

THE ARAPA AND THUNDERBOLT STELAE: A CASE OF STYLISTIC IDENTITY WITH  
IMPLICATIONS FOR PUCARA INFLUENCES IN THE AREA OF TIAHUANACO

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Archaeologists have long been aware of the striking stylistic similarities between the Arapa stela (see fig. 1, upper portion) from the District of Arapa, Province of Azángaro in the Department of Puno, Peru, and a like piece of several fragments called the "Thunderbolt" by Posnansky, from Tiahuanaco, Bolivia (see fig. 1, lower portion). I shall demonstrate that the two pieces are definitely from a single stela, most probably originating from the Pucara culture region in Peru, and providing us with a case of stylistic identity between the pieces of stone sculpture from the two ends of Lake Titicaca.<sup>1</sup> Questions regarding the time and direction of transportation of one fragment are posed.

Description and History

The stepped stela from Arapa is of pinkish-white fine-textured quartzite or quartzitic sandstone, with dimensions as follows:

Overall height of broken stela	347 cm.
Width	77.5 to 78 cm.
Thickness	24 cm.

It has a rectangular cross section, and is carved in low relief of 1 cm., or slightly less, on the two opposite broad faces only. Three and one-half design panels are carved on each face and there is a narrower, smaller decorated area filling the uppermost part near the step or notch. On one face, the upper narrow area contains two small frogs or toads, while the opposite face has two curled "snakes"; for ease of reference I shall refer to the former face as face A and the latter as face B.

Kidder briefly summarized the history of the Arapa stela<sup>2</sup> from the time Antonio Raimondi first noted it as a door lintel in the church there,<sup>3</sup> to Uhle's photograph of it there when it was still a single piece,<sup>4</sup> its mention by Palacios,<sup>5</sup> and Kidder's own photographs of both faces and his description of it when it was in two pieces inside the door of the new Arapa church. He also described the site itself where he found no artifacts from the Pucara culture.<sup>6</sup> It is notable that when Uhle photographed the stela (what I designate as face B), it was in a single piece as a lintel, but when Kidder photographed it the stela was in two pieces, as one can observe it now outside the church, the larger piece on the left and the smaller on the right (see figs. 2 and 3). Mary B. Kidder, Dr. Kidder's wife who accompanied him to Arapa on June 24, 1939, writing about the Arapa stela states,

Most unfortunately, when Dr. Pardo [Dr. Luis A. Pardo, then Director of the Archaeological Institute of Cuzco] journeyed down to see it he ordered it cut in two to be moved to the museum in Puno before he troubled to find

out that he couldn't possibly move it anyway.<sup>7</sup>

According to several informants in Arapa, whom I questioned concerning the stela's location prior to its incorporation as a lintel in the church, the stela came from Islapuncu or Island Passage, an area just southeast of the village. While Kidder did not locate Pucara style ceramics in either the village or the surrounding area, another informant told me of pottery containing abundant mica ("gold") found in Trapiche, located some distance behind the church. In any case, as Kidder pointed out, the Pucara occupation in or near Arapa needs to be precisely located. Kidder was also shown a slab with a standing human figure in high relief<sup>8</sup> which was in the Islapuncu area, but today is located outside the church door on the right. This slab, with a human figure holding a trophy head in each hand, possesses Pucara elements and may represent the only other evidence of Pucara occupation in the Arapa region, although in 1973, in a house in Arapa, I located a broken monolith (referred to here as Arapa 3),<sup>9</sup> to be described below, which somewhat resembles the Arapa stela, and in 1974 I recorded a previously unknown and recently discovered complete Pucara statue from Villa de Betanzos near Arapa.

In reassessing the comparisons of this Arapa stela with the Bolivian "Thunderbolt" or stone sculpture No. 40 of Bennett,<sup>10</sup> I realized that the two pieces form a single, large stela. Uhle first pointed out the similarities between the two,<sup>11</sup> and others have done so since,<sup>12</sup> particularly Kidder who concluded, "The two are not only similar, but so nearly identical, as far as comparison is possible, as to suggest very strongly that they were the work of the same individual or group of artists,"<sup>13</sup> but the incompleteness of available illustrations apparently allowed no further conclusions.

In 1945 Posnansky illustrated the Bolivian piece, but with omissions and errors and with no scale or measurements. Referring to the Thunderbolt stela, Posnansky says,

We came to know it in a small museum established by Colonel Ríos Ponce, meritorious and exceptional resident of Tihuanacu, in the plaza of the modern village. About the year 1903 [1904 in the parallel Spanish version of this text], we took on a large plate, the photograph of which we are publishing in Fig. 152a [should be Fig. 152].

When we first saw this archaeological piece it was placed horizontally with the back against the wall of the room where the worthy Colonel Ríos Ponce kept it. The Museo Tihuanacu was then dismantled after his death and Don M. C. Ballivián saved some of the things for the Museo of La Paz of that time. However, this interesting block had disappeared and for many years no one knew anything about it. Recently, only a few years ago, we were

informed by certain "llockallas" of Tihuanacu that something very valuable was "shut up" in the "tambo" of the village. We went there, along with the Director of the Museum, and indeed, in a room from which they had removed the doors, closed up the entrance with bricks and plastered the outside in order to hide the location of the old door--after having "unlocked" this place--we found, cast on the floor and broken into pieces, the famous piece that we had been able to photograph about 1903: another vandalic act of the regrettable greed of the iconoclasts of the present day who surely, since this was the "custom," suspected that the piece contained gold and therefore destroyed it completely. We had the largest piece of the "stelle" brought out and we immediately noticed that on the back part it had sculpturing as interesting or even more interesting than those in front. Figure 153a [should be Fig. 153] shows the rest of the famous piece and Fig. 153b [should be Fig. 153a] the little that it was possible to reconstruct in the schematic drawing.<sup>14</sup>

Apparently when Posnansky originally photographed the stela, he did not realize there was carving on the opposite face; it was only when the piece had been broken and moved that he became aware of the other face, and the new photo shows only a fragment rather than the complete opposite face. Posnansky felt the stela had originally been set in the ground because of the pedestal base and that it "probably formed a part of a shrine to the thunderbolt and the tempest, the carriers of the fertilizing rain."<sup>15</sup> Further, when Posnansky compared the Bolivian stela fragment to the two stelae from Hatuncolla, he misleadingly stated he was providing schematic drawings of the latter, when in reality he reproduced only one face of one of them (his fig. 154a). The other drawing he labels as a "stela from Hatun-Kolla" (his fig. 154b), is actually part of face B of the Arapa stela from which he has omitted the step form at the top and instead placed vertical lines reconstructing it as though it continued upward. He also reconstructs the lowest panel of the Arapa stela without noting that the Bolivian fragment itself completes this panel. His fig. 154c shows the broken upper portion of face A of the Arapa stela, upside down, again omitting the step form. All of these drawings have been a source of error and confusion for others.

Uhle provides additional information on the provenience of the Bolivian piece:

In the excavations of the "Palacio" to the west of the Stonehenge [Qalacasaya] was found in years past, almost superficially, a pillar (fig. 9) carved with ornaments in the shape of volutes and zigzags, different from the usual ones in the ruins. We now know many more pillars from the Lake Titicaca Basin carved in a similar manner, like one from Arapa (fig. 13), another from Caminaca (still in its place), and two from Hatuncolla (fig. 14), now in the

museum of Lima.<sup>16</sup>

Uhle may be referring to the excavations made by Georges Courty in Tiahuanaco in 1903 when he found the "Palacio," now referred to as Putuni by Ponce (east of Kheri-qala and west of the Qalasitasaya) as well as other structures,<sup>17</sup> apparently just before Posnansky photographed the Thunderbolt piece.<sup>18</sup>

Uhle's illustration of the Bolivian piece shows the same face as does Posnansky's 1903 photograph, but it is longitudinally obstructed, apparently by a stone covering the other horizontal portion (if one views his photo upside down this becomes clear); so again, the illustration is incomplete. It may be that Uhle photographed the piece while it was in the museum of Colonel Ríos Ponce to which Posnansky refers.

Today the Bolivian portion is in the Tiahuanaco Museum, in six pieces as can be seen in fig. 4b, and as I observed during my visit there on August 17, 1973 (fig. 4a). Since no measurements had ever been published, it was not until 1973 that I was able to obtain the dimensions of the Thunderbolt to support the other evidence which pointed to the match between it and the Arapa stela. The complete dimensions are exactly the same:

Width	78 cm.
Thickness	24 cm.

The length is 2.28 m., making the total original height of the stela 5.75 m., one of the tallest stone stelae ever reported from Peru, and belonging to the Pucara style.

