

NEW DATA ON THE HUARI EMPIRE IN MIDDLE HORIZON EPOCH 2A

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Introduction

New data on the Huari culture of the Middle Horizon are constantly appearing from all parts of the area once under Huari influence, and a great deal of new information has accumulated since I wrote a report in 1964 on the data then available to me.¹ This issue of Nawpa Pacha is a good example, for there are four important articles, by Paulsen, Lyon, Donnan and Ravines, which deal with new evidence on the Middle Horizon. The articles by Donnan and Ravines describe new data concerning the very important and poorly known Middle Horizon Epoch 2A. Since there is also other new information which helps to clarify this key period in the development of the Huari expansion, the contributions by Donnan and Ravines offer a good opportunity to bring the discussion of Epoch 2A up to date. The new data have a special bearing on the Huari cult, its expansion, and the changes it underwent during Epochs 1 and 2.²

The relative dating of the finds discussed here is based on the identification of the pottery styles in terms of the sequence outlined in my earlier study. The evidence of associations of contemporaneity in both Donnan's and Ravines' finds bears out data of associations available from elsewhere in the area of Huari expansion, as described in the discussion that follows. In terms of absolute dates, Epoch 2A may fall into the second half of the seventh century A.D., or perhaps a century or so later. It probably did not exceed 50 years in length, and it may have been of even shorter duration.³

Ravines' excavation at Ayapata is in many ways the most important single new contribution to Middle Horizon studies. On the basis of internal evidence Ravines shows that the Ayapata deposit was an offering pit made according to a preconceived plan, either on a single occasion or on several separated by very short intervals of time. The stylistic data bear out Ravines' observations, as we shall see. The nature of the Ayapata offerings, as well as the deposit itself, show a close resemblance to two other offering deposits known from the Huari area, those of the sites of Chakipampa near Ayacucho (Conchopata style) and of Pacheco in the ravine of Nasca (Robles Moqo style). These offerings belong in Middle Horizon Epochs 1A and 1B, respectively.⁴ The resemblance is so striking that it is clear that we are dealing with a single continuing tradition of offerings. At the same time, however, there are some significant differences among the three deposits which help to explain the phenomena of change in the Huari tradition. The Ayapata deposit represents a significant link in the story that could be seen unfolding in outline on the basis of earlier data.

Background on the Middle Horizon offering tradition

In order to bring the significance of the Ayapata deposit into sharper focus, a review of the nature and function of the Middle Horizon offering deposits is helpful. The early Middle Horizon offering deposits

are fundamental to an understanding of the nature of Huari culture and its expansion, and the changes it underwent in the course of time. The offerings are an expression of great religious devotion and elaborate ceremonial. The religious significance is seen in the mythical representations that appear in association in the deposits, the profundity of the devotion can be appreciated by noting the extraordinary effort and skill that went into the manufacture of the pottery placed in the offering pits, and the elaborate ceremonial nature of the deposits is seen in their esoteric character which is most conspicuous in the earliest deposit near Ayacucho. The pottery in these offerings is completely unlike other kinds of pottery of its time, and it occurs in isolation from other kinds of remains. For these reasons I shall refer to it as ceremonial pottery, ceremonial ware, or offering pottery.

The earliest offering deposit, that of Conchopata dating to Middle Horizon Epoch 1A, is a unique discovery. Its special significance lies also in the fact that it represents the first manifestation of a cult or art style akin to that of Tiahuanaco in the Ayacucho and Huari area. The religious representations appearing on the cult objects are not found in any other associations. The cult objects consist exclusively of oversized urns about two thirds to three quarters of a meter high, with a mouth diameter slightly larger than the height and walls that vary in thickness from about three to six centimeters. Some, if not all, of these urns had small strap handles somewhere below the lip. All these urns had been broken where they stood, and crack marks show that the blows had been aimed frequently or regularly at the faces of the mythical figures painted on them. These figures were painted in 25 to 30 cm. broad bands around the outside of the rim of the urns. Great quantities of urn fragments are said to have been recovered. Although a large number of them had been painted with the mythical designs, the majority was unpainted except for a plain cream-colored slip, according to Toribio Mejía Xesspe. As Mejía has pointed out, the plain cream-colored urns evidently had been prepared in advance for later ceremonial painting, but had never been so used and were buried with the painted ones.⁵

The Middle Horizon 1B offering deposit of the Robles Moqo style at Pacheco, Nasca, contained urns very similar to the Conchopata ones. Isolated examples of similar urn fragments were also found at the sites of Chakipampa and Huari.⁶ Many of these urns are decorated with representations of mythical beings, as in the Conchopata style. However, there are also stylistic differences, as noted in an earlier publication, and more of the urns at Pacheco were decorated with representations of cultivated plants of the highlands.⁷ Another significant stylistic contrast with the Conchopata urns is that mythical designs cover the entire surface of the sides of the Robles Moqo-style urns, while plant designs occur in wider bands than are used on the earlier urns. An example of an urn with plant designs from Pacheco is illustrated in Ravines' article in this issue (Ravines, fig. 84).⁸ In addition to their decoration, the Robles Moqo-style urns are distinguished by large vertical or horizontal strap handles placed at about middle height of the body. On the examples of urns decorated with mythical designs the handles are placed and decorated

to blend inconspicuously with the design on the body of the vessel, which represents an abbreviated female deity.⁹ On the Robles Moqo-style urns adorned with plant designs, however, the handles are made to represent two animal heads attached to the ends of two serpentine bodies made to appear coiled together. Each body terminates in the "tail-feather" design of Huari and related cult representations (Ravines, fig. 84). These animal handles have also other features associated with mythical representations on other urns.

Another contrast between the Conchopata-style offering and the Robles Moqo-style ones is that in the latter the urns are not the only vessel form. There are also other oversized vessels, including tumblers, fancy modeled llamas and anthropomorphic faceneck jars without mythical features, as well as a great many distinctive small vessel forms.¹⁰ Another significant difference between the Middle Horizon 1A and 1B offerings is that the latter are not confined to a single site, but are found with regional variations at several sites. It is necessary to deduce this fact from isolated finds of fragments at Chakipampa (Ayacucho) and Huari, for the only offering pit proper so far discovered is that at the Pacheco site. Since the oversized vessels that form part of the Pacheco offering have never been found in ordinary burials, and since fragments of such vessels appear to be confined to one area of each of the sierra sites, it is reasonable to expect that these oversized vessels were used exclusively as offerings. The scattering of parts of the contents of the offering pits is a phenomenon that also occurred at Pacheco and near the Conchopata pits. It is possible that as yet undiscovered offering pits of Epoch 1B also remain to be found at other foci of Huari culture of that epoch, such as the Rimac and Cañete valleys.

There are some additional significant features that point to contrasts between the different ceremonial centers of Epoch 1B. Small Robles Moqo-style vessels, as well as the oversized ones, have been recorded in similar form at Pacheco and Huari, and imitations of the small vessels have also been found at other important centers of this time, such as Cerro del Oro in the Cañete valley and Vista Alegre in the Rimac valley.¹¹ In contrast, none of the new oversized and small forms has been recorded so far from the old center of Chakipampa or other Middle Horizon 1B sites in the vicinity of Ayacucho. This phenomenon suggests that the initiative and dominance in religious matters had shifted at this time from Chakipampa to Huari, an inference supported by the subsequent abandonment of the Ayacucho sites. The difficulty is that the sample from Huari is very small and therefore cannot give an indication of the full range of variation of mythical themes present in the Robles Moqo style of that center.¹² The variant of the Robles Moqo style as it appears at Pacheco has a much abbreviated range of mythical figures, these being confined mainly to two aspects, male and female, of the principal deity of the Conchopata tradition.¹³ Since derivatives of all the mythical figures of the Conchopata style are found on special fancy wares of Epoch 2, it is reasonable to suppose that these mythical themes were also continued in use in Epoch 1B, notably at Huari, which

seems to have been the center of distribution at this time. It is therefore expectable that the Robles Moqo style of Huari contained the whole pantheon of mythical representations found in the Conchopata style, something that the present small sample from Huari cannot reveal. The obvious inference is that the Robles Moqo style of Pacheco represents a local selection and adaptation of some of the mythical figures, omitting others.

The custom of making offerings of pottery did not cease in later epochs, and persisted into the time of the Spanish conquest. The quotation from Pablo Joseph de Arriaga, used as an epigraph by Ravines at the beginning of his article, is an account of a pottery deposit in the district of Caxatambo in the north-central highlands which sounds remarkably like a Middle Horizon 1 offering pit and shrine, found and reused in later times. Although some pottery offerings were made also in Inca times, the Incas used other kinds of offerings more frequently.¹⁴ Common Inca offerings consisted of small figurines representing humans or llamas which were usually made of gold, silver or stone and sometimes of shell; of sea shells, shell beads, or small pieces of shell; of small bits of gold; of clothing and food; of coca; of sacrificed llamas and guinea pigs; and sometimes of human sacrifices of children. Some of the offerings, such as clothing, food and llamas, were usually burned. The Incas made these sacrifices on state occasions and at certain shrines. Each occasion and each shrine required a different ceremonial and a different variety of offerings.¹⁵ Some of the shrines consisted of springs, others honored mountain tops or were located at certain spots along the road, at quarries, or at other important sites. Peculiar rock formations were also sometimes made into shrines. Many shrines recorded special events. The artifact offerings were very commonly of miniature size. Shell, either whole, in small bits or ground to powder was the most common offering at springs. Cobo also mentions an offering pit in connection with the fourth shrine of the sixth ceque (line) of Cuzco in the Chinchaysuyu sector to the north, a shrine to the wind (Guayra).¹⁶ What was offered is not specified, however.

Cobo points out that the native peoples of the different provinces of the Inca empire also had shrines of their own to which they made sacrifices independently of the Inca system.¹⁷ These provincial traditions did not originate with the Incas, despite the fact that they often resembled the Inca ones.

There are a number of resemblances between the kinds of offerings made by the Incas and offerings probably datable to Middle Horizon Epoch 2. For example, Valcárcel describes an offering deposit below the floor of one of the rooms of the Middle Horizon site of Pikillaqta, in the Lucre basin, lower Cuzco valley.¹⁸ The offering was buried under a stone and consisted of large quantities of human figurines of miniature size in the Huari style, together with two valves of a *Spondylus* shell, a *Strombus* shell, and a copper bar. Miniature figurines of the same style have been found throughout the area of Huari influence. Several have been recorded from the Ica valley on the south coast.¹⁹ A miniature stone figurine of this style was recovered by Aldo Rubini at a cemetery at

Ocucaje, Ica, which produced burials in the styles of Middle Horizon Epochs 2 and 3.²⁰ Since no Middle Horizon 1 remains have been recorded at the Ocucaje cemetery, the figurine from there probably does not pre-date Epoch 2 of the Middle Horizon. Larco states that such figurines have also been found at Chanchan near Trujillo, in the Virú valley, at Santiago de Chuco, Casma, Huancayo and the Callejón de Huaylas, as well as in the Ayacucho region.²¹ Tiny stone figurines in the Huari style from the Ayacucho region are among the collections of the Museo Histórico Regional of Ayacucho.²² These data indicate that the small stone figurines had a wide distribution in the area of Huari domination during the Middle Horizon, and that they were used as offerings, along with shell. The data from Ica suggest, furthermore, that the figurines were in use in Middle Horizon Epoch 2, although this does not necessarily preclude the possibility of their earlier occurrence as well.

One is struck at once by the resemblance between the Huari-style offerings of miniature figurines and shell, and the corresponding Inca offerings. This resemblance is the more striking if one considers that neither shell nor miniature figurines are recorded for the pottery offering deposits of Middle Horizon Epoch 1. The roots of the Inca offering pattern may not go farther back than Epoch 2 of the Middle Horizon. On the other hand, small modeled vessels representing non-mythical humans do exist as part of the Robles Moqo-style pottery offerings of Epoch 1B and suggest a resemblance to the small stone figurines. It is possible that fancy stone-carved figurines and shells came to replace the pottery offerings of Middle Horizon Epoch 1B as the pottery lost some of its prestige and religious exclusiveness.²³

There is another point to be considered, however, and that is that a variety of different kinds of offering deposits existed in the Middle Horizon, as they did in Inca times. For example, offerings of sacrificed llamas were found at Pacheco separately from the pottery offerings.²⁴ Ubbelohde-Doering describes "circular" (cylindrical?) offering pits of human sacrifices in an area of several elite burials of Middle Horizon Epoch 2 and one of Epoch 1B, which were found at Locarí in the Huayurí or Chimba valley of the Nasca drainage.²⁵ These examples of different kinds of offerings in the period of Huari domination in Peru as early as Epoch 1B indicate a need for caution in interpreting the history of offerings from Middle Horizon 1 to Inca times. Despite this caution, however, there is a clear contrast between the fancy ceremonial pottery offerings of Middle Horizon Epoch 1 and what is known of offerings in later times. Some time after Middle Horizon 1B pottery made especially for offering deposits evidently went out of use.

The offering deposit of Ayapata

Let us now turn to the new evidence furnished by the offering pit of Ayapata, to see to what extent it can help us to bridge the gap between the Middle Horizon 1 offering pattern and the patterns we see in later times. To begin with, it is important to note that the Ayapata

deposit is located only about 35 kms. northwest of the site of Huari in direct air line. About 25 kms. to the west of Ayapata lies the settlement of Huallay Grande or "Atun Waillay," near which Tello reports a second principal site like that of Huari, on the left bank of the Lircay river. According to Tello, remains of the Huari culture are particularly prominent in the provinces of Angaraes and Huancavelica, west of Huari, especially in the area of the Huarpa and Lircay rivers.²⁶ The discovery of an important offering deposit of the Huari cult in the general vicinity of both Huari and Atun Waillay therefore fits in well with other data that mark this area as the center of Huari culture. The fact that no structures appear to be associated with the Ayapata deposit in its immediate vicinity is not surprising if one considers that the earlier offering deposits at the sites of Chakipampa and Pacheco were also removed from the immediate vicinity of major structures. It appears that such offerings were made customarily in locations at some distance from the principal constructions.

Like the offering pits of the Conchopata and Robles Moqo styles, the Ayapata deposit was made in an unstructured pit. The Ayapata deposit differs from the others in consisting of separate strata, each with its own particular set of offerings. There are no recorded data that such stratification existed in the earlier offerings. However, the earlier records are not complete, and it is possible that some differential deposition may also have existed in the Middle Horizon 1 deposits. There is one definite distinction between the Ayapata offering and the earlier ones. In the Ayapata deposit fragments of fancy ware belonging to secular traditions unrelated to the Huari cult wares are found in the same pit with the ceremonial ware. The same kinds of associations are not found in the earlier offerings. The closest earlier analogue is in the Robles Moqo style, where vessels in the style of some of the smaller vessels without mythical attributes or designs appearing in the Pacheco offering pit are occasionally also found in less esoteric contexts, either in very fancy elite burials or in what appears to have been a minor form of offering.²⁷

Another very interesting distinction of the pottery of the Ayapata deposit is the fact that most of the vessel forms, each with its distinctive shape and design features, are made of different wares. This fact complements the stylistic differences in shapes and designs, and suggests the likelihood that the different forms were made in different workshops or manufacturing communities.²⁸ The most notable exception is Ware A, a ware used for two distinct shapes with distinct designs, Shapes 1 and 2. What is also of particular interest here is the fact that these are the only two shapes derived from the ceremonial pottery of the Middle Horizon 1 offering deposits. These shared traits suggest the possibility or even probability that both shapes were made in the same workshop, one that may have made the manufacture of Huari cult ware its exclusive concern. Both these ceremonial shapes have features showing their common derivation from a single earlier one, the oversized urns. The distinction of the Ayapata forms is that each represents a different selection of features and themes derived from the earlier form.

Ayapata urns (Shape 1, Ware A)

The resemblance in shape between the Ayapata urns and the oversized ceremonial urns of the Conchopata and Robles Moqo styles is striking. For comparison, see the Ayapata urn shown by Ravines in his fig. 3, and the Robles Moqo-style urn illustrated in his fig. 84.²⁹ Many of the Ayapata urns are less than half the size and thickness of the Conchopata and Robles Moqo-style ones, even though they continue to be larger than fancy ware vessels of secular use of Epoch 2A. In addition to the size difference, however, there also is a marked contrast in size range. The Conchopata and Robles Moqo-style urns are very homogeneous in size. In contrast, the largest of the Ayapata urns are only a little smaller than the Robles Moqo-style ones, while the smallest Ayapata urns are very much smaller. Other shape differences between the Ayapata and Robles Moqo-style urns are of a minor nature. The upper profile of the Ayapata urns is slightly more convex, so that the diameter at the mouth is proportionately slightly smaller. Also, the handles of the Ayapata urns are in a much higher position, just below the lip.

What distinguishes the Ayapata urns from the Robles Moqo ones much more is their decoration. The Ayapata urns lack either mythical or plant designs. Instead, the single standard design is a black and white chevron band on a red-slipped base, as described by Ravines. This chevron design is a derivative of the Robles Moqo-style chevron band, which is confined to the broad lip of these urns.³⁰ On the Ayapata urns the chevron band is also used as lip decoration, but in addition it is used to decorate the outer sides and handles in a distinctive arrangement (Ravines, figs. 3, 78-81). The red-slipped ground is a standard decorative device that the Ayapata urns share with the earlier ones, even though in the Robles Moqo style there are also alternative base colors in urn decoration. The main difference is that Robles Moqo-style chevron bands consist of chevrons in up to five or six alternating colors. Bicolor chevron bands, particularly in black and white, are a widespread Middle Horizon 2 feature that is also found commonly in the decoration of other kinds of Huari-style pottery of this epoch (see "lay elite" pottery, below and figs. 34, 43b, 45, 46).³¹

The Ayapata urns are distinguished further by one important ceremonial feature that is not present in the earlier offerings. Most of the Ayapata urns show evidence of having been used for burning some substance on the inside. There is no recorded evidence that any of the earlier ceremonial wares of the Huari cult show evidence of having been used in this fashion. On the other hand, cups showing evidence of interior burning, many of them decorated with designs of lesser mythical beings, are a common feature in the Tiahuanaco style of Bolivia. It is possible that the evidence of use of the Ayapata urns as burners of some kind of incense or other offering is an Epoch 2A innovation in the Huari area attributable to newly imported ceremonial influences from the south.³² The ceremonial function of the Ayapata urns is highlighted by the fact that they had been broken deliberately in situ, as Ravines explains.

Deliberate ceremonial destruction of the urns in this fashion is also characteristic of the offering deposits of the Conchopata and Robles Moqo styles.³³ This feature represents an aspect of the continuity between the Middle Horizon 1 offerings and the Ayapata one.

Ayapata oversized bowls (Shape 2, Ware A)

These bowls are the second shape at Ayapata derived from the earlier oversized urns, as noted above, and they are the only vessel form at Ayapata that is decorated with mythical representations of the Huari cult. They were found only in the middle stratum of the Ayapata deposit, below the burning urns. Unlike the latter, the oversized bowls were not used as burners. They also differ from Shape 1 urns in being slightly smaller, with somewhat different proportions (for examples, see Ravines, figs. 18, 29). They are best described as oversized, deep, flat-bottomed bowls or cups with handles that resemble the urn handles. The term "oversized" is used because most of these bowls are significantly larger than most of the bowls found in less esoteric contexts (see below). In handle form and decoration the oversized bowls show even more resemblance to the Conchopata and Robles Moqo-style urns than do the Ayapata burner urns.

A partial discussion of the style features that relate the oversized bowls of Ayapata to the Conchopata and Robles Moqo-style urns is presented in the article by Ravines. The oversized bowls are decorated on the entire outer sides with elaborate designs of mythical beings which show a close relationship to the corresponding designs of the Conchopata and Robles Moqo-style urns. The variety of several kinds of mythical beings represented on the oversized bowls of Ayapata is an important feature, for it is one that the Ayapata bowls share with the Conchopata urns, but not with the Robles Moqo-style urns from Pacheco. It is equally important that many of the stylistic details of which the mythical beings are composed show a closer relationship to the figures of the Conchopata style than they do to the representations of the Robles Moqo style as we know it from Pacheco. These observations confirm the inference based on earlier evidence that the Pacheco variant of the Robles Moqo style represents a specialized local selection of themes and features of the Huari ceremonial complex, and that the Robles Moqo style of the sierra must have continued to carry in it the complete or nearly complete pantheon of the Conchopata-style complex.³⁴ No other explanation can account for the persistence of variants of the entire Conchopata-style pantheon in Middle Horizon Epoch 2.

While the record from Ayapata is still fragmentary, it is evident that frontface deity figures and profile "angel" figures are represented, as in the Conchopata style. Fragments illustrated by Ravines in his figs. 9, 11-13, 50, 52, 61, 65 and 69 have features that resemble those of the frontface deity figures of the Conchopata style. Part of a running profile angel figure is shown in Ravines' figs. 16 and 62.³⁵ By contrast, the Robles Moqo-style urns from Pacheco are decorated with

only one major mythical representation, the frontface deity, which appears in both male and female form. Concrete evidence that angel figures did continue in use in the sierra variants of the Robles Moqo style appears on one fragment with part of an angel design, which was recovered at the site of Chakipampa.³⁶ Other Conchopata-style themes appearing on the Ayapata bowls, but not in the Pacheco variant of the Robles Moqo style, include depictions of large, bodiless profile heads of mythical beings, and frontface and profile trophy heads (Ravines, figs. 4-7, 11, 12, 51, 61, 65, 67, 68).

There are also stylistic details of the large Ayapata bowls which are more like the Conchopata-style ones than any represented in the Robles Moqo-style sample from Pacheco. For example, as in the Conchopata style, righthand staves of frontface figures are represented by narrow fillets rather than by broad staff bands (Ravines, figs. 9, 12, 50). The use of three bands instead of one, and the horizontal sectioning of these bands are Ayapata innovations, however. In the Conchopata style, by contrast, the righthand staves of frontface deity figures consist of a single fillet above the hand, and a broader staff band below it.³⁷

The broadband staff held in the left hand of the frontface figure and also in the hand of the profile figure in the Ayapata style also has its corresponding analogue in the Conchopata style. Like the latter, it consists of a single band (Ravines, figs. 8, 10, 11, 16, 62, 64, 65, 68 and 69). It shares with the Conchopata-style bands such features as the projecting animal heads and the lower "tail-feather" appendage. The considerable curvature of some of the staves is another feature linking them specifically to Conchopata-style antecedents.³⁸ Another Ayapata feature reminiscent of the Conchopata style is the narrowing of the staff band near the hand, as if it were being squeezed by the grip (Ravines, figs. 11, 65). In the Conchopata style this squeezing effect is not seen with hand-held staves, however, but rather with appendages that emanate from the grip of clenched teeth of mythical figures, and in examples where a human victim is held in the grip of a mythical figure.

One other important feature distinguishes staff designs of the Ayapata style from earlier staff designs. In place of the rectangular filler elements that adorn the staves in the Epoch 1A and 1B styles, the Ayapata ones are ornamented with large near-circular dots in various colors outlined in black. This design element has widespread use in Epoch 2A not only as decoration of ceremonial offering pottery of the Huari cult, but also on other kinds of Huari-style pottery, as well as on associated textiles and other ornaments (see below). Two other variants of this dot design occur in the ceremonial style of Ayapata, to distinguish their use in different contexts. An unoutlined form of the dot is used for curved staves carried in the right hand of the frontface deity figures, along with the narrow staff bands (Ravines, figs. 9, 14, 50). Another variant, used to ornament the belt of the deity figures, consists of outlined dots halved vertically to give two contrasting

color areas (Ravines, figs. 12, 61, 69).

The origins of this dot design are important enough to our discussion to justify a digression at this point. Its original use was to ornament the body of a mythical animal design of the fancy Chakipampa A (or "Ruda Qasa") style of Epoch 1A.³⁹ Fragments of this design, and a reconstruction of the shape on which it is found, are shown in figs. 2-6.⁴⁰ An Epoch 2A derivative of this shape and design theme is illustrated in figs. 7, 14. In the fancy Chakipampa A style this figure is always depicted upside down in relation to the rim, a position that is reversed in Epoch 2A. Epoch 2A sees a much wider adaptation and use of these spots as animal-body designs, as well as use in other, new contexts.

