

INNOVATION THROUGH ARCHAISM; THE ORIGINS OF THE ICA POTTERY STYLE

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Interesting problems are posed when a tradition of decorative style abruptly changes character and direction, since change in style is usually gradual and consistent. How and why do abrupt changes come about?

The pottery tradition of the Ica Valley of the south coast of Peru provides a number of examples of such changes, most of which can be explained by the impact of foreign influences. One of the changes which cannot be explained by foreign influence is the one which originated the Ica style, the decorative style characteristic of the Late Intermediate Period at Ica. This style is not a simple and consistent development out of the Middle Horizon styles which directly preceded it. I propose to present evidence that the new style was based on archaism; that its peculiar features represent a revival in modified form of motifs characteristic of the first three epochs of the Middle Horizon.

During the Middle Horizon most of Peru, including Ica, was affected by an expansion movement having its center at Huari, near Ayacucho in the sierra. As Dorothy Menzel has demonstrated, the expansion was both military and religious.<sup>1</sup> The religion emanating from Huari is reflected in decorative art in a variety of mythical themes which are easily recognizable, even in provincial imitations.

In following subsequent stylistic developments it is important to keep in mind their chronological order. The initial expansion of Huari was a phenomenon of the beginning of the Middle Horizon. This expansion, evidently the establishment of an empire in historical terms, affected Ica as it did other valleys on the coast. The Huari empire seems to have fallen at the end of Epoch 2 of the Middle Horizon, when the site of Huari was virtually abandoned. In Ica the local variant of the Huari style of Middle Horizon 2 was affected by influences radiating from the great shrine of Pachacamac on the central coast; for this reason it is called Ica-Pachacamac. Local styles derived from Ica-Pachacamac persisted at Ica for two more epochs, and then gave place to the new Ica tradition at close of Middle Horizon 4.

The sequence of stylistic phases at Ica established by Menzel is as follows:

<u>Time</u>	<u>Style</u>
Middle Horizon 2	Ica-Pachacamac
Middle Horizon 3	Pinilla
Middle Horizon 4	Ica Epigonal
Late Intermediate Period 1	Ica 1

The chronological order of the major styles between the beginning of the Middle Horizon and the Late Horizon was established by Max Uhle on the basis of seriation and some stratigraphic evidence and has remained unchanged except for the addition or subdivision of some styles.<sup>2</sup> Uhle, however, defined his stylistic units only in the most general terms. My interpretation is based upon a new and more detailed seriation of the materials, and it will be necessary to begin by presenting the evidence for the phase divisions and indicating the most salient features of each phase.

Menzel has described both the general background of the Middle Horizon and the specific characteristics of Middle Horizon 2B at Ica.<sup>3</sup> She has also summarized some characteristics of the Pinilla phase of Middle Horizon 3. Using her data as a base, I propose to expand the description of the Pinilla phase by the use of additional materials. Then I shall distinguish two sub-phases, A and B, in the Ica Epigonal phase and offer a definition of the Ica 1 phase.

Several problems are presented by the materials on which this sample is based. The total sample is small, and only part of it has archaeological associations. The present study was carried out at the Robert H. Lowie Museum of Anthropology in Berkeley, and this museum has very few specimens from Ica dating to Middle Horizon 2 and 3; in consequence, the study of the pottery of these epochs had to be done primarily from color slides.<sup>4</sup> Most of the Epigonal grave lots were excavated by Uhle and are in the Lowie Museum; otherwise, the majority of the specimens utilized is from private collections. This fact is reflected in a selection for fancy decorated pieces as opposed to such vessel types as cumbrous bowls. My seriation is primarily based on associated materials from burials, but it was necessary to utilize also many isolated specimens which were seriated on the basis of associations of stylistic features on individual vessels.

The sample upon which this study is based consists entirely of vessels with painted decoration. Although some of the burials include undecorated utilitarian ware, the number of utilitarian specimens was too small to permit any useful generalizations. It is obvious, however, that the utilitarian ware throughout the period under consideration is significantly different in form from the decorated ware.

### The Pinilla phase

Some further specimens of the Pinilla phase have been identified, in addition to the materials used by Menzel.<sup>5</sup> The additional materials consist of the contents of three burials. Two of these burials were excavated by Max Uhle at Site E, Ocucaje, and have previously been assigned to the Epigonal phase on the assumption that the pottery from Site E constituted a single stylistic unit.<sup>6</sup> Upon closer examination of the material I have been able to divide the burials from this cemetery into three units corresponding to the Pinilla, Ica Epigonal A, and Ica Epigonal B phases. The third grave lot newly assigned to the Pinilla phase belongs to Duncan M. Masson in Ica and was reported excavated by E. Uchuya at Cruz Grande, Ocucaje.

Burial E-10 contained two vessels, a flat based flaring-sided bowl with a conservative rim decoration of a pattern common in Ica-Pachacamac (fig. 12) and a small spheroid incurving bowl (fig. 13).<sup>7</sup> Burial E-7 contained a single vessel, a small spheroid incurving bowl (fig. 14). This burial had been disturbed.<sup>8</sup> The third burial, Masson Grave Lot 7, contained one face-neck jar (DM 260) which is decorated with the only completely abstract feline head found in this phase (fig. 29) and two small spheroid incurving bowls. One of these bowls (DM 262) is decorated with a white band within which are interlocking small L-shaped elements, a derivative of the meander band of Middle Horizon 2.

A few additions can be made to the features diagnostic of the Pinilla phase mentioned by Menzel.<sup>9</sup> On the small spheroid incurving bowls there is frequent use of a fine-line red or black element associated with the principal design (figs. 13a and 14a). A solid step fret is extensively used (fig. 7).<sup>10</sup> There is a tendency to divide design bands into small rectangular units, either by the use of vertical lines or by extending step frets to the top and bottom of the design panel.<sup>11</sup> The disembodied feline heads which occur in the Pinilla phase are bilaterally symmetrical but have some recognizable features, such as a mouth, neck marking, eye, etc., with the single exception noted above (figs. 28, 32, 34, 35).<sup>12</sup> Menzel mentions the lipped cup as a new vessel type in this phase.<sup>13</sup> It is possible, however, that this vessel type has antecedents in the Ica-Pachacamac phase.<sup>14</sup>

#### The Ica Epigonal A Sub-phase

The Ica Epigonal A sub-phase is the culmination of a trend toward simplification which will be described below. The style is characterized by matte surfaces, careless painting and surface finish, and lack of variety in shape, color and design.

This sub-phase is represented by a sample of twenty-one decorated vessels. Sixteen of these vessels are from eight burials (E-3, E-5, E-6, E-8, E-9, E-11, E-13 and E-15) excavated by Uhle at Site E, Ocucaje. Uhle mentions that graves E-3, E-6, E-8 and E-9 were disturbed.<sup>15</sup> Eleven vessels from these burials have been illustrated.<sup>16</sup> One additional burial including three decorated vessels was excavated by Alejandro Pezzia at Rinconada de Pinilla, Ocucaje, and is in the Regional Museum of Ica.<sup>17</sup> Two unassociated specimens in the collection of Aldo Rubini, Ocucaje, are from the Huaca José Ramos, and another specimen in the same collection is from the Pinilla sector of Ocucaje. The total sample consists of five small spheroid incurving bowls, two larger sharply incurving bowls, four jars, one face-neck jar, seven cumbrous bowls, one lipped cup, and one modeled bowl.

In characterizing this style unit one must consider both elements of continuity with the preceding phase and evidence of change which will serve to distinguish Ica Epigonal A from the units which precede

and follow it. The evidence of change is found in the introduction of new elements, modification of old elements and the absence of elements found in the preceding phase, although negative evidence is weak in this case because of the small size of the sample.

There is abundant evidence of continuity with the Pinilla phase. All vessel types which are found in Ica Epigonal A were also present in the preceding phase, with the possible exception of the modeled bowl. The use of short wavy lines and unoutlined white crosses with black centers as decorative elements, and the division of design bands into rectangular panels, are also continuous. The highly abstract feline head found in the Pinilla phase (fig. 29) is the only type represented in Ica Epigonal A. The tendency to reduce colors from the Middle Horizon 2 maximum of six culminates in this phase, and only three colors, black, white and red, are used.

Important elements found in the Pinilla phase which do not occur in Ica Epigonal A are fine-line red or black decoration, step frets, and some vessel shapes, such as bottles and dishes. The bodiless profile eagle head design is also absent.

In Ica Epigonal A the small spheroid incurving bowls are essentially identical in size and shape with those of the preceding phase, but the decoration is somewhat different. Only geometric elements are used, and there is less tendency to divide the design band into panels. Decorative elements used on this vessel type are unoutlined white crosses with black center crosses, pyramidal step blocks and chevrons. In the Pinilla phase the bowls with a chevron design are black slipped all over, with the exception of the design band and, sometimes, a small portion of the base.<sup>18</sup> In Ica Epigonal A these bowls have only a black band below the chevron band, and the remainder of the vessel is unslipped. The principal design band on all small bowls continues to be located just below the rim, as in the preceding phase. This vessel type is relatively rarer than in Pinilla.

The larger, more sharply incurving bowls are decorated at the rim with a highly abstract version of the bodiless feline head design (figs. 36 and 38).<sup>19</sup> These bowls are considerably larger than in the preceding phase.

Jars and face-neck jars show modifications in shape. The base is markedly smaller, and there is a noticeable flare to the lip. Necks may be decorated around the rim. Designs on the body are varied, consisting of abstract feline heads (fig. 37),<sup>20</sup> "hand" designs,<sup>21</sup> and inverted pendent crescents.<sup>22</sup> Simple jars are considerably more common in this phase than in the preceding one. A jar in the Rubini collection (AR 15) may represent a degenerate version of a face-neck jar. On the neck of the jar there is a small, smoothly rounded protuberance, and, parallel to each other on each side of this protuberance, are two elongated rectangular spots slanting diagonally down and inward toward the raised area, perhaps representing facial features.

