

STYLE AND TIME IN THE MIDDLE HORIZON

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Introduction

In 1925, in discussing Middle Horizon pottery from a cemetery at Moche on the north coast of Peru, A. L. Kroeber emphasized the importance of making a careful distinction between the concepts of style and time in archaeological research. This section of his monograph was entitled "Style and period in Peru."¹ The situation which prompted Kroeber's distinction was the occurrence of several different styles of pottery together in such circumstances that he was led to assign them to the same period. Associations of this kind are particularly characteristic of the earlier part of the Middle Horizon all over Peru, and they evidently reflect complex cultural influences and developments. What these influences and developments were has long been a favorite subject for speculation. No convincing cultural interpretation was possible, however, in the absence of a precise system of relative dating to which surviving Middle Horizon sites and objects could be referred. This paper is an attempt to construct such a system and to use it as a basis for recovering an outline of the major events of the period.

Kroeber's point about the importance of the distinction between time and style proved fundamental to the solution of the problems of Middle Horizon chronology. An equally indispensable working principle was to make the fullest possible use of archaeological associations, including refuse associations, grave lots, and contrasts in surface distributions. It would have been impossible to reach a solution by relying only on published material. Many of the key excavations of Middle Horizon sites have never been published, and where a report does exist it rarely provides an adequate record of the significant evidence. Fortunately, much unpublished evidence is available to any inquiring student in public and private collections in Peru and the United States. This study is the result of some three years of research, including a review of older collections and new surveys at key Middle Horizon sites.²

The Middle Horizon is a period of time defined arbitrarily with reference to the "standard" sequence of pottery styles of the Ica Valley on the south coast of Peru, the intent of the definition being to include the time when the art of the south coast was under the influence of a sierra style related to that of Tiahuanaco. The Middle Horizon starts with the beginning of Phase 9 of the Nasca style at Ica and ends with the beginning of the Chulpaca A phase of the Ica style. It is preceded by the Early Intermediate Period, in which eight epochs are distinguished, and followed by the Late Intermediate Period. At a conservative estimate, subject to

correction when more radiocarbon determinations are available, the Middle Horizon dates from about A.D. 800 to about A.D. 1100.³

In an earlier study of Middle Horizon problems, published in 1958, I suggested a division of this period into four epochs. Further work has made it possible to subdivide Epochs 1 and 2, so that we can now distinguish Epochs 1A, 1B, 2A, and 2B. No doubt when more associations are available for Epochs 3 and 4 it will be possible to subdivide them also. It is the greater precision in dating made possible by the subdivision of Epochs 1 and 2 that has made possible the reconstruction of cultural events outlined in the conclusions.

Since this chronology for the Middle Horizon is based on distinctions in pottery styles, the discussion which follows will be concerned chiefly with pottery and its associations. The areas examined in most detail are those of Ayacucho and Huari in the southern sierra and Ica and Nasca on the south coast. The area of Ayacucho and Huari is important because it was the major center of cultural influences in Peru in the Middle Horizon. Ica and Nasca are important because they provide the evidence for relating Middle Horizon styles elsewhere to the standard sequence of Ica; Nasca has additional special significance because it was a center of prestige which influenced the Ayacucho region. A third area of special interest on which some information is available is the central coast between Pachacamac and Ancón. Deficiencies in the evidence available make it necessary to treat other parts of Peru more briefly, although some of them are probably very important to the Middle Horizon story.

Middle Horizon Epoch 1

General summary and terminology

It was during Epoch 1 of the Middle Horizon that intrusive pottery of sierra origin made its first appearance in the Ica and Nasca valleys. Earlier and later phases can be distinguished in the sierra pottery styles of this epoch, and it is this difference in style which provides the basis for making A and B subdivisions within Epoch 1. No comparable distinction can yet be made in the Nasca 9 style, because there are too few recorded associations for Nasca 9 material. However, the intrusive highland pottery which appears in the Nasca 9 associations we have is all attributable to Epoch 1B. The same types of intrusive pottery appear on the coast as far north as Chancay and as far south as Acarí. In the sierra, these pottery types are concentrated around Ayacucho and Huari, but they are found as far north as Huaraz, while reports indicate that they may be found in the Pampas River drainage and possibly even further south, in the sierra back of Nasca and Acarí.⁴ The sierra styles characteristic of the area of Ayacucho and Huari influenced coastal styles in Epoch 1B, inducing sudden changes, although features of the older coastal traditions continued to be dominant or at least important. The Nasca tradition, which had exerted widespread

influence in the latter part of the Early Intermediate Period, continued to do so in Epoch 1 of the Middle Horizon. Nasca influence affected both coastal and sierra styles. The central and south-central coast styles of Epoch 1B were in the main on the receiving end of influences from the region of Ayacucho and Huari and from Nasca, without exerting any significant influences of their own on other areas.

Epoch 1 also marks the first appearance in Peru of stylistic features and themes which we associate with the site of Tiahuanaco in Bolivia. These Tiahuanaco influences are virtually confined to two distinctive ceremonial styles, the Conchopata style of Epoch 1A, which is known from the site of that name near Ayacucho, and the Robles Moqo style of Epoch 1B, which has been found at Huari, at Chakipampa in the Ayacucho area, and at Pacheco in Nasca. Both these styles comprise very large vessels which were evidently used as offerings. The large vessels are found, broken in situ, in great offering deposits which consist of rooms filled to capacity with their fragments. They do not occur in burials or in ordinary habitation refuse.

In addition to the ceremonial styles there are three other styles with slightly different but overlapping patterns of distribution which occur together in associations suggesting contemporaneity in Epoch 1 sites in the area of Ayacucho and Huari.⁵ The commonest of these three is the Chakipampa style, which apparently represents the local pottery tradition of Ayacucho and Huari. The other two are the Ocros style and one subdivision of Bennett's "Black Decorated" group. The Ocros and Black Decorated styles may or may not be of local origin; if they were imported, they cannot have originated very far from the Ayacucho region, since in Epoch 1A they are not found on the coast or at any great distance from Ayacucho and Huari.

The Chakipampa and Ocros styles display strong Nasca influence. Some of their Nasca-derived features are ones which represent influences of Phases 7 and 8 of the Nasca tradition which reached the Ayacucho area in the latter part of the Early Intermediate Period; others are new influences deriving from Nasca Phase 9.⁶ Most of the Nasca influences have a distinctive local character, and they occur associated with local features not derived from the south coast.

As we have noted, the Epoch 1 styles of the area of Ayacucho and Huari can be subdivided into earlier and later phases corresponding to Epochs 1A and 1B respectively. The phases of the Chakipampa, Ocros, and Black Decorated styles are distinguished by the letters A and B. There is also a Phase C of the Black Decorated style, but it dates to Epoch 2. In the discussion which follows, fragments of the styles named are identified as to phase whenever possible. The style names are used without phase identification only when such identification is uncertain or when reference is made to the style as a whole and not to separate phases.

By Epoch 1 of the Middle Horizon the persistent Nasca influence in the area of Ayacucho and Huari had brought about a situation in which there

was a particularly close resemblance between the fancy Chakipampa style pottery of the sierra and the Nasca 9 style which was the native local style on the south coast. The resemblance was further increased in Epoch 1 by Chakipampa influences on Nasca. Chakipampa design features appear as occasional or standardized loan features on Nasca 9 vessels, and Ocros and Chakipampa B related vessels have been found in Nasca 9 burials. In addition, a special kind of modeled pottery of ordinary size which is treated here as a variety of the Robles Moqo style is occasionally imitated in fancy burial pottery on the south coast.

The local style of Epoch 1 in the Cañete Valley on the south-central coast is that of Cerro del Oro. On the central coast, from the Rimac Valley to Ancón, the local style is one which I am calling Nievería, after the site where Max Uhle first found it. The Cerro del Oro and Nievería styles share a number of stylistic features not found in the Nasca 9 style or in the sierra styles of the area of Ayacucho and Huari, but both also display strong sierra influence and some influence of Nasca 9. Imported vessels of the Chakipampa B style and local imitations of the ordinary size Robles Moqo modeled pottery are found in association with the Nievería and Cerro del Oro styles, making it possible to attribute these styles specifically to Epoch 1B. To date, no oversize ceremonial pottery with Tiahuanaco-related themes, comparable to that of the Conchopata and Robles Moqo styles, has been found on the central coast.

Although influences from the area of Ayacucho and Huari have not been traced further north than Chancay and Huaraz, there were evidently some contacts and exchanges between central and northern Peru in Epoch 1. Ideas were borrowed in both directions between the Nievería style and Phase V of the Moche style, and both areas shared an archaizing movement which produced latter-day imitations of Cupisnique vessels. There are some features in the Cerro del Oro style which suggest influences from Cajamarca II or some other style related to it.

The area of Ayacucho and Huari

Evidence of associations. The pottery styles found in the area of Ayacucho and Huari which are discussed in the present report are the Huarpa, Chakipampa, Ocros, Black Decorated, Conchopata, Robles Moqo, Viñaque, and Viñaque-associated styles. These stylistic units are defined on the basis of their isolation or segregation at habitation sites in the region of Ayacucho and Huari.⁷ The Huarpa style is assigned to the period just preceding the Middle Horizon (Epochs 7 and 8 of the Early Intermediate Period) on the basis of its association with features of Phases 7 and 8 of the Nasca style.⁸ The Viñaque and Viñaque-associated styles, together with Phase C of the Black Decorated style, are assigned to Middle Horizon Epoch 2, as will be explained below. The rest of the styles belong to Epoch 1 of the Middle Horizon on the basis of their associations.

The Huarpa style is isolated at Churukana, a very large habitation site on the first hill east of Huari.⁹ Few fragments of Middle Horizon styles

occur even on the surface of this site. At the habitation sites of Chakipampa and Ñawim Pukyu, near Ayacucho, Huarpa style sherds occur over a larger area than the other styles, so that there are sections of these sites where the Huarpa style is as clearly isolated as it is at Churukana.

In 1942 an expedition directed by J. C. Tello excavated part of a large offering deposit at a place south of Chakipampa, near the Ayacucho suburb of Conchopata. The offering deposit contained fragments of oversize ceremonial urns in a distinctive style here designated Conchopata. According to Julio Espejo Núñez, who took part in the 1942 excavations, the excavators found, about 30 centimeters below the surface, the tops of field stone walls forming a series of rectangular subterranean rooms, 1.50 by 2 meters in size. The contents of the upper portion only of five of the rooms were removed and taken to the Museo Nacional de Antropología y Arqueología of Lima. The painted decoration of the Conchopata urns is closely related to the art of Tiahuanaco in themes and style, while it differs in a number of significant details from the Tiahuanaco-related styles found in associations indicating dates in Epochs 1B and 2. On seriation grounds, the most reasonable date for the Conchopata style is Epoch IA.

There is a large habitation site on the hill of Acuchimay, on the outskirts of Ayacucho, where there is a mixture of Huarpa, Chakipampa A, and Ocros A style pottery fragments on the surface.¹⁰ No later pottery has been found at this site by Wendell C. Bennett, John H. Rowe, or me.¹¹ It is primarily the occurrence of Chakipampa A and Ocros A pottery on the surface of this site without admixture of the respective B phases which provided the basis for making the phase distinction.¹² In Bennett's collection from Acuchimay there are two unpublished fragments of a variety of Black Decorated pottery which is distinct from pottery of this style published in his 1953 monograph and which are the basis for distinguishing a Black Decorated A phase.

The Chakipampa B and Ocros B styles occur together and without mixture of earlier and later styles at a small, shallow habitation site on the grounds of the Hacienda Totorilla along the highway from Ayacucho to Huanta, three kilometers north of Ayacucho.¹³ This site at Totorilla is the only one in which the B phases of the Chakipampa and Ocros styles have been found isolated from the A phases.

The site of Chakipampa is located a short distance north of Conchopata on a flat plain bordering the edge of the deep ravine of Totorilla.¹⁴ The area of occupation extends over a distance of between two and three kilometers along the edge of the ravine and consists of fieldstone foundations of large buildings as well as habitation refuse. The surface sherds on the flat plain are mainly a mixture of Huarpa style pottery with both phases of the Chakipampa and Ocros styles, but there are in addition a few fragments of the Robles Moqo style in the southern part of the site. These fragments represent oversize ceremonial urns painted in a Tiahuanaco-related style slightly different from that of Conchopata. Sherds of the Huarpa style cover a greater area than those of other styles at Chakipampa, extending down the steep slope

at the top of the ravine where none of the other styles are found. No Viñaque style pottery has been found at Chakipampa.

There is a somewhat similar situation at the smaller site of Ñawim Pukyu on the hacienda of the same name beyond Acuchimay on the road to Cuzco.¹⁵ Huarpa style sherds cover a large area at Ñawim Pukyu, while there is a smaller area with fieldstone walls and sherds of both phases of the Chakipampa and Ocros styles as well as Huarpa ones. No fragments of oversize ceremonial pottery in any style have been found at this site.

The Ocros style takes its name from a site, located near the southern foot of the Huari plateau in the upper part of a ravine called Tarawayqo, which was explored by Tello's expedition of 1942, but which I have not visited.¹⁶ Members of the 1942 expedition say that there was a large concentration of Ocros style pottery at this site, including fragments of large, thick-walled vessels. I have no information on the occurrence of other styles at this site.

The site of Huari, which is located some 25 kilometers north of Ayacucho, is a habitation site of immense size, with remains of many buildings constructed of fieldstones and some of cut stone.¹⁷ Even the surface remains at Huari have been only partially explored, but the site nevertheless provides some valuable associations. All of the styles discussed in this report have been found at Huari except the Conchopata style. They are not all uniformly distributed, however; on the north side of the site, at any rate, sherds of the styles assigned to Middle Horizon 2 have a less extensive distribution than do those of the styles assigned to the Early Intermediate Period and Middle Horizon 1.

In 1950 Wendell C. Bennett excavated a number of pits at Huari looking for stratified refuse. In many of his pits the cultural deposits were badly mixed, but in a number of cases stylistic units were physically segregated, and one pit yielded a good stratigraphic sequence which confirms the chronological ordering proposed in this study. Unfortunately, Bennett made a taxonomic classification of his sherd collections which effectively obscured the cultural units and their chronological relationships, and he misread the stratigraphy at Huari through assuming that surface samples are equivalent to samples from excavation units.¹⁸ My comments on the evidence provided by Bennett's pits are not based on the published report but on a reexamination of the collections, now at the Laboratory of Anthropology, Yale University.

Bennett's stratigraphic sequence was found in Pit 4, dug outside the main construction area of Huari in a section called Sullu Cruz, on the north edge of the site where it drops off sharply to the ravine of Pacaicasa. The sherds catalogued from Level c, the lowest of the arbitrary levels in this pit, all belong to the Huarpa style, except for one Chakipampa sherd and one Viñaque sherd which I assume came from the surface or from a higher level and fell into the pit during the excavation. Level c is sealed off by a sterile layer of washed stone and gravel half a meter thick, probably representing a fill or a storm deposit. Level b, above the sterile layer, contained both Chakipampa and Huarpa style sherds. Level a, above Level b, contained exclusively Chakipampa

pottery, most of it specifically attributable to Chakipampa B. The surface collections made in clearing operations prior to excavation included a majority of Chakipampa and Ocros style sherds, about half as many Huarpa sherds, and four Viñaque style fragments.

The two arbitrary levels in Pit 5, dug not far from Pit 4 in the Sullu Cruz section, contained exclusively Middle Horizon 1B pottery, including a large number of Chakipampa B and Ocros B sherds, five Black Decorated B sherds, a unique white paste fragment, and one fragment of an ordinary size modeled vessel in the Robles Moqo style.

Pit 2, dug in the main area of ruins at the north end of the site, exposed over two and a half meters of sherd bearing deposit. All the pottery from this pit belongs to styles assignable to Middle Horizon Epoch 2, except for a group of four broken but partly restorable vessels found near the burnt bones of an infant at a depth of 2.35 meters. These vessels, which probably represent a sacrifice or offering rather than a burial, include three fancy Chakipampa B pieces and one regular size tumbler in the Robles Moqo style. In the absence of detailed information on the relationship of this offering to the Middle Horizon 2 deposit, I am assuming that it is an earlier feature, as the style of the pottery indicates. The Middle Horizon 2 deposit in this pit appears to represent fill; at any rate, Bennett catalogued fragments of the same sherd from levels at least three quarters of a meter apart.

Pits 10 and 11, really two sections of a single pit, were dug on a prominent knoll named Robles Moqo in the northeastern part of the site of Huari.¹⁹ The pottery from this excavation has not been restudied in detail, but the styles of both Epoch 1 and Epoch 2 of the Middle Horizon are represented. In this excavation Bennett found three fragments of oversize ceremonial vessels of the same kind found in the great offering deposit at Pacheco in Nasca. These were the only fragments of oversize ceremonial vessels found at Huari, and their presence at Robles Moqo suggests the existence of an offering deposit of Epoch 1B in this knoll. Since, as will appear below, Huari appears to have been the center of dispersion of the ceremonial style, the name Robles Moqo will be used to designate this style in the present discussion.

The Huarpa style. The Huarpa style was first segregated as a separate stylistic unit by Rowe.²⁰ The name "Huarpa" is used here to designate all local pottery from the area of Ayacucho and Huari assigned to the latter part of the Early Intermediate Period, including pieces reflecting Nasca influence as well as those with purely local antecedents. Nasca influence in this area was not confined to the Early Intermediate Period but affected also the Chakipampa style of Middle Horizon Epoch 1. Features derived from the Nasca tradition which occur here in a Middle Horizon 2 context are presumed to have been transmitted through the Chakipampa style and will be called Derived Chakipampa (see below).²¹

The most distinctive features of the Huarpa style include the standard use of matte white and black slip pigment, with broad black bands, narrow black lines and large black and white checks forming simple designs on a white or unpigmented orange base. The commonest shapes with this type of decoration are large, thick walled, vertical sided open vessels with thickened rims.²² A few of these open vessels, as well as some large closed forms and some smaller open and closed forms, have dark red slip painted bands or checks in addition to the black ones, in some instances outlined with black.²³ Another associated type consists of jar necks with slightly flaring rims, thickened lips, and decoration consisting of long, vertical or short, diagonal black lines on a white or unpigmented slip.²⁴ A few of the thick walled, and a majority of smaller, much thinner walled open and closed vessels are decorated with other black and unoutlined red designs on a matte white ground, consisting mostly of spirals, circles, wavy lines, cross hatching, and black stippling of background and design areas.²⁵ On a few specimens, the design consists of alternating red and black lines forming zigzag bands on a white ground, a special variant of this design being a horizontal chevron band at the rim of open vessels and jar necks.²⁶ This appearance of the chevron band is earlier than any on the coast.

Among the smaller Huarpa style shapes are high sided cups with straight or slightly convex sides which may be vertical, slightly tapering or slightly flaring, with a flat or shallow rounded bottom; small collared jars with a rounded bottom and two vertical strap handles from rim edge to body; incurving bowls with flat, horizontal lugs at the rim; and tall, narrow bottles consisting of three bowl-shaped tiers separated by constricted waists. All these shapes form antecedents to Middle Horizon I shapes. There are two additional important Huarpa forms. One is a spoon or ladle with a tapering, slightly curving handle,²⁷ and the other is a modeled human head on figurines, or a face-neck on jars. Distinctive features of the modeled heads and face-necks include eyes designated by long horizontal slits in a raised ridge or at the base of a shaped lid, eyelashes indicated by black cross lines, and, on some specimens, vertical or diagonal sets of bands below the eyes as face markings (the so-called "tear lines").

Some of the smaller open vessel shapes resemble Nasca 7 and Nasca 8 open vessels of the south coast, and many of the smaller forms are decorated with designs which are closely related to those of Nasca Phases 7 and 8. Since Nasca Phases 7 and 8 are distinct from one another and indicate temporal differences, the presence of designs of both these phases in the Huarpa style suggests that the latter, as now defined, corresponds to at least the two last epochs of the Early Intermediate Period, and that future study will make further stylistic subdivisions possible. Features related to the Nasca 7 style include polychrome designs on a white slip, background stippling of design areas, black line spirals attached to bars, and special patterns of zigzag line designs, all of which are mentioned above.²⁸ In addition, Nasca 7-related designs of the Huarpa style include a highland variant of the humped animal;²⁹ a related three-fillet band with ray appendages;³⁰ and opposing unoutlined pyramidal step designs placed in horizontal bands, either in black only or in red and black.

Another feature shared by Nasca-related Huarpa pottery and the Nasca 7 style is a horizontal outlining of design areas with a pair of adjoining bands in red and gray outlined in black, a standard technique in both styles.³¹ In the Huarpa style, the use of a gray pigment is found only in association with Nasca-related designs and so evidently also represents Nasca influence.

Designs of the Huarpa style more specifically resembling Nasca Phase 8 designs include symmetrical and asymmetrical bicolored ray design figures.³² Some ray designs on Chakipampa A pottery of Middle Horizon Epoch 1 also resemble ray design patterns of Nasca Phase 8³³ and evidently represent locally modified survivals of Nasca 8 influences. The highland variants of the Nasca 7 and Nasca 8 designs have a number of local peculiarities, notably an exaggeration of curvilinear features which results in rays with elongated, wavy stems; double circle filler elements; and designs of narrower modular widths, narrower outlines, and more irregular execution than are found in the Nasca style.

A few other types of fragments found in Huarpa associations have a brighter orange paste and slip than the rest, and suggest the possibility that antecedents to the Ocros style appear at this time.

The Chakipampa style. A large proportion of Chakipampa style designs, and some shapes, resemble corresponding features and themes of the Nasca tradition, both those derived with modifications from Nasca 7 and Nasca 8-related features in the Huarpa style, and ones representing new influences of the Nasca 9 style. The Chakipampa style also embodies distinctive features of highland origin which are derived with modifications from the Huarpa style. In addition, there are a number of innovating features, all of them attributable to Chakipampa Phase B, the exact antecedents of which are not known at present.

For purposes of description, it is convenient to distinguish special fancy Chakipampa pottery from the rest. This fancy pottery appears in smaller proportions than the other Chakipampa vessel types, and some of it has been singled out by Lumbreras under the name of "Rudaqasa."³⁴ It is the highland pottery which has the greatest resemblance to the Nasca 9 style of the south coast. Pottery of this type from the site of Acuchimay is both abundant and homogeneous, and serves to define the features assigned to Phase A.³⁵ In the Chakipampa A style as represented at Acuchimay, Nasca 9 resemblances are confined to this fancy ware, the designs on the plainer pottery representing modified features of the Huarpa and Nasca 8 styles. In contrast, plainer pottery of the Chakipampa B style shares features both with the fancy Chakipampa pottery and with the Nasca 9 style pottery.

Fancy Chakipampa Phase A pottery consists mostly of small, relatively thin walled vessels averaging five millimeters in wall thickness, the vessel fragments belonging predominantly to various open shapes which resemble Nasca 9 bowls and cups (see below and fig. 3). However, there is at least one larger, thicker walled vessel type with a straight flaring sided collar about 40 centimeters in diameter, the collar being decorated on both surfaces with fancy Chakipampa A designs. Some of the features which distinguish the smaller fancy

Chakipampa A vessel shapes from Nasca 9 ones include a more sharply edged, shallow curved bottom, and a flattened, unthinned rim edge which is decorated with a cross-banded design in black and white on red. Among closed vessels, there occur small bottles and jars with high, narrow, cylindrical, slightly tapering or slightly flaring necks. Among jar body shapes attributable either to the fancy Chakipampa A or B style there are slightly ovoid and spheroid bodies similar to Nasca 9 ones, canteen-shaped flasks with a flattened side seam (fig. 6b), and various modeled shapes in the form of birds, tubers, and humans. Some of the human modeled forms have slit "coffee bean" eyes with black crossing lashes like Huarpa style ones, while others have partly modeled lozenge shaped eyes. Noses and ears are modeled, the mouth is a slit in a raised ridge, and hands and arms are spindly modeled features. On some specimens, face markings in the form of vertical stripes below the eyes ("tear lines") survive from the Huarpa style, and other face markings consisting of bands around the eyes, nose and cheeks also appear. Among other shapes, there are also spoons derived from earlier Huarpa ones.³⁶

Like Nasca 9 vessels, fancy Chakipampa ones are painted with a smooth, thick, glossy red slip which covers the entire vessel surface, including bowl interiors, the designs being painted in white, cream, gray and purple outlined with black. Most of the Chakipampa A design elements are Nasca tradition ones. Some are clearly local derivatives from earlier Nasca tradition themes and features in the Huarpa style, notably a three-fillet band design with ray appendages (fig. 3),³⁷ an animal design with narrow, straight or slightly curved band legs and a forked top-view head, and an animal design with profile head. The profile headed design consists of a single curved fillet with ray appendages and a profile animal head on one or both ends of the fillet.³⁸ The head of this animal is much like that of the humped animal design in the Nasca 9 style, with a simple curved head top with or without ray appendages, a nose represented by a recurved ray tip, and an open or closed, toothed, fangless mouth (see below). There is also another Chakipampa A animal design, however, which combines Nasca tradition features with Tiahuanaco-related ones. It too has a profile head, but the head usually has a pointed, triangular ear, a semi-circle nose, a mouth with fangs in the front, and two horn-like projections on top of the head.³⁹ While this figure has narrow band legs like one of the more traditional Chakipampa A representations described above, the legs are bent forward at a sharp angle, and they end in claw-like paws like the paws of mythical animal representations in the Conchopata style. All the distinguishing features of this Chakipampa A animal figure mentioned above indicate the influence of the Tiahuanaco-related style (see below). However, other features of this design are Nasca tradition ones which appear in other Chakipampa A designs.

Other designs on Chakipampa A fancy ware evidently represent new introductions from the Nasca drainage, especially a ventrally extended animal with ray appendages, a triangular tail, and an elongated "stinger" in front (a figure which appears more commonly in Chakipampa B associations);⁴⁰ and trophy head designs. Two geometric designs appear regularly in association with the legged animal with top-view head described above. One appears in the main design field adjoining the principal figure and consists of a grid of squares

formed by narrow gray bands with black outlines. Each square is filled with a cream or purple colored recurved ray design figure with radial symmetry, surrounded by small, usually white, black-outlined space fillers with black central dots and irregular, near-circular contours.⁴¹ These figures are very similar to Nasca 9 ones, differing from the latter only in details of execution (see below). The combination of this geometric design with the animal figure as bowl decoration represents the antecedent to the "Ayacucho Checkerboard" bowls of the Chakipampa B style which are widely distributed in Epoch 1B (see below). Other forms of purely geometric ray designs are much rarer in Chakipampa Phase A, although there are a few irregular figures with near-rotational or near-radial symmetry which resemble corresponding Nasca 9 designs. A second common geometric design on fancy Chakipampa A pottery consists of diagonal step-blocks derived from earlier Nasca tradition motives, which are painted in a rim band around the top of open vessels with top-view animal designs.⁴²

One of the most distinctive features on fancy Chakipampa A pottery is a chevron band which is derived from Huarpa antecedents. Like the Huarpa style variants, the Chakipampa chevron band is most commonly used as a relatively narrow (1 to 1.5 centimeter wide) horizontal band, being found around bowl rims and jar or bottle necks, and as a horizontal border of broader design fields (as in fig. 6a); occasionally, vertical bands are also used to divide design areas.⁴³ The chevron elements differ from their Huarpa antecedents in being for the most part slightly broader, more evenly executed, in following the distinctive and amplified fancy Chakipampa A color pattern, and in being regularly outlined with black lines. Each band is bordered on the sides either by a plain narrow band with black outlines or by a simple black line. Chakipampa chevron bands are virtually identical to Nasca 9 ones, except that they are slightly narrower on the average. Since the chevron band design appears in the Huarpa style but not in Nasca Phases 7 and 8, it follows that it is a design of highland origin which influences the coast in Middle Horizon Epoch 1.

In addition to some of the differences between fancy Chakipampa A and Nasca 9 pottery mentioned above, fancy Chakipampa A designs differ from Nasca 9 ones in having more irregular execution, narrower modular widths, and less emphasis on symmetry, these Chakipampa A features representing the continuation of Huarpa peculiarities.

Much of the less fancy Chakipampa style pottery consists of large, thick walled forms 10 to 25 or 30 millimeters thick, mostly large necked jars, some slightly flaring-sided open vessels with thickened rims, and some collared jars. Some of the jars have a shallow-curved, sharply edged bottom like the fancier open vessels, while others appear to have had a conical base. The paste is coarser grained and sandier than in the fancy ware, the surface finish is matte, and the colors are much duller. The most common color pattern on the less fancy Chakipampa A pottery consists of designs in red and gray outlined with black on a thin, dull cream colored slip, or, more rarely, on an unpigmented orange or grayish-white base. Sometimes white designs with black outlines are also used. On the less fancy Chakipampa B pottery, the most common background color is a dull, thin red slip, and a contrasting purple is sometimes

used as an additional design color. Both Chakipampa A and B jar necks are large and near-cylindrical, and many have an outwardly thickened or horizontally projecting rim, shape features which Bennett has called "flanged rims."⁴⁴ Face-necks with a modeled nose and sometimes modeled ears appear at sites with Chakipampa B pottery, being characterized by lozenge-shaped, painted eyes and straight, vertical black hair locks painted separately in front and back of the ear; the mouth is sometimes omitted and at other times is a simple line near the base of the face-neck. Some smaller, thinner walled vessel fragments also occur in the Chakipampa styles, including some open forms with "flanged" rims.⁴⁵

One of the most common designs on large Chakipampa A vessels at Acuchimay consists of large red and gray zigzag stripes outlined with black lines and painted on a thin, dull cream, grayish white or unpigmented slip, which are used as a body design on open vessels and on large jar necks. This type of decoration occurs with such frequency at Acuchimay that Bennett made it the nucleus of a special "Acuchimay Polychrome" category.⁴⁶ Another common Chakipampa A design on large vessel fragments from Acuchimay consists of straight or curved, dark red and gray bands with black outlines and with ray appendages, the ray tips being most commonly recurved ones with rectangular ends, a type which resembles a common Nasca 8 design feature on the coast.⁴⁷ This design usually appears on a thin, dull cream or unpigmented slip. Recurved ray appendages with rounded or elongated pointed tips, or plain rays with pointed tips, are also found at Acuchimay, but they appear to be more common at other Middle Horizon 1 sites.⁴⁸ Rays in the latter groups usually have long, wavy or angular zigzag stems, a highland peculiarity derived from Huarpa antecedents. Another important Chakipampa design is one which Bennett has designated by the term "Octopus." It consists of irregular, forking and winding rays with blunt tips containing short, floating filler lines, and is painted either on a thin dull cream or a thin dull red slip, the latter being the more common.⁴⁹ While this design is very common on large thick walled, and some thin walled, vessels at most Middle Horizon 1 sites, it appears to be relatively rare at Acuchimay. The examples from Acuchimay are painted on a dull cream base. Another design present on a fragment from Acuchimay, but more common in collections from other Middle Horizon 1 sites, consists of large ray designs with approximate rotational symmetry and curled ray tips.⁵⁰ Unoutlined black bands covered with white dots, the whole design painted on a matte red ground, appear on two fragments of small open vessels from Acuchimay. Small vessel fragments with this type of decoration appear more commonly at other sites where Chakipampa B pottery is found, however. On some of the specimens at the latter sites a purple band is used in place of the black.⁵¹ The black variant is also a common form of decoration in the Nasca 9 style. Other rare designs at Acuchimay which are found more commonly at other Middle Horizon 1 sites include narrow white bands or lines outlined with black ones, narrow black bands or lines outlined with white ones, or black lines painted over broader white ones, these designs appearing on a red ground.

The types of decoration listed above are the only ones which have turned up in the collections of the less fancy Chakipampa style pottery from Acuchimay. The rest of the design and shape features on less fancy Chakipampa

pottery therefore should either be confined to Phase B or be much more common in that phase. A common Chakipampa B design consists of S-shaped figures composed of two joined ray tips.⁵² Another distinctive Chakipampa design not found in the collections from Acuchimay is one that Lumbreras has called the "Fleur-de-Lys,"⁵³ which is a highland modification of recurved ray designs of Nasca derivation. It usually consists of a short, stout band thickened slightly in the middle, and terminating in a set of two recurved rays at each end.⁵⁴ On some specimens, two additional sets of recurved ray appendages in a contrasting color are attached at right angles to the central part of the band.⁵⁵ Derivatives of the latter form are a common highland and south coast design on fancy pottery in succeeding style phases.

Other common designs on less fancy Chakipampa B pottery which do not appear in collections from Acuchimay include dumbbell shaped figures outlined in white⁵⁶ and multiple circle elements in white on red derived from Huarpa background fillers. Chevron bands, much like those on fancy Chakipampa pottery, only larger, are used in the same way as on fancy vessels, most commonly in the decoration of jar necks.

Fancy Chakipampa A pottery, as it is described above, is found in identical form at other Middle Horizon 1 sites near Ayacucho. At these other sites, however, there also appear additional variants of fancy Chakipampa pottery which have not turned up in the collections from Acuchimay. Some of these variants are stylistically more advanced than the Acuchimay ones, in the sense that they resemble more the Derived Chakipampa features in the Viñaque style. Pieces with these distinctive features are classified as Chakipampa B.

Many, but by no means all, Chakipampa B designs are drawn with slightly broader modular widths and more even outlines than fancy Chakipampa A ones, which makes them much more similar to Nasca 9 designs. Designs most commonly found with this type of execution at Middle Horizon 1 sites other than Acuchimay include the single-fillet animal and the three-fillet band of the fancy Chakipampa A category (for an example from Pacheco see fig. 2).⁵⁷ On the other hand, some other Chakipampa A themes, such as the legged animal with forked, top-view head, have not turned up in association with Chakipampa B features. Instead, there are some different representational themes, including a new version of the ventrally extended animal with an open, toothed mouth, front feet that come down at the sides of the face, and a trapezoidal end.⁵⁸ Another design apparently new in Chakipampa Phase B is a bilaterally symmetrical figure consisting of two profile heads back to back, with a central eye, and with ray appendages. Examples of the fancy Chakipampa B designs listed above also appear as intrusive features in Pacheco refuse and at other Middle Horizon 1 sites on the coast.

