

FUNERARY OFFERINGS FROM A MIDDLE HORIZON CONTEXT IN POMACANCHI, CUZCO

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The material to be discussed here forms part of a collection said to have been associated with several closely spaced burials that were dug up at a considerable distance to the southeast of Cuzco in the vicinity of Pomacanchi. The entire collection consisted of a large number of metal artifacts, two ceramic vessels, and a small number of turquoise beads, and represents the largest concentration of Middle Horizon metal artifacts ever reported from a single location. The beads are not discussed here.

Notice of the existence of this collection was conveyed to Dr. Manuel Chávez Ballón, archaeologist at the University of Cuzco, who, after contacting the owner and securing his permission, asked me to record and study the pieces. In August 1978, I proceeded with the recording, taking cellophane tracings, rubbings, measurements, notes, and photographs. Furthermore, a lengthy interview was carried out with the discoverer and owner of the collection. At the conclusion of the study, which was carried out in Cuzco, the entire collection was returned, and the owner was informed of and persuaded to follow the current legal regulations regarding archaeological collections; a document to this effect was signed by me, two witnesses, and the owner, who is now deceased. The current location of this collection is not known.

Notes taken during interviews with the discoverer indicate that the entire collection was found as part of several burials, which were in a rocky mound, which had several closely spaced openings or holes in the bedrock (possibly carved out for burial purposes). Furthermore, the informant remembered digging up and discarding several human bones and some undecorated ceramic vessels. In addition, in a nearby location, several "*hornos de fundición*" are said to have been found in years past, and very small gold and silver fragments supposedly appeared on the surface during the rainy season.

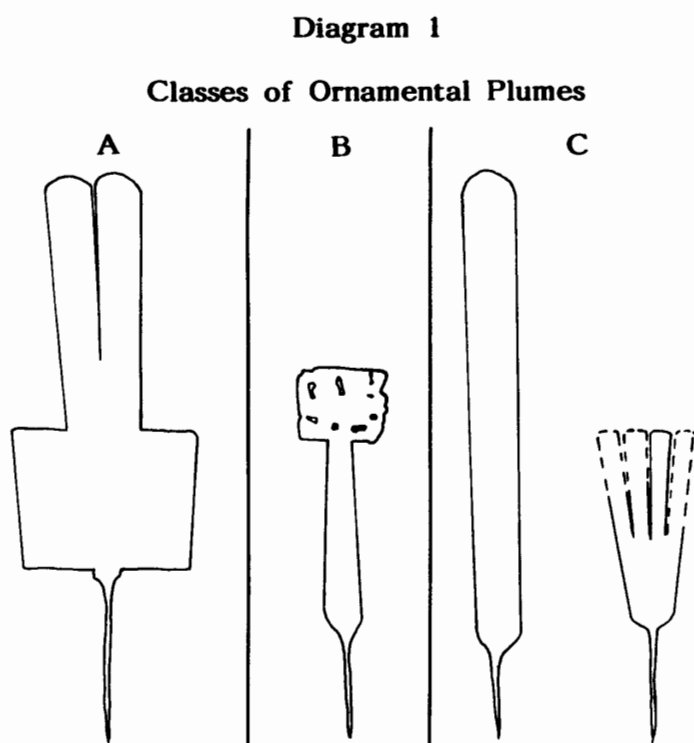
The Metal Specimens

There are six kinds of metal artifacts represented in the collection: ornamental plumes, bracelets or anklets, cascabels, strips or bands, portion of an ornamental platelike object, and small silhouettes. Only the ornamental plumes and plate are decorated, and, although there are fewer of them than of the other objects, they are much more variable.

The silhouettes were gold, while the surface of all other metal specimens had a silver appearance after cleaning. A number of the latter originally exhibited a layer of green corrosion material that looked like copper oxide over all or part of their surfaces; it is this layer that was cleaned off to expose the designs. Megascopic and low-power microscopic observations on very small samples, taken from ten fragmentary ornamental plumes and one metal plate fragment, seem to show that all the specimens were of copper, with only an extremely thin silver coating on the surface.

Ornamental plumes

There is a total of 22 specimens, which fall into 3 groups. I have designated these groups, based on the order and number of parts they possess (Diagram 1): Group A, with pin, decorated plaque, and two tufts; Group B, with pin, tuft, and decorated plaque; and Group C, with pin and tuft(s).



Group A (figs. 1-19, 43-47) 19 specimens

The pin is a long, nail-like segment which terminates in a pointed or slightly rounded end, and progressively increases in thickness from a square (or subsquare) cross section to a rectangular (or subrectangular) cross section, and widens at the point, where it is attached to a plaque. The plaque is the only decorated portion, and is a trapezoid with rounded corners, pointed corners, or a combination of both. Two large tufts emanate from the upper and middle portions of the plaque. In complete specimens, the tufts may be either separated all the way to the plaque or joined somewhat above it, and are connected at their

base to the plaque; their distal ends are rounded. The cut edges of the tufts and the plaque may be vertical, oblique, or a combination of the two. As can be seen in the specimen cross sections, the tufts are the thinnest, most flexible portions (sometimes paper thin), becoming progressively thicker and stiffer at the plaque. Although very few pieces have the same thickness from the top of the tufts to the bottom of the plaque, most specimens progressively increase in thickness from the upper portion of the tufts to the plaque, and reach their maximum thickness in the pin.

Group B (figs. 20, 48) 1 specimen

The pin is similar to the ones in the group described above. From the pin, however, a single decorated tuft terminates in a decorated segment or portion, which follows the outline and ornaments of a single mythological being in a horizontal or flying position. The entire plaque and upper portion of the tuft were cut vertically, and the lower portion of the tuft, near the pin, shows evidence of some oblique cutting. Furthermore, the plaque and tuft portions are very thin and flexible, progressively increasing in thickness to achieve a maximum at the pin.

Group C (figs. 21, 22) 2 specimens

One specimen has a pin and single tuft; on the other the pin is connected to a solid area from which four small tufts emanate. Most edges on the specimen

in fig. 21 were cut obliquely, while edges on the other one were cut vertically. The upper portions of both specimens are thin and flexible, progressively increasing in thickness up to the pin.

Dimensions

For Group A specimens, the length of the tufts is about the same as the length of plaque and pin together. There are two size ranges in the plaques. Among the eight in the larger range, three specimens (14, 15, and 19) stand out in also sharing similarities of manufacture (high relief repoussé faces and rocker stamping), and similar location and kinds of peripheral elements on the plaque. Specimens 5, 7, 8, 9, and 12 also have larger sized plaques. When considering the overall length of the complete specimens (measured from the distal end of the tufts to the pointed end of the pin), a distribution of large, medium, and small plumes can be discerned, as shown in Table 1; not included is one specimen whose dimensions were not recorded.

Table 1
Size Categories of Complete Plumes

Size Category	Maximum Length in cm.	Group	Figure
Large	45.9	A	9
	45.6	A	2
	44.0	A	5
	43.8	A	16
	42.9	A	7
	41.7	A	19
	41.3	A	14
	41.2	A	6
	41.1	A	1
	40.4	C	21
	40.1	A	8
	39.6	A	12
Medium	35.9	A	10
	34.7	A	4
	31.5	A	11
Small	26.0	B	20
	22.0	C	22

Techniques

These specimens were cut in a single piece from a sheet of hammered metal. The thicker portion, the pin, was achieved by folding a larger segment and hammering it into the pin form; no evidence was found for soldered or welded joints on any of the specimens examined. However, on four (figs. 3, 13, 15, 17) there were repair holes, near either the pin or the tufts, which had probably been filled with rivets, as evidenced on the specimen in fig. 3.

Techniques used to decorate the specimens include rocker stamping (figs. 1, 2, 6, 7, 14-16, 18, 19), incision (e.g., figs. 3-5, 8-13, 17, 20), low relief repoussé

(e.g., figs. 4, 5, 8-13, 20), high relief repoussé (figs. 14, 15, 19), cutting out (fig. 20), or combinations.

Function

Regarding the possible function of these plumes, I would suggest that they were attached to some kind of male headdress ornament indicative of high rank, such as a crown, differing from the function of the *tupu* as a female dress ornament or kind of tool. During extensive interviews, the discoverer of these specimens failed to remember the specific locations of these plumes in the human burials. He indicated that they were found very close to the skeletal remains, and in one instance a plume was located on the chest of an individual. Nevertheless, other kinds of archaeological evidence supports the probability of their use as headdress ornaments.

Several gold crowns or head ornaments in the Mujica Gallo collections show plumes (with or without plaques, terminating in one or three tufts, and some with a single fanlike tuft) attached to cylindrical or band crowns (Tushingham, 1976, figs. 73, 160; Mujica Gallo, 1968, figs. 3078, 3320, 3318, 3316). Another crown, from the Larco Hoyle collection, has four plumes, each with a trapezoidal tuft (Bennett, 1954, frontispiece). Although these plumes may have been added to the crowns or bands in recent restorations rather than found attached originally (Patricia J. Lyon, personal communication), three other specimens show the possible association of plumes with crowns. A silver crown from Chimbote has a tuft attached by two horizontal strips (Schmidt, 1929, p. 388, fig. 3, and listing p. 595); a gold crown from Sigsig, Ecuador, has three plumes with tufts (Bennett, 1954, fig. 148); and a gold mask from Tiahuanaco has a plume with a pair of tufts (Giffen-Duyvis, 1954, p. 21, fig. 200). Finally, Squier (1877, 148-149) notes that Colonel La Rosa had found gold or thread braid headbands having thin bold ornamental plumes at the forehead on Chimu skulls, similar to gold plumes Squier found in Lima.

Furthermore, there are depictions of crowns which in part resemble the Pomacanchi plumes. A hammered gold whistling jar, said to have been found in Batan Grande, Lambayeque Valley, shows a human figure wearing a crown with two tufts attached at the front (Benson and Coe, 1963, p. 68 caption to pl. 380). Decoration on a Huari style flask from the south coast appears to represent the ornamental plume worn on the forehead (Lapiner, 1976, fig. 559). Here a trapezoidal plaque without tufts and pin is portrayed, on which the characteristic peripheral appendages (four profile feline heads alternating with feather elements) emanate from a high relief, front view bird head. Lastly, the Textile Museum tapestry fragment from a site between Pisco and Ica shows pairs of realistic humans, possibly engaged in ritual fire making, in panels 1, 3, 5, and 7 (Conklin, 1971, figs. 1, 6, and cover). Each human wears a hat having a plume terminating in an ovoid with three feathers. This hat ornament could be a stylized depiction of real plumes like these Pomacanchi specimens. The ornaments on the tapestry are waved, resembling the flexibility of the Pomacanchi plumes. This same plume ornament also occurs at the upper end of a staff on the textile.

The Inca emperor's headdress consisted of a braid (*llauto*) that was wrapped around the head several times, a forehead fringe (*mascapaycha*), and sometimes also at the forehead a stick about 15 cm. long with a tassel at the end from which emanated three feathers (Rowe, 1946, p. 258; also, e.g., Guaman Poma, 1936, figs. 248, 264). A larger ornament of the same sort was also carried on a lance

(compare Textile Museum textile above), and others of the privileged class could wear similar headbands and fringes. Alfred Kidder II, in a marginal note to this description of the Inca headdress by Rowe, commented, "what is this but the good old Tiahuanaco and Pucara symbol of the 'trident and triple plume and disc'?"

Many terms, especially *tupu*, have been used to describe the general form of these ornamental plumes or similar specimens.¹ Although some of these terms could certainly be used to describe the specimens from Pomacanchi, I would argue that the proper use of the Quechua word *tupu* renders it inappropriate for these plumes, and that these plumes probably did not function as *tupus*.

As documented by chroniclers and archaeological specimens, *tupu* refers to a specific kind of tool and ornament consisting basically of two parts: a pin and a plate. The pin is usually long and pointed; the plate, which is large and flat, may be round or semicircular or a variant of either shape, and usually has one or more perforations.² Although most specimens of this kind have been assigned to Inca times or found in association with Inca remains,³ we now have similar objects from excavations at the sites of Jargampata and Huari itself,⁴ and from Kotosh (Higueras period).⁵

The function of *tupus* in Inca times is documented in historical sources. John Rowe, describing Inca dress and ornaments (1946, pp. 235-236), states that the only jewelry women wore was *tupus* and necklaces, and that the *tupu* was used to fasten a large shoulder mantle on the chest. Rowe further states that these *tupus* were made of gold, silver, or copper, with the head or plate perforated for small bells or colored threads. Nearly all of Guaman Poma's illustrations (1936) representing women wearing a shoulder mantle show *tupus* fastening the garment on the chest, and conversely, none of the male representations have *tupus*. Women in Bolivia and Cuzco still wear silver *tupus* on special occasions. The term they use is *tupu*, but replacing the flat head or plate there is a sculptured peacock with spread tail, bicephalous birds, or a spoonlike form; some are adorned with small inlaid glass beads, chains, dangling bells, coins, and other miniatures (e.g., Means, 1938, p. 261; Verger, 1945, láms. 48-49; Hosmann, 1945, láms. 48-49). Colonial period paintings portraying Inca noblewomen also show elaborate *tupus* (Rowe, 1951, figs. 4-7; Engl and Engl, 1969, pls. 2, 60, 64a-b).

Four additional functions of *tupus* have been suggested: household knife, mirror, ornament falling down over the breast, and sighting instrument. Rowe (1946, p. 235) observes that the edges of the plate or head are sharp enough to be used as a knife, not to be confused with the actual Inca knife, or *tumi* (Rowe, 1946, p. 248, pl. 78.c.d.e; Julien, 1982, p. 136, note 10). One such knife-edged shawl pin was found in Machu Picchu (Bingham, 1915, p. 182 fig. 1). Regarding the mirror and falling ornament functions, Montell (1929, pp. 235-2236, fig. 99) made these observations based on one of Guaman Poma's drawings (1936, p. 120, "Mama Uaco Coia"), in which an Inca's spouse is holding what is possibly a *tupu* in her hand, and it is reflecting a face, as a mirror; and two large perforated *tupus* are attached at the sides of her neck in such a way that the plates or heads hang over the breast (see also Guaman Poma, 1936, p. 136, in which the plates hang to the waist; Ruiz Estrada, 1976, pp. 7, 10, fig. 4a). Finally, Posnansky (1945, vol. II, pp. 61-62, figs. 16-18; 1958, vol. III, pp. 37-38, pls. XXII.b.c.d., XXIII.a.b.) suggested that *tupus* having a single perforation may have been used as diopters to obtain a line of sight and determine the angles of solar amplitude.

Both *tupus* and ornamental plumes occur from at least the Middle Horizon,

and are two different kinds of artifacts.⁶ The specimens from Pomacanchi are not *tupus* because of their form, and also likely differ in function. Based on the preceding discussion, ornamental plumes appear to have functioned as headdress ornaments symbolic of high rank. Furthermore, based on Guaman Poma's illustrations, these headdress ornaments are associated only with men, while *tupus* are associated with women.⁷ Although there is a long time between the Middle Horizon and the Incas of the Late Horizon or the Colonial Period, when Guaman Poma was writing, this symbol of high rank used for the Inca emperor may represent a continuity from Middle Horizon Huari, just as Inca religion for the most part continued from Huari religion (Menzel, 1977, p. 5).

The Pomacanchi ornamental plumes, I would argue, may be the actual symbols worn by high ranking individuals, presumably males. In addition, I suggest that these symbols of rank were made and extensively used prior to their interment as part of the funerary offerings, on the basis of the repair holes on four of the plumes (figs. 3, 13, 15, 17).

Bracelets or Anklets (figs. 23-25) 34 specimens (including 2 fragments counted as 1)

These specimens have been grouped according to size: large (ca. 13 cm. high), medium (ca. 11.7 cm. high), and small (only one, ca. 7 cm. long). The thickness ranges from .5 mm. to paper thin. Each was made from a trapezoidal sheet of metal bent to form a slightly conical shape, and none was decorated or perforated. The total weight of the 34 bracelets was 2571 gm.

