**5**	**1**	**3**	**1**	**1**	**2**	**1**	**1**

Table 7.9: The frequency of fish, bird, and mammal remains from Sector H, Platform I, and Sector K.

	Sector H		Platform I					Sector K							
	Unit 3		Unit 1			Unit 2		Unit 16			Unit 17				
Taxa	**S**	**1**	**1**	**2**	**3**	**S**	**2**	**1**	**2**	**3**	**1**	**2F1**	**3**	**3F3**	**4F3**
Carcharhinus sp.															
Rhinobatos planiceps															
Myliobatis sp.												2			
Galeichthys peruvianus												2			
Sciaena deliciosa				1					3	5					
Scianea gilberti										2					
Cynoscion sp.										1					
Paralonchurus peruanus	1	1						2	7	7	1	10	1	11	1
Pareques sp.															
Paralabrax sp.														1	
Anisotremus scapularis										1				1	1
Unidintified Fish								1							
Phalacrocorax bougainvillii															
Dives dives															
Unidentified Bird										1					
Muridae								1	1	1					
Cavia porcellus		1							1	1			1	1	
Canis familiaris			1	3										3	
Lama sp.			2	3	3	1	1		1		2		1	1	
Unidentified Mammal	2											4			1
Total	**3**	**2**	**3**	**7**	**3**	**1**	**1**	**4**	**13**	**19**	**3**	**18**	**3**	**18**	**3**

Table 7.10: The frequency of fish, bird, and mammal remains from Sector L and Sector N.

	Sector L							Sector N					
	Unit 13							Unidad 15					
Taxa	1R2	1	2	S	1	2	3	4	5	6	6F4	7	8
Carcharhinus sp.								1					
Rhinobatos planiceps										1			
Myliobatis sp.													
Galeichthys peruvianus													
Sciaena deliciosa				1									
Scianea gilberti													
Cynoscion sp.													
Paralonchurus peruanus	2	4	2	1	2	3		1	3	2			6
Pareques sp.													
Paralabrax sp.													
Anisotremus scapularis													
Unidintified Fish													
Phalacrocorax bougainvillii													
Dives dives													
Unidentified Bird							1						
Muridae				2			2			5		1	
Cavia porcellus											1	1	
Canis familiaris				1		1	1						1
Lama sp.		1		2	1		1	2	1				1
Unidentified Mammal									1				
Total	**2**	**5**	**2**	**7**	**3**	**4**	**5**	**4**	**5**	**8**	**1**	**2**	**8**

Shelia Pozorski (1982: 194), who studied faunal remains in the Moche Valley during the LIP, argues that the raising and herding of camelids was centrally controlled within the Chimú heartland. She found that the residents of Chan Chan had greater access to camelid meat than people occupying surrounding settlements. She suggests that the lords of Chan Chan redistributed camelid to rural settlements. While it is unknown whether the Lambayeque elites of Pacatnamú similarly controlled the distribution of llama throughout the Jequetepeque Valley, George Gumerman (1991) found that elite households had greater access to camelid meat than non-elites suggesting that the consumption of camelids were considered a luxury food most often enjoyed by those with high status. At Huasi Huaman, Vasquez and Rosales (2012: 11) identified cut marks (Figure 7.32) on bones recovered from

the llama pen found in Unit 10 revealing that the llamas held in the pen were being butchered and probably consumed nearby. The location of the pen on top of a platform links their use to ritual practices and their possible control by high status residents of the site.



Figure 7.32: Llama bone exhibiting cut marks from processing found in the excavation of Platform B (Vasquez and Rosales 2012: 11, figure 4).

Dog, the third domesticated animal whose remains I recovered lacked any identifiable cut marks. The ethnohistorical record describes the inhabitants of the region keeping dogs as pets (Rowe 1948: 219), but archaeological evidence demonstrates that dogs were also being consumed (Cutright 2009: 161). The inhabitants of Huasi Huaman may have utilized dogs both as pets and as sources of meat.

Birds, uncommon at Huasi Huaman when compared to the frequency of fish and mammals, may be represented by opportunistic hunting or birds that died naturally at the site. Guanay cormorants (*Phalacrocorax bougainvillii*), the bird species most frequently identified, are native to the Peruvian coast. They could have been killed for their meat or

feathers by fishermen or those harvesting shellfish along the coast.

Fish were much more prevalent at Huasi Huaman than birds with at least 11 separate species identified. By far the most prevalent is *Paralonchurus peruanus,* the Peruvian banded croaker. This single species accounted for 79% of all fish bones recovered from Huasi Huaman, making it the preferred catch for fisherman. Some of the croaker bones (Figure 7.33) exhibited cut marks, something not encountered before by Victor Vasquez (personal communication). The second most frequent fish species recovered was *Sciaena deliciosa* which accounted for only 9% of all fish remains.

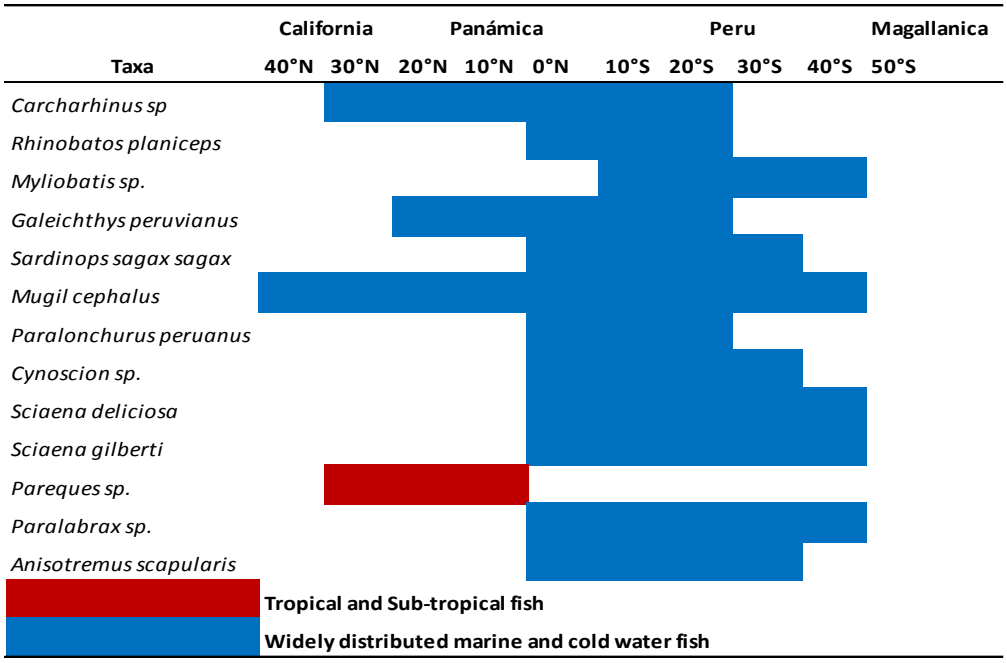


Figure 7.33: Paralonchurus peruanus bone with cut marks (Vasquez and Rosales 2012: 11, figure 3).

Unsurprisingly, the majority of fish species identified are native to the coasts of Peru and would have been readily obtainable by fishermen in the Jequetepeque Valley region (Table 7.11). Given the lack of artefacts for fishing at Huasi Huaman, the fish were probably obtained through specialist fishermen living closer to the ocean. The presence of a single

specimen of *Pareques sp.*, a species of fish typically found in tropical and sub-tropic regions may be an anomaly brought on by El Niño warming allowing warm water fish to travel south to Peru.

Table 7.11: Geographic distribution of identified fish species (Vasquez and Rosales 2012: 6, table 1)



Comparing the frequency of fish, bird, and mammal remains between the four architectural contexts (Figure 7.34) reveals that the remains of mammals including guinea pig, camelids, and dogs are most commonly associated with the platforms and monumental architecture while fish are most frequent within the low sectors. The association of meat consumption with the platforms and monumental architecture suggests consumption taking place in these contexts was set apart from dining in domestic contexts. This supports my argument that many of the platforms were the loci of feasting.

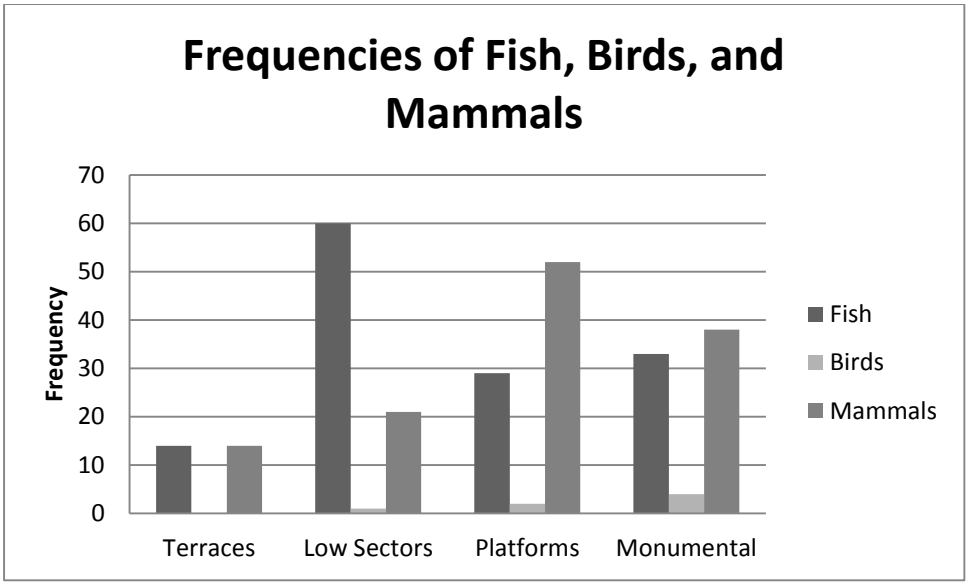


Figure 7.34: Frequency of fish, bird, and terrestrial animal remains between low sectors, terraces, platforms, and monumental architecture.

A wide variety of marine bivalves and marine and terrestrial gastropods were also consumed. A list of species I identified during my analysis and their proportion of the total is provided in Table 7.12. I present the minimum number of individuals (MNI) for each excavated context in Table 7.13, Table 7.14, Table 7.15, and Table 7.16.

Table 7.12: Gastropods and Bivalves recovered from Huasi Huaman and the proportion of total MNI.

Classification	Proportion (N=3695)	Classification	Proportion (N=3695)
GASTROPODA		**SUBCLASE PULMONATA**	
Familia Fissurellidae		**Familia Bulimulidae**	0.41
Fissurella sp.	0.08	*Scutalus proteus*	0.62
Familia Trochidae		*Bostryx sp.*	0.19
Tegula atra	<0.01	*Bostryx conspersus*	0.03
Familia Turbinidae		**Familia Calliotropidae**	
Prisogaster niger	1.22	*Bathybembix humboldti*	0.03
Familia Naticidae		**SUBCLASE ORTHOGASTROPODA**	
Polinices uber	17.37	**Familia Helminthoglyptidae**	
Familia Thaididae		*Epiphragmorpha sp.*	5.85
Thais haemastoma	1.00	**Familia Nassariidae**	
Thais chocolata	0.16	*Nassarius dentifer*	0.08
Familia Olivellidae		**BIVALVIA**	
Olivella columellaris	1.84	**Familia Mytilidae**	
Familia Nassaridae		*Semimytilus algosus*	0.32
Nassarius dentifer	<0.01	*Choromytilus chorus*	0.03
Familia Conidae		**Familia Veneridae**	
Conus filmeri	0.03	*Protothaca thaca*	0.11
Familia Eulimidae		**Familia Donacidae**	
Balcis cumingii	0.08	*Donox sp.*	62.44
Familia Naticidae		**Familia Mactridae**	0.03
Sinum cymba	0.03		
Familia Buccinidae	0.03		
Familia Planorbidae			
Helisoma sp.	0.57		
Drepanotrema sp.	0.03		
Familia Lymnaeidae			
Lymnaea sp.	0.24		
Familia Pupilidae			
Pupoides sp.	0.08		

Table 7.13: MNI of molluscs recovered from Huaca A and Sector A-superior.

	Huaca A																			Sector A-superior				
	Unit 7					Unit 8								Unit 9					Unit 5		Unit 20			
TAXA	**S**	**1**	**2**	**3**	**4**	**S**	**1**	**2**	**3**	**4**	**5**	**6**	**7**	**S**	**1**	**2**	**3**	**4**	**S**	**1**	**S**	**1**	**2**
Fissurella sp.																							
Tegula atra																							
Prisogaster niger			1	2	1	3	1						1										
Polinices uber	1	2	12	6	17	15		2		2		2	1	2								5	2
Thais haemastoma			1			1																1	
Thais chocolata						1																	
Olivella columellaris	1				2							1				1	1		1				
Nassarius dentifer																							
Tegula atra																							
Conus filmeri																							
Balcis cumingii																							
Sinum cymba																							
Scutalus proteus	2	2		2		1								1					1	1			
Bostryx sp.						3													4				
Bostryx conspersus																1							
Bathybembix humboldti			1																				
Choromytilus chorus																							
BULIMULIDAE fam.															6		1	1				1	
BUCCINIDAE fam.																							
MACTRIDAE fam.																							
Epiphragmorpha sp.	30	33	47	15							1			7	60	7		1					
Nassarius dentifer						1																	
Semimytilus algosus	1			1							1												
Protothaca thaca																							
Donox sp.	2	1	10		13	61	6	4	2	3	1	4	1	4	1	1			1		2	5	2
Other	1			6															1	7			
Total	**38**	**38**	**72**	**32**	**33**	**86**	**7**	**6**	**2**	**5**	**3**	**7**	**3**	**14**	**67**	**10**	**2**	**2**	**8**	**8**	**2**	**12**	**4**

Table 7.14: MNI of molluscs recovered from Platform B, Platform C, Structure D, Platform F, Sector G, and Platform H.

	Platform B				Platform C	Structure D				Platform F		Sector G		Platform H	
	Unit 10				Unit 18	Unit 14				Unit 11		Unit 6	Unit 12	Unit 3	Unit 4
TAXA	**S**	**1**	**2**	**2F1**	**3F2**	**S**	**1**	**1F1**	**3**	**S**	**1**	**S**	**1**	**S**	**S**
Fissurella sp.															
Tegula atra															
Prisogaster niger					2	1									
Polinices uber	3			2		9				2			1		1
Thais haemastoma						1									
Thais chocolata				2											
Olivella columellaris	1														
Nassarius dentifer															
Tegula atra															
Conus filmeri						1									
Balcis cumingii								2	1						
Sinum cymba															
Scutalus proteus															
Bostryx sp.															
Bostryx conspersus															
Bathybembix humboldti															
Choromytilus chorus															
BULIMULIDAE fam.	1					2		1	1		1				
BUCCINIDAE fam.															
MACTRIDAE fam.															
Epiphragmorpha sp.	5	1				8				1					
Nassarius dentifer															
Semimytilus algosus															
Protothaca thaca		1	3												
Donox sp.	2	1	2	3	2	152	7	24	3	3	1	1	8		1
Other						1							1		
Total	**12**	**3**	**5**	**7**	**4**	**175**	**7**	**27**	**5**	**6**	**2**	**1**	**10**	**0**	**2**

Table 7.15: MNI of molluscs recovered during excavation of Platform I and Sector K.

	Platform I							Sector K												
	Unit 1				Unit 2			Unit 16							Unit 17					
TAXA	S	1	2	3	S	1	2	1	2	2F1	3	3F7	3F8	1	2F1	3	3F3	4F3	4	
Fissurella sp.									1	1	1									
Tegula atra																				
Prisogaster niger				1				4	3	5	2	4			4	1	5	1	1	
Polinices uber			1		30			109	14	18	5	14		190	130		34	3	2	
Thais haemastoma								6	2	3	1	3		3	16					
Thais chocolata									1		1							1		
Olivella columellaris	1				1			19	7	13		5		5	6		2			
Nassarius dentifer																				
Tegula atra											1							1		
Conus filmeri																				
Balcis cumingii																				
Sinum cymba					1															
Scutalus proteus					1				1	3				7	1					
Bostryx sp.																				
Bostryx conspersus																				
Bathybembix humboldti																				
Choromytilus chorus												1								
BULIMULIDAE fam.																1	4	1		
BUCCINIDAE fam.															1					
MACTRIDAE fam.															1					
Epiphragmorpha sp.																				
Nassarius dentifer								2												
Semimytilus algosus			1						1			1			1		1	2	1	
Protothaca thaca																				
Donox sp.	1		3		1	1	1	259	177	212	47	101	4	43	90	23	71	11	8	
Other					1			9	1	5	2	3		1	2		1			
Total	**2**	**0**	**5**	**1**	**35**	**1**	**1**	**408**	**208**	**260**	**60**	**132**	**4**	**249**	**252**	**25**	**118**	**20**	**12**	

Table 7.16: MNI of molluscs recovered Sector L and Sector N.

	Sector L						Sector N								
	Unit 13						Unit 15								
TAXA	S	1	1F1	1F2	1F3	2	S	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
Fissurella sp.															
Tegula atra											3				1
Prisogaster niger	1					1	3	1					1		
Polinices uber	3	4		5			13			1	2	2	1	1	3
Thais haemastoma															
Thais chocolata							1								
Olivella columellaris						1	7	1							
Nassarius dentifer															
Tegula atra															
Conus filmeri							1								
Balcis cumingii															
Sinum cymba															
Scutalus proteus															
Bostryx sp.															
Bostryx conspersus															
Bathybembix humboldti															
Choromytilus chorus															
BULIMULIDAE fam.							1								
BUCCINIDAE fam.													1		
MACTRIDAE fam.															
Epiphragmorpha sp.							5	1							
Nassarius dentifer															
Semimytilus algosus	1							1			1				1
Protothaca thaca															
Donox sp.	410	57	15	443	1	3	16	6	8	9	11	25	58	23	21
Other	1														
Total	**416**	**61**	**15**	**448**	**1**	**5**	**47**	**10**	**8**	**10**	**17**	**27**	**61**	**24**	**26**

Our sample of mollusc shells had a total MNI of 3409 and we were able to identify 21 types of molluscs at a genus or species level. The most common were *Donax sp.* and *Polinicus uber. Donax sp.* (MNI = 2490) account for 67% of the sample. *Polinicus uber* (MNI=672) made up a much smaller 18%. While the majority of molluscs were marine species, a few examples of terrestrial gastropods were identified including the land snail *Scutalus proteus*. However, these species were uncommon and all members of the Bulimulidae family accounted for an MNI of 53 or 1.4% of the sample.

Comparing the frequency of molluscs between low sectors, terraces and platforms shows that molluscs were recovered in higher frequencies from domestic contexts, particularly in the low sectors (Figure 7.35). The difference may stem from the platforms and monumental architecture being swept clean or cooking taking place elsewhere, but my finding of a similar distribution for fish remains points to the consumption of marine fauna as less desirable in commensal politics. The favoring of certain foods such as camelids over marine fauna may also point to greater elite control over the use of meat in commensal politics.

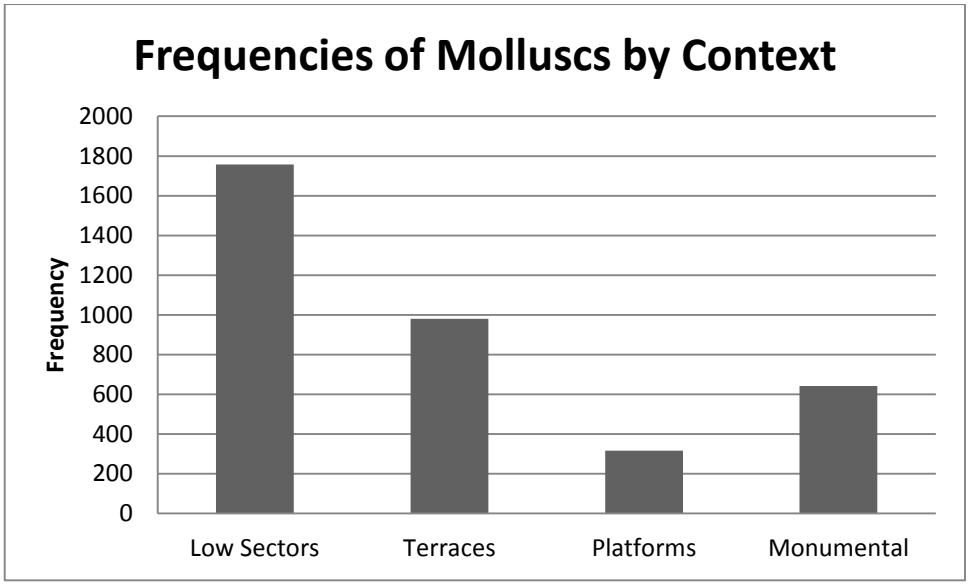


Figure 7.35: Frequency of mollusc shells collected in sector and platform units.

Botanical Materials

My analysis of botanical materials included macrobotanical remains recovered during screening and microbotanical remains obtained from flotation samples. My analysis indicates that the inhabitants of Huasi Huaman utilized a mixture of domesticated and wild resources. A list of all the identified species is provided below (Table 7.17). Tables 7.18-7.22 indicate the number of individual specimens (NISP) of each species for every excavated context.

Table 7.17: Botanical Species from Huasi Huaman.