Fancy Chakipampa B pottery also reflects new influences of the Tiahuanaco-related ceremonial style which affect designs other than the special profile animal of Chakipampa Phase A. However, the features borrowed from the ceremonial style involve only design details and not the mythical themes proper. Thus, a Chakipampa B single-fillet animal is sometimes modified by being shorter,

with a loop in the fillet, a "tail feather" design resembling those of the ceremonial style at one end, and a profile head with some new Tiahuanaco-derived attributes, for example a divided eye, a complete circle nose, or a crown-like head ornament, at the other.⁵⁹ A humped animal design with profile head, much like the corresponding Nasca 9 design, appears, but unlike the Nasca 9 figures it is sometimes modified by influences of the ceremonial style, especially in appearing occasionally with angular knees bent front to back, or with rounded heels.⁶⁰ It is of interest, however, that features in fancy Chakipampa B pottery borrowed from the ceremonial style most commonly appear with designs that retain the traditional narrow modular widths and irregular outlines of fancy Chakipampa A pottery. On rare occasions, features borrowed from the ceremonial style also appear on the less fancy Chakipampa B vessels.⁶¹

An important new fancy Chakipampa B vessel type is one that I shall call the "Ayacucho Serpent" bowl, a type which is found in virtually identical form at Middle Horizon 1B sites in the highlands and on the south and central coast. A number of whole specimens, both from the Ayacucho-Huari area and the coast, exist in various collections. The vessel type differs from Chakipampa A bowls in being thicker walled, with a proportionately much larger diameter and lower sides, features that give it a basin-shaped appearance; it usually has vertical, slightly convex sides. The design is most commonly painted on a cream rather than a red slip, and usually consists of two serpent-like animals with a toothed, whiskered head shown in top view on one or both ends of the body, the body consisting of a chain of circular segments with ray appendages such as also appear occasionally on red slipped pottery with narrower modular widths (fig. 17).⁶² Each of the Ayacucho Serpent figures covers a little less than one half of the side of the bowl, and the two figures are usually separated by a pair of vertical bands divided into squares which contain small, radially symmetrical ray designs similar to the corresponding Chakipampa A ones.⁶³ On a few specimens, the Ayacucho Serpent design is replaced by a Chakipampa B variant of the single-fillet animal, larger and composed of broader modular bands than the corresponding Chakipampa A figure.

There are other innovating shapes that appear with Chakipampa B decoration. One is a relatively thick walled (around 6 millimeters thick) deep dish with vertical or slightly flaring, straight or slightly concave sides and a fancy finish.⁶⁴ All the recorded examples of this type are decorated with a red slip, but, as on the Ayacucho Serpent bowl, the design area is halved by means of two broad vertical bands, most commonly derivatives of the Chakipampa A chevron band, which are broader than the majority of the Chakipampa A bands.⁶⁵ On most specimens these chevron bands are bordered on each side by a single narrow band in gray, cream, black, white or purple outlined with black, one of the combinations also current in the Chakipampa A style. However, on a few specimens the chevron bands are bordered by two narrow bands with or without intervening background space. Paired border bands in cream or white and purple, without intervening space, are the most advanced form of bordering for chevron bands in Chakipampa Phase B, one that becomes the rule in the succeeding phases.

An important new fancy shape in Chakipampa Phase B is a small cup with

a flat, sharply edged bottom and a lyre-shaped profile, a form that Lumbreras has called the "lyre cup."⁶⁶ Several examples of this vessel type appear as intrusive pottery at Pacheco, and one was found in a Middle Horizon 1B burial by H. Ubbelohde-Doering.⁶⁷ This shape anticipates a very common Viñaque form. The Chakipampa B specimens differ from the Viñaque ones in having different decoration and in having broader, less curvilinear proportions than the Viñaque ones. Several fragments of a small variety of vase have also turned up at Middle Horizon 1 sites containing Chakipampa B pottery, including Pacheco. This vessel type has a flat, sharply edged bottom, like the lyre cup, but the bottom is slightly broader in diameter and the shape lacks the lyre-like profile, having straight, vertical sides. Similar vases appear in the Viñaque style, but their proportions, like those of the lyre cups of that style, are narrower and slightly smaller than the Chakipampa B forms.

Another important new shape in Chakipampa Phase B, which anticipates one of the most common Viñaque ones, is a small, relatively thin walled dish with straight, flaring sides and a flat, sharply edged bottom. Dishes of this type belong with the less fancy pottery. They have a matte surface finish and are decorated with special simple designs either on the inside only, or on the outside only, one of the common interior designs being a highland variant of a "cumbrous bowl" design of the Nasca tradition. A fragment of a locally made bowl of this type, and several imitations, appear in refuse at the coastal site of Pacheco, as well as in Chakipampa B associations in the highlands. Among the foreign specimens at Pacheco and other Middle Horizon 1 sites on the coast there also appears a deep, incurving, near-globular bowl with a small flat or indented bottom and a fine to moderately fine surface finish, a shape which anticipates a common vessel form of the Viñaque style.⁶⁸ While this shape is not represented in the collections from the Ayacucho area sites where Chakipampa B pottery is isolated from the Viñaque style, fragments of this type have been found at Huari.⁶⁹ A similar, slightly shallower globular bowl has been found in Chakipampa B associations in the highlands.⁷⁰

There are also some distinctive designs which appear for the first time in Chakipampa Phase B associations, for the most part on the new vessel shapes just described. The most common innovating decoration consists of black bands, most of them with white outlines, which appear in specially patterned arrangements on a red slip base. More rarely, the black bands are painted on the unpigmented slip, or purple bands are used instead of black ones. The most common pattern is one in which the black bands form squares or rectangles halved by a diagonal band, each half of the rectangle being further decorated with an additional stepped diagonal which forms a triangle with the corner sides.⁷¹ Sometimes the black bands are used in slightly different arrangements,⁷² and they are also used as vertical panel division bands and as horizontal design borders. The great majority of these designs appear with a matte surface finish on the interior or exterior of the new flaring sided dishes, but they are also found on matte surfaced collared jars and on thick walled fragments of larger jars. On rare occasions such designs are found with a glossy finish on the new lyre cups and vases.

Another new design with a very similar color pattern and most commonly a matte surface finish consists of white lines forming a diagonal grid pattern on a red slip, the diamond shaped spaces being decorated with black crosses or dots.⁷³ Like the diagonal step designs, this diagonal grid pattern is usually found on the interior or exterior of the new, flaring sided dishes and on the outside of collared jars.

The interior of the new flaring sided dishes is also occasionally decorated with some other designs, also with a low gloss or matte surface. Some of the fragments are decorated in part with straight purple or gray bands with black outlines, some of the bands being covered with white dots. These bands cross the side of the vessel vertically or at a slightly diagonal slant from the rim edge down.⁷⁴ On one specimen S-shaped designs in adjoining rectangles appear on one side of these bands.⁷⁵ Another design on the interior of the new flaring sided dishes, and sometimes on bowl exteriors, consists of horizontal rows of carelessly executed, thin, shallow, S-shaped lines, either in alternating rows of red and black figures on a cream slipped base, or in white on black or red.⁷⁶ A third new design is the cumbrous bowl design mentioned earlier. It consists of two pendent "wing feathers" such as are used on Nasca tradition cumbrous bowls from Nasca Phase 7 on, separated by a pendent triangle design.⁷⁷ The pairing of the wing feathers and the addition of the pendent triangle are adaptations of highland origin which first appear on the coast with intrusive highland pottery.

The globular bowls are decorated with various black, or black and red line designs, one of them being a fret band borrowed from the Conchopata ceremonial style.⁷⁸

Another Chakipampa B innovation which anticipates a very common Viñaque technique involves the use of background filler elements in the form of spherical white dots which, unlike the Nasca tradition ones, lack black outlines, and on which the interior is decorated with a short, thick, slightly curved black line and a small black dot on one side of the sphere, in place of the traditional central black dot. Two intrusive Chakipampa B style fragments decorated with this filler element are present in the refuse at Pacheco (fig. 2). A related design, which has been found on one fragment from Chakipampa, as well as at Huari, consists of tiny white dots with black centers, a design which anticipates similar larger designs of the Viñaque style.⁷⁹

The Ocros style. The Ocros style is evidently a separate local derivative from Huarpa antecedents, modified by new influences of the Nasca 9 (or fancy Chakipampa) style. Its shapes and designs resemble Chakipampa ones, but there are also some distinctions. The Ocros style is distinguished by a bright, light orange slip which covers the entire vessel surface, much as the red slip covers fancy Chakipampa A vessels.⁸⁰ The majority of the shapes are open bowls, the rim edges being flattened and decorated with cross band designs, as on fancy Chakipampa bowl rims (figs. 14, 16).⁸¹ Among the open bowls there are ones with shallow rounded bottoms and convex, vertical or slightly flaring sides decorated on the outside, and more flaring, straighter sided bowls, decorated on the inside, with horizontal lugs or strap handles on the outside of the rim or on the

upper part of the body (fig. 14).⁸² Many Ocros bowls have small modeled animal heads at the rim which are outlined with crescent-shaped bands.⁸³ Larger vessel fragments also appear at sites other than Acuchimay.

Ocros designs are drawn with bands of a broader modular width than the fancy Chakipampa A designs. Distinctive Ocros designs include special variants of a ventrally extended animal, painted on the outside of vessels;⁸⁴ angular or crescent-shaped bands composed of three fillets with ray appendages, painted on the outside of bowl rims;⁸⁵ horizontal bands containing unoutlined dots and wavy line designs, on the outside of bowl rims or as an interior bowl design (fig. 16);⁸⁶ and a banded pendent rectangle design on the interior of bowl rims (pl. 14).⁸⁷ Face-neck fragments found at the site of Ocros share most features with face-necks in fancy Chakipampa pottery, though their proportions are apparently different.⁸⁸

Ocros style fragments from Acuchimay, which should belong to Epoch 1A, have irregular surfaces, a streaky slip which is thin in spots, and a low gloss surface finish. Recurved ray appendages resemble Chakipampa A ones, and a three-fillet band design with background stippling on one fragment from Acuchimay represents a particularly conservative feature. The design colors are usually dark red and gray outlined with black, resembling most closely the color pattern on the less fancy Chakipampa A pottery. White is also used as a design color.

At other sites, Ocros style fragments are often decorated with Chakipampa B designs or features borrowed from such designs, including diagonal step designs in black with white outlines,⁸⁹ unoutlined crosses, unoutlined white dots with black centers,⁹⁰ the Ayacucho Serpent design, S-shaped ray designs, and a "wing feather" design on the interior of bowls which resembles the corresponding Chakipampa B design on the interior of flaring sided dishes in that style.⁹¹ There are also other features of the Chakipampa B style which appear on the same vessel with features of the Ocros style, including the use of a dull red slip over one side of the orange surface on some vessels, and the occasional use of a vertical chevron band to halve the design area on bowls. Evidently there is a considerable mingling of Ocros and Chakipampa style feature in Epoch 1B.

The Black Decorated style. It was pointed out earlier that two different Black Decorated style phases appear in Epoch 1 associations. One, Black Decorated A, is attributable to Epoch 1A, and is represented by two fragments in Bennett's collections from Acuchimay which have not been discussed or illustrated in publications. The other, Black Decorated B, is represented by the second of the two substyles of Bennett's Black Decorated group ("the second group"), of which five fragments were found in Bennett's Pit 5 Level b, the rest of the pottery in this pit being specifically attributable to Epoch 1B.⁹²

The two Black Decorated A fragments⁹³ belong to open vessels, the larger fragment being recognizable as a bowl shape resembling Ocros bowls. Both are decorated with red and white line designs on a dark ground. The black slip has a slightly brownish cast and is streaky, allowing the surface below to show through on one of the fragments, and having a crackled surface on the other,

features which also appear in the Ocros style, especially on Ocros Phase A specimens. The design on the larger of the two Black Decorated A fragments⁹⁴ is an angular three-fillet band with ray appendages similar to a common Ocros style design, with slight differences in details of execution. These resemblances suggest that Black Decorated A pottery is closely related to the Ocros style.

Black Decorated B pottery has an evenly black slipped surface. Vessel shapes appear to be predominantly open forms, including a deep, convex sided bowl or cup,⁹⁵ and shallower, convex sided open bowls.⁹⁶ The designs are painted in thicker, more even lines than on the Black Decorated A specimens, the colors also being red and white. Most of the designs consist of a zigzag line and small dots around the outside of the bowl rim, with red and white dots of the same or larger sizes covering the rest of the outer vessel surface. On one specimen a row of S-shaped figures forms a rim band, and on another fragment a Chakipampa B animal head appears below the rim band.⁹⁷

The Conchopata style. The Conchopata style pottery from the offering deposit on the outskirts of Conchopata which has been available for observation consists exclusively of pieces of oversize urns.⁹⁸ A description of reconstructed Robles Moqo style urns from Pacheco of very similar shape and size is given in the following section.⁹⁹ The Conchopata urns are decorated on the outer surface only. The decoration consists almost exclusively of representations of mythical beings which are painted on a band 15 to 25 centimeters wide, confined to the outside of the rim and terminated at the bottom by a black band border with white outlines. The designs are outlined in black and painted on a red ground, contrasting design colors being purple, red, medium gray, a dark gray or dark purple, cream, flesh, black and white.

One of the mythical beings shown is a locally modified version of the principal mythical human figure as it appears on the Monolithic Gateway and other stone carvings at Tiahuanaco.¹⁰⁰ The garment of this figure indicates that it is male, and I shall therefore call it the Male Deity. In the Tiahuanaco style, as well as in the Robles Moqo style of Epoch 1B, the Male Deity has a female counterpart which I shall call the Female Deity (see below). No representation of the Female Deity appears in the Conchopata style, at least as it is represented in our sample. The Male Deity of the Conchopata style is a full bodied front-face figure similar to the corresponding representation in the Robles Moqo style. The Conchopata Deity representation is smaller than the Robles Moqo one, since it is confined to the width of the rim band, and it also differs from the Robles Moqo figure in a number of details, especially in not being associated with corn ear appendages or other plant representations. Like the Male Deity at Tiahuanaco, the Conchopata one has a near-rectangular head with an elaborate headdress consisting of ray appendages and feather tufts. The appendages end in profile feline heads, profile eagle heads and round disks, all features also present in the Tiahuanaco style, though not always in the same arrangement. The Conchopata figure is shown with a staff grasped in each hand, and it has a fanged mouth, vertically divided eyes and face markings below the eyes, all also Tiahuanaco features.

In addition to the Male Deity, the Conchopata style includes two variants of upright winged profile figures as large as the Male Deity representation. These profile figures correspond at least in part to the small "angels" or supernatural attendant figures that are shown running toward the Male Deity on the Monolithic Gateway at Tiahuanaco.¹⁰¹ One type of angel ("Angel A"; see fig. 13) has the legs shown in running position, like the corresponding figures on the Monolithic Gateway, while the other ("Angel B") has the legs shown in walking position. Angel A appears together with the Male Deity on the same design band, on which a row of several Angel A figures is seen heading toward the Deity. Angel B figures are also painted in a row, but they evidently do not appear on the same vessel with Angel A figures. Both angel figures carry in one hand a curving serpentine staff with a knife or axe at one end. Angel A carries a trophy head in the other hand, while Angel B carries a straight staff with an upcurved bottom end. Both angel figures have mythical profile heads with both human and feline attributes, but they differ in details of head contours, mouth form, fangs and eye appendages.¹⁰² The Angel A head has more specific feline features about the face, especially a protruding snout which it shares with some feline appendage heads and which distinguish it from the other mythical heads in this and the succeeding styles. The mouth of Angel B lacks the protruding snout and resembles the more human appearing mouth of the Deity. Both Angel A and Angel B have a headdress that consists of a segmented bar with upturned ends that rests on top of the head, with appendages in part like those of the headdress of the Male Deity. The top of the segmented staff is decorated with a "tail feather" design. Feather tip appendages consist of profile eagle or profile fish heads, as at Tiahuanaco.

Parts of another important mythical design related to the angel figures occur in our sample, but the design is not represented in its entirety in the available fragments. This design shows a large, bodiless angel head that covers the full width of the design band, with the headdress adorning both the top and back of the head. Stylistically modified heads of this type are a relatively common design in the Huari styles of Epoch 2.

Another important category among the Conchopata representations consists of horizontally "floating" variants of the Tiahuanaco angel figures. The floating angel representations have a cream, gray or purple body shown with only a belt, on some specimens with circular body markings representing small faces, and an arm and hand grasping a segmented staff. There are two types of these figures, which correspond to the two types of angel figures on the Monolithic Gateway. The head of one (Angel C) is a mythical profile head very similar to the Angel B head; the head of the other (Angel D) is that of a profile eagle, the latter with a slightly gaping beak, like the eagle heads on the angel figures in the central row on the Monolithic Gateway at Tiahuanaco. These floating figures all have an upcurving segmented headdress band with three appendages on top of the head, like the upright angel representations, and each has three additional ray appendages or curved wing feathers protruding from the back.¹⁰³ The belt usually has an appendage with a top-view animal head (probably representing a serpent). Angels C and D appear together, and are seen heading toward the right in alternating order on the same design band. They are

shown horizontally extended (i.e. in "floating" position), with upturned heads as on the Tiahuanaco stone carvings, the staff being horizontal to the border band at the bottom of the design area. The angels on the Monolithic Gateway at Tiahuanaco would appear so if the frieze were turned 90 degrees and viewed narrow side up. Thus, the Conchopata floating angels appear to represent an experiment in patterning rather than a new mythical concept. Derivatives of both the floating angels also play an important part in the Huari styles of Epoch 2.

Other Conchopata representations with related features consist of full bodied mythical profile animal figures with a mixture of feline, bird, and human attributes, including a special variant of the headdress, and with a set of three curved wing feathers in the back. Additional features which the Conchopata style shares with the Tiahuanaco one, and which distinguish it from the Pacheco variant of the Robles Moqo style, include a ray appendage attached to the mouth of all profile figures except Angel A, and one to a foot of Angels B, C and D, the appendage on the floating angels protruding from the top of the heel. Some of the appendages on the floating angels end in deer heads, a special Conchopata representation present neither in the Robles Moqo style nor the Tiahuanaco style. A distinctive abstract Conchopata design is the so-called split-face design, which consists of a vertical band of diagonally halved rectangles, one triangular half containing an abbreviated mythical profile head, the other containing a step-fret design (fig. 12). In our sample, these design bands are used to separate Angel A figures from a representation of the Male Deity.

The Robles Moqo style. Pottery in the Robles Moqo style has been found at Huari, Chakipampa, and a number of sites on the coast. The largest sample, and the one with the best associations, comes from the offering deposit at Pacheco in Nasca. The sierra samples, on the other hand, are very small, the one from Huari consisting of six fragments and the one from Chakipampa of five. Nevertheless, the distribution and associations of the Robles Moqo style suggest that its center of dispersion was Huari. This situation complicates the problem of presenting the evidence. What I propose to do is to discuss in this section the samples from Huari and Chakipampa and their relation to Pacheco, reserving the detailed account of this style for the section on the south coast, where the Pacheco sample is most appropriately treated.

The Robles Moqo style includes two different sizes of pottery which have slightly different associations, suggesting a difference in use. The two sizes may be designated as oversize and regular or ordinary size, the latter falling within the size range of normal Peruvian pottery of domestic use, while the oversize specimens are three to eight times as large, being made on about the same scale as the Conchopata urns. Oversize vessels have not been found on the coast outside of the offering deposit at Pacheco, and in the sierra they have been reported only from the knoll of Robles Moqo at Huari, where Bennett found three sherds, and from a restricted area at the south end of Chakipampa, where John H. Rowe and I found five fragments on the surface. It seems reasonable to suppose that the sherds at Robles Moqo and Chakipampa also derive from offering deposits, and that oversize Robles Moqo pottery was made especially for

ritual use. Regular size Robles Moqo pottery was found in or adjacent to the offering deposit at Pacheco and may have been used for smaller offerings, as suggested by the association in Bennett's Pit 2 at Huari discussed above in the section on associations. It apparently had some secular use also, because examples have been found in burials on the coast which contain other fancy pottery, and Bennett found three fragments in different places in the refuse at Huari. Regular size Robles Moqo pottery has not been found at Chakipampa or, indeed, at any other site near Ayacucho, a fact which is part of the evidence suggesting that it was Huari rather than one of the Ayacucho sites which was the center from which the Robles Moqo style spread to the coast.

There are four shapes of oversize Robles Moqo style pottery which are represented in the large Pacheco sample, namely urns, tumblers, face-neck jars and modeled llama figures. Curiously enough, the three oversize Robles Moqo sherds which Bennett found at Huari represent three of these shapes, one being from an urn, one from a tumbler, and one from a face-neck jar. The five Robles Moqo style fragments from Chakipampa are all from oversize urns.

The principal difference between urns in the Robles Moqo style and Conchopata style ones is in the decoration. The designs on the Robles Moqo urns are larger, covering the entire surface of the sides instead of being confined to a band around the rim, and the decoration is applied to both the outer and inner surfaces of many of the specimens. Ears of maize are associated with the mythical representations in the Robles Moqo style but not on the Conchopata urns. One of the fragments collected at Chakipampa is part of a large handle of a type appearing on the Pacheco urns but not recorded for the Conchopata ones.

The designs on two of the urn fragments from Chakipampa can be identified without difficulty as ray appendages of the sort surrounding the head of the Male Deity figure on the urns from Pacheco; the ray appendages end in eagle heads and top-view animal heads. One of the urn fragments from Chakipampa is decorated with a very large maize ear design of the type and size which appears associated with the abbreviated version of the Female Deity on the Pacheco urns (see below). As at Pacheco, the maize ear on the fragment from Chakipampa is executed on a black background on the outside of the vessel. The urn fragment from Huari also carries part of a large Deity figure like the Pacheco ones, probably the Male Deity, and one of the ray appendages on the head ends in a maize ear.¹⁰⁴

Although the resemblances among the urn fragments from Huari, Chakipampa, and Pacheco are very great, there are also some contrasts of detail which suggest that each of the sites had a slightly different variant of the Robles Moqo style. The comparison is a difficult one to make, because the samples from Huari and Chakipampa are so small that the absence of specific features in them is not significant. What can be shown is that the two sierra styles appear to share certain features which are not found at Pacheco. For example, one urn fragment from Chakipampa, which has large designs on both the outer and inner surfaces in the Robles Moqo manner, is decorated on the inner surface with part of what must have been an Angel B design, an enlarged version

of the angel figure appearing in the Conchopata style. No angel figure of any kind is present in the large Pacheco sample. Although the urn fragment from Huari does not have an angel design on it, there is some reason for thinking that angel figures may have been present in the Huari variant of the Robles Moqo style, because angel motives of sierra origin diffused widely during Epoch 2, at a time when Huari was still flourishing but the Ayacucho sites were no longer occupied. The fragment from Huari shows part of a staff with diagonally halved segments, a staff design present in the Conchopata style but not at Pacheco. A related grid design is found on the section of a staff shown on one of the Robles Moqo style fragments from Chakipampa.

Of the two oversize fragments from Robles Moqo which are not urns, one is part of a modeled head of the type found in the sides of oversize tumblers from Pacheco, while the other is part of a modeled head of the type and size appearing on oversize anthropomorphic face-neck jars in the Pacheco deposit.¹⁰⁵

As we have already noted, Bennett found three pieces of regular size Robles Moqo pottery in various places at Huari. One is a fragment of a modeled head from Bennett's Pit 5, Level a, a level containing exclusively Epoch 1B sherds.¹⁰⁶ A second fragment is a large portion of a tumbler-shaped piece with straight flaring sides, identical in shape and design to the top part or neck of modeled hand vessels in the Pacheco style. This piece was deposited in the Museo Histórico Regional at Ayacucho, where I recorded it in 1958. The third piece is unique. It is a regular size version of the type of oversize tumbler found in the Pacheco offering deposit, differing chiefly in the rim design. The regular size specimen has bodiless profile feline heads under the rim instead of the plant representations found in this position on the oversize tumblers. It is this piece which was found in Pit 2, Level j, associated with three fancy Chakipampa B vessels and the burnt bones of an infant.¹⁰⁷

The south coast

Evidence of associations. The most detailed evidence of associations for Middle Horizon Epoch 1 comes from the site of Pacheco in the valley of Nasca. The site is located in the Fundo Pacheco, which is part of the Hacienda Soisongo. The hacienda house is on the north bank of the Nasca River, while the site lies on the south bank, about 300 meters from the river bed and nearly opposite the hacienda house. The site was bulldozed about 1953 and planted to cotton. However, when I visited it with John H. Rowe in 1958, sherds and structural remains were still to be found scattered over an area of about 300 by 300 meters.

When Max Uhle visited Nasca in 1905 he acquired a small collection of sherds of oversize Robles Moqo style vessels which probably came from the Pacheco site; his catalogue entry gives their provenience as Soisongo. At least two urns decorated with plant designs and one tumbler are represented in this collection.¹⁰⁸ About the same time or shortly afterward, Dr. Eduard Gaffron, a Lima collector, acquired a collection of fragments of modeled vessels in the Robles Moqo style from huaqueros who claimed to have found the lot in the region

of Nasca. Heinrich Ubbelohde-Doering, who has published the Gaffron specimens several times, believes that they are also from the Pacheco site.¹⁰⁹ Since no other site yielding such a range of Robles Moqo style vessels has been found in the valley of Nasca, Ubbelohde-Doering's site attribution is probably correct. Indeed, it is not unlikely that Uhle's sherds and Gaffron's came from the same excavation.

About 1926 a man from Nasca named Eloy Centeno dug a hole at Pacheco and found some fragments of modeled pottery faces. He told Carlos Rosas, a professional huaquero, about the find, and Rosas dug a deep pit in the northern part of the site, encountering a series of adjoining subterranean chambers constructed of adobes. The chambers were rectangular in plan, measuring about 2 by 1.50 meters, and were about 2 meters deep. Like the similar structures at Conchopata, these chambers were filled with broken pottery. Rosas was particularly impressed with the fragments of modeled faces, feet and hands which he found.¹¹⁰ Modeled feet and hands are distinctive shapes of regular size Robles Moqo pottery.

A. L. Kroeber was working at Nasca in 1926, with some of Julio C. Tello's assistants helping him. Rosas made an attempt to interest Kroeber in the Pacheco site, but there was some misunderstanding, and Kroeber never went to Pacheco. The assistants, however, passed on the information they had received to Tello, who had a larger excavation made there in 1927. Nearly three tons of pottery fragments were recovered. By 1932 the personnel of the Museo de Arqueología in Lima had reconstructed, wholly or in part, 23 oversize vessels, including 3 urns ornamented with mythical figures, 14 urns with plant designs, 3 tumblers, and 3 modeled llamas. About 100 oversize face-neck jars remained to be reconstructed, and there were some 30,000 fragments representing regular size vessels.¹¹¹ Subsequently, many additional pieces have been put together.

In 1930 Ronald L. Olson made a further excavation at Pacheco for the American Museum of Natural History. Beside the area excavated by Tello he dug a section designated Pit B in which he found the fragments of an oversize tumbler and two smaller vessels. The tumbler "was surely broken where it stood, for the largest pieces, the bottom, rested in place at the bottom of the nest of sherds."¹¹² Tello wanted the tumbler and exchanged for it the fragments of an oversized urn ornamented with mythical figures which had come from the 1927 excavation. This urn was reconstructed at the American Museum of Natural History.¹¹³ There was a large structure next to Pit B, and Olson cleared one of the rooms in it, an excavation designated Pit A. Here he found a large number of llama bones and sherds representing a mixture of Nasca 9 and Chakipampa B pottery. The same mixture of pottery styles, without any earlier or later material, characterizes the smaller collections from Olson's remaining two cuts, C and D.

The excavations of Rosas and Tello and Olson's Pit B were all designed to explore what we can now recognize as a great offering deposit. The reconstructibility of the vessels from Tello's excavation implies that they, like Olson's oversize tumbler, had been broken where they were found, while the lines of fracture indicate that they were broken by deliberately placed blows. No

record of the pattern of arrangement of the offering vessels is available to me, however.

Since Olson's Pit A collection is from a separate structure and contains no Robles Moqo style pottery, a question could arise as to whether the materials from Pit A (and hence those from Pits C and D also) are contemporary with the contents of the offering deposit. Evidence that they are is provided by a number of specimens from Tello's excavation in the offering deposit. Some of the regular size vessels from the deposit are decorated with fancy Chakipampa B designs and with chevron bands. Some of the bands have the proportions of those found in the Nasca 9 style, while others are slightly narrower, like those of the fancy Chakipampa style. Some of the oversize face-neck jars are decorated on the headdress with a grid pattern that also appears on Chakipampa B pottery. In addition, there is one vessel from the offering deposit which belongs to the Nasca 9 style in shape, surface treatment and color, but which has a neck design borrowed from the Robles Moqo style.¹¹⁴ The neck design is a fret band, and on this vessel, which is a jar, it replaces the usual Nasca 9 chevron band. Similar fret bands are also found as rim designs on bowls from Olson's Pits A, C, and D, but in this context they represent a Chakipampa B feature.

The evidence of associations from the Pacheco site is supported by the evidence of three documented burials from the Nasca drainage. One, containing three vessels, all in the Nasca 9 style, was excavated by A. L. Kroeber in 1926 at Cantayo in the Valley of Nasca.¹¹⁵ A second burial was excavated by Alejandro Pezzia A., Curator of the Museo Regional de Ica, at Cahuachi, also in the valley of Nasca.¹¹⁶ The three vessels in this burial include one bowl in the Nasca 9 style (fig. 15) and two bowls in the Ocros style (figs. 14, 16). The third burial, containing ten vessels, was excavated by Heinrich Ubbelohde-Doering at Locarí in the valley of Huayurí.¹¹⁷ The illustrations published by Ubbelohde-Doering indicate that at least five of the vessels in this burial are in the Nasca 9 style, one (his fig. 7) is a regular size modeled vessel of the Robles Moqo style, of a kind which occurs at Pacheco, and one, a cup with a lyre-shaped profile, belongs to the Chakimpampa B style.

There are a few other regular size vessels in the Robles Moqo style for which a specific south coast provenience has been recorded. Ubbelohde-Doering has illustrated a modeled llama vessel from Atarco in the lower Taruga Valley which is exactly like some of the pieces from the Pacheco deposit.¹¹⁸ There is an identical piece in the Carlos Soldi Collection at Ocucaje which may also have come from Atarco, since Pablo L. Soldi describes Atarco as one of the principal sources for fancy Middle Horizon pottery in his brother's collection. Pablo Soldi told me in 1958 that he had found a vessel of this style in the Ingenio Valley as well.

Chakipampa B influence is more widely distributed. There are some specimens showing Chakipampa B influence in the Carlos Soldi Collection which Pablo Soldi told me he had found at Jumaná in the lower Nasca Valley. During the University of California explorations in Acarí in 1954 I recorded imitation Chakipampa B pottery similar to that of Pacheco at several sites, together with

authentic Nasca 9 pottery and local variants of the Nasca 9 style. In the Ica Valley both authentic Nasca 9 pottery and a local variant of it have been found at several sites. The Nasca 9 style of Ica is isolated at the Pampa de las Animas in Callango, a site recorded by L. E. Dawson, and also at a place at San José de Cordero in the upper Ica Valley where I recorded Nasca 9 refuse covering an older structure associated with a refuse deposit of Nasca Phase 7.¹¹⁹ Some Chakipampa features also appear on sherds from the Nasca 9 refuse at Ica.

The Robles Moqo style of Pacheco. The colors used on the Robles Moqo pottery at Pacheco are red, purple, gray, cream, white, black, and flesh. This is the same inventory of colors used in the Conchopata style, except for the absence of a contrasting very dark gray or purple. The Robles Moqo designs are executed with great precision and are outlined with black lines. The slips are dense, the colors even, and the surface is glossy, with a very fine finish.

As we have noted above, there are two different sizes of Robles Moqo pottery, oversize and regular size. The oversize pottery comprises only four shapes, namely, urns, tumblers, face-neck jars, and modeled llama figures, while the variety of shapes in the regular size pottery is much larger.

The oversize urns are 64 to 66 centimeters high and 75 to 78 centimeters in diameter, with flaring sides which become slightly convex in the upper half of the body, a flat, sharply edged bottom, and two vertical strap handles at about the midpoint of the height.¹²⁰ The urns are decorated either with mythical figures inside and out or with plant designs on the outside only.

Four of the urns excavated under Tello's direction, including the one at the American Museum of Natural History, are decorated with an identical design of mythical figures in which representations of the Male Deity and the Female Deity alternate in four vertical panels on the outside and four on the inside of the vessel. The sex of the figures is indicated by the dress. The four figures in the interior are full length and of such a size that they fill the height of the urn. On the outside, the figures of the Male Deity are also full length, but an abbreviated bodiless form of the Female Deity is used as an adjustment to the obstructions provided by the handles.¹²¹ This abbreviated Female Deity is painted on a black ground, while the Male Deity on the outside of the urn is painted on a red ground. In the interior, all four figures are painted on an unpigmented buff ground. Both deities have ears of maize associated with them, but the Female Deity has more of them and a greater variety.¹²² In the representations of the Female Deity, maize ears appear as decorations on her garment, as ray appendages around her head, and on her staff, while the Male Deity has them only as ray appendages around his head. His other appendages are feline heads, which the Female Deity lacks.

Fourteen of the urns reconstructed in Lima and two represented by fragments collected by Uhle are decorated with plant designs on the exterior and have handles in the form of modeled snakes. The plants depicted include maize, tarwi, ullucu, potato, and ñu.¹²³ These are all crop plants proper to the sierra, except for maize which is grown on the coast as well.

The oversize tumblers from Pacheco are of about the same height as the urns. They have flat bottoms and concave flaring rims, and each has a bodiless deity face modeled in one side.¹²⁴ The designs are standardized, consisting of a checkerboard pattern with paired dots below the face, a meander band above the face, and plant representations under the rim. The plants represented are maize, tarwi, oca, and probably quinoa, again all sierra crop plants except for the maize.

The oversize face-neck jars are 50 centimeters high with a high-shouldered body and flat, sharply edged bottom. They have two vertical strap handles at about middle height, hands with carefully painted nails modeled in front of the handles, and a beautifully modeled human head on top from which the neck of the jar emerges.¹²⁵ The skin color of the hands and face is indicated by a coppery reddish brown. Some of the faces are further decorated with a painted checkerboard pattern on one side and a rhomboid on the other.¹²⁶ Each figure is represented wearing a shirt decorated either with vertical stripes or with a tie-dye design. There is not a single garment represented on pottery of the Robles Moqo style which is decorated with split faces or mythical figures, although both of these types of patterns are depicted as textile designs on pottery of Middle Horizon Epoch 2. The modeled heads are surmounted by a wheel-like headdress, the edge of which is decorated with a band design. Some of the band designs used in this position are borrowed from the Chakipampa B style. Sometimes a jaguar pelt is shown worn as a headdress, the jaguar head hanging down the back and the claws hanging down the sides.¹²⁷

The oversize modeled llamas are handsome standing figures with a jar neck emerging from the back.¹²⁸ This shape was apparently the least common among oversize vessels of the Robles Moqo style.

Regular size vessels in the Robles Moqo style of Pacheco can be described in four categories of shape, three of which occur in the Pacheco offering deposit. These categories are for the most part different from those of the oversize vessels. The first consists of modeled animal figures, mostly llamas represented in a variety of positions with a jar neck emerging from the animal's body.¹²⁹ The second category consists of double vessels in which a small tumbler is joined by a tube near its base to a small full bodied modeled figure. A great variety of modeled figures occurs in this combination, including many different human representations, felines, foxes, monkeys, serpents, and occasionally other animals.¹³⁰ Among the distinctive features of human figures in the Robles Moqo style are small painted black mustaches and chin whiskers, large modeled nose and lip plugs, a colored circle enclosing one or both eyes, plug-like protrusions from the top of the head, and a skinned jaguar head used as a head cover. Vessels of the first two categories are especially common, both in the collection from the Pacheco deposit and in other contexts. The third category, which is less common, comprises modeled human hands or feet with the wrist or ankle flaring into the shape of a tumbler. It was such modeled feet and hands which impressed Carlos Rosas in 1926.

