# The Tiwanaku Occupation of Chen Chen (M1) Preliminary Report on the 1995 Salvage Excavations

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Interpretations of the southern Middle Horizon, in particular the Tiwanaku phenomenon, have undergone dramatic swings from early notions of a primarily spiritual movement, centered at a vacant ceremonial cult center (Bennett, Schaedel), to models of a territorial state based on Western expansionist models (Ponce, Kolata). Andeanists are now in general agreement that the Tiwanaku can be considered as an instance of the development of social and political complexity, and that the type site was the capital of a large and integrated polity. This consensus is the result of the long-term work of Ponce Sangines and CIAT (and, since 1975, INAR), and, more recently, the work of the University of Chicago's Proyecto Wila Jawira.

While this consensus has allowed for recognition of Tiwanaku social complexity, explanations of the polity's system of organization and integration remain inconclusive. Bermann (1994: 36) puts the matter succinctly: "Little is known about the man-

ner in which the Tiwanaku political formation was integrated. However, Tiwanaku lacks many features of the administrative infrastructure that are present in many other prehispanic Andean states, suggesting that the Tiwanaku polity was either quite small (limited, perhaps, to the area around the capital itself), not tightly integrated in terms of decision making and administrative control, or integrated in very different ways than other prehispanic Andean states."

In recent years some evidence of these "features of administrative infrastructure" has come to light, including specialized production of ceramics in the Chiji Jawira area of Tiwanaku, of panflutes in the Misiton I area of Lukurmata (Janusek 1993, 1994), and a complex of probable storage structures in Misiton II (Janusek 1994). However, given the massive agricultural surpluses the Tiwanaku polity is supposed to have collected and redistributed (Kolata 1986, 1991), the paucity of reported storage facilities is rather suprising, and stands in sharp contrast to the plentitude of such remains attributed to the Inka (cf. D'Altroy 1993;Morris 1982, 1985) and Wari (cf. Anders 1986; McEwan 1991; Schrieber 1991,1992) states.

One explanation for the paucity of Tiwanaku storage facilities is, as Bermann suggests, that the Tiwanaku polity "was integrated in very different ways than other prehispanic Andean states" (1994: 36). That is to say that the Tiwanaku polity did not, in fact, construct such facilities on a grand scale, perhaps relying on local institutions, rather than centrally controlled redistribution, for most aspects of its political economy that would involve bulk storage facilities. This must be accepted as a real possibility. Indeed, alternate explanations of Tiwanaku hegemony in the state center have increasingly concentrated on "local perspectives" emphasizing regional heterogeneity and autonomy (Albarracin-Jordan).

In the Tiwanaku peripheries, only the Omo site group in the Moquegua Valley of Southern Peru, has demonstrated the kind of infrastructure we would associate with more centralized state control. The sites include large settlements of culturally altiplanic people, and a Tiwanaku temple similar to those of the altiplano centers (Goldstein 1993). Storage facilities at Omo in the form of plastered cist storage bins and large rocker metates, manos, and chipped stone hoes have been seen as evidence of processing of surplus for export. However, no single central storage/processing facility was located.

An alternative explanation for this lack of documented state installations, however, could be a taphonomic one. That is, that the (hypothetical) Tiwanaku storage facilities were constructed in such a manner as to be very difficult to detect archaeologically. The Tiwanaku preference for adobe (in the highlands) and quincha (in the desert peripheries) as construction materials for most non-monumental architecture could account

for this invisibility, as opposed to the Wari and Inka use of stone in state-constructed storage complexes. The apparent difference between the Tiwanaku polity, on the one hand, and the Inka and Wari states on the other could simply be the result of differences in construction techniques.

Recent investigations in the Moquegua Valley suggest that the taphonomic explanation may be the appropriate one. 1995 excavations and surface explorations at the Chen Chen site (M-1), near the modern town of Moquegua,have revealed heretofore unknown details of the Tiwanaku provincial system of this fertile valley. The site, a Tiwanaku colony geared toward agricultural production, includes an extensive storage facility and other evidence suggesting that Tiwanaku administrative practice was similar in some particulars to that of the later Inka Empire.

## El Proyecto Rescate Chen Chen

Chen Chen, covering approximately 30 ha of desert near the city of Moquegua, is the second largest of the three major late Tiwanaku sites in the valley. The site faces imminent destruction by the construction of the Pasto Grande canal and the expansion of the city of Moquegua. In response to this urgent situation, the Proyecto Rescate Chen Chen was organized with the aim of recovering crucial data from the site prior to its destruction. The 1995 project was directed by Antonio Oquiche of the Museo Contisuyu in Moquegua, and focused on investigating the mortuary, agricultural and habitation areas of the site. Cemetery excavations were directed by Bruce Owen, mapping of the agricultural area associated with the site was undertaken by Ryan Williams, and Paul Goldstein, director of ongoing Moquegua Archaeological Survey, was responsible for investigations in the habitation and what we now consider storage and ceremonial sectors.

The Chen Chen site is the largest known Tiwanaku cemetery to date, with the mortuary component covering well over 6 ha.. Estimates of the number of looted tombs visible at the site vary, but the number may approach 10,000. Previous mortuary excavations by Disselhoff, Neira, Vescelius and Ravines (Disselhoff 1968) and dates published by Ponce placed the site late in the Tiwanaku sequence, and the site has been adopted as the type site for the Moquegua ceramic phase that coincides with the Tiwanaku V phase in Bolivia (Goldstein 1985, 1989). Extensive rescue excavations by Berta Vargas in 1987 confirmed the affiliation of some of the cemetery's many distinct sectors (Blom; Garcia), and biological studies of the mortuary populations currently underway will shed light on issues of biological distance within the Tiwanaku polity

(Blom). Rescue excavations directed by Bruce Owen in 1995 have extended this sample to represent almost all of the site's many cemetery sectors.