There are few specimens clearly comparable to these ornaments, possibly because such undecorated metal objects are generally melted down by looters. None of the comparable pieces is of obvious Middle Horizon date, but there are depictions in Huari, Pucara, and Tiahuanaco art that seem to represent bracelets and anklets. Most similar to the Pomacanchi items is a plain silver bracelet illustrated by Montell (1929, p. 78, fig. 32A), which is from either the Viru Valley (according to the text) or Pachacamac (according to the illustration). In his excavations at Sillustani, Ruiz Estrada recovered nine gold bracelets, but they are all perforated, and one is decorated (Ruiz Estrada, 1973, pp. 26-27; 1976, pp. 6-7, fig. 5). A number of decorated and undecorated bracelets have been illustrated, but without reliable provenience or associations (e.g., Lapiner, 1976, pp. 446 and fig. 564; Posnansky, 1958, vol. III, p. 132, pl. XC.B [from Cochabamba]). Inca men wore both gold and silver bracelets (Rowe, 1946, p. 236), and Valcárcel reports finding both in his excavations at Saqsawaman (Valcárcel, 1935, lám. VI, figs. 2/138, 12/423).

Cascabels (figs. 26-30) 77 specimens

The bells in the collection from Pomacanchi were each made from a single sheet of metal, and hammered into a clam-shell or castanet form. Some specimens still had small, round, solid metal pellets (ca. 0.5-1.0 cm. in diameter) loose inside. This type of closed bell with pellet, as opposed to open ones with clappers, may be specifically referred to as *cascabel* in both Spanish and English, although, unlike its current Spanish usage, the term is seldom used in English.⁸ The Quechua term for *cascabel*, as reported in 1608 (González Holguín, 1952, pp. 95, 449), is *chanrara* or *chamrarara*.

On some of the Pomacanchi *cascabels*, the opening is plain, and on others there are three or four additional round perforations located at the closure or

juncture of the two edges (e.g., figs. 28, 30). At the rib opposite the opening, all the cascabels have two small perforations about one centimeter apart, likely for suspension. The cascabels range in size from 3 to 6.7 cm. in maximum length, falling into 3 groups: large (ca. 8 specimens, 6.7 × 5.2 cm.), medium (ca. 29 specimens, 5.6 × 4.5 cm.), and small (ca. 40 specimens, 3.0 × 2.4 cm.). The total weight of the 77 specimens is 1212 gm.

As far as I know, there are no other such specimens from Middle Horizon contexts in Peru. However, two cascabels have been reported from Tiahuanaco (Querejazu Lewis, 1983, p. 152), as have possible clapper-type bells (Posnansky, 1958, vol. III, pp. 130-131, pl. LXXXVIII.A, fig. b). Other cascabels in the literature are either of uncertain provenience or from Inca contexts.⁹ Cascabels are frequently used today in many dances during festivals in the south highlands of Peru. Dancers adorn their leather boots and costumes with several small cascabels, which are round with a handle at one extreme.

Bands 3 specimens

Three long, narrow bands formed part of the collection. These bands are very thin and flexible. Each was originally rolled up, and no attempt was made to unroll them for fear of damaging the pieces. No length was recorded for the widest band, about 10.5 cm. wide (62 gm.); however, the medium band, about 9.5 cm. wide, was about 70 cm. long (75 gm.). The small band, about 2.5 cm. wide, was about 58 cm. long (37 gm.). A strip about 7 cm. wide and 60.5 cm. long had been cut from one edge of the medium band; this strip was not part of the collection.

Posnansky (1958, vol. III, pp. 132, 134) reports long ribbons of gold (about 6 cm. wide) and several meters long from Tiahuanaco. Other metal bands have been found in earlier and later contexts (K. Chávez, 1981, p. 256; Rowe, 1977, fig. 22; Bennett, 1936, pp. 432-433; Valcárcel, 1935, p. 190, lám. VII, fig. 1/369).

Ornamental Plate(?) Fragment (fig. 31)

This fragment came from a silver-plated copper sheet with repoussé round and curvilinear designs. The designs were incised on the obverse, and then repoussé from the reverse. The thickness is approximately 1/3 mm., and the only possible remaining edge, located on the upper portion, suggests a circular shape. It weighs 40 gm. Although the original form of this specimen cannot be determined, it may be roughly compared to two circular gold plates with repoussé designs that came from a burial in Cochabamba (Posnansky, 1958, vol. III, pp. 132, 134, pl. XC.B).

Small Gold Silhouettes (figs. 32-35) 4 specimens

All four specimens, each having one or two small perforations, were made of paper-thin gold foil sheets. Each had been crumpled or folded, and was opened flat for recording. The total weight of the 4 specimens was 2 gm.

Two of the four specimens have the shape or silhouette of a small T-shaped ax (figs. 34, 35). One of these has a single perforation in the top central portion, and the other has two perforations in the same location, probably for suspension or attachment to a garment.

Similar T-shaped silhouettes, although much larger and more similar to full-sized axes, are depicted suspended from the necks of anthropomorphic figures found on both coastal Huari specimens (Anton, 1958, fig. 38; Lapiner, 1976, p. 240, fig. 559; Menzel, 1969, fig. 10a) and a tumbler excavated at Tiahuanaco (Bennett, 1956, p. 88, figs. 15a, c).

Another small ornament, the silhouette of a camelid, has the head and tail missing (fig. 32). Two parallel incised lines form a band at each ankle, and there is a small perforation in the top central portion. A number of similar but larger foil silhouettes of camelids have been found, especially from the area of Lake Titicaca (Bandelier, 1969, pl. LXXVIII.8; Eisleb and Strelow, 1980, pp. 94-95, Abb. 307-311).

Finally, a small I-shaped silhouette has a repoussé rectangular eye and a V-shaped fine, superficial incision to one side (fig. 33). At the middle and side of the piece there is a small perforation.

The Ceramic Vessels

In association with the metal specimens described above, there were two fine polychrome ceramic vessels; other, undecorated, specimens are said to have been discarded. One of the decorated vessels is a canteen-shaped flask (fig. 36) with a flat base and a small handle located at the juncture between the neck and the body. The other is a small tumbler (fig. 37) whose interior is well finished for 3-3.5 cm. from the rim.

A band of geometric designs occurs on the upper half of the exterior of the small tumbler. The designs include four large opposed equilateral triangles, each of which encloses a group of three small, connected isosceles triangles. Separating the opposing triangles are outlined bands enclosing zigzag elements and circles that enclose small dots. In terms of the general form and design, this tumbler is somewhat similar to a small cup (probably from Cuzco) that forms part of a composite vessel (a man holding a small cup or tumbler). Geometric designs similar to those on the tumbler occur on the entire exterior of the tumbler portion of a composite vessel in Berlin (Eisleb and Strelow, 1980, Abb. 260). This specimen, which has no specific provenience, is from the Centeno collection, which came from Cuzco and was sold in Berlin in 1888 (S. Chávez, 1981, p. 164), so it could well come from the Cuzco region.

The geometric and stylized designs present on the canteen-shaped flask include: a chevron band at the rim; four connected rectangles (two on each of the narrow sides), each enclosing a circle with recurved ray appendages, four small dotted circles in between the volutes and one in the center of the circle. In terms of shape and especially design, the flask is clearly Chakipampa B, a sierra style dating to Middle Horizon 1B (Menzel, personal communication, February 1986). After seeing illustrations of the collections, Menzel sees this flask as the most firmly datable object, although even without it she would assign the plumes to Middle Horizon 1B as well.

Iconography of the Ornamental Plumes

Of the 22 ornamental plumes, 20 are decorated, and 19 of these share the

same motif, drawn on one side of the trapezoidal plaque. Of these 19, 4 are decorated on the back of the plaque as well (figs. 1, 6, 7, 16, 34, 37), but, except for fig. 6, the differences between the two sides are minor. In the following discussion, the reverse of fig. 6 (figs. 6b and 46) will be noted where it is significant. These decorated specimens fall only into groups A and B defined above.

Group A (figs. 1-19, 43-47)

The basic motif represented in the central portion of the plaque is a front view anthropomorphic face, from which emanate raylike stems or appendages, each terminating in a profile animal head or a geometric element. In addition, except in fig. 6, the arrangement of these rays is bilaterally symmetrical. Furthermore, the size and length of the appendages fill the space and adapt to the trapezoidal shape of the plaque; those at the four corners are usually larger and often curved or bent. Similar motifs are common in both Huari and Tiahuanaco representations.

Diagram 2, based on various specimens, indicates a total of 27 possible element locations. The format may be divided into two general areas: the central face, with its plain or decorated surrounding band (12), hair (13), facial features (14-17), and eye ornament (18); and the periphery, with up to 20 elements emanating from the trapezoidal central portion. There is considerable variation in the depiction of the various elements.

The peripheral elements have been numbered 1-11 and 2'-10', the latter group reflecting the repetition of elements due to bilateral symmetry, except on specimen 6. Peripheral appendages, referred to here as bird and feline heads, each attached to a stem. These heads share similar elements, except for their characteristic beak and mouth/nose, respectively. Bird crests and feline ears are similarly depicted in most cases. Other peripheral appendages include a segmented trapezoid, sometimes attached to ovoids and stems, referred to here as a feather element; a collar, always located in position 11 when it occurs; and rings that are attached to stems.

Table 2 summarizes the number and kind of appendage by specimen. The number ranges from 9 to 18, with 7 specimens having 13 appendages each. Rings most frequently terminate the appendages, as they generally flank central appendages, and there are about twice as many feline as bird heads. Only two collars occur, and they are each different.

Table 2 also shows that 14 of the central faces possess fanged mouths, 11 have bands surrounding the face, and 10 possess hair. Only 6 have chins, and 5 eye ornaments. Those that lack fangs also lack hair, and, except for specimen 12, their associated feline appendages also lack fangs. The central faces of specimen 14, 15, and 19 are in relief, and at least 15 and 19 possess caps in addition to

Diagram 2

Format of the Ornamental Plaques

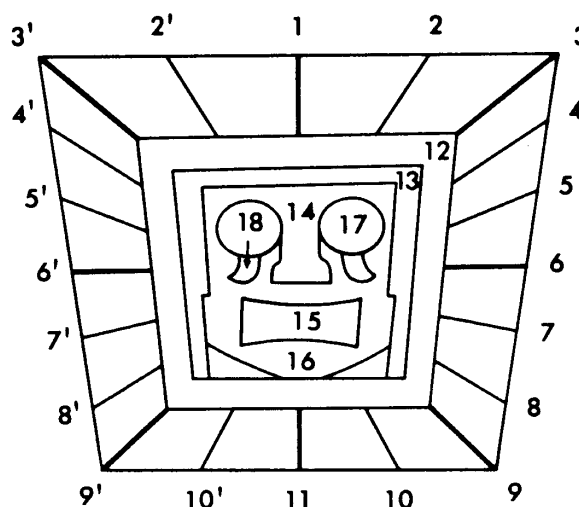


Table 2
Distribution of Design Elements by Specimen on Group A Ornamental Plumes^a

Figure/ Specimen	PERIPHERAL APPENDAGES						CENTRAL ANTHROPOMORPHIC FACE					
	Feline Head	Bird Head	Feather	Ring	Collar	Total Elements	Band	Cap	Hair	Fangs	Chin	Eye Ornament
1a	4	4	3	6	1	18	X ^b		X	X		
2	4	2	1	6		13	X		X	X		X
3	4		4	8		16			X	X		
4	2	4	1	6		13			X		X	
5	2	2	1	6		11			X			
6a	2 ^c	4 ^c	2	6		14	X		X			
7a	4		3	6	1	14	X		X			X
8	4		4	8		16	X		X	X		
9	6		1	6		13			X	X		
10		2	5	5		12	X		X	X		X
11	2		3	4		9						
12	6 ^d		2	8		16	X					
13	12 ^e		1			13						
14	4	2	1	6		13	X	?	X	X	X	
15	4	2	1	6		13	X	X	X	X	X	
16a		4	3	4		11	X		X	X	X	
17	4		3	8		15			X	X	X	X
18	4	2		8		14	X		X	X	X	X
19	4	2	1	6		13	X	X	X	X	X	
Total	72	30	40	113	2	257	11	2	10	14	6	5

^aSpecimens 1, 6, 7, and 16 have the same elements on the reverse except as noted for specimen 6.
^bX = present.

^cThe reverse (fig. 6b) has three feline heads and three bird heads.

^dOnly two complete feline heads, four are probably also feline heads.

^eTwo incomplete elements are probably also feline heads.

hair. Specimen 14 is ambiguous because the front cap line or hair line has been omitted.

No significant correspondences among elements could be made for this highly variable collection, however. There are 17 kinds of mouths; 11 kinds of bands and of eyebrow/noses; 4 kinds of eyes, of hair, and of chins; and 3 of eye ornaments. Further variability in peripheral appendages is also present. Based on attributes of the elements, there are 30 kinds of feline heads in 83 occurrences, 24 kinds of feathers in 51, 13 kinds of bird heads in 41, 9 kinds of stems in 276, and 2 kinds of rings in 135.

Table 3 shows the distribution of peripheral appendages by location around the central face. Again, there is considerable diversity. The least variability occurs in location 1, where in all but one instance feathers are present, even though there are 18 kinds of feathers in that location. The lower corners (9 and 9') show the greatest variability in elements, along with side locations 5 and 5' and 7 and 7'. Feline and bird heads occur in 14 locations each.

In most cases (14), including reverse sides, the same element is found in all four corners: 12 cases with feline heads and 2 with bird heads. Two cases each have feline heads above and bird heads below, and feline heads above and rings below. There is one occurrence each of bird heads above and feathers below, feline heads above and nothing below, bird head on upper left and lower right with feline head on upper right and lower left, and finally, feline heads above and on lower right with bird head on lower left. Specimen 12 is incomplete.

Table 3

**Distribution of Peripheral Appendages by Location
on 19 Group A Ornamental Plumes***

Design Element	Format Location (see Diagram 2)											Total Occurrences
	1	2	3**	4	5	6	7	8	9**	10	11	
Feline		1	17		1	2	2		11	2		72
Bird			2	1	1	5	1	1	4			30
Feather	18				1	6	1		1		4	40
Ring		17			16		15		2	6	1	113
Collar											2	2
Nothing	1	2		18		6		18	1	11	12	69
Total Diff. Elements	1	2	2	1	4	3	4	1	4	2	3	

*Excludes the reverse of specimens 1, 6, 7, and 16.

**Specimen 6 alone lacks bilateral symmetry, but only as follows: 6a has feline heads at locations 3 and 9' and bird heads at 9 and 3', while 6b has a bird head at 9' and feline heads in the other corners.

Group B (figs. 20, 48)

Three unique attributes warrant a discussion of this single specimen apart from the rest of the decorated specimens. In addition to the location of the plaque at the distal end of a single tuft, and the cutting technique outlining the shape of an entire body and ornaments, this specimen represents a mythological being in profile. Specifically, the being is depicted in a horizontal or flying position, but with legs and feet as in a running motion.

The face is of a feline, with the characteristic ring nose. The open mouth has a pair of crossed fangs and two pairs of teeth (each pair separated by a rectangular cut or opening), followed by three additional pairs of teeth (stacked at the back of the mouth). The eye, from which emanates a bent, or L-shaped, ornament, is almond-shaped.

Behind and under the stepped band that separates the head or face from the body, extends a hand with three fingers and fingernails, holding a scepter or staff. The feet are depicted in the Huari style, with a circle separated by a V-shaped element at the heel, and one foot (the other is partly missing) has three toes with toenails. Two long, curved appendages (one terminating in a profile bird head) emanate from the ankles and extend the length of the interior of the legs.