Combining the Arapa and Thunderbolt pieces, there is a total of five rectangular design panels on each face of the complete stela (fig. 1), a smaller narrow area at the top near the step, and an uncarved portion at the base to be set into the ground. In addition to the dimensions, evidence that the two pieces fit together can be seen in the order of the design panels on each face. The order of the five designs on face A is exactly the reverse of those on face B, so that the panels on each face, numbered 1-5 from top to bottom, show the following combinations (see fig. 1):

	<u>Face A</u>	<u>Face B</u>
Panel	1	5
	2	4
	3	3
	4	2
	5	1

Only when the Arapa and Thunderbolt fragments are joined is this design arrangement apparent. The location of the break with respect to the design panels in both the Arapa and the Bolivian pieces coincides very neatly, and in 1973 the outlines of the broken parts were matched.

Furthermore, the material of both pieces is the same, a banded quartzite. The width and location of the bands, parallel to the broad faces, exactly coincide (compare bands in figs. 3a and 4a). Small samples have been taken from both the Arapa and the Thunderbolt pieces for neutron activation analysis, already arranged at the University of Michigan laboratory,<sup>19</sup> in order to demonstrate that the stone came from a single source and to permit future determination of the quarry or stone source from which the material for the stela came. With this problem in mind, it was discovered that the façade of the Arapa church today is constructed of what appears to be the same fine-textured, banded quartzite including some of a pinkish color. Informants said that this stone comes from a nearby source on a hill called Mumu to the west of and overlooking Arapa. On a return trip in the summer of 1974 the Mumu hill was explored and samples of quartzite were obtained for future neutron activation analysis.

#### Stylistic Comparisons

The Arapa-Thunderbolt stela belongs to the Pucara style as shown by the multiplicity of similarities to other stelae from the Pucara culture area, including one from Hatuncolla and the Pucara plaza stela, as has been pointed out by other authors, as well as to the Arapa 3 stela (fig. 12, to be discussed) and new finds from Yapura.<sup>20</sup> Pucara style elements which link the Arapa-Thunderbolt stela with other Pucara stone sculpture of the northern Lake Titicaca region include: the frog/toad motif, the checkered-cross motif, the curled "tadpole" or "snake" with trapezoidal head having long volute appendages, relief rings, step designs, the double "jagged-S" element, and the general form with a step in one upper corner.

The closest similarity within the Pucara style lies with face A of the Pucara plaza stela (fig. 5a).<sup>21</sup> The uppermost panel on face A of the Pucara plaza stela best compares to face A panel 1 and face B panel 5 of the Arapa-Thunderbolt stela; this double jagged-S motif also appears on two additional lower panels on face A of the Pucara stela. The use and positioning of the stepped corner elements on the lower panels of this same face are similar to those on the Arapa-Thunderbolt stela face A panel 1, face B panel 5, and panel 3 of both faces, including the framing of eared "serpents," though the elements themselves differ in some respects. Also, the relief rings as corner elements on face A of the Pucara stela are similar to the rings on face A panel 5 and face B panel 1 of the Arapa-Thunderbolt stela, although the former are within stepped frames while the latter are not. Checkered crosses contained in four square elements on face B of the Pucara plaza stela (fig. 5b) compare to the checkered-cross motifs on the Arapa-Thunderbolt stela faces A and B panels 2 and 4 of both faces. In addition, the outline of the top of the Pucara plaza stela resembles the heads of the trapezoidal-headed motifs with volute appendages on the Arapa-Thunderbolt stela face A panels 3 and 4, face B panels 2 and 3. Detailed comparisons were made by Kidder, and he states, "The total impression in comparing the two stones is one of close technical equivalence (the reliefs are done as though by the same carver) and common conceptual motivation."<sup>22</sup> The

trapezoidal-headed animals with volute appendages behind the heads on the Arapa-Thunderbolt stela face A panels 3 and 4, and face B panels 2 and 3 constitute a motif which links this stela with monoliths of what Karen Chávez and I have called the Asiruni substyle,<sup>23</sup> some of which also have trapezoidal-shaped animal heads with coiled appendages behind the head.<sup>24</sup>

The Pucara plaza stela comparison permits the Arapa-Thunderbolt stela also to be compared with a seated, headless anthropomorphic figure of magnetite in the University Museum, Philadelphia, of unknown provenience (catalogued as coming from "Tiahuanaco, Peru") described and illustrated by Kidder<sup>25</sup> (fig. 6, pls. VI and VII). Kidder shows similarities between this figure and monoliths, including the Pucara plaza stela, the Arapa stela, and one Hatuncolla stela, from the Pucara region where he believes the statuette was originally made. He also compares it to the Pokotía statues from Bolivia,<sup>26</sup> and it can be further compared to the Bern statuette collected by Johann Jakob von Tschudi at Tiahuanaco.<sup>27</sup>

Two small "lightning stones" can also be compared to the Arapa-Thunderbolt stela and the Pucara plaza stela. One of these small stones comes from the southern margin of Lake Titicaca<sup>28</sup> (fig. 7). Posnansky indicated that the Indians said this stone was to prevent lightning from striking the house. The rollout (fig. 7d) shows two mirror image figures, each composed of three connecting serpent forms, on opposite sides of the stone with a checkered cross on the top between them. This motif with three connecting serpents resembles elements on panel 3 of faces A and B of the Arapa-Thunderbolt stela, but most closely compares to the top panel of face B of the Pucara plaza stela (fig. 5b). The latter panel has a design very similar to the lightning stone elements with mirror image serpent figures disposed opposite one another, although on the Pucara plaza stela a relief ring replaces the checkered cross found on the lightning stone.

The other small lightning stone (fig. 8) which comes from Escoma, Omasuyu, Bolivia, was given to the Ethnographic Museum in Berlin by Max Uhle,<sup>29</sup> and has not been illustrated since Uhle's publication. Uhle separated this specimen, along with others, from typical Tiahuanaco style sculpture. The piece is similar in size and style to the one just described. Assuming the opposite side of the stone to have the same motif of three connecting serpents, in mirror image to those on the side shown and separated from them by the cross on top, then the two lightning stones are very similar, suggestive of being a pair. The same comparisons to the Arapa-Thunderbolt and Pucara plaza stelae can be made for this stone as were made for the one described above. The triangular-headed, eared serpents and the checkered-cross motif of the lightning stones are to be found in the Yaya-Mama style,<sup>30</sup> but these elements continue into Pucara style sculpture; it is the arrangement of the motifs that make the lightning stones resemble the Pucara style more than the Yaya-Mama style.

Two fragments were found in 1967 in the village of Yapura near Capachica and have been reported by Margaret A. Hoyt.<sup>31</sup> As a result of hearing about the stela from Hoyt, Karen Chávez, three students, and I

visited the site on August 15, 1973, at which time we uncovered the buried portions, made rubbings, and obtained additional information.<sup>32</sup> On the Yapura fragments,<sup>33</sup> the intricate style of elements, both curvilinear and rectilinear, disposed with the same kind of symmetry within rectangular panels on two broad faces of a stela form, is similar to the Arapa-Thunderbolt stela, and may represent a "common conceptual motivation," to use Kidder's phrase. Although similar elements are found on the Arapa-Thunderbolt stela and the Yapura fragments, they are combined differently on the two. Similar motifs include relief rings; trapezoidal-headed animals; the jagged-S element; and frogs/toads and coiled serpents situated in the center of panels. However, the jagged-S element on the Yapura pieces is single, not double, and more elongated than the oval to round ones on the Arapa-Thunderbolt stela; the Yapura serpents are double-headed and central panel motifs are unframed. Also, the larger Yapura fragment indicates no reversal in the order of panels on opposite faces, as is found on the Arapa-Thunderbolt stela; the Yapura panels lack corner motifs; and the Yapura trapezoidal-headed animals have unique squared eyes and possess legs.

Specifically, the designs in the complete panel on the south face of the larger Yapura fragment and the nearly complete panel on the north face of the same fragment, are extremely similar to those on face A panel 5 and face B panel 1 of the Arapa-Thunderbolt stela (see fig. 1). The elements in the middle of the sides and top and bottom of the Arapa-Thunderbolt design panels may be compared to the bodies of the trapezoidal-headed animals on the Yapura panels, especially the versions shown on the sides of the panel on the north face where the bodies are split. These split, double-triangular elements on the Arapa-Thunderbolt stela are oriented in the same way as the animal bodies on the Yapura fragment, inward on the top and bottom of the panel, and outward on the sides. On both monuments the similar elements are joined by a continuous, twisting band interrupted by zigzags of which there are two on the Arapa-Thunderbolt piece, and one set on the Yapura fragments. A similar comparison can be made with face A panel 1 and face B panel 5 of the Arapa-Thunderbolt stela, although in these panels the twisting bands are double and not continuous, since the split, double-triangular elements have here been completely divided and are represented by two unconnected zigzags from which the twisting bands issue. These panels, in turn, can be compared with panels on face A of the Pucara plaza stela (fig. 5a).