Far less work has been done on the site's domestic component. Brief,unpublished, Programa Contisuyu investigations by Moseley and Bawden in 1983 were the first to note the habitation and agricultural areas. No map resulted from this work, however. A priority for the habitation investigations, therefore, was to define the extent of the site and to map surface remains.

## Investigations at Chen Chen

The first part of the season was devoted to completing the settlement survey of the Middle Moquegua Valley we have been engaged in since 1993. As the remaining unsurveyed area included Chen Chen, this dovetailed nicely with the planned salvage program. Continuing our sweep from South to North, we began with a systematic survey of the large agricultural area associated with Chen Chen, in search of field houses or habitation groups among the fields. Except for three minor scatters or "pot busts," none were encountered, and at this point we can unequivocally state that the entire support population of the system resided at Chen Chen. We also mapped an extensive series of geoglyphs associated with the field area and what appears to be a caravan track along the southern margins of the site.

The Chen Chen site itself may be divided into four types of space. The first, unknown prior to our survey last season, is an area of outer habitation located approximately .5 km SE of the main body of the site. These outer sectors, 17 and 19, cover 4.4 ha and display ephemeral but unmistakable traces of habitation.

Between these outer sectors and the main body of the site is located an area to which we attribute a ceremonial function. Sectors 14 and 15, also first identified during the 1995 survey season, cover 3.9 ha. and contain several special purpose structures. We will demonstrate that the artifacts from these sectors comprise a distinct ceremonial assemblage, very different from what is encountered in other portions of the site.

Immediately to the NW of the ceremonial area is the 'rockpile' area. Rockpile habitation sites are a distinctive phenomenon of the Chen Chen Tiwanaku phase in the Moquegua Valley. They appear on the surface as extensive areas of irregular stone mounds. The Chen Chen rockpile (sectors 11 and 12) is quite large (11.5 ha), and is covered by a very dense artifact scatter which seems to reflect domestic activities. The Chen Chen rockpile is almost identical in surface configuration and (as we shall demonstrate) in artifact and feature content to the habitation sector of Omo site M-10,

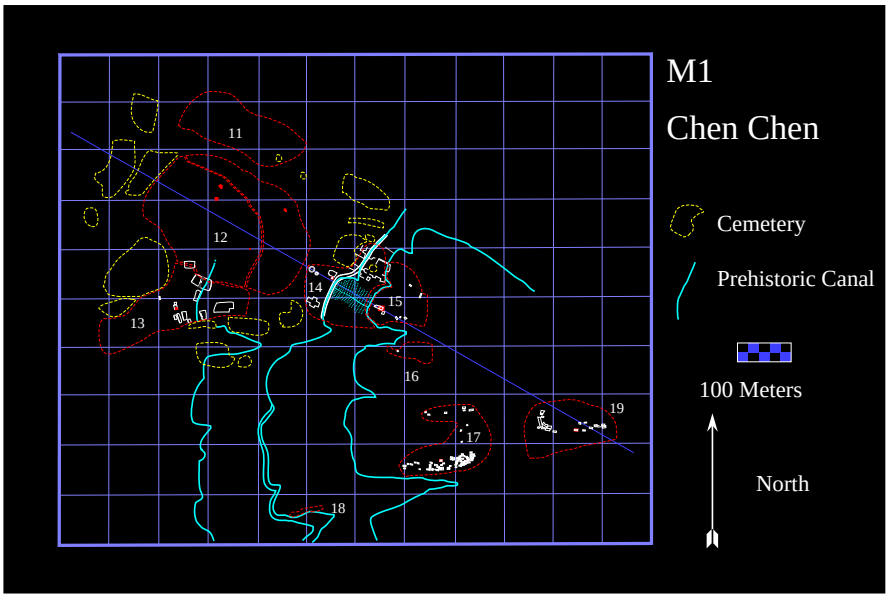


Figure 1: Chen Chen: Master Site Plan

excavated in 1987 by Goldstein.

The fourth and final componenttype is the mortuary area. While mortuary archaeology of Chen Chen is outside our scope, we would note that the cemeteries at the site cover well over 6 ha, and are arranged in a ring around the edges of rockpile area. This arrangement is similar to the one evident at Omo site M10.

In the discussion to follow, we will begin with the ceremonial area, move to the outer habitation area, and, finally, arrive at the rockpile.

## The Ceremonial Area

The ceremonial area comprises sectors 14 and 15. Remains in this sector include two structures (14-1 and 15-1) as well as traces of numerous large, cleared areas which we interpret as plazas. Most of these plazas are rather difficult to discern due to recent disturbance, but two are clearly circular, several more are rectangular, and one seems to be in the shape of a stepped cross. The circular plaza is a form that has not been reported from the altiplano,but it has now been observed at several Tiwanaku sites in the Moquegua Valley. Additionally, a number of small ephemeral structures, similar in appearance to those of the outer habitation area, are associated with structure 15-1. However, the lack of ordinary midden deposits and the prevalence of a specific inven-

