

CONTACT, CONFLICT, TRADE AND MIGRATION:  
INTERREGIONAL INTERACTION IN THE ANDEAN LATE  
INTERMEDIATE PERIOD (1150-1450)

In his seminal analysis of collapse, Joseph Tainter suggests that periods following the disintegration of an influential political system are generally characterized by an increase in conflict and a retraction of interregional contact.<sup>1</sup> Following this basic assumption in the Andes, the time following the collapse of the Tiwanaku state, regionally known as the Late Intermediate Period (AD 1150-1450), is commonly stereotyped as an Andean “Dark Age” of sociopolitical fragmentation and conflict. New research, however, is leading to a more nuanced understanding that considers the processes of social and cultural renegotiation that follow collapse, suggesting that the Late Intermediate Period was not only a time of internecine warfare, but also of significant population movement and possible interregional interaction.<sup>2</sup> Preliminary results from my ongoing investigations at the Pukara de Khonkho in Bolivia’s southern Titicaca Basin raise the possibility that the Late Intermediate Period inhabitants of the Pukara may have been immigrants or colonists from another region.

In this paper I explore the idea that collapse may be followed by the development of new interregional contacts as local populations enter a period of cultural and sociopolitical reorganization. A consideration of the rapid and continually changing processes of reimagination and reformulation of community and identity helps us to move away from a vision of post-collapse communities as isolated and stagnant. Instead, I consider post-collapse developments as the results of choices made by knowledgeable agents who were still dealing with or reacting against various factors that led to collapse, and I begin to address the possible roles of population movement and community interaction in the formation of post-collapse societies. First, I review some general theories about collapse and cultural regeneration, showing how population movement as well as shifting patterns of trade and

---

<sup>1</sup> See Joseph A. Tainter, *The Collapse of Complex Societies*, New York, Cambridge University Press, 1988 (henceforward: Tainter, *The Collapse*).

<sup>2</sup> John Wayne Janusek, *Collapse as Cultural Revolution: Power and Identity in the Tiwanaku to Pacajes Transition*, in *Archaeological Papers of the American Anthropological Association*, XIV, 2005 (henceforward: Janusek, *Collapse as Cultural*), p. 175-209; Axel E. Nielsen, *Interpreting Conflict in the Ancient Andes: Implications for the Archaeology of Warfare*, in *Current Anthropology*, 46, 1, 2005 (henceforward: Nielsen, *Interpreting Conflict*), p. 17-18; Bruce D. Owen, *Distant Colonies and Explosive Collapse: The Two Stages of the Tiwanaku Diaspora in the Osmore Drainage*, in *Latin American Antiquity*, 16, 1 (henceforward: Owen, *Distant Colonies*), p. 45-81.

conflict may influence post-collapse societies. I then discuss how these ideas play out in the Andean Late Intermediate Period, focusing on the South Central Andes. I draw specifically on my own recent research at the Pukara de Khonkho and explain how attention to such community interaction will inform my future research.

#### *Collapse and Contact*

The topic of collapse is one that captures the imaginations of many, with images of mysteriously abandoned cities and “lost” civilizations, and archaeologists have outlined numerous general and specific theories of collapse for all world regions. Following Tainter, collapse is broadly defined as a “rapid, significant loss of an established level of sociopolitical complexity.”<sup>3</sup> Theories of collapse can be roughly divided into those that focus on external forces like foreign invasion<sup>4</sup> or climate change<sup>5</sup>, and those that may acknowledge external influences, but concentrate on internal societal forces and problems.<sup>6</sup> In the Andes, Kolata and colleagues attribute Tiwanaku collapse to a severe drought beginning around 1100 AD, which is documented

---

<sup>3</sup> Tainter, *The Collapse*, p. 4.

<sup>4</sup> Bennett Bronson, *The Role of Barbarians in the Fall of States*, in Norman Yoffee and George L. Cowgill (eds.), *The Collapse of Ancient States and Civilizations*, Tucson, University of Arizona Press, 1988 (henceforward: Bronson, *The Role of Barbarians*), p. 196-218.

<sup>5</sup> Michael W. Binford, Alan L. Kolata, Mark Brenner, John W. Janusek, Matthew T. Seddon, Mark Abbott, Jason H. Curtis, *Climate Variation and the Rise and Fall of an Andean Civilization*, in *Quaternary Research*, 47, 1997 (henceforward: Binford et alii, *Climate Variation and the Rise*), p. 235-248; Patrick T. Culbert, *The Collapse of Classic Maya Civilization*, in Norman Yoffee and George L. Cowgill (eds.), *The Collapse of Ancient States and Civilizations*, Tucson, University of Arizona Press, 1988, p. 69-101; Alan L. Kolata, Charles R. Ortloff, *Agroecological Perspectives on the Decline of the Tiwanaku State*, in *Tiwanaku and Its Hinterland*, vol. 1, 1996, Washington DC, Smithsonian University Press (henceforward: Kolata, Ortloff, *Agroecological Perspectives*), p. 181-201; Alan L. Kolata, Michael W. Binford, Mark Brenner, John W. Janusek, Charles Ortloff, *Environmental Thresholds and the Empirical Reality of State Collapse: A Response to Erickson (1999)*, in *Antiquity*, 74, 2000 (henceforward: Kolata et alii, *Environmental Thresholds*), p. 424-426.