The fancy Chakipampa A animal design on which this kind of body spot appears originally represents a figure rooted in the old Nasca tradition of the south coast, one that exerted influence on the Huarpa style of the sierra in Early Intermediate Period Epoch 7.⁴¹ However, the fancy Chakipampa A animal differs from the older traditional ones in having certain features that represent borrowing of features from Conchopata-style cult figures. These include the fanged mouth, ring nose, hornlike projections on top of the head, the appearance of the claws, the zigzag band framing the upper side of the body and, lastly, the body spots (figs. 2b, 3-6). Large spots similar to the fancy Chakipampa A ones appear also as body ornaments on mythical "floating angel" figures in the Conchopata style (Angels C and D), where, however, they are decorated with small faces.⁴² The significance of this evidence of borrowing of Conchopata style features in the fancy Chakipampa A style in Epoch 1A is that it demonstrates a secondary or lay affiliation of the fancy Chakipampa A style with the absolutely esoteric ceremonial Conchopata style. The fancy Chakipampa A style also has other unique features, including entirely new techniques in pigmentation and the manufacture of slips,⁴³ which also resemble those of the Conchopata style, and a unique paste. The distribution of the fancy Chakipampa A style is also unique; it is found in concentration only in the field of Ruda Qasa on the site of Acuchimay, on the outskirts of Ayacucho, not far from where the offering deposits of the Conchopata style were found. Fragments of this style are not found in offering pits, however, but are mixed with ordinary refuse.

If we could not recognize the special status of the fancy Chakipampa A style from Epoch 1A evidence alone, it would become obvious when we observe the association pattern of features derived from the fancy Chakipampa A and Conchopata styles during the next two epochs. Epoch 1B sees humped-animal designs and other design themes of fancy Chakipampa A origin appearing on small Robles Moqo-style vessels that lack Huari cult features or any other mythical features, but which are found in offering pits in association with Huari cult vessels proper. This association represents a closer affiliation between the humped-animal and Huari cult traditions than before. Epoch 1B also sees a new representation, in which a serpentine animal of fancy Chakipampa A derivation acquires a head, "tail feather," body spots and serrated body borders. This design

is used regularly in the decoration of the sides of small tumblers in the Robles Moqo style.⁴⁴ The body spots on these serpentine animals of the Robles Moqo style occur in the kind of variety found subsequently in Epoch 2A designs. The Robles Moqo-style body spots differ from the later ones in being of relatively smaller size, with more irregular contours and outlines of less even execution. Furthermore, the spots are not used in other contexts in Epoch 1B.

In Epoch 2A multicolored spots continue to appear in their original context, in the form of body spots on animals of primary mythical import.⁴⁵ They also continue to appear on derivatives of the animal designs of secondary mythical import which first appear in Robles Moqo-style associations (fig. 50). Beyond that, they appear in entirely new contexts, of which the various bands like staves and belts in the Ayapata style, and panel-dividing bands on other kinds of Huari-style pottery of this epoch, are examples.

The greatly expanded use of multicolored spots in the Ayapata style and other Huari-style pottery of Epoch 2A reveals two important aspects of Huari history: the peculiar, cult-affiliated status of the fancy Chakipampa A style and its derivatives, and the manner in which these derivatives came to be used as prestige symbols that were equally applicable to ceremonial ware and other fancy Huari-style objects. Another example of the process of increasingly close association between features of the fancy Chakipampa tradition and the Huari cult is the animal head that ornaments one of the curved staves of the Huari cult figures at Ayapata (Ravines, figs. 9, 50). This head is a derivative of the fancy Chakipampa A head illustrated in figs. 2b, 3, 6.

The abundance of trophy heads in the Ayapata style is striking. They are shown regularly as dangling from a staff or elbow (Ravines, figs. 10-12, 65, 68) and in some examples they are stacked in a column of four to represent the staff itself (Ravines, figs. 4, 67). For a complete example of this design on a bowl from the south coast, see Disselhoff and Linné, 1960, p. 201. In the Conchopata style, trophy figures occur in proximity to the left arm of the frontface deity figures, as in the Ayapata style, and they are also associated with the angel figure (Angel A) that appears together with the deity figure in the same design. Conchopata Angel A has a feline head, unlike the human or eagle heads with mythical attributes that appear on other mythical figures of that style.⁴⁶ The feline-headed angel is a much more prominent figure in the Huari styles of Epoch 2A, and the abundance of trophy heads in the Ayapata designs may be related to this increased importance of the feline-headed being. It is important to note that the upper body of the mythical figures in the Ayapata style is represented as being covered with a feline pelt, an Epoch 2A innovation which also points to the increased importance of the mythical feline.⁴⁷

Ayapata trophy heads are shown both in frontface and profile view, but whole trophy figures do not appear in the Ayapata style.⁴⁸ The profile trophy heads are very homogeneous in appearance, not only

those in the Ayapata sample, but on other Epoch 2A vessels as well. The heads are large, with lenticular eyes, a complete hair bob, a rectangular or near-rectangular mouth usually shown without teeth, and a black line that halves the face diagonally or forms an S-shaped curve around the eye and cheek (Ravines, figs. 4, 11, 65, 67). Profile trophy heads very similar to the Ayapata ones also appear in vertical columns as panel-dividing bands on oversized ceremonial jars from Ocoña (Ravines, fig. 87a, b; see also below). The same kinds of profile trophy-head designs are found on fragments of large bowls from Huari and the south coast which are like the oversized Ayapata ones.⁴⁹ Frontface trophy heads appear to be much more variable in appearance in Epoch 2A than the profile ones, but they also are used with frequency as staff appendages on the ceremonial vessels from Ayapata, as well as on the oversized jars from Ocoña.⁵⁰

Another Ayapata design also has a close homologue in the Conchopata style. It consists of a large profile head that covers most or all of the side of the vessel (Ravines, figs. 4-7, 51, 61). There are considerable differences in stylistic detail between the Ayapata and Conchopata heads, but they are alike in theme and composition. The principal feature that distinguishes the Ayapata heads from the Conchopata ones is their association with maize-ear appendages. The earliest association of maize and other plant depictions with the Huari cult occurs in Middle Horizon Epoch 1B, with mythical figures of the Robles Moqo style.⁵¹ Here, then, is another Ayapata feature that can be traced directly to Robles Moqo-style antecedents in our sample. Large profile head depictions of this kind are not confined to religious offerings such as the Ayapata one in Epoch 2A and early Epoch 2B; they are also found on similar but smaller bowls and jars of other kinds of Huari-style pottery throughout the area of Huari expansion (fig. 45; see also below).⁵²

The mythical designs and their associated themes described above form the principal decoration of the oversized bowls of Ayapata. However, there are also a few fragmentary examples of another design theme, the humped-animal design of the Nasca and fancy Chakipampa tradition (Ravines, figs. 15, 53, 55, 66). As we shall see below, this design forms the standard decoration on another ware occurring in the same stratum with the oversized Huari cult bowls. Their occurrence on the Huari cult bowls is evidently comparatively rare, and they have a slightly different appearance in this context. They have far more conservative features in the appearance of the ray-design appendages, which form an integral part of this design. The rays are short, most of them with rectangular contours. These are conservative features, like those of Nasca 9 ray designs of Epoch 1B (for comparison, see the Nasca 9 vessel illustrated by Ravines in his fig. 85). An alternative form of the ray designs used in this context is one in which the top of the rays is curvilinear, while the base is straight-sided (Ravines, fig. 53). This is a more advanced execution characteristic of Epoch 2A and the early part of Epoch 2B.⁵³ The humped-animal designs appearing on the oversized Huari cult bowls of Ayapata are also distinguished in being placed at least in some examples in vertical or partially vertical rather than horizontal position

(Ravines, fig. 66; see also Disselhoff and Linné, 1960, p. 201).

The association of humped-animal designs of fancy Chakipampa origins on the same vessels with mythical Huari cult figures proper is an Epoch 2A innovation. However, as noted earlier, animal designs of this tradition appear for the first time in Epoch 1B on small Robles Moqo-style vessels that lack Huari cult representations. Their more intimate association with mythical figures of the Huari cult in Epoch 2A is another example of the increasingly close association of the two mythical traditions at this time. It is of interest to note that even the striking conservatism of the humped-animal figures that appear on the oversized bowls of Ayapata has a precedent in Epoch 1B. Those appearing on the small Robles Moqo-style vessels also have several stylistic features showing a more conservative execution than contemporary designs appearing in secular contexts.

The chevron band that is used to decorate the lip of the oversized Ayapata bowls is similar to that appearing on the lip of the burning urns of Ayapata, as well as on the urns of the earlier Robles Moqo style (Ravines, fig. 18b). The appearance of the chevrons on the bowl lips differs from that of the burning-urn chevrons in incorporating more colors. Ravines' illustration shows adjoining chevrons in purple and red outlined with black.⁵⁴ The same color alternation can be found in the corresponding Robles Moqo-style urn-lip decoration, in which purple, red, cream, white and gray are used as alternating colors.⁵⁵

The decoration of the Huari cult bowls of Ayapata has another distinctive feature. Ravines points out that design areas that halve or quarter the vessel are divided vertically by narrow white lines (Ravines, figs. 4, 9, 12, 14, 15, 17, 50, 66, 67; Disselhoff and Linné, 1960, p. 201). The background colors of these design areas are different shades in the red-to-orange scale. The technique for subdividing the design area with white lines is derived from the common use of white outlining for design areas in the Conchopata style. What distinguishes the Epoch 2A vessels is the use of white lines to halve or quarter the entire design area on the vessel. Although this usage may persist into the early part of Epoch 2B, such later examples appear to be rare. In Epoch 2B white lines usually separate red and black design fields.

As Ravines points out, there are a number of stylistic details that link the ceremonial bowl designs of Ayapata with the decoration on a group of oversized ceremonial jars from Ocoña assigned to the same epoch. The principal features in this category are the trophy heads, including their stylistic details and context, as discussed earlier, and the feline markings on the upper body of the deity figures (Ravines, figs. 12, 13, 61, 69). These feline markings are characteristic of the feline-bodied mythical being of Epoch 2A (see also below). The mythical feline represented on one of the Ocoña jars illustrated by Ravines shows a variation of the feline-pelt design (Ravines, fig. 87a, b). More nearly identical feline markings to the Ayapata ones are seen on lay elite ware examples of Epoch 2A and early Epoch 2B (figs. 43a, 44).

Some of the stylistic details of the Ayapata bowls are unique in the light of present evidence and seem to represent local variations. The narrow modular widths of the arms and hands, and the very long thumbs of the frontface deity figures fall into this category (Ravines, figs. 9, 11, 12, 50, 65).

In summary, most of the features of the mythical designs on the oversized ceremonial bowls from Ayapata show specific derivation from the ceremonial Conchopata style urn designs rather than from the Robles Moqo-style ones as they appear at Pacheco. This derivation must be an indirect one through sierra variants of the Robles Moqo style which are at present represented by an inadequate sample. Other Ayapata features have documented Robles Moqo-style antecedents. Such features include the association of maize ears with the mythical designs and the style features of the handles. The chevron-band design on the lip is probably also derived from Robles Moqo urn decoration. The few examples of humped-animal designs are probably derived directly from the corresponding designs on small Robles Moqo-style vessels which lack mythical features of the Huari cult, despite the fact that the origins of the humped animals are ultimately traceable to the fancy Chakipampa A designs of Epoch 1A. The multicolored circular filler elements appearing as staff and belt decoration in the Ayapata designs are an extension and modification of another Robles Moqo-style feature ultimately derived from fancy Chakipampa A antecedents. The technique of covering the entire surface of the outside with mythical designs is also one that the Ayapata style shares with the Robles Moqo style. However, since the Ayapata bowls are smaller than the Robles Moqo-style urns, the design area is more nearly the width of the decorative bands of the Conchopata-style urns than of the Robles Moqo-style ones. This resemblance in the width of the design area between the Conchopata and Ayapata styles is probably coincidental, but it lends an additional similarity in appearance to the two styles.

Ayapata bowls with humped-animal designs (Shape 3, Ware B)

These bowls were found in the same stratum as the oversized Huari cult bowls, and one must suppose that they therefore also had major religious significance. However, both in shape and design the Shape 3 bowls have antecedents in the fancy Chakipampa A style of Epoch 1A. Ravines shows a reconstruction of the shape of these bowls in his fig. 28. Designs and two shape profiles are further illustrated in his figs. 19-27 and 70-77.

Shape 3 bowls are smaller than the oversized Shape 2 bowls, they lack handles, and they have slightly different contours. Their contours resemble those of one of the standardized fancy Chakipampa A shapes (fig. 1).⁵⁶ The overall red slip that covers both the exterior and interior surfaces is also traceable to fancy Chakipampa A antecedents. The design itself represents the humped animal, antecedents of which appear in the fancy Chakipampa A style and are subsequently much more

widespread in the Chakipampa B and Nasca 9B styles of Epoch 1B. For Nasca 9B examples, see fig. 27, and Ravines, figs. 85, 86.

The humped-animal designs on the Ayapata bowls are distinguished by several features from the Nasca 9B and Chakipampa B ones. For example, the tail is drawn as a separate arc from the body on all the Ayapata figures (Ravines, figs. 19, 20, 24, 71). By contrast, corresponding Epoch 1B bodies and tails are usually, though not invariably, drawn together in a single curve. The modular width of the design bands in the Ayapata figures is broader on the average than that of the earlier designs. Most distinctive, also, are the ray design appendages. They consist of large triple rays in which the central ray is much longer than the other two and ends in a triangular point. These features also appear in the same design on two of the oversized ceremonial jars from Ocoña (Ravines, figs. 88a, b). So far no humped-animal designs have turned up on vessels identifiable as belonging in Epoch 2B, and the design appears to have gone out of style after Epoch 2A or early Epoch 2B.

The design arrangement on the Ayapata bowls is that of two humped animals, one on each side of the outside of the bowl, separated by vertical panel-dividing bands (Ravines, figs. 20, 22, 26, 73, 74, 77). The panel-dividing bands are sectioned into rectangular segments by means of diagonal step designs, examples of which are seen most clearly in Ravines, figs. 22 and 73. A variant of the same design also appears as a panel-dividing band on one of the Ocoña jars, where it also separates two panels containing humped-animal designs.⁵⁷ The stylistic resemblances between some of the Ocoña jars and the Ayapata bowl designs thus amount to virtual identity. It is evident that the entire design pattern of the Ayapata bowls was a standard one not only in the offering at Ayapata, but in ceremonial Huari cult pottery of Epoch 2A in at least some of the more distant provinces as well.

The white background-filler elements appearing between the ray appendages on the Ayapata humped-animal designs are unique in appearance, in terms of evidence currently available. However, circular white filler elements outlined in black and with black dots in the center are a standard feature of this design pattern elsewhere (for comparison, see Ravines, figs. 85, 86, 88a).

Vessel forms of Ware H (crude ware)

Shapes 1-3 of Wares A and B, discussed above, are the principal vessel forms found in the upper two levels of the Ayapata deposit, that is, in the levels where the Huari cult vessels are found. It is of particular interest, however, that in the uppermost level, along with the burning urns, there appear a few fragments of another, relatively crude ware. This ware was probably made in a different workshop, because it is made of a different kind of paste and temper, with different manufacturing and stylistic techniques. On the face of it this crude

ware does not show a stylistic relationship to the Huari cult objects, but a closer examination reveals that such a relationship does exist.

Of the three identifiable shapes, one is a variant of the Shape 2 form of Ware A (Ravines, fig. 47). This bowl has a minimum of very simple decoration. The lip design, however, is a recognizable variant of a lip design that is characteristic of some of the fancy Chakipampa A bowls and their derivatives (for comparison, see figs. 2c, 14, 25, 44, 45).

The two other recognizable Ware H shapes are small open bowls illustrated by Ravines in his figs. 48 and 49. Both in shape and design features these bowls show a close relationship to the fancy Chakipampa A bowl tradition. For comparison, see figs. 2-6. The design on Ravines' fig. 48 has obvious similarity to the horned-animal design of the fancy Chakipampa A style and its fancy Epoch 2A derivatives (figs. 2b, 3, 6, 7, 14).⁵⁸ Evidently the Middle Horizon 2A derivatives are much more variable in detail than the fancy Chakipampa A figures. The variability is probably in part a function of the fact that these examples have a wide distribution, in contrast to the fancy Chakipampa A ones. Slightly different variants were evidently made in different localities. However, in part the variability may also be due to stylistic differences between the products of different workshops that are not necessarily very distant from one another. It is particularly striking that the Ware H bowl fragment shows the same combination of an animal body adjoining a curved figure as the design that appears on the fancy Chakipampa A fragment in fig. 2b, even though the rectangular sectioning of the curve is different. It is of further interest that the same kind of curved band segment appears on a Ware A fragment on one of the oversized Shape 2 bowls (Ravines, fig. 58). Here is another stylistic link that relates the Ware H vessels to the Ware A ones. The vertical chevron panel-dividing band in the Ware H bowl fragment illustrated by Ravines in his fig. 49 also has fancy Chakipampa A antecedents. In width and outlining arrangement this chevron band falls into the standard Middle Horizon 2 pattern that is common on fancy elite wares in all the Huari styles.⁵⁹

An examination of the Ware H remains thus leads to the conclusion that despite their crude manufacture they show a stylistic relationship to the Ayapata ceremonial pottery of Wares A and B. Historically, some of the shapes and all of the designs are traceable to fancy Chakipampa A origins, the special elite ware of Epoch 1A. For these reasons the presence of Ware H fragments in the uppermost level of the deposit, along with the burning urns, is not as surprising as it might have seemed at first glance. The products of the Ware H workshop evidently were of ceremonial import despite their relatively crude manufacture.

Secular wares at Ayapata (Wares C, D, E, F and G)

The lowest level of the Ayapata deposit contained exclusively

pottery without mythical features. Most of this pottery is entirely unrelated to the traditions of Huari cult pottery or fancy Chakipampa A pottery. The only exception is in the fragments of modeled llamas which probably come from this level, and which are related to modeled llamas in the Robles Moqo style which also lack mythical attributes. All the rest of the pottery in this level is, insofar as its antecedents can be traced, related to different Peruvian traditions of entirely secular origins, the kind of pottery found regularly in ordinary refuse and burials in other areas. For this reason I shall refer to these wares as "secular wares" or "secular pottery." Each of the wares in the lowest level represents a different stylistic tradition with a different geographic origin.

Just as Ware A remains, especially those of the burning urns, represent by far the most abundant remains of the Huari cult complex in the upper levels, so Shape 4 of Ware C represents by far the most abundant remains in the lowest level. Shape and paste are so far unique among known Middle Horizon remains (Ravines, fig. 30). The paste is a very fine, compact, light orange ware with very fine temper. The surface has a smooth, glossy finish. The great effort and skill that went into making these vessels suggest that they probably were a prestige ware. The vessels are entirely plain, without further decoration. The shape is also unique for the existing Middle Horizon record; no such shapes have been recorded at Huari, or in the rest of the area under Huari influence, nor do they appear among any of the recorded Middle Horizon 1 remains from the Ayacucho area. The form is a narrow-mouthed neckless jug with a large, vertical loop handle that reaches far above the lip, and a flat, sharply edged bottom. The only recorded Peruvian vessel shapes that show a specific resemblance to the Ayapata jugs, particularly in the handle form, are Cuzco Inca and Early Inca (K'illki) jugs. For a K'illki example and a provincial Inca one from the south coast, see figs. 12 and 13, respectively. Since many aspects of Inca culture, including the pottery, have demonstrable roots in Middle Horizon antecedents, it is possible that a connection exists between the Ayapata and Inca jugs. However, more evidence is needed to demonstrate that such a historical connection did exist.

The compact light orange paste of the Ayapata jugs is significant. Its color resembles the paste of the Caja style, a local style of the Ayapata area which is widely distributed in the entire district of Caja (Ravines, note 3). What this paste resemblance suggests is that the Ayapata jugs are a vessel form of local origin, perhaps made especially for use in connection with the Huari cult offerings. The absence of any record of this form elsewhere at this time also suggests the latter possibility. A local origin of this form may also explain why its remains are much more abundant than those of the other styles in the lowest level of the Ayapata deposit.

One other fragment from the Ayapata offering is made of the same fancy orange ware as the jugs. It is the modeled foot of a llama, with part of a body adhering to its top (Ravines, fig. 82). Both

llama remains and their modeled pottery images form an important part of the Robles Moqo offerings uncovered at Pacheco.⁶⁰ The presence of this foot and other modeled llama feet in the Ayapata offering deposit is therefore explainable as a derivative from a trait introduced in the Robles Moqo style. Neither in the Ayapata deposit, nor in the Robles Moqo one at Pacheco, do the llama figures occur in association with decoration of mythical representations. Evidently they are in both styles a part of the fancy nonmythical offerings that come to be associated with the Huari cult.

Wares D and E of the lowest offering stratum of Ayapata are very similar to each other, and in part overlapping in their features. The paste color also overlaps in part with that of Ware C, being light orange. What distinguishes both Wares D and E chiefly from the fancy Ware C is the cruder manufacture, slightly coarser temper and less careful firing. Despite these differences, the similarities among these pastes probably signify a manufacturing tradition of common origin. The light orange cast of the paste is especially significant also because the vessels in both Wares D and E show stylistic relationships to vessels with paste of similar colors, namely the Cajamarca style of the northern sierra and the Nievería style of the central coast.

Shape 5 of Ware D consists of pedestal-base bowls in the Cajamarca style (Ravines, figs. 31-34). As Ravines points out, in shape features and in the exterior design these pedestal-base bowls resemble those described by Henry and Paule Reichlen for the later subphase of Cajamarca Phase III, which they call "cursif floral."⁶¹ On the other hand, the checkerboard design and the use of purple outlined with black in the interior decoration of the Ayapata bowls recalls the first of three subphases of the Reichlens' Cajamarca Phase IV.⁶² The orange-colored paste of the pedestal-base bowls from Ayapata resembles the early Cajamarca IV paste more than the Cajamarca III pastes, to judge by what the Reichlens say. On the other hand, the Ayapata bowls lack such important Cajamarca IV features as tripod bases. Since the origins of the checkerboard design are at present unknown, and since the use of purple outlined with black is a Huari-style trait which appears first with other Huari-style features at Cajamarca, it is likely that this innovation also is a manifestation of Huari influence. If that were the case, it is possible that the features of the Ayapata bowls which resemble early Cajamarca IV designs may represent only a relatively early adaptation of Huari features in the Cajamarca-tradition pottery of Ayapata. It should be noted in passing that the firing peculiarity of the earliest Cajamarca IV subphase represents only a brief interruption in the lighter paste tradition of the Cajamarca style, and that it too may represent Huari influence there.⁶³

The Cajamarca-style bowls of Ayapata nevertheless present a problem. The interior design features resemble only those of one fragment from Huari recorded up to now. The contours of the vessels match some, but not all those that have been recorded from Huari and elsewhere. For a typical example of a bowl fragment from Huari with Cajamarca-style

features, see figs. 52a, b.⁶⁴ For a complete example of such a bowl, found at Ica, see fig. 15. Most of the examples of the vessels related to the Cajamarca tradition which have been found at Huari and in the territory subject to its influence, other than Ayapata, lack those features of the Ayapata bowls which resemble the features of the initial subphase of the Cajamarca IV style. It therefore remains a puzzle why all the Ayapata fragments should have these particular features.⁶⁵

Shape 6 of Ware E is only sparsely represented by ten small fragments in the deposit. The record on the provenience of these pieces was lost, but Ravines presents an argument that they probably also came from the lowest stratum in the Ayapata deposit. The shape is that of a single-spout bottle with a tapering spout, and the decoration consists of designs in red and black on the natural orange base of the vessel (Ravines, figs. 35-40). The designs that were found consist of chevron bands and circular figures. These designs are reminiscent of Huari designs of Epoch 1B. As Ravines points out, the Ayapata bottles are perhaps most reminiscent of the Nievería style of the central coast. For a Nievería-style jar with a similar design, see fig. 16. The Ayapata design looks like an abbreviated variant of the circle or medalion design on the Nievería jar. A Nievería-style bottle similar in body shape to the Ayapata ones is illustrated by Gayton.⁶⁶ Another point of resemblance between the Nievería style and the Ayapata bottles is the light orange cast of the paste, and the fact that the designs are placed on its unpigmented surface. These observations suggest the possibility that the Ayapata bottles may represent a style related to the Nievería tradition.

