

Shared ideology and parallel political development:
Huari and Tiwanaku

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Important evolutionary advances were achieved by the ancient cultures of Peru and Bolivia during the Middle Horizon (A.D. 500-1000). Earlier societies had already developed hierarchically structured polities whose administrative nodes were located in impressive temple centers. The labor invested in the monumental architecture of each ceremonial center probably reflected its position in the regional hierarchy. In several areas, the altiplano around Lake Titicaca and the north coast around the Moche Valley, there is sufficient differentiation in size of the ceremonial centers to imply a hierarchical chain of command with three superimposed administrative levels. This degree of administrative differentiation is frequently identified with state governments (Isbell and Schreiber 1978; Wright and Johnson 1975). These ceremonial centers, however, lack extensive architectural facilities for housing bureaucrats, storing goods, and quartering laborers or soldiers. Consequently, it must be assumed that the sanctions supporting the rulers were almost exclusively ideological in nature, that control over surplus goods was relatively limited, that the size of the elite administrative class was small, and that the amount of information collected and processed by the administrators was also tiny. This priestly elite probably remained outside community politics where local, kin-based authority prevailed, and concentrated instead on communication with ancestral deities, and increasingly important problems of intercommunity interactions.

During the Middle Horizon, some capitals grew in size, attaining urban population aggregates. Monumental temple platforms were replaced by walled

compounds with numerous internal rooms. Lower order provincial capitals were carefully planned complexes with streets, plazas, compounds and elongated rooms. Some possessed rows of buildings or rooms that appear to have been storehouses (Isbell 1977, 1980; McCown 1945; McEwan 1980, 1981, personal communication; Sanders 1973; Schreiber 1978; John Topic personal communication). The earliest evidence of the knotted string accounting device (quipu) belongs to this period (Conklin 1982) as well. These data imply that the number of elite administrators increased significantly. Control over surplus goods and labor was greater, and the larger body of administrators was probably involved in processing data and making decisions about a much broader range of human activities. It seems likely that even local level, kin-based authority was superceded by the central government, and standardized room complexes may indicate barracks-like residences for workers and military that guaranteed physical force to back the decisions of the elite.

During the Middle Horizon, it is apparent that the bureaucratic state was born in the Central Andes of Peru and Bolivia. What is more, the distribution of diagnostic art shows that a vast area, including several of the earlier theocratic states, was welded together into a single political unit, the empire (Browman 1978; Isbell and Schreiber 1978; Lumbreras 1974; Menzel 1964, 1968, 1978). But careful study of the art indicates that the most popular developmental scenarios accounting for these cultural advances are probably incorrect and misoriented.

In one generally respectable reconstruction of the Middle Horizon, culture change and increase in political complexity are considered to have taken place at a single precocious center, Tiwanaku (Ponce 1969a, 1971, 1972, 1979). Subsequently, these new organizational advances were spread throughout the Andes by conquering armies or missionary merchants who established

secondary, provincial centers. A vast administrative or commercial empire was created with the altiplano center of Tiwanaku as its political capital and cultural leader.

This scenario assumes that the transition from a ceremonially based polity to a bureaucratic state, and/or politico-economic empire, was due to processes taking place in Tiwanaku's core territory. As a consequence, archaeological studies of the ideological and behavioral changes, as well as the selective pressures that produced the Middle Horizon must focus only on Tiwanaku and its immediate surroundings. Societies and events more removed in space or time need not be considered, except perhaps as some of these impinged on the government and organization of Tiwanaku during the expansion of its borders and creation of its provincial capitals.

A second scenario recognizes two stages in the evolutionary process, and two cultural centers. In this conceptualization of the past, Tiwanaku is also the precocious center where initial organizational transformations took place. Subsequently, its newly developed sophistication was transmitted to the Ayacucho Valley, and the site of Huari, that soon emerged as the dominant settlement and regional capital in that area. Mechanisms for the transmission of Tiwanaku's political skills to Ayacucho are hypothetical, but conquering armies, colonists, and merchant-missionaries from Tiwanaku have all been proposed, as well as pilgrims from Ayacucho who visited the great altiplano center, learning something of its administrative organization and converting to its dogma before returning to their Ayacucho homes (Lumbreras 1974; Menzel 1964).