Classification	Common Name	Proportion (n=4831)
CULTIVATED PLANTS		
Cereals		
Zea Mays	Maize	6.07
Chenopodium sp.	Quinoa	0.02
Fleshy Fruits		
Annona marocata	Soursop	53.82
Bunchiosa armeniaca		0.21
Cucurbita sp .	Squash	0.31
Cyclanthera pedata		0.23
Pouteria lúcuma	Lucuma	0.08
Passiflora sp.	Passion Fruit	0.06
Persea americana	Avocado	0.02
Psidium guajava	Guaca	0.04
Legumes		
Inga feuillei	Pacae	0.1
Phaseolus sp.	Beans	0.16
Phaseolus lunatus	Lima Bean	0.02
Phaseolus vulgaris	Common Bean	0.1
Other		
Canna edulis	Achira	0.04
Capiscum sp.	Chile Pepper	0.72
Erythroxylum novogranatense	Coca	0.58
Gossypium barbadense	Cotton	0.31
Lagenaria siceraria	Bottle Gourd	0.6
WILD PLANTS		
Fleshy Fruits		
Physalis peruviana	Husk Tomato	0.3
Campomanesia sp .		0.04
Legumes		
Acacia sp.		2.73
Prosopis sp.	Algarroba	18.49
Prosopis pallid		0.04
Fabaceae fam.		
Fabaceae type 1		2.71
Fabaceae type 2		0.08
Fabaceae type 3		0.25
Fabaceae type 4		0.06
Fabaceae type 5		0.43
Canavalia marítima	Bay Bean	0.06
Other		
Gynerium saggitatum	Cane	6.42
Anadenanthera sp.		0.1
Anadenanthera peregrine	Yopo	0.93
Thevetia peruviana	Yellow Oleander	0.33
Unidentified type 1		0.17

Table 7.18: NISP of macrobotanical remains from Huaca A.

	Huaca A																		
	Unit 7						Unit 8										Unit 9		
Taxa	**S**	**1**	**2**	**3**	**3F2**	**4**	**S**	**1**	**2**	**3**	**4**	**5**	**6**	**7**	**7F1**	**7F2**	**S**	**1**	
Zea mays	2	1	3	1			7						6			28			
Chenopodium sp.					1														
Psidium guajava																			
Annona muricata	14	7	25	19			200	17	2	2	1	2	3	2					1
Lagenaria siceraria				2															
Arachis hypogea																			
Fabacaeae																			
Cucorbita sp.			1	1			3												
Anadenanthera sp.																			
Anadenanthera peregrine							5						3						
Inga feuillei																			
Physalis peruviana							1												
Acacia sp.	2					2	27												
Cyclanthera pedata							5						1						1
Fabaceae type 1				2			12			1			2						
Fabaceae type 2													1						
Fabaceae type 3							5												
Fabaceae type 4																			
Fabaceae type 5																			
Arachis hypogea													2						
Capiscum sp.							3												
Gynerium saggitatum	2						4												
Compomanesia sp.																			
Passiflora sp	3																		
Pouteria lucuma			1				1												
Bunchiosa armeniaca			8																
Phaseolus sp.									1										
Phaseolus lunatus				1															
Phaseolus vulgaris																			
Prosopis sp.							33		2						5	2			1
Prosopis pallid																			
Persea americana																			
Thevetia peruviana																			
Canavalia maritima																			
Canna edulis																			
Gossypium barbadense																			
Erythroxylum novogranatense																			
Unidentified Type 1							1				2								
Unident	5	1		35			1		1	2	1		1				10		
Total	28	9	38	61	1	2	308	17	6	5	4	2	19	2	5	30	10	3	

*Includes materials too fragmentary to be counted.

Table 7.19: NISP of macrobotanical remains from Sector A-superior, Platform B, Platform C, and Structure D.

	Sector A-superior								Platform B				Platform C			Structure D
	Unit 5					Unit 20			Unit 10					Unit 18		Unit 14
Taxa	**S**	**1**	**1F1**	**2**	**2F3**	**S**	**1**	**2**	**S**	**1**	**2**	**2F1**	**1F2**	**2**	**3**	**S**
Zea Mays						3	6	4			10	20				
Chenopodium sp.																
Psidium guajava													2			
Annona muricata		5	2			35	179	124	5	57	127	232		1	8	7
Lagenaria siceraria		1													3	
Arachis hypogea																
Fabacaeae																
Cucorbita sp.																
Anadenanthera sp.																
Anadenanthera peregrine											1	14				
Inga feuillei																
Physalis peruviana											1	1				
Acacia sp.									2	8	6	10				
Cyclanthera pedata									1							
Fabaceae type 1							1			2	12	20				
Fabaceae type 2																
Fabaceae type 3											3					
Fabaceae type 4																
Fabaceae type 5											4	8				
Arachis hypogea																
Capiscum sp.													21			
Gynerium saggitatum										7	11	19				
Compomanesia sp.		1										1				
Passiflora sp																
Pouteria lucuma																
Bunchiosa armeniaca												1				
Phaseolus sp.																
Phaseolus lunatus																
Phaseolus vulgaris																
Prosopis sp.							2	2	1	16	131	318	24			
Prosopis pallid																
Persea americana																
Thevetia peruviana								2								
Canavalia maritima																
Canna edulis																
Gossypium barbadense													7			
Erythroxylum novogranatense								26								
Unidentified Type 1											1					
Unident	4				2			2			2	3		1	2	2
Total	**4**	**7**	**2**	**0**	**2**	**38**	**188**	**160**	**9**	**90**	**309**	**647**	**54**	**2**	**13**	**9**

Table 7.20: NISP of macrobotanical remains from Platform F, Sector G, and Platform H.

	Platform F			Sector G									Platform H			
	U11			Unit 6				Unit 12					Unit 3		Unit 4	
Taxa	S	1	2	S	1	1F1	1F2	2	1	2	2F1	2F3	S	1	S	1	2
Zea mays			1			2	2					2					
Chenopodium sp.																	
Psidium guajava																	
Annona muricata			1					8				1				3	8
Lagenaria siceraria																	1
Arachis hypogea																	
Fabacaeae																	
Cucorbita sp.																	
Anadenanthera sp.																	
Anadenanthera peregrina																	
Inga feuillei																	4
Physalis peruviana																	1
Acacia sp.																	
Cyclanthera pedata																	
Fabaceae type 1																	
Fabaceae type 2																	
Fabaceae type 3																	
Fabaceae type 4																	
Fabaceae type 5																	
Arachis hypogea																	
Capiscum sp.																	
Gynerium saggitatum																	1
Compomanesia sp.																	
Passiflora sp																	
Pouteria lucuma																	
Bunchiosa armeniaca																	
Phaseolus sp.																	
Phaseolus lunatus																	
Phaseolus vulgaris																	
Prosopis sp.						2	1				5	2					
Prosopis pallid																	
Persea americana																	
Thevetia peruviana																	
Canavalia maritima																	
Canna edulis																	
Gossypium barbadense						1											
Erythroxylum novogranatense																	
Unidentified Type 1																	
Unident																	
Total	0	0	2	0	0	5	3	8	0	0	5	5	0	0	0	3	15

Table 7.21: NISP of macrobotanical remains from Platform I and Sector K.

	Platform I									Sector K														
	Unit 1					Unit 2				Unit 16							Unit 17							
Taxa	**S**	**1**	**1F1**	**2**	**3**	**S**	**2**	**3**	**3F2**	**1**	**2**	**2F1**	**3**	**3F7**	**3F8**	**1**	**2**	**2F1**	**3**	**3F3**	**4**	**4F3**
Zea mays		10		2							3	10	14						3	17	2	10
Chenopodium sp.																						
Psidium guajava																						
Annona muricata	8	24	7	172	3	3	4	3		3	20	176	94	9	18	8		164	45	165	10	106
Lagenaria siceraria				1								1								1		4
Arachis hypogea																						
Fabacaeae				1																		
Cucorbita sp.												3	1					1		1		1
Anadenanthera sp.							1													4		
Anadenanthera peregrina												8	3			1						
Inga feuillei																		1				
Physalis peruviana												3		1								
Acacia sp.		4	1									8	6	5						16		
Cyclanthera pedata		2																				
Fabaceae type 1		2								1		5	1	7					6	20		1
Fabaceae type 2																				1		
Fabaceae type 3																				4		
Fabaceae type 4																				2		
Fabaceae type 5																						
Arachis hypogea				2																		
Capiscum sp.			2	1															2			
Gynerium saggitatum									*		1								76	61	6	32
Compomanesia sp.																						
Passiflora sp																						
Pouteria lucuma												2										
Bunchiosa armeniaca																						
Phaseolus sp.												1		5				1				
Phaseolus lunatus																						
Phaseolus vulgaris												5										
Prosopis sp.			3								1	18	19			1		16	4	33	2	8
Prosopis pallid																				2		
Persea americana																						
Thevetia peruviana												10	4									
Canavalia maritima												3										
Canna edulis													2									
Gossypium barbadense															4				2	1		
Erythroxylum novogranatense																						1
Unidentified Type 1	1																			1		
Unident			1	8	1			1			10	5								2		7
Total	9	42	14	187	4	3	5	4	0	4	35	258	144	27	22	10	0	183	138	331	20	170

*Includes materials too fragmentary to be counted.

Table 7.22: NISP of macrobotanical remains recovered from Sector L and Platform N.

	Sector L						Platform N											
	Unit 13						Unit 15											
Taxa	**S**	**1**	**1F1**	**1F2**	**1F3**	**2**	**S**	**1**	**2**	**3**	**3F1**	**4**	**4F3**	**5**	**6F2**	**6F3**	**6F4**	**6F5**	**7**
Zea mays	1	41*	26		13	20		1	11	12		15	10	12		2			1
Chenopodium sp.																			
Psidium guajava																			
Annona muricata	8	56	17	98	7	27	2	10	24	11	1	24	106	47	3	4	8		7
Lagenaria siceraria									4				4	7					
Arachis hypogea																			
Fabacaeae																			
Cucorbita sp.				1		1							1						
Anadenanthera sp.																			
Anadenanthera peregrina			1					1						5	1				2
Inga feuillei																			
Physalis peruviana			1											1					3
Acacia sp.														2	3	4	5		21
Cyclanthera pedata			1																
Fabaceae type 1												1	1	5	2		4		23
Fabaceae type 2										2									
Fabaceae type 3																			
Fabaceae type 4		1																	
Fabaceae type 5			4												5				
Arachis hypogea														2					
Capiscum sp.															2	4			
Gynerium saggitatum		21	10			7			2			11	32	6					1
Compomanesia sp.																			
Passiflora sp																			
Pouteria lucuma																			
Bunchiosa armeniaca		1																	
Phaseolus sp.																			
Phaseolus lunatus																			
Phaseolus vulgaris																			
Prosopis sp.		3	8		2	3				2	2	10	8	23	38	35	15	6	86
Prosopis pallid																			
Persea americana				1															
Thevetia peruviana																			
Canavalia maritima																			
Canna edulis																			
Gossypium barbadense																			
Erythroxylum novogranatense													1						
Unidentified Type 1								1	1										
Unident		15	2	2	1	2				7		7	7	3					
Total	9	97	70	102	23	60	2	13	42	34	3	68	170	113	54	49	32	6	144

Most of these plants could have been readily obtained locally though a few species came from greater distances. Among cultivated plants, *guanabana* or soursop (*Annona marocata*) seeds were the most frequently recovered, making up 54% of all specimens identified. However, this does not necessarily indicate that *guanabana* was the most commonly consumed plant as a single guanabana fruit may contain up to several hundred seeds. Therefore the several hundred seeds identified from units such as 16 and 17 may reflect the consumption of only a few fruits. This means that *guanabana* will be more commonly encountered than fruits that produce only a single seed such as lúcuma (*Pouteria lucuma*). *Guanabana* was likely grown locally and Pozorski (1982) has argued that the Jequetepeque Valley may have been the source of guanabana in the Moche Valley where the plant appears to have not been consumed until after the Chimú conquered its northern neighbour. *Guanabana* consumption dates much earlier in the Jequetepeque Valley and is commonly found in Lambayeque contexts (Gumerman 1991).

Maize (*Zea mays*) accounted for 7% of all plant remains. Most surprisingly, our excavation of Unit 13 indicates that at least some of the maize consumed at Huasi Huaman was grown on site in gardens located on the terraces. This raises the question why were crops grown in such a difficult area? There are canals located only 500 m from the site (Eling 1987: 322), so maintaining a garden in a location that would require water to be carried up to it would be a significant inconvenience. Some possible explanations for the presence of the garden is the restriction of more accessible agricultural land or that maize grown in this manner held special significance. The tending and harvesting of crops may also have even been considered a ritually significant activity itself. The ample remains of sherds from ceramics used for cooking and food preparation, suggest that those tending to or harvesting the crops may have been provisioned with food or that the maize itself was processed near to where it was harvested.

Utilitarian species included cane (*Gynerium saggitatum*), which was used as a construction material, and cotton (*Gossypium barbadense*), used in textile production. Cane was common (6% of the assemblage) and we discovered in situ examples of its use in platform (Unit 2) and house (Unit 17) construction. Only a few specimens (NISP=15) of cotton were recovered, but their presence alongside weaving tools and finished textiles in Unit 17 indicates that raw cotton was converted into thread for weaving within households.

The wild plant species utilized within Huasi Huaman were also predominantly local. Among these, the most common was algarroba (*Prosopis sp.).* Ethnohistorical accounts indicate that the pods and seeds of algarroba plants had multiple purposes including food, fertilizer, fuel, and camelid fodder (Cieza de León 1959[1553]). Indeed, the later use is demonstrated by the prevalence of algarroba in the llama pen we discovered in Unit 10a on Platform B.

A few examples of plant species that were not available locally include coca (*Erythroxylum novogranatense*) and yellow oleander (*Thevetia peruviana*). Coca was grown mid-valley over 30 km away from Huasi Huaman, while *Thevetia peruviana* is a rainforest species (Cutright 2009: 149). Both plants had ritual and medicinal uses. *Thevetia peruviana* is highly poisonous, producing cardiotoxic effects in humans (Langford and Boor 1996), but its seeds were also used for decorative purposes. Several necklaces made from its seeds were recovered from burials at Farfán (Mackey and Jaúregui 2000).

Another botanical species that likely had a ritual or religious use was *Anadenanthera peregrina*. Its seeds can be ground into a powder and consumed through insufflations (Ogalde et al. 2010). The presence of seeds in association with Huaca A, Sector K, and Platform N suggest that ritual activities in these areas involved the consumption of hallucinogens.

A few species such as *Psidium guajava*, *Capsicum sp*. and *Chenopodium sp.* are likely underrepresented in the sample as they have very small seeds that could pass through the 1/8

inch mesh of our screens. The few seeds from these species that were recovered came from flotation samples.

A comparison of common botanical species between platforms, terraces, and low sectors (Figure 7.36) shows differences between the three contexts for maize, soursop, algarroba pods, cane, and coca but these differences can be accounted for by the types of activities conducted in association with specific structures. For example, maize is common on the terraces due to the discovery of the corn garden in Unit 13 while algarroba pods are common on the platforms due to the camelid pen on the top of Platform B. The slighter higher proportion of soursop in domestic contexts may relate to the fruit being part of quotidian consumption and not being favoured for consumption alongside ritual activities.

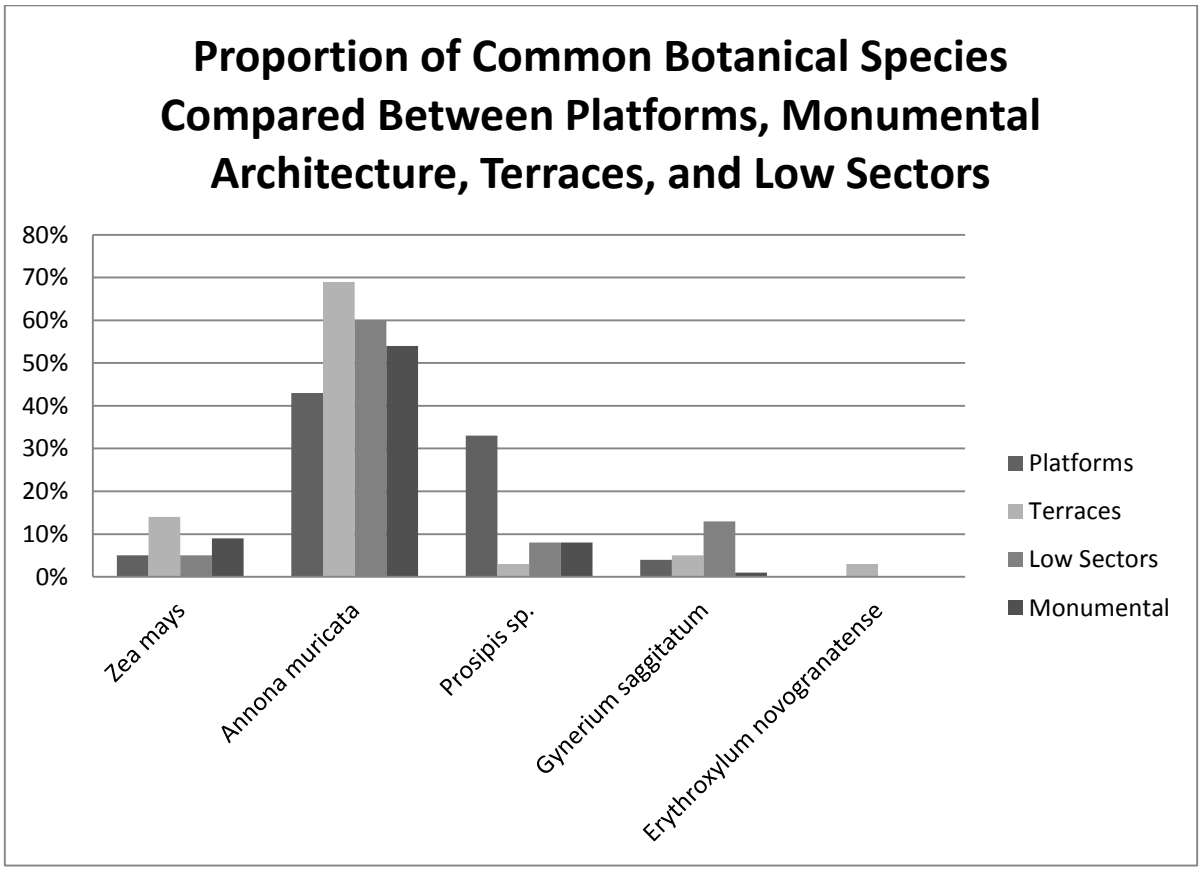


Figure 7.36: Comparison of the proportion of common botanical species between the platforms, terraces, and low sectors.

Lithic Tools

Flaked and ground stone tools were uncommon at Huasi Huaman. Most that were recovered came from surface contexts. These included a handful of flakes, but mostly ground tools including grinding stones for processing food and stones used for breaking dirt-clods (Figure 7.37). The highly polished igneous stone recovered from Platform C resembles stone tools used in polishing metals as part of metalworking.

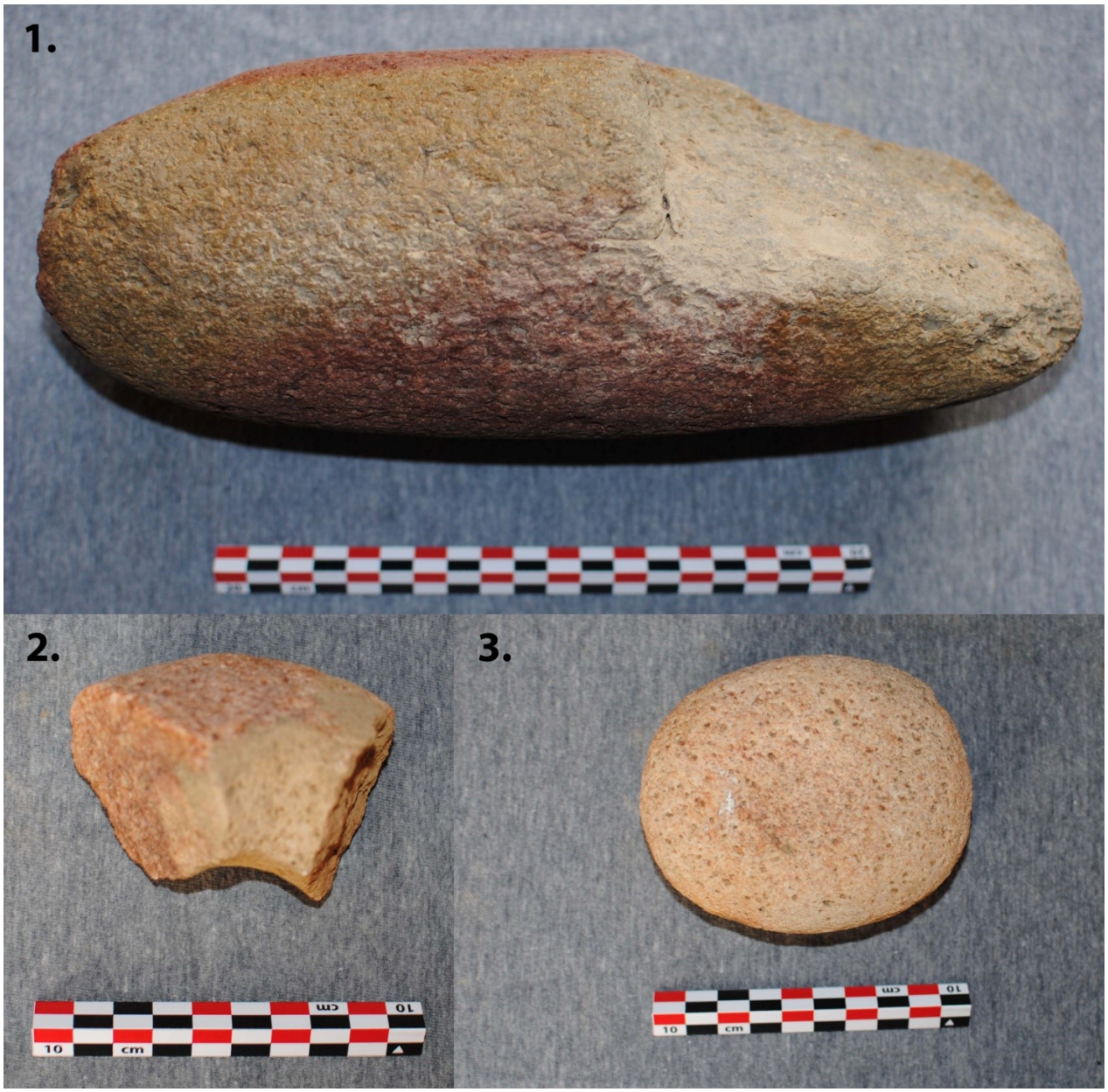


Figure 7.37: Ground stones from surface contexts. (1) Grinding stone from Sector E, (2) fragment of an *argolla* (tool for breaking dirt-clods) from Sector L, (3) mortar from Sector D.