The head has a band or crown ornament with three enclosed rectangles and two bird heads in the front and back facing upward in opposite directions. The bird heads have a rectangular neck attachment or "connector symbol" (Conklin, 1985, p. 6) decorated with an M and S. The three segments, or feathers, between the bird heads terminate in rectangles. A band at the waist is decorated with opposed triangles, and at the buttocks of the being there is a sort of tail with three segments, each enclosing rectangles (as a kind of feather element like those on the headdresses of Group A specimens) resting on an ovoid.

The scepter or staff held in the hand of the being has five enclosed rectangles, and terminates in an ovoid, which in turn encloses an additional rectangle. The upper end of the scepter is broken, and possibly had an additional element.

Comparisons to the Ornamental Plumes

Comparisons of form and iconography are made here primarily with Tiahuanaco and Huari specimens. Further comparisons with Pucara and pre-Pucara specimens will be made in a separate publication.

The specimen most closely related in form and design to Group A is a silver "ornamental pin (*tupu*)" of unknown provenience (fig. 38; Cordy-Collins, 1979, p. 243, fig. 203), now in the collection of L. Kurt Land in San Francisco, California. I saw this specimen in January 1977, when it was on exhibit at the California Academy of Sciences, San Francisco. At the center top of the ornamental plaque is a broken segment with repair holes, which indicates that there were originally two plumes. The dimensions of the plaque are 10.16 × 9.52 cm., and, assuming that this specimen had the same general proportions as the Pomacanchi ornamental plumes, its overall length would have been about 40 cm., placing it in the large range of that collection. The designs on the plaque were made by incision and repoussé. The reverse side shows the negative image (L. K. Land, personal communication, February 2, 1982). This specimen is indistinguishable from

the Pomacanchi group in every respect.

A large trapezoidal plaque of gold, 27 cm. in height, known as the Hoover plaque (Rowe, 1974, p. 409, fig. 409; Lyon, 1978, photo on p. 9), bears very close resemblance to the specimens from Pomacanchi, especially to those in figs. 14, 15, and 19. The similarities include the presence of an anthropomorphic face in high relief, arrangement and kinds of elements emanating from the band surrounding the face, technique of rocker stamping, and other specific details. A gift to President Herbert Hoover from the Peruvian President, Augusto B. Leguía, the Hoover plaque possibly comes from the south coast of Peru. Rowe (1977, p. 11) assigns it to the Huari style, probably dating to Middle Horizon 2, but points out that its appendages are more similar to those of Tiahuanaco than any other Huari specimen. There is also a somewhat similar trapezoidal gold plaque from Tiahuanaco with rayed motifs, having elaborate eye ornaments on the central face, unlike Huari style depictions (Posnansky, 1958, vol. III, pp. 132, 134, pl. LXXXIX. A.d).

Another trapezoidal plaque comparable to Group A specimens comes from the Island of Titicaca. It was collected by Bandelier, and is now housed at the American Museum of Natural History, New York. The piece is of silver in two fragments (B 1691 and B 1692), soldered together in 1944, and has a maximum width of 16.5 cm. and height of 13.2 cm. It has a central repoussé face in high relief with the eyes indented, probably for inlays, and lacks peripheral appendages although there is space for them. The mouth is missing. This piece compares most closely to specimens 14, 15, and 19 in plaque size and relief face.

There are a few other specimens that share certain features with the Pomacanchi collection, but none that are closely comparable. Two repoussé plumes from Pinilla, in the Ica Valley (Paulsen, 1969, figs. 22-23), while similar in conception, differ greatly in detail and are stylistically unrelated. Both plumes have rounded ornamental plaques decorated with circular faces. One is gold with three decorated tufts, the other silver with four. Their size falls within the small range of the Pomacanchi specimens; the arrangement of tuft, plaque, and pin components compare to those of Group A; and the multiple tufts resemble one Group C specimen (fig. 22). The round bumps on the pins compare to those on the ornamental plate fragment from Pomacanchi (fig. 31). The Pinilla plumes were found between two grave lots the ceramics of which have been assigned to the Ica-Pachacamac style dating to Middle Horizon 2B and to the Pinilla style of Middle Horizon 3 (Paulsen, 1969; Lyon 1969).

Three gold pins in the Museum für Völkerkunde (figs. 39-41; Eisleb and Strelow, 1980, figs. 304 and 306 [from Lurin], 305 [from Pachacamac]) are also related in general form and in the use of repoussé, relief, and probably incision, but are distinct in decoration. They fall within the small range of the Pomacanchi specimens.

A thin gold plume, from the southern Lake Titicaca Basin, with undecorated plaque and three tufts, each terminating in repoussé front view faces (fig. 42), resembles the form of Group C, but is much smaller (10 cm. long) than even the smallest pieces from Pomacanchi. This specimen, along with other gold objects and incised bone tubes, was excavated from a grave on Pariti Island by Bennett, and assigned by him to his Classic Tiahuanaco type (Bennett, 1936, pp. 451-455, fig. 30o). In addition, a gold plume with an undecorated trapezoidal plaque and a single trapezoidal tuft was found in Azángaro, Puno (Ponce Sanginés, 1948, p. 36,

fig. 40 lower center).

The motif of the central face with appendages is common in Huari and Tiahuanaco iconography, occurring in metal (Hoover plaque), stone (many monuments at Tiahuanaco, the most famous being the Monolithic Gateway of the Qalacasaya and the frieze of the Moon Door, e.g., Posnansky, 1945, vol. II, figs. 1, 59, 61; Uhle, 1934, various; Ponce Sanginés, 1972, fig. 93), textiles (Conklin, 1971), and ceramics (Ponce Sanginés, 1948; Menzel, 1977). There is one type of Tiahuanaco ceramic ceremonial burner in which the modeled feline or bird head that emanates from the rim of the vessel is framed by a trapezoidal plaque. Not only the form of the plaque but also the decoration is similar to the Pomacanchi ones in possessing a series of appendages terminating in animal heads, feather elements, and rings (e.g., Eisleb and Strelow, 1980, figs. 120, 121; Querejazu Lewis, 1983, fig. facing p. 30; Katz, 1983, fig. 146).

A close examination of the central face motif with appendages in most Huari and Tiahuanaco examples indicates that the presence or absence of the following attributes may be used to assist in distinguishing these two styles:

1. Ears of central face located outside the band that surrounds the face.
2. Teeth alone in the central face.
3. Two pairs of crossed fangs in addition to teeth.
4. Animal heads attached to stems at the four corners of the plaque.

A fifth criterion is the width of the animal neck attachment in relation to the width of its stem.¹¹ Where the animal head joins its stem there is generally a rectangular connector symbol, which may be plain or decorated, usually with an M or S, or, as on some of the Pomacanchi specimens, there is simply a line behind the animal head where it attaches to the stem. It is the relative width of either the rectangle or the line behind the head in relation to stem width that is important.

Table 4 shows the distribution of these attributes in both Huari and Tiahuanaco. The number of occurrences within the 19 Group A Pomacanchi specimens, excluding the reverse of specimens 1, 6, 7, and 16, is indicated by the numbers in parentheses.

The Group A Pomacanchi specimens are predominantly like Huari in characteristics 1-3, but are more like Tiahuanaco in attributes 4-5. That is, while they belong to the Huari style, they show some Tiahuanaco style resemblances, a situation that also obtains for the Group B specimen discussed below. Such an apparent combination was also noted by Rowe for the Hoover plaque (Rowe, 1977, p. 11). As already noted, Menzel dates the Pomacanchi plumes to Middle Horizon 1B, considering the Group B specimen to be stylistically conservative.

The horizontal figure on the Group B specimen from Pomacanchi closely compares to the Huari style floating angels, profile winged attendant figures in horizontal position carrying a staff, especially Angel C of Menzel (1964, pp. 20-21). The floating angels on a ceremonial urn from Conchopata dated to Middle Horizon 1A (Menzel, 1977, fig. 91) are similar in having teeth and fangs and bird heads flanking a central element in the headdress (on the feline-headed floating angel), the same kind of waistband, straight staff containing rectangular segments located horizontally under the body, and V-shaped elements enclosing dots in the heels. However, the Pomacanchi figure lacks a wing; and the Conchopata horizontal figures are not in a running position, lack the ovoid feather element at the buttocks, and the ring nose on the feline head. Another floating angel occurs

Table 4
Occurrence of Huari and Tiahuanaco Attributes
on Group A Pomacanchi Plumes

ATTRIBUTE	HUARI	TIAHUANACO
1.	No ears (19)	Ears (0)
2.	Teeth (18)	No teeth (1)
3.	Fangs (14)	No fangs (5)
4.	Upper corner animals different from lower (2)*	Same animals in all four corners (11)
5.	Neck attachment same size as stem (4)**	Neck attachment smaller than stem (9)**

*Does not include specimen 6, noted earlier; one incomplete specimen; and four specimens that have animals in upper corners and different, nonanimal elements or nothing below.

**Specimens 14, 15, and 19 have a combination; 11, 13, and 17 lack attachments.

on a provincial Huari style wooden tumbler from Moche, probably dating to Middle Horizon 1B or as late as 2A (Menzel, 1977, p. 40, fig. 90). The almond-shaped eye and its L-shaped ornament of the Pomacanchi figure are found mainly on Huari style specimens (e.g., Menzel, 1969, fig. 45 [Middle Horizon 2a or 2B]; Eisleb and Strelow, 1980, fig. 301).

The Textile Museum fragment from the south coast of Peru (Conklin, 1971; 1985, pp. 18-19, fig. 32), has two kinds of staff-bearing felines in a horizontal position that also compare to the Pomacanchi Group B figure. Similarly, the flying felines possess teeth, fangs, ring noses, internal leg appendages from the ankles, and staffs held horizontally beneath the body, including a straight staff with rectangular segments. However, they are winged and have tails, one terminating in the same ovoid and feather element as on the Pomacanchi figure. Conklin (1971, p. 23; 1985, p. 19) places the Textile Museum fragment earlier than or even contemporary with Middle Horizon 1 ceramics, and it is most like T2 of his Pucara-Tiahuanaco tapestry sequence, bearing strong Tiahuanaco stylistic influence. Menzel dates the Textile Museum fragment to Middle Horizon 1B (Wassén, 1982, pp. 28, 34-35).

There are four examples from Tiahuanaco that compare to the personage on the group B specimen: the stone lintel from Calle Linares (Posnansky, 1945, vol. II, pp. 223-224, figs. 140, 140a), the Kantatayta architrave,¹² an engraved stone fragment from Akapana (Créqui-Montfort, 1906, p. 540, fig. 11 [upside down]; Cook, 1983, p. 171, fig. 6), and a small engraved and inlaid bone container (Eisleb and Strelow, 1980, p. 95, fig. 312). The following attributes, or variations of them, on the specimen from Pomacanchi are found in all or some of these pieces in the Tiahuanaco style: the horizontal position of a personage, its teeth and a pair of fangs, a ring nose, legs in a running position, long curved appendages

emanating from the ankles and extending the length of the interior of the legs, a waistband decorated with opposing triangles, the ovoid and feather element at the buttocks, and lack of wings. Furthermore, the four Tiahuanaco examples are stylistically similar to one another, and Menzel, in a letter to Wassén, indicates that the lintel from Calle Linares and the fragment from the Akapana should be contemporary, predating Middle Horizon 2 (Wassén, 1972, p. 32).

Finally, of the textiles constituting William Conklin's Pucara-Tiahuanaco tapestry sequence (Conklin, 1985, especially Table 1), the Pomacanchi Group B specimen most closely resembles two early ones from Chile (T2 from Quebrada Vitoria and T3 from Punta Pichalo) in a number of attributes, although differences also exist. The most striking resemblance is the horizontal position of the figures on both textiles. Moreover, T3's legs are in a running position and contain appendages emanating from the ankles, while T2's similarities lie in the kind of waistband, the ring nose, lack of wing, and presence of teeth and fangs. Both T2 and T3 have straight staffs, T3's having rectangular segments.

Conclusions

The Pomacanchi collection includes 2 ceramic vessels, a small number of beads, and 141 metal artifacts that weigh a total of more than 5.5 kg. It contains the largest number of Middle Horizon metal artifacts to come from funerary offerings, possibly constituting a single burial assemblage.

Certainly the dating of the collection is an important issue. The most firmly datable object is the canteen-shaped flask that Menzel assigns to Middle Horizon 1B; independent of the flask, she regards the decorated plumes as also dating to Middle Horizon 1B. If these placements are correct, their association appears to indicate contemporaneity for the objects and their deposition in the funerary offering. The floating angel on the Group B specimen compares to the Conchopata style of Middle Horizon 1A, to the Textile Museum textile of Middle Horizon 1B or earlier, and even more closely to such Tiahuanaco representations as those on the Calle Linares lintel, the Kantatayta architrave, the stone fragment from the Akapana, and the bone container, all stylistically related and probably dating to pre-Middle Horizon 2. On the other hand, there are close comparisons between Group A specimens and the Hoover plaque, dated to Middle Horizon 2, and more distant similarities between Groups A and B and the two plumes from Pinilla of Middle Horizon 2B or 3 date. In any case, Menzel (1969, pp. 92-93) concludes that Huari influence appears in the Cuzco Basin perhaps as early as Epoch 1B, extending into 2B. The broader comparisons might indicate, however, that the Pomacanchi specimens were made in more than one epoch and either deposited at different times or kept until they were deposited all at once.

Although the silver ornamental plumes are similar in material, form, and overall size, and share a common conceptual motivation (in Group A, the concern with symmetrical distribution of rayed elements that emanate from a central anthropomorphic face), the analysis of specific iconographic elements on all but three specimens (figs. 14, 15, 19) indicates no duplication or very little similarity among specimens (e.g., in location and kinds of elements on the plaque). This variability, I suggest, may indicate manufacture and interpretation of the elements by peoples in isolated or distant centers but within the Huari interaction sphere, who, during the appropriate time(s), took or sent their individualized plumes (perhaps insignia of rank, position, or even social or territorial group) to be placed as

part of a single funerary assemblage. If the deposit dates to one epoch, then we have some control as to the variability that occurred at that time.

The fact that this collection was found within the southernmost highland limits of Huari, reveals the importance and extent of the religious and political institutions in maintaining a complex mythological vocabulary and in integrating diverse groups of people here. The associated flask is of Chakipampa B style, a secular sierra pottery style that Menzel argues "is the commonest marker of the Ayacucho expansion," (Menzel, 1964, p. 68), indicating that, in addition to religious propaganda, military conquest was involved. If the entire deposit is of Middle Horizon 1B date, it represents an activity carried out by some of the earliest Huari imperialists in Cuzco. Regarding the function of the ornamental plumes, they were probably once worn by males of high rank in the manner of the Inca *mascapaycha*, and, as evidenced by attempts to repair some specimens, this kind of artifact may have been extensively used prior to interment. Such insignia of position also carried important religious icons, some of them apparently more careful renditions than others.

The Huari style collection from Pomacanchi also shows many Tiahuanaco features that include not only the location and kinds of elements on some of the trapezoidal plaques on Group A plumes (Table 4), but apparently also the presence of cascabels, bands, and silhouettes, so far noted only for the Tiahuanaco area. Furthermore, the Hoover plaque, which provides a very close comparison to the Pomacanchi Group A plaques, is described by Rowe as possessing Tiahuanaco similarities as well. Menzel observes (1964; 1969), based on strong stylistic similarities, that there was close communication between the Huari and Tiahuanaco areas, with religious ideas being shared and exchanged. Lumbreras also suggests (1974, p. 155), based on the style of some Robles Moqo elements present on artifacts excavated by Bennett on the Island of Pariti, that Huari people traveled to the altiplano with gold offerings, bringing back Tiahuanaco ideas, which then influenced the Huari area. The Pomacanchi collection also points to communication between the two independent centers. Since Pomacanchi lies in the southern limits of the Huari area, in relatively close proximity to Tiahuanaco, such resemblances might be expected. Tiahuanaco features on a Middle Horizon 2 provincial Huari beaker from Chumbivilcas, to the southwest of Pomacanchi, also suggests such communication in this southern extreme of Huari highland territory (S. Chávez, ms.). Although a coastal Huari enclave has recently been discovered in Tiahuanaco territory in Moquegua (Moseley, Feldman, and Pritzker, 1982; Lumbreras, Mujica, and Vera, 1982; Watanabe, 1984), to date no zone of contact has been found between Huari and Tiahuanaco in the south highlands, where a territory of some 130 km. separates the two.

