

## A LATE BURIAL FROM CERRO AZOGUINI, PUNO

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In 1976 workmen accidentally exhumed the remains of a single individual and accompanying burial goods in the neighborhood of Azoguini, city of Puno (fig. 1).<sup>1</sup> These materials provide much more information regarding pre-Hispanic social and cultural affiliations than would seem likely from their meager inventory.

The quantity of information which can be extracted from the contents of the burial is dependent on establishing precise contemporaneity with other units of archaeological material. In the case of the Azoguini burial, it is possible to relate its ceramic contents to a ceramic sequence established on the basis of excavated materials from Hatunqolla,<sup>2</sup> 30 km. distant from Puno (fig. 6). Ceramics contained in the Azoguini burial exhibit style features related specifically to Phase 3 of the Hatunqolla sequence. Although stylistically relatable, the unit of archaeological materials represented by the Azoguini burial provides an interesting contrast with the units of archaeological material used to define Phase 3 at Hatunqolla.

The burial materials were accumulated by nonrandom factors; taken as a unit they exhibit an association pattern which is symbolic of the social and cultural affiliations of the person or group they represent (Menzel, 1976, p. 221). Other units of archaeological material from the Puno region can be related to Phase 3 of the Hatunqolla sequence, providing additional association patterns for contrast with the pattern exhibited by the Azoguini grave lot.

Considered together, these Phase 3 association patterns document the existence of two different local ceramic traditions. The Azoguini burial, because of its location in the city of Puno, helps to place a boundary between them. The boundary between archaeological materials coincides with the known historical boundary between the Qolla province of Urcusuyu and the Lupaca province during the later Inca empire. The boundary problem will be addressed at the end of this study.

## The Hatunqolla Sequence

The Hatunqolla ceramic sequence was defined on the basis of ceramics from refuse, excavated by the author in 1975 at the site of Hatunqolla, a site partly occupied by a modern town (fig. 6) (Julien, 1978). The ceramic material was fragmentary and had clearly been deposited as domestic refuse. At one location on the site it was possible to record the stratigraphic deposition of refuse containing ceramics which, when analyzed for style, allowed the definition of four distinct style phases. The stratigraphic superposition of materials determined the ordering of the sequence, and the style analysis served to document the transition from one phase to the next (Julien, 1978, pp. 90-95, 98).

Each of these refuse units fits the definition provided by Menzel of units of contemporaneity (Menzel, 1976, p. 5). That is, all of the associated material within each unit could have been in use on the same day, and the material can be expected to contain a mixture of conservative, intermediate and advanced style features. Menzel defined units of contemporaneity specifically to introduce her work on late Ica grave lots, but refuse may also fit the terms of her definition. She argued that materials deposited in a grave lot may not have been manufactured on the same day, but were made close enough in time to each other so that they might represent a span of time no longer than about a generation, estimated at about twenty-five years (Menzel, 1976, p. 6).

In the case of the Hatunqolla sequence it is possible to correlate the style phases with a span of absolute time. Hatunqolla served as the capital of a large Inca province during the time of the empire (fig. 6) (Julien, 1978, pp. 72-74). Archaeological exploration at the site of modern Hatunqolla revealed that its occupation does not antedate the Inca conquest of the area, and moreover, that the town was very likely founded and planned by the Incas (Julien, 1978, pp. 3, 95). Using estimated dates for the length of rule of the last several Inca emperors, the Hatunqolla area was probably conquered by the Incas between 1438 and 1465. Hatunqolla was founded some time after this conquest. The site was abandoned some time between 1538 and 1549, some years after the European arrival (Julien, 1978, pp. 212-215; ms.). When the excavated stratigraphy is considered in light of this time span, it is possible to correlate the first three phases with the pre-Hispanic occupation of the site, a period of about 75-110 years. No dates can be assigned to individual phases, but the sequence is fine enough so that each refuse unit can be treated as a unit of contemporaneity following Menzel's definition.

Even without the possibility of correlating the sequence with the time framework suggested by historical sources, the materials themselves would suggest that the sequence begins at a time when the local tradition came under sudden, strong influence from the Cuzco-Inca style of the Inca capital.

In order to establish a baseline for the analysis of Hatunqolla materials, a collection of ceramics excavated at the nearby site of Sillustani, 4 km. from Hatunqolla, was analyzed for style. The excavated Sillustani materials exhibit no discernible Cuzco-Inca influence, whereas materials from the earliest style phase defined at Hatunqolla relate to a time when the Sillustani tradition began to undergo strong Cuzco-Inca influence. Nonetheless, style features exhibited by the Sillustani material indicate a close relationship to Phase 1 materials, so that there is probably only a small stylistic gap (Julien, 1978, pp. 86, 100-106).

In Phase 1 the only Cuzco-Inca shape borrowed was the Cuzco bottle, which has been called *aryballus* by some earlier students of Cuzco-Inca ceramics.<sup>3</sup> This Cuzco-Inca vessel shape (Rowe, 1944, fig. 8a and pl. V) was widely borrowed in the area conquered by the Incas, and apparently constituted one of the most powerful material symbols of Inca rule. Fair imitations of this vessel form and the Cuzco-Inca decoration

associated with it were made in Phase 1. In addition to the outright imitation of a Cuzco-Inca vessel form, local potters apparently also used the Cuzco-Inca style as a source of new ideas. Features such as a finer exterior surface finish, firing at higher temperatures, and a greater emphasis on pastes which fired to a clear orange color like Cuzco-Inca pastes, can be attributed to influence from the Cuzco-Inca style. However, these changes affected the total appearance of local tradition ceramics very little, so that it is relatively easy to connect such materials with the baseline collection from Sillustani.

In Phase 1 there is an evident division of the local tradition bowls into two groups, one more strongly influenced by the Cuzco-Inca style than the other. This division is even more strongly marked in Phase 2 and may well indicate the presence of at least two ceramic production units.<sup>4</sup> The bowl division most closely linked with the Cuzco-Inca style exhibits a number of additional borrowed features such as a wider base, smaller diameter and shallower contours. In Phase 2, bowls of both groups are the medium for a great deal of locally inspired innovation, and it is this complex of new features which most visibly transforms the local tradition. For example, an important innovation is a design composition in which the interior design space of bowls is divided between a central "medallion" space and an upper wide band; this design composition will be termed "medallion decoration" for ease of reference. There is a marked increase in the modular width of bands in this phase, and the narrow band designs of the local tradition, present through Phase 1 at Hatunqolla, occur very rarely and then only in very conservative stylistic contexts.

Phase 2 also represents a time when a great number of additional Cuzco-Inca vessel forms and the decoration associated with them were imitated. These imitations can be extremely good copies of Cuzco-Inca models, perhaps exhibiting a greater degree of similarity to Cuzco-Inca models than imitations from any other region of the empire. The local potters failed to grasp a number of stylistic details characteristic of the Cuzco-Inca style, however, and incorporated a number of local details which allow even the best of the imitations to be identified as local manufactures and not imports. Only a few fragments suggest the possibility of import from Cuzco or from somewhere with closer stylistic connections to Cuzco than Hatunqolla.

In Phase 3, the last style phase before the appearance of European influence, the pace of innovation slowed. A major local development was the revival of conservative local tradition features (Julien, 1978, p. 207). Some of these features are closely related to shape and decoration features last seen in Phase 1, but they are associated with features that had their origins in Phases 2 and 3. For example, a narrow Sillustani style zig-zag band occurs on a shallow bowl with a flat bottom and Cuzco-Inca related surface finish in association with Cuzco-Inca style protuberances (Julien, 1978, figs. 125-126). The zig-zag band is wider than its Phase 1 counterpart (Julien, 1978, figs. 6-11) relative to the depth of the bowl, in keeping with the increase in the modular width of bands which was evident in Phase 2 and which continued in Phase 3.

No new Cuzco-Inca shapes were added to the Phase 3 inventory, but increased emphasis on a particular Cuzco-Inca vessel form suggests greater cultural penetration from Cuzco. The Cuzco-Inca pedestal dish, poorly represented in Phase 2, is much more evident in Phase 3. This vessel was the common cooking vessel of the Cuzco area.<sup>5</sup> At Hatunqolla it was manufactured in the same utilitarian paste as the Qolla cooking pot and had a local red pigment applied to the beveled surface at the inner lip rather than the purple pigment used in Cuzco. The increased popularity of this form in Phase 3 suggests greater Cuzco influence in the sphere of food preparation. A few innovations in the decoration of imitation Inca vessels are also evident in Phase 3. These innovations probably reflect decorative trends going on elsewhere in the empire, and perhaps innovations in the Cuzco-Inca style itself (Julien, 1978, pp. 196, 208-209).