In this second, two stage scenario, Huari was established as, or became, an independent center employing Tiwanaku's sophisticated organizational pattern. Within a couple of centuries it extended its influence over much

of the Central Andes north of the Tiwanaku sphere, becoming a cultural and political capital comparable to Tiwanaku itself.

Some scholars feel that Huari employed Tiwanaku's organizational forms virtually unmodified while others argue that it reinterpreted them and formulated another and more progressive system. A popular interpretation endorsed by archaeologist David Browman (1978) describes the Tiwanaku sphere as a commercial empire held together by economics, ideology and skillful merchant-missionaries while Huari's sphere was carved out by conquest and held together by an administrative bureaucracy backed by force of arms. Be that as it may, archaeologists subscribing to the two stage scenario must focus their research on the initial innovation at Tiwanaku, the information transmitted from Tiwanaku to Huari, and the subsequent development at Huari in order to explain the cultural advances achieved during the Middle Horizon.

Both of these scenarios of Middle Horizon political evolution depend on interpretations of art and iconography. I agree that the diagnostic iconography of Tiwanaku and Huari provides a sensitive indicator of past political boundaries, as well as the regional structure of Middle Horizon empires. Even the ideology, and its transformations through time, are preserved in the iconography, where they may possibly be recovered by insightful research. The association of the characteristic Middle Horizon icon inventory with expansionist ideology and organization is obvious since it reappeared in only slightly modified form with almost every period of cultural and political unification in the Central Andes. My disagreement is with the assumption that progressive change originates in one precocious and inventive center - Tiwanaku in this case - to be subsequently diffused into cultures that lacked conditions appropriate for the transformation.

Examination of the art and iconography of the Middle Horizon shows that it

is more likely that Tiwanaku and the ancient Ayacucho centers, especially Huari, developed through parallel evolution spurred by mutual information exchange. What is more, each experienced the same initial catalyst, an infusion of ideology, with corresponding icon inventory, from an ancient tradition of cultural unification that was foreign to both. The recognition of these factors in the simultaneous development of both centers should help archaeologists realize the inadequacy of explanations of culture change that attempt to locate a precocious center with material conditions responsible for great innovations. Instead, we must turn our attention to the conditions under which innovations take place and are adopted, an endeavor that should be assisted by determining the factors shared by Huari and Tiwanaku during their impressive parallel development.

The diagnostic, fusional iconography shared by Tiwanaku and Huari, as well as other important Middle Horizon centers, emphasizes an anthropomorphic figure, standing erect and viewed front-face. Referred to as the front-face deity, it has both arms raised and spread, with each hand grasping a staff. While details of its elaborate headdress and costume may vary somewhat, and the entire figure can even be reduced to a disembodied head, the front-face deity is easy to recognize throughout the Andes. Attendant figures usually accompany the front-face deity, being located to its left and right. These attendant figures are depicted in profile and usually have one leg forward and the other to the back as though kneeling or running. One arm is raised and grasps a staff that is held parallel to the body. Some specimens have wings on their backs, wear elaborate costumes and have headdresses quite similar to those of the front-face deity.

In Andean prehistory, the front-face deity with attendant figures is very ancient, although its temporal distribution appears to have been

discontinuous and associated with periods of cultural unification. It is one of the principal themes of widespread Chavin art during the Early Horizon (Rowe 1962). As interregional diversity emerged during the Early Intermediate Period, the theme declined in popularity except perhaps at Pucara (Rowe and Brandel 1970). This ceremonial center is located on the northern edge of the altiplano between Tiwanaku and Ayacucho. Pucara culture is still poorly known but reports of artifacts in Pucara style as far away as northern Chile and the Cuzco area demonstrate that it, too, was expansionistic, employing the iconography and associated ideology to unify diverse peoples (Conklin 1983).