<sup>6</sup> Arthur A. Demarest, *Ancient Maya: The Rise and Fall of a Rainforest Civilization*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2004 (henceforward: Demarest, *Ancient Maya*); Clark L. Erickson, *Neo-environmental Determinism and Agrarian “Collapse” in Andean Prehistory*, in *Antiquity*, 73, 1999 (henceforward: Erickson: *Neo-environmental Determinism*), p. 634-642; Janusek, *Collapse as Cultural*, p. 175-209; Arthur A. Joyce, Laura A. Bustamente, Marc N. Levine, *Commoner Power: A Case Study from the Classic Period Collapse on the Oaxaca Coast*, in *Journal of Archaeological Method and Theory*, 8, 2001, p. 343-385; Charles Stanish, *Ancient Titicaca: The Evolution of Complex Society in Southern Peru and Northern Bolivia*, Berkeley, University of California Press, 2003 (henceforward: Stanish, *Ancient Titicaca*); Tainter, *The Collapse*; Patrick Ryan Williams, *Rethinking Disaster Induced Collapse in the Demise of the Andean Highland States: Wari and Tiwanaku*, in *World Archaeology*, 33, 2002 (henceforward: Williams, *Rethinking Disaster*), p. 361-374.

by reduced precipitation in glacial ice cores, paleolimnological evidence of receding lake levels, and the abandonment of raised fields that would have been affected by falling water tables.<sup>7</sup> Erickson critiques this reasoning as “neo-environmental determinism” and argues that properly functioning social systems would have been able to deal with a drought; therefore the problem must have been internal in nature.<sup>8</sup> Following this critique, many now consider that the drought must have exacerbated already existing problems within the Tiwanaku sociopolitical system.<sup>9</sup>

The problem with any of these positions, as with many studies of collapse, is that an explicit focus on the reasons for and the process of collapse itself leads to an implicit assumption of abrupt change and disconnection between pre and post - collapse periods. When we begin to look at post-collapse periods in more detail, however, we find that: 1) It’s often difficult to pinpoint exactly when “collapse” takes place, because it is a multifaceted and locally experienced process; 2) The factors that led to collapse (whether external or internal) do not disappear in the post-collapse period, and they inform the possible choices and challenges of individuals and communities in post-collapse societies; and 3) The renegotiation of identity that takes place after collapse is partially defined by the interactions that occur between groups that come into contact with each other as a result of diasporic migrations and newly forming patterns of subsistence, trade, conflict, or ritual. More recent studies from all over the world are beginning to take many of these ideas into account and further illustrate their importance. I draw specifically on Roman, Mayan, and Tiwanaku examples.

Dating the collapse of a state or a civilization can be next to impossible because of the various ways in which “collapse” can be understood or experienced. After many unsuccessful attempts to pin an absolute date to Roman collapse, for example, Bowersock wonders if it can be said that the Roman Empire ever collapsed at all.<sup>10</sup> The empire had always absorbed new people, and even many of the “barbarian” Goths who are often credited with causing the collapse actually considered themselves to be Romans. Bowersock urges us to discuss change and transformation rather than decay and collapse, because although the overall effect was great, the dissolution of the Roman Empire took place over many centuries. Society is continually rebuilding itself

---

<sup>7</sup> Binford et alii, *Climate Variation and the Rise*, p. 235-248; Kolata, Ortloff, *Agroecological Perspectives*, p. 181-201; Kolata et alii, *Environmental Thresholds*, p. 424-426.

<sup>8</sup> Erickson, *Neo-environmental Determinism*, p. 634-642.

<sup>9</sup> Janusek, *Collapse as Cultural*, p. 175-209; Stanish, *Ancient Titicaca*; Williams, *Rethinking Disaster*, p. 361-374.