Furthermore, there are similarities between face A panel 2 and face B panel 4 of the Arapa-Thunderbolt stela and the incomplete panels on the larger Yapura fragment. Both have stepped rectilinear motifs, and the split, double-triangular elements on the Arapa-Thunderbolt piece are paralleled by similar elements in the same position on the Yapura panel. In the incomplete Yapura panels there are apparently only two animals facing in opposite directions away from the center of each panel, while on the Arapa-Thunderbolt stela there are no animal heads. Only on panels 3 and 4 of face A and 2 and 3 of face B of the Arapa-Thunderbolt stela are there actually large animal heads (with coiled appendages behind the head). On panel 3 of both faces all four animals face outward from the center of the panel and have bodies consisting of a solid



trapezoidal element attached to a hollow rectangle; the two animal heads of panel 4 of face A and panel 2 of face B also face outward from the center but have bodies composed of divided stepped elements. On panel 3 of both faces the long curved appendages emanating from the four corner elements and from the central diamond are not continuous, but end in animal heads with small zigzags on one side of the band behind each such head. It can be suggested that on panels 1 and 5 of faces A and B respectively, the zigzagging of the continuous curvilinear bands represents the overlapping or joining of the animals which are separated on panel 3.

The Arapa-Thunderbolt monolith may also be compared to one of the Hatuncolla stelae,<sup>34</sup> but not to the other.<sup>35</sup> This first Hatuncolla stela (fig. 13) shares the following characteristics with the Arapa-Thunderbolt piece: motifs in panels which include checkered crosses; frogs/toads; nested, multiple-step designs; and corner elements. It differs from the Arapa-Thunderbolt stela, however, in that panels are not in reverse order on opposite faces and all four faces are decorated.

Further comparisons can be made with the Arapa 3 monolith, recorded on August 5, 1973, described and illustrated here for the first time (fig. 12). This quartzite block was located in the house of Luis Abarca Sotomayor in Arapa and has been in the possession of his family from his grandparents' time. Although its original provenience is unknown, the owner said it probably came from Arapa. The block has low relief carving on one face only; the other three faces and the flat bottom surface are polished. The uppermost part of the stone is broken, so that the total height is unknown. The monolith could have been a panel or one of a series of panels, although it lacks the framing margins of the stelae already mentioned. The element which most closely compares to one on the Arapa-Thunderbolt stela is the step motif with coiled serpent appendages terminating in triangular heads. Panel 3 on faces A and B of the Arapa-Thunderbolt stela has half of such a stepped element in each of the four corners of the panel from each of which emanates a coiled serpent appendage ending in a trapezoidal head. The stepped elements, however, are not solid, and the scroll appendages emanate from what appears to be the top of the step (had the element been complete) rather than from the bottom. The animal on the Arapa 3 block has an unusual triangular head which tapers to a kind of snout, and the circular eyes consist of two concentric grooves, the outer groove of the eye on the right overlapping that on the left. The front legs of the animal are in the same position as those of the trapezoidal-headed animal on the incomplete panels of the larger Yapura fragment.<sup>36</sup>

#### Original Location and Subsequent Movement

The question now arises as to the original location of the complete Arapa-Thunderbolt stela; the direction of movement, from north to south or south to north, of one of its portions; and the time such movement of one of the pieces may have occurred. Insofar as the direction of movement is concerned, while present evidence is incomplete, it is my belief that the Arapa-Thunderbolt stela was originally erected in or near Arapa in Pucara times, roughly during the first century B.C.; later it



was broken in two and the basal portion was transported to Tiahuanaco, a straight-line distance of 220 km.<sup>37</sup>

The most convincing evidence that the Arapa-Thunderbolt stela came originally from Puno is the fact that the Pucara substyle to which it belongs has so far been found only around the northern Lake Titicaca Basin, as demonstrated by the comparisons we have made with the Pucara plaza stela, one of the Hatuncolla stelae, and the Yapura fragments, as well as with the Arapa 3 monolith. These stelae combine a distinctive composition, technique, and stylization of elements, and form a separate group within the Pucara style. The home of this substyle, then, appears to be in Puno. While other Pucara style sculpture has been found on the southern end of the lake in Bolivia, no examples of this particular substyle occur there. In fact, in Bennett's classification of Tiahuanaco stone sculpture, the Thunderbolt piece and only this piece is placed in his Style 8, Geometric Patterns.<sup>38</sup>

The report of village residents giving the original position of the Arapa stela as always having been in the Islapuncu even before its use as the church lintel, would be important testimony in support of my case; but while this account may be true, it is also possibly unreliable. More convincing, however, is the material (quartzite) from which the stela is made. This material is apparently present near the town of Arapa, as indicated by the banded quartzite church façade and the account that the quartzite used in the façade comes from the hill Mumu. The results of petrographic and neutron activation analyses should settle this point.

Arguments concerning the time of transportation will differ depending on the assumed direction of transport, though some considerations are applicable to either case. Following my hypothesized direction of movement from Puno to the south, there is evidence to support the possibility that the transportation of the basal portion to Bolivia was made prior to the European conquest, perhaps in early post-Pucara or in Tiahuanaco times, and conceivably indicating a pattern of reuse of earlier stone sculpture as religious symbols or cult objects.<sup>39</sup>

The best evidence for pre-conquest transport of the Thunderbolt stone lies in its having been found in the Palacio, a Tiahuanaco construction, as reported by Uhle in 1912. Transportation of the piece from Arapa in post-conquest times does not seem reasonable in view of the fact that many pieces could easily have been obtained at the site of Tiahuanaco itself with much less effort, for whatever reasons those people might have needed such a stone: for decorative purposes, curiosity pieces, or use as building material. This kind of reasoning could also apply against an argument for the Bolivia to Arapa direction of transportation. Furthermore, anyone having brought the piece at the cost of so much effort over such a distance would surely not have abandoned it in the ruins of the Palacio. In addition, transportation in Colonial times is unlikely, since we would expect destruction of such monoliths by Spanish conquerors in order to do away with early "pagan" images, and not purposeful transportation and reuse of them, though

there may have been exceptions. The Arapa piece was, however, used in the Catholic church there for practical reasons, having an appropriate and ready made form for a lintel.

In support of my suggestion that there existed a pattern of reuse of earlier stone sculpture by later inhabitants, the case of the Semi-subterranean Temple at Tiahuanaco presents a documented instance. In Bennett's 1932 excavations in the Temple, within his Pit VII, he found Stela 15 associated with Stela 10;<sup>40</sup> the two were aligned side by side as if they had been erected upright one next to the other. Bennett placed Stela 15 (his Style 3) into Group III stylistic group which probably corresponded to Decadent Tiahuanaco times, and Stela 10 into Group II corresponding to Classic Tiahuanaco times.<sup>41</sup> He dated the Semi-subterranean Temple as late, with earlier materials being brought together, reused.

Ponce, however, dates the Temple as well as Stela 15 to his Epoch III; Stela 10 is assigned to Epoch IV. Ponce believes that Stela 10 was placed in the Epoch III Temple during Epoch IV, when Stela 15 was moved slightly to one side in order to do so.<sup>42</sup> Given this interpretation, we find that during Epoch IV times reuse, or continued use, of an earlier style stone sculpture in the patio of the Temple itself occurred, suggesting the importance and perhaps veneration of these stone representations. If we can assume this practice was acceptable in Classic Tiahuanaco times (Epoch IV), then we could argue that the Classic Tiahuanaco people were responsible for the reuse of the Thunderbolt stone dating from Pucara times and coming from the site of Arapa. That is to say, it may have been that Classic Tiahuanaco religious functionaries brought or had brought this Arapa fragment to Tiahuanaco as a venerated object to be incorporated into the Palacio, reflecting perhaps their concern with identifying with their past.

There are various problems which arise from this explanation, however, and further work is needed to prove or disprove any of the possibilities mentioned here. There is the problem, for example, of why only the basal portion, a piece which has almost more uncarved than carved area, was moved. Possibly it was intended to bring the upper part later. One might postulate a concept of the base representing the "root" to be "grown" again in its new location, but there is no way to verify such a conjecture. Reuse of Stela 15, belonging to a style we have suggested is pre-Pucara,<sup>43</sup> does not necessarily mean that the Classic Tiahuanaco people would reuse a Pucara style stela in the same manner. Another problem is the date of the Palacio itself; is this structure of Epoch IV date? Why would only the Arapa stela, and not others, be selected, or was it? Was the site of Arapa unoccupied at the time? Are there indications of Tiahuanaco presence near Arapa (although numerous reasons could be given for Tiahuanaco presence in the area)? Tiahuanaco pottery has been found at least as far north as Juliaca,<sup>44</sup> and in 1973 we recorded Tiahuanaco pottery from the vicinity of Taraco, about 28 km. by land from Arapa and to the northeast of Juliaca. A fragment of a Classic Tiahuanaco stone head in the Puno Museum<sup>45</sup> would appear to be a unique case of the occurrence of Tiahuanaco stone sculpture at the northern end of the lake.