In the Middle Horizon, great empires were formed and the front-face deity with attendant figures became a dominant theme in art throughout the Central Andes. As the great polities declined, they too lost popularity except on Peru's north coast where the Chimu empire fashioned a new multi-ethnic polity out of Middle Horizon roots (Schaedel 1978). Only Inca fusion appears to have been achieved without the front-face deity and attendants. Inca art, however, is almost devoid of representational depictions so it is possible that the ideas symbolized by the theme did exist in Inca ideology without overt depiction in art. Anthropologists Zuidema and Quispe (1973) have found a modern Indian conceptualization of God that expresses the same thematic structure as Middle Horizon depictions of the deity and attendants. This would support the contention that the ideology associated with the theme was present in Inca thinking, continuing into modern catholicism under colonial and republican rule.

Archaeologists' assumption that Middle Horizon diffusion of the front-face deity with its attendants was from a center at Tiwanaku is a curious happenstance of history. Tiwanaku is an unusually impressive site and it

has always attracted a great deal of attention. The German archaeologists Alfons Stübel and Max Uhle (1892) published an influential monograph on Tiwanaku. Its most important contributions were first, a detailed description and definition of Tiwanaku's sculptural art, and second, the demonstration that the sculptures and ruins of Tiwanaku were older than Inca civilization. This was the first scientific demonstration that a cultural chronology with significant time depth existed in the Andes.

Several years after his study of Tiwanaku's art, Max Uhle (1903b) was excavating the temple of Pachacamac on the central coast of Peru. To his surprise, he found burials under an early addition to the temple. They were accompanied by ceramics and textiles decorated with the Tiwanaku-like front-face deity and attendant figures. Immediately, Uhle realized that the textile and ceramic representations from Pachacamac were not identical to the stone sculptures of Tiwanaku. He also knew that the shapes of the pottery vessels from Pachacamac were unknown at Tiwanaku, where the important deity and attendants very rarely occurred on ceramics anyway. Carefully, he warned that it was unlikely that the Pachacamac artifacts had come from Tiwanaku and that Tiwanaku was unlikely to have been the center from which the iconography was dispersed. What Uhle did believe was that the similarity in the Pachacamac and Tiwanaku figures established a contemporaneous artistic horizon that would permit him to create a regional chronology for much of Peru and Bolivia. In this, Uhle was successful, formulating the first archaeologically defined regional chronology for any center of pristine archaic civilization in the world (Uhle 1903a). But he also named the newly discovered coastal style after Tiwanaku (Tiahuanaco), which apparently implied a Tiwanaku origin for subsequent generations of archaeologists. In 1944, the famous anthropologist, archaeologist and

style analyst, Alfred Kroeber (1944) stated that it still remained unproved, even though virtually everyone assumed that Tiwanaku was the source of the broadly diffused, diagnostic art which I shall refer to as Tiahuanacoid. (I have retained Uhle's spelling of Tiahuanaco and added the suffix "oid" to distinguish Middle Horizon art emphasizing the front-face deity and attendant figures from the Bolivian archaeological site of Tiwanaku.) Kroeber's claim is equally valid today, and it is possible to begin to show that Tiwanaku was not the center of dispersal for the Tiahuanacoid icons or for Middle Horizon political forms. First, let us examine the cultural sequence from Tiwanaku itself.

A chronology of ceramic styles was established for Tiwanaku through stratigraphic excavations conducted by Wendell Bennett (1934) in 1932. Various other archaeologists have excavated at Tiwanaku since then, but none has published a revision of Bennett's sequence. In 1955, Alfred Kidder II (1956) reexcavated at Tiwanaku to collect charcoal samples for radiocarbon dating. Kidder observed that many of the charcoal samples could have suffered disturbance or contamination. More important for us is the question whether Kidder could adequately distinguish the ceramic phases described by Bennett so that he and other archaeologists would know what phases were really associated with each date. The most recent archaeology at Tiwanaku has been directed by Carlos Ponce and his associates. It has been oriented toward the exposition of architectural remains and the formulation of a chronology of building periods, although new carbon samples and a vast amount of pottery were also collected. However, until most of these latter are analyzed and published we have no way to be sure that Ponce's building periods are precisely associated with Bennett's ceramic chronology or Kidder's dates.

