

Andean Archaeology III
North and South

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Chapter 16

Violence and Rural Lifeways at Two Peripheral Wari Sites in the Majes Valley of Southern Peru

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INTRODUCTION

Military power was a key factor in the expansion of many ancient empires, but it was not uniformly applied through time and across space, even within one imperial domain (Barfield 2001; D'Altroy 2002; Earle 1997; Morrison 2001; Sinopoli 2001). Support for the link between imperial expansion and militarism can often be found in the presence of defensible architecture and skeletal trauma; however, even in regions under imperial influence, evidence for bodily trauma may stem from causes other than military conflict between conquerors and the conquered. Indeed, violence may be of different levels and kinds, not all of which is purely military in nature, and it may arise in complex ways from the strategies and unintended effects of both the expanding powerful center and the players on the periphery.

Andean scholars have suggested that the Wari empire, which flourished from AD 550–1000, may have used military means to expand and incorporate populations (Feldman 1989; Isbell 1991; Larco Hoyle 1948:37; Menzel 1964a:68; Rowe 1956), possibly leading to high levels of violence among populations brought into the Wari sphere. Because violence is common among the Wari era populations in this study (Tung 2003), it is crucial to evaluate the possible social contexts in which violence occurred, rather than assuming it was military conflict between foreigners and locals. To illuminate these contexts, we describe the lifeways of rural and elite populations living in Wari's southern periphery, drawing from ceramic data from the site of Beringa (Owen, in press) and skeletal trauma data from Beringa and La Real (Tung 2003) in the Majes Valley (see Figure 16.1 for the location of sites discussed in the text.). With these combined datasets, we will examine the nature of Wari influence in its southern periphery.

Our focus highlights the perspective of local commoners and elites in the Wari periphery. We argue that these interactions, far from the Wari heartland, represent a crucial yet under-examined aspect of social life and the unprecedented geographic expansion of Wari influence during the Middle Horizon. Our investigation participates in a growing number of investigations that are examining village sites to gain a more nuanced view of ancient social organization at the local level, while also

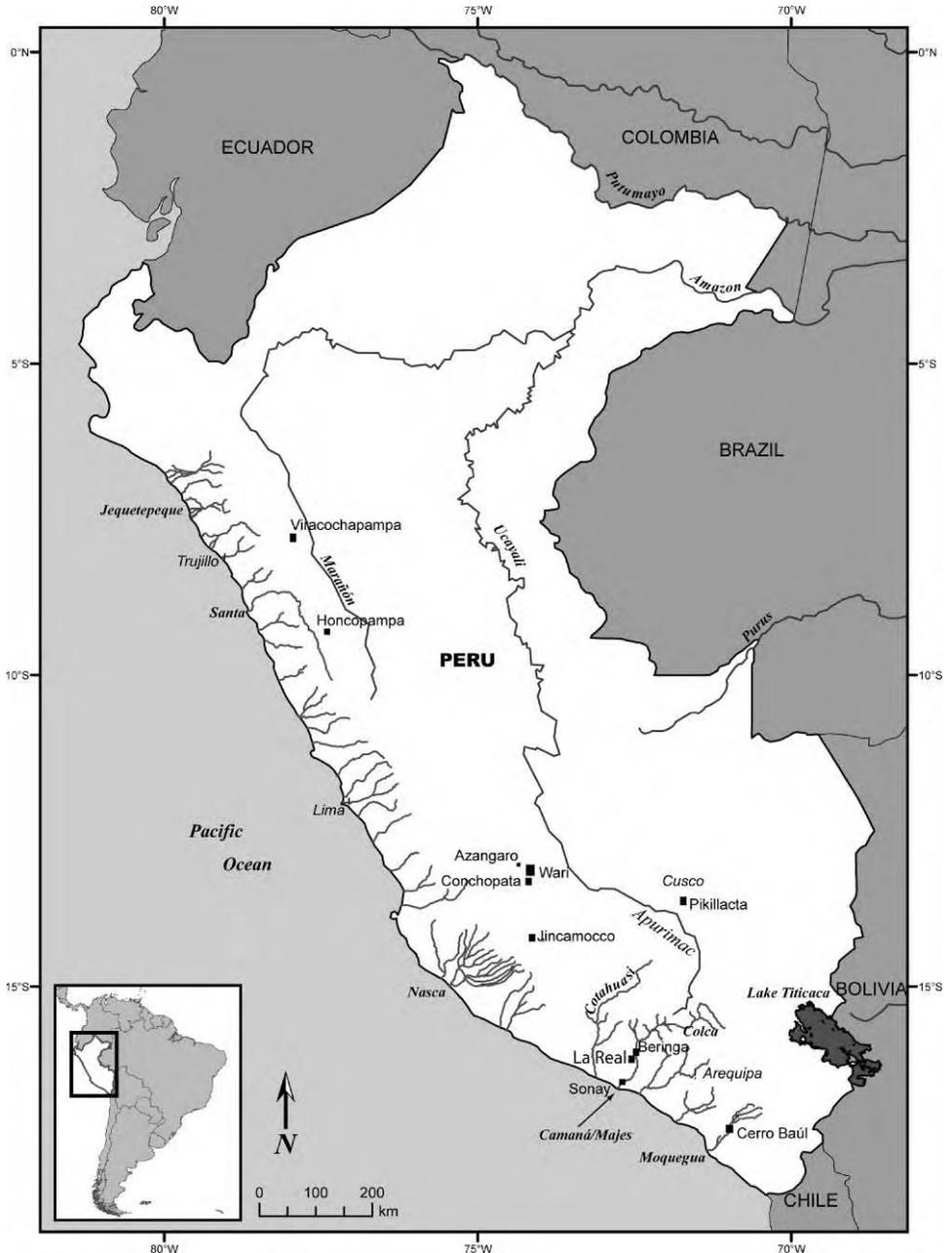


Figure 16.1. Map of Peru showing Wari sites discussed in the text (from Tung 2003).

providing a bottom-up perspective of trans-local political and economic organization. We highlight the lives of people who were members of rural communities in the Wari periphery in order to evaluate both sides of the local-imperial interactions.

Based on data from the sites of Beringa and La Real in the Majes Valley. We examine how foreign Wari influence interacted with the local culture, particularly as it related to fomenting circumstances or beliefs that permitted or even encouraged high levels of violence. We find that rural settlements such as Beringa are comparable to the farming villages near the capital at Huari and observe Wari iconographic traits in Beringa ceramics: traits that were shared with ceramics from the Wari heartland sites of Conchopata (Tung and Cook, 2006) and Aqo Wayqo (Ochatoma and Cabrera 2001), among others. We note that trauma frequencies were high among Majes Valley populations, showing that Wari influence in the periphery did little to curb violent interactions, and instead, may have intentionally or unintentionally contributed to the high levels of bodily injury (Tung 2003). Analyses of trauma frequencies, wound locations, and demographic patterns aid in revealing the social circumstances surrounding violence, while providing a fine-grained view of the lives (and sometimes causes of death) of individuals who had to negotiate a socio-political environment affected by a foreign power. As we will show, several lines of evidence from the village of Beringa suggest that raiding was the primary context in which trauma occurred, while osteological data from La Real suggest that the people interred there, particularly elite males, may have been involved in non-lethal ritualized violence. Together, these data suggest that local, regional, and foreign currents intersected in a multiplicity of ways, fomenting a notable degree of violence in both the indiscriminate realm of raiding and the contained realm of elite ritual.

IMPERIAL POWER AND THE SOCIO-POLITICAL CONTEXT FOR VIOLENCE

Violence is one of the most notable features of the Middle Horizon bioarchaeological record in the Majes Valley, and because discussions about Wari are best understood framed in terms of empire, we begin with a discussion on the relationship between violence and imperialism [Endnotes 1, 2]. Archaeological studies that explore those relationships, coupled with data on skeletal trauma, have shown that a variety of factors can lead to interpersonal physical conflict. Violence may include warfare between outsiders and locals, inter or intraregional raiding, ritual violence, and/or domestic violence, among others. Violence that occurs in different social contexts often affects the “archaeological body” in similar ways, creating a challenge for the bioarchaeologist to identify crucial differences in the circumstances surrounding violence. Nevertheless, archaeological studies on imperialism and biological and forensic research on skeletal trauma can inform expectations and aid in elucidating the context for violent interactions.

There are various means by which an empire can expand and maintain power. Scholars have noted the role of militarism, economic control, political strength,

and ideological indoctrination, or some mix thereof as common means for imperial expansion (Alcock et al. 2001; D'Altroy and Hastorf 2001; Earle 1997). In particular, imperial expansion often involves militarism or the threat of violence (Barfield 2001; D'Altroy 2002; Earle 1997; Morrison 2001; Schreiber 2001; Sinopoli 2001), even if it is risky and costly (Barfield 2001; Sinopoli 2001). Thus, in a setting with evidence for imperial influence, skeletal and archaeological evidence for violence is often interpreted as the exercise of imperial military strength, reflecting the physical domination of an imperial force over subject populations. In cases of military conflict, it is most likely that adult males would exhibit skeletal trauma, though exceptions to this pattern certainly occur. Additionally, peri-mortem trauma (injuries that occur around the time of death, and which may be interpreted as the mechanism of death; but see Galloway, et al. 1999) is expected in military engagements when soldiers may attack opponents with lethal intent.