The fourth category of regular size pottery which I am assigning to the Robles Moqo style is a small vase modeled to represent a human head with a base of smaller diameter representing the neck. No vessels of this shape were found by Tello's men in the Pacheco offering deposit, and the one specimen which has been illustrated is without provenience.¹³¹ However, its stylistic details are those characteristic of human head representations in the Robles Moqo style. Pablo Soldi showed me a master mold for vessels of this shape which he said came from San Javier in the Ingenio Valley. This specimen is important because it indicates that press molding was practiced on the south coast in Middle Horizon Epoch 1. There is no evidence of the use of press molds this far south in earlier periods.

A number of features of Robles Moqo pottery, notably some of its shapes, have parallels in the pottery of Tiahuanaco. The tumbler shape is particularly common in Tiahuanaco pottery, and modeled human heads, modeled serpents, modeled felines, and modeled llamas also occur in the Tiahuanaco style, although with some differences of detail.¹³² Sharply edged flat bottoms, vertical strap handles, and high shoulders on jars are other features shared by the Robles Moqo and Tiahuanaco styles.¹³³ These features are not found in earlier south coast styles or in the Huarpa tradition.

The Nasca 9 style. Phase 9 of the Nasca style, as defined by L. E. Dawson and me on the basis of repeated associations of contemporaneity, corresponds in part to Gayton and Kroeber's Nasca Y-2, Muelle's Andino del Sur of 1937, Strong's Tunga Polychrome Fine, and some of Strong's Loro Polychrome.¹³⁴ As noted earlier, the Nasca 9 style shares many features with fancy Chakipampa pottery of the area of Ayacucho and Huari, but there are also significant differences. Some of the Nasca 9 shapes have no counterparts in sierra collections, while some sierra shapes do not occur in the Nasca 9 style. There are similar differences in design themes and details of execution.

Like fancy Chakipampa A vessels, most fancy Nasca 9 ones have a deep red slip with a glossy finish covering all or most of the body. Sometimes this slip is the only decoration, but more commonly there are also polychrome designs in purple, cream, white and gray outlined with black. When the full range of colors is not found, it is usually the gray, white, or cream which is omitted. Sometimes a cream slip or unpigmented orange background is used in place of the red. Nasca 9 designs consist most commonly of ray motives with rotational or radial symmetry derived from Nasca 8 antecedents, painted in alternating colors of gray and purple or cream and purple, with filler elements dotting the surrounding space. The fillers are circular or near circular dots of white or cream outlined with black and with a black dot in the center (figs. 6a, 15).¹³⁵ Another common pattern consists of narrow unoutlined black bands covered with white dots and broad black bands with white outlines, both features which were derived locally from Nasca 7 antecedents, although they are reminiscent of features of the Chakipampa B style.¹³⁶ A common representational design is a running humped animal shown in profile which shares some features with animal designs of Chakipampa A and B. It is composed of three fillets of the modular width and has ray appendages projecting from the body and head.¹³⁷ Another

common figure design consists of a ventrally extended creature with a "stinger" in front and often a triangular tail behind, a figure which may be derived locally from the preceding phases of the Nasca style.¹³⁸ Trophy heads are another common representational theme of local origin.¹³⁹

More than half of the available Nasca 9 vessels are decorated with chevron band designs which are very similar to Chakipampa A ones, differing from the latter mainly in being slightly broader on the average (fig. 6a).¹⁴⁰ Like the fancy Chakipampa A ones, Nasca 9 chevron bands are usually placed horizontally around jar necks, the rims of bowls, and the borders of broad design fields, although vertical chevron bands are also used occasionally as panel dividers. Nasca 9 chevron bands are narrow compared to those used in the Huarí styles of Epoch 2 (see below), most of them being 8 to 13 millimeters wide within the outline bands and 15 to 20 millimeters wide including the outline banding, although slightly broader bands were also occasionally used. In Nasca 9 chevron bands irregularly drawn chevron elements painted in one, two, or three contrasting colors are spaced at intervals of the modular width (usually 3 to 4 millimeters), always with a red slipped modular space between them. Sometimes the red spaces are slightly wider than the modular width, and in such cases an extra set of black outlines is added in each red space. The band of chevron elements is usually outlined on each side with a colored band of the same width as the chevron band itself, the colored band being trimmed with black lines. Alternatively, chevron bands may be outlined by simple black lines.

Chevron bands are also found in the Robles Moqo style of Pacheco, especially on the flat rim edge of oversize urns decorated with mythical figures, and occasionally on some of the other shapes.¹⁴¹ The Robles Moqo style chevron elements differ from the Nasca 9 ones in being broader, with more even and straighter outlines, and in being painted in four or more alternating colors without intervening background spaces. The Robles Moqo style bands are invariably bordered by a single black line. No chevron band like this appears in the Conchopata style, although one of the fragments from the Conchopata offering deposit shows a small section of an analogous band composed of red and gray chevrons appearing in a different context.

While most Nasca 9 designs can be traced back to Nasca 8 antecedents, some, notably the chevron band, represent foreign influence from the highlands. The chevron band of the Robles Moqo style of Pacheco appears to be a local adaptation. Other highland features which appear as locally adapted loan traits in the Nasca 9 style include rays with wavy or zigzag stems, circular white filler elements containing more than one black dot, and light colored backgrounds with black stippling. Both the last mentioned feature and the humped animal design are present in Nasca Phase 7 but not in Nasca Phase 8. Since both are present in the Huarpa style of the highlands, which is of Early Intermediate Period date, their presence in the Nasca 9 style probably represents a reintroduction of an older south coast feature from the highland source.

The most common vessel shapes of the Nasca 9 style are open bowls of varying depth with convex sides of varying flare and either a rounded or slightly

flattened bottom, often with a central concavity or "dimple."¹⁴² Other common Nasca 9 vessel shapes include spheroid, ovoid or horizontally ellipsoid incurving bowls (fig. 15); globular or slightly ovoid jars with a rounded bottom or a broad, flattened bottom with rounded edges, a broad hyperboloid or narrow, high, cylindrical neck, and small, vertical lugs on the upper part of the shoulder;¹⁴³ bottles with a single tall spout and a large strap handle;¹⁴⁴ tall goblets with a pedestal base;¹⁴⁵ cuplike vessels with a large, hollow conical handle;¹⁴⁶ and various large, widely flaring food bowls known by the convenient term "cumbrous bowls."¹⁴⁷ All of these shapes are derived from earlier Nasca 8 vessel types. However, the high, narrow, cylindrical necks which are present on some of the Nasca 9 jars (i.e. "necked bottles") represent Chakipampa style influence. In addition, two shapes appear in Nasca 9 associations which are new to the south coast and belong to the Chakipampa style. One is a canteen-shaped flask with flattened side seams (fig. 6b), a relatively common vessel type usually decorated with Nasca 9 designs. A rarer vessel form is a tiered bottle consisting of three small bowl-shaped sections separated by narrow constrictions, above one another. The only specimen in the sample from the Nasca drainage is decorated with a Chakipampa "Octopus" design.¹⁴⁸

Sierra influence in the Pacheco refuse. In addition to conservative Chakipampa B designs on Robles Moqo style pottery and occasional Chakipampa loan features in the Nasca 9 style, there are a number of new vessel types and features of highland origin which appear in large numbers in the refuse of Olson's Pits A, C, and D at Pacheco and only rarely at other south coast sites of Epoch 1. The great majority of the intrusive features and vessel types are of the Chakipampa B style, but some Ocros style bowl fragments of local manufacture also occur.

New shapes representing Chakipampa B influence include lyre cups, flat bottomed vases, high, near-globular incurving bowls with a small flat or indented bottom, a thick walled, deep, vertical sided dish, and a thin walled, flat bottomed, flaring sided dish.

The flat bottomed, flaring sided dishes are decorated on the interior with highland variants of the wing feather design and other Chakipampa B dish designs reminiscent of the Nasca cumbrous bowl tradition. At Pacheco, these designs were also used at times on round bottomed cumbrous bowl shapes of local origin. There also appears a local version of the new flat bottomed shape which is larger and thicker walled than the related highland dishes and which is decorated on the interior sides with cumbrous bowl designs of local origin which do not appear in the sierra. It is clear that the Nasca potters were drawing an analogy between the flaring sided Chakipampa B dish and their own cumbrous bowls. The appearance at Pacheco of local cumbrous bowl designs on imitation Chakipampa B dish shapes is of special importance, because in succeeding phases derivatives of these flat bottomed imitations replace entirely the traditional Nasca cumbrous bowl shapes in the coastal styles.

Fancy Chakipampa B designs which are found in Pacheco refuse but not on Nasca 9 pottery proper include the single-fillet animal, the three-fillet

band with ray appendages (fig. 2), and the bilaterally symmetrical profile animal head. Other Chakipampa B features found occasionally as loan features in the Nasca 9 style are especially common in the Pacheco refuse, including rays with wavy stems and S-shaped ray designs in bands. Fragments of the Ayacucho Serpent bowl of the Chakipampa B style are numerous at Pacheco and have not been found at other Nasca 9 sites. A new design found on finely finished, red slipped surfaces of intrusive Chakipampa B shapes or their imitations consists of large, thick lined concentric circles or circles and dots in black and cream. This design may represent a south coast adaptation of multiple concentric circle designs in the Chakipampa B style.

Local adaptations of simple Chakipampa B line designs are especially common in the Pacheco refuse, being used in horizontal bands around the rim or lower side of spheroid bowls. As in the Chakipampa B style, these designs usually have a less glossy surface than the fancy pottery, although some specimens with a very fine, glossy finish are also found. The designs on the sherds from the Pacheco refuse differ from Chakipampa B designs proper primarily in details of patterning and in being drawn frequently with thicker lines. As in the Chakipampa B style, the designs are usually painted in three colors, or sometimes in four, the colors being red, black, white and cream. The most common pattern consists of a white or cream colored diagonal grid design on red ground, with crosses, dots and stars used as filler elements. In a local adaptation, diagonal crosses are painted without the diagonal grid in horizontal, outlined rows. Similar horizontal rows of shallow and more convoluted S-shaped line designs in black and white on red, white on black or red, and black or red on cream are another common design. A third common design is a fret band in black on white which, like the other designs, appears as a rim band on the outside of bowls.

The central coast

Evidence of associations. The local style of fancy pottery of the central coast in Middle Horizon Epoch 1B is called here the Nievería style. This style has also been called "Proto-Lima,"¹⁴⁹ "Maranga,"¹⁵⁰ and "Cajamarquilla."¹⁵¹ However, not all the pottery that has been grouped under these names belongs in Middle Horizon Epoch 1B. Stumer has singled out some of the Middle Horizon 1B pottery and has called it "Classic Maranga," on the basis of his excavations on the Hacienda Vista Alegre in the Rimac Valley.¹⁵² I am reserving the term "Nievería" only for the Middle Horizon 1B pottery, and am calling its later derivatives "Derived Nievería."

The work of Uhle and Stumer in the Rimac Valley and that of Marino Gonzáles Moreno at the Ancón Necropolis has served admirably to establish the relative temporal position of the Nievería style. At the cemetery of Nievería near Cajamarquilla, on the north side of the Rimac River, Uhle uncovered many burials with the dead in extended position, which were accompanied by pottery of the Nievería style.¹⁵³ The cemetery also contained other burials, however, in which the dead were buried in flexed, seated position, accompanied by a different kind of pottery, some of which has been called "Coast Tiahuanaco" or "Tiahuanaco I," and which belongs in Middle Horizon Epoch 2.¹⁵⁴ Uhle found that some of the

tombs containing the flexed burials had been excavated partly through extended ones and so had to be of later date. Flexed burials with the later vessel types were also found isolated in an extension of the cemetery toward the desert.¹⁵⁵

Stumer conducted excavations on the south side of the Rimac River, approximately opposite the Nievería site, at a place on the grounds of the Hacienda Vista Alegre which he calls "Huaquerones." Here there is a great occupation site, with one large, central stepped mound and six smaller peripheral mounds.¹⁵⁶ There are also habitation areas scattered between the mounds. Stumer made a cut (Cut 1) through refuse along the south face of the central mound, and found in it a pottery style with some features related to Nasca Phase 8 of the south coast which belong to the epoch immediately preceding the Middle Horizon.¹⁵⁷ Stumer also excavated in a cemetery adjacent to the central mound which contained Middle Horizon 1B burials only, to the exclusion of other types.¹⁵⁸ He excavated some fifty of these burials, as well as broken fragments from the backdirt of pothunters' excavations and possibly some refuse from the cemetery area. All the burials in this cemetery contained bodies in extended position, and the pottery corresponds in style approximately to that found by Uhle in the extended burials at Nievería.

At the Necropolis of Ancón, Marino Gonzáles Moreno and Francisco Iriarte Brenner, working for the Inspección de Monumentos Arqueológicos of the Peruvian government in 1951, excavated at least ten extended burials containing Nievería style pottery, which were found in the deepest levels of Mound K.¹⁵⁹ However, one of these tombs (Tomb 495) contained three bodies of which only one was extended and two were flexed, showing that the practice of seated, flexed burials was being introduced at this time.

The Nievería style. The Nievería style is distinguished by many startling innovations of both local and foreign inspiration, which make it a very distinctive new style in spite of the large number of traditional features which persist from preceding central coast phases. Much of the Nievería pottery is distinguished by its fine grained paste with little temper, its thinness (much of it only 2 millimeters in wall thickness, according to Stumer), its light orange colored paste and surface, its fine surface finish, and its variety of modeled and fancy bottle shapes. Some of the vessels which Stumer excavated at the Vista Alegre cemetery have been illustrated by Stumer and R. P. Schaedel.¹⁶⁰ Similar vessels from Nievería have been illustrated by Gayton and R. d'Harcourt.¹⁶¹ Among the vessels collected by Stumer there are some collared jars and handled jugs found in association with other Nievería style pottery which represent relatively conservative survivals from the preceding phase. Uhle excavated some additional vessel types at Nievería which share features with the Nievería, Chakipampa, Ocros and Nasca 9 styles, but which were not found by Stumer at Vista Alegre. These forms include a jar much like those of the Nasca 9 style in shape,¹⁶² and anthropomorphic modeled jars.¹⁶³

Imitations of highland vessel shapes are also found, including a large

canteen-shaped flask,¹⁶⁴ and a three-tiered bottle.¹⁶⁵ The high, cylindrical necks on many vessels probably also represent highland influence. On the other hand, the necked bottle shapes proper, some tall plain slipped goblets with pedestal bases, and plain slipped, convex sided bowls, probably represent direct influence of the Nasca 9 style.

Highland influences are strong in the Nievería style, much of the decoration of the Nievería style consisting of designs adapted from the Ocos style¹⁶⁶ and the Chakipampa style.¹⁶⁷ The horizontal chevron band of the Nasca 9 and Chakipampa type is used on the necks of plain and anthropomorphic jars, as in the respective south coast and highland styles.¹⁶⁸ There also appears a local variant of the humped animal design with recurved ray appendages which resembles most closely the Nasca 9 form, but which has distinctive local features.¹⁶⁹ Along with these innovating features, however, the Nievería style consists of many slightly modified derivatives of the Interlocking design themes of the earlier tradition.

Along with the many foreign Chakipampa, Ocos and Nasca 9 features in the Nievería style proper, there also appear some vessels in foreign styles. All the foreign pottery belongs to Epoch 1B, and includes the Ayacucho Serpent bowl and incurving bowls with adaptations of Chakipampa B designs like those found at Pacheco. In a uniquely valuable example of associations, an Ayacucho Serpent design is painted on a Nievería bottle type (see fig. 17). Other foreign types include local imitations of Robles Moqo regular size modeled pottery,¹⁷⁰ and a special double spout bottle with decorative themes of Moche Phase V.¹⁷¹ Five other very similar double spout bottles of this type are known, three of them said to come from Piura and one from Patapó on the far north coast.¹⁷² Rowe first drew attention to one of these vessels, the De Vault bottle, as a distinct type of chronological and stylistic significance.¹⁷³ The appearance of a De Vault type bottle at the Vista Alegre site is one of the important bits of evidence which puts the Moche V style in Middle Horizon Epoch 1 and demonstrates that exchanges between the north and central coast were taking place at this time. Another highly important piece found by Stumer in a Nievería style burial is an archaizing vessel which represents an imitation of a Cupisnique stirrup spout bottle.¹⁷⁴ Archaizing vessels are also found in Moche V burials on the north coast.¹⁷⁵ Evidently a revival of Cupisnique themes occurred on the north coast in Middle Horizon Epoch 1, and the revival influenced the central coast at the same time.

The south-central coast

Evidence of associations. The south-central coast was an important independent prestige center in Middle Horizon Epoch 1, with a special innovating style of its own. The only site for which associations have been recorded is Cerro del Oro in the Cañete Valley, but information furnished by members of the staff of the Museo Nacional de Arqueología y Antropología indicates that the Huaca Malena in the Asia Valley was probably also of great importance during this epoch.¹⁷⁶

The site of Cerro del Oro is a large construction and refuse site near the town of San Luís, north of the Cañete River and some five kilometers inland. In 1925 A. L. Kroeber and an associate made surface collections at this site and also excavated 23 burials which contained 66 vessels in the Cerro del Oro ("Middle Cañete") style.¹⁷⁷ During 1957, L. M. Stumer and R. Matos Mendieta made a surface survey at the same site, and in 1958 D. T. Wallace conducted excavations in refuse there.¹⁷⁸

The great bulk of the surface collections made during the three above named investigations consists of a homogeneous pottery unit which is assigned to Middle Horizon Epoch 1 on the basis of its stylistic features. However, one fragment, collected by Kroeber, has different stylistic features, which resemble closely those of Nasca Phase 7 of Early Intermediate Period Epoch 7.¹⁷⁹

In his excavations, Wallace made two trenches, one in which refuse was excavated in three 25 centimeter levels, the other containing six levels. All but the sixth level of Cut 2 contained the same homogeneous pottery assemblage as that found in Kroeber's burials and in the bulk of the surface collections. Cut 2, Level 6, however, contained a small amount of pottery exclusively with three color decoration similar to that of the Lima (Interlocking) tradition, without any of the characteristic Cerro del Oro features, and with some features recalling Nasca Phases 7 and 8 on the south coast and the pottery from Stumer's Cut 1 at Vista Alegre. Both this excavation and the surface fragment in Kroeber's collection therefore suggest that the Middle Horizon 1 occupation at Cerro del Oro probably overlies refuse of Early Intermediate Period Epochs 7 and 8.

Two fragments in the Cerro del Oro style were found by L. E. Dawson at a one-phase Middle Horizon 1 site in the Ica Valley,¹⁸⁰ evidence which confirms the temporal position of the Cerro del Oro style.

In Wallace's excavation levels, as well as in the surface refuse at Cerro del Oro, fragments of intrusive pottery styles, mainly in the form of local imitations, are relatively abundant. Most of them are highland types and include an Ayacucho Serpent bowl fragment, as well as other loan features and imitations of the Chakipampa B style, or of south coast imitations of Chakipampa B features.¹⁸¹ One fragment in Wallace's collection represents an imitation of a modeled foot of the Robles Moqo style.

The Cerro del Oro style. Like other Middle Horizon 1 styles, the Cerro del Oro style is very eclectic, with features borrowed from a variety of other stylistic traditions, including the Nievería, Nasca 9 and Chakipampa styles. There are also some features which represent survivals from the Lima tradition of the preceding epochs on the central coast. Some of the most distinctive Cerro del Oro features, notably pottery made of white or very light buff paste, and ring base bowls, however, do not resemble the above named Middle Horizon 1 styles, nor do they have antecedents in the earlier coastal styles. Their closest resemblance among all Peruvian styles is to the Cajamarca II style of the northern highlands.¹⁸² There are also other similarities in

design details between the Cajamarca II style and the Cerro del Oro one, notably in the patterning and design of a horizontal step-fret band at the rims of bowls and as a horizontal border on broad design fields,¹⁸³ a common feature in both styles. A triangular volute made in black on white with lines of uneven thickness, a common feature of the Cerro del Oro style,¹⁸⁴ appears on one of the illustrated pieces from Cajamarca.¹⁸⁵ While these stylistic resemblances are suggestive, however, they cannot serve as conclusive evidence of stylistic exchanges in the present state of research, because there is not enough information on pottery of the area between Cajamarca and Cañete, and because there is no evidence of Cajamarca influence elsewhere in central and southern Peru at this time.¹⁸⁶

Ring base bowls are perhaps the most common vessel type in the Cerro del Oro style.¹⁸⁷ Large, medium sized and small jars are also common.¹⁸⁸ Cumbrous bowls are another very common vessel type, the majority of them very similar to those of the Nasca 9 style. Rarer vessel forms include spouted bottles, most of which resemble the Nasca rather than the Nievería ones;¹⁸⁹ unique conical sieves;¹⁹⁰ and figurines in the Nasca tradition.¹⁹¹ Some bird and trophy head designs also have a close resemblance to the Nasca 9 style.¹⁹² Nievería designs also appear, however, especially on ring base bowls, the most common types being the Nievería humped animal¹⁹³ and a special small Nievería variant of the ventrally extended animal with stinger. Some of the designs of the Lima tradition in the Cerro del Oro style are very similar to the corresponding Nievería style features. The Cerro del Oro style also has a locally modified variant of the humped animal design, a theme that is present in all the other Middle Horizon 1 styles here described, and there are locally modified imitations of Chakipampa designs such as ray designs with rotational symmetry, elongated rays with wavy stems, and a ventrally extended animal with a trapezoidal body, the latter being specifically attributable to the Chakipampa B style. Variants of Middle Horizon 1 chevron bands also occur.¹⁹⁴

Middle Horizon Epoch 2

General summary and terminology

Epoch 2 is the second important innovating period of the Middle Horizon. The pottery styles that are most widespread during this period usually have been included under the terms "Wari" and "Coast Tiahuanaco."¹⁹⁵ Among other important pottery styles that belong to Epoch 2 are the "Teatino" style of Ancón and Chancay, the Cajamarca III (or "Marañón"), and Geometric on Light styles, and Phase C of the Black Decorated style of the region of Huari. Most of the representational designs that appear on the "Wari" and "Coast Tiahuanaco" vessels are derived with modifications from, or are related to, special designs, primarily mythical figures, of the Conchopata and Robles Moqo ceremonial styles of Epoch 1, but there also appear to exist some new exchanges of mythical themes with the Tiahuanaco style of Bolivia during the earlier part of Epoch 2. These designs appear first on very fine secular pottery found mainly in wealthy prestige burials and at important prestige

centers. There is no evidence that special ceremonial pottery used exclusively for nonsecular purposes continued in use after Epoch 1 except in the remote south.¹⁹⁶ The mythical and other derived ceremonial themes are also found on very fancy textiles (the famous "Coast Tiahuanaco" tapestries and painted cloths which originate in Epoch 2), textile and feather hats, and gold and shell ornaments, all prestige objects found mainly in the most elaborate tombs and burials.

Derived Conchopata and Derived Robles Moqo features are found everywhere in association with a few selected abstract and geometric designs derived in part from nonceremonial Chakipampa B pottery types of Epoch 1. Highland design themes of this type are so widespread in Epoch 2 that it is appropriate to refer to all the styles in which they play a significant part as the "Huari" styles, even though there exist considerable regional differences among some of the associated vessel types and stylistic features of the different areas.

Other vessel types and style features of the respective Huari styles in each area continue to be more differentiated, although the differences are less pronounced than before, partly because of the greatly increased communications between the different prestige centers, and partly because the more widely diffused Huari style features are often used on local vessel types. The differences between the regional Huari styles of the central highlands, the south coast, and the central coast, respectively, are sufficient so that these styles need to be distinguished by separate names. I propose to call the highland style of Epoch 2 the Viñaque style, after an old name for Huari, the principal site where the style is found.¹⁹⁷ The Viñaque style consists of Derived Robles Moqo and Derived Chakipampa B features, with some new Nasca influences. The Nasca region style of Epoch 2 is called the Atarco style, after a site in the southern Nasca drainage where Middle Horizon 2 pottery has been found. It consists of features derived from the Conchopata and Robles Moqo, Nasca 9, and Chakipampa B styles, as well as some new influences of the Viñaque and possibly the Tiahuanaco style and a small amount of influence from the central coast. The central coast style of Epoch 2 is called the Pachacamac style, after the principal site.¹⁹⁸ The features of which it is composed include Derived Conchopata and Robles Moqo and Derived Nievería ones, as well as new influences of the Viñaque and Atarco styles. The Epoch 2 style of the Ica Valley is called the Ica-Pachacamac style, to indicate the strong influence of the Pachacamac style on it. Intrusive Viñaque and Atarco features appear at Ica primarily in the form of separate, intrusive vessel types of the respective foreign styles during the later part of Epoch 2.

On the north coast, some or all of the pottery that Larco classifies as "Huari Norteño A" belongs to Epoch 2, as does Reichlen's Cajamarca Phase III. Epoch 2 pottery is also included in Strong's "Middle Ancón I" style, and in the pottery group that Kroeber has called "Supe Middle Period."¹⁹⁹

During Epoch 2 many of the principal centers of prestige in Epoch 1 in the central highlands, and on the south and south-central coast, were abandoned, while other centers in these areas increased in importance. The principal highland center of Epoch 2 was at Huari.²⁰⁰ The principal central coast center was

at Pachacamac, south of Lima. It appears to have replaced both the central and south-central coast centers of the preceding epoch, because no separate prestige style has been found in the latter area in Epoch 2. No comparable occupation site has been located on the south coast, but the importance and prestige of the Atarco and Ica-Pachacamac styles indicates that occupation sites of some importance must have existed during this epoch on the south coast as well.

It is possible to divide Epoch 2 into two sub-epochs, 2A and 2B, on the basis of the seriation of style features in each of the Huari styles. The best evidence for this seriation at the present time is for the Atarco and Pachacamac styles, but there is also some indication that a similar subdivision can eventually be made in the Viñaque style.²⁰¹ Phase A vessels with Derived Conchopata-Robles Moqo decoration are the fanciest of their kind, and they are remarkably uniform in appearance wherever they are found. Their distribution toward the north is about the same as that of Ayacucho influences in Epoch 1B, Phase A specimens of Epoch 2 having been found on the coast as far north as the Casma Valley. The only evidence of Epoch 2A pottery south of Nasca is a lot of large face-neck jars from Ocoña which probably belongs to Epoch 2A. In spite of the general uniformity of Huari vessel types of Epoch 2A, however, there are some regional distinctions, the two principal substyles being the Viñaque and Atarco ones. The Atarco vessels comprise in part features of the Viñaque style, and in part independently derived Conchopata and Robles Moqo features. The pottery from Ocoña is by and large in the Atarco style, with some local peculiarities. Pachacamac Phase A pottery and the related pieces from Supe and Casma also have their closest resemblances to the Atarco style, to the point where some specimens are virtually indistinguishable from Atarco ones. However, Pachacamac Phase A pieces also show direct Viñaque influence, as well as some important local peculiarities.

The most important distinction among the three principal Huari styles of Epoch 2A is the fact that each of these styles specialized on different mythical themes. The most common mythical representations in the Viñaque style are a bodiless front-face Deity head and a bodiless profile angel head, the latter with features of Conchopata Angels B and C. In the Atarco and Pachacamac styles, on the other hand, the most distinctive mythical representations are full bodied ones related to both mythical animals and angels in the Conchopata style (see earlier section). The Atarco style has only mythical feline headed manifestations, while Pachacamac Phase A has both a feline headed and an eagle headed one. Bodiless mythical heads of the Viñaque style also appear as loan features in the Atarco and Pachacamac styles.

Other pottery types which appeared in Epoch 2A in association with the fancy vessels decorated with mythical themes consist of relatively conservative derivatives of the respective local styles of Epoch 1, stylistically intermediate between the corresponding vessel types and features of Epoch 1B and Epoch 2B.

In Epoch 2B there was greater regional diversification than in Epoch 2A. The most divergent and original changes took place in the Pachacamac style, especially in the elimination of feline headed mythical figures related to the

Atarco ones, and a great increase in use of the mythical eagle headed figure, which is found in a variety of painted and modeled forms. Significant central coast influences appeared for the first time over a wide area, on the north at least as far as Moche. To the south, Pachacamac influences dominated the Ica style, but they were relatively weak in the Nasca drainage. In the highlands, Pachacamac influences evidently rival Viñaque ones at Huancayo, but they were weak, if they existed at all, at Huari and in the Viñaque style proper. The Viñaque and Atarco styles also underwent changes, but there was no change in the kinds and relative frequency of the mythical themes. Viñaque influences apparently expanded greatly, more than the Pachacamac ones, being found during Epoch 2B in the highlands at least as far south as Cacha, near Sicuani, and as far north as Cajamarca, and influencing all the coastal styles, albeit in different ways and to different degrees, from the Ocoña and Majes valleys in the south to the Moche area in the north. Influences of the Atarco style, on the other hand, suffered an almost total decline, being relatively weak even in the neighboring Ica Valley. During Epoch 2B, features of the older Nasca, conservative Chakipampa and Nievería traditions occurred more rarely, and were in the process of going out of style.

The sierra

Evidence of associations. Middle Horizon 2 pottery of the central highlands is distinguished from that of Epoch 1 primarily on the basis of the separation of styles in refuse at different habitation sites, the principal site with Middle Horizon 2 pottery being the large urban center at Huari. Here Viñaque style pottery, together with fragments of the associated Cajamarca III, Black Decorated C and Geometric on Light styles, is found in much larger percentages than all other pottery types. Most of this pottery can be assigned to Epoch 2 on the basis of evidence of associations elsewhere in burials and refuse sites, and on the basis of the presence of Viñaque and Geometric on Light features as loan traits in other Epoch 2 styles. A small amount of pottery on the surface at Huari may belong to Epoch 3. As noted earlier, the Epoch 2 pottery types are found primarily within the main construction area of the ruins of Huari, south of the northern "defense wall." North of that wall, Epoch 2 pottery is very scarce, only a small number of fragments occurring on the surface and none properly in the excavated levels of the pits.²⁰² Within some parts of the principal construction area, the Epoch 2 styles are thoroughly mixed with smaller percentages of Huarpa and Epoch 1 pottery throughout the excavated pits, the mixture evidently representing a disturbance created in the process of construction of the many buildings of Huari.²⁰³ Such disturbance is also indicated by the fact that parts of the same vessel are on occasion found scattered through three or more levels in Bennett's excavation. However, such mixing of styles is not in evidence in all the areas of the site. For example, the refuse pottery from Bennett's Pit 2, one of the pit collections which I was able to check in greater detail, appears to belong entirely to Middle Horizon Epoch 2. The only Middle Horizon 1 pottery in this pit consists of the fragments of three partly reconstructed fancy Chakipampa vessels and a regular size Robles Moqo tumbler found in Level j, near the bottom of the pit. These fragments came from what appears to have been a sacrificial deposit (see earlier section).

Both burial associations and associations in refuse at sites other than Huari furnish additional evidence isolating the Viñaque and Viñaque-associated styles as a unit of contemporaneity belonging to Epoch 2. Flores describes and illustrates an Epoch 2B burial containing eight vessels which a farmer found at the Middle Horizon site of Wari Willka near Huancayo.²⁰⁴ Most of the vessels in this burial are in the Viñaque style, but two black double spout bottles with press molded decoration belong to a distinct Epoch 2 style of the north-central coast,²⁰⁵ and one of the Huari dishes is decorated with an imitation Pachacamac design.²⁰⁶ A large number of vessels of both the Viñaque and Pachacamac styles (with some regional variations) is present in the Gálvez Durand collection from Huancayo.²⁰⁷

Two Epoch 2 burials from Curahuasi east of Abancay have been recorded by John H. Rowe.²⁰⁸ One, the objects from which are in the collection of Oscar Núñez del Prado in Cuzco, contained 85 pottery objects, including 70 miniature vessels and two figurines. Of the 13 full sized vessels, seven crude, roughly finished face-neck jars are decorated with Derived Chakipampa designs, one flask is a Huari type shared by the Viñaque and Atarco styles, and three face-neck bottles with strap handles resemble a common Atarco type. Most of the miniature vessels, many with tripod supports, resemble common Cajamarca III types. The second burial from Curahuasi recorded by Rowe, which is in the César Tamayo collection at Curahuasi, contained two vessels, one a Black Decorated C bowl, and the other a small face-neck jar combining Viñaque features with face details recalling the Chakipampa style, the latter evidently representing a conservative survival in a provincial style. Two additional vessels from Curahuasi in this collection are in the Viñaque style.

There are six recorded burials from the coast in which Viñaque or imitation Viñaque vessel types and features are associated with other Middle Horizon 2 styles. Uhle recorded a burial from Pachacamac which contained a painted textile²⁰⁹ and six pottery vessels. Of the latter, four are in Phase B of the Pachacamac style,²¹⁰ one is in the Viñaque style,²¹¹ and one is a Derived Moche vessel.²¹² Uhle also found a number of Viñaque style vessels at Supe on the north-central coast,²¹³ and some which are almost identical to Viñaque vessels except for minor differences in detail which include some Pachacamac features. Four of the Viñaque and modified Viñaque vessels appear in two burials which contain other vessels in a regional variant of the Pachacamac style, local north-central coast vessel types, and Derived Moche forms.²¹⁴ The Pachacamac style itself shares a number of features with the Viñaque style, so that not all specimens can be assigned unambiguously to one or the other. Derived Chakipampa design themes appear on specimens in burial associations in the Epoch 2B burial from Wari Willka mentioned above,²¹⁵ in an Epoch 2B burial from Nievería,²¹⁶ and in an Epoch 2B burial from Ancón.²¹⁷ A tiered Viñaque style bottle with Geometric on Light decoration (fig. 24) also appears in an Epoch 2B burial from Ica which contained, in addition, five vessels in the Ica-Pachacamac style (figs. 23, 26-29) and one Derived Chakipampa one (fig. 25). In the Rimac Valley, Stumer recorded an Epoch 2B burial from Vista Alegre, Cut 3, which contained an imitation Viñaque vessel,²¹⁸ together with vessels in the Pachacamac style, some of the latter consisting exclusively of Derived Nievería

features. Uhle also found Viñaque vessels in Middle Horizon 2 burials at Nievería,²¹⁹ together with Pachacamac ones embodying Derived Nievería features.