The Ayapata deposit also produced five additional fragmentary legs of modeled llamas, similar to the one made of the fine orange ware (Ware C). The other llama legs are also made of a light orange ware, but of a somewhat coarser manufacture, a slightly different color range, and different paste characteristics (Ware F). Ware F llama feet are decorated with black markings on a cream-slipped base, and there are remnants of red-line designs on the vessel above the legs (Ravines, figs. 41a, b, 82). The location of these llama legs in the deposit was not recorded, but it is likely that they also came from the lowest stratum. The significance of the association of modeled llama figures with the offerings is discussed above. A modeled llama leg with markings similar to the Ayapata ones has been recorded among the collections from Huari.⁶⁷

Finally, the lowest stratum at Ayapata contained a small number of fragments of smoked blackware, all of them from open bowls (Ware G; Ravines, figs. 42-46). As Ravines points out, these vessels resemble smoked blackware vessels found in ordinary refuse at Huari.

Summary

The offering pit from Ayapata furnishes answers to several questions about the culture history of the Huari empire and its religious

complex. It shows that offering pits containing oversized ceremonial pottery were still in use in Epoch 2A.⁶⁸ However, it shows also a marked contrast to the purely religious character of the Conchopata-style offerings which form the beginnings of the Huari cult tradition in Epoch 1A. A secularizing process, already in evidence in Epoch 1B, had clearly accelerated by Epoch 2A. There are several lines of evidence for this observation. The religious ceremonial vessels, though still oversized, are smaller than the corresponding vessels of Epochs 1A and 1B. They also have a much greater size range, and the smallest ones overlap in size with the largest vessels found in fancy elite burials. The once great and uniform contrast between sacred and secular vessels is thus diminished. A design theme of Nasca and fancy Chakipampa A origins is found occasionally on the same vessels that carry the mythical designs, a degree of mingling of the once rigidly separated themes which goes beyond its Robles Moqo-style antecedents. Furthermore, vessels derived entirely from fancy Chakipampa A origins are now found closely associated with pottery of the Huari cult proper. Above all, pottery of entirely secular origins appears for the first time in the same offering deposit with the ceremonial ware. The degree of secularization in evidence in the Ayapata offering deposit indicates a trend that probably led to the rapid extinction of the use of a special ceremonial pottery style in offerings.

The stratification of the Ayapata offerings also reflects the import of the ceremonial changes. It is undoubtedly significant that the pottery of secular origins was found in the lowest stratum, while the ceremonial pottery was found in the upper strata. This deliberate distinction reflects an awareness of a difference in meaning between the pottery of the middle and upper levels and that of the lowest level. The deposition of the secular pottery offering before the ceremonial one may reflect its more profane status and inferior rank in religious terms. The thin layer of burnt matter covering the lowest level (layer d) evidently represents a burning ceremonial, possibly to purify the ground on which the ritual pottery was then deposited.

The middle level (layer c) of the offering pit contained the fanciest, most highly decorated ceremonial wares, and the only ones that carry the mythical designs of the Huari cult. It appears therefore that the contents of the middle level had the most sacred ceremonial import. The upper level also contained ceremonial ware, but ware that lacks the representations of the mythical pantheon of the Huari cult. Furthermore, the urns, of which this level is mostly composed, were used as burners or ash containers, which suggests a second ceremonial burning. The Ayapata deposit manifests the earliest evidence of ceremonial burning in the offering pits of the Huari tradition. It may represent an Epoch 2A introduction of a practice that was of more ancient origin in the area south of the Huari domain, since burning vessels are known to have earlier origins at Tiahuanaco, in the "Early Tiahuanaco" or "Epoch III" style.

The assemblage of different secular wares also has a special significance. Each of these wares represents a different stylistic

tradition with different geographic origins. It is possible that the different wares represented different communities that were entitled to participate in the religious ceremonial of Ayapata. In this case, the lowest deposition at Ayapata would represent an innovation of some political significance, since no comparable deposits are associated with the earlier offerings. As we shall see, this ceremonial innovation falls into the same sub-epoch in which prestigious individuals were entitled for the first time to appropriate the mythical themes of the Huari cult in the decoration of their burial furniture and attire. Both these phenomena are important aspects of the secularizing process in the religious life of the Huari tradition. It is of considerable interest, however, that the appropriation of trappings of the religious cult by rare elite individuals for their burials had its origins in Epoch 1B, in the form of objects of ordinary size lacking the mythical Huari cult figures. This was clearly a first step in the secularizing process, preceding not only a similar use of the mythical figures proper, but also the representation of different secular communities in the offering deposit itself.

There are two other aspects of the history of the Huari tradition which are illuminated by the Ayapata deposit. First, mythical designs on the oversized Ayapata bowls furnish one of the heretofore missing links in the process of transmission of the Conchopata-style pantheon to the less esoteric Huari styles of Epoch 2. The second contribution of the Ayapata deposit to Huari history is to help shed more light on the peculiar significance of the fancy Chakipampa A style of Epoch 1A.

Oversized ceremonial pottery from the south coast

In the light of the new data provided by the Ayapata deposit, other discoveries of Huari-style remains attributable to Epoch 2A on stylistic grounds gain new significance. The find most closely related to the Ayapata offering deposit in ceremonial significance is that of ten or twelve huge faceneck jars, some of them 1.50 meters high, discovered near the Ocoña valley on the far south coast of Peru. They were recovered by Toribio Mejía Xesspe and are now on display at the Museo Nacional de Antropología y Arqueología of Lima.⁶⁹ They were found buried within a stone enclosure, intact, and containing many rolled-up feather mantles. In discussing the mythical designs on the vessels from the middle stratum at Ayapata, we have seen that the same designs, with many identical stylistic details, are found on the oversized Ocoña jars (Ravines, figs. 87, 88). The stylistic resemblances are so great that the two deposits must be considered to be closely contemporary. Several features distinguish the Ocoña deposit from the Ayapata one, however. No faceneck jars were recorded in the Ayapata deposit, and no other vessels appear in the Ocoña deposit. Furthermore, the Ocoña deposit is not an offering like the Ayapata, Pacheco and Conchopata ones, since the jars were not broken, nor were they deposited in a single pit. Rather, it appears that the Ocoña jars had been stored underground with the feather mantles, perhaps for future use in a ceremonial.

The great size and mythical designs on the Ocoña jars testify to their ceremonial importance. Jars of comparable size, as well as smaller sizes in the same style as the Ocoña jars, have also been recorded from the Nasca drainage. The example illustrated in fig. 17, together with a nearly identical piece, was reported to have been found on the Pampa del Camotal at the confluence of the Palpa and Ingenio ravines in the Nasca drainage. Both these jars had the tops broken off, perhaps ceremonially. A huge faceneck fragment 20.5 cm. high, which probably belonged to one of these jars, was found at the same site (fig. 18). The jar bodies measure half a meter to the base of the neck. The neck on the example in fig. 17 is concealed with a rag because it is an inaccurate restoration. The humped-animal design depicted on the two body panels is the same one that appears on one of the Ocoña jars, with minor variations in detail (for comparison, see Ravines, figs. 88a, b). The ornamental bands that outline and divide the principal design panels contain elongated S-shaped ray designs with rounded contours. Panel-dividing bands filled with the same kind of ray designs are characteristic of Epoch 2A decoration and may be confined to this epoch. They occur also on other Huari-style pottery of Epoch 2A (see below).⁷⁰ S-shaped ray design figures with the same proportions are also occasionally used as background fillers on other Huari-style vessels (Ravines, figs. 87a, b).

All the oversized jars are derived from oversized jars representing nonmythical humans in the offering pottery of the Robles Moqo style of the preceding epoch.⁷¹ The Epoch 2A jars differ from the Epoch 1B ones in the reduced use of modeled relief, and in the greater size range, including much larger jars than any in the Robles Moqo style. The greater size range of the Epoch 2A jars is comparable to the greater size range of the Epoch 2A urn derivatives in the Ayapata deposit. For a further discussion of the stylistic patterns of the oversized jars, see the section on lay elite wares, below.

Ceremonial pottery from Huari

There is no single recorded find of associated objects from Huari itself to help identify or clarify the nature and function of Huari cult ceremonial ware of Epoch 2A. However, among the fragments recovered at Huari are many that correspond to the oversized Huari cult bowls from Ayapata and to the oversized jars from Ocoña and Nasca. Bennett illustrates a large bowl fragment from Huari corresponding to Ayapata Shape 2.⁷² Another oversized bowl fragment of what appears to be a Shape 2 variant from Huari has an aberrant design and a light orange ground color in the Ocros style tradition, and is probably the product of a different workshop.⁷³ One large jar fragment collected at Huari is identical in size and decoration to the examples of oversized jars from Nasca.⁷⁴ Two other jar fragments of the same size and with some of the same design characteristics were collected by Bennett from the same pit as the first.⁷⁵ Lumbreras illustrates fragments of what appear to be oversized bowls like the Shape 2 ones from Ayapata, with some of the

same designs, presumably also collected at Huari.⁷⁶ These examples from Huari make it clear that the Shape 2 Huari cult vessels of Ayapata, as well as the oversized jars from Ocoña and Nasca, are part of a widespread ceremonial style with identical as well as slightly different counterparts at Huari.

Lay elite Huari styles of Epoch 2A

The pottery styles just discussed are ones that have been found in special associations indicating use as ceremonial offerings or some related use. There are many more examples of pottery, textiles, ornaments, bone carvings and gold objects from a farflung area which have some stylistic features and depictions identical to those appearing on the ceremonial wares of Epoch 2A, but with certain differences in detail that suggest a different function. These objects are found in different contexts than the ceremonial wares, and they fall into a smaller size range. However, since many of the vessels not only share features with the ceremonial pottery proper, but are also decorated with mythical representations, it is clear that they had some function related to that of the cult objects. They share with most of the ceremonial wares extraordinarily fine, painstaking workmanship, and show an artistry that continues to command the attention of collectors. Because of their special stylistic relationship to the cult objects, their fine workmanship, and the contexts in which they are found, I am calling vessels of this style "lay elite" ware. No attempt is made here to illustrate or discuss all the existing evidence of lay elite wares of the Huari styles of Epoch 2A. However, it is helpful to review some of the more interesting finds, in order to put the ceremonial complex of this epoch into better perspective. Incidental discussions of stylistic contrasts between the lay elite vessels and their immediate antecedents or successors are added as examples of the kind of evidence that is used to distinguish the different phases.

There are two kinds of contexts in which Huari-style lay elite wares of Epoch 2A have been recorded, namely burials and what appear to be minor offerings. The record for both kinds of remains is still unsatisfactory, but there are enough examples to give us some idea of the pattern. What I am calling minor offerings here are occasional finds of small caches of two or three vessels of this kind, unassociated with burials, and broken at some earlier time. One such cache from the north coast is described by Christopher B. Donnan in another article in this issue. A cache that may be similar to the north coast cache has been recorded by Marco T. Marcés Patiño and Luís Barrera Murillo beneath a floor at the site of Pikillaqta in the lower Cuzco valley.⁷⁷ A similar cache of what appear to have been two vessels was found by Max Uhle near the rear wall of the ancient temple of Pachacamac on the central coast.⁷⁸ If these caches indeed represent minor offerings, as they appear to do, one of their functions may have been to sanctify the foundations of important new structures.

Lay elite burials from the south coast

All the burials for which some record of associations exists were excavated by pothunters, and recorded subsequently on the basis of information furnished by the excavators and collectors. While this is not always a reliable way of recording associations, the associations so recorded follow a pattern that does not contradict the evidence based on the associations of features on individual vessels. These are factors that increase our confidence in the validity of the information furnished.

Julio C. Tello describes the remnants of an elaborate looted tomb from Coyungo in the central Nasca drainage which belonged to Epoch 2A, as evidenced by two objects from it which Tello illustrates.⁷⁹ He describes this tomb as a great, rectangular chamber 4.60 meters long by 2.20 meters wide and 1.90 meters high, roofed with hardwood logs (algarrobo) resting on a support of rectangular adobes. The tomb faced west, where it had an opening, evidently a doorway. Tello suggests that this entrance probably served for repeated interments in the same tomb. He had seen other tombs of this kind, and they generally contained several mummy bundles with artificial heads. Many of these heads were elaborately fashioned and ornamented with sheets of gold or silver representing the mouth, eyes, and face markings below the eyes. Furthermore, they had beautiful feather headdresses and other ornaments fashioned of feathers and shell. The bundles were clothed in fine, decorated tapestry shirts and accompanied by arms, various utensils, and votive offerings. Tello states that the same kind of finds had also been made at Ancón and at other coastal sites.⁸⁰

From Tello's description we get a very good idea of the elaborate nature of the tombs that housed the lay elite remains of Epoch 2A. The individuals buried in them were not ordinary people, but distinguished personages, and some of their tombs may have been family tombs, or perhaps community tombs of unrelated prestigious individuals. Tello illustrates two objects which came from the great chamber that he describes. One is a polished bone tool that looks like a weaving implement. It is decorated with mythical profile angel heads with Epoch 2A features.⁸¹ The other vessel is a flask with a humped-animal design of the kind that is described below as a standard lay elite design of Epoch 2A.⁸²

Burial 1. Three other burials from the south coast, excavated by pothunters, have been recorded. One, containing seven vessels, was recorded by Junius B. Bird in a dealer's collection (figs. 19-25). Six of these vessels have features of the Atarco A style, the Epoch 2A style of the Nasca drainage which also influences neighboring areas. The seventh vessel is in the Huari style of the sierra, the Viñaque style.⁸³ The information that the vessels were from the same burial was given to the dealer by the excavators.

The contents of this burial included one large jar a little over half a meter high, and six smaller vessels, of which four are spouted bottles, one is a flask, and one is a small bowl or dish. The

large jar is shown in figs. 19a, b. It can be seen at first glance that this jar is in the style of the oversized ceremonial jars from Ocoña and the corresponding ones from Nasca and Huari (for comparison, see figs. 17, 18 and Ravines, figs. 87, 88). Despite the identity of many of the details of design and design arrangement between the burial jar and the ceremonial jars, however, there are some significant differences. First, this vessel is only one third to one half the size of the ceremonial jars proper, and second, the feline design that ornaments the two principal design panels lacks mythical features. It is also possible that the maize-ear design used for the face markings may have a special meaning in this context, for it does not occur as a face marking on our examples of the ceremonial jars proper. Any other differences between this jar and the oversized jars involve only alternative uses of designs and design arrangements which are evidently equally optional on ceremonial and lay elite jars in this category.

It is helpful to draw attention to some of the stylistic details that are particularly informative. Except for size, the shape features of the ceremonial jars and the lay elite jar are remarkably homogeneous. Modeled features are confined to the faceneck, to the eyes, nose, mouth, ears, and the slight relief of other facial contours like cheeks and chin. The relief is less lifelike and more standardized than in the Robles Moqo style, and evidently no attempt was made to portray particular individuals. Neither hands nor arms are depicted on the body, nor is the body of the vessel decorated in imitation of a garment, as it is in the Robles Moqo style. Hair strands are merely painted and are not shown in relief. Despite the absence of the modeled arms and hands, however, the handles continue to be set well into the rear half of the vessel, in continuation of a Robles Moqo-style adjustment to the position of the modeled body features.

In place of the anthropomorphic body features such as arms, hands and garments, which characterize these jars in Epoch 1B, the decoration of the Epoch 2A jar bodies consists of designs of mythical figures of the Huari cult, or designs associated with this cult in Epoch 2A. The decoration covers only the upper front of the vessel body, in contrast to the preceding epoch in which the entire jar body has representational features. In Epoch 2A the design area consists of two principal panels separated and outlined by narrower bands of various kinds, and in some examples separated further by a broader central band. Panels and bands are decorated with designs appropriate to each area. The S-shaped ray figures that decorate the outline bands on the burial specimen are one of the designs used for such bands; alternatively, single or paired purple or gray and white bands outlined in black are used for the same purpose (Ravines, figs. 87, 88). On some of the jars from Ocoña part or all of the outlined bands are eliminated, while the principal design arrangement continues to be maintained (Ravines, figs. 88a, b). Two jars from Ocoña have slightly different arrangements.

The broader central panel-dividing bands are usually sectioned into a column of three squares separated by narrow outline bands. The

squares contain standard designs, either ray designs with approximate radial or rotational symmetry, as in the burial specimen, or trophy heads, as in the example illustrated in Ravines' figs. 87a, b. The ray designs with near-rotational symmetry are derived from antecedents appearing in the same kind of design arrangement on fancy Chakipampa A and B vessels (fig. 35). Another alternative decoration for broad panel-dividing bands consists of diagonal step designs in various colors outlined with white, a design that is borrowed from a standard bowl and vase design of the contemporary ordinary secular pottery and some of the lay elite wares of the Viñaque style of Huari itself.⁸⁴ Another design used for these bands is shown in Ravines' figs. 88a, b, where the central dividing band is decorated with contractions of an animal design derived from fancy Chakipampa-style antecedents. The design bands that ornament the necks above the modeled faces of the large jars are decorated with the same designs appearing in the broad central panel-dividing bands, or they are decorated with adaptations of such designs (figs. 19a, b and Ravines, figs. 87a, b). Alternatively, they are decorated with derivatives of designs appearing in the corresponding area on Robles Moqo-style jars (Ravines, figs. 88a, b). Occasionally other design analogues are used.

The principal designs consist of Huari cult figures or affiliated designs. These figures include an animal-bodied version of the mythical feline on the ceremonial jars, and a nonmythical version of this feline on the lay elite jar in the burial. The mythical variant is distinguished by having human hands and feet, the hand grasping a staff, and by being associated with trophy-head designs (Ravines, figs. 87a, b). These are the features that are lacking on the lay elite vessel from the burial (figs. 19a, b). A more common principal panel design is the humped-animal design of fancy Chakipampa derivation (fig. 17 and Ravines, figs. 88a, b).⁸⁵ This is the same design that appears on Shape 3 bowls in the middle level of the ceremonial offering deposit of Ayapata (Ravines, figs. 19-27, 70-77). On the oversized ceremonial jars and offering bowls this design has, as we have seen earlier, distinguishing features in the form of a central ray of extra length which may or may not be topped with a triangular tip (fig. 17; Ravines, figs. 19-27, 70-77, 88a, b). As we shall see below, lay elite versions of this animal lack the elongated ray. Another principal design is an animal figure derived from the mythical fancy Chakipampa A animal shown in figs. 2-7 and 14, with additional attributes borrowed from Huari cult figures, particularly the mythical feline spirit. Other principal designs on the ceremonial jars from Ocoña include fierce-looking warrior figures carrying hafted knives and trophy heads, an elaborately clad human figure that appears to have some mythical attributes, and depictions of large hands. Hands in both modeled and painted form are an important depiction related to the Huari cult in Epochs 1B and 2. As we shall see, they also appear on ware ascribable to the lay elite styles of Epoch 2A.

Background-filler elements form a regular part of principal design panels. The most common form used for this purpose consists of white circles outlined with black and with black central dots.

Recurved-ray designs in S-shaped form are an alternative device for this purpose (Ravines, figs. 87a, b).

Here, then we can see striking resemblances between the burial jar and the oversized ceremonial and offering vessels of Epoch 2A. Despite the resemblances, however, a deliberate stylistic and representational distinction was maintained between the principal designs appearing in the different contexts. Let us now turn to the smaller vessels from the same burial, those that have no counterparts either among recorded oversized vessels or in the Ayapata offering deposit.

The first of the six smaller vessels from the burial that contained the jar just discussed is a doublespout bottle (fig. 20). This bottle shape is a Nasca tradition one, but one that begins to go out of use on the south coast during Epoch 7 of the Early Intermediate Period, and is entirely absent from that area during Early Intermediate Period Epoch 8 and Middle Horizon Epoch 1, reappearing only in Epoch 2A. Since its reappearance coincides with a flood of Huari influences from the sierra, and since the shape is usually decorated with designs or design variants of sierra origin, the presumption is very strong that this form survived in the sierra after initial Nasca 7 influences there and was reintroduced to the coast from the sierra. Doublespout bottles are in use only as prestigious lay elite ware during Middle Horizon Epoch 2, and they go out of style permanently on the south coast some time in the course of Epoch 3.

The doublespout bottle shown in fig. 20 has the cupcake-shaped body that is its most popular form.⁸⁶ The design on this vessel is of particular importance. It is the humped-animal design of fancy Chakipampa A derivation which also appears on the ceremonial wares of this epoch. This design is in most respects like that on the oversized jars and the Ayapata offering bowls, but with one important difference: it lacks the elongated central ray on the ray appendages. In this example the central ray is simply omitted. Another feature that contrasts this and most (but not all) other lay elite examples from most (but not all) the ceremonial ones is the absence of fangs. Additional distinguishing features include a head with rounded contours and a recurved-ray nose in place of the special nose projection that distinguishes the ceremonial designs. All the features that distinguish most of the ceremonial variants from most of the lay elite ones are features borrowed from Huari cult representations. In contrast, the most common head features on the lay elite examples are derived from the old Nasca/Chakipampa tradition. Another contrast between the example on the doublespout bottle from the burial and the ceremonial ones is the lack of a separate tail arc on the burial specimen. However, on this vessel this absence is probably the result of space limitations. The design arrangement is a traditional fancy Chakipampa one of having the same two principal designs with slightly contrasting color patterns halve the design area. Designs are painted in purple and white or gray and white on a red ground and are outlined in black, in a standard Huari elite color pattern derived from fancy Chakipampa A antecedents. The ground color is red. In terms of

our present record, humped-animal designs do not continue in use in Epoch 2B.⁸⁷

The filler elements on the burial specimen differ from Epoch 2B space fillers in our sample, and may be a form confined to Epoch 2A. Another distinguishing design feature is the absence of wedged-shaped panel dividers under the spouts, dividers that are standard on Epoch 2B examples of doublespout bottles in all the Huari styles, and are found on some Epoch 2A ones as well (for comparison, see fig. 26). Another feature that distinguishes the Epoch 2A design from 2B ones is the contrast in execution of the ray designs (for comparison, see fig. 26). Although ray designs similar to the 2B ones also appear in Epoch 2A, the ones assigned to Epoch 2B are distinguished by the broad, even gap at the base of the rays, the length of the rays, and the length and breadth of the ray tips. Features that distinguish the Epoch 2A humped animal from the Epoch 1B examples are the even, relatively broad modular width of the bands of which the design is composed, the frontal, kneelike angular bent in the leg, the use of human hands and feet, and the appearance of the ray designs. For Epoch 1B examples, see fig. 27 and Ravines, figs. 85 and 86.

Another doublespout bottle and a singlespout bottle from the same burial are illustrated in figs. 21 and 22. Both are characteristic of the Atarco style. Conservative features marking them as Atarco Phase A include the red-slipped spouts and bridge of fig. 22, the high dome-shaped body contours of both, and the line designs and low-relief hair modeling on the spout-and-bridge-to-head bottle (fig. 21). The modeled features of the head of the latter specimen represent the continuation of the Robles Moqo-style tradition. For an Epoch 2B version of the same body tradition, see the bottle illustrated in fig. 36, which is from a burial found recently in the ravine of Huayurí, northern Nasca drainage.⁸⁹

A fourth spouted bottle in the Epoch 2A burial under discussion belongs in a different category, and also represents an Epoch 2 innovation on the south coast (figs. 23a, b). Body, spout and handle shape all are based on a Nasca 9 antecedent of Epoch 1B (for comparison, see fig. 27). The innovation lies in the anthropomorphizing features, which include a face modeled and painted into the spout, and hands and a necklace painted on the upper body of the Epoch 2A form. Like the doublespout bottle, the faceneck bottle has counterparts in the Pachacamac style of the central coast, and both are presumably the result of sierra influence.⁹⁰ Conservative features marking the bottle from the burial as Atarco Phase A include the high position of the shoulder and the low arch of the top, the degree of contraction at the tip of the spout which gives it a pinched effect, and the large, broad, widely projecting strap handle. The handle and spout features are ones that characterize the earlier Nasca 9B style. Another Atarco A variant of the same theme, with an alternative spout and body shape, is illustrated in fig. 28. In order to appreciate the distinctiveness of the features of the Epoch 2A faceneck bottles, it is helpful to compare and contrast them with their derivatives in an Epoch 2B burial (figs. 37, 38). Both the Epoch 2B specimens are from the same

burial as the specimens illustrated in figs. 36, 39.