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NOTES

¹Metal hammered plaque (Paulsen, 1969, p. 3), pin or *tupu/topu* (Bollaert, 1861, p. 78; Markham, 1912, p. 119), ornamental pin or *tupu* (Cordy-Collins, 1979, caption to fig. 203), decorative needle or pin imitating feathers (Eisleb and Strelow, 1980, captions to figs. 304-306), pin shaped like a plume with three branches (Bennett, 1936, p. 452), shawl pins or *tupos* (Isbell, 1977, p. 121), plume (Lothrop, 1938, pl. III.f), *pluma* as a head ornament (Rowe, 1977, fig. 2).

²Rowe, 1946, pl. 79a-b; Nordenskiöld, 1953, lám. 2, figs. 3, 5-7; Posnansky, 1958, vol. III, pl. LXXXV.A. Small figures may dangle from perforations (Ponce Sanginés, 1969, figs. 40, 42). The plate may also lack perforations (Nordenskiöld, 1953, lám. 2, fig. 12; Ponce Sanginés, 1969, figs. 39, 41).

³E.g., from the "cemetery of sacrificed women" in Pachacamac (Uhle, 1903, p. 91, pl. 19, fig. 10); from Saqsawaman (Valcárcel, 1935, lám. IX, 1/133, 1/137, 1/134, 1/609); from La Pampa in Huánuco, possibly of the Caserones Inca period (Terada, 1979, pp. 103, 173); from a transitional Inca burial at Saqsawaman (Valencia Zegarra, 1970, lám. 1, fig. 1).

⁴Isbell (1977, pp. 38, 121, pl. 19.L) reports 3 copper "tupos"; and Bennett (1953, p. 70) describes five copper "topos."

⁵Izumi and Terada, 1972, pp. 295-296, pl. 96a-b. Kotosh Higuera is dated to the Late Formative by a radiocarbon determination of A.D. 70 ± 200 (p. 312).

⁶Rowe (1977, p. 3) was the first to note this distinction. In his article dealing with the religious art of Cuzco in the Early Horizon, Rowe made comparisons with a specimen from the Echinique collection reported by Markham and Bollaert, and stated: "Su [Markham] 'topu' parece ser más bien un adorno de la cabeza, una especie de pluma de oro."

⁷These correspondences in Guaman Poma (1936) were pointed out to me by Karen L. Mohr Chávez.

⁸Webster's dictionary defines bell as, "A cup-shaped, saucer-shaped or hollow spherical metallic device that vibrates and gives forth a ringing sound when struck by a clapper or hammer or by a loose ball inside" (Merriam-Webster, 1971, p. 200). On the other hand, cascabel is defined as "A small hollow perforated spherical

bell enclosing a loose pellet which causes it to jingle when moved—called also a *jingle bell*" (Merriam-Webster, 1971, p. 345); or "cascabel forms caskable, casacabel, cascabel. sp. cascabel—a little round bell, child's rattle, rattlesnake, which has been *conjectured* to be connected with *L. scabellum*, a kind of castanet played with the foot" (Murray and others, 1933, vol. II, p. 144).

⁹Muelle (1936, p. 12 drawing m), provenience not mentioned; Nordenskiöld (1921, figs. 20b-c, 58c-d, 19b), specimens said to come from Lima, Chuquitanta, Cuzco, and Pachacamac; Bingham (1914, p. 184), from Machu Picchu; Uhle (1903, p. 95, fig. 115), excavated at Pachacamac in association with Inca pottery; and Terada (1979, p. 103, pl. 91a-1, -2, -4), excavated at La Pampa, Huánuco, possibly local Inca.

¹⁰A similar piece (gold) is mentioned by Cordy-Collins (1979, p. 243) as having the same arrangement of animal heads. However, after examining a slide of this specimen, kindly provided by Cordy-Collins, I concluded that this gold pin was one and the same as the silver one in the Land collection, and that the gold appearance reported by Cordy-Collins probably resulted from the yellowish coloration of light reflectors in the slide.

¹¹The first distinction was pointed out by Karen Chávez (ms.), while John Rowe has noted the others (e.g., Rowe, 1977, pp. 10-11).

¹²The Kantatayta architrave (also spelled Kantatallita on a photograph of it on exhibit at the Museo Nacional de Arqueología, La Paz) has been described, with an illustration of one of the personages, by Cook (1983, p. 173, fig. 7). The raised portion that bears the six personages is a semioval band having at least three personages on each side facing the center.

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KEY TO ILLUSTRATIONS

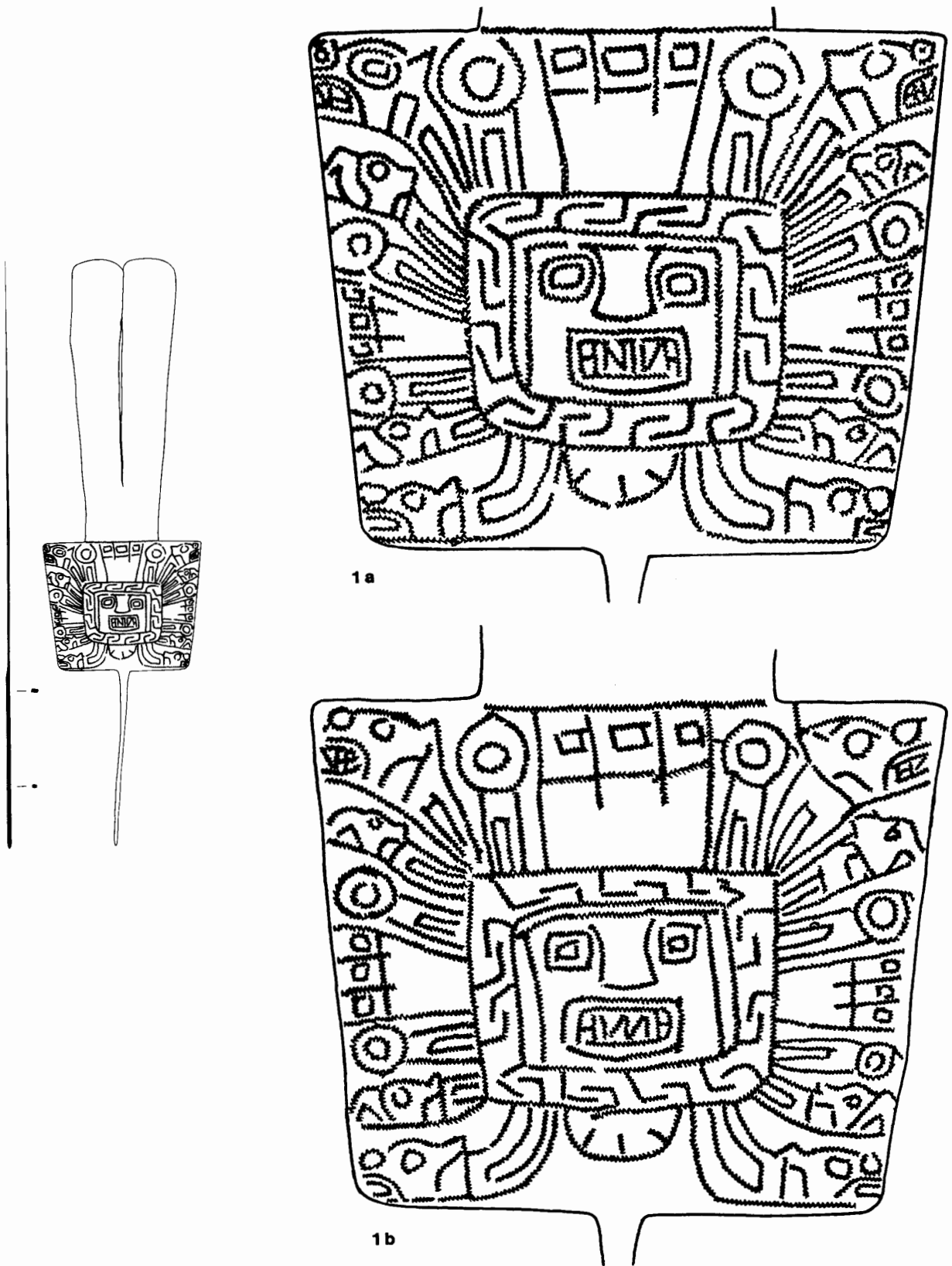
With the exception of the drawings in figs. 18 and 19 (which are based on notes and rubbings alone), the entire collection of plumes was carefully reproduced and traced from rubbings, cellophane tracings (copied immediately on paper to avoid distortion from shrinkage), notes, and photographs taken of the specimens in Cuzco. Furthermore, the decorative techniques on the plaques (incision, rocker stamping, repoussé) are accurately reproduced in all cases except figs. 18 and 19, as noted above. The specimen in fig. 13 is the only one in which repoussé was done on both sides of the plaque (feline heads were repoussé from the obverse to the reverse, and vice versa for the anthropomorphic face).

In figs. 1-19, the entire plume and profile are reproduced at 25% of actual size, while the plaque is reproduced at 100% to show technical detail.

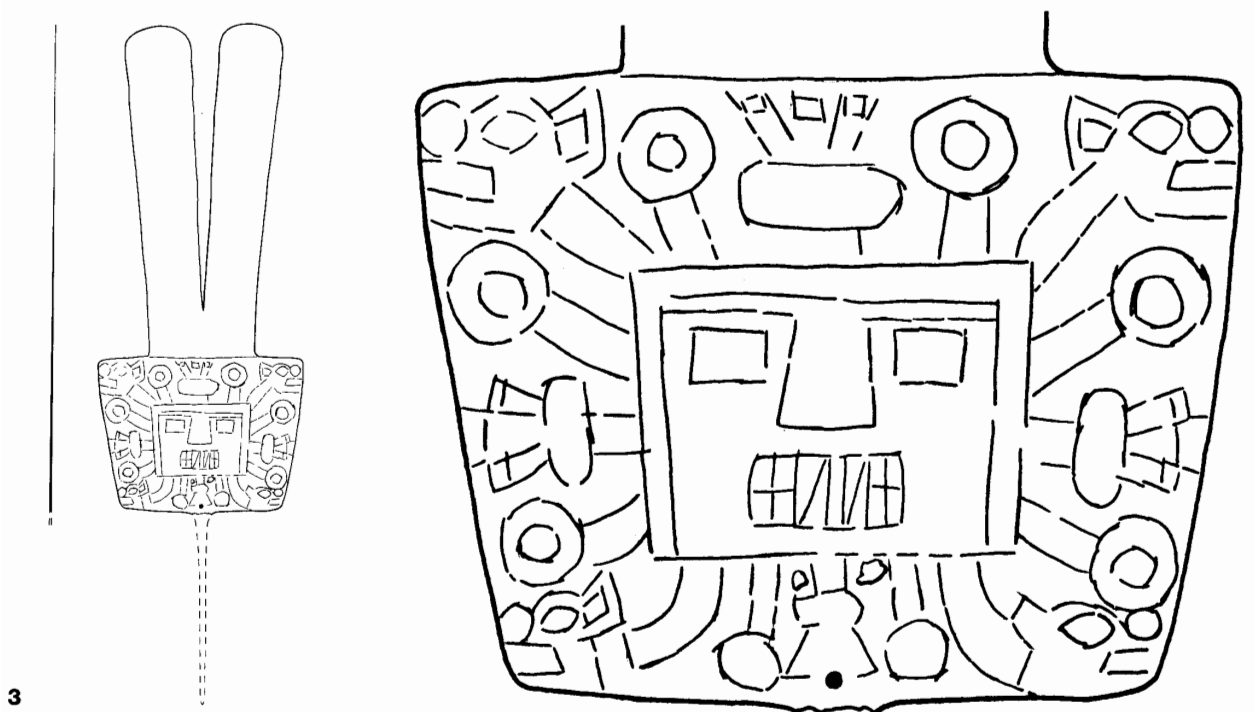
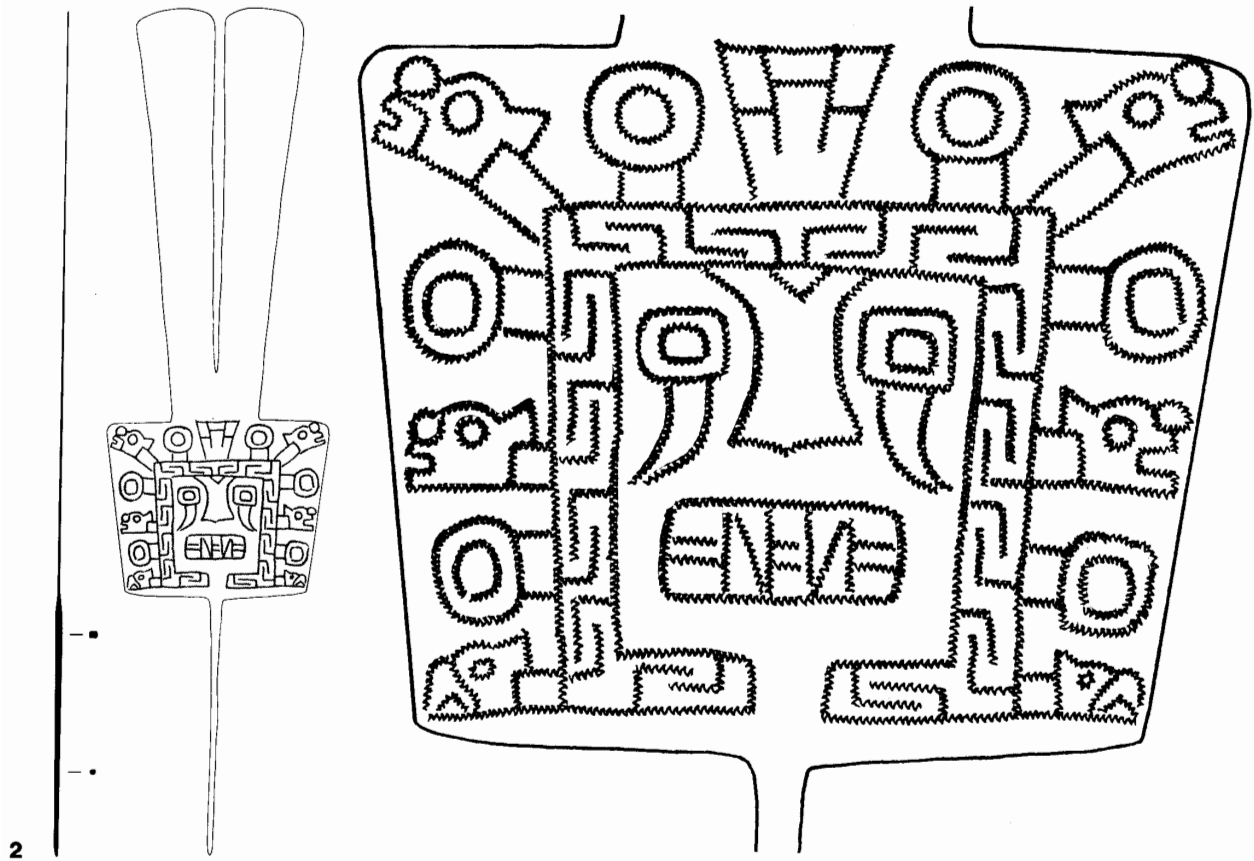
All specimens are from Pomacanchi unless otherwise noted.