Although violent conflict can and does occur between outsiders and locals, those need not be the only sides in opposition. Even though imperial powers or other outside players such as trading partners or ideological competitors may not be the direct or sole agents of violent encounters, that does not preclude their role in fomenting a social milieu where violence is commonplace or even held in high esteem. New imperial powers can affect local and supra-local structures, disturbing existing forms of social and political organization, changing, for example, the way that individuals gain or maintain status or altering channels for forming alliances or trade networks. Just as imperial centers may be factionalized when distinct interest groups or individuals jockey for power, peripheral zones include individuals and groups competing for high status and its benefits (Sinopoli 2001), leading to conflict laden areas that reflect intralocal tensions stemming from, or being exacerbated by, the new regional order. Imperial powers often benefit from this "divide and conquer" strategy as they work to convince external communities that the empire represents and controls that which should be desired. In part, imperial success depends on convincing external groups that the empire and its trappings (basic resources, prestige goods, religion, alliances) are worth competing for—even fighting for. In this context, violence may be the result of intralocal conflict stemming from imperial strategies to achieve just that.

A foreign imperial presence also may have unintended consequences and inadvertently exacerbate preexisting tensions or create new intralocal conflicts, both among groups directly under their control and among those on the margins (see Ferguson and Whitehead 1992b). Depending on indigenous social organization and strategic local responses that reflect native interests and concerns (Ferguson and Whitehead 1992a; Morrison 2001), empires meet with variable success in implementing their policies. The local interests around which strategic responses are constructed may be diverse and contentious and may lead to conflict within the local group. Imperial strategies can sometimes fail, and violence can develop and rise creating a zone that teems with violence (Ferguson and Whitehead 1992b). This kind of scenario may reflect an empire's lack of control and inability to create or maintain stability. In this context, local groups could conduct raids against each other, leading to high levels of trauma among men, women, and children.

The notion of “social substitutability” in contexts of warfare and raids suggests that any individual from a community is a representative of that group, and thus a legitimate target, making all individuals (nearly) equally susceptible to attack (Kelly 2000). We argue that “social substitutability” is particularly likely in cases of raiding, making men, women, and children all vulnerable to attack, even more so than in warfare when only particular subgroups (e.g., men) may engage in battle. Thus, evidence for violence could reflect intralocal conflicts in which the empire was not directly involved physically or strategically, but to which it contributed inadvertently.

When a local population is subject to external political, economic, religious, or military influence, violence may take on new or altered meanings or may occur in different social contexts. That is, even in the face of foreign presence, violence may reflect something other than a strategy for conquering a people, annexing lands, or forcefully extracting tribute. For example, violence can occur in more intimate settings such as that of domestic violence, reflecting power negotiations at the household level (Foucault 1978). Violence also may be state or community sanctioned as a form of corporal punishment (e.g., stonings) for transgressions against an individual or the community, as was done by the Inka state (Moore 1973) and other prehistoric groups in North America (see Smith 2003). Additionally, ritual battles known as *tinku* (*tinkuy*) have been ethnographically documented in the Andes, demonstrating how violence is enmeshed in complex social processes, cosmology, and ideology (Allen 1988; Bolin 1998; Hartmann 1972; Orlove 1994). These ritual fights are tied to important agricultural and irrigation events, and while they can occasionally lead to death, they more commonly result in nonfatal skeletal trauma (Allen 1988; Bolin 1998; Orlove 1994; Schuller and Petermann 1992), which can be observed osteologically (Tung 2003).

THE WARI

The sociopolitical landscape of the central Andes changed dramatically during the Middle Horizon (AD 550–1000) when two expansive states—Wari and Tiwanaku—developed and incorporated many Andean regions and their inhabitants. The Wari Empire expanded beyond the Ayacucho Basin of the south-central highlands to spread in a discontinuous pattern across much of highland and coastal modern day Peru (Isbell and Cook 2002; Menzel 1977; Schreiber 1998; Williams 2001), while the contemporary Tiwanaku Empire originated in the Lake Titicaca Basin and established agricultural colonies in regions of Bolivia and southern Peru and exerted influence as far as northern Argentina and northern Chile (Janusek 2004; Kolata 1993). The coalescence of Wari authority and the geographical extent of its influence are well established in several areas of the Andes. Wari influence is evidenced, partly, by distinctive Wari architecture located both near and far from the Wari capital, as at Jincamocco (Schreiber 1992), Azangaro (Anders 1991), and Aqo Wayqo (Ochatoma and Cabrera 2001), all within the Department of Ayacucho. Regions far from the imperial core also show Wari

style buildings, as at Viracochapampa and Honcopampa in the north (Isbell 1989; J. Topic 1991), Pikillacta near Cuzco to the southeast (McEwan 1991), and Cerro Baúl in the Moquegua Valley in southern Peru (Feldman 1989; Moseley, et al. 1991; Williams 2001). These sites demonstrate Wari's ability to establish large, intrusive centers amid spatially and culturally remote populations. The wide distribution of goods with Wari iconography at these and other contemporary settlements, monuments, and burial places (Cardona Rosas 2002; Cook 1984-85, 1992, 1994; Cook and Glowacki 2003; Lau 2003; Menzel 1964, 1968; Owen, in press; Schreiber 1992) suggests that some aspects of Wari ideology were widespread.

Some scholars have described the Wari expansionist process as militaristic in nature (Feldman 1989; Isbell 1991; Larco Hoyle 1948:37; Rowe 1956), while others have suggested that militarism may have been combined with "religious propaganda" (Menzel 1964a: 68). If militarism was involved, there may be evidence for skeletal trauma and defensive architecture at Wari era sites. However, as noted above, skeletal injury may also result from non-military violence, so the frequency and kinds of wounds from different demographic groups must be taken into account.

While some scholars interpret the distribution of Wari architecture and goods as evidence for Wari imperial expansion, others doubt that Wari was geographically great or ideologically and militarily dominant (Bawden and Conrad 1982; Conrad 1981; Donnan and Mackey 1978; Shady Solis 1989; Shimada 1990). According to these researchers, Wari was one among several autonomous Andean states (Czwaro 1989), or was part of a confederation of kin groups and lineages (J. Topic 1991; Topic and Topic 1985, 1992; T. Topic 1991). Others suggest that Wari engaged in interregional trade with other polities, none of which wielded power over another (Shady and Ruiz 1979; Shady Solis 1982, 1988). While some debate persists regarding the nature of Wari expansion in some areas of the Andes (particularly in the north coast; see Castillo 2000), the evidence for Wari intrusion in the south-central Andes is quite clear (Anders 1989; McEwan 1991, 2005; Moseley, et al. 1991; Schreiber 1992; Williams 2001). The varying evidence for Wari presence from north to south is not surprising given the ecological and ethnic diversity in the prehispanic Andes. It is possible that various strategies were differentially employed over time and space in a flexible pattern of "improvised responses" (Nelson 1996: xvii). As with many empires, economic networks, religious institutions, and other forms of regional interaction that involved Wari would not have been uniform, but would have resembled a patchwork where some valleys were more strongly incorporated, or incorporated in different ways, probably reflecting specific goals of important players in the Wari heartland and local interests of those in the periphery.

WARI INFLUENCE IN THE MAJES VALLEY

Knowledge of the prehistory of the Majes Valley is growing, particularly as it relates to the Middle Horizon and the evidence for Wari influence in and around the

region. Archaeological reconnaissance and small-scale excavations in the 1980s documented Wari ceramics at Beringa, La Real, and other Majes Valley sites (de la Vera Cruz Chávez 1989; Garcia Márquez and Bustamante Montoro 1990; Ratti de Luchi Lomellini and Zegarra Arenas 1987), and collections from the middle Majes Valley show foreign objects that may be from the Wari heartland or provincial Wari centers (see Cardona Rosas 2002:68). Also, a human trophy head that exhibits the Wari form, not the Nasca form, is present in the middle Majes Valley, suggesting that Wari ritual practices may have infiltrated this region (Tung 2003). A possible Wari administrative site, Sonay, has been documented in the coastal stretches of the Majes Valley (Camaná), and based on Wari orthogonal architecture and two radiocarbon assays, Malpass suggests that it was built around AD 950 (Malpass 1998, 2001), some one to three centuries after the initial occupation of Beringa. Recent excavations at Beringa directed by the first author have yielded textiles and ceramics exhibiting Wari and local styles, and five radiocarbon dates show occupation at Beringa by the first half of the Middle Horizon, from AD 650 to AD 850 (all dates calibrated at 2 sigma) (See Tung 2003 for details). Ceramic style comparisons confirm these dates (Owen, in press).