A fifth vessel of standard small size in the Epoch 2A burial under discussion is the flask illustrated in figs. 24a-c. This flask shape originates in the Chakipampa B style of Epoch 1B in the sierra, and appears in variants on the coast. Epoch 1B flasks are characterized by having broad, flat or slightly arched "side seams" which lend the form a tambourine shape.⁹¹ In Epoch 2 this broad seam dwindles into a narrow, tight curve on flasks from the sierra and south coast. Conservative Epoch 2A specimens, however, retain the traces of this seam in modified form, like the specimen in the burial under discussion (fig. 24c). Conservative features in the design include the circle-and-dot elements and linear S-shaped figures seen in figs. 24a, b. Both these designs also appear in the Chakipampa B style of Epoch 1B.

The last vessel from this Epoch 2A burial is the small vertical-sided bowl shown in fig. 25. All the features of shape and design of this piece are of sierra origin, and characterize the Vifiaque style of Epoch 2. The shape belongs in the same category as the contemporary bowls illustrated in fig. 14 and Donnan, fig. 3a. An Epoch 2B example of the same shape category from the Nasca region is illustrated in fig. 44.⁹² Conservative Epoch 2A features on the bowl from the burial are seen in the high proportions of the vessel shape and of the deity-head design. Conservative features of this design include the divided eye and red eye outline in this context, the fanged mouth, and probably also the maize-ear element in this context. Epoch 2B examples of this design are known from all over the Huari domain.⁹³ The many recorded examples show that bodiless deity heads of this kind occur regularly on vessels of ordinary small size in refuse and burials, most commonly on Vifiaque-style vessel shapes at Huari, and with lesser frequency on Vifiaque and local-style shapes in the Huari provinces. Since the design is a direct derivative, as well as an abbreviated contraction, of the principal-deity designs of the Conchopata and Robles Moqo styles, it falls into the category of designs that characterizes the lay elite wares.

Burial 2. A second Epoch 2A burial of the same kind as the one just described was recorded by Pablo Soldi in the 1950's from information furnished by pothunters (figs. 29, 30). This burial was reported to have been found in the ravine of Ingenio in the central Nasca drainage. Though only two vessels are recorded from this lot, they are of extraordinarily fine workmanship, and both share unusually conservative style features that mark them as conservative Epoch 2A pieces. The most elaborate piece is the flask illustrated in fig. 29. Parts of the vessel represent the feline spirit, but it is a representation devoid of most of the mythical features that characterize this spirit elsewhere; the only human attributes are in the shape and position of the limbs, which may be described as arms, and the wrist band. Unusually conservative shape features distinguishing this piece are the tambourine-shaped body of the flask with its broad, nearly flat side seam, and the high, cylindrical neck. This neck form is a conservative derivative of one kind of Chakipampa B jar and flask neck, the Epoch 2A variant being both broader

and longer than its antecedent. The modeled features of the vessel are also unusually conservative, and very similar to corresponding modeled features of small Robles Moqo-style vessels. This conservatism is seen in the degree to which modeled relief is used for most of the representational detail, as well as in the artistry and realism of the modeled features. The arms and feline claws are shown in relief, a feature not in use in subsequent epochs. A unique shape feature is the raised center of the round "drum" sides of the vessel.

The shaping, firing, slipping and surface finish of this vessel are extraordinarily fine and exhibit great artistry and skill. The colors are bright, especially the background red, which has an orange-red hue characteristic of fancy Huari-style ware of Epoch 2A. The colors employed, as well as the design arrangement, are the characteristic ones for this epoch, namely gray, purple, cream and white, outlined in black, on a red ground. The principal design figure on each broad side is the humped-animal design with lay elite features much like those described for the corresponding design on the doublespout bottle in Burial 1, discussed above. The ray appendages are both double and triple ones, but they all lack the elongated central ray that characterizes the ceremonial variants of this design. The only Huari cult feature of this animal which is not present on most of the other lay elite examples from the coast is the fanged mouth. On the other hand, this example lacks another Huari cult feature, the human hands and feet.

The animal figure decorating the side seam of the flask is also derived from fancy Chakipampa antecedents. All the ray designs on this vessel are conservative Epoch 2A ones with curved contours. The chevron band at the top of the neck is derived from the preceding Chakipampa B and Nasca 9B styles.⁹⁴

The second vessel purported to be from the same lot is illustrated in fig. 30. Its body shape, that of a ring with a central hole, is unique in our sample. The neck is a conservative one that resembles jar necks of the Nasca 9B and fancy Chakipampa B styles of Epoch 1B. The pigments are the same as those of the felineheaded flask. The body design is a chevron band of the Robles Moqo tradition; that is, the chevrons are broad and symmetrical, and red is not used as a background color to separate chevrons painted in other colors (for comparison, see fig. 29). The neck decoration is borrowed from a Robles Moqo and Conchopata-tradition design detail. Thus, while this vessel has no mythical representations, it too shares traits with vessels of ceremonial import in this and the preceding phases.

Burial 3. A third purported burial lot, with similar affiliations as the two just described, this one with Ica provenience, passed through a dealer's collection where it was recorded by Junius B. Bird (figs. 31-33). The group included one vessel and two extraordinary textile bags, one of them with mythical designs. The vessel is a variant of a small spouted bottle which is characteristic of the Atarco A style of the Nasca drainage (for a corresponding Atarco A example from

Nasca, see fig. 34). In the Atarco style this form is found more commonly as one half of double-chambered whistling bottles (for an example, see fig. 48).

The textile bags that came with this lot are of particular interest, especially the one shown in figs. 31a, b. This bag is decorated with mythical designs of fancy Chakipampa origin combined with Conchopata and Robles Moqo-style features, and with stylistic details that mark it as belonging in Epoch 2A. For example, the doubleheaded serpentine used as a headdress for the mythical design in fig. 31a is derived from the fancy Chakipampa A style, but it has multicolored circular body spots not appearing on this serpentine figure until Epoch 2A. For contrast, it is useful to examine a Chakipampa B example on a very widespread Epoch 1B vessel form of the sierra (fig. 35). The use of this serpentine design as a headdress is unique here and represents an analogy with the Conchopata and Robles Moqo-style headdress bands with mythical appendage heads appearing on angel figures of those styles.⁹⁵ The mouth on the principal figure in the textile design has feline features, and the body is adorned with feline appendage heads that resemble the staff-appendage heads of the mythical figures in the Ayapata style and serve to represent the feline-headed being of Epoch 2A. The accompanying trophy head is also a symbol of this being. The sections of serpentine figures with multicolored body spots on the left side of the textile are also Epoch 2A features like those appearing with the mythical designs of Ayapata and elsewhere.

The reverse side of the same bag is decorated with another representational design of fancy Chakipampa A origin, one that I am calling the "Ayacucho Serpent" (fig. 31b). This design theme is particularly widespread in Epoch 1B on the broad bowl form shown in fig. 35.⁹⁶ In comparing the textile design with the Epoch 1B examples, one sees that the textile figure shows fangs, unlike the earlier figure, that it has the divided eye typical of the Huari cult, and that serpentine, stafflike appendages ending in animal heads replace the ray designs of the earlier figures. These are all innovations borrowed from the Huari cult complex as it is represented in the Ayapata offering. The multicolored body spots of the appendages are also characteristic of Epoch 2A, as we have seen repeatedly.

Even though Huari cult features play a prominent part in the mythical designs on this remarkable textile, we see that the principal representational designs are based on the fancy Chakipampa tradition rather than the Huari cult tradition proper. In other words, the mythical beings of the Huari cult as it is represented in the Ayapata deposit and on some of the Ocoña jars do not appear in this burial either. This burial, then, is a further link in the accumulating evidence showing that in Epoch 2A a distinction continues to be made between sacred cult figures proper and figures that may appear in lay elite contexts, even though the contrast is not nearly as rigid as it was in earlier epochs.

The textile with the mythical designs just discussed has another

feature that should not be overlooked. The serpentine bodies of both figures contain in them not only trophy heads, but also birds that appear to be swallowing serpents. Bird figures, particularly those swallowing fish or other animals, become a prominent feature in textile designs all over the coast during the later part of the Middle Horizon and the entire Late Intermediate Period. On the north coast such designs are used in adobe relief ornaments on walls of important buildings of large cities and ceremonial centers, like Chanchan. In the south, they also form an important part in pottery and wood-carving art, in the styles of the Ica tradition. The example from the textile in the Epoch 2A burial from Ica is the earliest occurrence of this bird-design theme in our record.

Mythical representations on unassociated lay elite vessels

As we have seen from the preceding discussion of burial lots from the south coast, some of the Epoch 2A lay elite wares of the Huari domain are decorated with representations of mythical beings, even though these representations are customarily distinguished in various ways from those that appear on the Huari cult wares proper. There are a great many more unassociated vessels, particularly from the Nasca region, which have Epoch 2A features like those found on the burial specimens, and which extend our knowledge of this style. These vessels have been listed in summary form in my earlier discussion of the Viñaque, Atarco, and Pachacamac styles.⁹⁷ Most of the Atarco-style vessels described in my earlier study belong to Epoch 2A and the early part of Epoch 2B. No attempt is made here to make a complete analysis of any of these styles. However, it is relevant to discuss in greater detail a few examples of other mythical themes that play an important part in the decoration of lay elite wares of Epoch 2A. The most important mythical themes in this context are the feline-headed being, both in its human-bodied and animal-bodied manifestations, and the large bodiless profile angel head. These mythical designs apparently appear with equal frequency in most areas of the Huari domain during Epoch 2A. The bodiless mythical deity head, discussed earlier, is most frequent at Huari itself. A feline-bodied, eagle-headed, winged griffin is characteristic only of the Huari center at Pachacamac and the area under Pachacamac influence, as we shall see below. There are also various other mythical representations, all derived from the Conchopata style of Epoch 1A. It is not at present possible to verify to what extent all these mythical representations on the lay elite wares may or may not differ from those that appear on contemporary ceremonial offering pottery, because of the limited sample of the latter.

The feline-headed angel with a human body is of particular interest in any discussion of Epoch 2A and the early part of Epoch 2B (figs. 10b, 40a-c, 41, 42). This angel is derived from a feline-headed angel figure in the Conchopata style (Angel A).⁹⁸ In the Conchopata style this angel invariably appears as a secondary figure, accompanying the principal front-face deity, from which it is divided by vertical bands decorated with abbreviated angel heads and step-fret designs in triangular subdivisions. These designs are called "split-face."⁹⁹ On Epoch 2A lay

elite vessels, as well as on fancy textiles and ornaments, by contrast, the feline-headed angel regularly appears alone, without the front-face deity, accompanied only by the split-face design bands in some examples. This solitary appearance of the angel, together with its relatively greater frequency, its wide distribution, and the elaborate contexts in which it appears, suggest that the feline-headed angel was undergoing a period of special prominence in Epoch 2A. As noted earlier, the same angel figure is probably represented in the fragmentary profile figure seen on one of the fragments of the oversized bowls from the Ayapata offering illustrated by Ravines (Ravines, figs. 16, 62). It is only in this ceremonial context that the full-bodied front-face deity figure evidently continues to flourish and play a more prominent part. However, even the principal deity figure is here distinguished by feline pelt markings on the upper body which suggest a special new significance related to the greater prominence of the feline-headed angel.

There is another manifestation of the mythical feline being in Epoch 2A which appears both on ceremonial and lay elite wares (figs. 43a, b; Ravines, figs. 87a, b). This being has a feline body as well as a feline head, but it has human hands and feet and carries a staff, like the human-bodied angel. This being must have a slightly different significance, but it is clearly related in meaning to the feline-headed angel with the human body. Bodiless heads of the feline beings are also commonly used to decorate fancy lay elite wares of Epoch 2A.¹⁰⁰ There is one important contrast between the feline beings on lay elite wares and those of the pottery in major offering pits. Those appearing on ceremonial wares are associated with trophy heads, as in the Conchopata style, while those appearing on lay elite wares are not ordinarily associated with such heads.¹⁰¹

Human-bodied angel designs are more common on fancy tapestry textiles and gold and shell ornaments than on pottery in Epoch 2.¹⁰² Furthermore, the only angel design found up to now in pottery examples is the feline-headed one, whereas a variety of angel figures appears in textile designs. There are four examples of pottery vessels from Peru decorated with the feline-headed angel. These examples are all datable to Epoch 2A and the early part of Epoch 2B. In addition, the same design theme with some strikingly similar stylistic details also occurs in the domain of Tiahuanaco in Bolivia, far southern Peru and northern Chile. There are a number of Tiahuanaco-style examples carved on bone tubes. One example, probably attributable to Epoch 2A or early Epoch 2B, was found carved on a bone tube from Mizque in Bolivia.¹⁰³ Others, probably spanning all of Epoch 2 on stylistic grounds, appear carved on bone tubes from San Pedro de Atacama in northern Chile.¹⁰⁴ There also is a wingless variant of it probably attributable to Epoch 2 which is painted on a pottery tumbler from the highlands.¹⁰⁵ Many of the stylistic details of the Tiahuanaco-style examples differ from the Huari ones, but the sharing of this mythical figure shows close communication between the Huari and Tiahuanaco areas at this time with respect to the exchange of religious ideas.¹⁰⁶

Two of the Peruvian vessels in this group are Atarco-style jars from the Nasca region. Both have facenecks representing skulls. One belongs in the early part of Epoch 2B on stylistic grounds (fig. 41). It was found in a purported burial from San José de Ingenio in the central Nasca drainage, and has been illustrated in more detail in the earlier publication.¹⁰⁷ The other jar represents exactly the same theme, but its much more conservative features indicate that it belongs in Epoch 2A (figs. 40a-c). A detailed comparison of these two jars is very useful in bringing out the stylistic contrasts that serve to distinguish the earlier and later examples.

The conservative shape features of the Epoch 2A jar are seen in the neck form, which is high and cylindrical rather than tapering; the less prominent shoulder, combined with the lesser degree of taper and greater rounding of the lower part of the sides; and the proportionately broader bottom with less sharply edged contours. All these features are ones in which this shape resembles Nasca 9 and Chakipampa B jar features of Epoch 1B. For Nasca 9 examples, see Ravines, figs. 85, 86.¹⁰⁸ A particularly conservative feature of the Atarco A jar is the representation of the hair, which is shown modeled in very low relief. As noted earlier, relief modeling of such representational details as hair, arms and hands is a rare Epoch 2A survival from the more elaborate relief modeling of the Robles Moqo style.¹⁰⁹ Neither the oversized Epoch 2A jars, nor the very conservative small skullhead jar of Epoch 2b, show relief modeling of the hair, and such modeling is also absent from all subsequent styles.

There are also significant contrasts in the Atarco angel figures that ornament the sides of both the conservative and advanced jars. The lower part of the face of the conservative figures protrudes beyond the teeth and upper face in a snout effect, a feature that the conservative Atarco angel shares with Angel A of the Conchopata style.¹¹⁰ As on the mythical figures of the Conchopata style, the red space between the teeth of the conservative Atarco angel lacks a black outline. The upper mouth outline of the conservative angel curves down at the back of the mouth to meet the straight lower mouth outline, a feature that it also shares with Conchopata-style angel mouths, but not with the Epoch 2B mouths of mythical figures. The nose is shown as a small two-step block with an L-shaped filler element. In contrast, the nose of the more advanced Atarco angel is larger, consisting of a three-step block and a step-block filler.

Thicker modular widths of design bands, shorter proportions, and greater angularity are also features contrasting the more advanced Atarco angel with the more conservative one. For example, the conservative angel has proportionately longer, more slender arms, legs and wing feathers than the advanced one; the structural bands that mark the center of the arms and legs are also proportionately longer and narrower; the contours of the hand are more rounded in the conservative design; and the staff band across the back is much longer and more curvilinear on the conservative specimen. The conservative Atarco A angel has four

wing feathers, against the two stouter, shorter ones of the more advanced angel. Most of these conservative features are ones that resemble Conchopata features, though the context is slightly altered in some of them. Another conservative Epoch 2A feature is the use of a dark gray pigment, which is not present in the Epoch 2B examples, but which is one of the pigments of the Conchopata style. The corresponding pigment on the advanced Atarco angel is a light gray (compare, for example, the wing-feather shades of the two figures, figs. 40b and 41).¹¹¹

There are other stylistic details that distinguish the angel designs on the two vessels, but it is not clear to what extent they are indicative of style change and to what extent they represent contemporary alternatives for depicting body details. For example, the Epoch 2A angels have feet with curved, clawlike toes, a feature traceable to Conchopata and fancy Chakipampa A origins in mythical animal figures. In contrast, the Epoch 2B example has a foot with squared toes of the kind used for human-bodied figures in the earlier styles.

The contrasts in stylistic detail are particularly striking when one considers the identity in theme. Shape and design features all are homologous. The design arrangement is identical. Both vessels are decorated with a derived Robles Moqo-style chevron band around the neck rim, and both have two vertical split-face design bands separating the two angel figures at the back of the vessel. The association of split-face bands and feline-headed angels here also shows a particularly close derivation from the Conchopata-style pattern.¹¹² The association of the angel theme with the skull head is an Epoch 2A innovation, as are all skull depictions.

A conservative, feline-headed angel design, probably approximately contemporary with the Epoch 2A design on the Atarco-style bottle just described, appears on a unique find from the Casma valley north of Lima. The specimen is a fragment of a jar of the same shape as the Atarco-style ones (fig. 42). While the stylistic details of shape and design show the same kind of conservatism as the Atarco A example, there are also very distinctive differences in stylistic detail which are a function of regional differences. This important find was made by Ernesto E. Tabío in 1954 at a looted Middle Horizon cemetery on the Fundo Poctao. The locality of the find is described by Collier.¹¹³ The correspondences in shape and design theme and color pattern between the specimens from Nasca and Casma are extraordinary, and testify to the close religious and social elite bond that united the Huari provinces at this time. The differences in stylistic detail are of equal importance, however, for they show that the pieces were made locally by different people who were only giving expression to a general religious and social standard. Examples of the stylistic contrast are features such as the greater angularity of the body contours of the Casma design, and the somewhat narrower modular widths of the bands. However, such features as the protruding snout of the lower face, the curvature of the staves, and the narrowness of the modular widths of the bands, all parallel the corresponding features of the Atarco A design.

Unlike the three pieces just described, the fourth Huari-style example of the feline-headed angel appears on the outside of a flaring-sided bowl. This piece was found at Supe, also north of Lima. The bowl shape corresponds to that of the oversized bowls of Ayapata in many respects. Its size is that of the smallest Ayapata examples (figs. 10a, b). However, its sides are more flaring than those of the Ayapata bowls, a trait that distinguishes central coast bowls of this kind from the rest (for comparison, see Ravines, fig. 28). The Supe bowl probably also differed from the Ayapata bowls in lacking handles.

Several of the stylistic details of the design on the bowl from Supe resemble those of the more advanced Atarco angel illustrated in fig. 41 and attributed to the early part of Epoch 2B. Relatively advanced stylistic details shared by the Supe angel and the Atarco B angel include the absence of a projection of the lower face, relatively short, broad proportions of design bands and body bands such as limbs and hand, and the absence of a red space between the upper and lower teeth. The "tail-feather" design, here appearing at the top of the staff, is a much modified version of the conservative form and lacks the oval base that characterizes all Epoch 1 and 2A examples, and some of the Epoch 2B ones as well (for comparison, see figs. 39-43, 50). Furthermore, the Supe angel figure lacks the structural limb bands that characterize the mythical figures from the Conchopata style on through the beginnings of Epoch 2B. The example from Supe thus has the most advanced stylistic features of any examples of this mythical being yet discovered. It probably represents the latest appearance of this being as it appears on Huari-style pottery.

Like the jar fragment from the Casma valley, the bowl fragment from Supe was recovered in a Middle Horizon cemetery in which it represented the earliest find. Max Uhle, who collected this piece, described the area, which is located on the grounds of the Hacienda San Nicolás.¹¹⁴ The burials were found in the vicinity of a walled town located at the western, seaward foot of some fortified hills. A square enclosure with imposing constructions was situated within the town at the base of the hills. These constructions are the remains of an important public building complex consisting of raised platforms on different levels arranged around a deep court. This building complex is called Chimu Capac; Uhle dated the site to what we now call the Middle Horizon on the basis of the pottery found there. He pointed out that next to Pachacamac this is the most important Middle Horizon center in central Peru. This observation is of particular interest, because most of the Middle Horizon 2B pottery from Supe shows in several respects a far closer stylistic relationship to the contemporary Viñaque style of the capital at Huari than any other coastal style; both to the north of Supe, and south as far as Ica, the coastal styles of this time are much more heavily influenced by the style of Pachacamac.¹¹⁵ It appears that the area around Supe may have been a special political or religious outpost of Huari on the coast. The bowl fragment with the angel design probably reflects the religious and political importance of this site.

Angel figures, then, do appear on small pottery vessels that correspond to the lay elite wares of Epoch 2A and early Epoch 2B. The sample for the ceremonial style proper is not adequate to establish whether the angels on the lay elite wares differ consistently from those on the ceremonial wares. However, such a contrast does appear in the animal-bodied variants of this being. A ceremonial example of the animal-bodied being is painted on one of the oversized jars from Ocoña illustrated by Ravines (Ravines, figs. 87a, b). An Epoch 2A example of a very fancy small lay elite tumbler from the sierra is illustrated in figs. 43a, b. An early Epoch 2B lay elite bowl with this kind of design is illustrated in fig. 44.¹¹⁶ All the animal-bodied examples are distinguished from the angels by the feline markings on the body. Head and body contours also differ from the corresponding angel features. However, there are also contrasts between the feline-bodied beings found on lay elite wares and those on the ceremonial vessels. The lay elite examples differ from the ceremonial ones in having arching bodies, with wing feathers attached to the top and back, and an upturned head. They are not associated with trophy heads. In contrast, the examples on the ceremonial jar from Ocoña lack wings, the position of the body is straight horizontal, the head features are also distinctive, and the figure is associated with trophy heads.¹¹⁷

Conservative features that mark the animal-bodied feline being on the sierra tumbler as belonging in Epoch 2A rather than 2B include the circular wing base and the triple-ray design in place of the tail-feather design. The contrast can best be appreciated by comparing figs. 43a, b with the more advanced example in fig. 44. Other Epoch 2A features include the contours of the ray appendages, the unoutlined red space separating the upper and lower teeth, and the narrow, plain gray outlines of the vertical chevron panel-dividing bands.¹¹⁸

Although the feline-headed being in its various manifestations dominates the Huari cult in Epoch 2A, other mythical manifestations derived from Conchopata antecedents also continue. An Epoch 2A example from the Nasca region of the large bodiless profile angel head is shown in fig. 45. It is painted on a large flaring-sided bowl that resembles the oversized bowls from Ayapata, except for being of much smaller size and lacking handles. Similar shapes and designs occur at Huari.¹¹⁹ Another Epoch 2A representation with mythical attributes of particular interest was recorded by Max Uhle at Pachacamac, and is described below.

A minor offering from Pachacamac

The Pachacamac find consists of fragments of two flaring-sided bowls very similar to the oversized ceremonial bowls from Ayapata.¹²⁰ This find probably represents a minor offering, as noted earlier. The fragments were found scattered in the sand along the rear wall enclosing the old temple of Pachacamac. The size of the larger of the two bowls is the same as that of the most common size of the oversized Ayapata bowls; it was about 18 cm. high and 36 cm. in diameter. The shape is

slightly more flaring-sided, however, a feature that also distinguishes Pachacamac-style bowls of later epochs, as well as the Supe bowl described above. The principal design on the bowl fragments from Pachacamac consists of a full-bodied figure which must have had some mythical import. It has a front-face body like the deity bodies of the Conchopata and Robles Moqo styles, and it is shown with a staff with a serpentine curvature in one hand, the staff ending in a serpent head. An important distinction in the decoration of these bowls is the fact that the design appears on the inner surface of the sides rather than the outer one.