<sup>10</sup> G.W. Bowersock, *The Dissolution of the Roman Empire*, in Norman Yoffee, George L. Cowgill (ed.), *The Collapse of Ancient States and Civilizations*, Tucson, University of Arizona Press, 1988, p. 165-175.

through an important play of change and continuity, and it is often true that “whenever one sets out to discuss collapse, one ends up by talking about continuity”.<sup>11</sup> Among the Maya, Demarest argues that collapse was experienced differently and at different times in each Maya region.<sup>12</sup> Diane and Arlen Chase focusing on the experience of Maya “collapse” in what is now northern Belize, find little to no evidence of abrupt collapse, but simply of the sort of gradual transformations that are normal at any time in history.<sup>13</sup> In Tiwanaku, while there are clear and relatively rapid changes that involve the repudiation of Tiwanaku state symbols, ceremonies, and iconography throughout Tiwanaku’s core and hinterland, Janusek’s analysis of household archaeology in the city of Tiwanaku itself paints a much different picture.<sup>14</sup> Residential areas were slowly abandoned, with activities continuing as normal in some sectors while other areas were reduced to trash dumps. The Akapana pyramid was not rapidly abandoned, but there was a gradual shift in its use as it became a place for remembering the past through sacrifices rather than the location of more active, communal feasts and ceremonies. As all of these examples illustrate, if “collapse” is cumulative or experienced differently in various regions, it becomes more and more important to consider the broader picture.

Since it is clear that collapse is rarely, if ever, as abrupt as the term might first suggest, it is also important to note that in most cases the factors that lead to collapse will extend into the post-collapse period. Drought does not end because of political failure; nor do negative sentiments towards a particular ethnic group or social class and migrations that begin during collapse have significant implications for later cultural formations. Instead of expecting that political collapse will automatically lead to abrupt social change, it is necessary to explain both changes and continuities in post-collapse periods as the result of choices made by knowledgeable agents at a particular point in time.<sup>15</sup> Janusek stresses that after Tiwanaku collapse, new communities and identities were structured from earlier identities and interactions.<sup>16</sup> In some

---

<sup>11</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 174.

<sup>12</sup> Demarest, *Ancient Maya*, 2004.

<sup>13</sup> Diane Z. Chase, Arlen F. Chase, *Hermeneutics, Transitions, and Transformations in Classic to Postclassic Maya Society*, in Arthur A. Demarest, Prudence M. Rice, and Don S. Rice (eds.), *The Terminal Classic in the Maya Lowlands: Collapse, Transition, and Transformation*, Boulder, University Press of Colorado, 2004 (henceforward: Demarest et alii, *The Terminal*), p. 12-27.

<sup>14</sup> Janusek, *Collapse as Cultural*, p. 175-209; Idem, *Identity and Power in the Ancient Andes: Tiwanaku Cities Through Time*, Routledge, New York, 2004 (henceforward: Janusek, *Identity and Power*).

<sup>15</sup> Pierre Bourdieu, *Outline of a Theory of Practice*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1977; Anthony Giddens, *Central Problems in Social Theory: Action, Structure, and Contradiction in Social Analysis*, Berkeley, University of California Press, 1979.

<sup>16</sup> Janusek, *Collapse as Cultural*, p. 175-209.

cases, people disassociated themselves from connections with a Tiwanaku past through an intentional process of “cultural amnesia,” which sometimes included the violent destruction of Tiwanaku state symbols and monoliths.<sup>17</sup> Graffam suggests that other elements of Tiwanaku culture, including perhaps the use of some raised fields, may have continued into the Late Intermediate Period as rural farmers kept the Tiwanaku innovations that they liked and discarded those that were no longer useful.<sup>18</sup> Similar processes during the Roman<sup>19</sup> and Mayan<sup>20</sup> collapses illustrate how various local groups responded in different ways to the broader regional or sociopolitical circumstances.

It should not be surprising that the factors that lead to collapse can also often encourage population movement. As old connections break down, groups and individuals begin to come into contact with other groups with which they may have been previously unfamiliar. Groups or individuals may move because they are fleeing violence, because they are withdrawing from a failing city, or because they are taking advantage of new trade or subsistence activities that were not previously possible under a strong state system. These movements have significant repercussions for the processes of cultural regeneration that follow collapse as everyday interactions begin to bring individual actors into contact with members of other communities, and these interactions help to reconstruct community identity. In the Maya region, Demarest argues that violent collapse in the Petexbatun region of Guatemala led to the migration of many refugees to other parts of the Maya world.<sup>21</sup> In some areas, the new migrants put strain on the local systems, leading to further instability, but in others the refugees were successfully integrated into the local system, initiating a period of prosperity. This was one of the reasons why Maya collapse was experienced differently throughout Mesoamerica. Migrants also moved into previously abandoned centers, often appropriating monuments, tools, and structures for their own uses.<sup>22</sup> The implications of similar migrations in the Andes are elaborated in more detail below, but the above discussion should be sufficient to highlight the importance of

---

<sup>17</sup> *Ibidem*.

<sup>18</sup> Gray C. Graffam, *Beyond State Collapse: Rural History, Raised Fields, and Pastoralism in the South Andes*, in *American Anthropologist*, 94, 1992, p. 882-904.

<sup>19</sup> Peter S. Wells, *The Barbarians Speak: How the Conquered Peoples Shaped Roman Europe*, Princeton, Princeton University Press, 1999.

