

THE MIDDLE HORIZON CERAMIC OFFERINGS FROM CONCHOPATA

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The Andean region is one of the few areas in the world where the emergence of complex society can be studied. Here the development of cities, states, and early empires is unique because it is characterized by the lack of written language. The endeavor to study systems of communication used by expanding unlettered states requires an emphasis on the study of art forms. Evidence from the Andes indicates that sophisticated symbolic systems of communication were conveyed through a variety of media (e.g., Ascher and Ascher, 1981, on quipus; Conklin, 1970; 1971; 1975; 1985, and A. Rowe, 1979, on textiles; Lyon, 1979, on female supernaturals; J. Rowe, 1962; Sawyer, 1963; Menzel, Rowe and Dawson, 1964; Menzel, 1964; 1969; 1977; and Donnan, 1975; 1978, on style and iconography; Zuidema, 1972; 1980, and Urton, 1981, on symbolism and archaeoastronomy).

An elaborate iconography devoted to the depiction of particular mythic figures was being developed during the early Middle Horizon. A shared iconographic tradition has been reconstructed largely from ceramic offering vessels found in the Ayacucho Valley and on the south coast of Peru in the Nasca region. Features typical of Classic Tiahuanaco are also found in the design repertoire. In at least two areas, the Ayacucho Valley and the Bolivian altiplano, there is evidence that the growth of city-states was well under way during the same period.

In unlettered societies, art can provide a visual text that documents changes in social and political organization. Iconographic scenes such as those to be discussed in this essay include depictions interpreted as being of legendary figures and supernaturals within ritualistic contexts. These different domains are at times difficult to identify, but my analysis of the structure and frequency of specific themes suggests that changes in iconographic content express shifting world views. From these patterns certain political inferences can be drawn.

This study includes observations on the structural patterns of design layout and the articulation of elements, figures, and themes on ceremonial pottery. By directing attention to the design field, where symbols are organized and concomitantly acquire social meaning, some basic artistic structures are identified that have both temporal and spatial significance. I shall first describe the most recently recovered Middle Horizon I offering (see Menzel, 1964; 1969; Ravines, 1969; 1977; Thatcher, 1975; 1977 for other related offerings). Then I discuss its exceptionally informative iconography, by comparing it to pertinent features of the 1942 offering attributed to the same general time period. By concentrating almost exclusively on complete figures and their structure within the design field, it is also possible to throw further light on the relationship between Huari and Tiahuanaco visual imagery.

The most frequently cited position (Menzel, 1964; 1969; Lumbreras, 1974b; 1980; W. Isbell, 1983) is that Huari inherited certain artistic themes, notably the Front Face Deity and a form of Profile Attendant, that occurred earlier at Tiahuanaco. Religious pilgrimages or itinerant priests or craftspeople brought these new ideas to Huari where they were copied and adopted into local style traditions.

The evidence I present in the following pages suggests that, whatever the diffusionary mechanism may have been, it definitely occurred prior to Middle

Horizon 1B. My own position is that the existence of religious pilgrimages remains speculative and is unsupported by available data. The repeated depiction of a central staffed deity flanked by smaller anthropomorphic attendants, named the Central Deity Theme, is repeated in Andean iconography from the Early Horizon through the Late Intermediate Period. The history of this image and our knowledge of how early complex chiefdoms and states evolved makes it more likely that the images in question were ancient in nature, but were reformulated by a successful and charismatic leader, lineage, or dual lordship. The accumulated prestige afforded by these new symbols of power were then copied by other neighboring or distant chiefs. Although speculative in nature, this last scenario is based on some human motivations and responses to the acquisition of power that are broadly supported by anthropological case studies (Bloch, 1974; 1978; Claessen and Skalnick, 1978; 1981; Larsen, 1979). I am, therefore, inclined to believe that better inferences that are more amenable to testing and systematic research can be drawn from this interpretation than from retracing the invisible footprints of pilgrims. Until more is known of Huari and Tiahuanaco as sites, we can only discuss the form and content of this iconography as it appears within each of these polities.

The Middle Horizon ceramic offering tradition includes pictorial images in which a set of figures recurs within a limited range of compositions or themes. These themes are found on ceramics at various Middle Horizon sites in the central and southern Andes, but the mechanisms of their distribution and the significance of shared ideological content and structure is poorly understood. Most of our iconographic data come from the Ayacucho Valley, located in the central highlands, where it is now generally agreed that, ca. A.D. 550-800, the city of Huari developed into the capital of an expanding empire (J. Rowe, 1962; Menzel, 1964; 1969; Lanning, 1967; Lumbreras, 1969; 1974a; W. Isbell, 1977; 1978; Isbell and Schreiber, 1978; Schreiber, 1978).

I define iconography as the description of any subject by means of drawings, or figures as "vehicles of meaning" (Geertz, 1973, p. 91). In the case of unlettered societies, iconographic interpretations are constructed on the basis of archaeological contexts, visual observations, and comparisons. Ethnographic and ethnohistorical data, as exemplified by the iconographic documents of Pachacuti Yamqui Salcamaygua and by Guaman Poma de Ayala's illustrations, provide good sources for analogy. These, and references by other early chroniclers, furnish some of the meanings of social and religious activities as they were practiced under the Incas and in the early Colonial Period, and may apply only in part to Middle Horizon materials. Here I favor postponing the use of historical documents to the final stages of analysis in order to focus on the organizational principles and the variation of prehistoric symbols as they have been preserved for earlier Andean polities. This paper is both a study in figure descriptions, presented as an inventory of prehistoric design configurations, and a discussion of ritual practices inferred from the archaeological deposits in which the decorated ceramics were recovered.

The time period (Menzel, 1964; 1977) of particular interest for this study is Middle Horizon 1A and 1B, during which a fusion of traditions seems to have occurred, and the latter part of the Early Intermediate Period, when strong influence from the Nasca tradition reached the Ayacucho area (Menzel, 1964; Knobloch, 1983; Paulsen, 1983). There is abundant evidence from settlement pattern studies in the Ayacucho Valley, of a populated hinterland whose configurations were altered as Huari grew in size and importance (Isbell and Schreiber, 1978). Determination of how such change was expressed in the iconography of the period

is one of the aims of this paper.

The Middle Horizon Offering Tradition

There are five² Middle Horizon deposits about which we have enough evidence to discuss their general characteristics. Two of these date to MH 2, and will not be discussed in detail (Ravines, 1969; 1977; Menzel, 1977; Cook, 1985); the other three date to MH 1. The contents of all these deposits included oversized and regular ceramic vessels bearing related iconography. In each offering, the pottery had been deliberately broken and buried in subterranean chambers, apparently as part of a single event. The ceremonial vessels represent some of the finest pottery made during the period in question, well fired, often highly polished, and with rim thicknesses ranging from about 3 to 6 cm. Repeated heavy blows were required to fracture the vessels in preparation for burial, a fact strongly suggesting that they were all part of a single ritual event. The MH 2 offerings may be distinguished in a number of ways from those of Epoch 1, but clearly belong to the same tradition.

The most detailed information is provided by the two Epoch 1 offerings found at the site of Conchopata in the Ayacucho Valley (W. Isbell, 1987, figs. 1, 5-8). The Conchopata style offering recovered by Julio Tello in 1942 (see Menzel, 1964, pp. 6, 19-21; 1969, pp. 49-50) is here referred to as the 1942 offering, and has been attributed to MH 1A. The most recent cache is here called the 1977 offering, the year in which it was recorded, and I shall argue for its assignment to MH 1B. The only other offering currently assigned to MH 1 is the one recovered in 1927 at Pacheco, in the Nasca Valley, and also attributed stylistically to MH 1B (Menzel, 1964, pp. 23-28; 1969, p. 49).

The Middle Horizon 1 offerings

Conchopata is best known for its offerings, but it was also a settlement of significant size and importance during the early Middle Horizon. The name Conchopata was used by Tello and later adopted by Menzel and Rowe to refer to the modern inhabited suburb by this same name (J. Rowe, 1956; see also W. Isbell, 1987, Appendix 1). An adjacent plain was called Chakipampa by the Conchopata residents. The names Chakipampa and Conchopata have been used to distinguish different art styles.

The Chakipampa style consists of local Huarpa attributes combined with features derived from Nasca 7 and 8, and loan features from the contemporary Nasca 9 influence in the Ayacucho area. The Conchopata style is restricted to oversized vessels of the 1942 offering. The decoration is representational in nature and consists of various anthropomorphic figures some of which also appear in Classic Tiahuanaco material. This distinguishing feature has led archaeologists to suggest that interaction between the Tiahuanaco and Ayacucho areas was well established by MH 1 (Menzel, 1964; 1969; W. Isbell, 1983).

The archaeological surface remains at Conchopata cover an area of approximately 1 × 0.5 km. A large quantity of ceramics and ceramic scrapers has been found at the site over the years, and a workshop area was identified as a result of excavations in 1961-62 (Lumbreras, 1975; W. Isbell, 1987, figs. 6, 8). Evidence of intense ceramic production activities at the site strongly suggests the presence of occupational specialists. This interpretation is further supported by the

sequence of occupations at the site, which coincide with the early stages of urban development at Huari from the Early Intermediate Period into the early Middle Horizon. Stylistic and contextual evidence has prompted scholars to postulate that during the Middle Horizon, when Huari commenced its expansion, Conchopata was subordinated to Huari. These scholars also suggested that Conchopata was depopulated in favor of a larger urban center. This has been interpreted as one of the major factors in the eventual abandonment of the site (Menzel, 1964; Lumbreras, 1974b; Isbell and Schreiber, 1978). The analysis of ceremonial pottery provides the evidence for this interpretation. A better understanding, however, of the local wares and their architectural associations will be essential to ascertain the time and processes involved in the abandonment of the site.

The Conchopata 1977 Offering

Investigations at Conchopata were carried out in November of 1977 as a result of the discovery of the 1977 offering deposit.³ It was discovered by construction workers while digging a pipeline trench along the paved road leading to the Ayacucho airport. This cache is the only one of its kind where systematic salvage excavations were made immediately after the discovery of the offering. The Huari Urban Prehistory Project, under the direction of William Isbell, was asked to join the Huari Project of the Instituto Nacional de Cultura (INC), directed by Abelardo Sandoval, in undertaking the salvage project at the site following the cache's discovery on October 27, 1977. It was on this date that José Cahuas of the INC was obliged rapidly to remove all but a few sherds from the offering pit and transport them to the Institute headquarters to ensure the preservation of the cache material. Pieces had already been carried off the site by construction workers and local inhabitants. The precise stratigraphic context had been lost by the happenstance discovery of the cache and the subsequent removal of its ceramics. The excavations that were conducted helped reconstruct the context and associated remains of the offering.

The offering was found in a cavity dug into the bedrock. The dimensions at the base were 2.6×1.7 m.; it was oval in shape and reached a depth of 2.08 m. below the present surface (W. Isbell, 1987, fig. 9). Approximately one meter north of the ceramic deposit, in excavation Unit B, a rock-capped burial was found containing five individuals in flexed positions. Associated with the skeletal remains were 11 *tupus* or shawl pins, 5 bone pins, and a tiny spindle whorl. The result of preliminary osteological observations in the field (see Snethkamp and others, ms.) indicated that the individuals were probably all young females. This identification is further suggested by the burial offerings associated with the individuals. Four other burials located along the course of the pipeline were also recovered and photographed (Snethkamp and others, ms.).

The 1977 offering consists of oversized face-neck jars with four variants of beautifully modeled faces. The body panels, intended to represent garments, are elaborately decorated. It was immediately evident that these decorations, on a majority of the vessels, depicted the well-known Front Face Deity accompanied by Profile Attendants: the Central Deity Theme also found on the Monolithic Gateway at Tiahuanaco.

The ceramic offering comprises 22-25 vessels, based on partial reconstructions and a count of the number of ears, eyes, reassembled cylindrical body sections, and vessel bases. Since the Huari Urban Prehistory conservator had already left

Peru before the cache was discovered, only partial reconstructions were carried out in order to study the vessel frequency and iconographic variation.

Generally, the 1977 offering can be attributed to Middle Horizon Epoch 1B as defined by Menzel (1964; 1969, and pers. comm.). The following observations helped to date the material for this study. In the Middle Horizon, the Central Deity Theme is carved on Tiahuanaco stone monoliths. Menzel (pers. comm., 1984) agrees that Classic Tiahuanaco stone carvings date to MH 1B at the earliest, and perhaps also to MH 2A, as seen in iconographic comparisons between the Monolithic Gateway at Tiahuanaco (cross-dated by Menzel to MH 1B) and the motifs on the main design field of the oversized 1977 offering vessels (fig. 20, chart 1). Nasca-related elements appear relatively early in the Ayacucho Valley sequence of the Early Intermediate Period, and we have no record of these Nasca-like elements in the sample of ceremonial wares during MH 1A (Menzel, 1964). It is interesting to note that the Robles Moqo style MH 1B offering pottery at Huari and Pacheco also includes Nasca-related elements. The 1977 cache is not Robles Moqo in style, but is contemporary. Of the approximately 25 vessels, all but 3 display the Central Deity Theme in the main design field. The three inconsistent pieces reveal a highly stylized Nasca 9B related theme (figs. 29, 30) in which the Ventrally Extended Stinger Animal with a triangular tail appears, together with an arched space enclosing evenly-spaced circle-and-dot designs. Two reconstructions were made, albeit incomplete ones, that depict similar icons. This combination of Nasca 9B and Tiahuanaco related themes in the offering sets it apart from other known ceramic caches. Also, these foreign stylistic influences and their combined presence on the vessels generally lend support to the Epoch 1B assignment. For the first time, motifs also found on domestic wares in Epoch 1B appear in the ceremonial design repertoire.