The rarity of flaked tools may indicate that expedient tools were favoured. Naturally occurring gravels with jagged edges are abundant around the site. These stones could have been picked up and discarded as needed without leaving much evidence of their use as tools. A rarity of flaked tools has been noted in Late Intermediate Period Sites elsewhere in the Jequetepeque Valley (Cutright 2009). This may also suggest that copper tools were used instead of flaked stone though this raises the question of why copper blades or large fragments of copper are not more commonly encountered. All of the copper recovered from Huasi Huaman were from needles used in weaving or other small implements.

Metalwork

A few pre-Columbian Andean metallurgical workshops have been identified archaeologically (Lechtman 1976; 1991; Moore 2006; Shimada 1978; 1985; Shimada et al. 1982), though they remain a rare find. Excavation of these workshops shows that metal artefacts were produced through three steps: (1) smelting ore to produce ingots, (2) cold hammering ingots to produce sheets, and (3) assembling and finishing parts to complete the object (Shimada 1978: 582). Our excavations of Platform C show that the structure may have served as a work area for low scale metal production that probably included at least the first two steps as we uncovered both the remains of a clay lined kiln and a stone used in finishing metal artefacts. Despite the evidence for small scale metallurgical production at Huasi Huaman, copper artefacts were an uncommon find. We recovered only eleven pieces from excavation and surface contexts (Table 7.23 and Figure 7.38). Six out of the eleven copper fragments we discovered were likely needles used in weaving or textile production and were most commonly recovered from domestic spaces. We also recovered a set of tweezers and a copper bead.

Table 7.23: List of copper artefacts.

Type	Sector	Unit	Level	Feature
Unidentified Fragment	A	8a	4	
Needle	A-superior	20	2	
Needle	H	4	Surface	
Needle	K	17	Surface	
Unidentified Fragment	K	16a	1	1
Needle	K	17a	3	3
Needle	L	13	Surface	
Unidentified Fragment	L	13a	1	
Needle	N	Surface		
Tweezers	N	Surface		
Bead	O	Surface		



Figure 7.38: 1-2: Copper Needles. 3: Tweezers.

The low number of copper artefacts makes comparison between sectors not statistically meaningful. The rarity of copper tools along with evidence for copper production being restricted to a single small platform demonstrates that copper was not being produced in large quantities at the site and the site would not have been a major producer of copper

artefacts in the region. The small scale metalworking at Huasi Huaman may have provisioned residents and members of the larger community that partook in the site's ritual performances with copper tools but was probably not destined for tribute to either Lambayeque or Chimú elites. Control over access and distribution of copper tools may also have contributed to the prestige of local leaders who would have presented themselves as patrons to their followers.

Textiles and Other Personal Adornments

The evidence for personal adornment is limited to a few fragmentary scraps of textiles (Table 7.24) and a handful of beads, but what was recovered does demonstrate that some of Huasi Huaman's inhabitants adorned themselves with exotic materials. None of the textile fragments exhibited any evidence of decoration though two unused threads died black and dark brown were found in Unit 20 of Sector A-superior. Two possible tassels, cloth adornments which Anne Rowe (1980: 87; 1984) argues were used to decorate high status clothing were recovered from Unit 17 of Sector K. Unit 17 also contained a textile fragment with a paired warp and single weft, a weaving method characteristic of Chimú textiles though I cannot determine whether it was produced by Chimú weavers at Farfán or Chan Chan or produced locally in the Chimú style.

Table 7.24: List of textiles.

Type	Sector	Unit	Level	Feature	Weave	Number
Possible llama bridle	B	10a	2	1	Single warp; single weft	1
Cloth	B	10A	2		Single warp; single weft	1
Cloth	B	10a	1		Single warp; single weft	1
Cloth	K	17a	3	3	Paired warp; single weft	5
Net	K	17a	3	3	Single warp; single weft	1
Cloth	K	17a	3	3	Single warp; single weft	2
Tassle	K	17a	2	3	-	1
Cloth	K	17a	2	3	Paired warp; single weft	2
Cloth	K	17a	2	3	Single warp; single weft	1
Tassle	K	17a	1	1	-	1
Cloth	K	17a	1	1	Paired warp; single weft	2
Cloth	K	16a	1		Single warp; single weft	1
Cloth	K	16a	2	1	Single warp; single weft	1
Cloth	K	16	1		Paired warp; single weft	1
Cloth	L	13a	1	1	Single warp; single weft	1
Cloth	L	13a	1		Single warp; single weft	3
Cloth	N	15a	5		Single warp; single weft	3

Most of the beads that we found during excavation or surface collection were carved out of shell or stone (Figure 7.39 and Table 7.25). Two examples of beads made from exotic materials include the spondylus shell bead found within the burned structure of Unit 17 and a triangular lapis lazuli bead from surface contexts.

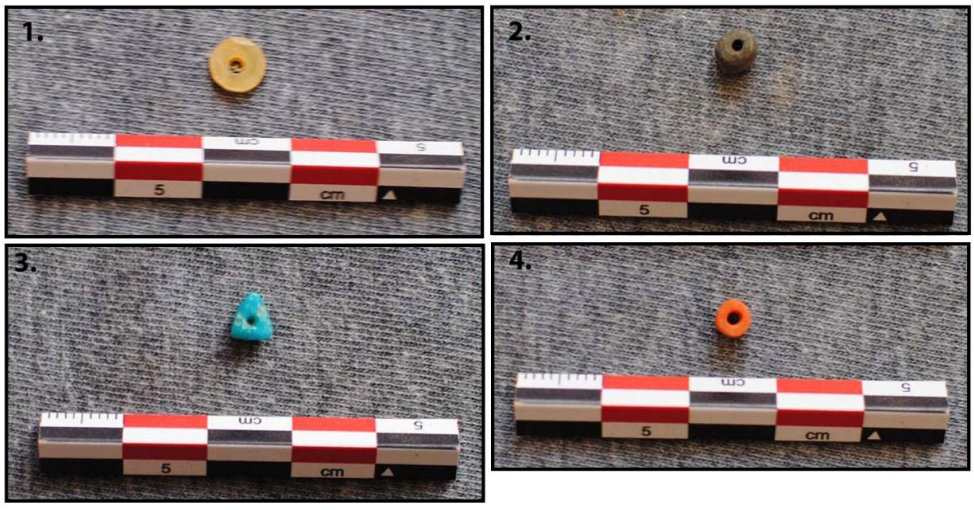


Figure 7.39: Beads from Huasi Huaman made from various materials. (1) Shell, (2) stone, (3) turquoise, and (4) spondylus shell.

Table 7.25: List of beads.

Material	Sector	Unit	Level	Feature
Shell	G	6	Surface	-
Unidentified Stone	A	7a	2	-
Unidentified Stone	K	16a	2	7
Unidentified Stone	K	16	Surface	-
Unidentified Stone	K	17	Surface	-
Unidentified Stone	L	Surface	-	-
Shell	N	Surface	-	-
Turquoise	N	Surface	-	-
Copper	O	Surface	-	-
Spondylus	K	17a	1	1

Conclusions

Analysis of the remains of household activities show that people cooked, wove cloth, and raised guinea pigs in the home, painting a picture of a lively settlement. The inhabitants of Huasi Huaman had access to a wide range of local terrestrial and marine resources which they used both for consumption and utilitarian purposes. The presence of species from more distant locations such as coca and yellow oleander suggest that the people at Huasi Huaman were able to obtain resources from as far away as the Amazon.

The household craft with the most archaeological evidence was weaving. My analysis of cloth fragments shows that the cloth being produced in the home was largely undecorated single weft and warp textiles that were probably being made for household use. People did have access to some personal adornments such as copper tweezers and beads made from shell or stone. Chipped stone tools were rare though we did find some ground stone tools for agricultural implements and food processing.

The activities on the platforms and monumental architecture were set apart from those of the domestic contexts. These spaces contained more evidence for the consumption of meat compared to fish in the home. The platforms and monumental architecture also contained less cooking vessels, supporting my interpretation of the use of some of these structures in hosting

feasts. However, there does not appear to have been much difference in the size of ceramics between platform and domestic contexts which leads me to conclude that people were using largely the same vessels for activities in both areas.

Now that I have presented my data, I spend the remainder of my dissertation putting the data into their architectural and social context. I discuss the broader implications of my interpretations and explore what impacts the Chimú conquest may have had on people living at Huasi Huaman.

Chapter 8 The House, Domestic Activities, Craft Production, and the Subject

Introduction

In this chapter and the next, I explore how architecture, ritual, and quotidian practices created subjects and influenced identity at Huasi Huaman during the Lambayeque and Chimú Periods. I examine who was living at Huasi Huaman, who had the power to produce space, and how ceremonial and domestic practices were involved in discourse and the dissemination of ideology. The aim of these chapters is to examine how categories such as gender, status, age, and affiliation were shaped by the practices conducted within different types of spaces during the Lambayeque and Chimú Periods to better understand the nature of colonialism in the Jequetepeque Valley.

I again organize my discussion along the architectural categories of terraces, low sectors, platforms, and monumental architecture. In this chapter, I focus my discussion on the domestic contexts of Huasi Huaman which includes the terraces and low sectors. My analysis of these spaces is constrained by the lack of identifiable ground plans and preserved architecture which prevents me from doing a formal analysis of architectural forms to examine change over time. While preserved wattle and daub non-elite residential architecture has been uncovered at other North Coast sites (see Cutright 2009; Moore 1985; 1988; Topic), this type of architecture does not appear to have preserved well at Huasi Huaman, perhaps due to its elevated position and minimal deposition, or the small scale of occupation. Despite the limitations of my data, the domestic contexts should not be ignored as they can still be used as a starting point in understanding how the site's inhabitants interacted with each other and the better preserved ritual and monumental architecture. Additionally, as limited

archaeological research has been done on the domestic contexts of hinterland sites such as Huasi Huaman, what can be gleaned from my data may help to guide future research on the subject.

To overcome my lack of ground plans, I attempt to study how people occupied and used domestic spaces as a whole and examine the range of activities that occurred within. The physical differences between the contexts of the terraces and low sectors provides a starting point for comparison that can be expanded upon in future research. Despite its limitations, my approach presents an opportunity to capture the nuances and complexity of a residential life that was not confined to individual rooms or structures. As people do not spend all of their time indoors, my approach recognizes spaces such as terraces as catchments of domestic activity.

In my analysis, I rely upon the concept of dwelling (Hutson 2010). Dwelling, which itself draws upon the work of Foucault (1982), Bourdieu (1973), and Heidegger (1971), is the study of subject formation through quotidian practices. Scott Hutson, whose research is on the Maya settlement of Chunchucmil in southern Mexico, examines how subjects were formed through daily practices within houselots and how subjectification develops through interactions between people living in different houselots. To study subjectification within the home, he examines the places where domestic activities such as food preparation took place to examine the relations between people and their spatial and temporal contexts. Focusing on gender, Hutson examines how "gender is a discourse that establishes the body as prediscursive" (2010: 69) and how it is embedded in the creation of differences between subjects that also include categories such as sex, class, and age. However, it is through the interactions of people living in different houselots that people reflect and evaluate the identity of themselves and others which enables the formation of group affiliation (Hutson 2010: 135-136).

I study dwelling at Huasi Huaman to explore how quotidian practices and domestic space influenced the interactions between the men, women, and children who lived there and how living on the terraces may have led to people with different dispositions than those living in the low sectors. For example, Hutson (2010: 105) argues that the type of buildings people inhabit constitute subjects with different "dispositions, understandings, and expectations (probably all of which would be nondiscursive)." This makes the home the loci of individual identity. Extending this concept to Huasi Huaman, the physical differences between the low sectors and terraces may have led to the constitution of different subjects in the two domestic contexts that were reflected upon during interactions between social groups framed in Huasi Huaman's ritual architecture. Although I lack detailed architectural ground plans of residential compounds, the analysis of the similarities and differences between the terraces and Sector K are therefore still important for developing an understanding of the processes of subject formation and social group affiliation.

Ultimately, the goal of this chapter is to present Huasi Huaman in a way that highlights the complex social, ritual, and ideological engagements that occurred between its inhabitants. My research acknowledges the fact that Huasi Huaman was not just a ceremonial center, but a place where people lived. Examining the everyday practices of its inhabitants is necessary not only for providing a more nuanced interpretation of the ritual architecture, but understanding how colonialism may have impacted subject formation.

In the discussion that follows, I present Huasi Huaman as a settlement occupied by a small population of people organized into hierarchically ranked kin or social groups living on the terraces and Sector K. Domestic craft and food production centered on fulfilling the requirements of locals as there is minimal evidence for the presence of craft specialists. During the Chimú Period, specific factions or social groups living within Huasi Huaman exercised greater control over ritual space while excluding others. The control of ceremonial

space enabled these groups to reinforce hierarchy through differential access to ritual architecture. Though Huasi Huaman was never an administrative center that housed a foreign elite Lambayeque or Chimú administrator, the settlement likely contained a local lord who may have acted as an intermediary between the paramount elites of the region and their followers. I also speculate Huasi Huaman's population may have increased during rituals performances as people affiliated with local leaders or kin groups participated in these activities.

I begin with an examination of the house at Huasi Huaman and how it may have looked by using data from previously excavated residential structures from the Late Intermediate Period. I then discuss the terraces and low sectors in detail to illustrate the phenomenological differences of living in either location. Next, I examine evidence for long-term occupation at the site and my interpretation of a small full-time resident and make a very rough speculation on the number of people who may have lived there. Finally, I attempt to engender my analysis by looking at who was engaged in activities such as weaving, food preparation, metalworking, fishing, and agriculture and whether or not the locations of these activities may have created differences in the subjectivities of people depending on where they lived.

The House at Huasi Huaman

Artefactual and faunal data recovered through surface collection and excavation show two likely locations for domestic habitation: the terraces and low sectors (more specifically Sector K). The remains of a wall from a wattle and daub (*quincha*) structure uncovered during the excavation of Unit 17 in Sector K provides evidence that the houses that must have been in these locations likely resembled the non-elite residential architecture found at other Late Intermediate Period and enable me to make some speculations about what they may have looked like. As described in Chapter 4, residential architecture in the North Coast is

characterized by wattle and daub compounds that show a great deal of variety in their layout and room sizes. Moore (1985: 223) argues that houses were remodelled to reflect the changing needs of the families who occupied them as they grew or declined in size. As *quincha* is an expedient building material, remodelling would have been relatively easy, but residential compounds would have required regular maintenance to keep them from collapsing.

The occupations of the inhabitants and the degree of state involvement in the maintenance of the household influenced the layout of homes and the types of features found inside. At urban centers such as Chan Chan and Manchán where non-elite residents were engaged in craft production, domestic structures commonly contain large hearths for metalworking and storage rooms intended to store completed goods (Moore 1985: 307; Topic 1982). Rural settlements, such as the site of Pedregal in the Jequetepeque Valley, lack these features (Cutright 2009: 130) as most of their residents would be engaged in agriculture or other subsistence activities.

Huasi Huaman's domestic structures likely resembled those found at Pedregal due to the similarly non-urban nature, though Huasi Huaman appears to have lacked the use of adobe and stone foundations Cutright discovered in some of Pedregal's structures during her excavations. The seemingly lower quality of domestic architecture at Huasi Huaman raises questions about the differences in the nature of the occupation of the two sites. While the present research cannot present a definitive answer, I suggest that the fact that Huasi Huaman may only have had a very small resident population and that unlike Pedregal, much of Huasi Huaman's domestic space was on terraces as possible reasons for the differences in construction.

Comparing the terraces and the low sector, Sector K, the two areas contain similar evidence for a range of domestic activities which include food preparation, dining, raising

guinea pigs, and weaving. The evidence of limited agriculture on the terraces points to extended occupation of these spaces by at least a small number of people. In the two sub-sections that follow, I summarize the evidence from both contexts.

Terraces

My excavation of four terraces in sectors A-superior, G, and L shows that they were constructed by piling graded sands and gravels on top of the natural surface of the mountain. Many of the terraces were reinforced through the construction of retaining walls made from cobbles and boulders that had eroded from the mountain, some of which were then finished by facing. Deposition was universally shallow with cultural deposits extending no deeper than 20 centimeters from the modern surface. The lack of preserved architecture built on the terraces may indicate that activities on the terraces were open air, the sample of excavated terraces was too small and we missed the remains of architecture, or the limited deposition of sediments in these areas combined with their exposed locations was not conducive to the preservation of *quincha* architecture. If structures were built on the terraces, they were probably not very large as individual terraces can be as small as 4x10 m in dimension though I speculate that individual households may have occupied multiple terraces as they are often found in clusters. Some of the terraces may have been open air and used as locations where people could take advantage of the sunlight to perform household activities. Nonetheless, rooms within Pedregal's domestic architecture ranged from 3x3 m to 8x15 m (Cutright 2009: 122) so the terraces are large enough to contain the smaller rooms in that range.

As I described in Chapter 5, the people living on the terraces were cooking and consuming food, raising guinea pigs, and weaving textiles. Food remains recovered from the hearths constructed on three of the four excavated terraces or found nearby provide evidence of people cooking on the terraces themselves. The prevalence of cooking and food preparation on the terraces is supported by the fact that nearly 50% of all ceramics collected

from the terraces were cooking vessels. Evidence for raising guinea pigs was the frequent discovery of their droppings showing that the animals were being kept in the home. Finally, we recovered several copper needles, cotton seeds, thread, and textile fragments. The textile fragments were simple single warp and single weft weaves with no evidence of dying or other forms of decoration leading me to conclude the evidence for production was from non-specialist weavers producing textiles for household use.

The one exceptional terrace was the terrace we excavated as Unit 13 in Sector L. This contained what may be remains of an in situ row of maize crops that were grown on the terrace itself. The sediment of the terrace also stood out from that of the other three units. It had a much higher percentage of silt and was rich in ash and organic materials. If maize was grown on the terrace as I suggest, water and likely even the soil had to be carried up to the terrace to sustain crop growth. The maize was also found in association with greater quantities of food and broken ceramics than recovered from the other excavated terraces which may be the result of those maintaining the crops being fed or the terrace representing the garden of a larger household. The unusual placement of the maize, with stems grown in side-by-side pairs, potentially presents some problems for this interpretation and may indicate the plants were grown elsewhere before being transported to the terrace. Nonetheless, the lines of evidence presented above leads me to favour the interpretation that the plants are in situ.

Agricultural terraces function to turn slopes into viable agricultural fields and may also be used to deepen soil, control erosion, manage moisture, and to create microclimates to protect crops against frost or direct sunlight (Treacy and Denevan 1994: 93). Most of the research on Andean agricultural terraces have focused on those constructed under the Inca who built extensive, precisely engineered terraces to support agriculture in the high altitude of the Andes (Denevan 2003; Spencer and Hale 1961). The terraces of Huasi Huaman lack

the engineering complexity of their Inca counterparts and would not have required any state investment or coordination in their construction. Small groups of labourers or families could have collected and deposited the modest quantities of sediments necessary to construct the small terraces. Work feasts, where those requiring additional labour attracted labourers among kin or community members through the provisioning of food and drink (Dietler and Herbich 2001), would have been an appropriate social mechanism to facilitate their construction. Many of the Inca terraces had a layer of cobbles underneath the topsoil which helped to drain rain water. Huasi Huaman's terraces do not show the same level of engineering complexity, again demonstrating that highly organized labour was not required for their construction.

The evidence for the diversity of domestic activities on the terraces supports my interpretation that at least some of the terraces had residential architecture as the range of activities points to occupation lasting long enough to require people to engage in the activities necessary to maintain a household. People were cooking, weaving, growing gardens, and raising guinea pigs, a wider range of activities than might be expected if people were only there for festivals.

