

A CARVED STELA FROM TARACO, PUNO, PERU, AND THE DEFINITION
OF AN EARLY STYLE OF STONE SCULPTURE FROM THE
ALTIPLANO OF PERU AND BOLIVIA

Sergio Jorge Chávez and Karen L. Mohr Chávez

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Introduction¹

This paper centers on a discussion of a carved stela from Taraco, in the Department of Puno, Peru. The unique combination of stylistic elements will be compared to those of some pre-Tiahuanaco monoliths from around the margins of Lake Titicaca, Pucara style monoliths, and to late Paracas or early Nasca elements. A group of similar stone sculpture from around the lake, including this Taraco stela, will be distinguished as composing a newly defined style, possibly being pre-Pucara in relative date. For ease of reference we have named the Taraco stela "Yaya-Mama," a Quechua word appropriately applied to the male ("father" or yaya) and female ("mother" or mama) combination carved on the stela.² The Yaya-Mama stela is, then, representative of the stylistically similar group of stone sculpture, a group which we suggest be termed the "Yaya-Mama group," after the "type monolith," as it were, and characterized by being carved in the "Yaya-Mama style," to be defined below.

On November 6, 1968, and again on August 2, 1970, during archaeological reconnaissance in the Peruvian altiplano, the first author visited the town of Taraco, located in the District of Taraco, Province of Huancané, Department of Puno. Seven monoliths are erected in the plaza there, three of which were discovered recently;³ the other four were recorded and studied, along with other archaeological material from the same site, in 1941 by Alfred Kidder II.⁴ Additional newly discovered monoliths not erected in the plaza were recorded by the first author in 1970, and by both authors during the summer of 1973, comprising a total of twenty-six new monoliths collected through excavation and exploration; these monoliths will be the subject of a future article. Reconnaissance was also carried out at Taraco in 1965 by Thomas C. Patterson⁵ and in 1963 by a Japanese group under the direction of Seiichi Izumi.⁶

One of the monoliths recently discovered in Taraco is this Yaya-Mama stela. We have previously published a description and comparisons in two other articles, based on the above-ground portion of the stela only, as observed erected in the plaza.⁷ During the 1970 trip, the first author was permitted, as he had not been on his prior visit, to unearth the entire length of the stela. This paper, therefore, adds to the description and comparisons made by us earlier by including this basal portion for the first time. Further, the article attempts to bring together various illustrations of comparative material derived from dispersed, old, or sometimes misleading publications, and illustrations of new, previously unpublished monoliths.

General Description of the Taraco Monolith (the Yaya-Mama Stela)

Form: The monolith (figs. 1 and 2) is a four-sided pillarlike stela, with the four vertical corner edges rounded rather than sharply angular; the cross section is almost square. The plane forming the top of the monolith is inclined so that face B is longer than face D. The base has been broken.

Dimensions: Length ranges from 216 cm. on face C to 221 cm. on

face B; width at the upper part is 21 cm. on faces A and B, and 22 cm. on faces C and D; width, taken at the basal portion is 27 cm. on faces A and C, and 29 cm. on faces B and D. The stela is, therefore, widest at the base and narrows at the top.

Material: The stone from which the stela is made is a quartzite or sandstone, well consolidated, very fine-grained, very hard, and greenish-gray in color.⁸

Technique: All four faces are carved in a low relief approximately 1 cm. in height; there is no incision or grooving. The fine texture of the stone permitted a fine finish, and the portions in relief are of a different color from the green-gray background, being yellowish-brown to brown. The coloring may be the result of painting, perhaps with a mineral pigment mixed with grease, since natural patination or weathering would probably not affect the design elements only.

Provenience: The stela was found during one of the recent excavations made for sewer installation and house foundations in the town of Taraco and was subsequently erected in the plaza. During our 1973 work in Taraco, we had the stela moved to a room in the Concejo Distrital de Taraco to protect it from weathering, as authorities had had to place wire around the portion which had already begun to crack.

Description of the carved elements (see fig. 2)

Faces B and D each bear the representation of an anthropomorphic figure. Because of the two circular elements on the chest of the figure on face B, we believe that figure to be female; and hence, the figure on face D, which lacks such elements, would be male. Both figures have round eyes, an oval relief band representing an open mouth, and T-shaped eyebrows joined to a trapezoidal nose. The eyebrows curve over the eyes on the face D figure and only very slightly on the face B figure, and there is a neck indentation on the face D figure. The female figure of face B has a U-shaped indentation above the nose as an eyebrow separation. Each figure has three curved reliefs encircling the mouth; the upper pair appear to be directed toward the sides of the nose or perhaps the septum. These reliefs around the mouth appear to be a mouth mask as on the anthropomorphic figures on other monoliths which compare most closely to the Yaya-Mama stela; if the face B personage is female, then the reliefs certainly do not represent moustache and beard. The checkered relief band which links all four faces of the stela, is situated on the anthropomorphic figures of faces B and D just above the legs; this band has a checkered cross on faces A, B, and D while a checkerboard element occurs on face C.

A more or less oval element with scroll-like or recurved ray appendages, possibly representing a stylized head, appears ventrally as though a navel on the anthropomorphic figures of faces B and D. The oval element with scroll-like appendages on face B is most similar to the oval element with appendages above the serpent on face A, since in both the long axis of the motif is vertical, and four of the five circles are

aligned almost horizontally, as though depicting two eyes and two ears of a head. Likewise, the element with scroll-like appendages on face D is similar but not identical to the one which appears above the serpent on face C since the long axis is horizontal in both. These similarities seem to suggest an association of face A with face B, and of face C with face D.

The vertical curvilinear elements on either side of the element with appendages above the serpent on face A and the circular to subcircular elements in the same position on face C could be merely space fillers. However, these vertical curvilinear elements and circular elements may be continuations of the zigzag motifs above the heads of the anthropomorphic figures on faces B and D. That is, the right vertical curvilinear element on face A may continue as the upper zigzag of the head ornament above the anthropomorphic figure on face B and end as the left circular element on face C; likewise, the left vertical curvilinear element on face A may continue as the zigzag element of the head ornament above the anthropomorphic figure on face D and end as the right circular element of face D.

The lowermost undulating serpent on face A appears to terminate at the base as though it never possessed a second eared head comparable to that at the base of face C, since the relief there tapers off to the same level as the stone background.

The elongated, undulating serpents have heads with large projecting ears obviously absent on snakes. The relative proportion of length of ears to length of head suggests a camelid, especially a llama, or perhaps a guanaco. Comparing adult llama and alpaca heads, llama ears are one half the length of the head, while alpaca ears are one third the length of the head, and in the latter the fuller hair makes the head appear more rounded and the ears even shorter. The profile heads on the undulating motifs below the feet of the two anthropomorphic figures on faces B and D, however, have ears proportionately smaller in relation to the rest of the head, more closely approaching those of alpaca or possibly vicuña. Unlike the erect ears of the llama and guanaco, ears of alpacas and vicuñas are smaller and often held in a downward and backward position.⁹ These profile animal heads, of course, could be some other animal such as a canine or feline, but in any case seem to be different from the animal heads on the serpent bodies.

The motifs under the feet of the figures on faces B and D are unique in altiplano sculpture to our knowledge. The appendages branching out of a central undulating element have suggested the term ramiform to describe the motif. The overall form of these motifs and their position below the feet of the anthropomorphic figures are suggestive of plant or root forms, under or on the ground upon which the anthropomorphic figures stand. However, the ends of the appendages of the figure on face D terminate in profile animal heads, all of which face toward the left in a regular and rotational manner. The ramiform figure on face B differs from the one on face D in having pairs of plain appendages; upon close examination, however, the center right pair of appendages also appears to end in very small animal heads with ears. The motifs represented on the entire stela, then, are primarily concerned with anthropomorphic and zoomorphic

elements, with only a possibility of plantlike forms being present.

Similarities with Other Sculpture from Around the Margins of
Lake Titicaca (Particularly the South)

The stela from Taraco shows varying degrees of similarity to, at least, the following stone sculpture:

1. Stela 15 from the Semi-subterranean Temple at Tiahuanaco.
2. Monolith from Mocachi on the Copacabana Peninsula, Peru (although Casanova and Bennett both state that the site is in Bolivia, it is actually in Peru).
3. Stela from Santiago de Huata, Bolivia.
4. Stela from Tambo Kusi, Province of Larecaja, Department of La Paz, Bolivia.
5. Stela from Wakka Uyu, Copacabana Peninsula (near the Santuario de Copacabana), Province of Manco Kapac, Bolivia.
6. Two fragments from Wilaqollu near Ilave, Puno, Peru.
7. Stela from the vicinity of Copacabana, Bolivia.
8. Slab from Copacabana, Bolivia.
9. Slab from Chiripa, Bolivia.
10. Slab named "Qota Achachila" from Qasani, Yunguyo, Peru, now in the Puno Museum.
11. Monolith from Chchallapata, Bolivia.

Detailed comparisons of these specimens to the Yaya-Mama stela are made below. Of those pieces which have been illustrated in print, numbers 1-11 belong in the stylistic group which we call "Yaya-Mama." Other monoliths not on the list may also belong to this style, but lack sufficient documentation for proper evaluation. These will be mentioned in a separate section.

Number 1: Stela 15 (fig. 3) is so designated in the cataloguing system of the Centro de Investigaciones Arqueológicas de Tiwanaku; it was named the "Barbada" by Wendell C. Bennett who discovered it in his 1932 excavation of the Semi-subterranean Temple at Tiahuanaco.¹⁰ Stela 15 was found alongside the large Classic Tiahuanaco monolith, Stela 10, which Carlos Ponce Sanginés assigns to Epoch IV; both stelae are red sandstone. Stela 15 is Bennett's No. 24, belonging to his Style 3 which he placed in stylistic Group III corresponding to Decadent Tiahuanaco times.¹¹

Ponce assigns Stela 15 to Epoch III, a period preceding Epoch

IV and roughly equivalent to Bennett's Early Tiahuanaco. He does so on the basis of its similarity in rough execution to the Epoch III roughly carved and poorly preserved stone pillars with anthropomorphic figures in relief on their principal faces (P-40, P-6, P-18) which form part of the Semi-subterranean Temple wall itself.¹² Ponce further indicates that Stela 15 shows similarities to other sculpture found in the altiplano, including a stela from Qalaqala (Bolivia), two stelae from Wankani, and numbers 2 and 3 from our list, and that these specimens stand apart because of their lack of "classic" Tiahuanaco motifs. He feels, on the basis of stylistic similarities, that these stone sculptures are contemporary with Stela 15 and the construction of the Semi-subterranean Temple, and hence assigns them to Epoch III, earlier than Classic Tiahuanaco, with the reservation that the chronologies of the individual sites need to be checked.¹³

José de Mesa and Teresa Gisbert believe that the group of monoliths which Ponce has delimited (though not mentioning the one from Qalaqala), along with the stela from Chiripa (discussed below, see fig. 11) and various reliefs from near Escoma (possibly they refer to a "lightning stone"¹⁴), form a separate horizon remotely related to Pucara and Tiahuanaco. They state that one of the diagnostic characteristics of this horizon is decoration based on serpents, but also having frogs and geometric decoration including crosses, as well as a realistic form of representation. They feel that Wankani was a principal center of the style.¹⁵

Similarities exist between the Yaya-Mama stela and Stela 15 in the attributes of overall form, and in theme, detail, and composition of the principal motifs. In form, both are pillar blocks slightly narrower at the top than the bottom with all four faces carved. In motifs, the principal personages on both stelae are similar, their arms are bent one above the other on the chest and stomach with fingers outspread, the eyebrows and nose form a "T" with the part of the eyebrows just above the eye curved, eyes are circular, the open mouth is a continuous relief band, and there is relief encircling the mouth ("bigotera" or mouth mask). This relief encircling the mouth resembles a moustache and beard, but must be a mouth mask since it does not begin below the nose, but rather at either side of it, as Imbelloni clarified, according to Ponce.¹⁶ Continuing the comparison of motifs, the zigzag figures, apparently serpents, above the eyebrows of the personages on the Yaya-Mama stela, are also similar to the ear-headed serpents on Stela 15 which begin above the eyebrows of the anthropomorphic figure on the principal face and continue onto the two contiguous faces of the stela as though they were stylized representations of hair. The anthropomorphic figure on Stela 15 differs from those on the Yaya-Mama stela by being shown only from the waist up, and in other details.