In the following description I shall use the terminology suggested by Menzel (1964; 1969) in her study of previously excavated offering material. The following definitions will be used in descriptions of the designs. The units of decoration are componentially arranged, in ascending order, from the smallest iconographic unit, the "element"; to a specific combination of elements, the "configuration"; to the complete recognizable figures (e.g., an Attendant Figure or a human figure), the "icon"; and, lastly, to those figures that co-occur on a vessel to make up the design structure, the "theme." The word "feature" does not refer to any specific iconographic unit.

Vessel shape

All the vessels appear to have the same unique shape with a very limited range in mouth diameter and wall thickness. In Shepard's (1956) terminology, the shape is an independent restricted orifice vessel with complex contours.

The offering vessels (diag. 1, chart 1) measure from 1 to 1.5 m. in height, and are narrow-mouthed jars with necks finely modeled as human faces. The average diameter of the body is 39 cm. Below the cylindrical face neck (Section A), at the juncture with the shoulder, there is a corner point averaging 107° leading to the shoulders (Section B), which are semiellipsoid as they flare to meet the widest part of the body (Section C). The shoulder-body corner point leads to the major cylindrical portion of the vessel, at the bottom of which are located two vertical strap handles. The third corner point initiates an ovaloid shape leading to a slightly pointed, hemispherical base, whose size and shape is estimated in the sketch of the vessel (diagram 1).

Unlike the iconographically complex 1942 offering in which decoration is limited to a single design band 15-25 cm. high (see below and Menzel, 1964, p. 19), the design themes on the face-neck jars are distributed in 3 design panels. I shall describe the designs within each section of the face-neck jars separately, since each part contains the same or similar compositions. Hence, variability is found not so much in the types of icons, but in the execution and in the use of individual design spaces for specific themes. The natural spatial divisions created by the vessel shape were used to convey different information.

In contrast to the colorful outlining present on the 1942 offering, all figures and geometric motifs on the face-neck jars of the 1977 cache are outlined in

Diagram 1. Reconstruction Drawing of Vessel from Conchopata 1977 Offering



black, with a relatively thick line that varies from 2 to 5 mm. in width. I view the solid black outlines and the emphasis on specific themes with fewer figures as simplifying the design execution and as indicative of a general trend toward design standardization. The colors used on these polychrome jars are red, burgundy, violet, grey, cream, flesh, white, black, orange, and dark purple/brownish-grey.⁴

The face neck (Section A) (diagram 1, chart 1, figs. 1-9)

Section A measures 15.5-17.5 cm. high. The face is demarcated by a rectangular frame defined by a band of horizontal and vertical chevrons. There are four distinctly painted variants of face necks: one with tear bands, nose decoration, and moustache and chin whiskers (as defined by Menzel, 1964; 1969) (figs. 1, 5); a second with tear bands and nose decorations (figs. 6, 7) but no moustache and chin whiskers (fig. 2); a third with only moustache and chin whiskers (fig. 3); and finally, plain faces with no decoration at all except for the black outlined eyes characteristic of all the face necks (fig. 4). More realistic moustache and chin whiskers occur on Nasca 9B modeled jars. Here the black facial marking may also represent lip plugs or tatoos rather than facial hair. The back of all face necks has a geometric design, composed of vertical polychrome bands outlined in black alternating with wider bands containing a zigzag polychrome design (figs. 8, 9), which seems to have been intended to represent braided hair.

The Shoulder (Section B) (diagram 1, chart 1, figs. 10-20)

All the reconstructed vessels are represented as wearing a tunic, and in Section B, the neck slit of this garment is represented (diagram 1, figs. 11, 12, 14, 15, 18, 19). A variety of designs are found within the design bands that form the two selvages that join the central seam at the neck slit of the garment. The most common consists of S-shaped lines on grounds of alternating colors, separated by white or cream spaces (e.g., diagram 1, figs. 14, 15, 18). These designs are an important feature borrowed from domestic ceramics. The mixture of local and foreign designs will facilitate the chronological placement of this offering within the sequence at Conchopata and Huari.

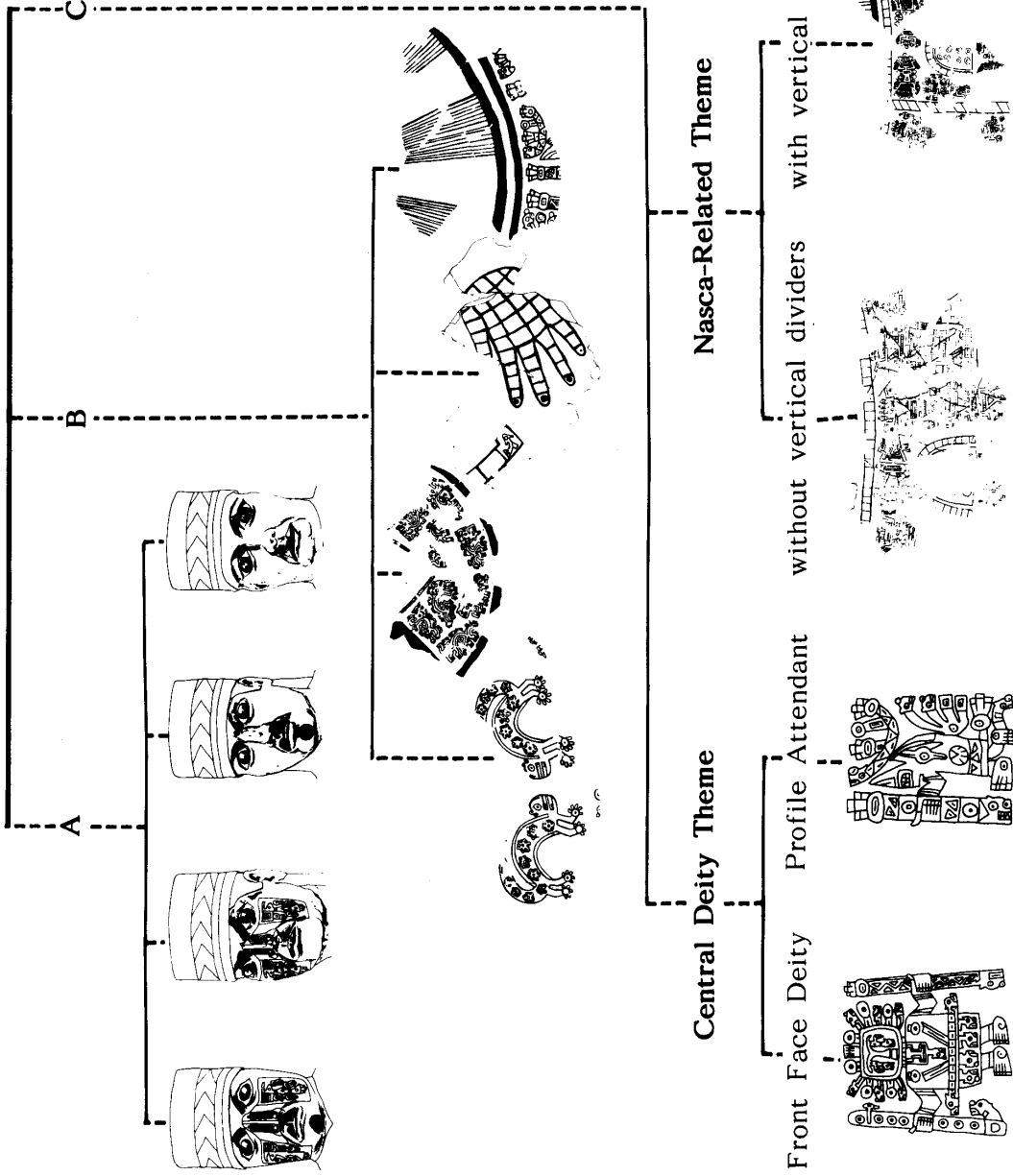
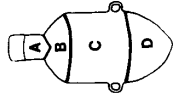
The portion of Section B representing the garment is divided into two design fields, front and back, separated by solid black panels. The stylized braided hair found on the back of Section A continues without interruption onto Section B, often reduced to simple continuous vertical bands of alternating colors (fig. 10). The front design field contains any one of three possible configurations.

The first is two hands facing one another with fingers pointing toward the center (figs. 13, 14). These hands are decorated with rectangles arranged in diagonal rows of different colors. Hands, both painted and modeled in low relief, occur on pieces from the Pacheco offering, but on vessels of different shapes and usually placed lower on the body. The Pacheco examples, moreover, lack the rectangles or other geometric designs.

The second configuration consists of two large Humped Animals, facing one another and placed symmetrically below the painted neck slit. Each pair of Humped Animals is distinct. Three variants are shown in figs. 15-17. There are several feline attributes that characterize these figures. Several have mouths with crossed canines, all are endowed with long tails that curve above their bodies, and all the feet have claws. Although the body markings consist of repeated symmetrical radial motifs, perhaps of mythical significance, these animals bear a striking

Chart 1

Conchopata 1977 Offering Design Arrangement by Vessel Section



resemblance to the heraldic profile felines that are known to occur in the same position on Huari tunics (A. Rowe, 1979, figs. 3, 4, 13). While these Huari textiles lack provenience, other Huari tunics are known from coastal burials, suggesting that these, too, were associated with Huari mummies or burial costumes. This relationship strongly suggests that the humped figures on the tunics painted as garments on these face-neck jars are mythical felines.

Finally, eight small Humped Animals are found in similar arrangements on at least four vessels (figs. 18-20). The form of these figures resembles more naturalistic Huari depictions of monkeys. The stylistic origins of these Humped Animals can be traced to Nasca 7. On these vessels they are painted in their Nasca 9B form, with characteristic ray appendages projecting from their heads and bodies in some cases. Below each of these mythological animals appears one of two kinds of symbol, an inverted U or a horizontal S. I suggest that individuals at Conchopata recognized these dualistic symbols as signifiers that semantically distinguished two groups, in this instance, Humped Animals.⁵

The Body (Section C) (diagrams 1 and 2, chart 1, figs. 21-30)

The average height of the vessel body between corner points is 37 cm. and the diameter is 39 cm. This large central surface area is bounded at the top and bottom edge by a black band that contours the entire circumference of the vessel. The design structure in this space is generally organized in a symmetrical fashion with the Front Face Deity in the center and two rows of Attendant Figures, one above the other, each row facing in a different direction. In one case the Front Face Deity was not centered on the front of the vessel but was placed closer to the right-hand strap handle. It is possible that this off-center arrangement occurs on other vessels not included in the sample of reconstructions. It is also common to find that the point at which the Profile Attendants in each row change the direction in which they face varies from vessel to vessel; in fig. 21 it occurs immediately to the viewer's right of the Front Face Deity (compare diagram 1). One other variation was observed in which both rows of Profile Attendants are facing and running in the same direction. This observation is based on only one fragment, and may represent an error in design execution (fig. 28).

The artists divided the space by means of delicately incised lines, forming rectangles in which each figure was drawn and then painted. This technique ensures even spacing and symmetrical execution. Nonetheless, the incised lines are not present on all the vessels. Furthermore, precision and detail of design execution are also lacking in a number of cases. The incongruencies noted are possible inversions of appendages (fig. 22, inverted feline head on the headdress of the first Profile Attendant on the viewer's left of the bottom row) and, in some instances, a complete lack of elements generally basic to the icon (fig. 21, see lower wing appendages of the first Profile Attendant on the viewer's left of the bottom row).

The design inversions and other inconsistencies suggest that the 1977 Conchopata vessels may have been produced in a workshop under the direction of a mastercraftsperson aided by less skilled apprentices. This inference is supported by an element cluster analysis in which I compared Profile Attendants in the 1977 Conchopata offering (Cook, ms.). The objective was to seek different classes of figures that could be distinguished by element composition. The analysis did not provide design elements that helped classify Profile Attendants. Instead, the clusters reproduced groups defined by attributes that were vessel specific. In other

words, the differences between groups of figures were more indicative of the style of an individual artist. The results suggest that individual potters or artists were responsible for painting specific vessels. The assembly line concept of labor organization is not evident in painting performance, whereas a mastercraftsperson may have been responsible for the light surface incisions that define the spacing and positioning of figures on some vessels (Cook, ms.).

The Front Face Deity (chart 1, figs. 21-25)

The face of all Front Face Deity figures is framed by a characteristic head-dress, consisting of a band of interlocking frets from which emerge appendages terminating in feline heads and circle-and-dot symbols. The figure's face is embellished with a mask, or perhaps facial paint, which covers the nose, encircles both eyes, and has profile bird and feline heads and wings projecting from an area near the eyes. These characteristics are also found on Tiahuanaco sculptures depicting this figure. The masked area contains circle-and-dot fillers. In some cases, one pair of fillers is enlarged to represent the eyes of the deity (figs. 21, 22, 24, 25), in others the circle-and-dot fillers do not change size (fig. 23), making the facial features less distinct.⁶ Split eyes occur only on appended felines and birds, never as facial attributes of the Front Face Deity itself.