Another reason for the presence of the fragment in Bolivia might be that the Pucara people from Arapa, or their descendants, moved to the site of Tiahuanaco and carried the Thunderbolt fragment with them for some reason. These individuals would have had to have considerable influence in order for their stela fragment to be used in the Palacio, unless they themselves constructed the Palacio. There is no evidence to support any of these suggestions. Could Pucara immigrants to Tiahuanaco have been missionaries, or what remained of them? Could Pucara sculpture have been brought as models for imitation? Are there undiscovered Pucara or Pucara-like occupations at Tiahuanaco? Pucara or Pucara-like sculpture at or near Tiahuanaco could be indicative of Pucara occupations there, although it is not certain that any Pucara pottery has yet been found at Tiahuanaco itself.<sup>46</sup> Could there have been a local Pucara-like occupation having distinct pottery, for example, but producing Pucara style stone sculpture?

The most likely means of moving the piece would appear to be a combination of water transport by balsa rafts and land travel. Departing from Arapa at the northwestern end of Lake Arapa and following this lake to Lagunas Chacamarca and Titihue into the northwestern end of Lake Titicaca, with perhaps a few short overland hauls, the piece could have been brought across Lake Titicaca to the southern shore where it could have been taken to Tiahuanaco via the Río Tiwanaku.

#### Pucara Related Sculpture from the Southern Titicaca Basin

Keeping the Arapa-Thunderbolt stela in mind, one must review the other sculpture which is Pucara or Pucara-like in style from Tiahuanaco or other sites at the southern end of the lake. I do not know if the presence of these other Pucara style monoliths can also be explained as representing a pattern of reuse, but it is a possibility to be tested on the grounds presented here for the Arapa-Thunderbolt case. Examples of Pucara-like sculpture from Tiahuanaco include the two kneeling statues at the door of the church of Tiahuanaco.<sup>47</sup> Ponce says that these belong to Epoch IV or Classic Tiahuanaco,<sup>48</sup> but the elements on the headbands (fig. 9)<sup>49</sup> make the statues similar, as Uhle also noted, to the Pucara style statue from Azángaro<sup>50</sup> which is now in the Puno Museum and to others having upside-down front-view animal heads on twisted or undulating headbands. These two statues from the Tiahuanaco church are most similar to two blocky, kneeling or squatting statues from Taraco, one of which has a headband element similar to that described above while the other has one hand over the chest and the other at the knee.<sup>51</sup>

Four sculptures from Pokotía, just to the south of Tiahuanaco, share Pucara style elements, and include the two kneeling "women," a seated "man," and the "Flute Player."<sup>52</sup> Ponce places the first two of the Pokotía statues in his Epoch IV,<sup>53</sup> but elements such as the headband (similar to those on the statues from the church in Tiahuanaco as shown in fig. 9), breechclout with side flaps, representation of ribs and navel, two "snake-braids" curling up to the shoulders,<sup>54</sup> and overall realism are very Pucara-like. The third statue<sup>55</sup> also relates to Pucara style sculpture in being blocky, in the position of the hands, the

presence of a cap under the hat, and representation of the navel. This piece is most like one of the headless statues reported by Núñez del Prado from Waraq'oyoq Q'asa, Chumbivilcas, Cuzco,<sup>56</sup> in its similar seated position, position of arms on chest, and relief ring in the navel position. The similarities of the "Flute Player" to other Pucara style sculpture are even greater than those of the other three Pokotía statues, especially when compared to a statue now in the Pucara museum (fig. 14).<sup>57</sup> The similarities include: the neck fringe, wrist bands, cap under the hat, detailed face motifs on the hat,<sup>58</sup> the general facial features, and an object emanating from the mouth. In the Pucara example this object is an anthropomorphic figure upside down with the head held in the two hands at the chest (perhaps being eaten). The similar object held in the Pokotía statue's hand is not a flute, as the name implies, nor any other musical instrument as suggested by Ponce,<sup>59</sup> but is an anthropomorphic figure which has hairlike braids on the sides of its head, and arms bent at the elbows with hands just under the stomach. This observation was confirmed during my visit to Bolivia in 1973.

The Bern statuette bought at Tiahuanaco by Tschudi in 1858,<sup>60</sup> and the seated and hunchbacked statues from the Island of Titicaca,<sup>61</sup> have some Pucara elements; but, as Ponce notes, hunchback statues have never been found among sculpture from Pucara.<sup>62</sup> The iconographic elements of the Bern statuette, however, are Pucara ones. The Pucara style statuette of uncertain provenience illustrated by Kidder is very much like the Bern statuette, but is not hunchbacked (fig. 6).<sup>63</sup> A new statuette from Taraco recorded by us in 1973 appears to be Pucara in style and has the suggestion of a hunchback representation.

There are other monoliths from Bolivia which resemble Pucara style stone sculpture but are not sufficiently well documented to be used in this argument and present a subject for a separate article. In some cases, photographs of such possible Pucara style pieces have been published but do not show sufficient details, such as incised motifs, which characterize the Pucara style. It is necessary, therefore, to examine the pieces themselves instead of relying on the published versions. Other possible Pucara style monoliths in Bolivia include a human statue with breechclout and ribs now in the Museo Nacional de Arqueología in La Paz, two pieces with frogs/toads having tails,<sup>64</sup> and one interesting stepped slab in the museum at Tiahuanaco.<sup>65</sup> This last, unpublished piece was identified by me during my visit to Tiahuanaco in 1973, and appears to be the first case of the occurrence of a Pucara style stepped stela in Bolivia; previously only statues and unstepped pieces have been described. This stepped slab is red sandstone and has relief carving on one face, of a zoomorphic figure with an oval, undecorated head, two arms bent upward, and does not show the lower portion of the animal's body.

#### Conclusion

The question of why two pieces of stone sculpture, coming from widely separated localities at both ends of Lake Titicaca, are stylistically very similar has been resolved by showing that the pieces belong to a single stela. Other problems are raised, however, regarding the

direction and time of transport of one or both of the pieces. I have suggested possible answers to these, but more work is needed.

But beyond the academic value of this unusual case of stylistic identity, it should also make us realize that present political boundaries (Peru and Bolivia) may create barriers to the pursuit of knowledge of altiplano archaeology. What we need is closer collaboration between "Peruvianists" and "Bolivianists" in coordinating all of the data for the purpose of reconstructing prehistoric altiplano events and societies, reinforcing a contact already made during Pucara and even pre-Pucara times.

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## NOTES

<sup>1</sup>This paper, as part of a larger work which also included Chávez and Chávez, 1976, was presented in the symposium entitled "Analysis and Interpretation of Form and Style of the Precolumbian Art of the Andean Region," during the 36th Annual Meeting of the Society for American Archaeology held at Norman, Oklahoma, May 6, 1971.

<sup>2</sup>A. Kidder, 1943, p. 19.

<sup>3</sup>Raimondi, 1874-1913, vol. 1, p. 175; 1940, p. 132.

<sup>4</sup>Uhle, 1912, fig. 13.

<sup>5</sup>Palacios R., 1935, p. 236.

<sup>6</sup>A. Kidder, 1943, pl. VI, 1 and 2, passim. Larco Hoyle (1963, p. 47, fig. 73) also illustrated the stela, but said it was from "Sarapa," not Arapa; his photo, like Uhle's, shows it (face B) when it was a lintel in the church, though his photo is upside down with respect to the true orientation of the stela. See also Ponce Sanginés, 1957, p. 132, fig. 27a (from Kidder's illustration); Lehmann (1943, pp. 141-142) mentions the Arapa stela along with one from Hatuncolla, then compares the frog motif on the latter to one on a Bolivian piece (possibly the Thunderbolt?) and to one of unknown provenience in Munich.

<sup>7</sup>M. Kidder, 1942, p. 187; see, however, Palacios R. (1935, p. 236) in which much the same story is told but with a "coronel Ponce" blamed for the breakage.

<sup>8</sup>A. Kidder, 1943, pl. VI, 7.

<sup>9</sup>Arapa 3 is the catalog number given to this third monolith from Arapa by S. and K. Chávez. Arapa 1 is our catalog number for the Arapa stela, subject of this paper, and more widely known in the literature as the Arapa stela; Arapa 2 is our catalog number for the slab which Kidder described and illustrated (A. Kidder, 1943, pp. 35-36 and pl. VI, 7).