Low Sectors

The low sectors, specifically Sectors K, represent an additional location of domestic architecture. Located on the flat open ground between the two walls, the low sectors would have been more accessible than the terraces of Sectors A-superior and L as accessing this area requires passing through only a single wall. Our research demonstrates stark differences in the evidence for habitation between Sectors K and G, leading to the conclusion that only Sector K probably saw any extensive residential occupation. Sector G may have instead functioned as an open space for people participating in or witnessing the rituals performed on the nearby platform architecture. In contrast, Sector K was dense in domestic debris. Our

excavations of Units 16 and 17 found evidence for habitation extending up to 40 cm below the surface. Unit 16 consisted of an ash filled domestic refuse while the remains of a wattle and daub structure were identified underneath the surface of Platform K in Unit 17. The differences between the two sectors may be the result of changes in the nature of habitation over time or differences in the use of space within the site.

The size of Sector K compared to the terraces, as well as the dense deposition compared to the terraces, makes the sector the likely location where the majority of the people would have lived. We discovered evidence for a similar range of domestic activities as the terraces. People cooked and consumed food, wove cloth for use by members of their household, and raised guinea pigs and probably dogs in their homes, some of which were consumed for their protein. The gendered nature of these activities and the larger implications for understanding the creation of subjects at Huasi Huaman will be discussed in detail in following sections of this chapter, but the types of domestic activities found on the terraces and low sectors are strikingly similar. The significant difference between these two locations therefore becomes the choice of location itself which physically separated the population and may be the manifestation of difference.

Hutson (2006: 133), following Heidegger (1971: 146-148), states that "dwelling in the world is the precondition for thinking about the world abstractly." The spaces that we experience in our everyday lives from the time of childhood influence how we see the world and alter our environments to reflect what has been ingrained in our habitus. The significance of thinking about dwelling in the domestic architecture of Huasi Huaman is that the terraces and low sectors present two very different locations, each which may have influenced the development of their occupants as subjects in their own ways. The location of the terraces on the steep slopes of a coastal mountain makes them challenging to reach and to occupy. Reaching them requires that people pass through Huasi Huaman's two sets of walls as well as

the ceremonial architecture located at the mountain's base. Living on the terraces requires effort. Space is at a premium and most basic supplies, including water, would have had to have been carried up. Hiking up the slope is made challenging by the loose sands and gravels that cover the surface, making it slippery and difficult to maintain one's footing. This is an aspect of the terraces I experienced firsthand given the number of times I lost my footing while moving between excavation units. Although Huasi Huaman was undoubtedly better maintained prior to abandonment, the terraces would be challenges places to live for the old or infirm.

Why then would anyone want to live on the terraces if Sector K is so much more convenient? Answering this question requires some speculation, but the terraces do present some benefits not found in Sector K that become apparent when standing on them in person. Foremost is the spectacular view of the Jequetepeque Valley that can extend for kilometres on a clear day, with distant mountains including Cerro Guadalupe, Cerro Chepén and even the upper valley visible. Inhabitants of the terraces would be able to monitor traffic through the valley and in the lower sectors of Huasi Huaman itself. Habitation of the terraces may also have provided additional defensive benefits as attackers would have needed to climb up the slope while exposing them to sling fire from above. That said, I find defense alone to be an inadequate explanation as there is little evidence for sling stones or other weapons in association with the terraces. Additionally, none of the terraces were built with defensive barriers that could be used as protection against enemy projectiles fired from below. The most interesting possibility is occupation on the terraces may have enabled their inhabitants to associate themselves with the sacred properties of the mountain or the ceremonial architecture below. If this was the case, the inhabitants of the terraces may have held a different status than those occupying Sector K as they would be more closely tied to ritual activities hosted within the site.

Evidence for Long-term Occupations of Domestic Sectors

The possible in situ row of maize found on the terrace of Unit 13 in Sector L and the range of domestic activities apparent in both terrace and low sector context present the most compelling evidence for a year-round occupation of the site. However, the limited preservation of domestic architecture may point to seasonal or part-time occupation. The two carbon dates (Table 8.1) we obtained from our excavations of the terraces and low sectors show that these spaces were occupied during both the Lambayeque and Chimú Periods, but the data is not extensive enough to show that the occupation of any one area was continuous throughout both periods. To reconcile the potentially conflicting lines of evidence, I suggest that a small number of Huasi Huaman's inhabitants lived at the site year-round while the rest of its inhabitants may have lived at the site seasonally.

Table 8.1: Carbon dates for Huasi Huaman's domestic sectors.

Location	14C age	Range	Source
Sector L (Terrace of Unit 13)	685	± 20	UCIAMS-119904 ULA-3845
Sector K (Unit 17)	615	± 20	UCIAMS-119905 ULA-3846

Sector K is the most likely location of the site where the majority of the people lived. It contained both the densest accumulation of domestic debris and evidence for changes in the use of space over time in the burning of the house in Unit 17 in Sector K during the Chimú Period to make room for the construction of a small platform. The year-round inhabitants may have lived alongside the houses of people who lived there only part of the year, perhaps people who lived around the Kanchape mountain range in agricultural settlements the rest of the year. These seasonal inhabitants may have been attracted to the site to participate in the ritual events hosted by a local leader or kin group who maintained the site. Participation in rituals at Huasi Huaman may have helped maintain relations within a larger community consisting of people residing in the region nearby. Further excavation of the domestic

contexts would help to clarify the nature and extent of the domestic occupation.

Population Estimate

To further illustrate what the residential occupation of Huasi Huaman may have looked like, I want to dedicate a few paragraphs to calculating a rough population estimate. I stress and acknowledge the limitations of my estimates as I lack the ground plans of residential architecture that are normally used to make calculations based on house sizes. Nonetheless, I argue that it is still a useful exercise if only to help illustrate the nature of the site. To help fill in the holes in my data, I rely upon the calculations made for the site of Pedregal by Robyn Cutright (2009: 133) as a starting point.

Cutright (2009: 133) estimates that the residential compounds at Pedregal may have housed 10-20 people for a total site population of 50-100 people. If residential compounds at Huasi Huaman were comparable in size and occupation, individual households likely exceeded a dozen members. Cutright's population estimate uses three cross cultural studies of household populations (Kolb 1985; Naroll 1962; Tsai in Cutright 2009: 134) to calculate the number of people per dwelling area within houses. I use Cutright's calculations as a basis to roughly estimate the dwelling area within the terraces and low sectors.

Cutright (2009: 133) identifies five compounds in a two hectare area with a total dwelling area of 1175.67 square meters. She then produces a more conservative estimate of 443.36 meters squared for the dwelling area to account for open spaces in the compounds such as courtyards. If Huasi Huaman is assumed to have had a similar occupation density and accounting for the fact that neither the low sectors or terraces would be completely covered with residential compounds, the site would have an estimated total dwelling area of 587.84 square meters for every hectare and a conservative dwelling area of 221.68 for every hectare. To calculate the number of people residing at Huasi Huaman, I use two of the population estimates used by Cutright (2009: 134); Naroll's (1962) widely used constant of 1 person per

10 meters square and Kolb's (1985) estimate of 1 person per 6.12 square meters. The results of my population estimates are presented in Table 8.2.

Table 8.2: Population Estimates by Sector for Huasi Huaman.

Sector	Total Area (m2)	Total Living Area (m2)	Conservative Living Area (m2)	Population (1 per/10m2) Min	Population (1 per/10m2) Max	Population (1 per/6.12m2) Min	Population (1 per/6.12m2) Max
Terraces							
A-superior	953.28	56.04	21.13	2	6	3	9
C	419.30	24.65	9.30	1	2	2	4
E	228.11	13.41	5.06	1	1	1	2
G	258.73	15.21	5.74	1	2	1	2
N	256.74	15.09	5.69	1	2	1	2
L	683.18	40.16	15.14	2	4	2	7
Sub-Total	2799.34	164.56	62.06	6	16	10	27
Low Sectors							
G	4984.87	293.03	110.50	11	29	18	48
K	15674.98	921.44	347.48	35	92	57	151
Sub-Total	20659.85	1214.47	457.99	46	121	75	234
Total	**23459.19**	**1379.03**	**520.04**	**52**	**138**	**85**	**261**

According to my admittedly quite rough calculations, Huasi Huaman may have had a population of between 52 to 261 people. The number of people who lived there year round may have been at the low end of this range or even lower with the upper range representing the maximum number of people occupying the site if those who may have lived there seasonally or only during ritual festivities are included. Unfortunately, the extent to which the population fluctuated between different periods cannot be estimated with any reasonable degree of accuracy based on the limited scale of my excavations.

Ethnohistorical sources provide a further source of information to help flesh out our picture of the organization of non-elite households and who may have been living at Huasi Huaman. These accounts reveal that following the Spanish conquest in the 16th century it was the norm for men to only have one wife (Rostworworski 1995: 16), but polygamy was often practiced by men with high status as having multiple wives was seen as a symbol of authority (Cobo 1990[1653]: 204). Polygamy would have benefitted elite men by helping

them meet the reciprocal obligations to their followers in hosting or sponsoring ritual events, a practice that made lords dependent on women's labour to maintain their position. Nonetheless, most of the people living at Huasi Huaman probably did not practice polygamy given the non-elite status of the majority of people living there.

Households at Huasi Huaman were also likely multigenerational, consisting of more than just the nuclear family. Households grew and shrank according to life cycles and may have consisted of elders, unmarried daughters and their children, childless married couples, and foster children (Weismantel 1988). Research in the Mantaro Valley by Robin Goldstein (2008) shows households shared domestic tools such as grinding stones for processing food. Groups of related people may have shared productive activities so that people relied not only upon their immediate family, but could ask for assistance to accomplish large projects. Possible examples relevant to Huasi Huaman include house and terrace construction.

Domestic Activities, Craft Production, Subsistence Practices, Household Ritual and Dwelling

Having summarized the evidence for domestic occupation, compared the terraces to Sector K, and made some preliminary suggestions on the number of people who may have lived in these locations, I turn to a more in depth discussion of dwelling, how the everyday practices of the inhabitants of Huasi Huaman influenced the creation of subjects. I analyze the context in which quotidian practices took place including the types of objects used, the number of people sharing work, the visibility of work, and the nature of activities taking place nearby. I also attempt to engender my analysis by identifying the ways in which people of different ages, genders, and social status may have interacted with domestic spaces and make some suggestions on how these shaped power relations and identities. An engendered approach therefore acknowledges the categories of difference that gender (Hutson 2010: 69) by examining the interrelationships between gender identities, technologies, social

relationships, and ideologies (Brumfiel and Robin 2010: 5). While I often focus on activities associated with women, my aim is not the archaeology of women (or men), but to understand the "archaeology of relations that produce a socially intelligible set of identities that do not hinge on biological sex" (Hutson 2010: 69).

While my analysis borrows from the work of Hutson, my lack of ground plans again limits the nature of analysis. For example, Hutson examines where activities took place in houselots at his research site of Chunchucmil as well as how houses changed over time according to family dynamics. As I cannot recreate the spatial dynamics of domestic architecture at Huasi Huaman at the same scale, my analysis is necessarily more modest by examining the spaces of the terraces and the low sector, Sector K, as catchments of domestic practices. To reiterate my justification from earlier in this chapter, my analysis is thus intended as a starting point for future research rather than to be the authority on the subject.

My discussion is organized around specific gendered activities which included weaving, cooking and brewing, ceramic manufacture, metalworking, fishing, agriculture, and household ritual. Ethnohistorical accounts and comparison to other archaeological research are used to build upon my data and place quotidian practices and different types of craft production in their cultural contexts. Bringing the analysis of dwelling into my broader interest in colonialism, I argue that Huasi Huaman's domestic spaces show little involvement from foreign Lambayeque or Chimú elites and production was focused on local consumption. Nonetheless, when the domestic contexts are considered in relation to the changes apparent in the ritual spaces following the Chimú conquest differences in the ability of non-elites to contribute to ritual activities hosted within the monumental architecture may have resulted in non-elites having less influence on the formation of local ideology.

Weaving

Weaving, of which we found evidence of in both the terraces and Sector K, was an

activity most likely associated with women during the Late Intermediate Period. There is some evidence of male weaving specialists who wove high quality cloth (Costin 1996; Graubart 2000; Cordy-Collins 1990) and the participation of old or infirm men in weaving due to their limited ability to contribute to physical activities (Murra 1956: 129), but it was women who wove textiles for use by their households (Donnan and McClelland 1999: 126; Costin 1996; Silverblatt 1987). Commenting on ethnographic studies of Andean weaving in the highlands, Silverblatt (1987: 9) states that textile production was so tied to women's labour that they were never idle and constantly spinning. Although care must be taken not to assume that practices on the coast were the same as the highlands nor that historical textile production was necessarily the same as it was in prehistory, archaeological evidence from the Jequetepeque Valley supports conclusion that weaving was work largely performed by women. At the site of San Jose de Moro, located several kilometers east of Huasi Huaman, weaving implements are found in almost all women's graves (Prieto 2007). There may have been an element of status associated with spinning wool into thread as spinning tools were found mostly in the graves of high status women.

My evidence points to the location of weaving being the home and the activity taking place in rooms where women engaged in other household chores such as food preparation. We recovered needles, thread, and textile fragments on the terrace of Unit 20 in Sector A-superior in close proximity to an in situ cooking pot and we found chalk associated with the same level as the hearths in Platform N. Both find provide evidence that women wove in their downtime while cooking. These conclusions are supported by research on textile production at the Chimú capital of Chan Chan. Though the women living in the SIAR of the city were specialist weavers, they also wove in the home in spaces used for household chores including cooking (Brunton 2011: 211; Topic 1982).

The location of weaving is significant for understanding the creation of female

subjects at Huasi Huaman. Weaving while engaged in other household chores suggests a social element to the practice as women interacted with their family members or perhaps talked with visiting neighbours and friends as they went about their daily activities. The women living on the terraces would also have been able to look down upon the ritual and residential architecture below them as well as view what was going on elsewhere in the valley. The socially situated nature of weaving at Huasi Huaman would integrate women's subjectivities within their family and the larger community of the site, especially in relation to where they lived.

Beyond the act of weaving itself, clothes are especially significant for discussing subjectivity in the context of the Andes as they served as markers of status, ethnicity, class, and gender identity in the Andes (Costin 1996; 2008; Gose 2000; Graubart 2010: 539-540). A person's clothing told whether they were a lord or commoner, the region they came from, and any offices they may have held (Costin 1996). Evidence for the types of clothing worn by men and women in the region of the North Coast comes from textiles recovered from burials as well as artistic depictions of clothing on decorated pottery. A typical outfit worn by a Chimú elite male, for example, consisted of a mantle worn over a tunic and loincloth and a headband or hat (Clark and Rodman 1994; Costin 2008; Rowe 1984).

The last of the imperial Inca rulers, Atahualpa, dressed in extravagant clothing that exemplified the pinnacle of Andean craftsmanship. Awestruck Spanish conquistadores wrote of the Inca ruler donning garments that would have required months of painstaking labour and woven from exotic materials such as bat hair (Cobo 1979[1653]: 245). Cloth was produced as tribute and fine textiles were redistributed to regional lords. Leaders also relied upon their wives, attached specialists, or their community to produce their fine clothes. Non-elites wove their own garments. Cloth was also used in rituals to dress mummies or icons, burnt in offerings, or worn by priests during ceremonies. Clothing also had a role in Inca

imperialism as the Inca Empire used clothing as a tool to maintain their control over subjugated peoples by forcing people to wear their ethnic dress (Costin 1998: 123). Penalties to wear proper clothing were severe with some offenders punished by being put to death (Moore 1958: 165-173). Clothing was so important in the Andes that the clothing of defeated enemies during warfare was taken to symbolize their defeat and death (Presta 2010: 50).

The significance of weaving and the gendered nature of the labour highlights the significance of contributions of women to their communities. As Hutson (2010: 87) argues, "in providing service to the group, they submit themselves to the group. At the same time this submission furnishes a group identity and place within society that makes them intelligible to others beyond the group." In other words, weaving placed women in complimentary roles to the rest of their households and the greater community at Huasi Huaman, but also made women significant for shaping the identity of the group as a whole.

To bring weaving into my broader study of colonialism in the Jequetepeque Valley, I argue that there is minimal evidence to indicate that foreign elites were influencing weaving at Huasi Huaman and therefore had little impact on one of the significant processes of subjectification. The textiles produced at Huasi Huaman appear to have mostly been for local use rather than as tribute to Lambayeque or Chimú elites. Costin (2005) distinguishes between attached and independent production. Attached textile production, which is exemplified by the weavers at Chan Chan (see Topic 2009), is overseen by elites who use the cloth to expand socio-political relationship through gift exchange and the demonstration of their generosity. Independent producers, the type I suggest best matches my data, have control over all aspects of production including the acquisition of raw materials, the social organization of production, and the distribution of finished products.

Although the production of textiles as tribute would be difficult to identify at Huasi Huaman as completed textiles would be transported out of the settlement, the simplicity of

the textiles and rarity of dye or other elaboration makes direct foreign involvement in weaving unlikely. What textile fragments we found during excavation were simple brown cloth woven with a single warp and weft, a style common throughout coastal Peru (Rowe 1948). Combined with the lack of evidence for other types of specialist craft production in the home, those producing cloth at Huasi Huaman were probably not specialist weavers. Furthermore, the cotton used in weaving probably came from local sources rather than provisioned by foreign elites. Eling notes the presence of the Farfán Norte canal system traveling along the eastern slopes of the site (Eling 1987: 323), so much of the area around Huasi Huaman probably consisted of agricultural fields as is the case today. This means that many of the inhabitants of Huasi Huaman were probably agriculturalists themselves and thus could grow their own cotton or obtain it from people living nearby.

The most interesting textiles came from Unit 17 of Sector K. Here we found the fragments of a textile with a double warp and single weft and a separate cloth tassel. According to Anne Rowe (1984) the use of a double warp with a single weft is characteristic of Chimú textiles though I am uncertain whether the cloth we found was produced by Chimú weavers or an inhabitant of Huasi Huaman imitating Chimú weaving methods to produce higher quality cloth. The tassel is also a decorative element of finer cloth which may suggest that whoever lived within the house of Unit 17 in Sector K enjoyed a degree of wealth. Given the firm dating of the structure in the Chimú Period and the presence of Chimú pottery (see Chapter 6), it is tempting to speculate that members of the household included those who functioned as intermediaries and the Chimú provisioned them with prestige goods.

Cooking and Brewing

The role of cooking in the creation of subjects is perhaps even more significant than weaving as commensal politics played a significant role in Andean politics (Gose 2000; Morris and Thompson 1985: 90-91; Moore 1989; Murra 1956). Commensal politics is the

role of feasting and dining in the creation and maintenance of social relations on a scale ranging from the household to interpolity level (Dietler 2001: 68-69). Its significant role of food in maintaining status, establishing relationships, and the role of sharing meals in constituting groups makes the identification of who was preparing food and where important to understanding the creation of subjects at Huasi Huaman.

Fortunately, food remains and the ceramic vessels used in cooking and serving food are well preserved on the terraces and the low sector of Sector K. As I previously discussed in Chapter 7, I discovered differences in the types of foods being consumed in domestic settings compared to the ritual architecture. The consumption of seafood appears to have been more prevalent in the home than during ritual activities while meat consumption seems to have accompanied feasting. Though the camelids that were held on the summit of Platform B appear to have also been butchered there, the rarity of hearths on the platform and monumental architecture means that any food consumed as part of the ritual activities on these structures was probably prepared in domestic contexts rather than on the structures themselves. Therefore the preparation of food presents one of the significant means by which households could contribute to ritual activities on the platforms and their use in the maintenance of social groups.

One of the most widely studied foods in the context of Andean feasting rituals is chicha, a beer produced from fermented maize (Bray 2008; Moore 1989; Nash 2012; Valdez et al. 2010). For this reason, I will focus much of my discussion around this beverage, but much of my arguments could also apply to any other type of food that may have been prepared for feasting. Archaeological research of coastal brewing practices shows that chicha was produced in two contexts. The first is by male specialist brewers who are known from iconography on ceramic vessels and the discovery of dedicated brewers such as the brewery discovered at San Jose de Moro which dates to the Chimú Period (Prieto 2011). The second,

and probably most relevant for Huasi Huaman, is chicha brewing in the home done by either men or women (Moore 1989: 689). The difference between the two is the level of state involvement. Household production probably had little involvement from the state. I argue one of the major contributions of households to ritual activities at Huasi Huaman may have been their role in producing food or beer. If this was the case, the role of individuals in preparing food and drink gave them a significant role in the success of ritual activities (Hutson 2010: 87).

Justin Jennings and Melissa Chatfield's (2008) research on modern chicha production in the central Andes illustrates the important role of the people engaged in preparing food for use in rituals and how their role gives them power to influence politics. Commensal politics requires the ability to organize labour when food and drink cannot be prepared long in advance. Chicha has a short shelf-life, often spoiling in less than a week, preventing the beverage from being stockpiled over weeks or months in preparation of a feast. The consequence for Andean feasts was that substantial preparation was required in the week leading up to the event.