The tunic worn by all the deities is decorated with two striped bands that emerge from the belt and slant toward each shoulder, a similar band is found on each sleeve. A collar pendant is suspended from the figure's neck, while feline and bird heads are appended symmetrically to the deity's belt.

Collars, or what may be jewelry, also appear as possible rank indicators on all Front Face Deities and Profile Attendants in the 1942 offering and on similar icons from the site of Huari. In the 1942 offering, the Front Face Deities and the miniature human captives appended to their staffs have collars that are most likely necklaces or strands of beads or shell. The Profile Attendants in this early offering have different collar designs (fig. 34), composed of trapezoidal elements arranged along the border of the semicircular neckline. In the 1977 offering the collars are very different. Interestingly, the Front Face Deity may have a simple collar band divided into rectangles (figs. 23-25), which more closely resembles the collars found on anthropomorphic figures in Classic Pucara iconography (Rowe and Brandel, 1971, figs. 14, 17) than collars on the 1942 urns. The collar of the 1977 Profile Attendant is situated immediately below the eye decoration on the lower part of the torso (diagram 2) and consists of a semicircle with some internal design attributes. These collars are similar in form to those that occur on the 1942 offering Profile Attendants, and help define this class of figures in the iconography. Conversely, collars on Front Face Deities vary considerably from region to region and across media.

The pyramidal structure, or pedestal, on which the deity is standing is similar to the one described by Posnansky (1945, vol. I, chap. IX) as the "Staircase Sign" on the Monolithic Gateway at Tiahuanaco (figs. 23, 26, 27). The little figure drawn within the pedestal (figs. 23, 26) is a new icon in the highland repertoire. Although the snout is reminiscent of those on the Profile Attendants and that of Angel A in the 1942 Conchopata offering, it also maintains a striking similarity to the snouted figures on a Tiahuanaco carved lintel (Posnansky, 1945, vol. II, fig. 140). A stylistic seriation of the ceremonial iconography is necessary if icons of this kind are to be better understood. To the seriationally important attributes of this figure can be added my suggestion that the figure represents the first appearance

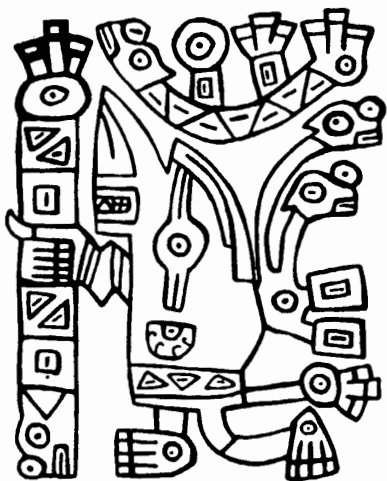
of the Nasca tradition "killer whale," or Mythical Fish, in the highland Middle Horizon tradition.

The Profile Attendant (diagram 2, chart 1, figs. 21-23, 27)

The extended snout and truncated body of the Profile Attendants on these offering jars significantly contrast with the more naturalistic proportions of analogous profile figures in the 1942 offering. From MH 1A to 1B, representations of the human form and stylistic concepts of proportion varied considerably. Angels A, B, C, and D (as defined by Menzel, 1964, pp. 20-21) from the 1942 Conchopata offering (chart 1, first column) can be compared to Profile Attendants in the 1977 Conchopata deposit.

Diagram 2

Idealized Profile Attendant



The headdresses of the 1977 Conchopata Profile Attendants are detached, and float above the figures' heads. The wings are partitioned into four segments, more distinct than in the earlier figures where they are solid appendages. The 1942 offering included a number of distinct wing variants according to figure type. In the 1977 offering, the wings are essentially uniform since only one Profile Attendant type is used.

The body and limbs of the 1977 Profile Attendant are shortened, emphasizing the facial features that are distributed over most of the torso. The belt is drawn at the bottom of the tunic. The eye and eye tear band extend over the entire body to just above the collar, situated immediately above the belt. These peculiar features suggest the figure was intentionally conceptualized in this unusual form, while the Front Face Deity maintained its unmistakably standard proportions. The Profile Attendant's nose is enlarged and extended upwards, completely unlike anything found in other offering iconography. This feature is, however, remarkably similar to that conveyed on the floating Tiahuanaco Profile Attendants of the Linares Street carved lintel (Conklin, 1970, fig. 9; Posnansky, 1945, vol. II, fig. 140A).

The Ventrally Extended Stinger Animal with Trophy Head (chart 1, figs. 29, 30)

At least three face-neck jars included in design field Section C a theme indicating the Huari and Nasca legacy (Knobloch, 1983). Two variants of this theme have been identified. The major difference between the two is that in one the design field was subdivided into bounded areas, each revealing the same iconography, separated by a vertical band with oblique colored stripes (fig. 29). Unlike the Humped Animal, there are no known antecedent coastal forms of these figures from Nasca 7 or 8, although figures reminiscent of them can be seen in Nasca textiles (Harcourt, 1962, pls. 4, 7; Lumbreras, 1974b, fig. 140⁷). In this highland collection, these figures are shown holding stylized trophy heads, which also reappear in Nasca 9B. Note that these trophy heads and the face of the Ventrally Extended Stinger Animal are rendered in the same manner. Trophy heads are not common in Nasca 8 (Menzel, 1964; Paulsen, 1983; ms.), but occur frequently in Nasca 7. The ray designs similar to those on these figures also occur within the Nasca tradition and appear as well on the Humped Animals on Section B of some

of these offering vessels. In a few instances (e.g., fig. 30, bottom center), the trophy heads are depicted with a semicircular band enclosing the top portion of the head, as though intended to represent hair. This is also a feature of design found at Tiahuanaco on heads that occur as limb or staff appendages on the low relief MH 1B stone sculptures. These combined features help date the offering provisionally to MH 1B. It is equally possible that this form of Ventrally Extended Stinger Animal originated locally, only to be adopted on the coast in Nasca 9B. Nonetheless, it is important to this discussion that this localized mythical figure is attributed the same status as the Central Deity Theme within the dominant design field of the vessels.

Discussion

From this study of the iconography of the 1977 offering vessels, we can identify new aspects of the offering tradition at Conchopata, especially regarding its relationship to the rest of the Ayacucho area, Nasca, and Tiahuanaco. First, we find the Central Deity Theme selected for replication on MH 1B ceremonial and ritual objects at Conchopata. This fact indicates that the Central Deity Theme was used contemporaneously by both polities, and tends to support neither the pilgrimage interpretation nor the view that an insightful itinerant artist or priest brought the idea from Tiahuanaco to Huari during this period. Furthermore, at Conchopata the Ventrally Extended Stinger Animal Theme is elevated, and competes with the Central Deity Theme by occupying the main design field (Section C) on at least three jars. Second, for the first time, we find elements derived from Classic Tiahuanaco and Nasca 7, 8, and 9 styles combined on ceremonial face-neck jars. Third, the vessel shape, which is new in the offering tradition, leads to alternative decorative techniques in which vessel morphology defines three distinct design fields, each of which embodies the complex interregional stylistic influences prevailing during MH 1. This treatment stands in contrast to the single design panel of the 1942 urns in which separate design fields were obtained only by dividing the band unit.

The only nonstandardized parts of the 1977 offering vessels are the face necks themselves. Each face is distinctly different, suggesting these are meant as possible portraits, or as figures symbolic of specific ethnic groups, age categories, or classes. Only the facial markings are patterned and repeated (see Section A). I consider the Central Deity and Ventrally Extended Stinger Animal themes found on the principal design panel to represent the designs on the garments clothing the figures.

Similar comparisons can be made with the contemporary statuary at Tiahuanaco (Cook, 1985). The columnar monolithic statues, such as the Bennett and Ponce stelae, represent human figures that are analogous to those represented by the 1977 face-neck jars. The Tiahuanaco statues have human faces with facial paint or masks, tresses down the back of their heads, arms bent at the elbow, terminating in hands holding objects, and figures of the Central Deity Theme incised on the surfaces that would correspond to the figure's tunic. The monolithic human statues at Tiahuanaco and the oversized modeled jars at Conchopata reveal that similarity in human form and subject matter were imperative to both polities.

An attempt was made to evaluate the attributes on the reconstructed face necks and shoulders to see if they were meant to be male or female figures. Menzel (1964) and Lyon (1979) suggest a male/female Front Face Deity duality exists in the Pacheco collection, a differentiation that is not upheld in the 1977

offering iconography. Designs that suggest the presence of facial hair on the modeled faces of the necked jars in the 1977 Conchopata offering, may be the only indicators that some of these vessels were intended to represent male members of the society (Cook, ms.).

The painting of moustaches and chin whiskers⁸ that appear on the faces of the 1977 offering are also seen on vessels in Olson's Pacheco materials,⁹ but only on regular-sized pieces. Assuming the oversized face-neck jars were intended for public or private display as a unit, at least four general groups of figures could be visibly ranked into age categories: plain faces, indicative of youths; those with facial decorations; those with only facial hair; and finally, perhaps those most prestigious individuals with both facial hair and decoration. The jars may thus symbolize a ranked hierarchy of community leaders representing specific social groups, such as ayllus or sodalities, and age characteristics. Although I am not convinced that the differences between Front Face Deities also suggest male and female characteristics, as argued by Menzel (1964; 1969; 1977) and Lyon (1979), their use of the concept of duality is important. The presence of two different Front Face Deities on the Pacheco offering urns is also found in the 1942 Conchopata deposit. These figures, part of the Huari and Tiahuanaco cosmology, express the Andean concept of duality, for which there is abundant ethnohistorical and ethnographic evidence (Zuidema, 1972; 1980; B. Isbell, 1978; Netherly, 1984; Anders, ms.).

An interesting relationship exists between the facial decorations that cover the nose and cheeks of the modeled faces on the 1977 jars and gold mask pieces found on Nasca mummy bundles.¹⁰ Furthermore, the strong similarity between the tunics depicted on the 1977 face-neck jars and extant Huari tunics from the coast provides additional evidence for the interpretation that the offerings were part of a ceremony to the dead or, more specifically, rituals that formed part of an ancestor cult. The jars may thus represent ceramic mummy bundles. The archaeological context offers additional support for this interpretation. The 1977 offering was located less than a meter south of a group burial of young females. Although the contents of the offering were removed before stratigraphic notes could be taken, the contextual relationship between these two archaeological features suggests contemporaneity (W. Isbell, 1987).

In summary, the two principal nonhuman anthropomorphic figures in the 1977 offering are the Front Face Deity and the Profile Attendant. The presence of a full-bodied Front Face Deity and Profile Attendant is characteristic of both MH1 and 2 (Menzel, 1969). Both of these figures also occur in an abbreviated, bodiless form, such as the depiction of Front Face Deity or Profile Attendant heads found on many lyre cups and on the bottom panel of the Monolithic Gateway. These figures have been assumed to be part of a Huari and Tiahuanaco religious cult, and are attributed supernatural status (e.g., Menzel, 1964; 1969; Ravines, 1969; 1977; W. Isbell, 1983; Conklin, 1985).

I assume that Front Face Deities, Profile Attendants, and other important participants in the iconography of Huari and Tiahuanaco can be expected to exhibit special traits that mark a separation between human and nonhuman or supernatural status. I have, therefore, used the following variables to identify supernaturals: (1) headdress with appendages; (2) split eyes, or eyes vertically or horizontally divided with one half white the other black or red; (3) projecting or crossed canines; (4) Profile Attendant collars; (5) Central Deity collars, usually with appendages; (6) staffs; (7) two bands with stripes that emerge from the

belt and slant out toward the shoulders; (8) wings on Profile Attendants or Front Face Deities; (9) scrolls that emerge from a figure's mouth or feet. The bodiless Front Face Deity usually includes at least two of these variables, for example, a headdress and crossed canines.

Profile Attendants, which are also referred to as Angels, are defined on the basis of several attributes, the most constant of which is the presence of wings. Elsewhere I analyzed the historical development of profile figures into winged Profile Attendants, and argued that the earliest versions of this figure represent the Sacrificer holding a trophy head in one hand and an ax in the other (Cook, 1983). Later, with the emergence of Huari and Tiahuanaco, the Sacrificer is transformed into a winged Profile Attendant, and the trophy head and ax are replaced by more or less stylized staffs or animal heads (Cook, 1983; Isbell and Cook, 1987).

The Sacrificer occurs in the early art of Pucara, and remains a central figure in the visual imagery of Huari, Tiahuanaco, and San Pedro de Atacama in northern Chile. Only during the rise of Huari and Tiahuanaco does the Sacrificer change into a Profile Attendant and become associated, for the first time, with images of the Front Face Deity. Previously, these two figures had separate identities and occurred in different contexts, and not until they are joined does the image of hierarchy emerge.

The images found in the early Middle Horizon offerings portray an "iconography of power" (Fraser and Cole, 1972; Zuidema, 1972; Marcus, 1974; 1976; Bastien, 1978). A figurative hierarchy is recognized in the stature and clothing of the Front Face Deity, who represents centrality and leadership; arranged around him are the smaller Profile Attendants, who may symbolize his subjects. Working with the concept of an iconography of power, the image perceived by the decoder or viewer may have several levels of meaning. First, in the main design field (Section C) of the 1977 jars, the Central Deity Theme consists of an image of hierarchy and authority. Second, if the entire vessel is considered, that is, the head (Section A), the shoulder (Section B), and the body (Section C), the image of a high status human figure is conveyed. Two dimensions of hierarchy are visually stated.