<sup>10</sup>Bennett, 1934, p. 463.

<sup>11</sup>Uhle, 1912, pp. 477-478.

<sup>12</sup>Posnansky, 1945, vol. II, p. 230.

<sup>13</sup>A. Kidder, 1943, p. 33.

<sup>14</sup>Posnansky, 1945, vol. II, pp. 228-229.

<sup>15</sup>Posnansky, 1945, vol. II, p. 228.

<sup>16</sup>Uhle, 1912, pp. 477-478, my translation.

<sup>17</sup>Bennett, 1934, p. 367.

<sup>18</sup>Courty was a geologist on the French Créqui-Montfort and Sénéchal de la Grange expedition and excavated at Tiahuanaco between September 3 and December 15, 1903 (Créqui-Montfort, 1906, p. 532). Ponce states that while Posnansky returned to Bolivia from Europe in September of 1903, he likely went to Tiahuanaco for the first time after May, 1904 (Ponce Sanginés, 1969b, p. 24). By the time Posnansky went to Tiahuanaco the Thunderbolt had already been discovered and taken to the museum of Colonel Ríos Ponce where Posnansky first saw and photographed it. While the Thunderbolt may have been found by Courty, the report of the excavations published by Créqui-Montfort does not mention it. Posnansky characterizes the work of Courty as destructive and lacking in careful excavation techniques (Posnansky, 1945, vol. I, pp. 64-65). The Thunderbolt may have been overlooked by Courty or found later by local inhabitants.

<sup>19</sup>Dr. Adon A. Gordus, personal communication.

<sup>20</sup>Hoyt, 1976.

<sup>21</sup>This stela was first published by Tello (1929, figs. 1-5 and 106). Tello's drawings are not accurate, though his fig. 105, showing what I designate as face A, is more accurate than his fig. 106, my face B. Photographs of the two faces have been published as follows: Valcárcel (1935, fig. 10) shows face B; Muelle (1936, p. 5) shows face B; Bennett (1938, p. 178) shows face A; Valcárcel (1938, fig. 6) shows face B; Schaedel (1948, p. 71) shows face A; Cossío del Pomar (1949, photograph on third page following p. 48) shows face A; Bennett and Bird (1960, fig. 16) show face B; Harth-Terré (1960, pp. 246, 248) shows faces A and B, but cut; Mason (1968, pl. 18B) shows face A. For other references see Espejo Núñez (1971).

<sup>22</sup>A. Kidder, 1943, p. 34.

<sup>23</sup>We suggest the name Asiruni, or "with snake" in Aymara (from A. Kidder, 1943, p. 10), for a Pucara substyle having serpents, especially eared, or other reptilian fauna, with or without face or body details, often associated with relief rings, on stelae and slabs (for example, see Chávez and Chávez, 1970, pp. 25, 28-30, 35-36; Valcárcel, 1932, fig. 1; Franco Inojosa, 1940, *passim*; A. Kidder, 1943, pl. IV, 1-6, pl. VII, 1, 8-9; Portugal Zamora, 1961, figs. 2, 3; Franco Inojosa and González, 1936, drawing no. 4). Some elements of the Asiruni substyle are shared with the Yaya-Mama style (Chávez and Chávez, 1976), but elements of the Asiruni substyle relate more closely and in greater detail to those of the Pucara style. In addition, the geographic distribution of the Asiruni substyle and of the Pucara style are closely congruent; both occur around Lake Titicaca and at sites considerably inland from the lake especially to the north as far as the Department of Cuzco, while the Yaya-Mama style is found around the lake, especially in the south. The Asiruni substyle will be defined more completely in a separate article in preparation, which will include ethnohistorical references as



well as examples from both Peru and Bolivia.

<sup>24</sup>Valcárcel, 1935, fig. 7; A. Kidder, 1943, pl. VII, 9.

<sup>25</sup>A. Kidder, 1965. The caption of the illustration indicates the height of the statuette to be 29¼ inches, while the text states it to be 8 inches; the latter was confirmed to be correct.

<sup>26</sup>Posnansky, 1945, vol. II, figs. 91-94.

<sup>27</sup>Rowe, 1958.

<sup>28</sup>Posnansky, 1958, pl. LXXV.A.a. and p. 124.

<sup>29</sup>Uhle, 1912, p. 478, fig. 15.

<sup>30</sup>Chávez and Chávez, 1976.

<sup>31</sup>Hoyt, 1976. Hoyt furnished me with details of the discovery and generously provided me with slides she took of the pieces.

<sup>32</sup>Karen Chávez and I think the two Yapura fragments probably came from a single stela since the dimensions of both pieces are so much alike (width, thickness, and dimensions of design panels), the stone material is the same, and the execution and designs of both are so closely similar. The curvilinear panels of the smaller fragment could be a continuation of the pattern of alternating curvilinear and rectilinear panels found on the larger piece but with a connecting segment(s) missing. The higher relief portion of the smaller fragment indicates another piece is missing as well; this high relief conceivably is a frog/toad and could be the very top of the stela.

<sup>33</sup>Hoyt, 1976, figs. 2-7.

<sup>34</sup>Squier, 1877, pp. 385-386; Uhle, 1912, fig. 14; A. Kidder, 1943, pl. VII, 10.

<sup>35</sup>Uhle, 1912, fig. 14; A. Kidder, 1943, pl. VII, 11.

<sup>36</sup>Hoyt, 1976, figs. 4, 6.

<sup>37</sup>Rowe (personal communication), however, has suggested an alternative possibility for the direction and time of transportation, namely that the top portion was brought to Arapa from Tiahuanaco in post-conquest times to use as the church lintel. There is a third logical alternative: that the Arapa-Thunderbolt stela was originally erected neither in Arapa nor in Tiahuanaco, but at some other location from which both pieces were later transported.

<sup>38</sup>Bennett, 1934, p. 473. The only exception to the southern occurrence of the substyle might be the two lightning stones mentioned previously, though they are distinct from stelae in form and size and are

easily portable.

<sup>39</sup>Cases of indigenous reuse of earlier stone sculpture in the altiplano of Peru and Bolivia have been documented within the last two centuries, as in the case of the Bern statuette known around 1858 as "the god of thieves" by the Indians of Tiahuanaco who showed "to it the same reverence they did to any of the saints of the church" (Rowe, 1958, p. 260). Another case documents the same kind of veneration of an ancient stone statue (known as Awicha Anselma) during the 1967 drought in Pucara, Peru (Flores Ochoa, 1971).

<sup>40</sup>The numbers given to these stelae are designations in the cataloguing system of the Centro de Investigaciones Arqueológicas de Tiwanaku. Stela 15 was named the "Barbada" by Wendell C. Bennett and was his stone sculpture No. 24. Stela 10 is Bennett's stone sculpture No. 2.

<sup>41</sup>Bennett, 1934, p. 474.

<sup>42</sup>Ponce Sanginés, 1964, p. 68.

<sup>43</sup>Chávez and Chávez, 1976.

<sup>44</sup>Rowe, 1956, p. 144.

<sup>45</sup>A. Kidder, 1943, pl. VII, 5. According to the Puno Museum register it was obtained by the Puno Concejo in 1920 from Mrs. Epifania Zevillaños de Palao, and was found at her house in the city of Puno while putting in foundations.

<sup>46</sup>On p. 56 of his 1944 report, Rowe made a positive identification of a single sherd from Level 9 of Bennett's Pit V at Tiahuanaco as "Pucara Polychrome." The sherd in question was a small one with a stepped design in red and black, the color being outlined by incision. In a later publication, Rowe discussed this identification and concluded that Bennett's sherd might belong to a local style related to Pucara rather than to the Pucara style proper (Rowe, 1963, pp. 7-8). In 1968, Rowe had an opportunity to see the Qalacasaya style pottery from Ponce Sanginés' excavations at Tiahuanaco on exhibit in the site museum there, and he realized that Bennett's sherd might belong to the Qalacasaya style rather than to the Pucara one. He subsequently stated to several people that no Pucara style pottery had been found at Tiahuanaco, a statement he now regrets, since there is a perfectly good possibility that Bennett's sherd is indeed Pucara, as Rowe thought when he first saw it in 1941. (Note added by J.H. Rowe)

<sup>47</sup>Posnansky, 1945, vol. I, pl. XIII c-e, pl. XIVa. See also Rowe's comments, 1963, p. 8.

<sup>48</sup>Ponce Sanginés, 1969a, p. 20.

<sup>49</sup>Uhle, 1912, figs. 10-12.

<sup>50</sup>Uhle, 1912, fig. 8 and p. 478.

<sup>51</sup>A. Kidder, 1943, pl. III.

