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Ritual Feting and Religious Conversion in an Ancient Native American Empire University of Florida, Gainesville, FL Michael E. Moseley & Patrick Ryan Williams, Project Directors

The excavation and interpretation of two Pre-Columbian Andean libration halls in present day Peru to study religious rituals and the transfer of one polity's gods into the pantheon of the other's.

Outright Funds and Offer of Matching Funds of \$68,500 over a period of 2 years.

STATEMENT OF SIGNIFICANCE AND IMPACT

Although contemporary empires of antiquity regularly borrowed from one another, only rarely did one freely convert to worshiping the supreme deity of another. Yet, in Pre-Columbian South America the Andean nation of Huari adopted the paramount divinity of Tiwanaku, its imperial Native American counterpart between 600 and 900 AD. The long debated conundrum of how the ideology of this ray-headed god was transferred will be significantly informed by exploration of monumental ruins atop the sheer-sided mesa of Cerro Baul, the "Masada of the Andes." Here, in the sierra of southern Peru, Huari implanted a distant imperial colony deep within Tiwanaku territory, thrusting the nations into direct physical contact not known elsewhere. The proposed two-year excavation and analysis project focuses on two monumental libation halls at Cerro Baul, where final abandonment entailed ceremonial feasting, drinking and ritual burning of the facilities, with participants casting scores of ornate libation vessels into the conflagration including beakers depicting the ray-headed being. The libation hall caches will richly contextualize the art, iconography, ideology, and ritual surrounding the borrowed god. Furthermore, the assemblages provide unique means to test the hypothesis that only the utmost elites were privileged to display insignia of the rayheaded god because paramount nobles promoted adoption of the Supreme Being in order to co-opt the cult for their own aggrandizement. Thus, the proposed study can significantly enhance scholarly understanding of past religious conversion processes among by-gone empires.

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Narrative Description

SUBSTANCE AND CONTEXT

Addressing the penultimate Andean empires of Huari and Tiwanaku and the ceremonial context in which the former adopted the supreme deity of the latter, the proposed two-year project of excavation and analysis focuses on two monumental libation halls at Cerro Baul, an imperial Huari colony deep in Tiwanaku territory. Elaborate closure rites accompanying final abandonment of the halls entailed feasting, drinking and ritual burning of the facilities, with participants casting scores of ornate libation vessels into the conflagration. Consequently, the libation halls provide unique archaeological and art historical assemblages with exceptional potentials for elucidating ancient iconography, ideology, and ritual behavior.

BACKGROUND: Ritual feasting and drinking is the essential glue of social and sacred relationships among indigenous people of South America's Andes Mountains. Cultural and cosmological order has traditionally been maintained by feting both neighboring ethnic groups as well as potent landscape spirits, ranging from the soils of mother earth (*Pacha Mama*) to the towering peaks of mountain fathers (*Apu*). Intoxicating maize beer, complementing opulent banquets cemented the Inca dominion that stretched more than 6,000 km down the Andean Cordillera to form the largest Native American nation. The Inca achievement had vital political antecedents in earlier Middle Horizon times (ca. 600 AD –1000 AD) when two great empires held sway over the mountains, with Huari ruling in the north and Tiwanaku in the south. Huari, characterized as a youthful, secular and militant state, governed most of highland and coastal Peru from its upland capital in the rugged sierra of Ayacucho (Fig. 1A [Appendix 1 = Illustrations]; Czwarno et al. 1989; Feldman 1989; Isbell and McEwan 1991; Lumbreras 1974; Schreiber 1992 [Appendix 2 = Bibliography]). Tiwanaku, portrayed as a mature ecclesiastical and mercantile polity,

exerted sway over Bolivia, southern Peru, and northern Chile from its capital on the high plains of Lake Titicaca (Fig. 1A; Browman 1985; Goldstein 1993; Kolata 1989; Mujica1985; Wallace1980). Tiwanaku prospered by farming flat terrain where potatoes and high altitude crops could grow, and by maintaining large herds of llamas and alpacas (Albarracian-Jordan 1996; Kolata1986; 1993). Alternatively, Huari increased agricultural revenues by constructing irrigated terraces on steep mountain slopes where maize and other domesticate grew well (McEwan 1989; Schreiber 1987b).