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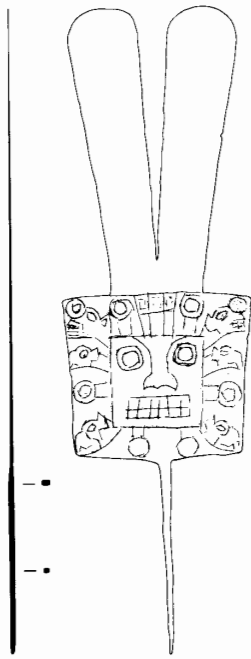
- Fig. 40. Museum für Völkerkunde, Berlin, catalog no. VA 28354.
 Fig. 41. Museum für Völkerkunde, Berlin, catalog no. VA 31795.
 Fig. 42. This specimen was excavated by Wendell C. Bennett from a grave on Pariti Island. Bennett's published dimensions for it (10 cm. long, pin portion 2.8 cm. long, base of tuft 3 cm. wide, and top of tuft 4 cm. wide) do not agree with his drawing (Bennett, 1936, pp. 451-455, fig. 30o). The drawing here is taken directly from Bennett's original drawing, at the American Museum of Natural History, New York, kindly shown to us by Barbara Conklin. Fig. 42 conforms more accurately to Bennett's published dimensions.



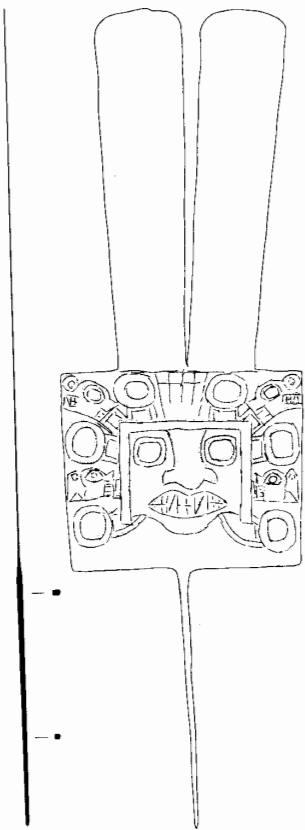
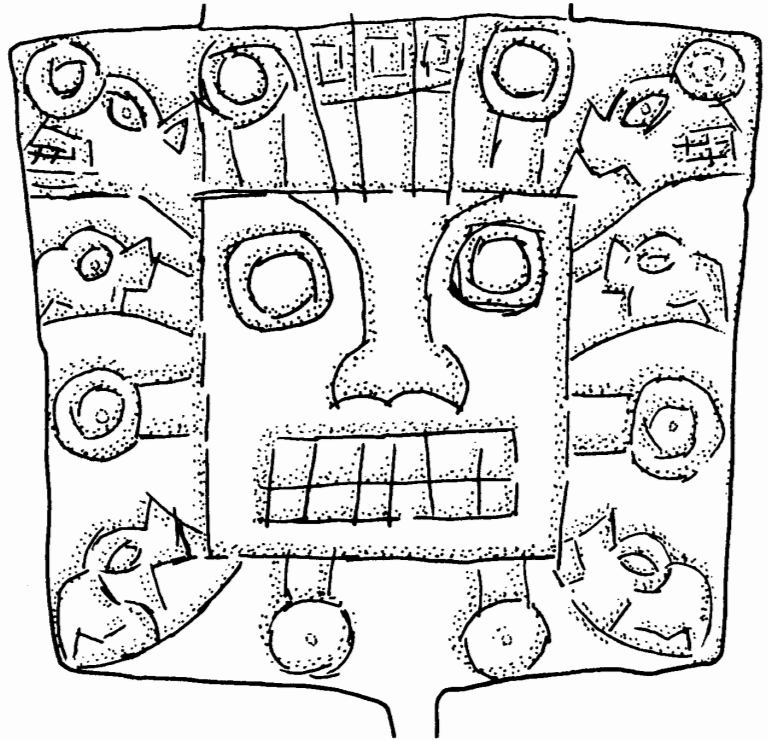
Group A plume, height 41.1 cm., weight 97 gm. Fig. 1a, obverse; fig. 1b, reverse.



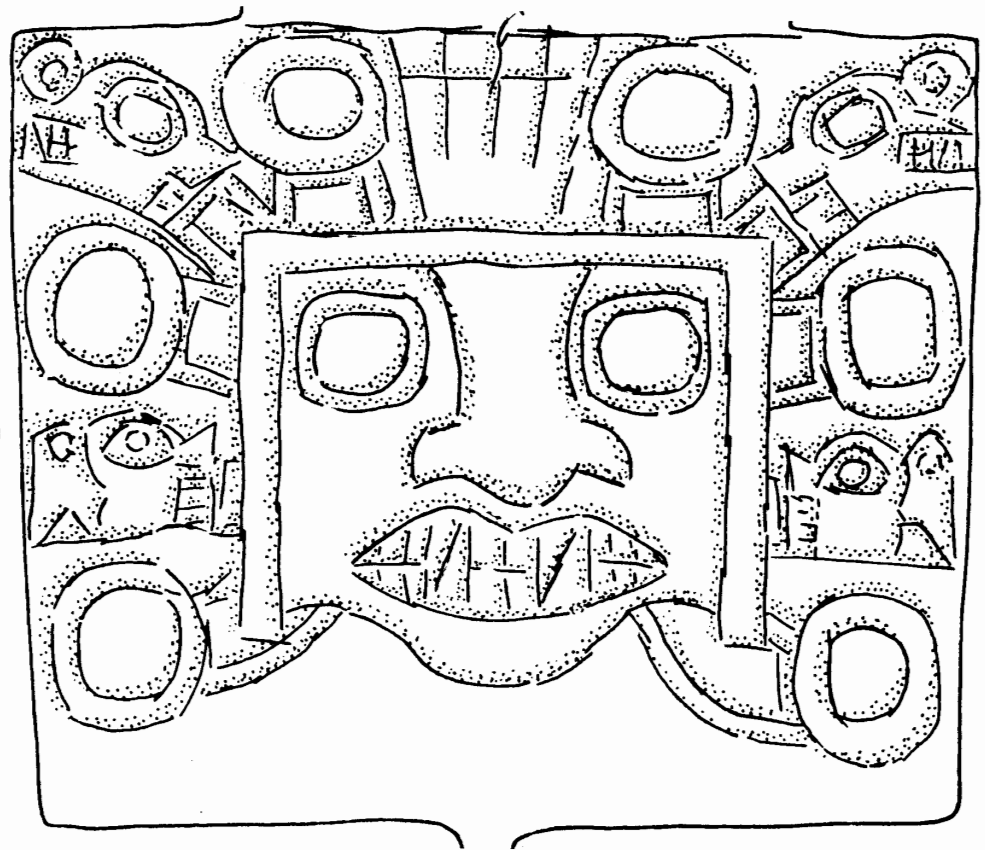
Group A plumes. **Fig. 2**, height 45.6 cm., weight 110 gm.; **fig. 3**, preserved height 26.5 cm., preserved weight 97 gm.



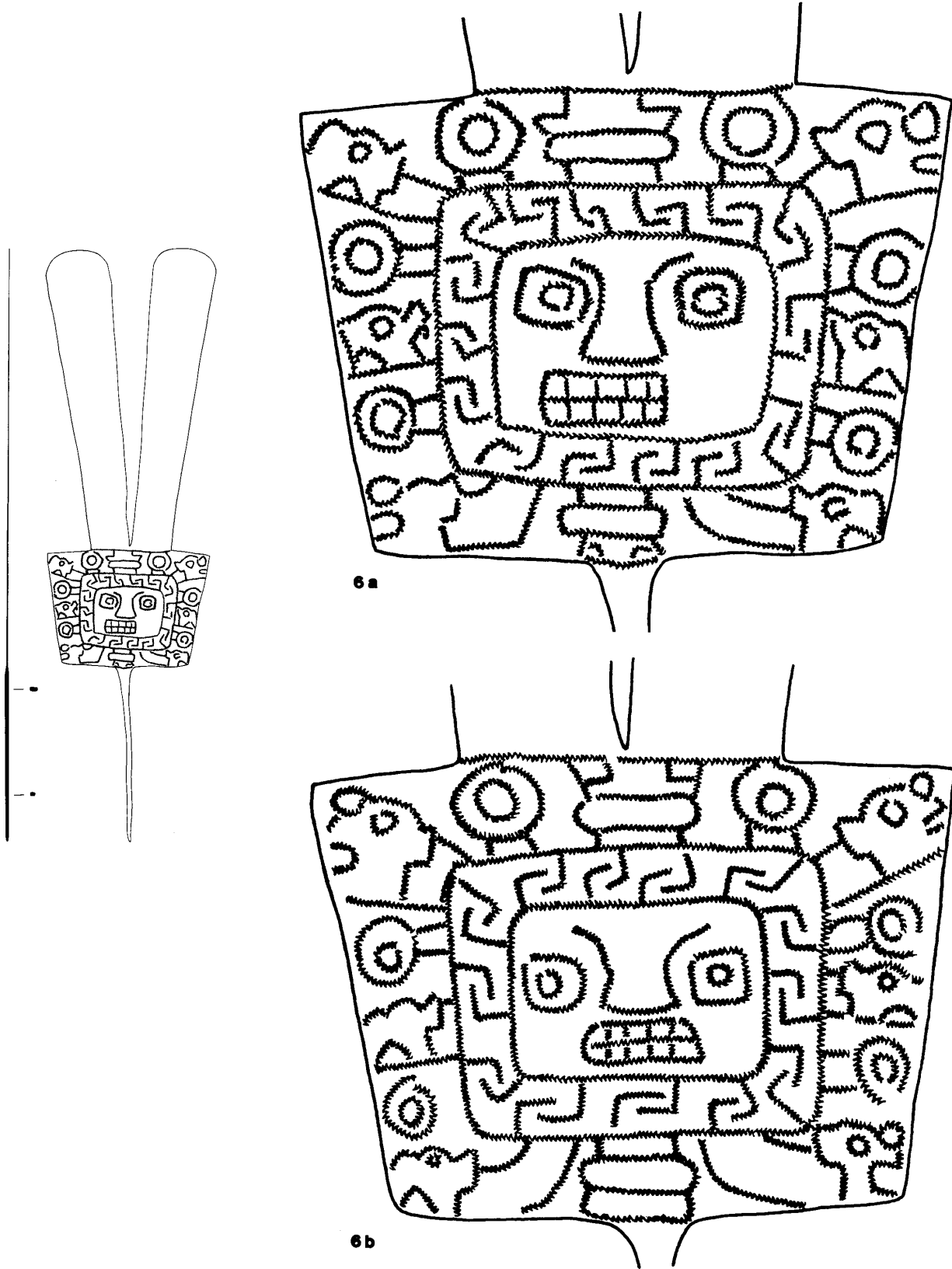
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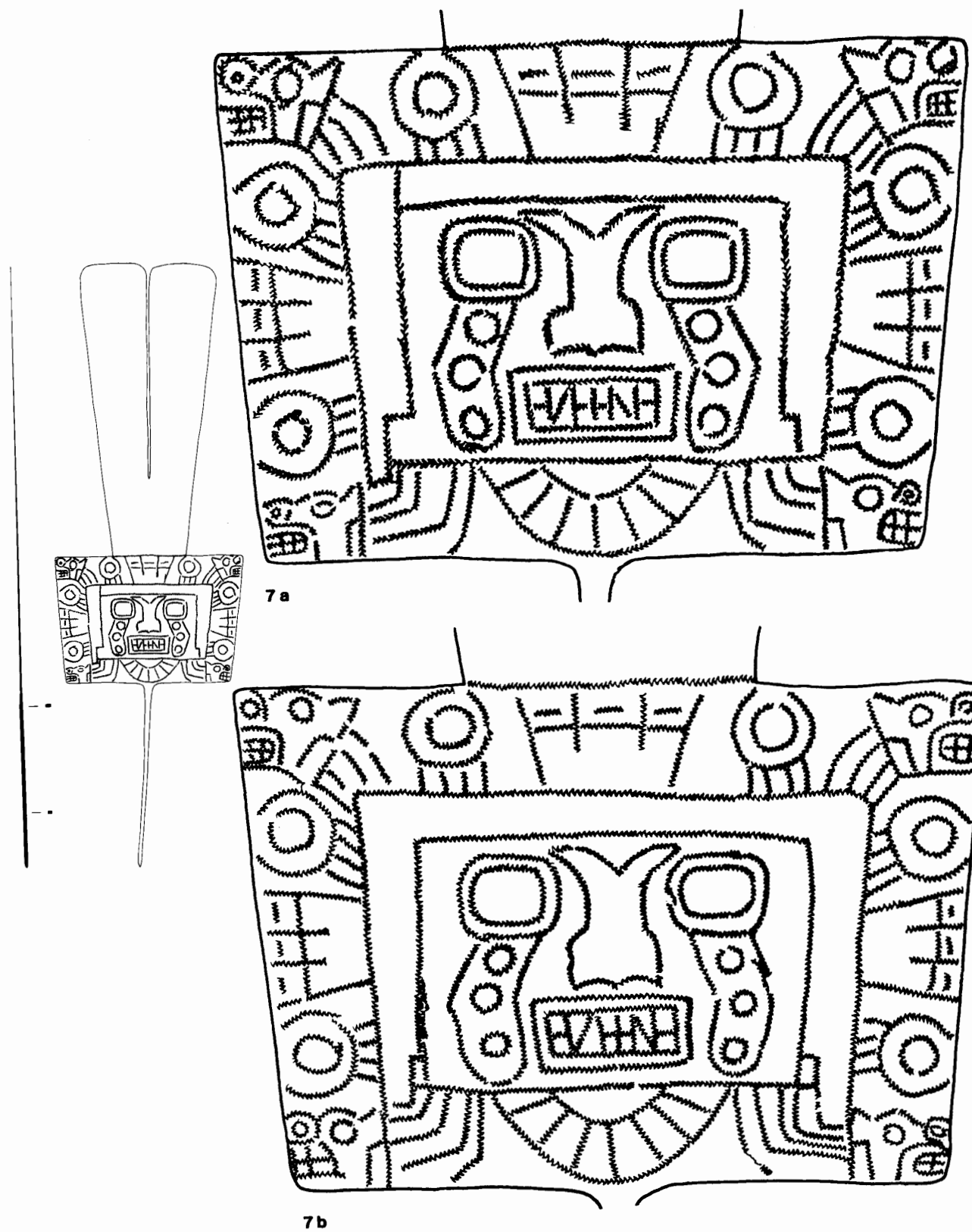
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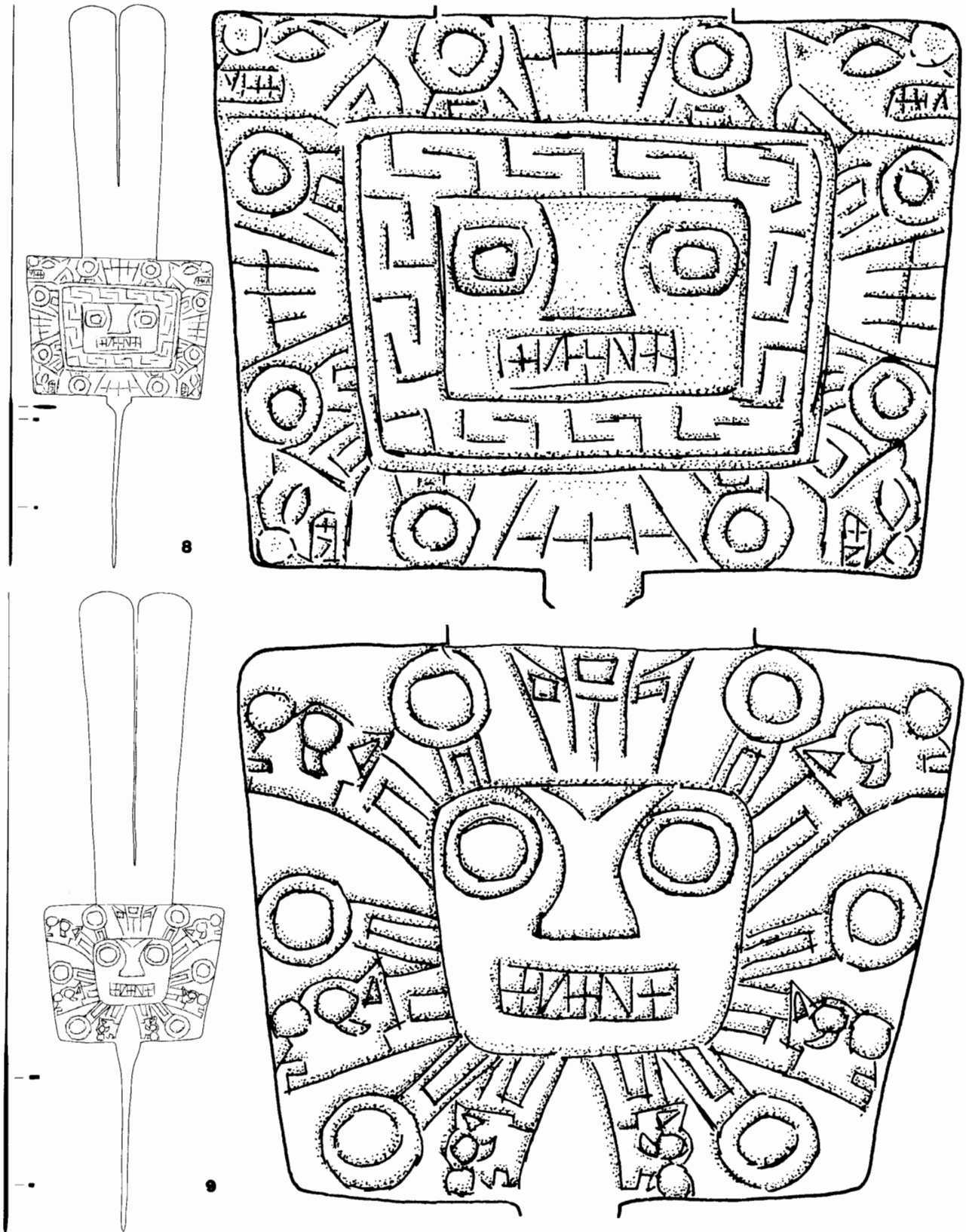
Group A plumes. **Fig. 4**, height 34.7 cm., weight 77 gm.; **fig. 5**, height 44 cm., weight 103 gm.