Cumbrous bowls, with a single exception, are decorated with some variant of the pendent crescent, simple, concentric, or with a pyramidal step block.<sup>23</sup> The pendent crescents are generally separated by a new design element, a smaller solid black pendent crescent.<sup>24</sup> A single example (AR 31) is decorated with a wing design which alternates with the solid black pendent crescent. The placement of the designs is the same as in the preceding phase, with the difference that, on many of the Pinilla phase cumbrous bowls, there is a solid color band inside the rim within which the other decorative elements are contained. This band is absent in Ica Epigonal A. Although the shape of cumbrous bowls is somewhat variable, there is none in this sub-phase with a completely flat base.

The lipped cup (AR 66) is the same shape as examples in the Pinilla phase, but the lip is decorated with a pendent crescent design similar to that on cumbrous bowls.

In general, there is much less care, both in painting and in general surface treatment, in this style unit than in the preceding one. There is a tendency to uniformity of line width, in contrast to the juxtaposition of broad and narrow lines in the Pinilla phase. The red pigment in Ica Epigonal A is almost orange, in contrast with the more purple red pigment used in the preceding phase.

#### The Ica Epigonal B Sub-phase

The Ica Epigonal B sub-phase is represented by a sample of thirteen decorated vessels. Eleven of these vessels have burial provenience data, and two are isolated specimens. Uhle excavated four burials, containing a total of eight vessels of this sub-phase, at Site E, Ocucaje (E-1, E-2, E-12 and E-14) and reported that Grave E-2 was disturbed.<sup>25</sup> Six of the vessels excavated by Uhle have been illustrated.<sup>26</sup> One burial of this sub-phase in the Duncan Masson collection at Ica (Masson Grave Lot 2) is reported to be from the Rinconada de Pinilla, Ocucaje; it includes three decorated vessels. The unassociated specimens are a jar (16-10071) in the Wattis collection, Lowie Museum of Anthropology, and a lipped cup (AR 67) in the Rubini collection, reported to be from the Huaca José Ramos, Ocucaje. The total sample includes two small spheroid incurving bowls, three cumbrous bowls, one lipped cup, four jars and two face-neck jars, plus one lipped bowl (E-14, 4-4549) which is probably a trade piece from Nasca.

This style unit is quite distinct from Ica Epigonal A in a number of features, primarily decorative motifs and the relative frequency of certain elements. There are still only three colors used, and only five vessel types are represented. However, it is in this sub-phase that we see the first foreshadowing of the Ica style.

The two most important design elements in this sub-phase are the disembodied feline head in various guises and a version of the Pinilla step fret. Succeeding the highly abstract representations of the feline head found in Ica Epigonal A, we find in the present sub-phase a number

of variations of this motif, some quite representational (figs. 39, 42 and 43) and others so abstract as to appear purely geometric (figs. 40 and 41). The significance of these representations will be discussed below. The step fret used in this sub-phase, although similar in shape to that in the Pinilla phase, is significantly different in having a "hollow" base and added squares containing dots or dashes (figs. 8 and 9). The dotted square is also found on the feline head design of a face-neck jar (fig. 42) and on the wing design of a cumbrous bowl.<sup>27</sup>

A lipped bowl from burial E-14 (4-4549) is apparently a trade piece, probably from the Nasca Valley.<sup>28</sup> Not only is the shape one which is not otherwise found in Ica, but the representation of the feline head which decorates it is identical to those found on two vessels in the Wattis collection which come from Poroma in the Nasca drainage (Lowie Museum of Anthropology 16-10945 and 16-11035). The treatment of this design element is totally different from that used in Ica, especially as regards ear form and the treatment of nose and mouth, but it shows definite affinity with the feline head of the Atarco style of Middle Horizon 2.<sup>29</sup>

Small spheroid incurving bowls are represented by only two examples in this sub-phase. One of these bowls (E-1, 4-4465) is decorated with a geometric version of the feline head (fig. 41) on a white band around the rim with a plain purple band immediately below. The other bowl (Masson Grave Lot 2, DM 78-2) has three hollow-base step frets placed rather asymmetrically around the equator of the vessel. This is a new design placement for the small bowls, which were previously decorated from the rim downward in bands.

Of the four simple jars in the sample, two (E-12, 4-4544 and 16-10071) are decorated with alternating feline heads and hollow-base step frets, one (E-1, 4-4464) has only feline heads, and the fourth (E-14, 4-4550) has only step frets. Three of the jars have decorated necks. The bases of the jars are even smaller than in the preceding sub-phase, and the necks continue to flare out at the lip. The placement of decoration is the same as in the preceding sub-phase; that is, the decoration starts at the base of the neck and extends to just above the equator. In all cases, however, there are one or more somewhat narrower, plain painted bands immediately below the decorated principal band.<sup>30</sup>

The two face-neck jars are considerably simplified in form. One face-neck jar (Masson Grave Lot 2, DM 78-1) has no modeling whatever on the neck, the face being painted instead and consisting of two eyes and a nose. No arms are indicated, and the hair treatment is very simple. There is no decorated band around the top of the neck. The neck of the jar is only slightly flared and quite small in diameter, while the body is flattened front to back, giving the vessel a somewhat flask-shaped contour. The other face-neck jar (E-2, 4-4471) has a modeled nose, but the eyes and mouth are merely painted, no arms are indicated, hair treatment is simple, and there is only a thin black line around the lip of the neck.<sup>31</sup> A decorated band extends from one side of the handle to the other side. The decoration of this band consists of bilaterally

symmetrical bird heads with an eye in the center and a beak on each end. The shape of this jar is essentially the same as that of the simple jars, although there is less flare at the lip. These are the last face-neck jars to appear until much later in the Late Intermediate Period.

Cumbrous bowls continue to be decorated with pendent crescents, wing designs,<sup>32</sup> and pyramidal step blocks.<sup>33</sup> The use of the solid black pendent crescent as a separator continues, and the bowl with a pyramidal step block inside a pendent crescent (E-12, 4-4545) has a solid white band inside the rim within which the main design is contained.<sup>33</sup> The bowl with the wing design (E-2, 4-4470) also has, in the center of the bottom of the bowl on the inside, a design consisting of two triangles joined at the apex with a dot inside each triangle. The wings have the tips of the feathers divided into squares, some of which contain dots. Placement of decoration is the same as in the preceding sub-phase.

The single lipped cup belonging to this sub-phase (AR 67) is the same shape as that in the preceding style unit. The top of the lip is decorated with hollow-base step frets alternating with small unoutlined red triangles.

In summary, Ica Epigonal B shows continuity with the preceding sub-phase in the exclusive use of three color decoration, the presence of the same vessel types, the use of certain design themes (feline head, pendent crescent and small solid black pendent crescent, wing and pyramidal step block) and the placement of decorative elements on the vessels. However, a number of characteristics may be used to contrast this style unit with Ica Epigonal A. There is an increase in the proportion of jars to other vessel types in the total sample and a decrease in the number of small bowls and cumbrous bowls. The larger, sharply incurving bowls are gone from the shape inventory. Surface finish is more even and includes some polishing. Design bands are continuous rather than divided into small rectangular panels, and a number of new or greatly altered design themes (hollow-based step fret, realistic and purely geometric feline head, and square with dot or dash) are in common use. Most simple jar necks are decorated. Lines tend to be narrower, and the red pigment now tends to purple rather than orange.

### The Ica 1 Phase

Ica 1 represents the first phase of a new tradition in Ica and marks the beginning of the Late Intermediate Period. In spite of the fact that there is a marked change in pottery style at this time, it is possible to demonstrate a clear development from Ica Epigonal B to Ica 1 through the continuation of trends and certain design elements.

The sample for this phase consists of fifty-seven decorated vessels. Two burials excavated by Uhle at Site C, Ocucaje (C-2 and C-8) include six decorated vessels. One burial excavated by Pezzia in the Pinilla sector of Ocucaje contains five decorated vessels.<sup>34</sup> Two grave lots in the collection of Duncan Masson also belong to this phase.

One of these lots (Masson Grave Lot 1) is from the Rinconada de Pinilla, Ocucaje, and includes two decorated vessels. The other lot (Masson Grave Lot 3), reported to be from the Córdova area of Ocucaje, also contains two decorated vessels. There are also a number of unassociated specimens which were used in the analysis; six vessels in the Regional Museum of Ica, one in the collection of Ernesto Tabío, fourteen in the collection of Duncan Masson, and eighteen in the Wattis collection. In addition, there is one vessel in the Lowie Museum of Anthropology purchased by Uhle (4-4623).<sup>35</sup> Three Ica 1 jars in the Gretzer collection in Berlin are illustrated by Schmidt.<sup>36</sup> A total of twelve of the vessels listed have been illustrated.<sup>37</sup>

Forty-three jars constitute 75% of the total sample. In addition to the jars there are two small spheroid incurving bowls, one cumbrous bowl, one lipped cup, one cambered rim bowl and ten dishes distributed among three dish types.

Decoration in this phase is often in five colors: purple, red, cream, white, and black. Surfaces are more highly polished than in Ica Epigonal B but not as highly polished as in Ica-Pachacamac. There is a great variety in design themes, both representational and geometric. There is also considerable variability in size within some vessel types. Some vessels were entirely slipped before decoration. Many of the designs used appear to be derived by archaistic imitation from ones used in earlier phases. The problem of archaizing will be discussed in detail below.

Small spheroid bowls are rare in this phase. Both the decorated examples (Masson Grave Lot 1, DM 77-3; Masson Grave Lot 3, DM 223) have geometric designs, and the design arrangement is the same as the most common one in the preceding sub-phase. All of the incurving bowls, including two undecorated specimens, are poorly finished in comparison with the other vessels with which they are associated.