During the Fourth University of California Expedition to Peru, 1954-55, Rowe and Wallace recorded a number of sites with refuse containing Viñaque and imitation Viñaque style pottery in the vicinity of Andahuaylas, Cuzco and Sicuani in the southern highlands.²²⁰ East and south of Curahuasi, the Viñaque style is the only Huari style which has been found. Pottery in the Viñaque style or with Viñaque features has also been found at Cajamarca, in the area of the upper Ocoña and Majes valleys on the far south coast,²²¹ and in the Nasca drainage.²²²

The Viñaque style. The following vessel types are typical of the fanciest pottery of the Viñaque style: a small cup with a lyre-shaped profile derived from the Chakipampa B style;²²³ a small high vase with straight, nearly vertical or slightly flaring sides, also derived from the Chakipampa B style;²²⁴ three types of small, flaring sided tumblers with a flat, sharply edged bottom, one with a modeled human face in the side,²²⁵ a similar one without the modeled face,²²⁶ and another similar one with a raised band in the upper half of the body;²²⁷ a shallow spheroid bowl with a slightly tapering tube on the interior projecting above the rim edge²²⁸ (these vessels almost invariably have a black slipped interior and exterior bottom, with a polychrome painted design band on the outside, or, more rarely, polychrome design units on the inside rim); a high, incurving bowl or cup with a flat or shallow curved bottom;²²⁹ small, fancy decorated face-neck and anthropomorphic jars which survive with minor modifications from the preceding epoch; a two-tiered spouted bottle, a modified derivative of a Chakipampa type²³⁰ (the only types of decoration on the specimens in the sample are in the Geometric on Light [fig. 24] and Derived Chakipampa categories); and rare modeled forms.²³¹

In addition to the Viñaque vessel types listed above, which are usually finely decorated in polychrome designs with a very smooth, even, glossy surface finish, there are others, occurring in larger numbers, which usually have a slightly irregular surface, a matte or low gloss finish, fewer colors, and special simple designs. By far the most common vessel type in this category is a small dish with a flat or slightly curved, usually sharply edged bottom and straight, flaring sides, a form which is derived from Chakipampa B antecedents.²³² Some of these dishes or "bowls" are decorated on the inside only and resemble coastal cumbrous bowls, while others are decorated on the outside only, without there being any difference in shape. Many are decorated with conservative derivatives of the corresponding Chakipampa B designs.²³² These derivatives are distinguished from the Chakipampa B forms primarily in having more carelessly executed designs with larger modular widths and thicker outlines. Another apparently common matte Viñaque vessel type is a large face-neck jar with Derived Chakipampa and Derived Robles Moqo features, notable distinguishing characteristics being modeled eyes and a modeled mouth.²³⁴ These common, more roughly finished matte or low gloss Viñaque vessel types are never found as foreign ware on the coast, and they have not been reported north of Huancayo in the highlands. However, the bowls, at least, do appear among Middle Horizon 2 pottery from

Huancayo and in the highlands south of Huari.

In addition to the vessel types mentioned above, which are found in concentration only in the highlands, there are others that the Viñaque and Atarco styles share and that appear to be equally typical of both. The most important one of these types is a fancy decorated deep dish with relatively thick walls, a flat or shallow-curved bottom separated from the sides by a tight curve, straight, vertical or very slightly flaring sides, and a horizontally flattened or slightly beveled rim edge.²³⁵ This vessel type is derived from Chakipampa B dishes and so is probably of highland origin. A rarer variant of these deep dishes, which is also present in both the Viñaque and Atarco styles, has more flaring sides which may be straight or slightly concave.²³⁶ In addition, there is a distinctive Viñaque variant with vertical or slightly flaring convex sides and a sharp base angle, a form that appears only with Viñaque decoration (fig. 1b). Deep dishes are usually decorated with a very standardized design pattern in which two large principal designs appear on a bright red slip in each half of the sides, separated from each other by two broad, vertical chevron bands that halve the design area, the chevron bands also being a Derived Chakipampa feature. The principal designs are usually elaborate, carefully executed ones (fig. 1a).²³⁷

In the Viñaque style there also occur fragments of double chambered whistling bottles in which a small bottle with a tapering spout is connected by a bridge and basal tube to a full bodied modeled figure. These double chambered bottles are most common in the Atarco style sample, but they also occur with different designs and modeling in the Pachacamac style. The modeled Viñaque fragments in Bennett's collection from Huari are stylistically distinct from both the corresponding Atarco and Pachacamac figures,²³⁸ but one painted bottle section of a double chambered vessel, also in Bennett's collection from Huari, is decorated with an Atarco design. There also occur at Huari a few fragments of double spout bottles with sharply tapering spouts and a cupcake-shaped body, a vessel type which is very common in both the Pachacamac and Atarco styles (cf. figs. 4b, 9, 22) and which is ultimately of central coast origin. However, the shape and design details on the one sufficiently preserved fragment in the Bennett collection from Huari corresponds to the Atarco rather than the Pachacamac type. Another vessel type most characteristic of the Atarco style which has been found in the highlands is the lenticular flask with a high, cylindrical neck and basal neck lug, features derived from Chakipampa bottles and flasks (cf. figs. 11b, 19). A flat bottomed bottle with an inverted ovoid body, a long, tapering neck, and a small lug at the base of the neck, is another Huari vessel type which is most common in the Atarco style, but variants of which have been found both in the Viñaque and the Pachacamac styles (cf. figs. 5b, 20, 21). A related bottle variant, found in both the Viñaque and Atarco styles, has a human skull modeled into the bottle neck (figs. 10b, 18).²³⁹ The Viñaque and Atarco styles also share a small, incurving, spheroid bowl shape.

A large number of the Viñaque designs on fancy decorated vessels consists of themes derived with modifications from the ceremonial and Robles Moqo styles of Epoch 1. One of the most common ones is a bodiless mythical

front-face head with an elaborate headdress, a modified derivative of the Deity figures of the Robles Moqo style. In the Viñaque style it is found most commonly on lyre-shaped cups, but it also occurs on tumblers.²⁴¹ Variants of this design sometimes appear in slightly modified form on vessels of the Atarco and Pachacamac styles (Phase B), where they represent Viñaque loan features. Another common mythical theme is a bodiless profile head with feline attributes which is derived from the corresponding Conchopata angel head theme, the Viñaque version usually also being adorned with a feather plume headdress.²⁴² This design is generally found on the outside of deep dishes, and occasionally on the interior of black slipped shallow tube bowls. Variants of this design are also a common feature in the Atarco style, and they appear as occasional designs in the Pachacamac style. Modifications of details of the headdress appendages of mythical Conchopata figures appear commonly on Viñaque style vessels and vessel fragments.²⁴³ A full bodied mythical human figure with a front-face body and either a front-face or a profile head also appears in the Viñaque style, but it seems to be rare.²⁴⁴

Another important Viñaque design derived from a design feature on the Conchopata style urns is a modified form of the split-face design, in which the profile head is abbreviated further to a mouth, eye and some face lines without separate head contours, and the step-fret is more variable in execution and usually in black on cream or gray instead of white on red. The Viñaque split-face design is found most commonly on black slipped tube bowls, but it also appears at times on lyre-shaped cups and, in one instance, as a design on the representation of the shirt of a mythical figure.²⁴⁵ Some of the finest actual specimens of "Coast Tiahuanaco" tapestry shirts which have been found are decorated with split-face designs of this type. The same design also appears as a common feature in the Atarco style, where it is not infrequently used to indicate the decoration of shirts on modeled figures, but it evidently appears only rarely and in much modified form on Pachacamac pottery.

Among nonmythical representational designs of the Viñaque style, painted representations of skulls are especially common, being usually found on high incurving bowls or cups or on lyre-shaped cups.²⁴⁶ This design has no known Epoch 1 antecedents. There also appears a nonmythical bodiless profile feline head, either with an angular or looped drooping ear,²⁴⁷ forms which are derived from profile feline appendage heads in the Conchopata style. Nonmythical profile human heads, with or without a body, constitute another common Viñaque design.²⁴⁸

Among abstract Viñaque designs, nonrepresentational variants of the feather headdress are especially common.²⁴⁹ These designs are among the more advanced Viñaque features. They appear both on fancy glossy vessels and on the less fancy, matte ones. They are usually accompanied by a variety of smaller geometric design elements, including large, unoutlined, light colored S-shaped figures covered with dots, vertical or diagonal white crosses with black centers, and larger unoutlined white, cream or orange dots with black crosses and dots in the center. The larger light colored dots are sometimes used as principal

designs in bands, the lines at times being modified to form a face.²⁵⁰ Some of the other geometric elements also appear without the abstract feather design, together with additional geometric elements such as sausage-shaped bands and dots, on the interior of matte finished bowls.²⁵¹ Another geometric element used as a popular background filler design on fancy ware is an unoutlined, medium sized white dot with a horizontal black line and one or two small black dots painted on it.²⁵² The last named element is a virtually unmodified derivative of a rare Chakipampa B design detail which also appears on sierra style pottery at Pacheco in Epoch 1B. The rest of the elements represent modified derivatives from Epoch 1B antecedents confined to the sierra. All but the last named design in this group of unoutlined geometric elements, used both as background fillers and as principal designs, distinguish the Viñaque style from the contemporary Atarco and Pachacamac styles. When any of these Viñaque elements appear in the other Huari styles they represent new highland loan features in those styles.

There are three additional abstract Viñaque designs, the first of which appears with equal frequency, though in slightly different contexts, in the Atarco and Pachacamac styles. It is a fret band which is derived from the ceremonial styles of Epoch 1, and from rare secular Chakipampa B occurrences in bowl rim bands. In Epoch 2 it is most commonly painted in black on cream and is used to frame mythical heads and larger design areas, and also to decorate jar necks and sometimes the rims of open vessels.²⁵³ The second design is one that also appears in the Atarco style in very similar form but in a different context. It consists of closely spaced horizontal rows of shallow S-shaped figures made with thick black lines on white ground, a design which is also derived from a Chakipampa B antecedent. In the Viñaque style this design appears most commonly on bowls or cups with painted skull decoration.²⁵⁴ The third design consists of a horizontal band at the rim of a small tumbler, with a narrower undulating band in the center decorated with representations of human limbs and bordered by small profile feline heads at the top and bottom. Of this design, only one example is known from Huari,²⁵⁵ and two examples are known from Pachacamac.²⁵⁶ It is therefore not certain to which of these two Huari styles this particular design belongs.

Stylized designs of various plants are used commonly in the Viñaque style to decorate small, high vases and sometimes other shapes as well.²⁵⁷ These designs may have rare Chakipampa B antecedents. Small vases, and possibly other Viñaque vessel types, are also sometimes decorated with designs consisting of patterns of black bands, triangles and step designs with white outlines, sometimes accompanied by white dots, painted on red ground, a design which is also derived from a Chakipampa B antecedent.²⁵⁸

Survivals of the Nasca tradition in the Viñaque style. In addition to common Viñaque design features derived from Chakipampa B innovations, which are mentioned above, there are others, most of them rarer, which are derived from the older designs on Chakipampa fancy ware, going back ultimately to the Nasca tradition. These designs are distinguished from their Epoch 1 antecedents in appearing in brighter colors, like other fancy Viñaque designs, in being

larger, drawn with bands of greater modular width and more even contours, in tending to be decorated with fewer recurved ray appendages, and in tending to be more symmetrical. Recurved ray tips commonly have squared, angular bases, and paired ray appendages are often separated at the base by a broad, even, angular gap, both features which distinguish the Derived Chakipampa designs from most Epoch 1 antecedents. Conservative Derived Chakipampa designs include variants of the ventrally extended animal (fig. 25)²⁵⁹ and variants of the humped animal design with one or more of several features derived from the ceremonial style of Epoch 1, including rounded heels, fangs, a ring nose, an angular ear, a thick, contoured body, or a "tail feather" appendage.²⁶⁰ In contrast to the corresponding Chakipampa B antecedents, the Derived Chakipampa animals with loan features of the ceremonial styles are invariably drawn with broad modular widths and other stylistic innovations. Variants of both these animal figures also appear in the Atarco style, and as occasional loan traits or on imported or imitation Viñaque vessels on the central coast.²⁶¹ Among abstract fancy Derived Chakipampa designs, an angular block decorated with floating filler lines and outlined with a band with ray appendages (i.e. the "three-fillet band" design; fig. 1a) is typical,²⁶² and derivatives of the Chakipampa B "Fleur-de-Lys" ray design appear.²⁶³ Circular, outlined white filler elements persist from the preceding epoch, and their presence serves to distinguish the fancy Derived Chakipampa designs of the Nasca tradition from the other Epoch 2 designs of Huari.

An important Viñaque feature derived from fancy Chakipampa pottery is a broad chevron band with paired white (or cream) and purple outline bands on each side, which is used as a vertical band to halve the design area on deep dishes and lyre-shaped cups of the Viñaque style (fig. 1b),²⁶⁴ as well as on deep dishes and occasionally other vessel types in the Atarco and Pachacamac styles. In Epoch 2 there also appear alternative chevron bands which are narrower, without outline bands, and painted in only two colors, the vertical ones usually being black and white, with occasional horizontal ones being white on red. A rare alternative horizontal chevron band in the Viñaque, Atarco and Pachacamac styles is one derived from the special variant in the Robles Moqo style variant of Pacheco.²⁶⁵

The Viñaque-associated styles. Pottery resembling the Cajamarca III style of the northern highlands appears in Middle Horizon 2 associations at Huari and elsewhere.²⁶⁶ The resemblances include the use of a very light buff or cream colored paste, low sided ring based bowls or dishes,²⁶⁷ bowls and other shapes with high, conical tripod supports,²⁶⁸ and designs consisting of small black, brown or orange scrolls, wedge-shaped dashes and other "cursive" elements and bands, with some representations of peculiar large eyed, long eared animals and humans.²⁶⁹ Some of the specimens from Huari are nearly identical to specimens from Cajamarca and Huamachuco, while others show various regional variations.

The pottery category that Bennett segregated as "Geometric on Light" resembles some of the local variants of the Cajamarca style to the point where Bennett himself found it difficult to draw the dividing line, as shown by the

fact that he illustrated fragments with very similar designs, or designs that appear on the same shapes and in the same color patterns, in his Geometric on Light category, his Marañón (Cajamarca) style, and his Wari Polychrome Cursive types.²⁷⁰ However, vessel shapes with Geometric on Light designs differ at least in part from the Cajamarca ones proper, although they share some features. The bowls are deeper and cup-like, and the tripods, which also appear, consist of small flat tabs rather than high conical supports. Like the Cajamarca-related types, the Geometric on Light ones are made of light paste, with an unpigmented slip base and simple geometric line designs in black and dark red. The closest resemblance of some of the shape and design features is to pottery from the Callejón de Huaylas.²⁷¹

One of Bennett's substyles of the Black Decorated pottery (the first group he describes) also appears in Middle Horizon 2 associations.²⁷² This substyle (Black Decorated C) is decorated with fine line designs in pale red or yellowish, including crosshatching, small, tightly curved hooks, deeply convoluted S-shaped figures, bands, and other line designs. Some of these designs resemble Viñaque style designs, especially those that appear on the less fancy Viñaque sherds that Bennett illustrates under his "Wari Polychrome Cursive" heading. The Black Decorated C shapes have some features of Viñaque shapes, for example in forms resembling Viñaque tumblers, common flaring sided bowls and collared jars.²⁷³

Distribution of Viñaque and Viñaque-associated styles. Both fancy and less fancy Viñaque vessels or imitations of them appear in the highlands as far north as Huancayo and as far south as Sicuani. On the coast, and in the highlands north of Huancayo, only the fancy polychrome Viñaque vessels have been found as imports or imitations, the one found most uniformly outside of Huari being the lyre-shaped cup. Other fancy Viñaque vessels appear in different patterns of association in different areas of the coast. Small vases are found in the Ica and Nasca valleys in the same form as they appear in the highlands, and tube bowls with split-face designs, indistinguishable from highland specimens, have been found at Ica. On the central coast, locally modified variants of Viñaque vases from Pachacamac have been recorded by Schmidt,²⁷⁴ but no tube bowls have been reported north of the Ica Valley. A split-face design appears on a Derived Nasca 9 goblet from Pisco,²⁷⁵ but north of Pisco only two very modified examples of the split-face design are recorded in pottery from Pachacamac. On the other hand, specially patterned small tumblers with a human face in the side, a Viñaque vessel type with stylistically advanced features, have been found on the north-central coast at Supe and, in a locally modified form, in the upper Ocoña Valley,²⁷⁶ but none is known from the Ica-Nasca region or Pachacamac. Imitations of other Viñaque tumblers have turned up in all parts of the coast, either as direct local imitations,²⁷⁷ or modified by Pachacamac influences.²⁷⁸ The Pachacamac style also includes tumblers, but they constitute a distinct vessel type independent of the Viñaque ones. While many Viñaque features are incorporated in both the Atarco and Pachacamac styles, there are different ones in each style.

Of the Viñaque-associated styles, imitation Geometric on Light designs appear on Atarco style vessels, and imported or locally made Geometric on Light vessels appear both at Nasca and Ica, but they are not known from elsewhere on the coast. In the highlands, the Cajamarca style is not known south of Curahuasi, where it appears in the form of miniatures in a burial. On the coast, the Cajamarca style proper is not known south of the Moche area, although a plain tripod vessel from Nievería and a similar one from the upper Ocoña Valley may represent Cajamarca influence.²⁷⁹ The Black Decorated C style of Epoch 2 is confined to the central highlands north as far as Huancayo and south as far as Curahuasi; so far it has not turned up anywhere else.

The valleys of Nasca

Evidence of associations. By far the largest, most spectacular and best documented collection of Middle Horizon 2 pottery from the valleys of Nasca in existence is one made by Pablo L. Soldi for his brother Carlos Soldi of the Hacienda Ocucaje, Ica. The Carlos Soldi collection consists of about 200 Middle Horizon pottery vessels, the majority in the Atarco style, with 12 vessels that represent imported or locally made pieces of the Viñaque and Pachacamac styles. In conversations in 1958 Pablo Soldi listed the principal sites that had produced pottery of this style, most of them in the Palpa and Ingenio valleys of Nasca near the area of the confluence of the rivers, particularly on the Pampa del Camotal. Other important Middle Horizon 2 sites from Nasca reported by Soldi are at Chiquerillo in the Palpa Valley and at Jumaná and Atarco in the southern Nasca drainage. Soldi was able to give the exact provenience of some of the specimens in the collection, and he identified five vessels as coming from a single burial in the Ingenio Valley. The stylistic features of the pottery vessels that Soldi remembered to have been associated are very homogeneous, a fact which makes his recollections more plausible. Pottery in the Atarco style was also found in burials at Locarí in the upper Huayurí Valley by Ubbelohde-Doering.²⁸⁰ Another important collection of Atarco style pottery which was made earlier in the present century in the Nasca valleys is the Victor Elías collection at the Museo Regional de Ica.

Julio C. Tello reports fancy Middle Horizon 2 burials from Coyungo and Tunga in the Nasca drainage. The pottery that he describes and illustrates as coming from these burials is in the Atarco style.²⁸¹ Tello illustrates a polished bone tool with Atarco designs as having been found in the same tomb as one of the Atarco style vessels with Derived Nasca 9 features.²⁸² He describes the tombs from which these objects came as resembling sarcophagi, being large, oblong rectangular chambers lined with rectangular adobes, and covered with a roof of huarango poles and clay plaster. The huarango poles show signs of having been cut with a tool, unlike those in the Nasca style tombs which were burnt off. Ubbelohde-Doering makes a similar observation.²⁸³ The orientation of the Middle Horizon 2 tombs is east-west, the entrance being from the west. In all these respects the tombs are like Middle Horizon 2 tombs

from the Ica Valley described by Aldo Rubini. The tombs from Nasca contained mummy bales with elaborate false heads adorned with gold ornaments, including "tear lines" on the face and feather plumes on the head, according to Tello like the mummy bales found by Uhle at Pachacamac and Cajamarquilla.²⁸⁴ Some of the pottery from the burials described by Tello is in the Fracchia Collection at the Museum of Archaeology of the University of San Marcos, and some of it is in the Tello collection at the same museum.

The entire Atarco style sample in existence consists of fine burial pottery, most of it specially selected for its beauty. Tello reports that fragments of many of the face-neck jars which are less finely finished were left behind by the pot hunters and are found in the back-dirt of their excavations.²⁸⁵ No habitation sites of the Atarco style have yet been recorded. This special selection of the Atarco style sample has to be kept in mind when comparisons are made with Middle Horizon 2 styles from the other areas.

Atarco style pottery does not appear in the refuse of the Middle Horizon 1 sites that have been recorded at Nasca and Ica, nor in the Middle Horizon 1 burials, facts that indicate that the Atarco style is a separate unit of contemporaneity. However, the Atarco style does share a number of features in identical, or slightly or moderately modified form with the Nasca 9 and Robles Moqo styles, features which do not appear in the later pottery styles. On the other hand, the innovating features of the Atarco style persist with modifications into succeeding phases. Atarco style pottery, as it is defined here, is considered to be an approximate unit of contemporaneity because of its distinctive stylistic features and combinations of features which appear in regular association, and which contrast with homologous features of the Epoch 1 styles or of the style phases that follow, these stylistic observations being further supported by the burial associations given by Tello and Pablo Soldi. The Atarco style shares many features with the Viñaque style and the Pachacamac style.

The Atarco style. The Atarco style consists of a thorough mixture of features of different stylistic traditions, including Derived Nasca 9, Derived Robles Moqo and Conchopata (some of which is shared with the Viñaque style and some of which is independently derived), Derived Chakipampa (some of which is probably locally derived from Epoch 1 imports), some other features that are shared with the Viñaque style, and a few features of the Pachacamac style. The features of foreign origin are combined with the local ones in distinctive patterning arrangements which make it possible to distinguish Atarco style vessels from contemporary Viñaque and Pachacamac ones. The resemblances between the Atarco Phase A, Pachacamac Phase A, and conservative Viñaque vessels are much greater, however, than those between Atarco Phase B vessels and the other Huari style vessels of Middle Horizon 2B.

Atarco vessel shapes that are derived from Nasca 9 antecedents include necked bottles with an inverted ovoid body and sometimes a small lug (figs. 5b, 20, 21). Most of them differ from Nasca 9 necked jars and bottles in having a longer, narrower neck with tapering sides, in having a perfectly

flat, sharply edged bottom like Robles Moqo style jars, and a smaller lug which is often placed at the base of the neck instead of on the upper part of the body. Some jars with cylindrical necks continue in use from the preceding epoch.²⁸⁶ Some of the Atarco style jars and necked bottles have face-necks, and on some a modeled skull replaces the face on the neck (figs. 10b, 18), the latter feature being a Viñaque loan trait. One jar has the entire body modeled and painted to represent a skull (fig. 7b), this form being a Pachacamac loan feature which also appears as a body type of spouted bottles (see below). Several of the necked bottles and jars are from 20 to 25 centimeters high, slightly larger than their Nasca 9 antecedents, while others are of more traditional smaller sizes.

In addition to the jars and necked bottles mentioned above, there is another, similar face-neck jar type which represents a direct derivative of the anthropomorphic face-neck jars of the Robles Moqo style. Vessels in this group have the same general body shape as the Nasca 9-derived jars and necked bottles, but they have a much greater size range (those from Nasca varying from 23 to more than 50 centimeters in height), the necks are broader in diameter and hyperboloid (i.e. concave sided) in outline, and there are two vertical strap handles at about the middle height of the body. Seven closely related jars from the area of Ocoña are oversize, being up to 1.50 meters high. Their exceptional height is probably due to the fact that they were made for ritual use (see note 196).

Spouted bottles continued to be very common, as in the Nasca 9 style, but in the Atarco style they have many innovations which they share with the Pachacamac and Viñaque styles, some of which are probably diffused from the Pachacamac style. Double spout bottles reappeared, having been out of style on the south coast during Nasca Phases 8 and 9. The more advanced (Phase B) bottles are characterized by widely diverging spouts, most of them with straight sides that taper markedly from a broad base, innovations that they share with the Pachacamac style (figs. 4b, 9, 22).²⁸⁷ However, there are also bottles on which the spouts are less diverging and slightly concave sided, without a pronounced taper; these are relatively conservative features evidently developed locally from the single spout bottle tradition of Nasca, features that appear occasionally on some Pachacamac Phase A vessels (see below). The more advanced Atarco bottles have a new body which is very similar to the corresponding Pachacamac style ones. It suggests the shape of a cupcake in having a flat, sharply edged bottom, a lower body half with straight or slightly convex, flaring sides, and an arched upper body which is usually separated from the lower half by another sharp edge.²⁸⁸ Alternatively, some of the bottles have an inverted ovoid body, like jars and necked bottles. Double spout bottles are usually black slipped everywhere except on the upper half of the body, where most commonly two principal polychrome designs are placed on a red slip base, one in each half of the vessel, separated by a special black and white wedge under each spout (fig. 22).²⁸⁹ These are features that they share with the Pachacamac style. Another, slightly less common pattern, particular to the Atarco style, is one in which a band-like figure curves around the spouts in a serpentine that covers the top of the bottle (fig. 8).

Single spout bottles with large strap handles persist from Nasca Phase 9, but many are affected by the same innovating features in body and spout shape as the double spout bottles.²⁹⁰ A few rare specimens show Pachacamac influence in having a face-neck near the base of a long, tapering spout, or a tubular handle instead of a strap. Some single and double spout bottles show additional Pachacamac influences in having a modeled body in the form of a head representing a nonmythical human, a skull, or an owl. Some single spout bottles have a tuber-like modeled body base.²⁹¹ Another derivative of a traditional Nasca vessel type is a spouted bottle with one diverging spout and a bridge placed in the back of a modeled figure. In the Nasca tradition, the modeled figure is a human representation, but in the Atarco style both human and animal figures appear, most of which are derived from Robles Moqo style modeled figures rather than from Nasca style antecedents. The rare use of a modeled sea animal, on the other hand, evidently represents Pachacamac influence.²⁹²

Doubled chambered whistling bottles appear as an innovation in the Atarco style, one that also represents influences from the north probably transmitted through the Pachacamac style. However, the Atarco style vessels represent a local adaptation, with close analogies to the regular size Robles Moqo style double vessels from Pacheco and with Derived Robles Moqo modeled figures. One half of the vessel consists of a single spout bottle in place of the small tumbler used in the Robles Moqo style, the spouted bottle having invariably a small version of an inverted ovoid body with a flat bottom, and usually a long, narrow, tapering spout. In addition to the basal tube that connects the bottle body with a modeled figure, there also is a flat strap bridge, a feature not present in the Robles Moqo style. Most of the modeled figures consist of humans derived from human figures of the Robles Moqo style, but there is also a modeled monkey of Robles Moqo derivation,²⁹³ and an owl and parrot, the latter two probably representing Pachacamac influence.

Three nearly identical large urns 30.5 to 32 centimeters high, with a modeled head in the side, represent reduced derivatives of the oversize Robles Moqo urns.²⁹⁴ The Atarco urns are decorated with a combination of Derived Robles Moqo, Derived Nasca 9 and borrowed Viñaque features and themes. They have an inflected rim and knob-like lugs, in addition to a traditional vertical strap handle. However, urns more similar to the oversize Robles Moqo ones must also have persisted in the Atarco style, though they are not present in our sample, because modified derivatives of such urns are found in the Nasca drainage through several later phases.

Vessel types that the Atarco style shares with the Viñaque style include deep, vertical sided dishes,²⁹⁵ and similar large, flaring sided ones.²⁹⁶ Flasks with conservative cylindrical necks, small lugs like those on necked bottles and jars, and high, lenticular bodies, are another vessel type of the Atarco style which also appears in the Viñaque style (figs. 11b, 19). They are derived from a Chakipampa style antecedent (fig. 6b). A few of the Epoch 2 flasks continue to be canteen-shaped, with a flattened side seam which is narrower than in Epoch 1, but this form is rare in the Atarco style. Other Atarco vessel shapes that also appear in the Viñaque style include spheroid

jars with vertical, straight or slightly convex sided collars and small lugs at the base of the collar.

Imported Viñaque and Geometric on Light vessels and imitations of such vessels in the Atarco style include lyre-shaped cups,²⁹⁸ a small tumbler, small vases, incurving, vertically ellipsoid bowls or cups with a flat bottom, two-tiered bottles with a small tapering spout and a lug at the base of the neck (as in fig. 24), a tripod bowl, and a vertically stacked double vessel consisting of two miniature deep dishes one above the other, connected by a modeled serpent.²⁹⁹ The collections from Nasca also include two specimens that represent imitations of Pachacamac vessel types, one a convex sided tumbler, and the other a small collared jar with large loop handles and a modeled human head for a body. A stirrup spout bottle with a Derived Nasca 9 design also represents northern influence probably transmitted through Pachacamac influence.³⁰⁰

Because of the special selection of the Atarco style sample no cumbersome bowls are represented, since cumbersome bowls are traditionally a less finely finished vessel type. However, the sample from succeeding phases indicates that Atarco style cumbersome bowls must have been for the most part flat bottomed forms derived with little modification from the imitation Chakipampa B bowls of Epoch 1, of the type found in the refuse at Pacheco. The fact that very few other open bowl types are represented in the Atarco sample suggests that such vessel forms are either rarer than before, or that they are not as fancy as other Atarco vessels.

The most distinctive Atarco designs are mythical themes related to those of the Conchopata and Robles Moqo styles. Some of them are themes borrowed from the Viñaque style, notably the mythical bodiless profile angel head with feline attributes derived from a Conchopata antecedent.³⁰¹ In the Atarco style, however, bodiless head designs are also frequently borrowed from new mythical Atarco figures not present in the Viñaque style (fig. 20; see below).³⁰² Another Viñaque loan theme that appears with moderate frequency consists of variants of a bodiless front-face Deity head, which usually appears on double spout bottles in the Atarco style. In addition to this Viñaque loan figure, there also is a full bodied local derivative of the Male Deity of the Robles Moqo style.³⁰³ As in the Robles Moqo style, the Atarco figure appears on the urns, but unlike the Robles Moqo figure it lacks mythical attributes. Furthermore, the Atarco figure combines features of the modeled head of Robles Moqo tumblers with features of the urn design, the modeled head, however, being modified to resemble the human heads of nonmythical small modeled figures of the Robles Moqo style.

In addition to the full bodied Derived Robles Moqo Deity figure just described, the Atarco style includes two other types of full bodied mythical figures which are also not found in the Viñaque style. Both the latter are related to mythical figures in the Conchopata style. One of the Atarco figures (figs. 10a, 18), of which there are four examples on two vessels, has a human, plain cream or red colored, winged profile body which resembles the body of Conchopata Angel A (fig. 13); like Angel A, it is shown in upright, running

position, carrying a staff in front. The Atarco angel differs from the related Conchopata one in having a different, less elaborate feline head without human attributes, and without other mythical features except for markings around the eyes. The head features are in part a cross between those of feline appendage heads and Angel C and D heads of the Conchopata style, lacking a head frame and headdress, with a looped feline ear. The Atarco angel also differs from the Conchopata ones in having the head attached to a segmented band, such as is used to represent staves, which lies over the back of the figure and has a "tail feather" end. This latter feature is one that also appears on angels in the stone carvings of Tiahuanaco, but that does not appear in any of the mythical figures in the Conchopata style. Unlike the upright Conchopata angels, the Atarco angel is shown with only one arm, a feature that it shares with the floating Conchopata angels, however, as well as with the Tiahuanaco ones. The Atarco angel has an almost identical counterpart in a design on a bone tube excavated near Mizque in Bolivia.³⁰⁴ The close similarity between the Atarco angel figure and the Bolivian one suggests that there existed an independent relationship between the Bolivian style and the Atarco style in Epoch 2.

The Atarco style also includes another mythical figure, one that represents a distinct, though related theme. In this variant (figs. 11a, 19, 21) the body is basically a feline one, resembling in this respect mythical animal figures in the Conchopata and Tiahuanaco styles. The specimens in the Atarco sample are painted either plain cream, gray or purple, or they are cream colored with jaguar spots. This figure appears with some variations. Some have both a human foot and human hand,³⁰⁵ while others have a human hand and animal hind foot (fig. 11a) or a human hind foot and animal front paw (fig. 21).³⁰⁶ They may or may not carry a staff in the hand, and one carries a trophy head (fig. 11a), resembling in this respect the feline headed Conchopata Angel A (fig. 13). The head of the mythical Atarco animal is a feline one, like that of the Atarco angel (compare figs. 10a and 11a). Unlike the Atarco angels, the mythical felines of the Atarco style do not have a segmented staff band across the back. While both the Atarco figures are winged, the wings of the Atarco angel resemble those of Conchopata Angel A, while the wings of the mythical Atarco feline resemble those of the corresponding mythical animals in the Conchopata style.

Two of the Atarco angel figures appear on the body of a specially conservative variant of a necked bottle with a cylindrical neck and a modeled skull head in the neck, a specimen that is probably attributable to Phase A. The other two examples of the angel appear on a bottle from a Phase B burial (figs. 10a, 18). The bottle resembles the first one, but it has more advanced neck and body features (fig. 10b). The mythical feline figures appear on a variety of different vessel shapes, all in Phase B associations, including deep dishes, double spout bottles, necked bottles (fig. 21) and flasks (figs. 11b, 19).³⁰⁷ The angel figures appear in association with vertical bands of split-face designs, like Angel A figures in the Conchopata style. The mythical feline figures, on the other hand, do not appear on the same vessels with split-face designs.

Split-face designs also appear commonly as independent decoration in the Atarco style, especially on double spout bottles, and as decoration on the shirts of anthropomorphic figures, all the latter belonging to Phase B. Except for the differences in context, these split-face designs are like those in the Viñaque style.

A common Atarco design consists of a double ended band with a profile feline head at one end and a "tail feather" design at the other, or with a profile feline head at both ends (fig. 8).³⁰⁸ This design represents a modified derivative of Robles Moqo and Conchopata staff representations, such as also appear rarely as independent designs on imitation Robles Moqo style vessels of Epoch 1B.³⁰⁹ The Atarco design is usually narrower, more elongated, and serpentine. The band is sometimes segmented, like the original staves. There are also more differentiated variants, however, which are altered in various ways, often in analogy with the mythical Atarco feline by being decorated with jaguar spots and small feet (fig. 8). Other variants are decorated with spots and spike-like appendages that recall the earlier Ayacucho Serpent design. Occasionally, Atarco serpentine figures also have recurved ray appendages of the advanced (Phase B) type (fig. 8).

Among nonmythical designs in the Atarco style there are several that are adapted or borrowed without modification from the Viñaque style, including bodiless profile human heads³¹⁰ and painted representations of skulls (fig. 7a). Other features which the Atarco style shares with fancy Viñaque style pottery include plain colored S-shaped band filler designs (fig. 18) and unoutlined dot filler elements (figs. 4a, 8), both derived from Chakipampa B features appearing at Pacheco (cf. fig. 2), and narrow black and white chevron bands (fig. 7a) and similar white on red ones. Local imitations of highland Geometric on Light designs appear on several Atarco Phase B vessels.

