CONCHOPATA, IDEOLOGICAL INNOVATOR IN MIDDLE HORIZON 1A

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During the Middle Horizon, much of the Central Andean highlands and coast came under the control of Huari, a powerful urban capital in the Ayacucho Valley. Following extremely rapid and widespread conquests, Huari constructed provincial administrative centers as far from its Ayacucho heartland as Pikillaqta in Cuzco and Viracochapampa in Huamachuco (fig. 1; Isbell and Schreiber, 1978; Isbell, 1985). Stylistic seriation (Menzel, 1964; 1969; 1977) shows that all these provincial centers were built in Middle Horizon 1B. Art and architecture indicate that important religious innovations took place in Middle Horizon 1A, before political expansionism is documented by Huari's provincial administrative centers. I believe that the archaeological record supports the conclusion that these religious innovations were primary sources of successful new behavior that enabled Huari to establish a centralized, hierarchical, and expansionist state. Furthermore, I believe that changes in religious art, and especially new iconographic structures, indicate that the most important innovations took place at Huari's Ayacucho Valley neighbor, Conchopata, during Middle Horizon 1A and 1B. The new religious art also makes it possible to infer at least the more general aspects of the new ideology.

Few anthropologists will deny that religion and ideology are important participants in culture change. However, most frequently, anthropologists have dealt with religion as a conservative body of ideas that contributes to maintaining the *status quo* rather than stimulating change. Religion is often modeled as a set of beliefs that sanction and legitimize institutionalized behavior. Many Marxists argue that religion and ideology disguise contradictions in the social fabric, facilitating relationships of production based on exploitation. The popular processual view has seen religion as the regulator of relations among adaptive subsystems. In this conceptualization, religion counteracts disequilibrium that would threaten the cultural system. All these approaches share a view of religion in which its primary function is to maintain the *status quo*.

I suspect that the view that religion essentially maintains cultural equilibrium can be attributed to two facts. First, as Ackerman (1985) asserts, religion is a system of ideas containing a model of how things ought to be in the real world. This vision of how things ought to be arises out of a critique of how things really are, and directs goal-oriented change. However, the societies studied by anthropologists are virtually always in more or less rapid processes of acculturation to Euro-American culture. Consequently, the religious vision of how things ought to be tends to be based on a critique of accelerating change over which the natives have very little control. The behavioral goal becomes an idealized past. Goal-directed behavior seeks a return to the traditional forms of the past, focusing anthropologists attention on the conservative and equilibrium-maintaining functions of religion.

A second influence on views of prehistoric religion as conservative and equilibrium-maintaining is more particular to the archaeologist than to other kinds of anthropologists. The material nature of the archaeological record reveals much more about environment and economy than about religion and ideology. Combined with an evolutionary view of culture as an extrasomatic system of adaptation, and the generally materialist philosophy of Anglo-American culture, the archaeologist's material record of the past tends to be interpreted in terms of models that

attribute the active role in culture change to environmental and economic adaptation, and consider religion and ideology as legitimizing, mystifying, or regulating.

The cultural evolutionists' emphasis on adaptation to the environment as the source of cultural change reflects strong commitment to an analogy with biological evolution in which natural selection is a primary mechanism of change. However, biological evolution is based on the belief that genetic and phenotypic variation is constantly increasing in all populations because of random errors in the transfer of genetic information from one generation to another. Directional change is explained by arguing that certain genetic combinations or phenotypic forms have reproductive advantages due to greater adaptive efficiency in a given environment. In turn, disadvantageous combinations or forms reproduce at a lower rate, or not at all, so that genetic information is lost from the population. Explanations of directional change in cultural evolution have also used natural selection: particular behavioral forms or institutions were more efficient than previous or alternative ones. With the exception of diffusion, new cultural behavioral forms or institutions were more efficient than previous or alternative ones. With the exception of diffusion, new cultural behavior is taken for granted, as though it too arises spontaneously, like genetic mutations. But failure to explain the source of the new cultural behavior encourages a functionalist error in thinking. Adaptive new behavior arises spontaneously, as a result of its own selective value. Adaptive behavior creates itself, and this is an untenable, teleological assertion.

Geoffrey Conrad and Arthur Demarest (1984) have distinguished themselves from their materialist colleagues by arguing that religious ideologies were responsible for New World empires. They assert that the religious ideologies of the Aztecs and Incas made expansionism absolutely essential, and also determined the forms that these two empires took. They attack theories that involve functionalist errors in thinking (Conrad and Demarest, 1984, pp. 197-199). Unfortunately, they do not resolve the functionalist dilemma by determining origins for new cultural behavior. The Aztec and Inca empires are explained by simply attributing them to new religious ideologies. Rather than confront the critical problem of sources of new behavior, Conrad and Demarest support their argument by showing that competitive, materialistic explanations of cultural evolution are inadequate. By presenting extreme and simplified examples of the materialists' arguments, Conrad and Demarest create straw men whose inadequacies are apparent.

An important failure in Conrad and Demarest's explanation is that religious ideology is isolated from its practitioners, becoming totally superorganic. In fact, once adopted by the Aztecs and Incas, the expansionistic religious ideologies uncontrollably determined unidirectional cultural change that drove both polities to overexpand to the point of destroying themselves. I believe that the majority of the scholars who study the Aztec and Inca empires would agree that both were dynamic, adaptive, and changing. Neither the Aztecs nor the Incas were slaves to supreme and unmodifiable religious ideologies, and they did not destroy themselves. Had the European invasion been delayed, they would have continued as the successful masters of their worlds. But, returning to Conrad and Demarest's logic, if the Aztec and Inca peoples were unable to influence their religious ideology, even to avoid their own self-destruction, where did these innovative expansionist ideologies come from in the first place, and how were they adopted? Any model asserting that ideology is so powerful and resistant to change that it regularly destroys the people and the cultural system of which it is a part, denies the people any role in innovation. It also denies the possibility of goal-oriented change. Since Conrad

and Demarest's explanation of culture change assumes a superorganic ideology, and fails to explain how innovations occur in ideology or where new behavior originates, it is not a significant improvement over the functionalist arguments. The course and direction of culture change is determined by spontaneous and unexplained innovations in ideology. In place of the materialist argument that functionally adaptive new behavior creates itself, we are left with the argument that spontaneously arising ideology determines culture change. Apparently, peoples and cultures are helplessly at the mercy of these maladaptive ideologies until unexplained, new ideologies spontaneously replace them.

Ackerman's (1985) assessment of religion as a system of ideas about how things ought to be that is based on a critique of how things are provides for goal-oriented change in ideology. Most importantly, it allows the practitioners to play a role in determining goals and formulating behavior. I suspect that religion is a great incubator for new behavior. Religious ideology is a field within which logical solutions to real problems can be worked out in the abstract, without having immediate, real consequences. Ritual can act as a dress rehearsal for novel solutions, the more outrageous innovations failing immediately. Props of the dress rehearsals (ceremonial costumes, ritual paraphernalia, temples, ceremonial precincts, oracles, etc.) help establish new categories, relationships, and strategies in the minds of the participants, and these become integrated into general cosmological models as well as real behavior. As new categories, relationships, and strategies modify real behavior, the behavior operates on the general cosmological model, and both the model and the behavior operate on religious ritual and ideology. In turn, categories, relationships and behaviors that create significant problems tend to be modified while those that have adaptive consequences tend to become institutionalized. I suspect that goal-oriented, ideologically motivated change has been a major source of new behavior.

The archaeological record indicates that at the beginning of the Andean Middle Horizon, important behavioral changes were taking place as new religious facilities, artifacts, and iconographic structures were appearing. In turn, these new religious objects can be interpreted as the props with which new ideologies were being developed and communicated. The religious iconography of Middle Horizon 1A and 1B and the political organizational structure that appeared in Epoch 1B, are consistent with particular kinds of innovations. I postulate the development of a new religious ideology that conceptualized the cosmos in terms of a centralized and hierarchical structure. In turn, cosmic structure organized all other domains, including the domain of humans, in its image. Consequently, centralized structure was the necessary order of things and successful human participation in the cosmos had to strive to maintain that order. Disruption of centralized hierarchy in any domain threatened disruption of all domains, including basic cosmic structure itself. By the same token, reinforcement of hierarchical and centralized order in one domain contributed to order in all the others. Humans had to help dissipate disorder, and reinforce proper order in the cosmos by ritually and actually reinforcing the centralized and hierarchical order in their own domain, the sphere of social and political organization.

The existence of this kind of centralized and hierarchical cosmos among the later Incas seems to be confirmed by Pachacuti Yamqui Salcamaygua's centralized hierarchical depiction from Cuzco's Sun temple, expressed as a cosmogonic diagram in which a pantheon is derived from a single creator deity at the top of the drawing (fig. 2). Inca kinship was also shown to be based on a centralized and hierarchical structure in a drawing by Pérez Bocanegra (fig. 3; also see discussion

by Zuidema, 1977).

There can be no doubt that hierarchy, and status differences, were well developed in the Central Andes long before the Middle Horizon. However, I doubt that centralization of authority, and especially centralization of authority over peoples of diverse ethnic and religious backgrounds, was securely developed before the Middle Horizon. Even in the sixteenth century, ethnic groups had powerful ideologies stating an ideal of isolation and independence. Each group claimed a unique mythical origin, usually the emergence of its founders from the underworld, somewhere within the group's home territory. Ancestor worship further emphasized separation, and rulers claimed entitlement through descent from founders whose unique authority was established in the creation myths.

Theories of state origins generally affirm that the state emerged as a result of new secular power as well as institutions based on relationships other than kinship. Paradoxically, it appears that the Incas established their centralized authority with religion and kinship. They introduced ideological innovations that established religious and kin-based relationships for their centralized power. Religious innovation involved what has been interpreted as a universal creator, Viracocha, who was inserted at the top of a pantheon. Before emerging from Lake Titicaca, Viracocha created the founders of all the ethnic groups underground, apparently in a single, universal, creative act. Upon emerging from Lake Titicaca, Viracocha journeyed across the earth's surface and caused all the ethnic founders to emerge from their appropriate places. Viracocha also designated the Incas to rule over all the people of this creation, charging them with instructing humanity in the arts of civilization (Rowe, 1946; 1960). The second means of establishing universal Inca authority involved manipulating kinship. The Inca established himself as wife-giver, father-in-law, and conceptual equivalent of ancestor, to the entitled rulers of ethnic kingdoms (Zuidema, 1964; 1977; M. Brewster-Wray, ms.). I believe that similar ideological innovations preceded the formation of an expansionist Huari state in the Middle Horizon.

It could be argued that the ideological innovations inferred for Middle Horizon Huari that parallel those recorded for centralized Inca authority developed after the emergence of political centralization. In this case, they would be ideological innovations that legitimized and sanctioned changes that originated in other domains. However, the archaeological record shows that changes in religious art and architecture, ritual props associated with the development and communication of ideological innovations, began in Middle Horizon 1A, before the incorporation of provincial territories, rather than in Middle Horizon 2, after the new territories were added. Consequently, the religious innovations precede or occur simultaneously with the major expansive thrusts and administrative reorganizations. For these reasons, I think it unlikely that Huari's expansive state government was a result of secular, coercive power that was subsequently legitimized by new religious ideologies.

Now, I shall turn to the archaeological record, and the new Middle Horizon religious art and architecture that communicated centralized and hierarchical structure. First I shall deal with art and iconography. I begin with the argument that the largest and most complex specimen of Middle Horizon art expresses a centralized and hierarchical structure, not unlike that I have ascribed to the Inca cosmos and kinship, on the basis of the Pachacuti Yamqui Salcamaygua and Pérez Bocanegra diagrams. Iconic antecedents of this Middle Horizon art existed in southern Peru and adjacent Bolivia for nearly a millennium, but in Middle Horizon

1A, and continuing into Middle Horizon 1B, structural reorganizations took place that reveal the formalization of a centralized and hierarchical concept of order. Second, is a review of archaeological remains from Middle Horizon 1A and 1B Conchopata, showing that the new art was associated with a temple around which formerly more dispersed populations of the Ayacucho Valley were concentrating. A valley-wide shift to agglutinated, urban residence around new ritual centers culminated in the emergence of one supreme city, a process that seems to have formalized new behavioral codes that resulted in centralized authority and expansionist government.