Ruling as intermediaries between heaven and earth, the hereditary nobility (kuraka) of both empires maintained cultural and cosmological order with elaborate ceremonies often involving ritual intoxication, repast, as well as oration, entreaty, music and dance to judge from Inca times. Whereas commoners were feted on seasonal occasions with ordinary gruel served in simple vessels, elite ceremonial calendars were more demanding. The nobility were wined and dined with better affair served up in grades of fine ware appropriate to the particular status and rank of individual participants. Although Tiwanaku and Huari elites imbibed from keros beakers of the same form (Fig. 2B), the architectural forms of their ceremonial facilities differed. Accommodating large audiences and numerous ritual participants, Tiwanaku emphasized processions through monumental gateways, ceremonies ascending massive mounds with summit sunken courts (Fig. 2F), ornately carvel masonry, and imposing stele. (Bennett 1936; Kolata 1998; Manzanilla 1992; Ponce 1972). Facilitating smaller, more exclusive assemblies, Huari amenities stressed high walled compounds, called patio groups, divided into interior galleries, courts, corridors, and rooms lacking ornamental stonework (Benavides 1991; Bragayrac 1991; Conklin 1991; Czwarno 1989; Schreiber 1992). Architectural canons promulgated at each capital were closely followed when the states erected administrative centers in their hinterlands.

<u>PROBLEMS</u> Although a wide buffer zone typically separated the two imperia (Lumbreras 1974), they shared the same paramount deity, known as the "Front-Facing deity" in Huari studies and the "Gateway God" in Tiwanaku iconography. Rays issue from the head of the richly garbed divinity who holds an ornate ceremonial staff in each hand (Fig. 1B). Shown in profile, winged "Angels" with individual staffs attend the rayed deity. There has always been scholarly consensus that the staff-wielding deity and entourage represent shared core beliefs at the apex of the Huari and Tiwanaku pantheons. However, each nation interpreted and depicted the ideology and iconography in distinct ways. For example, whereas the Gateway God was celestial and associated with the elements, Huari often added maize plants to the deity's cephalic rays graphing an agricultural association.

How the two great nations came to share the same supreme divinity has long been debated in the humanities. Speculation was initially shaped by the fact that Huari and Tiwanaku sites were not known to occur within several hundred kilometers of one another. This supported propositions of amiable relations with little contact. The majority view has traditionally held that the core ideology originated at Tiwanaku, the older of the two nations, where the gradual evolution of staff bearing beings has been documented (Conklin 1983). It then diffused to Huari via speculative means of long distance contact potentially involving embraceries, priests, merchants, or small parties of people (Browman1985; Lumbreras 1974; Menzel 1977; Ponce 1972, 1980; Posnansky 1945).

Understanding Huari's adoption of the Front-Facing deity can be advanced by dividing issues into the separate questions of 'why' and 'how.' The reasons for barrowing a foreign supreme being may prove elusive because they entailed ancient human decision about by-gone religious and political matters. Yet, propositions about 'why' can be greatly informed by demonstrating 'how' ideological transference

transpired. This entails identifying: a) the social context in which the rayed deity made its Huari appearances, b) the status of who used the god's emblems, and c) the location, date and nature of contact between the two empires. These are tractable goals of the proposed research.

HYPOTHESES Accepting Tiwanaku origins of the Gateway God, we propose that Huari adopted core elements of the Tiwanaku iconography and ideology when the empires came into direct physical contact in Peru's southern sierra. In an early burst of expansion, Huari moved audaciously into Tiwanaku territory and established its most distant imperial colony in the Moguegua Valley high atop Cerro Baul, a towering geological mesa, known as "the Masada of the Andes" (Fig. 3A). This soaring sierra landmark is an Apu, home of a sacred mountain spirit, revered by scores of native pilgrims. They brave an arduous climb up the sole, formerly fortified, route of summit ascent (Fig. 3B) to make votive offerings in the form of miniature stone architecture symbolizing farmsteads replete with houses, corrals with pebble live stock, and fields with finger drawn furrows (Fig. 3C). To the east the summit is crowned with monumental ruins of one and two story masonry buildings, galleries, halls and courts often arranged as 'patio groups' with buildings surrounding a focal plaza. Here Huari elites enjoyed the sanctity of the impregnable natural bastion while their lower class followers resided along the flanks of the great mesa.