Brewing could be done by specialist brewers or through the combined work of many households. In the context of the central Andes where Jennings and Chatfield conduct their fieldwork, chicha is brewed by women in the house using the same pottery and equipment they use to brew chicha for everyday consumption. Production at the household level, generally by the family of those hosting a feast, opened up the possibility of acts of defiance by those preparing the food willingly failing to provide adequate quantities of chicha, slowing down production, or serving sour beer (Jennings and Chatfield 2008: 201-202). It was through such acts of defiance that those participating in the preparation of feasts could influence commensal politics or the success of rituals. This gave people, especially women, who may not have had a prominent role in feasts and ritual activities a voice in what

ideologies were propagated and the maintenance of the group as a whole.

The people who benefitted most directly from hosting feasts such as local leaders could reduce their reliance on others and thus the potential of resistance by using large vessels for brewing or fermentation and thus the number of people required to organize a large feast. However, large vessels introduce other costs and problems which do not make their use necessarily desirable. For example, large vessels are more costly in material to produce and difficult to fire (Jennings and Chatfield 2008). They are also more difficult to move which can make the transportation of more difficult.

If instead of household production, the local leaders at Huasi Huaman obtained its chicha from specialist brewers such as those at San Jose de Moro, another set of issues for local leaders arise. They may not have had to rely on their ability to secure labour from their social group in preparing for feasts, but specialist brewers would have devalued the community's, and more specifically women's, contributions to the political process by reducing their influence in community festivals. Additionally, it can be speculated that if the Chimú controlled the redistribution of chicha produced by specialist brewers in the Jequetepeque Valley, local leaders would very much be dependent on their good will to be able to fulfill their duties. Chicha distribution could be slowed or halted to ineffectual local leaders, humiliating them in the eyes of their followers and severally limiting their ability to fulfill their obligations of reciprocity and generosity.

Though I suspect much of the chicha consumed at Huasi Huaman was produced onsite and not obtained from brewing specialists, it is possible that both sources were used, especially when required for use in commensal politics. The evidence for maize agriculture in Unit 13 dates to the late 13th century so it cannot be assumed that the practice continued into the Chimú period occupations of the site. Chimú blackware vessels may have contained chicha provided by Chimú lords and foreign produced alcohol may have even been seen as

more desirable in certain contexts, giving those able to obtain it prestige in the eyes of their community, but also making them dependent on foreign nobles. The growing of corn at Huasi Huaman may have even been an attempt to bypass Lambayeque distribution systems by raising corn for alcohol production locally.

Without state sponsored food preparation, hosts would have depended on their ability to organize their social network to provision them with food to fulfill their obligations as hosts. If the hosts were also intermediaries for the Chimú, the reliance on others would have made their position as leaders all the more precarious.

Ceramic Manufacture

Our discovery of a few wasters (Figure 8.1) and a mould (Figure 8.2) for the decoration of a face neck jar from surface contexts in the low sectors shows that people were producing ceramics at the site, but the rarity of these by-products and the lack of facilities to support production suggests that the inhabitants were not involved in a bureaucratic model of ceramic production implemented by either foreign Lambayeque or Chimú lords. Tschauner (2006) studied ceramic production in the Lambayeque Valley where he concluded that pottery was produced independently by corporate groups or multi-family households of specialist potters during the Chimú Period. This may have been the case for the Jequetepeque Valley as well, though specialist potters would have likely left more of an imprint on the ceramic assemblage of Huasi Huaman if they lived at the site. The limited evidence for ceramic production is better explained by itinerate potters. Cutright (2009: 191) conducted ethnographic observations of modern itinerate potters from the village of San Pablo in the Jequetepeque Valley. These potters would travel from their town after the harvest season and produce pottery in other towns. If traveling potters existed during the Lambayeque and Chimú Periods, they would have likely left a similarly limited imprint at Huasi Huaman.



Figure 8.1: Ceramic waster from an olla recovered from surface contexts in Sector N.



Figure 8.2: Ceramic mould for producing decorative faces on face-neck vessel. This mould was recovered from surface contexts in Sector L.

The implication of itinerate potters producing pottery for Huasi Huaman is that ceramics were probably not seen as closely linked to the creation of different types of subjects by the inhabitants of Huasi Huaman. The prevalence of a limited number of ceramic types throughout the region (Swenson 2004) supports this conclusion. The limited association

between ceramics and identity may also explain why the inhabitants of Huasi Huaman were not opposed to using fine Chimú blackware ceramics when they made no attempt to include Chimú symbols of power in their architecture.

Metalworking

Archaeological evidence of metalworking from the North Coast shows that it was an activity practiced by male full or part-time specialists (Donnan 2011; Moore 1985: 211; 2006). Excavations at the Chimú capital of Chan Chan show that metalworking (though not smelting) was done within the non-elite residential neighbourhoods alongside the production of textiles (Topic 1982: 162). Metalworking was also associated with the living areas of specialist metalworkers at the site of Chotuna in the Lambayeque Valley (Donnan 2011: 32), showing the practice of metalworking in the homes of specialists was widespread.

Evidence for metallurgy by part-time craftsmen producing copper tools for non-elite use comes from the site of Manchán in the Casma Valley. Moore (2006) uncovered evidence of ore processing and copper artefact manufacture in the homes of non-elites that was not separated from other domestic activities. The small scale of the production leads Moore to suggest that small utilitarian artefacts such as fish hooks, tweezers, and needles were being made for the non-elite residents of the site.

The evidence for metallurgy at Huasi Huaman is restricted to Platform C. Though fragmentary due to the lack of by-product from ore processing such as crucible fragments or prill (globs of bead-like copper produced during smelting), the clay-lined hearth and polished ground stone tool provides some evidence that the production of copper artefacts may have occurred in this area. They lack of some of the by-products of metallurgy may be an indication that smelting was conducted elsewhere and the metalworkers were using already made ingots as was the case at Chan Chan and Chotuna (Donnan 2001: 37; Topic 1982: 162).

If metalworking was indeed practiced on Platform C, the significance of the evidence

compared to the workshops at the urban sites of Chotuna, Chan Chan, and Manchán is the context; Platform C is not the residence of a fulltime or part-time specialist. The location on a platform high on the slopes of Cerro Murciélago and set apart from residential areas may hint at the practice taking on a more ritual nature at Huasi Huaman. Like Manchán, the production would have probably have been of small artefacts intended for everyday use such as needles. The location outside of the home of a specialist may also be the result of the lack of a fulltime specialist living at the site. I suggest that like ceramic manufacture, metalworking may have been done by itinerate craft specialists who traveled between sites.

The broader significance of the evidence of metalworking at Huasi Huaman is that it provides some evidence that metalworking was being done outside of urban centers tied to elites and that local leaders may have been able to support the production of metal artefacts for the use of their followers without relying upon the paramount Lambayeque or Chimú elites.

Fishing and Agriculture

Ethnographic accounts of modern Peruvian fishing villages show that fishing is done by men though women collect shellfish (Hammel and Haase 1962: 222). Though fish were widely consumed by people living in both the terraces and low sectors, we did not recover any artefacts related to fishing. Specialized fishing communities are noted from ethnohistorical sources (Sandweiss 1989: 27) so the fish consumed at Huasi Huaman probably came from villages located closer to the ocean. Fishing and the collection of shellfish would therefore probably not have influenced the formation of subjects at Huasi Huaman. That said, the dependence on people living outside of the site for a major source of protean would have ensured that its inhabitants were embedded in larger regional relationships with people living at other communities and ritual activities at Huasi Huaman may have even served to reinforce the ties between people engaged in different subsistence

activities or helped mediate the redistribution of goods.

I suspect most of the inhabitants of Huasi Huaman were agriculturalists and have already mentioned the fact that there were irrigation canals and agricultural fields located close to the site (Eling 1987: 323). Inca sources show that both men and women were involved in agriculture. Men (Figure 8.3) plowed the fields while women broke the clods of soil with hoes (Rowe 1946: 212). After the crops were planted, men guarded them from thieves and pests during the day while women watched over them at night, using a drum to scare away pests. Both sexes worked together to harvest crops. The gendered division of agricultural work would have reinforced gender roles while also reinforcing familial relationships through shared labour.



Figure 8.3: Illustration of Inca plowing festival showing men plowing agricultural fields while their wives assist (Poma 1936[1615]: 1153).

As with fishing, there was not a lot of evidence for agricultural tools in the home though we did find a stone that was part of a tool used in breaking dirt-clods from surface contexts in Sector L (see Figure 7.37 in the previous chapter). This was the same sector as the

terrace that contained the row of maize stems. The lack of agricultural tools provides some counter-evidence to my argument that many of the inhabitants of Huasi Huaman were probably engaged in agriculture, but it is also possible that the majority of tools were simply stored in structures located closer to fields so people did not have to carry heavy tools with them on their way to and from home.

Household Ritual

One last domestic practice conducted within the terraces and low sectors that I wish to discuss is individual or household ritual practice that occurred independently from those hosted on the platforms. Evidence includes the offering of hair and a spondylus bead in Unit 17 of Sector K and the textile wrapped seed from Unit 12 of Sector L. The difference between these rituals and those on the platforms are that they were likely to have been more personal and were more likely to not have been interfered with by the political machinations of local leaders or distant elites. Offerings of human hair have been documented at other sites contemporary to Huasi Huaman (Cutright 2009: 263), showing some continuation in private ritual practices. The implication for ritual practice at Huasi Huaman is that even if religious architecture became more politicized as a result of the changes in the regions political hierarchy brought on by the Chimú conquest, non-elites may have maintained some autonomy in their personal religious practices that would have influenced their habitus outside of "official" religious ceremonies.

Children as Relational Subjects

Though much of my discussion has so far focused on adults, children were also undoubtedly present at the site and were an important part of how subjectivities were reproduced. Distinguishing the activities of children from adults can be difficult (Sofaer 2007: 88) and we encountered no child specific artefacts such as cradle boards or toy spinning tops (Moore 1985: 216), but writing off children due to a lack of childhood specific

artefacts would be a mistake. As archaeologist Scott Hutson (2006: 105) argues, "without critical reflection on the concept of childhood, we unwittingly allow our own unquestioned, historically particular notions of childhood guide and shape what we learn about childhood in the past."

Childhood as a self-contained object or category is also problematic as childhood is embedded in social relations (Hutson 2006: 107-109). By this I mean that children are relational subjects to the people around them, the artefacts they use, and the space in which they live. Children observe the gendered behaviour of their elders leading to the reproduction of gendered subjectivities (Kamp 2001; Sofaer 2007: 89), but also reproduce the built environment through the perception of architecture they experience as children (Hutson 2006: 111). Children are significant to my interpretation of Huasi Huaman as I've shown that the settlement was likely continuously occupied from at least as early as the 13th century to as late as the late 14th or early 15th century while retaining much of its early spatial dimensions as outlined by the site's walls. The experience of children at the site as they lived in houses on the terraces or in the low sectors are thus essential to understanding how Huasi Huaman was reproduced over generations. The fact that it showed a great deal of continuity despite some changes in ceremonial architecture following the Chimú conquest suggests that adults were relying upon their memories of what the site should look like from their childhood when they came of age and were responsible for maintaining or renovating structures.

Conclusions

To conclude, the analysis of dwelling in the domestic contexts of Huasi Huaman points to a population who consisted mostly of agriculturalists whose formation as subjects was shaped by their relationship to where they lived in the site and how these spaces framed quotidian practices. The physical differences between the terraces and low sectors may have helped to shape different social groups within the site and reinforce hierarchical relationships.

As Huasi Huaman's non-elite population does not resemble the craft specialists found at higher ranked administrative centers such as Chan Chan or Manchán, I suggest Huasi Huaman may have occupied a lower status within the political hierarchy of the valley, a conclusion I will discuss in more detail in the following chapter. I also argue that the involvement of children was important to reproducing and renovating architecture as their participation in quotidian and ritual activities at the site would have ingrained spatial knowledge into their habitus and allowed them to recreate the spaces of their childhood when they became adults.

The Chimú conquest appears to have had minimal impact on activities within the domestic sectors though I raise the possibility that the Chimú may have provisioned the site's leaders with some of the alcohol they used in commensal politics at the site. This may have limited women's abilities to contribute to political interactions by reducing the importance of their contributions to commensal political by cooking. The extent to which men and women had different experiences of Chimú colonialism requires further research, but I speculate that differences in labour service may have contributed to how people viewed their relationship to the empire. Participation in military or labour service outside of the Jequetepeque Valley may have exposed people to regions and peoples they may have had only minimal interaction with during the Lambayeque period.

One important point to make is that gender identities and social relationships are not immutable (Brumfiel and Robin 2010). The Chimú conquest and the imposition of colonialism in the region presents an event which may have caused changes in relationships or had different consequences for people according to their age, sex, and status. Christine Hastorf (1991) found differences in the diets between men and women using isotopic evidence as a result of the Inca conquest of the Mantaro Valley. She argues that these differences stemmed from local commensal politics being co-opted by the state, removing

women from participation in feasts. In the Jequetepeque Valley, Robyn Cutright's (2009) research has been best able to explore this topic and she argues the move to focus on cotton and maize agriculture during the Chimú Period may have had the consequence of increasing the amount of labour women were forced to dedicate to processes these goods as part of their obligations to Chimor.

The limitations created by the shallowness of deposition at Huasi Huaman makes it difficult to identify changes over time with as much success as Cutright, but I will make some speculations based on the available evidence. Given the continuity exhibited between much of the sectors at Huasi Huaman, the Chimú conquest appears to have had a limited impact on the inhabitants of Huasi Huaman at the domestic level. Cutright's (2009) discovery of evidence for increased cotton and maize agriculture suggests that the community associated with Huasi Huaman may have had to dedicate more of their time to growing and processing the two crops. At a local level, this may have resulted in farmers having to dedicate more of their agricultural land and labour to specific crops while limiting the amount of time and land they could dedicate to harvesting other resources. The Chimú interest in canal construction may also have resulted in communities providing labourers to participate in public projects or as soldiers for the expansion of the state. While the types of labour service expected of the inhabitants of the Jequetepeque Valley may not have changed significantly from the Lambayeque Period, participants providing their labour in the construction of public works or, if the Chimú recruited provincial subjects for the purpose, military service would have been exposed to other Chimú subjects from regions they may not have previously had much direct contact with. Though these activities would not produce much evidence in the archaeological record, being a subject of the more "cosmopolitan" Chimú Empire may have forced people to situate their identity against those of people who were now all subjects of the Chimú Empire. As the people serving as soldiers would have been males, the types of labour

service provided by each sex would have created different experiences of colonialism for men and women which would define their identity within the empire.

Chapter 9 Platforms and Monumental Architecture

Introduction

In this chapter, I focus my discussion on the platforms and monumental architecture. My excavations revealed that during the Lambayeque Period, ceremonial architecture consisted of platforms that show a great deal of diversity in form and function. The diversity of platform architecture and the lack of Lambayeque architectural symbols of power leads me to question the extent to which the Jequetepeque Valley was politically and perhaps even culturally unified during the Lambayeque period. The Chimú conquest resulted in the politicization of space with a new emphasis on monumental structures with exclusive interior spaces. I argue that rather than reproduce imperial ideologies, community leaders or lords at Huasi Huaman promoted their own ideologies focused on local concerns while navigating the precarious position of fulfilling their obligations to their followers while meeting Chimú demands. Emphasizing a local identity may have helped privileged inhabitants of Huasi Huaman avoid tying their authority too closely to the legitimacy of foreign imperial lords.

I organize my discussion chronologically, starting with the Lambayeque Period and then moving into the Chimú Period. To highlight the differences between structures I use ArcGIS software to apply isovista and viewshed analysis to both the platforms and monumental architecture to show how each edifice structured visibility and shaped perspective. I also argue that Huasi Huaman's walls served to reinforce relations of categories of exclusion and inclusion among the social groups within the site.

Isovista and viewshed analysis are two methods of studying spatial relationships without having to rely upon prior knowledge of their cultural meaning. Isovistas and viewsheds are attractive for my analysis as they has already been applied to North Coast sites

such as Pacatnamú and Chan Chan through the work of Jerry Moore (1996). Isovistas depict the distance from a structure at which certain visual thresholds are met. As a person moves towards a structure, the structure first begins to take on monumental characteristics at 18 degrees between the view and the focal point which is usually the highest platform on the structure. At 27 degrees, the structure fills the viewer's range of vision and at 45 degrees; architectural details become visible (Higuchi 1983: 47). The distances at which these perceptual changes occur can therefore be helpful in indicating the area in which ritual performances were visible and comprehendible. In some cases, ancient architects may have even tied visual thresholds to specific features or points in architecture. Huaca 1 at Pacatnamú is one such example with the 18 degree isovista falling at the base of the ramp, the 27 degree isovista falling at the top of the ramp, and the 45 degree isovista intersecting another ramp leading to the top of the huaca (Moore 1996: 110).

The other type of visual analysis I performed was viewshed analysis. Viewshed analysis is a simple means of displaying the areas of the map were a specified point would be visible. Outside of archaeology, the method is commonly employed for tasks such as determining the visual impact of cell phone towers or logging on the visual landscape. I use viewshed analysis to determine the visibility of rituals on the platforms to people standing on the terraces or open plazas. By identifying the visibility of rituals, my viewshed analysis is intended to help identify their exclusivity or inclusivity and their relationship to other types of architecture. The benefit of conducting a viewshed and isovista analysis of Huasi Huaman is that it allows me to portray the visual landscape of the site in a way that can be represented in 2D maps.

Lambayeque Period

Platform construction began at Huasi Huaman as early as the late 13th century and continued to a lesser extent into the Chimú Period as seen by the construction of Platform K

(Table 9.1). Nonetheless, the majority of platforms appear to have been constructed during the Lambayeque Period and Huasi Huaman reached its present spatial dimensions early on. As I showed in my discussion of my excavations of the platforms in Chapter 6, what is striking about the platforms is the diversity in their form and function. The lack of uniformity is significant as it shows that no one leader or group was imposing standardization in their construction and speaks to the lack of regulation in the production of space at Huasi Huaman. Additionally, while the platforms show some broad similarities to other platforms found at hinterland sites (to be discussed below), Huasi Huaman lacks a huaca quadrangle or other architecture characteristic of the paramount Lambayeque elite seen at sites that housed Lambayeque elite such as Pacatnamú and Cabur. I therefore find it doubtful that local leaders had much affiliation with the paramount leaders of the region during this period. Indeed, I argue that the Jequetepeque Valley as a whole trends towards political fragmentation rather than centralization.

Table 9.1: Radiocarbon dates obtained for platform architecture.

Location	14C age	Range	Calibrated	Source
Platform I	730	± 20	AD 1259-1290	UCIAMS-119906
				ULA-3847
Sector K	615	± 20	AD 1296-1399	UCIAMS-119905
				ULA-3846
Platform N	760	± 20	AD 1224-1281	UCIAMS-119907
				ULA-3848

Despite the differences between platforms, some broad trends can be identified through the use of isovistas (Figure 9.1), especially when compared to the monumental architecture of the Chimú Period. The platform isovistas tend to be small, showing that they were not intended to be visually impressive from a distance, emphasizing the perceptions of people on the platforms themselves or within their immediate proximity. This contrasts with Huaca A which has a much larger isovista and thus has a bigger impact on perspective. I

present a more detailed analysis of each of the major Lambayeque Period platforms we excavated below and present the results of my viewshed analysis.



Figure 9.1: Map of Huasi Huaman depicting the isovistas of Huaca A, Platform B, Platform C, Structure D, Platform F, Platform H, Platform I, and Platform N.

Platforms H and I are the most architecturally similar and Swenson (2004: 439, figure 6.12) classified them as "type 3" platforms which he identified throughout the Jequetepeque hinterland, attesting to the architecture existing as part of a broader tradition of the population outside of the paramount elite Lambayeque centers. Based on the discovery of a midden beside Platform I, I suggest that both platforms were the location of small scale feasting rituals that lasted for extended periods of time, supporting Swenson's (2007) initial interpretation that they were used to stage comparative rituals for small, select groups. The

continued use and renovation of these structures into the later Chimú period is hinted at by the presence of a blackware bowl found within the uppermost terrace of Platform H.

Despite their architectural similarities, my viewshed analysis reveals that their separation by Wall 2 is also accompanied by a visual separation. (Figure 9.2 and Figure 9.3). People standing on one platform are not able to see the other. Combined with the lack of plazas, limited space for spectators, absence of terraces on nearby slopes, and a reduced range of isovistas, any rituals on the platforms were clearly only intended for those near the platforms themselves. The duality in architecture hints at a dual organization of small social groups such as the moieties called parcialidades that are reported from ethnohistorical accounts (Netherly 1990).