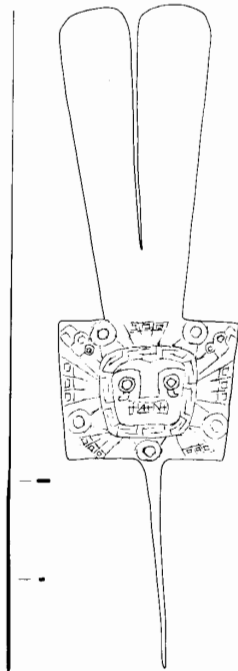
Group A plume, height 41.2 cm., weight 102 gm. Fig. 6a, obverse; fig. 6b, reverse.



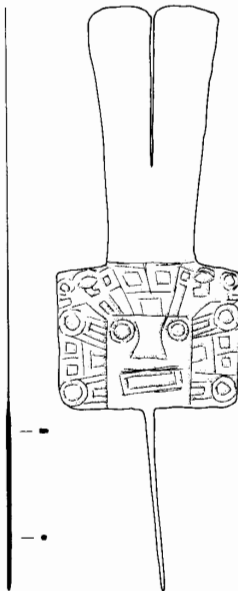
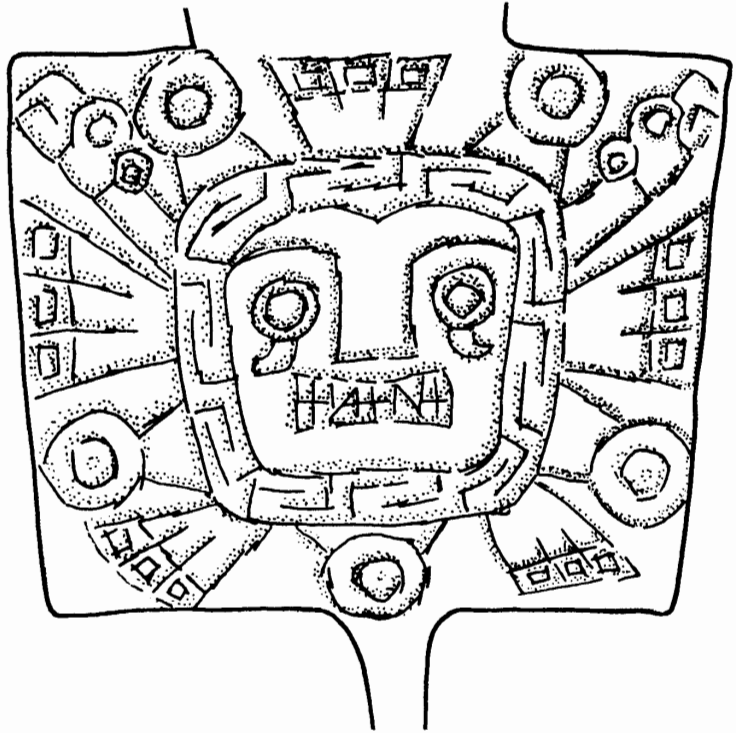
Group A plume, height 42.9 cm., weight 113 gm. Fig. 7a, obverse; fig. 7b, reverse.



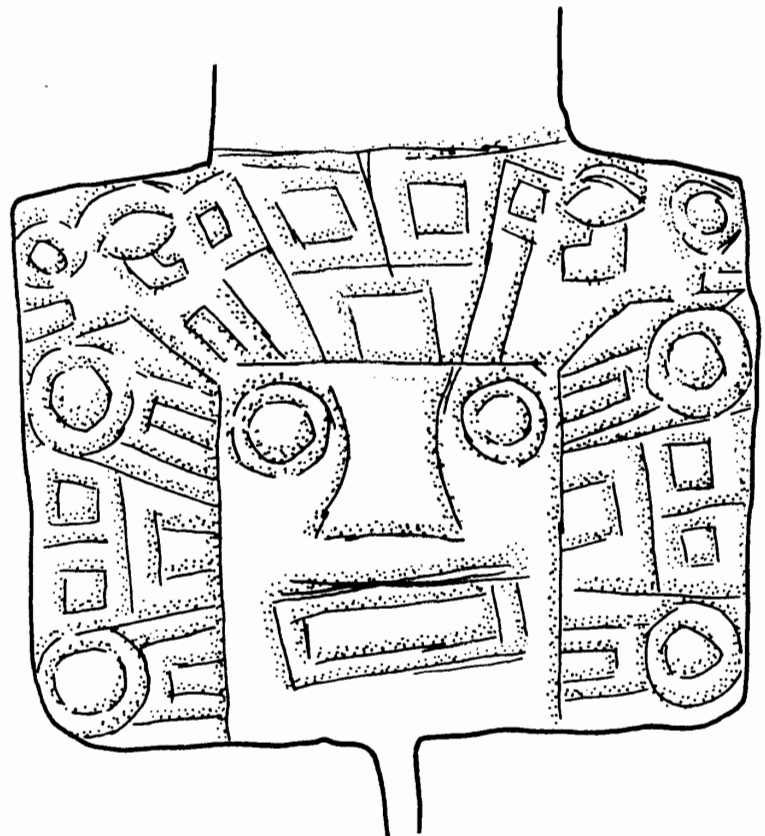
Group A plumes. Fig. 8, height 40.1 cm., weight 77 gm.; fig. 9, height 45.9 cm., weight 103 gm.



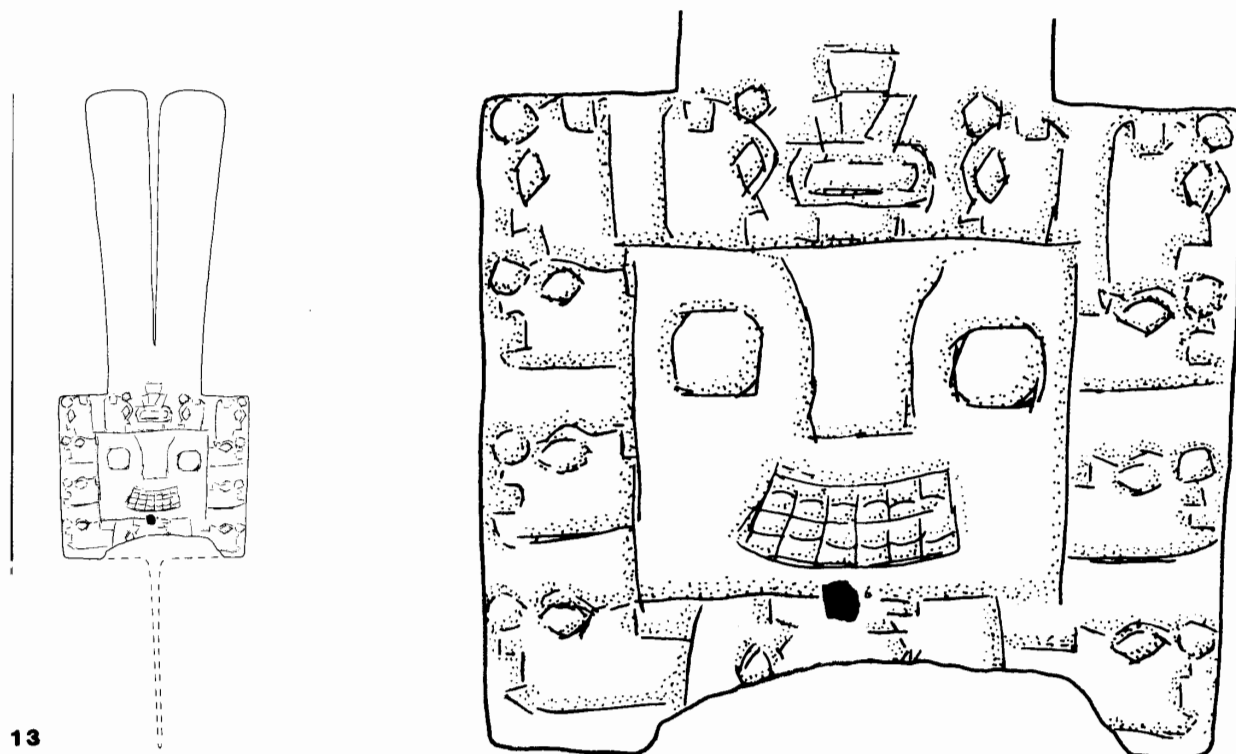
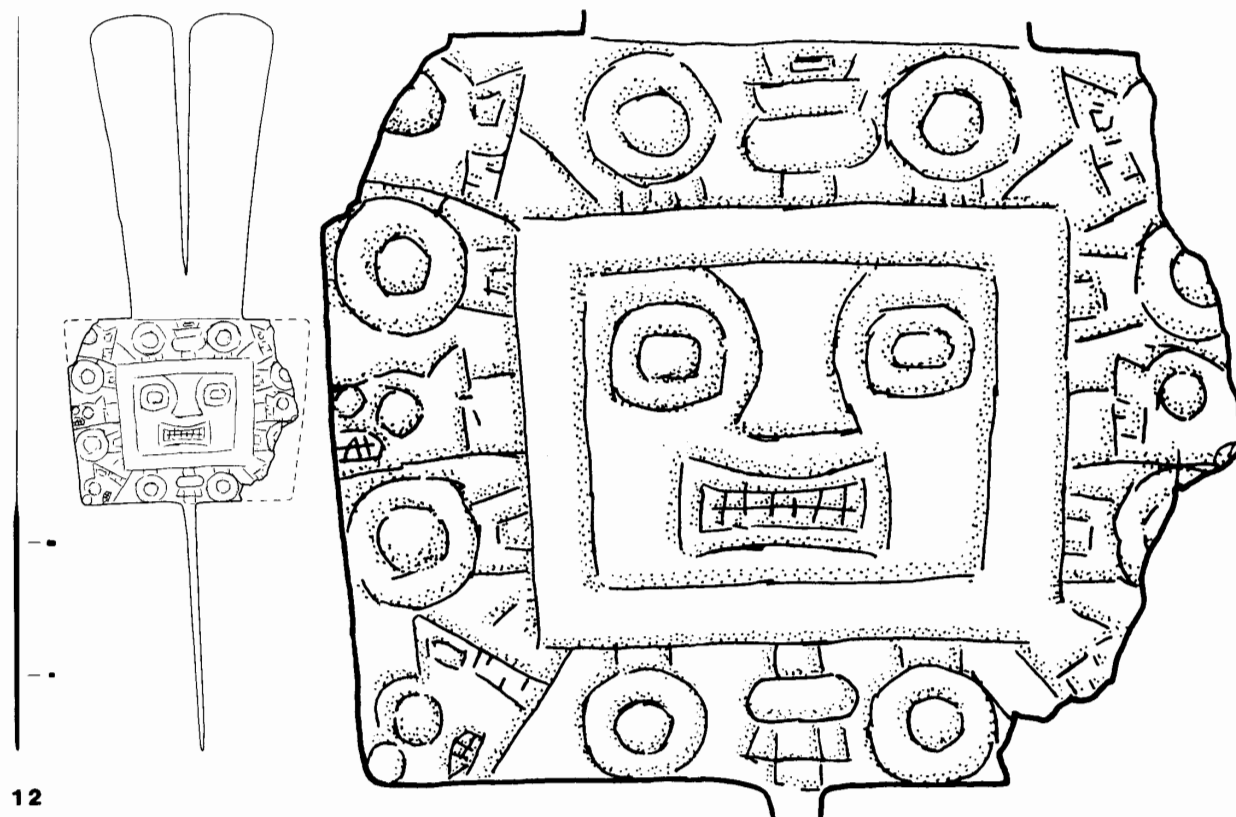
10



11



Group A plumes. **Fig. 10**, height 35.9 cm., weight 73 gm.; **fig. 11**, height 31.5 cm., weight 29 gm.



Group A plumes. **Fig. 12**, height 39.6 cm., preserved weight 98 gm.; **fig. 13**, preserved height 25.2 cm., preserved weight 59 gm.