The Central Deity Theme of the 1977 offering echoes that on the Monolithic Gateway inasmuch as the face-neck jars include the same imagery with a reduced number of icons. The impact of a redundant theme in the main design field (Section C) on most of the vessels directs attention to the Front Face Deity. Moreover, these clay jars, like the monolithic Tiahuanaco sculptures, represent humans whose garments likewise convey figures of the Central Deity Theme.

Iconographically, in the 1977 offering, fewer icons are employed in the principal design field than in the 1942 Conchopata offering described below, thus providing a repeated powerful image that marks the human form as the central focus of this offering. It stands in contrast to themes painted on the 1942 urns, which appear to have a more narrative content. As a result, mediation and interaction between the human and supernatural worlds are restricted to a design structure that convincingly conveys centralized authority.

Comparison of Middle Horizon 1 Offerings

To be fully understood, the 1977 offering must be placed within the context

of other offerings. A comparison with the 1942 cache and the one found at Pacheco near Nasca, emphasizing thematic structure and icon variability across caches, should aid in our comprehension of iconographic change during MH 1. Although Menzel described and discussed the decorated ceramics then available for study from the 1942 offering (Menzel, 1964; 1969), I was granted access to more of this material in 1977, and was able to identify important additional icons not included in her work (Cook, ms.). It is, therefore, useful to provide a brief overview of the main principles of design execution.

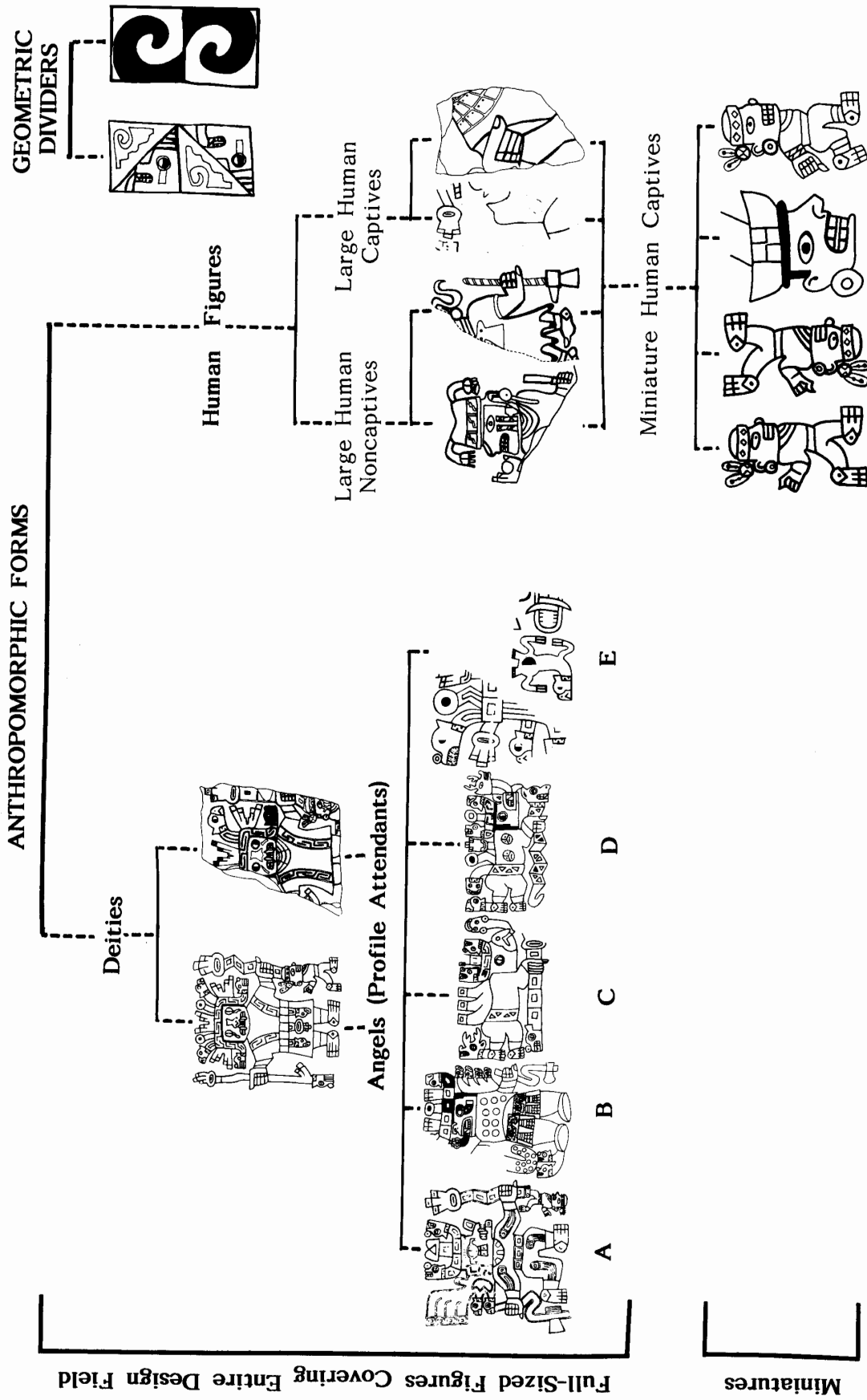
The 1942 offering comprises oversized urns of which two have been reconstructed and perhaps only half are decorated (Cook, 1986, fig. 2). The design field is limited to the upper portion of the vessel, extending from a few centimeters above the vertical strap handles upward to include the flat lip. The design field is defined by a red or black band that is outlined in white or, occasionally, a different color and vertically divided by narrow design panels containing the split-face textile motif or an S-shaped motif (chart 2, figs. 31, 34). The design outlines vary frequently in color and thickness even within a single figure. The colors used include red, purple, dark greyish-purple, black, white, flesh, cream, and unpigmented paste. The total repertoire of icons identified by Menzel include one Front Face Deity and five different Profile Attendants, which she refers to as Angels.

The recently identified figures that can now be added to this repertoire of MH 1A icons are: a variant of the Front Face Deity (fig. 32); a full description of the fifth, bodiless Angel (figs. 37-39); and an array of human figures including large human figures (figs. 34, 35), large human captives (fig. 33), and miniature human captives (figs. 32, 34, chart 2). The presence of miniature human captives was also noted by Menzel (1977, p. 57). In this study I shall describe the full range of variations in these human depictions. The human figures are often found in association with the supernatural beings in highly individualized contexts or themes. These new figures are all illustrated in chart 2. Formal structure and figure associations provide the basis for identifying classes of individualized themes.

The Front Face Deities wear either a loosely fitting tunic or one belted at the waist. It is not clear whether both variants occur on the same vessel. The sample is still too fragmentary to derive criteria by which sex or status differentiations could be determined (see Menzel, 1964). Were the Front Face Deity to appear twice on the same vessel with both types of garment, this and other criteria might help define duality and role differences.¹² Some of the less complex theme classes are more easily defined because the icons involved are large and cover a greater proportion of the design field visible on reconstructed vessels.

Five different Profile Attendants were originally identified in this offering, named by Menzel (1964, pp. 20-21) Angels A, B, C, D, and a bodiless angel. She defines these as follows: Angels A and B are upright, winged, profile figures. Angel A has legs shown in movement or running, like those on the Monolithic Gateway, while Angel B stands upright. Both carry a curving serpentine staff with an ax near the base. Angel A is characterized by holding in its other hand a staff that ends in a trophy head or a miniature human, and by more animalistic features, like a protruding snout. Angels C and D are positioned horizontally, or as if floating. These two also share most attributes with those found on the Monolithic Gateway. Angel C has a mythical profile head like Angel B, while Angel D has a profile raptorial bird head. (A printer's error mistakenly identified Angel B as Angel D in Menzel's [1977] work on Max Uhle's contributions to Peruvian archaeology.)

Chart 2
Summary of Urn Iconography from Conchopata 1942 Offering



Although vessel shape remains constant in the 1942 offering, my partial reconstructions show the following theme categories: (1) vessels showing Angel A and humans associated with the Front Face Deity (fig. 34); (2) vessels with only Angel B repeated around the design band (Angels A and B are both upright, but never co-occur on the same vessel); (3) vessels that only include horizontally positioned Angels C and D, which do co-occur (fig. 36); (4) vessels depicting only repeated bodiless angels (figs. 37-39). The Front Face Deity has been found to co-occur only with Angel A and both full-sized and miniature humans. This pattern would correspond most closely to the Central Deity Theme as it is defined on the 1977 jars and the Monolithic Gateway at Tiahuanaco. The remaining three theme categories consist of repeated figures B, C and D, and the bodiless angel in what I refer to as processions.

The themes are based on reconstructions of individual urns. On the basis of this work, most vessels reveal the repetition of only one or two of the same profile figures, while the Front Face Deities seem to have been depicted less frequently. I would like to suggest that each of these theme categories corresponds to one of the two principal components of the Central Deity Theme: the Front Face Deity and a procession of Profile Attendants, or Angels. The four themes in the 1942 offering can therefore be arranged into two groups. The most complex design register, in terms of both number and type of figures, includes the Front Face Deity with a full-sized human wearing a four-cornered hat with tassels, and a procession of Angel A (fig. 34). Running Angel A conveys movement, while the human with a four-cornered hat may be initiating a ritual offering to the Front Face Deity, partially shown to the viewer's right. The three remaining themes are less complex and consist exclusively of processions like those found flanking the Front Face Deity on the 1977 jars and the Monolithic Gateway.

Human figures occur in scenes with a Front Face Deity and Angel A, but are few in number, and more complete associations remain difficult to ascertain (e.g., fig. 35). Table 1 summarizes the major attributes that identify individual icons of the 1942 offering material and their principal associations.

Huari elite insignia are usually defined with reference to elite Moche and north Chilean coastal burials, the latter with strong cultural ties to Tiahuanaco. While no Huari elite graves are known in their entirety, many seem to have been looted, given the variety of earspools, garment ornaments, and jewelry found in museum collections. By analogy to these north and south coastal elite burial items, the figures depicted in the 1942 offering may represent high status individuals. The humans have elaborate, featherlike hair ornaments and large earspools, all symbols of elite classes or people of prestige. Numerous bird heads decorate headdresses, belts, and staffs, a symbol recurrent on supernaturals, especially those identified as female (Lyon, 1979; Menzel, pers. comm., 1984). As the lowest element in the ritual/religious hierarchy, the human captives are represented in miniature rather than full-sized. The scenes may reflect the social world in which these people saw themselves as participants. The status of humans within the iconography changes by late Epoch 1B and early 2A (Cook, 1986).

The 1942 offering dates to MH 1A (Menzel, 1964). Iconographically, local styles that predate the 1942 offering (e.g., the Huarpa and Chakipampa styles) do not include humans or anthropomorphic figures, although representational motifs, such as plants, animals, and geometric designs, do occur. The various human figures are a new element in the iconography. Both large and miniature humans seem to represent a captive elite or individuals in ritual conflict, as suggested by

Table 1

Conchopata 1942 Offering

ICON	MAJOR ATTRIBUTES	PRINCIPAL ASSOCIATIONS	COMMENTS
FRONT FACE DEITY A. Belted Figure	Headress with appendages and band of interlocking frets Split eyes Tear bands Projecting canines Front Face Deity collar Staffs Vertical straps paralleling left and right sides of tunic No pedestal	A. Angel A Diagonally split geometric divider Miniature captives	
B. Unbelted Figure	Same as above	B. Unknown	
PROFILE ATTENDANTS Angel A	Running Profile Attendant (charts 2, 3, fig. 34)	Front Face Belted and Unbelted Deities Large Human Figure with sphere (fig. 34) Trophy Head (see chart 2 lower right)	See Menzel, 1964, pp. 19-21; Cook, ms.
Angel B	Standing Profile Attendant (charts 2, 3)	Repeated around vessel, other associations unknown	Same as above
Angel C	Floating Profile Attendant (charts 2, 3, figs. 35, 36)	Repeated around vessel; alternates with Angel D	Same as above
Angel D	Floating Profile Attendant with raptorial bird features (charts 2, 3)	Repeated around vessel; alternates with Angel C	Same as above
Bodiless Angel (figs. 37-39)	Headress with appendages Projecting canines Spiral nose Tear band Split eyes Stylized Trophy Head appendages Animal Head appendages	Repeated around vessel	This is a large icon, it covers the entire height of the design panel.

HUMAN FIGURES*

1. Full-sized in Profile
(chart 2, fig. 34)

Human facial features
Long hair tied back
Hat with tassels
Tear bands, vertical bars with X
marks
Shell collars or necklace
Holds sphere in right hand and a
grey implement in the left

Front Face Deity and Angel A
Diagonally split geometric dividers

One other fragment,
collected on the sur-
face of Conchopata,
indicates a human as-
sociated with Angel
C or D (fig. 35).

2. Full-sized Captive
(fig. 33)

Figure being held firmly by another
Figure with blood pouring from
gaping mouth
Shell collar
Light grey tunic

Unknown

Only two fragments,
each shows one of
these captives.