Design details of the Pachacamac figures resemble those of the corresponding figures on the Ayapata bowls. They differ from the latter in the decoration of the garment, which consists of large white dots on a dark ground, a tie-dye pattern that also appears commonly on Middle Horizon textiles. Although this dot pattern does not appear on the examples from Ayapata, it is like one used to decorate the garment of one of the angel figures of the Conchopata style (Angel B). The same design continues in use in Epoch 1B on garments of the elaborate non-mythical human representations of the Robles Moqo style.¹²¹ In Epoch 2A it is a widespread garment design appearing on human representations in lay elite wares in the area of the Huari dominion (figs. 47, 48; Donnan, figs. 1a, b, d). The head that appears on one of the fragments from Pachacamac lacks mythical features.¹²² It is a human head like others appearing on lay elite wares of Epoch 2A (for a sierra example, see fig. 46). Characteristic features of these heads are a lenticular eye with a central dot, a downcurved, aquiline nose, a white head band decorated with paired black dots, and large disklike ear ornaments.¹²³ One of the stylistic details that mark this design as Epoch 2A in time is the mouth contour, in which the upper mouth outline curves downward in the back to join the straight lower outline. This head form is also derived from a Conchopata-style antecedent.

The mythical figures on the bowls from Pachacamac are separated from each other by vertical dividing bands containing the same design used in the same context as one on one of the oversized jars from Ocoña. It consists of diagonal step figures in squares, the same motive that is a common design on secular pottery of the Chakipampa B and Viñaque styles of the sierra during Epochs 1B and 2, respectively.

A minor offering from the Chicama valley

A very important Epoch 2A lot, this one from the north coast, was recorded in 1968 by Christopher B. Donnan and Joel W. Grossman. It was discovered on the grounds of the Hacienda Sausal in the Chicama valley and is described by Donnan in the preceding article. Like the fragments from Pachacamac discovered by Uhle, the Sausal lot appears to have been a minor offering, consisting of the fragments of three small vessels of the fancy lay elite wares of Epoch 2A. All three of the vessels are composed in part of themes affiliated with the Huari cult, but in its lay manifestations. Stylistic details of this lot are identical or virtually

identical to those of Huari lay elite wares in other areas of the Huari dominion. However, there is one key difference, namely the presence of another mythical theme, the Pachacamac griffin, as we shall see.

One of the vessels from the Sausal site is a head cup of the kind that also appears as a small vessel form without mythical attributes in the Robles Moqo style (Donnan, figs. 2 and 6a-c).¹²⁴ The example from Sausal has features that characterize all the Huari styles of Epoch 2A, while other features demonstrate its derivation from the Robles Moqo-style head cups. Derived Robles Moqo-style features include fancy, lifelike modeling; the face markings, which include a checkerboard pattern with step elements enclosing one eye and a banded circle enclosing the other; black markings about the mouth and chin suggesting a mustache and chin whiskers; and the bulging vessel contours above the head.¹²⁵ The principal Epoch 2A features are in the profile human-head designs that adorn the upper part of the vessel. These heads resemble Epoch 2A trophy-head designs on the pottery vessels from Ayapata, Huari and Ocoña. However, the Sausal heads evidently represent living people, for they have a headdress and ear ornaments, and they lack the facial dividing line that marks most trophy heads. For a similar head from the sierra, see fig. 46. We have discussed the relevant features of such head designs earlier. Another Epoch 2A feature is the segmentation of the left eye band, which is like the corresponding segmentation of banded staff and serpentine designs in the Ayapata style (for comparison, see Ravines, figs. 9, 48, 50, 58).

The second vessel from the Sausal find is illustrated by Donnan in his figs. 1a, b and 5a, b. It is of particular interest for its combination of features. The representation is that of a prisoner with his hands tie behind his back and a bowl carried on top of his head. The modeled prisoner figure is derived from another of the small, non-mythical Robles Moqo-style themes found in association with Huari cult objects in Epoch 1B. In the Robles Moqo style these small figures appear as one half of double-chambered vessels. Modeled human figures of this kind also persist in slightly modified form in the Epoch 2A (Atarco A) style of Nasca. Two examples are illustrated in figs. 47 and 48. The observer is struck by the remarkable similarity of features between the Sausal figure and the Atarco-style figures, especially the one shown in fig. 48. These similarities can be seen especially in the tie-dyed garment, the general proportions of the figures, the diamond designs in the head band, detailed parallels in modeled features, eye form and necklace. It is the same theme, and the specimens are almost identical in style. The principal differences are that the Atarco A figures do not represent prisoners; the one in fig. 48 is shown in seated position as part of a double vessel; and the face markings are different, those of fig. 48 being abbreviated to two arrows like those that form part of the design on the Sausal head cup (Donnan, figs. 2 and 6a). The difference in face markings between the Atarco-style and Sausal figures is of special significance. The Sausal figure's loop-shaped eye and cheek adornment is a contraction of the eye circle and cheek markings below the eye in the Robles Moqo style. The head cup from the Sausal lot shows a less contracted version of it on the

right side of the face. This contraction appears on Epoch 2B vessels in the sierra, and a special variant of it is characteristic of the Pachacamac style as well.¹²⁶

The small bowl which the Sausal prisoner carries on his head is a standard bowl form appearing in all the Huari styles of Epoch 2, and it is one that has associations with Cajamarca-tradition features at Huari. Bennett illustrates fragments of these bowls from Huari under his "Geometric-on-Light" type.¹²⁷ These bowls are made of a fine, light cream-colored paste, like the specimen in the Sausal lot, and unlike other Huari-style pottery which has red pastes. Two complete examples from Ica are illustrated here in figs. 49 and 50.¹²⁸ Many of these bowls are decorated largely with designs related to the Cajamarca tradition (fig. 49), but others, like the one shown in fig. 50 and the Sausal bowl, are decorated with a combination of Cajamarca-related design features and others borrowed from the art of the Huari cult. The bowl from Ica shown in fig. 50 is decorated with a principal design that is characteristic of Epoch 2 vessels from the sierra and south coast, an animal with a serpentine body, a head and feet with Huari-tradition features, and a Huari cult "tail-feather" design. The corresponding Sausal bowl design, on the other hand, represents a griffin, a design that, in the Huari area, is confined to the style of Pachacamac.¹²⁹ The griffin on the bowl from Sausal shares several conservative design features with the conservative variants of feline beings in the Huari styles of the south coast and sierra. Such features include the rounded wing base, a set of four wing feathers on the backward slant, narrow modular widths of the banded elements of the design, and a curving tail end on the staff bar across the figure's back. The body of the figure is contracted on the Sausal bowl because of the limited design space, but feline body spots and feline claws are placed on the lower band which designates the body.

The Pachacamac griffin has body and wing features of the animal-bodied feline being described earlier. However, the staff bar on its back is a feature that is confined to the feline-headed angel in the highlands near Huari and on the south coast. The only examples of the Pachacamac griffin as yet discovered appear on lay elite wares. The frequency of this depiction on these wares is comparable to that of the animal-bodied feline being on the lay elite wares of the other areas of the Huari dominion. Its context suggests that the Pachacamac griffin contrasts with the animal-bodied feline being rather than with the feline-headed angel of the Huari cult in religious and political significance. This view is reinforced by the presence of the angel figures on the examples from Supe and Casma; no comparable animal-bodied feline being has yet appeared in the sample from Pachacamac or its vicinity.

The chevron band at the top of the bowl from Sausal is typical of conservative Epoch 2 chevron bands in the breadth and even execution of the chevrons. The alternation of colors represents a derivation from the fancy Chakipampa tradition rather than the Robles Moqo-style one.

The Sausal bowl, like the modeled figure below it, is thus important for two reasons. It shows, on the one hand, the remarkable stylistic homogeneity existing over the entire Huari area in Epoch 2A in the lay elite styles. On the other hand, it shows that as early as Epoch 2A the Pachacamac griffin was a rival figure in the religious world of Huari, and that its influence had made itself felt as far north as the Chicama valley.

The third vessel in the Sausal lot is stylistically almost entirely in the sierra tradition, and can be found in nearly identical form throughout the area of the Huari domain in Epoch 2A (Donnan, figs. 3a, b). It is a small, vertical-sided bowl derived from a fancy Chakipampa A antecedent (for comparison, see fig. 2a). Epoch 2A shapes from Nasca and the sierra like the Sausal bowl can be seen in figs. 14, 25, 44 and 46.

The design on the Sausal bowl is the humped animal with the characteristic Epoch 2A design details discussed earlier. The rays are those that characterize the figure in its lay elite contexts, that is, without the elongated central rays or the triangular ray tips and other features that characterize this figure on ceremonial pottery in major offerings. The design on the Sausal bowl has one important distinction however, namely its posture. The back of the animal is concavely arched, and its head is thrown up, features that characterize the feline-bodied being on lay elite wares elsewhere and not the traditional humped-animal designs (for comparison, see figs. 43a, 44, and the humped-animal designs in figs. 17, 20, 27, 29 and 53). It is therefore possible that the humped-animal figure here in part takes the place of the feline-bodied being, perhaps because the presence of the griffin precludes the representation of the rival feline being proper. That some kind of interchangeable or analogous meanings exist in Epoch 2A between the humped animal and the feline-bodied being can also be seen in the use of the triple-ray appendage, which belongs to the humped-animal tradition, in place of the Huari tail-feather design on some of the feline-bodied being representations of Epoch 2A (figs. 43a, b).

Lay elite wares from the Huari capital

After a review of Huari-style remains of Epoch 2A from farflung provinces of the Huari domain, it is useful to turn briefly to the site of Huari itself and summarize what can be stated concerning its relationship to the provinces. Almost every lay elite vessel or theme from the provinces has its counterpart among the fragments collected at the Huari capital. In addition, there are a great many variants of themes and vessel shapes at Huari which appear sparsely or not at all in the sample from the provinces. Like the ceremonial wares, lay elite wares appear in greater variety and profusion at Huari than in the provinces. This situation is expectable from a site that must have been the capital of a large empire.¹³⁰

Unfortunately the record of associations for Huari is inadequate to work out the full meaning of the wealth of its materials, and we must still rely on the associations from the provinces to help us interpret the Huari record.

In addition to the greater variety and profusion of examples at Huari, there are some additional observations that help to shed light on the Huari state in Epoch 2. Among the most common lay elite shapes at Huari is a small cup with a profile resembling the contours of a lyre, which has been called the "lyre cup" for that reason. This shape is much rarer in the provinces, though it has been found throughout the area of the Huari domain as the most widespread lay elite form of the Viñaque style, i.e., the Epoch 2 style of the capital. A provincial variant of the lyre cup is illustrated in fig. 51. All recorded examples of this shape are decorated with Viñaque-style designs, or designs that the Viñaque style shares with other Huari styles. Designs more characteristic of the provinces do not appear on this shape.

By far the most common design on lyre cups from Huari is a bodiless front-face deity head, an abbreviated form of the principal deity heads of the ceremonial styles of Epochs 1A and 1B. An Epoch 2A example of such a design on another Viñaque shape, the small vertical-sided bowl with a flat bottom, is illustrated in fig. 25. Further discussion of the style features of this head appears in the section dealing with the first lay elite burial described earlier. The bodiless deity head is of sufficiently greater frequency in the Viñaque style of Huari than in the provincial styles so that it must be considered to characterize the lay elite wares of the Huari capital in much the same way that the Pachacamac griffin characterizes the lay elite wares of Pachacamac. However, while the bodiless deity head of Huari is found occasionally on forms of the provincial Huari styles, including Pachacamac, no example of the Pachacamac griffin has yet turned up in the sample from the Huari capital. This observation is one of several that suggest a rivalry between the special lay elite mythical beings of the Huari capital and those of Pachacamac, one in which the elite of Pachacamac accepted an occasional representation of the being of the capital, but in which the capital did not reciprocate.

This discussion should not omit a most interesting and illuminating find, a vessel fragment found at the site of Huari by Oscar Tapia of Ayacucho, and recorded by Joel W. Grossman. It is the fragment of a lyre cup, an example of very fine manufacture of the lay elite style with Epoch 2A features. A shape reconstruction from the fragment, made by Grossman, is illustrated in fig. 11, and the fragment itself is shown in fig. 53. The design on the exterior rim of this lyre cup is a humped animal with features that characterize the lay elite styles of Epoch 2A. The bottom half of the vessel is covered with the beautifully modeled representation of a hand, depicted as if it were holding the cup. Modeled hands and feet form an important part of small vessels without mythical attributes of the Robles Moqo style.¹³¹ In Epoch 2 the hand theme becomes much more important and appears in a variety of new contexts, including this one on the lyre cup.¹³²

Summary and Conclusions

The new data on Middle Horizon Epoch 2A discussed in the preceding sections amplify considerably our ability to interpret the nature of the Huari expansion and its changes. The offering pit at Ayapata, described by Ravines in the preceding article, furnishes key data on the persistence and changes in the Huari cult. It shows that esoteric ceremonial offerings of the kind that initiated the Huari cult in central Peru continued, but with some changes that demonstrate an increased pace in a secularization process begun in Epoch 1B. There are several striking innovations. First, the offering is stratified, with a level at the bottom containing pottery representing several nonceremonial secular pottery traditions that were probably made in different pottery workshops and represent different communities of the region around Ayapata. If this inference is correct, such community representation in the offering marks an important innovation, in which different secular communities have representation in the religious ritual. Second, the evidence from the most highly ceremonial middle level of the Ayapata offering indicates that there is also an increased pace in the merging of the Huari cult proper with the mythical figures of the fancy Chakipampa A tradition. The latter tradition ultimately has its origins in a mythical tradition originating at Nasca and Ayacucho and represents a separate, nonceremonial elite complex in the Ayacucho area at the beginning of the Huari cult in Epoch 1A. Its union with the Huari cult objects in the middle level at Ayapata therefore represents another kind of secularizing process, or perhaps, more accurately, an ecumenical joining of a less prestigious and less exclusive mythical tradition with the great religion. This merger is also apparent in the associations of the ceremonial jars of Ocoña. It can be deduced further from the occasional exchange of stylistic attributes between the humped animal and the feline-bodied Huari cult being of Epoch 2A in their less sacred representations.

Another important innovation in the ceremonial offering of Ayapata is the use of ceremonial burning, and the use of special burning urns. No ceremonial burning has been recorded for the earlier Huari cult offering pits of Epochs 1A and 1B. Ceremonial burners have a long tradition in the Tiahuanaco area, however, and the introduction of the practice to the Huari area at this time is probably connected with active communication in religious ideas between these two independent centers during Epoch 2A. Such communication is also suggested by the parallels in religious themes between the Huari and Tiahuanaco domains at this time.

While the Ayapata offering deposit is the only one of its kind recorded to date for Epoch 2A, others must have existed in the Huari area and remain to be discovered. Oversized jars with ceremonial features like those appearing in the middle level of the Ayapata deposit have been found in the central Nasca drainage. The tops of these jars were probably already in broken condition when found, and may represent remnants of a ceremonial offering.

Oversized jars of the same style also have been found in a ceremonial context in the area of Ocoña. However, the Ocoña deposit was not an offering like the Ayapata one, and the jars appear, rather, to have been used there for ceremonial storage or perhaps as containers of offerings.

Pottery representing ceremonial themes of the Huari cult and its affiliated fancy Chakipampa-tradition themes also appears in less esoteric contexts in Epoch 2A, in burials and in what appear to be minor offerings. The term "lay elite" wares is appropriate for this pottery because of the nature of its associations and its stylistic likenesses to and contrasts with the ceremonial wares. This pottery accompanied the remains of what must have been a very distinguished social elite having close associations with the religious cult. This elite did not necessarily consist exclusively of priests. The wide spread of the elite wares and the great wealth with which they are associated suggest considerable worldly power of the individuals involved. While many of the representational figures appearing on the lay elite pottery are very similar to some of those on the oversized ceremonial offering pottery and related wares as they appear at Ayapata and Ocoña, however, the lay elite designs lack some of the features that distinguish the more esoteric forms. These stylistic distinctions show that in Epoch 2A there was continued recognition of the special sanctity of an exclusive ceremonial style, despite the flourishing of the lay elite wares.

Although the lay elite wares had widely expanded and altered functions in Epoch 2A, their appearance was not unprecedented in principle. Antecedents for them exist in the small fancy pottery without mythical attributes of the Huari cult found in Robles Moqo-style offering deposits and, very rarely, in special elite burials and small offerings of Epoch 1B. There are several factors, however, that make it apparent that the lay elite wares of Epoch 2A have a different character from the ceremonial ware without mythical attributes of Epoch 1B. Unlike the Epoch 1B vessels of this kind, lay elite vessels of Epoch 2A are not found in the offering deposit at Ayapata or among the Ocoña jars; they appear exclusively in other contexts. Furthermore, lay elite wares of Epoch 2A are decorated with the cult figures proper, despite certain distinctions indicating their lesser sanctity. This is the first time in the history of the Huari cult that these figures appear outside of the most esoteric context. Another contrast between the Epoch 2A and 1B manifestations of wares affiliated with the religious cult is the much greater frequency and wider use made of lay elite wares in Epoch 2A. There are far more examples of small offerings consisting exclusively of lay elite wares which are found in widely separated areas of the Huari domain. We may judge their frequency by the many specimens found in various collections from the entire area of Huari influence. In other words, in Epoch 2A more individuals were entitled to the privileges of being buried with pottery with cult associations, and more use was made of minor offerings. It is another aspect of the altered and far more

advanced state of secularization and of the political and social uses made of the Huari cult at this time.

The rest of the pottery of Epoch 2A consists of styles that have entirely secular origins and are found in ordinary refuse and burials. These styles differ from region to region and are rooted in local traditions. We see such regional styles represented in the lowest level of the Ayapata offering deposit, and in that pottery of the central coast which is composed predominantly or entirely of derived Nievería-style features.¹³³ At Huari, we see it in wares with traditional features unrelated to the mythical complex of the Huari cult, especially in small open bowls (or "dishes") and jars decorated with designs derived from the less fancy, nonmythical designs of Chakipampa B vessels of Epoch 1B.¹³⁴ Most of the secular wares of these areas differ from the fancy elite wares in having much less care and artistry bestowed on them. They usually lack the beautiful, bright pigments, the glossy finish, the smooth, symmetrical shaping and delicate modeling, the attention to firing color, and the precision in design that distinguish the lay elite wares and high ceremonial wares of Epoch 2A.¹³⁵

Two additional observations concerning these phenomena are important. First, some of the pottery from the lowest level of the Ayapata offering is related to some of the ordinary refuse pottery found at Huari itself. Furthermore, influences of ordinary secular Viñaque-style pottery of Huari appear in the Cuzco basin at least as early as Epoch 2A, and perhaps as early as Epoch 1B. In Epoch 2B, the entire variety of Viñaque-style pottery of Huari can be found in sierra sites as far south as the Cuzco basin, and north at least as far as Huancayo, and probably farther. In contrast, ordinary secular Viñaque-style pottery is not present anywhere on the coast, where we find only the fancy elite styles of the Huari complex.¹³⁶ Clearly, this distribution argues for a very different relationship between the capital and the coastal centers. Huari culture reaches far lower on the social scale in the sierra provinces neighboring the capital, apparently ending for practical purposes in a homogeneous culture over a relatively wide area in the central highlands. If the later Middle Horizon styles of Peru come to show a more universal homogeneity over a wider area, it is because the features of the elite wares filtered downward into the ordinary pottery and lower social levels, rather than because of any increase of direct influence from the Huari capital.¹³⁷

The differences between the local and regional styles of the sierra and coast in Epoch 2A reflect the different cultures that came under Huari rule. They do not argue for political independence of these cultures and nations. The differences in their distribution patterns merely reflect the existence of prestigious earlier local traditions on the coast which could rival the purely secular styles of Huari, and the evident lack of earlier traditions of comparable standing in the sierra provinces neighboring Huari. The key styles in the religious and political world of Huari are the ceremonial and

lay elite styles, and these show a startling homogeneity and standardization over an extraordinarily large area incorporating many different cultural traditions. Furthermore, the great majority of the ceremonial and lay elite vessels involved is of local manufacture. Trade pieces, if they exist, must be rare. This stylistic homogeneity among vessels of local manufacture argues for an extraordinary degree of centralization, in which adherence to standard models of style and ceremonial was strictly observed and controlled. One can infer that the governing elite of the Huari empire must have formed a close-knit nonlocalized community, with an efficient system of communication over a very large area.

In considering the remarkable degree of centralization of the Huari domain in Epoch 2A, one must also consider the homogeneity of the most impressive planned structures of Pikillaqta near the lower Cuzco basin and Viracochapampa near Huamachuco, and their resemblance to some of the construction units at the Huari capital. There is some evidence to support the hypothesis that construction at Pikillaqta was begun at least as early as Epoch 2A, or possibly slightly earlier. Three pottery fragments found under its foundations have features that may be described either as advanced Chakipampa B or conservative Vifiaque-style ones, that is, features that place them either late in Epoch 1B or early in Epoch 2A. There was an extensive Epoch 2A occupation in the Lucre basin where Pikillaqta is located, as demonstrated by surveys conducted in this area under the direction of John H. Rowe in 1968. As Rowe has pointed out, the structural uniformity of Pikillaqta, Viracochapampa, and some of the sections of Huari, present another argument for a high degree of centralized planning and organization in a tightly controlled state, with analogous examples in the later empire of the Incas. Rowe has argued that Pikillaqta and Viracochapampa probably were storage centers, for they could not have been used as habitations, either formal or informal ones, in view of their structural peculiarities.

Despite the evidence of political activity and secular uses of the religious cult that are so manifest in the Huari empire of Epoch 2A, the evidence also shows that the religious cult continued to furnish the central focus around which the political system was built. We see some changes in emphasis in the different cult figures of the Conchopata/Robles Moqo tradition, especially in the great increase of importance of the fierce feline-headed angel and related beings. The feline-bodied being is related to secondary mythical animal designs in the Conchopata style. Rowe has suggested that these mythical animals may represent beings associated with stars and constellations, similar to those forming part of Inca religion at the time of the Spanish conquest.¹³⁸ The reason is that the whole Huari pantheon strongly resembles the Inca one described by historical sources, and that the Conchopata-style mythical animals are associated with a symbolic design consisting of light-colored circles suggestive of stars. In Epoch 2A the human-bodied and animal-bodied mythical figures share more features than in the earlier ceremonial style. In the Epoch 2A

ceremonial styles both the feline beings are associated with trophy heads, and trophy-head designs proliferated greatly on the ceremonial wares, gaining their greatest popularity during this epoch. One infers that the feline-headed beings had a bloodthirsty quality.

While the religious pantheon shows remarkable uniformity over the entire Huari domain, there is one notable exception. At Pachacamac a different mythical figure was selected for special attention, a griffin that is derived from another Conchopata-style star animal. This griffin is not represented in the religious art of the other Huari styles. During Epoch 2A it is merely a rival being on the central coast, existing side by side with some of the more widespread mythical figures of the Huari pantheon. However, we now see that as early as Epoch 2A the Pachacamac griffin had made itself felt as a rival influence north of Pachacamac, as Donnan's find from the Chicama valley shows. This rival figure in the mythical pantheon of the religious world of Huari represents the seeds of division, a division that became more profound in Epoch 2B.

These new data on Epoch 2A, then, give us new opportunities to glimpse the workings of an empire that appears to have been even more centralized than that of the Incas, and nearly as extensive. The religious and social traditions were spread so widely in Epoch 2A, and imprinted themselves so largely on the minds of all the peoples under Huari domain, that they persisted through the centuries that followed and were reflected in many ways in all the central Andean cultures at the time of the Spanish conquest, including that of the Incas. Although the Incas forged an entirely new empire, historically independent of the old one, there were perhaps aspects of the social and political life of all the central Andean peoples of the fifteenth century that perpetuated values and points of view rooted in the Huari empire. Perhaps these old, widespread attitudes helped make it possible for the Incas to create another highly centralized empire in their time.