Jars are clearly the most important vessel type in Ica 1. Their importance is indicated both by the high ratio of jars to other vessels in burials and by the elaboration and variation in the form and decoration of jars as compared to vessels of other shapes. The size of the jars is highly variable. Bases are smaller than in the preceding sub-phase and are often rounded. In several cases there is no clear break between the base and the body of the jar (figs. 1b, 18, 19b, 20b). The maximum diameter is greater in proportion to total height than in Ica Epigonal B. Neck bases are proportionately narrower and mouths wider than in the preceding phases, resulting in a marked flare of the neck. Most jar necks are decorated, the two most common designs being a solid scallop design pendent from the rim,<sup>38</sup> and a hook and dot design which may represent the remnants of the earlier face-neck decoration.<sup>39</sup> The rim of one of the jars (C-2, 4-4596A) is decorated with a broken line like those used in Ica-Pachacamac and Pinilla. Although the design area on the body of the jars usually terminates at or above the point of maximum diameter, it sometimes extends over the greater portion of the body and even onto the lower portion of the neck.



As in the preceding sub-phase, the design is usually arranged in a principal design band starting at the base of the jar neck, with subordinate bands below it. As mentioned above, however, the principal design may extend onto the neck itself, and in other cases there may be one or more subordinate bands between the base of the neck and the principal design.<sup>40</sup> In this phase there is a proliferation of subordinate bands which may occur above the principal band, below the principal band, or both. One or more of the subordinate bands may constitute a field for decoration. Common designs on subordinate bands are unoutlined white or black dots, white crosses with black centers, step designs formed of solid black squares (figs. 20a and 22a), a linked dot design (fig. 19a),<sup>41</sup> Z-shaped elements (fig. 15a), and a solid black bird head which occurs only on subordinate bands.<sup>42</sup> Generally there is considerable difference in width between the principal design band and the subordinate ones, but in some cases the principal design band is only slightly wider.<sup>43</sup>

Small filler elements are common in association with the principal design. More than one filler element may be used within a single principal design band. Common fillers are outlined white dots with black centers (fig. 19a), white and black crosses in various forms (figs. 3-6), "hand" designs, outlined white squares with dots (fig. 22a), and a triangle with a dot in the center. On some of the jars the entire base of the vessel below the lowest subordinate design band is quartered in black and white.

Most commonly the principal design band is continuous, with the principal design element placed horizontally. However, the band may be divided into rectangular panels, the principal design element may be placed vertically, or there may be no outlined band whatever.<sup>44</sup> The most commonly used principal design elements on jars are full-bodied birds (figs. 57-64), disembodied feline heads and their geometric derivatives (figs. 44-54), seated anthropomorphic figures with feline heads (fig. 2a), and a variety of geometric figures. There are two jars<sup>45</sup> which have designs that appear to depict a feline head attached to a segmented bar body.<sup>46</sup> The body of the figure on the Masson specimen (fig. 1a) terminates in an arm with a wing at one extremity and a hand, similar to those used in Atarco B, at the other.<sup>47</sup>

The only decorated cumbrous bowl occurring in this phase is from the burial excavated by Pezzia.<sup>48</sup> The decoration consists of concentric pendent crescents with adjacent step blocks on each side, alternating with large black dots arranged in a triangular pattern. The decoration is within an outlined band.

The single lipped cup present in the sample (DM 271) has the same form as those of the preceding phases, but the placement of the decoration is different. The surface of the lip is decorated with disembodied feline heads (fig. 50), "hand" designs and step blocks. On the body of the vessel, starting just below the lip, is a principal design band consisting of disembodied feline heads with feather tufts (fig. 46), alternating with a design which appears to represent feathers. Below this band there are two subordinate bands decorated

with unoutlined white dots. The remainder of the base of the vessel is quartered in black and white.

The cambered rim bowl appears in this phase but is represented by only one example (DM 247). This form may derive from the lipped cup. The rim of the Ica 1 specimen is decorated with geometric elements, and the body is decorated with a bird similar to fig. 64. There is a large number of filler elements associated with the principal design. These fillers consist of outlined white and black crosses, outlined white dots with black centers, and an abstract version of the feline head (fig. 51) which is placed vertically, apparently as a sort of panel divider.

The first of the three new dish types may derive from the small spheroid incurving bowls. The dishes of the first type, represented by five specimens (DM 207, DM 268, DM 269, DM 306, and 16-10086), have the form of a slightly flattened sphere with a more or less pronounced, but smoothly rounded, shoulder at the equator. They are somewhat more constricted at the mouth than the small spheroid incurving bowls. The maximum diameter is approximately midway of the total height or slightly below that point. Three of these dishes (DM 269, DM 306, and 16-10086) are decorated with geometric versions of the feline head (figs. 45, 49, and 52). Of the other two dishes, one (DM 268) is decorated with pyramidal step blocks lying horizontally. In the middle of the base of each block is a white dot with a black center. The other dish (DM 207) is decorated with a band containing unoutlined white dots with black centers, and pendent from the band at regular intervals are L-shaped elements with two white dots with black centers in the horizontal portion of each L. Decoration on all of the above dishes is placed entirely above the line of maximum diameter, generally just below the rim.

A second dish type is represented by one example from the Masson collection (DM 267) and two from the burial excavated by Pezzia.<sup>49</sup> This dish type has slightly concave sides terminating in a fairly sharp shoulder which separates the sides from a smoothly rounded base. The mouth diameter is only slightly less than the maximum diameter which occurs at the shoulder; alternatively, these diameters may be equal. The overall size of dishes of this type is variable. One of these dishes (MRI-2791) is decorated around the rim with a band containing unoutlined white dots. The second dish from the same burial (MRI-2795) has a decoration consisting of interlocking step frets with dotted hollow bases. The Masson dish is decorated with a design consisting of a cream colored snake with outlined white dots on his body.

The third new dish type is represented by two specimens, both from burials. These dishes are low and open with sides which slant outward from the rim to a sharply defined shoulder at the point of maximum diameter. From the shoulder is a smooth curve forming the base. Height from shoulder to rim and base to shoulder is approximately equal.<sup>50</sup> A specimen in the Masson collection (Masson Grave Lot 3, DM 222) is covered with a bright orange-red slip and has no further decoration. The other dish (C-2, 4-4595) is more elaborately decorated, with step frets with dotted hollow bases in alternating purple and white. The rim is also decorated in a fashion similar to that used in Ica-Pachacamac and Pinilla

(fig. 21a). Both vessels are highly polished.

In summary, Ica 1 shows continuity with Ica Epigonal B in the persistence of some vessel types, the general placement of decorative elements on the vessels, and certain design themes, such as realistic and totally geometric feline heads, hollow base step frets, and dotted squares. There are, however, many elements found in the Ica 1 style which occur in neither Ica Epigonal A nor B. Examples of these features are the use of five color decoration, black and white quartering of vessel bases, rim decoration, the use of filler elements, vessel types such as dishes and cambered rim bowls, and design themes such as full-bodied birds, feline-headed anthropomorphic figures, feline heads with segmented bar bodies, solid black bird heads, Z- and L-shaped elements with a broad wavy black line which is used as a subordinate band (fig. 22a). In addition there are several features which are modifications of elements found in the preceding sub-phase, such as the use of decoration on subordinate design bands, an increase in the number of design bands per vessel, the use of dots within the hollow base of step frets (figs. 10 and 11), a sharp increase in the proportion of jars to other vessels, modifications in jar shape, and a red pigment which tends more to orange than to purple. Although the Ica 1 style is based primarily on the addition of elements to the preceding Ica Epigonal B style, there are some elements present in Ica Epigonal B which do not occur in Ica 1. Face-neck jars are no longer found, and both small spheroid incurving bowls and cumbrous bowls are negligible as categories of decorated vessels.

It is highly probable that, with further research, Ica 1 can be subdivided into at least two subphases. That problem lies outside the scope of this study, however,

It is of some interest to note that in the next phase, Ica 2, a number of features present in Ica 1 do not occur. Small spheroid incurving bowls are absent from the vessel inventory, and some design features, such as feline heads, feline-headed anthropomorphic figures, feline heads with segmented bar bodies, solid black bird heads, "hand" designs, black and white quartering of vessel bases, broad wavy black lines as subordinate design bands, and neck decoration on jars are also absent.

#### General trends

There are two trends to be discussed. One of these trends begins in the Pinilla phase of Middle Horizon 3 and extends through Ica Epigonal B. The other trend continues through Ica 1 and perhaps beyond.

The key word which describes the trend from Pinilla through Ica Epigonal is "simplification." All aspects of the pottery are simplified through Ica Epigonal A, and some through Ica Epigonal B. The only unchanging element seems to be the paste, which is surprisingly uniform throughout the entire period under consideration.

In the Ica-Pachacamac phase, surfaces are generally highly polished. In the Pinilla phase there are a number of vessels which are entirely matte or are polished only on the design area, leaving the remainder matte. In Ica Epigonal A all vessels have matte surfaces. There is a reversal of this trend in Ica Epigonal B; in this sub-phase there are some vessels with an entirely polished surface, although only a low gloss is achieved. In Ica 1 many vessels are quite highly polished.

Six color decoration is used in both Ica-Pachacamac and Pinilla, although in the Pinilla phase there is a marked increase in the proportion of vessels decorated in only three colors. In Ica Epigonal only three colors are used.

The great variety of vessel types found in Ica-Pachacamac is considerably reduced in Pinilla. In Ica Epigonal A there are only seven basic shapes, and the sample for Ica Epigonal B includes only five vessel types, not counting the Nasca trade piece. It is possible that some types which actually occurred are not represented, due to the small size of the sample for Ica Epigonal, but the tendency to reduction in number of vessel types seems well documented.

The process of simplification also operates in the field of design. In Ica-Pachacamac there are numerous designs, each one of which may be used on almost any vessel form. In the Pinilla phase, although some new elements are introduced, the number that may be used on any given vessel form is limited. Cumbrous bowls and lipped cups may now be decorated only with geometric designs, and by the end of the phase the same is true for the small incurving bowls. The larger, more incurving bowls, with one exception, are decorated with disembodied feline heads. Only jars seem to escape this tendency to limit the type of design which may be used on each vessel shape. In Ica Epigonal A the convention is firmly established, so that only jars have any freedom of design. Accompanying this rigidity of design use there is a considerable reduction in design vocabulary. The only design elements that persist continuously from Middle Horizon 2 through late Intermediate Period 1 are the disembodied feline head, the pendent crescent, and, perhaps, the white cross with a black center.