Throughout the Hatunqolla sequence, close contact with Cuzco is evident. Such contact is not unexpected at Hatunqolla, an important administrative center. The effects of this contact on the local ceramic tradition varied through time, however, as did the pace of local innovation in response to it. By Phase 2, a major transformation in the local tradition had occurred. The Azoguini ceramic material reflects this transformation and exhibits a number of specific style features which link it to Phase 3 of the Hatunqolla sequence.

#### The Azoguini Grave Lot

The burial at Azoguini was found by workmen who were removing earth from the yard of a modern house in order to level the ground for a patio. They worked with picks and shovels, so the information they could give about the burial was limited. The workmen thought that a single individual was interred, an impression borne out by the human remains handed over to local archaeological authorities, which included a single, fragmentary human cranium. This individual was said to have been buried on top of a pavement of irregular white stones. The exact position of the interment could not be determined, but it was clear from the workmen's description that the remains were found in a horizontal position. When questioned, one of the workmen was able to rule out the possibility that the interment had been made in a stone lined cist. The inclusion of several miscellaneous ceramic fragments with the grave materials suggests that the interment was made in preexisting midden (see p. 137).

In addition to the human remains and miscellaneous sherds just mentioned, the materials from the burial included the fragmentary remains of four small bowls (figs. 7-10), a larger deep bowl (fig. 11), a small bottle (fig. 12) and a large utilitarian jar (fig. 13). Three basalt flakes (figs. 2-4), a T-shaped copper knife (fig. 5) and three sherds were also recovered. All of the ceramic vessels were handed over in fragmentary condition and had to be at least partially restored. Several of the vessels, even after restoration, still lacked half or more of the fragments necessary to complete them. Nonetheless, because of the circumstances of the find, it may be a mistake to conclude that

these vessels were not buried whole.

All of the materials, except for the small bottle (fig. 12), can be related to the Hatunqolla sequence. The features which contribute to a chronological placement of the grave lot are discussed below. Other details have been included in the Key to Illustrations.

Pair of bowls with medallion decoration (figs. 7, 8)

Two bowls were decorated with medallion decoration, the innovative design composition which appears in Phase 2. Only the upper portion of one bowl could be restored from the available fragments (fig. 7), but it conserves, at the lower edge of the fragment, a portion of the black stripe which separates the upper wide band from the central medallion in this design composition.

Several shape and decoration features allow these bowls to be attributed to Phase 3 and not Phase 2. One of the two bowls (fig. 8) has a straight rim with a rounded lip, a feature associated in Phase 2 with a group of smaller bowls and not with bowls of this size (Julien, 1978, figs. 142, 145, 148, 152, 155). This bowl also exhibits basal thinning, a shape feature new in Phase 3 (Julien, 1978, figs. 124, 135, 153, 155, 168). The other bowl (fig. 7) has a more conservative profile (Julien, 1978, figs. 49-51, 59-60).

Both bowls exhibit a mixture of decorative and other features which do not co-occur in Phase 2, but which can occur together in Phase 3. These features allow two subclasses of bowls to be distinguished in Phase 2, and with each, a particular kind of medallion decoration can be associated. The medallion decoration of one group consists of a wide red band separated from the medallion space by a single black stripe. The medallion decoration of the other group employs a narrower red band, painted with a red pigment several shades lighter than the other and separated from the medallion space by a pair of black stripes (Julien, 1978, pp. 166-167, 190-191). The bowls with the wider red band and single stripe have a characteristically smoother and better polished surface finish than bowls of the other group. The two from the Azoguini burial do not follow the Phase 2 division into separate subclasses of bowls. The bowl with more conservative shape features (fig. 7) is decorated with the wider band and perhaps with the single stripe characteristic of the subclass with fine exterior finish, but its exterior exhibits no polishing at all. The other bowl (fig. 8) is decorated with the narrow red band version of medallion decoration, but its exterior has a far smoother and better polished finish than Phase 2 bowls with this type of medallion decoration. A Phase 3 feature exhibited by both bowls is the use of a cream-colored slip instead of a chalky white in the central medallion space.

Small bowl with alternating color motifs (fig. 9)

The smallest bowl included in the Azoguini grave lot is nearly identical to a Phase 3 bowl from Hatunqolla (Julien, 1978, fig. 151). The two bowls differ only in that the Hatunqolla bowl has a straighter

exterior profile, and the Azoguini bowl has a black stripe at the rim and an exterior firing ghost.

These two bowls reflect that revival of local tradition features evident in the Phase 3 materials recovered at Hatunqolla. Several shape and decoration features are involved. The relative depth of these bowls, when compared with their diameters, is very conservative. Both the use of alternating red and black motifs on an all-over white slip and the "tassel" motifs are reminiscent of earlier local tradition bowls (Julien, 1978, fig. 10g; surface materials from sites in the Hatunqolla area).

At the same time, the pigments applied on these bowls are unlike those used on earlier local tradition bowls. Other bowl fragments found in Phase 3 levels at Hatunqolla exhibit these same pigments. For example, one fragment, decorated with a conservative narrow band design characteristic of Phase 1 and earlier local tradition material, exhibits the same pigments used in the decoration of the Azoguini bowl and its near duplicate from Hatunqolla. These Phase 3 bowls are not copies or even close imitations of earlier local tradition bowls, but rather combine a number of shape and decoration features inspired by various stylistically and stratigraphically earlier bowls.

#### Bowl with protuberances at the lip (fig. 10)

This bowl exhibits shape features which allow it to be related to Phase 3, though nothing like it was found at Hatunqolla. It is also closely related to the common cooking pot used throughout the Hatunqolla sequence.

Like Phase 3 bowls at Hatunqolla, the profile of this bowl is relatively shallow and has little curvature. The lip is rounded. In the case of this bowl and others at Hatunqolla (Julien, 1978, figs. 125-128), these contours may have been borrowed from the Cuzco-Inca convex-sided plate, a vessel shape which commonly has paired protuberances at the lip (Bingham, 1915, figs. 11A-F, 12B-C). Actual imitations of Cuzco-Inca concave-sided plates are rare at Hatunqolla, though they occur with greater frequency in the Copacabana area further south.<sup>6</sup> The few fragments representing these plates occur in Phase 2 levels; local bowls with similar contours are a Phase 3 development.

Details of decoration, surface finish, paste and even smoking after firing indicate a close relationship to the local cooking pot, common in every phase of the Hatunqolla sequence. These pots have a distinctive paste, containing a very noticeable amount of clear quartzite temper; this paste was used only rarely in the manufacture of other vessel shapes (Paste A; Julien, 1978, App. I). The bowl was slipped with the same red pigment on its interior that was commonly used on the inner lip of the cooking pots. The red pigment was usually polished while still wet, leaving noticeably deep polishing marks, and the Azoguini bowl displays this feature as well. The visual resemblance of this bowl to the common cooking pot is increased because the bowl has been thoroughly smoked, altering the original orange-brown color of the paste to

a dark gray throughout. The cooking pots were smoked through use in the fire, as this bowl may also have been.

Deep bowl with hooked profile (fig. 11)

Fragments of a deep bowl were recovered, though they represent less than half the original rim and do not allow reconstruction of the original depth of the bowl. Even so, the bowl compares closely with several bowls represented by fragments in the Hatunqolla sample.

Fragments of deep bowls with a hooked profile like the Azoguini example were recovered in Phase 2 levels at Hatunqolla, but did not appear in Phase 3. Since these bowls were not numerous in the refuse, their absence in Phase 3 may be a function of the sample. The diameters of the two Hatunqolla examples studied (Julien, 1978, fig. 91, 20 cm.; fig. 92, 22 cm.) are only slightly larger than the Azoguini example (19 cm.), and the depth and profiles are similar.<sup>7</sup>

The decoration of deep bowls with hooked profiles, while somewhat varied, often involves the use of a washy light-red pigment brushed on either the inside or outside of the bowl, or both, or applied in splotches to the outside. The Azoguini example has splotches of this pigment on the exterior. A fragment which could not be joined to the reconstructed rim of this bowl, but which appears to belong to it, exhibited a fire cloud. In both Phases 2 and 3 at Hatunqolla, a number of vessels decorated with this washy red pigment also had decorative fire clouding (Julien, 1978, figs. 85-87, 154). All were manufactured with a paste which fires to a cream color, though several kinds of temper were used. The Azoguini example has a clear quartzite temper, one of the tempers which occur in association with this paste at Hatunqolla.