NOTES

¹Menzel, 1964, 1968.

²This study was done under grant GX 2002 of the National Science Foundation. The support of this Foundation is here very gratefully acknowledged.

There are many individuals who have made important recent contributions to the much needed data on the Middle Horizon. Among these are, of course, Rogger H. Ravines S., Christopher B. Donnan, Patricia J. Lyon and Allison C. Paulsen, whose articles appear in this issue. There are others, however, chief among whom are John H. Rowe, Junius B. Bird, Joel W. Grossman and Warren R. De Boer, who have been particularly helpful and generous in making painstaking records

of all isolated data that have come to their attention and sharing their information with me. Other contributors whose helpful spirit and generosity have added considerably to the present study are William H. Isbell, Sergio Chávez, Karen Mohr Chávez, Luís Barreda M., Ernesto E. Tabío, Adolfo Bermúdez J., Alejandro Pezzia A. and Duncan M. Masson. Among the major ongoing projects that will have important new contributions to make to Middle Horizon studies are archaeological surveys of the Cuzco area by John H. Rowe, Patricia J. Lyon, Edward B. and Jane P. Dwyer, Sergio and Karen Mohr Chávez, Warren De Boer, Juan Núñez del Prado, and Luís Barreda M.; excavations at the sites of Huari and Chakipampa near Ayacucho by Luís G. Lumbreras and Mario Benavides Calle; the studies of surveys and excavations in the Callejón de Huaylas under the direction of Gary S. Vescelius; and a survey and excavations in the Huancayo area by David L. Browman.

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³The absolute dating is based on the long-scale calculation made by John H. Rowe in 1965 (Rowe, 1967, table 3). However, a major subsequent study by Gary S. Vescelius, as yet unpublished, which deals with the problems of radiocarbon dating, shows that these problems are even more complicated than Rowe had realized when he did his study, and that any absolute dates at this time must be seen only as more or less reliable approximations. The estimate of the relatively short duration of Epoch 2A is based on observations of the degree of changes in some of the stylistic detail, and estimates of the total length of the Middle Horizon in terms of all the radiocarbon scales. These estimates are unaffected by the other uncertainties in the dating process.

⁴For a discussion of the Middle Horizon 1 offering deposits, see Menzel, 1964, pp. 4, 19-30 and Menzel, 1968, pp. 19, 65-85. A correction to the information given in the earlier report needs to be made here. I stated in my earlier study that the Middle Horizon 1 offerings of the Conchopata style near Ayacucho and the Robles Moqo style at Pacheco, Nasca had been found in small subterranean rooms

enclosed by walls. This information was the result of misunderstandings on my part. Later discussion between Toribio Mejía Xesspe, the associate of Julio C. Tello who was director of both excavations, and John H. Rowe, indicate that both the Epoch 1 offering deposits had been made in unstructured pits. A subsequent reexamination of the field notes made by Ronald L. Olson on his later excavations at Pacheco revealed that Olson's excavation plan supports Mejía's data.

⁵Personal communication from Mejía to John H. Rowe. During surface collections made in 1958 at the eastern end of the site of Chakipampa, near where these ceremonial pits must have been located, Rowe and I saw fragments of oversized, cream-slipped, thick-walled vessels of this kind. We did not save them, though we recorded their presence. The fragments we found were not of the urn form just described, but of another kind of urnlike vessel with less flaring or vertical sides and a prominent horizontal lip. It is not clear what the associations of this vessel form were, but they must be related to the ceremonial complex, either of Epoch 1A or 1B.

⁶Menzel, 1964, pp. 4, 8, 21-23; Menzel, 1968, pp. 19, 70-76.

⁷Menzel, 1964, p. 26; Menzel, 1968, p. 83.

⁸Examples of the urns with designs of mythical representations are illustrated in Menzel, 1968, pp. 53, 71, as well as in Muelle and Blas, 1938, lám. 31b, and others cited in my earlier publication (Menzel, 1964, 1968, footnote 120). One reference which I neglected to cite in the earlier publication is Lumbreras, 1960b, lám. V J. This illustration is important because to my knowledge it is the only photographic publication of the female deity that appears on the interior of these urns.

⁹Menzel, 1964, p. 20; Menzel, 1968, p. 82.

¹⁰Menzel, 1964, pp. 26-28; Menzel, 1968, pp. 81-85.

¹¹Menzel, 1964, pp. 31-35; Menzel, 1968, pp. 94-103.

¹²Menzel, 1964, pp. 21-23; Menzel, 1968, pp. 70-76.

¹³Menzel, 1964, pp. 22-23; Menzel, 1968, pp. 74-75.

¹⁴Rowe, 1946, pp. 305-308.

¹⁵Cobo, 1956, tomo 92, Book 13, chapters XIII-XVI, pp. 169-186.

¹⁶Cobo, 1956, tomo 92, Book 13, chapter XIII, p. 172.

¹⁷Cobo, 1956, tomo 92, Book 13, chapter XVI, p. 186

¹⁸Valcárcel, 1933.

¹⁹Valcárcel illustrates some of them also (Valcárcel, 1933, pl. X 1-n). He gives Chulpaca as the provenience for three of the figurines from Ica. Chulpaca lies in the area of Old Ica, the capital of the Ica valley during the Late Intermediate Period and Late Horizon.

²⁰Menzel, 1964, pp. 61-62; Menzel, 1968, pp. 171-173.

²¹Larco, 1963, pp. 63-64.

²²Catalogue numbers 35, 122, 137, 236, and no number. For a handsome illustration of seven examples of such figurines, see Larco, 1966, pl. 123.

²³Menzel, 1964, 1968.

²⁴Menzel, 1964, p. 24; Menzel, 1968, p. 78.

²⁵Ubbelohde-Doering, 1958, pp. 75-76, 78-80.

²⁶Tello, 1942, p. 95.

²⁷Menzel, 1964, pp. 8, 21-22, 25; Menzel, 1968, pp. 27-28, 70, 73, 80.

²⁸For a study on how different manufacturing communities or "workshops" come to produce distinctive wares, one should consult the important publications on modern pottery-making industries and their ancient antecedents in the Department of Huancavelica by Ravines Sánchez (Ravines Sánchez, 1964, 1966). See especially Ravines Sánchez, 1966, pp. 211-212, 221-222. Ravines found that in the Huancavelica valley pottery is now made by two manufacturing communities for the use of a wider surrounding area to which the pottery is traded. The two communities are about 25 kms. distant from one another in an air line. Each manufacturing community has a specific, limited trade area. One of the communities, Totorapampa, constitutes a small sector (parcialidad) of the community of Huaylacucho near the town of Huancavelica. The other, Ccaccasiri, is a single independent community of about 1200 individuals near the town of Acoria. Information furnished by chroniclers indicates that at least one of these communities, Totorapampa, was a pottery-making center already in Inca times. The products of each pottery-making community or workshop are recognizable by their distinctive paste, temper, surface finish, pigments, and shape and design features. Each has its own sources of clay, temper and pigments. Pre-conquest pottery of the valley shows the same kinds of distinguishing features. Furthermore, stylistic features of the modern pottery can be traced back to the pre-conquest Late Horizon pottery made in this area. Ravines has also found the same kind of pattern of distinguishing styles with overlapping distributions for Late Horizon pottery from the vicinity of Huancayo (unpublished manuscript in possession of the author).

The same kinds of contrasts in pottery wares as the modern and Late Horizon ones are found in the different Middle Horizon wares in the Ayapata offering deposit. I am therefore making the inference that the same kind of manufacturing pattern is probably reflected here, and that the different wares represent different manufacturing communities or workshops, which got their raw materials from different sources. It is not necessary to assume that the workshops had to be widely separated geographically. Some of them could have been near neighbors specializing in different kinds of products, while others may have been located in communities slightly more distant from one another. None appear to have been imported from very far away, since all have local stylistic characteristics distinctive of the region.

²⁹The dotted lines in Ravines' illustration mark the actual outline of the profile of this urn, since part of the contours had been cut off inadvertently in trimming the photograph.

³⁰Menzel, 1968, p. 53.

³¹For other examples, see Menzel, 1964, 1968, fig. 7a; Schmidt, 1929, figs. 281-2, 330-1.

³²In support of this hypothesis, it may be noted that William H. Isbell of the University of Illinois collected in 1967 two fragmentary vessels in the vicinity of Cangallo, about 50 kms. south of Ayacucho, which have a bearing on this question. Isbell was good enough to show the vessels to John H. Rowe and allow him to photograph them, and Rowe in turn shared the information with me. One of the vessels found by Isbell is a burner with a modeled feline head. It resembles the "Classic" Tiahuanaco style burners, and is the only vessel in the Tiahuanaco style ever recorded north of the Department of Puno. It has a few distinctive style features, enough to suggest that it was probably made locally, or at least not in the Tiahuanaco area. This burner has relatively advanced features in terms of the stylistic chronology of Tiahuanaco, and it probably belongs in Middle Horizon Epoch 2. It closely resembles the variant illustrated in Posnansky, 1958, vol. III, pls. XL1a, and XL1Da, b. It is probable that the Tiahuanaco-style burner from Cangallo, like the Ayapata urns, may represent a new ceremonial feature in the Huari area in Middle Horizon Epoch 2A.

The second vessel found by Isbell near Cangallo is a vessel derived from the small, nonmythical vessels of the Robles Moqo style. It has several design features that characterize it as belonging in Epoch 2A. The form represents a modeled eagle claw with a vase-shaped top decorated with a serpentine animal design with Huari cult features, the same design that appears on the bowl illustrated here in fig. 50.

³³Menzel, 1964, p. 24; Menzel, 1968, p. 78.

³⁴Menzel, 1964, pp. 21-23; Menzel, 1968, pp. 70-76.

³⁵For a complete example from the south coast, see Disselhoff and Linné, 1960, p. 201. For a comparable Conchopata-style angel figure, see Menzel, 1964, 1968, fig. 13.

³⁶Menzel, 1964, pp. 22-23; Menzel, 1968, p. 75.

³⁷Front-face deity figures in the style of Tiahuanaco carry the same differentiated staves, except that the staff with the differentiated sections is held in the left hand of the frontface deity (Posnansky, 1945, vol. I, pl. XLVII, vol. II, figs. 113a, 115). In the style of Tiahuanaco, two narrow staff bands terminating in eagle heads appear above the hand. In that style these bands are also shown as single arched strands which must be based on models made of a soft material (Posnansky, 1945, vol. I, pls. XXXVII, XXXVIII-1, 2, 3). They probably represent slings. This observation was first made by John H. Rowe.

³⁸For a Conchopata-style example, see Menzel, 1964, 1968, fig. 13.

³⁹Menzel, 1964, pp. 1-13; Menzel, 1968, pp. 34, 43-49.

⁴⁰The reconstruction is based on a study of the fancy Chakipampa A style by Joel W. Grossman (Grossman, ms.).

⁴¹Menzel, 1964, pp. 5, 8-10; Menzel, 1968, pp. 23, 28-31, 34.

⁴²Menzel, 1964, pp. 20-21; Menzel, 1968, pp. 68-69.

⁴³Fancy Chakipampa A pottery has been analyzed by a technique of neutron activation analysis, perfected by Professors Isadore Perlman and Frank Asaro of the Lawrence Radiation Laboratory of the University of California at Berkeley. These tests have shown that the paste of the fancy Chakipampa A style is of a completely different origin than the pastes of all the other styles of the vicinity of Ayacucho and Huari. The tests also show that the paste is strikingly homogeneous, pointing to a single source. The stylistic homogeneity also indicates that a single workshop must have produced this style.

⁴⁴For examples, see Tello, 1942, lám. XVI, nos. 8/7797, 8/7779, and 8/7732.

⁴⁵A very clear example of the hybridization of these body spots appears on one of the oversized ceremonial jars from the Ocoña area recorded by Toribio Mejía Xesspe, and on exhibit at the Museo Nacional de Antropología y Arqueología of Lima (Menzel, 1964, 1968, note 196).

⁴⁶Menzel, 1964, 1968, fig. 13.

⁴⁷The only recorded occurrence of a trophy head in the Robles Moqo style represented at Pacheco is a modeled head held in the hands of a small modeled feline. The feline has no other mythical features. This fact, and its small size, suggest that this vessel had secondary religious significance.

⁴⁸Whole trophy figures are characteristic of the Conchopata style.

⁴⁹Lumbreras, 1960a, lám. Xa, c; Lumbreras, 1960b, lám. VIIIIC, E; Disselhoff and Linné, 1960, p. 201.

⁵⁰It should be noted that the trophy-head designs on the Ocoña jars appear primarily in association with mythical felines that have spotted feline bodies, though they do have human hands and feet (cf. Menzel, 1964, p. 48, note 196; Menzel, 1968, p. 137, note 196).

⁵¹Menzel, 1964, 1968.

⁵²For other examples, see Schmidt, 1929, fig. 283-2; Muelle and Blas, 1938, lám. 31a.

⁵³The evidence for the Epoch 2A occurrence of this design feature is an addition to the data recorded in my earlier study.

⁵⁴For a complete example of this lip chevron band on a bowl in this style from the south coast, see Disselhoff and Linné, 1960, p. 201.

⁵⁵Menzel, 1968, p. 53.

⁵⁶The reconstruction of this shape was made by Joel W. Grossman.

⁵⁷This design is one borrowed from a common secular design of the Chakipampa B and Viñaque styles of Epochs 1B and 2 in the sierra; see below.

⁵⁸Another example is illustrated in Kroeber, 1944, pl. 39D.

⁵⁹For examples, see Menzel, 1964, 1968, figs. 1-b, 2, 5, 21, 25.

⁶⁰Menzel, 1964, pp. 24, 27; Menzel, 1968, pp. 78, 84.

⁶¹Reichlen and Reichlen, 1949, pp. 161-163.

⁶²Reichlen and Reichlen, 1949, fig. 10, pp. 168-169; their "noir et rouge tripode semi-cursif."

⁶³Reichlen and Reichlen, 1949, p. 169.

⁶⁴The drawing in fig. 9 is a reconstruction based on sherds from Bennett's excavation at Huari, and is published here with the permission of the Department of Anthropology at Yale University. The reconstruction was made by me and is based on three fragments from two different vessels, all found in Pit 2 (levels c and g). Bennett placed the features appearing on these fragments in three different taxonomic categories, his "Marafión," "Geometric-on-Light" and "Wari-Polychrome-Cursive" types (Bennett, 1953, fig. 13K, L, R, X, pls. 9A-D, M, 11G, K, M, N). The fragment illustrated in Rowe, Collier and Willey, 1950, fig. 45j, k and profile, is the one that has design features resembling those of the interior decoration of the fragments from Ayapata, in the form of red and purple bands outlined with black.

⁶⁵Insofar as I can judge, most of the Cajamarca-style features of the decorated examples from Huari and the south coast show specific relationship to the phase described by the Reichlens as Cajamarca III "cursif floral." Plain tripods do occur at Huari, but these are probably variants of those described by the Reichlens as belonging to the later part of Cajamarca Phase III (Bennett, 1953, fig. 9I-L). There is also the record of a Middle Horizon 2 burial from Curahuasi, near Cuzco, which produced large quantities of Cajamarca-style miniatures, some of which consisted of plain tripod bowls with shape features which, according to the Reichlens, come into common use only at the beginning of Cajamarca Phase IV (Reichlen and Reichlen, 1949, pp. 161-162, 168-169). However, the Reichlens also point out that rare plain miniatures of tripod bowls make their first appearance sometime in Cajamarca Phase III (Reichlen and Reichlen, 1949, p. 162). The Curahuasi burial therefore also presents a problem in crossdating. These comments should be read as a correction and amendment to my earlier identification of the Cajamarca-style vessels in the Curahuasi gravelot as Cajamarca III (Menzel, 1964, pp. 38-39; Menzel, 1968, pp. 113, 124-128).

⁶⁶Gayton, 1927, pl. 97d.

⁶⁷Lumbreras, 1960a, lám. Vj.

⁶⁸This information furnishes a correction to my earlier report (Menzel, 1964, p. 36; Menzel, 1968, p. 104).

⁶⁹Menzel, 1964, 1968, note 196.

⁷⁰For a lay elite example of this design, see Bennett, 1953, pl. 6H.

⁷¹For Robles Moqo-style examples, see Tello, 1942, lám. XXIII, right; Kubler, 1962, pl. 150A; Lumbreras, 1960c, lám. V L.

⁷²Bennett, 1953, fig. 9A.

⁷³Bennett, 1953, fig. 19H; for reference to the Ocros tradition, see Menzel, 1964, pp. 4, 6, 7, 17-18; Menzel, 1968, pp. 21-24, 62-64.

⁷⁴Bennett, 1953, fig. 18Q.

⁷⁵Bennett, 1953, fig. 18R, S.

⁷⁶Lumbreras, 1960a, lám. Vd, Xa, c, XIIg; Lumbreras, 1960b, lám. VIIIIC, E.

⁷⁷This find was made in 1964 in the course of an excavation project at Pikillaqta directed by William T. Sanders of Pennsylvania State University and Luis Barreda Murillo of the University of Cuzco. The man in direct charge of the excavation in which the find was made was a University of Cuzco student, Marco T. Marcés Patiño. Marcés turned in a written report which Barreda was kind enough to show to John H. Rowe and me in 1969. The following information is summarized from Marcés' report.

Marcés was excavating a rectangular room with a stucco floor 4 cm. thick. His attention was attracted by a circular depression in the floor 1.10 m. in diameter and 20 cm. deep. He dug in this depression and found under the floor an 18 cm. thick layer of compact red clay, below that sand, and under the sand gravel. The pottery fragments, consisting of pieces of two decorated bowls and a shallower undecorated plate, were found at a depth of 40 cm. in the gravel layer. With them were found two llama bones, one the head of a femur and the other a complete occiput. The presence of the llama bones suggests that the find may represent an offering.

⁷⁸Uhle, 1903, pp. 22, 24.

⁷⁹Tello, 1917, pp. 284-286, figs. 1, 5.

⁸⁰Tello, 1917, pp. 284-285.

⁸¹Tello, 1917, fig. 1.

⁸²Tello, 1917, fig. 5.

⁸³For additional references to these styles, see Menzel, 1964, 1968.

⁸⁴For examples, see Bennett, 1953, figs. 11A-E, 14A, pl. 4B.

⁸⁵An Example from Huari is illustrated in Bennett, 1953, fig. 18Q.

⁸⁶For other Epoch 2A examples in this body-shape category, see Gayton and Kroeber, 1927, pl. 19B; Schmidt, 1929, figs. 327-1, 330-1. Schmidt's fig. 330-2 may also belong in Epoch 2A.

⁸⁷For another Epoch 2A example from Nasca, see Schmidt, 1929, fig. 330-1. Viñaque-style vessels with this design also exist, but not enough to explain their exact relationship to the two coastal forms.

One fragmentary bowl design from Huari suggests a lay elite example, on the basis of the appearance of the ray appendage and bowl size (Bennett, 1953, pl. 6F).

⁸⁸For another example, see Menzel, 1964, 1968, fig. 22. More evidence of associations is needed to clarify the history of the ray-design features. It is probable that even the more advanced ray designs do not date later than the early part of Epoch 2B. Occasional ray-design appendages with broad gaps at the base occur as early as Epoch 1B, but their execution is very irregular, they are found in different contexts, and examples are very scarce.

⁸⁹This burial was found in 1968 by pothunters and was brought to the Museo Regional de Ica, where it was recorded.

⁹⁰For examples from Pachacamac, see Schmidt, 1929, figs. 280-3, 4, 281-3, 4. The examples illustrated by Schmidt all have features indicating a later date than the specimen from the Atarco A burial.

⁹¹For an Epoch 1B example from Nasca, see Menzel, 1964, 1968, fig. 6b.

⁹²Examples of this shape from Huari are illustrated in Bennett, 1953, pls. 3D, K and 6H.

⁹³Uhle, 1903, p. 27, fig. 18b; Schmidt, 1929, figs. 286-2, 330-3; Kroeber, 1925a, pl. 63b; Kroeber, 1925b, pl. 73g; Kroeber, 1944, pls. 5D, H, 6L; Bennett, 1953, pl. 3F, I, J; Lumbreras, 1960a, lám. Vb; Lumbreras, 1960b, lám. VIIIA; Menzel, 1968, cover and p. 143.

⁹⁴For an almost identical flask, see Sawyer, 1968, p. 62, no. 469. This piece is said to be from Ocucaje in the Ica valley.

⁹⁵For comparison, see Menzel, 1964, 1968, fig. 13.

⁹⁶For an example of the Epoch 1B Ayacucho Serpent design on a Nievería-style vessel from the central coast, see Menzel, 1964, 1968, fig. 17. For other Epoch 1B examples of this kind of bowl from the sierra, see Lumbreras, 1960a, lám. XIa-c; Lumbreras, 1960b, lám. VIIIE.

⁹⁷Menzel, 1964, 1968.

⁹⁸Menzel, 1964, 1968, fig. 13.

⁹⁹Menzel, 1964, 1968, fig. 12.

¹⁰⁰Menzel, 1964, 1968, fig. 20.

¹⁰¹There is only one pottery exception in our sample, an animal-bodied manifestation of the feline being on a flask illustrated in Menzel, 1964, 1968, fig. 11a; see also notes 109, 115. Another exception in a lay elite context is the textile design shown in fig. 23a.

¹⁰²For an Epoch 2A tapestry example of an angel, see Bennett, 1954, p. 76, fig. 84. A fancy gold ornament representing the feline-headed angel with Epoch 2A features is illustrated in Sawyer, 1968, p. 66, no. 533.

¹⁰³Disselhoff, 1962, p. 441, Abb. 4, 5.

¹⁰⁴Le Paige, 1965, lám. 49-56.

¹⁰⁵Bennett, 1934, fig. 15c; Posnansky, 1958, vol. III, pl. XXb.

¹⁰⁶Angel carvings also appear on snuff tablets of bone from San Pedro de Atacama. One of these tablets is carved with a figure that represents the same mythical being as Angel A of the Conchopata style of the Huari cult, the angel that is antecedent to the feline-headed angel of Epoch 2 (Le Paige, 1965, lám. 60). The carving from Chile shares many stylistic details with Conchopata Angel A, although there are, expectably, also some stylistic differences which appear to represent regional variation. On stylistic grounds, therefore, this snuff tablet should belong in Epoch 1 of the Middle Horizon. This bone carving from Chile, and a stone carving from Tiahuanaco published by Posnansky, have special importance, because to my knowledge they are the only recorded examples of Tiahuanaco-style carvings of mythical figures probably attributable to Epoch 1 (for the stone-carved example, see Posnansky, 1945, vol. II, figs. 140, 140a. The stylistic peculiarities of this carving were first noted by John H. Rowe). Other examples carved on bone snuff tablets from northern Chile share style features with the carvings of the feline-headed being mentioned above, which are attributable to Epoch 2 on stylistic grounds. These carvings appear to be divergent Epoch 2 derivatives of the Epoch 1 angel figures, representing another mythical being which differs from the feline-headed angel of Epoch 2, and which resembles the most common angel designs on Huari textiles of this epoch (Le Paige, 1965, lám. 58).

¹⁰⁷Menzel, 1964, 1968, figs. 10, 11, 18-22.

¹⁰⁸For additional examples, see Gayton and Kroeber, 1927, pls. 14A, B and 16E.

¹⁰⁹For comparison, see Tello, 1942, lám. XVI, cat. no. 8/7732.

¹¹⁰For comparison, see Menzel, 1964, 1968, fig. 13.

¹¹¹It is significant that the feline depicted on the conservative flask purported to be from the same burial as the more advanced Atarco angel jar resembles instead the conservative Atarco Angel A (Menzel, 1964, 1968, figs. 11a, 19). It is this observation that prompts me to suggest that the flask may be an heirloom in this burial, if, indeed, it belongs in it at all. It is also possible that the burial attribution of this piece was incorrectly given, however, since it is based on the record furnished by pothunters. The flask angel also has

a ray appendage with rounded ray tips in the conservative Atarco A manner (for comparison, see Menzel, 1964, 1968, fig. 7a).