<sup>20</sup> Demarest, *Ancient Maya*; Arthur A. Demarest, Prudence M. Rice, and Don S. Rice, *The Terminal Classic in the Maya Lowlands: Assessing Collapses, Terminations, and Transformation*, in Demarest et alii, *The Terminal*, p. 12-27.

<sup>21</sup> *Ibidem*.

<sup>22</sup> William L. Fash, E. Wyllys Andrews, T. Kam Manahan, *Political Decentralization, Dynastic Collapse, and the Early Postclassic in the Urban Center of Copan, Honduras*, in Demarest et alii, *The Terminal*, p. 260-287.

population movements, as well as the transformative experiences that may precipitate them, in the reconstruction of post-collapse community identity.

*The Pukara de Khonkho*

With this basic background, I now turn specifically to my recent research at the Pukara de Khonkho, and show how population movement and the development of new community relationships of conflict, ritual, trade, or subsistence may have impacted the formation of post-collapse identity in this area. The Pukara de Khonkho is located in the Pacasa region, just south of Lake Titicaca, which has not been as intensively studied as the regions of the Late Intermediate Period Lupaqa and Colla chiefdoms to the northwest (Figure 1). Throughout the Titicaca Basin, the large ceremonial centers of the altiplano were abandoned following Tiwanaku collapse, as the population dispersed throughout the countryside.<sup>23</sup> Most Late Intermediate Period settlements were small, ephemeral, and scattered, reflecting a shift to a subsistence pattern focusing on pastoralism rather than agriculture.<sup>24</sup> There are few pukaras (hill-forts) or other defensive settlements in the Pacasa region,<sup>25</sup> and the Pukara de Khonkho stands out as unique in the local area and as compared to other hilltop settlements in general. The presence of dense domestic habitation together with a lack of defensive walls suggests the possibility that it may not be a “pukara” at all, despite its immanently defensible location encircling the top of a steep, rocky hill.

Stig Rydén, a Swedish archaeologist, first recorded the site and excavated two house structures in 1938<sup>26</sup>, but the Pukara de Khonkho received no further archaeological attention until I began my investigation in 2005 under the auspices of the Proyecto Jach'a Machaca, directed by Dr. John Janusek of Vanderbilt University. In total, we identified and mapped 372 circular structures built on six terraces, as well as a number of smaller retaining walls (Figure 2). Structures are between 1.5 to 3 meters in diameter and are

---

<sup>23</sup> Janusek, *Collapse as Cultural*, p. 175-209.

<sup>24</sup> Juan Albarracin-Jordan, James Edward Matthews, *Asentamientos Prehispánicos del Valle de Tiwanaku*, La Paz, Producciones CIMA, vol. 1, 1990 (henceforward: Albarracin-Jordan, Matthews, *Asentamientos Prehispánicos*); Matthew Sebastian Bandy, *Population and History in the Ancient Titicaca Basin*, PhD Dissertation, Berkeley, University of California, 2001 (henceforward: Bandy, *Population and History*); James Edward Matthews, *Prehispanic Settlement and Agriculture in the Middle Tiwanaku Valley, Bolivia*, PhD Dissertation, Chicago, University of Chicago, 1992 (henceforward: Matthews, *Prehispanic Settlement*).

<sup>25</sup> Elizabeth Arkush, *Colla Fortified Sites: Warfare and Regional Power in the Late Prehispanic Titicaca Basin, Peru*, PhD Dissertation, Los Angeles, University of California, 2005 (henceforward: Arkush, *Colla Fortified Sites*).

<sup>26</sup> Stig Rydén, *Archaeological Researches in the Highlands of Bolivia*, Göteborg, Elanders Boktryckeri Aktiebolag, 1947.

built following one of two distinct types of construction. In one type large flat stones stand upright and probably represent foundations for adobe brick walls. The other type appears to be more finely made, with the same kinds of stones carefully stacked flat on their sides. Doorways are usually found in the east or the west, and niches often appear in the north wall of the “stacked” structures. The upper two terraces are almost completely empty and may have been used for pasturing camelids or for a ritual purpose. We have already completed excavation of a 2% sample (#8) of the circular structures. Interiors were excavated down to or below the floor level, and selected units outside each structure were excavated to sterile soil or bedrock. Surprisingly, there was significant diversity in the quantity and types of artifacts found in and around each structure, and it seems that different structures may have been used for different functions or by different groups of people.