Wari centers and ceramics with Wari characteristics are reported at higher altitudes of the region. Further up the Majes drainage, the Número 8 site in the Chuquibamba Valley is vaguely reminiscent of Wari complexes (Sciscento 1989) and Achachiwa in the lower Colca Valley is identified as a possible Wari center (de la Vera Cruz Chávez 1996; Sciscento 1989), but Schreiber doubts the Wari designation for the latter site (Schreiber 1992:104). In the lower Chuquibamba near Pacay chacra, Williams and Cardona recorded a site with “Wari-like” architectural features; however, because much of it was covered with volcanic ash, no surface ceramics were found (Patrick Ryan Williams, Pers. Comm. 2004). The large multi-occupant tomb that contained the type specimens of Qosqopa ceramics was also in the Chuquibamba Valley (Lumbreras 1974; Neira 1990; Sciscento 1989). Qosqopa (also spelled Ccoscopa) is a poorly defined, variable range of styles found mostly in the department of Arequipa that have unmistakable Wari features; however, these ceramics seem too idiosyncratic and variable to imply a Wari intrusion in the imperial sense (Owen, in press). There may be another Wari site in the lower Colca Valley (the upper portion of the Majes), where Doutriaux has identified the site of Charasuta that perhaps shows features in the Wari architectural style (Doutriaux 2003). In contrast, archaeological survey in the upper stretches of the Colca Valley show only local Middle Horizon settlements and agricultural complexes, not Wari centers (Wernke 2003). Other Wari-related occupations have been documented in neighboring valleys, such as the site of Quilca Pampa in the Siguas Valley (just south of Majes) (de la Vera Cruz Chávez 1996) and Pampa la Estrella in the Uchumayo Valley near the city of Arequipa (Cardona Rosas 2002). At the latter site, Qosqopa sherds and clusters of agglutinated structures resemble Wari patio groups like those at the provincial Wari site of Cerro Mejía (Cardona Rosas 2002; Nash 2001). Finally, in the neighboring high-altitude Cotahuasi Valley (north of Majes) Wari-related ceramics and architecture are present (Jennings 2002).

The distribution of Wari-influenced architecture and ceramics in the Majes Valley, its higher-elevation tributaries, and neighboring valleys suggests that populations living in these areas were within the orbit of Wari ideology, economic influence, and potentially political or military power. Contacts of these sorts could have directly impacted Majes peoples, or at least altered supralocal, sociopolitical organization, economic ties, and other supralocal alliances, affecting local politics and community lifeways in villages in Majes. At a minimum, people in the middle Majes Valley sought goods that reflected specific aspects of Wari iconography and technological style, both in objects of daily use and in those that expressed high status, including Wari tie-dye textiles, Wari feathered textiles, and Wari face-neck jars. This is not meant to imply that Wari and local interactions were purely about domination and acquiescence or resistance. Instead, interactions could have been complex and recursive, perhaps with cultural practices and goods flowing in both directions.

As discussed below, this period of interaction involved violence for which the social context might be illuminated if data are considered in light of what we know about empires, imperial strategies, and their intended and unintended consequences. Wari imperial influence could have helped to stabilize the region, leading to low levels of violence, similar to the later Pax Incaica that may have taken hold in some regions (D'Altroy 1992; D'Altroy and Hastorf 2001; Earle and D'Altroy 1989). In contrast, military power could have been used by Wari in order to gain control of a region and its people, leading to violent interactions between intruders and locals. It is also possible that Wari leaders employed strategies actively seeking to divide local alliances—creating intralocal violence in the process—but ultimately establishing new ones that favored outside interests (see Sinopoli 2001). Such tactics also could have had unintended consequences, leading to high levels of violence among indigenous groups, making external control nearly impossible. Finally, new kinds of interactions could have contributed to other kinds of violence, such as ritualized battles (*tinku*) or conflict resolution that might have included “head-clubbing” between males (see Chagnon 1992; Conklin 2001; Lambert 1994).

THE SITE OF BERINGA

The site of Beringa is situated at 700 m.a.s.l. in the middle Majes Valley (part of the Colca-Majes-Camaná drainage) in the Department of Arequipa (Figures 16.1, 16.2). The site is located 75 aerial kilometers from the Pacific coast atop a long alluvial terrace above the Majes River (Figure 16.3). Beringa was a village settlement with domestic and mortuary contexts, and archaeological evidence indicates that inhabitants were agriculturalists and fishers, many of whom engaged in textile production (Tung, *in press*). The site was occupied during the first half of the Middle Horizon and again in the beginning of the Late Intermediate Period (Owen, *in press*; Tung 2003). Data presented here will focus on remains that are attributed to the Middle Horizon. Beringa appears to be insulated or protected,

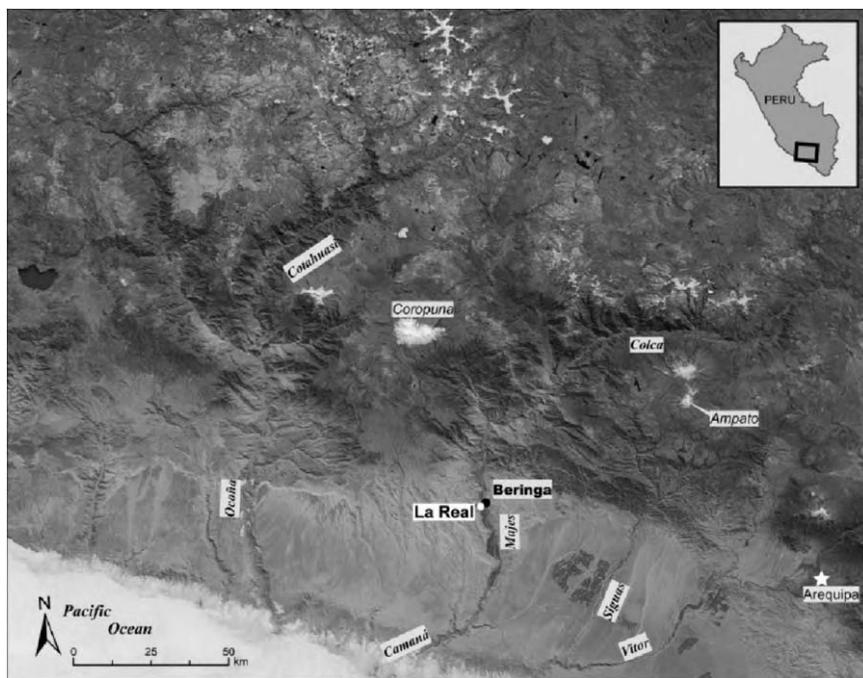


Figure 16.2. Satellite photo showing the sites of Beringa and La Real. (Image courtesy of NASA/GSFC/LaRC/JPL, MISR Team.)

perhaps making it defensible; the western edge of the site drops off to the Majes River, steep slopes border the eastern edge, and a long stone wall runs along the northern end of the site, either for defense or redirecting rare flows of water. This suggests that, while Beringa was by no means fortified and remained vulnerable to attack from the southern end or the eastern steep slopes, the Beringa inhabitants may have been concerned with issues of defense (Tung 2003).

Wari influence is evident at Beringa in a variety of media, including textiles, ceramics, and possibly in the large quantities of molle, a berry that was likely used for chicha de molle, which is particularly common at other Wari sites in southern Peru (see Goldstein and Quispe Valencia 2004). The dense deposits of molle found at Beringa in association with large ceramic vessels suggest that this beverage may have been served at large feasting events. Several Wari textiles recovered from Beringa demonstrate impressive weaving skills (Quinn 2003), and the Wari tie-dye textiles depict clothing styles worn by persons represented on face-neck jars from the Wari site of Pacheco in the Nazca Valley (Figure 16.4) (Tung, in press; see also Stone-Miller et al. 1992). Other textile design elements resemble Wari ceramic motifs described by Owen (in press), such as the alternating horizontal S and X motifs that are particularly common on textile edges and bands or belts (Quinn 2003). These textile motifs are particularly common on bowls of



Figure 16.3. Air photo of Beringa in the Majes valley; all human and material remains discussed in the text are from Sector A. (Image courtesy of Servicio Aerofotográfico Nacional del Perú.)

the Ocos style found at the rural Wari site of Aqo Wayqo (Ochatoma and Cabrera 2001).