¹¹²Menzel, 1964, 1968, figs. 12, 13.

¹¹³Collier, 1962, p. 415. In my earlier article I made an error in the identification of the discoverer of this important piece, and I am happy to have this opportunity to correct it (Menzel, 1964, p. 55; Menzel, 1968, p. 152).

¹¹⁴Uhle, 1925.

¹¹⁵For illustrated examples of Middle Horizon 2B pottery from Supe and its vicinity, see Kroeber, 1925b, pls. 73d-j, 74h-l, 77h-o and probably also 77a-c, f, g; and Menzel, 1968, p. 143.

¹¹⁶For illustrations of two other lay elite examples painted on small vertical-sided bowls, see Ubbelohde-Doering, 1952, pl. 95. In my earlier publication I stated that the mythical feline designs with feline bodies all appeared with Epoch 2B features. New evidence, such as that of the sierra tumbler, shows that this is not the case, and that the design also occurs with Epoch 2A features.

¹¹⁷The feline-bodied being painted on the flask illustrated in Menzel, 1964, 1968, figs. 11, 19, is unique. It represents a cross between the feline-headed angel with a human body and the feline-bodied being. It has an angel head rather than the animal-being head, and the body lacks feline markings and is decorated in the manner of the angel figures. This design is also distinguished in being the only lay elite example appearing with a trophy-head design.

¹¹⁸For another Epoch 2A example of this form of panel-dividing band, see Menzel, 1964, 1968, fig. 7a.

¹¹⁹Bennett, 1953, pls. 3K, L, 6F.

¹²⁰Uhle, 1903, pp. 22, 24, figs. 10-13.

¹²¹Tello, 1942, lám. XXIII, right.

¹²²Uhle, 1903, fig. 13.

¹²³A gold hoard consisting of a tumbler, an arm band, and large disk ear ornaments of the same kind was recorded by Junius B. Bird in a dealer's collection. It is now in the Lord Rothschild collection in England. The golden ear ornaments consist of large grooved wheels 6.9 cm. in diameter and 15.5 mm. thick. The tumbler has the head of the feline-headed spirit placed in relief above an engraved deity body, and the entire lot probably belongs in Epoch 2A. An illustration of the gold tumbler appears in Wardwell, 1968, p. 28, fig. 2.

¹²⁴For a Robles Moqo-style example, see Muelle and Blas, 1938, lám. 32a.

¹²⁵The checkerboard marking about the left eye is derived from one kind of Robles Moqo-style faceneck jar (Tello, 1942, lám. XXIII, right).

¹²⁶For Pachacamac-style examples, see Schmidt, 1929, Tafel III-2, fig. 283-1.

¹²⁷Bennett, 1953, pl. 9G-L, N.

¹²⁸One example from Nasca is illustrated by Schmidt, 1929, fig. 330-4.

¹²⁹For other Epoch 2A examples of the Pachacamac griffin, see Schmidt, 1929, fig. 282-2 and Valcárcel, 1960, fig. 12.

¹³⁰Menzel, 1964, 1968, conclusions.

¹³¹Menzel, 1964, p. 27; Menzel, 1968, p. 85.

¹³²Another example of the same kind of vessel is illustrated by Bennett, 1953, pl. VJ.

¹³³For an earlier discussion of the central-coast styles, see Menzel, 1964, pp. 53-61; Menzel, 1968, pp. 149-166. The record for the ordinary secular pottery of this epoch is very poor for most areas in Peru.

¹³⁴Menzel, 1964, pp. 40-41; Menzel, 1968, pp. 116-117.

¹³⁵There are exceptions, however, as, for example, the fine orange-ware jugs from Ayapata, or occasional vessels in the Nievería tradition which also show painstaking workmanship.

¹³⁶The style of Supe of Epoch 2B provides a notable exception in incorporating many Vifiaque-style features not found in other coastal styles.

¹³⁷This kind of process of change is discussed in a publication by John H. Rowe (Rowe, 1962).

¹³⁸Rowe, 1946, p. 295.

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KEY TO ILLUSTRATIONS

Abbreviations

- AR - Aldo Rubini collection, Ocucaje
 CS - Carlos Soldi collection, Lima
 DTE - Dudley T. Easby collection, New York
 FMNH - Field Museum of Natural History, Chicago
 GD - Gálvez Durand collection, Gran Unidad Escolar Santa Isabel, Huancayo
 MHRA - Museo Histórico Regional, Ayacucho
 MNAA - Museo Nacional de Antropología y Arqueología, Lima
 MRI - Museo Regional de Ica

OT - Oscar Tapia collection, Ayacucho
 RHLMA - Robert H. Lowie Museum of Anthropology, University of California,
 Berkeley
 YU - Yale University, New Haven

Plate XXVIII

Fig. 1. Reconstruction of a fancy Chakipampa A-style bowl (Epoch 1A), made from fragments collected at the site of Ruda Qasa, on the hill of Acuchimay at Ayacucho. After Grossman, ms. 9 cm. high.

Fig. 2a. Reconstruction of a fancy Chakipampa A-style bowl, from a fragment collected at the site of Chakipampa near Ayacucho. 6.8 cm. high.

Figs. 2b, 2c. Body and lip decoration, respectively, of the fragment reconstructed in fig. 2a.

Figs. 3-6. Fancy Chakipampa A-style bowl fragments collected at the site of Ruda Qasa (cf. fig. 1).

Fig. 7. Design traced from an Epoch 2A dish from the Ica-Nasca region. MRI, Victor Elías collection, #E-299. See also fig. 14.

Plate XXIX

Figs. 8a, b. Inner and outer surface, respectively, of a pedestal-base bowl fragment from Huari with Cajamarca-style features, attributable to Epoch 2. YU, Bennett collection, Pit 2c, #21114.

Figs. 8c, 9. Reconstruction of an Epoch 2 pedestal-base bowl, made from two fragments from Pit 2 of Bennett's excavations at Huari. Fig. 8c is the upper body fragment also illustrated in figs. 8a, c, from level c of the pit. Fig. 9 is the bottom fragment, #211197, from level g. Although the two fragments belonged to different vessels, the vessels were of about the same size, shape and workmanship and had the same kind of decoration. Pit 2 of Bennett's excavations was made in construction fill, so that the separation by levels has no chronological significance. All the refuse in this pit is attributable to Middle Horizon Epoch 2. YU, Bennett collection. 8 cm. high.

Figs. 10a, b. Fragment and shape reconstruction, respectively, of an Epoch 2 bowl from San Nicolás, Supe. RHLMA, Uhle collection, #4-7176b. The reconstructed shape is 10 cm. high.

Plate XXX

Fig. 11. Shape reconstruction of a Viñaque-style lyre-cup fragment of Epoch 2A. OT. Provenience Huari, surface. Recorded by Joel W. Grossman. 9.9 cm. high. See also fig. 53.

Fig. 12. K'illki-style ("Early Inca") jug, Late Intermediate Period. Drawing from a specimen in the Montez collection, #32632, FMNH. 22.5 cm. high.

Fig. 13. Imitation Inca-style jug from a Late Horizon burial from the cemetery of Old Ica, Ica valley. RHLMA, Uhle collection, tomb Ti-5, #4-5342. 10.8 cm. high.

Plate XXXI

Fig. 14. Epoch 2A dish from the Ica-Nasca region, in a Huari lay elite style. MRI, Victor Elías collection, #E-299. 8 cm. high. See also fig. 7.

Fig. 15. Epoch 2 pedestal-base bowl, Viñaque style, with Cajamarca-style features. AR. Provenience La Rinconada, Pinilla, Ocucaje, Ica. 8 cm. high.

Fig. 16. Nievería-style jar, Epoch 1B. RHLMA, Uhle collection, #4-9275. Provenience Nievería, Rimac valley. 16.7 cm. high.

Fig. 17. Huari-style ceremonial jar, Epoch 2A. CS. Provenience given by Pablo Soldi as Pampa del Camotal, confluence of the Ingenio and Palpa rivers in the Nasca drainage. 49 cm. high body. The vessel body was found without its neck, and a false neck not corresponding to the style was subsequently made of plaster. The reconstruction is concealed by a rag in the illustration.

Fig. 18. Faceneck fragment of a Huari-style ceremonial jar of Epoch 2A. CS. Provenience same as fig. 17. 20.5 cm. high.

Plates XXXII, XXXIII

Figs. 19-25. Epoch 2A burial (Burial 1), containing lay elite pottery of the Nasca variant of the Huari styles of this epoch (Atarco A style). From a dealer's collection, recorded by Junius B. Bird. Figs. 19a, b, faceneck jar, 51.7 cm. high. Fig. 20, doublespout bottle, 16.9 cm. high. Fig. 21, spout-and-bridge-to-head bottle, 13.9 cm. high. Fig. 22, doublespout bottle, height not recorded. Figs. 23a, b, faceneck bottle, 13.9 cm. high. Figs. 24a-c, flask, 20.3 cm. high. Fig. 25, Viñaque A-style dish, 7.9 cm. high.

Plate XXXIV

Fig. 26. Atarco B-style (Epoch 2B) doublespout bottle. MRI, #K-1003. Provenience Ica-Nasca region. 15.3 cm. high.

Fig. 27. Nasca 9B (Epoch 1B) singlespout bottle. CS. Provenience Las Trancas, ravine of Poroma, Nasca drainage. 20 cm. high.

Fig. 28. Atarco A-style (Epoch 2A) faceneck bottle. CS. Provenience Ica-Nasca region. ca. 16 cm. high.

Figs. 29, 30. Epoch 2A burial (Burial 2) containing lay elite pottery of the Atarco A style. CS. Provenience Ingenio, Nasca drainage. Fig. 29, flask, 20.5 cm. high. Fig. 30, ring-shaped jar, 13 cm. high.

Plate XXXV

Figs. 31-33. Epoch 2A burial (Burial 3) containing an Atarco A-style bottle variant and two textile bags. From a dealer's collection, recorded by Junius B. Bird. Provenience Ica valley. Fig. 31a, b, showing both surfaces of the same bag, size 20.5 by 18 cm. Fig. 32, bottle, 16.5 cm. high. Fig. 33, bag, size 11.5 by 10.2 cm.

Fig. 34. Atarco A-style (Epoch 2A) bottle. CS. Probable provenience Nasca drainage. 12.5 cm. high.

Fig. 35. Chakipampa B-style (Epoch 1B) bowl (variant of the "Ayacucho Serpent" bowl). MHRA, #382. Provenience Churcampa, Tayacaja, Province of Huancavelica. 9 cm. high.

Plate XXXVI

Figs. 36-39. Epoch 2B burial (Burial 4). MRI, no numbers. Provenience, Huayurí valley, Nasca drainage. Fig. 36, Atarco B-style bottle, 17.8 cm. high. Fig. 37, Atarco B-style faceneck bottle, 14.7 cm. high. Fig. 38, Atarco B-style faceneck bottle, 15 cm. high. Fig. 39, tumbler, probably Viñaque-style variant, 14.8 cm. high.

Plate XXXVII

Figs. 40a-c. Atarco A-style (Epoch 2A) skullneck jar. CS. Provenience south coast, probably Nasca drainage. 21.5 cm. high.

Fig. 41. Conservative Atarco B-style (Early Epoch 2B) skullneck jar. CS. From a burial found at San José de Ingenio, Nasca drainage (for illustrations of the entire lot, see Menzel, 1964, 1968, figs. 18-22). 21.5 cm. high.

Plate XXXVIII

Fig. 42. Epoch 2A jar fragment found on the Fundo Poctao, Casma valley, by Ernesto E. Tabío. MNAA, #33,450. 12.5 cm. high.

Fig. 43a, b. Viñaque A-style (Epoch 2A) tumbler. DTE. Provenience Ayacucho region. 11.5 cm. high.

Fig. 44. Atarco-style (probably early Epoch 2B) dish. CS. Provenience Ica-Nasca region. 6.5 cm. high.

Fig. 45. Atarco-style (Epoch 2A or early Epoch 2B) dish. CS. Provenience Ica-Nasca region. 9.5 cm. high.

Plate XXXIX

Fig. 46. Viñaque A-style (Epoch 2A) dish. GD, #642. Provenience central to south-central sierra. 8 cm. high.

Fig. 47. Atarco A-style (Epoch 2A) modeled-figure vessel. CS. Provenience Ica-Nasca region. 20 cm. high.

Fig. 48. Atarco A-style (Epoch 2A) double-chambered vessel. CS. Provenience Ica-Nasca region. 14.5 cm. high.

Fig. 49. Viñaque-style (Epoch 2) bowl, Cajamarca-related features. AR. Provenience Pampa de Pinilla, Ocucaje, Ica valley. 11 cm. high.

Fig. 50. Viñaque A-style (Epoch 2A) bowl. CS. Provenience Ullujaya, lower Ica valley. 7.25 cm. high.

Fig. 51. Viñaque B-style (Epoch 2B) lyre cup. AR. Provenience Huaca José Ramos, Pinilla, Ocucaje, Ica valley. 11 cm. high.

Plate XL

Figs. 52a, b. Bowl fragment with Cajamarca-style features (Epoch 2), exterior and interior view, respectively. OT. Provenience Huari, surface. Recorded by Joel W. Grossman.

Fig. 53. Viñaque A-style (Epoch 2A) lyre-cup fragment. OT. Provenience Huari, surface. Recorded by Joel W. Grossman. See also fig. 11.

Fig. 54. Chakipampa B-style (Epoch 1B) spoon fragment. OT. Provenience Huari, surface. Recorded by Joel W. Grossman.

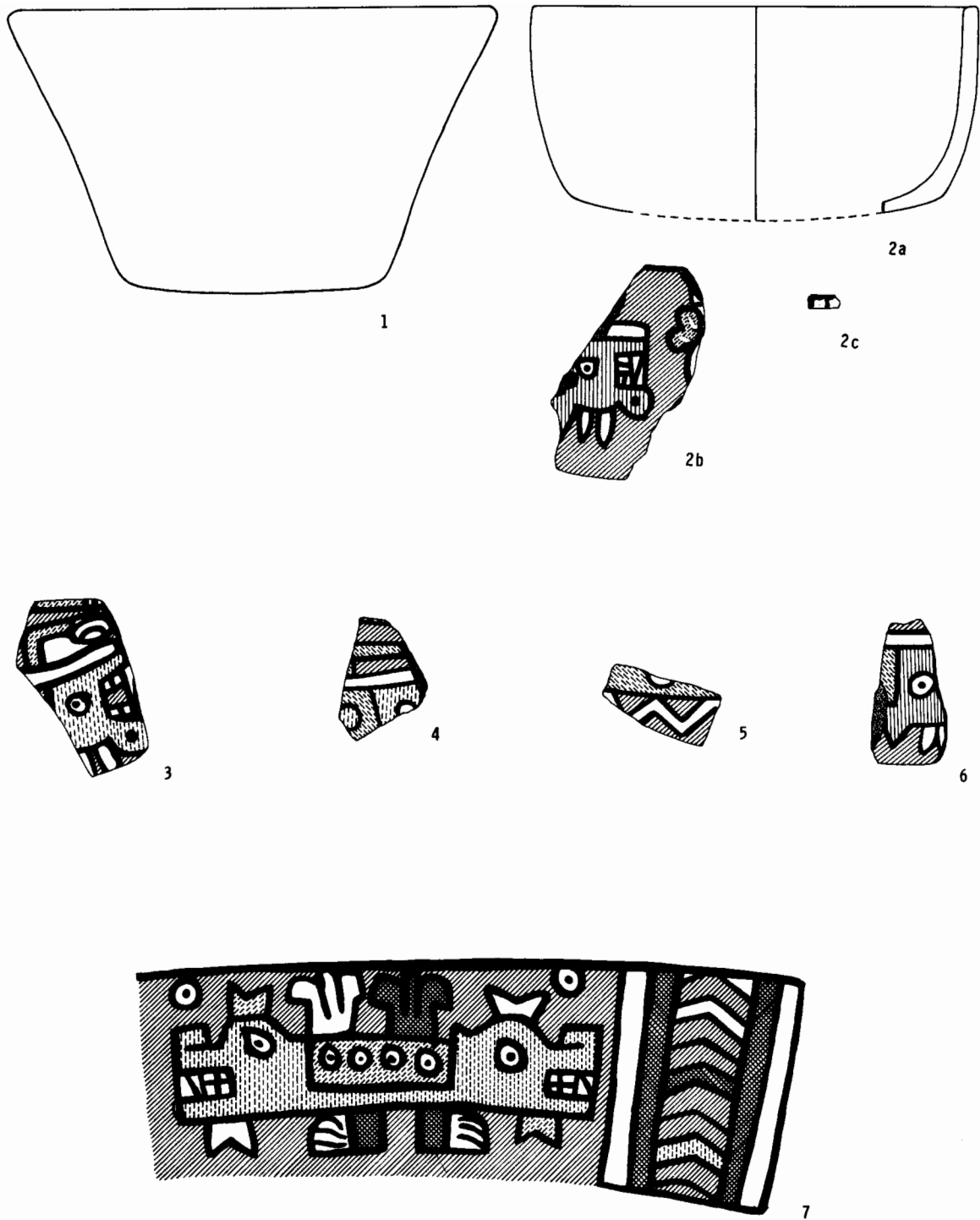
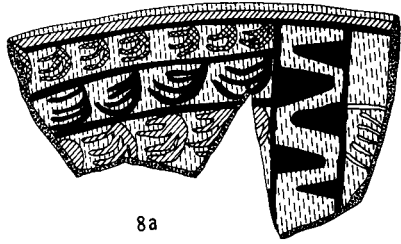
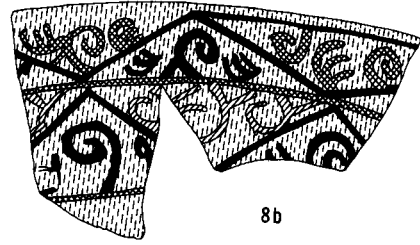


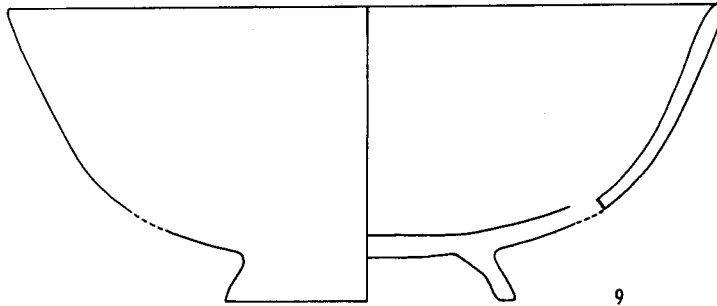
Plate XXVIII. 1-6, Fancy Chakipampa A style, Epoch 1A; 7, Huari style design on an Epoch 2A dish from Nasca (see also fig. 14).



8a

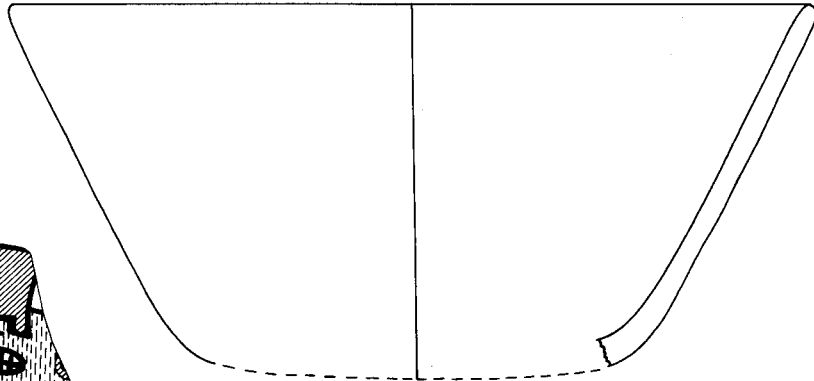


8b

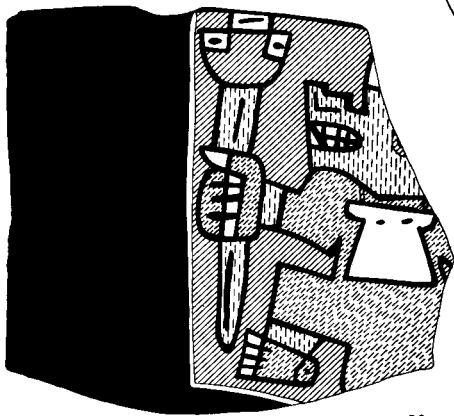


8c

9

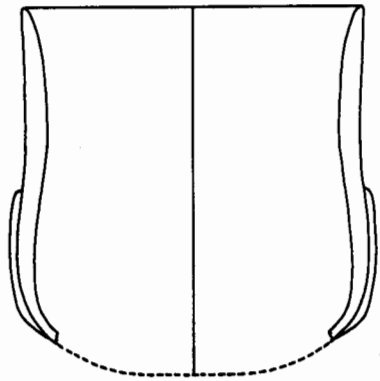


10b

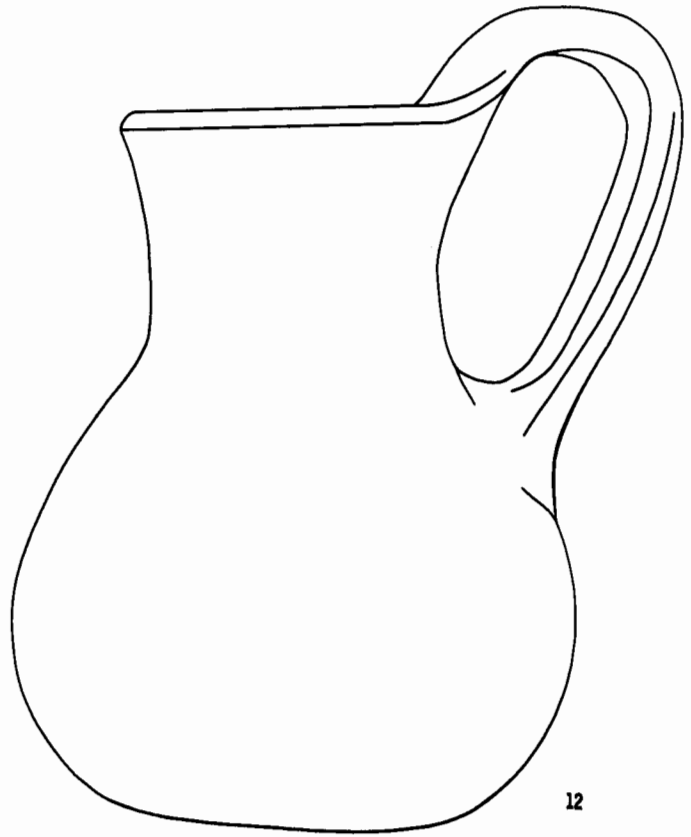


10a

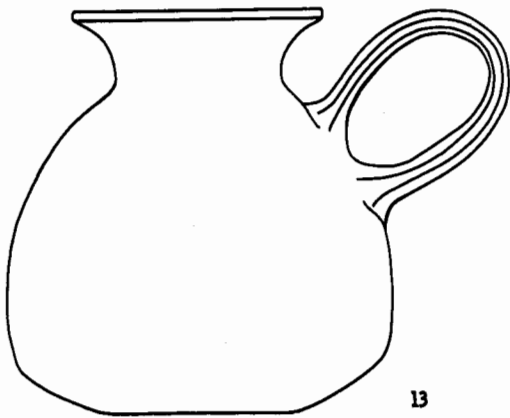
Plate XXIX. 8-9, bowl fragments from Huari with Cajamarca-style features, Epoch 2; 10, Huari style bowl from Supe, Epoch 2.