The monumental Gate of the Sun at Tiahuanaco is the largest and most complex example of Middle Horizon art, but even it is incomplete (fig. 4). Its base was broken from a larger megalithic sculpture and I believe that it was originally part of the U-shaped Puma Puncu temple of Tiahuanaco. There, other fragments of a multigated, megalithic eastern façade can still be found. At the center of a panel of relief sculpture on the Gate of the Sun is a large complete figure depicted fullface, standing on a stepped platform (fig. 4b). Below the platform is a row of similar front-view faces that lack bodies (fig. 4c). Their frontal representation and iconic features indicate that they belong to the same class as the central figure, but the absence of bodies implies inferior status or importance. Their arrangement below, and in a connected row that extends to the right and left of the principal figure, recalls the Colonial-Inca cosmogonic and kinship diagrams discussed above in which lesser, descendent individuals are arranged in connected columns to the right and left, below the principal figure. On the Gate of the Sun, there is a third group of beings in rows on either side of the central, full-face figure. They are shown in profile, as though kneeling, or running toward the central figure. Each figure grasps a staff in one hand, and has a wing on its back (figs. 4d, e). The profile representation, small size, and subservient stance all imply a different class of being whose status was significantly inferior, and who stood in a serving relationship to the central figure and its disembodied companions. There are two variants of the small profile figures, one with a human face and the other with a raptorial bird face. Both of the variants appear to represent mythical beings who were superior to two tiny humans, shown with an ax and trophy head, in the lower edges of the decorative panel (fig. 4f). On stylistic grounds, the Gate of the Sun belongs to Middle Horizon Epoch 1B or 2A, when Huari had already conquered and organized a vast territory with many provinces.

The evolutionary roots of the icons appearing on Tiahuanaco's Gate of the Sun lie in the iconography of Pucara culture, from the final centuries B.C. In Pucara sculpture the complete, full-face figure appears much the same (Rowe, 1977, lām. IX), while as a ceramic decoration it is shown grasping a club or digging stick in one hand and the tether of a llama in the other (Rowe and Brandel, 1971, pls. IV and V). This mythical figure has been referred to as the Front Face Deity. The kneeling or running figures shown in profile have Pucara antecedents in similarly postured personages who carry axes and trophy heads (Rowe and Brandel, 1971, pl. II). They have been referred to as Profile Sacrificers (Cook, 1983, pp. 165-168).

There are, however, no known examples of Pucara art in which the Profile Sacrificer occurs on the same object or in the same design field with the Front Face Deity. The only reasonably complete representation of the Profile Sacrificer depicts two Sacrificers facing one another. In my opinion, this expresses a concept of encounter, *tinkuy* in the Quechua of Cuzco, that involves both opposition and union (Allen, ms.), and may communicate dualism and symmetry. The fact

that the Front Face Deity is not known to occur with the Profile Sacrificers suggests that the relationship between the two classes of beings was not the important message that needed to be communicated. Consequently, I suggest that Pucara politico-religious beliefs put relatively little emphasis on hierarchical or centralized structures.

Profile Sacrificers are also found in the art of Tiahuanaco. Six examples occur on a lintel located in the Kantataita section of the site (Cook, 1983; Isbell and Cook, 1987; Conklin, ms.). Their similarities to the Pucara Profile Sacrificers, and to the icons from ceramic offerings found at Conchopata in 1942 by Tello, to be discussed below, suggest that the Kantataita lintel predates the Gate of the Sun, thus dating to Middle Horizon 1A or earlier. I believe that the Kantataita lintel depicts the same conceptual structure apparent in the art of Pucara, dualistic symmetry and encounter, lacking hierarchical or centralized organization. The organization consists of a procession of three Sacrificers who encounter, face to face, a comparable procession of three at the center of the lintel. Unlike the Pucara Profile Sacrificers, these Tiahuanaco examples are in horizontal position and have elongated snouts, perhaps indicating that the face was not intended to be human.

Another lintel, perhaps originally from Tiahuanaco, was found in a modern building on Calle Linares in La Paz, Bolivia (Posnanski, 1945, vol. II, figs. 140, 140a). It has Profile Sacrificers similar to those of the Kantataita lintel in their horizontal positions, elongated snouts, and decorative elements. The principal differences between the Sacrificers is that those of the Calle Linares lintel are depicted with strange, two-fingered hands, and they lack staffs, axes, and trophy heads. Another difference between the two lintels is that a Front Face Deity is depicted in the central position between the two processions of Profile Sacrificers on the Calle Linares stone. Centralized structure seems to be communicated.

Centralized structure, with processions of profile figures on either side of a Front Face Deity link the Calle Linares lintel and the Gate of the Sun. It might be argued that the Kantataita and Calle Linares lintels represent progressive iconographic evolution between Pucara, with its Profile Sacrificers in encounter, and the Gate of the Sun, with its emphasis on centralized and hierarchical structure. I think this unlikely. Kantataita and Calle Linares iconography have features that seem to lie outside the main stream of change from Pucara to the Gate of the Sun. Kantataita and Calle Linares profile figures are in horizontal position, unlike those in Pucara and on the Gate of the Sun. They also share elongated nonhuman snouts, absent in Pucara and the Gate of the Sun. Consequently, I suggest that the Kantataita and Calle Linares pieces depict a regional, early Tiahuanaco variant of the Profile Sacrificer. Although Calle Linares shares the Front Face Deity with the Gate of the Sun, some of its other iconographic features are almost identical with Kantataita, the horizontal positions and elongated snouts, for example. However, the two-fingered hands and the absence of staffs make the Calle Linares sculpture unique. Both staffs and multifingered hands are important diagnostics of the Pucara Profile Sacrificer as well as of the Profile Attendant on the Gate of the Sun. Unless examples of art that fill the iconographic gap between Pucara and the Gate of the Sun are found at Tiahuanaco, I conclude that an important iconographic transition took place somewhere other than at Tiahuanaco. The Gate of the Sun at Tiahuanaco derives much of its iconography and organization from innovations in this other center, and the Calle Linares lintel probably represents a first round of borrowing and combination between the early Tiahuanaco tradition and the iconography that was developing elsewhere. I believe that the foreign

center was Conchopata. There, iconographic innovations were focusing on the relationship between the Front Face Deity and Profile Sacrificers. This concern finally transformed the Profile Sacrificer into the Profile Attendant, and also developed a new, centralized structure in terms of which important supernatural relationships were expressed.

In 1942 Julio Tello discovered a cache of highly-decorated ceramics that had been smashed and buried at the archaeological site of Conchopata in the Ayacucho Valley (see Appendix 1). A comprehensive study of the context and material has never been completed, but the work of Menzel (1964; 1977) and Cook (1983; 1987; ms.a; ms.b) makes it clear that there are a number of innovative icons and iconic combinations on these urns that were employed in a new religious ritual that involved ceremonial sacrifice of fancy pottery.

One group of urns from the Tello discovery depicts three classes of beings in the same design field at the top of an oversized urn (Cook, 1987, fig. 34). The Front Face Deity is present. There is also a figure that is intermediate between the Profile Sacrificer and the Profile Attendant. The transitional status of this Conchopata profile figure is obvious. Features that it shares with the Sacrificer include a staff that terminates in a trophy head and is grasped in one hand, and an ax held in the other hand. An interesting variant on the trophy head theme may be unique to the 1942 cache. It is a tiny, profile, captive human at the bottom of the staff, whose hands are bound behind its back, but this alternative seems to convey the same spirit of the Sacrificer. On the other hand, features shared with the Profile Attendant include the absence of a trophy head held in the ax hand, and the addition of a wing to the back of the figure. I suspect that the wing was especially important as an emphatic statement of the supernatural status of the Profile Attendant. The mythical status of the Pucara Profile Sacrificer was revealed by a number of features shared with the Profile Attendant, such as N-shaped canine teeth and a divided eye, but these may be statements of a lower order of magnitude. It may also be significant that the Conchopata profile figure has a face that appears to be feline. Perhaps this feature relates to the elongated snout of the early Tiahuanaco style. A third kind of figure on this group of Conchopata urns is an elaborately-garbed human. Its nonmythical status is obvious from the dress of the human, including a four-cornered hat with points and tassels at the top of each corner (similar hats have been found from the Tiahuanaco and Huari spheres, and are frequent on depictions of humans), facial features that lack canine teeth and divided eye, and the absence of wings.

I believe this offering provides the earliest example of representational emphasis on hierarchical structure in the iconographic tradition under discussion. Concern with hierarchy and centralization involved the development of a new class of supernatural being, the Profile Attendant, who derived from the Profile Sacrificer. It also involved the formal expression of a relationship between Profile Attendants and the Front Face Deity, apparently a hierarchical relationship as implied by the front-face as opposed to profile orientations. Finally, the art also represented a relationship between these mythical beings and nonmythical humans. In fact, it may be argued that conversion of the trophy head into the captive human established two classes of humans who were hierarchically related to one another by virtue of their differential relationships with the mythical beings.

A second group of urns from the same Conchopata offering depicts other Profile Attendants that are stylistically closer to the figures on the Gate of the

Sun. These Attendants are shown in horizontal position, as on the earlier lintels from Tiahuanaco, but they lack any features of the Sacrificer: trophy head at the base of the staff, or ax and trophy head in the hand behind the back. In fact, there is no hand shown behind the back, a feature distinguishing these Conchopata figures from the Kantataita and Calle Linares depictions but relating them to the Gate of the Sun Attendants. At least some of these Attendants have wings, and there is a raptorial bird variant (Menzel, 1977, fig. 91).

Dorothy Menzel (1964; 1977) has assigned the 1942 offering from Conchopata to Middle Horizon 1A. A second cache of oversized offering vessels with elaborate decorations was discovered at Conchopata in 1977 by workmen excavating for construction purposes. On stylistic grounds, this offering has been assigned to Middle Horizon 1B.

The 1977 offering cache from Conchopata consisted of 22-25 oversized jars, modeled and painted to represent men in fancy shirts. The neck of each vessel was modeled to depict the head, although the treatment of the face, described and illustrated by Cook (1987, p. 55, figs. 1-4) clearly demonstrates the existence of four classes. The body of the effigy vessels depicts the torso of each man dressed in a tunic. The uppermost design panel on the tunic may contain one of three designs, further elaborating the classification of humans. Below this panel is the largest design area. Two or three of the effigy tunics have, in this area, depictions of Ventrally Extended Stinger Animals. The more common theme, found on all the remaining vessels, depicts the Front Face Deity standing on a stepped platform, with rows of smaller Profile Attendants to its left and right. The composition and figures are startlingly similar to the iconography of the Gate of the Sun, except for the extreme stylization of the Profile Attendants. I conclude that the emphasis of the message is centralized and hierarchical structure. The Front Face Deity on top of the platform is obviously superior to the smaller and highly stylized profile figures that flank it to the left and right. Authority is apparent. Humans no longer participate in the theme, but their increased differentiation and classification was communicated by the effigies themselves.

I conclude that the innovative iconography of the two offerings from Conchopata, in the Ayacucho Valley, reveals an innovative new religion and ideology that emphasized the hierarchical and centralized nature of cosmic structure. Innovation occurred in at least two steps, the first during Middle Horizon 1A and the second in Middle Horizon 1B. Examination of the location of the two ceramic offerings, the surrounding architectural remains, and other associated materials will provide additional understanding of the context of the religious innovations as well as the history of archaeological discoveries at Conchopata (figs. 5-8).