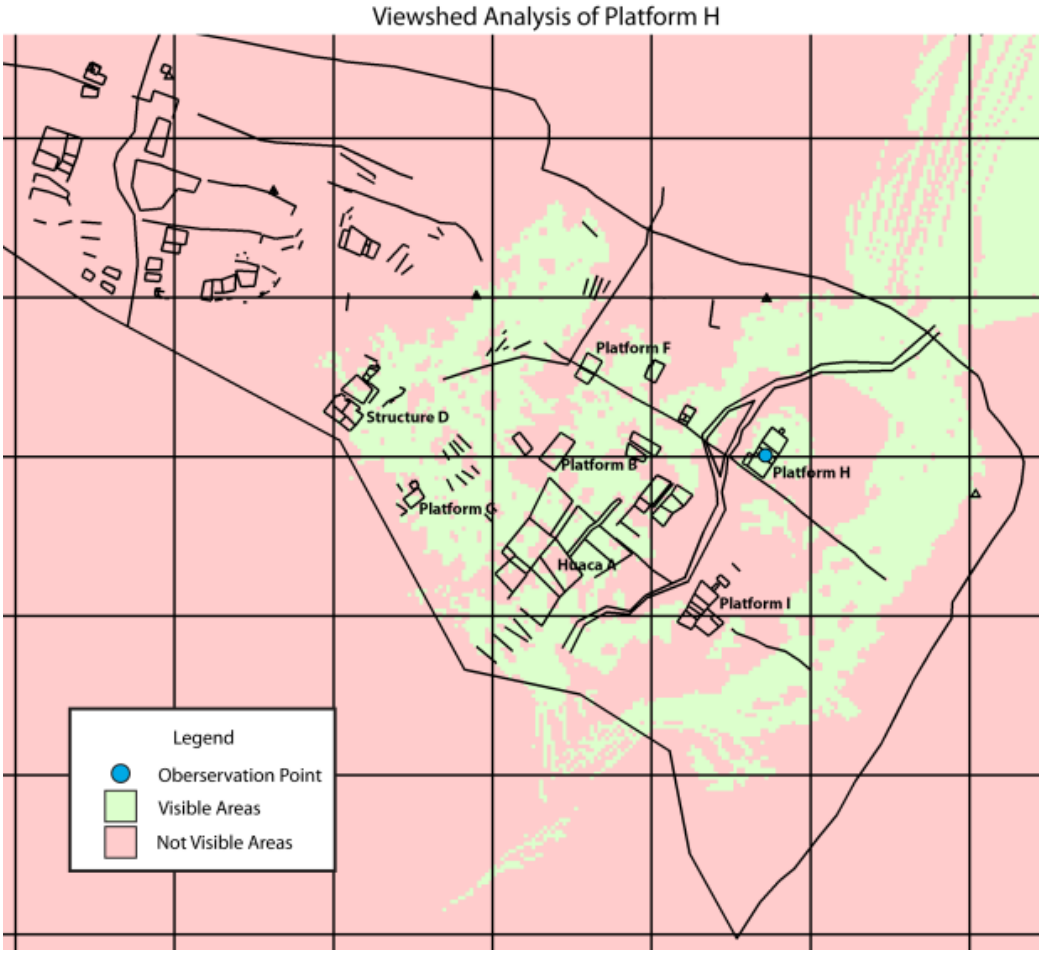


Figure 9.2: Viewshed analysis for Platform H depicting where an individual can see and be seen from the observation point on the platform.



Figure 9.3: Viewshed analysis for Platform I depicting where an individual can see and be seen from the observation point on the platform.

Platform N, located in the western area of the site and the oldest of the structures we were able to date, is the platform with the most evidence for continual occupation through substantial remodelling with at least four separate prepared floors. I have previously suggested (see Chapter 6) that the remodelling was a "huacafication" of an early residence of a local elite, similar to what Swenson (2011) argues for a similar structure at the site of Cerro Serrano, located roughly 10 km northeast of Huasi Huaman. The viewshed analysis reveals that the upper platform is not highly visible to people standing in the open area to the north, but the domestic terraces located above the platform have a commanding view of it (Figure 9.4). The isovista is also narrow, supported my conclusion that activities within were not intended to be highly visible, though this may have changed with the later huacafication.

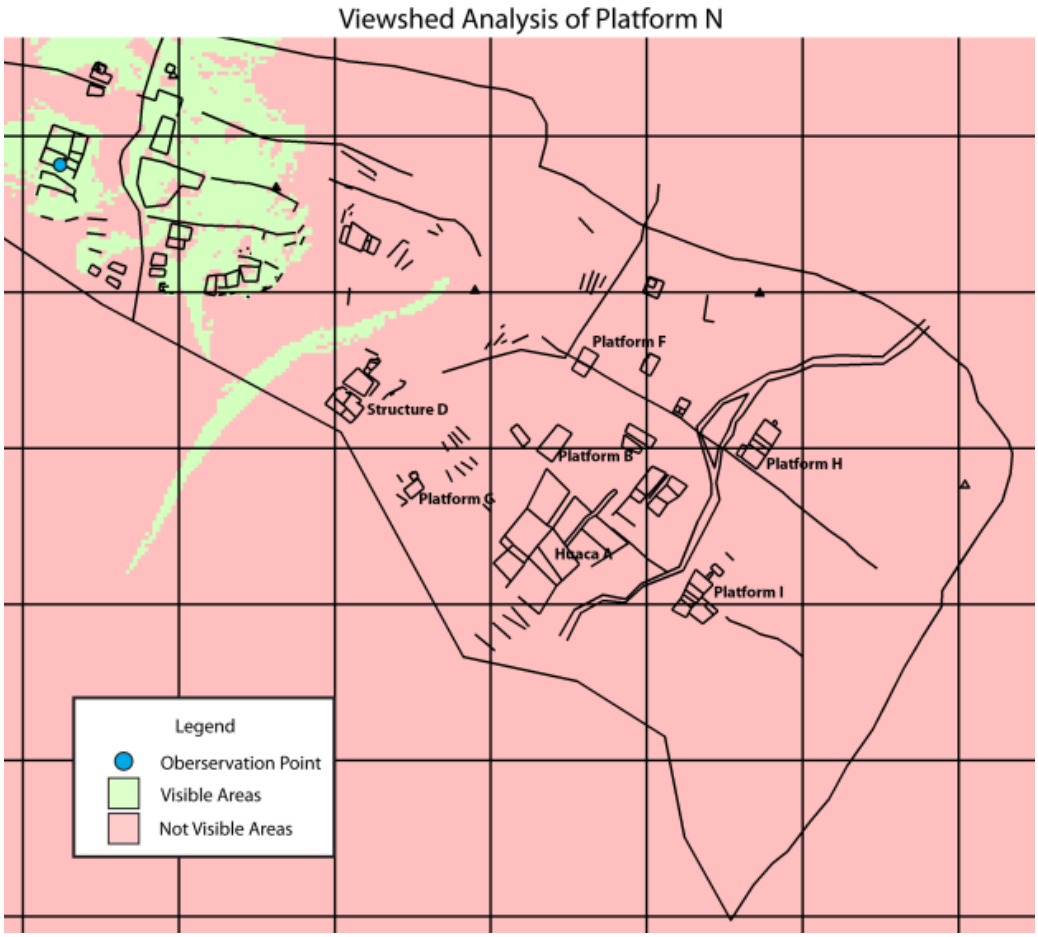


Figure 9.4: Viewshed map for Platform N depicting where an individual can see and be seen from the observation point on the platform.

The platform with the camelid enclosure, Platform B, is fronted by a plaza to its north. Its close proximity to Huaca A and the fact that it is most easily accessed from the southwest suggests a strong relationship between the two structures. The height of the platform necessitates that those standing on top stay close to the northern edge to be visible to people standing in the plaza below. For this reason, the front of the platform was chosen as the focal point for mapping isovistas. The isovista confirms that those standing at different distances in the plaza would experience different visual thresholds (Figure 9.5). Nonetheless, people standing in the plaza or on the residential terraces located to the south would have a view of activities on the platform.



Figure 9.5: Viewshed map for Platform B depicting where an individual can see and be seen from the observation point on the platform.

The location of the enclosure on the front of the platform suggests that the camelids were intended to be seen by those witnessing rituals from the plaza. If the camelids were being processed for their consumption in feasts as is suggested by the presence of bones with butchering marks, the penning of camelids on Platform B may have been used to intimately associate the hosts with their ability to provide camelids as a luxury food for feasting or the use of camelids for sacrifices. Camelid pens have been documented at other LIP sites with similar archaeological signatures such as droppings and algarroba (see Shamada 1981) and there is archaeological, ethnohistorical, and iconographic evidence to indicate that camelid herds were maintained in the region of the North Coast (Shimada and Shimada 1985). The

small surface area of the platform terrace and the apparent restriction of the pen to its north end make it unlikely that a large number of animals were penned there at any one time. The animals may have been left to graze outside of the site so that they could have fed on the natural flora without herders having to gather all their feed themselves. Ethnographic accounts and studies of contemporary camelid herding indicate the animals are easy to maintain and are able to feed on poor quality plants that would be rejected by European stock animals (Shimada and Shimada 1985). The presence of a small number of camelids may therefore have not necessitated specialist herders, but may have been maintained by agriculturalists as an alternative source of meat and fibre.

Platform F, which is located northeast of Platform B, is also fronted by a plaza. However, the presence of human remains from looted burials indicates that unlike Platform B, it was a burial platform used to venerate a local lord or ancestor after their death. Though we did not obtain a carbon date for the structure, its likely construction during the Lambayeque Period is suggested by the fact that it is bisected by Wall 2. It was classified by Swenson (2004: 439, figure 6.12) as "type 8", a platform type common in Late Intermediate Period hinterland sites in the Jequetepeque Valley.

The viewshed (Figure 9.6) for Platform F shows that activities on the platform were intended to be visible to people in close proximity, namely people in its plaza to the north and possibly the larger area of Sector G. The limited visibility of the summits of the nearby Platform B and Huaca A may suggest that ritual activities between the three structures were not coordinated and may reflect the structures being used at different times during the site's occupation.



Figure 9.6: Viewshed map for Platform F depicting the areas of the site that can see and be seen from the observation point on the platform.

The last of the platforms that I want to discuss is Platform C, the platform which I argue was used as the location of metalworking. Its assignment to the Lambayeque period is admittedly speculative as we did not radiocarbon date the structure. The practice of metalworking on an out-of-the-way platform raises questions about the context of the production. As the production was not affiliated with either elite or non-elite residences like at urban settlements such as Chan Chan, metallurgy may have been practiced by itinerate rather than full-time specialists. Metallurgy on the platform may also had a religious or ceremonial component as the evidence from all the other excavated platforms points to their function as the loci of religious activities. The remote location of the platform may also have been intended to prevent toxic smoke and smells from drifting into areas reserved for domestic habitation.

Metal work done at Huasi Huaman may have received copper from sources originating in the Jequetepeque Valley itself or possibly the neighbouring highland region of Cajamarca. Heather Lechtman (1976: 14) reports that the Jequetepeque Valley region is full of oxides and carbonates from copper and Cajamarca is rich in mineral resources. The distribution of metal artefacts to local inhabitants and the larger community that may have visited the settlement for ritual festivals may have served as a source of prestige for leaders within the site and its inhabitants.

Turning to examine the viewshed (Figure 9.7) and isovistas of the platform, it is perhaps not surprising that the platform was probably not intended to be used for ritual spectacle. It is located high on the slopes of the mountain, it lacks a plaza, and was constructed with neither size nor elaboration to make it highly visible. If metal work was being supported by local leaders for redistribution to their followers, its seclusion may have helped tie the ability to transform metal into tools to their authority.

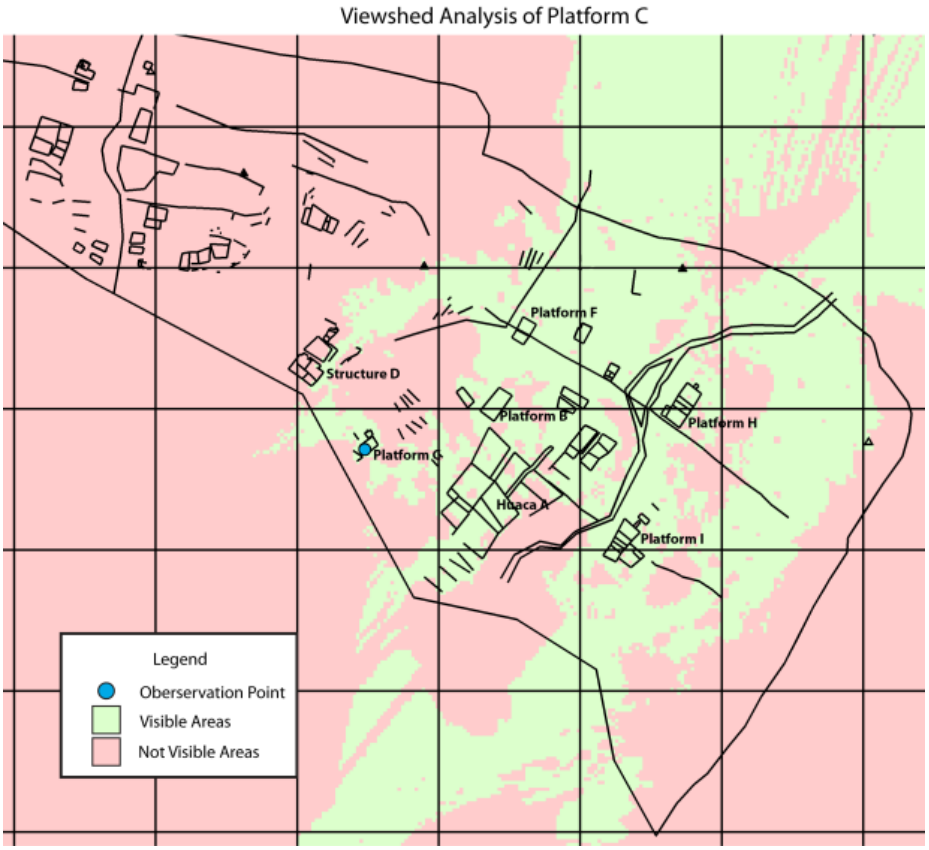


Figure 9.7: Viewshed map for Platform C depicting the areas of the site that can see and be seen from the observation point on the platform.

Walls, the Organization of Space, and Comparison to Other Sites

Before moving onto the Chimú Period monumental architecture, I want to dedicate a small section of this chapter to discussing Huasi Huaman's walls and its internal organization. The walls are significant to understanding space and architecture at Huasi Huaman as alongside the natural topography, they are the primary means through which space is organized. Though they may have offered some defensive benefits, I argue the organization of space was their primary purpose. The walls are difficult to date, but I speculate that they may have been constructed during the Lambayeque Period due to the fact that they coincide with the organization of the site that existed early during this period. However, the construction of Wall 2 over Platform F shows that they date to sometime after the construction of the earliest platform architecture.

The use of walls to control movement and separate social statuses has been well documented at other sites dating to the Late Intermediate Period and earlier. The Lambayeque site of Pacatnamú in the Jequetepeque Valley has four sets of walls which controlled access to the site (Donnan 1986d). Christopher Donnan (1986d: 58-59) uncovered four entryways in the second wall and suggests that people of different genders and origins may have had their own entrances based on an ethnohistorical accounts of a ceremonial site (Chonque Ispana) in the Huacho region which also had four entrances. Nested walls similar to those at Huasi Huaman are also found at other sites in the Jequetepeque Valley such as San Ildefonso (Dillehay et al. 2009: 173-184; Swenson 2006: 125) and Catalina (Dillehay et al. 2009: 111-117; Swenson 2006:). The walls at the Late Moche site of San Ildefonso (Figure 9.8) appear to be defensive as Swenson (2006: 125) found piles of sling stones along the walls and there is not an obvious separation of domestic and ceremonial space, but the Late Moche to Chimú Period site of Catalina (Figure 9.9), located roughly 10 km southwest of Huasi Huaman, bears some striking similarities to my research site. It contains an internal separation of domestic and ritual space (Swenson 2006: 128) and multiple platforms used in feasting rituals (Swenson 2006: 129). This shows some shared traditions underlying the production of space on the coastal hills of the Lambayeque Period Jequetepeque Valley that is separate from those found at the elite Lambayeque centers such as Pacatnamú and Cabur.

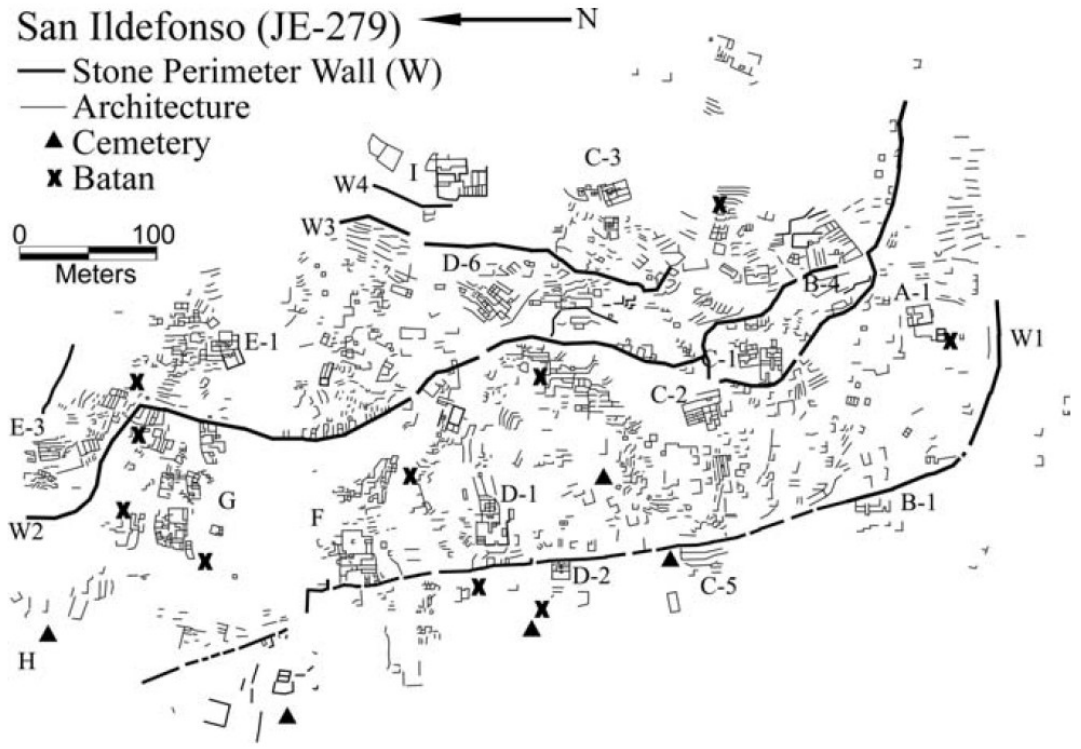


Figure 9.8: Plan of the Late Moche settlement of San Ildefonso (Swenson 2006: 124, figure 5.5).

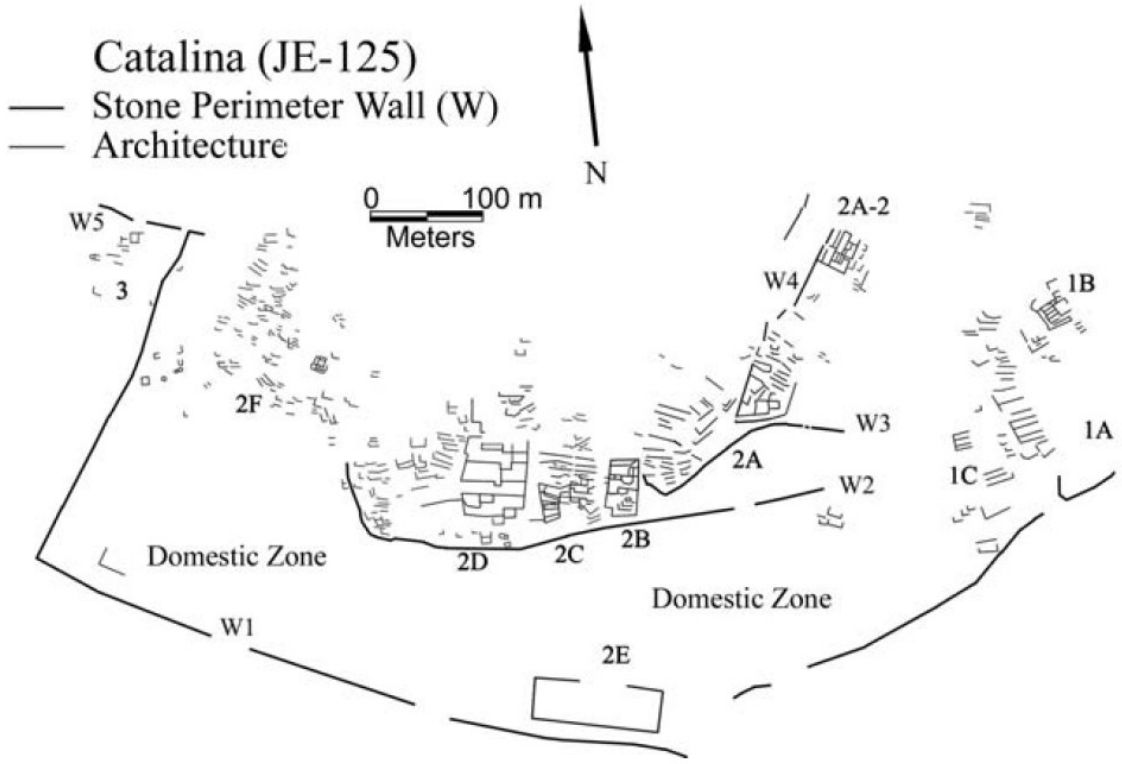


Figure 9.9: Plan of Catalina, occupied from the Late Moche Period to the Chimú Period (Swenson 2006: 124, figure 5.5).