Extensive archaeological survey in the Moquegua Basin and excavations at several dozen sites now demonstrate that while Huari held forth on Cerro Baul the sierra valley was also occupied by Tiwanaku colonists bearing imperial ideology and iconography (Fig. 2A-E) and erecting temple facilities for their own national pantheon (Fig. 2F; Goldstein 1989; Rice et al 1989; Watanabe et al 1989; Williams 2001). Thus, imperial outpost colonies of Huari and Tiwanaku lay within sight of one other between about 600 and 900 AD providing prolonged opportunity for complex interaction. To

frame our proposed study of the context in which Huari adopted Tiwanaku rayed divinity at Cerro Baul we draw upon recent field-work to propose the following working hypotheses:

First, foreign colonization and imperial relations in Moquegua were primarily structured by economic and political concerns emphasizing agrarian self-sufficiency and ethnic autonomy. Thus, Tiwanaku populations preferred flat-land irrigation in the lower valley, while the Baul colonists relied upon irrigated terracing in the steep, rugged uplands.

Second, the Moquegua sierra was not colonized for the purpose of being proselytized or borrowing foreign beliefs. Rather, protracted exposure to Tiwanaku ideology, ritual, and iconography allowed Huari to selectively adopt themes and elements deemed to further its own imperial interests.

Third, people of the two polities maintained their discrete ethnic identities and resided in separate settlements. Thus, "hybrid" sites with mixed populations have not been identified. Decorated shards associated with one polity occasionally occur in limited numbers at settlements of the other. However, exchange of artwork and prestige goods was meager among elites and largely absent among commoners.

Fourth, concepts about state religion moved from the established ideology of the older nation to the younger, expanding empire and not vice versa. Radiocarbon dates indicate that Cerro Baul was colonized early, during Huari Epoch 1B, when the state was still formalizing its iconographic identity (Menzel 1967; Williams 1997), and little Huari influence is evident in Tiwanaku arts of the Moquegua region (Goldstein 1989).

Fifth, Huari socio-political organization was hierarchically stratified and decisions about imperial interests in ideology and other matters rested with governing elites who resided in high-status masonry quarters atop Baul (Fig. 4A) and not with the lower classes who lived in a warren of cane-walled quarters elsewhere.

Sixth, the elite resident and monumental facilities atop Cerro Baul were structured by Andean principles of dual organization that divided the populace into two moieties or kin group that resided in separate sectors each with their own religious and ceremonial facilities. Thus, there were two "D" shaped temples (Fig. 4B) and two libation halls (Fig. 4C), one of each in the eastern and western barrios.

<u>CONSTRAINTS AND TARGETS</u> Unlike pervasive Christian crucifixes, emblems of Huari's supreme being were uncommon and reserved for high elite ranks and special ritual occasions. Within the state's broader dominion, representations occur on some high status garments and on certain ceremonial vessels, most notably large, ornate maize-beer brewing vats that were, apparently, used but once in events involving ritual intoxication and then smashed and carefully interred. Thus, access to the paramount iconography was limited and prestigious and at Cerro Baul is restricted to two fragmentary beakers found in the most palatial of all elite quarters.

Stellar depictions of the rayed divinity head (Figs. 5 + 6) adorn select beakers in caches of ornate drinking vessels associated with the two monumental compounds that we target for intensive research (Fig. 4C). Termed "Libation Halls," one (Unit 26) has been tested to confirm its identity, and the other, Unit 1, has been partially excavated. Laid out in 'patio group' form, the masonry compounds consist of long, roofed galleries and smaller compartments arranged around a spacious central court. In the Unit 1 facility, one compartment was dedicated to preparing food and maize beer, replete with grain grinding stones, brewing vats recessed in the floor, and numerous serving pitchers (Fig. 5). Although the ceremonial compound was swept clean during its long use, chemical analysis of floor soils has identified very high concentrations of phosphates indicative of spilled beverage and food (Fig. 4C).