Small bottle (fig. 12)

No fragments of small bottles similar to this one were found at Hatunqolla. Their absence is noteworthy, because a variety of small bottles can be found in collections made in the Puno region.

These small bottles will be difficult to place chronologically without better associations. The decoration of some bottles, using red and black line designs on an all-over white slip, can be correlated with the same kind of decoration on local tradition bowls.<sup>8</sup> A fragment of one of these white-slipped bottles was included in the baseline collection from Sillustani. Bottles with all-over white slip have either nubbin handles set near the point of maximum diameter on the body (Ruiz Estrada, 1973b, figs. 20c, 21a, 53), or a spout emerging from the same point (Ruiz Estrada, 1973b, figs. 19f-h). The Azoguini bottle had a single vertical strap handle which extended above the line of the lip. In other shape details this bottle is unlike the bottles which can be considered stylistically earlier on the basis of decoration. In one feature, the use of a red slip on the inside rim polished while still wet, this small bottle resembles the common cooking pot (see below). If this bottle was manufactured at roughly the same time as the material it was interred with, the absence of similar ones in the refuse at

Hatunqolla may indicate that these vessels were commonly destined for use as offerings.

#### Qolla Cooking Pot (fig. 13)

Enough fragments of a Qolla Cooking Pot were recovered to allow a reconstruction of its complete profile from base to lip. At Hatunqolla, the majority of fragments from such vessels was thoroughly smoke blackened; base fragments often had carbon deposits on the interior. Since this vessel is the only shape in the Hatunqolla inventory to show consistent evidence of use over the fire, it was identified in the analysis as the principal cooking utensil. No style change could be detected in these vessels during Phases 1-3 of the Hatunqolla sequence.<sup>9</sup>

In shape and decoration details the Azoguini vessel closely follows Hatunqolla examples (Julien, 1978, pp. 147-149, figs. 78-83). Measurements of the Azoguini vessel fall within the average for mouth and base diameters of Qolla Cooking Pots from Hatunqolla (16 cm. and 6.2 cm. respectively), and its reconstructed height (25.6 cm.) may be usual for these jars. The neck is constricted just above the shoulder, falling within the range occurring at Hatunqolla, from a constriction of about this degree to a nearly vertical profile flaring only at the lip.

The Azoguini vessel has a particularly elaborate exterior surface finish, when compared with most Hatunqolla examples. Parallel groups of polishing marks, in this case four groups (see fig. 13b), radiate from the base up to the point of maximum diameter at which point they are nearly horizontal. This deliberate polish was done while the surface was fairly wet. Above the point of maximum diameter the surface has no polish, but exhibits fine striations characteristic of wiping.

#### Other material from the grave

In addition to the ceramic objects just discussed, a copper knife and three basalt flakes (figs. 2-5) as well as three ceramic fragments were turned in with the grave lot as noted above. Except for the copper knife, which was almost certainly a deliberate inclusion in the burial, the other materials have only a tentative association, as they may have come from a surrounding midden or burial fill. This possibility will be considered below.

The knife is a T-shaped knife of the sort called "tumi" in the literature. These knives have a wide distribution; they are found in the Cuzco area and as far away from Cuzco as northern Chile and Chimbote on the north coast of Peru.<sup>10</sup> This distribution may indicate some connection with the Inca expansion.

The three basalt flakes were made from a fine-grained basalt. That these flakes are human artifacts is suggested by the consistent association of basalt flakes with other archaeological materials in the occupation levels at Hatunqolla. Since they do occur in midden, it is possible that these flakes may have come from surrounding midden or burial fill.



The existence of a surrounding midden or fill deposited with the burial is also indicated by the presence of three miscellaneous ceramic fragments, turned in with the rest of the burial materials. One of these fragments is a body sherd from a Cuzco-Inca bottle with Mode A decoration (Rowe, 1944, fig. 8a, pl. V 1-3). A second sherd is a body fragment from another cooking vessel like the one contained in the Azoguini burial (fig. 13). The third fragment is from a red-slipped bowl similar to the red-slipped bowl with protuberances at the lip that was included in the burial (fig. 10).

Only the bowl fragment lends itself to attribution to a particular phase of the Hatunqolla sequence (Phase 3). The vessels represented by the other two fragments were common in Phases 1-3. If a surrounding midden or burial fill is indicated by these fragments, it is contemporary with some portion of the occupation represented by Phases 1-3 at Hatunqolla.

The Azoguini burial itself can be related conclusively to Phase 3. Its contemporaneity with Phases 1-3 of the Hatunqolla sequence is suggested by the presence of the cooking vessel and by a number of style features such as fine exterior surface finish and shallower bowl contours, exhibited by local tradition material following contact with the Cuzco-Inca style. A chronological placement following the wave of local innovation which marks Phase 2 is indicated by the pair of bowls with medallion decoration. A number of specific features and sets of features allows the attribution of the grave lot to Phase 3. These Phase 3 features are: basal thinning; rounded lip associated with a straight wall profile and sometimes with protuberances at the lip; revival of conservative local tradition features on bowls, features such as alternating red and black motifs in series and increased depth; and a mixture of features that in Phase 2 were used to distinguish two separate subclasses of bowls. Enough individual vessels from the Azoguini burial exhibit style features characteristic of Phase 3 to allow the attribution of the entire assemblage to this phase of the Hatunqolla sequence.

#### The Association Pattern of the Azoguini Burial

Now that the contemporaneity of the Azoguini burial and the Phase 3 refuse at Hatunqolla has been established, it is possible to examine each as an association pattern.

In order to compare the refuse pattern exhibited at Hatunqolla with the Azoguini burial pattern, it will be useful to include other, contemporary burials in the discussion. Nearby sites with associated burial ceramics related to Phases 2 and 3 at Hatunqolla are Sillustani, Chucuito and Arku Punku (Tschopik, 1946, fig. 1, p. 7). Both burials in the ground and in burial towers called chullpas have been identified at these sites. Chullpas have been subject to heavy looting for at least four centuries, and there is no way to reconstruct the association pattern of a looted chullpa in any detail. Still, ceramic vessels reconstructed from fragments found in and around the chullpas were probably originally associated with chullpa burial and later discarded by looters.

It cannot be certainly established, though, that these vessels were associated with particular chullpas.

Sillustani, 4 km. from Hatunqolla, is the site where the largest number of chullpas built in Cuzco style stone masonry has been found. The site was cleared of brush and debris for the purposes of tourism in 1971, and the archaeologist in charge of this project recorded the associations of many of the whole vessels reconstructed from fragments found in the vicinity of particular chullpas.<sup>11</sup> A number of very fancy imitation Inca vessels were tentatively associated with particular chullpas (Ruiz Estrada, 1973b, figs. 55-58 and other vessels in the Sillustani Museum), as were locally inspired bowl shapes (Ruiz Estrada, 1973b, figs. 59, 60 and other vessels in the Sillustani Museum). A Mode A Cuzco bottle and four bowls with locally inspired shapes were associated with one chullpa. All four bowls exhibit features which tie them to Phase 2 at Hatunqolla, and the Cuzco bottle relates to either Phase 2 or Phase 3. Some individual vessels relatable to Phase 3 and tentatively associated with particular chullpas were also recovered.<sup>12</sup>

Two chullpa burials with similarly associated ceramic material were documented at the site of Arku Punku, located about 16 km. south of Chucuito within the boundaries of the ancient Lupaca province (fig. 6).<sup>13</sup> Neither chullpa was built with strictly Cuzco style stone masonry, though the one illustrated was constructed with fairly well-dressed blocks (Chullpa E; Tschopik, 1946, fig. 4b, pl. VIIa). Ceramic materials collected from these chullpas included imitation Inca bottles and plates as well as locally inspired shapes (Chullpa E: figs. 10o, 15i, 22d, 23b; Chullpa Z: figs. 22a, 22b, 24a, 25a, 25b, 29c). With one exception (fig. 10o), though, the locally inspired material does not belong to the local tradition of the Hatunqolla area, but rather has other local antecedents.<sup>14</sup> A possible exception is a pair of bowls similar in shape and decoration details to the Azoguini bowl with the protuberances at the lip (fig. 10; compare Tschopik, 1946, fig. 29c and p. 44). If information on paste and firing had been available it might have been possible to say that they were identical. Chullpa Z may relate to Phase 3 at Hatunqolla on the basis of this pair of bowls. Style features of the material associated with both Chullpas Z and E allow them to be related to Phase 3, or Phase 2 at the earliest.