<sup>52</sup>Posnansky, 1945, vol. II, figs. 91-93, 93a, 94-96; Ibarra Grasso, 1965, p. 121; Ponce Sanginés, 1969a, fig. 19.

<sup>53</sup>Ponce Sanginés, 1969a, p. 20.

<sup>54</sup>The curled "snake-braids" are similar to three Pucara style pieces, one from Waraq'oyoq Q'asa, Chumbivilcas, Cuzco (Rowe, 1958, p. 259), the Bern statuette purchased in Tiahuanaco (Rowe, 1958, p. 261), and one now in the University Museum, Philadelphia, of uncertain provenience (A. Kidder, 1965, pp. 22-23; see my fig. 6).

<sup>55</sup>Posnansky, 1945, vol. II, fig. 95.

<sup>56</sup>Núñez del Prado Béjar, 1972, lám. XVII, fig. 4.

<sup>57</sup>According to Mr. Emilio Ramos Carrión, his son found this piece in 1969 in one of the stone enclosures at Pucara.

<sup>58</sup>Fig. 14, on the upper right of the headband, a face motif occurs (fig. 10) comparable to the one on the headband of the "Flute Player" (fig. 11). This face motif appears on both Pucara sculpture and pottery, and continues to be present on some Classic Tiahuanaco sculpture, as was noted by Kidder (A. Kidder, 1943, p. 36), such as on the finger joints of Stela 8 or the Ponce Stela (Burland, 1970, p. 111). The motif also occurs on the back of the legs on one of the Wakullani statues (Posnansky, 1945, vol. II, fig. 98, right).

<sup>59</sup>Ponce Sanginés, 1969a, p. 37. He refers to fig. 6 in his discussion, but should refer to fig. 19.

<sup>60</sup>Rowe, 1958, pp. 260-261.

<sup>61</sup>Ponce Sanginés, 1969a, pp. 21-22, 33, pls. 13, 14, 15, 18, 20 and possibly 16, 17.

<sup>62</sup>Ponce Sanginés, 1969a, p. 20.

<sup>63</sup>A. Kidder, 1965, pp. 22-23.

<sup>64</sup>Bennett, 1934, p. 472; Posnansky, 1945, vol. I, pl. XIVb.

<sup>65</sup>These last three stelae belong to the Asiruni substyle; see note 23. There appears to be a greater concentration of this substyle in the northern Lake Titicaca Basin, however.

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## KEY TO ILLUSTRATIONS

Unless otherwise noted, all drawings are by the author.

## Plate I

Fig. 1. Arapa-Thunderbolt stela. Reconstructed dimensions: length 575 cm., maximum width 78 cm., thickness 24 cm. Composite drawing based on A. Kidder, 1943, pl. VI, 1 and 2; Posnansky, 1945, vol. II, figs. 152, 152a, 153, 153a; and slides of the Thunderbolt provided by J.H. Rowe. The center of panel 3 on face B has been left blank because wear made it impossible to distinguish the figure represented (see fig. 3a).

## Plate V

Fig. 5. Stela now in the Pucara Museum. Length above ground approximately 240 cm., drawn from rubbings.

## Plates VI-VII

Fig. 6. Statuette probably from the northern Lake Titicaca Basin, now in The University Museum of the University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia. Broken height 8 inches, thickness  $4\frac{1}{2}$  inches.

## Plate VIII

Fig. 7a-c. Height approximately 15 cm., drawn from Posnansky, 1958, pl. LXXV.A.a. Fig. 7d is top view rollout drawing of stone in figs. 7a-c.

Fig. 8. Height approximately 13.3 cm., width approximately 12.4 cm., drawn by Catherine T. Brandel from Uhle, 1912, fig. 15.

Fig. 9. Drawn from Uhle, 1912, figs. 10-12.

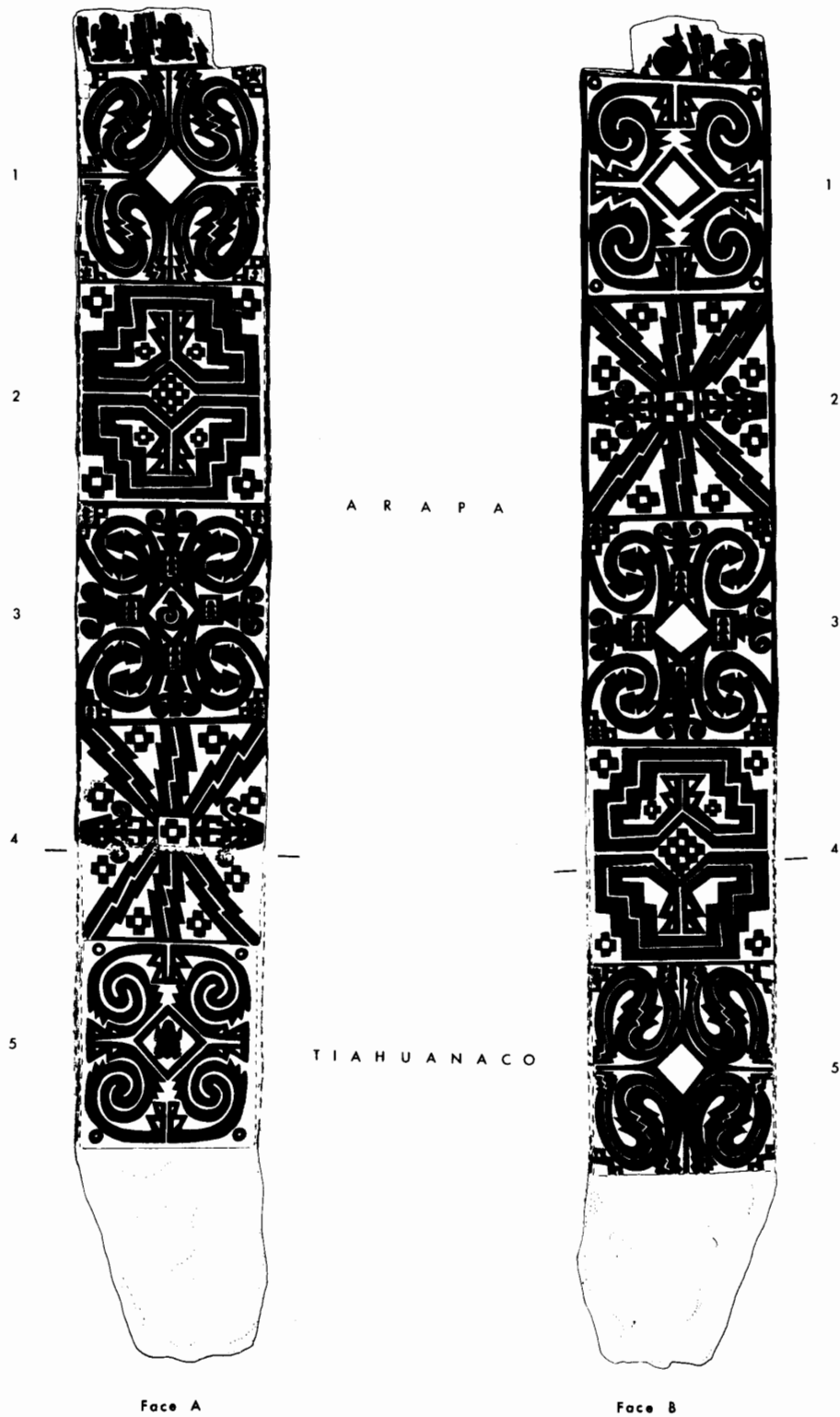
## Plate IX

Fig. 12. Maximum width at base 41 cm., maximum width at broken top 43.5 cm., maximum thickness 31 cm., maximum height (broken) 41 cm. Light chalking was used to emphasize outlines.

## Plate X

Fig. 13. Erected in the Museo Nacional de Antropología y Arqueología, Lima, Peru. Red sandstone.

Fig. 14. Chalk was used to highlight prominent grooving.



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Plate I. Fig. 1, stela from Arapa, Peru (top) matched with the Thunderbolt stone from Tiahuanaco, Bolivia (bottom). See Key to Illustrations.



2a



2b

Plate II. Fig. 2, stela from Arapa, Peru, outside the Arapa church, face A; fig. 2a, larger fragment, panels 1, 2, and part of 3; fig. 2b, smaller fragment, part of panels 3 and 4.



3a



3b

Plate III. Fig. 3, stela from Arapa, Peru, outside the Arapa church, face B; fig. 3a, larger fragment showing banding of the quartzite; fig. 3b, smaller fragment part of panels 3 and 4.