Although the principal motif, the elongated and zigzag serpent with eared head, is most common in Pucara style monoliths, it occurs on Stela 15 together with the anthropomorphic figure. The general composition is also similar in the two stelae, the anthropomorphic figure being flanked on contiguous faces by zigzag serpents which are themselves on opposite faces. This similarity in composition also occurs in the stela from Mocachi which will be discussed next. The posterior face of Stela 15,

although carved, is extremely worn, to the extent that Ponce represents only a few lines or elements (see right side of fig. 3). Earlier, Bennett illustrated the back, but noted that his drawing might be incorrect since, "...now (1934) nothing can be seen."¹⁷

Number 2: Similarities exist between the Yaya-Mama stela and the monolith reported by Eduardo Casanova in Mocachi, on the Copacabana Peninsula. Ponce assigns this stela to Epoch III. We cannot account for the discrepancies in details which exist between Casanova's drawing (fig. 4a-c), based on photos and sketches taken in situ, and Bennett's illustration (fig. 4d-f) redrawn from Casanova's; both are included here.¹⁸ For example, on the principal face the relief near the mouth shown in Casanova's drawing differs in form from that drawn by Bennett, and on the posterior face the undulating serpent above the personage's head in Bennett's drawing is absent in Casanova's. With respect to the undulating serpent above the head, however, Maks Portugal says that a stepped element or "ray," apparently ending in a triangle, appears on the head, decorating the hat or "llauto" of the Mocachi stela.¹⁹ These discrepancies limit comparisons with the Yaya-Mama stela to some extent.

In form, the Mocachi monolith is pillarlike with apparently all four faces carved (one lateral face is not illustrated), and is narrower at the top than at the bottom. In theme and composition it, like the Yaya-Mama stela, possesses two anthropomorphic figures on opposite faces, with the other two opposite faces (or at least one of these lateral faces) having elongated, undulating, eared serpents. The two personages similarly have their arms bent, one placed above the other, but fingers are not outspread; eyebrows and nose form a "T" apparently on both personages, the eyebrows slightly curving just above the eyes; the eyes are circular; and relief "bigotera" or mouth mask encircles the relief oval, closed mouth. The Mocachi monolith shows one of the figures as larger and more elaborately decorated than the other; similarly, on the Yaya-Mama stela face B is longer and contains more elements than does face D.

The most significant similarity, however, is the stylized head ventrally located just below the arms of the anthropomorphic figure on the principal face of the Mocachi stela. This head has rays arranged in "star" fashion around it and one set of scroll-like appendages. It compares in both position and form to the stylized figures on the Taraco stela also ventrally situated below the arms on faces B and D. Though the stylized figures on the Yaya-Mama stela do differ from the head on the Mocachi monolith, the two are strikingly similar in general form and in the detail of having scroll-like appendages. This comparison strengthens our belief that the stylized figures on the Yaya-Mama stela could also represent heads. This stylized head on the Mocachi stela appears to have a kind of mouth mask.

Number 3: The stela from the plaza of Santiago de Huata, which Ponce assigns to Epoch III, is illustrated by him in three sources; the first ²⁰ is a poor photograph of one face only, while the second and third both show the opposite face and one contiguous to it.²¹ John H. Rowe has kindly supplied us with his drawing from a photograph published

by Ruben.²² For all of these illustrations, see fig. 5.

In form, the Huata monolith is broadest at the base and tapers almost to a point at the top, following the natural shape of the stone. It is carved on at least three of its faces, and incorporates the technique of incision.²³ An anthropomorphic figure appears on one large face (fig. 5a). The figure has T-shaped eyebrows and nose, an oval, relief open mouth with encircling elements above it, and probably both arms bent over its chest. A detail observable in Ponce's 1969 illustration, but not visible in his 1964 one, is a serpent with a kind of bifurcated tongue located above the head of the personage. Below, at the base, is a head with scroll-like appendages very similar to those on the Chiripa and Copacabana slabs (figs. 9 and 10a), especially in having one appendage in the shape of a foot.

On the adjacent face of the stela are two long, undulating serpents side by side facing downward toward a checkered cross which separates them from another long undulating serpent (or two serpents) below, also pointing toward the checkered cross. This design is very similar to faces A and C of the Yaya-Mama stela with the serpent heads facing toward and divided by a checkered cross or checkerboard relief which forms a band around the entire stela. The serpents on the Huata monolith are also eared, but have bifurcated tongues like some of those on the slab from Copacabana (fig. 9).

The other large face on the Huata stela (figs. 5b, c) also has at its base two undulating serpents with eared heads and bifurcated tongues, facing upward toward a checkered cross and separated by what appears to be a frog/toad. Above these elements is another figure, possibly a four-legged feline(?), and then an apparently human figure shown from the waist up with hands bent over the chest. The face of this personage is like that of the other anthropomorphic figure already described. The fourth side of the stela has not been illustrated.

Number 4: The stela from Tambo Kusi (fig. 6) was found and described by Maks Portugal in 1967.²⁴ The stela is carved on two opposing faces both having anthropomorphic figures shown from the waist up. Face A (fig. 6a) is the better preserved and has round eyes with eyebrows curving above the eyes and connecting with the trapezoidal nose; the mouth is represented by a continuous band around a central opening. The human faces are oval, as on face D of the Yaya-Mama stela, and one of the faces of the Mocachi stela as well as the stela from the vicinity of Copacabana (fig. 8). No mouth mask is visible, however. On face A the arms are represented in a manner not found in other examples of the Yaya-Mama style, although the arms on face B appear to be one above the other, the right on the chest and the left on the stomach. Portugal states that the hands have only three fingers; the fingers, however, are not apparent in the illustration.

According to Portugal, below the anthropomorphic figures on both faces, three elements occur in the same arrangement, a checkered cross separating two undulating, eared serpents, apparently bicephalous, and below them a frog facing upward toward the cross having three digits on each

foot and a stubby tail (as observable on face B). These elements and their arrangement are very similar to those on face B of the Santiago de Huata stela which also occur below the anthropomorphic figure.

Maks Portugal mentions this stela, Stela 13 (Idolo Plano), and Khonkho Wankani, as well as the carvings from Chiripa, Santiago de Huata, and Mocachi, stating that they show the expansion of a cultural period of Tiahuanaco.²⁵

Number 5: The stela from Wakka Uyu was discovered by Maks Portugal Zamora and described by his son, Max Portugal Ortiz.²⁶ It has a pillarlike form, rectangular in section, and is carved in relief on all four faces, although only the best preserved faces are illustrated here (fig. 7). The principal faces are broader than the sides. Like the Yaya-Mama stela, the Wakka Uyu stela has anthropomorphic figures on two opposite faces, flanked by undulating serpents on the other two faces.

An anthropomorphic figure (44.5 x 24.5 cm.) is portrayed rather simply on face A (fig. 7a), having round eyes, eyebrows curving over the eyes and connected to a slightly trapezoidal nose; there are remains of an oblong mouth. Portugal states that the body is slightly trapezoidal, though he does not clarify whether it has further carving or not. He mentions an "elongated form" over the personage, but it is unclear what is meant. However, all the visible elements on this face including those already described as well as the oval-shaped face and the presence of a neck and headband, compare with those on the Yaya-Mama personages as well as with those on some of the other monoliths mentioned here.

Face C, opposite face A, was more elaborately carved, but the poor state of preservation did not permit Portugal to illustrate it. He was able to make the following observations, however: the upper third apparently had an anthropomorphic figure portrayed from the waist up, which is incomplete because of breakage so that only the arms are visible (one on the chest and the other on the stomach); there are hands, but the fingers are difficult to see. On the figure's chest is a semi-circular cavity (21 x 16 cm.). On the center third of the stela there are two parallel, small, undulating serpents, both 6.5 cm. wide, one 64.5 and the other 72 cm. long; their heads are not preserved. The shorter serpent has a partially coiled tail; the other does not. On the lower third of this stela there is a circular cavity similar to the one already mentioned on the upper third. The stepped form of the top of the stela is apparently not intentional but the result of breakage.

On one of the narrow faces not illustrated here (face D), there are three serpents. On the upper half are two parallel, small undulating serpents (63 x 4 cm. and 33 x 4 cm. respectively) both of which lack heads. On the lower half is one headless serpent larger than the two above it with a thick and extremely undulating body and a partially coiled tail. The other narrow face (fig. 7b) has only one undulating serpent, the largest on the stela. Max Portugal compares this stela to one mentioned by Arriaga (see our number 6, two fragments from

Wilaqollu), Wankani, Santiago de Huata, Warizata Chiripa, Qalaqala, Tambo Kusi, and Mocachi.

Number 6: Two fragments of a stela at Wilaqollu near Ilave probably correspond to another example of a stela with male and female representations on opposite faces. The fragments were found by John M. Donahue and Father Inocente Salazar in June, 1971, and identified by them as a stela described in Arriaga and Ramos Gavilán.²⁷ This stela is described and illustrated by Rowe and Donahue.²⁸

The stela is carved in relief on only two, broad faces, and incision is used on the hat or headdress and possibly on the legs (unlike the Yaya-Mama stela). The upper preserved portion of the anthropomorphic figure compares most closely to the one on face D of the Yaya-Mama stela in having an oval face and round chin with what appears to be a mouth mask encircling the mouth; curved eyebrows over the eyes forming the nose by dipping at the center, representation of a neck, and a horizontal band across the shoulders which connects the upper arms. The eyes, however, are oval and slant upward. The slanted eyes, horizontal relief band at the shoulders joining the upper arms, and also the relief on the knees on the preserved lower portion compare closely to the stela from the vicinity of Copacabana (fig. 8) also belonging to the Yaya-Mama style. The undulating serpents on either side of the anthropomorphic legs resemble Yaya-Mama ones especially in the long ears on the heads.

Though the toad representations which the seventeenth century discoverer reported as part of the headdress are not preserved on these two pieces, toad motifs are entirely within the range of Yaya-Mama style iconography.

Number 7: The monolith from the vicinity of Copacabana is shown here in fig. 8. While Casanova refers to the monolith as coming from Copacabana, Posnansky says it comes from Tiahuanaco.²⁹ Although no dimensions have been published, we calculate its height to be about 1.10 m., using as scale the person standing near the stela in Joyce's photograph and included here in fig. 8. The stela is similar to the Yaya-Mama in the combination of anthropomorphic figure and undulating triangular-headed serpents, the position of the arms over the chest, and the representation of some kind of head adornment. So far as we know, however, the monolith is carved on only one face, and may be rectangular in cross section. Still closer similarities are found between the Copacabana monolith and the fragments from Wilaqollu, as mentioned above.

Number 8: The slab from Copacabana (fig. 9) measures about 36 cm. by 29.2 cm., according to Uhle's rubbing.³⁰ Uhle reported the slab had been bought by W. Gretzer at the feria of Copacabana, and it is now probably in the Ethnographic Museum of Berlin (Museum für Völkerkunde).³¹ Uhle distinguishes several monoliths, including this one, as being stylistically different from typical Tiahuanaco ones. While the other non-Tiahuanaco sculpture he discusses appears to belong to the Pucara style, the Copacabana slab belongs to our Yaya-Mama group. The slab apparently has not been mentioned or illustrated since Uhle's 1912 publication; it is

extremely similar to the Chiripa slab. The central figure, a head with four eared-serpent appendages and two appendages in the form of feet, is most similar to the scroll-like heads of the Yaya-Mama stela. This slab also shares with the Yaya-Mama stela the checkered cross, though here with the form of a cross formée; undulating serpent motifs; round eyes; eyebrows curving over the eyes and joining a trapezoidal nose with a V-shaped separation in the center; and what appears to be part of a mouth mask. Three of the serpents have bifurcated tongues as on the Santiago de Huata stela (figs. 5a, c). The central figure, while only somewhat similar to the rayed head on the principal face of the Mocachi stela (fig. 4), is very similar to the head at the base of the Santiago de Huata stela and to the Chiripa slab, even in such details as having four coiled appendages, foot-shaped appendages, and rounded ears. The scroll-like heads with long vertical axes on faces A and B of the Yaya-Mama stela may, by comparison, be a different version of this motif, similar in possessing rounded ears, but lacking foot-shaped appendages. The quadrupeds with upturned tails compare to that on the stela from Santiago de Huata (fig. 5b), those on the Chiripa slab (fig. 10a), and those with upturned tails on Stela 15 although the latter have front view heads (fig. 3).

There is here a unique occurrence of two cross formées in opposing corners of the slab, and the relief border or frame has corner indentations forming perhaps a similar cross formée border which encloses the elements on the slab. One is tempted to suggest that the two small cross formées are simplified versions of the slab and all elements portrayed on it, which in other contexts become checkered crosses.

Number 9: The slab from Chiripa, Bolivia (figs. 10a and b), now in the Museo Nacional de Arqueología in La Paz, is most similar to the Copacabana slab just described.³² Both demonstrate symmetrical and asymmetrical distribution of elements. The central figure also compares to that on the scroll-like heads on the Yaya-Mama stela. Izumi and Tsunoyama suggest that the central head represents the rayed sun.³³ Both slabs share undulating serpent motifs and quadrupeds as well. Interestingly, all four corners of the slab are notched so that the front outline has the form of a cross (fig. 10a); the back has a framing relief border like that on the Copacabana slab such that the area it encloses has the same cross formée shape (fig. 10b).³⁴ The slab form and size of these two pieces suggest a different function from the stela form, slabs being perhaps more portable and not shaped to be implanted in the ground.

Number 10: The square slab from the Puno Museum (fig. 13) was recorded by us in July, 1973, during our visit there to make an inventory. The book where acquisitions are recorded indicates that this slab was obtained on December 31, 1924, as a gift from Father Cristóbal Pinazo. The provenience given is Qasani³⁵ in Yunguyo, a district in the Province of Chucuito. Indians are said to have called it "Qota-Achachila," which is Aymara for "grandfather of the lake." The material is diorite or possibly granite.