MINIATURE CAPTIVES

1. Hanging from Angel A's
staff below hand

1. Front Face Deity and Angel A

a. Upright

Large earspools
Necklaces

a. Belted and Unbelted Front Face
Deities (charts 2, 3, fig. 32)

b. Upside-down

Hat and belt decorated with
repeated diamonds occasionally
filled with crosses

b. Angel A (charts 2, 3, fig. 34)

c. Trophy Head (chart 2)

c. Angel A

2. Hanging from Front Face
Deity staff, below the
hand and in upright
position

2. Belted and Unbelted Front Face Deity
and Angel A (charts 2, 3)

3. Independent of afore-
mentioned associations,
situated above lower
band enclosing design
field

3. Unknown

*These icons have been sorted into six categories on the basis of their spatial distribution across the vessel surface and with relation to other figures. There are three types of miniature captive, two different human figures, and one full-sized human captive.

their regalia. One partial reconstruction reveals a large noncaptive human structurally positioned between mythological figures. This individual may very well represent an intermediary between this world and the other, the priest, shaman, or conduit between humans and the gods. I have suggested that this depiction conveys differentiation of roles and contributes to the concept that rank legitimization is visually expressed (Cook, ms.). The intermediary (fig. 34) does not hold the traditional staff or ax, but a sphere in one hand and an unidentified object in the other, characteristics that isolate and identify the figure. A hierarchy of figures is illustrated most clearly in the 1942 offering, both symbolically and structurally the most complex of MH 1 ceremonial caches. This data base has traditionally defined the MH 1A offering iconography.

The Pacheco offering differs radically from the Conchopata ones. Not only does it include a number of different oversized vessel shapes, but also quantities of standard-sized vessels (Menzel, 1964, pp. 23-31). The different vessel shapes, of course, result in different design fields, but comparison is possible. Both urns and face-neck jars are included among the oversized vessel shapes, but neither form is treated like its counterpart at Conchopata. Two decorative modes occur on the urns. The first, reminiscent of the 1942 offering, has a design field restricted to a band on the top half of the vessel above the strap handles, but the proportions are different from the Conchopata ones. In the second mode, all available space is used on both the exterior and interior of the vessel. In spite of the additional space thus made available, only two personages are represented, each repeated twice on the outside and twice on the inside. The face-neck jars are only about half the size of the Conchopata ones (about 50 as against 100 cm. high), and are very different in shape. They represent realistic human figures with simply decorated garb; hands are sculpted directly in front of the handles, and a human face is modeled on the vessel neck (Menzel, 1964, p. 27). Face painting may be elaborate, but is purely geometric. Iconographically, the Pacheco collection adds an assemblage of plant representations, but in exchange lacks the Profile Attendant entirely.

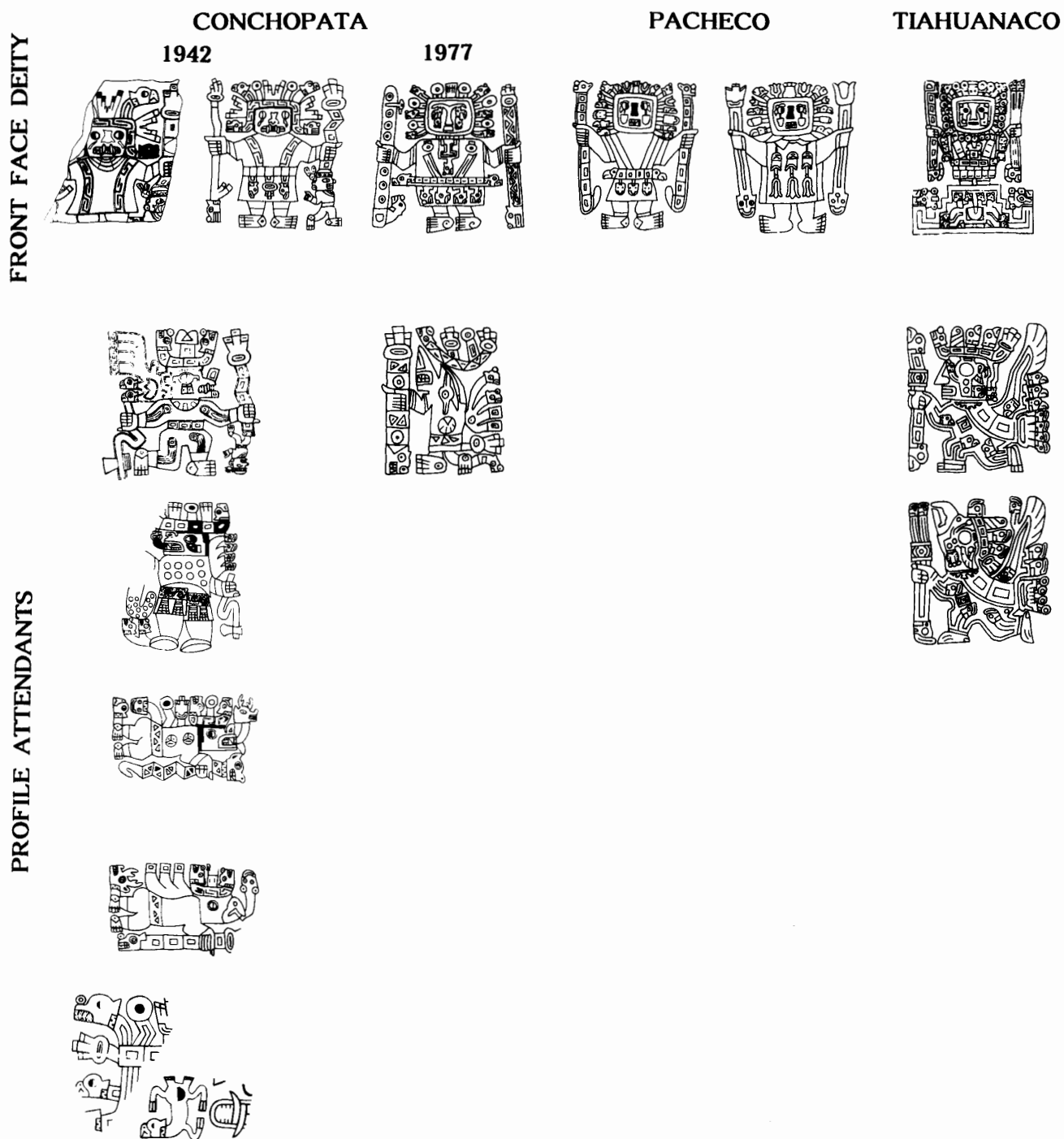
In summary (chart 3), figure variability and theme content in the MH 1A and 1B offering traditions change in time and space. First, in each offering, the frequency and type of Front Face Deities change as well as the number and associations of Profile Attendants. Second, theme content is simplified and figure variability is reduced through time. These patterns express shifting world views from which I have drawn political inferences.

Two variants of the Central Deity figure appear in the early highland inventory, and are reduced to a single figure in the 1977 deposit, while in the MH 1B Pacheco cache, two deities occur. Also, the form and function of the Profile Attendants within the themes of the three offerings varies significantly. From MH 1A to MH 1B, in the highlands, the five Profile Attendants that first appear on the 1942 offering (each associated with a particular vessel theme) are reduced to one figure (in the 1977 offering), which recurs in the same theme on numerous vessels. By comparison, on the coast during MH 1B, the Attendant Figure is completely eliminated from this offering iconography and replaced by other local features.

There is a significant shift in the thematic context of these figures in each of the offerings. The highly variable iconography of the 1942 cache is reduced in the 1977 material to two central compositions: the Central Deity Theme and the anthropomorphized Ventrally Extended Stinger Animal Theme. The iconography of

Chart 3

Comparison of Middle Horizon Front Face Deity and Profile Attendant Figures



Note: The belted deity from the 1942 Conchopata offering should have a collar like that on the unbelted deity from the same offering. The pedestal upon which the Front Face Deity from the 1977 Conchopata offering stands is not shown.

the coastal Pacheco material includes highland cultigens and possibly an architectural unit. The variability in vessel shapes is associated with distinctly different uses of the design field.

Most importantly, the hierarchy of icons can be seen to convey a centralized power structure most vividly portrayed in deities vested with elite insignia with juxtaposed lesser Profile Attendants. The observed patterns indicate that the design system within the offering tradition is progressively simplified, and the use of repeated themes replaces a more complex and varied iconography.

I consider the structure and composition of these three offerings as a selective cultural lexicon, or an iconic dictionary of hierarchically arranged visual images. The 1942 offering includes more figure variations than either of the two later deposits. While it may not be possible to understand the themes and roles of the participants, from a visual point of view the figures are assembled into two specific groups: first, several vessels with an early version of the Central Deity Theme, with Angel A and humans; second, the more frequent urn depictions of processions, which consist of repetitions of the same figure or figures on each vessel. Together, the urn depictions convey a more detailed view of the Central Deity Theme in compositions that suggest a narrative style. In contrast, MH 1B compositions, as represented at Conchopata, consist of fewer icons in standardized poses. In the highlands, the Central Deity Theme has been transformed thematically from a narrative style in which a variety of figures have specific roles, in association with the Front Face Deity or in processions, to a bithematic and relatively static and standardized image.

The south coast MH 1B Pacheco offering also has a reduced number of figures when compared to the MH 1A 1942 Conchopata offering. Certain configurations and icons have been chosen rather than others, as indicated above. The Central Deity Theme is no longer present. Only the Front Face Deities themselves are preserved. While standardization around a reduced set of themes and icons is occurring; new configurations have been included on the coastal ceramics, modifying traditional configurations through regional adaptations of the iconography.

The messages and ideas conveyed by the symbols depend on the development of a basic cultural code for facilitating and maintaining communication. Consequently, the medium must be more powerful than the socio-cultural barriers it must overcome (i.e., other local design repertoires). Simultaneously, the iconography must reveal the specialization peculiar to ranked political structures. For example, the excavations conducted during the 1960's at Conchopata revealed at least one ceramic workshop and a large quantity of ceramic polishing tools or scrapers, evidence of specialization in ceramic manufacture. The exact role of these potters is, of course, unknown, although evidence at Conchopata and Huari (Lumbreras, 1980) indicates that these sites had established pottery-producing communities. The use of a consistent repertoire of icons and themes suggests that the potters and/or artists who decorated the offering vessels operated as a group of iconic scribes, since they lacked a written language.

Iconography is only one of many mechanisms available to complex societies for portraying roles of leadership and concepts of hierarchy. As a vehicle for the communication of control and integration, pictorial images do not suffice. Once state hegemony is established, however, legal and coercive power is created, often accompanied by material items indicative of rank and high status. I have tried to demonstrate that the Huari and Tiahuanaco ceremonial iconography can

offer diachronic data on visual images of social stratification and occupational specialization. The art should not be regarded as exclusively epiphenomenal in nature, but instead as a rich source of social information. The sources of visual imagery extend beyond the ceramic offering tradition to include images on stone, shell, wood, metals, textiles, gourds and murals, to mention only a few.

This study has focused on the iconography as it appears in the MH 1 ceramic offering complex of the Central Andes. Huari influence brought highland and coastal communities through a dramatic period of social change, which can be deciphered in the visual images of the period. A pantheon was developed of which only a small part has been defined here.

From a spatial perspective, the adoption of this pantheon by multiethnic populations on the coast and over a distance of more than 700 km. (Huari to Tiahuanaco) is firm evidence that these polities were ideologically integrated by clearly understood core images and their referents.

The temporal assignments of the offering deposits may be subject to future debate, but the structure and thematic compositions belong to the new politico-religious conceptions held by the people of the Ayacucho Valley during the early Middle Horizon. The iconography they produced was equally part of a root paradigm in Andean art, that of the Staffed Deity flanked by mythic Profile Attendants. The recurrence of this image throughout Andean prehistory has been studied in depth by John Rowe and Dorothy Menzel, to whom we owe so much of our current knowledge of the art and chronology of the Central Andes. The many years of stylistic and iconographic insight provided by their work has contributed enormously to the understanding of this central structure in Andean cognition and world view.

NOTES

¹Menzel has also referred to these profile attendant figures as "Angels." Terms such as "deity" and "angel" are commonly used in the literature on Andean iconography. They remind us of Western religious concepts, which invariably interfere with our understanding of Andean modes and systems of thought. It is impossible, due to the lack of precolonial written sources, to refer to these figures by their proper names. For the sake of clarity, I have adopted most of the terms of reference used by Menzel and her contemporaries, with one exception. Only when referring to the 1942 Conchopata offering do I use the term "angel," which has strong Christian overtones, referring to such figures as "Profile Attendants." Furthermore, such names are considered here only as terms of reference, and do not imply or carry any deep symbolic or hierarchical meaning unless so indicated by discussion in the text.

²In 1980 a series of offering cists were recovered in the Moraduchayoq sector of the site of Huari. They are discussed elsewhere (Cook, 1985; 1986), and are not included here because they conform to an offering type that includes few vessels with iconography relevant to both Huari and Tiahuanaco.

³Detailed information on the excavation activities can be found in the preliminary report on the 1977 emergency excavations at Conchopata (Snethkamp and others, ms.).

⁴The Munsell color chart was not used in this analysis because different shades of the same color do not reflect intentional color changes at the time of production. Slight color differences result from many natural factors, such as differential exposure to soil moisture, exposure to air, etc.

⁵The horizontal S-shaped element was tightly associated with 1B material in stratigraphic contexts from Unit 200 at Huari, and is a diagnostic 1B attribute (Knobloch, 1983, pp. 118-119, 143).