A more clear-cut association between imitation Inca and local shapes in a burial context is provided by a group of 13 whole vessels found in a stone-lined subterranean grave in Chucuito (Tschopik, 1946, pp. 18, 28-29, figs. 14e, 16, 29a-b, pl. Xd, g). These materials accompanied the remains of a single individual.<sup>15</sup> The ceramic vessels included eight small bowls, a deep bowl with a hooked profile, a jar with vertical handles extending to the lip, an imitation Cuzco-Inca pedestal dish, and an imitation Cuzco-Inca tall-necked bottle (Rowe, 1944, fig. 8d). A number of features, including the use of the color orange and the use of a pinwheel band on the interior of one of the bowls, allow this burial to be attributed to Phase 3 at Hatunqolla. Again as at Arku Punku the locally inspired material does not belong to the local Hatunqolla tradition, but to a different local tradition (see note 14).

With the help of historical information, available for the period shortly before the arrival of Europeans, it is possible to interpret the chullpa burial pattern at Sillustani and relate it to the Hatunqolla refuse pattern. At this time, elaborate burial rituals were afforded high status individuals. The rituals described involved burial in chullpas (Cieza de León, *Crónica*, cap. C; 1924, pp. 291-292). In the early years following the European arrival, the chullpa cemeteries were located near, but outside of, the towns they served (Cieza de León, *Crónica*, cap C; 1924, p. 291). In the Hatunqolla area, archaeological remains correlate neatly with this spatial arrangement. Members of a dynasty powerful both before and during the period of Inca rule resided at Hatunqolla (Cieza de León, *Señorio*, cap. IV; 1967, pp. 6-7; Sarmiento de Gamboa, cap. 37; 1906, p. 76). Under the Incas, members of this dynasty and other important local individuals had an assigned role in Inca provincial administration (Julien, 1978, pp. 57-64). Sillustani is the site most indicated as their place of burial. This burial and refuse pattern, then, appears to be associated with members of an important local elite, one connected with local Inca government during the time of the Inca empire.

The Azoguini burial pattern presents a contrast with the Hatunqolla and Sillustani association patterns. The Azoguini individual was buried in the ground at a time when those at the top of the local prestige hierarchy were buried in chullpas. Moreover, the Azoguini burial contained no imitation Inca vessels. The Hatunqolla refuse deposits and all of the burials just described contain imitation Inca vessels in association with a variety of locally inspired shapes. Imitation Inca vessels may have been government gifts, especially some of the fine quality ones included in some Phase 3 burials. At the least, such vessels are symbolic of a certain status within the Inca prestige hierarchy. The absence of these symbols in the Azoguini burial indicates that the individual buried at Azoguini enjoyed a different relationship to the empire than the individuals represented by the other local burials and by the Hatunqolla refuse.

Despite the lack of Inca prestige symbols, the Azoguini grave materials materials reflect some connection between the individual interred there and the Inca presence. The copper knife, for example, may indicate a particular relationship to the Inca administration. Moreover, pairing of vessels, evidenced by the pair of bowls with medallion decoration and the possible pair of bowls with protuberances at the lip, may reflect Cuzco burial practice.<sup>16</sup>

#### The Qolla-Lupaca Boundary

The location of the Azoguini burial helps to place the boundary between the Qolla and Lupaca provinces during the time the area was part of the Inca empire. The contrast, noted above, between the Azoguini burial pattern and other burial patterns related to Phase 3 of the Hatunqolla sequence does not detract from the fact that the Azoguini material is very closely linked to stylistic developments at Hatunqolla. In fact, examination of other Phase 3 association patterns in the area

draws attention to the stylistic contrast between the Hatunqolla/Sillustani/Azoguini material, on the one hand, and the Chucuito/Arku Punku material, on the other. As noted earlier, the materials from Chucuito and Arku Punku related to Phase 3 of the Hatunqolla sequence do not belong to the Sillustani tradition, but to a different local tradition.

That the Azoguini burial is not an isolated occurrence outside the immediate vicinity of Hatunqolla/Sillustani is confirmed by reconnaissance in the surrounding area. At Paucarcolla, a site partly occupied by a modern town on the road between Puno and Hatunqolla, surface material can be clearly related to the same local tradition evident in the Hatunqolla/Sillustani area. Material on the surface at Paucarcolla also reflects the same sequence of stylistic developments as those at Hatunqolla (Phases 1-4). Soraza, a site in the district of Coata, neighboring Hatunqolla, is another place where surface material reflecting the same local tradition and sequence of style change occurs.

The results of this reconnaissance, and the existence of another local tradition in the Chucuito/Arku Punku area, suggest the existence of some kind of local boundary. The Azoguini material helps to place the boundary in the area between Puno and Chucuito. Fortunately, it is possible to correlate the boundary indicated by the archaeological material with a known political boundary. The Inca boundary between the Qolla province of Urcusuyu and the Lupaca province fell between Puno and Chucuito (fig. 6; Julien, 1978, map 2). The fact that this administrative boundary coincides closely with the one between the two local ceramic traditions suggests that the Incas were cognizant of the older boundary in drawing the limits between the Qolla and Lupaca provinces. Historical evidence regarding the rivalry between the Qollas and Lupacas at the time of the Inca annexation reinforces the probability that such an older boundary did exist (Cieza de León, *Crónica*, cap. C; 1924, p. 290; Señorío, caps. IV, VIII, XLI, LIII; 1967, pp. 7, 25, 138-141, 178).

The earlier boundary may not have been followed exactly by the Incas in setting the limits between provinces. Arku Punku is a key site in the determination of this earlier boundary. Historical evidence (for the later Inca empire) allows the site to be located in the Lupaca province (see note 13) where Sillustani tradition material is rare (John Hyslop, personal communication). As noted above, ceramic material from the chullpa burials at the site can be related to Phase 2-3 materials at Hatunqolla, though the burial material belongs to the same local tradition as that of the Chucuito area and not to the Sillustani tradition. Domestic refuse on the surface, however, appears to have Sillustani tradition roots. This material is stylistically earlier than the earliest phase at Hatunqolla and compares best with material from Sillustani which is the close stylistic antecedent to Phase 1 at Hatunqolla. The refuse indicates that Arku Punku may have been affiliated with the Hatunqolla/Sillustani area prior to the founding of Hatunqolla, while material from the burials suggests a link to the Chucuito area at some later point. The boundary shift can only be studied archaeologically, as there is no historical information for the earlier time, but historical information provides a clue to the nature of this boundary in both

time periods.

Only a few association patterns relatable to the Hatunqolla sequence can be documented at present. When other association patterns are recorded, problems like the changing location of the Qollalupaca boundary can be addressed more effectively. The framework for this kind of analysis is a finely divided ceramic sequence. It is a tool for relating contemporary phenomena as expressed in the archaeological record, and so for reconstructing the changing social and cultural affiliations of the past.<sup>17</sup>

#### Acknowledgements

The inspiration for this paper came from Dorothy Menzel's work on Late Ica ceramics where the use to which precise chronology can be put is admirably demonstrated. I am also deeply indebted to Patricia J. Lyon and John H. Rowe who have greatly improved this manuscript with their editorial and material revisions. The research for this paper was done while the author was in Peru doing dissertation research with support from the Fulbright Graduate Study Abroad Program and the National Science Foundation.

April 4, 1980  
revised September 17, 1981

#### NOTES

<sup>1</sup>The materials were turned in to the Puno office of the Centro de Investigación y Restauración de Bienes Monumentales, Instituto Nacional de Cultura.

<sup>2</sup>So that they can be more easily located on maps and in the literature, all place names and the names given to particular groups will be given a Hispanicized spelling with the exception of the names Qolla (Colla in Hispanicized spelling), Hatunqolla (Hatuncolla or Atuncolla) and Arku Punku.