According to Ponce, the monumental temples at Tiwanaku were constructed during the period he calls Tiwanaku III, which corresponds to Bennett's Early Tiahuanaco period. Sculptures from this period, such as stela 15 (Ponce and Mogrovejo 1970: Fig. 31-32), or the tenoned heads from the semi-subterranean temple (Ponce 1969: Fig. 17-25), belong to a fairly broadly diffused, early style that universally lacks the front-face deity and attendant figures which define Tiahuanacoid iconography. In the subsequent, Tiwanaku IV period (Bennett's Classic Tiahuanaco) the temples were refurbished with facades and sculptures replete with Tiahuanacoid icons, such as the Gate of the Sun (Ponce et al. 1971: Fig. 103), originally from the Pumapuncu but now standing on the corner of the Kalasasaya temple platform. This places Tiahuanacoid iconography at the beginning of the Tiwanaku IV period, an interpretation that agrees with Dwight Wallace's (1957) conclusions based on a comparison of sculptural details with ceramic decorations.

Radiocarbon dates from Tiwanaku (Chart I) imply that the Tiwanaku IV period began about A.D. 500, so the adoption of Tiahuanacoid iconography must have taken place at about that time. This date of A.D. 500 is virtually identical with the beginning of Middle Horizon 1A in Peru, and the appearance of Tiahuanacoid icons in Ayacucho, at the site of Conchopata, only 10 km. from Huari. At Conchopata, a cache of large urns decorated with Tiahuanacoid icons was found in 1942. The mythical beings include two variants of the front-face deity; five kinds of profile attendants, including a large, disembodied profile head, apparently from an angel; and several other beings. Dorothy Menzel (1964) has shown that on seriation grounds, this cache belongs to Epoch 1A of the Middle Horizon.

Now if Tiahuanacoid iconography was adopted at Tiwanaku and Conchopata-Huari at about the same time, a third artistic and cultural tradition must

exist that influenced both centers. Pucara is the most likely antecedent since it is earlier and located between Tiwanaku in the southern altiplano and Huari in the Ayacucho Valley. It possesses some strange looking versions of a front-face deity who grasps a weapon or agricultural tool in one hand and the tether of a camelid in the other. Attendant representations are, however, much more similar to those of Tiwanaku and Conchopata-Huari (Rowe and Brandel 1970). Unfortunately the sample is still small and all published examples lack wings but share many other attributes with the later icons. Finally, a small stone sculpture in Pucara style depicts a front-face deity very similar to the Tiwanaku and Conchopata-Huari examples (Rowe 1976).

Pucara is a definite antecedent for Middle Horizon Tiahuanacoid art but it is unlikely to be the direct and immediate antecedent. The radiocarbon dates from the site cluster in the first century B.C., and even if the ceremonial center was not abandoned until A.D. 200 or 300, that leaves several centuries unaccounted for. What is more, the known sample of Pucara icons tends to confirm a hiatus of several hundred years during which the figures underwent significant change before being adopted in Ayacucho and Tiwanaku.

One candidate for a Pucara-derived common ancestor of Middle Horizon Tiahuanacoid art comes from Niño Korin on the eastern slopes of the Andes mountains between Lake Titicaca and the Amazon jungle (Wassen 1972). This archaeologically little known area has produced the burial of a medicine-man complete with his paraphernalia for herbal and ritual cures. Among the objects preserved with this burial (which was placed in a dry cave) is a wooden tablet used in snuffing hallucinogenic powders (Wassen 1972: Fig. 5; see also Cook, this volume: Fig. 4). Incised on the tablet is an attendant figure in an early Tiahuanacoid style that possesses trophy heads

very reminiscent of those in Pucara art. The disembodied head of the front-face deity is depicted on a basket from the same burial (Wassen 1972: plate II). Four radiocarbon dates are available for the Niño Korin burial, A.D. 1120 \pm 100, A.D. 755 \pm 100, A.D. 375 \pm 100, and A.D. 355 \pm 200. The earliest two dates are indistinguishable from one another and fit well with Pucara relationships, especially in the trophy heads. If the Niño Korin find dates between A.D. 300 and 500 it may provide an example of the late, Pucara-inspired art that was adopted in both Ayacucho and Tiwanaku.