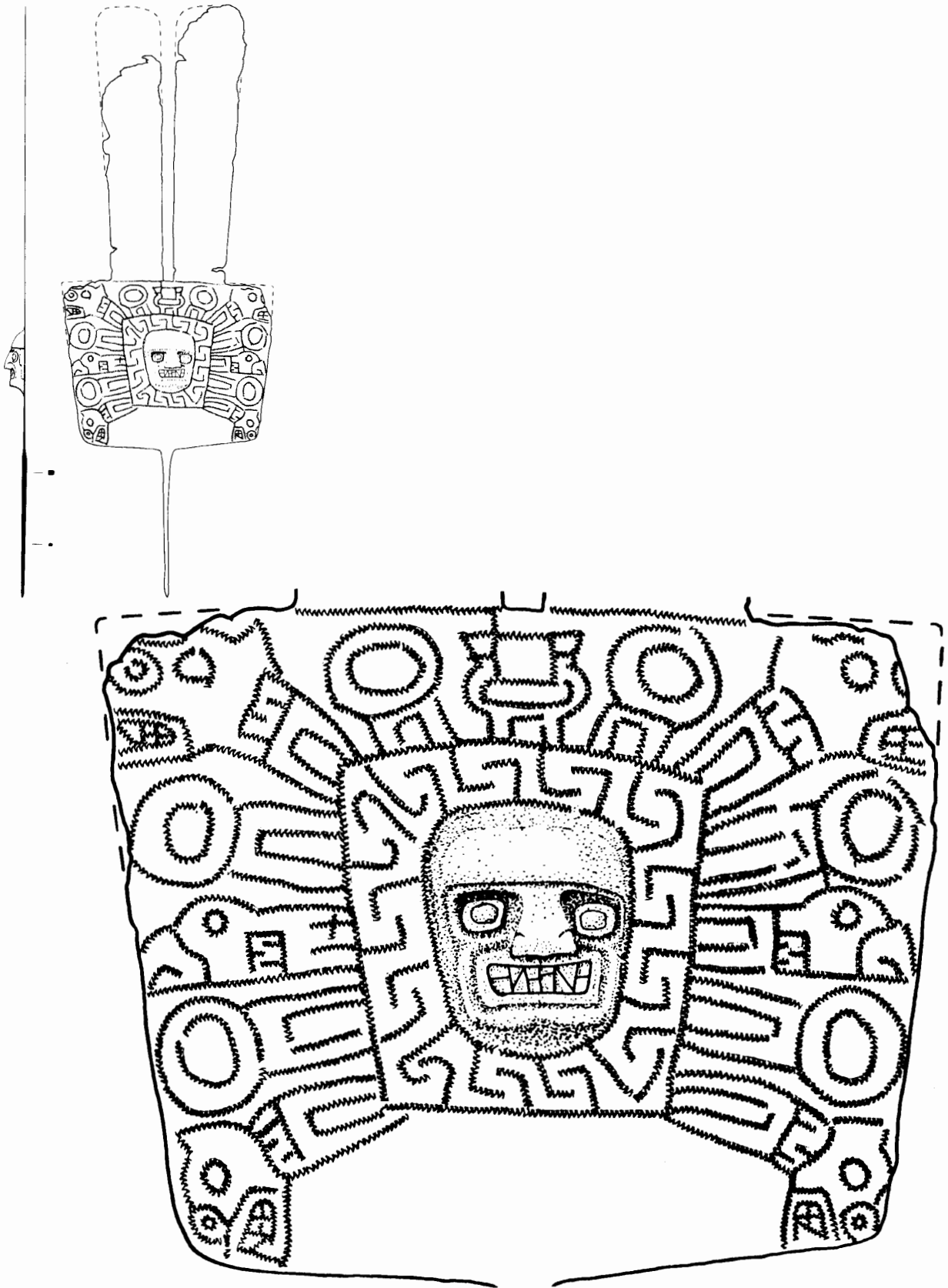
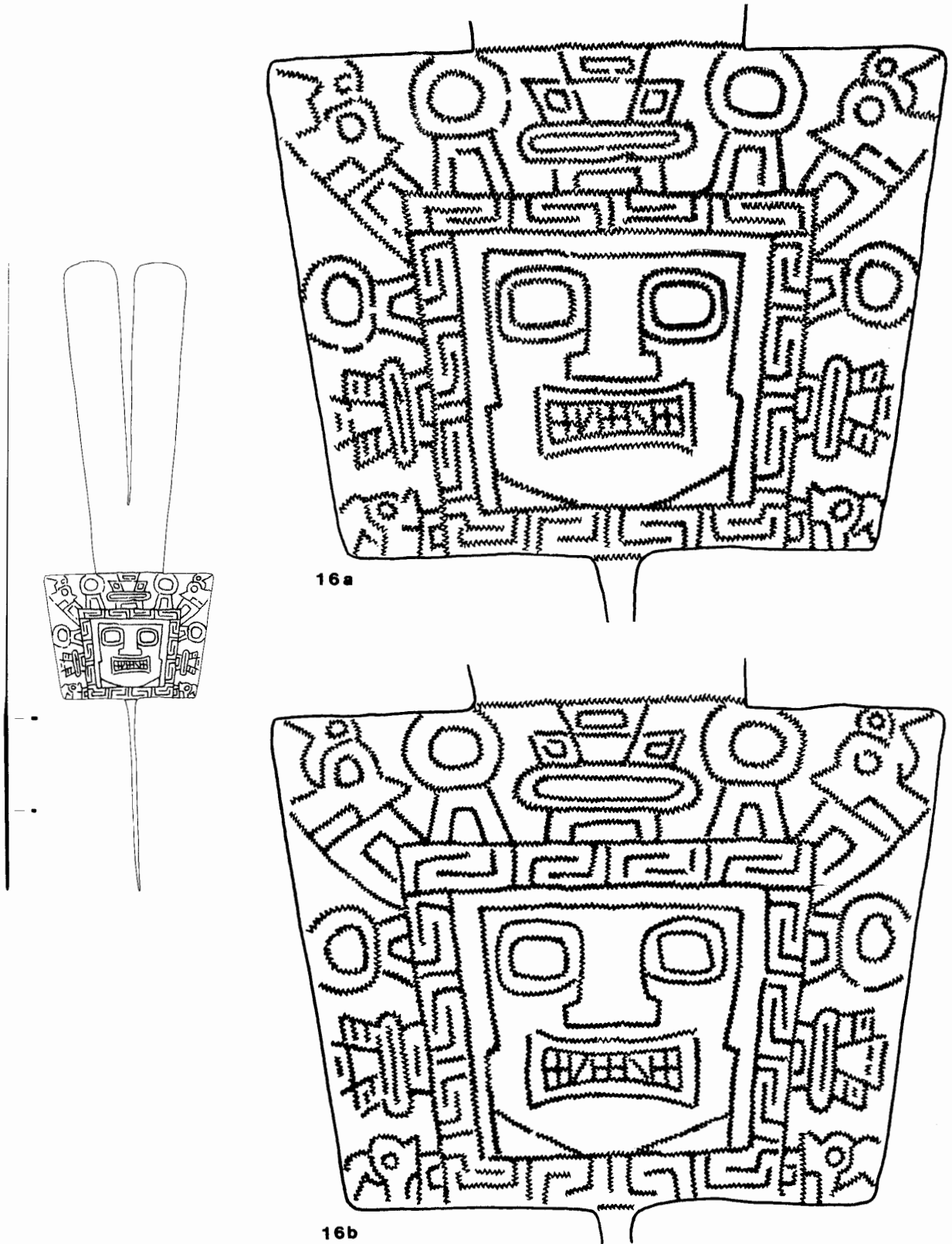


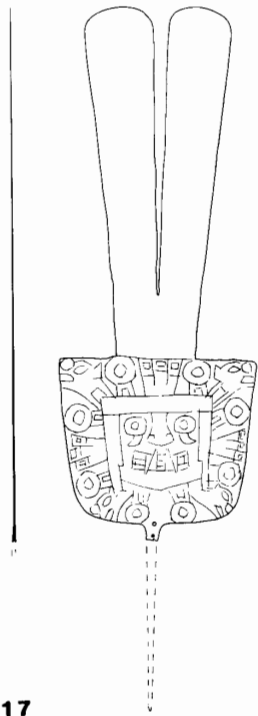
Fig. 14, Group A plume, height 41.3 cm., preserved weight 67 gm.



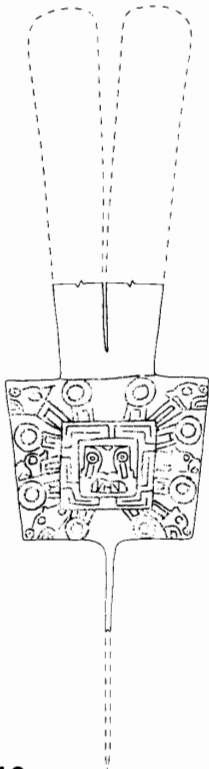
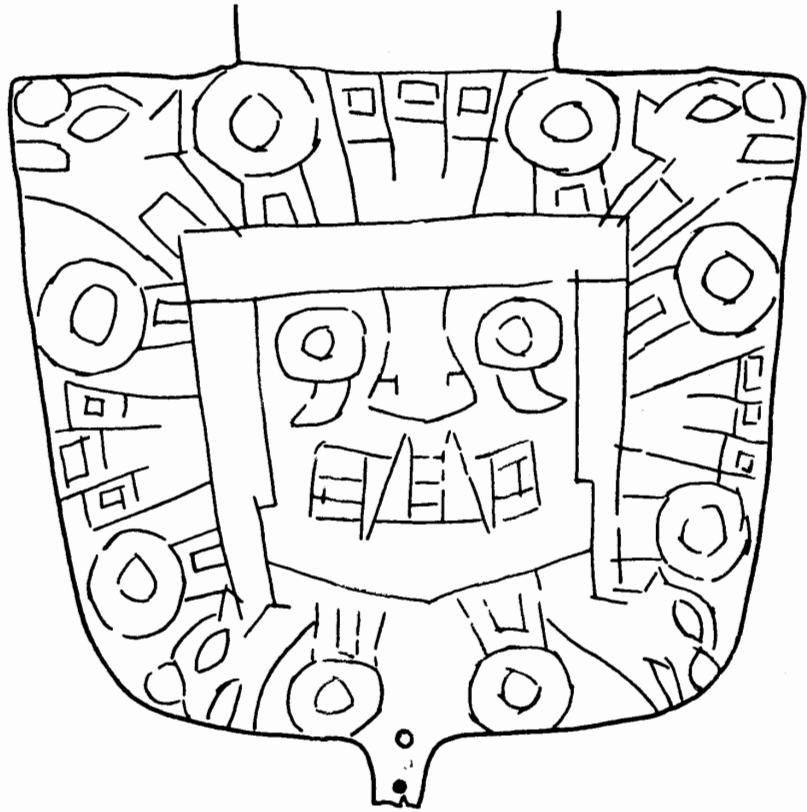
Fig. 15, Group A plume, preserved height 21.8 cm., preserved weight 45 gm.



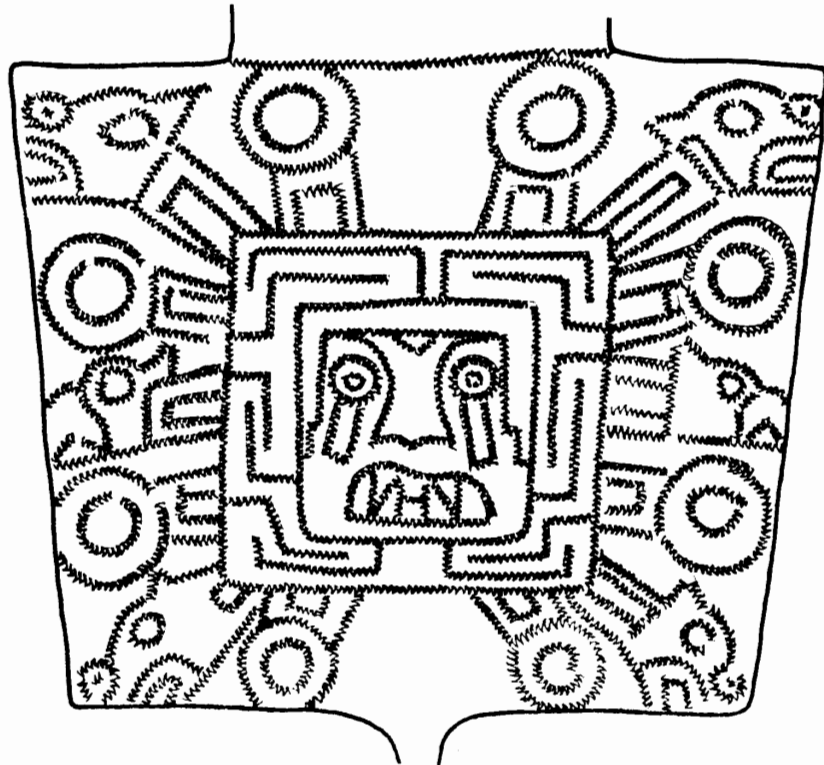
Group A plume, height 43.8 cm., weight 92 gm. Fig. 16a, obverse; fig. 16b, reverse.



17



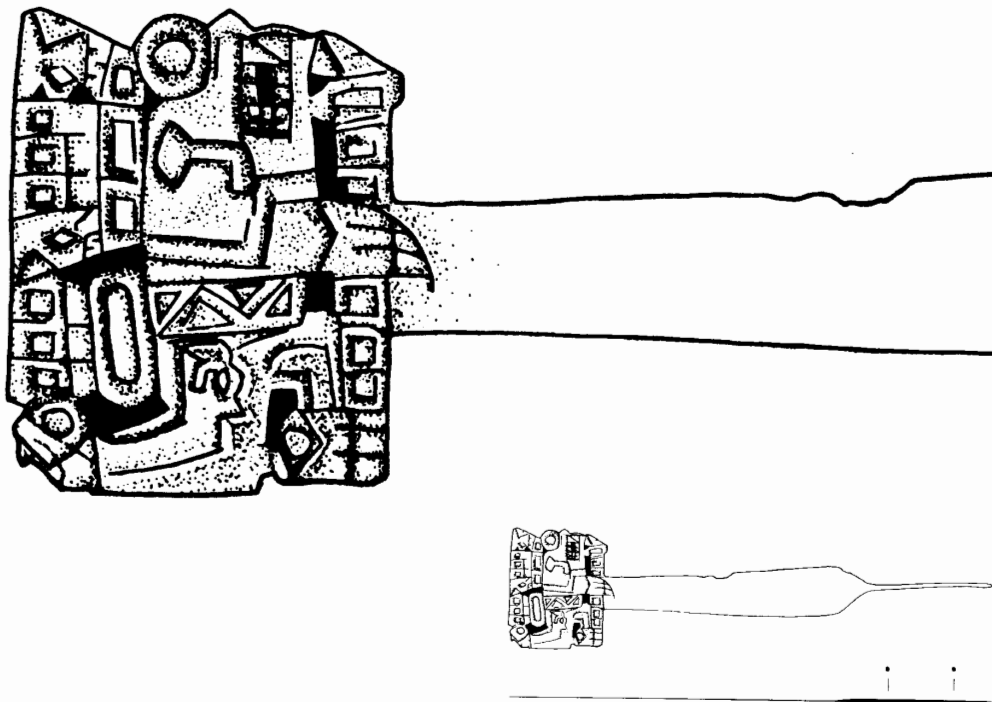
18



Group A plumes. **Fig. 17**, preserved height 28.8 cm., preserved weight 91 gm.; **fig. 18**, height and weight not recorded.



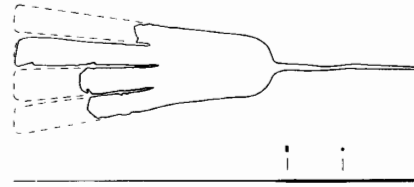
Fig. 19, Group A plume, height 41.7 cm., weight not recorded.



20

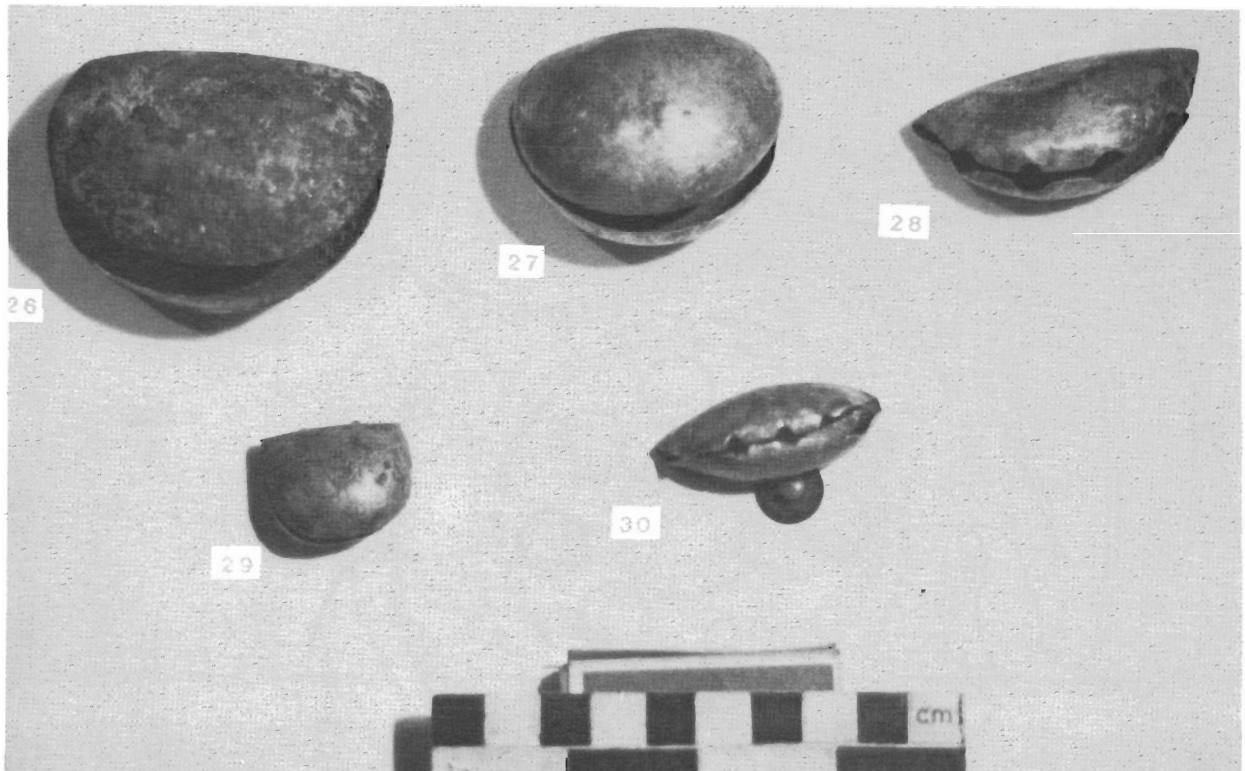


21



22

Fig. 20, Group B plume, height 26 cm., weight 12 gm.; fig. 21, Group C plume, height 40.4 cm., weight 59 gm.; fig. 22, Group C plume, height 22 cm., preserved weight 9 gm.