The second trend, running from Ica-Pachacamac through Ica 1, is a trend in vessel shape. There is a tendency toward rounding of bases in all vessel types. Any form which had a flat base in Ica-Pachacamac has a round, or at least somewhat rounded, base in Ica 1. This tendency is most easily noted in the case of the small incurving bowls, cumbrous bowls and jars. Jars in Ica-Pachacamac have a rather broad flat base with sharply defined edges. This base becomes gradually smaller and smaller with less well defined edges until, in Ica 1, there are some jars with no division between sides and base. Jars are also subject to other changes. Jar necks in Ica-Pachacamac are either cylindrical or slightly tapered. In Ica Epigonal A the necks develop a slightly flared lip, and in Ica 1 there is often a sharp flare to the neck. Also in Ica 1, the necks of jars become narrower at the base and wider at the mouth, and the maximum diameter of the body is greater in proportion to the total height of the vessel than is the case in the preceding phases (figs. 16-18).

## Archaism

The principal problem to which this study is directed is to determine the basis for the development of the Ica style of the Late Intermediate Period. It has been demonstrated that there is a basic continuity in vessel shapes, although the origin of the Ica 1 dishes remains a problem. The jar shape is a logical outgrowth of developments in previous phases, and the popularity of this vessel type in Ica 1 may have been due to the fact that it was the only form which was not restricted as to design. The real problem, then, in considering Ica 1 is not the shapes, but all the other features -- surface finish, colors used in decoration, and design elements. I suggest that many of the changes in these features that appear in Ica 1 may be attributed to a strong archaizing tendency which began in Ica Epigonal B but became fully manifest only in Ica 1.

The evidence for archaism is overwhelming. The sources from which the archaistic elements were drawn are primarily the Ica-Pachacamac and Pinilla phases, although some elements may derive from the Nasca 9 phase of Middle Horizon 1 or even earlier phases of the Nasca tradition.

Numerous representational themes are found on the pottery of the Ica-Pachacamac phase. Some of the more important of these themes are a griffin which consists of a winged body with a mythical eagle head and human hand and foot (fig. 56), a profile eagle figure with bird feet and a circular star symbol hanging from its beak (fig. 55), a bodiless eagle head, a full-face human head, a full-bodied Male Deity figure, and disembodied feline heads.

After Ica-Pachacamac both types of full-bodied birds disappeared from the design repertoire and did not recur until they were copied in Ica 1. I shall return to them later. The bodiless eagle head and the bodiless full-face human head continued through the Pinilla phase and then disappeared. The single major theme which maintained continuity throughout the Middle Horizon is the disembodied feline head.

It may easily be seen, by reference to Plate VI, that after the Ica-Pachacamac phase there was a gradual simplification and stylization of the feline heads which continued through the Ica Epigonal A phase. In Ica-Pachacamac the head was generally represented quite realistically, with a distinct nose and mouth on one end and an ear and neck attachment on the other. Eyes have pupils, and frequently tear lines and eyebrows were added.

In the Pinilla phase there is a strong tendency to bilateral symmetry in the feline heads, leading to forms with no clear cut nose or ear and two neck attachments instead of a neck and a mouth. Eyes frequently have no pupil, and eyebrows and tear lines are absent. There is one example of a totally abstract feline head in this phase (fig. 29).

In Ica Epigonal A the feline head became a geometric abstraction with virtually no realistic characteristics. It was reduced to a meaningless figure. That the meaning of the design was really lost to the artists is indicated by what happens to the design in the following sub-phase.

In Ica Epigonal B the feline head representations took two paths. Continuing the previous trend, there are totally abstract designs which, in Ica 1, became geometric figures impossible to relate to the feline head without the intervening forms as guides. On the other hand, quite realistic representations reappeared, representations which could not be derived from the abstract heads of the preceding sub-phase. However, these realistic designs could well have derived from the representational heads of Ica-Pachacamac and Pinilla. One of these forms (fig. 39), although absent in Ica 1, reappeared attached to a body in Ica 2 to become the principal form of feline in the Ica style.

The variations in feline head designs in Ica 1 are very similar to the variations found in the earlier phases. Some of the heads are almost as realistic as those in Ica-Pachacamac, although the majority is more similar to those found in the Pinilla phase. At the end of Ica 1 all versions of the disembodied feline head disappeared.

The first phase of the Ica style is characterized by extreme variation in design detail. Full-bodied birds were reintroduced in quantity, obviously copied from representations in the Ica-Pachacamac style. Although the primary model for the Ica 1 birds is the Ica-Pachacamac griffin, some elements appear to be drawn from the star bird of the same phase (figs. 56 and 55). The elements of the Ica 1 bird (figs. 57 and 58) which are drawn from the Ica-Pachacamac griffin are the arm, the lower wing, which is a reinterpretation of the griffin's leg, and the small squares on the body, which are taken from the rectangles on the segmented bar body of the griffin. The tail, on the other hand, is apparently drawn from the star bird, as may be the wing treatment, and some Ica 1 birds have dotted circles on their bodies instead of squares (fig. 61), a feature which is found only on the star birds in Ica-Pachacamac. The feather tuft or headdress could have come from either of the two models. There is a definite developmental sequence in the Ica 1 birds, the earlier ones being more obviously related to the Ica-Pachacamac figures than are the later ones. Figs. 57-64 illustrate the sequence, and figs. 62 and 64 are the types of birds that continue into Ica 2.

It is clear that the Ica 1 birds represent a misunderstanding of the representations that inspired them. The bird elements of the Ica-Pachacamac griffin are those of an eagle or hawk. In beak, head, and tail form the Ica 1 birds resemble not eagles but parrots. If the representational meaning of the older figures could be so far misunderstood it is probable that their mythical significance had also been lost.

The attachment of an anthropomorphic body to the disembodied feline head (fig. 2a) is another indication of archaism. The figure appears to be a distorted version of an Atarco style running angel

without the iconographically vital wing and staff.<sup>51</sup> Fig. 1a illustrates a still more bizarre treatment of the feline theme, perhaps an attempt to imitate a feline-headed angel such as that illustrated by Menzel.<sup>52</sup>

The revival of colors used in Ica-Pachacamac and Pinilla is also an indication of archaism. Of the six colors used in Ica-Pachacamac, only gray did not reappear. The failure to revive gray may be due to the fact that this pigment is extremely difficult to make from the materials available in the Ica Valley.<sup>53</sup> In addition to the revival of colors there was also a return, in Ica 1, to overall slipping and well polished surfaces, both features which were absent in the Ica Epigonal phase.

A further archaistic character is the black and white quartering of vessel bases, a treatment which is probably derived from the black and white halving on some of the small incurving bowls in Ica-Pachacamac and Pinilla.<sup>54</sup> Alternatively, it may go back to Nasca 5-7 antecedents. If I am correct in supposing that there was a connection between the lipped cups and the Ica-Pachacamac collared jars, then the placement of the decoration on the body of the Ica 1 lipped cup may also be an archaistic treatment. The broken line patterning of vessel rims which is common in Ica Pachacamac and occurs occasionally in Pinilla was also revived on a few Ica 1 vessels, as was the use of filler elements. Both the pendent L-shaped elements and the step designs formed of solid black squares appear to derive from the Pinilla phase. The pendent L-shaped elements probably represent a misinterpretation of the interlocking L band of the Pinilla phase, reproducing the upper row of elements only. Since step frets do not occur in Ica Epigonal A, it is likely that those found in Ica Epigonal B are also derived from the Pinilla style.

### Conclusions

It has been demonstrated that the Ica style is in many ways the result of a gradual development of the usual kind out of Ica-Pachacamac. The development changed its direction rather suddenly at the beginning of the Late Intermediate Period, through attempts to imitate the fancy pottery of earlier phases, principally Ica-Pachacamac and Pinilla. It is possible, on the basis of these changes in pottery style, to discuss certain aspects of the broader context of Ica culture.

Under the Huari empire, the pottery of Ica showed heavy influence from Pachacamac, a fact reflected in the name of the Ica-Pachacamac phase. Pachacamac was a major religious center, and its art is a variation on the religious art of Huari. The pottery designs of Ica-Pachacamac reflect the same mythical and religious base as the designs found at Pachacamac and Huari. Evidently the imperial religion was well established at Ica.

The Huari empire fell at the end of Middle Horizon 2, and, with its fall, communication between distant regions was reduced. Each local area went its own way, and local pottery styles developed. It is

reasonable to suppose that local religions developed also, once religion was freed from the unifying force of central direction. It is also likely that the official religion of the empire suffered a decline in prestige with the collapse of the central government, and surviving local religions may have recovered their importance.

At Ica the fall of the empire was followed by a simplification of the pottery style which involved a reduction in the number of colors and vessel shapes used and a loss of complex mythical designs. The rules of ornamentation became more rigid, and fewer choices were allowed. At the same time, there was a gradual loss of meaning in the old designs, the beginnings of which can be traced as early as the Pinilla phase.

After two phases the changes had reached a point where there was little resemblance between the pottery of the imperial period and the contemporary ware, either in design motifs or technique. At this point, beginning in Ica Epigonal B and reaching its climax in Ica 1, there occurred an archaizing movement in which the Ica potters attempted to imitate the colors, finish and designs of the Ica-Pachacamac and Pinilla style units.

In spite of the fact that the designs which were revived were originally mythical and connected with the official religion, it was apparently not a religious revival which led to the archaism in pottery design. This statement is based primarily on the misinterpretation of the bird and full-bodied feline designs and the failure to revive other mythical motifs found in Ica-Pachacamac. The bodiless eagle head, the full-face human head and the Male Deity figure, which were apparently important elements in Ica-Pachacamac religion, were not revived at all in Ica 1. We cannot, on the basis of this evidence, state that the religion present in Late Intermediate Period 1 was totally different from that found in Middle Horizon 2, but we can suggest that if there was continuity in the oral tradition, the continuity was not sufficient to permit a recognition and correct interpretation of the earlier religious art.