The slab depicts an isolated human face in low relief without incision; it is complete, not broken from some larger piece. It possesses

Yaya-Mama style characteristics: round eyes, eyebrows connecting to a trapezoidal nose with an indentation at the top of the nose. The eyebrows are nearly straight above the eyes but curve under them and then continue over the cheeks to connect with what appears to be a mouth mask. The mouth is oval but has a break in the center of the upper lip. The upper part of the face is surrounded by an interrupted relief line, the left part of which connects to the inner border framing the slab, and the right part of which ends at the cheeks. These lines may relate to the space fillers on face A of the Yaya-Mama stela or to the snakes around the human face of Stela 15. The presence of a border is shared with the Copacabana and Chiripa slabs and the monolith from Chchallapata discussed below.

Interestingly, this Puno slab appears to possess a triangular lower lip plug, unique in the Yaya-Mama style group. However, lower lip plugs or chin ornaments do appear in a rectangular form on the stela from Incatunhuiiri³⁶ and in a trapezoidal form extending from the lower lip onto the chin on one of the kneeling Pucara style statues from Pokotía.³⁷ Round lip plugs, occur on objects from Tiahuanaco, such as an Epoch IV portrait vessel from the Qalasitasaya,³⁸ and a stone head (C-277) from the Semi-subterranean Temple,³⁹ and have themselves been found at Tiahuanaco.⁴⁰ Possibly, however, all lines around the eyes and cheeks, as well as the split upper lip and even the lower lip or chin ornament, of the personage on the Puno Museum slab are intended to represent a face mask.

Number 11: The monolith from the community of Chchallapata (fig. 12), located near the lake shore west of the Isla del Encanto, has been described by Maks Portugal.⁴¹ The monolith is carved in 4 mm. high relief on only one face, and is broken at one end.

We have illustrated the piece in reverse orientation from that presented by Portugal; that is, our figure is the upside-down version of Portugal's. What is seen with this orientation is two oval faces, probably human, side by side separated by a checkered cross and sharing a single set of arms. The arms emanate from the border in such a way that the margin may also serve as upper arms at least to the elbows. The arms, bent up at the elbows, cross one another, a unique positioning on Yaya-Mama style pieces. Also unique, if our orientation of the piece is correct, is the presence of two personages on a single surface. Lack of legs on personages occurs on Yaya-Mama style monoliths, however. If viewed in reverse, so that the heads are on the bottom, then the crossed arms have no related head, and the arms are pointed downward, a manner of representation not found in either Yaya-Mama monoliths or other styles from the area. When viewed this way, the two heads could possibly be front view serpent heads arranged around the checkered cross somewhat like those on the stela from Tambo Kusi (fig. 6), or Santiago de Huata (figs. 5b, c). However, Yaya-Mama style serpent heads do not have such noses.

There are only four fingers on the hands, which can be compared to other representations of extremities with fewer than five digits such as the Tambo Kusi stela (three fingers) and faces B and D of the Yaya-Mama stela (four toes). The relief rings might, by their location, represent

female breasts as on face B of the Yaya-Mama stela. Relief rings are also present on other examples in our group, as is the relief border and the oval relief bands forming open mouths.

Definition of the Yaya-Mama Style

On the basis of the comparisons made above, we define what may be referred to as the Yaya-Mama style. In the past, many authors including Ponce, Maks Portugal, Mesa and Gisbert, have set forth possible groupings including some of the pieces in our group, but have also included some others we regard as relating more to Classic Tiahuanaco or Pucara than to Yaya-Mama. The Portugals suggested the name Paajanu⁴² or Pa-ajanu,⁴³ which means "two faces" in Aymara, for those monoliths having an anthropomorphic figure on each of two opposite faces; Max Portugal cites the chronicler Father Baltazar Salas (1618) who made reference to a region called Pa-ajanu. The Portugals have not explicitly formulated a stylistic group, though they suggest a number of similar pieces should be studied further. Recently, David L. Browman has also proposed a classification for early stone sculpture from Peru and Bolivia and has set forth a stylistic sequence for pre-Classic Tiahuanaco monoliths.⁴⁴

The Yaya-Mama style group has a geographical distribution, specimens so far known coming from localities around the two ends of Lake Titicaca, ranging from Taraco in the north, to the Copacabana peninsula, Chiripa, Tiahuanaco and Santiago de Huata on the southern end, and possibly to sites on the eastern side as will be discussed below. Examples seem to indicate a greater concentration in the south than in the north, however.

The following characteristics of the style are a compilation of similarities found among these examples.

Forms

All examples are stelae and slabs; there are no true statues or sculpture in the round, the reason for this absence perhaps being that anthropomorphic figures are represented on the stelae, in contrast to the common Pucara practice of portraying anthropomorphic figures in the round and reserving other motifs for stelae or slabs, with a few exceptions. The Pucara practice of notching an upper corner of stelae also does not occur. There is a tendency for stelae to be narrow at the top and wider at the base. Though we do not have dimensions for all the Yaya-Mama style stelae, and it is not certain that those we do have represent the complete original height, nevertheless the range in size is from perhaps 1.10 m. (calculated for the Copacabana stela, our number 7) to 2.55 m. (Stela 15, our number 1). Slabs range in size between 36 x 29.2 cm. and 53 x 37.5 cm.

Motifs

1. Face or head element with appendages: The manner of representing the appendages varies from being scroll-like or recurved rays as

in the Taraco stela, starlike as on the monolith from Mocachi, or coiled appendages ending in triangular heads as on the slabs from Chiripa and Copacabana, to foot-shaped appendages also on the Chiripa and Copacabana slabs as well as the stela from Santiago de Huata.

2. Elongated, undulating, eared serpents sometimes with coiled tails, or double-headed as on the Taraco stela: Serpents have from two to ten undulations, while Pucara style snakes have no more than four. The overall form of the serpent head is triangular, in contrast to the usually trapezoidal head form in the Pucara style where there is a tendency to represent more facial details; the exceptions are Stela 15 and the Mocachi monolith on which the serpent heads are rectangular with rounded chins.
3. Anthropomorphic figure, standing, either full length with proportionately short legs, or head and torso only: Only on slabs do anthropomorphic heads occur alone, two having foot-shaped appendages. Associated features are sometimes a neck indentation on one of the two figures on a stela; round eyes; T-shaped eyebrows and nose; eyebrows usually curving over the eyes and forming a "V" at the bridge of the nose; trapezoidal nose; open mouth formed by an oval relief band; mouth masks; hands over the chest, usually one above the other never holding any objects; a tall head adornment usually having a zigzag or serpent form or consisting of some turban-like hat with bands.
4. Checkered cross: This motif is frequently present.
5. Complete quadrupeds presented in profile: On Stela 15 the heads of the quadrupeds at the waist are full face.
6. Frog/toad: This motif occurs only on the stelae from Santiago de Huata and Tambo Kusi.
7. Relief ring: Not as frequent as in Pucara style sculpture. A variation, in the form of a circular and a semicircular concavity, occurs on the stela from Wakka Uyu.
8. Ramiform or rootlike elements: Occur only on the Taraco stela.
9. Forked tongue emanating from the serpents' mouths: This element may represent barbels or whiskers. It occurs on the Copacabana slab and on the stela from Santiago de Huata.

Composition

1. A combination of many motifs, including anthropomorphic, zoomorphic, and geometric elements, occurring on a single monolith: Of these elements, the anthropomorphic is most significant, at least as reflected in areal coverage. Next, or perhaps of equal significance, are zoomorphic elements which may be subdivided into three forms,

the most important of which is the serpent, then quadruped, and least represented is the frog/toad. Serpents are frequently double to triple the number of personages on any one piece. Geometric elements are last in significance as indicated by areal coverage, the checkered cross being the most important, then bands, zigzags, and relief rings. Finally, heads or elements with a variety of scroll-like appendages predominate on the slabs, but are less significant on stelae. There is a tendency to fill spaces with zoomorphic, geometric, and "head" motifs, that is, a use of space fillers so as not to leave large empty areas.

2. Pairs, or contrasting elements in sets of two: Up and down opposition, symmetry and pairing of zoomorphic and anthropomorphic figures, and one instance of male-female duality. At the same time, contrasting or opposing elements may be asymmetrical, as on the Copacabana slab or the Wakka Uyu stela faces B and D.
3. Curvilinear manner of representation with much variation in conventions.
4. Tendency to carve all four faces of the stelae.
5. Some occurrence of relief borders framing the elements within, as found on four of the monoliths.

Technique

Incision is lacking except on the Santiago de Huata and Wilaqollu stelae; all carving is in low relief.

Problematical Pieces Omitted from the Yaya-Mama Style

The monoliths mentioned in this section either have been rejected from inclusion in the Yaya-Mama style, or cannot be clearly placed in the style for any or all of the following reasons:

1. The piece has too few elements and/or lacks diagnostic ones.
2. The piece lacks sufficient published documentation for proper evaluation.
3. The piece is too poorly preserved for adequate assessment.

Many of these pieces are discussed here because other authors have compared them to several pieces we have described as Yaya-Mama in style.

The carved stela from Chiripa, Bolivia (fig. 11),⁴⁵ is similar to the Yaya-Mama style in having two long undulating triangular-headed serpents and two triangular-headed frogs/toads. One serpent faces downward while the second serpent faces upward toward the two frogs/toads in the central portion of a single face of the stela. These motifs and their occurrence on only one face of the stela are features shared with the Pucara style (more specifically, with what we have designated as the Asiruni substyle);⁴⁶ however, the lack of incised face or body detail and

the greater number of undulations of the serpent bodies are more like Yaya-Mama style elements than Pucara ones. Ponce suggests that this stela and the Chiripa slab (our number 9, fig. 10) belong to the Chiripa culture,⁴⁷ though they are stylistically related to the group he assigns to Epoch III, and even though he claims there is an Epoch III semi-subterranean temple at Chiripa (previously regarded as being Epoch V or Decadent Tiahuanaco).⁴⁸

Two small "lightning stones," one from Escoma, Omasuyu, Bolivia,⁴⁹ and the other from the southern margin of Lake Titicaca,⁵⁰ are similar in size and style; they have been described, illustrated, and discussed by Sergio Chávez.⁵¹ The triangular-headed, eared serpents and checkered-cross motif on both pieces are shared not only with the Yaya-Mama style but also with the Pucara style. However, the disposition of the elements is more like the Pucara style, most closely resembling the upper panel of face B of the Pucara plaza stela. In any case, the form of the two pieces is unique.

The stela from Incatunhuiiri, Peru, was classified by Kidder as a standing human statue.⁵² This blocky monolith is carved on all four faces, with an anthropomorphic figure on the principal one which continues onto the lateral faces. The figure has both hands raised to the same level below the chin in a fashion somewhat similar to that of face A of the Tambo Kusi stela. In addition, the figure has round eyes, oval mouth, neck represented by indentation, and the frequently occurring relief ring situated ventrally. The back of the stela has, apparently, a pair of animals similar to those shown on a stepped stela also from Incatunhuiiri.⁵³ Although details are worn, these animals each have a coiled tail encircling a disembodied head and are separated from one another by a relief ring. While this stela shares some similarities with the Yaya-Mama stela, such as its pillarlike form, the emphasis on an anthropomorphic figure with indented neck, round eyes, trapezoidal nose, short legs set apart, and a navel motif (though here set rather low and in the form of a relief ring), this stela differs enough from the Yaya-Mama group to be somewhat separated from it. Those elements on the Incatunhuiiri monolith which differ from the Yaya-Mama style include the lack of clear T-shaped brows and nose; lack of a mouth mask, though there is a chin ornament; presence of incised lines at the wrist; and especially the coil-tailed animals on the back face which are unlike any of the animals which occur on examples from the Yaya-Mama group. Further, since there is a great similarity between this monolith and the Incatunhuiiri stepped stela mentioned above, it would appear that the two are closely related in time; and we know that the stepped form of stela is common in Pucara style sculpture while it appears to be absent in the Yaya-Mama group. These stelae from Incatunhuiiri would seem to be more closely related to the Pucara style than to our Yaya-Mama group. The relief ring, too, is more common to the Pucara style, though it occurs on four of the monoliths belonging to the Yaya-Mama group in a different context (the ventral position is most similar to that on the Santiago de Huata stela).

The three pillarlike stelae from Wankani, between the towns of Jesús de Machaca and Caquiaviri, in the Province of Ingavi, Bolivia,⁵⁴ are

even less similar to the Yaya-Mama style. Monolith 1, or "Wila-qala,"⁵⁵ is 5.38 m. high and 65 cm. in maximum width, while Monolith 2, or "Hinchun-qala,"⁵⁶ is 4.54 m. high by 70 cm. maximum width. They each have, extending vertically along most of the length of one or more faces, elongated, undulating serpents with squared animal heads having ears, as well as two appendages at the chins. These undulating serpents, having a head at each end of their bodies, are divided into two sections by a horizontal band going around the entire stela consisting also of an undulating serpent with the same eared head and appendages at each end of its body. Incision is present on both stelae.