Figs. 23-25, three sizes of bracelets or anklets; **figs. 26-30**, three sizes of casabel.

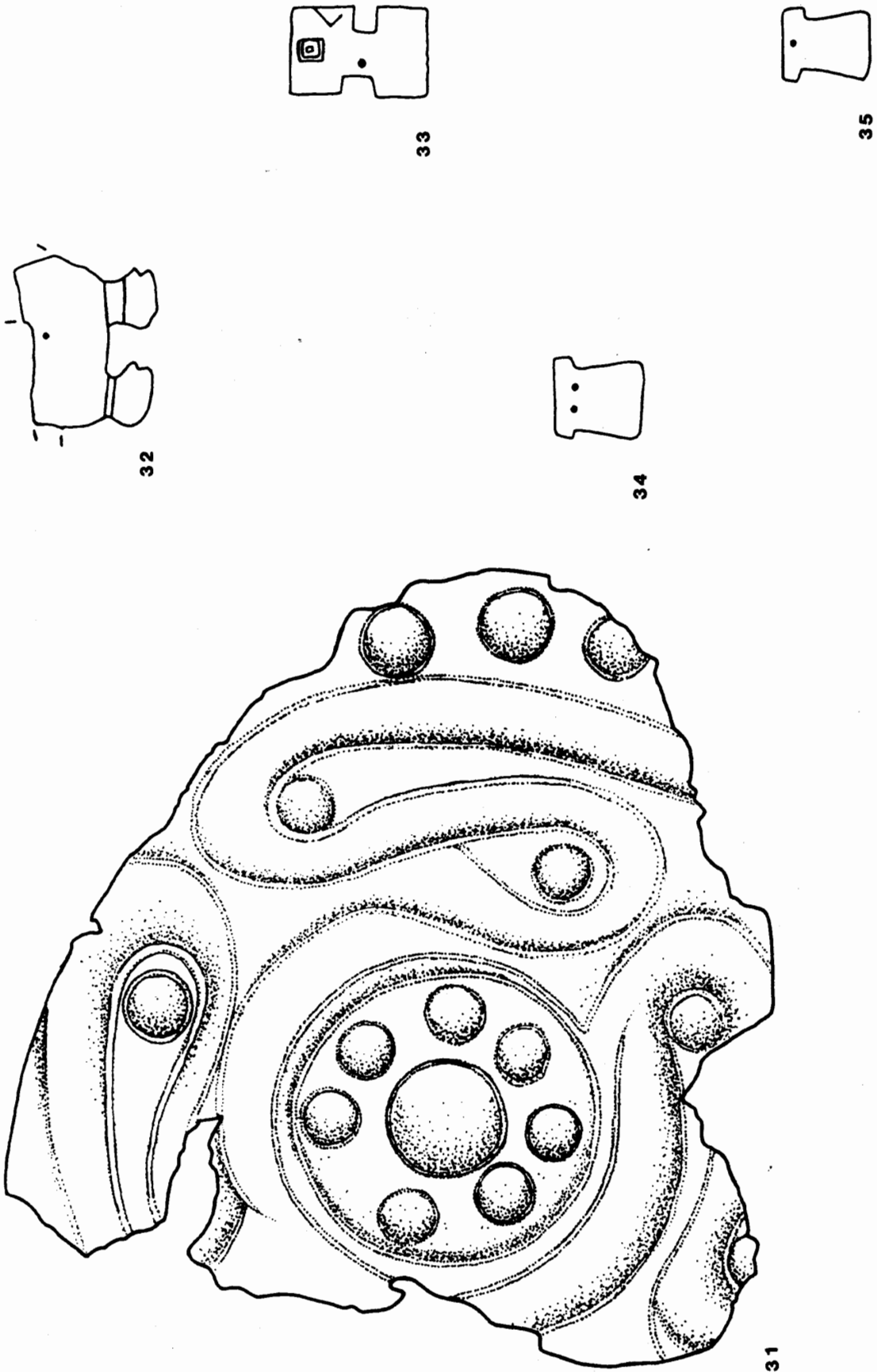
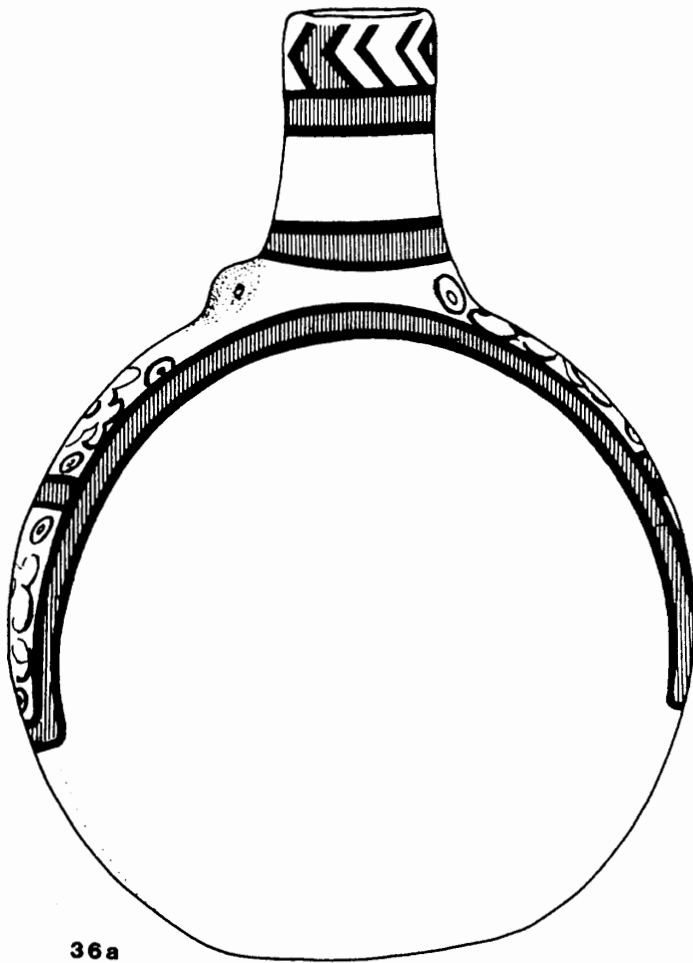
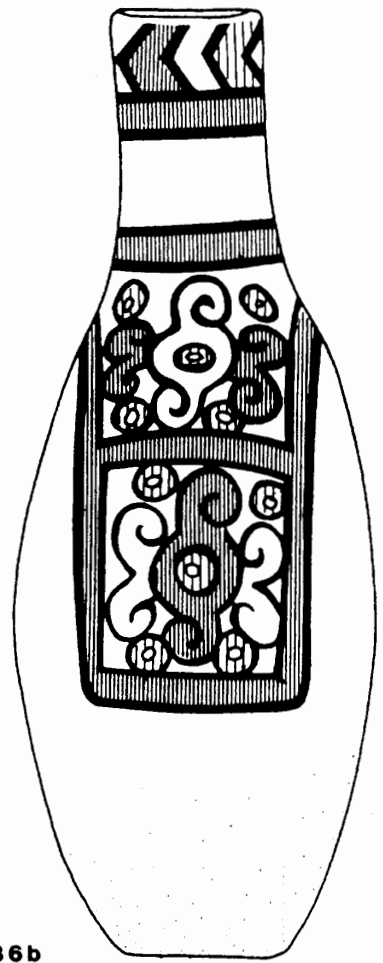


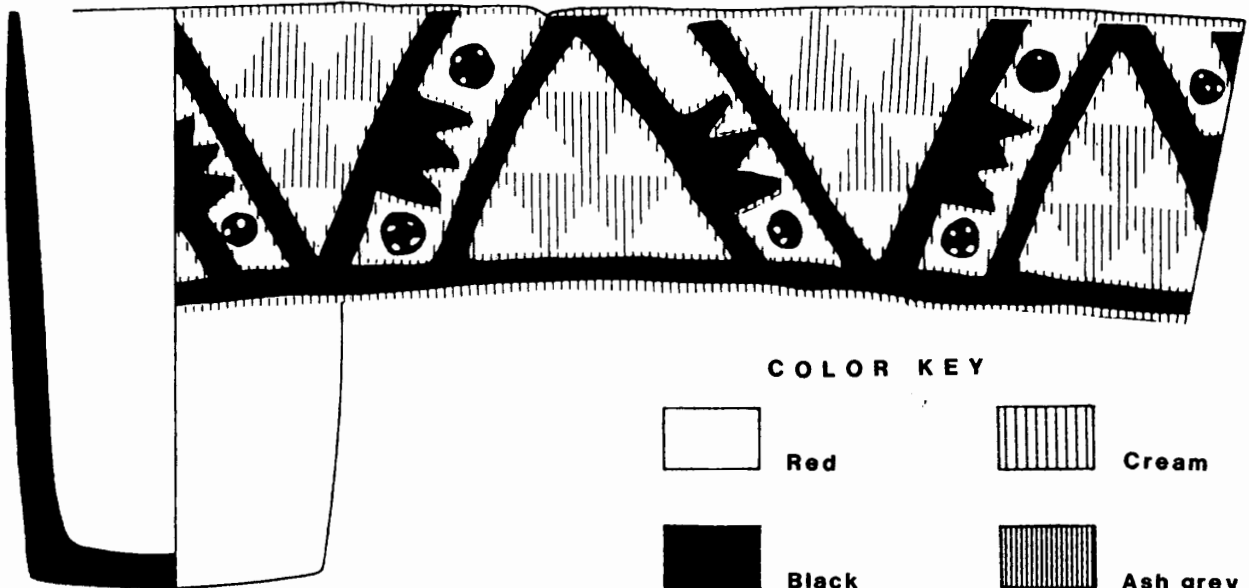
Fig. 31, ornamental plate(?) fragment, preserved weight 40 gm.; figs. 32-35, gold silhouettes, total weight 2 gm.



36a



36b



37

Ceramics. Fig. 36, flask; fig. 37, tumbler with planiform expansion of decoration.

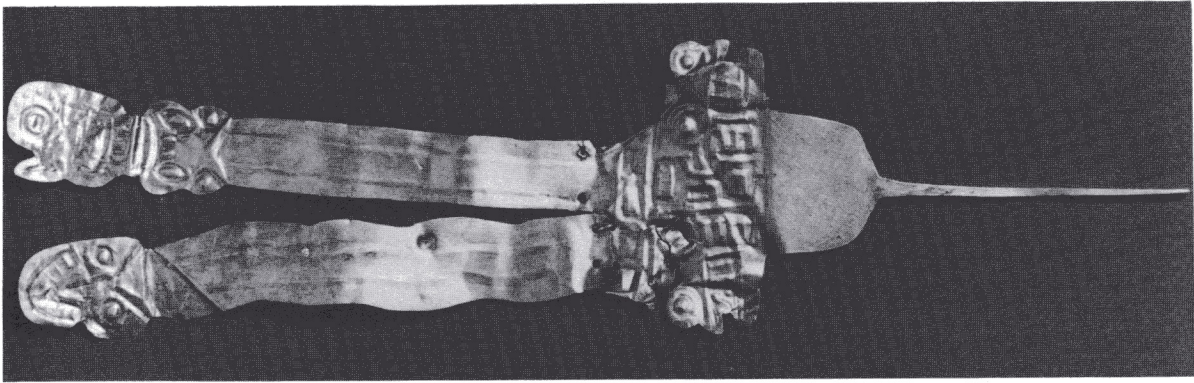


38

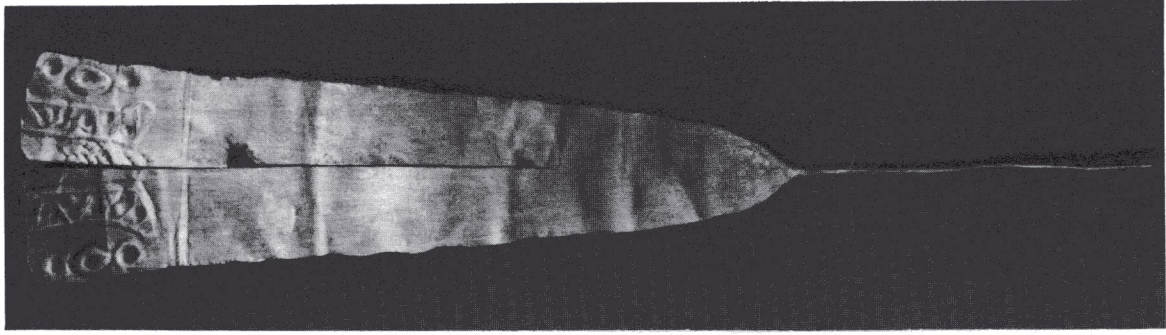


39

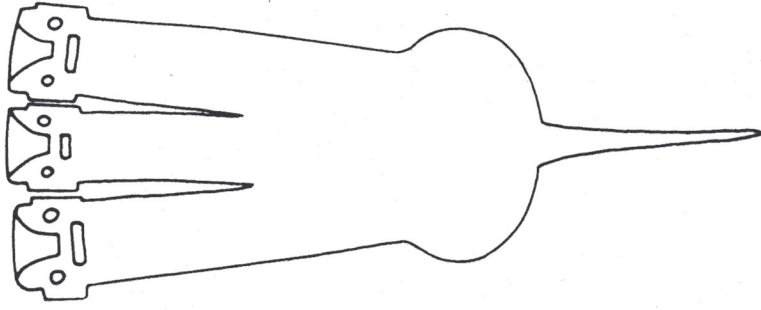
Fig. 38, silver plume of unknown provenience, height of plaque only (including portion of tufts) 9.5 cm., maximum width 10.2 cm., photo by Ron Chamberlain, photo and measurements courtesy L. Kurt Land; **fig. 39**, gold plume from Lurin, height 27.5 cm., catalog no. VA 31797, photo courtesy Museum für Völkerkunde, Berlin.



40



41



42



Fig. 40, gold plume from Pachacamac, height 27.5 cm.; fig. 41, gold plume from Lurin, height 22 cm. (photos figs. 40, 41 courtesy Museum für Völkerkunde, Berlin; fig. 42, gold plume from Pariti Island. See Key to Illustrations.



43

0 5 cm.



44

Fig. 43, photo of specimen in fig. 1b; fig. 44, photo of specimen in fig. 3.



45



46



Fig. 45, photo of specimen in fig. 4; fig. 46, photo of specimen in fig. 6b.



47



48

Fig. 47, photo of specimen in fig. 15; fig. 48, photo of specimen in fig. 20.