11

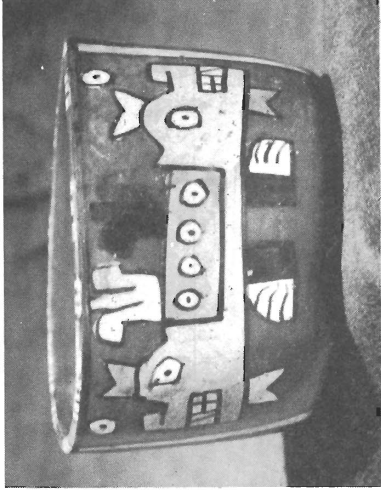


12

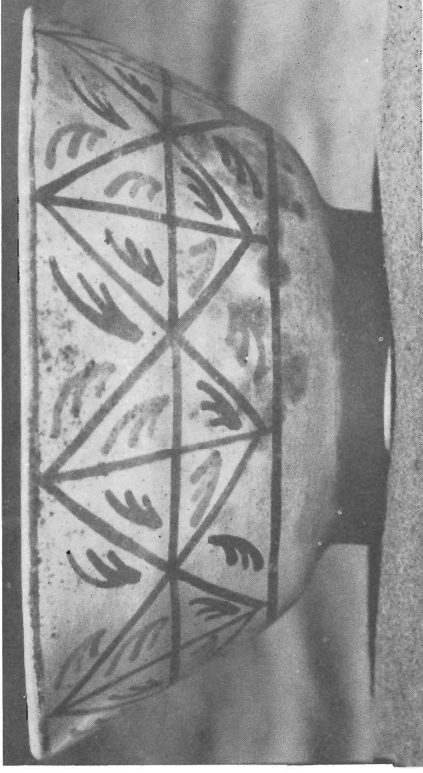


13

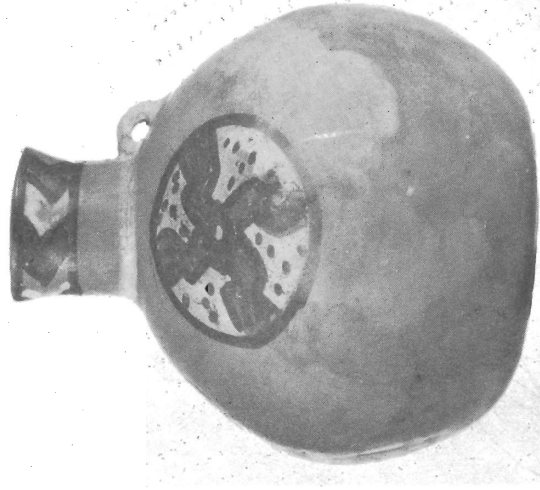
Plate XXX. 11, Viñaque-style lyre cup, Epoch 2A (see also fig. 53);
12, K'illki-style jug; 13, imitation Inca-style jug from Ica.



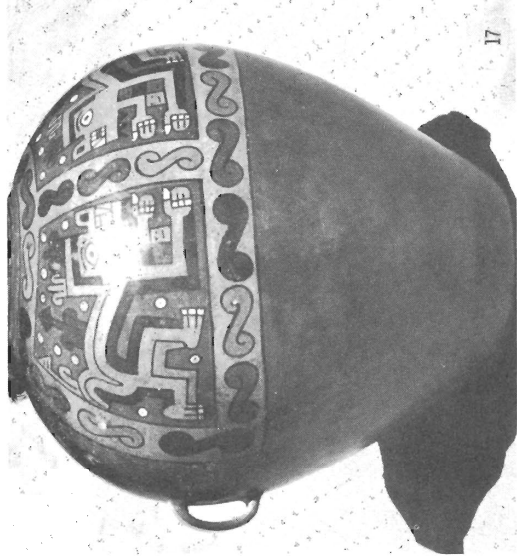
14



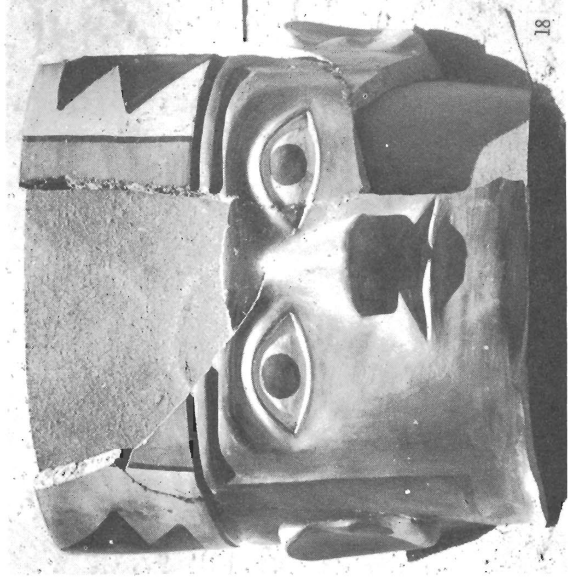
15



16



17



18

Plate XXXI. 14, 17, 18, Huari styles, Epoch 2A, Nasca; 15, Viñaque style, Epoch 2, Ica; 16, Nievería style, Epoch 1B, Rimac valley.

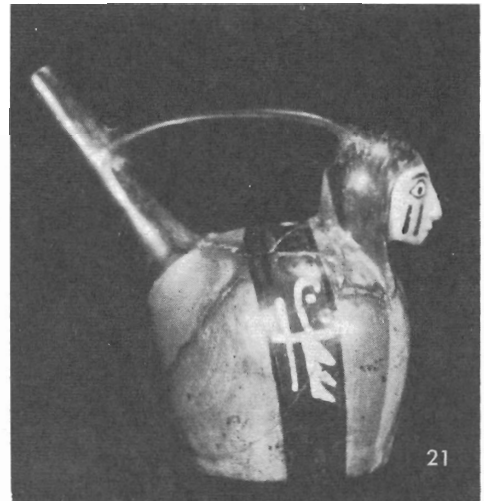
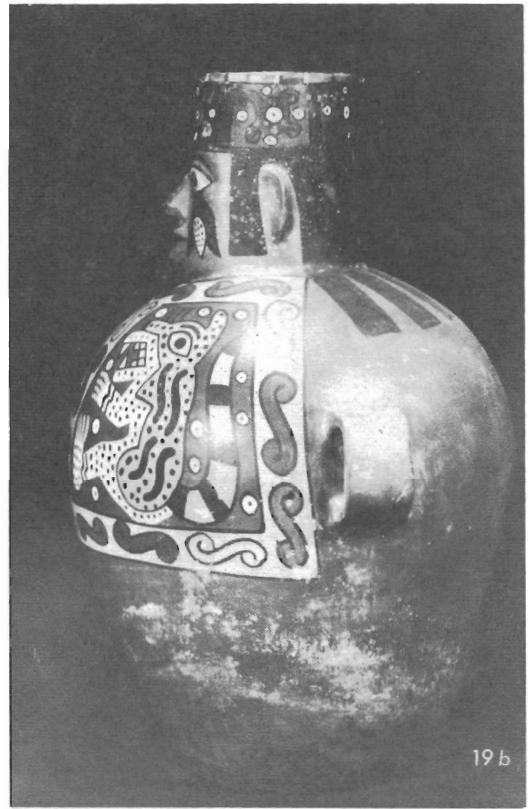


Plate XXXII. Part of Epoch 2A Burial 1, probably from Nasca (see also Plate XXXIII). Recorded by Junius B. Bird.

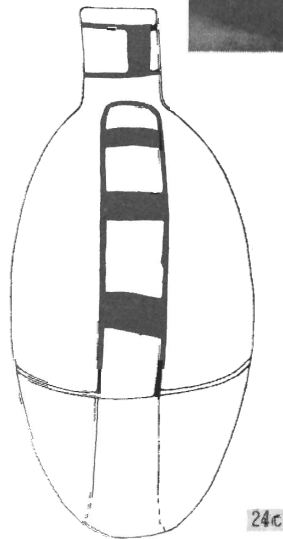
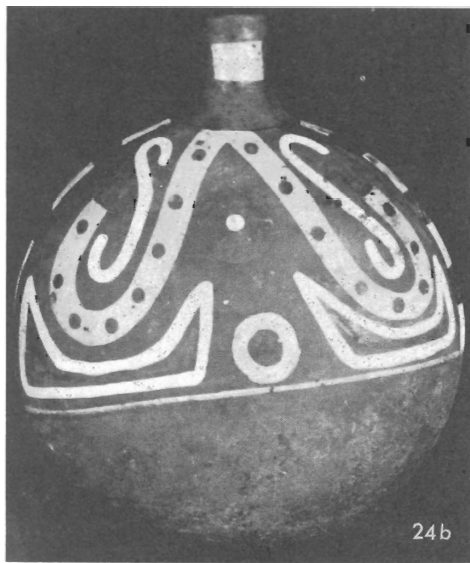
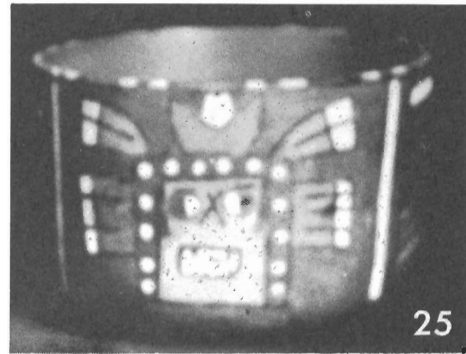
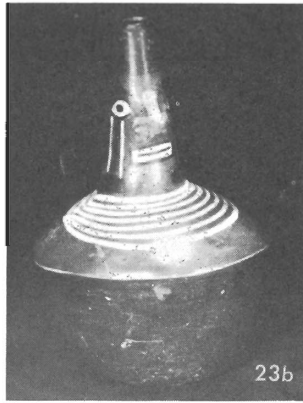
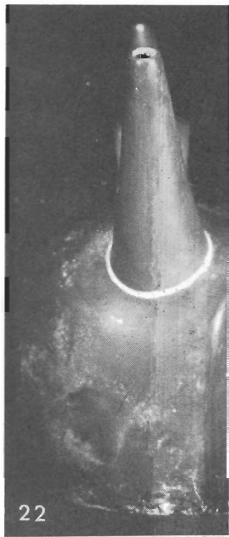
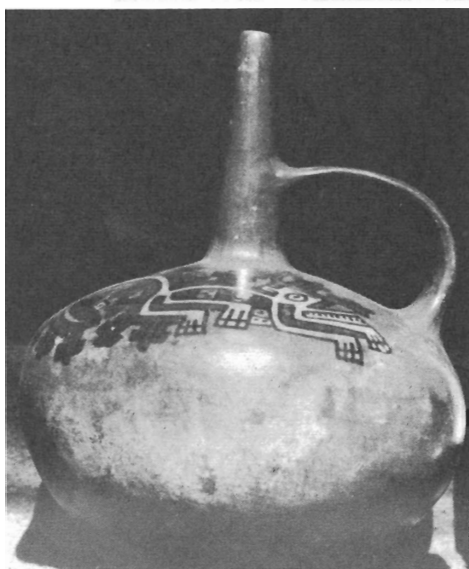


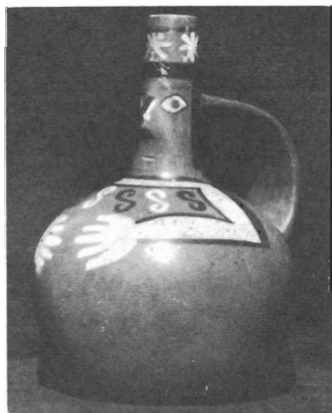
Plate XXXIII. Part of Epoch 2A Burial 1, probably from Nasca (see also Plate XXXII). Recorded by Junius B. Bird.



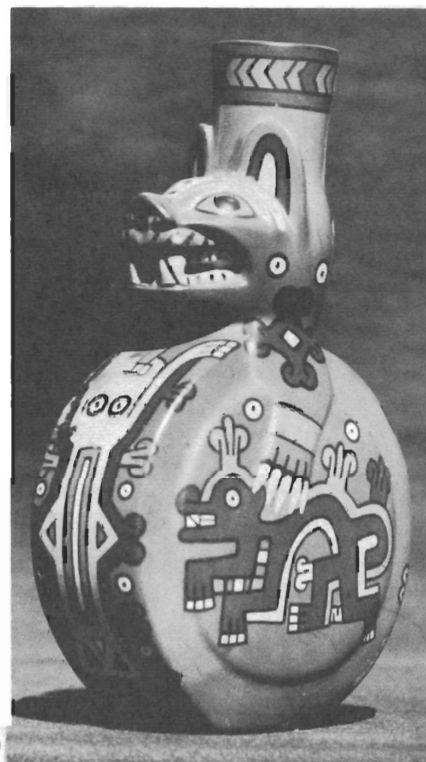
26



27



28

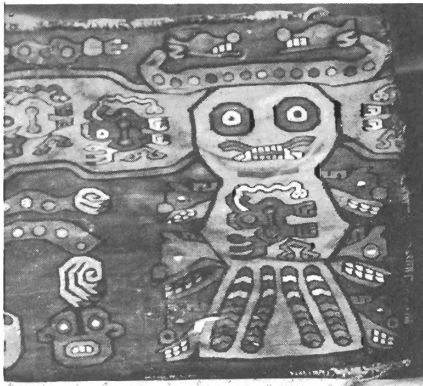


29

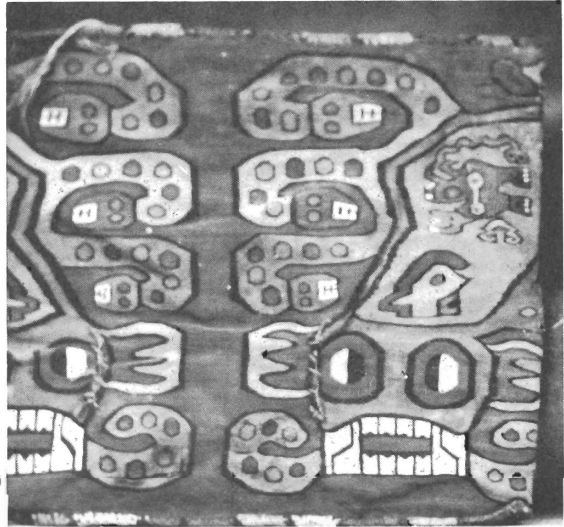


30

Plate XXXIV. 26, Atarco B style, Epoch 2B, south coast; 27, Nasca 9B style, Epoch 1B, Nasca; 28, Atarco A style, Epoch 2A, south coast; 29, 30, Epoch 2A Burial 2, Atarco A style, Nasca.



31a



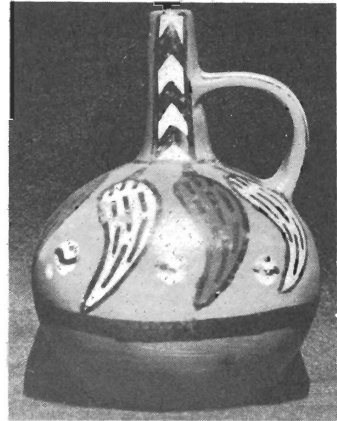
31b



32



33



34

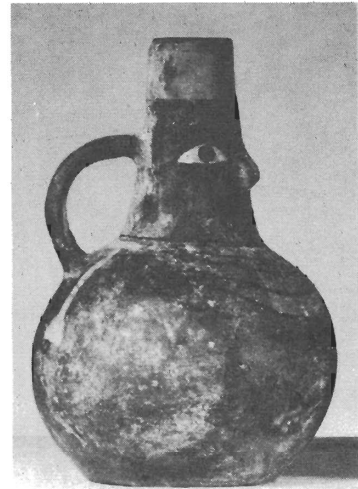


35

Plate XXXV. 31-33, Epoch 2A Burial 3, Ica; 34, Atarco A style, Epoch 2A, Nasca; 35, Chakipampa B style, Epoch 1B, Huancavelica.



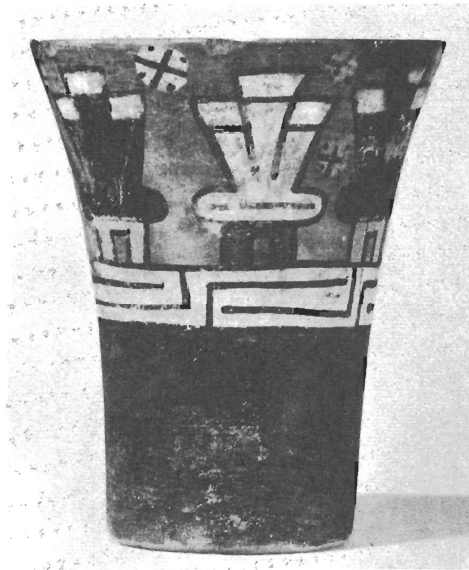
36



37

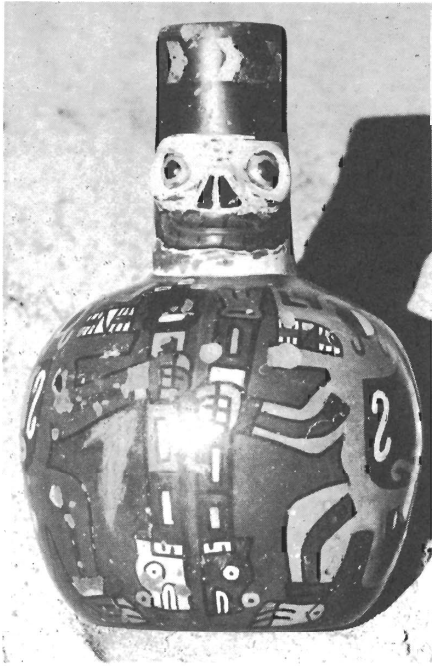


38



39

Plate XXXVI. 36-39, Epoch 2B Burial 4, Huayurí valley, Nasca.



40a



40b

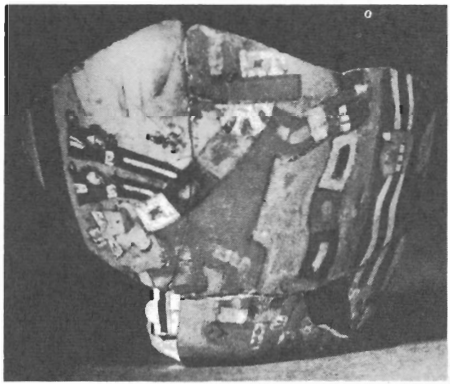


40c

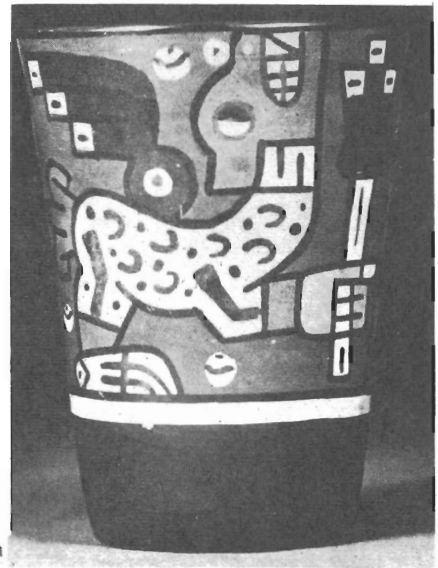


41

Plate XXXVII. 40a-c, Atarco A style, Epoch 2A, Nasca; 41, Atarco B style, Epoch 2B, Nasca.



42



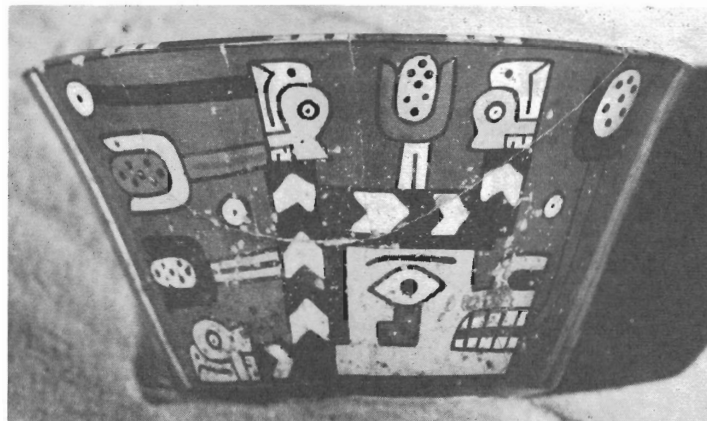
43 a



43 b



44



45

Plate XXXVIII. 42, Epoch 2A jar fragment, Casma valley; 43a, b, Vifaque A style, Epoch 2A, Ayacucho region; 44, Atarco style, probably early Epoch 2B, south coast; 45, Atarco style, Epoch 2A or early Epoch 2B, south coast.

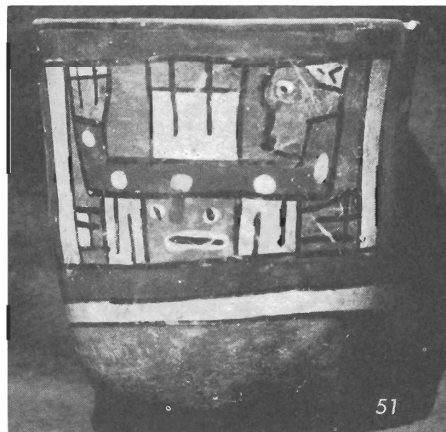
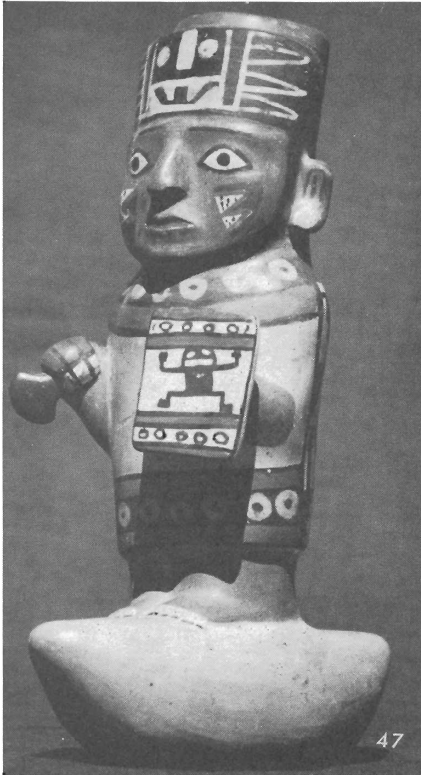
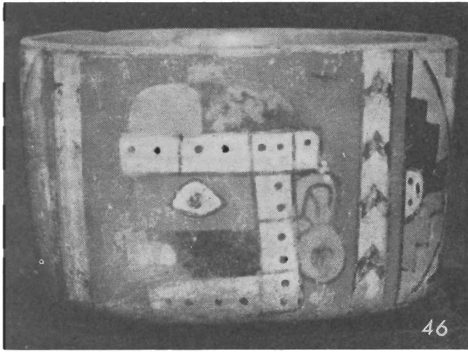
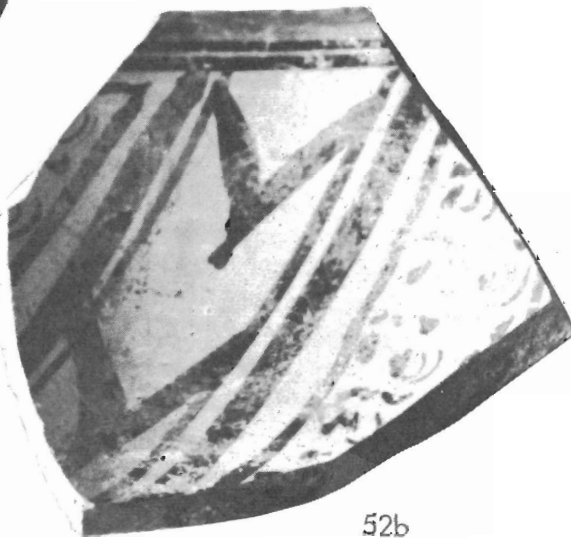


Plate XXXIX. 46, Viñaque A style, Epoch 2A, sierra; 47, 48, Atarco A style, Epoch 2A, south coast; 49, Viñaque style, Epoch 2, Ica; 50, Viñaque A style, Epoch 2A, Ica; 51, Viñaque B style, Epoch 2B, Ica.



52a



52b



53



54



Plate XL. 52a, b, bowl fragment with Cajamarca-style features, Epoch 2, Huari; 53, Viñaque A style, Epoch 2A, Huari (see also fig. 11); 54, Chakipampa B style, Epoch 1B, Huari. Recorded by Joel W. Grossman.