Monolith 1 has an anthropomorphic figure over most of the length of one face. The figure has squared eyes with zigzag "tear" bands in the form of triangular-headed serpents, an oval mouth, arms bent left over right on the chest, a squared face with appendages (like the serpent heads) on the chest above the arms, and the horizontal serpent waistband below the arms. No legs are present, but in that position are two "running" zoomorphic figures also with zigzag "tear" bands.

Monolith 2 has an anthropomorphic head and feet with three toes.⁵⁷ On its back face there are eight vertical bands (we suggest possibly representing braids of hair) similar to the eight bands on the Classic Tiahuanaco Stela 8 or Ponce monolith, as Mesa and Gisbert point out. Two anthropomorphic figures appear below these bands, then the horizontal serpent band, and finally a winged, feline-headed animal having four camelidlike feet, a head ornament with appendages ending in feline heads, and a scepter held in an anthropomorphic hand. Mesa and Gisbert feel that this winged figure is antecedent to the Tiahuanaco ones.

These two monoliths show some similarity, then, to the Yaya-Mama style in possessing the anthropomorphic figure and undulating eared serpents. However, there are other elements and details present on the Wankani stelae which are different enough so that they may be excluded from our Yaya-Mama style group. Such differences include "tear" bands emanating from the eyes, the lack of mouth masks, more squared eyes, wide nostrils, vertical "hair" bands, the winged zoomorphic figure, the smaller anthropomorphic-figure fillers, and details of the serpent heads which very closely approximate those on Stela 13 or "Idolo Plano."⁵⁸ Ponce, too, differentiates these two monoliths on the basis of their better finish, but says they lack "classic" Tiahuanaco motifs, and assigns them to Epoch III.⁵⁹ The stelae appear to us to be more closely related to Classic Tiahuanaco in certain characteristics such as those observable on Stela 13 (Idolo Plano), Stela 8 (Ponce monolith), Stela 10 (Bennett monolith), and the "Qochamama."

Monolith 3, or "Tata-qala,"⁶⁰ measures 5.1 m. by 95 cm. and is very weathered. There are serpent heads on the stela, apparently similar to those on the other two stelae,⁶¹ and an anthropomorphic representation as on Stela 15.⁶² More detailed photographs of all of these stelae would allow finer comparisons to be made.

A stela from Qalaqala, 11 km. from Pillapi, Bolivia, near the

highway has no published illustration. It is mentioned here since Ponce states that it shows similarity to Stela 15, and would be included in Epoch III.⁶³

A broken monolith (69.5 cm. high, 45 cm. wide, and 21 cm. thick) in the Nestler Collection in Prague comes from Taraco (probably Bolivia).⁶⁴ This specimen has a personage in relief, preserved from the waist up, with hands over its chest one above the other, four-fingered hands, and the arms connecting to a horizontal bar which forms the shoulders. The personage has a headband with a geometric horizontal branching motif like the vertical branching motif above the face on the Copacabana stela (fig. 8); a relief encircles the entire face from forehead to chin, including a projection under the eyes as on the face from the Puno Museum (fig. 13). This piece would perhaps also belong to our Yaya-Mama style group, but the illustration does not provide sufficient detail.

Another possible Yaya-Mama style stela is Monolith 1 from Junipe, a mound southeast of Moho, but again, details are lacking.⁶⁵ The monolith of red sandstone is carved on one face only, having a personage in relief, preserved from the waist up, whose face is slightly oval; there is an indented neck, arms are bent at right angles over the chest one above the other, and the hands have five fingers. The overall form of the stela is narrowest at the top; its broken height is 140 cm., width 55 cm., and thickness 16 cm.

Mention may be made here also of tenon heads (cabezas clavadas) from Tiahuanaco, Bolivia, which are placed by Ponce into Epoch III.⁶⁶ However, no clearly diagnostic motifs occur on these weathered pieces whose function, moreover, is almost certainly distinct from that of other stone sculpture in being architectural components; the northern end of the lake basin has nothing comparable. Other stone heads from Tiahuanaco⁶⁷ share some similarities in having round eyes, and T-shaped brows and nose, and there are a few carved heads in the Puno Museum, including one with a human head on each of two opposite faces, as well as one slab face in Taraco, Peru, which also share some general similarities; however, for one reason or another, they cannot be placed within our Yaya-Mama group with any certainty. In addition, pillars 6 and 18 (and possibly P-40) and Stela 14 from the Semi-subterranean Temple at Tiahuanaco,⁶⁸ should be mentioned as monoliths possibly relating to the Yaya-Mama style, though poor preservation does not allow us to make further analysis.

Comparison with Monoliths of the Pucara Style from Puno

Frequently found on the stone sculpture of Pucara style (especially of the Asiruni substyle⁶⁹) are undulating serpents or serpentlike creatures having eared heads, some being double-headed. Examples of these serpents are illustrated in several sources;⁷⁰ others are in the Pucara Museum, while additional ones were found at sites in Puno during the exploration undertaken by the first author,⁷¹ as well as others found by us in 1973. The serpent is found, as we have seen, on monoliths of our Yaya-Mama group, and, therefore, the Yaya-Mama style is similar to the Pucara style in this respect. Significantly, however, the usual incised facial

and body details on Pucara serpents are lacking on the Yaya-Mama serpents. Other differences in the Pucara serpents include their trapezoidal faces, frequently elliptical eyes, presence of tear bands, sometimes coiled "ears," sometimes leg representations, and usually smaller number of body undulations. Also, on Pucara stelae the serpents are usually portrayed alone or in association with other reptilian fauna and/or with the relief ring on stepped stelae, a context which does not occur in the Yaya-Mama group.

A second element common to the Pucara and Yaya-Mama styles is the checkered cross, although it occurs in different contexts in the two styles. Examples of the checkered cross on Pucara sculpture are illustrated in several sources.⁷²

There are very few similarities between the anthropomorphic figures on the Taraco stela or others in the Yaya-Mama style and figures found on Pucara style stone sculpture, most of these Pucara sculptures being statues. However, there is one stela in the Pucara Museum which is somewhat similar to the Yaya-Mama style (fig. 14).⁷³ This is the Manuel Chávez Ballón monolith, named after its discoverer. It shows a standing anthropomorphic figure carved in relief with its arms raised on its chest and stomach, oval almost slanted eyes similar to those on the stelae from Wilaqollu and the vicinity of Copacabana, and oval, thickly protruding lips. However, the use of incision (on the Manuel Chávez Ballón monolith on the hat, fingers, and on the wrists) and the notch or step removed from the upper left corner of the block, are features frequently found on Pucara style stelae.

General characteristics of anthropomorphic figures which are shared by Yaya-Mama and Pucara styles are the proportionately large upper torso and head and the positioning of arms one above the other on the chest. However, differences between Yaya-Mama style anthropomorphic figures and Pucara style ones include the following features: Yaya-Mama figures have round eyes while Pucara ones have elliptical, sub-rectangular, or sub-square eyes; mouth masks occur on Yaya-Mama figures but are absent on Pucara ones; Yaya-Mama figures do not have wrist bands, objects held in their hands, feline-fanged mouths, or a variety of arm positions as sometimes occur on Pucara style figures.

A comparison of context of motifs rather than of motifs themselves can be made between the element with scroll-like appendages, or head element, on the Yaya-Mama stela (also occurring on other Yaya-Mama style sculpture) and the relief ring element found so commonly on Pucara style stone sculpture. In Pucara sculpture the relief ring usually occurs either (1) ventrally on anthropomorphic figures, in the position of the navel, or (2) in association with animals, frequently with a serpentlike animal, the ring located just above its head or below its tail. If we compare the Taraco stela we can see that the scroll-like figure (head) follows the same pattern of positioning or context as does the ring on the Pucara monoliths, namely, above serpent heads and ventrally or in a navel position. In addition, the checkered cross also occurs in this same ventral position in the stelae from Santiago de Huata and Tambo Kusi.

In other words, it may be that the stylized figure and/or the checkered cross is replaced by the ring. The question then arises as to whether or not they symbolized or represented the same concept or thing. Perhaps of significance in this regard is an apparently similar substitution in Classic Tiahuanaco sculpture, though of a much later date, in which a ring and a head are used in the same context suspended from the elbow of a human figure.⁷⁴

Considerations of Dating

In attempting to place the Yaya-Mama stela and related pieces of altiplano sculpture chronologically, we shall consider four lines of evidence. One is a comparison of design motifs in the sculpture with motifs in other media in other areas, primarily the south coast of Peru, where the best comparisons are with the later phases of the Paracas style and the earlier phases of the Nasca style. A second is an argument advanced by Rowe involving a postulated relationship between the Semi-subterranean Temple at Tiahuanaco and its sculpture, including Stela 15, and the neighboring settlement associated with Qalacasaya style pottery. A third is a consideration of available radiocarbon evidence. The last is the seriation order of the Yaya-Mama, Pucara, and Tiahuanaco sculptural styles. The chief question at issue is whether the Yaya-Mama group is pre-Pucara or post-Pucara, and all the available evidence favors the former position.

Comparison of design motifs

The stylized scroll-like figures present on all four faces of the Yaya-Mama stela, as we have shown, are also shared by other sculpture around the lake belonging to our Yaya-Mama group. These unique elements are similar to rayed head motifs which appear on textiles from Paracas on the coast. This head motif with scroll or recurved ray appendages occurs on south coast textiles from Early Horizon Epoch 8 to Early Intermediate Period Epoch 3.⁷⁵

These textiles include the Nasca 2⁷⁶ "manto-calendario" presumed to be from Paracas which was first recorded in 1921 in the Domingo Canepe collection in Pisco.⁷⁷ Elements from this mantle are reproduced here in fig. 15; fig. 15c shows the central motif of the mantle which is repeated thirty-two times on the textile. A similar motif appears as a face mask having alternating straight and curved appendages, from a Nasca 1B textile,⁷⁸ shown here in fig. 16; the curved appendages terminate in heads. Similarly, creatures with faces having recurved ray appendages, some ending in heads, occur on an early Nasca 1 (or Nasca 1A) garment from the Paracas Necropolis,⁷⁹ illustrated here in fig. 17. Squared faces with paired recurved-ray appendages can also be seen on a Paracas 9 or early 10 (10A) textile from Paracas Cavernas,⁸⁰ shown in fig. 18.

Oval faces with pairs of recurved rays alternating with pairs of straight appendages occur on a headband from the Yacovleff-Muelle excavations at Paracas Cavernas, probably tomb 2 (see fig. 19),⁸¹ and are probably Paracas 9 as is a much more stylized motif on a headband from

the same locality (fig. 20).⁸² Very similar to the former, is a head-dress from Ocucaje which has the same face elements with alternating paired scroll and straight appendages (fig. 21).⁸³ Yet another similar motif on a carrying bag from Paracas is illustrated by Engel,⁸⁴ shown here in fig. 22, which he places in his Period II dated by him to either 200 B.C. - A.D. 200⁸⁵ or to 300-100 B.C.,⁸⁶ probably Paracas 9 in style. Another Paracas textile shows, again, a similar head with paired recurved rays belonging to Paracas 9 (fig. 23);⁸⁷ Engel places it also in Period II dated by him to about 300-100 B.C.⁸⁸

Two final examples also show similarities to the Yaya-Mama style head element. One is from a Paracas textile illustrated by Engel (fig. 24)⁸⁹ which is probably the one on display at the Paracas Museum having the motif repeated four times. Engel places it in his Period III, phase 1 or 2, of uncertain absolute date.⁹⁰ The second example is from a gauze weave textile from a Paracas Necropolis grave (fig. 25).⁹¹ Other similar head figures with scroll appendages occur on various textiles analyzed by Junius Bird and Louisa Bellinger,⁹² and one from Las Haldas found by the Japanese group during test excavations in their Pit I, level III.⁹³ The major structures at Las Haldas are now dated to the Initial Period.⁹⁴ It is interesting to note that a similar motif consisting of a head with scroll appendages occurs on Marajoara pottery of Marajó Island, Brazil, perhaps dating to around 1100 A.D.⁹⁵ Similar head motifs with rayed appendages occur on Recuay pottery and stone sculpture in the north highlands of Peru.⁹⁶

The two ramiform motifs on faces B and D of the Yaya-Mama stela, below the feet of the anthropomorphic figures, having on face B sets of two branching appendages and on face D profile animal heads, have no known parallels in the sculpture of the altiplano that we are aware of. Again, a similarity can be observed to motifs from Paracas iconography, although derived from only one example. A similar motif occurs on a pyro-engraved gourd from Ocucaje, Ica, from the Paul Truel collection (shown here in fig. 26),⁹⁷ the motif most closely resembling that on face D of the Yaya-Mama stela. The gourd probably is Paracas 9.⁹⁸ A very remotely similar motif occurs on a Paracas textile turban having stylized snakes (?).⁹⁹ Somewhat similar motifs, but with appendages in the form of a complete leg with foot in addition to the head appendages, occur on a Tiahuanaco style vessel of later date.¹⁰⁰

A somewhat generalized comparison with the Nasca custom of wearing mouth masks is to be found in the "bigotera" or mouth mask worn by the two anthropomorphic figures in the Yaya-Mama stela and on others of the Yaya-Mama style. This comparison assumes that the facial reliefs around, but not touching, the nose of these figures in fact represent masks and would be similar to those of the coast in being hung from the nasal septum. Dawson's work with "Paracas" textiles indicates that mouth masks occur in textile representations and as actual gold ornaments in burials in late Nasca 1, and Rowe and Dawson now see no earlier examples on the south coast. Further, representations of mouth masks on pottery and textiles continue until Nasca 7, with the closest similarities to the south sierra sculptured ones being in the range of Nasca 1-4.¹⁰¹

Another somewhat general similarity to the double-headed serpents on the Yaya-Mama stela may be observed in the "double-headed serpentines" occurring on the Paracas pottery of Ica, during Phases 9 and 10.¹⁰²

The relative dates of the Paracas-Nasca comparisons range from approximately Paracas 8 to Nasca 4, that is, from Early Horizon 8 to Early Intermediate Period 4. Most of the head motif comparisons from stylistically dated textiles are Paracas 9 to Nasca 2, while the similarity between the ramiform element and the gourd motif involves a Paracas 9 gourd; the double-headed serpentines are Paracas 9-10. These comparisons suggest an Early Horizon 9 date in which all three similarities coincide. The mouth mask comparison ranges later into the early Nasca phases. However, Rowe has suggested that the highland mouth masks could be earlier than the south coast ones.¹⁰³ The comparisons made here are long distance ones, and the crossdating of the Yaya-Mama group to the south coast sequence is not unambiguous. There is certainly a need to confirm whether and how historical connections or contacts of any kind existed at this time.