⁶In a recent publication Lumbreras (1980, p. 37) presents the following analysis of the Front Face Deity of the 1977 offering:

Las figuras son estructural y temáticamente las mismas que las que aparecen en la "Puerta del Sol", pero no solo no son de estilo Tiwanaku, sino que responden a cánones artísticos muy ayacuchanos. Parecen transcripciones de la "Puerta del Sol" hechas por referencia oral, a modo de los llamados identi-kit. Hay, como en la "Puerta del Sol", un personaje central con dos báculos y una cabeza con rayos, que está parado sobre una plataforma escalonada, visto de frente. . . . Todos los elementos de la estructura se repiten; los rayos alternos de cabezas zoomorfas con dibujos anulares, la cara sub-rectangular con una banda de grecas, un collar, dos bandas a modo de tirantes que van de los hombros a la cintura, el cinturón, los flecos-cabezas zoomorfas, los báculos, etc., pero ocurre que ninguno de estos detalles corresponden a una copia del original y, más aún, se ve que no sabían "mirar" los complejos detalles de las caras tiwanakenses, pues de alguna parte obtuvieron una cara sin ojos, que corresponde a la visión de un "no-iniciado" de caras, como las que se grabaron en la banda básica de la "Puerta" famosa, en donde los ojos se refunden dentro de los ornamentos oculares que además se combinan con la nariz y las cejas

This important description is one of the first published references to this cache. I do not agree with Lumbreras' comment that these front face deities lack eyes. A review of the material reveals that eyes are clearly indicated. Only a few figures appear as those described in this quote. Furthermore, the Front Face Deity, unlike the Profile Attendants, is clearly conceived as the same figure found on the statuary and the Monolithic Gateway at Tiahuanaco. Furthermore, it seems very unlikely that the Conchopata artisans could paint such accurate renditions of the Front Face Deity having access only to oral descriptions of the Monolithic Gateway, as Lumbreras suggests.

⁷The designs on these textiles display a strong structural resemblance to Nasca 9B related motifs on the 1977 offering vessels. It has been brought to my attention that these pieces have been identified by L. Dawson as follows: Harcourt, 1962, pl. 7 and Lumbreras 1974b, fig. 140 are Nasca 6, while Harcourt, 1962, pl. 4 is Nasca 9 in style (Knobloch, pers. comm., 1982). Although some of these textiles seem to fall early in the sequence, we have yet to establish the the equivalent of Nasca 6 in the Ayacucho Basin.

⁸A preliminary comparison of facial decorations on Huari-influenced pottery indicates at least four types of designs: (1) tear band motifs (e.g., Anton, 1972, figs. 192, 193); (2) geometric and representational designs covering all or part of the face (e.g., Anton, 1972, figs. 176, 194, 205); (3) chin and whisker decorations, usually in black (figs. 1, 3); and (4) parallel vertical lines that may crosscut the lips of figures, suggesting bone or spine needles and used to indicate trophy heads,

particularly in coastal collections (e.g., Anton, 1972, figs. 54, 188). Any of these designs may be combined on a particular vessel. More comparative analysis is required to understand the associations as well as their significance. We can only speculate, at this point, but the designs suggest a combination of facial paint, facial hair, and tattooing or scarification.

⁹Housed at the American Museum of Natural History, New York.

¹⁰Housed at the Museum of the American Indian, New York.

¹¹This study was conducted in December of 1977 at the Museo Nacional de Antropología y Arqueología, Lima, Peru. Funding was provided through the Huari Urban Prehistory Project, directed by William H. Isbell and sponsored by the National Science Foundation. Thanks are due to Luis G. Lumbreras, then director of the Museo, and the museum staff, who greatly facilitated this research.

¹²There are three known examples of artifacts bearing representations of two Middle Horizon deities. On one of these, a wooden staff from Pachacamac (Lyon, 1979, pl. XXXIII), both figures wear the same type of garment, though with different decoration. The other two examples represent both the belted and unbelted deity figures. One case is the depiction on the Pacheco urns discussed in this paper and by Menzel (1964). The other is a reversible gold piece, cast in the shape of the Front Face Deity, with incised decoration, which I examined at the Museum of the American Indian. One side of the piece portrays the belted figure, the other an unbelted deity with a loosely fitting tunic. Belted and unbelted Front Face Deities also appear separately on stone sculptures at Tiahuanaco.

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KEY TO ILLUSTRATIONS

All drawings are by the author; photographs are courtesy of the Huari Urban Prehistory Project. All drawings have been reduced to 25% of original size, but were drawn at 100%. The color key (p. 87) applies to drawings of ceramics from both the 1977 and 1942 Conchopata offering deposits. Dotted lines indicate areas where designs have been reconstructed. Those drawings that have not been color keyed are included to provide additional information on formal variation in the iconography.

In the cases noted below, color coding is incomplete because of insufficient information.

Page 83

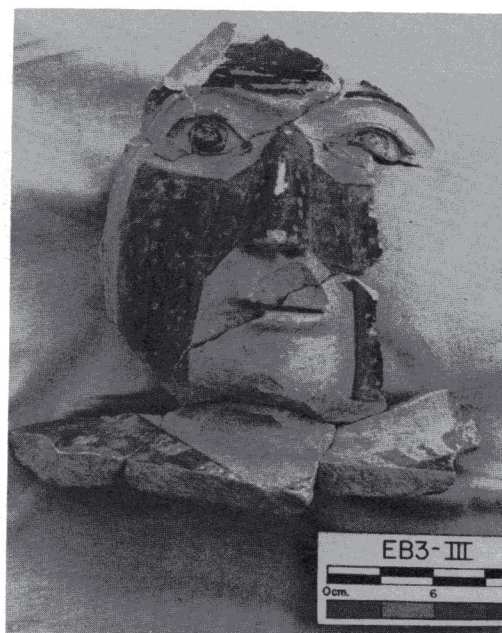
Fig. 18. The neck slit band is not color keyed.

Page 90

Fig. 38. The color of the center of the tail-feather design at the back of the headdress is unknown, and may or may not be white.



1



2

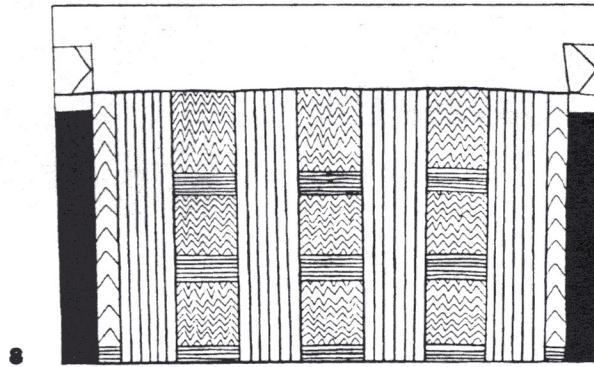
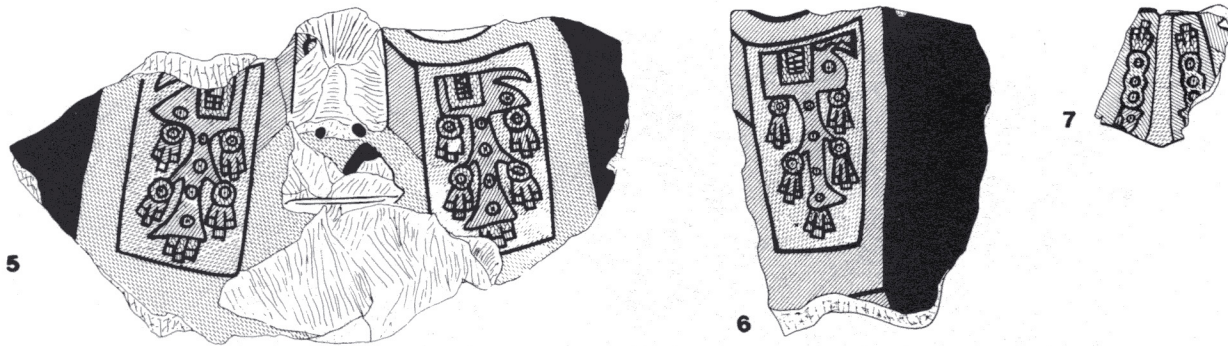


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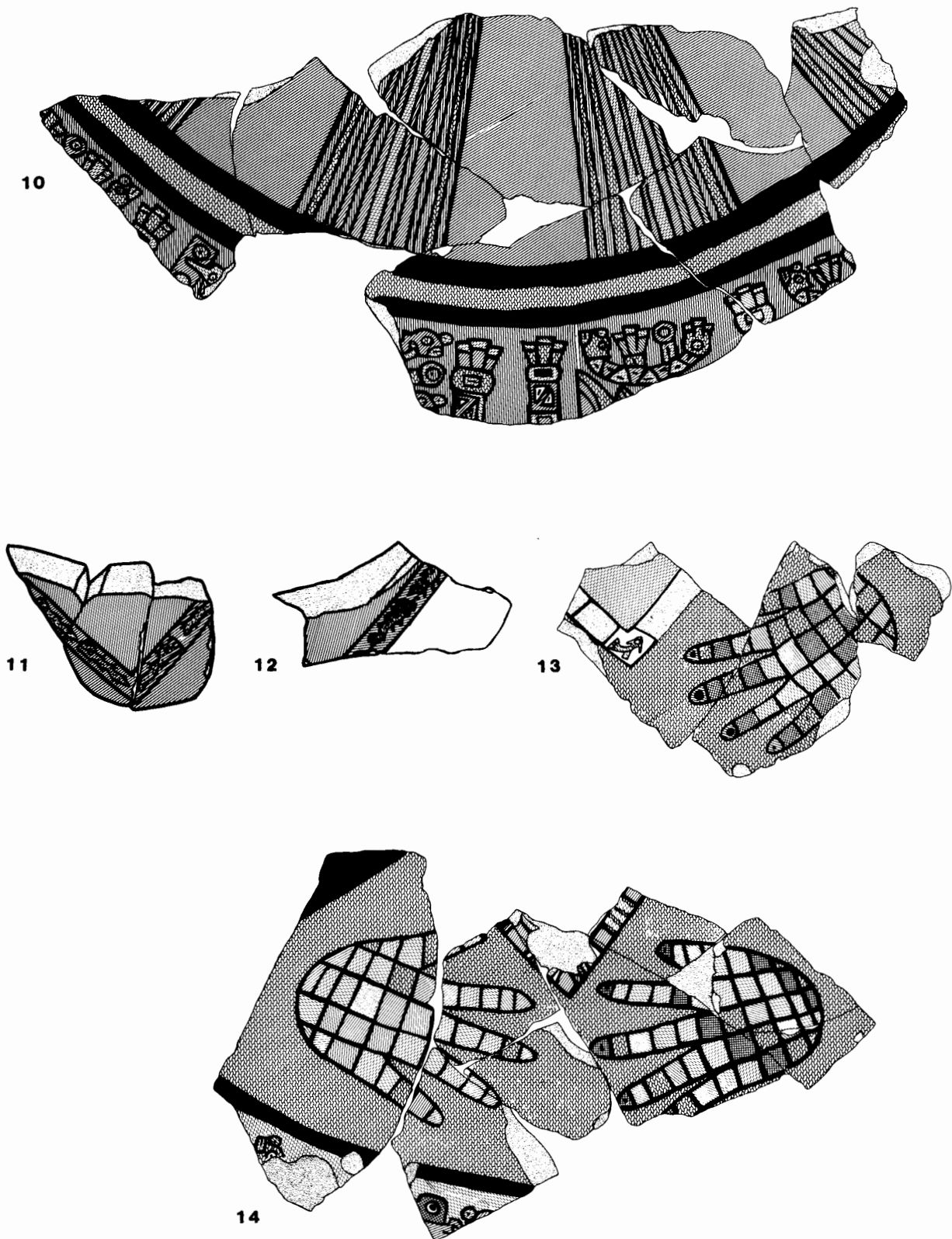


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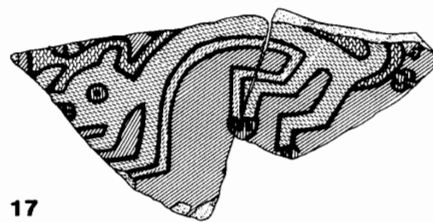
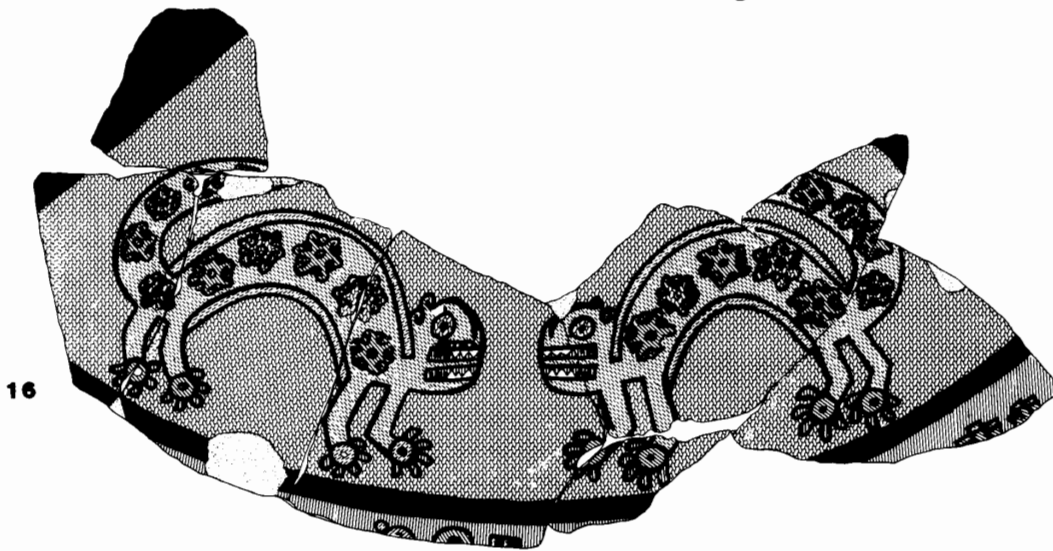
Conchopata 1977 offering, Section A. **Figs. 1-4**, facial variants.