Perhaps the most diagnostic Wari cultural markers are ceramics. At least six to seven percent of the sherds from Beringa with painted decoration are diagnostically Wari, including Chakipampa and Ocos styles, as well as other fragments with characteristic Wari features, such as the feathered wing motif or characteristic modeled and painted face necks from jars (Figure 16.5). Most of the remaining slipped or painted ceramics are variants that combine elements of decoration and form that are found in the Huamanga grade of less-fancy Wari ceramics with other features that are primarily limited to the coastal and Pacific slopes regions from Nazca south. The second author has argued that the Beringa ceramic assemblage is different from any of the rural assemblages known from closer to Huari, but not obviously more so than some of those assemblages are from each other. The Majes ceramics do not suggest a foreign intrusion, but rather a strong influence from a set of ceramic traditions in the Wari heartland (Owen, *in press*). In this view, the

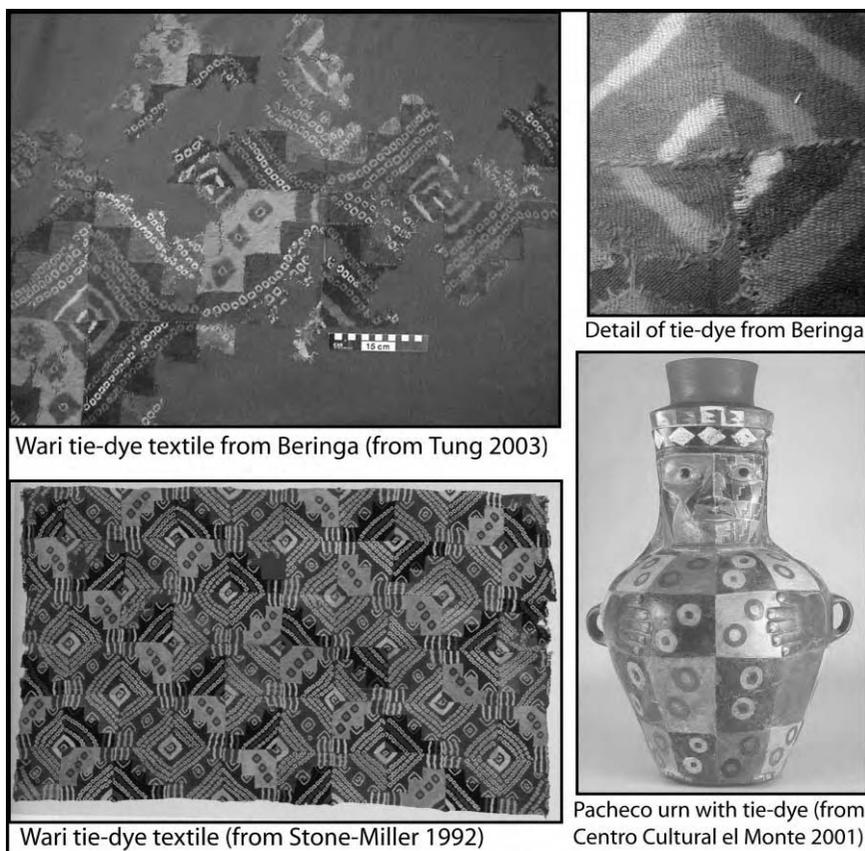


Figure 16.4. Wari tie-dye textile recovered from Beringa (upper left); detail of the tie-dye (upper right); complete Wari tie-dye textile (from Stone-Miller 1992) (lower left); ceramic urn from the Wari site of Pacheco depicting a person wearing a tie-dye manta (from Centro Cultural el Monte 2001) (lower right).

Majes tradition is simply another variant of the Huamanga grade of Wari-related ceramic traditions. The connection, whatever its nature, is undeniable and strong.

In contrast to the textiles and ceramics, obsidian points from Beringa are not similar to Wari styles. Given the quantity and importance of obsidian at Wari centers in the Moquegua Valley, such as Cerro Baúl and Cerro Mejía (Nash 2002), it is noteworthy that obsidian is somewhat scarce at Beringa. Thirty-seven fragments of obsidian were recovered, and only four were complete points (Tung, in press). Nowhere diagnostically Wari (i.e., they were not broad and convex-sided with roughly straight bases). (See Williams et al. 2001: fig. 12). The source of the obsidian at Beringa is currently unknown, but it is notable that relatively little was processed or consumed there. Perhaps this suggests that Beringa was not well incorporated into Wari's obsidian trade network. This is remarkable considering

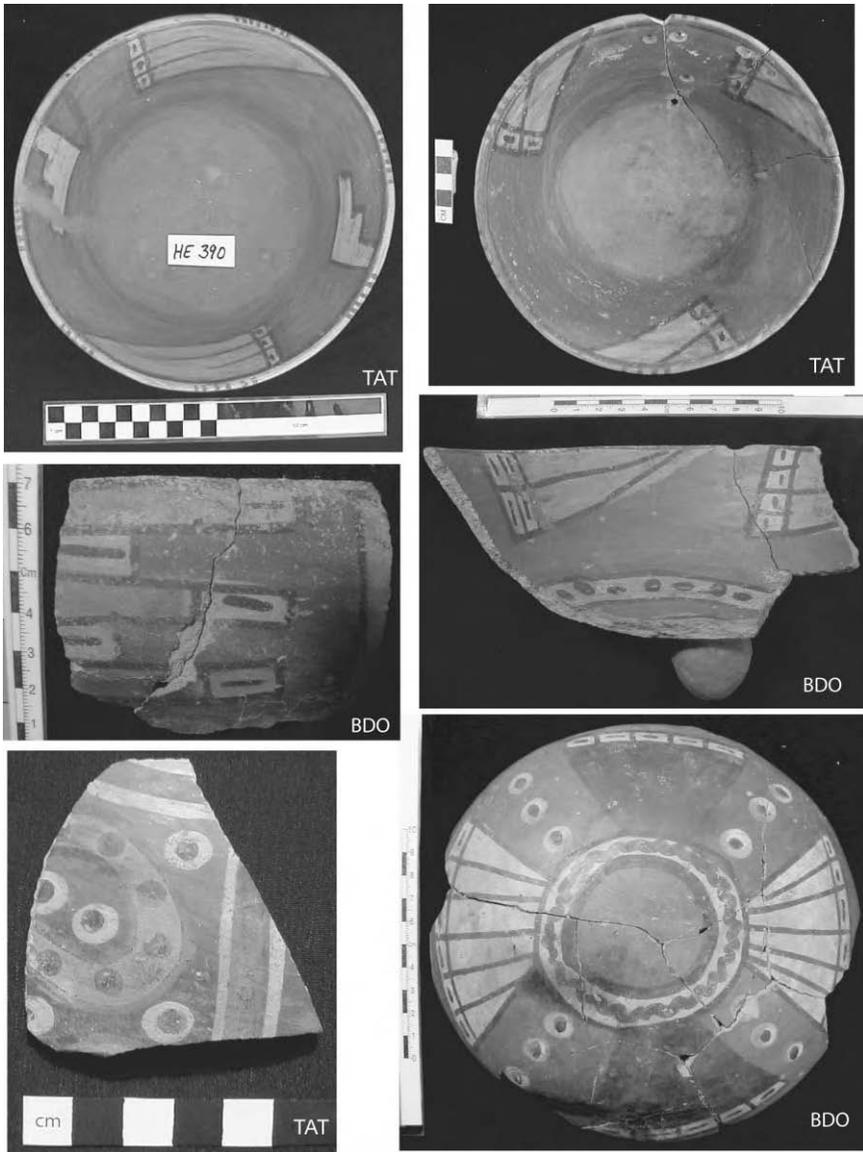


Figure 16.5. Wari-related ceramics recovered from Beringa. (See also Color Plate 16.)

the proximity of Beringa to the Cotahuasi (Alca) and Colca (Chivay) obsidian sources (see Figure 16.1). Granted, it is not expected that obsidian from the Colca Valley would be present at Beringa, as that source was apparently tied almost exclusively into the Tiwanaku economy (Burger et al. 2000). However, obsidian from Alca appears at the Wari capital far to the north and at other Wari sites such as

Jincamocco and even Cerro Baúl, far to the south (Burger et al. 2000; Jennings and Glascock 2002). These formal, intrusive Wari centers were evidently incorporated into Wari in a way that involved access to obsidian, while Beringa apparently was not. This supports the notion that Wari trade networks were variable and perhaps strategic, differing from zone to zone.

THE RESIDENTS OF BERINGA

The demographic data indicate that Beringa was home to numerous households, where equal numbers of men and women occupied the site and where the age-at-death distribution might reflect that of a once living village population (Tung 2003) [Endnote 3]. For the Middle Horizon skeletal series, one-third of the deaths were among infants, nearly one-quarter were among children, and the remaining deaths were among older adolescents and adults ($N = 151$) (Tung 2003). Such a high percentage of infants in a prehistoric skeletal population suggests either high fertility rates or immigration (see Paine and Boldsen 2002; Paine and Harpending 1996; Sattenspiel and Harpending 1983). While it is tempting to suggest that individuals from the Wari heartland were immigrants to the Majes Valley, no bio-distance or strontium data are yet available to test this hypothesis. A study of cranial modification among the Beringa population, however, has shown that only the fronto-occipital style was present, a common form in the coastal and yungas zones. No Beringa individuals exhibited annular cranial modification, which was common in the highland Andes and the only form observed at the Wari heartland site of Conchopata (Tung 2003). This might suggest that highland peoples were absent from Beringa. However, as Blom and colleagues have demonstrated among Middle Horizon populations in the southern Andes, there is no clear division between highland and coastal modification types; the highland site of Tiwanaku shows both forms, while coastal sites show only the fronto-occipital form (Blom, et al. 1998). Thus, although the absence of the annular head form at Beringa in no way confirms that highland populations were absent from the site, it limits the possibility that a particular subgroup of highland peoples migrated to the Majes Valley.