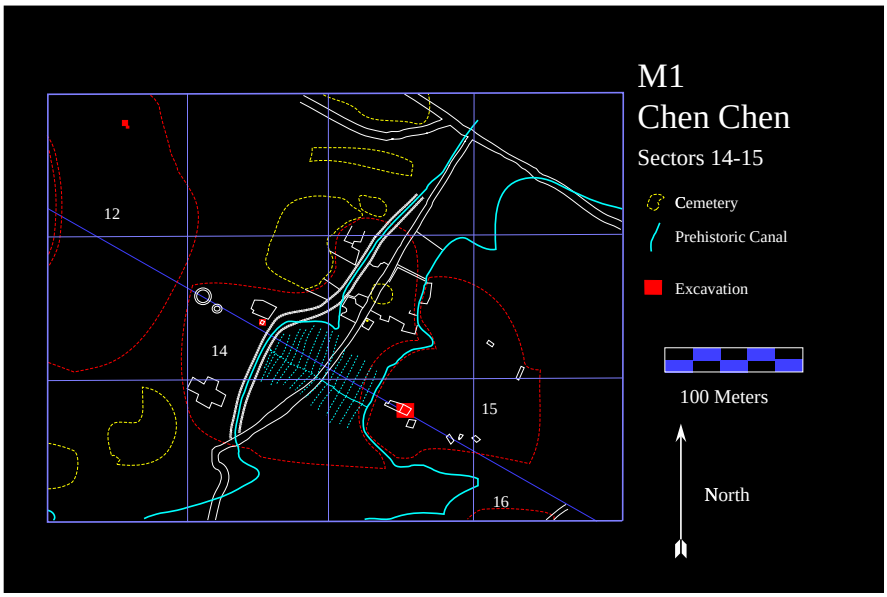


Figure 2: Plan of sector 14 and 15

tory of artifacts (including a high frequency of metal, stone and shell beads and specialty pottery such as incensarios, miniatures, and figurines) clearly distinguish them from other structures. The two uppermost canals pass through this area, and a drop canal leaves the upper canal near structure 15-1 to water a small, well-preserved field system. Structures 14-1 and 15-1 were completely excavated.

**Structure 14-1**

Structure 14-1 is a small (2.9 by 2.9 m. exterior, 2 by 2 m. interior) structure with double-coursed walls of uncut stones set in an organic mud mortar. Measurements of the volume of structural stone present in the vicinity suggest that the walls originally stood to no more than 68 cm. in stone. The structure is not rectangular but trapezoidal, flaring slightly toward the entrance in the NW. In the rear (SE) wall is a shallow niche. A large looters pit is located in the center of the structure, but below this disturbance was discovered the bottom of an earlier pit, probably contemporary with the structure. The structure was burned at the time of abandonment, and in the northern corner was found a very dense concentration of miniature plainware vessels.

The artifact assemblage of 14-1 is unique for its high concentration of miniature vessels (see Figure 4)and spondylus beads. 469 miniature fragments were discov-