Decorations from the Conchopata urns discovered in 1942, the earliest Tiahuanacoid art in the Ayacucho area, share a number of features with the profile attendant on the Niño Korin tablet. Many of these early characteristics disappeared in the Tiahuanacoid art of Ayacucho that, through seriation and stratigraphic superposition, can be shown to be later.

The identification of initial and later Tiahuanacoid stylistic constellations in Ayacucho facilitates the dating of important sculptures at Tiwanaku. For the most part, front-face deities and profile attendant figures from Tiwanaku are very similar to one another, sharing so many stylistic elements that no more than a century or so could separate the known examples. By comparing examples of this group of Tiwanaku icons with the Ayacucho representatives it should be possible to determine whether they share more features with the earliest, or the later styles. Sculptures stylistically contemporary with Ayacucho's first Tiahuanacoid icons can be searched for, and we can determine whether the art from Tiwanaku includes even more primitive, Pucara-like figures that would document the presence of the front-face deity and attendants before their introduction to Ayacucho.

An examination of Tiwanaku sculpture reveals three pieces that contrast with the bulk of the art and share a number of features among

themselves. One is a small stone fragment with two incomplete attendant figures mistakenly illustrated upside down by Count Creque-Montfort (1906: Fig. 11; see also Cook, this volume: Fig. 6). Second is a carved lintel, certainly from Tiwanaku, but reutilized in a house at Calle Linares in La Paz (Posnansky 1945: Fig. 140; see also Cook, this volume: Fig. 5). It depicts the front-face deity and four attendants. The third specimen appears to have remained unpublished until now and was probably only recently excavated (Cook, this volume: Fig. 7). It lies at the western edge of the ruined compound within Tiwanaku's civic center that is known as the Kantataita. Stylistically, this group belongs with Niño Korin and Conchopata 1942, sharing Pucara-like trophy heads, a distinctive zigzag band, a long nosed being, "N" shaped canines and horizontally positioned attendants. However, the contemporaneity of these icons as indicated by shared attributes is discussed in more detail by Anita Cook in this volume.

Later Tiahuanacoid iconography from Ayacucho includes an offering deposit of face-neck jars found by construction workmen at Conchopata in 1977 (see Cook, this volume: Figs. 1-3). A broadly contemporary offering of pottery was found at Pacheco, Nasca in 1927 (Menzel 1964) and many fragmentary pieces are known from Huari and its provincial settlements. These icons share a large number of elements with the bulk of Tiwanaku sculptures, such as the Gate of the Sun, stela 10 and stela 15 (Ponce and Mogrovejo 1970: Figs. 27-29).

A study of the published examples of Tiwanaku art, the examination of numerous museum collections, and correspondence with both professionals and knowledgeable amateurs has failed to reveal specimens of Tiwanaku art that belong to a phase in the development of Tiahuanacoid iconography that should be significantly earlier than the Middle Horizon 1A examples from

Ayacucho, the Niño Korin tablet, or the three Tiwanaku pieces discussed above. The conclusion is obvious. Based on the information available, Tiwanaku cannot be considered to be the center for the development and dissemination of Tiahuanacoid art. Rather, Tiwanaku and Ayacucho both adopted Tiahuanacoid iconography at about the same time. A late and derived tradition of Pucara-like mythical figures has been postulated to fill the temporal and stylistic hiatus between Pucara and Tiwanaku-Huari. Thus far, Niño Korin provides the specimens most likely to belong to a Pucara-derived tradition in existence between A.D. 300 and 500.