Structures 534 and 535 are “stacked” structures on a promontory on Terrace 3 with an incredible view of the altiplano as well as of two faces of the Pukara itself. These structures were almost completely empty of artifacts, and may have been used as watchtowers or for ritual purposes rather than as regular domestic habitations. In contrast, Structures 490 and 470, also “stacked” structures on Terraces 4 and 6, were full of finely made ceramics (many in obviously non-local styles), camelid, small mammal, and fish bones, and also specialized stone and bone tools, including possible musical instruments. These structures could represent specialized work spaces. Structures 120 and 550 were similar “stacked” structures on Terraces 3 and 4, but with a much lower density of artifacts, including smaller ceramic plates and some metal tools. Structure 550 was also associated with an outside work area, containing bone and stone tools. Finally, Structures 199 and 577, “on end” structures on Terraces 4 and 5, held many large, unpainted, and often burned ceramic fragments, and may represent storage or cooking facilities. In addition to these internal differences, it was also surprising to discover that the ceramics found at the Pukara (Figure 3) are very different from ceramics dating to the same period from the more typical small, ephemeral Late Intermediate Period occupations that are found on the altiplano below. Although further analysis is necessary, this suggests the possibility that the inhabitants of the Pukara may have been immigrants or colonists from another region.

#### *Migration in the Andean Late Intermediate Period*

Most studies of large scale migration in the Andean Late Intermediate Period pit linguists against archaeologists.<sup>27</sup> At the time of the Spanish conquest, the Lake Titicaca region was populated by speakers of at least four different languages: Aymara, Uru, Pukina, and Quechua. While Quechua is

---

<sup>27</sup> David L. Browman, *Titicaca Basin Archaeolinguistics: Uru, Pukina, and Aymara, A.D. 750-1450*, in *World Archaeology*, 26, 2, 1994 (henceforward: Browman, *Titicaca Basin*), p. 234-250.

known to be the language of the Inca, who had recently conquered the area, the origins of the other three language groups are less clear. To summarize a long-standing disagreement, many linguists argue that the Aymara migrated to the Titicaca Basin after the collapse of Tiwanaku in the Late Intermediate Period<sup>28</sup>, while most archaeologists propose a long-standing multilingual complex throughout the basin, with Aymara as the primary language of the Tiwanaku state.<sup>29</sup> Continuities in ceramics, household architecture, and settlement sites from the Tiwanaku to the Late Intermediate Period do not support a hypothesis of large scale migration into the region.

Nevertheless, settlement surveys have suggested significant population movement over this time period. Janusek notes a general drop in population across the Titicaca Basin, but the local experiences of each valley are slightly different.<sup>30</sup> In general, however, the population disperses such that while there are more sites in the Late Intermediate Period, they are so much smaller and more ephemeral that population estimates are much lower. Most Tiwanaku Period settlements continue to be occupied into the Late Intermediate Period, but the overall settlement size drops dramatically, and new settlements, including fortified pukaras, are built in the hills rather than on the high plains.<sup>31</sup> The population reorganization is most dramatic in the Tiwanaku core area, where numerous large-scale settlement surveys have been conducted. Matthews finds that Late Intermediate Period settlements in the Tiwanaku Valley itself are quite small and scattered randomly throughout the valley without any trace of settlement hierarchies, but only posits a slight population decrease.<sup>32</sup> In the nearby Taraco peninsula, Bandy also notes a shift to a more dispersed pattern of settlement, but suggests a much more drastic drop in population to about a fifth of its previous Tiwanaku Period size.<sup>33</sup> In contrast, John Wayne Janusek and Martti Pärssinen find evidence of actual population growth in the drier areas further south near the sites of Khonkho and

---

<sup>28</sup> Thérèse Bouysse-Cassagne, *La Identidad Aymara*, La Paz, Hisbol, 1987; Alfredo Torero, *Lingüística e historia de la sociedad andina*, in *Anales Científicos de la Universidad Nacional Agraria*, 8, 3/4, 1970, p. 231-264.

<sup>29</sup> Albarracín-Jordan, Matthews, *Asentamientos Prehispánicos*; Browman, *Titicaca Basin*, p. 234-250; Janusek, *Collapse as Cultural*, p. 175-209; Idem, *Identity and Power*; Stanish, *Ancient Titicaca*.

<sup>30</sup> Janusek, *Collapse as Cultural*, p. 175-209;

<sup>31</sup> Albarracín-Jordan, Matthews, *Asentamientos Prehispánicos*; Arkush, *Colla Fortified Sites*; Bandy, *Population and History*; Janusek, *Collapse as Cultural*, p. 175-209; Matthews, *Prehispanic Settlement*; Charles Stanish, M. Edmundo de la Vega, Lee Steadman, Cecilia Chávez Justo, Kirk Lawrence Frye, Luperio Onofre Mamani, Matthew T. Seddon, and Percy Calisaya Chuquimia, *Archaeological Survey in the Juli-Desaguadero Region of the Lake Titicaca Basin, Southern Peru*, Chicago, Field Museum of Natural History, 1997.

<sup>32</sup> Matthews, *Prehispanic Settlement*.

<sup>33</sup> Bandy, *Population and History*.