<sup>3</sup>The form was given the name aryballus because of the slight resemblance it bears to the classical Greek form (Bingham, 1915, fig. 42, p. 260). Bingham did not claim credit for giving this vessel this name, though he proposed five new Greek names for other Cuzco-Inca shapes (p. 270). Greek names are inappropriate for Cuzco-Inca vessel shapes, and I have adopted descriptive names (Julien, ms.b).

<sup>4</sup>It has long been possible to document the existence of occupationally specialized groups, including potters, who practiced their craft in benefit of the Inca government (Falcón, 1867, pp. 466-468).

<sup>5</sup>Two vessels in the Cuzco-Inca inventory show signs of regular use in the fire. One is the pedestal dish (Bingham, 1915, p. 261) and the

other is a tripod dish (Bingham, 1915, p. 268, fig. 52). There is a modern vessel used as a toaster (for corn, grains and coffee) in the Cuzco area which resembles the Cuzco-Inca tripod dish in form except that it has no legs; these vessels are not set into the fire, as the tripod dish probably was, but are set on ceramic stands. If the function of this dish is continuous from the past, the tripod had a special use and was not a multi-use cooking pot. Other, larger vessels may also have been used in food preparation, but these vessels are rare, suggesting that they were not general purpose, everyday cooking vessels. The pedestal dish is the most likely candidate for this use.

<sup>6</sup>My observation is based on an examination of ceramic material (now in the American Museum of Natural History, New York) excavated by Adolph Bandelier at the site of Llaq'aylli on the Island of Titicaca, near Copacabana (fig. 6; Bandelier, 1910, p. 183). The materials from this area are more heavily influenced by the Cuzco-Inca style than the Hatunqolla materials, which is reasonable because the colony at Copacabana was there to maintain the island shrines as ordered by the Incas. People from many parts of the empire were settled there for this purpose, as were members of Cuzco royal lineages. The ceramics probably reflect the special character of this settlement.

<sup>7</sup>A pair of similar bowls, one with a protuberance at the lip, was recovered by Ruiz Estrada in the 1971 clearing of Sillustani. They were probably associated with a burial there.

<sup>8</sup>Tschopik illustrates a single fragment from one of these bottles (1946, fig. 101). Ruiz Estrada published drawings of six nearly complete or complete bottles (1973b, 19f-g, 20a-c, 21a) and a photograph of a seventh (1973b, fig. 53). There are unpublished examples of such bottles in the Bandelier Collection in the American Museum of Natural History in New York, the Dreyer Collection in the Museo Municipal de Puno, and in the Museo Nacional de Antropología y Arqueología in Lima.

<sup>9</sup>Besides examples from Hatunqolla and Azoguini, fragments of these vessels have been found at Paucarcolla (fig. 6); Llaq'aylli (on the Island of Titicaca; fragment in the Bandelier Collection at the American Museum of Natural History, New York); Pucarani (fig. 6; Cordero Miranda, 1971, fig. 13); at Palli Marca and Ccaucha de Kjula Marca near Machaca (fig. 6; Rydén, 1947, pp. 206, 216-217, 254, 264, 268, figs. 85V, 88T, 108a, c, 113m, 117N, 0); and at Llujo (at the foot of Cerro Illimani near La Paz, fig. 6; whole vessel in the Bandelier Collection, American Museum of Natural History, New York). Some of the places just listed are in the Inca provinces of Pacajes (see fig. 6); here, the term "Qolla" refers to a larger Qolla territory which I have discussed elsewhere (Julien, 1978, pp. 36-37).

<sup>10</sup>Bandelier, 1910, pl. XLI, fig. 7, p. 202; Casanova, 1942, figs. 37, 52; Portugal, 1957, fig. 121, pp. 346-347; Latcham, 1938, fig. 144, p. 344, fig. 141 14, p. 341, fig. 143 1-4. González Holguín glosses tumi as: "Cuchillo de indios de cobre a manera de segur sin cabo" (1952, p. 346). Most of these transverse-bladed knives are not found hafted, though one has a wooden sheathing over the tang (Latcham, 1938, p. 341,

fig. 141 14); it was found in Chiu Chiu, northern Chile. A knife, held like the one with the wooden sheathing would have been held, is shown being used to disembowel someone (Guaman Poma de Ayala, 1936, p. 163). Giglioli shows a knife of this kind hafted at the end of a hardwood shaft (1904, pl. Fb, p. 81); the wooden shaft was pierced at one end and the tang of the copper knife was drawn through it. This object was found at a huaca in Chimbote on the north coast of Peru, and was ascribed to a Chimu context (see also Boman, 1908, p. 227, fig. 15a).

<sup>11</sup>Ruiz Estrada, 1973b. Ruiz illustrated a number of vessels in his report, but did not give their associations. Association with particular chullpas, in the ground burials, terraces, etc., is recorded on the pieces themselves which are stored or on display at the Sillustani Museum (but see Ruiz Estrada, 1973a, p. 15).

<sup>12</sup>The four bowls and Cuzco bottle mentioned were associated with Chullpa 4, one of about twenty-six towers with an exterior built entirely of Cuzco style stone masonry (Ruiz Estrada, 1973a, pp. 23-24). The four bowls included: a pair with medallion decoration (one is illustrated in Ruiz Estrada, 1973b, lám. 2, bottom); another, similar to Sillustani-related bowls at Hatunqolla (see Julien, 1978, fig. 62); and another, with medallion decoration but having a unique geometric design in the upper band space (Ruiz Estrada, 1973b, fig. 59, right). Associated with a white-plastered chullpa, was a bowl very similar to a Phase 3 bowl recovered at Hatunqolla (Julien, 1978, fig. 136).

<sup>13</sup>It is possible to place Arku Punku within the Lupaca province because it falls within the district of the town of Chucuito as described by the two kurakas or headmen of Chucuito in 1567 (Diez de San Miguel, 1964, pp. 14, 27).

<sup>14</sup>Material illustrated by Tschopik from Chucuito and other sites which can be related to Phases 2-3 of the Hatunqolla sequence (1946, figs. 14a-b, d, f-1, 15a-h, 16, 17) not only has a different inventory of decorative motifs and design compositions, but does not follow the Sillustani tradition in using three different background colors as the basis for bowl and small bottle decoration (Julien, 1978, p. 101). This emphasis on background colors and the particular decorative motifs and composition associated with them is basic to the Sillustani style.

<sup>15</sup>This grave, and another one reported from Chucuito, were discovered by excavators who were searching for gold and silver objects (Tschopik, 1946, p. 18). Therefore, the burial contents may not have been complete.

<sup>16</sup>Plates and bowls are more commonly found in pairs than other Cuzco-Inca shapes, but other shapes can be paired for burial. A grave at Sacsahuaman contained four pairs of plates (Franco Inojosa and Llanos, 1940, p. 26). At Ollantaytambo several graves contained pairs of bowls, Cuzco bottles, pedestal dishes and other vessels (Llanos, 1936). Pairs of nonceramic items, like wooden or metal cups, spoons, gourd bowls, etc., have also been recorded in Inca context burials. Pairing of vessels, associated with Cuzco influence, has been reported in other areas

as well (Menzel, 1976, p. 242).

<sup>17</sup>References to figure numbers in Julien, 1978, apply equally to Julien, ms.a, although the text in the two sources is differently paged.  
[PJJ]

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## KEY TO ILLUSTRATIONS

All drawings and photographs are by the author. Drawings are reduced 50%. The same graphic scale was used in all specimen photographs; the complete scale is 10 cm. long, each segment measures 2 cm.

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Fig. 1. Puno seen from Esteves Island where a new government tourist hotel was under construction in 1976 (foreground). The hotel project, undertaken by COPESCO, destroyed a considerable portion of an important Tiahuanaco cemetery and habitation site on the island. Cerro Azoguini is the peak farthest to the right in the photograph.