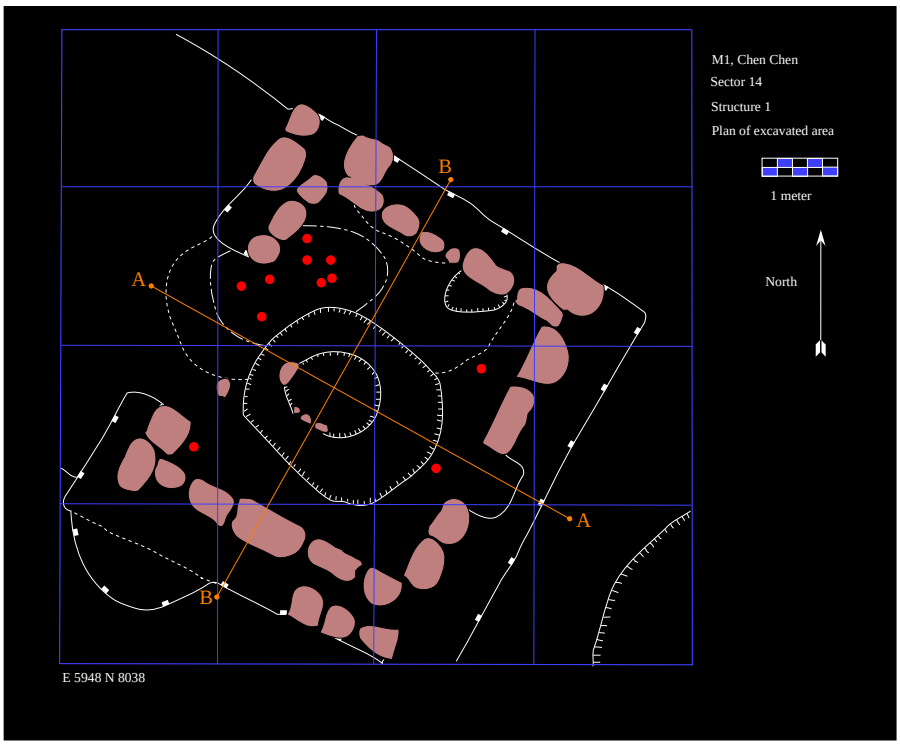


Figure 3: Structure 14-1 excavation plan

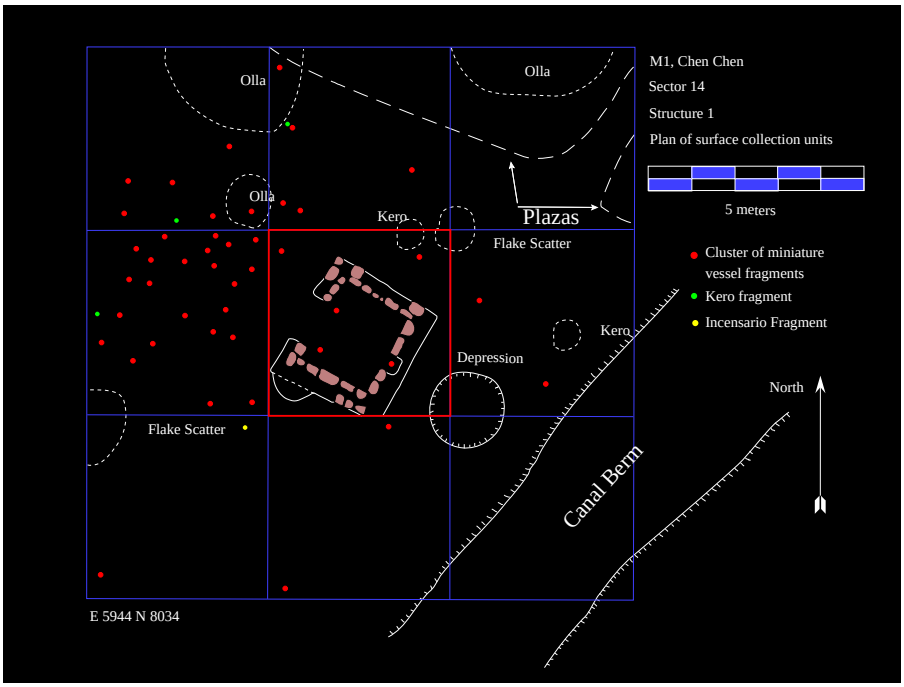


Figure 4: Structure 14-1 surface collection area

ered in association with the structure. Most were plainware olla forms, but one red-slipped, condor-headed miniature incensario was also recovered in fragments. Miniatures, found only occasionally in domestic contexts, comprise 38% of the pottery at 14-1, with a density of 340 miniature sherds per cubic meter. Miniature vessels appear to be disproportionately represented in Tiwanaku ceremonial contexts, e.g. in the Akapana and at Omo M-10 temple (Manzanilla 1992, Goldstein 1993). Additionally, the structure contained a high density of spondylus shell beads, 8.7 per cubic meter. Four metal objects, were also located within the structure (with a high metal object density of 3 per cubic meter).

The extremely small size of the structure, coupled with the presence of the pit, its location near to and in line with structure 15-1, and its uniquely nondomestic special artifact assemblage leads us to suggest that it functioned as a shrine. One possibility presented by the deep central pit is that the structure served as an enclosure or pedestal for an idol, monolith or gnomon. This would make it what Bandy likes to call a "monolith hut."

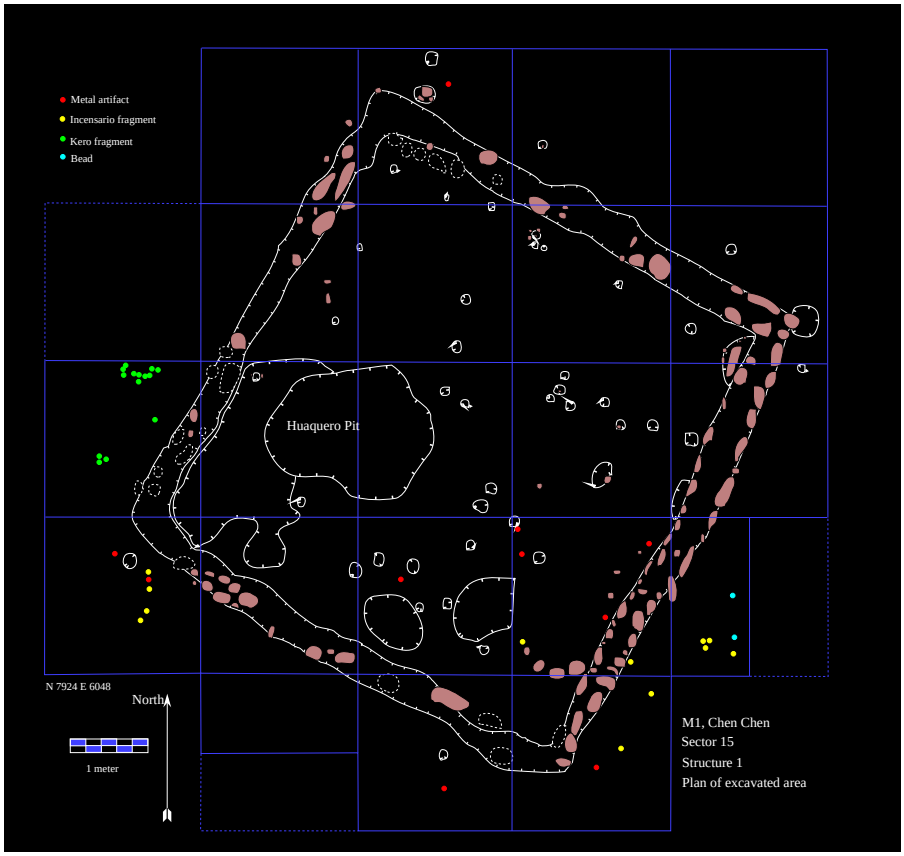


Figure 5: Structure 15.1 excavation plan

**Structure 15-1**

Structure 15-1 is a larger structure, 6.2 by 6.2 meters, also with double-coursed stone walls. The original height of the stone walls can be calculated as under 0.5 m. The stone wall construction likely served as a foundation for adobe walls, as indicated by an irregular layer of adobe melt over the floor of the structure. It is not so well-preserved as is its smaller counterpart. The SE wall is best-preserved, with intact stones and mortar; the other walls were defined by occasional in situ stones and a shallow wall trench, as well as by the extension of the internal floor.

However, enough of the building's plan was recovered to confirm that the two buildings have identical orientations. Although we were unable to locate an entrance, the center of the North wall would allign at 300 degrees and lie directly on, indeed define the central axis of 14-1. The floor was unprepared, of usecompacted silt, and was cut

by more than thirty postholes. The arrangementof these holes in rectilinear patterns suggests that the structure was roofed. A few contained wood fragments.