Caquiaviri.<sup>34</sup> They posit that populations may have moved into the region to take advantage of its suitability for pastoralism as Tiwanaku-sponsored agricultural production began to decline. The archaeological evidence also seems to support oral histories, which suggest that sites near Khonkho, including the Pukara de Khonkho became important as people moved into the region following Tiwanaku collapse.<sup>35</sup> While I do not accept a hypothesis of large-scale Aymara migration, I do think that it is clear that populations generally became more mobile after collapse, and preliminary evidence suggests that the inhabitants of the Pukara de Khonkho were recent immigrants or colonists in the Desaguadero Valley.

Recent work by Paul Goldstein<sup>36</sup> and Bruce Owen<sup>37</sup> has been useful in outlining different ways to identify possible diasporic communities. Goldstein argues that they are generally located in peripheral regions, that they demonstrate distinct ethnic identities from other nearby communities, and that they maintain an affiliation of identity with their homeland, partially through a structural reproduction of the homeland hierarchy within the site. Owen identifies possible post-Tiwanaku diaspora communities in the Osmore drainage of Peru on the grounds that they are located in defensive, previously unoccupied areas and have a distinct material culture from the surrounding communities.<sup>38</sup> This description also characterizes the site of Pukara de Khonkho, which is surrounded by contemporary settlements that are different in both settlement structure and material culture. Future research and more systematic ceramic and architectural analysis will help to confirm whether or not the Pukara de Khonkho is actually a diaspora-type settlement of migrants from another region, although I will also consider the possibility that it may have been a multi-ethnic community, with individuals maintaining kinship or ethnic ties with other regions.

#### *Development of New Communities and Interaction Spheres*

If further analysis continues to suggest that the Pukara de Khonkho was indeed a community of migrants (refugees or colonists), it is then

---

<sup>34</sup> Janusek, *Collapse as Cultural*, p. 175-209; Martti Pärssinen, *Caquiaviri y la Provincia Pacasa: Desde el Alto-Formativo hasta la Conquista Española*, La Paz, CIMA Editores, 2005.

<sup>35</sup> Manuel Rigoberto Paredes, *Tiahuanacu y la Provincia de Ingavi*, 1955, La Paz, Ediciones Isla, 1955.

<sup>36</sup> Paul S. Goldstein, *Communities Without Borders: The Vertical Archipelago and Diaspora Communities in the Southern Andes*, in Marcello A. Canuto and Jason Yaeger (eds.), *The Archaeology of Communities: A New World Perspective*, Routledge, London, 2000 (henceforward: Goldstein, *Communities Without Borders*), p. 182-209; Idem, *Andean Diaspora: The Tiwanaku Colonies and the Origins of South American Empire*, Gainesville, University Press of Florida, 2005.

<sup>37</sup> Owen, *Distant Colonies*, p. 45-81.

<sup>38</sup> *Ibidem*.

important to consider the implications of this migration for the processes of cultural regeneration that follow collapse. As populations migrate to another region, or simply embrace a more mobile pattern of pastoralism, new interregional contacts are formed through relations of warfare, ritual, or trade. For communities in the process of reinventing their own identity as they separate themselves from their Tiwanaku past, these interactions could be highly charged settings, with symbolic as well as material importance. Frederic Barth's analysis of the importance of boundaries in establishing and delimiting ethnic identity shows that the substance of differences between two different groups is not really as important for each group's identity as the simple presence of these differences and boundaries.<sup>39</sup> Furthermore, he stresses that boundaries are established not through isolation, but through regular contact. As communities and individuals began to disassociate themselves from Tiwanaku, they also needed to disassociate themselves from each other (even as they continued to interact), and new, local symbols began to gain importance.<sup>40</sup> Communities in the Late Intermediate Period may have interacted through warfare and conflict, shared ritual activities, and/or trading relationships, which were often mediated through the seasonal rounds of pastoralism, and all of these interactions, would have had implications for the development of post-collapse identity.

The Late Intermediate Period is often characterized as a time of warfare, whose presence is represented archaeologically through the sudden growth of pukaras and other settlements in defensive locations. John Topic and Teresa Topic, however, point out that the mere location of sites in what appear to be defensive places is not enough to automatically assume the threat of warfare.<sup>41</sup> There are, after all, many other reasons to live on a hill other than for defense, and walls could be more important as symbolic markers of identity than as physical barriers against intruders. Empty pukaras without household structures are usually interpreted as places of refuge during times of war, but could just as easily be seen as spaces for communal ritual activity. E. Arkush and C. Stanish argue that ethnographic analogy, together with documentary evidence and analysis of pukara settlement patterns in the Colla region north of Lake Titicaca, do point to the importance of warfare during the Late Intermediate Period, but remind us that settlements and architecture can be

---

<sup>39</sup> Frederic Barth, *Ethnic Groups and Boundaries*, London, George Allen & Unwin, 1969.

<sup>40</sup> Janusek, *Collapse as Cultural*, p. 175-209.