After the accidental discovery of the second Conchopata offering cache in 1977, a team of archaeologists, composed of members of the Huari Urban Prehistory Project of the State University of New York at Binghamton and the Proyecto Arqueológico Huari of the Instituto Nacional de Cultura, directed respectively by me and Abelardo Sandoval, conducted a study of the area that included stratigraphic excavations (fig. 9). The following can be inferred about the offering area on the basis of this study.

Early in the Middle Horizon, perhaps about the end of Middle Horizon 1A, the surface of the area was underlain by a stratum of dark gray soil with several small trash lenses indicative of sparse or periodic occupation. Five excavations were made into this surface. Two trenches were dug 16 m. apart, approximately

parallel to one another. Stone walls were constructed in both of them. Each wall had a low bench, 25-40 cm. wide and about 30 cm. high along the side that faced the other wall, implying that the walls were two sides of an enclosure with a bench, probably for seating people, around its interior. A pit was excavated in the courtyard, through the gray soil and into the bedrock, to receive the sherds of smashed effigy vessels. A very narrow trench was cut, tangential to the south edge of this pit, perhaps forming some sort of canal or air vent into the pit. Less than one meter north of the offering pit, another, larger pit was excavated through the gray soil and into the bedrock. This excavation was filled with the tightly-flexed bodies of five people (fig. 10). Each had been dressed or wrapped in textiles before burial, but the cloth disintegrated long ago except where it was in contact with copper tupus.

The skeletons were in poor condition, but field observations made by Michael Brewster-Wray indicate that all were of young women between the ages of 15 and 25. Associated artifacts support this interpretation, all being characteristic of women's activities during historic times in the Andes. Differential status among these women is also implied by the distribution of artifacts. Four tupus, one large matched pair and a second, smaller, matched pair, were found among the upper ribs of one woman, whose garment they had fastened. Five bone pins lay under her cranium. Apparently they had adorned her long hair, or perhaps they were part of an elaborate headdress. Two pairs of tupu accompanied another woman to the grave, but no bone pins. The third woman had two large, but only one small, tupus (fig. 11). A tiny spindle whorl was the only nonperishable artifact with the fourth woman, and the final person went to the tomb with nothing that would appear on the archaeologist's inventory.

Discovery of the ceramic cache by construction workers destroyed the stratigraphy capping the offering, making it impossible to determine whether the pits containing the ceramic offering and the burial of the five women were sealed by the same stratum. It seems most likely that the two were simultaneous, since the small canal or vent of the cache pit was covered by the same stratum of splotchy soil, ranging from tan to dark brown, that covered the burial pit.

I believe that a single religious event accounted for all the activities responsible for these remains described from Conchopata. An enclosure was constructed for a ritual that involved 22-25 nearly life-size effigy vessels representing elaborately clothed men. The huge jars probably contained chicha (maize beer). Ethnographic and historical analogies would suggest that such a large quantity of chicha would be served as part of a festive drinking bout, in which authority was established through the demonstration of conspicuous generosity. Variation in decoration among the effigy vessels implies that they represented men of different status, age, or ethnic group, or perhaps all of these. I suspect that the impressive jars were in full view of all the participants, arranged in such a way that they clearly stated the status relations among the social categories that they represented. I also suspect that the ritual proclaimed that hierarchically structured relationships with a centralized authority were necessary attributes of the human social domain, maintaining consistency with cosmic structure.

An early chronicler (Estete, 1924) marveled at the consumption of chicha that accompanied the coronation of Manco Inca in 1533. Craig Morris (1982) has encountered archaeological evidence for ritualized drinking as a principal part of Inca administration. Ethnography reveals that consumption of large quantities of alcohol continues to be a very important component of Andean religion and social

organization (Allen, 1978). Godelier (1977, p. 68) proposed that before the Spanish conquest, an Inca mode of production involved formalizing bonds of obligation to the Inca state through ritualized drinking. The importance of conspicuous generosity expressed in drinking bouts sponsored by chiefs and kings is an increasingly apparent feature of inchoate states. The ritual documented at Conchopata probably provided a cosmic model for a centralized form of socio-political hierarchy, confirming the obligation of the subservient by treating them to the generosity of the ruler. If the magnitude of conspicuous display is proportional to the impact that a ritual has on its participants and observers, I suspect that the Conchopata ceremony was very influential. Upon completion of the feast or drinking bout, the spectacular effigy jars were smashed, and their fragments were gathered together and buried. In the same act of destruction, five young women were killed and buried only a meter from the smashed vessels. On the basis of these inferences, I suggest that the enclosure at Conchopata must be identified as a temple.

After the ceramic offering and sacrificial burial were sealed under the ground within the temple, a wall was constructed in a shallow trench excavated in the fill above the women's tomb. Next, an earthen floor was laid across the temple's courtyard. It is easily distinguished by its coarse sand of a pinkish color, bringing to mind the beach sand that Polo de Ondegardo described as the surfacing of the great plaza of Cuzco (1872, pp. 79-81), where ritual drinking was also important. Somewhat later, trash began to accumulate in the temple compound, and some of the walls were torn down, perhaps to clear the land for farming. This signals the abandonment of the offering temple, and it is likely that the rest of Conchopata experienced simultaneous depopulation.

If I am correct that the temple enclosure was built for a special ritual involving the destruction of the large effigy jars, their date, Middle Horizon 1B, should date the surrounding walls. It is probable, however, that the area had been serving as a temple for these rituals for some time already. Extrapolating from unpublished maps (Benavides Calle, ms.), I conclude that the ceramic offering excavated by Julio Tello at Conchopata in 1942 was found only 40 m. east of the 1977 cache, and in such a position that, if the north and south walls of the temple enclosure were extended for 40 m. to the east, the 1942 offering would be inside the enclosure (fig. 8).

Luis Lumbreras (1975; 1981) conducted archaeological excavations during 1961-62 about 50 m. to the southwest of the Conchopata temple in what I have referred to as the conjoined rooms (figs. 8, 12). Ceramics from the conjoined rooms were described by Mario Benavides Calle (ms.). In my opinion, all this pottery dates to Middle Horizon Epoch 1, as defined by Dorothy Menzel (1964). After careful examination of the excavation information available to me, I conclude that the conjoined rooms were built in two construction periods, each with subsequent additions. In the first construction period, walls III and XIII were built on bedrock. Wall VII was built as what Lumbreras refers to as stratum 6 began to accumulate, or perhaps slightly later as stratum 5 was being deposited. In the second construction period, the number of walls increased greatly, and this surely represents the main occupation of the conjoined rooms area. Walls I, II, and IV were built after the accumulation of stratum 5 but before the deposition of stratum 4 or its subunits, while walls V and VI were the final additions.

Wall II is significant in that it had a foundation excavated through stratum 5 and into bedrock. The only other walls with similar foundations are in the temple. This technique of constructing a foundation is probably related to the function of

the walls, but if all examples belong to the same building period, the temple enclosure, which has been dated to Epoch 1B of the Middle Horizon, was part of the second construction phase in the conjoined rooms. It seems reasonable to propose that the first construction phase in the conjoined rooms was contemporary with the ceramic offering discovered in 1942 by Tello. Cross-dating the two offerings with the construction and occupation of the conjoined rooms can be confirmed by the discovery of sherds clearly related to the 1942 offering (figs. 16-18) as well as sherds equally clearly related to the 1977 offering (figs. 19, 20) in refuse excavated in the conjoined rooms. Unfortunately, the provenience of these sherds is not precise enough to confirm the association of the 1942 offering with the first construction phase and the 1977 offering with the second construction phase.

Cultural remains from the 1961-62 excavations of the conjoined rooms include ash, charcoal, and grinding stones, which might indicate domestic occupation. In addition, a high frequency of polychrome pottery was found along with objects for polishing unfired pottery that were made from pieces of basalt as well as from old sherds. Pozzi-Escot Buenaño (1982; ms.) reports a nearby discovery of artifacts used in the manufacture of pottery, and Lumbreras (1975) found kiln waster sherds only 75 m. to the northwest. This evidence indicates that the conjoined rooms excavated in 1961-62 may be a pottery-manufacturing workshop, although they probably fulfilled residential functions as well. I suggest that it was the workshop where offering pottery was manufactured; its artisans were probably retainers of the temple. The growth of the workshop in the second construction period of the conjoined rooms reflects the success of the new religion and its temple, as does the ability to sacrifice five young women in religious ritual.

About 50 m. to the north of the conjoined rooms, Lumbreras (1975; 1981; Pozzi-Escot Buenaño, 1982; ms.) carried out another set of excavations under the auspices of Richard MacNeish's Ayacucho Archaeological Botanical Project. I have referred to this area as the building complex (fig. 8). The deepest stratum contained sparse refuse with Huarpa style pottery that probably belongs to the Early Intermediate Period. MacNeish (1981, p. 197) dates the stratum with a radiocarbon age determination of 25 B. C. ± 110, although the carbon sample came from another part of the site. Other Huarpa activities are also documented by a bottle-shaped tomb that contained the remains of a single individual with two decorated ceramic cups in a very late Huarpa style, discovered during the construction of the airport at Conchopata. Together, these finds from the Early Intermediate Period indicate that Conchopata was a significant settlement before the invention of the new religion and the construction of the temple, but there is no evidence that it was an especially large or important community.

The building complex also contained a great deal of material from Epoch 1 of the Middle Horizon. Rectangular rooms were found arranged around a central courtyard. Food remains, hearths, and grinding stones confirm domestic functions within the building complex. Metal objects including knives, pins, and needles, and six burials discovered in the rooms imply that the functions of the building complex may not have been identical with those of the conjoined rooms where such finds were not reported. The building complex appears to have been residential and its artifacts, especially the metal objects, suggest higher status than the artifacts from the conjoined rooms. It is possible that the residents of the building complex manufactured pottery in the conjoined rooms, using the area as a workshop, but I am inclined to believe that the conjoined rooms were both residences and workshop for the potters, while the building complex was occupied by priests

and other retainers of the temple, along with their dependents. The ceramics from the building complex have not been described, and, at present, there is no way to associate the three excavation areas stratigraphically. I suspect that all of the buildings belong to Middle Horizon 1, and especially to the later part of the epoch when the 1977 offering was made.

Denise Pozzi-Escot Buenaño (1982; ms.) and the University of Huamanga have conducted more recent excavations at Conchopata. They indicate that the conjoined rooms, the building complex, and the temple are all part of a continuous cluster of agglutinated buildings that extended over a substantial but still undefined area (fig. 8). More Middle Horizon 1 materials are reported about 100 m. north of the building complex where Lumbreras (1975; 1981) excavated several burials and caches. Burials were found in the conjoined rooms, but the information from the small excavations suggests that residential architectural remains were absent (fig. 6). Reconnaissance yet farther north reveals some fairly impressive architectural remains with surface sherds dating primarily to Epoch 1 (fig. 6). Interpretation of these finds is complicated by their incomplete analysis and by the fact that much of the site has been destroyed by the construction of an airport runway, airport terminal, and a number of other modern buildings. Architecture and habitation refuse were scattered over an area about a kilometer long from north to south, and probably at least half as wide. However, there seem to be several distinct architectural clusters and significant differences in the distribution of surface remains. Consequently, some investigators have treated Conchopata as several small sites. Menzel (1964) preferred this approach, and called the area where she made collections by the name Chakipampa. I suspect that her collections were made within the architectural cluster that has been discussed here. It is not clear whether the several clusters of architectural and artifactual remains should be interpreted as temporally different occupations, functionally distinct areas, separate social groupings, or even the result of post-occupation disturbances. However, most of the excavated and surface collections contain a predominance of ceramics from Middle Horizon 1 and especially Epoch 1B. This fact suggests that much of the area was occupied simultaneously, and implies dramatic population growth that could result from immigration more easily than from reproductive increase alone. A population estimate of 5000 for Conchopata early in Middle Horizon 1B seems reasonable if not conservative, and I would suggest that immigration and population growth were responses to the prestige and power of the new temple. Settlers were attracted to the impressively successful new relition at the Conchopata temple, with its religious ideology that facilitated the integration of diverse peoples.