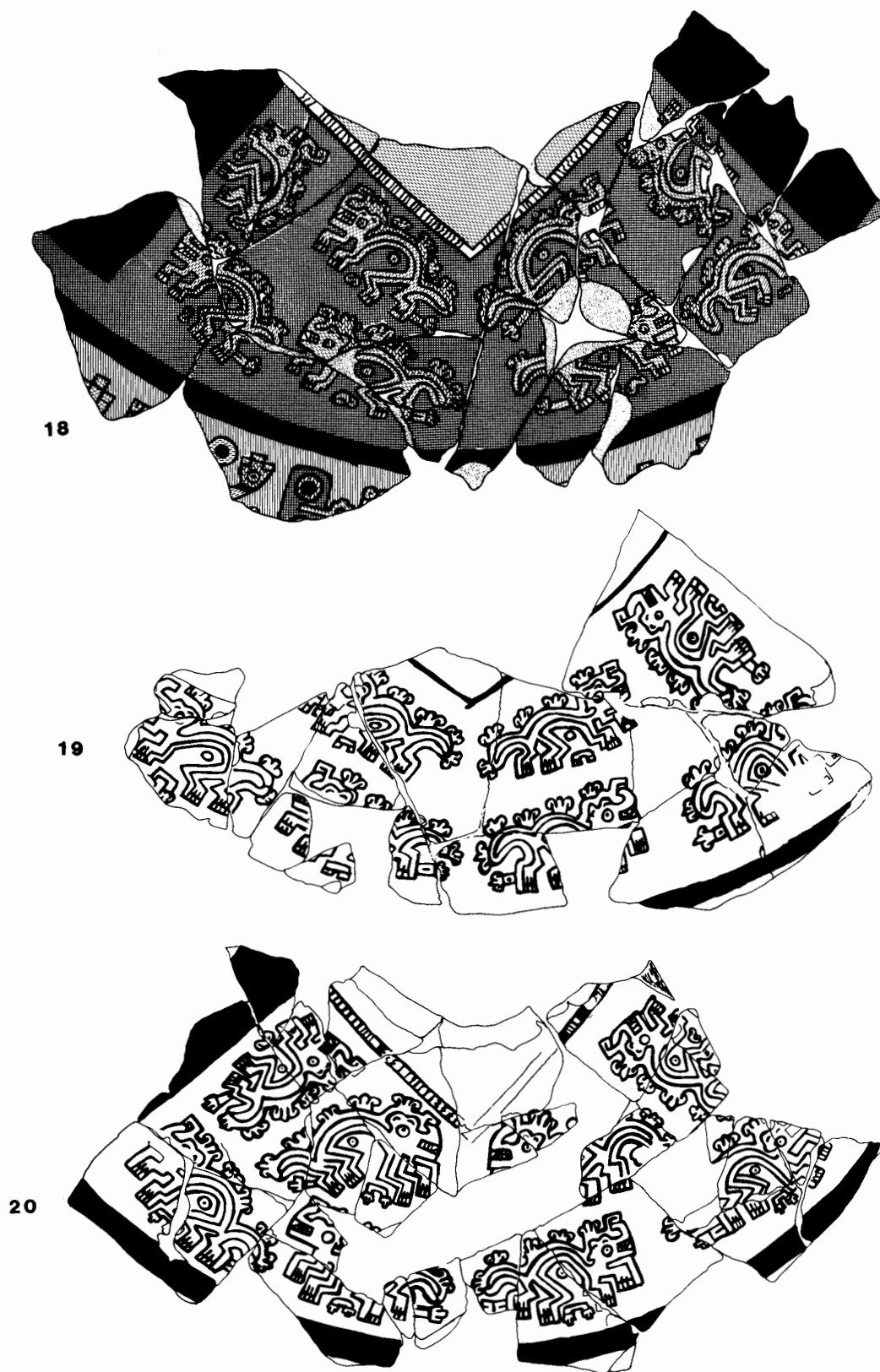
Conchopata 1977 offering, Section A. **Fig. 5**, face fragment; **fig. 6**, tear line; **fig. 7**, nose painting; **fig. 8**, idealized reconstruction of hair arrangement (not to scale); **fig. 9**, back of head and ear of face-neck jar.



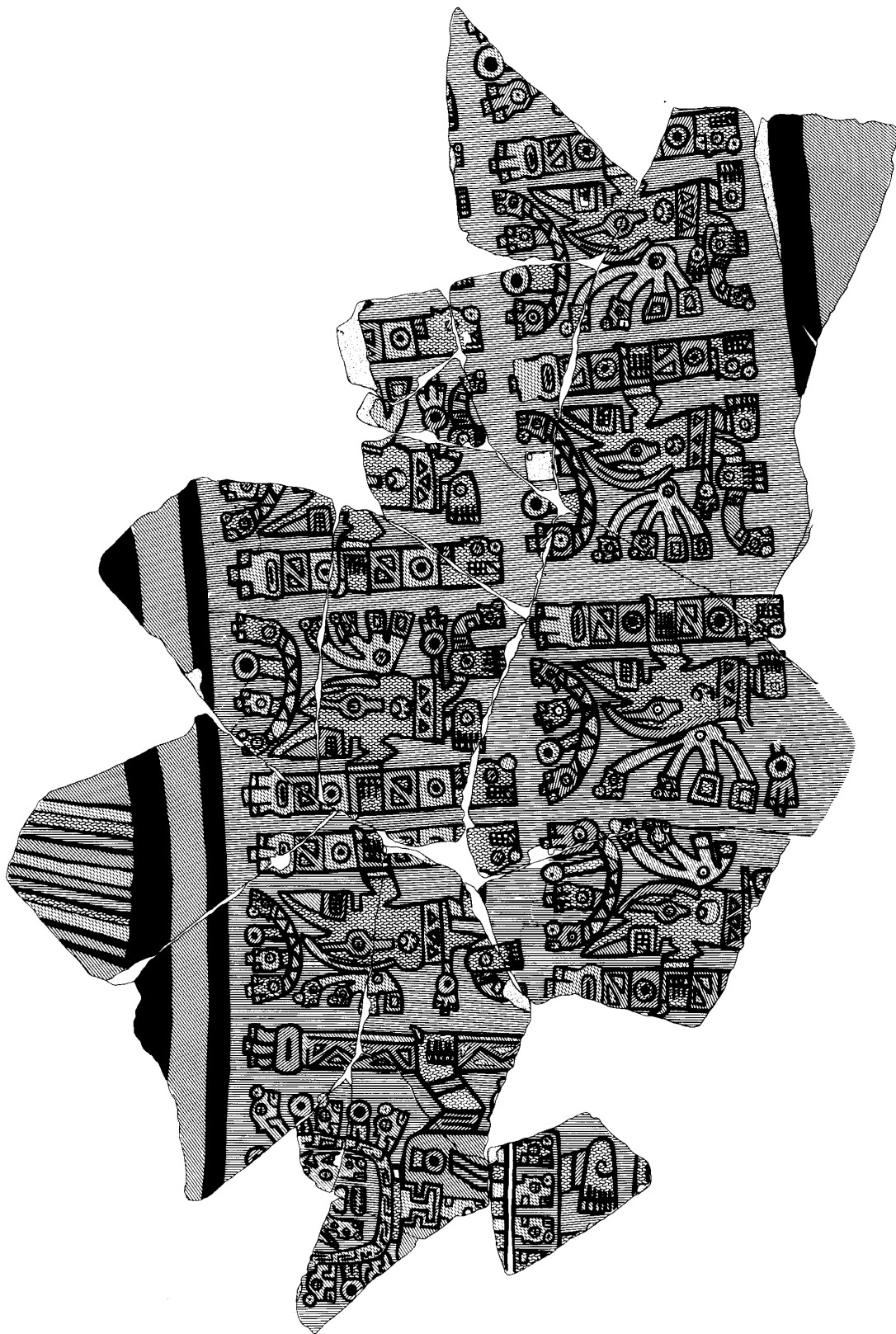
Conchopata 1977 offering, Section B. **Fig. 10**, back design of polychrome rays; **Figs. 11, 12**, neck slit variants; **figs. 13, 14**, hand designs.



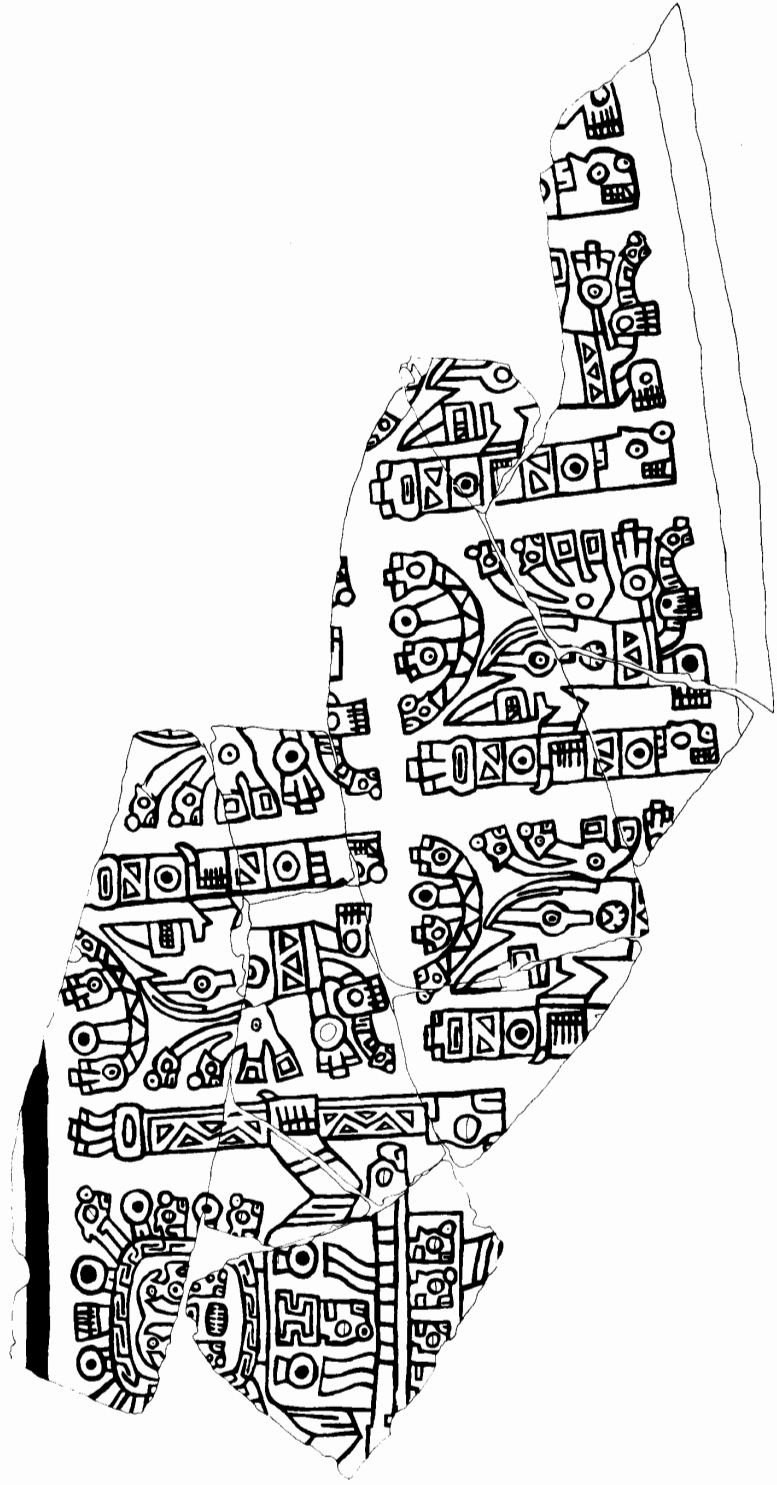
Conchopata 1977 offering, Section B. Figs. 15-17, large Humped Animal variants.



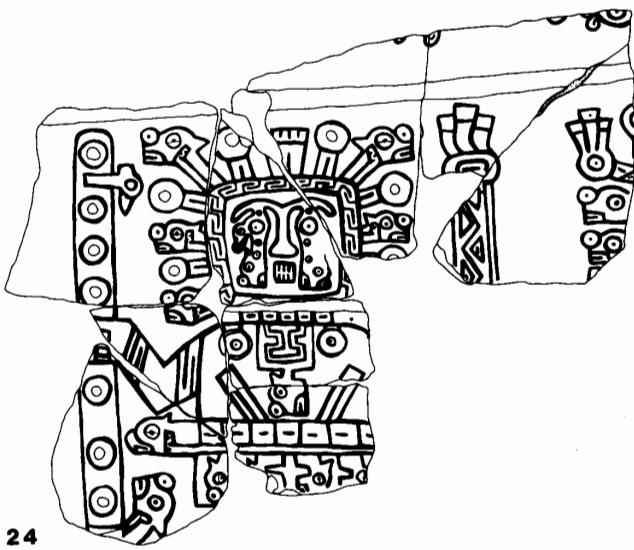
Conchopata 1977 offering, Section B. **Figs. 18-20**, small Humped Animal variants. The neck slit of fig. 20 has not been color coded; it is not white.