Many of these postholes had been intentionally filled in, probably at the time of abandonment of the structure, and sealed with stones (occasionally pecking stones) placed in their mouths. Offering deposits were placed in several of the holes, apparently after removal of the posts.

Very little evidence of domestic activity is present in the ceremonial area. Both the density, and relative frequency of domestic plainware sherds is particularly low. Plainware comprises only 56% of the sherd count as compared to 85 to 100% at other structures excavated. In addition, standard domestic midden fill is absent there is no animal bone, no guano and virtually no botanical food remains.

Instead, materials indicate a distinct ceremonial assemblage. Ceramics recovered in the 15-1 excavation consist of 19% modelled zoomorphic incensario fragments, (36 sherds per cubic meter). An elevated percentage of incensarios has been reported from clear ritual contexts in the altiplano, including the Tiwanaku temples at Lukurmata (Bennett 1936), Chiripa (Browman 1977) and Omo M-10 (Goldstein 1993). Miniature vessels are also present in high frequency at 15-1, although not to the extent of structure 14-1. The green stonebead count is particularly high, 872 beads and fragments found within the structure, with a remarkable density of 125 per cubic meter. Four spondylus bead fragments were also located above the floor. Elevated bead counts typify Tiwanaku ceremonial contexts, apparently in context of use loss rather than offerings. Spondylus beads appear uniquely in Moquegua Tiwanaku in the Omo temple and in Chen Chen structures 14-1 and 15-1. The same ceremonial use assemblage of incensarios, miniatures, spondylus and other specialty items has been described for the Omo M-10 temple (Goldstein 1993). Finally, the structure produced a total of 35 bronze objects, a number that far exceeds the small representation of metal in domestic assemblage (indeed, more Tiwanaku metal here than in all excavated habitation contexts at Omo and Chen Chen combined!)

Following Goldstein 1993, we may divide this structure-wide assemblage into objects lost or discarded inadvertantly in floor activities and objects clearly left as intentional caches. The context of some artifacts from 15-1 indicate ceremonial caches or offerings. A juvenile camelid burial was found in the SE corner of the structure. Objects found in reutilized postholes include some of the beads, and a figurine fragment. Most notably, the majority of the 35 metal objects found within structure 15-1 were found in association with these subfloor offerings. Most of these were tupus or pins of standard disc-headed Tiwanaku type. Two had more complex designs, one topped with an anthropomorphic figure and the other with a camelid head.

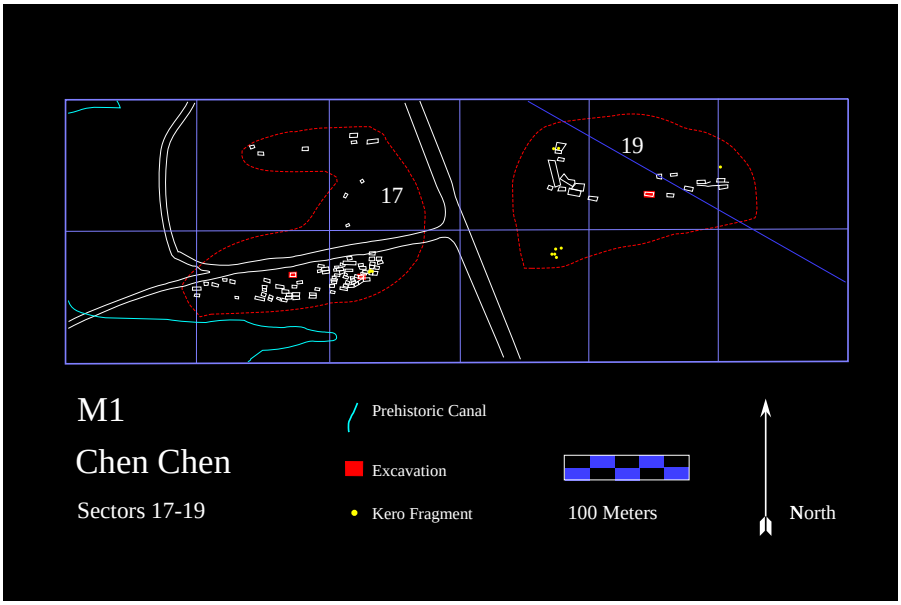


Figure 6: Plan of sectors 17 and 19

One of the most conspicuous features of the ceremonial area is the consistency of orientation displayed by its architectural features. As noted, structures 14-1 and 15-1 share an allignment on an orientation of approximately 300 degrees. This same central axis may be followed to pass through the centers of the two circular plazas to the NW. From there, it passes into the rockpile habitation area. As can be appreciated on the map, a continuation of this sight line appears roughly to bisect the central domestic and cemetery areas of Chen Chen. More research is needed. It might be remarked that a similar northwest-facing allignment of the Omo M-10 temple with a small adobe structure (14) quite similar in construction to 14-1 and 15-1 has been noted (though this line does not bisect the domestic area Goldstein 1989). Any such distinctive spatial organization, which seems to be characteristic of the Tiwanaku colonies in Moquegua, has yet to be observed on the altiplano.