In summary, it can be said that in the final centuries B. C., the Pucara religious and artistic tradition depicted a Front Face Deity and Profile Sacrificers. Associated with paraphernalia for taking hallucenogenic drugs, the art spread widely in southern Peru and Bolivia, reaching Tiahuanaco where a distinctive regional variant emerged. By the beginning of the Middle Horizon, a late version of the Pucara religion and art, probably related but not identical to the early Tiahuanaco variant, arrived in Ayacucho where it was adopted at Conchopata. Here it underwent profound change. (It should be noted that hallucinogenic drug paraphernalia has not been found with the transformed, Ayacucho variant of the Pucara-Tiahuanaco religion). A new temple was built at Conchopata, and a new form of ceramic offering was introduced as part of the apparently innovative religion. Ideological innovation is best documented by changes in the Pucara-Tiahuanaco iconography. These involved transforming the Profile Sacrificer into the Profile Attendant, and depicting the Front Face Deity, Profile Attendants,

high status humans, and captive humans in the same design field. The symbolic message emphasized the relational structure among these beings. I argue that the structure was centralized hierarchy, and that this provided a successful new organizational model that began to reorganize society and government. The religious and artistic innovators were priests and potters dependent on the new Conchopata temple. They resided next to it, and made ritual pottery there as well. By Middle Horizon 1B, Conchopata ceramic offering vessels were decorated with obviously centralized and hierarchical cosmological depictions. The medium, oversized jars, was modeled and painted to represent different classes of humans. These pots probably were used in ritual feasts that involved conspicuous generosity and excessive drinking (perhaps an alternative to hallucinogenic drugs) to confirm social statuses and centralized, hierarchical authority. The impressive ritual obligations were sealed by smashing the vessels and by sacrificing young women. Subsequently, both were ceremonially buried in the temple precinct. During these developments, Conchopata experienced rapid population growth, probably the arrival of new settlers attracted to the influential temple, with its religion that provided means of integrating groups of diverse origins. Finally, as this process was under way, Conchopata's prestigious iconography and religion were influencing developments in the southern Pucara-Tiahuanaco sphere. A hybrid of early Tiahuanaco iconography with Conchopata structure was represented on the Calle Linares lintel, and there emerged, on the Gate of the Sun, a new Tiahuanaco style that emphasized centralized and hierarchical structure.

Conchopata's growth and success took place within a valley-wide context of population relocation in which settlement clusters contracted into large urban communities. I believe that new temples played a major role in this change, serving as the nuclei around which two urban populations congregated. During the late Huarpa Phase, as this stylistic and temporal term is employed by MacNeish (1981) and Lumbreras (1975; 1981), there were three great clusters of large communities in Ayacucho (fig. 13). One cluster, which I shall refer to as the Simpapata cluster, is located in the middle of the valley where sites A, B, and C are all classified as "towns" but located within a 3 km. radius that also includes "ceremonial village" site 138 as well as several smaller communities (MacNeish, 1981, pp. 244-247).

The second cluster of large settlements can be referred to as the Ñawinpukyu cluster (fig. 13). According to MacNeish (1981, fig. 8-11), Ñawinpukyu (site D) was a town during Huarpa times. He classifies neighboring Conchopata (site E) as a hamlet during this time, but it is likely that the size of the Huarpa occupation may be underestimated because of later, Middle Horizon building as well as modern constructions that had obscured much of the Huarpa component before the systematic survey of the Ayacucho Valley begun by MacNeish in 1969. Conchopata was probably a large village or perhaps nearly equivalent to Ñawinpukyu during Huarpa times. Acuchimay (site F) is another settlement that was a large and important member of the Ñawinpukyu cluster during the Huarpa Phase, although MacNeish has not recognized it as occupied until his subsequent Ocros Phase. The site has been almost totally obliterated by the spread of modern Ayacucho, but it was described by both Bennett (1953) and Menzel (1964) as a big site with Huarpa pottery as well as material dating to Middle Horizon 1A. I suggest its reclassification as another large settlement. If my reevaluation is correct, then the Ñawinpukyu cluster included Ñawinpukyu, Acuchimay, and Conchopata, as well as two medium-sized and several small settlements, all within an area no more than 3 km. in radius.

The third cluster of large settlements is the most speculative but perhaps the most important. I shall refer to it as the Huari cluster. MacNeish (1981, fig. 8-11) shows only a single "administrative village" in the vicinity of Huari during the Huarpa Phase, but information collected by the Huari Urban Prehistory Project indicates a different situation. A large Huarpa community (fig. 3, site G) was exposed by bulldozer cuts and a stratigraphic excavation at the western edge of Huari (Knobloch, 1983; ms.). Another is indicated by surface sherds and a deep excavation on Cerro Churukana to the east of the core of Huari (site H). A third large Huarpa settlement lies at the southern margin of the site in the area now called Vista Alegre (site I). Finally, Bennett (1953) found a dense stratum of pure Huarpa pottery in the bottom of his excavation 4 in Huari's northern Sullu Cruz section. It is impossible to estimate the size of this occupation, but the density of the refuse implies that it was at least a medium-sized settlement. Much of Huari has 2 m. or more of Middle Horizon refuse, but excavations make it apparent that the Huarpa Phase occupation does not underlie the entire site. Rather, it seems that during the Early Intermediate Period, Huarpa Phase, there was a cluster of fairly large settlements in the area that was to become Huari.

The clustering of large settlements that seems to have characterized the south-central portion of the Ayacucho Valley during the late Huarpa Phase contrasts with the apparently contemporary distribution of communities in the rest of the area. Two large settlements were located in the north end of the valley, and a third was in the high elevation lands at the southern margin of the drainage. They are all far from one another, and the tendency for other sizable settlements to cluster around them is much less pronounced than in the three clusters discussed above. These large settlements were probably independent capitals of small polities.

Lumbreras (1975; 1981) argues that, during the late Huarpa Phase, the Ayacucho Valley was united into a single state governed from Ñawinpukyu. This interpretation is based on the belief that the architecture of Ñawinpukyu, which is known only from the remains visible on the surface, includes elite residences, public buildings, and storehouses. In view of the fact that remains of irrigation canals have been found at the site, his conviction may also be influenced by theoretical considerations derived from hydraulic explanations of state origins. I also suspect that Lumbreras assigns state organization to the Huarpa Phase because of the evolutionary implications of his argument that Huari became an empire in the Middle Horizon (Lumbreras, 1975). Empire seems to require state organization as its antecedent.

I feel that the Huarpa Phase settlement system does not indicate centralized government in the valley. Settlement clustering may have been due to resource distribution and intense competition that erupted into frequent warfare, although there is not much clear evidence for site fortification. I suspect that alliances that regulated resource sharing, mutual defense, and management of facilities, such as irrigation systems, held the clusters together. If I am correct, the three clusters of large sites in the southern part of the valley indicate that no single site dominated the entire landscape. The clusters suggest a balance of power among allied communities within the clusters, and between the clusters.

Noncentralized government, which I associate with the Huarpa Phase settlement system in Ayacucho, continued into the following century, which MacNeish has called the Ocros Phase, but it was undergoing rapid change (fig. 14). I feel that MacNeish's Ocros Phase belongs to Epoch 1 of the Middle Horizon, although

it may include the end of the Early Intermediate Period. It corresponds to the time when Conchopata was undergoing rapid growth as a result of its successful new temple and innovative religion.

The old Simpapata cluster continued to be a major population concentration in the valley, although it experienced both the abandonment and the founding of new communities in the Ocros Phase. However, it remained a cluster of similarly large settlements, and it was probably still governed by the kind of alliances that characterized the earlier Huarpa Phase. This may account for its reduced role in ongoing cultural development. By contrast, the Ñawinpukyu cluster was changing. Ñawinpukyu itself (fig. 14, site D) was still occupied, and much of the architecture ascribed to a Huarpa Phase administrative capital may actually belong to this Ocros Phase. By the end of the Ocros Phase, Ñawinpukyu was depopulated. Acuchimay (fig. 14, site F) was occupied at the beginning of the Ocros Phase, but Menzel (1964) shows that it was abandoned midway through the time period, by the end of Middle Horizon 1A. Other settlements in the Ñawinpukyu cluster were abandoned, perhaps even before Acuchimay, except for Conchopata (fig. 14, site E). As we have already seen, Conchopata experienced significant population growth during Middle Horizon 1, reaching its climax size in Epoch 1B. I would suggest that the abandonment of other settlements in the cluster furnished the population that moved to Conchopata. This demographic shift was a response to changing relationships of power and prestige among sites within the cluster. Conchopata's temple, with its successful new religion, was giving great advantage to Conchopata. It would seem that, as the Ocros Phase developed, Conchopata and Ñawinpukyu were locked in competition for primacy in the old cluster, a competition won by Conchopata.

The Huari settlement cluster may have experienced nearly the same history as the Ñawinpukyu cluster. By the onset of or early in the Ocros Phase, Vista Alegre and Cerro Churukana were abandoned. In contrast, the western section of Huari (fig. 14, site G) was more intensively occupied. Dense refuse of Middle Horizon 1 is stratified above the Huarpa settlement exposed by bulldozers, and surface remains show that a very large community was residing in what was to become the southwestern part of Huari's architectural core. Enrique Bragayrac Dávila (ms.; Bragayrac Dávila and Gonzales Carré, 1982) has reported on excavations of a large ceremonial building at Vegachayoq Moqo, only a short distance from excavations that revealed Huarpa pottery. Excavations at Moraduchayuq, about 300 m. to the east of the deeply buried Huarpa refuse have revealed a cut stone building that appears to have been a semi-subterranean temple rather similar to one at Tiahuanaco. A carbon sample from the construction fill yielded a radiocarbon age determination of A. D. 580 ± 60 (see Appendix 2), and associated sherds indicate a Middle Horizon 1A relative date, probably equivalent to the early part of MacNeish's Ocros Phase. I believe that, at this time, population was shifting in the Huari settlement cluster, just as it was in the Ñawinpukyu cluster. As in the Ñawinpukyu cluster, demographic shifts in the Huari cluster responded to new temples and new religious ideas that fostered innovative forms of organization as well as realignments of power and prestige.

The process I have been describing for the Valley of Ayacucho during epochs 1A and 1B of the Middle Horizon should have left Huari and Conchopata the two largest and most powerful settlements in the valley before the end of Epoch 1B. The archaeological record supports this interpretation, but resolution is poor, since few of the Ayacucho sites have been adequately investigated. The nature of the relationship between Huari and Conchopata is even less well understood. What is

apparent is that around the end of Middle Horizon 1B, Conchopata was partially or totally abandoned. At Huari the floor of the semi-subterranean temple was covered with clean fill, and the walls were leveled to make way for the construction of a new architectural compound. The formal organization of the compound is very similar to the plan of Huari's provincial administrative centers, such as Viracochapampa, Pikillaqta, and Jincamocco, possible evidence for interpreting the new building as involved in administrative activities. This suggestion receives further support from the discovery of a high frequency of serving vessels in trash associated with the compound (C. Brewster-Wray, 1983). Other important events were also taking place. It is possible that the great Huari temple reported by Bragayrac Dávila (ms.) was also deliberately interred and abandoned. The iconography developed at Conchopata became firmly established at Huari, as it may already have been for some time. The religion associated with the iconography probably experienced yet more change. New, rigidly-planned buildings were constructed at Huari, in some cases replacing former temples. The settlement system in the Valley of Ayacucho shifted to a clear site-size hierarchy dominated by Huari (fig. 15, site G). At about the same time, provincial Huari centers were established at least as far away as Cuzco and Huamachuco.