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Fig. 7. Bowl with medallion decoration. Upper wide band, light red; stripe, black (see Julien, 1978, note 24, p. 261, and note 48, p. 263); medallion space, cream. Cream surface is well abraded. Interior surface is well smoothed and polished and exhibits fine horizontal polishing marks. Exterior also smoothed and exhibits wider diagonal polishing marks (1-2 mm.), with patches of unpolished surface. Base unpolished. Several light firing clouds on exterior, firing otherwise clear. Paste fired to an orange color. Paste evidently well-mixed with about 4-5 particles of a gray and white sand per mm.<sup>2</sup>. About 15 particles of fine mica per cm.<sup>2</sup> on exterior. Paste visually resembles Paste C of the Hatunqolla material (Julien, 1978, App. I). Diameter 16 cm.

Fig. 8. Bowl with medallion decoration. Upper wide band, medium red; stripe, black (Julien, 1978, note 24, p. 261, and note 48, p. 263); medallion space, cream. Wear at angle at the inside of lip. Same interior surface finish as bowl in fig. 7. Exterior well smoothed but not polished. Exterior has two iridescent fire clouds. Paste is red-brown with same visual aspects as Paste D as defined using Hatunqolla materials (Julien, 1978, App. I). Paste has very small quantity of temper; grains measure .1 mm. and less. Sprinkling of fine mica, ca. 20 particles per mm.<sup>2</sup>, visible on exterior surface and on interior where slip is worn. Diameter 16 cm.

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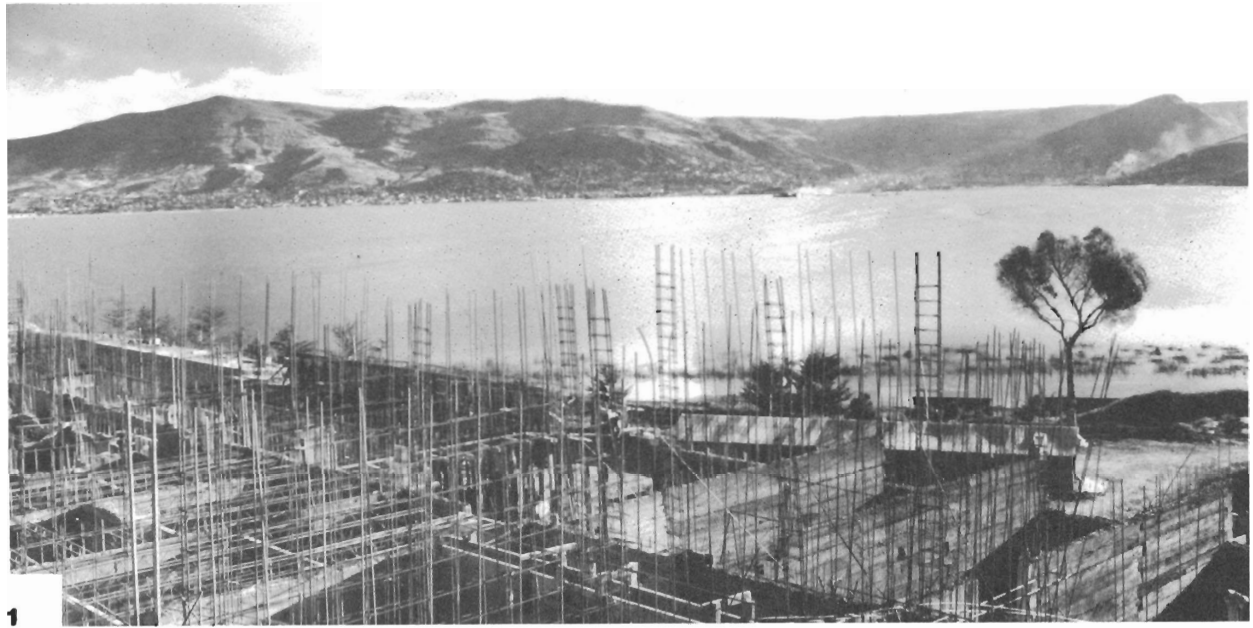
Fig. 9. Small bowl with alternating color motifs. Slip, white; motifs, black (see Julien, 1978, note 24, p. 261, and note 48, p. 263) and light red; stripe at rim, black (see same references). White slip was brushed on; brush marks are visible. White ran over onto exterior. No apparent interior polish. Exterior treated like bowl of fig. 7 except that the upper .5-1.0 cm. just below the lip was left unpolished. Particles of red sandstone adhere to the surface of the base. Firing ghosts on the exterior indicate that a bowl with the same black-line motif and with a black rim stripe was stacked below this bowl during firing. Firing otherwise clear. Paste similar to paste of bowl in fig. 8. Ca. 20 visible particles of mica per cm.<sup>2</sup> on exterior. Diameter 12 cm.

Fig. 10. Bowl with protuberances at lip. Interior slip, red; upper surface of protuberances also slipped red. Red slip worn away at center of bowl. Interior slipped surface polished while still fairly wet, leaving noticeable, deep polishing marks. Exterior surface lumpy, not well smoothed. Exterior polishing marks 2mm. wide or more. Firing obscured by smoking throughout. Paste is that associated with cooking pots at Hatunqolla (Paste A; Julien, 1978, App. I). Diameter 15.5 cm.

Fig. 11. Deep bowl with hooked profile. Exterior patches, light red; some kind of black surface deposit leaving spots on exterior. Interior exhibits patches of very fine striations, each patch 1-1.5 cm. wide, suggesting wiping before surface was completely dry. Exterior polished while fairly wet, leaving horizontal polishing marks about 2 mm. wide, except for last 8 mm. below lip where surface was wiped. One fragment of this bowl which cannot be joined to the rest has a black fire cloud, firing otherwise clear. Paste fires to light cream color, and has the visual aspects of Paste A as defined at Hatunqolla (Julien, 1978, App. I). Very noticeable quantity of clear quartzite added as temper, 1 mm. in size and smaller. About 3-7 visible particles per mm.<sup>2</sup>. Very small quantity of mica in paste. Diameter 19 cm.

Fig. 12. Small bottle. Interior rim, red. Red slip polished while fairly wet. A few fine striations visible on interior. Exterior surface treated in same way as exterior of deep bowl (fig. 11), complete with spotty black surface deposit. Exterior base has rough, unpolished surface. Some light orange patches on the surface, probably effects of firing; firing otherwise clear. Visual aspects of Paste A as defined at Hatunqolla (Julien, 1978, App. I); paste fires to a medium orange. Clear quartzite temper from .8 mm. in size and smaller. About 2-4 visible particles per mm.<sup>2</sup>. Mouth diameter 6.4 cm.; base diameter 5.2 cm.; height 10.45 cm.

Fig. 13. Cooking pot. Neck interior, red. Red slip polished while still fairly wet, leaving deep horizontal polishing marks about 2 mm. wide. Exterior also polished while wet, leaving similar marks. Groups of diagonal polishing marks radiate from the base to about the point of maximum diameter where these marks become horizontal. Above this point, surface shows fine striations, indicating wiping before completely dry. Interior also exhibits fine striations indicating wiping. In addition to smoking on the entire surface, there is a heavy black smoke deposit on the exterior below the handles. Paste is Paste A, the same paste used for cooking pots at Hatunqolla (Julien, 1978, App. I). Abundant clear quartzite temper grains, 2 mm. in size and smaller, most at .2-.4 mm. Some white particles, some milky quartzite, a few grayish particles and a small amount of mica included. Mouth diameter 16 cm.; base diameter 5.2 cm.; reconstructed height, 25.6 cm.



1



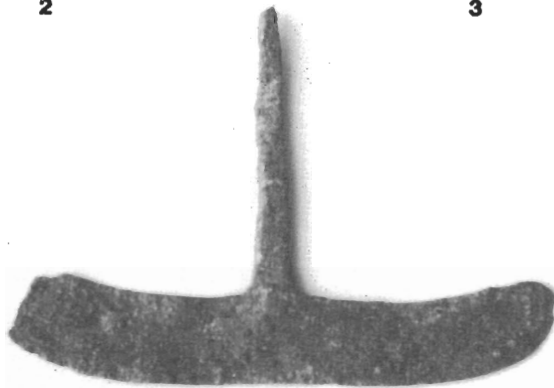
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3



4



5

AZOGUINI PPU7-18



Fig. 1, Puno seen from Esteves Island. Cerro Azoguini is the peak on extreme right. See Key to Illustrations. Figs. 2-4, unretouched basalt flakes from Azoguini burial. Fig. 5, T-shaped copper knife from Azoguini burial.