When Huari colonists eventually abandoned the monumental complex atop Cerro Baul, for undetermined political or economic reasons, the facilities were forsaken in an

orderly manner. The important content of residences and public buildings were systematically removed leaving the structures clean, including the paired D-shaped temples. Libation halls, however, were treated to unique closure ceremonies. Cooking and brewing facilities--grinders, vats, and serving vessels--were left in place and intact for a culminating rite of incendiary ritual intoxication. Following preparation, final batches of maize beer were served up to elites who imbibed from ceramic *keros* beakers [that were apparently status graded by volume and ornamentation (Fig. 5)], and the sacred halls were torched. As the conflagration peaked, and pole and thatch roofs collapsed into blanketing ember beds, the assembled multitudes broke dozens of ornate libation beakers casting them into the waning blaze. Later, seven necklaces of semi-precious stone and exotic shell were carefully laid atop the cooled ashes to finalize ritual closure of the Unit 1 libation hall. Fortunately, ceremonial conflagration fried the masonry mortar turning it friable. Collapsing stonewalls then sealed and buried the unique cache deposits shortly after abandonment.

DELIVERABLES With less than 70% of the first Libation Hall excavated and less than 5% of the second facility tested some aspects of our research results remain speculative. We believe that soil floor chemistry of both D-shaped temples and the Libation halls are not products of one-time use. Rather, they indicate that these special structures were recurrent settings of ritual feting. Therefore, we surmise that the final content of the libation halls reflects their basic content during long prior use, both in terms of feting preparations and who used the facilities. We suspect that further excavation of the first hall will confirm current evidence suggesting that libation vessels, of the same type, decoration, and volume, were employed in sets of four and the biggest beakers were those depicting the rayed deity.

If this situation also holds for the second hall, then the assemblages will have very important implications about the organization and status of ritual participants and

the relative rank of those with access to emblems of the supreme deity. Full recovery and detailed analysis of the beakers may prove that the sets were individually owned or that sets were owned by four members of the same *sayu* social group (Andean principles of dual organization often entails quadrapartition and the subdivision of paired moiety into four sayu subgroups of kindred). In either case, the research will uniquely elucidate the social and ceremonial context surrounding Huari's adoption and use of the Front Facing deity while also documenting ceremonial use of the libation halls and their fascinating rites of final closure.

HISTORY AND DURATION OF THE PROJECT

Beginning in the 1980's, the nonprofit Contisuyo Association has drawn on local corporate support to foster multinational investigation of Moquegua's patrimony ranging from its Paleo-Indian occupation (e.g. Defrance et al. 2001) through its Colonial Period wineries (Rice and Smith 1989; Defrance 1996). Survey of Tiwanaku sites and excavations of the Tiwanaku monumental temple at Omo have been conducted (Goldstein 1989; Goldstein 1993).

Testing of the Unit 1 libation hall atop Cerro Baul was conducted in 1989 by R. Feldman (1999) with support from the Wenner-Gren Foundation. Initial mapping of the summit architecture was done with a Kaplan Foundation grant to M. Moseley in 1993. Regional site survey was sponsored by the Contisuyo research program in 1994 (Owen 1996). Williams conducted preliminary excavations in other summit structures, including additional testing of the Unit 1 libation hall, in 1997 and 1998 with support from the Bruno Foundation and the Heinz Foundation respectively (Williams et al 2000; Williams 2001). In 2000, Williams and Moseley received a two year grant from the National Science Foundation to study the interaction between Huari and Tiwanaku at Cerro Baul. This latter research initiative is now culminating in intriguing insights into the nature of

Huari-Tiwanaku economic exchange on and around Cerro Baul, but does not focus on the iconography generated in the libation hall contexts, nor the abandonment ceremonies enacted by Huari on the Baul summit.

In 2002 Moseley received a University of Florida "Humanities Initiate" grant to further identify evidence of Huari-Tiwanaku iconographic interchange by means of extensive small test excavations that would securely locate and identify the second of the dual libation halls on Baul's summit. This generated more than 60 scattered 1 X1 m deep probes adjacent to masonry faces looking for collapsed roof burning debris directly atop occupational surfaces with final feting deposits. Such deposits were identified and opened in a 10 m² food and beer preparation area during the last weeks of the 2002 field season. Located southwest of the second D-shaped structure, spatial relationships match the paired dual structures in the northeastern quadrant of the monumental architecture. Our confidence rating on having securely identified the proper facility is 90%.