## The Outer Habitation Area

The outer habitation area consists of the remains of a large number of dwellings, primarily concentrated in sector 17. This cluster is located immediately above the highest of the three prehistoric canals which pass through the site to water the agricultural fields to the south. From this, we can probably infer that occupation of this area occured

while this uppermost canal was in use. Ninety-three such dwellings were sufficiently well-preserved in sectors 17 and 19 for surface mapping, and it is certain that more were once present (some are visible in the aerial photograph, where the modern road is now located). At present, these structures appear as small, rectangular areas which have been cleared of the scatter of rocks which cover the natural ground surface. These structures superficially resemble the dwellings excavated by Goldstein at the earlier site of Omo M-12. Additionally, when they occur on slopes, as is the case with the major cluster in sector 17, they display signs of terracing. They represent areas cleared for the erection of some sort of ephemeral superstructure, most likely of cane (quincha) or textile (a tent) or even of adobe (it would have completely deflated by now). No trace of these superstructures remain.

Three of these features were excavated, two in sector 17 and one in sector 19. Excavations confirmed that the structures measured approximately 2 meters by five meters. The floors are of use-compacted silt, and display no traces of preparation other than clearing of stones. No postholes, hearths or pits of any kind are present within the dwellings. In this they appear very different from Tiwanaku houses excavated at Omo M-12 and those at Lukurmata (Bermann 1994) and Tiwanaku (Janusek 1995). In situ broken plainware ollas found in the corners of the floor areas, however, as well as a thin scatter of flaked stone and utilitarian pottery, confirm that the area was, in fact, inhabited. Additionally, small items, such as isolated tiny beads, were occasionally found to be incorporated into the floor matrix.

While decorated ceramics were extremely rare in the outer sectors, several concentrations were evident. One was a cluster of blackware portrait keros, located on a natural terrace below sector 19. Two other structures in sector 19, and one in sector 17, contained fragments of decorated *tazones*. It is possible that these represent special function structures of some sort, perhaps like the 'chicheria' excavated by Goldstein at M-12 (Goldstein 1989; 1993), though at present we can say little about them.

To sum up, the structures in the outer habitation area were very ephemeral, incorporating no substantial posts or stone in their construction. While it is clear that the area was inhabited, it is equally clear that this occupation did not include the full range of domestic activities that have been documented for contemporary Tiwanaku households on the altiplano and elsewhere. Notably lacking are grinding stones and hearths, indicating an absence of food preparation in these sectors. The general pattern of one plainware olla per structure, together with the absence of burned sherds, suggests that most ceramics were employed for water storage. Despite some clusters, the low frequency of redware or blackware sherds,which represent serving vessels such as keros, also suggests a limited range of domestic formal dining, ritual or feasting activities.

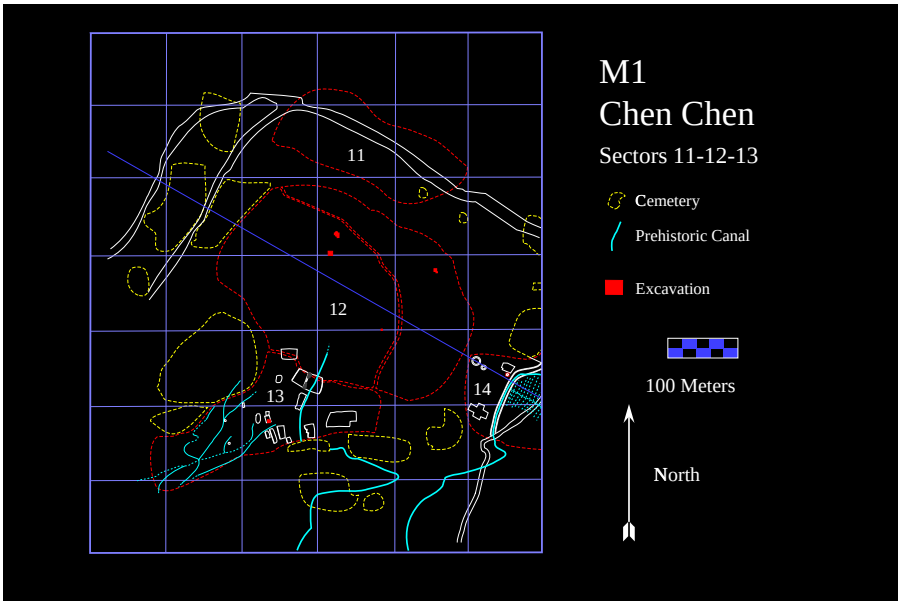


Figure 7: Plan of sectors 11, 12 and 13

In general these outer habitation areas present the aspect of a temporary or seasonal occupation that formed a "suburb" to the principal rockpile habitation area.

## The Rockpile Area

The rockpile area is the largest area of the site. Covering 11.5 ha, it includes sectors 11 and 12, which are separated by a quebrada. While rockpile sites in Moquegua have in the past been intepreted as resulting from intentional prehistoric destruction of masonry architecture (Feldman 1989; Moseley, Feldman, Goldstein and Watanabe 1991), excavations at M-10 indicate an extensively quincha architecture (Goldstein1989). Excavation also has confirmed poorly preserved remains of both quincha and adobe structures at Chen Chen. At Chen Chen some intentional destruction undoubtedly took place in prehistory, as evidenced by a plaza in sector 13, the corners of which had been systematically dismantled. However, we interpret rockpile formation at ChenChen as a process resulting from pit digging coupled with wind deflation operating on organic architecture and a dense unstratified midden. That is, pit digging brings up stones and soil from below the surface. Over time, the soil is deflated, leaving an irregular surface of jumbled stone.

If our model of rockpile formation is valid, the character of the rockpile surface

should yield us some clues as to the nature of the pit digging activities which took place in a certain area during prehistory. For example, we can apply this model to support our inference that very little or no pit digging took place in the outer habitation area.