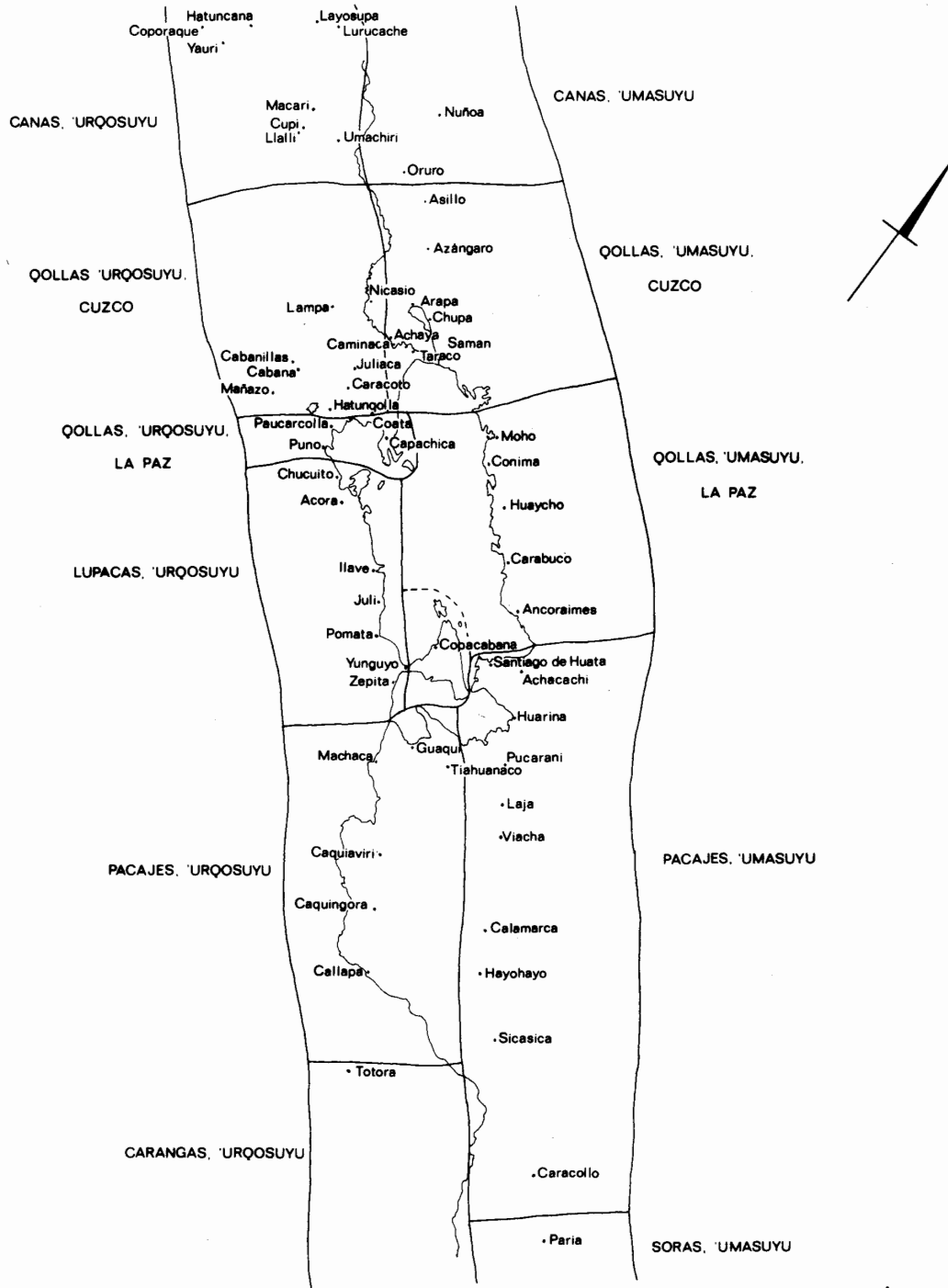
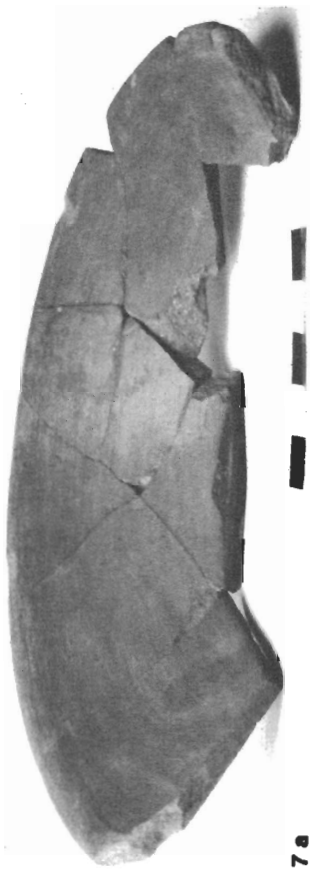
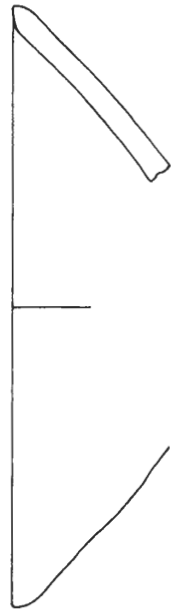


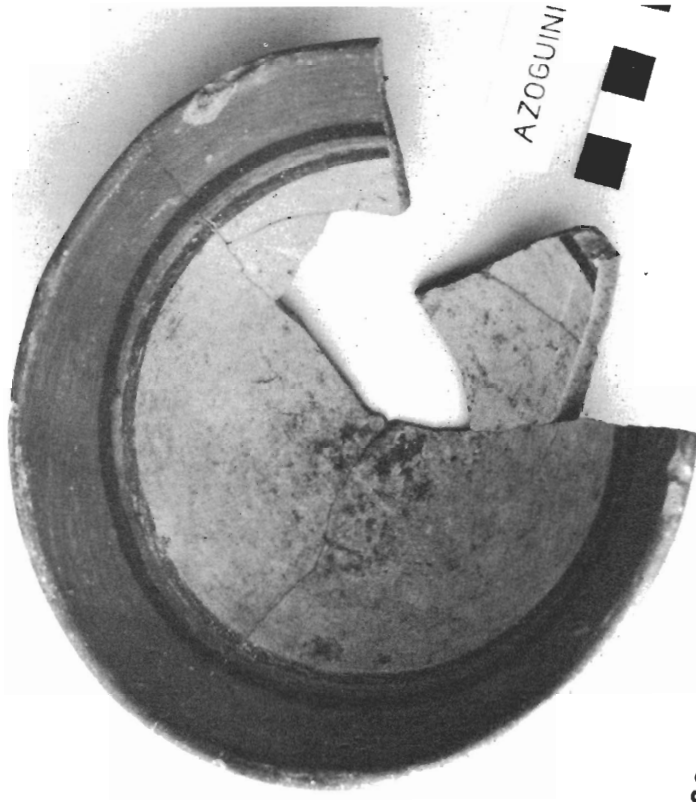
Fig. 6, map of the Inca provinces in the Lake Titicaca region (see Julien, 1978, map 2).



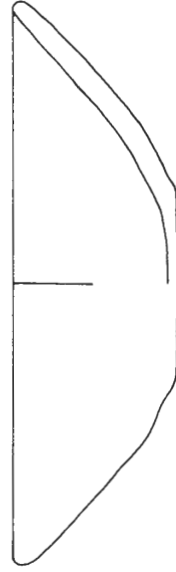
7 a



7 b

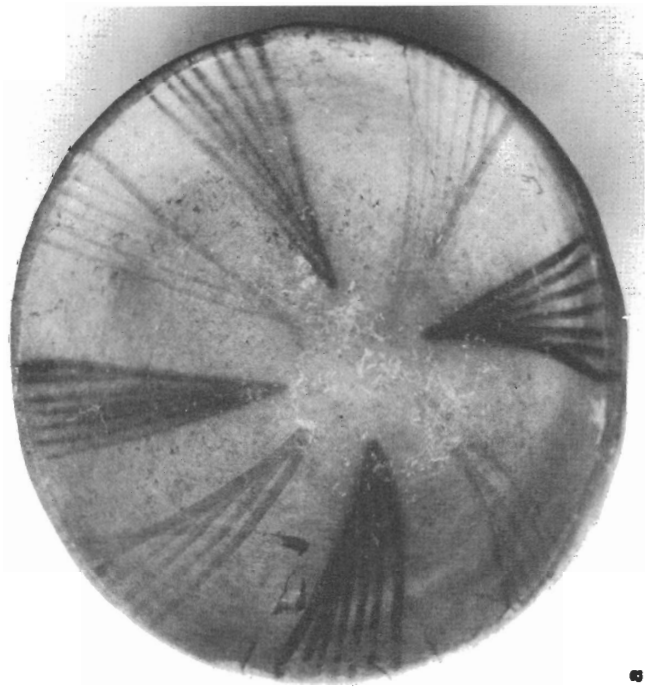


8 a

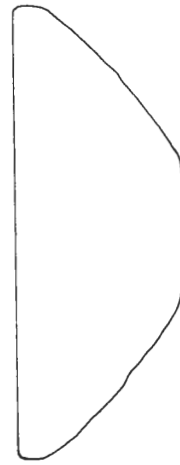


8 b

Figs. 7, 8, bowls with medallion decoration from Azoguini burial. See Key to Illustrations.