A larger sample of early Tiahuanacoid art is required before the relationships among the various early groups of icons can be established with security. The 1942 Conchopata urn collection possesses two variants of the front-face deity and five forms of attendant angels (Cook 1979). The early inventory from Tiwanaku has only one variant of front-face deity and one or two forms of attendant angels. Unless a number of early Tiahuanacoid icons remains to be discovered at the altiplano site, Tiwanaku lacks enough variation to provide the antecedent for the Conchopata figures. This supports the contention that the Ayacucho icons were not borrowed from Tiwanaku, but that both were adopted from a third source. Niño Korin possesses unfortunately little information with only one example of the front-face deity in highly abbreviated form, and a single specimen with a profile attendant figure. The wet climate of the eastern Andean slopes makes it very unlikely that more examples of such perishable artifacts will be found around Niño Korin. The Niño Korin icons are closely related to, but not themselves the direct ancestors of Tiwanaku's and Ayacucho's versions of Tiahuanacoid art.

Perhaps the most exciting implication of the Niño Korin discovery

comes from its location in the heartland of the modern Callawaya Indians. The Callawaya are famed curers who travel throughout Peru and Bolivia selling their special herbal and ritual cures. They can be seen in the markets of La Paz, only an hour's bus trip from ancient Tiwanaku, and in Ayacucho they are also known. Indians from communities such as Chuschi, located about 90 km. south of Ayacucho, still disguise themselves as "jamites" (traveling Callaway curers) on certain festive occasions that commemorate the influence these itinerate medicine men and other outsiders have had on village history (B.J. Isbell 1978).

The medicinal herbs and curing paraphernalia associated with the Niño Korin burial make it absolutely clear that the individual was a shamanistic curer, and there is no reason to doubt that he is an ancestor of the modern Callawaya. What is more, if modern Callawaya travel from the Niño Korin area south to the Tiwanaku region, and north to Ayacucho, it is very likely that their ancient ancestors made similar trips. I suggest that preconquest, itinerate Callawaya shamans invoked mythical beings in their curing rituals -- the front-face deity and profile attendants who were depicted on the curing paraphernalia and perhaps also on the woven garments worn by the ethnic specialists. Since the Callawaya sought to attend persons from all ethnic groups, their curing pantheon must have contained universal cosmic beings free of ancestral relationships to any specific groups. Adopted from the earlier fusionistic Chavin and Pucara religions, the front-face deity and attendants may have been key figures in an incipient universal religion well before either Tiwanaku or Huari had dreamed of a universal state.

A new scenario of Middle Horizon culture change can now be proposed. Tiwanaku was not the precocious center where initial organizational

innovations took place, starting a new adaptive stage in Andean cultural development. Rather, Tiwanaku and the Ayacucho settlements had been experiencing independent development during the centuries immediately preceding A.D. 500. From the information now available it would appear that Tiwanaku had established a hierarchical, theocratic polity, perhaps even a state, administered with the aid of secondary and tertiary ceremonial centers located up to 50 or 60 km. from the capital. In Ayacucho, ceremonial centers were less apparent. Settlement size and distribution suggest a decentralized political structure, perhaps some sort of confederation headed by secular authorities from more or less independent kingdoms. Before the appearance of Tiahuanacoid iconography, Ayacucho settlers were establishing colonies in the coastal Nasca Valley several hundred kilometers away (Paulsen 1980 and this volume). This may reveal a policy or tradition of colonies that exploited ecologically contrastive zones forming a non-contiguous economic archipelago held together by intra-ethnic bonds of reciprocity (Murra 1972).

By A.D. 500, itinerate shamans of Callawaya ethnic origin were offering their services in both Tiwanaku and Ayacucho. Their sophisticated herbal cures were backed by universal religious ideology that focused on a powerful front-face deity with attendant beings. Soon, the new religion, with its iconic symbols and concept of universal order that subsumed ethnic differences, was adopted in both Tiwanaku and Ayacucho.