If it was not a revival of religion that sparked the archaism, however, what was it that inspired the imitation of the past? The time elapsed between the fall of Huarí and the archaistic movement was of the order of 150 to 175 years, according to available radiocarbon evidence.<sup>55</sup> With so short a time interval, it is reasonable to suspect that reminiscences of the Huarí empire still existed in oral tradition. It is even possible that there might have been a few old people still alive who had, as children, met elders who had seen the last days of the empire. Specific sites might still have been associated with the empire and, at these sites, it would have been possible to obtain pottery from which the Ica 1 motifs were drawn. Stylistic change had gone so far that the difference between imperial and modern pottery would have been obvious. Anyone finding an older pottery vessel and comparing it to those of his own time would no doubt have been impressed with the designs and the greater technical skill reflected in the earlier pieces.



Whatever the source material from which the archaistic elements were drawn, the result of their utilization was far more than a copy of the older styles. The potters of Ica succeeded in creating an important and original new style as the result of their attempt to imitate an antiquity which they no longer understood.

### Acknowledgements

The study upon which this paper is based was originally undertaken in a seminar at the University of California, Berkeley, under the direction of John H. Rowe and Dorothy Menzel. Dr. Menzel's knowledge of the Middle Horizon in Peru was an invaluable aid to me during the study as were her unfailing enthusiasm and encouragement. Dr. Rowe contributed greatly to the final conclusions and to the general form of the manuscript through his careful editing. Lawrence E. Dawson and Marianne Y. Winton also offered valuable comments on the manuscript.

Special thanks are due to Duncan M. Masson for his constant cooperation with students of Peruvian archaeology in making available his collection both for study and publication. Several specimens from the Masson collection were crucial in this study.

The illustrations of figures 12a, 13a, 14a, 15a, 17, 18, 19a, 20, 21, 22a, 23 and 25 were drawn by Jane Bendix and the remainder by Robert Berner.

### Specimens studied

Listed below are all the specimens studied in the preparation of this paper. The listing is by style unit, and the specimens found in burials are listed first, followed by the isolated specimens. All specimens which have been previously illustrated are accompanied by the reference to the illustration. In this listing RHLMA designates the Robert H. Lowie Museum of Anthropology, University of California. Items from this museum with the prefix 4- are from the Uhle collections and those with prefix 16- are from the Wattis collection.

### Pinilla

#### RHLMA

E-7	4-4481
E-10	4-4534 (Kroeber and Strong, 1924, p. 30b)
	4-4535

#### Masson collection

Grave lot 7

DM 260  
DM 261  
DM 262

Columbia University, Strong collection

Pinilla Grave lot

18B (Strong, 1957, Fig. 18B)  
18C (Strong, 1957, Fig. 18C)  
18D (plain bottle, not studied) (Strong, 1957, Fig. 18D)  
18E (Strong, 1957, Fig. 18E)  
18F (Strong, 1957, Fig. 18F)  
18G (Strong, 1957, Fig. 18G)  
18H (Strong, 1957, Fig. 18H)  
18I (Strong, 1957, Fig. 18I)  
18J (Strong, 1957, Fig. 18J)  
18K (Strong, 1957, Fig. 18K)  
18L (Strong, 1957, Fig. 18L)  
18M (Strong, 1957, Fig. 18M)  
18N (Strong, 1957, Fig. 18N)  
18O (Strong, 1957, Fig. 18O)

Ica Epigonal A

RHLMA

E-3 4-4473  
E-5 4-4474 (Kroeber and Strong, 1924, p. 30k and fig. 10; Uhle, 1913, pl. XI, B2)  
4-4475 (Kroeber and Strong, 1924, pl. 30a)  
4-4477 (Kroeber and Strong, 1924, pl. 30p)  
E-6 4-4478 (Kroeber and Strong, 1924, pl. 30m)  
4-4479 (Kroeber and Strong, 1924, pl. 30f)  
4-4480 (Kroeber and Strong, 1924, pl. 30q; Uhle, 1913, pl. XI, B1)  
E-8 4-4484 (Kroeber and Strong, 1924, pl. 30e)  
E-9 4-4486  
E-11 4-4538 (Kroeber and Strong, 1924, fig. 11)  
4-4541  
E-13 4-4547 (Kroeber and Strong, 1924, pl. 30h)  
E-15 4-4551 (Kroeber and Strong, 1924, pl. 30i)  
4-4552  
4-4554 (plain shoe pot; not studied)  
4-4555 (Kroeber and Strong, 1924, pl. 30n)

Ica Regional Museum

Epigonal Burial

MRI-2788 (Pezzia, 1959, lám. LXXXVI, TE-2; plain pitcher, not studied)

MRI-2789 (Pezzia, 1959, lám. LXXXVI, TE-3)  
 MRI-2790 (Pezzia, 1959, lám. LXXXVI, TE-4)  
 MRI-3209 (Pezzia, 1959, lám. LXXXVI, TE-1)

Rubini collection

AR 15  
 AR 31  
 AR 66

Ica Epigonal B

RHLMA

E-1 4-4464 (Kroeber and Strong, 1924, pl. 30c and fig. 9)  
 4-4465  
 E-2 4-4470 (Kroeber and Strong, 1924, pl. 30g; Uhle, 1913,  
 fig. 5, no. 8)  
 4-4471 (Kroeber and Strong, 1924, pl. 30d and fig. 6)  
 E-12 4-4544 (Kroeber and Strong, 1924, pl. 30o and fig. 7)  
 4-4545 (Kroeber and Strong, 1924, pl. 30l)  
 E-14 4-4549 (Kroeber and Strong, 1924, pl. 30j and fig. 8)  
 4-4550

Masson collection

Grave lot 2

DM 78-1  
 DM 78-2  
 DM 78-3  
 DM 78-4 (cooking olla, not studied)

RHLMA

16-10071

Rubini collection

AR 67

Ica 1

RHLMA

C-2 4-4592 (Kroeber and Strong, 1924, pl. 31g and fig. 12)  
 4-4593  
 4-4594 (Kroeber and Strong, 1924, pl. 31d)  
 4-4595 (Kroeber and Strong, 1924, pl. 31b)  
 4-4596A  
 4-4596B (plain jar, not studied)  
 4-4596C (plain jar, not studied)  
 4-4596E (plain bowl, not studied)  
 C-8 4-4607A  
 4-4607B (plain jar, not studied)

## Ica Regional Museum

## Ica Burial

MRI-2791 (Pezzia, 1959, lám. LXXXVII, TI-1)  
MRI-2792 (Pezzia, 1959, lám. LXXXVII, TI-2)  
MRI-2793 (Pezzia, 1959, lám. LXXXVII, TI-3)  
MRI-2794 (Pezzia, 1959, lám. LXXXVII, TI-4)  
MRI-2795 (Pezzia, 1959, lám. LXXXVII, TI-5)

## Masson collection

## Grave lot 1

DM 77-1  
DM 77-2 (bowl with interior red band, not studied)  
DM 77-3  
DM 77-4 (plain bowl, not studied)  
DM 77-5 (cooking olla, not studied)

## Grave lot 3

DM 222  
DM 223

## RHLMA

4-4623 (Uhle, 1913, pl. XI, B5)  
16-10059  
16-10061  
16-10062  
16-10063  
16-10064  
16-10066  
16-10067  
16-10068  
16-10069  
16-10070  
16-10072  
16-10073  
16-10074  
16-10075  
16-10076  
16-10078  
16-10079  
16-10086

## Masson collection

DM 79  
DM 207  
DM 211  
DM 241

DM 247  
 DM 267  
 DM 268  
 DM 269  
 DM 271  
 DM 272  
 DM 275  
 DM 306  
 DM 316  
 DM 452

Ica Regional Museum

MRI-DA-3779  
 MRI-DA-3780  
 MRI-DA-3781  
 MRI-DA-3783  
 MRI-DA-3786  
 MRI-E-266

Tabío collection

This specimen is represented by a color slide in the possession of Lawrence E. Dawson, RHLMA.

Schmidt, 1929 (all Gretzer collection, Museum für Völkerkunde, Berlin)

Fig. 305-1  
 Fig. 305-2  
 Fig. 324-2

NOTES

<sup>1</sup>Menzel, 1964.

<sup>2</sup>Uhle, 1913.

<sup>3</sup>Menzel, 1964.

<sup>4</sup>Most of the color slides used in this study were supplied to me by Dr. Dorothy Menzel. I have catalogued these slides and reference is made to them by my catalog numbers. The key to the catalog number prefixes is as follows: AR, Aldo Rubini collection; CS, Carlos Soldi collection; DM, Duncan Masson collection. Slides of specimens in the Ica Regional Museum are referred to by museum number, and all have the prefix MRI. One slide of a specimen in the collection of Ernesto Tabío was supplied to me by Lawrence E. Dawson. Neither this slide nor the specimen is numbered.

<sup>5</sup>Menzel, 1964, pp. 64-65.

<sup>6</sup>Kroeber and Strong, 1924, p. 101.

<sup>7</sup>Kroeber and Strong, 1924, pl. 30b.

<sup>8</sup>Kroeber and Strong, 1924, p. 124.

<sup>9</sup>Menzel, 1964, pp. 64-65.

<sup>10</sup>Strong, 1957, Fig. 18F, M.

<sup>11</sup>Strong, 1957, Fig. 18C, F, M. O.