BERINGA CERAMICS AND VILLAGE LIFEWAYS IN THE WARI PERIPHERY

As noted above and argued elsewhere (Owen, in press), from the perspective of their decorated ceramics, the inhabitants of Beringa were culturally Wari to a degree comparable to people living in rural villages in the Ayacucho heartland with Huamanga grade ceramic assemblages. This Wari material culture at Beringa contrasts with the primarily local Middle Horizon assemblages upriver in the Chuquibamba and Colca valleys, and in the highland Cotahuasi Valley, but parallels the strong presence of Wari-related ceramics and textiles on looted sites

in the coastal valley of Camaná and the adjacent coastal Sihuas Valley. Yet the Wari people of this coastal, low-elevation pocket of societies were distant from the administrative infrastructure associated with Wari. Beringa is over 350 kms by air from the urban center of Huari. Moreover, there is no trace of a planned Wari architectural center in the vicinity of Beringa. The characteristically Wari compound at Sonay is located about 54 kms in a straight line from Beringa, in a topographically different segment of the valley, too far away to have been intended primarily to control the middle valley. Regardless of the eventual role of Sonay (see Malpass 1998, 2001), Beringa was apparently occupied by people using a version of Wari material culture for centuries before Sonay was built.

Just as Beringa is distant geographically from foci of overt Wari control, its material culture does not suggest a significant influx of Wari administrators or institutions. The second author argues that the mix of Wari traits found in the Beringa ceramic assemblage does not appear to derive from the fancy, ideologically charged ceramics that would have been among the markers of status, legitimacy, and power used by Wari conquerors or administrators (Owen, in press). If Wari influence in Majes involved conquest, intrusion, incorporation, colonization, or some other form of exploitation, then the stylistic features such as motifs, colors, forms, finish, and symmetry rules that local people would have associated with the powerful outsiders would presumably have been those of the fancier, iconographically loaded and lavishly executed wares in Chakipampa, Ocros, or Viñaque styles. These styles would be the sources of features that local populations would be expected to emulate, appropriate, or manipulate. Yet the more diagnostic features of these styles are rare or absent at Beringa. Instead, many of the most prevalent Wari features at Beringa are ones that are found primarily in less fancy Huamanga assemblages.

The term Huamanga describes a grade of ceramics, rather than a single style (Owen, in press). It encompasses a regionally variable set of decorated but quotidian ceramics that share some features of the fancier Wari wares, consistently lack others, and include additional features not found in the finer ceramics. The distinction between Huamanga and the fancier wares is not sharp, and is probably just an analytical division of a continuum of ceramics intended for use in various contexts. Rural settlements tend to have assemblages that contain primarily Huamanga grade ceramics with a small proportion of fancier wares, while people at urban, high-status, or institutional sites such as Huari, Conchopata, Azangaro, and Pikillacta used local assemblages of quotidian Huamanga ceramics plus fancy wares such as Chakipampa and others. Given that the Wari features of the Beringa assemblage seem to reflect the ordinary Huamanga grade of ceramics, rather than the fancy wares that evidently accompanied powerful outsiders when they moved into other peripheral regions, the second author suggests that Wari culture does not seem to have reached Beringa by way of an intrusion of conquering, administering, proselytizing, or other high-status, powerful foreigners, as it seemingly did in other parts of the Andes.

One possible explanation is that the Beringa ceramic tradition might have developed from a synthesis of local ideas and Huamanga traditions imported by

farmers from the Ayacucho area, long before formal administrative architecture or any significant concentration of ideologically loaded finewares came into the Majes Valley (Owen, in press). However, there is no known Huamanga tradition with the same combination of Wari features that could have begun a process leading to the Beringa assemblage. Of course, such a potential source may be found in the future. But in its absence, another option is possible. The second author suggests that the Beringa Wari tradition could have developed in situ, in much the same way as Huamanga traditions nearer to Huari. In this view, the styles at Huari would be the northern part of a range of stylistic variation that extended in an arc southwest to Nazca and from there southeast to Majes and Sihuas, perhaps reflecting older patterns of social interaction. The people around Huari developed a huge, complex urban core with expansionist policies. The people of Majes, using their related ceramic assemblage, remained outside of this formalized system for at least the first half of the Middle Horizon, but nevertheless maintained enough contact with it to obtain modest numbers of exotic fancy Wari ceramics, textiles, and other goods.

Either origin scenario results in a similar reconstruction of life at Beringa. The site was peopled by farmers with a local version of rural Wari beliefs and practices, leavened with some distinctly local differences to be addressed below. They lived outside of the formally administered Wari system but maintained a degree of ideological kinship and enough material contact to obtain some kinds of goods such as ceramics and textiles that were presumably produced by their more cosmopolitan, specialized, and urbanized contemporaries.

The lack of a direct or formal connection does not mean that the existence of Wari and its extension into its periphery had no effect on people in the Majes Valley. In fact, Beringa's access to the exchange of ceramics, contrasted with its possible exclusion from the exchange of obsidian points, might suggest tensions or at least some degree of complexity in its relations with institutions or factions within the Wari system. Wari's impact would not have been in the form of direct control, or probably even indirect exploitation, given that the principle products of the Majes Valley would probably have been food crops and perhaps camarones (river crayfish), both of which would have been prohibitively expensive to transport to the Wari core and could easily have been produced in closer valleys. Nevertheless, the immense Wari system of people, production, exchange, and wealth, with its at least occasionally expansionist and militarist practices, must have created ripples of tensions, competition, opportunities to negotiate economic advantages and prestige, chances to appropriate and manipulate ideological and symbolic capital, and so on throughout the surrounding societies.

If people in Majes were incompletely connected to the Wari system of exchange, it would not be surprising to find that their economic mechanisms were relatively simpler than those of comparable rural people immersed in the larger-scale, more cosmopolitan economy surrounding Huari. While it is too early to reconstruct much about the Majes exchange economy, the ceramics offer one tentative hint. At sites in the Wari heartland such as Azangaro (Anders 1989) and Aqo Wayqo (Ochatoma and Cabrera 2001:162, 164), ceramic vessels occasionally had complex patterns

scratched into their surfaces at some time after they were fired. Compared to the painted decoration on the same vessels, these marks are crude and casually executed, and do not appear to be decorative. One possible explanation for these marks is that they played a role in identifying ownership, tracking loans or exchanges, or otherwise labeling ceramics that moved from one person's control to another's. Of the eight examples of post-fire engraving from Beringa, six are simple X marks, one is an unintelligible pattern of several parallel and perpendicular lines, and one is a tiny series of linked Xs or lozenges. Most of these marks are simple and not very distinctive. If they served identification or tracking purposes, they probably did so in a system of exchange that was much more limited in scale and complexity than that navigated with the elaborate engravings used in the heartland.

The people of Beringa seem to have participated in the widespread Andean conceptual habit of dualism. Many burials appear to have contained matching unequal pairs of vessels (Owen, *in press*), perhaps reflecting ideas similar to the unequal gender pairing described by Andean ethnographers (Allen 2002; Moore 1995; Sallnow 1987). Typical examples include pairs of bowls of the same shape with almost, but not quite, identical painted decoration, of which one is always slightly but obviously larger than the other.

The utilitarian ceramics (Owen, *in press*) suggest a puzzling aspect of daily life at Beringa. First, they differ in form from utilitarian ceramics found with other Huamanga assemblages. Flat bottoms and single, high handles, common in cooking vessels from Ayacucho and Pikillacta, are absent from Beringa, while small tripod cooking vessels, present but not common in the Wari heartland, are relatively frequent at Beringa. Apparently food preparation practices, if not the cuisine itself, were different in Majes and the Wari heartland. The distribution of utilitarian vessel sizes is more surprising. Eight of ten small ollas, some with tripod feet and most crusted with organic deposits from cooking, fall in a size range from 170 ml to 580 ml when full to the rim, and presumably less in actual use. One other held 920 ml when full, and a final example, represented only by a large sherd, had a volume estimated between 360 and 1480 ml. These vessels would have provided a small cup of soup to just one to three people, or a substantial meal to just two or one, if any. The few boot pots from Beringa, probably used for toasting maize, are also smaller than is typical in other regions. At Beringa, food was apparently often prepared for just one or two people at a time (Owen, *in press*).

At the other end of the spectrum, large neckless cooking ollas and even larger open-mouthed cooking vessels with thickened rims exceeded 5 liters in volume, one holding over 56 liters. These are vessels suitable for preparing food for groups of one or two dozen or more. Yet of the 36 utilitarian vessels, there were virtually none in the 1 to 4 or 5 liter range. One small olla noted above might have exceeded 1 liter, and one large olla might have held slightly less than 5 liters, but both are the extremes of ranges estimated from incomplete vessels. This volume gap spans the range expected for preparing soups or stews for a family of two parents, a few children, and possibly a few others, and it is a size range that is common among cooking vessels illustrated from the Wari heartland (Owen, *in press*).