Based on surface indications we can divide the Chen Chen rockpile into two main areas. The first is the high rockpile, present in the southern and western partof sector 12. Covering 5.4 ha, the surface of this area displays a semi-regular cell structure, with cell sizes ranging from approximately 20 to 45 meters. Surface contour is very irregular, with large depressions and high mounds of stone. The low rockpile also has a cell-like structure, but cell size is much smaller than in the high rockpile, on the order of 2 meters. Surface contour is comparatively very regular, and altitudinal differences between the mounds and depressions is minimal. The low rockpile covers 6.1 ha, including all of sector 11 and the northern and eastern portions of sector 12. Excavations in the high and low rockpile areas seem to confirm the importance of the apparent surface differences. Two trenches were placed in the high rockpile (12-2 and 12-4), two in the low rockpile (12-1 and Bruce Owen's sector 37) and one in an intermediate area (12-3). The two trenches in the high rockpile revealed evidence of construction and habitation, inluding a large adobe wall and a substantial quincha walled compound, and dense midden. Numerous large pits were present, which were filled with domestic debris and fallen adobes. Two camelid burials, interred beneath ashlar blocks, were found in this pitted area.

By contrast, the two trenches in the low rockpile revealed regularly arranged groups of highly standardized stone-lined storage cists. Two types of these storage cists were present. The first, accounting 22% of thesample, is large and slightly bellshaped. The walls are lined with small cobbles,and no mortar is employed. The cist floor is of unmodified earth. Average diameter is .98 meters, and average depth is 1.3 meters. The second type, accounting for 78% of the sample, is smaller and consistently better-constructed. The storage cist is lined with larger cobbles or boulders set in a hard clay mortar. The floor of the cists is composed of smaller, flat cobbles placed in a bed of clay mortar. One consistent feature of these storage cists is a ring of red cobbles around the neck of the cist, atapproximately the level of the prehistoric ground surface. Average diameter for these cists is .77 meters, and average depth is .89 meters.

There is evidence that both types of storage cists had ephemeral superstructures, though their precise form is impossible to determine. Large postholes indicate probable roofing over either individual cists, or alligned groups of cists. In the excavated areas, cist density was one cist per 4 square meters, precisely corresponding to the cell size of the low rockpile. We conclude, then, that formation of the low rockpile was the