<sup>12</sup>The disembodied feline heads which occur as design motifs in Ica from Middle Horizon 2B through Late Intermediate Period 1, are derived from appendage heads which first appear in Middle Horizon 1 in the Conchopata and Robles Moqo styles. These feline appendage heads are found as terminators on ray appendages, headdress appendages and staffs (e.g., Menzel, 1964, pl. IV fig. 10-a and pl. V fig. 13). Appendage heads are easily distinguished from other disembodied feline heads (e.g., Menzel, 1964, pl. VII fig. 20) by the presence of a rectangular neck attachment which is placed below the ear on the end of the head opposite the mouth (figs. 26, 27, 31, 33). In Middle Horizon 2B most disembodied feline heads distinguish between neck attachment and mouth, a distinction which is lost in Middle Horizon 3 and 4A when the heads are bilaterally symmetrical. At present it is not possible to distinguish with absolute certainty between all isolated specimens of Middle Horizon 2 and 3 vessels decorated with feline heads. I have included illustrations of feline heads in this uncertain category in order to show the range of variation in this design theme at that time. One of the feline heads revived in Middle Horizon 4B (fig. 39) may not derive from an appendage head, since it has no neck attachment. All the feline heads found in Late Intermediate Period 1 do have the neck attachment, either as such or moved upward into mouth position to form a second mouth on a bilaterally symmetrical head.

<sup>13</sup>Menzel, 1964, p. 64.

<sup>14</sup>A possible forerunner of the lipped cup is represented by a collared jar in the Carlos Soldi collection (CS 5) which is decorated on the body with a Pachacamac B griffin while the interior of the collar, which is quite broad and flaring, is decorated with white lines.

<sup>15</sup>Kroeber and Strong, 1924, p. 124.

<sup>16</sup>All previous illustrations of specimens of this style are noted in the list of specimens studied at the end of this paper. Note that Kroeber and Strong have listed incorrectly the museum number of the specimen illustrated in pl. 30i (Kroeber and Strong, 1924, p. 132).

<sup>17</sup>Pezzia, 1959, pp. 291-295 and lám. LXXXVI. It should be noted that the drawings in this article are inaccurate as regards both the form and the decoration of the specimens. My treatment of them is based on Menzel's unpublished slides and notes.

- <sup>18</sup>Strong, 1957, Fig. 18K, L.
- <sup>19</sup>Pezzia, 1959, lám. LXXXVI, TE-3; Kroeber and Strong, 1924, pl. 30k.
- <sup>20</sup>Pezzia, 1959, lám. LXXXVI, TE-1.
- <sup>21</sup>Kroeber and Strong, 1924, pl. 30p; Uhle, 1913, fig. 5, no. 4.
- <sup>22</sup>Kroeber and Strong, 1924, pl. 30n.
- <sup>23</sup>Kroeber and Strong, 1924, pl. 30h, m and fig. 11; Pezzia, 1959, lám. LXXXVI, TE-4.
- <sup>24</sup>Kroeber and Strong, 1924, pl. 30m and fig. 11.
- <sup>25</sup>Kroeber and Strong, 1924, p. 124.
- <sup>26</sup>All previous illustrations of specimens of this style are noted in the list of specimens studied at the end of this paper.
- <sup>27</sup>Kroeber and Strong, 1924, pl. 30g; Uhle, 1913, fig. 5, no. 8.
- <sup>28</sup>Kroeber and Strong, 1924, pl. 30j and fig. 8.
- <sup>29</sup>Menzel, 1964, pl. VII, fig. 20.
- <sup>30</sup>Kroeber and Strong, 1924, pl. 30c, o.
- <sup>31</sup>Kroeber and Strong, 1924, pl. 30d and fig. 6.
- <sup>32</sup>Kroeber and Strong, 1924, pl. 30g; Uhle, 1913, fig. 5, no. 8.
- <sup>33</sup>Kroeber and Strong, 1924, pl. 30 l.
- <sup>34</sup>Pezzia, 1959, pp. 295-297 and lám. LXXXVII. See note 17 for drawings.
- <sup>35</sup>Uhle, 1913, pl. XI, B5.
- <sup>36</sup>Schmidt, 1929, fig. 305-1, -2 and 324-2.
- <sup>37</sup>All previous illustrations of specimens of this style are noted in the list of specimens studied at the end of this paper.
- <sup>38</sup>Pezzia, 1959, lám. LXXXVII, TI-2, -4.
- <sup>39</sup>Schmidt, 1929, fig. 305-2.
- <sup>40</sup>Schmidt, 1929, fig. 305-1, 324-2.
- <sup>41</sup>Pezzia, 1959, lám. LXXXVII, TI-2.

- <sup>42</sup>Schmidt, 1929, fig. 324-2.
- <sup>43</sup>Kroeber and Strong, 1924, pl. 31d; Schmidt, 1929, fig. 305-1.
- <sup>44</sup>Uhle, 1913, pl. XI, B5.
- <sup>45</sup>Schmidt, 1929, fig. 305-2 and specimen DM 452 from Avispas near Ica.
- <sup>46</sup>Menzel, 1964, p. 61.
- <sup>47</sup>Compare Menzel, 1964, pl. IV, fig. 10-a.
- <sup>48</sup>Pezzia, 1959, lám. LXXXVII, TI-3.
- <sup>49</sup>Pezzia, 1959, lám. LXXXVII, TI-1, -5.
- <sup>50</sup>Kroeber and Strong, 1924, pl. 31b.
- <sup>51</sup>Menzel, 1964, pp. 50-51.
- <sup>52</sup>Menzel, 1964, pl. IV, fig. 10.
- <sup>53</sup>Personal communication from Lawrence E. Dawson.
- <sup>54</sup>Menzel, 1964, pl. IX, fig. 26.
- <sup>55</sup>Rowe, 1966, Table 3.

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#### KEY TO ILLUSTRATIONS

All drawings of pottery designs are reproduced at one half original size with the exception of those on Plates II, VI and VII which are idealized drawings and not to scale. All shape outline drawings are reproduced at one fourth original size with the exception of Figs. 1b, 2b, 15b, 19b and 22b which are at one sixth original size. Burial numbers with the prefix E- are from site E, Ocucaje, Ica, and those with prefix C- are from site C, Ocucaje, Ica. Specimen numbers with the prefix 4- are from the Uhle collection; numbers with the prefix 16- are from the Wattis collection. Both of these collections are in the Robert H. Lowie Museum of Anthropology, University of California, Berkeley. For key to other number prefixes see Note 4.

#### Plate II

Fig. 1. Feline head with attached segmented bar body, wing and hand. Specimen DM 452 from Avispas, Ica. Ica 1.

Fig. 2. Feline head with seated anthropomorphic body. Specimen 16-10063 from Ica. Ica 1.

Figs. 3-6. Black and white crosses showing the variety of treatment of this design theme in the Ica 1 phase.

Fig. 3. Unoutlined black and white cross. This is the only type of cross which occurs in the Middle Horizon, and it is found in all phases in Ica. Specimen 4-4594, Burial C-2. Ica 1.

Fig. 4. Semi-outlined black and white cross. This may be a transitional form between the unoutlined and wholly outlined crosses. Specimen 16-10069 from Ica. Ica 1.

Fig. 5. Outlined black and white cross. Used as filler element on the same vessel as Fig. 6. Specimen 16-10074 from Ica. Ica 1.

Fig. 6. Outlined cross with dotted arms. This form first appears in Ica 1 and becomes very common in later phases of the Ica style. Used as filler element on the same vessel as Fig. 5. Specimen 16-10074 from Ica. Ica 1.

Figs. 7-11. Step frets showing the different forms in the Pinilla phase (Fig. 7), Ica Epigonal B (Figs. 8-9) and Ica 1 (Figs. 10-11).

Fig. 7. Solid black step fret. After Strong, 1957, Fig. 18F. Pinilla phase.

Fig. 8. Hollow base step fret. The added squares with dashes or dots are new in this sub-phase. Specimen 4-4450, Burial E-14. Ica Epigonal B.

Fig. 9. Hollow base step fret. Specimen 16-10071 from Ica. Ica Epigonal B.

Fig. 10. Step fret with dotted hollow base. Specimen 4-4595, Burial C-2. Ica 1.

Fig. 11. Step fret with dotted hollow base. The use of added squares with dots or dashes is continued in this phase. Specimen DM 223, Masson Grave lot 3 from the Córdova area of Ocucaje, Ica. Ica 1.

### Plate III

Fig. 12. Specimen 4-4534, Burial E-10. Pinilla phase.

Fig. 13. Specimen 4-4535, Burial E-10. Pinilla phase.

Fig. 14. Specimen 4-4481, Burial E-7. Pinilla phase.

Fig. 15. Specimen 4-4593, Burial C-2. Ica 1. (For remainder of Burial see Plates IV and V.)

Figs. 16-18. Change in jar shapes, Ica Epigonal A-Ica 1.

Fig. 16. Specimen 4-4555, Burial E-15. Ica Epigonal A.

Fig. 17. Specimen 4-4464, Burial E-1. Ica Epigonal B.

Fig. 18. Specimen 4-4623 from Ica. Ica 1. (See also Figs. 1b, 2b, 15b, 19b, 20b and 22b.)

#### Plate IV

All vessels on this plate are from Burial C-2, Ocucaje, Ica, and belong to the Ica 1 phase. For remainder of the burial see Fig. 15 and Plate V.

Fig. 19. Specimen 4-4592.

Fig. 20. Specimen 4-4594.

Fig. 21. Specimen 4-4595.

#### Plate V

All vessels on this plate are from Burial C-2, Ocucaje, Ica, and belong to the Ica 1 phase. For remainder of the burial see Fig. 15 and Plate IV.

Fig. 22. Specimen 4-4596A. The drawing of Fig. 22a was done for a previous study of this collection. Upon closer examination of the specimen it was noted that the portions of the figure which are coded as cream-colored are, in fact, the same red as the base slip.

Fig. 23. Specimen 4-4596B. Undecorated jar, not studied.

Fig. 24. Specimen 4-4596C. Undecorated jar, not studied.

Fig. 25. Specimen 4-4596E. Undecorated small spheroid incurving bowl, not studied.

#### Plate VI

Changes in the form of disembodied feline heads from Ica-Pachacamac through Ica 1.

Figs. 26-27. Disembodied feline heads, Ica-Pachacamac phase. The feline head in this phase is generally quite realistic with well defined ear and nose, mouth and neck marking, and often eyebrow and tear lines.

Fig. 26. Specimen AR 2, Tomb 1, Huaca José Ramos, Pinilla sector of Ocucaje, Ica. Ica-Pachacamac.