STAFF

The project will be directed jointly by Prof. Michael Moseley of the University of Florida and Dr. Patrick Ryan Williams, Curator of Archaeological Science at the Field Museum of Natural History. The former has over 3 decades of experience in the art and iconography of Andean states and 20 years of experience in the archaeology of the southern Andean highlands. The latter has dedicated the last 10 years to the study of Huari imperial strategies, including direction of the field programs at Cerro Baul during the past 5 years. Williams also holds a doctoral minor in GIS and Remote Sensing technologies and has taught courses in this area at the graduate level.

The principal project collaborators include Prof. Susan DeFrance of the University of Florida, Lic. Mario Ruales, Lic. Adan Umire, and Lic. Ana Miranda. DeFrance will be responsible for coordinating the analysis of the feasting remains from the libation halls. Dr. DeFrance has almost 15 years of experience in the analysis of Andean faunal remains from archaeological contexts, including the analysis of faunal remains from the residential contexts excavated in previous work at Cerro Baul. Ruales will serve as the field co-director with Williams, having served in that capacity in previous work at the site. Ruales has 20 years of experience in Andean archaeology and is a specialist in Middle Horizon ceramic analysis. He also holds a masters degree in the management of archaeological monuments.

Umire and Miranda are native southern Peruvian archaeologists with over 20 years of excavation experience each in the Moquegua region. They will be responsible for the field operations in each of the libation hall contexts and will assist in the analytical stages of the research.

METHODS

Data collection methods will incorporate high spatial resolution excavation strategies to elicit details on the actual events that formed the offering contexts. The basic unit of excavation will be conformed of the cultural spaces differentiated by architectural features, and all diagnostic artifacts will be piece plotted to within 5 cm absolute accuracy. All other materials, including fine screen soil samples and soil chemistry samples, will be collected at 0.5 meter intervals to maintain the highest possible spatial resolution from microscopic plant and animal remains and chemical residues of ancient cultural activity. We will follow Aldenderfer's (2000) methodology for incorporating data into a field Geographic Information System that involves overhead digital photography with immediate georeferencing as archaeological contexts are

exposed to preserve the maximum detail of the cultural context. The Field Museum will provide the project with the use of a 5 megapixel digital camera with infrared photographic capability, a laptop with ArcView GIS installed, and a SUN Blade 100 workstation with GIS capabilities for high powered computation in the final stages of spatial analysis.

Once excavated contexts have been exposed, non-destructive geophysical survey methods including ground penetrating radar will be applied to the floor contexts to search for subfloor caches. GPR methods are not possible to apply to surface contexts due to the large amount of rockfall from wall collapse, but applying GPR during the excavation process once floors have been exposed can successfully target further excavations below the floors with assurance of successfully encountering subfloor features. Targeted subfloor excavations will preserve the architectural contexts and assure the maximum data recovery with minimal destructive excavation. The Field Museum will provide the project with the use of a GPR.

Data analysis methods on ceramic material will include three types of analysis: production techniques, vessel forms and frequencies, and iconographic analysis. Ongoing analysis of ceramic production techniques for utilitarian and fine-ware vessels include analysis of paste and temper types and chemical characterization of paste and clay sources using instrumental neutron activation analysis to distinguish imports from local production workshops. In conjunction with data collected from the Huari capital and the Huari center at Pikillacta (Glowacki 1996), we are characterizing different ceramic production technologies with their clay sources. This data will be instrumental in defining imported versus local production of the libation hall pottery assemblages. We also propose to undertake a study of the different vessel types represented in the libation hall assemblages, their relative frequencies, their correlation with certain iconographic representations such as the Front-Faced deity, and the frequency in which

they are represented in the assemblage. Iconographic analysis will seek to identify specific icons which may represent external influence in the representations on the vessels, especially that of Tiwanaku. We will also seek to identify which icons from the total sphere of Huari influence are represented in the libation hall assemblages.