Reciprocal interaction between the two major cultural centers also accelerated change. Huari experimented with Tiwanaku's hierarchical religious organization, but discarded the more strictly religious officials and ceremonial centers in favor of authorities with more secular functions who resided in well-equipped administrative towns (Isbell 1982). Centralized

control was established over the entire Ayacucho region employing this new governmental form that was sanctioned by the universal religion adopted from the Callawaya. Residents of many of Ayacucho's older centers immigrated to Huari. Bureaucratic state government and an urban capital were born. But change continued. The tradition of colonies located in distant lands was transformed into expansionistic conquest that imposed the single hierarchical political system. Indirect but centralized political control and Huari's new religion were spread throughout much of Peru. Where appropriate local administrative institutions were lacking, Huari constructed carefully planned provincial capitals from which bureaucrats managed state properties and acted as intermediaries between the central authority of Huari and local leaders of the traditional ethnic groups. The first Andean empire was born.

Following the adoption of the new, universal Callawaya religion, Tiwanaku refurbished the temples in its great civic center, erecting many sculptures replete with representations of the front-face deity and attendants. Although its residents cannot be accredited with all the insightful organizational innovations attributed to them in the old scenario of Middle Horizon developments, important changes did take place. While the temples were redecorated, Tiwanaku began to expand its sphere of influence. Ceremonial centers, however, were no longer constructed in newly colonized territories. At Tiwanaku, rectangular compounds with elongated room complexes surrounding open patios were built. The two known examples - the Putuni and Kherikala - have been interpreted as elite residences, most likely palaces. They reveal a trend toward the inclusion of more secular concerns in administration, and the development of architectural facilities for an increasing number of bureaucrats. The addition of more secular functions, the form of the Tiwanaku palaces and the development of distant colonies all

suggest some Huari inspiration. It seems unlikely however that the administration of Tiwanaku's provinces was similar to those of Middle Horizon Huari. Rather, ties based on economic exchange and religious conviction may have held together Tiwanaku's version of an empire without a significant number of bureaucratic elite other than those in the capital itself. The universal religion secured a means of interaction among politically independent, ethnically distinct, but economically complimentary polities among which the elite of Tiwanaku set the standards for consumption and display.

This scenario of Middle Horizon culture change emphasizes the importance of ideology, information exchange, and the reinterpretation of organizational forms from diverse sources. It rejects the diffusionist explanation in which innovation is ascribed to one, or even two precocious centers. Archaeological research that attempts to explain the Middle Horizon cannot concentrate on Tiwanaku alone, or a succession of innovations that moved from Tiwanaku to Huari. Recognition of the distinct but parallel organizational evolution at Tiwanaku and Huari should redirect our attention to the conditions that encourage innovation and change. I contend that Tiahuanacoid iconography and a new ideology introduced to both Tiwanaku and Huari was instrumental in creating a context appropriate for rapid and radical change at both centers. The study of this shared iconography, with its ideology, and the identification of other conditions or cultural features shared by Huari and Tiwanaku immediately before their sudden evolutionary advances should contribute a great deal to our understanding of state and empire origins.

EXPLANATION OF TABLE I

All dates in the Tiwanaku column are from the Tiwanaku Site, collected under the direction of A. Kidder II or C. Ponce S. (See Ponce 1972).

* Dates probably in error.

1. Samples from Huari collected under the direction of W. H. Isbell
2. Samples from Jargampata collected under the direction of W. H. Isbell
3. Samples from Conchopata collected under the direction of R. S. MacNeish
4. Samples from Nawinpukyu collected under the direction of R. S. MacNeish
5. Samples from Cahuachi, Nasca reported by Rowe (1967:29)
6. Average of 3 samples from textiles believed to have been inside Middle Horizon 2A jars from Ocoña. Reported by Rowe (1967:27-28)
7. Sample from Montegrande, Nasca reported by Rowe (1967:28)
8. Sample from Ulluhaya, Callango, Ica reported by Rowe (1967:28)

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