Fig. 27. Specimen CS 3 from Ulluhaya, Ica. Ica-Pachacamac.

Figs. 28-29. Disembodied feline heads, Pinilla phase. In this phase there is a strong tendency toward bilateral symmetry in the feline heads, but there is still a realistic eye, and sometimes eyebrow or tear-line are indicated. Neck markings are generally clear.

Fig. 28. After Strong, 1957, Fig. 18J. Pinilla phase.

Fig. 29. Specimen DM 260, Masson Grave lot 7, Cruz Grande, Ocucaje, Ica. Pinilla phase.

Figs. 30-35. These figures represent specimens which belong to either the Ica-Pachacamac or the Pinilla phase, but cannot be attributed with certainty to one or the other. They are included here to show the variety of treatment of this design theme. (See Note 12)

Fig. 30. Specimen AR 19 from Huaca José Ramos, Pinilla sector of Ocucaje, Ica. Probably Ica-Pachacamac.

Fig. 31. Specimen AR 61 from Huaca José Ramos, Pinilla sector of Ocucaje, Ica. Probably Ica-Pachacamac.

Fig. 32. Specimen AR 21 from Huaca José Ramos, Pinilla sector of Ocucaje, Ica. Either Ica-Pachacamac or Pinilla phase.

Fig. 33. Specimen DM 231 from Ica. Either Ica-Pachacamac or Pinilla phase.

Fig. 34. Specimen AR 62 from Huaca José Ramos, Pinilla sector of Ocucaje, Ica. Either Ica-Pachacamac or Pinilla phase.

Fig. 35. Specimen AR 34 from Huaca José Ramos, Pinilla sector of Ocucaje, Ica. Probably Pinilla phase.

Figs. 36-38. Disembodied feline heads, Ica Epigonal A sub-phase. In this sub-phase the feline heads are bilaterally symmetrical and have almost no representational elements. It appears that the meaning of the design was lost at this time.

Fig. 36. Specimen 4-4474, Burial E-5. Ica Epigonal A.

Fig. 37. Specimen MRI-3209, Epigonal burial, Rinconada de Pinilla, Ocucaje, Ica. Ica Epigonal A.

Fig. 38. Specimen MRI-2789, Epigonal burial, Rinconada de Pinilla, Ocucaje, Ica. Ica Epigonal A.

Figs. 39-43. Disembodied feline heads, Ica Epigonal B sub-phase. The first indications of archaism appear in this sub-phase, as reflected in Figs. 39, 42 and 43 which have no antecedents in the preceding sub-

phase. Figs. 40 and 41 continue in a straight line development from the abstract forms of the preceding sub-phase, becoming even more abstract and geometric in form.

Fig. 39. Specimen 4-4544, Burial E-12. Ica Epigonal B.

Fig. 40. Specimen 16-10071 from Ica. Ica Epigonal B.

Fig. 41. Specimen 4-4465, Burial E-1. Ica Epigonal B.

Fig. 42. Specimen DM 78-1, Masson Grave lot 2, Rinconada de Pinilla, Ocucaje, Ica. Ica Epigonal B.

Fig. 43. Specimen 4-4464, Burial E-1. Ica Epigonal B.

Figs. 44-54. Disembodied feline heads, Ica 1 phase. In this phase there is a great amount of variation shown in the treatment of this design theme, but the basic dichotomy seen in the preceding sub-phase continues--realistic treatment based on archaism and abstract and geometric forms arising from immediate antecedents. Figs. 46, 50, 53 and 54 show some of the variation in the realistic treatment and elaboration, including eyebrows, tear lines and a feather tuft. The remainder of the figures in this group show the three types of geometric treatment common in this phase.

Fig. 44. Specimen 16-10072 from Ica. Ica 1.

Fig. 45. Specimen DM 306 from the Pinilla sector of Ocucaje, Ica. Ica 1.

Fig. 46. Specimen DM 271 from the Pinilla sector of Ocucaje, Ica. Ica 1. (See also Fig. 50.)

Fig. 47. Specimen 16-10078 from Ica. Ica 1.

Fig. 48. Specimen 16-10068 from Ica. Ica 1.

Fig. 49. Specimen DM 269 from the Pinilla sector of Ocucaje, Ica. Ica 1.

Fig. 50. Specimen DM 271 from the Pinilla sector of Ocucaje, Ica. Ica 1. (See also Fig. 46.)

Fig. 51. Specimen DM 247 from near La Capilla, Pinilla sector, Ocucaje, Ica. Ica 1.

Fig. 52. Specimen 16-10086 from Ica. Ica 1.

Fig. 53. Specimen MRI-DA-3779, Rinconada de Pinilla, Ocucaje, Ica. Ica 1.

Fig. 54. Specimen DM 77-1, Masson Grave lot 1, Rinconada de Pinilla, Ocucaje, Ica. Ica 1.

## Plate VII

Changes in bird figures between Pachacamac (Middle Horizon 2) and Ica-Pachacamac, and Ica 1. There are no full-bodied bird figures in the intervening phases from which the Ica 1 birds could be drawn. It is therefore assumed that the models for the Ica 1 birds are those shown in Figs. 55 and 56.

Fig. 55. After Baessler, 1902-03, vol. 4, Pl. 133, Fig. 368. Pachacamac style star bird (Middle Horizon 2) from Pachacamac. Although birds of this type do occur in Ica-Pachacamac, there are no good examples from which an illustration could be made; therefore, this specimen from Pachacamac was used.

Fig. 56. Griffin, specimen AR 11, Rinconada de Pinilla, Ocucaje, Ica. Ica-Pachacamac.

Fig. 57. Note how hind leg of griffin has become lower wing, and the form of the beak has changed. Squares on body probably represent segmented bar body of griffin, and tail form is probably taken from star bird. Specimen 16-10075 from Ica. Ica 1.

Fig. 58. Lower wing is attached to arm, and hand has a wing shape. For similar hand treatment see Fig. 59. Specimen 16-10074 from Ica. Ica 1.

Fig. 59. In this figure only the head, chest and arm remain of the full-bodied bird, and the wing is attached directly to the back of the chest. The form of the hand seems to be due to crowding on the design panel. See Fig. 60 from the same vessel and also Fig. 61 from the same burial. Specimen MRI-2794, Ica burial, Pinilla sector, Ocucaje, Ica. Ica 1.

Fig. 60. See remarks for Fig. 59 above. Note occurrence of feather tuft. Specimen MRI-2794, Ica burial, Pinilla sector, Ocucaje, Ica. Ica 1.

Fig. 61. This figure is most closely related to Figs. 57 and 58, but the lower wing is absent. Note the use of outlined circles with black dots instead of dotted squares on the body. This figure is on a vessel from the same burial as the vessel decorated with Figs. 59 and 60. Specimen MRI-2792, Ica burial, Pinilla sector, Ocucaje, Ica. Ica 1.

Fig. 62. This is an even more stylized version of the type of bird represented in Figs 59, 60 and 63. The dotted squares on the "arm" may be from the dotted squares on the body of the full-bodied birds (Figs. 57-58) and thus, the "arm" may really represent the body of the bird. This type of bird is commonly found in Ica 2 and later phases. Specimen 4-4592, Burial C-2. Ica 1.

Fig. 63. This bird is an obvious outgrowth of forms such as Figs. 59 and 60. Note feather tuft. Specimen 4-4596A, Burial C-2. Ica 1.

Fig. 64. This bird could easily derive from the type of bird represented by Fig. 63, by simply cutting off the figure just below the wing and changing the beak form. There are no other antecedents for this type of bird, but it becomes exceedingly common in later phases. Specimen 4-4596A, Burial C-2. Ica 1.

Grave lots which are illustrated in their entirety in this report are as follows: E-7, Ocucaje, Ica, Fig. 14; E-10, Ocucaje, Ica, Figs. 12-13; C-2, Ocucaje, Ica, Figs. 15 and 19-25.

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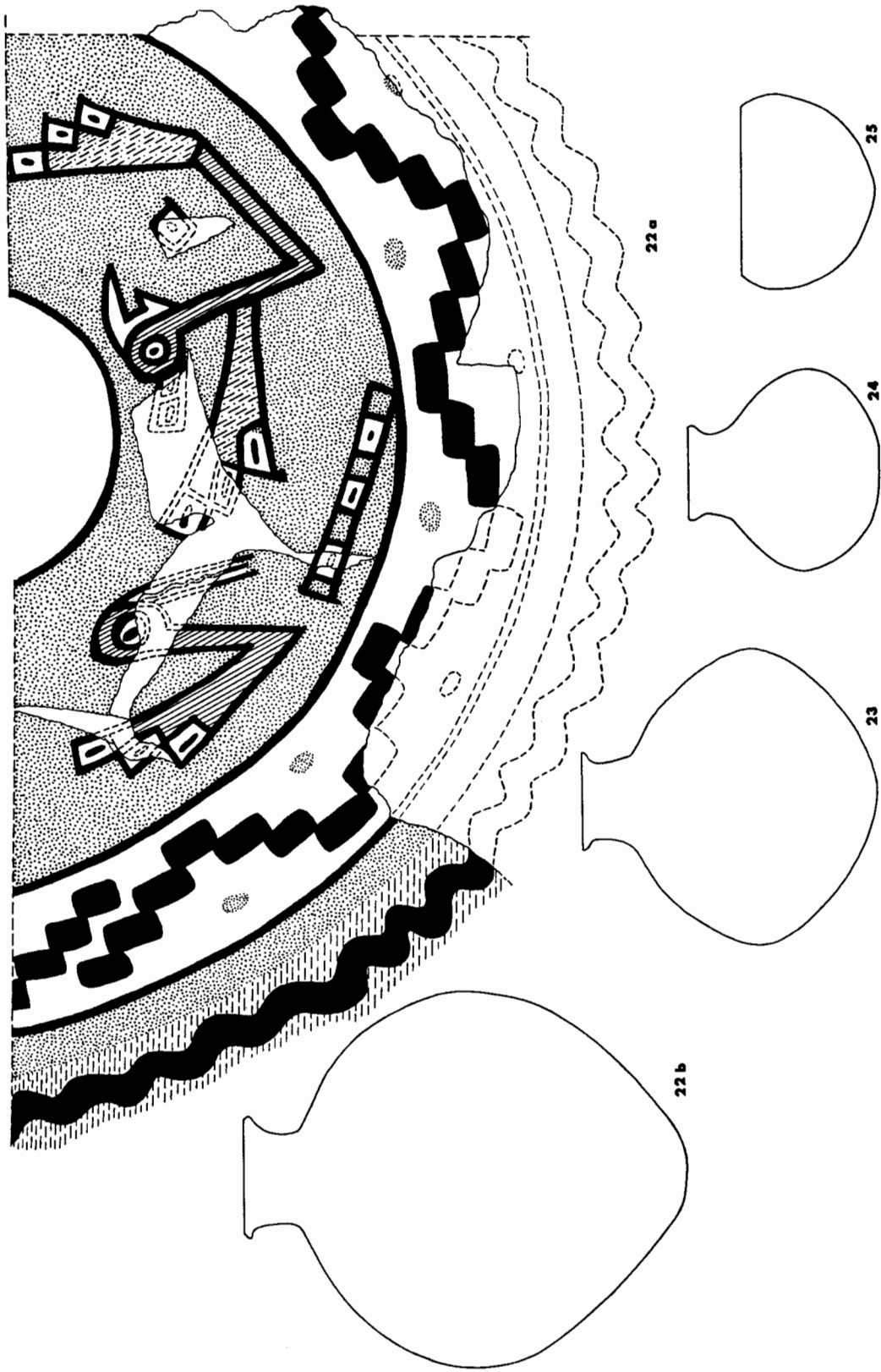