Nonetheless, I find there is a significant diversity in the organization of space in the valley. Other LIP sites such as Cerro El Molino de Chocofán (Figure 9.10) shares some similarities to Huasi Huaman in that it is built on the slopes of a mountain and contains multiple platforms, yet lacks the walls. It is these differences that lead me to suggest a lack of unification within the Jequetepeque Valley during the Lambayeque Period; there are pronounced cultural differences distinguishing Lambayeque elite centres from hinterland sites such as Huasi Huaman, Catalina, and Cerro El Molino de Chocofán. The lack of political cohesion in the Jequetepeque Valley is significant for understanding the changes brought on by Chimú colonialism which I discuss in the next section on the Chimú Period constructions at Huasi Huaman.

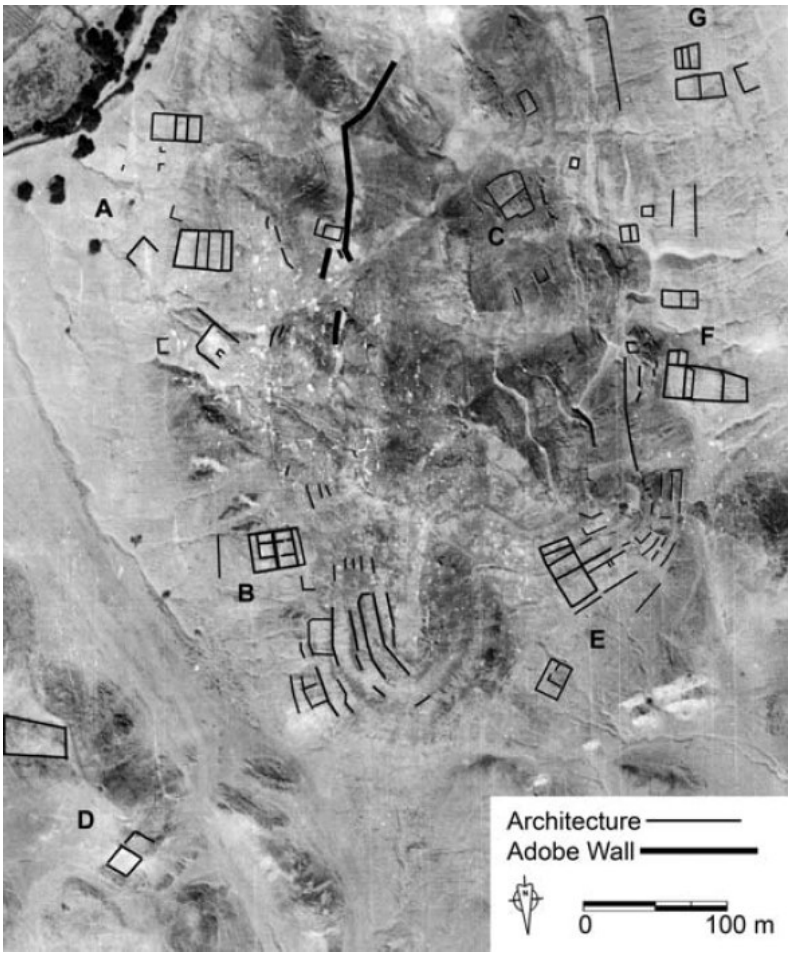


Figure 9.10: Plan of the LIP settlement of Cerro El Morino de Chocofán (Swenson 2007: 72, figure 7).

Chimú Period

The Chimú Period at Huasi Huaman witnesses changes in space and architecture indicating changes in representations and experiences of space (Lefebvre 1991). The platforms are not abandoned and there is no evidence of the adoption of Chimú architectural symbols, but there is a new emphasis on exclusive interior spaces built within monumental structures. These are Huaca A and Structure D. Huaca A contains both adobe brick construction and painted murals while Structure D is built upon a monumental platform in a remote location with both stone and adobe construction. Both structures contrast visibility created by their monumental proportions with interior spaces with restricted access that is suggestive of ritual practices that emphasized distinction and exclusion from the rest of the site. The implication of these changes is that the conquest contributed to the politicization of space that resulted in innovations at Huasi Huaman even if the Chimú may not have imposed these innovations directly. Changes in political structure are often identifiable through novel investments in infrastructure or the sudden appearance of monuments (Nash 2002; 2009: 207). Therefore, the construction of the two monuments at Huasi Huaman may be tied to political instability brought on by the removal of the regions prominent elites at Pacatnamú and the collusion of some leaders at Huasi Huaman with the Chimú in their role as intermediaries. This role may have enabled one social group or leader within the community to seize and reapportion authority and redefine space to promote their own ideology at the expense of earlier traditions.

The nature of these innovation can be illustrated by examining the two structures more closely. As I have mentioned in my initial description of Huaca A in Chapter 4, Swenson's argues (2007: 77) that it is a memorialization of ramped platforms that were ubiquitous during the Late Moche Period of the Jequetepeque Valley, but taken to monumental proportions. The enlargement of the edifice implies local leaders with the ability

to control the production of space may have been drawing upon the architecture that was known to them in their attempt to produce something new. Thomas Patterson (2004) argues that emerging dominant classes justify new forms of power relations by promoting the illusion of continuity with past institutions so the inhabitants of the site may have recognized that ancient architectural forms were imbued with a ritual significance even if they probably did not know what exactly the significance was (see Meskell 2003: 52).

The two asymmetrically aligned ramps leading up to the summit suggest rituals of procession. The courtyard, which contained the mural exposed by Unit 10, is the likely destination of the processions and its secluded location attests to exclusive rituals that promoted cohesion among a small group. In the Lambayeque Valley, Sicán lords used the top of *huacas* to publically display key Sicán icons and images which linked them as a group to deities (Jennings 2008: 184) and it is possible the summit of Huaca A may have been used in a similar role. Our recovery of seeds from *Anadenanthera peregrine*, the hallucinogenic plant known as yopo, shows rituals on Huaca A also involved the use of hallucinogenic snuff, perhaps as a means of divination.

Ritual procession, seclusion, drug-induced heightened consciousness, and the possible interaction with an icon or idol gives Huaca A the qualities of Thirdspace where questions of identity and relation to social class were thrust to the forefront through rituals of transformation. Participation in the rituals located within Huaca A defined privileged social groups in relation to others and may have served to initiate or reaffirm social co-dependency. As rituals are instrumental to the production of social relations (Bell 1997; Turner 1967; Swenson 2012), the significance of rituals practiced within Huaca A following the Chimú conquest is that they demonstrate that colonialism was enabling innovative construction and ritual practice that was producing new social relationships.

Turning to the visual analysis of Huaca A, it is unsurprising that Huaca A has the

widest isovistas given its size and prominence. There is no question it was intended to be a visually impressive structure. The 18 degree isovista falls at the approximate location of the base of the entrance ramp, the 27 degree isovista on the first terrace, and the 45 degree isovista at the upper ramp. The result is forced changes in perspective as a person moves up the ramp. Interestingly, the use of perspective in Huaca A bears some similarities to Huaca I at Pacatnamú which also has its isovistas fall on asymmetrically aligned ramps (Figure 9.11). Combined with the similar use of asymmetrical entrance ramps, this suggests some familiarity with the elite Lambayeque architecture.

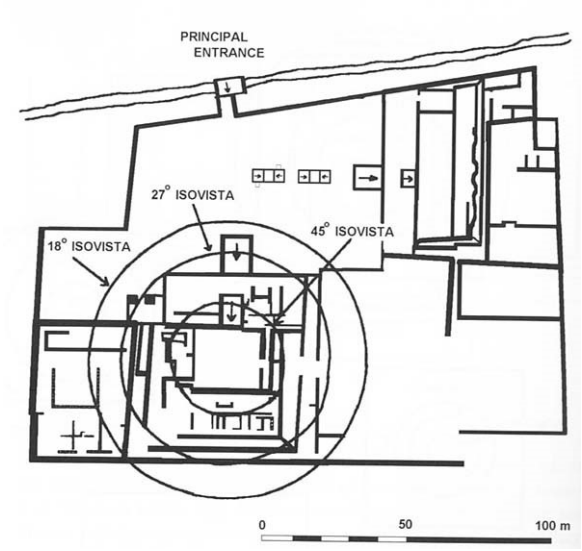


Figure 9.11: Isovista of Huaca I at Pacatnamú (Moore 1996: 118, figure 3.19).

My viewshed analysis (Figure 9.12) shows that someone standing on top of Huaca A would have been visible to people standing almost anywhere in the eastern sectors. I suggest that rituals using the huaca incorporated both public ritual spectacle and exclusive ritual held within the sunken courtyard.



Figure 9.12: Viewshed map for Huaca A depicting where an individual can see and be seen from the observation point on the platform.

The second of the monumental structures, Structure D, is much more remote than Huaca A and was likely accessed from the north using a long steep path up the foothill on which it is situated (Figure 9.13). Though the construction of architecture in a remote area of a mountain is not unique to Huasi Huaman (see C on Figure 9.10), the faced stone platform on which it rests would have required significant effort to build, indicating that it was intended as a bold ideological claim by the inhabitants of Huasi Huaman. The construction of an adobe superstructure over the original stone architecture also demonstrates a radical renovation that would have greatly altered the outward appearance. As Structure D is located on a very high location, it is unlikely that the activities conducted within were intended to be widely observed or even accessible to many people. The possible low adobe benches that

front the walls of the interior rooms indicate a proscribed setting for long-term interaction and discussion. If they were used in conjunction with the adobe platform, the interiors of Structure D evoke exclusivity and subordination in social interactions. The platform in the first room of Structure D may have been used to display an icon or mummy huaca, perhaps the remains of an important ancestor.



Figure 9.13: The remote monumental platform on which Structure D is located. The location of Structure D is marked by the arrow.

Isovista and viewshed analysis shows that, the 27 degree isovista falls outside of the

baffled entrance as one climbs up the platform and the location may have been intended to visually highlight the high adobe wall on the southwest side. People standing within Structure D also have a view of almost all of the eastern sectors (Figure 9.14), but the western sectors are hidden from view by the natural topography. As much of Huasi Huaman's ritual architecture is located on the east, view of that area of the site may have been considered significant as it was the focus of ritual performances.

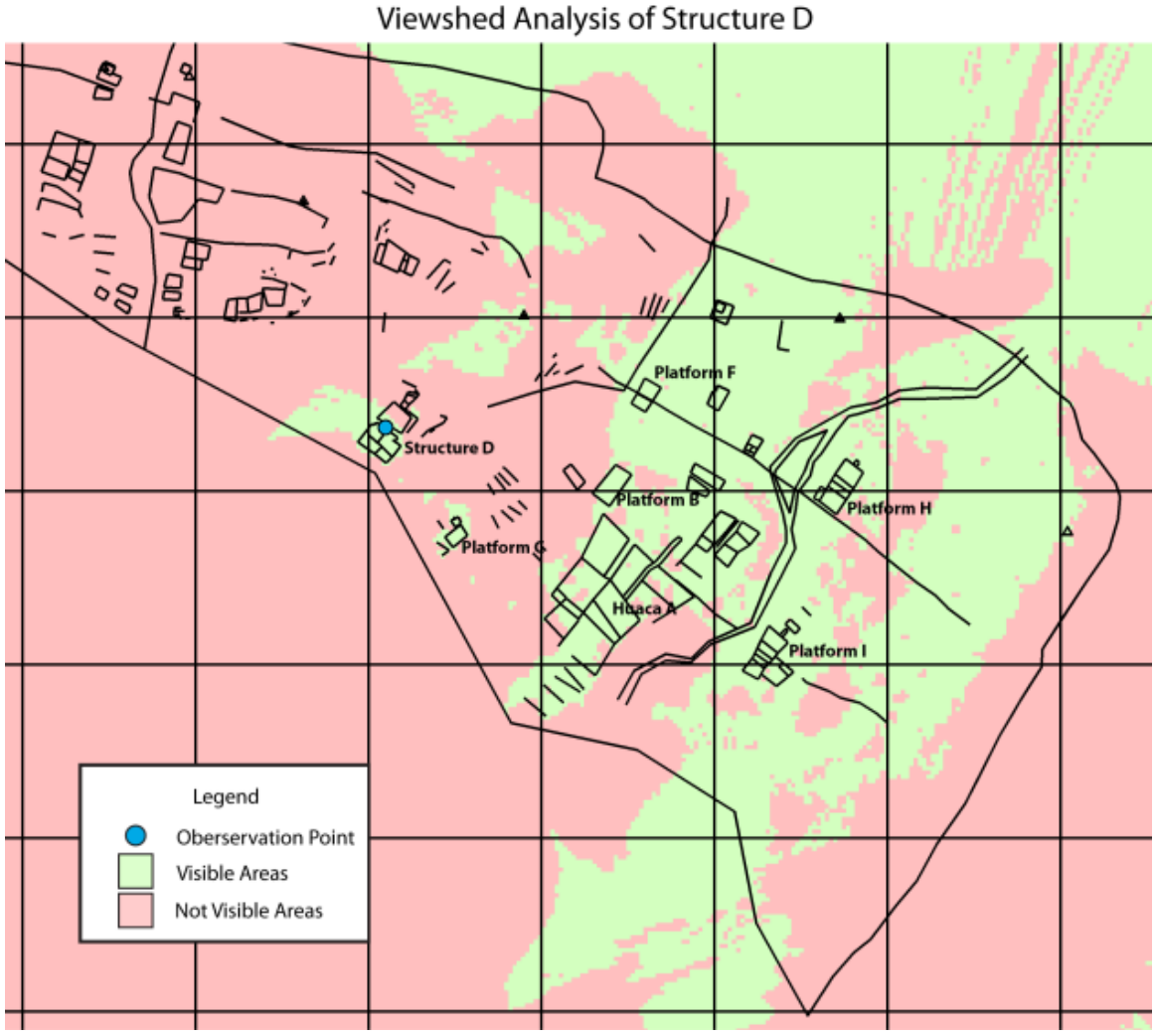


Figure 9.14: Viewshed map for Structure D depicting the areas of the site where an individual can see and be seen from the observation point on the platform.

While Structure D and Huaca A are architecturally very different, analysis of Structure D through the theoretical framework of Thirdspace demonstrates that it also had a role in the production of subjects and identity. Ritual interaction with the figure kept on the small

platform of Room 1, be it an icon, image, mummy, or something else, would have helped produce affiliation between the object and the privileged social group allowed to enter the structure. It is tempting to speculate that whatever was held in Structure D may have been carried during ritual performances down to Huaca A for ceremonies in the courtyard on the summit. If this was the case, the use of the two structures may be connected with Structure D serving as the place where a ritual object was stored and maintained while Huaca A is where it was brought out for larger ritual performances that helped define relationships among all the inhabitants of the site.

In sum, the architectural evidence from Huaca A and Structure D suggests that the Chimú conquest of the Jequetepeque Valley resulted in the politicization of architecture forms as people tried to mediate their new position as subjects of the Chimú Empire. What is significant is that neither Huaca A nor Structure D contain any identifiable features that were emulated from Chimú elite architectural symbols of power. I suggest that the emphasis on monumental architecture may be the result of local leaders trying to mitigate the tensions caused by their role as intermediaries. By promoting their own local ideologies, they may have attempted to downplay any dependence or subordinance to the Chimú. By adapting ancient architecture to create new structures that were the location of rituals, local elites produced new social relationships while portraying themselves as independent participants in the political hierarchy of the Chimú Jequetepeque Valley.

Swenson (2007) suggests that the Chimú may also have benefitted by encouraging diversity in Jequetepeque's ideological practices, but as I have suggested in my discussion of the Lambayeque Period, that diversity and fragmentation was probably already part of political organization in the Jequetepeque Valley. On the part of Chimú lords, their lack of interest in commissioning new administrative buildings to house imperial administrators at small settlements such as Huasi Huaman shows that they left these sites largely alone as long

as they did not interfere with their interests, instead focusing on the higher status settlements of Talambo, Cabur, and Algarrobal del Morro, all of which contain Chimú architecture or symbols of power. On a practical level, this would have reduced expenditure in the administration of conquered territories, but the archaeological record of the Jequetepeque Valley during the Chimú Period also shows that Chimú elites were disinterested in spreading their religion or ideology to conquered peoples. Instead, their focus seems to have been the support of the extravagant elite culture at Chan Chan.

Conclusions

One of my initial questions that guided my research was the compliance of local leaders in the consolidation of Chimú authority and the implementation of colonialism. Though the Chimú conquest resulted in the decline of Pacatnamú (Donnan 1986a; Mackey 2006), the continued occupation of lower tier settlements used by less prominent lords and leaders without evidence for the imposition of a Chimú administrator makes it likely that some local leaders served as agents of the Chimú after the military defeat of the region (Swenson 2007: 84). Indeed, archaeologists are increasingly recognizing the role of local elites in the development of colonial institutions and practices (Elson and Covey 2006), requiring empires to be flexible in accommodating political, economic, religious, and ethnic diversity within their provinces (Barfield 2001; Morrison 2001; Wernke 2006; Woolf 1992; 2001). The compliance of leaders within the community that inhabited Huasi Huaman is supported by the presence of Chimú blackware and possible Chimú textiles as well as the evidence for the intensification politicization of space.

If local leaders were serving the Chimú as intermediate elites, to what extent did they contributed to the diffusion of imperial ideology? Elizabeth Brumfiel (2006: 170) argues this can be determined archaeologically by first identifying whether intermediate elites in provincial settlements were reproducing the iconography of imperial elites and, secondly,

looking for evidence that non-elite provincial subjects accepted imperial ideologies. In the first case, the contribution of Huasi Huaman's inhabitants to the diffusion of imperial ideology was minimal. Beyond the use of Chimú blackware pottery, imperial iconography was not being used or reproduced at the site. Huasi Huaman lacks the characteristic compound architecture of the Chimú and existing architecture was not remodelled to incorporate Chimú symbols.

The evidence that non-elites were accepting imperial ideology is also limited. Ceremonies at Huasi Huaman focused on autonomously producing social groups within the site rather than drawing relations of affiliation to Chimú elites through imperial ideology. Furthermore, there is little evidence to suggest non-elites had much interaction with imperial officials. The promotion of ideologies focused on local concerns may have helped local leaders avoid tying their legitimacy too closely to the legitimacy of imperial lords (Elson and Covey 2006). This may have helped local leaders fulfill their new obligations to the Chimú while downplaying tensions created by the military conquest of the region but also shows that local leaders had little interest in portraying themselves as Chimú. For the inhabitants of Huasi Huaman, the promotion of their own ideological practices shows considerable independence that may have been tolerated as long as they did not interfere with Chimú colonial policies. The benefit to the Chimú was that they could co-opt the existing administrative infrastructure without investing in remodelling social organization or constructing administrative buildings in every notable settlement in the valley and instead focus their attention on key resources.

To conclude this chapter, my excavation and analysis of Huasi Huaman's platform and monumental architecture illustrates the intensification of the politicization of space during the Chimú Period. During the earlier Lambayeque Period, many of the platforms appear to have been used as the locations of feasting maintained by separate kin or social groups. Following

the Chimú conquest, the politicization of space is intensified with rituals on Huaca A and Structure D more sharply delineating the division between participants and observes. Both structures also contain secluded interiors which are suggestive of exclusion. I argue the inhabitants of Huasi Huaman enjoyed considerable autonomy in the production of space, both from foreign elites residing at prominent centers such as Farfán and Pacatnamú. However, the new emphasis on exclusion shows that not all groups continued to hold as much influence in the production of space.

Chapter 10 Discussion and Conclusions

My dissertation research set out to identify some of the processes through which the inhabitants of the Jequetepeque Valley accommodated or restricted their incorporation into the Chimú Empire. By studying how innovations in architecture correlated to changes in the way subjects and identity were produced at the settlement of Huasi Huaman between the Lambayeque (AD 1100-1320) and Chimú (AD 1320-1470) Periods, my goal was to provide insight into how an empire was produced from the perspective of its provincial subjects. In this final chapter, I discuss my conclusions and their implications for the archaeology of the Lambayeque and Chimú Periods in the Jequetepeque Valley. My research reveals that although the Chimú conquest in the early 14th century resulted in the intensified politicization of architecture and the increased exclusion of non-elites from contributing to ritual practice, the imperial Chimú did not interfere directly with the practices through which subjects were formed at Huasi Huaman. Everyday practice in the home and the transformation of ritual space into Third Space resulted in processes of subjectification that emphasized local identity and affiliation. It was through local leaders, who I argue were co-opted to serve as intermediaries, that the settlement and its inhabitants were incorporated into the empire, albeit while still enjoying a considerable degree of autonomy. I suggest that colonialism in the Jequetepeque Valley was influenced by the political and economic decentralization that long characterized the region.

I also use this chapter to make some suggestions for future research and discuss the significance of my findings to the broader study of ancient colonialism. My suggestions for future research include some practical suggestions on excavating settlements similar to Huasi Huaman and, more broadly, the need for more archaeological research on domestic contexts outside of centers associated with imperial elites as well as the need for more research on the

Lambayeque Period of the Jequetepeque Valley. My discussion of the significance of my research focuses on my theoretical contributions. I highlight the significance of intermediary elites and non-elites to the development and consolidation of empires as well as the fact that change and continuity are not separate outcomes when examining the impact of colonialism.