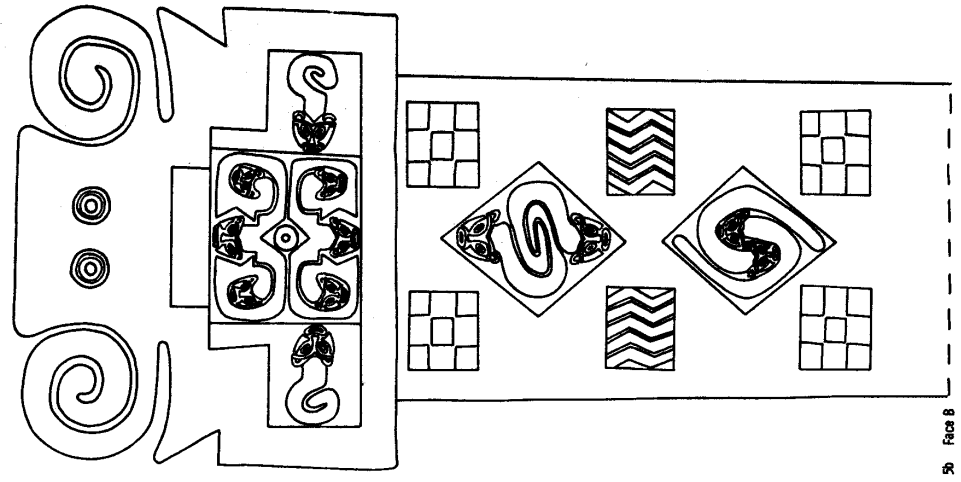


4a

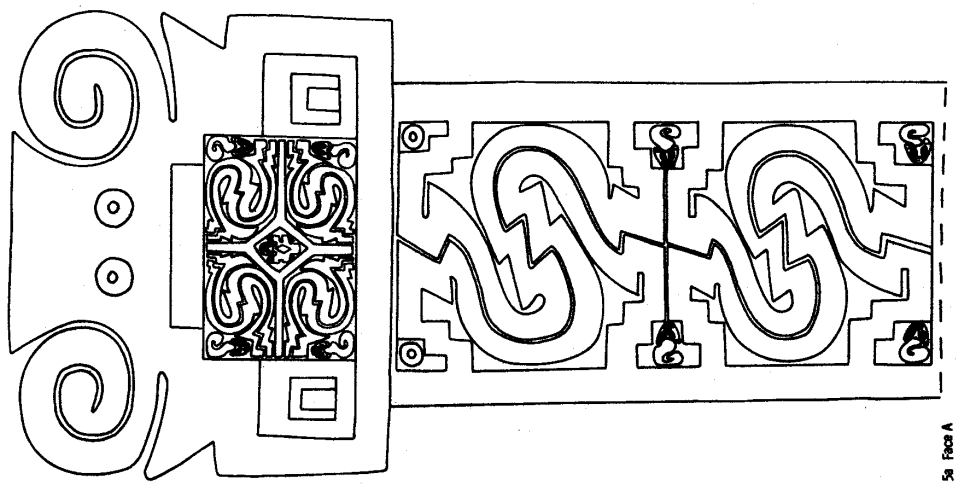


4b

Plate IV. Fig. 4, the Thunderbolt stela from Tiahuanaco, Bolivia, 228 cm. long; fig. 4a, face A, panel 5 and part of panel 4, note banding of quartzite; fig. 4b, face B, from left: undecorated base, panel 5, and part of panel 4 (photograph courtesy of J.H. Rowe).



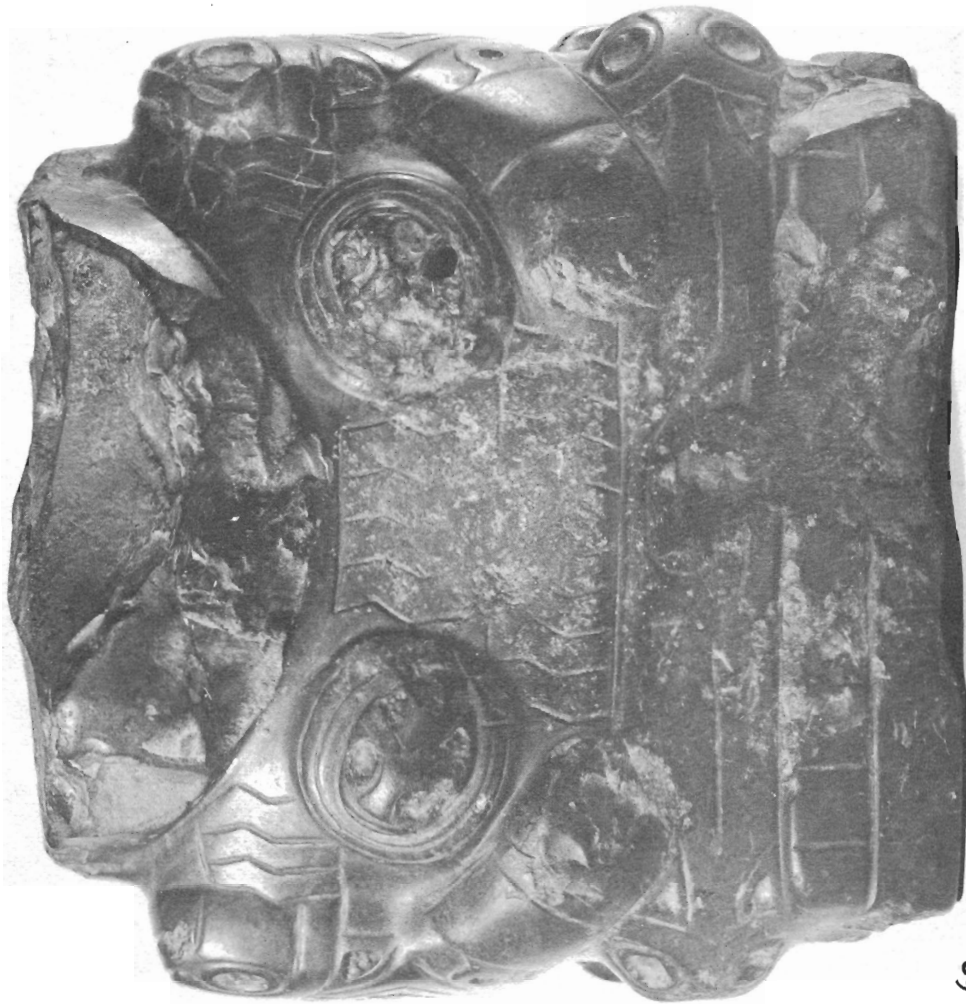
5a Face B



5a Face A

Plate V. Fig. 5, Pucara plaza stela. See Key to Illustrations.

Plate VI. Fig. 6, Pucara style statuette. Photographs courtesy of The University Museum of the University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia. See Key to Illustrations.

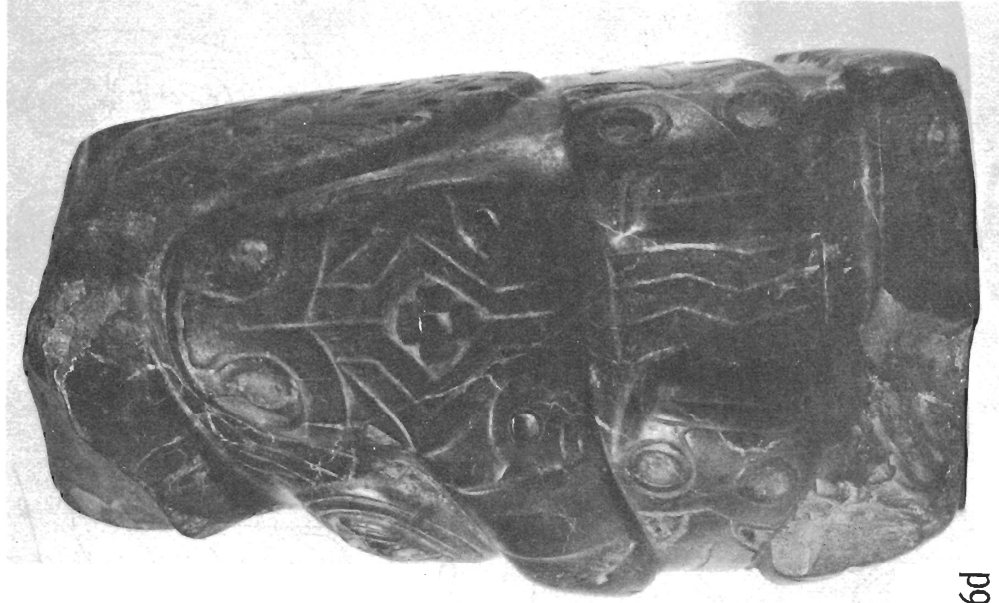


6a



6b





6d



6c

Plate VII. Fig. 6, Pucara style statuette. Photographs courtesy of The University Museum of the University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia. See Key to Illustrations.