Unless this volume gap is due to bad sampling luck or preservation biases, it suggests that people at Beringa often prepared food for large groups or for very small ones, but rarely for groups the size of a nuclear family. The skeletal data suggest that a complete village population lived at Beringa. Perhaps specific responses to exigencies of field locations, work scheduling, or even the concerns related to raiding, defense, or personal danger when working away from the village encouraged staggered individual, dyad, or triad eating schedules interspersed with large multi-family meals. There are undoubtedly other interpretations, but in any case, the pattern of food preparation seems to be an unusual one in the Andes. It is tempting to link it in some way to the other unusual circumstances of the Middle Horizon Majes: the looming presence of Wari, culturally close, economically and ideologically powerful, but geographically distant, and the prevalence of violence suggested by the skeletal remains.

INTERPRETING TRAUMA TO IDENTIFY THE CONTEXT OF VIOLENCE

Intra-valley Conflict and Raiding at Beringa

Blunt force trauma leading to skull fractures was common among adults from Beringa; 33 percent show these kinds of head injuries (13 out of 39), all of which were likely caused by maces with stone heads, wooden clubs, or throwing stones hurled with hondas (slings) (Tung 2003). Each of these weapon types was recovered from Beringa, and although some obsidian and chert points were recovered, no points were found imbedded in bone. There was no statistically significant sex-based difference in cranial trauma, demonstrating that men and women were similarly affected (Tung 2003). As the first author has argued elsewhere, the frequency and locational patterning of the head wounds suggest that these injuries did not stem from accidental falls, but were likely the result of interpersonal violence whereby women received the majority of blows on the posterior of the skull and men suffered blows equally on the anterior and posterior (Tung 2003) (Figure 16.6). The anterior wounds likely stemmed from face-to-face conflicts (see Walker 1997). In contrast, posterior head wounds are common when attacked from behind; thus, the fractures on the back of the head may have been received while fleeing during raids (see Webb 1995). Two out of 51 left ulnae (lower arm bone) exhibit parry fractures, which result when an individual raises the arm above the head to block a blow; this provides corroborating evidence that traumas were received in violent contexts (Tung 2003). Parry fractures of the left arm indicate that victims were attempting to protect themselves from a right-handed attacker striking from the front. This defensive posturing seems more likely in the context of inter-personal violence, such as household and community disputes or attacks during raids, not accidental falls.

Among the 13 adults with head trauma, a majority show well-healed fractures (69%) indicating that they survived the injury, while a significant portion show

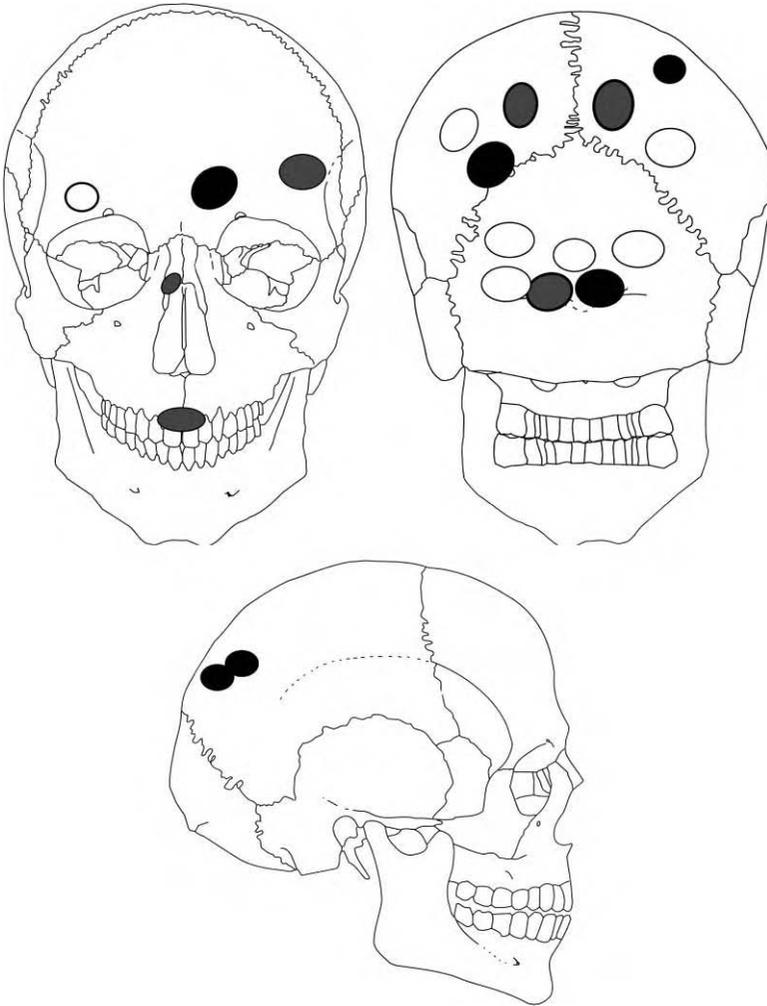


Figure 16.6. Locations of cranial wounds among adults from Beringa [Black = female wounds; Gray = male wounds; White = indeterminate sex.] (from Tung 2003).

peri-mortem cranial trauma (31%), suggesting that they died from the blow to the skull (Tung 2003). In other words, in nearly one-third of the violent encounters, the assailant may have attacked with lethal intent or at least hit forcefully enough to have caused death. Although lethally violent aggression can occur at the household level (Counts et al. 1999), it is probably more congruent with warfare and raiding, particularly when trauma frequencies are this high.

Given that men and women were involved in similar numbers of violent interactions, it appears that no particular subgroup was targeted. This is expected in cases of raids where “social substitutability” dictates that any individual is a

potential target. The gender parity in cranial trauma, the defensible site location, the high trauma frequencies, the percentage of lethal head traumas, and the locational patterning of head wounds (particularly the posterior wounds on women) all point towards raiding as a major cause of the skeletal injuries (Tung 2003).

Beringa villagers may have been victims of raids, but it is difficult to determine against whom they were fighting. The dearth of evidence for the presence of foreign peoples or intrusive architectural styles from Ayacucho suggest that it is unlikely that conflicts were between highland intruders and locals. Instead, intra-valley conflicts may have led to the observed traumas (Tung 2003). With Wari inspired changes in trade networks and local-regional alliances, it may be that these external forces affected the sociopolitical organization of indigenous groups in the Majes Valley, creating or exacerbating tensions. Similar conflicts arose among the Yanomami when Western influence reached native communities, altering trade relations, increasing factionalism, and fostering war within closely related indigenous groups (Ferguson 1992). Although the interaction between the Yanomami and Western players was quite distinct from the earlier prehispanic contact experiences in the Andes, the increasing levels of conflict among Yanomami groups during that time demonstrate how external influence can disrupt local and supralocal relations, potentially leading to intralocal violence. Similar outcomes may have occurred among the Wari era population at Beringa, where competition between indigenous groups for access to Wari goods may have contributed to high levels of violence. Native leaders also could have disagreed about how best to interact or negotiate with Wari on a variety of fronts, ranging from trade issues to styles of ritual practice, creating tensions between local communities in the process. Perhaps this caused both the local and imperial sides to renegotiate or redefine strategies of interaction. Here, then, the impetus for change, or at least a reevaluation of the status quo, may not have always flowed from the imperial center to the periphery, but may have been recursive. Actions, reactions, and interactions all would have been part of the process during a time of imperial expansion and interregional exchange.

Ritual Violence at La Real

The site of La Real is located eight kilometers downriver from Beringa (Figure 16.2), where three radiocarbon dates show that it was contemporaneous with Beringa (AD 640–740; AD 680–880; AD 690–900, all calibrated at 2 sigma) (Tung 2004). La Real was a ritual complex and mortuary cave site. In front of the cave, archaeologists encountered a rectangular ritual building with two rooms, a doorway connecting them, and a stone bench (de la Vera Cruz Chávez and Yépez Alvarez 1995); inside the room were three trophy heads (Tung 2003) and numerous high status goods, including gold and silver embossed plaques, snuff tablets, feathered textiles (probably related to Wari), and Wari polychrome ceramics (de la Vera Cruz Chávez and Yépez Alvarez 1995). The mortuary cave contained the majority of the bodies and more exotic Wari goods. These artifacts illustrate that La Real was notably richer in elaborate local and Wari goods than was Beringa,

suggesting that the people buried there may have been better connected to Wari trade networks and were of relatively high status (Tung 2003).