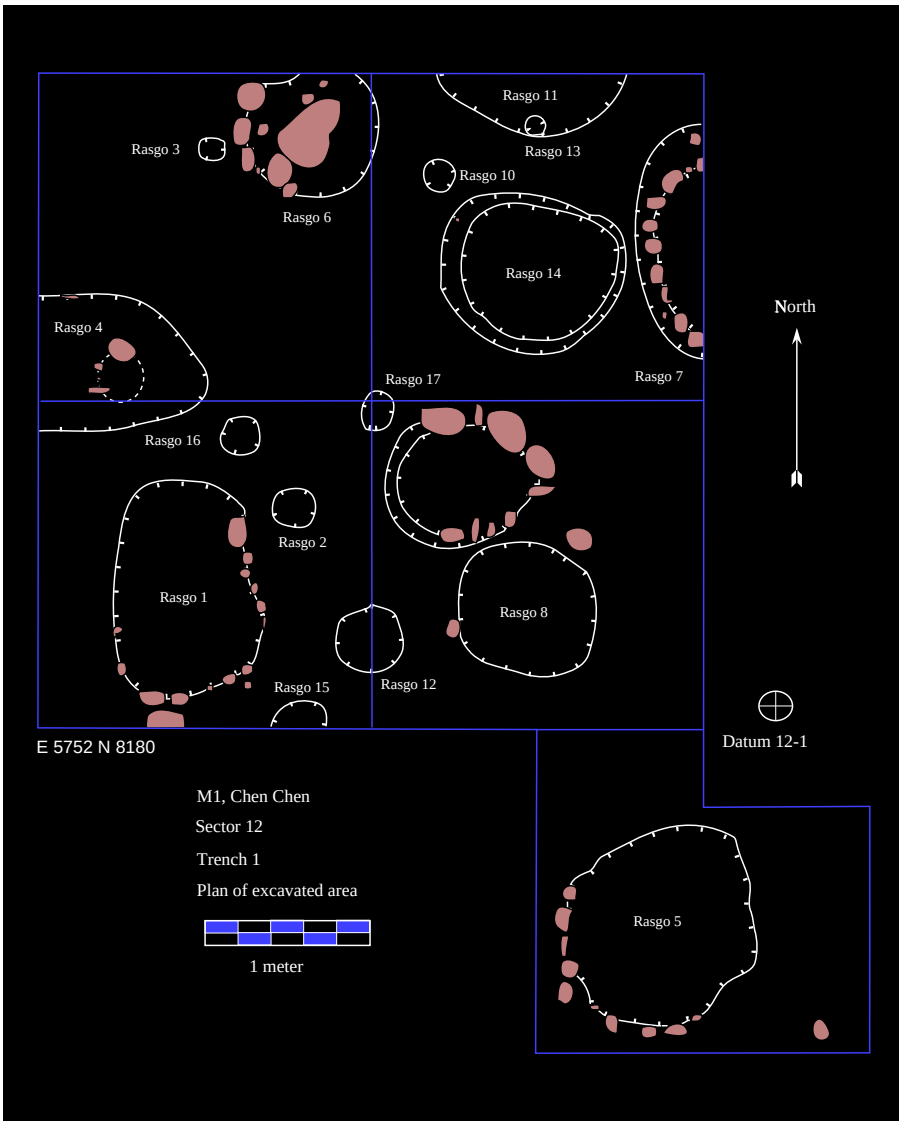


Figure 8: Trench 12-1 excavation plan

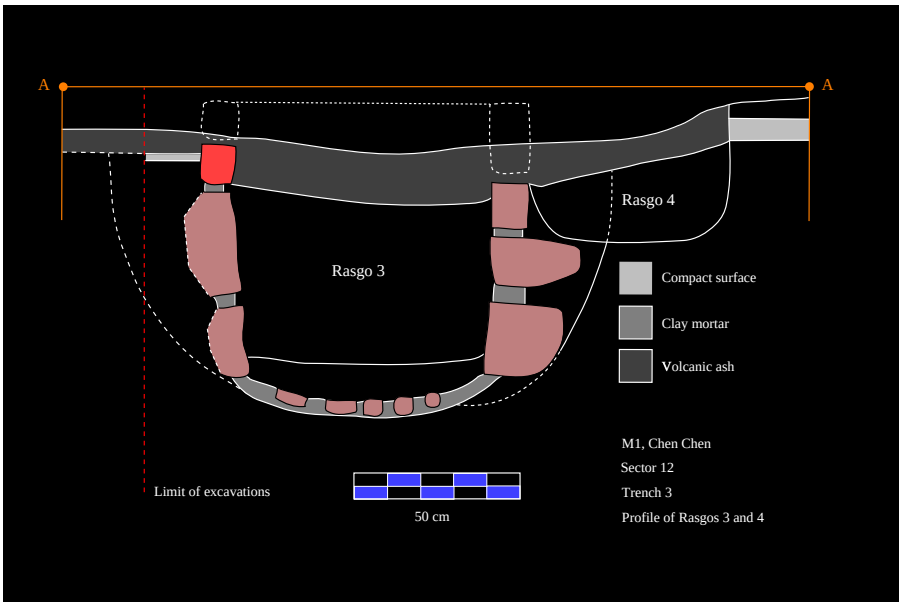


Figure 9: Profile of storage cist

result of systematic and regular placement of storage cists. This conclusion is further supported by finds of looted storage cists of this type throughout sector 11 and the low portion of sector 12.

The highly formal and standardized construction of these cists, as well as the large size of the cist complex (probably the greater part of the 6.1 ha low rockpile), leads us to suggest that they were employed for storage, probably of foodstuffs resulting from cultivation of the site's associated agricultural area, as well as goods necessary for the operation and maintenance of the site's occupants. The size of this storage complex is truly impressive. If we assume, conservatively, that half of the low rockpile was composed of storage pits, then the pit densities in our excavated areas predict an estimated 7500 storage pits in the site. For this number of pits, the total storage capacity would be approximately 5140 cubic meters.

An alternate estimate, based on simple extrapolation from the total of storage pits in the excavated sample, suggests that sectors 11 and 12 might contain as many as 11,000 storage cists, with a total storage capacity of over 7,500 cubic meters. While these estimates are pending verification by further excavations, remote sensing, or a more sophisticated model of surface prediction, we believe that a total capacity somewhere between 5140 and 7500 cubic meters far exceeds the storage demands of the site's

inhabitants and supports the notion of surplus production for export.

The artifact assemblage of the rockpile generally reflects a full range of domestic activities, including food prepartion, serving and consumption, as well as the production of stone hoe blades. The differing densities of lithics in the high and low areas of the rockpile indicate their contrasting functions. A comparison of lithic tool densities across the excavated sectors of the site emphasizes the concentration of industrial activities in this zone. Pottery densities as well, are highest in the low rockpile, or storage pit area of Sector 12. Note the small ratio of redware sherds to plainware sherds, on average 1/10, incomparison to 8 to 10 in sector 15. The pottery distribution by ware corresponds with that at the similarl rockpile of Omo M-10.

## Conclusion

Analysis of the distribution of artifactual and architectural features leads us to propose the following interpretations of the principal sectors of the site:

1. ) The outer habitation area was a suburban tent city that housed a temporary, probably rotating population providing labor for the cultivation, processing and transhipment of agricultural goods produced in the field system associated with the site. Little or no food preparation, storage or consumption took place here.

2. ) Ceremonies, perhaps oriented, to ensuring thefertility of the field system, took place in the ceremonial area, sectors 14 and 15. The central location suggests that these ceremonies may have involved both temporary "suburbanites" and permanent "downtown" residents.

3. ) The rockpile area included a substantial state storage complex and housed the permanent resident population. Food preparation, consumption, household ritual and feasting activity, as well as productive labor relating to agriculture (hoe production, maize processing) took place exclusively in this sector. Nevertheless distinct storage compounds may be discerned. Chen Chen's storage facilities are of a scale that indicates substantial surplus agricultural production and storage. As in Tiwanaku domestic sites everywhere, feasting and drinking and offering ritual conducted in the domestic context helped unify the system, while separate ceremonial contexts served as administrative and/or oracular foci. While we will stop short of claiming that Tiwanaku employed a mita-style labor tax, the possibility of a rotating labor population is suggested by the temporary character of occupation in the outer "suburban" habitation sectors.

We humbly submit, therefore, that the lack of documented state storage facilities, in the altiplano is due more to taphonomic factors than to cultural ones. While a great deal of work has been done at Tiwanaku and Lukurmata, only a tiny fraction of each site has been excavated. While ceremonial and administrative contexts abound, a storage complex or a temporary labor camp such as the one at Chen Chen would be invisible on the surface in the altiplano environment, and the chances of encountering them fortuitously would be slim. It is too early to say that Tiwanaku "lacks many features of administrative infrastructure that are present in many other prehispanic Andean states." Many such features are clearly evident in the Moquegua sites, and particularly at Chen Chen. Inka statecraft was not cut from whole cloth, but drew upon a long and dynamic history of statebuilding in the Andean area. Tiwanaku clearly participated in this tradition.