Loan features of the Pachacamac style appear more rarely in Atarco designs, but they are represented by special Pachacamac variants of large unoutlined circular filler elements which sometimes appear on Atarco double spout bottles, and a single example of a Pachacamac eagle design, also on a double spout bottle.³¹¹

Derived Nasca 9 designs are relatively common in the Atarco style. They include a humped animal figure, usually but not always with some Derived Robles Moqo features;³¹² radially symmetrical ray designs (fig. 7a);³¹³ S-shaped recurved ray designs (figs. 5a, 21); and recurved ray appendages on various design figures (figs. 8, 11a, 19). As in the Derived Chakipampa designs, there are conservative and advanced variants, the more advanced ones being distinguished by having partly straight sides and angles instead of curves, including a broad, squared base of the recurved ray tip and/or a straight horizontal line that separates paired recurved rays at the base (figs. 4a, 8, 11a, 19, 22). The modular width of design bands is larger, on the average, in the more advanced (Phase B) designs. Other Derived Nasca 9 figures include trophy heads (fig. 11a),³¹⁴ large birds with humped backs, and other designs derived from Nasca 9 cumbrous bowl decoration which in the Atarco style also appear on other vessel types. Representations of ají fruit, a traditional Nasca theme, appear

with some frequency, especially on bottle bodies of double chambered whistling bottles.

The Atarco style also includes Derived Chakipampa designs, especially a distinctive, locally modified derivative of the highland "Fleur-de-Lys," a bilaterally symmetrical, recurved ray figure which is used especially commonly on spouted bottles (figs. 4a, 5a, 22). Geometric Derived Chakipampa B designs are also common on spouted bottles and flasks.³¹⁵ There also appear locally modified fancy Derived Chakipampa B representations of the ventrally extended animal with a trapezoidal body (for an example from Ica, see fig. 25).

Most chevron bands, which appear mainly in bottle and deep dish designs, are of the Derived Nasca 9/Chakipampa type, like those in the Viñaque style (figs. 5a, 5b, 20, 21). Not infrequently they appear as horizontal bands around jar necks, as in the Nasca 9 and Chakipampa styles. As in the Viñaque style, Derived Robles Moqo chevron bands also occur on rare occasions (fig. 18). Bands of alternating black and white bars or cream colored bands with rectangular subdivisions and wavy filler lines are sometimes used in place of the narrow black and white chevron bands (fig. 19) as panel dividers.

The central coast

Evidence of associations. The largest collections of Pachacamac style pottery from Pachacamac were made by Max Uhle and the German collectors Baessler and Gretzer. The specimens collected by Uhle were illustrated in his report on Pachacamac published in 1903, while parts of the Baessler and Gretzer collections have been illustrated by Baessler (1902-3) and Schmidt (1929). Some of the pottery found in the Rimac Valley and at Ancón is so much like that of Pachacamac that it is included as part of the Pachacamac style proper for the purposes of this discussion. North of Ancón the pottery of Epoch 2 differs more from that of Pachacamac, although it displays some close stylistic resemblances which indicate Pachacamac influence. Conversely, some imported pieces and imitations of pottery from the north-central and north coasts appear in burials from Ancón, Pachacamac and Huancayo.

A consistent segregation of features on individual vessels and in grave associations enables us to distinguish two phases, A and B, in the Pachacamac style.³¹⁶ Phase A is characterized by very conservative variants, while Phase B includes the more advanced ones. The Phase A sample is small but adequate to establish the distinctiveness of the unit.

The earliest record of associations for the Pachacamac style comes from Uhle's excavations at the type site. In front of an old temple structure at Pachacamac Uhle excavated a cemetery in which he found a stratification of earth and refuse deposits related to different construction phases of the temple structure. By relating three distinct categories of burials to successive stratigraphic units, Uhle was able to establish a stylistic sequence that outlines part of the succession of styles at Pachacamac.³¹⁷ In the earliest

burials he found pottery which he called "Tiahuanaco" and "the Epigone style," and which I am assigning to Middle Horizon Epochs 2B and 3.³¹⁸ The burials of the second category contained pottery which belongs to the end of the Middle Horizon and to the Late Intermediate Period. The latest burials had pottery with obvious Inca influences and hence date to the Late Horizon.

Uhle recorded only one Middle Horizon 2 grave lot from Pachacamac, a lot comprising six pottery vessels and fragments of a painted textile.³¹⁹ This lot includes four vessels in Phase B of the Pachacamac style, the other two representing the Viñaque and Derived Moche styles, as noted earlier. In a separate excavation at Pachacamac he found four pottery fragments, recorded together, which belong to Phase A.³²⁰ Schmidt illustrates two unassociated Phase A vessels from Pachacamac along with many Phase B ones.³²¹

At Nievería in the Rimac Valley Uhle recorded two burials of Epoch 2, one (Grave 3) containing four vessels which can be assigned to Phase A of the Pachacamac style and the other (Grave 11) containing five vessels which belong to Phase B.³²² He also illustrated some other Middle Horizon 2 vessels from a section of the cemetery where pottery of this period was isolated.³²³ At Vista Alegre, on the other side of the same valley, Stumer excavated nine Pachacamac Phase B vessels, four of them from a single burial.³²⁴

At the Necropolis of Ancón, Middle Horizon 2 burials have been recorded by Max Uhle and Marino Gonzáles Moreno. Uhle excavated four burials of this period which contained vessels in Phase B of the Pachacamac style together with vessels in a phase of the local Teatino style of Ancón and Chancay. Uhle's Grave P6 from Ancón contained two imitation Pachacamac Phase B vessels, one Teatino style vessel, and three plain miniatures; Grave P14 contained one Pachacamac Phase B vessel, two Teatino ones, and a bowl representing a variant of Pachacamac cumbrous bowls; Grave P17 contained four Pachacamac Phase B vessels, seven Teatino ones, three local cumbrous bowls, and an unspecified plain cup; and Grave P20 contained one Pachacamac Phase B vessel, one Teatino one, and two press molded face-neck jars of smoked blackware which probably represent imports from the north-central coast. Five additional burials from the same site, Graves P10, P12, P15, P21 and P25, contained Teatino style vessels of the same phase. Of these, Grave P12 also contained what appears to be a local variant of a Pachacamac vessel type, and Grave P21 contained a Huari flask shape with Teatino paste, firing and decoration, and a small dark gray bottle with stamped circle decoration reminiscent of a common kind of pottery of the north-central coast which has been included in the term "Sechín" style.³²⁵

I have information on four Middle Horizon 2 burials excavated by Gonzáles, two (Tombs 620 and 630) belonging to Epoch 2A and two (Tombs 506 and 712) to Epoch 2B. Tomb 620 contained seven vessels, four of them Pachacamac Phase A ones with conservative Derived Nievería features, two plain cups of a local type, and one Pachacamac Phase A double spout bottle with Huari designs of Epoch 2A. Tomb 630 contained five vessels, four of them in the Pachacamac Phase A style with conservative Derived Nievería and Huari style features, and

one a cumbersome bowl which I was not able to record. Tomb 506 contained nine vessels, four in the Pachacamac Phase B style, one a generalized Huari style tumbler, and two press molded double spout bottles of smoked blackware which are probably imports from the north-central coast. These bottles match a very similar pair of bottles in the Epoch 2B burial from Wari Willka near Huancayo (see earlier section). I was unable to record the two remaining vessels from Tomb 506. Tomb 712 contained five vessels, one in the Pachacamac Phase B style, one a cumbersome bowl, and three Teatino style bottles.³²⁶ An unassociated double spout bottle from Ancón in the Museo de la Cultura Peruana increases the sample available for Phase A.³²⁷

Two fragments of Pachacamac Phase A vessels have been collected further north on the coast. Uhle found one in Supe; the second one comes from the Fundo Poctao in the Casma Valley and was collected either by H. Disselhoff or by Ubbelohde-Doering in 1954.³²⁸ Two of the burials excavated by Uhle in Supe (Graves 5 and 6) contained pottery closely related to Phase B of the Pachacamac style.³²⁹

In tomb construction, burial position, and the appearance of the mummy bales, Epoch 2 burials on the central coast resemble Atarco and Ica-Pachacamac burials in many respects, while differing markedly from central coast burials of Epoch 1. The tombs of Epoch 2 on the central coast are described as rectangular chambers, cylindrical shafts, or deep conical shafts, the last at Ancón often having a side chamber at the base. Many are lined with stone and adobe, and they have an east-west orientation. The bodies are seated, flexed, and wrapped in large bales with elaborately ornamented false heads, like the Atarco ones. The associated textiles include tapestries and painted cloths decorated with mythical and abstract designs derived from the Conchopata and Robles Moqo styles.³³⁰

The Pachacamac style. Like the Atarco style, the Pachacamac style consists of a complex mixture of elements from different traditions modified by distinctive local patterning. Derived Nievería shape and design themes form an important component of the Pachacamac style and give it some of its most distinctive local characteristics. In addition, the Pachacamac style shares a number of important features with the Atarco style. However, it also includes some Derived Robles Moqo features that do not appear in the Atarco style, showing that these features must have been based on highland rather than south coast models. Mythical Derived Conchopata themes form an important part of the Pachacamac style, as they do of the other Huari styles. Some of these themes are of Viñaque origin, while others are variations of special Atarco figures that are not present in the Viñaque style. This observation indicates that at some point in Epoch 2 there was a special, direct relationship between the Pachacamac and Atarco styles that excluded the Viñaque style. On the other hand, some Viñaque design features not found in the Atarco style appear on Pachacamac style vessels, an indication that there also was an independent relationship between the Viñaque and Pachacamac styles that excluded the Atarco style.

It is of special significance that all the innovating Pachacamac Phase

A vessels and style features have a marked resemblance to Atarco style vessels and features, especially to the most conservative Atarco specimens, and to some of the most conservative Viñaque ones. This resemblance contrasts with the much greater regional stylistic differentiation of Pachacamac Phase B vessels which, furthermore, are associated with a different group of Viñaque loan features that are also stylistically advanced in the Viñaque style. One Pachacamac Phase A vessel is decorated with a Derived Chakipampa three-fillet band design with conservative features of a type also found in the more conservative associations in the Viñaque and Atarco styles.³³¹

Among the most common Pachacamac vessel types are jars and necked bottles, the majority with face-necks and some with anthropomorphic body features. There are three Phase A specimens in the sample. One is a face-neck jar with handles which is very similar to Derived Robles Moqo face-neck jars of the Atarco style, with a Derived Robles Moqo chevron band at the top of the neck, fancy modeled face features, and "tear lines" of pendent feline head appendages such as are found in association with the Male Deity in the Robles Moqo style.³³² The second is identical in shape and in some design features to Atarco necked bottles, with a small lug at the base of the neck.³³³ The third, the fragment from the Casma Valley, is virtually identical in shape as well as design to the Atarco necked bottles with modeled skull-necks and angel figures as body designs.

The rest of the Pachacamac jars, which are grouped in Phase B, resemble the first two of the three Phase A vessel types described above, but with combinations of shape and design features that represent a partial convergence of the two Phase A types.³³⁴ The Derived Robles Moqo variants usually lack handles, the vessel body tends to have slightly higher and less prominent shoulders, the bottom is usually slightly rounded with less sharply defined edges, and the face-neck is sometimes slightly tapering.³³⁵ On some specimens, a derivative of the Male Deity body of the Robles Moqo style, without mythical attributes, is painted on the vessel body below the head.³³⁶ The necks of the necked bottles are proportionately shorter and broader than the corresponding Phase A one,³³⁷ and they lack a small lug at the base. The face-necks are often decorated with a narrow, arched, cream colored band over each eye which ends in two adjoining triangles on each cheek. This feature is a modified derivative of face markings of small modeled human figures in the Robles Moqo style, a feature which distinguishes the Pachacamac style from the other Huari styles in Epoch 2.³³⁸

Another distinctive Pachacamac jar variant is an anthropomorphic jar with a face-neck and a modeled body, sometimes shown with the feet stretched out in front.³³⁹

Spouted bottles are common in the Pachacamac style, but their origins are complex. Double and single spout bottles, spout and bridge to modeled figure bottles, double chambered spouted bottles, single spout bottles, all of them with tapering spouts, which characterize the Pachacamac style, all also have antecedents in the Nievería style or in the double spouted De Vault type bottle of the far north coast which appears on the central coast in Epoch 1B (see earlier section). Resemblances to Atarco style vessels and their local

south coast antecedents suggest, however, that some of the stylistic changes which the central coast spouted bottles undergo are influenced by features of the analogous and related spouted bottles of the Nasca drainage.

Double spout bottles are very common, their closest resemblance in shape features being to the De Vault type bottles. They differ from the latter in having shorter spouts which taper from a broader base, and in having the body division lines sharpened, so that they resemble the cupcake shaped bottle bodies of the Atarco style.³⁴⁰ They differ from the majority of Atarco bottles in having a greater convexity or rounding of the sides in the lower half, a slightly rounded, less sharply edged bottom, a less sharply edged division between bottom and top half of the body, and, on many specimens, more sharply tapering spouts with thicker bases. The patterning of the decoration is like that of the Atarco bottles, but the designs are different ones. The Pachacamac style also specializes in double spout bottles with a modeled body, either one representing a mythical head of a feline or eagle, a nonmythical human head, or full bodied modeled representations of sea animals such as porpoises, mythical fishes with feline heads, and large shells.³⁴¹ The modeling of bottle bodies represents a modified derivative from Nievería antecedents.

Two double spout bottles from Ancón in the Museo de la Cultura Peruana of Lima are assigned to Phase A, one without associations,³⁴² the other from Tomb 620 which contained six other vessels, all of them representing conservative Phase A variants of Derived Nievería types.³⁴³ The unassociated specimen has several conservative features the association of which indicates that this vessel belongs to the earlier phase. Its body contours resemble those of the De Vault type bottles, while the lower half of the spouts, the part preserved, is concave sided, like the conservative concave based spouts of the Atarco style. The lower half of the vessel body and the spouts and bridge are red rather than black slipped, a conservative Nasca 9 and fancy Chakipampa feature of Epoch 1, and the design is also a specially conservative one (see below). The bottle found in Phase A Tomb 620 has more advanced features in body shape and color patterning, but the spouts are also long with concave sided bases, and the design is nearly identical to the conservative form of the Derived Chakipampa "Fleur-de-Lys" design found on Atarco Phase A double spout and necked bottles (cf. fig. 5a).

Single spout bottles are especially distinctive and common in the Pachacamac style. They have a low shouldered, median shouldered or spheroid body with a flat bottom, a narrow, tapering spout, and a large tubular handle from spout to body, unlike the strap handles of the Atarco style; some of the spouted bottles have a modeled head at the base of the spout, another distinctive Pachacamac feature.³⁴⁴ While many of these bottles are decorated with new Pachacamac designs, an equal number is decorated with Derived Nievería designs of the earlier local tradition.³⁴⁵ Phase A variants of this bottle type also have a tubular handle, but the spout is less tapering, and sometimes even cylindrical or hyperboloid.³⁴⁶

Spout and bridge to modeled figure bottles and double chambered spouted bottles in the Pachacamac style are much as in the Atarco style, though

the modeled figures are slightly different in appearance. Many represent regional variants of categories of Derived Robles Moqo style modeled figures that have not turned up in the Atarco sample, especially modeled felines and different kinds of human figures.³⁴⁷

The modeling of vessel bodies, already described for jars and spouted bottles, is a Pachacamac specialization derived from the Nievería style which also affects other vessel shapes. Among the most distinctive Pachacamac forms are collared jars representing mythical and nonmythical human heads.³⁴⁸ Some human head cups with wider, shorter collars have two large strap handles from collar to body.³⁴⁹ Another important modeled Pachacamac vessel is a vertically ellipsoid incurving bowl or cup modeled to represent a skull, a Pachacamac interpretation of the corresponding Viñaque shape with painted skulls. Similar modeled forms represent simple felines or owls.³⁵⁰

Tumblers form another important Pachacamac vessel group with local specializations. The more conservative ones are direct derivatives of the over-size Robles Moqo style tumblers. The most conservative variant has a shape similar to the Robles Moqo tumblers, and a bodiless Deity head modeled in the side like the Robles Moqo ones, with some of the same accompanying design features.³⁵¹ In more advanced variants, a full bodied, abbreviated and modified derivative of the Male Deity figure is used, either with a partly modeled head or with a painted one.³⁵² There also appears another, more modified Pachacamac tumbler type which is smaller than most of the Derived Robles Moqo ones, with slightly convex sides and a slightly curved bottom, and with advanced forms of Pachacamac designs such as also appear on vessels of other shapes.³⁵³ Neither one of these tumbler types is found in the Atarco or Viñaque styles.

Another distinctive Pachacamac vessel type is a local variant of the deep dish that is common in the Viñaque and Atarco styles. The Pachacamac variant has a smaller bottom diameter and flaring instead of vertical sides which are slightly convex on some specimens, like the sides on advanced tumblers.³⁵⁴ These Pachacamac dishes invariably have relatively advanced Phase B design features. There also appears a Phase A form, however, which represents an already locally differentiated antecedent to the Phase B dishes.³⁵⁵ The Phase A dishes are also flaring sided, similar in shape to the Phase B ones, but they are larger (10 to 18 centimeters high and 21 to 36 centimeters in diameter), straight sided, and decorated with Phase A designs. One unassociated specimen without provenience at the Museum of Primitive Art in New York has the same shape as Viñaque and Atarco dishes, with relatively conservative Pachacamac designs, an indication that this form also appeared occasionally in the Pachacamac style.³⁵⁶

Flasks, appearing in much the same shape in both Phase A and Phase B associations, resemble contemporary Atarco and Viñaque flasks in being large and lenticular, without side seams, but they differ from the other Huari style flasks in being thicker and in having a flat bottom.³⁵⁷ An alternative Pachacamac form is of similar size and proportions, but with a broad side seam, a modified regional survival from Epoch 1 flasks.

Among the more traditional vessel types of the Pachacamac style derivatives of the Nievería "teapots" appear to be common.³⁵⁸ A conservative survival of the Nievería style that occurs repeatedly is a spout and bridge to modeled figure bottle, the modeled figure resting on a low, squat, horizontally near-lenticular bottle body.³⁵⁹ This vessel type appears to occur no later than Pachacamac Phase A.

Pachacamac cumbrous bowls are very similar to the corresponding south coast forms, with a flat bottomed shape of earlier highland origin, but with pendent crescent and band designs derived with local modifications from the south coast tradition.³⁶⁰

Some of the mythical representations that appear as designs on Pachacamac Phase A pottery are borrowed either from the Viñaque or from the Atarco style. One of the Viñaque themes that appears on a Phase A face-neck jar is the bodiless mythical profile head of an angel.³⁶¹ Presumably the painted, bodiless Deity head of the Viñaque style also appears at this time. While it is not present in the Phase A sample, it appears repeatedly in modified forms on more advanced Pachacamac vessels. Another mythical representation of the Viñaque style which appears on a Phase A bowl from Pachacamac is a full bodied modified angel figure with a front-face body and a profile head, shown carrying a serpentine staff.³⁶²

The other mythical representations of Pachacamac Phase A are related to Atarco ones. Two variants of the Atarco angel appear on Phase A fragments. One on the Phase A bottle fragment from Casma is very similar to the corresponding Atarco examples, as is the shape of the bottle itself. The second example, on a bowl fragment from Supe, represents a slightly more simplified and more modified version.³⁶³

The most distinctive mythical figure of the Pachacamac style is a griffin with a winged, feline body and an eagle head. This figure is very similar to the mythical Atarco feline and is evidently closely related to it as a mythical concept. Like the Atarco feline, the Pachacamac griffin is ultimately derived from earlier mythical animals in the Conchopata style, combined with features derived from Conchopata angels. It is possible to distinguish between a Phase A variant and several Phase B variants of the griffin, the Phase A one having features more closely resembling those of mythical figures in the Conchopata style.

There are two examples of the Phase A griffin in the sample, one on the necked bottle with Atarco-related Phase A shape features from Pachacamac, and one on the Phase A double spout bottle from Ancón.³⁶⁴ The winged animal body and the headdress are derived from the mythical Conchopata style animals. However, the griffins resemble floating Angel D of the Conchopata style in the features of the eagle head, including the gaping beak, and in having a plain, cream colored body with a particular kind of belt indicated at the hip. Like all Conchopata angels, the Pachacamac A griffin has a human foot and hand instead of animal paws and is shown carrying a staff-like object in the hand.

The Pachacamac A griffin also has bars or lines in the center of the limbs which evidently are intended to indicate the skeletal structure, and which are modeled after features confined to Angel A in the Conchopata style (cf. fig. 13). This feature is probably a symbolic one, possibly representing a quality, such as strength or speed. Like Conchopata Angel A, the Pachacamac griffin is shown in running position. The griffin is thus a composite of several different mythical themes as they are represented in the Conchopata style.

The Pachacamac griffins differ from the related mythical Atarco felines in two important respects. First, they have a mythical eagle head instead of a feline one, and second, this head is attached to a segmented staff band which lies like a bar over the back of the animal and curves at the tail end, with a terminal "tail feather" design. The latter feature is one that the Pachacamac griffin shares with the Atarco angel, however. It is especially interesting that the use of the segmented bar in this context is a new Epoch 2 feature in Peru which both the Atarco angel and the Pachacamac griffin share with mythical figures in the Tiahuanaco style of Bolivia. Not only figures similar to the Atarco angel, but also figures very similar to the Pachacamac griffin, appear in the Tiahuanaco style.³⁶⁵ The similarity between the Pachacamac and Tiahuanaco griffins is another indication that direct exchanges between the Tiahuanaco and Huari styles must have been taking place as late as Middle Horizon Epoch 2A, evidently with independent relationships between the Tiahuanaco center and the respective prestige centers in Peru.

Other conservative design features found in Pachacamac Phase A associations include a plain, S-shaped filler element and a medium sized unoutlined white filler dot with a black curve and dot center. Both these design elements also appear on fancy conservative Viñaque and Atarco style pottery, and the filler dot is present as a rare design as early as the Chakipampa B style of Epoch 1B.³⁶⁶ Fret bands are used, as in the other Huari styles, but in some instances they appear in a special patterning which is more frequent in the Pachacamac style than elsewhere. In this patterning, the fret band is used on anthropomorphic jar and bottle bodies to outline and halve a design area that is confined to the front half of the body.³⁶⁷ Occasionally a nonmythical, human, bodiless profile head of the Viñaque style appears on Phase A vessels.³⁶⁸

In Pachacamac Phase B the Atarco-related angel figure is apparently no longer present, and Viñaque-related mythical figures are relatively rare.³⁶⁹ Instead, the distinctive Pachacamac griffin is very common, appearing in various modified forms with several new features, some of which are shared with some of the analogous and related mythical feline designs of Phase B in the Atarco style.³⁷⁰ Phase B griffins lack the central limb bands and belt of Phase A ones. Instead, the body is frequently decorated with jaguar markings. The headdress is either omitted or reduced to a simple feather tuft. The more conservative specimens continue to have a human hand and foot, but in the more advanced ones limbs are often represented by narrow, slightly trapezoidal bands ending in three straight, white paw lines. None of the Phase B griffins is

shown carrying a staff. On the most advanced Phase B specimens, the body proper may be omitted, an enlarged form of the segmented bar functioning as the whole body. There are several other new stylistic details, indicating that additional research should make possible further chronological subdivisions of Phase B.

In addition to the Phase B griffin, there is present in Phase B a bodiless mythical eagle head in profile view, in analogy with the bodiless angel heads of the Huari styles. The bodiless mythical eagle head is also exceedingly common in Phase B, and is confined to the Pachacamac style.³⁷¹ The mythical eagle theme is popular in the modeled forms as well (see above). In addition, a profile eagle figure without obvious mythical attributes also appears repeatedly.³⁷²

Additional designs appearing in Pachacamac Phase B associations which are related to other Huari style designs include a serpentine band with a profile feline head at each end³⁷³ and trophy heads,³⁷⁴ both Atarco-related themes. Viñaque-related designs which appear occasionally in Pachacamac Phase B associations and not in the Atarco style include small geometric elements such as small unoutlined white dots with black centers, sausage shaped cream colored bands with black dots, and unoutlined diagonal white crosses with or without black centers.³⁷⁵ However, these Viñaque design elements are much more common north of Ancón, where they appear more commonly in later pottery phases at Pachacamac. In the Pachacamac style, two distinctive local variants of Huari filler elements are much more common, one being an enlarged form of the Derived Chakipampa B filler of Phase A,³⁷⁷ the other consisting of a small white circle.³⁷⁸

The Ica Valley

An important collection of between 200 and 300 Middle Horizon vessels from the Ocucaje basin of the Ica Valley was made by Aldo Rubini of Ocucaje. The great majority of them belongs to Epochs 2B and 3, and comes from a small cemetery in the Pinilla sector of Ocucaje called the Huaca José Ramos, where these two stylistic phases are isolated from others. Seven of the vessels were found in association in a single Epoch 2B tomb (figs. 23-29). The Carlos Soldi collection of Ocucaje also contains a few Middle Horizon 2B vessels from Ica. No Middle Horizon 2A vessels from Ica have been recorded.

Most of the Middle Horizon 2B pottery from Ica is very different from the Atarco style and represents instead a regional variant of the Pachacamac style. I am calling it the Ica-Pachacamac style for this reason. It includes Pachacamac variants of deep dishes,³⁷⁹ necked bottles and jars, a modeled spouted bottle representing a reclining feline (fig. 23), modeled head cups and incurving bowls, and a collared jar. A few Atarco vessels also appear in association, including double spout bottles and incurving bowls of a distinct type, but they are in the minority. By far the most common representational designs on the Pachacamac-related vessels are the Pachacamac B griffin and the mythical bodiless Pachacamac B eagle head. However, a unique, tapering sided dish found in burial associations is a modified form of a Nasca 9 bowl shape decorated with a conserva-

tive Derived Chakipampa B design of the ventral animal with a trapezoidal body, a design that also appears in the Atarco style (fig. 25).

Flat bottomed cumbrous bowls with pendent crescent, step, wing feather, bird, and band designs of the Nasca tradition are very common in the Ica-Pachacamac style, in forms very similar to both the Atarco-derived ones of Nasca and the Pachacamac ones (figs. 28, 29). Some of the cumbrous bowls have a fine, glossy finish, while others are matte and carelessly decorated. On some of the fancier cumbrous bowls there also appear other designs, including a Phase B variant of the Atarco "Fleur-de-Lys" and large fishes. Another exceedingly common Ica-Pachacamac vessel type is a small spheroid bowl on which the sides end approximately at the equator of the projected sphere (figs. 26, 27). This bowl type is decorated with a band with geometric designs around the rim, the designs consisting either of a single row of individual filler elements such as appear in the Pachacamac and Viñaque styles (including large Pachacamac filler dots and diagonal crosses with black centers, as seen in fig. 27, and sausage shaped bands and dots), of a row of alternating broad, unoutlined red and white chevrons, or of a row of bodiless feline heads in alternating color patterns (fig. 26).

Local imitations of Viñaque vessel types are relatively common. A Viñaque tiered bottle with Geometric on Light decoration, almost identical to a specimen from Huari illustrated by Bennett,³⁸⁰ was found in the Epoch 2B burial with recorded associations (fig. 24). Other Viñaque types include tube-bowls with split-face designs, imitations of lyre-shaped cups, Viñaque vases, Geometric on Light ring base bowls, and imitations of Viñaque flaring sided dishes with a fine finish and special local designs. Derived Chakipampa B cumbrous bowls of local south coast derivation are also present. The Huaca José Ramos also produced a small figurine of green stone, of a type found at Huari as well as in other areas of Peru to which Viñaque influence extended, notably the ruins of Pikillaqta near Cuzco.³⁸¹ Other figurines of this type from the Ica Valley are illustrated by Valcárcel.³⁸²

Middle Horizon Epoch 3

In Middle Horizon Epoch 3 there is no longer evidence of widespread stylistic exchanges, and the pottery styles show a return to regional isolation and gradually increasing local differentiation. In this process, most of the stylistic features derived from the older coastal traditions disappear. Almost no research has been done on the pottery styles of this epoch, and very few illustrations have been published. The reason is that the pottery styles of this and the succeeding epoch are manufactured with less care, there are fewer vessel types, less modeling, and the designs are fewer, simpler, and often less carefully executed. As a result, vessels in these styles have been of scant interest to dealers and collectors, and there has been no interest in publishing illustrations of them in art books. Brief descriptions of the Middle Horizon 3 and 4 styles of the Ica and Nasca valleys are added here to show the basis of

further subdivision of the Middle Horizon period into two additional epochs.

The valleys of Nasca

I am proposing to call the Epoch 3 style from the valleys of Nasca the "Soisongo" style, after an hacienda in the ravine of Nasca where Epoch 3 pottery has been found. David A. Robinson made the most important collection of Soisongo style pottery during extensive surface surveys of looted cemeteries carried on in 1953 and 1954.³⁸³ A few Soisongo style vessels were also collected by Uhle for the University of California at Berkeley, by Kroeber for the Chicago Natural History Museum, by Strong and his associates during the Columbia University Expedition of 1952, and by Pablo L. Soldi for the collection of his brother Carlos. One of Kroeber's burials from Cantayo in the ravine of Nasca, which contained three vessels, probably belongs to this epoch.³⁸⁴ In 1960, a tomb containing 24 mummy bales and seven pottery vessels was discovered on the Hacienda Montegrando in the lower Nasca drainage, and was excavated by order of the hacienda owner, José Enrique de la Borda. De la Borda gave the entire find to the Regional Museum of Ica and furnished the information on the associations to the Director of the Museum, Adolfo Bermúdez J. The pottery vessels are in the Soisongo style. The mummies are enclosed in solid bales set on end, tightly sewn in burlap-like cotton material, and topped with a false head covered with cloth. One of the bales is "dressed" in a white, embroidered shirt, and two others wear fancy tapestry shirts. The tapestry shirts are decorated with abbreviated or otherwise modified variants of the Derived Conchopata designs which are found on tapestry shirts of Epoch 2.³⁸⁵

Soisongo style pottery differs from pottery of the Atarco style in consisting predominantly of vessels with a matte surface finish, decorated with simpler designs in fewer colors. Red, white, cream, black, purple and gray continued in use, but the use of purple and gray became relatively rare. Although the surface is matte, the colors are usually bright without a very strong gray factor, most of the designs have clearly defined, precise contours, and line designs are of even thickness. Most of the Soisongo vessel shapes are slightly modified derivatives of Atarco types, but a large number of the designs and some shapes are influenced by the Ica-Pachacamac tradition. The domination of Ica influence in the Soisongo style represents a complete break with south coast precedent, the styles of Nasca having traditionally dominated those of Ica.

Most Soisongo vessels are smaller than their respective Atarco style antecedents. Atarco survivals are represented by rare double spout bottles with modified shape and design features (two of them having been found with the Montegrando mummy bales); small, handled face-neck jugs with broader, shorter, less tapering necks than in the Atarco style and often with a necklace and sometimes arms and hands painted on the body;³⁸⁶ a variant of the preceding form with an owl head body;³⁸⁷ small, handleless necked bottles without modeled features, usually with a tapering neck which is generally shorter and broader than the corresponding Atarco ones;³⁸⁸ large, handled urns with a narrow, flat bottom, derived from the oversized Robles Moqo style urns; and flat bottomed cumbrous

bowls, some with very much the same shape as in the preceding phases, and some larger and more flaring sided. In addition, many near-spheroid open bowls ending approximately at the equator of the projected sphere, and related ones with a vertical extension of the sides, evidently represent influence of the Ica-Pachacamac tradition, as may two large, modified, neckless skull-head jars in Kroeber's burial from Cantayo.

Spheroid and composite spheroid bowls of Ica-Pachacamac derivation and the handled urns are decorated with rim bands containing geometric designs in which elements of Ica-Pachacamac derivation predominate. Small, necked bottles usually have a geometric band design on the body containing derivatives of Atarco or Viñaque-Atarco elements.³⁸⁹ Black and white or red and white "ladder" design bands are another very common Derived Huari style feature in the Soisongo style. The majority of the cumbrous bowls are decorated with locally derived designs, but one specimen is decorated with modified derivatives of Ica-Pachacamac bodiless eagle heads. Such eagle heads also appear as a body design on two face-neck jugs.

The Ica Valley

The Middle Horizon 3 style of Ica is called the "Pinilla" style, after the section of Ocucaje where the Columbia University Expedition excavated a burial containing 15 vessels in this style.³⁹⁰ Fifty additional vessels in this style in the Aldo Rubini collection were recovered from burials at the Huaca José Ramos and at La Rinconada, both sites in the Pinilla sector of Ocucaje.

The Pinilla style represents a locally modified derivative of the Ica-Pachacamac style which is unaffected by outside influences. Pinilla vessel types include a large number of spheroid and near-spheroid, slightly incurving bowls very similar to the corresponding Soisongo ones in design as well as shape;³⁹¹ a slightly more incurving variant of spheroid and ellipsoid bowls ending above the equator of the projected sphere or ellipsis;³⁹² and a large number of cumbrous bowls, also very similar in shape to the smaller examples among the Soisongo ones, but a few with proportionately narrower bottoms and more flaring sides.³⁹³ Other vessel shapes are rarer in the sample. Jars and necked bottles are very varied in shape and proportions, and formerly distinct types tend to merge, as in other styles of this epoch. They include handled and face-neck jugs similar to those of the Soisongo style; necked bottles also similar to Soisongo ones; dishes derived from the earlier Ica-Pachacamac ones in relatively conservative form;³⁹⁴ and a new vessel shape consisting of a large cup with bulging sides, a small flat bottom, and a broad, horizontally everted rim or lip.³⁹⁵

Some of the Soisongo vessel types peculiar to the Nasca region, such as derivatives of Robles Moqo urns and Atarco double spout bottles, are not present in the Pinilla sample and probably do not occur in this style, since they are also absent from succeeding pottery phases at Ica.

Like the Soisongo style and Middle Horizon 3 styles elsewhere, the majority of the Pinilla style vessels have a matte surface, and the designs are fewer, simpler, and more carelessly executed with thicker, more irregular lines than in the Ica-Pachacamac style, and in some instances also than in the Soisongo style. The same six pigments were used in the Soisongo style, but cream, as well as purple and gray, was used only rarely, the most common color combination being black, white and red. Most of the Pinilla colors have a stronger gray factor than the majority of the Soisongo ones.

Some Pinilla designs are very conservative survivals from the Ica-Pachacamac style, while others are innovations. Spheroid bowls continue to be decorated with horizontal red and white chevron bands, some indistinguishable from the earlier ones,³⁹⁶ others more carelessly executed with duller pigments.³⁹⁷ Many of the shallower spheroid bowls are decorated with rim bands containing small geometric and abstract elements in black and white on red ground, very similar to the corresponding Soisongo ones but with a slightly different patterning arrangement. Many of the Pinilla vessels are decorated with a distinctive new design pattern consisting of horizontal, outlined white bands decorated with black step, step-fret, wavy line and band designs and sometimes simple stylized animal figures, which alternate with simple red line adornments.³⁹⁸ This new design pattern is used most commonly on the rim of spheroid bowls, but it also is used with variations on other vessel types, notably on the rim of deeper incurving bowls,³⁹⁹ on the upper surface of the "lip" of cups with horizontally everted rims,⁴⁰⁰ on the upper half of the body of jars and necked bottles, and on cumbrous bowls.⁴⁰¹ The majority of the cumbrous bowls, however, are decorated with pendent crescents, associated pyramidal steps, wing feathers and other designs derived with modifications from the preceding phase, very similar to the Soisongo style but with some differences in patterning. Cumbrous bowl designs are also used alternatively to decorate the upper surface of the rim ("lip") of cups with everted rims. Bodiless feline head designs derived from the preceding phase continued to be used in rim bands on the deeper, more incurved bowls, but the designs are more variable, more simplified, and some of them are converted into abstractions with bilateral symmetry.⁴⁰² The only survival of a bodiless eagle head is found in a deep dish in the Pinilla burial.⁴⁰³ The more elaborate Ica-Pachacamac themes, both modeled and painted ones, are absent.