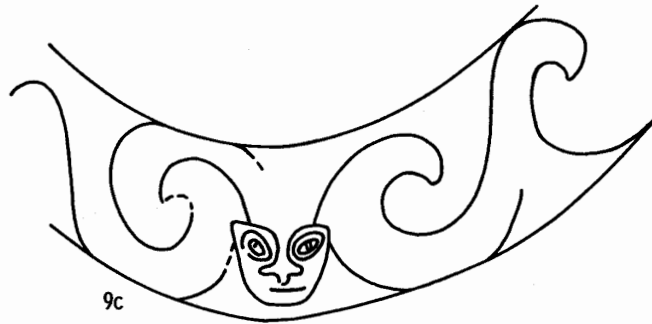
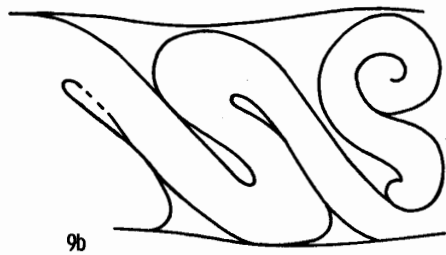
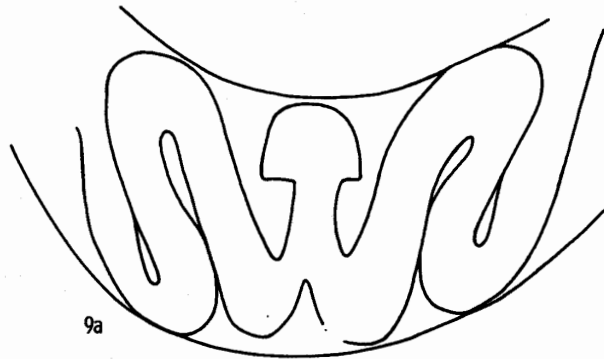
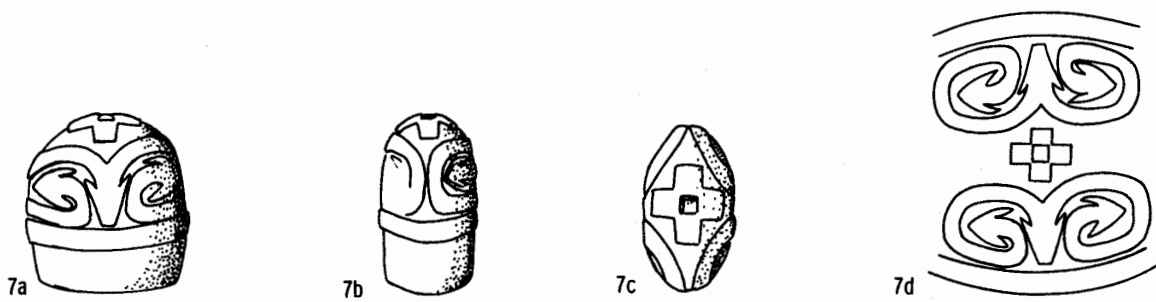
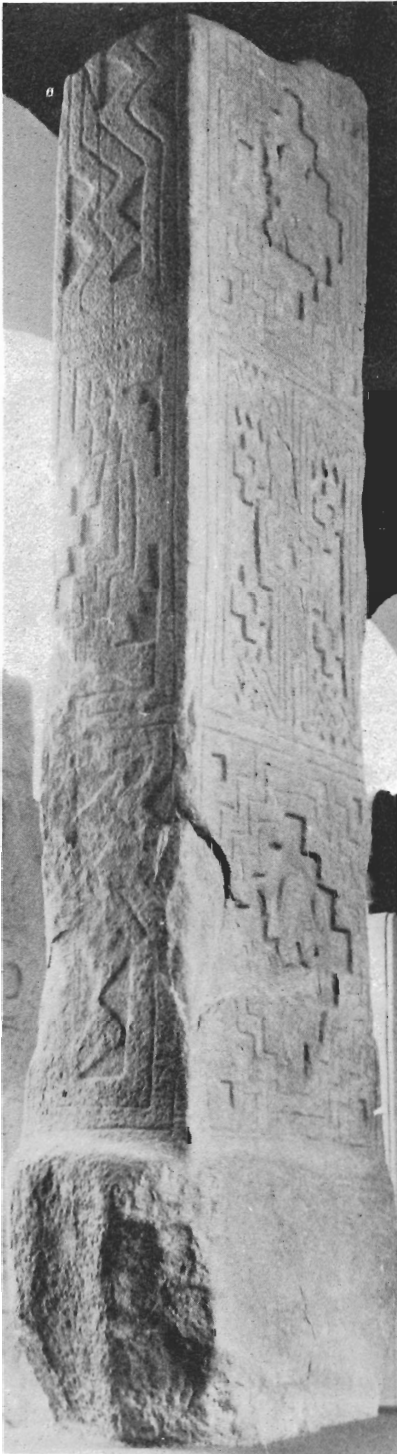


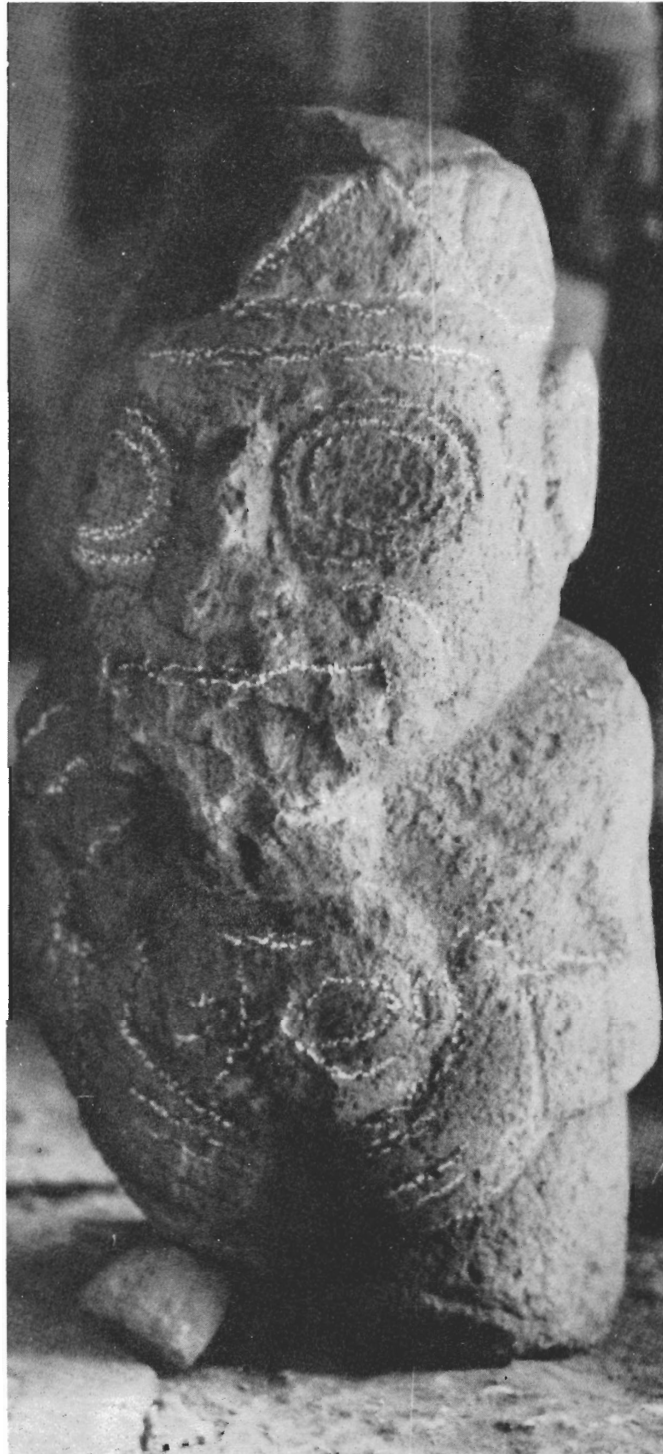
Plate VIII. Fig. 7, lightning stone from southern margin of Lake Titicaca; fig. 8, lightning stone from Escoma, Omasuyu; fig. 9, motifs from the headbands of the two kneeling statues in front of the church at Tiahuanaco; fig. 10, face motif from headband of Pucara statue in fig. 14; fig. 11, face motif from headband of the "Flute Player" from Pokotia, Bolifia. See Key to Illustrations.



Plate IX. Fig. 12, Arapa 3 monolith. See Key to Illustrations.



13



14

Plate X. Fig. 13, stela from Hatuncolla, Peru, approximately 180 cm. high; fig. 14, Pucara style statue in the Pucara Museum, 55 cm. high. See Key to Illustrations.