Methods of analysis for the remains of feasting activity will involve identifying faunal remains to the lowest taxon and most detailed elemental description possible. Previous excavations at Cerro Baul have recovered fish, shellfish, and marine birds in elite contexts. Rare elements, such as sharks' teeth and worked condor bones are also present. Camelid (Ilama and alpaca) remains are the most ubiquitous faunal resource on the site. We will compare the frequencies of the various taxa present in the libation hall contexts to that found in elite and commoner residential contexts to determine if the libation halls include any special configuration of feasting remains. Construction of camelid mortality profiles in the libation hall contexts as compared to domestic contexts will illuminate any special use of juvenile or gender specific camelid sets for feasting activity. Likewise, the analysis of butchery patterns and animal part indices will inform if the animals consumed in the libation halls were butchered there, or if certain meat packets were being imported from elsewhere.

FINAL PRODUCT AND DISSEMINATION

Closely attuned to interests of host and sponsoring research nations the final products of the research will encompass dissemination through three principle avenues:

- a published monograph on the libation hall contexts geared to scholars and the informed public
- a traveling museum exposition that will eventually be permanently housed in the Museo Contisuyo in Moquegua that will serve publics in Peru and the US

3) a permanent bi-lingual web site hosted by The Field Museum that will disseminate information about the development of Andean statecraft and specifically the events surrounding the libation hall contexts to school children and the lay public worldwide.

The monograph will focus on the nature of Huari-Tiwanaku interaction, especially as represented in the libation hall contexts. It will highlight the development of the expansive Andean states and the manner in which they incorporated ideologically diverse groups into their political fold through elaborate feasting activities. The publication will be subvented by The Field Museum through its monograph publication series *Fieldiana*.

At no NEH costs, the exhibit will focus specifically on the ritual context of the libation halls on Cerro Baul, their contents, and their place in the larger landscape system of sacred mountain peaks and water sources. It will be elaborated by the designers and technicians of the Contisuyo Museum with content provided by the principal investigators. The exhibit will encompass four cases of primary context materials and a professionally elaborated model of the sacred mountain site and the libation halls themselves. The Contisuyo staff will work with outside experts to create these interpretive spaces, and the investigators will assist in this endeavor as advisors. We note that DeFrance, Williams, and Moseley all have Museum curation experience, the latter having served as curator on several professional exhibits at the Field Museum.

The website, <u>at no NEH costs</u>, will interpret and communicate the results of the fieldwork to the largest audience possible. It will introduce the methods of humanistic interpretation from material culture through internet video of the excavations in process. It will incorporate the process of discovery through interactive recreations of the excavation contexts. It will promote the concepts of understanding diversity and how the interaction between ancient peoples of very different backgrounds came to create a

lasting influence on peoples of today. The website will be created in conjunction with The Field Museum's Information Technology Office in collaboration with the investigators. The Field Museum will provide web hosting for the site for at least 10 years.

The three dissemination sources will promote the applications of humanities research to a greater understanding of the world around us. It will demonstrate the application of humanities perspectives to the understanding of human interactions in the social sciences. By incorporating a diverse array of dissemination means, we intend to introduce the work to as many different publics as possible. Moreover, this discrimination must be in Spanish as well as English in order to reach our host nation audiences and the people who must care for Cerro Baul in perpetuity.

WORK PLAN

July 2003 – December 2003

Elaboration of the excavations of the libation hall contexts and preliminary analysis of the contents. Staff members involved include Moseley, Williams, DeFrance, Ruales, Umire, and Miranda

January 2004 – June 2004

Processing and analysis of the spatial data from the excavation contexts, including soil chemistry samples and botanical data (Williams and Moseley). Preliminary development of web site with Field Museum IT staff.

July 2004 – December 2004

Advanced analysis of the materials recovered in excavation, including iconographic and provenance analysis of the ceramics (Moseley, Williams, Ruales) and advanced analysis of the faunal data (DeFrance). Collaboration with Contisuyo Museum

staff for the elaboration of the traveling exhibit (Williams, Moseley, DeFrance, Ruales). Limited excavations in the libation hall contexts (Ruales, Williams).

January 2005 – June 2005

Development of the monograph draft for submission to Fieldiana

publication series and final elaboration of the web site for digital publication.

APPENDIX #1 ILLUSTRATIONS

CAPTIONS

Figure 1 Huari, Tiwanaku & Gateway God

1A = Political realms of Huari and Tiwanaku.