Huari had become the capital of a centralized and hierarchical polity whose organizational structure originated in ideological and iconographic innovations worked out by priests and potters in the Conchopata temple. These ideological breakthroughs made at Conchopata during Middle Horizon 1A and 1B encouraged population shifts, power reallocations, and further experiments with new religious ideas and forms of organizational behavior. Selective forces favored progressively larger and more efficient political structures, culminating in the emergence of Huari, a conquest state that administered much of the Central Andes for more than a century. I believe that religious ideology emphasizing hierarchy and centralization contributed the seminal component to this great political transformation.

APPENDIX 1

Ayacucho Valley archaeology has suffered from confusion about the site names Conchopata and Chakipampa. As early as 1927, amateur archaeologist Benedicto Flores made archaeological observations and pottery collections at a place he referred to as "*los campos de Conchopata*" (Benavides Calle, ms., pp. 2-3; Medina, 1930-31). In 1942 Julio Tello excavated at Huari and also in the site Benedicto Flores had called Conchopata. Fig. 6, A-1, locates Tello's excavation. The name Conchopata comes from the Ayacucho *barrio* of Conchopata. Fig. 5 (lower right) shows walled enclosures around houses, yards, and gardens in 1956. They are the suburban outliers of the Conchopata *barrio*, located a little more than half a kilometer from Tello's excavations. The urban area of Conchopata lies still farther away. Tello discovered oversized urns with polychrome depictions of icons that also occur at Tiahuanaco. He and his associates referred to the site and the pottery as Conchopata (Medina, 1942a; 1942b; Chávez Ballón, ms.).

In 1958 John Rowe and Dorothy Menzel visited Ayacucho to make an archaeological reconnaissance. One of the sites they collected was located on the southwest side of a ravine called Totorilla. Menzel (pers. comm.) examined the aerial photograph of Conchopata, republished here as fig. 5, and also the sketch of ancient walls in fig. 6. She concludes that she and Rowe visited this entire site,

from the outskirts of the Conchopata *barrio* in the south to the northernmost area where ancient walls are marked. The ceramic scatter they observed was about a kilometer long but much narrower, being limited to the area where ancient walls are indicated on fig. 6. On the top of the plain, there was Middle Horizon 1 pottery mixed with less abundant late Early Intermediate Period pottery, but on the side of the ravine below, there was only Early Intermediate Period pottery of the kind that immediately predates the Middle Horizon. Area A of fig. 6 was collected as part of the site, and among the fragments were several examples in the style of the 1942 offering. Rowe asked the name of the site from the natives who lived there, and they told him "Chakipampa." Consequently, Menzel (1964) used the name Chakipampa to designate the site and also a style of pottery she found there that was distinct from the 1942 offering pottery (already known by the name of Conchopata).

It is unlikely that, in 1958, Menzel knew where Tello's 1942 excavations had been located. Furthermore, the boundaries of the site Tello referred to as Conchopata had never been specified. The relationship between the kilometer-long Chakipampa and Tello's Conchopata was not clear.

In 1961-62, 1964, and again in 1970, Luis Lumbreras directed excavation campaigns at Conchopata. He divided the kilometer-long site into areas A, B, and C, from south to north respectively (fig. 6; Lumbreras, 1975, fig. 2). He employed the name Conchopata for the entire site. With the aggregation of these subdivisions, the name Conchopata was clearly synonymous with Menzel's Chakipampa. In view of the historical priority of the name Conchopata, I propose we eliminate Chakipampa as a site name, and retain it only as the name of the ceramic style defined by Menzel (1964). Henceforth, I shall refer to the site as Conchopata.

APPENDIX 2

The following, previously unpublished, age determinations, were submitted by the author to Beta Analytic (now Alpha Analytic and Beta Analytic) in Coral Gables, Florida. Calibrated age ranges are based on Klein and others (1982).

Sample 16067: 1370 ± 60 (A. D. 580 ± 60) Huari temple construction
[Calibrated to 95% confidence level: A. D. 580-775]

The sample comes from the northwest corner of the cut stone temple at Huari. Carbonized wood was recovered from the fill of large, rough stones and clay mortar placed between the bedrock and the exterior side of the temple's cut stone wall. This fill had to be part of the same construction event as that wall, and consists of quarried stones and sterile clay, both almost certainly brought to the construction site clean of any earlier cultural materials. The fill contained very little cultural material, less than one sherd per cubic meter. Because this was the only deposit clearly dating the construction of the cut stone temple wall, a sample of carbonized wood was obtained. All charcoal encountered was collected from the fill as excavation progressed. No charcoal pieces were larger than a pea, and most were much smaller. They were collected with tweezers, and immediately placed in an aluminum foil pouch, and in this form submitted for dating. It is my belief that the charcoal, as well as the sherds, came from the immediate construction area, and were included in the fill accidentally. It is probable that they were produced as a result of construction activities, especially in view of stratigraphic indications that the natural hole in which the temple was constructed

was already a religious shrine where trash was unlikely to accumulate. However, the possibility cannot be discounted that the sample of charcoal flakes included carbon that had been lying on the surface for some time. Six sherds from the same fill possessed diagnostic attributes, and were examined by Patricia Knobloch. On the basis of comparisons with stratigraphically excavated samples from elsewhere in Huari, Knobloch (pers. comm.) dates five of these sherds to Middle Horizon 1A, while the sixth possesses a design that does not appear in her stratified excavaton sample until early Middle Horizon 1B. On this basis, I consider the cultural contents of the fill to belong to Middle Horizon 1A, albeit perhaps rather late 1A.

Sample pretreatment consisted of 2 hours in 10% HCO solution heated to 80° C. Then the sample was rinsed to neutrality. Then it was placed for 1 hour in a 1% NaOH solution heated to 80° C. Subsequently it was rinsed, and the 1% NaOH solution, heated to 80° C., was reapplied for a second hour. Then the sample was rinsed to neutrality and oven dried. Then it was processed through the chemical line for liquid benzine dating.

Sample 10605: 1230 ± 60 (A. D. 720 ± 60) Huari temple final rebuilding
[Calibrated to 95% confidence level: A. D. 625-895]

This sample comes from the southwest corner of the temple, from one of the superimposed fills associated with a succession of floors in the temple. Before the cut stone temple walls were constructed, two layers of yellow clay capped by white plaster were placed in the southwest corner of the natural hole in the bedrock where the temple was to be built. A shallow trench in the surface of the upper clay-and-plaster layer revealed the lower plaster surface, and upon this the foundation of the cut stone wall was placed. A plaster floor was found 3-8 cm. above the base of the cut stone wall, probably representing the first floor of the temple. Subsequently, the floor was renewed several times. Renewal consisted of placing a fill of rough quarried stones (and occasional fragments of cut stones similar to those in the temple walls) in clay mortar over the old floor. A new surface was then placed on top of this fill. Above the lowest floor, a white plaster floor was discovered 1.43 m. above the base of the cut stone wall. This is the second floor preserved in the temple, but I suspect that this deep fill may represent several renewals for which plaster floor surfaces were not adequately preserved. A third floor was found 1.6 m. above the base of the cut stone wall. It was stained with red pigment. The fill was indistinguishable from the lower fill, consisting of quarried stones, occasional fragments of cut stones, and sterile clay mortar, except that a few pieces of charcoal were found in one part of this fill. No other cultural materials were present in this or any of the other fills associated with the renewals of the temple floors. Consequently, all the charcoal was collected and submitted for dating. Several small chunks of charcoal were collected with tweezers at the moment of excavation, and placed in an aluminum foil pouch. Their location, scattered in the fill but with all pieces within a few centimeters of one another, suggests that the carbon came from a single, larger piece of charcoal that fell into the work area and was crushed and scattered by the workmen.

Another fill overlay the red floor, and at 1.9 m. above the base of the cut stone wall, there was a floor of polygonal cut stone blocks. These blocks were covered with a thin layer of light clay or plaster. On top of this layer was 5-10 cm. of yellowish-brown clay with very fine gravel, a 10-15 cm. thick layer of yellow-brown clay with water-worn pebbles, and a 3-5 cm. thick layer of dark

brown to black soil. All these layers were virtually without cultural materials. Whether they represent additional floors or simply fill layers to cover the temple in preparation for a new building is unclear.

The dark-brown-to-black layer served as the base on which new, rough stone walls were built. Between this layer and the bottom of one of the walls, a crisply broken sherd was found. Its stylistic counterparts come from a large sample of sherds associated with cists excavated elsewhere in Huari, and dated stylistically to late Middle Horizon 1B or possibly early 2A.

The fill from which the radiocarbon sample was obtained represents a renewal of the temple, probably toward the middle of its history. It is unlikely that the charcoal was brought to the temple site with the quarried stones or clay mortar. Rather, it probably came from the area of the temple, as suggested by the fragments of cut stone blocks, similar to those in the walls of the temple, that were found in the fill. It is likely that the charcoal was generated at the time of the renewal construction activity. However, the possibility that older charcoal was involved cannot be dismissed, although it is unlikely that it could be older than the temple and its more or less continuous renewals. On the basis of late Middle Horizon 1A ceramics associated with the initial construction of the temple, and a late Epoch 1B or early 2A sherd associated with the construction of a subsequent building, I suggest that the charcoal sample dates Middle Horizon 1B, and probably middle to late Epoch 1B.

This was a small sample that received special treatment, being left in the counter for an extended amount of time to avoid error. Because of the small size, the pretreatment was limited to 2 hours in a 10% HCO solution heated to 80° C. Subsequently, it was rinsed to neutrality in deionized water equal to 17 distilled. Then the material was processed through the chemical line for liquid benzine dating.

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KEY TO ILLUSTRATIONS

Unless otherwise indicated, all the drawings are by the author, and all the photographs are courtesy of the Huari Urban Prehistory Project.

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Fig. 2. Reproduced, courtesy of J. H. Rowe, from a microfilm copy of the original (Pachacuti Yamqui Salcamaygua, ms., f. 144v). The best published copy from the original is in Lehmann-Nitsche (1928, fig. 15, facing p. 256).

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Fig. 4. **a.** From Stübel and Uhle, 1892, Tafel 5, fig. 2 Ostseite). An apical figure stands in a centralized and hierarchical relationship to disembodied faces that extend, perhaps in parallel fashion, in a band to the right and left below a stepped platform on which the apical figure stands. Collateral figures, in subservient postures, are arranged to the left and right.
b. After Posnansky, 1945, vol. II, fig. 1. The apical figure, or Front Face Deity, from the Gate of the Sun.
c. After Posnansky, 1945, vol. II, fig. 1. One of the disembodied Front Face Deities from the band below the apical Front Face Deity. Clearly, this disembodied figure represents the same class of being as the apical Front Face Deity, but of lower and dependent status, as communicated by its lack of a body and its small size.
d and **e.** After Posnansky, 1945, vol. I, pl. XLII, nos. 2 and 3. Subservient Profile Attendants, shown in running or kneeling position, are arranged in rows to the right and left of the apical Front Face Deity.
f. After Posnanski, 1945, vol. I, pl. XXXIX, no. 3. Profile Human with ax held in front of the face and a trophy head grasped in the other hand, from the lower edge of the central panel of the Gate of the Sun. I want to thank Anita Cook for recognizing this figure as the well-known Andean art theme, the armed sacrificer, rather than a new theme representing a man blowing a trumpet, as proposed by Posnansky. On the Gate of the Sun, the sacrificer is the lowest status figure, as indicated by its small size. It may depict a person, as opposed to a supernatural being. There are several differences between the details of this reconstruction by Posnansky and the illustrations published by Stübel and Uhle (1892, Tafeln 17, 20, 21), which show that the ax has a broad bit, giving the weapon a distinctly T shape; it is held in the clenched hand. A small object, almost certainly a trophy head, dangles from the crooked elbow. Posnansky's reconstruction of the collar is also in error.