<sup>41</sup> John Topic, Teresa Topic, *The Archaeological Investigations of Andean Militarism: Some Cautionary Observations*, in Jonathan Haas, Shelia Pozorski, and Thomas Pozorski, *The Origins and Development of the Andean State*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1987 (henceforward: Topic, Topic, *The Archaeological Investigations*), p. 47-55.

used for more than one primary purpose over the course of their existence.<sup>42</sup> The Pukara de Khonkho does not seem to be a major center for either warfare or ritual, despite its defensible location. It is densely populated with small domestic structures and has a complete lack of specialized architecture. The only walls are domestic terraces rather than fortifications, and excavation has not uncovered any possible weapons. While future investigations will consider the possible roles of conflict and ritual in the formation of community identity at the Pukara de Khonkho, at this time it seems more likely that other kinds of interaction were more common.

Trade and pastoral seasonal migration are two other ways in which communities interact that would have profound implications for the formation of identity in the Late Intermediate Period. Both Browman and Dillehay and Nuñez stress the interrelationship between trade and camelid pastoralism in the Andes, and focus on the role of trade in the organization of complex society.<sup>43</sup> Browman identifies an “altiplano mode” of exchange and trade in which different communities each developed their own craft or product specializations, and llama caravans connected the communities through trade.<sup>44</sup> Dillehay and Nuñez argue that pastoralism and agriculture coevolved along with trade, and that intensive agriculture was initiated by a need for sedentary support for mobile trading caravans that tied the South-Central Andes together through a series of “caravan webs” moving in “fixed spirals” through different ecological zones.<sup>45</sup> The collapse of Tiwanaku was a collapse of long-distance trade networks, when many of the settlements that had previously acted as “middlemen” for the Tiwanaku trade developed into regionally independent axis settlements in their own right. As regional chiefdoms began to form, Dillehay and Nuñez argue, shorter trade routes and growing numbers of fortresses suggest an increase in conflict.<sup>46</sup> However, it is important not to assume that increased conflict implies diminished trade. Keeley and Nielsen have suggested that conflict is often actually linked with trade and population movement.<sup>47</sup> Topic and Topic, using examples from the North Coast, note that fortifications were often associated with major roads

---

<sup>42</sup> Elizabeth Arkush, Charles Stanish, *Interpreting Conflict in the Ancient Andes: Implications for the Archaeology of Warfare*, in *Current Anthropology*, 46, 1, 2005, p. 3-28.

<sup>43</sup> David L. Browman, *New Light in Andean Tiwanaku*, in *American Scientist*, 69, 1981 (henceforward: Browman, *New Light*), p. 408-419; Tom Dillehay, A. Lautaro Nuñez, *Camelids, Caravans, and Complex Societies in the South-Central Andes*, in N.J. Saunders, O. de Montmollin, *Recent Studies in Pre-Columbian Archaeology*, Oxford, British Archaeological Papers, 1988 (henceforward: Dillehay, Lautaro Nuñez, *Camelids*), p. 603-634.

<sup>44</sup> Browman, *New Light*, p. 408-419.

<sup>45</sup> Dillehay, Lautaro Nuñez, *Camelids*, p. 603-634.

<sup>46</sup> *Ibidem*.

<sup>47</sup> Lawrence Keeley, *War Before Civilization*, New York, Oxford University Press, 1996; Nielsen, *Interpreting Conflict*, p. 17-18.

and trade ceramics, suggesting that they were not just defenses against attack, but also control points regulating interaction and trade between various groups.<sup>48</sup> The possible role of the Pukara de Khonkho as a trading hub as well as the participation of individuals in different trade networks is an important focus for future analysis.

*Preliminary Conclusions and Plans for Future Research*

The conclusion that the Pukara de Khonkho was a community of migrants is still quite preliminary, based on two short field seasons and cursory ceramic analysis. Nevertheless, the idea is sound enough to form the basis of hypotheses that will be explored through next season's field research as well as a more intense and systematic material analysis. The Pukara is located in a peripheral region without signs of previous habitation, and has a clearly distinct material culture from the more ephemeral Late Intermediate Period occupations of the altiplano, all signs of diasporic communities according to Goldstein<sup>49</sup> and Owen.<sup>50</sup> Future investigations should confirm this conclusion and will seek to clarify the nature of the Pukara's relationships with other communities and the role that these relationships may have had in the reconstitution of identity following collapse. Questions to be explored include the following: Where did the inhabitants of the Pukara de Khonkho migrate from? Did community members choose to continue to affiliate with their homeland? What sorts of relationships did individuals have with communities from their homeland and/or with members of the smaller, local Late Intermediate Period communities on the altiplano? How was community identity established or expressed through these relationships?