Middle Horizon Epoch 4.

The Ica and Nasca Valley styles of Epoch 4 are simplified and reduced derivatives of the respective Epoch 3 styles and contain no new elements. Uhle's term "Epigonal" is here used to designate both of them. The Ica Epigonal style has been described and illustrated by Kroeber and Strong.⁴⁰⁴ The Nasca Epigonal style has been described by David A. Robinson on the basis of materials gathered in his systematic survey of the Nasca valleys.⁴⁰⁵ It is evident from these studies that the Ica and Nasca Epigonal styles resemble each other in many features, reflecting their common derivation from the Ica-Pachacamac tradition. However, while the Ica Epigonal style is entirely in the Ica-Pachacamac tradition,

the Nasca Epigonal style also preserves elements derived from the Atarco style. No features going back to the Nasca tradition of the Early Intermediate Period, not even the spouted bottle, survived into the Epigonal styles. The Epigonal styles differ from their respective Epoch 3 antecedents primarily in comprising even fewer vessel forms. The pigments have a strong gray factor and are duller than before. There are slight differences in the execution of the designs, and several of the more traditional Epoch 3 designs, including bodiless eagle heads, are rare or absent. The main vessel shapes in the Ica Valley are cumbrous bowls, incurving bowls, and simple jars, while the Nasca Epigonal forms also include large handled urns and vertical sided bowls derived from Soisongo antecedents.

Conclusions

If we want to know the real motivation and rationale of cultural events, we cannot do better than to find out what the events really are and how they actually succeeded one another. - Robert H. Lowie.⁴⁰⁶

The establishment of a detailed ceramic chronology for the earlier part of the Middle Horizon in a number of areas in Peru makes possible some preliminary inferences as to what happened in this complex period. The evidence is still fragmentary, and it is obvious that new information may make necessary drastic changes in the reconstruction attempted here, but a statement of the apparent implications of what is now known may at least call attention to important problems for further investigations.

As many earlier students of the Middle Horizon have recognized, the key area for understanding developments in this period is the region around Ayacucho and Huari in the southern sierra. A local tradition of large urban settlements developed in this area in the latter part of the Early Intermediate Period, associated with pottery which reflects strong influences from Nasca. In Epoch 1A of the Middle Horizon a new style of ceremonial pottery without local antecedents appeared in the Ayacucho area. This new kind of ceremonial pottery is known so far only from a single offering deposit at Conchopata. It comprises oversize vessels ornamented with painted depictions of mythical themes. The native pottery style in ordinary use at this time in the area of Ayacucho and Huari was the Chakipampa A style, which continued to reflect influences from Nasca. Only a few influences of the new ceremonial style can be detected in Chakipampa A pottery, an example being the occasional representation of crossed canine teeth in the heads of mythical animals derived from the Nasca tradition. The association of the Conchopata A style with a special repertory of new mythical themes and its isolation in a ceremonial context suggest that it implies the introduction of a new set of religious ideas and practices.

The mythical themes depicted on the new ceremonial pottery, and the style in which they are executed, resemble so closely mythical representations at Tiahuanaco in Bolivia, particularly those carved in relief on the Monolithic

Gateway or incised on some of the larger statues, that a close connection is obvious. Furthermore, sherds of very large vessels ornamented with mythical themes are said to have been found at Tiahuanaco, although none has been illustrated.⁴⁰⁷ The new religion must have come to the area of Ayacucho and Huari from the south, either from Tiahuanaco itself or from some other undiscovered center like it.

No specimens, either whole vessels or sherds, of Tiahuanaco pottery of ordinary size have ever been found in Peru north or west of the Departments of Arequipa and Puno, and no Peruvian specimens have been found in Bolivia. It therefore seems most unlikely that any military conquest was involved in the introduction of the new religious ideas into Peru. Military conquest could be expected to leave some secular traces which might be identified at least in the major habitation sites, and nothing of the sort has been found. The data suggest rather that we are dealing with a purely religious movement in which a very small number of individuals actually traveled between the area of Ayacucho and Huari and the source of the new ideas. Such traveling as did occur may have been done either by missionaries from the Tiahuanaco center or by men from the area of Ayacucho and Huari who learned the new religion abroad and brought it home. In view of the distinctive character of the ceremonial pottery in the Conchopata offering deposit, the second of these possibilities seems the more likely.

In Epoch 1B of the Middle Horizon the new religion was more firmly established in the region of Ayacucho and Huari, and this area became the center of an expansion movement the effects of which can be traced along the coast from Acari to Chancay and in the sierra as far north as Huaraz in the Department of Ancash. Three kinds of pottery were involved in the expansion, and their associations provide evidence of the nature of the movement. The three kinds of pottery are oversize vessels in the Robles Moqo style, regular size Robles Moqo vessels, and Chakipampa B ware.

Oversize Robles Moqo pottery includes urns, tumbler shaped vessels, and modeled pieces, the urns and tumblers being ornamented with mythological designs. This pottery continues the tradition of oversize ceremonial pottery represented by the Conchopata style in Epoch 1A. Robles Moqo oversize pottery is represented by three fragments from Bennett's excavations on the knoll of Robles Moqo at Huari, five fragments collected from the surface at the southern end of the site of Chakipampa, near Ayacucho, and the contents of a great offering deposit at Pacheco in Nasca. The restricted distribution of oversize ceremonial pottery at Huari and Chakipampa suggests that, at these sites as at Pacheco, it is not a normal constituent of habitation refuse but occurs in special ceremonial contexts. There are slight differences in the Robles Moqo style at each of the sites where it has been found, but the ceremonial pottery from Pacheco is a little closer to that from Huari than it is to that from Chakipampa.

The second kind of pottery associated with the expansion is Robles Moqo style pottery of ordinary size, mainly modeled pieces without obviously

mythical features. It has precedents in the fanciest Tiahuanaco style pottery and hence may reflect new Tiahuanaco influence. Some specimens have painted designs derived from the Chakipampa style. A quantity of ordinary size Robles Moqo modeled pottery was found in or adjacent to the offering deposit at Pacheco, and individual specimens also occur in rich burials in the Nasca and Lima areas. One fragment was found in refuse at Cerro del Oro in Cañete. Bennett found three pieces in different parts of the site of Huari, including one from pure Epoch 1B refuse in his Pit 5, but none have turned up at Chakipampa. The nature and associations of the regular size Robles Moqo pottery suggest that it was a high prestige ware associated in some way with the new religion but less exclusively ceremonial than the oversize vessels. It could be owned by private individuals and perhaps put to secular use. The fact that it occurs on the coast and at Huari but not at Chakipampa suggests that the center of the Middle Horizon 2B expansion was Huari, rather than Chakipampa or some other site in the Ayacucho area.

The third kind of pottery involved in the expansion is the Chakipampa B style, which was the native style of pottery in ordinary secular use in the area of Ayacucho and Huari in Epoch 1B. It is nearly enough homogeneous throughout this area so that we cannot distinguish Huari examples from ones found at Chakipampa. The Chakipampa B style continued the old local tradition and, as before, reflected influences from Nasca, including new ones of the Nasca 9 style. It also incorporated more details of design from the ceremonial style than had appeared in Chakipampa A pottery, for example, the fret band and small eagle heads, but full mythical figures of the ceremonial style were not reproduced. The Chakipampa B style is the most widely distributed of the three kinds of pottery we have discussed, being represented by trade pieces, imitations, and influence throughout the area of Ayacucho expansion, at Acarí, Nasca, Cañete, Lima, Ancón, Chancay, Huancayo, and Huaraz. The fact that it is secular pottery which is the commonest marker of the Ayacucho expansion is a strong indication that military conquest was involved as well as religious propaganda. There are thus grounds for inferring the existence in Epoch 1B of an imperial state with its capital at Huari and ruling the whole central part of Peru.

Nasca influence accompanies influence from the Ayacucho area at Lima and Huancayo as well as being reflected in Chakipampa B pottery in the Ayacucho area itself. Nasca thus seems to have enjoyed a special privileged position in the new empire, sharing its prestige in the provinces, perhaps somewhat in the way in which Greece shared in the prestige of the Roman Empire.

In connection with the occupation of Nasca there was evidently a substantial colony of people from the sierra established at Pacheco in Epoch 1B. There is habitation refuse at this site as well as the offering deposit, and the refuse contains a mixture of sherds of the local Nasca 9 style with pieces in the Chakipampa B style and ones showing Chakipampa B influence. An examination of the paste indicates that the Chakipampa B style pieces were locally made. Paste characteristics also suggest that the large ceremonial pottery from the offering deposit was locally made, although its style shows

no Nasca influence and some of the vessels are decorated with representations of sierra plants which do not grow on the coast.

Monumental architecture, represented by the remains of large structures built of fieldstone, is found in the Ayacucho area for the first time in Epoch 1B. Ruined fieldstone buildings are a prominent feature at the sites of Chakipampa and Ñawim Pukyu, both of which were abandoned at the end of Epoch 1B, but they do not occur at Acuchimay, which, as we have noted, was abandoned at the end of Epoch 1A. The appearance of monumental architecture in the Ayacucho area is no doubt in part a response to the need for more imposing public buildings in a new center of power, but it may also reflect the inspiration of Tiahuanaco.

In Epoch 2 of the Middle Horizon the empire of Huari went through a severe crisis and then expanded further to reach its greatest extent. As in Epoch 1, much of the evidence for the events of the time comes from the character and distribution of pottery styles.

There were three closely related pottery styles in Epoch 2 which incorporated Tiahuanaco-related features: the Viñaque style, which was the native pottery style of the Ayacucho area, the Atarco style, proper to Nasca, and the Pachacamac style, the home of which was on the central coast. These three styles together constitute the Huari group. All three represent combinations of features derived from the ceremonial pottery of Epoch 1 with features belonging to the secular traditions of their respective home areas. There was no longer a separate oversize ceremonial style except in the Ocoña Valley in the far south. In the styles of the Huari group the mythical themes of the Robles Moqo tradition were applied, in more or less abbreviated form, to the ordinary secular pottery found in burials and refuse. On fancy specimens the abbreviation is less extreme, while on less fancy pieces elements of mythical figures are used out of context as parts of abstract designs. The application of abbreviated mythical designs to secular pottery took place at the expense of designs of the older local traditions, and the latter became much less common in consequence. Apparently the new religion had permeated Huari society and become popularized.

Epoch 2 can be divided into two sub-epochs, A and B, on the basis of changes in pottery, but the distinctions cannot be fully worked out until more associations are available. Relatively few associations have been reported for Epoch 2A, while for 2B the evidence is considerably better.

At the end of Epoch 1B the great urban site of Chakipampa and the smaller settlement of Ñawim Pukyu, both in the valley of Ayacucho, were abandoned and never reoccupied. Not only was there no Epoch 2 occupation at these sites, but none has been found anywhere else in the valley. Huari continued to flourish, however, so the depopulation of the valley of Ayacucho may have been connected with a concentration of population in the capital. The Pacheco site in Nasca and the two known Epoch 1 habitation sites in the Ica Valley were also abandoned at this time.

On the central coast there was no break in the occupation of the major sites which flourished in Epoch 1, but a new center of great prestige was established at Pachacamac in Epoch 2A. There was also a significant change in burial customs on the central coast. It was traditional in this area to bury the dead in extended position, and this method of burial persisted through Epoch 1. In Epoch 1B there were a few burials in seated flexed position at Ancón, along with the commoner extended ones. After the beginning of Epoch 2A all central coast burials were made in seated flexed position, and the new custom persisted down until the time of the Spanish conquest. The seated flexed position was characteristic of both the south coast and the southern sierra. However, the form of it introduced on the central coast is somewhat different from the south coast form and probably represents Huari rather than Nasca influence.

The changes in settlement distribution and burial pattern which took place during Epoch 2A suggest some inferences as to what was happening in the Huari Empire. There was evidently a severe crisis affecting the valley of Ayacucho and the south coast, perhaps a revolt or an epidemic. On the central coast Huari influence was greatly strengthened at the expense of the local tradition.

Pottery characteristic of the Huari group styles of Epoch 2A has been found at Huari, Nasca, Pachacamac, Ancón, Supe, and Casma. The pieces from Supe and Casma may reflect new Huari expansion, but there is only one specimen from each valley, so they can equally well be explained as trade pieces. So little exploration has been undertaken in the areas of Huancayo and Huaraz that the fact that no Huari pottery of Epoch 2A has yet been reported from them is not necessarily significant. On the whole, the evidence available does not suggest any great change in the territory under Huari control in Epoch 2A.

The focus of the new center established at Pachacamac in Epoch 2A was a temple which grew in importance in subsequent periods and, at the time of the Inca conquest, was an oracle of great prestige and considerable political influence. The prestige of Nasca remained high in Epoch 2A and appears to have been associated with religious activities also. Some Atarco mythical designs of Epoch 2A show new resemblances to Tiahuanaco themes, a fact which suggests continued contacts between Nasca and the Tiahuanaco religious center independent of Huari. The evidence for religious initiative at Pachacamac and Nasca, combined with that for differences in the handling of mythical themes in pottery design between these two centers or between either one of them and Huari, suggests that the religious organization of the Huari Empire was not effectively centralized.

In Epoch 2B the empire of Huari expanded very rapidly and reached its maximum extent. Viñaque B pottery and Viñaque influences are found in the sierra as far north as Cajamarca and as far south as Cacha, near Sicuani, and Chuquibamba, in the Department of Arequipa. On the coast the extreme points of its distribution are Chicama in the north and the Ocoña Valley in the south. Great complexes of storage buildings at Wiraqocha Pampa, near Huamachuco, and Pikillaqta, in the lower Cuzco Valley, provide additional evidence of Huari rule

and suggest a centralized administration such as the Incas established later, with similar concern for the collection and redistribution of goods and supplies.

The distribution and influence of pottery in the Pachacamac B style indicates that Pachacamac established a great sphere of influence of its own in Epoch 2B, one which extended north to Chicama, south to Nasca, and inland to Huancayo in the sierra. It is possible that Pachacamac was the capital of an independent state, governing part of this area in full sovereignty, but much more likely that it remained subject to Huari and exercised its influence through an oracle, as it did under Inca rule, when its sphere of influence was at least equally large.

The new prestige of Pachacamac involved the eclipse of Nasca. The Ica Valley, which had been for centuries a part of the area of Nasca culture, came under strong Pachacamac influence in Epoch 2B and developed a distinctive pottery style, called Ica-Pachacamac, which reflected its new ties to the north. Some direct influence of the Pachacamac style is also reflected in the Atarco B style at Nasca. Nasca continued to maintain some degree of cultural independence, but it never regained the leading position it had so long enjoyed on the south coast. Ica succeeded it as the center of prestige in this area.

In association with the Ica-Pachacamac style there appears at Ica a comparatively large amount of intrusive Viñaque pottery, much of which is not found on the coast to the north. This intrusive pottery at Ica is confined to the fanciest Viñaque and Viñaque-associated pieces, either in the form of imports or of excellently made local reproductions and variants. This situation suggests that there was a special relationship of some sort between Ica and the capital at Huari.

Viñaque influence was also strong at Nasca, but in a somewhat different form, involving influences of detail in fancy Atarco B vessels as well as imports and imitations. In some respects, Nasca continued to be more closely related to Huari than any other area on the coast.

The situation at Nasca requires no special explanation. Nasca had had close ties with the Ayacucho area for generations, and these ties continued in Epoch 2B in spite of the decline of Nasca prestige on the coast. The rise of Ica does require explanation. Ica's new prestige clearly rested in part on a new relationship to Pachacamac, but a relationship which left Ica some degree of cultural independence. The Ica-Pachacamac style is not just a provincial imitation of Pachacamac models. If the prestige of Pachacamac rested on the power and influence of an oracle, as suggested above, the most reasonable explanation for the developments at Ica is that the priests of Pachacamac established a branch oracle there, as they did at Chíncha under the Inca Empire. The fancy Viñaque pottery at Ica would then reflect recognition of the new shrine by important people at Huari.

There were two areas in northern Peru which also enjoyed some special

status in the Huari Empire, to judge from the distribution of their pottery. One was Cajamarca, where the Cajamarca III style was flourishing, and the other was the unidentified area which was the source of the pottery style which Bennett called Geometric on Light. The Geometric on Light style has so many resemblances to Cajamarca pottery that it seems reasonable to seek its home somewhere in the northern sierra, perhaps in some part of the Department of Ancash. Both the Cajamarca and the Geometric on Light styles occur in substantial quantity in the Epoch 2B refuse at Huari and are the only styles foreign to the Ayacucho area which do so. Their abundance is such as to suggest that there were colonies of northerners established at the imperial capital, perhaps representing military units like the Cañar and Chachapoyas imperial guards units which the Incas established at Cuzco.

Cajamarca III pottery also occurs in burials on the north coast, in the Moche and Chicama valleys, probably as a result of trade or settlement direct from Cajamarca. Miniature vessels in shapes characteristic of the Cajamarca style have also been found in a rich Epoch 2B burial at Curahuasi in the southern sierra. In this case the influence was more likely transmitted through the capital. Geometric on Light pottery and imitations of it occur associated with pieces in the local styles in burials at Nasca and Ica, again no doubt representing influences channeled through Huari.

The Huari Empire evidently fell at the end of Epoch 2B. Huari itself, which had been a large city, was almost abandoned; sherds attributable to Epoch 3 are relatively rare on the surface there. As there are none which need to be later, the abandonment of the site seems to have been complete by Epoch 4. No new influences from Huari later than Epoch 2B have been found in the former provinces of the empire, although local derivatives of the Huari styles of Epoch 2B continued to be made in a number of areas, notably in Nasca, Ica, Pachacamac, Chancay, and Huarmey. There was no interruption in the occupation of Pachacamac, but the major centers in the valley of Lima, namely Cajamarquilla and the old part of Maranga, were apparently abandoned. The abandonment of Cajamarquilla is an inference from the fact that the latest burials reported from the Nievería cemetery, which lies at the edge of Cajamarquilla, date from Epoch 2B.

The decline and abandonment of Huari brought an end to the tradition of urban settlement in the Ayacucho area. There were no large cities in this area again; the later habitation sites are small ones, and they are scarce enough so that they are not easy to find. At the same time, no more fancy pottery was made. These circumstances suggest that the disintegration of political power was accompanied by both depopulation and economic depression in the area around the capital. It is not clear how widespread the depression was in the sierra, because so little archaeological work has been done there.

On the coast the Lima Valley may have been a depressed area, but the depression was not general. Ica and Nasca remained relatively prosperous, although there was some decline in the proportion of fancy pottery produced. The prestige of Nasca declined further, so that it came for the first time

under the influence of Ica. The sphere of influence of Pachacamac was much reduced, so that in Epoch 3 it was scarcely more important than Ica. At Pachacamac also the production of fancy pottery declined. A new center of prestige developed on the north-central coast, perhaps with its focus in Huarney. It is characterized by a distinctive style of press molded pottery with mythical designs derived from the Huari repertory, and it flourished particularly in Epoch 3. Too little is known of the chronology of the north coast in the Middle Horizon to justify further inferences about what was happening in that area.

The local derivatives of the Huari styles on the south and central coasts persisted through Epoch 4 without drifting very far apart. These are the styles which Uhle appropriately named Epigonal. Their unity may reflect a continued connection of some kind between the oracle at Pachacamac and its presumed branch at Ica. With the beginning of the Late Intermediate Period the last traces of Middle Horizon unity vanished on the coast, and each local area went its own way.

NOTES

Abbreviations:

- AIC - Art Institute of Chicago
- AMNH - American Museum of Natural History, New York
- AR - Aldo Rubini collection, Ocucaje, Ica
- CNHM - Chicago Natural History Museum
- CS - Carlos Soldi collection, Ocucaje, Ica
- MAI - Museum of the American Indian, Heye Foundation, New York
- MCP - Museo de la Cultura Peruana, Lima
- MNAA - Museo Nacional de Antropología y Arqueología, Lima
- MPA - Museum of Primitive Art, New York
- MRI - Museo Regional de Ica
- RHLMA - Robert H. Lowie Museum of Anthropology, Berkeley, California
- YULA - Yale University Laboratory of Anthropology, New Haven, Connecticut

¹Kroeber, 1925a, p. 229.

²The present report was written while I was an Ogden Mills Fellow of the American Museum of Natural History. It is based in large part on field work sponsored by the American Philosophical Society in 1958. The support of both these institutions is very gratefully acknowledged.

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Sicuaní in 1954 and in the Ayacucho and Nasca region in 1958 which contributed essential new data on associations; Aldo Rubini of Ocucaje, who almost single-handedly collected the data on the Ica Valley; Pablo L. Soldi, who collected much of the essential information for the Nasca region; Louis M. Stumer, who collected some of the most important information on the central coast; Dwight T. Wallace and Louis M. Stumer, for their field work in the Cañete Valley; Edward P. Lanning and Thomas C. Patterson, for research on the collections from the central coast; Ernesto E. Tabío, for his field work on the north-central coast; Marino González Moreno, for his notes and excavations at Ancón; Toribio Mejía Xesspe and Julio Espejo Núñez, for information furnished on earlier excavation projects and collections; Ronald L. Olson and the staff of the American Museum of Natural History, for furnishing data on Olson's field work at Pacheco; Gary S. Vescelius, for field work carried out on the far south coast of Peru; David A. Robinson, for field work carried out in the Nasca drainage; and Lawrence E. Dawson, for information on field work carried out in the Ica Valley. Some of Stumer's field work, and the field work of Dawson, Vescelius and Wallace was carried out under the auspices of the Fulbright Commission in Peru during 1957, 1958 and 1959. Special thanks are also due to Junius B. Bird of the American Museum of Natural History, for his generous and untiring help in every way; to Irving Rouse and Kwang-chih Chang, for their help and permission to study Bennett's field collections at Yale University; to William Duncan Strong, for permitting the photographing of some of his collections from Ica and Nasca; to A. L. Kroeber and Donald Collier, for permitting the photographing of some of Kroeber's collections at the Chicago Natural History Museum; to Alan Wardwell of the Art Institute of Chicago for his generous help in the recording of collections of the Institute; to Henry Reichlen, for allowing me to photograph some of his collections from Cajamarca; to Luis Guillermo Lumbreras and Isabel Flores Espinoza, for information on their field work in the central highlands; to Adolfo Bermúdez J. and Alejandro Pezzia A. of the Museo Regional de Ica; to Mr. Oscar Tapia of Ayacucho; to the staff of the Museo Histórico Regional de Ayacucho; to the school children of Ayacucho who donated some important surface collections; to the officials of the Gran Unidad Escolar Santa Isabel of Huancayo; to the staff of the Museo Nacional de Antropología y Arqueología of Lima; and to many others who offered their help.

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The illustrations in figs. 1-13 were drawn by Janet C. Smith from the originals and color slides.

³Rowe, 1962a, pp. 124-125; 1963, p. 2.

⁴A fancy modeled jar representing the Ayacucho-Huari style of this epoch was found by a farmer in the Chancay Valley and was acquired by Dr. Edmundo Guillén Guillén. It was recorded by Rowe and me in 1958. Influences of the Epoch 1B styles of the Ayacucho-Huari region on pottery from the area of Huaraz can be seen in illustrations published by Bennett (1944, figs. 9B, 10D-F). The probability that Ayacucho-Huari influences of this period reached the Pampas river drainage and the mountains back of Nasca is indicated by Tello when he discusses the distribution of the styles he calls "Wari" and "Chanka" (Tello, 1942, pp. 95-97; see also footnote 195). For a discussion of the distribution of the Ayacucho-Huari styles and their influences elsewhere in this area, see the sections that follow.

⁵A style as defined here is a pattern of decorative features that contrasts with other such patterns both descriptively and in its archaeological associations.

⁶The terminology of Nasca phases is explained in Rowe, 1956, pp. 146-147.

⁷Information on the association and dissociation of pottery styles and features of the central highlands was collected by John H. Rowe and me in the course of a field trip to the Ayacucho-Huari region in 1958, and by me from pottery in museum and private collections, especially at the Museo Nacional de Antropología y Arqueología of Lima, the Museo Histórico Regional de Ayacucho, and the Oscar Tapia collection of Ayacucho. Wendell C. Bennett's excavations at Huari also furnished important evidence of associations. In addition to Bennett's published monograph, I was able to examine some of Bennett's unpublished data at the Peabody Laboratory of Anthropology at Yale University.

⁸For the Huarpa style, see Rowe, Collier and Willey, 1950, pp. 129, 132; Bennett, 1953, pp. 80-82.

⁹University of California site number Ay.2-19.

¹⁰University of California site number Ay.2-2.

¹¹Bennett states that he found sherds of his "Wari" styles in the lower level of one of his pits at Acuchimay (Pit A-1-b; see Bennett, 1953, p. 36). In his Table 2 (p. 29), Bennett lists a small number of "Wari Polychrome Fine" sherds from Acuchimay. Since there are discrepancies in his sherd counts, as given in Tables 1 and 2 and Figure 5, and since he gives the occurrences of his types only in percentages, one can only estimate the exact number of sherds so classified by Bennett, which must be somewhere between three and seven from the entire site. I was able to examine Bennett's collections from Acuchimay

together with the accession catalogue at the Laboratory of Anthropology at Yale University in the summer of 1963, and the actual sherd counts are different and slightly larger than any of those given by Bennett in his published figure and tables. The accession catalogue lists all sherds by Bennett's typological categories, but no "Wari" or "Wari Polychrome" sherds are listed for Acuchimay. It is possible that the identification of some sherds from Acuchimay as "Wari" was an afterthought on Bennett's part, and that he may have had reference to a very small number of red slipped pieces with black and white decoration which do occur at Acuchimay. Bennett illustrates a sherd of this type in his "Wari Polychrome Geometric" design category (Bennett, 1953, fig. 11Q). Bennett also lists a "Conchopata Polychrome" fragment as occurring in his Pit 2-a from Acuchimay (Bennett, 1953, Table 2, p. 29). No such sherd appears in the collections at Yale, nor is it listed in the accession catalogue there.

¹²Lumbreras' observations have led him to similar conclusions. However, his definitions of his "Ayacucho Tardío" and "Transicional" units correspond only partly and in a very general way to the features which are identified here as Chakipampa B. See Lumbreras, 1960b, pp. 82-85.

¹³University of California site number Ay.2-16.

¹⁴University of California site number Ay.2-3. This is the same site which Bennett and Tello called "Conchopata."

¹⁵University of California site number Ay.2-21.

¹⁶Tello, 1942, p. 96.

¹⁷For descriptions and other data on Huari, see Rowe, Collier and Willey, 1950; Bennett, 1953; and Lumbreras, 1960a. The University of California site number for Huari is Ay.2-4.

¹⁸For a further discussion of Bennett's procedure see Rowe, 1961, p. 325.

¹⁹For a description of the excavation of Pits 2, 4, 5, 10 and 11 see Bennett, 1953, pp. 31-35.

²⁰Rowe, Collier and Willey, 1950, pp. 129, 132; Bennett, 1953, pp. 80-82; Lumbreras, 1960b, pp. 76-79; 1960a, pp. 187-188.

²¹Bennett called all design features which he considered to be related to the Nasca tradition by the term "Ayacucho Polychrome," including specimens which I am assigning to the Huarpa, Chakipampa and Viñaque styles (Bennett, 1953, pp. 73-78).

²²Rowe, Collier and Willey, 1950, fig. 46i; Bennett, 1953, pl. 12B; Lumbreras, 1960b, lám. VA-C; 1960a, lám. XVIa, e, f, h, l.

- ²³ Bennett, 1953, pl. 12A-O, Q-S; Lumbreras, 1960a, lám. XVIh.
- ²⁴ Bennett, 1953, pl. 12C, G, H, K; Lumbreras, 1960a, lám. XVIb.
- ²⁵ Rowe, Collier and Willey, 1950, fig. 46j; Bennett, 1953, pl. 12E, F, I, J; Lumbreras, 1960a, lám. XVIc, d, g, m.
- ²⁶ Lumbreras, 1960b, lám. XIA; 1960a, lám. XVIk.
- ²⁷ Bennett, 1953, pl. 10B, D. E. G.
- ²⁸ Compare with Nasca 7 specimens illustrated in Schmidt, 1929, fig. 326-4; Strong, 1957, figs. 15H, 17F; Schlesier, 1959, abb. 189-194, 204, 205b, 212, 215, 235, 236, 242.
- ²⁹ Kroeber, 1944, pl. 39B; compare with Nasca 7 designs in Gayton and Kroeber, 1927, fig. 10A; Muelle and Blas, 1938, lám. 4a; Tello, 1942, lám. XXVII, bottom; Bennett, 1954, fig. 69; Strong, 1957, fig. 17E; Schlesier, 1959, abb. 198, 202-205.
- ³⁰ Kroeber, 1944, pl. 39E; Bennett, 1953, fig. 18E; compare with a Nasca 7 variant in Lothrop and Mahler, 1957, pl. IVc, and with a Nasca 8 derivative in Schmidt, 1929, fig. 336-2.
- ³¹ Kroeber, 1944, pl. 39E; Lumbreras, 1960a, lám. VIIa.
- ³² Bennett, 1953, fig. 17H, N; Lumbreras, 1960b, láms. V I, VIJ; 1960a, lám. VIIa, b; compare with Nasca 8 designs in Gayton and Kroeber, 1927, fig. 10G, pls. 12A, D, E, 15E, 16B, C; Strong, 1957, figs. 15J, 17B.
- ³³ Bennett, 1953, fig. 18G.
- ³⁴ Lumbreras, 1960b, p. 82.
- ³⁵ Fragments definitely attributable to the fancy Chakipampa A style as it is found at Acuchimay are illustrated in Bennett, 1953, fig. 17M, and Lumbreras, 1960a, lám. VIIe, n. Fancy Chakipampa specimens belonging either to Phase A or Phase B are illustrated in Kroeber, 1944, pl. 39A, F; Rowe, Collier and Willey, 1950, fig. 44a-c; Bennett, 1953, fig. 17C, L, O, pl. 10F; Lumbreras, 1960a, láms. VIIi, XIc. See also Anton, 1962, fig. 127.
- ³⁶ Bennett, 1953, pl. 10F. This specimen belongs either to Chakipampa Phase A or Phase B.
- ³⁷ Lumbreras, 1960a, lám. VIIe.
- ³⁸ Rowe, Collier and Willey, 1950, fig. 44a; Lumbreras, 1960b, lám. VII I; 1960a, lám. XI f. The illustrated specimens probably belong to Phase B, but Phase A ones are similar.

³⁹Lumbreras, 1960a, lám. VIIIn.

⁴⁰Kroeber, 1944, pl. 39A; Bennett, 1953, fig. 17C; Lumbreras, 1960a, lám. VIIj.

⁴¹Anton, 1962, fig. 127; the design illustrated in Bennett, 1953, fig. 17 O is similar.

⁴²Bennett, 1953, fig. 17M.

⁴³Bennett, 1953, fig. 17 O.

⁴⁴Bennett, 1953, figs. 19C, 21C.

⁴⁵Bennett, 1953, fig. 21A.

⁴⁶Bennett, 1953, fig. 19A, C; Lumbreras, 1960b, lám. VF, G; 1960a, lám. VII 1.

⁴⁷Rowe, Collier and Willey, 1950, fig. 44f; Bennett, 1953, fig. 18G; Lumbreras, 1960b, lám. VH.

⁴⁸Kroeber, 1944, pl. 39M; Rowe, Collier and Willey, 1950, fig. 44d.

⁴⁹Bennett, 1953, fig. 18D.

⁵⁰Bennett, 1953, fig. 18 O.

⁵¹Kroeber, 1944, pl. 39K; Bennett, 1953, fig. 11Q, R.

⁵²Bennett, 1953, fig. 18Q-S.

⁵³Lumbreras, 1960b, p. 84.

⁵⁴Bennett, 1953, fig. 18I; Lumbreras, 1960b, lám. VK; 1960a, lám. VIIo.

⁵⁵Bennett, 1953, figs. 17E, 18M. The specimen illustrated in Lumbreras, 1960a, lám. VIIk has more elongated appendages, representing a slightly more advanced form of the same design which belongs either in Epoch 1B or Epoch 2A. Compare with the more advanced Epoch 2 derivative illustrated in Lumbreras, 1960a, lám. VIIf; 1960b, lám. VIID.

⁵⁶Bennett, 1953, fig. 14B.

⁵⁷Lumbreras, 1960b, lám. VIIF, I; 1960a, láms. VIIg, XI f.

⁵⁸Anton, 1958, fig. 31.

- 59 Kroeber, 1944, pl. 39D; Lumbreras, 1960b, lám. VIIG; 1960a, lám. Vi, 1.
- 60 Bennett, 1953, fig. 18Q, pl. 6F; Lumbreras, 1960a, lám. XIe. The example illustrated in Bennett, 1953, pl. 6F may belong in Epoch 2.
- 61 Bennett, 1953, figs. 12P, 14B.
- 62 Bennett, 1953, fig. 18F, P, pl. 3M; Lumbreras, 1960b, lám. VIIE; 1960a, lám. XIa, b.
- 63 Bennett, 1953, figs. 17I, 18F; Lumbreras, 1960a, lám. XIId.
- 64 Bennett, 1953, pl. 6F, H.
- 65 Bennett, 1953, pl. 6F; see also pl. 4C. These examples belong either to Chakipampa Phase B or to the Viñaque style.
- 66 Lumbreras, 1960a, p. 158.
- 67 Ubbelohde-Doering, 1958, fig. 6, upper right.
- 68 Ubbelohde-Doering, 1958, fig. 6, bottom right.
- 69 Bennett, 1953, fig. 12P.
- 70 Bennett, 1953, fig. 12 O.
- 71 Rowe, Collier and Willey, 1950, fig. 45g; Bennett, 1953, fig. 14A, pl. 4B. Bennett, 1953, fig. 11A-E represent conservative Viñaque derivatives of Chakipampa B forms.
- 72 Bennett, 1953, fig. 11N-P.
- 73 Viñaque derivatives of this design are illustrated in Bennett, 1953, fig. 11F, G, I.
- 74 Bennett, 1953, fig. 11R.
- 75 Bennett, 1953, fig. 13Q.
- 76 Bennett, 1953, fig. 13H, W. Fig. 13G, I, J represent Viñaque derivatives.
- 77 Similar to Bennett, 1953, fig. 12D. The illustrated specimen belongs in Epoch 2.
- 78 Bennett, 1953, fig. 12 O, P.

⁷⁹Bennett, 1953, fig. 12N.