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Fig. 5. Photograph courtesy Servicio Aerofotográfico Nacional, neg. #1708.

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Fig. 7. Photograph courtesy Servicio Aerofotográfico Nacional, flight #181-70, neg. #1585.

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Fig. 13. As reinterpreted from the regional survey by MacNeish (1981) and data collected by the Huari Urban Prehistory Project.

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Fig. 14. As reinterpreted from the regional survey by MacNeish (1981) and data collected by the Huari Urban Prehistory Project.

Fig. 15. Redrawn from Isbell and Schreiber (1977, fig. 3).

Fig. 1, map of Peru locating major sites referred to in the text.

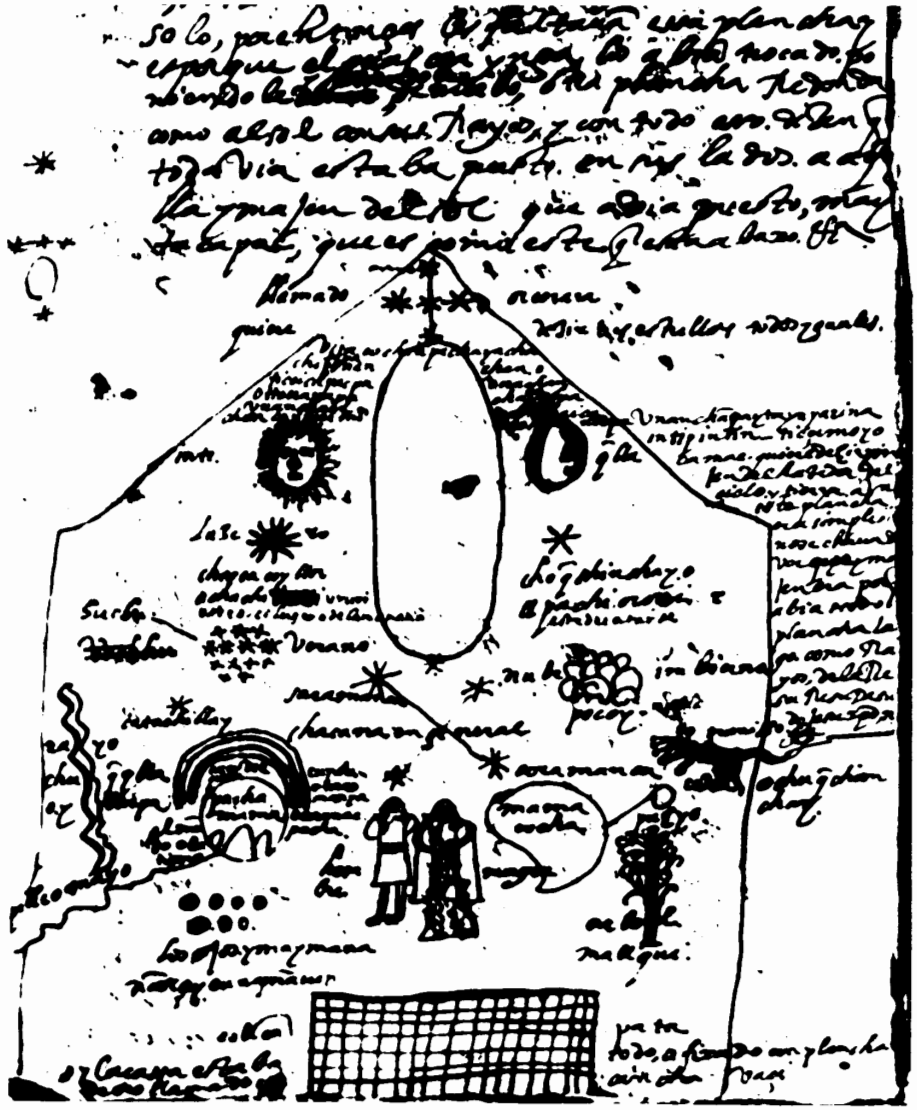

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Fig. 2, cosmogonic diagram by Pachacuti Yamqui Salcamaygua from Cuzco's Sun Temple, showing a hierarchical and centralized pantheon derived from a single creator deity, Viracocha, located at the top center of the drawing, with lesser supernaturals descending in parallel fashion on right and left; **fig. 3**, Andean kinship as organized by Pérez Bocanegra (1631, facing p. 614) shows the same principles of centralization, hierarchy, and parallel descent that organized the diagram shown in fig. 2. See Key to Illustrations.

4a

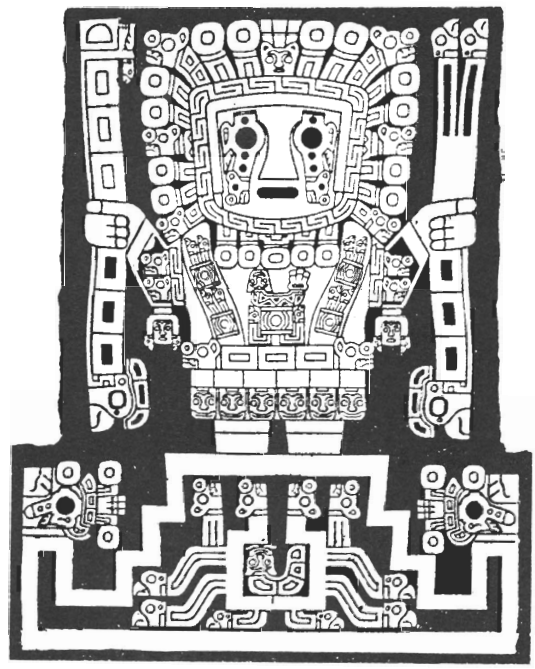

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Fig. 4, Gate of the Sun at Tiahuanaco, expressing a centralized and hierarchical structure similar to that seen in figs. 2 and 3. See Key to Illustrations.

Fig. 5, 1956 aerial photograph of Conchopata, showing many prehistoric features destroyed by subsequent airport and related construction. See Key to Illustrations.

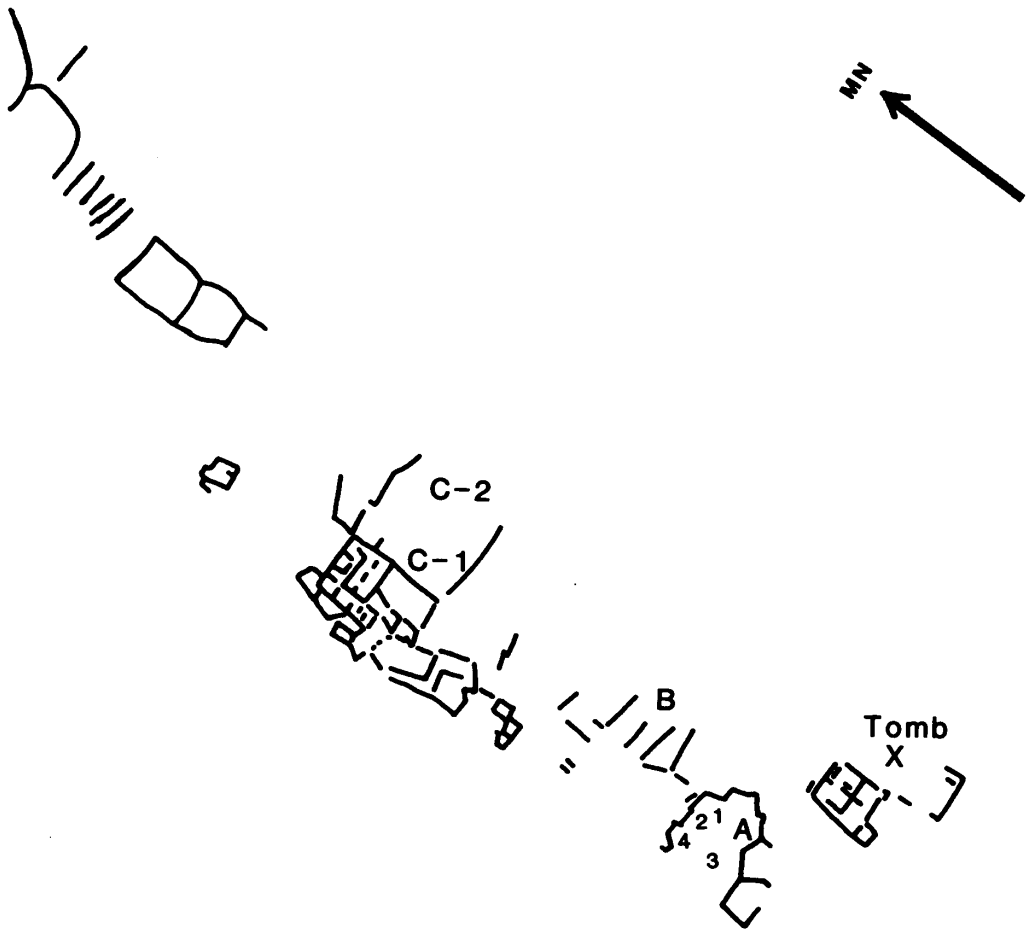

Fig. 6, probable prehistoric features visible in fig. 5. All architecture and offerings discussed in the text were found in Area A. A-1 is approximate location of the 1942 offering discovered by Tello; A-2 is approximate location of the 1977 offering; A-3 is approximate position of the conjoined rooms excavated by Lumbreras in 1961-62; A-4 is approximate position of the building complex he excavated in 1970. Area B approximately locates his two small 1964 excavations in which walls, probable habitation refuse, and sherds stylistically similar to those from Area A were found. Area C-1 approximately locates his two small 1964 excavations that revealed shallow pits excavated into the underlying bedrock. Two burials and two oversized jars, believed to be funerary urns, were recovered from four of these pits (for one of the jars, see Lumbreras, 1969, p. 223 center left), and a fancy bowl was found nearby (probably Lumbreras, 1974, fig. 148). This pottery is stylistically similar to Middle Horizon 1 ceramics from Area A. Area C-2 approximately locates his 1964, 4 × 6 m. excavation in which walls and sherds were found, and a whole vessel in the "Cruz Pata style" (probably Lumbreras, 1969, p. 223 lower left) was recovered from a pit cut into the bedrock. Tomb X approximately locates a bottle-shaped tomb containing a single skeleton that was revealed by bulldozers in 1964, while constructing the airport runway. Two vessels from the tomb are illustrated by Lumbreras (1969, p. 223 center right and lower right).

Fig. 7, 1970 aerial photograph of Conchopata, with Area A at center right. Lumbreras' 1970 building complex excavation appears as an elongated rectangle in the cleared, northwestern corner of Area A. Airport runway (oriented almost due north-south) and associated construction obliterated the Tomb X complex as well as Area C-2, and gravely damaged Areas A, B, and C-1. Following enlargement of the airport in 1974, a series of buildings has been erected on much of the site. See Key to Illustrations.