The Qalასasaya style argument

Rowe interprets the Semi-subterranean Temple at Tiahuanaco as a very early shrine for which Stela 15, standing in its center, was the chief cult object. According to this interpretation, the early shrine was restored by the people of Tiahuanaco in the Middle Horizon, at which time the Bennett monolith was erected beside Stela 15 as a form of rededication. The Bennett monolith is in pure Tiahuanaco style.¹⁰⁴ Almost adjacent to the Semi-subterranean Temple on the west side, Carlos Ponce Sanginés and his collaborators excavated the remains of an early settlement under the great artificial platform of the Qalასasaya. The pottery associated with this settlement belongs to a previously unknown style, now generally called Qalასasaya. Rowe postulates that this early settlement was the home of the original builders of the Semi-subterranean Temple, and that consequently the Qalასasaya pottery style was the style used by the makers of Stela 15.¹⁰⁵ He sees close similarity between the face of a mythical being depicted on Qalასasaya style pottery and representations of the face of a mythical being (the Oculate Being) in Phase 10 of the Paracas style.¹⁰⁶ At the same time, he sees the closest similarities between Pucara style pottery and the pottery of the south coast in Nasca 1-3.¹⁰⁷ This argument thus supports a pre-Pucara date for Stela 15, a piece of sculpture which occupies a prominent place in our Yaya-Mama group.

The radiocarbon evidence

The radiocarbon measurements from the sierra do not clarify the situation. The available radiocarbon determinations for Pucara cluster in the first century B.C., taking them without corrections as reported by the laboratory.¹⁰⁸ The determinations on Ponce's Epoch I (the Qalასasaya settlement at Tiahuanaco) range from the 16th century B.C. to the 3rd century A.D., without any obvious clustering; nine measurements from four different laboratories are involved.¹⁰⁹ Again, we are speaking of uncorrected measurements as reported by the laboratories. Rowe's "long scale pattern" of radiocarbon measurements from the south coast of Peru can be

interpreted to accommodate his stylistic comparison between Pucara and Nasca, although the fit is not ideal.¹¹⁰ According to the same pattern and using uncorrected measurements, Early Horizon 9 should fall in the 4th or 5th century B.C.¹¹¹

Seriatonal order

The Yaya-Mama style shows some, but limited, relationship to Pucara style sculpture and even less relationship to later Classic Tiahuanaco style sculpture. It is worth noting in this respect that five major elements persist from Yaya-Mama style through Pucara style to Classic Tiahuanaco style stone sculpture: cross, relief ring, quadrupeds, serpents, and anthropomorphic personages, although in each style these elements are treated with characteristic variations and associations. The cross is not checkered on Classic Tiahuanaco sculpture to our knowledge, while it is on both Yaya-Mama and Pucara style sculpture. The positioning of arms one above the other on the chest and/or stomach is shared by both Yaya-Mama and Pucara style anthropomorphic figures, but is not used in Classic Tiahuanaco stone sculpture except for Stela 13 (Idolo Plano) which shares different, and possibly earlier, motifs with the Wankani stelae. Yaya-Mama anthropomorphic figures never hold objects in their hands nor have their arms straight down at the sides as sometimes occurs in Pucara and Classic Tiahuanaco figures. Furthermore, the Yaya-Mama monoliths share frog/toad motifs with Pucara sculpture, but these motifs are absent in Classic Tiahuanaco stone sculpture.

The frequent occurrence of mouth masks on Yaya-Mama style anthropomorphic figures is unique to this group, and absent, so far as we know, from both Pucara and Classic Tiahuanaco sculpture. Bird representations begin in Pucara and continue into Classic Tiahuanaco sculpture; they are absent on Yaya-Mama monoliths. Similarly, the "fish" sign of Posnansky¹¹² occurs on Classic Tiahuanaco stone sculpture and most probably in Pucara pottery,¹¹³ but not on Yaya-Mama style sculpture. Although the eared serpent, the checkered-cross motif, the toad/frog element, and the relief ring are shared with Pucara sculpture, they are different in both style and context. As we have noted, however, the Yaya-Mama heads with scroll-like appendages and checkered crosses occur in contexts similar to those of relief rings in Pucara sculpture. In addition to those elements noted above, the Yaya-Mama style differs from the Pucara style in the presence of the scroll-head motif, mouth masks, the combination of many elements in the same composition with a tendency to fill all spaces, the rarity of incision, the absence of statues and notched stelae, less realistic representation, and others. In short, there are sufficient differences between Pucara and Yaya-Mama styles to indicate that the two styles are not contemporary. Moreover, among the Pucara style sculpture there are examples which very closely resemble Classic Tiahuanaco stone sculpture, such as some from Chumbivilcas as yet unpublished,¹¹⁴ and some from Qaluyu;¹¹⁵ these would appear to be the likely candidates for a late Pucara, more Tiahuanaco related group. All these observations suggest the chronological placement of the Yaya-Mama style as pre-Pucara.

Concerning the checkered-cross motif which occurs on both Yaya-Mama and Pucara style sculpture, there are early examples of checkered crosses on pottery from the Cuzco site of Marcavalle, which date to 800-700 B.C. (see fig. 27); pottery with apparently the same element occurs at Qaluyu just to the north of Pucara.¹¹⁶ Granted there is as yet no direct transition provided for this motif into later pottery and sculpture, nevertheless it provides an antecedent for the motif in the south highland zone.

It may be worth mentioning here, also, two ceramic fragments from the site of Chiripa, most probably belonging to the late Chiripa occupation dated by radiocarbon measurements to about 600-100 B.C.¹¹⁷ One piece is a trumpet fragment which has a cross, though not checkered, on it,¹¹⁸ again, possibly providing an antecedent to the Yaya-Mama checkered cross. The second piece comes from the University Museum's (University of Pennsylvania) 1955 excavations at Chiripa, directed by Alfred Kidder II assisted by William R. Coe. Though its provenience is from a mixed upper level, the grass temper indicates it is of the Chiripa culture, and the fact that it is decorated shows it pertains to the late Chiripa occupation (see fig. 28). This fragment possesses a modeled serpentlike, though short-bodied, coiled creature having a triangular-shaped head with face or body details absent.¹¹⁹ The simplicity of representation and triangular-shaped head of this pre-Pucara example are similar to the serpents on Yaya-Mama style sculpture.

From reconnaissance and excavations made at Taraco and at other sites in Puno, like Pucara and Qaluyu, there appears to be an abundance of pre-Pucara pottery styles and a relative absence of styles following Pucara levels, except for the much later Collao varieties; no immediately post-Pucara styles have been clearly identified so far. It would appear that Pucara sites were unoccupied for a rather long time, though lack of discovery may still be a factor. At this time, there is a much greater possibility that the Yaya-Mama sculpture is associated with these pre-Pucara occupations rather than post-Pucara ones which do not exist or lack identification altogether. However, on the basis of present evidence, we do not know for certain the exact temporal placement of the Yaya-Mama style group of stone sculpture.

If we may argue for a pre-Pucara placement of the Yaya-Mama stylistic group, we probably have an ancestor for the Pucara style sculpture, and perhaps culture, rather than agreeing with the implicit suggestion that Pucara came to the altiplano already well developed. More work is needed on the stylistic sequence of Pucara and Pucara-like sculpture from the north Lake Titicaca Basin; then it should be easier to evaluate the Pucara-like sculpture from the southern end of the lake in Bolivia.

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Dedication

We wish to dedicate the present paper to Dr. Alfred Kidder II whose scientific studies in the Lake Titicaca Basin, including excavation and extensive reconnaissance especially of the Pucara culture, has increased our knowledge of the area and stimulated our own work there.

February 9, 1970
revised September 27, 1975

NOTES

¹On February 9, 1970, this paper was submitted to the editor for publication and then, together with S. 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, Norman, Oklahoma, May 6, 1971. It is published here with no changes except for minor ones suggested by the editors and the inclusion of additional supporting material which does not substantively change the original version.

²Several Spanish-Quechua, Quechua-Spanish dictionaries were consulted, including González Holguín [1608], 1952, for the appropriate word for "father" and, hence, male, which was preferably yaya and not tayta. Rowe informs us that yaya is the Classic Inca word for "father," while tayta is a Colonial borrowing from an older Spanish familiar word, like "daddy" in English. He comments that in all the modern Inca dialects he knows, yaya is now restricted to religious contexts. The idea of applying the term "Yaya-Mama" derives from the name "Tayta-Mama" given to the personages on the Taraco stela by a Quechua-speaking informant in Taraco.

³Chávez and Chávez, 1970.

⁴Kidder, 1943, pp. 16-17, passim.

⁵Patterson, 1967, p. 144.

⁶Valdivia Ponce and Benavides Godoy, 1963.

⁷Chávez and Chávez, 1969; 1970; see also Kauffmann Doig, 1969, p. 366, F. 600.

⁸Identification of the stone was made by geologist William P. Reid, Project Engineer, Mining Division, Colorado School of Mines Research Foundation, Inc., Golden, Colorado.

⁹Cardozo Gonzales, 1954, p. 60, second plate after p. 64, p. 78, plate facing p. 80, p. 107, plate facing p. 112, p. 121, plate facing p. 128.

¹⁰Bennett, 1934, pp. 439-442; 1956, pp. 115-118; Posnansky, 1945, vol. II, figs. 87, 87a; Ishida and others, 1960, p. 337, fig. 4; Ponce Sanginés, 1964, pp. 24-25, fig. 7.

¹¹Bennett, 1934, pp. 468, 474-475.

¹²Ponce Sanginés, 1964, pp. 61, 63.

¹³Ponce Sanginés, 1964, p. 63.

¹⁴S. Chávez, 1976, fig. 8.

¹⁵Mesa and Gisbert, 1967, pp. 55-57.

¹⁶Ponce Sanginés, 1964, p. 63.

¹⁷Bennett, 1934, p. 441, fig. 32.

¹⁸Casanova, 1942, fig. 3, p. 346; Bennett, 1946, fig. 18, p. 135. [comment by J.H. Rowe: The authors wrote this article in central Michigan with limited access to research libraries. The editors assisted when possible by supplying information not available locally. This comment is the consequence of a routine check of bibliographical citations carried out too late in the editorial process for the information to be supplied to the authors for their consideration.]

Casanova also published photographs of the Mocachi stela (same article, lám. III). The photographs are poorly reproduced, but they do provide some check on the drawings. Bennett says very explicitly that his drawing was "redrawn from Casanova, 1942c, fig. 3." I considered the possibility that his illustrator might have used Casanova's photographs to correct his drawings, which are inaccurate in a number of details, but this possibility must be ruled out, because different fragments are missing from the head area in Casanova's photographs and Bennett's drawings. Perhaps Bennett had photographs of his own.

Casanova's description of the stela (pp. 342-347) is detailed and illuminating. He says there is an undulating serpent on each narrow side (p. 347). There is a depression at the end of the fingers of the left hand of the principal figure (p. 345); this depression is visible in the photograph but not in the drawing. Of the smaller figure on the back, Casanova says: "...where the thighs begin, a concavity has been carved

which indicates that the intention was to represent a personage of the female sex." (p. 347) The area in question is in dark shadows in the photograph, but it is possible that a vulva was represented. This detail also does not show in the drawing. The photographs do not show mouth masks but rather cheek spots like the ones on the Yaya-Mama stela. Casanova (pp. 347 and 348) compares the Mocachi stela with Stela 15 at Tiahuanaco and with the stela from the vicinity of Copacabana (number 7 of the Chávez list).]