⁸⁰For more detailed descriptions, see Rowe, Collier and Willey, 1950, p. 129; Bennett, 1953, pp. 76, 78.

⁸¹Kroeber, 1944, pl. 39 O; Bennett, 1953, fig. 20A-G; Lumbreras, 1960b, lám. VIIA-C; 1960a, lám. XIVA-e.

⁸²Bennett, 1953, fig. 9A, D.

⁸³Bennett, 1953, fig. 21I, L-O.

⁸⁴Bennett, 1953, fig. 20E; Lumbreras, 1960a, lám. VIIId, h.

⁸⁵Lumbreras, 1960b, lám. VIIB, C; 1960a, lám. XIVA, b.

⁸⁶Bennett, 1953, fig. 20C, D, F, G,; Lumbreras, 1960a, lám. XIVj.

⁸⁷Bennett, 1953, fig. 20B.

⁸⁸Lumbreras, 1960a, lám. XIVf, k.

⁸⁹Bennett, 1953, fig. 20H.

⁹⁰Bennett, 1953, fig. 20A.

⁹¹Lumbreras, 1960b, lám. VIIA.

⁹²Bennett, 1953, figs. 14D, 16A-D.

⁹³YULA, Bennett collection, A3s no. 213050 and Alb no. 213015.

⁹⁴YULA, Bennett collection, A3s no. 213050.

⁹⁵Bennett, 1953, fig. 16A.

⁹⁶Bennett, 1953, figs. 14D, 16B-D.

⁹⁷Bennett, 1953, fig. 14D.

⁹⁸Bennett, 1953, fig. 19E, F.

⁹⁹One Conchopata style urn has been reconstructed from a small number of fragments by members of the staff of the Museo Nacional de Antropología y Arqueología, but the height of the vessel had to be estimated.

* ¹⁰⁰Posnansky, 1945, vol. I, pls. XLV, XLVII; Bennett, 1954, fig. 75; Kubler, 1962, pl. 158. The analysis of the Conchopata designs was greatly aided by the artist, Brian Shekeloff, who reconstructed the figures from

fragments in tracings and color slides and contributed a number of important observations on the style.

¹⁰¹Posnansky, 1945, vol. I, pls. XLV, XLVIII-LI; Bennett, 1954, figs. 3, left, and 76; Ubbelohde-Doering, 1952, fig. 123, top.

¹⁰²Bennett, 1953, fig. 19F. This illustration shows part of the head of Angel A. The illustration is shown upside down and should be viewed in reverse position.

¹⁰³Part of a floating angel figure is illustrated in Bennett, 1953, fig. 19E. The wing feathers on the Conchopata angel designs appear in a variety of forms, each quite different in appearance from the so-called "wing feather" design on Nasca cumbrous bowls, which has an independent origin.

¹⁰⁴Bennett, 1953, fig. 19G.

¹⁰⁵The face-neck jar fragment is illustrated in Bennett, 1953, pl. 7L. The modeled head fragment from the oversized tumbler is from Pit 11, level h (deposited at the YULA).

¹⁰⁶Bennett, 1953, fig. 21R.

¹⁰⁷The tumbler is illustrated in Bennett, 1953, pl. 8F, H. A fragment of one of the fancy Chakipampa vessels is illustrated in Bennett, 1953, fig. 18B. A large part of this vessel was subsequently reconstructed from several fragments.

¹⁰⁸RHLMA, cat. no. 4-9015a-g.

¹⁰⁹Ubbelohde-Doering, 1927, pp. 167-169, abb. 1-12, 14-16; 1952, figs. 109-111, 112, bottom, 113, 115.

¹¹⁰The information on the location of the site of Pacheco, the circumstances of its discovery, the structural details of the subterranean chambers and the manner of deposit was furnished to John H. Rowe and me by a native of Nasca, Carlos Rosas, in personal communication in 1958. Rosas had dug at Pacheco in 1926 and had brought it to the attention of A. L. Kroeber and a man named Falcón, a member of J. C. Tello's staff, who were working in the area at the time. Rosas later revisited the site after Tello had conducted his excavations there in 1927.

¹¹¹Yacovleff, 1932, p. 110.

¹¹²Field work carried out under the Myron I. Granger Expedition to Peru. Field notes and photographs deposited at the American Museum of Natural History, New York.

¹¹³AMNH, cat. no. 41.0/5114. The information on this exchange was furnished in personal communication in 1963 by Jorge C. Muelle, present Director of the Museo Nacional de Antropología y Arqueología of Lima, who was on the staff of the Lima museum at the time the exchange took place.

¹¹⁴MNAA, cat. no. 8/4499.

¹¹⁵CNHM, Cantayo Cb, Grave 5, cat. nos. 171026-171028.

¹¹⁶MRI, Cahuachi, Tomb 2, cat. nos. 2526-2528.

¹¹⁷Ubbelohde-Doering, 1958, figs. 6, 7.

¹¹⁸Ubbelohde-Doering, 1952, fig. 114.

¹¹⁹The site on the Pampa de las Animas at Callango has University of California site number PV62-153, and the site at San José de Cordero has University of California site number PV62-59C. Information on the latter site is recorded in field notes and photographs made by me in 1959.

¹²⁰Muelle and Blas, 1938, lám. 31b; Kelemen, 1946, vol. II, pl. 165a; Bennett and Bird, 1960, fig. 40, upper right; Kubler, 1962, pl. 150B.

¹²¹Tello, 1942, lám. XXIII, left; Bennett, 1954, fig. 82.

¹²²Lumbreras, 1960b, lám. VJ.

¹²³The plants depicted on oversized Robles Moqo style vessels from Pacheco are described and illustrated in Yacovleff and Herrera, 1934-35, tomo III, p. 258, fig. 4r, p. 306, fig. 27, and p. 308, fig. 28.

¹²⁴Yacovleff, 1932, figs. 17, 18, p. 110.

¹²⁵Tello, 1942, lám. XXIII, right; Kubler, 1962, pl. 150A. Additional fragments of these jars are illustrated in Ubbelohde-Doering, 1927, abb. 1-9, 12, 14; 1952, figs. 109, 110, 111, 113.

¹²⁶Tello, 1942, lám. XXIII, right; Ubbelohde-Doering, 1927, abb. 9; 1952, fig. 109. For a related piece from Wilkawain near Huaraz see Bennett, 1944, fig. 10F. The same face decoration also appears on a regular sized imitation Robles Moqo style vessel found on the central coast (see below and Schaedel, 1957, fig. 4E). Two additional modeled heads of smaller size with this kind of face decoration have been reported from the central highlands. One of them, found at Anya near Huancayo, constitutes the head of a complete anthropomorphic modeled vessel (Anton, 1962, fig. 113; Lumbreras, 1960a, lám. VIIi). The other, found at Huari, is a fragment (Lumbreras, 1960a, lám. IXa). Both the latter examples appear in association with conservative Epoch 2 features, indicating that this type of face decoration must have persisted in the central highlands into the early part of Epoch 2.

- 127 Ubbelohde-Doering, 1927, abb. 14.
- 128 Muelle and Blas, 1938, lám. 33.
- 129 Tello, 1942, lám. XVI, upper left. For specimens identical or similar to the ones from Pacheco in other collections see Ubbelohde-Doering, 1952, figs. 114, 115.
- 130 Tello, 1942, lám. XVI, upper right, bottom; Ubbelohde-Doering, 1927, abb. 10, 11, 15, 16; 1952, fig. 112, bottom.
- 131 Muelle and Blas, 1938, lám. 32a.
- 132 For similar Tiahuanaco tumblers see Schmidt, 1929, figs. 360-1, 363-2; for modeled human heads, see Posnansky, 1958, vol. III, pls. LXVI-D-4, 5, LXVI-E-1, 2, 3, 4, LXVI-F, G, H; Ubbelohde-Doering, 1952, figs. 119, 120; for modeled serpents, see Posnansky, 1958, vol. III, pl. XXIIa; for modeled felines, see Ubbelohde-Doering, 1952, fig. 118; Posnansky, 1958, vol. III, pls. XXXIXc, XLa-c, XLIa-c, XLI-A, B; for modeled llamas, see Posnansky, 1958, vol. III, pls. XLI-C, XLI-Da-d; Ubbelohde-Doering, 1952, fig. 117.
- 133 Schmidt, 1929, fig. 361; Posnansky, 1958, vol. III, pl. XXXI.
- 134 Gayton and Kroeber, 1927, pls. 14A-F, 16E; Muelle and Blas, 1938, p. 19, fig. 4, lám. 30a, b; Strong, 1957, fig. 17G-I, K, L.
- 135 See also Anton, 1962, fig. 122. The design figure illustrated in fig. 6a of the present report is basically a Nasca 9 one, but the narrow modular width of the design bands, the small size of the filler elements and the curling appearance of the ray tips are Chakipampa features, as is the vessel shape on which the design appears (fig. 6b). This vessel was probably made by a highlander living at Nasca.
- 136 Strong, 1957, fig. 17G; Ubbelohde-Doering, 1958, fig. 6, bottom.
- 137 Gayton and Kroeber, 1927, pls. 14A, 16E.
- 138 Gayton and Kroeber, 1927, pl. 14B; Anton, 1962, fig. 89.
- 139 Schmidt, 1929, fig. 339-1; Strong, 1957, fig. 17I.
- 140 Gayton and Kroeber, 1927, pls. 14A, B, 16E; Strong, 1957, fig. 17G, H.
- 141 Tello, 1942, láms. XVI, top left, bottom left, XXIII, left.
- 142 Ubbelohde-Doering, 1958, fig. 6, top center.
- 143 Gayton and Kroeber, 1927, pls. 14A, B, 16E.

- 144 Ubbelohde-Doering, 1958, fig. 6, bottom.
- 145 Schmidt, 1929, figs. 338-3, 339-1; Anton, fig. 122.
- 146 Ubbelohde-Doering, 1958, fig. 6, bottom.
- 147 Kelly, 1930; Gayton and Kroeber, 1927, pl. 14C, E.
- 148 RHLMA, cat. no. R-318.
- 149 By Max Uhle, A. H. Gayton (1927), and A. L. Kroeber (1954).
- 150 By Jijón y Caamaño (1949) and L. M. Stumer (1958, 1959).
- 151 By Raoul d'Harcourt (1922).
- 152 Stumer, 1958, pp. 274, 276.
- 153 Uhle, 1910, pp. 362, 367, figs. 11, 18a.
- 154 Uhle, 1910, fig. 19.
- 155 Uhle, 1910, p. 367.
- 156 Stumer, 1958, p. 272.
- 157 Stumer, 1958, pp. 272, 276.
- 158 Stumer, 1958, pp. 274, 276.
- 159 Information from notes made by Edward P. Lanning in 1958 from the field notes and catalogues on the Ancón excavations, deposited in the Dirección de Cultura, Historia y Arqueología, Ministerio de Educación, Lima, and from additional investigations by me on the collections at the Museo de la Cultura and the Museo Nacional de Antropología y Arqueología in Lima.
- 160 Stumer, 1958, figs. 3-10; 1959, figs. 1-5; Schaedel, 1957, fig. 4A-E.
- 161 Gayton, 1927, pls. 91a, 93j-1, 94e-i, 95f, 96g; Harcourt, 1922, pls. III, IV 1-3, 7, V 2-7, VII 1-4, 6, 7.
- 162 Uhle, 1910, fig. 18a; Gayton, 1927, pl. 92c, d; see also Harcourt, 1922, pl. II 2.
- 163 Gayton, 1927, pl. 92a, b.
- 164 Gayton, 1927, pl. 96 1.

- 165 Gayton, 1927, pl. 96i.
- 166 Gayton, 1927, pl. 94h.
- 167 Uhle, 1910, fig. 18a-c; Harcourt, 1922, pl. II 2, figs. 2-5; Gayton, 1927, pls. 94f, 97b.
- 168 Gayton, 1927, pl. 92a, c.
- 169 Gayton, 1927, pl. 95f.
- 170 Schaedel, 1957, fig. 4E; see also Uhle, 1910, fig. 11, center.
- 171 Schaedel, 1957, fig. 4C; Stumer, 1959, fig. 5.
- 172 Three of these vessels are in the collection of Rafael Larco Hoyle. Information given by Larco Hoyle to John H. Rowe in personal communication in 1962.
- 173 Rowe, 1942; see also Muelle, 1942, pp. 276-278.
- 174 Stumer, 1958, fig. 10; Schaedel, 1957, fig. 4D.
- 175 Ubbelohde-Doering, 1959, figs. 7, 12, 17.
- 176 Tello, 1942, p. 95; personal communication, Toribio Mejía Xesspe and Julio Espejo Núñez.
- 177 Kroeber, 1937.
- 178 Both Stumer's and Wallace's work was carried out under the auspices of the Comisión Fulbright de Intercambio Educativo (Fulbright Commission) in Peru, and their collections are deposited at the Museum of Archaeology of the Universidad Nacional Mayor de San Marcos in Lima.
- 179 Kroeber, 1937, pl. LXXVII 2, top left.
- 180 Callango basin, Ica; University of California site number PV62-153.
- 181 Kroeber, 1937, pl. LXXVII 3, center right.
- 182 Reichlen and Reichlen, 1949, fig. 6.
- 183 Reichlen and Reichlen, 1949, fig. 6H, K.
- 184 Kroeber, 1937, pl. LXXVII 3, top.
- 185 Reichlen and Reichlen, 1949, fig. 6J.

¹⁸⁶It is possible that a unique bowl fragment of white paste in Epoch 1B refuse at Huari may represent Cajamarca influence of some kind, but the fragment is too small for stylistic comparison (see Bennett, 1953, pl. 11H).

¹⁸⁷Kroeber, 1937, pl. LXXI 1-4, 6.

¹⁸⁸Kroeber, 1937, pls. LXXIV, LXXV 3, LXXIX 1.

¹⁸⁹Kroeber, 1937, pls. LXX 2, LXXIII 1-4.

¹⁹⁰Kroeber, 1937, pl. LXX 1.

¹⁹¹Kroeber, 1937, pl. LXX 3, 4.

¹⁹²Kroeber, 1937, pls. LXXI 4, LXXVII 1, center right, 3, bottom left.

¹⁹³Kroeber, 1937, pl. LXXVII 2, top right.

¹⁹⁴Kroeber, 1937, pls. LXX 2, LXXIII 4.

¹⁹⁵Tello used the term "Wari" in a different sense, mainly for some of the Huarpa and Chakipampa style pottery of the central sierra (Tello, 1942, pp. 94-96).

¹⁹⁶The only documented occurrence of a special pottery deposit recalling the ceremonial deposits of Epoch 1 is one found late in 1942 on the far south coast. The site is called "Corral Redondo," and is located near the village of La Victoria in the Churunga Valley, half a kilometer above its juncture with the Ocoña River (Valcárcel, 1943; Bernedo Málaga, 1950; Bird, 1958). Toribio Mejía Xesspe, who went to the site shortly after its discovery, reports that workmen had been ordered to repair a round corral wall that was there. In the course of their work the men ran across the mouth of a large jar within the corral enclosure. Subsequently clandestine digging by the residents of La Victoria uncovered ten or twelve large face-neck jars, some of them 1.50 meters high, all within the corral enclosure. The corral was about 20 meters across, and the walls were of field stone construction. The jars were found 40 to 50 centimeters below the surface, embedded in hard alluvial clay and stones, without any structure around them. They were filled with many rolled-up feather mantles that subsequently found their way to various public and private collections. Mejía brought seven of the jars and some of the feather cloths to Lima. (The account of the discoveries of the jars given here was given by Mejía to John H. Rowe in 1963.)

The jars, now on exhibit at the Museo Nacional de Antropología y Arqueología of Lima, are derivatives of the large, nonmythical anthropomorphic face-neck jars of the Robles Moqo style, decorated with Epoch 2 designs of Nasca. Although there can be no doubt about the stylistic affiliation of the face-neck jars, there is some question whether they represent an original deposit or a redeposit and possible reuse of antiques in much later times. This possibility is suggested by reports that some artifacts found with the jars were in the Inca

style (Mejía, personal communication to John H. Rowe; Bernedo Málaga, 1950; Bird, 1958).

¹⁹⁷ Cieza de León, 1924, cap. LXXXVII, p. 263.

¹⁹⁸ Tello used the term "Pachacamac" to designate the Lima (Interlocking) pottery style of Early Intermediate Period Epochs 7 and 8, which underlies the Middle Horizon refuse at Pachacamac (Tello, 1942, p. 116).

¹⁹⁹ Larco Hoyle, 1948, p. 38; Reichlen and Reichlen, 1949, figs. 7, 8; Strong, 1925; Kroeber, 1925b.

²⁰⁰ Tello reports a site similar to Huari at Hatun Wayllay in the Lircay Valley, and there may be others. See Tello, 1942, pp. 683, 684; Rowe, 1963, p. 14.

²⁰¹ Lumbreras has made similar observations in his studies of the sierra style, and his term "Wari Transicional" is intended to indicate the earlier phase (Lumbreras, 1960b, pp. 84-85).

²⁰² Bennett, 1953, Pits 1, 4, 5, pp. 31, 33.

²⁰³ For example, see Pits 10 and 11, Bennett, 1953, fig. 2, pp. 34-35.

²⁰⁴ Flores Espinoza, 1959, lám. 2a, b, fotos 2-6.

²⁰⁵ Flores Espinoza, 1959, foto 6.

²⁰⁶ Flores Espinoza, 1959, foto 2.

²⁰⁷ The Gálvez Durand collection is deposited at the Gran Unidad Escolar Santa Isabel of Huancayo.

²⁰⁸ John H. Rowe: field notes, drawings and color slides, made in 1954 and 1961.

²⁰⁹ Uhle, 1903, pl. 4, fig. 1.

²¹⁰ Uhle, 1903, pl. 4, fig. 3, pl. 5, figs. 1, 9, 10.

²¹¹ Uhle, 1903, p. 27, fig. 18.

²¹² Uhle, 1903, pl. 5, fig. 11.

²¹³ Kroeber, 1925b, pl. 73e-g.

²¹⁴ Kroeber, 1925b, Grave 5: pls. 72a (Pachacamac style), 73e (Viñaque style), 76m (local style), 77f, g (imitation Pachacamac style); and Grave 6: pl. 77i (Pachacamac style), 77h (imitation Pachacamac style), 77j, k (Derived

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Moche style), 77 l, m (Viñaque shapes and design patterning with Pachacamac designs), 77n, o (imitation Viñaque style).

215 Flores Espinoza, 1959, foto 5.

216 Gayton, 1927, Grave 11: pl. 91b.

217 Strong, 1925, Grave P20: pl. 46c.

218 Stumer, 1958, fig. 12, left.

219 Uhle, 1910, fig. 19a, b.

220 Rowe, 1956, pp. 142-144.

221 Kroeber, 1944, pls. 3C, 5D, 6H, I, L.

222 Schmidt, 1929, fig. 330-3.

223 Schmidt, 1929, fig. 330-3; Bennett, 1953, pls. 3B, F, 4I; Flores Espinoza, 1959, foto 3; Lumbreras, 1960b, lám. IXB, F; 1960a, lám. VID; Bushnell and Digby, 1955, fig. 66a.

224 Bennett, 1953, pl. 4F, G; Lumbreras, 1960a, lám. VIA.

225 Lumbreras, 1960a, lám. VIB. See also specimens from Supe in Kroeber, 1925b, pl. 73e, f.

226 Bennett, 1953, fig. 11S, pl. 3I; the fragments illustrated in Bennett, 1953, pls. 3J, 5I probably also belong to this shape, while pl. 4K may belong to this shape or to a vertical sided vase. For an example from Supe, see Kroeber, 1925b, pl. 73g.

227 Lumbreras, 1960a, lám. VI C.

228 Bennett, 1953, pls. 4D, 5A-E; Lumbreras, 1960b, lám. XA; 1960a, lám. VIH.

229 Bennett, 1953, pl. 3A.

230 Bennett, 1953, pl. 9F; Flores Espinoza, 1959, foto 5.

231 Schmidt, 1929, Tafel VI.

232 Bennett, 1953, figs. 10A, 11E, F, J-M, 12D, 13B, D, F, G, I, J, pl. 4A, E; Flores Espinoza, 1959, lám. 2b, foto 5; Lumbreras, 1960b, lám. X C.

233 Bennett, 1953, figs. 11E, F, 12D, 13G, I, J. The published drawings

are not sufficiently accurate to illustrate clearly the stylistic differences between the Chakipampa B and Viñaque designs.

²³⁴Bennett, 1953, pls. 7F, H-J, 8A-C.

²³⁵Bennett, 1953, pls. 3K, 4C; Lumbreras, 1960a, lám. VIE; for the same vessel type from Nasca with Atarco designs see Ubbelohde-Doering, 1952, fig. 95, top, bottom; for the same vessel type from Huancayo with an imitation Pachacamac design, see Flores Espinoza, 1959, foto 2; Lumbreras, 1960b, lám. IXA. One specimen without provenience in the Museum of Primitive Art in New York (cat. no. 56.185) is decorated with a Pachacamac B design. Evidently this vessel type also occurred occasionally on the central coast.

²³⁶Bennett, 1953, fig. 19H, pl. 6F. The fragment illustrated in fig. 19H is probably attributable to Epoch 2A. The fragment illustrated in pl. 6A of the same publication probably also belongs to this shape category.

²³⁷Bennett, 1953, figs. 15D, 17R, pls. 3K, 5K, 6F.

²³⁸Bennett, 1953, pls. 7M, 8D; possibly also pl. 7A, D.

²³⁹Bennett, 1953, pl. 7E, G. Pl. 7G is virtually identical to a specimen in the Atarco style assigned to Phase A.

²⁴⁰Bennett, 1953, pl. 4K.

²⁴¹Schmidt, 1929, fig. 330-3; Bennett, 1953, pls. 3F, I, J, 5I; Lumbreras, 1960b, lám. VIIIA; 1960a, lám. Vb.

²⁴²Bennett, 1953, pls. 3K, L. 5D; Lumbreras, 1960b, lám. XA.

²⁴³Bennett, 1953, fig. 15A, B, E, pls. 3G, H, 6A, E, I; Schmidt, 1929, Tafel VI.

²⁴⁴Bennett, 1953, fig. 15G.

²⁴⁵Tube bowl examples in Bennett, 1953, pl. 5A-C; Lumbreras, 1960a, lám. Vc; lyre cup in Flores Espinoza, 1959, foto 3; Lumbreras, 1960b, lám. VIII F; shirt design in Bennett, 1953, fig. 15G.

²⁴⁶Bennett, 1953, pl. 3A, B; Lumbreras, 1960b, láms. VIIIB, IXF; 1960a, lám. Xd, e.

²⁴⁷Schmidt, 1929, Tafel VI.

²⁴⁸Bennett, 1953, pl. 5G; Lumbreras, 1960b, lám. VIII C, E; 1960a, lám. Xa, c.

²⁴⁹Bennett, 1953, fig. 11J-M, pl. 4A, I, J; Flores Espinoza, 1959,

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foto 4; Lumbreras, 1960b, lám. LXB. For imitation Viñaque examples from Supe, see Kroeber, 1925b, pls. 73c, 77n, o.

²⁵⁰Bennett, 1953, pl. 4K; Lumbreras, 1960a, lám. Xb. This design is derived from body markings of floating angels in the Conchopata style.

²⁵¹Bennett, 1953, fig. 13B; Lumbreras, 1960b, lám. VIIM; 1960a, lám. XIIIIf.

²⁵²Bennett, 1953, fig. 12J, pls. 3E, K, 4F, H.

²⁵³Bennett, 1953, figs. 11S, 12J, K, pls. 31-L, 4K, 5F.

²⁵⁴Bennett, 1953, pl. 3B; Lumbreras, 1960b, lám. VIIIB; 1960a, lám. Xd, e.

²⁵⁵Bennett, 1953, pl. 5F.

²⁵⁶Uhle, 1903, fig. 15; Schmidt, 1929, fig. 291.

²⁵⁷Bennett, 1953, fig. 14G-I, pl. 4F; Lumbreras, 1960a, lám. XIIa, c, e-i.

²⁵⁸Bennett, 1953, pl. 4G.

²⁵⁹Bennett, 1953, pl. 5H, K; Flores Espinoza, foto 5.

²⁶⁰Bennett, 1953, pl. 6F.

²⁶¹Schmidt, 1929, fig. 296-3; Strong, 1925, pl. 46c; Gayton, 1927, pl. 91b.

²⁶²Bennett, 1953, fig. 17R.

²⁶³Lumbreras, 1960b, lám. VIID; 1960a, lám. VIIIf.

²⁶⁴Bennett, 1953, pls. 4C, 6F. The illustrated examples may also belong to Epoch 1B (see notes 60, 65).

²⁶⁵Bennett, 1953, pl. 3A.

²⁶⁶Bennett, 1953, fig. 20I-K, pl. 11C; Lumbreras, 1960a, lám. XVa-d. Compare with Reichlen and Reichlen, 1949, fig. 7.

²⁶⁷McCown, 1945, fig. 16c-g, pl. 22aa, bb, cc, ee.

²⁶⁸McCown, 1945, figs. 14a, b, 18s, pl. 21w.

- 269 McCown, 1945, fig. 16c, f, pl. 19a-z; Muelle and Blas, 1938, lám. 72.
- 270 Bennett, 1953, fig. 13K, L, R, X, pls. 9, 11G, J, M, N; see also Lumbreras, 1960b, lám. VIIIH, G, I; 1960a, lám. XIIIa-e, g, h.
- 271 Bennett, 1944, figs. 13A, 15C, D, 17A-C.
- 272 Bennett, 1953, fig. 16E-M, p. 68.
- 273 Bennett, 1953, fig. 16I-M; Lumbreras, 1960b, lám. XE.
- 274 Schmidt, 1929, fig. 296-1, 2, 3.
- 275 RHLMA, cat. no. 4-5538-A.
- 276 For Supe examples, see Kroeber, 1925b, pls. 73e, f, 77 l; for upper Ocoña example, see Kroeber, 1944, pl. 5D.
- 277 Ocoña, Nasca and Supe: for upper Ocoña examples, see Kroeber, 1944, pls. 4B, E, 6B, L; for Supe examples, see Kroeber 1925b, pls. 73g, 77n, o.
- 278 From Pachacamac north: Kroeber, 1925b, pl. 77m; 1925a, pl. 63b-d.
- 279 Gayton, 1927, pl. 92e; Kroeber, 1944, pl. 8E.
- 280 Ubbelohde-Doering, 1958, figs. 8, 9; 1952, fig. 116.
- 281 Tello, 1917, pp. 2-4, figs. 4, 5.
- 282 Tello, 1917, figs. 1, 5.
- 283 Ubbelohde-Doering, 1958, pp. 74-75.
- 284 See also Reiss and Stübel, 1880-1887, for Ancón.
- 285 Tello, 1917, fig. 4.
- 286 Tello, 1917, figs. 4, 5.
- 287 Ubbelohde-Doering, 1952, fig. 93, top.
- 288 Gayton and Kroeber, 1927, pls. 19D, E, 20D; Schmidt, 1929, fig. 330-2; Lumbreras, 1960b, lám. XF; Anton, 1962, fig. 106.
- 289 Gayton and Kroeber, 1927, pls. 19D, 20D; Ubbelohde-Doering, 1952, fig. 93, top; Lumbreras, 1960b, lám. XF; Anton, 1962, fig. 106.

²⁹⁰Schmidt, 1929, fig. 330-1.

²⁹¹Ubbelohde-Doering, 1958, fig. 9.

²⁹²Ubbelohde-Doering, 1952, fig. 116; 1958, fig. 8.

²⁹³Gayton and Kroeber, 1927, pl. 17D.

²⁹⁴MRI, Victor Elías collection; MAI, Kelemen, 1946, vol. II, pl. 164a; Anton, 1962, fig. 107.

²⁹⁵Ubbelohde-Doering, 1952, fig. 95, top, bottom; Strong, 1957, fig. 18A.

²⁹⁶Muelle and Blas, 1938, lám. 31a.

²⁹⁷Schmidt, 1929, fig. 330-4.

²⁹⁸Schmidt, 1929, fig. 330-3.

²⁹⁹The latter specimen is in the Carlos Soldi collection. It is unique among pieces from the coast, but it has an almost identical counterpart in a specimen in the Museo e Instituto Arqueológico of Cuzco. The Cuzco piece has no data with it, but it was almost certainly collected in the sierra. Its stylistic features, like those of the Soldi specimen, are conservative Derived Chakipampa and Derived Conchopata ones, probably attributable to Epoch 2A (Araujo, 1948, fig. 2416).

³⁰⁰Gayton and Kroeber, 1927, pl. 19B.

³⁰¹Muelle and Blas, 1938, lám. 31a; Ubbelohde-Doering, 1952, fig. 93, top; Anton, 1962, fig. 106.

³⁰²Gayton and Kroeber, 1927, pl. 20D; Lumbreras, 1960b, lám. XF.

³⁰³Kelemen, 1946, vol. II, pl. 164a; Anton, 1962, fig. 107.

³⁰⁴Disselhoff, 1962, abb. 4, 5.

³⁰⁵Ubbelohde-Doering, 1952, fig. 95, top.

³⁰⁶Ubbelohde-Doering, 1952, fig. 95, bottom; Strong, 1957, fig. 18Q.

³⁰⁷One of the oversized jars from Ocoña (see note 196) is decorated with a variant of the mythical animal of the Atarco style. This variant has some specially conservative features, as do other designs in this group of jars, and the whole lot probably belongs to Epoch 2A.

³⁰⁸Schmidt, 1929, fig. 330-4.

- 309 Wassermann-San Blas, 1938, fig. 565.
- 310 Kelemen, 1946, vol. II, pl. 164a.
- 311 Gayton and Kroeber, 1927, pl. 19D.
- 312 Tello, 1917, fig. 5; Schmidt, 1929, fig. 330-1.
- 313 Gayton and Kroeber, 1927, pl. 17D.
- 314 Gayton and Kroeber, 1927, pl. 19B.
- 315 Ubbelohde-Doering, 1958, fig. 9.
- 316 The observation that a stylistic subdivision of this kind can be made in the Pachacamac style was first made by Edward P. Lanning in an unpublished research paper of 1955 on the pottery from Pachacamac.
- 317 Uhle, 1903, p. 21.
- 318 The Epoch 2 style includes Uhle's "Tiahuanaco," as well as some of the pottery which he called "the Epigone style," and which he found in the same burials with his "Tiahuanaco" style vessels.
- 319 Uhle, 1903, p. 27, fig. 18, pl. 4, figs. 1, 3, pl. 5, figs. 1, 9, 10, 11.
- 320 Uhle, 1903, p. 24, figs. 10-13.
- 321 The Phase A vessels are illustrated in Schmidt, 1929, figs. 282-2, 283-2.
- 322 Gayton, 1927, Grave 3: pls. 91f, 95j, 96f, k; Grave 11: pls. 91b, 94d, j.
- 323 Uhle, 1910, fig. 19. See earlier section.
- 324 Stumer, 1958, pp. 276, 278, 281, fig. 11, left, fig. 12, left.
- 325 "Sechín" pottery is discussed in Kroeber, 1944, pp. 51-52, and the "Teatino" style in Kroeber, 1944, pp. 43-44. The fragments illustrated by Kroeber to represent the Teatino style belong to a later phase than the Epoch 2B examples from Ancón. Strong (1925) includes Epoch 2B pottery from Ancón in his middle Ancón I group, but this group also includes pottery belonging to later phases. Some of the vessels from the Epoch 2B burials are illustrated by Strong (1925) as follows: P6: pls. 46d (probably local style); 46e (Pachacamac style); 49i (figurine); P14: pls. 46n (Pachacamac style), 47j, m (Teatino style); P17: pls. 46a, f, h (Pachacamac style), 46i (probably local style), 47e (Teatino style); P20: pl. 46c (Pachacamac

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style), 46j (probably import from the north-central coast); P15: pl. 46m (Teatino style); P21: pl. 47h (Huari style flask shape with Teatino style paste, firing and decoration); P25: pl. 49j (figurine). The vessels illustrated in pls. 46b and 47b are erroneously assigned to Grave P25 in the list of identifications; they come from Grave P24 and belong to a later phase.

326 The vessels excavated by Gonzáles were deposited at the Museo de la Cultura Peruana, at the Museo Nacional de Antropología y Arqueología, and in a warehouse in Ancón. As I was unable to visit the Ancón warehouse, the vessels which I could not locate may have been stored there. The catalogue numbers are as follows: Tomb 620: MCP, nos. 8175, 8177-8179, 8181, MNAA, no. 8176, not located, no. 8180; Tomb 630: MCP, nos. 8256, 8260, 8262, not located, nos. 8259, 8261; Tomb 506: MCP, nos. 7900, 7901, 7903, 7907, not located, nos. 7902, 7908; Tomb 712: MCP, nos. 9520, 9521, 9523-9525.

327 MCP, cat. no. 1802; Valcárcel, 1960, fig. 12.

328 The example from Supe is illustrated in Kroeber, 1925b, pl. 73b; the example from Casma has MNAA cat. no. 33,450. The existence of the latter vessel was first brought to my attention by Ernesto E. Tabío. Additional information was furnished by Julio Espejo Núñez.

329 Kroeber, 1925b, Grave 5: pls. 72a, 73e, 74 l, 76m, 77f, g; Grave 6: pl. 77h-o.

330 Uhle, 1903, pl. 4, figs. 1, 2.

331 Schmidt, 1929, fig. 282-2.

332 Schmidt, 1929, fig. 283-2.

333 Schmidt, 1929, fig. 282-2.

334 Schmidt, 1929, figs. 267-2, 280-1, 2, 282-1, Tafel III-1, fig. 283-1; Strong, 1925, pl. 46f; Bennett and Bird, 1960, fig. 40, top left.

335 Compare Schmidt, 1929, fig. 283-1 and 283-2.

336 Schmidt, 1929, fig. 280-2.

337 Schmidt, 1929, figs. 280-1, 282-1.

338 Schmidt, 1929, fig. 283-1. One face-neck fragment from Huari in Bennett's collection also has these markings, but they are evidently not a regular feature in the Viñaque style.

339 Schmidt, 1929, Tafel III-2; for examples from Supe, see Kroeber, 1925b, pls. 72a, 77i.

³⁴⁰Pachacamac style double spout bottles are illustrated in Harcourt, 1922, pl. II 3; Schmidt, 1929, figs. 284, 285, 286-1, 2, 287-1, 2; Gayton, 1927, pls. 91b, 94d; Kroeber, 1925b, pl. 74j.

³⁴¹Mythical feline and eagle heads are illustrated in Schmidt, 1929, figs. 275-2, 276-1, 4, 277-4, 278-3; Bennett and Bird, 1960, fig. 40, top left; nonmythical human heads are illustrated in Schmidt, 1929, figs. 275-1, 278-4; modeled representations of sea animals are shown in Uhle, 1903, pl. 5, fig. 10; Schmidt, 1929, figs. 273-1, 2, 3, 4, 274-1, 2, 3.