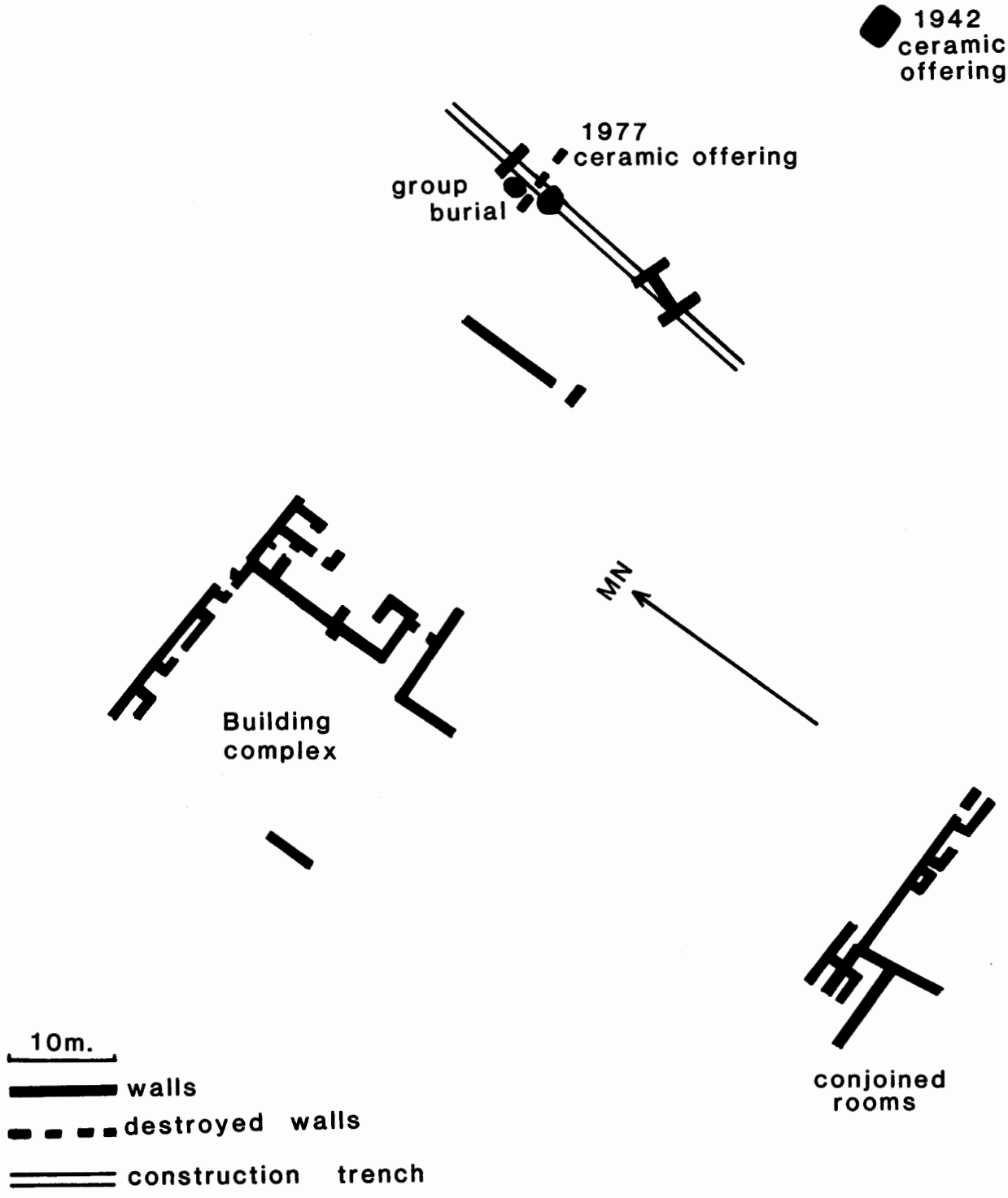

Fig. 8, reconstruction map of spatial relationships among the 1942 offering, the 1977 offering with its associated walls and burial, the architectural features reported by Lumbreras from his 1960-61 (conjoined rooms) and 1970 (building complex excavations, and walls preserved on the surface of Area A (see fig. 6); based on 1977 Huari Urban Prehistory Project survey, published, and unpublished sources.

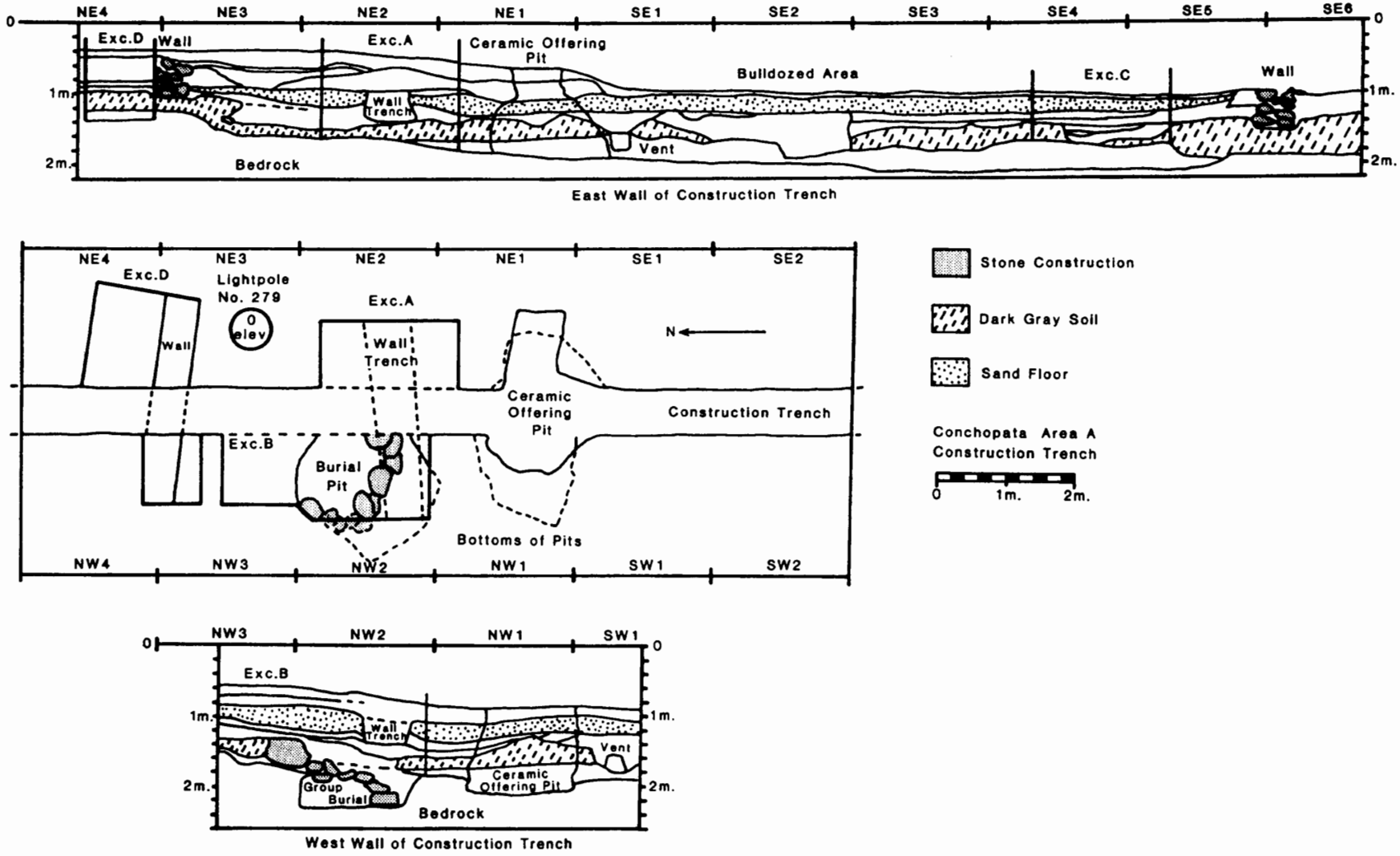

Fig. 9, section of the 1977 construction workers' trench that revealed the second ceramic offering at Conchopata, showing stratigraphic profiles, locations and forms of the ceramic offering pit and burial cist, as well as locations of the Huari Urban Prehistory Project excavations.

10

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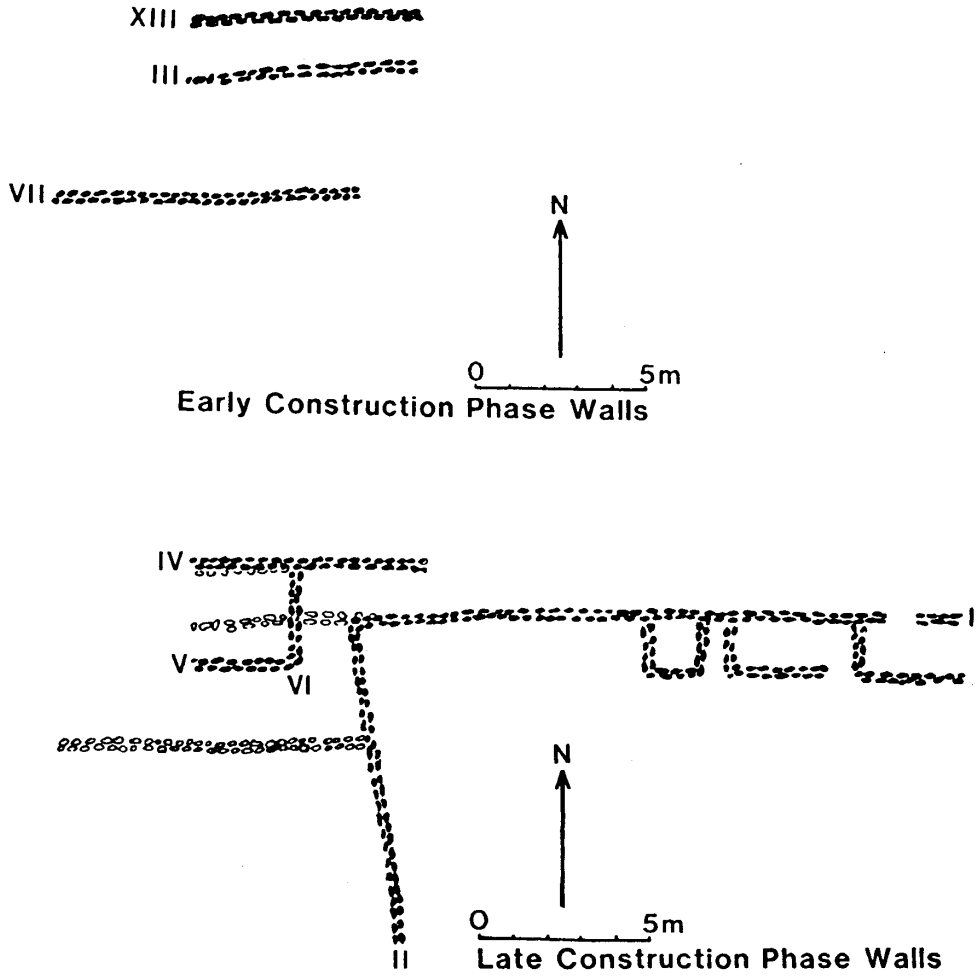
Fig. 10, group burial of five bodies unearthed by Huari Urban Prehistory Project after investigation of features visible in construction trench profile; note sandy floor that capped burial and probably also the ceramic offering (compare fig. 9). **Fig. 11**, Burial 4, note three tupus on chest area as well as unerupted third molar.