¹⁹Portugal Zamora, 1941, p. 294.

²⁰Ponce Sanginés, 1957, p. 134, fig. 28.

²¹Ponce Sanginés, 1964, p. 51, fig. 24a; 1969, p. 64, fig. 42a.

²²Ruben, 1952, Abb. 11.

²³Mesa and Gisbert, 1967, p. 57.

²⁴Portugal Zamora, 1967.

²⁵Portugal Zamora, 1967, p. 241.

²⁶Portugal Ortiz, 1971. Lettering of faces A-D is our own.

²⁷Arriaga, 1621, cap. IX, pp. 52-53; Ramos Gavilán, 1621, libro primero, cap. XXXII, p. 168.

²⁸Rowe and Donahue, 1976. Rowe provided us with illustrations of the fragments prior to this writing so that our comparisons could be included here.

²⁹Joyce, 1924, photograph facing p. 635; Casanova, 1942, p. 344, fig. 5, and p. 348; Posnansky, 1958, pl. LXXV.A.aa. and p. 124.

³⁰Uhle, 1912, fig. 16.

³¹Uhle, 1912, p. 478.

³²Izumi, 1964, fig. 4; Masuda [1964], p. 39; Kauffmann Doig, 1969, p. 344, F. 588; Ponce Sanginés, 1970, p. 46, fig. 29.

³³Masuda, [1964], p. 39.

³⁴Information on the shape of the front and on the back border was kindly provided by Patricia J. Lyon.

³⁵Written "Kcasani" in the registration book.

³⁶Kidder, 1943, pl. II, 4, 5, 6.

³⁷Mesa and Gisbert, 1967, fig. 1.

- ³⁸Mesa and Gisbert, 1967, fig. 10; Ponce Sanginés, 1961, pp. 26-27.
- ³⁹Ponce Sanginés, 1969, p. 39, fig. 23.
- ⁴⁰Posnansky, 1958, p. 123, pl. LXXVI.A.a.
- ⁴¹Portugal Zamora, 1961.
- ⁴²Portugal Zamora, 1967, p. 241.
- ⁴³Portugal Ortiz, 1971.
- ⁴⁴Lynch, 1974, p. 384.
- ⁴⁵Ponce Sanginés, 1957, pp. 130-131, 133, and 136, fig. 29; 1970, p. 45, fig. 28.
- ⁴⁶S. Chávez, 1976, note 23.
- ⁴⁷Ponce Sanginés, 1970, pp. 45-46.
- ⁴⁸Ponce Sanginés, 1970, p. 59.
- ⁴⁹Uhle, 1912, p. 478, fig. 15.
- ⁵⁰Posnansky, 1958, pl. LXXV.A.a. and p. 124.
- ⁵¹S. Chávez, 1976, p. 8, figs. 7, 8.
- ⁵²Kidder, 1943, pl. II, 4-6 and pp. 27-28.
- ⁵³Kidder, 1943, pl. II, 8-10; see also Spahni, 1971, fig. 4.
- ⁵⁴Posnansky, 1945, vol. II, figs. 89, 89a, and 90; Rydén, 1947, pp. 82-97 ff.; Vellard, 1955; Ishida and others, 1960, pp. 334-335; Mesa and Gisbert, 1967, pp. 55-57.
- ⁵⁵Portugal Zamora, 1941, pp. 294-295; Rydén, 1947, p. 92, fig. 32; Ponce Sanginés, 1969, p. 64, fig. 42; Vellard, 1955, lám. I, a and c.
- ⁵⁶Portugal Zamora, 1941, pp. 293-294, 297; Rydén, 1947, pp. 94-96, figs. 34-36; Vellard, 1955, lám. I, b, lám. II, a and b.
- ⁵⁷Mesa and Gisbert, 1967, p. 58.
- ⁵⁸Ponce Sanginés, 1964, p. 51, fig. 24b.
- ⁵⁹Ponce Sanginés, 1964, p. 63.
- ⁶⁰Portugal Zamora, 1941, pp. 292-293; Rydén, 1947, p. 97, fig. 37.
- ⁶¹Portugal Zamora, 1941, p. 293.

- ⁶²Mesa and Gisbert, 1967, p. 56.
- ⁶³Ponce Sanginés, 1964, p. 63. Ponce writes the site name as "Kalakala."
- ⁶⁴Loukotka, 1958, p. 338, and 339, fig. VI 1(#730).
- ⁶⁵Neira Avendaño, 1968, p. 136 and lám. 17.
- ⁶⁶Ponce Sanginés, 1964, p. 65, figs. 16-18.
- ⁶⁷Ponce Sanginés, 1969, figs. 17-24.
- ⁶⁸Ponce Sanginés, 1969, pp. 65-66, figs. 43-44.
- ⁶⁹S. Chávez, 1976, note 23.
- ⁷⁰See, for example, Valcárcel, 1935, figs. 6 and 7; Kidder, 1943, pl. III, 2 and 5, pl. IV, 4, and pl. VII, 1.
- ⁷¹Chávez and Chávez, 1970.
- ⁷²Kidder, 1943, pl. VI, 1 and 2, pl. VII, 10; Valcárcel, 1935, fig. 10; S. Chávez, 1976, figs. 1-4, 5b, 6a, 6d, 7, 8, 13.
- ⁷³This monolith is published here for the first time. See Key to Illustrations for details.
- ⁷⁴Posnansky, 1945, vol. I, pl. XXIX.
- ⁷⁵Dwyer, personal communication.
- ⁷⁶Dwyer, personal communication. All relative dates referring to the Ica ceramic sequence which are given for the textiles mentioned in this section have been kindly provided by Dr. Jane P. Dwyer whose research has involved the study of "Paracas" textiles.
- ⁷⁷Tello, 1959, pl. LXXIX and caption.
- ⁷⁸Valcárcel, 1932, pl. 1, fig. 5.
- ⁷⁹O'Neale and Kroeber, 1930, pl. 10; O'Neale, 1942, pp. 196-201, pls. 3-5.
- ⁸⁰Carrión Cachot, 1931, p. 41, fig. 2j; O'Neale, 1942, pp. 194-195, pl. 2.
- ⁸¹Provenience according to Dwyer, personal communication.
- ⁸²O'Neale, 1942, p. 160, fig. 8d-e.
- ⁸³King, 1965, fig. 7.

- ⁸⁴Engel, n.d., pl. 22.
- ⁸⁵Engel, n.d., pl. 22.
- ⁸⁶Engel, 1966, p. 186.
- ⁸⁷Engel, 1966, p. 187, fig. 51B.
- ⁸⁸Engel, 1966, p. 186.
- ⁸⁹Engel, 1966, p. 216, fig. 61.
- ⁹⁰Engel, 1966, pp. 201-202, 216.
- ⁹¹Bennett and Bird, 1960, p. 180, fig. 35, top center; 1964, fig. 35, top center. Both illustrations were used to get a more complete drawing.
- ⁹²Bird and Bellinger, 1954, pls. LXXIX and LXXXIII.
- ⁹³Ishida and others, 1960, p. 196, fig. 17.
- ⁹⁴Willey, 1971, p. 109; Moseley, 1975, pp. 95, 107.
- ⁹⁵Palmatary, 1950, p. 418, pl. 60a and p. 419, pl. 61b. Such similarity was first pointed out to us by Donald W. Lathrap; early archaeologists such as Valcárcel also suggested comparisons between Pucara and Marajó.
- ⁹⁶For pottery, see Tello, 1949, figs. 25, 28, and Kauffmann Doig, 1969, fig. 523a element on chest of personage (also note eared serpents on the sides of the personage). For sculpture, see Tello, 1949, fig. 39 element below waist of a female statue, and fig. 40 elements on left side of statue.
- ⁹⁷Tello, 1959, p. 271, figs. 34, 35.
- ⁹⁸Menzel, Rowe, and Dawson, 1964, p. 287, 5.13.7.
- ⁹⁹Bird and Bellinger, 1954, pl. XIII, 91.115.
- ¹⁰⁰Bennett, 1934, p. 420, fig. 16d; Posnansky, 1958, pl. XXXIII.a.
- ¹⁰¹Rowe, personal communication concerning the mouth mask problem; Rowe, 1974, p. 321.
- ¹⁰²Menzel, Rowe, and Dawson, 1964, p. 272, 4.4.6.
- ¹⁰³Rowe, 1974, p. 321.
- ¹⁰⁴Rowe, 1974, p. 321.
- ¹⁰⁵Rowe, 1974, pp. 321-322.

- ¹⁰⁶ Rowe, 1963, p. 8; 1974, p. 323.
- ¹⁰⁷ Rowe and Brandel, 1971, p. 3; Rowe, 1971, p. 118.
- ¹⁰⁸ Ralph, 1959, p. 57; Lawn, 1971 (P-1581).
- ¹⁰⁹ Ponce Sanginés, 1970, Tabla 5.
- ¹¹⁰ Rowe and Menzel, 1967, pp. 24-25.
- ¹¹¹ Rowe and Menzel, 1967, p. 24. The chronological table, pp. iv and v, is based on determinations corrected to the 5730 year half-life for radiocarbon.
- ¹¹² Posnansky, 1945, vol. I, p. 119, fig. 7.
- ¹¹³ Rowe and Brandel, 1971, figs. 37 and 74.
- ¹¹⁴ S. Chávez, ms.
- ¹¹⁵ Rowe, 1958, p. 258.
- ¹¹⁶ K. Chávez, 1969, see p. 51 f for a checkerboard variation on a piece also of 700 B.C.
- ¹¹⁷ Ralph, 1959, pp. 56-57; P-115, P-116, P-124, P-125, P-126, P-141, P-142, P-143A, P-143B, P-144.
- ¹¹⁸ Bennett, 1936, p. 442, fig. 28g.
- ¹¹⁹ Mohr, ms., p. 81, fig. 42c.

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KEY TO ILLUSTRATIONS

Unless otherwise noted, all drawings are by Sergio J. Chávez.

Plate XXIII

Fig. 3. Rollout drawing of the four carved faces; 255 cm. high, 54 cm. wide, 38 cm. thick. Drawn from Ponce Sanginés, 1964, fig. 7.

Fig. 4. Red sandstone, 210 cm. high, 70 cm. wide at base of principal face, 35 cm. thick. Fig. 4a-c drawn from Casanova, 1942, p. 346, fig. 3; fig. 4d-f drawn from Bennett, 1946, p. 135.

Fig. 5. Fig. 5a drawn from Ponce Sanginés, 1969, p. 64, fig. 42A, and from Ponce Sanginés, 1964, p. 51, fig. 24a; fig. 5b drawn from Ponce Sanginés, 1957, p. 134, fig. 28; fig. 5c drawn by J.H. Rowe from Ruben, 1952, Abb. 11.

Fig. 6. Height (probably above ground) 183 cm., width 45 cm., maximum thickness 23 cm., minimum thickness at base 19 cm. Fig. 6a is face A; fig. 6b is face B. Drawn from Portugal Zamora, 1967, pp. 239-240.

Fig. 7. Height 231 cm., maximum width 50 cm., no thickness given. Fig. 7a is face A, fig. 7b represents one of the narrower faces to the right (reader's view) of face A. Drawn from Portugal Ortiz, 1971.

Fig. 8. No dimensions published. Drawn from Joyce, 1924, photograph facing p. 635.

Plate XXIV

Fig. 9. 36 cm. high, 29.2 cm. wide. Drawn from Uhle, 1912, fig. 16.

Fig. 10a. 53 cm. high, 37.5 cm. wide. Drawing from rubbing provided by W. and B. Conklin and from Izumi, 1964, fig. 4.

Plate XXV

Fig. 10b. Drawn by J.H. Rowe from a photograph.

Fig. 11. Material is red sandstone, above-ground height 141 cm., width 35 cm., thickness 18 cm., height of relief 5 mm. Drawn from Ponce Sanginés, 1970, p. 45, fig. 28.

Fig. 12. Width 57 cm., thickness 16 cm. Drawn from Portugal Zamora, 1961, p. 38, fig. 4.

Plate XXVI

Fig. 13. Presently in Puno Museum. 33 cm. wide, 13 cm. thick, specimen number A-13. Drawn from a rubbing made by S. and K. Chávez.

Fig. 14. In Pucara Museum, Puno, Peru. This monolith is published here for the first time. The material is red sandstone with very roughly finished edges. The illustration represents a drawing from a rubbing made by Manuel Chávez Ballón which we photographed; the vertical edges in the drawing have been straightened from the uneven ones on the stela. Dimensions are: 190 cm. high, approximately 65 cm. wide, 15 cm. thick at top, 23 cm. thick near the base, step or notch 28 cm. wide and 26 cm. high, top near step 25 cm. wide, interior of frame enclosing figure 138 x 48 cm.

Plate XXVII

Fig. 15. Elements from the "manto-calendario" (Nasca 2). Fig. 15a drawn from Tello, 1959, p. 286, fig. 70; fig. 15b drawn from Tello, 1959, p. 287, fig. 73; fig. 15c drawn from Tello, 1959, pl. LXXIX; fig. 15d drawn from Tello, 1959, p. 281, fig. 59.