Plate V. Ica 1 vessels from Burial C-2, Ocucaje (see plate III, fig. 15, and plate IV for remainder of grave lot).



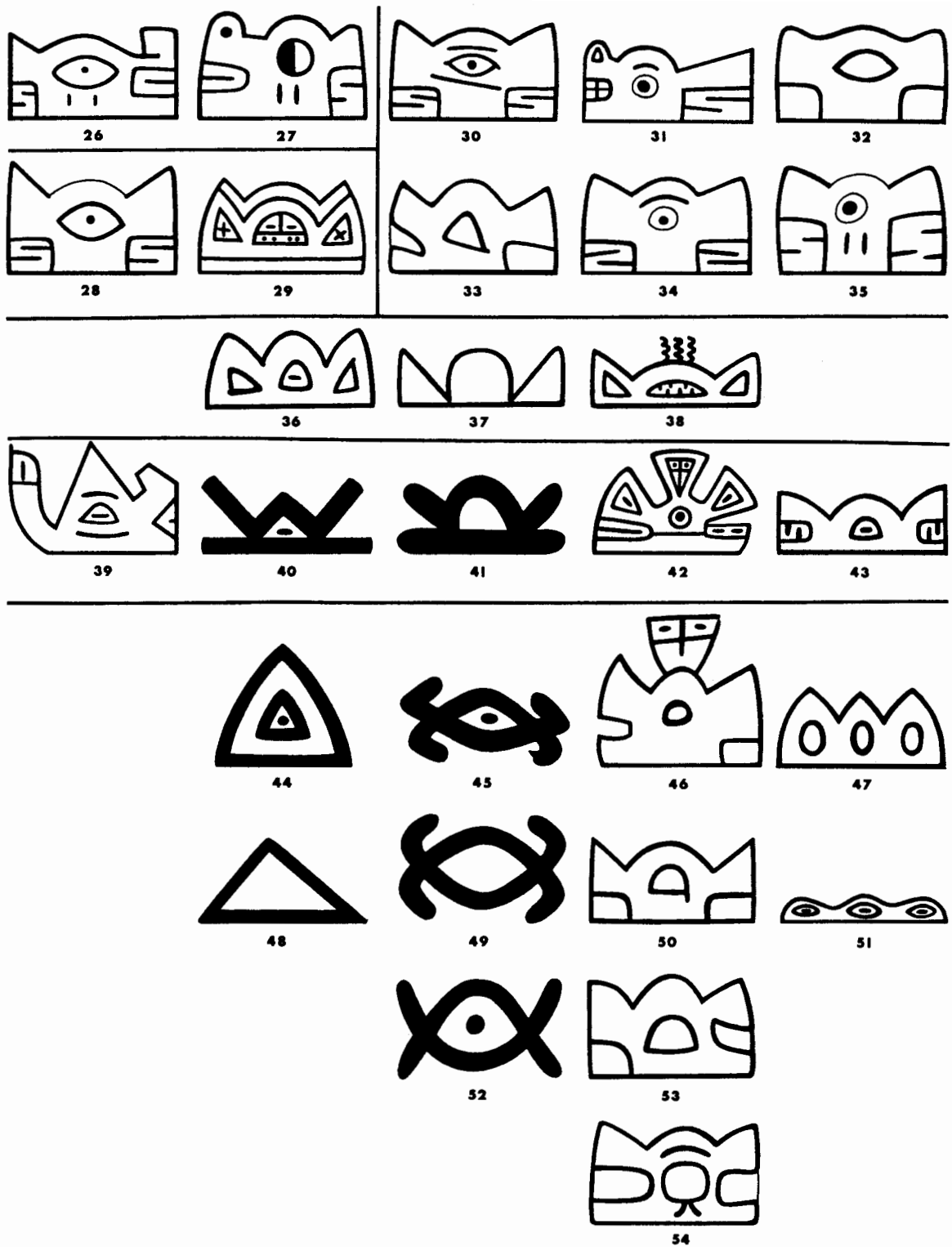
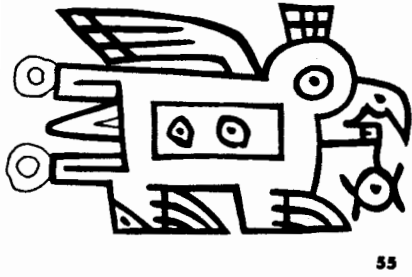
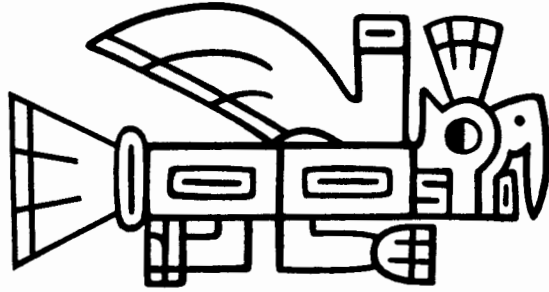


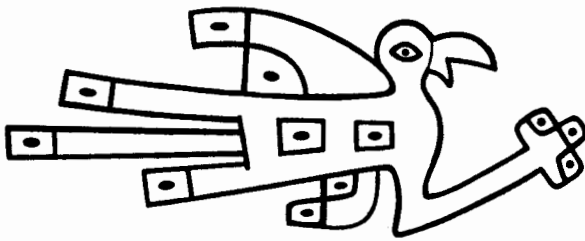
Plate VI. Changes in disembodied feline heads: Ica-Pachacamac (figs. 26, 27); Pinilla phase (figs. 28, 29); Ica-Pachacamac or Pinilla (figs. 30-35); Ica Epigonal A (figs. 36-38); Ica Epigonal B (figs. 39-43); Ica 1 (figs. 44-54).



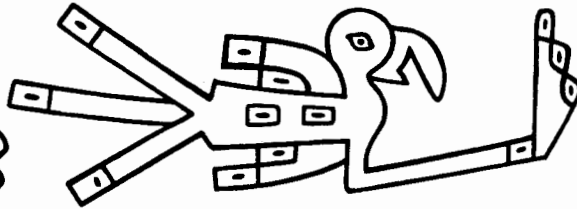
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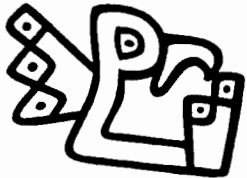
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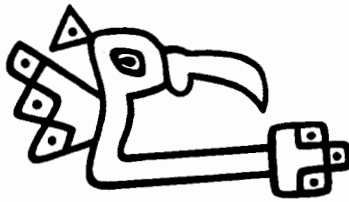
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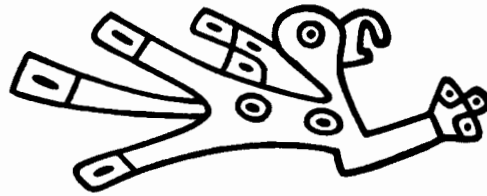
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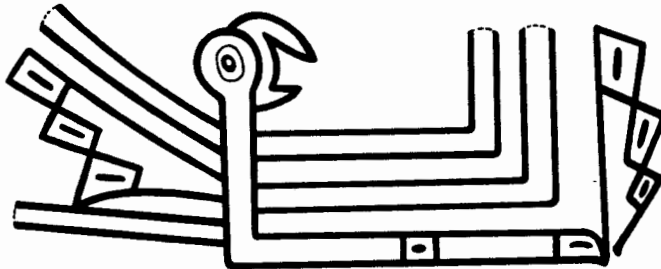
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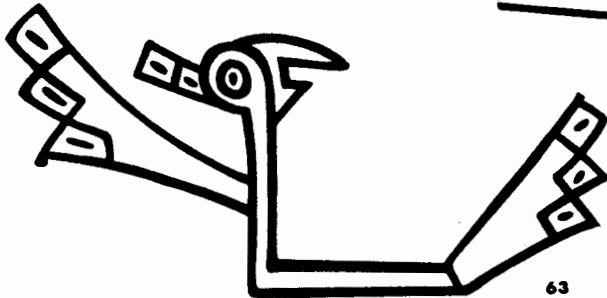
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Plate VII. Changes in birds: Pachacamac style (Middle Horizon 2) from Pachacamac (fig. 55); Ica-Pachacamac (fig. 56); Ica 1 (figs. 57-64).