9a

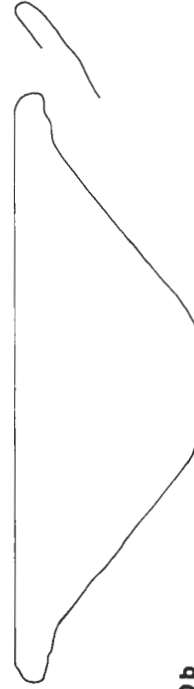


9b



10a

AZOGUINI



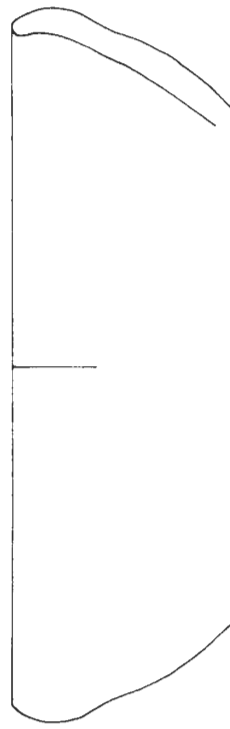
10b

Fig. 9, small bowl with alternating color motifs. Fig. 10, bowl with protuberances at lip. Both from Azoguni burial. See Key to Illustrations.





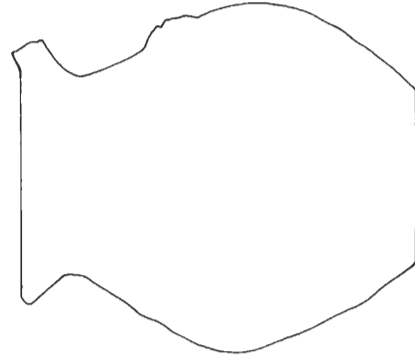
11a



11b

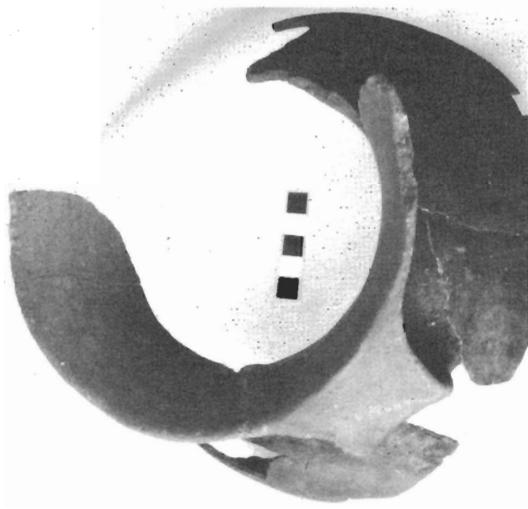


12a

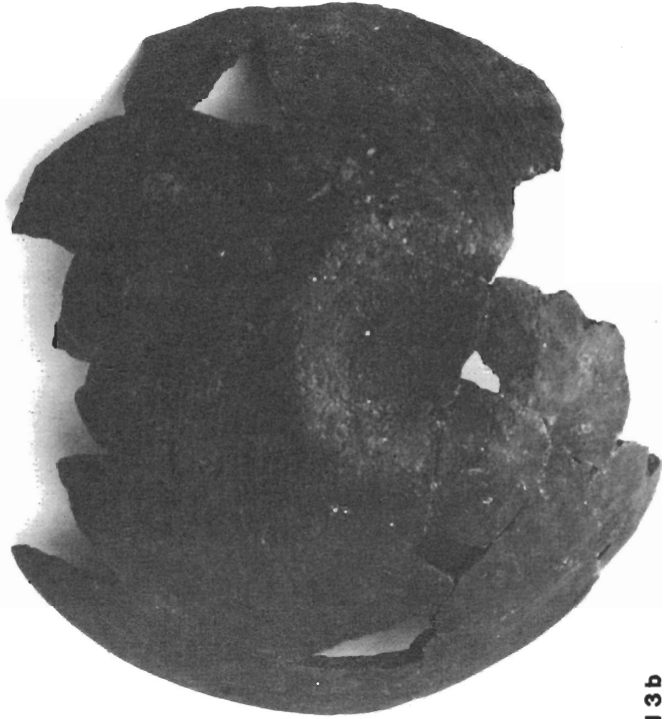


12b

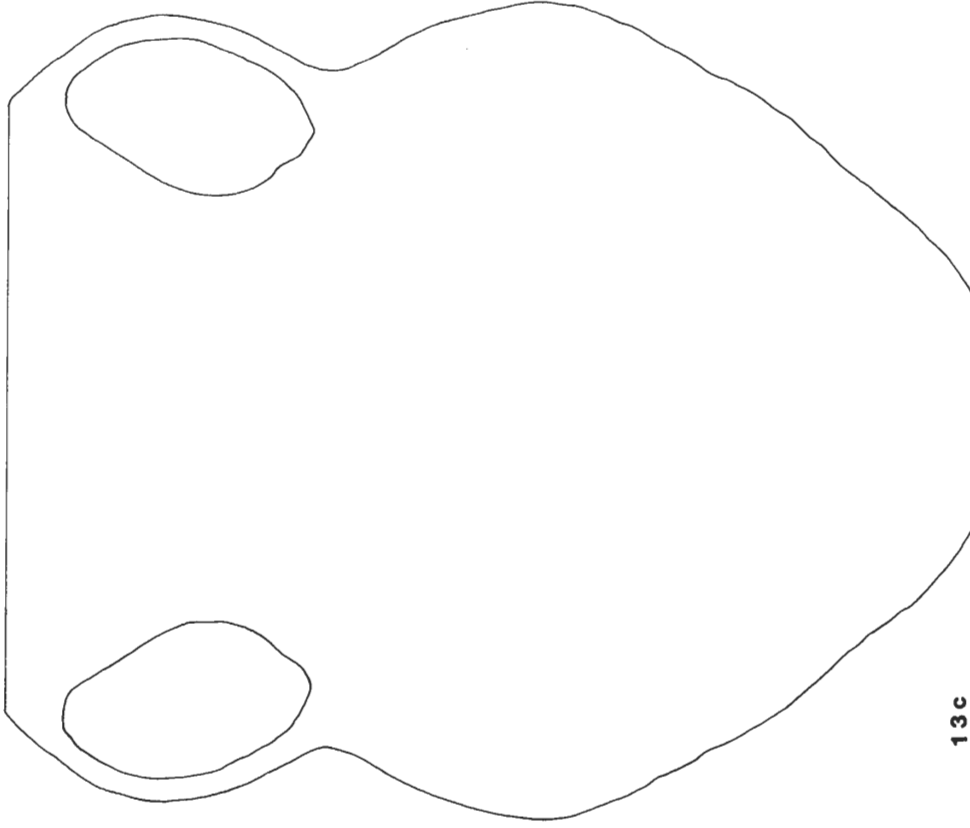
Fig. 11, deep bowl with hooked profile. Fig. 12, small bottle. Both from Azoguini burial. See Key to Illustrations.



13a



13b



13c

Fig. 13, cooking pot from Azoguini burial. Fig. 13a, top portion; fig. 13b, view of base and decorative polishing marks radiating from it; fig. 13c, reconstruction drawing of entire vessel. See Key to Illustrations.