Fig. 16. Nasca 1B. Drawn from Valcárcel, 1932, pl. 1, fig. 5.

Fig. 17. From a Paracas Necropolis garment (early Nasca 1). Drawn from O'Neale, 1942, p. 197, pl. 3.

Fig. 18. Paracas Cavernas (Paracas 9 or early 10). Drawn from Carrión Cachot, 1931, p. 41, fig. 2j.

Fig. 19. From a Paracas Cavernas headband (probably Paracas 9). Drawn from O'Neale, 1942, p. 160, fig. 8e.

Fig. 20. From a Paracas Cavernas headband (probably Paracas 9). Drawn from O'Neale, 1942, p. 160, fig. 8d.

Fig. 21. Headdress elements from Ocucaje. Drawn from King, 1965, fig. 7.

Fig. 22. From a carrying bag from Paracas (probably Paracas 9). Drawn from Engel, n.d., pl. 22.

Fig. 23. Textile from Paracas (Paracas 9). Drawn from Engel, 1966, p. 187, fig. 51B.

Fig. 24. Textile from Paracas. Drawn from Engel, 1966, p. 216, fig. 61.

Fig. 25. Gauze weave from a Paracas Necropolis grave. Drawn from Bennett and Bird, 1960, p. 180, fig. 35, top center, and Bennett and Bird, 1964, fig. 35, top center.

Fig. 26. Probably Paracas 9. Drawn from Tello, 1959, p. 271, figs. 34, 35.

Plate XXVIII

Fig. 27. About 700 B.C., black on cream painted on vessel exterior. From the excavations of K. Chávez.

Fig. 28. From a mixed upper level (B-1) of the University Museum's (University of Pennsylvania) excavations at Chiripa, Bolivia; it is painted black and cream on red. See Mohr, ms., p. 81, fig. 42c.



la



lb



lc

Plate XXI. Fig. 1, the Yaya-Mama stela, Taraco, Puno, Peru. Fig. 1a, face A; fig. 1b, faces B and C; fig. 1c, face D. Maximum height 221 cm., maximum width 29 cm.

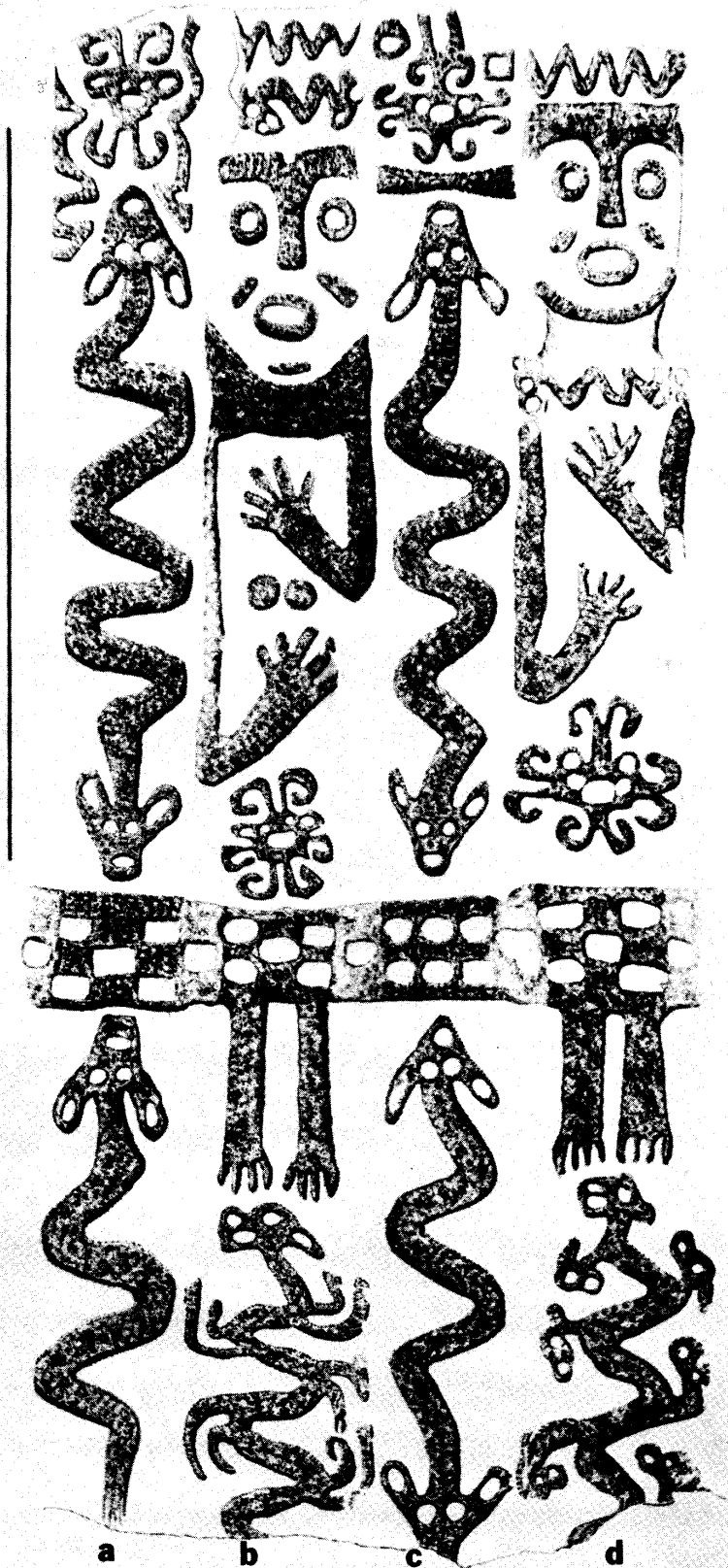


Plate XXII. Fig. 2, the Yaya-Mama stela, Taraco, Puno, Peru. Drawn from a rubbing by S. Chávez. Scale at left is 1 m., letters designate faces.

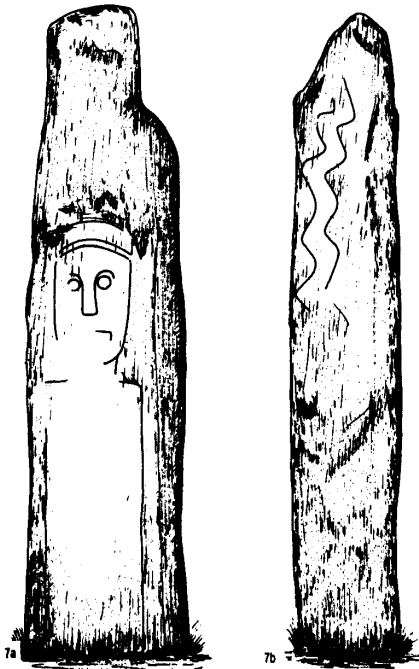
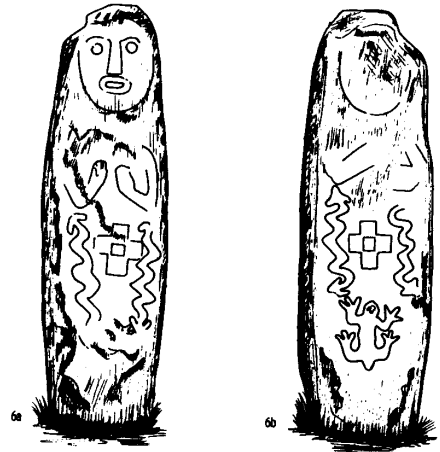
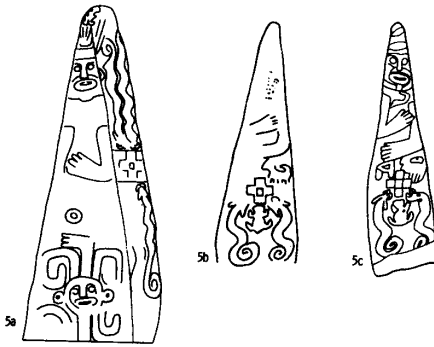
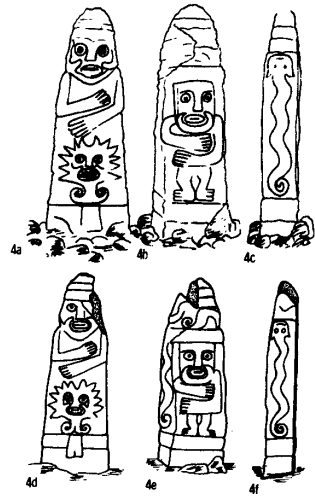
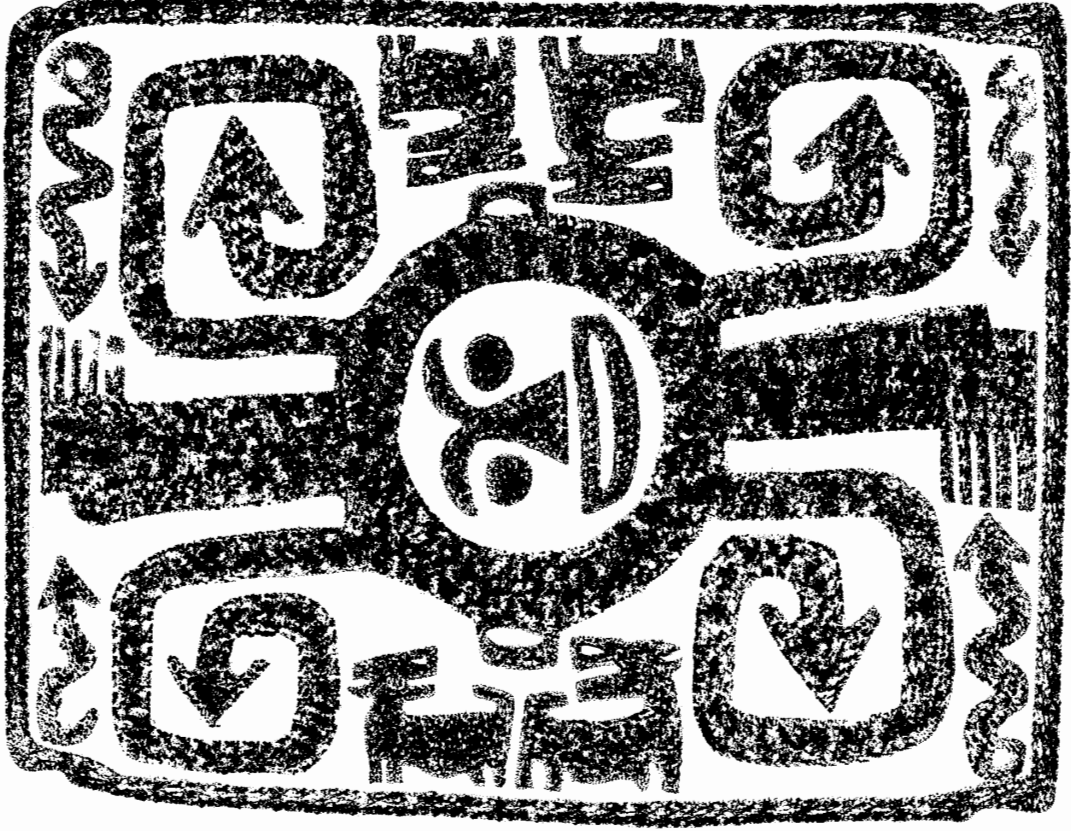
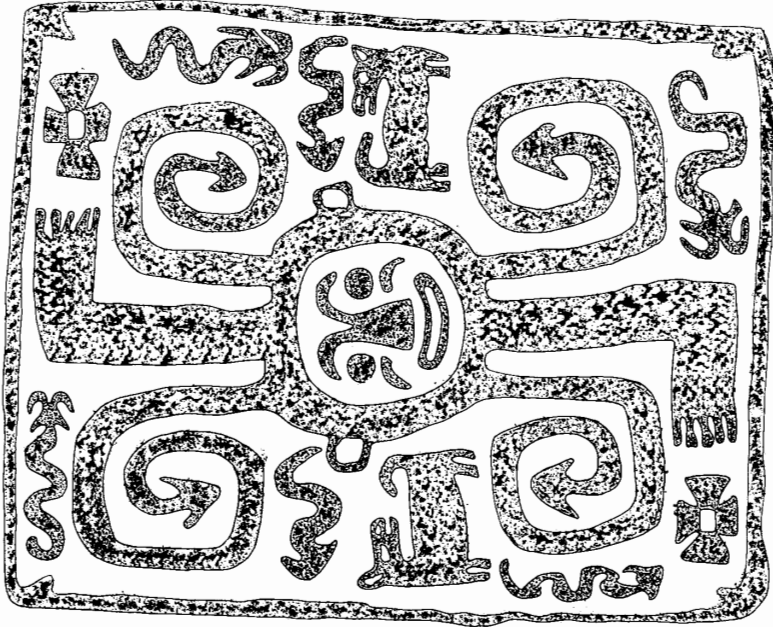


Plate XXIII. Fig. 3, Stela 15, Tiahuanaco, Bolivia; fig. 4, statue from Mocachi, Peru; fig. 5, stela from Santiago de Huata, Bolivia (5b and 5c are the same face); fig. 6, stela from Tambo Kusi, Bolivia; fig. 7, stela from Wakka Uyu, Bolivia; fig. 8, stela from vicinity of Copacabana, Bolivia. See Key to Illustrations.