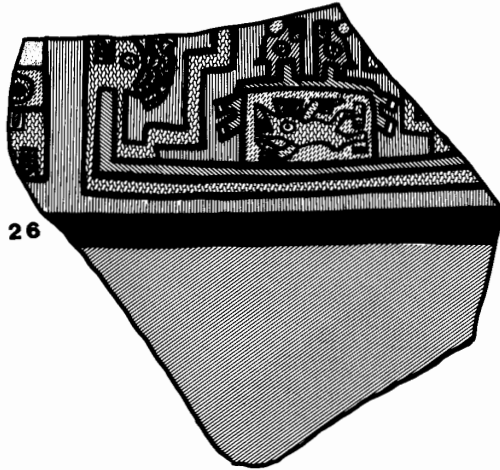
Conchopata 1977 offering, Section C. Fig. 21, Central Deity Theme.



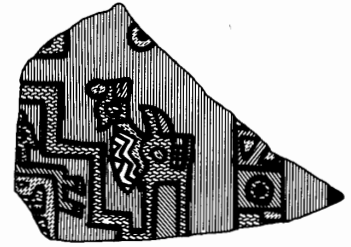
Conchopata 1977 offering, Section C. Fig. 22, Central Deity Theme.



Conchopata 1977 offering, Section C. Figs. 23-25, Front Face Deity variants.



26














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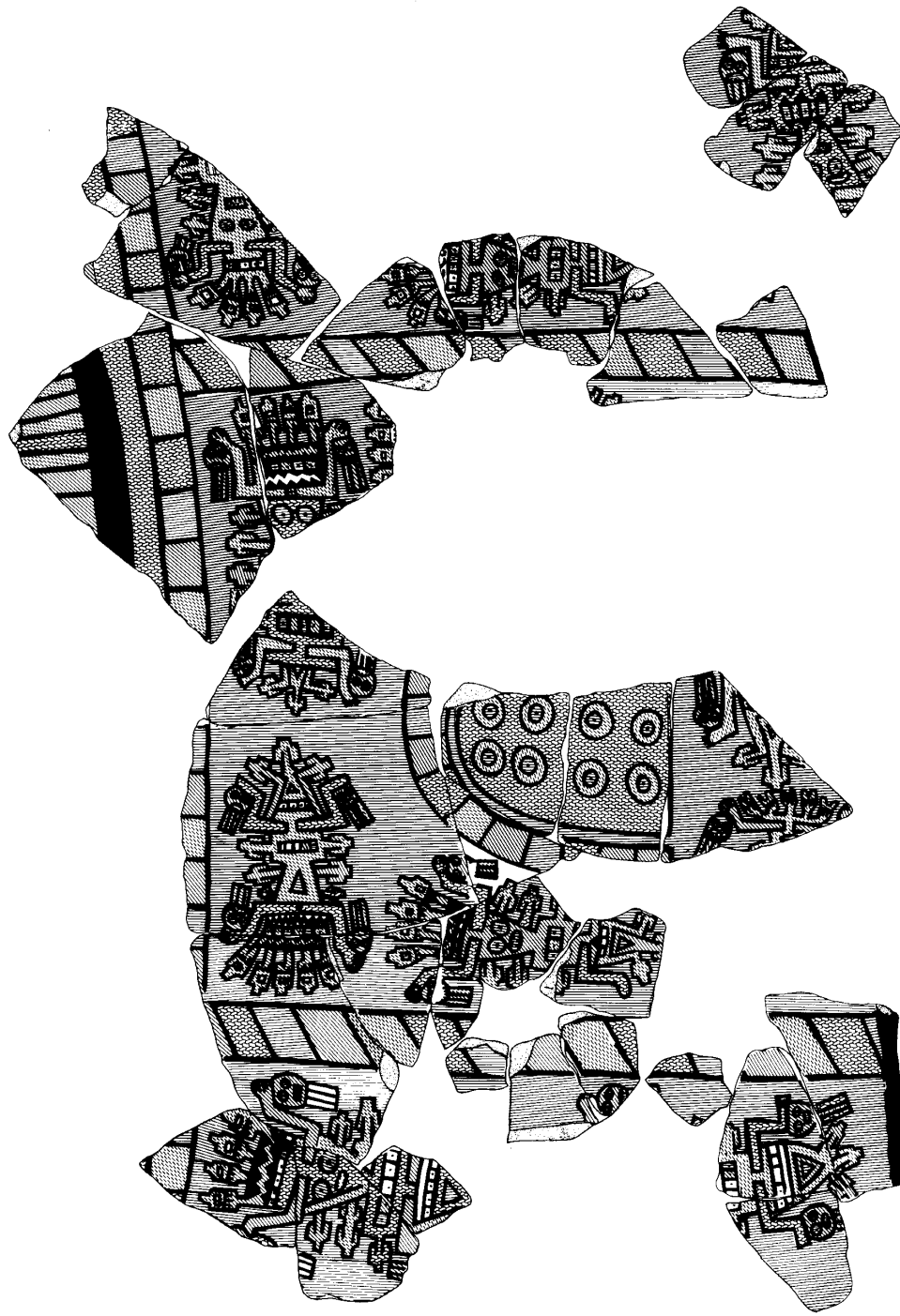


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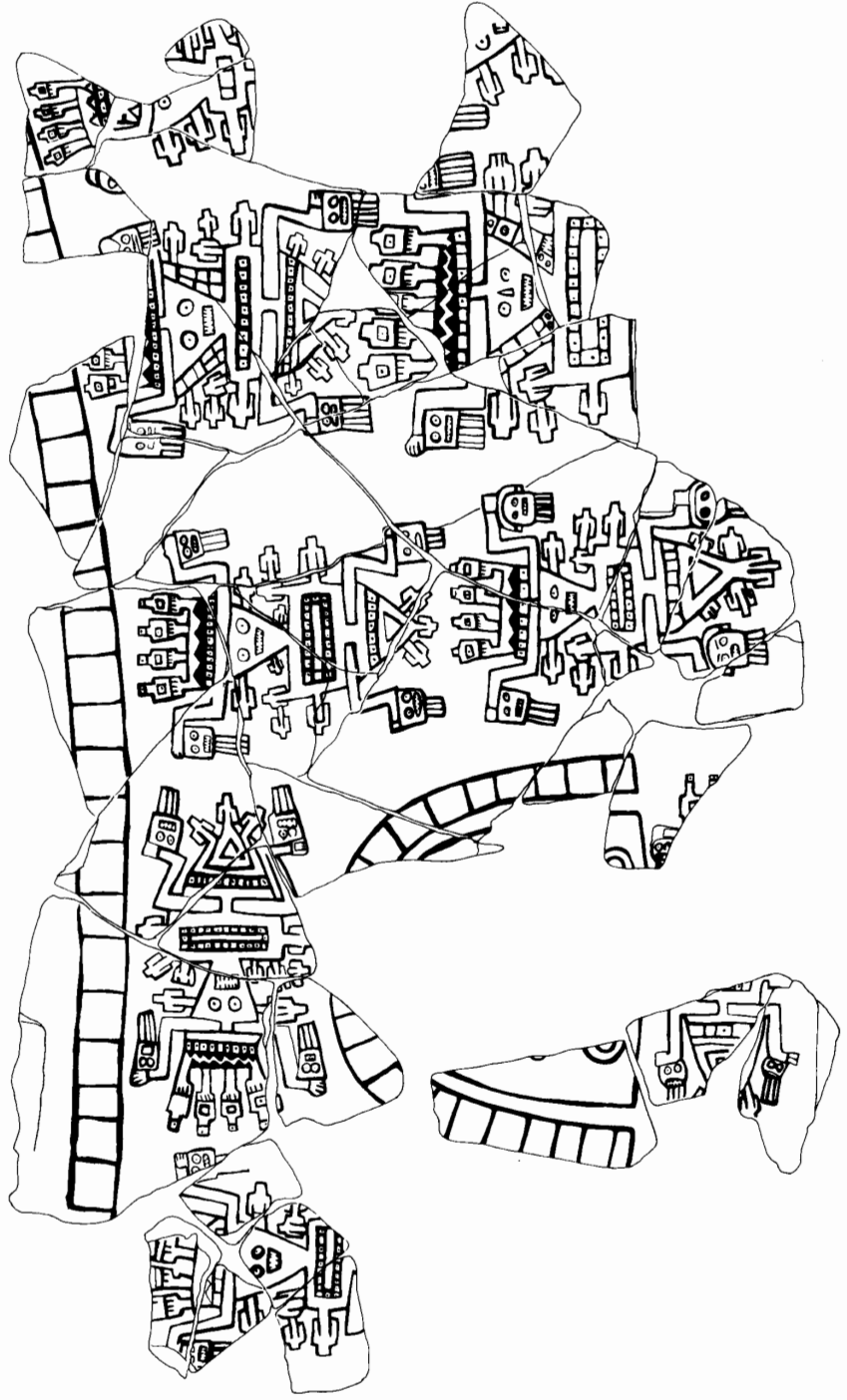
COLOR KEY

	Red		Flesh
	Burgundy		White
	Violet		Black
	Grey		Paste or worn surface
	Cream		Orange
	Dark purple/Brownish grey		

Conchopata 1977 offering, Section C. Figs. 26, 27, pedestal variants; fig. 28, Profile Attendant.



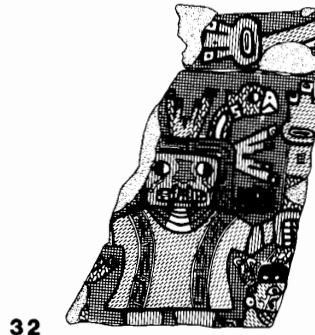
Conchopata 1977 offering, Section C. **Fig. 29**, Nasca-related design with vertical bars.



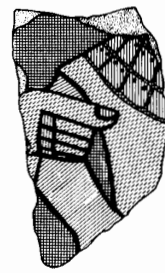
Conchopata 1977 offering, Section C. **Fig. 30**, Nasca-related design variant.



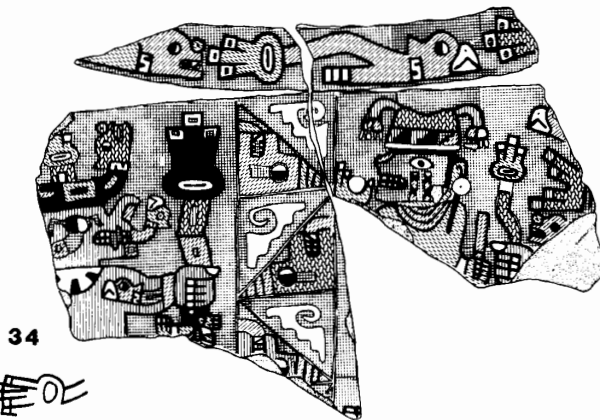
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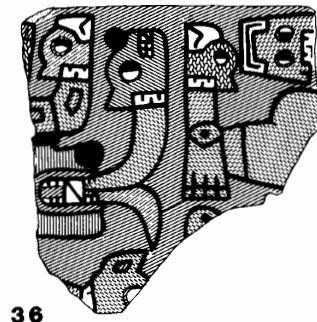
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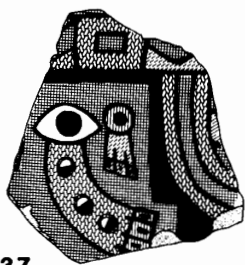
34



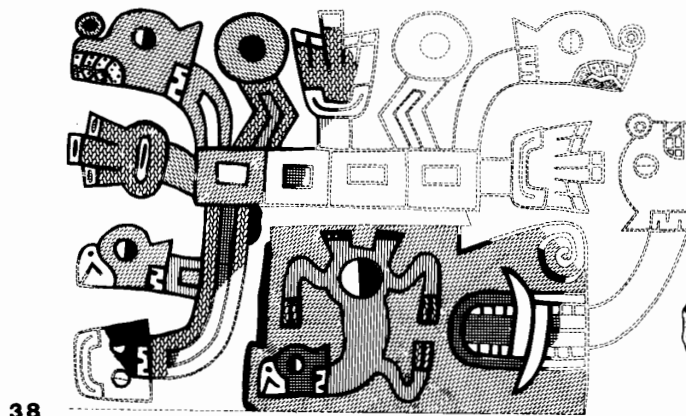
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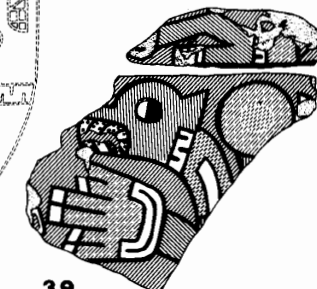
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39

Conchopata 1942 offering. **Fig. 31**, geometric variant of panel divider; **fig. 32**, unbelted Front Face Deity; **fig. 33**, Large Human Captive; **fig. 34**, from left to right, Profile Attendant Sacrificer, split-face design panel divider, Large Human, and Front Face Deity; **fig. 35**, Large Human and Angel C or D; **fig. 36**, Angels C and D; **figs. 37-39**, Bodiless Angel variants; **fig. 39**, reconstructed Bodiless Angel. See Key to Illustrations for comments on color coding.