³⁴²MCP, cat. no. 1802; Valcárcel, 1960, fig. 12.

³⁴³MCP, cat. no. 8178.

³⁴⁴Harcourt, 1922, pls. IV 5, VII 5; Schmidt, 1929, figs. 280-3, 281-1, 2, 3, 4; Uhle, 1903, pl. 4, fig. 4; Berthon, 1911, pl. VI; Strong, 1925, pl. 46e, h, n; Gayton, 1927, pls. 94a, j, 97c, e.

³⁴⁵Gayton, 1927, pls. 94a, j, 1, 97c, e; Uhle, 1910, fig. 19; Strong, 1925, pl. 46h.

³⁴⁶Harcourt, 1922, pls. II 5, IV 6; Gayton, 1927, pl. 96f.

³⁴⁷Schmidt, 1929, figs. 265-2, 266-4, 271-1, 2, 272-1, 2; Wassermann-San Blas, 1938, fig. 481.

³⁴⁸Uhle, 1903, pl. 4, fig. 3; Schmidt, 1929, figs. 276-3, 277-1, 2, 278-1.

³⁴⁹Schmidt, 1929, fig. 278-2.

³⁵⁰A modeled skull form is illustrated in Bennett, 1954, fig. 83; a simple modeled feline form is illustrated in Uhle, 1903, pl. 5, fig. 9.

³⁵¹Baessler, 1902-1903, vol. IV, fig. 403; Schmidt, 1929, fig. 291; Uhle, 1903, pl. 5, fig. 4.

³⁵²Baessler, 1902-1903, vol. IV, figs. 392-394; Schmidt, 1929, figs. 290, 295-1, 2; Uhle, 1903, pl. 5, fig. 2; Bennett and Bird, 1960, fig. 40, top left.

³⁵³Uhle, 1903, pl. 5, figs. 1, 3; Schmidt, 1929, fig. 294-1, 2; Stumer, 1958, fig. 11, left, fig. 12.

³⁵⁴Uhle, 1903, p. 27, fig. 17; Schmidt, 1929, figs. 286-3, 288-2.

³⁵⁵Uhle, 1903, p. 24, figs. 10-13; see also specimen from Supe in Kroeber, 1925b, pl. 73b.

- 356 MPA, cat. no. 56.185.
- 357 Strong, 1925, pl. 46c; Gayton, 1927, pl. 96j, k.
- 358 Uhle, 1903, pl. 5, fig. 8; Harcourt, 1922, pl. II 6.
- 359 Uhle, 1910, fig. 19, bottom center; Gayton, 1927, pl. 91f.
- 360 Uhle, 1910, fig. 19, top right; Schmidt, 1929, fig. 292-1.
- 361 Schmidt, 1929, fig. 283-2.
- 362 Uhle, 1903, p. 24, figs. 10-13.
- 363 Kroeber, 1925b, pl. 73b.
- 364 The specimen from Pachacamac is illustrated in Baessler, 1902-1903, vol. IV, fig. 363; Schmidt, 1929, fig. 282-2; the specimen from Ancón, MCP cat. no. 1802, is illustrated in Valcárcel, 1960, fig. 12.
- 365 Posnansky, 1958, vol. III, pls. I, Xa, b, XIc, XXXIVa, XXXVI d.
- 366 Schmidt, 1929, fig. 283-2; Valcárcel, 1960, fig. 12.
- 367 Schmidt, 1929, fig. 283-2.
- 368 Harcourt, 1922, pl. II 5, fig. 1A.
- 369 Schmidt, 1929, Tafel III.
- 370 Baessler, 1902-1903, vol. IV, figs. 364-367, 369-371; Schmidt, 1929, figs. 281-3, 284, 285, 288-2, 292-2, 294-2; Uhle, 1903, p. 27, fig. 19, pl. 4, fig. 4; Berthon, 1911, pl. VI; Harcourt, 1922, pl. IV 5, fig. 1B; Strong, 1925, pl. 46f.
- 371 Baessler, 1902-1903, vol. IV, figs. 372, 373; Schmidt, 1929, figs. 271-1, 282-1, 286-1, 3, 294-1; Uhle, 1903, p. 27, fig. 17.
- 372 Baessler, 1902-1903, vol. IV, fig. 368; Schmidt, 1929, figs. 280-1, 283-1.
- 373 Schmidt, 1929, figs. 267-2, 281-3.
- 374 Schmidt, 1929, fig. 279-1, 2, 3.
- 375 Wassermann-San Blas, 1938, fig. 481; Schmidt, 1929, fig. 281-1, 3.
- 376 Kroeber, 1925b, pl. 77 l, n, o.

- 377 Baessler, 1902-1903, vol. IV, figs. 364, 379, 396; Schmidt, 1929, figs. 285, 286-1, 2, 289; Uhle, 1903, pl. 4, fig. 4.
- 378 Schmidt, 1929, figs. 271-1, 288-1, 3.
- 379 Strong, 1957, fig. 18P.
- 380 Bennett, 1953, pl. 9F.
- 381 Valcárcel, 1933, láms. I-V.
- 382 Valcárcel, 1933, lám. X 1, m, n.
- 383 Robinson, ms. The collections from these surveys are deposited in the Museo Regional de Ica.
- 384 CNHM, Kroeber collection, Cantayo Grave 21, cat. nos. 171015, 171016a, b.
- 385 Bermúdez Jenkins, 1960. The information on the Montegrande find is taken from field notes and color slides made by John H. Rowe in 1963. Color slides of the pottery were furnished by Thomas C. Patterson. The pottery vessels have MRI nos. 3635-3641. The mummy bales have MRI nos. 3300-3319 and 3354, 3355; two bales are without numbers.
- 386 Gayton and Kroeber, 1927, pl. 19A.
- 387 Gayton and Kroeber, 1927, pl. 19C.
- 388 Gayton and Kroeber, 1927, pl. 9K.
- 389 Gayton and Kroeber, 1927, pl. 9K.
- 390 Strong, 1957, fig. 18A-O.
- 391 Strong, 1957, fig. 18G, K-M.
- 392 Strong, 1957, fig. 18J.
- 393 Strong, 1957, fig. 18B, C.
- 394 Strong, 1957, fig. 18H.
- 395 Strong, 1957, fig. 18N, O.
- 396 Strong, 1957, fig. 18L.
- 397 Strong, 1957, fig. 18G, K.

- 398 Strong, 1957, fig. 18M.
 399 Strong, 1957, fig. 18F.
 400 Strong, 1957, fig. 18 O.
 401 Strong, 1957, fig. 18C.
 402 Strong, 1957, fig. 18J.
 403 Strong, 1957, fig. 18H.
 404 Kroeber and Strong, 1924, pl. 30.
 405 Robinson, ms.
 406 Lowie, 1960, p. 479.
 407 Bennett, 1953, p. 99.

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KEY TO ILLUSTRATIONS

Plates II-IX

Scale. Except as specifically noted, all drawings of pottery designs and sherd profiles are reproduced at 1/2 original size, and all shape outline drawings are reproduced at 1/4 original size. The photographs were taken at different scales, so individual measurements are given for the specimens shown.

Plate II

- Fig. 1. CS, from Ullujaya, Ica.
 Fig. 2. RHLMA, from the surface of the Pacheco site, Nasca (PV69-41).
 Fig. 3. YULA, no. 213002, Bennett collection, from Acuchimay.
 Fig. 4. Same as fig. 22 on plate VIII.
 Fig. 5. CS, from the Nasca Valley.

Plate III

- Fig. 6. CS, from somewhere in the Nasca drainage.
 Fig. 7. CS, from somewhere in the Nasca drainage.
 Fig. 8. CS, from somewhere in the Nasca drainage. The design is from the top of a double spout bottle similar in shape to the one shown in fig. 9.
 Fig. 9. MRI, no. E-276, from Ica or Nasca.

Plate IV

- Fig. 10. Same as fig. 18 on plate VII.
 Fig. 11. Same as fig. 19 on plate VII.

Plate V

- Fig. 12. MNAA, design from a sherd excavated at the Conchopata site in 1942. Actual size.
 Fig. 13. Angel figure reconstructed from fragments at MNAA and YULA. Actual size.

Plate VI

- Fig. 14. MRI, from Tomb 2, Cahuachi, Nasca Valley; 8.5 cm. high. Ocros style.
 Fig. 15. MRI, from Tomb 2, Cahuachi, Nasca Valley; 11 cm. high. Nasca 9 style.
 Fig. 16. MRI, from Tomb 2, Cahuachi, Nasca Valley; 7 cm. high. Ocros style.

Fig. 17. AIC, no. 55.2236, central coast of Peru; 17 cm. high. A Nievería style vessel decorated with a Chakipampa B ("Ayacucho Serpent") design.

Plate VII

All figures on this plate CS, from Tomb 1, San José de Ingenio, Nasca. Atarco B style.

Fig. 18. 21.5 cm. high.

Fig. 19. 22 cm. high.

Fig. 20. 15.5 cm. high.

Fig. 21. 25 cm. high.

Plate VIII

Fig. 22. CS, from Tomb 1, San José de Ingenio, Nasca; 15 cm. high. Atarco B style.

Figs. 23-25 on this plate AR, Tomb 1, Huaca José Ramos, Pinilla sector of Ocucaje, Ica.

Fig. 23. 10 cm. high. Ica-Pachacamac style.

Fig. 24. 14 cm. high. Viñaque style.

Fig. 25. 9.3 cm. high. Derived Chakipampa style.

Plate IX

All figures on this plate AR, Tomb 1, Huaca José Ramos, Pinilla sector of Ocucaje, Ica.

Fig. 26. 9 cm. high. Ica-Pachacamac style.

Fig. 27. 9 cm. high. Ica-Pachacamac style.

Fig. 28. 8 cm. high. Ica-Pachacamac style.

Fig. 29. 6.5 cm. high, 14 cm. diameter. Ica-Pachacamac style.

PERIODS	S T Y L E S						
	Nasca Drainage	Ica Valley	South-central Coast	Central Coast	North Coast	Northern Highlands	Central Highlands
ca. 1100 a.d.	Nasca Epigonal	Ica Epigonal					
Epoch 4							
Epoch 3	Soisongo	Pinilla				?	Cajamarca IV
Epoch 2B	Atarco B	Ica-Pachacamac		Pachacamac B	Huari Norteño A		Vinaque
Epoch 2A	Atarco A			Pachacamac A			
Epoch 1B	Robles Moqo Nasca 9		Cerro del Oro	Nievería	Moche V		Robles Moqo Chakipampa B
Epoch 1A	Nasca 9	Nasca 9		Lima			Conchopata Chakipampa A
ca. 800 a.d.							
Epoch 8	Nasca 8	Nasca 8	Lima	Lima			
			(Interlocking)	(Interlocking)			
Epoch 7	Nasca 7	Nasca 7			Moche IV		Huarpa

Plate I. Chronological chart. Hatching indicates that evidence is available but is not reviewed in this study. Blank spaces indicate gaps in the evidence.

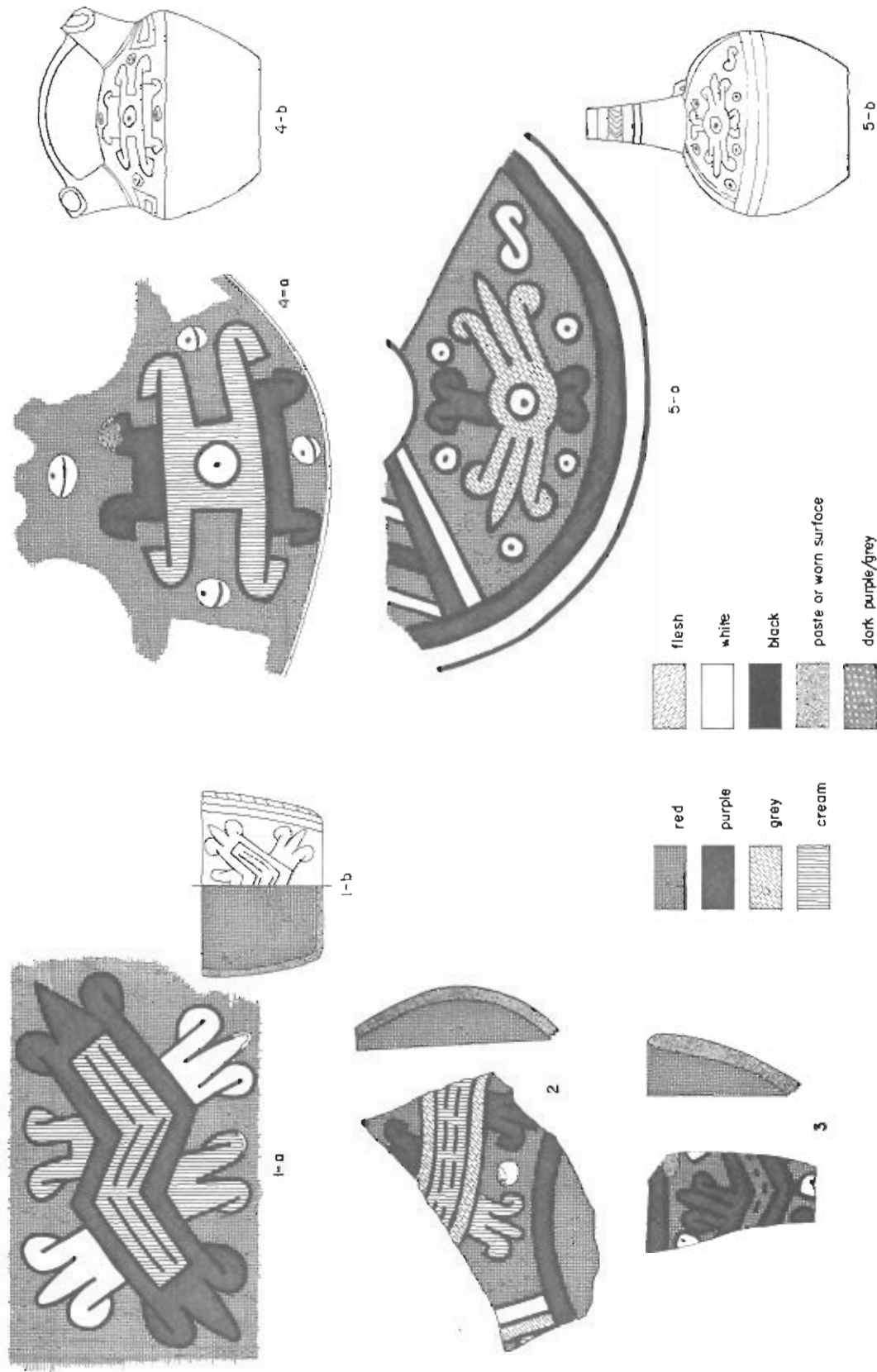
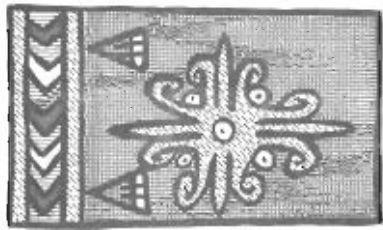


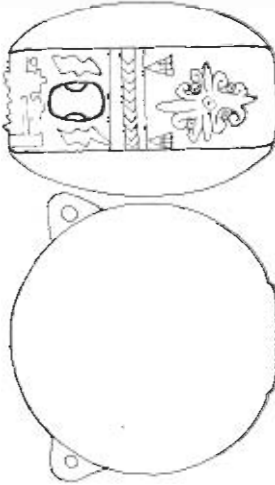
Plate II. Stylistic changes in Nasca-influenced designs of sierra origin: three-fillet band (fig. 1, Viñaque; fig. 2, Chakipampa B; fig. 3, Chakipampa A); "fleur-de-lys" (fig. 4, Atarco B; fig. 5, Atarco A). Fig. 4 shows the same vessel as fig. 22. See key to illustrations.



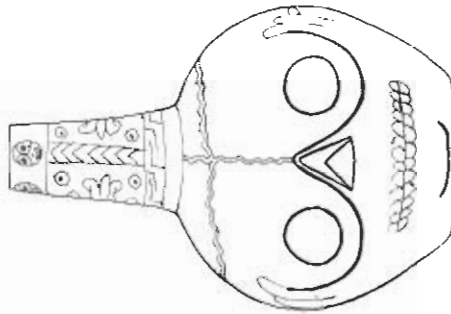
6-a



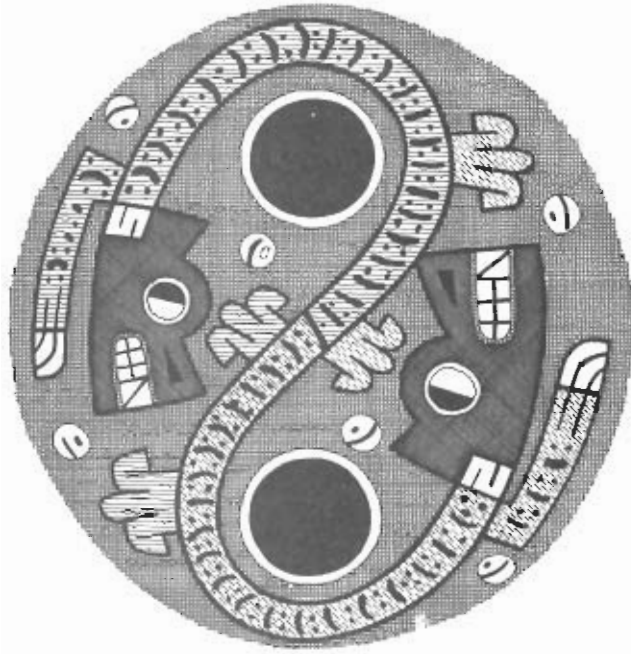
7-a



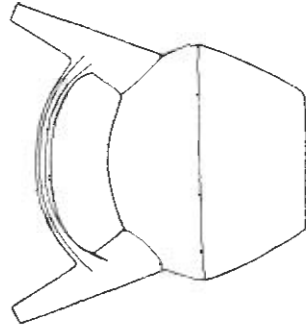
6-b



7-b



8



9

Plate III. Stylistic changes in Nasca ray designs of south coast tradition: radial ray designs (fig. 6, Nasca 9; fig. 7, Atarco A); serpentine figure with ray appendages (fig. 8, Atarco B). See key to illustrations.

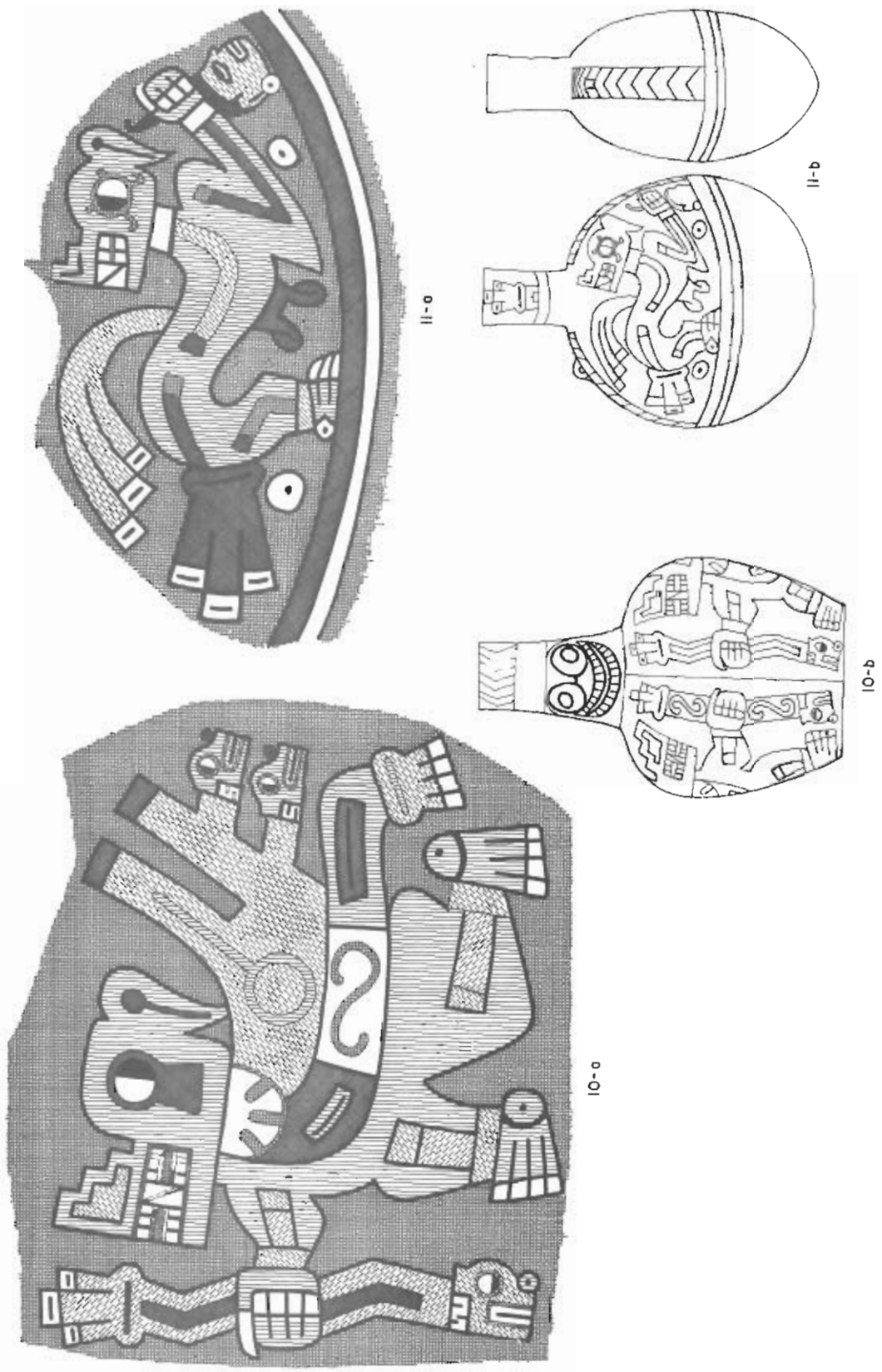
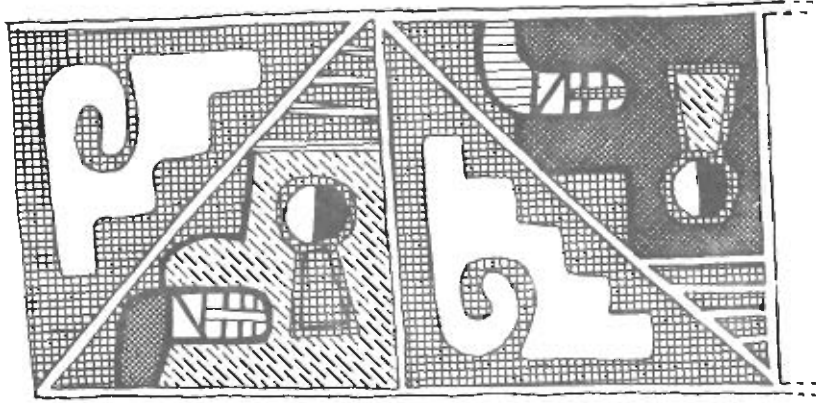
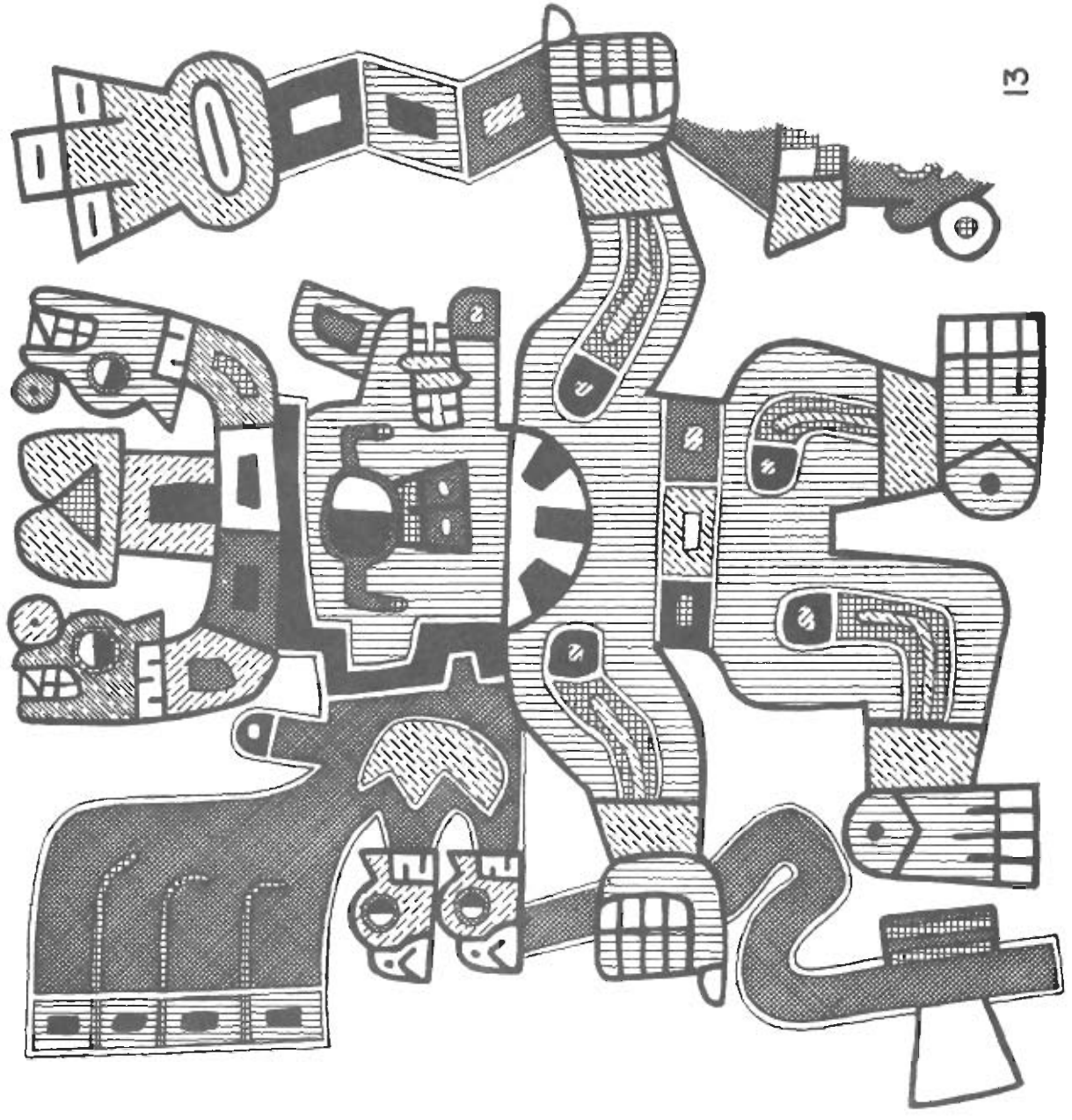


Plate IV. Mythical representations in the Atarco B style: angel (fig. 10); mythical feline (fig. 11). Fig. 1a shows the same vessel as fig. 18, and fig. 11 the same as fig. 19. See key to illustrations.



12



13

Plate V. Designs from Conchopata style oversize urns: split-face band (fig. 12); Angel A (fig. 13).
See key to illustrations.



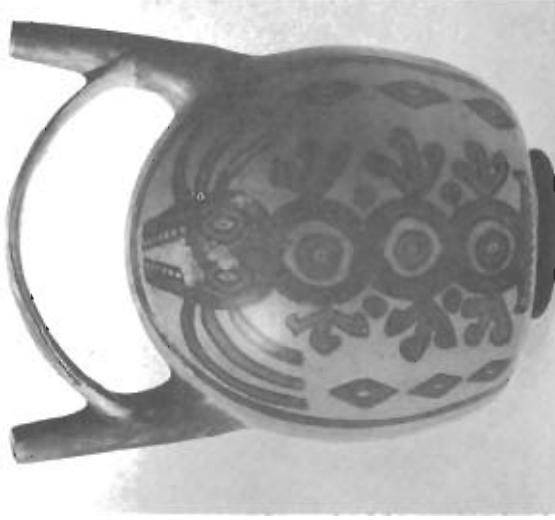
14



15



16



17

Plate VI. Grave lot of three vessels of Epoch 1B from Nasca (figs. 14-16); Nievería style bottle with a design borrowed from the Chakipampa B style (fig. 17). See key to illustrations.



18



19

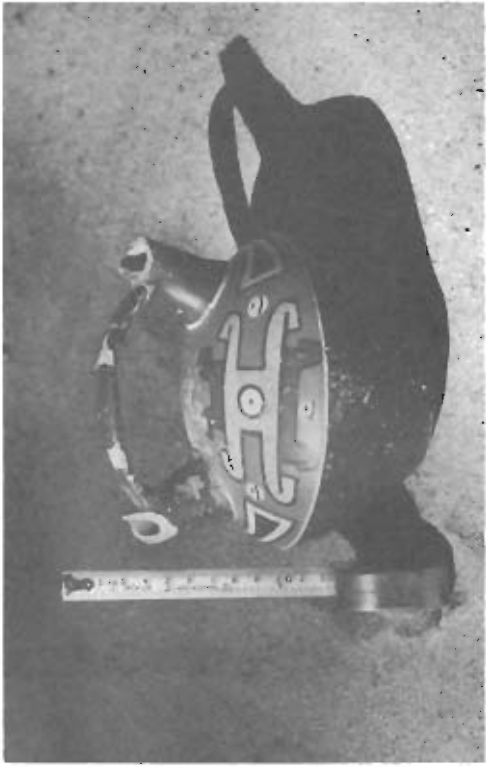


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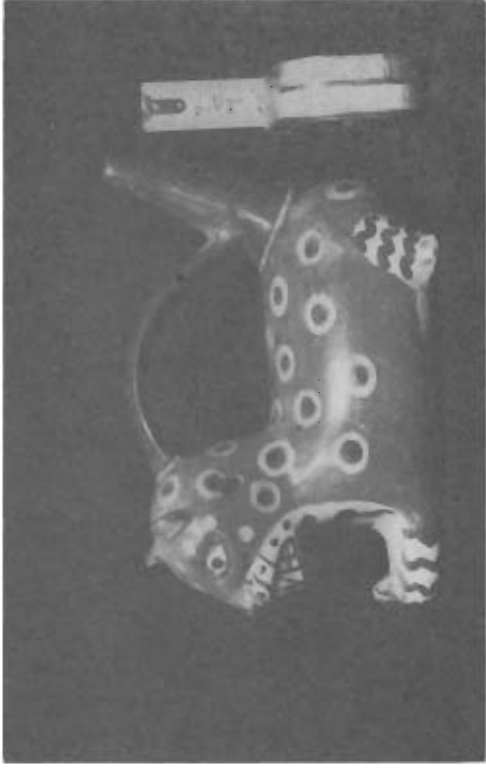


21

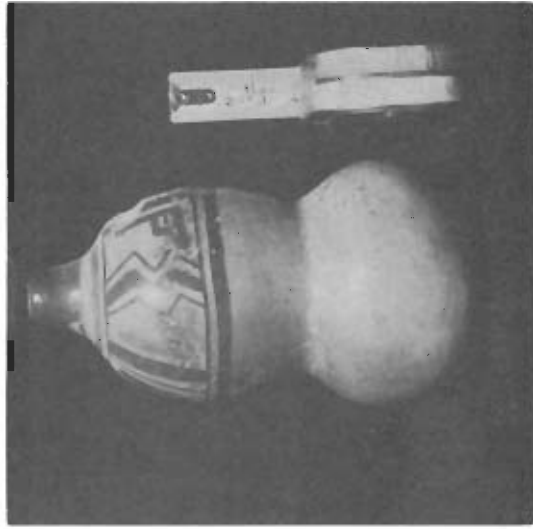
Plate VII. Four vessels from a grave lot of five vessels of Epoch 2B from Nasca (figs. 18-21); the fifth is shown in fig. 22 on plate VIII. Fig. 18 shows the same vessel as fig. 10, and fig. 19 the same as fig. 11. See key to illustrations.



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Plate VIII. Vessel from a grave lot of five vessels of Epoch 2B from Nasca (fig. 22); the other four vessels in this lot are shown in figs. 18-21, plate VII. Fig. 22 shows the same vessel as fig. 4.

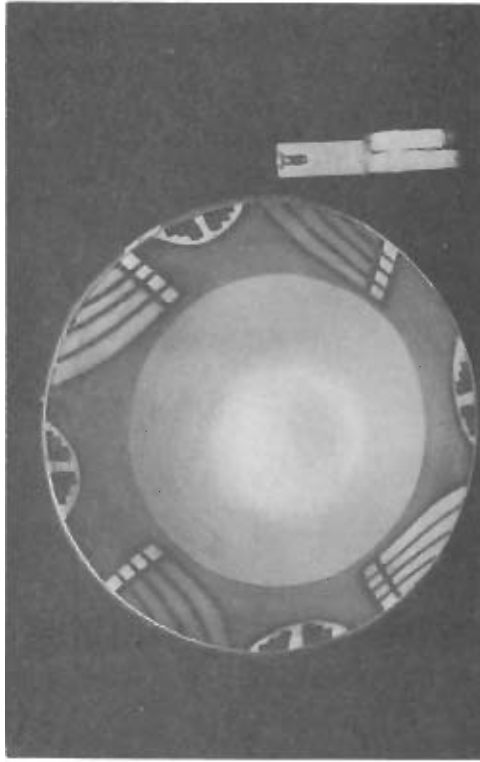
Three vessels from a grave lot of seven vessels of Epoch 2B from Ica (figs. 23-25); the other four are shown in figs. 26-29, plate IX. See key to illustrations.



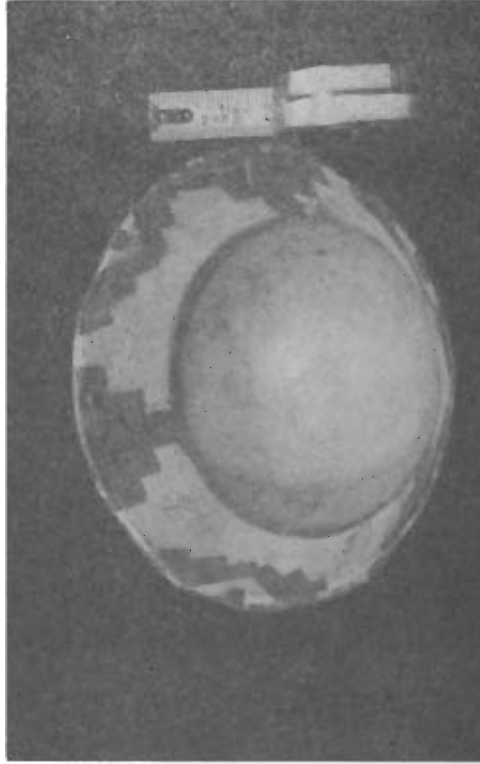
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Plate IX. Four vessels from a grave lot of seven vessels of Epoch 2B from Ica (figs. 26-29); the other three are shown in figs. 23-25, plate VIII. See key to illustrations.