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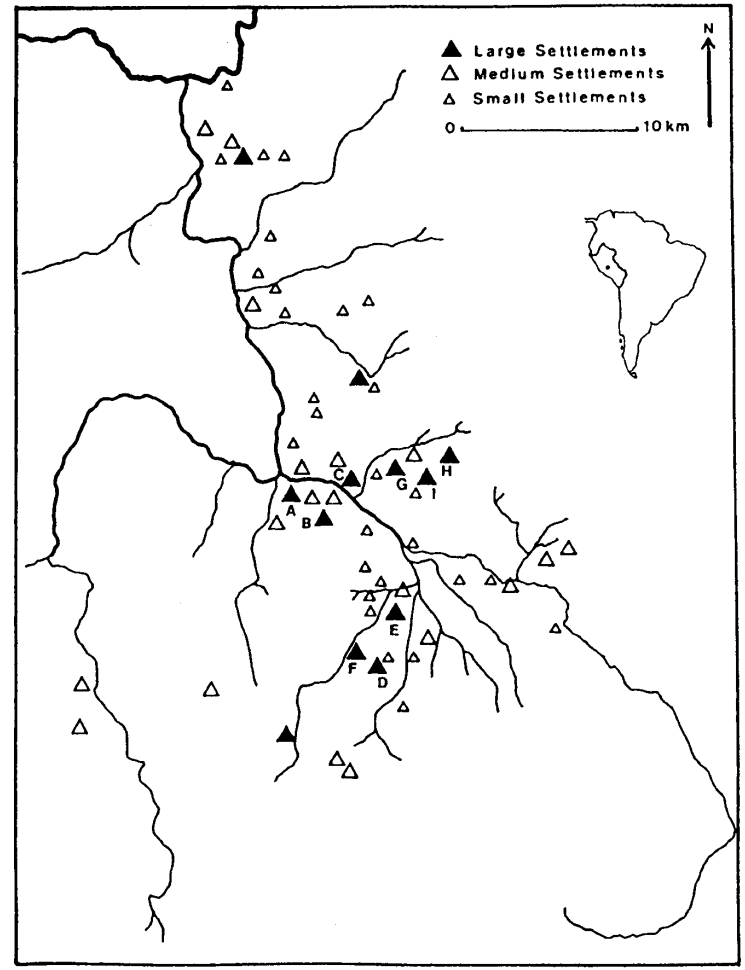

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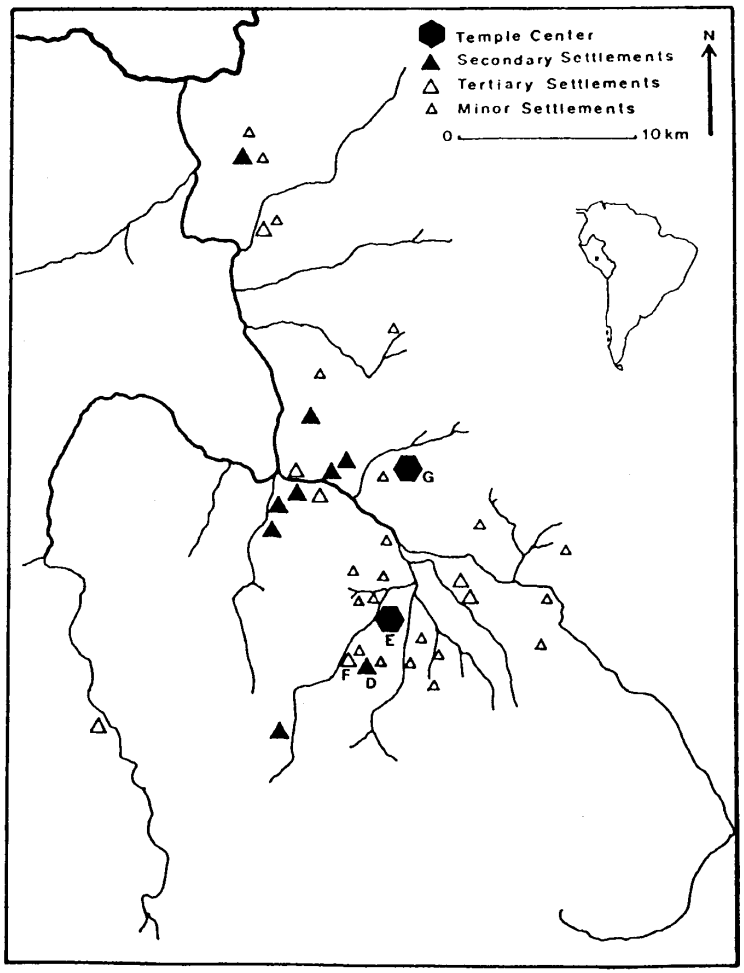
Fig. 12, plan of walls of the conjoined rooms. Based on Lumbreras' (1975; 1981) description of the excavations, I reconstruct two primary construction periods: an early one (walls III, XIII, VIII); and a late one, adding I, II, IV, V, and VI as well as the walls of several small rooms. **Fig. 13**, distribution of "Huarpa" period settlements in the Ayacucho Valley, showing three main clusters of large settlements: Simpapata (sites A, B, and C and smaller neighbors), Ñawinpukyu (sites D, E, F and their smaller neighbors); and Huari (sites G, H, I, and their smaller neighbors). See Key to Illustrations.



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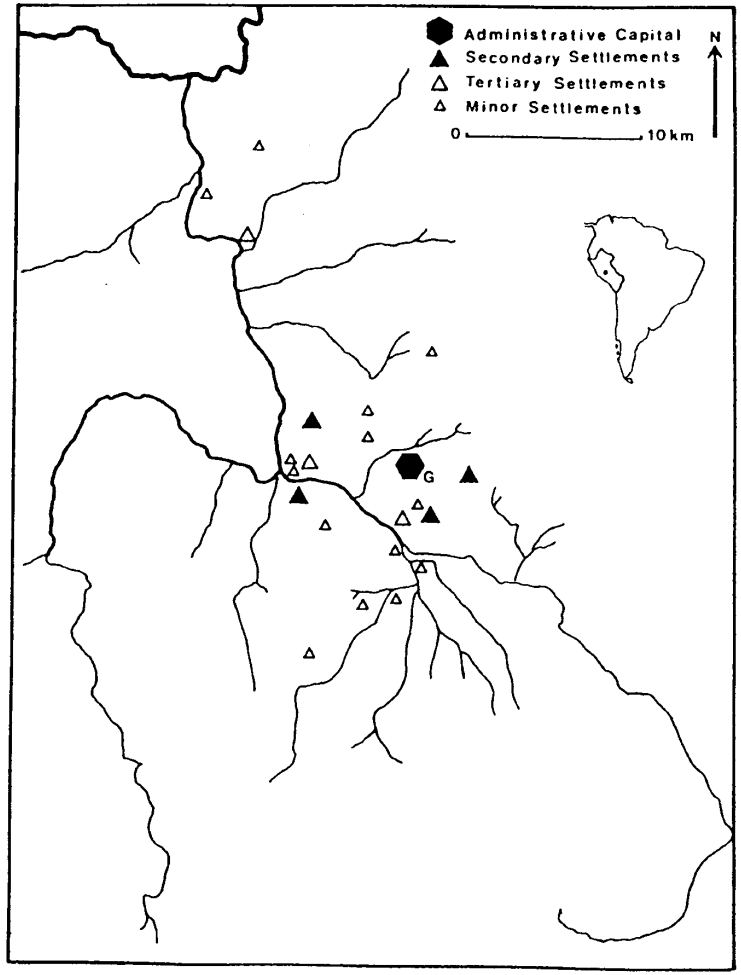

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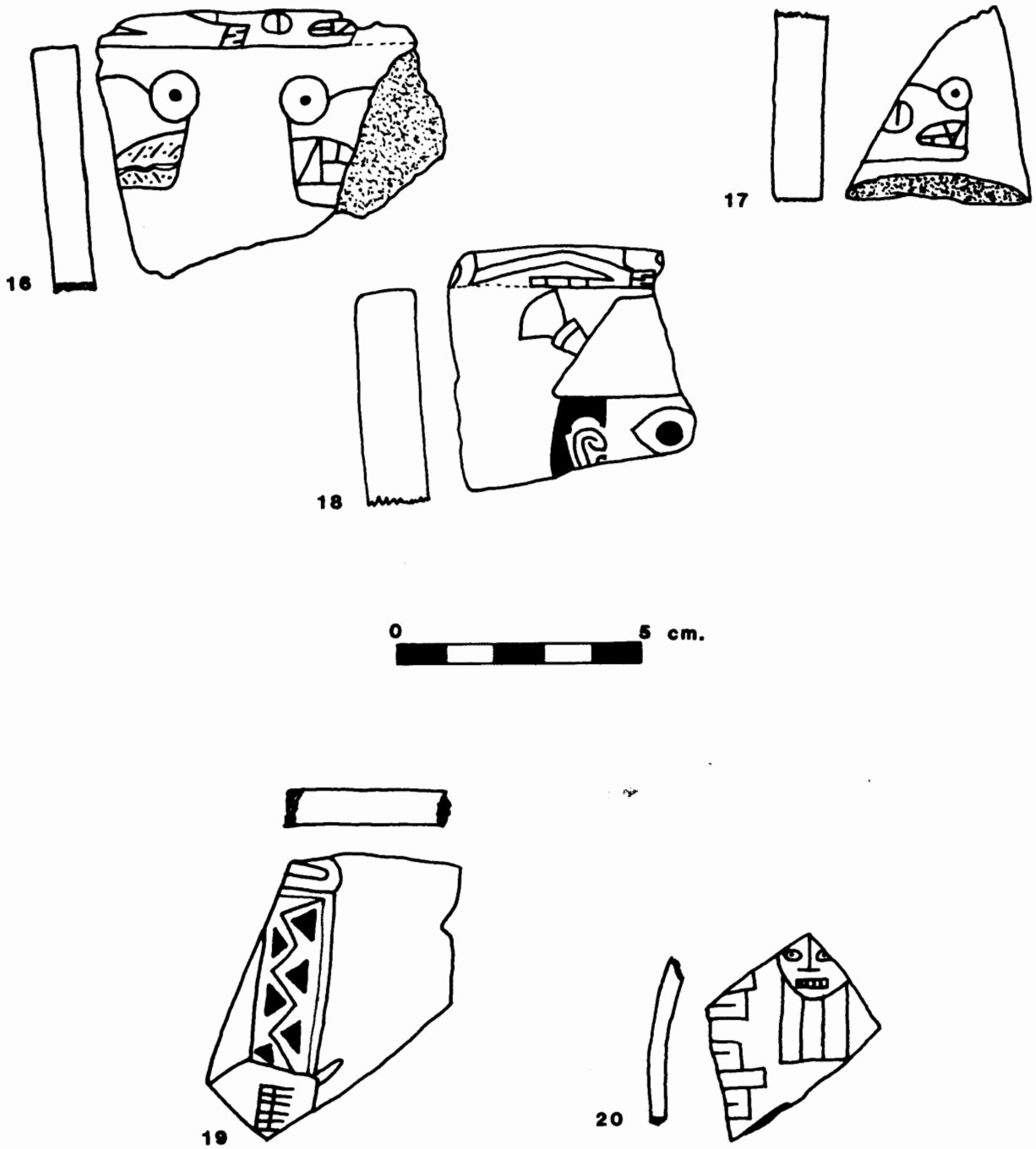
Fig. 14, distribution of "Ocros Phase" settlements in the Ayacucho Valley, with the Simpapata cluster little changed from the "Huarpa Phase," while both the Ñawinpukyu and Huari clusters have a new temple center in one of their large settlements; the two temple centers, Conchopata (E) and Huari (G), grew while the other sites in each of their clusters tended to experience depopulation. **Fig. 15,** distribution of "Huari Phase" settlements (MH2) in the Ayacucho Valley. Following the Middle Horizon 1 concentration of population in temple centers, Conchopata was wholly or partly abandoned in Middle Horizon 2, while Huari continued to grow. At Huari the interment of Middle Horizon 1 temples and the construction of architectural forms probably associated with bureaucratic administration provide evidence for another organizational innovation; Huari's population increase seems drawn from elsewhere in the Ayacucho Valley. See Key to Illustrations.



Sherds from 1960-61 excavations of the conjoined rooms and immediate vicinity, redrawn from Benavides Calle (ms.) with color coding omitted because no key was provided in the original. **Fig. 16** is from lám. XA; **fig. 17** from lám. Xc; and **fig. 18** from lám. Xh. **Fig. 19**, from lám. Xd (rotated 90° from original), shows portions of the left hand and staff of the Front Face Deity as it appears on the shirt or tunic of the 1977 effigy jars. **Fig. 20**, from lám. XIm, shows a trophy head and recurved rays as they appear on the Ventrally Extended Stinger Animals in the alternative shirt or tunic designs. Figs. 16-18 are clearly relatd to sherds from the 1942 offering urns, while figs. 19 and 20 are indistinguishable from decorated pottery of the 1977 offering.