Based on demographic analysis of the La Real skeletons, Tung has argued that the sample does not represent a complete, once-living village community, but a subgroup of one or several communities (Tung 2003). At La Real, infants and children constitute only 25 percent of the age-at-death profile ($N = 145$), and the sex distribution is unequal; among adults, 61 percent are male and only 39 percent are female ($N = 67$), a distribution that significantly differs from a symmetrical distribution (50/50) (Fisher's exact, $p = 0.0432$, $N = 67$) (Tung 2003:130-131). This demographic profile indicates that select groups of people—biased towards adult males from one or more communities—were chosen for interment here (Tung 2003). Thus, while Beringa represents a rural, largely non-elite complete population, La Real represents a gender-biased, selective sample drawn from elite members of one or more communities in the same region and from approximately the same time, providing ideal cases for comparison.

The overall trauma frequencies among the Beringa and La Real skeletons are similar (Tung 2003). Thirty-one percent of La Real adults show cranial fractures (32 out of 104) resulting from blunt force trauma (i.e., a blow to the skull from a blunt object, like a stone), similar to the 33 percent at Beringa [Endnote 4]. Unlike Beringa, La Real shows sex-based differences in trauma; men exhibit (nearly) significantly more cranial trauma than La Real women (41% versus 19%, respectively; Fisher's exact, $p = 0.056$; $N = 65$) (Tung 2003). These data demonstrate that during the first half of the Middle Horizon violence was common in the Majes Valley among both elite and commoner groups who exhibit cultural affiliations with Wari, yet only the elite La Real sample shows sex-based differences in cranial trauma, indicating that elite men engaged in violent conflict more than elite women (Tung 2003). In contrast, commoner men and women from Beringa were equally affected by violence (Tung 2003).

At La Real, only five of the 32 adults (16%) with cranial trauma exhibit perimortem fractures, suggesting that a relatively small percentage was actually killed by a blow to the skull (Tung 2003). This is low compared to the 31 percent of apparently fatal head wounds at Beringa; however, the difference is not statistically significant (Fisher's exact, $p = 0.263$; $N = 46$). Thus, while the trauma frequencies might suggest that lethal violence was more common at Beringa than at La Real, perhaps reflecting crucial differences in the social context for violence, the lack of statistical significance limits this interpretation.

Adults from La Real exhibit more healed head wounds per person than those from Beringa, indicating that many adults either received several hits to the head in one violent encounter or single blows in several separate encounters (Tung 2003). Among the 32 La Real adults with cranial injuries, 10 exhibited more than one head wound, for a total number of 53 cranial wounds among the 32 injured persons (Tung 2003). That is, nearly a third of the adults could have been involved in several violent events; events that could have occurred with some regularity or on some kind of a cyclical schedule. Because the multiple head wounds were well healed, there was no way to determine if they were received at the same time or during

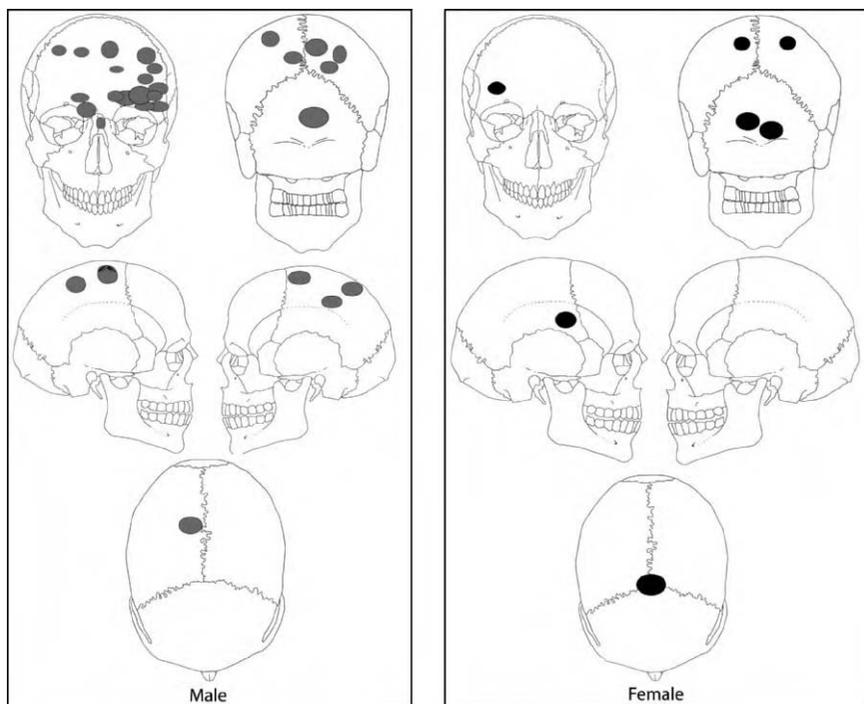


Figure 16.7. Locations of cranial wounds among adults from La Real (from Tung 2003).

different violent acts. While cyclical violence may represent endemic warfare, the low frequency of fatal head wounds suggests that military conflict might not be the only explanation. Instead, ritual violence involving sub-lethal injuries may better explain these patterns.

The locations of head wounds further support this interpretation. Among those buried at La Real, most injuries were sustained during face-to-face conflict: 52 percent of the wounds are on the anterior of the skull, 25 percent are on the posterior, and the remaining 23 percent are on the top and sides of the head (Figure 16.7) (Tung 2003). Notably among the anterior wounds, 70 percent are on the left side and 30 percent are on the right, indicating that the majority of wounds were likely inflicted by a right-handed attacker from the front, perhaps wielding a mace or club (Figure 16.8) (Tung 2003). While this could indicate warfare, the high frequency of non-fatal injuries suggests otherwise. These observations are similar to sub-lethal head wound patterning among Chumash males from prehistoric coastal California, where the pattern has been interpreted as evidence for “head clubbing,” a ritualized form of fighting where men square off, giving and receiving blows to the head (Lambert 1994; Walker 1997). This is similar to ritual club fights between men in modern Amazonian groups, such as the Yanomami of Venezuela (Chagnon 1992) and the Brazilian Warí (note the accent: not to be con-

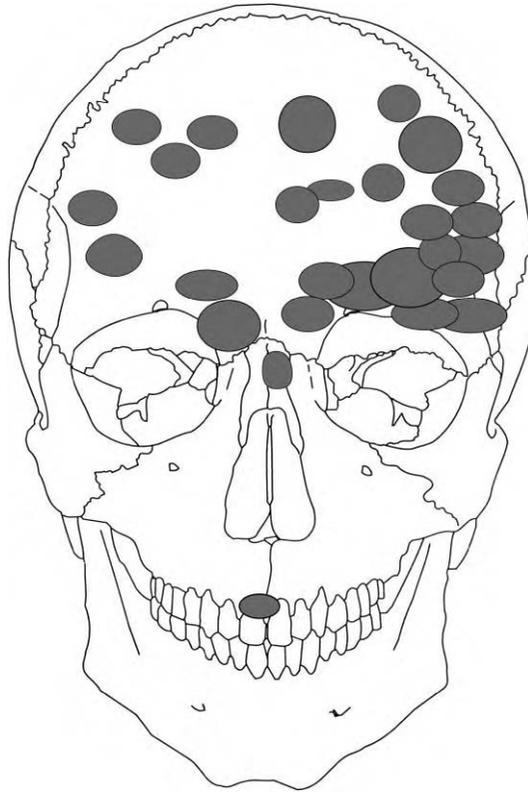


Figure 16.8. Locations of anterior cranial wounds among all adults (male, female, and unsexed) from La Real; note that the majority of wounds are on the left side of the face (from Tung 2003).

fused with the Wari discussed here) (Conklin 2001). Head-clubbing is often viewed as a form of organized conflict resolution, and it may be that La Real men, who appear to have been elites or local leaders, may have been engaged in this kind of practice.

In the ethnographically documented *tinku* in the Peruvian and Bolivian Andes and *juego de la pucara* (game of the fortress) in Ecuador (Allen 1988; Bolin 1998; Brachetti 2001; Chacon, et al. 2004; Gifford et al. 1976; Hartmann 1972; Orlove 1994; Sallnow 1987; Schuller and Petermann 1992; Schultz 1988), two communities converge as they attempt to spill an opponent's blood as an offering to earth for a bountiful harvest; the ritual battles are scheduled to correspond with festivals or the maize harvest (Allen 1988; Bolin 1998; Gifford et al. 1976; Hartmann 1972; Orlove 1994). While physical fights and stone-throwing are certainly key components of *tinku*, it is not perceived to be entirely hostile by the participants

because this ritualized convergence of opposites is meant to maintain balance and harmony (Allen 1988; Bolin 1998; Gifford et al. 1976; Hartmann 1972; Orlove 1994). As one of Bolin's informants from Chillhuani (in the Peruvian highlands) proclaimed about tinku, "it is not done in the mood of hostility. Instead it causes solidarity. It brings fertility for all" (Bolin 1998:95). Nevertheless, the fighting can be vicious, even fatal, and while the ultimate goal may be harmony, the proximate goal that brings this about is bodily conflict and bloodshed. Tinku typically involves men who square off in face-to-face fighting or who hurl stones at each other with an honda (sling) (Allen 1988; Bolin 1998; Chacon et al. 2004; Gifford et al. 1976; Hartmann 1972; Orlove 1994; see also Schuller and Petermann 1992: plates 64, 65), resulting in severe, but usually non-fatal head wounds that would be visible in the osteological record, possibly resembling those observed in the La Real sample.