Huasi Huaman during the Lambayeque and Chimú Periods

Huasi Huaman was first occupied around the late 13th century during the Jequetepeque Valley's Lambayeque Period. This early settlement consisted of simple platform structures built along the base of Cerro Murciélago and wattle and daub houses located on terraces on the upper slopes of the mountain as well as in the low area of Sector K. The platforms, constructed from mounded sediments reinforced with stone retaining walls and often cleverly placed to utilize natural rises in topography to give them height, show a range of different forms and uses. Many appear to have been used in rituals involving processions and feasting, but other platforms contain evidence suggesting their use in high status burials, penning camelids, and even metalworking. The diversity of activities associated with the platforms shows that no one social group had complete control over architecture and ritual performance. Nonetheless, hierarchy between asymmetrically ranked social groups is implied by the construction of the walls that divide and restrict interior spaces. The restriction of space along with the ubiquity of platform structures is suggestive of social groups building and maintaining their own platforms where they conducted rituals to produce and reinforce group cohesion.

In the domestic contexts, the Lambayeque period inhabitants practiced a range of quotidian activities in their homes which included cooking, weaving, raising guinea pigs, and maintaining gardens. The growing of crops in gardens and the wide range of quotidian practices provides evidence that at least a small number Huasi Huaman's inhabitants were living there year round. Year-round habitation and the high probability of men, women, and

children living at Huasi Huaman has implications for how people interacted with the site and its role in shaping their habitus and identity. Daily exposure to architecture imbued with ideological statements from a young age would result in the inhabitants embodying those statements and ensure their reproduction over generations during the Lambayeque Period and into the following Chimú Period.

Despite the evidence for a small long-term resident population, the site was probably never densely populated. Though I was only able to make a suggestion based on rudimentary estimates, I argue the resident population of the site may have been as small as a few dozen people. This number may have increased to well over a hundred if the ritual performances hosted on the platforms attracted people living nearby in farms or settlements within or around the Kanchape mountain range. If this was the case, festivals or important ceremonies hosted at Huasi Huaman may have helped to reinforce relations of affiliation and co-dependence among a larger community who were affiliated through kin or parcialidad membership.

The arrival of the Chimú and their conquest of the Jequetepeque Valley in the early 14th century had political and social consequences for the region that are apparent at Huasi Huaman through a new emphasis on monumental architecture with secluded interior spaces. Though the construction of platform architecture does not cease entirely, the construction of the upper portions of Huaca A with its sunken courtyard and the secluded Structure D show that local leaders who were not part of the previous paramount Lambayeque elite were promoting their own ideologies to a degree not seen in the previous period. At the same time, the construction of these two monuments marks the exclusion of non-elites from participation in ritual activities that took place in their interior. Reduced participation in ritual activities would have also resulted in non-elites having less influence on local politics. As ritual is fundamental to the production of social relations (Bell 1997; Swenson 2012; Turner 1967),

the significance of Huaca A and Structure D is that they show that the local population of the region was independently producing new relations and social groups through rituals in innovative architecture during the Chimú Period.

Beyond instigating the changes stemming from the politicization of innovative ritual architecture, the Chimú presence at Huasi Huaman is notably muted and indirect. Access to Chimú goods is apparent by the presence of limited quantities of fine Chimú blackware pottery, but there is no evidence of a Chimú official living there nor the inhabitants of Huasi Huaman attempting to adopt Chimú elite culture for themselves. These foreign goods probably came through the site by local leaders acting as intermediaries for Chimú colonial administrators, receiving goods in Chimú ceramic vessels after traveling to meet colonial officials at Chimú sites such as the nearby Farfán. Additionally, the baffled entryways and niche found in Structure D which Swenson (2007: 78) argues to be the emulation of Chimú symbols of power are both known from Lambayeque contexts making their attribution to the Chimú unlikely.

I find the rejection of architectural symbols associated with not only the imperial Chimú, but the earlier Lambayeque elite telling about how the inhabitants of Huasi Huaman saw themselves in relation to regional and imperial elites. The inhabitants of Huasi Huaman saw themselves according to their own local identity and affiliation rather than as newly made Chimú. This is supported by the architectural evidence which suggests the construction of architecture that emphasized hinterland traditions (Swenson 2007: 78). Furthermore, the ritual activities on the platforms and monumental architecture shows that the inhabitants of Huasi Huaman had the autonomy to produce their own social groups through the transformation of these spaces into Thirdspaces through ritual practice.

The persistence of local identity and affiliation at Huasi Huaman is not the strategic and political contestation characteristic of hybridization nor the gradual fusion of local and

foreign culture seen in creolization (Hannerz 1992; Palmie 2006). People living at Huasi Huaman were not averse to using Chimú artefacts, but they were using them according to their own cultural practices and history. Assuming the adoption of Chimú culture would be to deny historicity of local material practices (Dietler 2010; Silliman 2009). Furthermore, neither the Lambayeque nor Chimú elite appear to have had much interest in imposing their architecture and symbols of power on the people living at Huasi Huaman.

Though the inhabitants of Huasi Huaman fall under what Carol Mackey (2011) would define as "ethnic Lambayeque," the rejection of symbols typically associated with Lambayeque elite, namely the huaca quadrangle, reveal diversity in the political ideologies of the inhabitants of the region. Hinterland populations may have seen themselves as only having a loose connection to the people residing at elite Lambayeque sites such Pacatnamú despite undoubtedly sharing many cultural similarities. At the same time, the paramount Lambayeque elites may have restricted the use of their symbols in order to exclude people belonging to lower rungs of the political hierarchy. Lasting tensions between people at Huasi Huaman and the elite Lambayeque at Pacatnamú and other elite centers may have contributed to the desire to develop alternative ideologies and symbols that better represented local interests.

The changes in ceremonial architecture and the increased exclusion of non-elites from contributing to ritual activities on the monumental architecture at the time of the Chimú conquest reveal that social categories were permeable and people defined themselves as subjects through the relationships of similarity and difference made through comparison to other people (see Voss 2008b). The permeability of these relationships may have previously been taken for granted, but the conquest provided an impetus for change and innovation. These new relationships were defined first through the rituals that took place in monumental architecture, a type of architecture which is by definition intended to embody ideological

claims (Bradley 2003; Couture 2002; Trigger 1990). These monuments became central parts of Huasi Huaman's ritual landscape, ritually charged spaces where identities and social relationships were forged through people's interactions with the built environment and the materialization of social memory (Swenson 2013: 472).

The promotion of the ideology of local leaders and their control over one of the means by which social groups are produced reveals segments of the population were taking advantage of the changes in regional political structures brought on by the conquest and removal of the elites at Pacatnamú. This was at the expense of other social groups who found their ability to contribute to ritual practice diminished. Though local leaders were drawing upon architectural forms established in archaic ritual architecture (Swenson 2004: 956), I suggest local leaders were ultimately trying to produce new social, political, economic, and religious relationships with their followers.

Comparison between Huasi Huaman to other sites in the Jequetepeque Valley shows that responses to the imposition of colonialism were diverse. The inhabitants of the region were not a homogenous group and had their own independent agendas. Urban elites undoubtedly had more direct contact with Chimú officials than people living in smaller settlements such as Huasi Huaman, especially in the case of sites such as Talambo which housed Chimú administrative architecture. These elites may have tried to affiliate themselves more closely to imperial elites, as seen in the use of Chimú symbols at Cabur, as they were impacted more directly (Sapp 2002). My research adds to the literature demonstrating the complexity of political and economic relationships within colonialism (Bang 2009; Brumfiel 1998; Comaroff and Comaroff 1984; Cooper 1992; DeMarrais 2005; Hastorf and D'Altroy 2001; Lockhart 1994; Patterson 1991; Turner 2009).

More importantly, I argue that decentralization was a long standing characteristic of the Jequetepeque Valley. It constrained how the Chimú were able to impose colonialism on

their new provincial subjects as well as local responses to incorporation within an empire. This is an idea I develop in the section that follows.

The Longue Durée of the Jequetepeque Valley

The decentralization of political authority in the Jequetepeque Valley compared to other regions in coastal Peru has been noted as early as the Late Moche Period (Castillo and Donnan 1994a; Dillehay and Kolata 2004; Swenson 2006: 116). Though specific ceremonial settlements attracted devotion from communities throughout the region during this period, most notably the site of San Jose de Moro (Castillo 2001), the Moche elites had limited political or economic control. Non-elites constructed and maintained dozens of smaller ceremonial sites outside of the elite centers where they promoted their own ideologies (Swenson 2004; 2006). I argue that the political and ceremonial decentralization that first developed during the Moche Period was part of the region's *longue durée* (Braudel 1972; 1980) which constrained and informed later developments during the Lambayeque and Chimú Periods.

A concept first developed by the French Annales School in their study of long-term historical structures, *longue durée* is the structure that guide or constrain changes that occur within shorter time periods. In other words, the Jequetepeque Valley is characterized by political and economic plurality rather than political centralization. Though the Late Intermediate Period saw increasing urbanization with the development of cities such as Pacatnamú and Talambo, the continued construction of smaller settlements with their own ceremonial components such as Huasi Huaman suggests a similar lack of political and economic control from the paramount centers. The plurality may have necessitated the construction of Chimú administrative architecture at sites such as Talambo and El Algarrobal del Moro so that they could graft their authority on the highest rungs of the lineage systems in the valley which enabled them to rule indirectly (Swenson 2007: 83), while leaving the

smaller sites more or less alone.

My use of *longue durée* is not meant to homogenize the agency of local peoples. Rather, I suggest the archaeology of the Late Intermediate Period of the Jequetepeque Valley is significant to the study of colonialism as it not only challenges the homogeneity of groups within empires, but assumptions that the persistence of local culture necessarily implies resistance. Factionalism exists within empires (Brumfiel 1994; 1998), not only at the level of elites, but as I suggest, also within and between non-elite communities where people may work within the confines of the present system to opportunistically gain benefits. Imperial elites, for their part, may tolerate or even promote diversity as long as imperial policies are implemented (Tung and Cook 2006: 91). As the Chimú may have prioritized the extraction of agricultural resources in the Jequetepeque Valley (Cutright 2009), direct interference with smaller settlements may have been seen as unnecessary.

It would also be a mistake to assume that Chimor directed the same ideological messages at all groups within the Jequetepeque Valley (see Demarrais et al. 1996; Hicks 1992). Regional elites may have benefited more from associating themselves with the Chimú than lower status leaders at sites such as Huasi Huaman. Alternatively, the construction of Chimú administrative compounds such as those at Talambo (Keatinge and Conrad 1982) could serve as a memorialization (Smith 2003) of the conquest, reminding provincial elites of their subordination to the Chimú and their exclusion from imperial elite culture.

While my research focused on the consequences of the Chimú conquest from the perspective of a provincial settlement, colonialism may have had consequences that are difficult to identify archaeologically. For example, there is evidence that the Chimú may have required their provincial subjects to provide corvée labour for public projects such as the construction of irrigation canals (Keatinge 1974; Kus 1984; Ortloff et al. 1982; 1983) or working state controlled fields (Keatinge 1975; Moore 2006). While the organization of these

projects probably depended on the administrative infrastructure that was already in place, people engaged in labour tribute may have been exposed to new people and places which would have influenced how they saw themselves in relation to their community and the larger Chimú polity. Indeed, while I have suggested that the presence of limited quantities of Chimú blackware at Huasi Huaman could be the result of local leaders serving as intermediaries, an alternative interpretation is that it may have come from the inhabitants working in state projects. If this was the case, participation in corvée labour was probably important to how Chimor's provincial subjects saw themselves in relation to the empire, yet the practice would leave minimal evidence at sites such as Huasi Huaman. Nonetheless, while there are some hints of state penetration at the local level, the evidence from my excavations points to it being limited.

The *longue durée* may have begun to change under the Inca who took a much more active role in incorporating local peoples into a shared elite culture once the Chimú fell to Inca armies around AD 1470. Though my research suggests that Huasi Huaman was no longer occupied during the Inca Period (AD 1470-1532), the differences in provincial administration seen between the Chimú and Inca help to illustrate my points about the nature of Chimú colonialism. Following the conquest of Chimor, the Inca reused or added to the existing administrative infrastructure in the Jequetepeque Valley. At Farfán, the Inca remodelled the Chimú compounds to reflect their own political ideology and administrative policies (Mackey 2006; 2009; 2010; 2011). The architectural renovation resulted in the construction of buildings that synthesized Chimú architectural styles with elements of Inca architecture, introducing features such as the Inca *ushnu*, a low adobe platform associated with liquid offerings, and increased room for storage (Mackey 2010: 243-244). Mackey (2010: 223) dubs the blending of traditions as "conciliatory architecture" and suggests that the Inca were deferring to the local Chimú and Lambayeque ethnic groups whose leaders they

incorporated into the administrative hierarchy at Farfán underneath Inca officials. The creation of a shared elite culture, albeit with the imperial elites at its head, is an effective strategy for incorporating provincial elites into the colonial system by making them dependent on the system to perpetuate their own status and privileges (Garraty and Ohnersorgen 2009; Smith 2001: 143-145). Other attempts to incorporate locals into the colonial system include the burials of local elites at the site which Mackey (2010: 248) suggests was an attempt to honour them.

The Inca construction of feasting facilities at Farfán and the possible presence of *aqlla* (Mackey 2010), the sacred order of women who brewed beer and wove fine textiles on behalf of the state, further suggests a more prominent role for commensal performances at Farfán with Inca administrators taking a more direct role in interacting with their subjects. Inca administration relied upon conceptions of the state generosity in provisioning the provincial leaders who served as their intermediaries with chicha in specialized serving wares such as narrow necked jars called *aríbalos* (Bray 2003; 2008). According to Kremkau (2009: 297), the role of patron switched from local leaders to the Inca during the Inca occupation of the Jequetepeque region. By doing so, Inca lords positioned themselves above conquered people, transforming labour obligations, and making them dependent on Inca generosity for their livelihood (Gose 2000). In exchange, colonized subjects were expected to provide labour service through production, participation in building public works, or military service (Gose 2000). The Inca also set aside a portion of agricultural land for use in the maintenance of the state and the temple of the sun, usually lands located near administrative and storage sites (D'Altroy 2002: 271). Local communities provided the labour to work state land on a rotating basis. Provincial lords were incorporated into the system by being required to send their sons and heirs to the Inca capital where they would be taught the Quechua language, Inca culture, and religious beliefs, essentially assuring that the subjection of future generations of

provincial lords was tied to the Inca nobility (Kolata 2013: 79).

The Inca Period occupation of Farfán contrasts significantly with its use during the Chimú Period where it has been described as an empty administrative center (Keatinge and Conrad 1983: 259) due to the lack of evidence for a residential population. These differences are suggestive of different approaches to colonialism in the Jequetepeque Valley under the two empires.

Suggestions for Future Research

Before moving to discuss the theoretical significance of my research in my conclusion, I present some suggestions for future research at Huasi Huaman and similar settlements in the Jequetepeque Valley. My research was designed to sample a wide variety of different sectors and contexts at Huasi Huaman rather than investigated any one sector or type of architecture intensively. Therefore future research should expand upon my investigation through more intensive excavations of specific contexts. More specifically, the western most area of the site, Sectors L, M, N, K, O, and P, were only minimally explored, yet the units excavated in these sectors proved to contain denser archaeological deposits than elsewhere. Future research should involve the excavation of a greater area of these sectors. Horizontal excavations of Sector K intended to identify the ground plans of residential architecture would be especially important for providing a better understanding of the extent and duration of domestic habitation.

The research also highlights the need to better examine the domestic contexts outside of elite ceremonial centers. My dissertation adds to the body of research showing that colonialism is not applied evenly across class, ethnicity, or gender (Deagan 1973; Stoler 1991; Voss 2008a) so a better understanding of non-elites provides a more nuanced interpretation of how colonialism is maintained and produced. I admit my own hesitance to excavate the non-elite residential areas at Huasi Huaman as what was visible from the surface

suggested minimal deposition, especially on the terraces. Nonetheless, these excavations produced some of my most valuable data, most notably the remains of a garden located on a terrace of Sector L. This discovery raised a number of questions regarding the interrelations between habitation on the terraces and agriculture. Was maize the only type of crop being grown? Why were people maintaining gardens attached to their houses when there was presumably more easily maintainable agricultural fields in the valley below? More importantly, my excavations of the domestic contexts greatly informed my interpretation of the site as a whole. They showed that Huasi Huaman was not an empty ceremonial center, but a thriving settlement with a small permanent resident population. The broader significance of this is that it shows the interrelation between domestic and ceremonial architecture. Focusing on one at the expense of the other results in an inherently incomplete interpretation of the archaeological record.

My excavation of Unit 1 which was located in close proximity to Platform I demonstrates the importance of investigating the areas around ceremonial architecture rather than just exposing the architecture itself. Most of the platform architecture proved to be well maintained and swept free of debris so the refuse area excavated in Unit 1 provided a wealth of information on the use of the platform. Future research should therefore dedicate time to looking for other refuse deposits that might be located around the other platforms and monumental architecture.

Moving onto the broader study of the Late Intermediate Period of the Jequetepeque Valley, more research needs to be done on the Lambayeque Period. I raised questions regarding the degree of political centralization within the region during this period and whether a single unified polity is an acceptable theory given the growing body of evidence for the political, economic, and religious complexity that existed during this time (Castillo 2001; Cutright 2009; Donnan and Cock 1986; Prieto 2011; Sapp 2002; Swenson 2007). More

research needs to be done to identify the practical interconnections (see Smith 2003: 122, 145-146) between the elite urban centers such as Pacatnamú or Talambo and smaller settlements such as Huasi Huaman. Research such as my own has largely addressed the Lambayeque Period as a means of comparison for the earlier Moche or Late Chimú Period so future research must take steps towards examining the Lambayeque Period as a topic of study in its own right.

Significance of Research to the Study of Colonialism

The grounding of my research in theory derived from the study of colonialism empowered my work by enabling me to study the development of a colonial society through the lens of its provincial subjects. When the Chimú entered the Jequetepeque Valley, they did not find a homogenous population but an independent polity (or even polities) with its own power structure and factions. The consequence was that indigenous responses to incorporation into the empire were also not homogeneous and the Chimú depended on some of their new subjects to collude with them in governing the region. Despite the pre-Columbian context, post-colonial theory provided an effective framework for my analysis. As I argued in the first section of this chapter, my research is significant to the broader study of colonialism because it shows the plurality of agencies at work in the formation of a colonial society and that change and continuity cannot be framed as simply either acculturation or resistance.

Categories of identity are permeable social constructs (Voss 2008b: 35), but colonialism provides an impetus to question and realign these categories as previously taken for granted assumptions become questioned, established relationships fall apart, and new ones are introduced through the diverse agencies of both the imperial polity and its provincial subjects. The research at Huasi Huaman shows that as people adjust and adapt to their new political situation, the processes that constrain political and social relationships become

politicized. Where locals retain control over the production of space, architecture provides a means of identifying how people were presenting ideologies regarding political relations within sites. Monumental architecture, highly visible buildings that are intended to impart a message (Bradley 2003; Couture 2002; Trigger 1990), proved to be particularly fruitful in identifying changes in ideologies related to intra-site power relations. Most significantly, my research shows that architecture does not just embody ideology, but is an important means through which identity and social relations are produced (Swenson 2012). The study of landscapes, ritual, and architecture thus provides an avenue for archaeologists to explore questions of identity and the creation of subjects in the context of ancient colonialism.

Following the work of anthropologists studying gender in colonial societies (Deagan 1973; Stoler 1991; Voss 2008a), I showed how colonialism may have impacted people differently according to their status, gender, and age. The extent to which people were able to contribute to ritual practices, especially in relation to the contribution of food used in feasting rituals on platforms, provide a check on those who benefitted politically from hosting the events. The move towards exclusive ritual space in the Chimú Period may have excluded people who would have traditionally been able to influence ritual activities and the promotion of ideology. Additionally, the fact that those who controlled the production of space had little interest in affiliating themselves with either the Chimú or the Lambayeque elite highlights the complexity of political relationships and the processes by which subjects are created within colonial contexts.

Moving on to the topic of change and continuity, my research supports the conclusions of Silliman (2009) in that they are not distinct and separate outcomes. The people of Huasi Huaman did not take on the cultural identity of the Chimú elite nor did they attempt to appropriate the symbols of the Lambayeque political and religious elites from before the conquest. The the new social and political relations produced in ritually charged architecture

were framed through the lens of largely local ideologies and symbols. However, as Voss (2008b: 37) argues, such processes of ethnogenesis may still be used by colonial elites to consolidate institutional forms of domination so local autonomy over the practices which produce social groups does not preclude the inequal power relations inherent in colonialism.

Finally, my research shows the importance of research on sites beyond paramount centers contributing to a growing body of research recognizing the role of intermediate elites and non-elites to the development and consolidation of empires (Elson and Covey 2006; Goldstein 2005; Nash and Williams 2005). The cooperation of locals was often essential to maintain an empire, especially in when pre-existing administrative infrastructure was co-opted (Alconini 2008; Schreiber 1987). Furthermore, non-elites make up the majority of people incorporated into colonial societies so ignoring them provides an incomplete understanding of a tremendously complex political and social setting.

Post-colonial theory and research based off of historical colonialism has much to contribute to the study of ancient empires. While we will never be able to obtain the detailed interpretations derived from first-hand accounts of life within ancient empires possible for archaeologists studying historical colonialism, theory derived from their research and the broad anthropological literature on the subject provide valuable resources to help bring the people we're studying to the forefront in our interpretations. For our part, the study of ancient empires contributes to the study of colonialism by providing a wider breadth of data to show the diversity of forms colonialism can take and challenges assumptions of the exceptionalism of historical European colonialism.

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