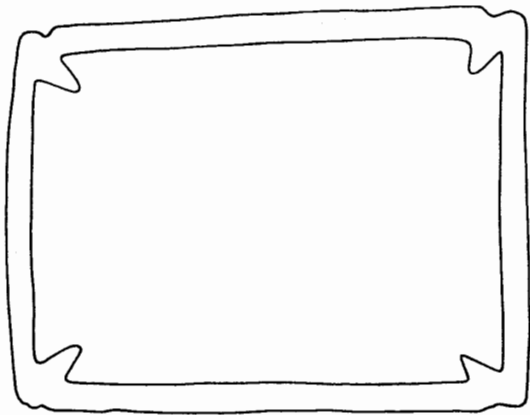
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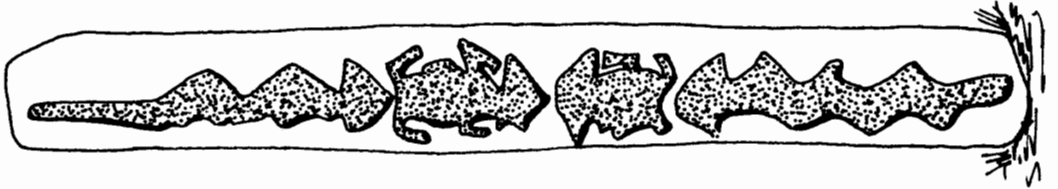
COPACABANA SLAB
(DRAWN FROM UHLER, 1912, FIG. 16)

9

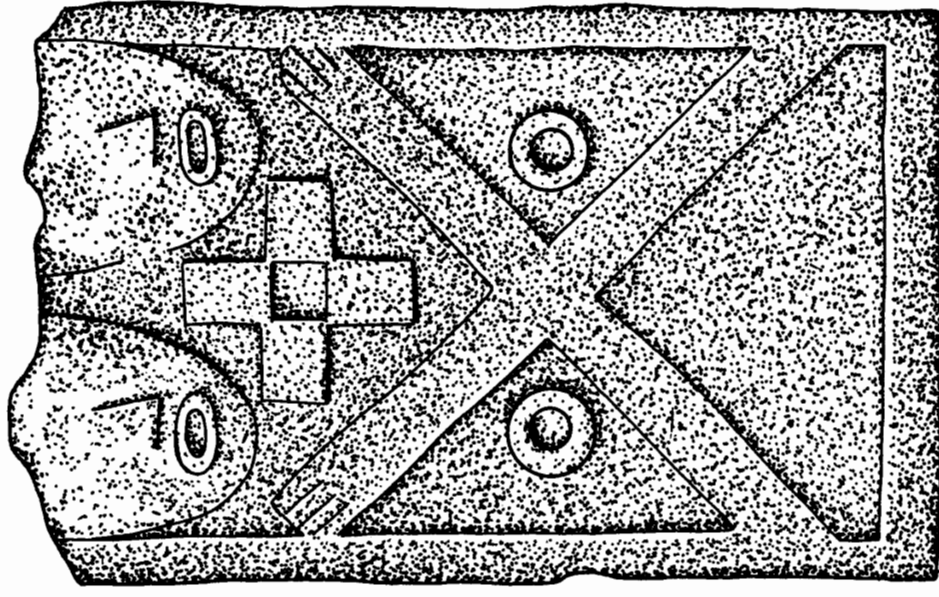
Plate XXIV. Fig. 9, slab from Copacabana; fig. 10a, slab from Chiripa, Bolivia. See Key to Illustrations.



10b

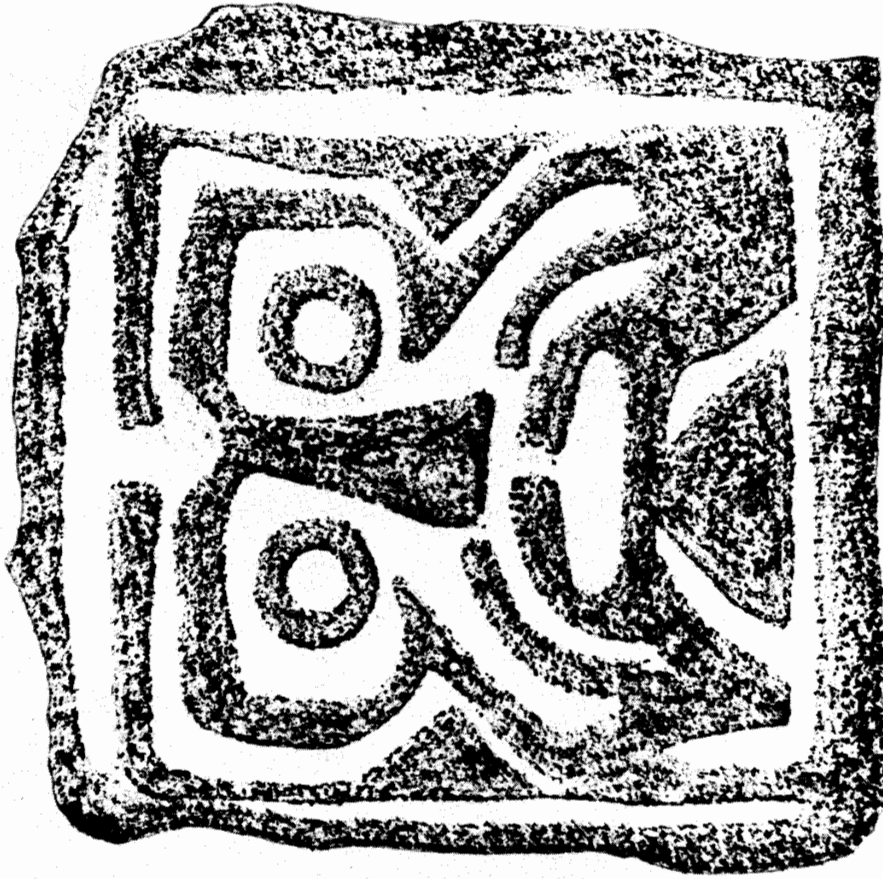


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Plate XXV. Fig. 10b, back of slab from Chiripa, Bolivia; fig. 11, monolith from Chchallapata, Bolivia, 80 cm. high; fig. 12, stela from Chiripa, Bolivia, 141 cm. high; See Key to Illustrations.



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14

Plate XXVI. Fig. 13, slab called "Qota-Achachila" from Qasani in Yunguyo, Province of Chucuito, Puno, Peru, maximum height 38 cm.; Manuel Chávez Ballón stela, 190 cm. high. See Key to Illustrations.

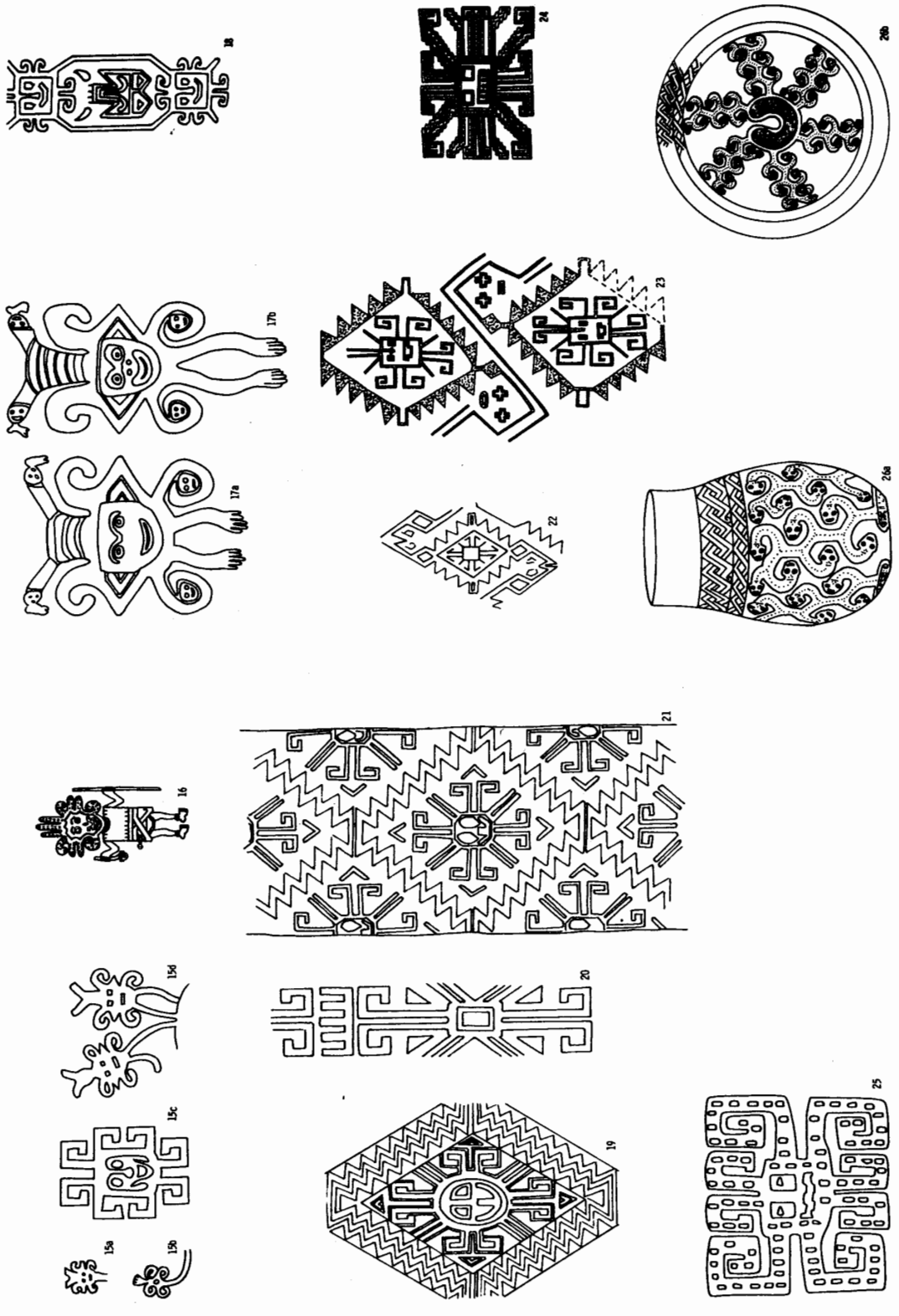
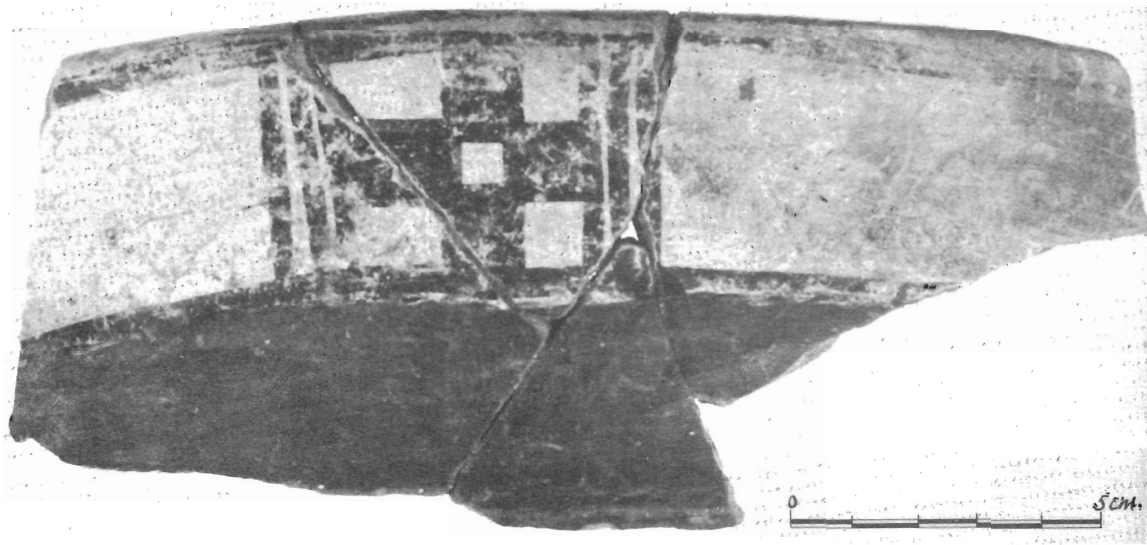


Plate XXVII. Figs. 15-25, motifs from Paracas and Nasca style textiles; fig. 26, pyro-engraved gourd from Ocucaje, Ica, Peru. See Key to Illustrations.



27



28

Plate XXVIII. Fig. 27, checkered-cross motif on Pottery from Marcavalle, Cuzco, Peru; fig. 28, modelled serpentlike motif on a Chiripa vessel fragment. See Key to Illustrations.