While the specifics of this study as it relates to the Pukara de Khonkho still need to be fleshed out, I have also been attempting to formulate a broader, more theoretical argument through the course of this paper. It should now be clear that the processes of collapse and cultural regeneration can not be studied in isolation. The very factors which may have led to collapse extend into the post-collapse period and inform the choices and challenges of individual agents as society is reconstructed. Furthermore, population movement and newly forming patterns of cultural interaction (through warfare, ritual, trade, or pastoral seasonal migration) are extremely important in the reformulation of community identity, as communities may seek to differentiate themselves both from the past and from each other. While I have discussed these issues in the context of the south-central Andes, there are also implications for

---

<sup>48</sup> Topic, Topic, *The Archaeological Investigations*.

<sup>49</sup> Goldstein, *Communities Without Borders*, p. 182-209.

<sup>50</sup> Owen, *Distant Colonies*, p. 45-81.

investigations of the periods that follow the collapse of an influential state system in any world region.

*Acknowledgements*

Research for this paper was conducted as part of the Proyecto J'acha Machaca, directed by Dr. John Janusek, and funded by a grant from the National Science Foundation. Excavations on the Pukara de Khonkho were also partially funded by a Vanderbilt University College of Arts and Science Summer Research Award.

JENNIFER M. ZOVAR  
Vanderbilt University

CONTACT, CONFLICT, COMERȚ ȘI MIGRAȚIE:  
INTERACȚIUNI INTERREGIONALE ÎN PERIOADA INTERMEDIARĂ  
TÂRZIE ÎN ZONA ANZILOR (1150- 1450)

Rezumat

Autoarea acestei lucrări pornește de la ideea că, în perioadele de colaps, se dezvoltă noi contacte interregionale, întrucât populația intră într-o fază de reorganizare culturală și socio-politică, ce favorizează procesul de reîntregire a comunității și identității. Sunt prezentate câteva teorii generale despre colaps și regenerare culturală, arătându-se, de pildă, în ce mod pot fi influențate societățile post-colaps de fenomenul de migrație sau de schimbarea stilului de comerț, iar ilustrarea lor se face prin analiza consacrată perioadei intermediare târzii din zona Anzilor, cu deosebire din regiunea central-sudică a acesteia. Autoarea descrie, pe baza cercetărilor întreprinse la Pukara de Khonkho, formarea în acea zonă a unor comunități și identități noi în perioada de după colaps.

Cele mai multe studii asupra migrației din zona Anzilor în perioada intermediară târzie au condus la polemici între lingviști și arheologi. Continuitatea ceramicii, a arhitecturii și amplasării așezărilor din Tiwanaku din acea perioadă nu suportă ipoteza migrării pe scară largă, ceea ce vine în contradicție cu ipotezele lingviștilor. Este limpede însă că populația a devenit mult mai mobilă după colaps. Lucrările lui Goldstein și Owen au adus contribuții importante la identificarea posibilelor comunități diasporice. Cercetările ulterioare ar trebui să confirme ipoteza potrivit căreia Pukara de Khonko este o așezare de tip diasporic, cu toate că poate fi luată în considerare și posibilitatea unei comunități multietnice, care avea legături și cu alte regiuni.

# Pukara de Khonkho

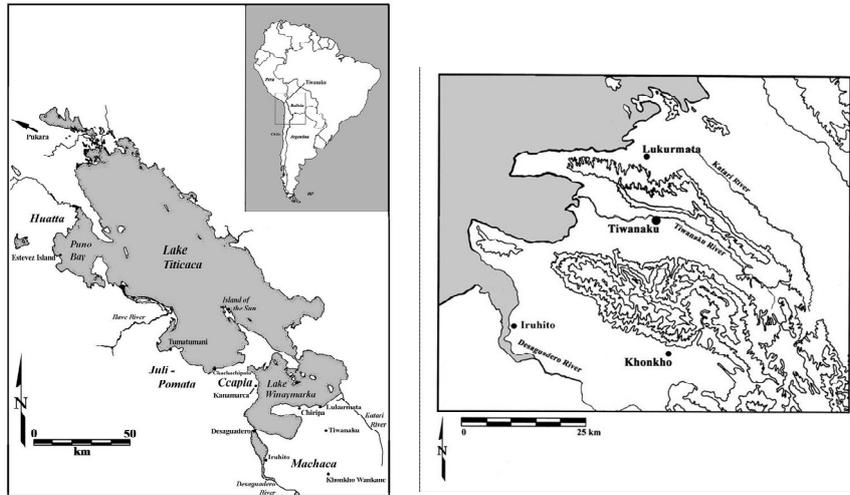


Fig. 1. Important sites around the Titicaca Basin.  
Adapted from Stanish, *Ancient Titicaca*. Thanks to John W. Janusek.



Fig. 2. The Pukara de Khonkho, showing terrace walls. (The wall in the foreground that runs up the hill is a modern property marker.)



Fig. 3. A sample of ceramics from the Pukara de Khonkho