TRAUMA IN OTHER ANDEAN REGIONS

The trauma frequency among Majes Valley peoples is exceptional when compared to contemporaneous populations also living within the orbit of Wari influence. In the nearby Nazca drainage, where Wari influence is evident at Wari ritual centers like Pacheco and in the material culture from other Middle Horizon Nazca sites, only nine percent of adults ($N = 97$) from the Wari era show head wounds (numbers are based on data tables presented by Kellner 2002). The combined trauma frequency of Beringa and La Real populations totals 31 percent ($45/143 = 32\%$), which is significantly higher than that of the Nazca population (Fisher's exact, $p < 0.001$; $N = 240$), demonstrating that populations from two valleys in the southern hinterlands of the Wari empire experienced significantly different levels of violence (Tung 2003: 240). Perhaps differences in indigenous community organization and the ways in which each valley articulated with Wari contributed to these significant differences.

Trauma rates among Middle Horizon Majes populations also differed from contemporaneous populations at Tiwanaku settlements in the Titicaca Basin and Moquegua Valley, where only six percent of adult males ($4/72 = 5.5\%$) and no adult females ($0/119 = 0\%$) exhibited depression fractures on the parietal bones (sides and superio-posterior portions of the head) (Blom et al. 2003); however, one adult female from the site of Chen Chen in the Moquegua Valley suffered fractures to the ribs, zygomatic (cheek bone), and nasal bones which are reasonably interpreted as evidence of domestic violence (Blom et al. 2003; see also Draper 1992; Walker 1997). In the subsequent Late Intermediate Period, only 5.4% of individuals from the Moquegua Valley site of Estuquiña exhibit cranial depression fractures (Williams 1990). Overall, the cranial trauma frequency among the Majes Valley inhabitants is about six times higher than that among the Moquegua Valley and Titicaca Basin populations, and more than three times greater than that of Middle Horizon Nazca populations. These comparative data suggest that Wari

influence in the southern hinterland had variable effects on the peoples with whom Wari interacted. The differing levels of interactions or kinds of interactions, be they limited or extensive trade networks, religious propaganda, or resource exploitation, may have played a major role in creating or curbing violence.

Trauma data may hold the potential to discern specific aspects of imperial rule. Differences in the kind and frequency of trauma between Wari and Tiwanaku groups may provide insight into how these contemporaneous empires conducted business of imperial expansion and oversight. Given that the valleys of the Nazca drainage are geographically closer to the Wari heartland than the Majes Valley, and given that that Nazca populations appear to have been more closely integrated into the Wari infrastructure than the Majes populations (sites such as Pacheco and Pataraya suggest this; see Schreiber 2001), it may be that stronger Wari oversight in a region served to limit levels of violence. We do not mean to suggest that there was a Pax Wari in this locale, but the extent of Wari influence could have affected the extent of violence. In comparison, Tiwanaku settlements in the Moquegua Valley, which appear to be under strong Tiwanaku control, show low levels of trauma.

CONCLUSION

Recent excavations at the sites of Beringa and La Real have uncovered material evidence that demonstrates Wari influence in the middle Majes Valley during the first half of the Middle Horizon. While the pattern that emerges is not one of clear domination by Wari, the textiles, ceramics, and possibly the dense deposits of molle suggest Wari influence in realms including the mundane, such as food preparation and consumption wares, and the ceremonial, where large quantities of chicha de molle were produced and consumed, possibly in feasting events. The Wari textiles at Beringa illustrate another layer of interaction between Beringa villagers and those who were part of the Wari trade network and demonstrate that a few individuals at Beringa had access to high status Wari goods, such as tie-dye mantas. Additionally, the presence of a Wari style human trophy head in the middle Majes Valley suggests that Wari influence extended into the ritual sphere and was not solely limited to the exchange of material goods (Tung 2003).

The Beringa ceramic assemblage shows that these villagers were connected to the Wari system of exchange. But, the scarcity of obsidian and the absence of diagnostically Wari-style obsidian points suggest that people at Beringa may have been excluded from certain trading spheres. Beringa villagers may have shared the widespread Andean concept of unequal dualism, since many burials seem to have not-quite-matching pairs of vessels (Owen, in press). While Beringa ceramics display clear connections to Wari styles such as Chakipampa and Ocos, and the ceramic assemblage in general fits into the Huamanga grade of less-fancy Wari wares, the vessel forms and sizes vary from those in the Wari heartland. The differences in cooking vessels suggest that Beringa villagers consumed a

cuisine distinct from that of their counterparts in the Wari heartland (Owen, in press), perhaps due simply to a different mix of foods available in the yungas zone around Beringa. Nevertheless, the range of vessel volumes at Beringa indicates that food was often prepared for only one or two people at a time or was cooked in great quantities, perhaps for large groups during feasting events. If feasting was indeed part of the Beringa cultural repertoire during the Middle Horizon, then it is possible that some individuals may have been competing for status in a new political landscape affected by Wari.

The bioarchaeological data demonstrate that violence was prevalent among Majes Valley communities during the time of Wari influence. More than three out of ten adults from Beringa and La Real engaged in violent conflicts, and while it is unknown if this rate represents an increase or decrease from the preceding period, it is significantly higher than trauma frequencies among contemporaneous populations in the south-central Andes. It appears that Wari did little to curb violence in the Majes Valley during the Middle Horizon (Tung 2003). Indeed, it may be that peripheral partners in the Wari trade network were adversely affected by this interaction, such that negotiations with Wari leaders, traders, or their subsidiaries contributed to increased tensions among local communities and led to extreme levels of violence. Several lines of evidence point to the likelihood that Beringa inhabitants were victims of raids. Both men and women show head traumas, and they are similar in frequency, just as expected in cases of raiding where “social substitutability” merits the attack on any individual in the community. Although the perpetrators of the raids are unknown, we have suggested that foreign intrusion and attack by Wari soldiers was unlikely.

At La Real, injuries indicative of violent encounters affected more than 30 percent of the adult population, and men showed significantly more trauma than women, albeit only nearly at the 5% confidence level ($p = 0.056$) (Tung 2003). This sex-based difference in head wound frequency, the high percentage overall, and the prevalence of anterior head wounds are consistent with what has been observed among men who engage in ritualized “head clubbing.” La Real men may have engaged in a form of ritual fighting, perhaps in a context similar to *tinku*. The individuals buried at La Real were high status persons who had access to a variety of exotic Wari goods, suggesting that participation in ritualized battles may have been exclusively for elites, or conversely, that ritual fights could have helped individuals, particularly men, gain higher status and, ultimately, access to the exclusive burial grounds at La Real.

As we have argued, there are times when violence on the periphery of an expansive power may nevertheless have little to do with military conquest. In the case of Wari, there is little evidence to suggest that direct military force was used in the Majes Valley. However, actions and policies of foreign powers can affect local and regional relations, perhaps having a secondary effect on peoples living in the periphery of an empire. It appears that Wari aided in creating or exacerbating intra-local violence among communities in at least this portion of its margins, and may have contributed intentionally or unintentionally to fomenting a social milieu

where violence was commonplace. Violence permeated the lives of many adults in the Majes Valley, and it appears to have varied in kind, ranging from raiding conflicts to ritualized battles, both of which led to high levels of bodily injury and sometimes death. Although a direct correlation can not yet be drawn between Wari influence and violence, the pattern is curious and adds to the parameters for understanding how imperial and local policies and actions may have come together to affect adversely the lives of people who had to negotiate these complex social and political systems.

ENDNOTES

1. The second author does not intend to assert that Wari was necessarily an empire, nor to make the discussion dependent upon that concept. Instead, in his view we are simply reviewing useful ideas concerning the interaction of a powerful center with less powerful peripheral communities that have been developed in the context of theorizing about empires.
2. The first author views the discussion of empires as a fruitful means to conceptualize Wari and Wari affiliated sites and the relationships between them. While the first author is cognizant of the potential problems of applying “European-derived concepts of empire” to the ancient Andes, she agrees with D’Altroy and Schreiber that comparative analyses benefit from a shared conceptual vocabulary that, nonetheless, must attempt to be historically and culturally situated (D’Altroy and Schreiber 2004:257). Also, various studies of empires have provided the first author with several ideas for understanding and contextualizing details of Wari society; thus, concepts drawn from studies of empire serve as a framework in much of this work (see Tung 2003).
3. It is rare that archaeological skeletal samples reflect the once-living population because biases that result from differential burial treatment or differential preservation often skew the demographic profile. This does not appear to be the case with the Beringa skeletal sample (see Tung 2003 for discussion).
4. However, one adult shows a possible healed cut wound on the posterior of the skull (see Tung 2003).

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