1B = Gateway of the Sun at Tiwanaku with detail photo and drawing of the Gateway God.

Figure 2 Tiwanaku in Moquegua

2A = Tiwanaku and Huari occupation zones

2B = Portrait vessel.

2C = *Kero*, libation beaker with painted llama.

2D = Wood carving with "angel" figure.

2E = Four cornered hat as worn by 2A

2F = Omo temple with summit sunken court.

Figure 3 Huari in Moquegua

3A = Cerro Baul.

3B = Walled summit access route.

3C = Miniature farmstead votive offering.

Figure 4 Summit of Cerro Baul

4A = Map of monumental ruins, 25 meter contour interval.

4B = Northeast D-Shaped Temple, floor color is nitrogen & phosphate staining, white is unexcavated, arrow points to

second temple.

4C = Northeast Libration Hall (Unit 1), floor color is nitrogen & phosphate staining, white is unexcavated, arrow points to second hall.

Figure 5 Vessels from Structure 4 Compartment in Northeast Libation Hall

Figure 6 Libation Hall Front Facing Deity Vessels

6A = Drawing reconstruction of deity head on 6B.

6B = Reconstructed *kero* libation beaker.

6C = Reconstructed *kero* libation beaker.

6D = Head of Tiwanaku Gateway God.

APPENDIX 4 EXCAVATION PERMIT AND MUSEUM LETTER

PAGE 1 is a copy of the current excavation permit for archaeological investigation of Cerro Baul issued by the Peruvian government's National Institute of Culture. It is valid through May, 2003. For the first season of fieldwork we will request an extension of this permit. For the second season we will request a permit renewal. The National Institute of Culture has long been supportive of bi-national research at Cerro Baul and in the Moquegua Region and approval of the proposed is expected.

PAGE 2 AND 3 is a letter of project collaborative support from the Director of the Contisuyo Museum. It details Museum staff participation in preparation of a traveling exhibition highlighting research results (at no costs to NEH). The letter also identifies the Museum's significant counterpart costs for securely maintaining and curating the Libation Hall collections for 20 years.

Statement of history of grants

Established in 1982, the nonprofit Contisuyo Association has employed tax-deductible donations from the Peruvian business community to foster multinational investigations of the natural and cultural patrimony of the Moquegua region. In addition to founding a museum to serve as a research center, the Association provides limited infrastructure, and assists with foreign fieldwork permitting as well as with articulating with local authorities. The counterpart support generated by this unique Peruvian initiative continues to help generate research grants from foreign nations in support of a wide range of research topics in the natural and social sciences, as well as the humanities.

The Association fully supported initial surveys of Cerro Baul between 1982 and 1986 (Lumbreras et al. 1982; Moseley et al. 1991). In 1989, R. Feldman (1999) conducted initial test excavations in two summit areas with Wenner-Gren Foundation support (\$10,000). Initial mapping of the summit architecture was done with a Kaplan Foundation grant (\$5,000) to M. Moseley in 1993. Regional site survey in the sierra around Baul was fully sponsored by the Contisuyo research program for \$8,000 in 1994 (Owen 1996). Preliminary excavations in other summit structures, including additional testing of the Unit 1 libation hall, were conducted by Williams in 1997 and 1998 with support from the Bruno Foundation (\$5,000) and the Heinz Foundation (\$8,000) respectively (Williams et al 2000; Williams 2001). In 2000, Williams and Moseley received a two year, \$99,981 grant, now concluding, from the National Science Foundation to study

the subsistence and economic interaction between Huari and Tiwanaku at Cerro Baul and among communities along its flanks. In addition to reconstructing the expansive, but fragmentary, irrigation systems that sustained the Huari colony, this investigation has focused principally upon domestic remains and subsistence refuse in households and patio groups.

Fearing more was being learned about the canals and garbage of the Andean "Masada," than about its imperial ideology and ceremonies, Moseley received a \$7,000 University of Florida "Humanities Initiate" grant as an initial step to bring the ritual contexts of the Huari-Tiwanaku iconographic interchange into focus for future research by locating and identifying the second of the dual libation halls on Baul's summit. With this accomplished we are now prepared to excavate the most important cache deposits that the imperial colony left behind.