

Aspects of state ideology in Huari
and Tiwanaku iconography: the
Central Deity and Sacrificer

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Huari and Tiwanaku emerged as two highland states in the central and southern Andes around 500 A.D. The nature of the relationship between these two polities, separated by at least 500 Km. of rugged Andean terrain, remains obscure. The history of investigations in both areas reveals that Tiwanaku has received considerably more attention from scholars. This is in part due to its known location and mythical importance since Incaic times. Only in recent years have we begun to appreciate the equally important role played by Huari in the central highlands. The two sites seem to have remained politically independent, although their symbol systems were so similar, that scholars, today, continue to confuse material culture items from these centers and smaller sites within their spheres of influence. They share what can generally be considered a common iconography focused on themes of figures in a deity pantheon. Several models for the assumed interaction between the two sites have been proposed, because clear evidence for trade has not yet been documented (Browman 1978, 1980, 1981; Isbell this volume; Lumbreras 1960; Menzel 1964, 1968). They include arguments that either favor religious pilgrimages between Huari and Tiwanaku, or the development of commercial enterprises (Browman 1981; Lumbreras 1974; Menzel 1964). All, however, remain largely untested.

My objective, in this paper, is to demonstrate the importance of documenting the evolution and transformation of this shared iconography. It is my belief that changes in design form and content convey the alteration of ideology. With the highland social-organizational transitions from dispersed temple towns (Early Intermediate Period) to centralized

urban states (early Middle Horizon), came an iconographic conversion. In the earliest known forms, the depictions convey individual figures on various media. Later, with the emergence of Huari and Tiwanaku, an amalgamation of these figures occurred, rendered in representational themes.

The common design repertoire is found predominantly on ceramics, textiles, monumental stone sculpture and various media that served as ritual paraphernalia (e.g. semi-precious stone, shell, bone and wood). The consistent appearance of an ordered cosmology depicted in iconographic terms at Huari and Tiwanaku conflicts with our understanding of their political nature. Where data are available, the picture that emerges indicates that Tiwanaku was both an important commercial and religious center that seems to have gradually expanded south, west to the coast, and east to the montaña. Huari grew more rapidly. Once a certain bureaucratic and military organization was achieved, it expanded at an explosive rate through conquest and the establishment of walled administrative compounds at strategic locations. Despite the differences in political strategy, both polities adopted an iconography often depicted on objects found in ceremonial contexts (e.g. associated with human interments and in buried offerings).

Hierarchical power structures of early states were in part legitimized through figural depictions and symbolic media. At Huari and Tiwanaku, the common iconographic expressions of a ranked and ordered cosmology became manifest around 500 A.D. Prior to this time, each sphere followed quite different rules of design execution. It is certainly no coincidence that both polities embarked simultaneously on a period of artistic expression and stylistic innovation. The appearance of ceramics, textiles and other symbolic media helped mark political boundaries and mask earlier ethnic or village stylistic affinities. Both Huari and Tiwanaku designs

addressed similar themes and an ideology particular to growing and competing political powers.

In this essay, I take a different approach to the relationship between politics and religion than is customary. In recent literature on prehistoric government, problems of secular political administration are separated from issues concerned with religion and the 'sacred'. The administration of ritual is considered a domain relegated to research on religious belief systems and the recovery of prehistoric ideology. The ensuing discussion can only be understood if it is assumed that religion and politics are parts of a single process, both largely dependent on ceremonialism. It is through ceremony that ritual activity is expressed, social solidarity is maintained and conflict is transformed or masked. Too often, we carry with us the assumption that beyond a certain degree of social complexity (e.g. stratified society) state politics and religion become separate or competitive processes. Their relationship is usually ignored, due either to the impact of our own ideology, that demands such a separation, or to the whims of professionalism that require we artificially define certain variables. I strongly believe that the emergence of administrative bodies in the central Andean highlands was largely due to the increasing power invested in ritual leaders, which by its very nature had a secularizing effect. The figural art and iconography of a society represents static images that captivate moments of this process.

The relationship between Huari and Tiwanaku can thus be approached through an examination of their iconography. In this light, it is instrumental to view the role of ideology as exhibited in figural thematic art as potentially constituting the physical reality --the distorted reality-- perceived by members of a group. A state-sponsored iconography can thus

mask the internal contradictions (e.g. social differentiation: leaders to non-leaders) and preserve a vision of harmony and legitimization of the power elite. From this position (Cook in progress), the internal tensions and competitive forces at work between the two polities might be better explained. Elsewhere (Cook in progress), I also develop the thesis that this iconography masked or helped temporarily displace underlying tensions between Huari and Tiwanaku, and may have provided the milieu for trade of vital goods. In the case presented here, some of these aspects of emergent state ideology are reconstructed.

The Emergence of Huari and Tiwanaku iconography: the empirical base.

One of the dominant iconographic themes during Huari and Tiwanaku sovereignty was the classic image of a Staffed Front Face Deity on a pedestal flanked by two or more rows of Profile Attendants, Front Face Deity heads and miniature human Sacrificers. It will be referred to here as the Central Deity Theme. Variants of this image appear in both areas for example, the Gate of the Sun at Tiwanaku (Posnansky 1945:PL. XIX) and the ceremonial urns and jars from offerings at the site of Conchopata near Huari (Figs. 1, 2, 3; Menzel 1977: Figs. 62, 63, 66, and 67).

In the following pages I build the argument that Huari and Tiwanaku adopted the Central Deity Theme pantheon simultaneously around 500 A.D. (see Isbell, this volume). Several scholars have suggested that an iconographic tradition preceded the emergence of Huari and Tiwanaku art in the Titicaca Basin. This would suggest that it evolved in the southern highlands, and was later transmitted north to Huari. Instead, the picture that emerges from the following analysis suggests that a figural design repertoire existed in both areas, each characterized by its own structural rules and meaning. The appearance of themes that conveyed a hierarchical pantheon, occurred in both polities as a product of increased power and

territorial expansion. This required an orderly, yet ritually sanctioned transition, from dispersed to centralized administrative structures. An example of such a transition is incorporated in this paper.

Although a great deal of variation is initially conveyed by Huari and Tiwanaku iconography, it can be divided into three classes: 1) Staffed Front Face Deities, 2) Profile Attendants, and 3) Human Figures. The iconography is depicted on a wide variety of media. These differ to a large degree in each area. Textiles and ceramics are common to both Huari and Tiwanaku, however, the images depicted on these media differ in each polity. The principal expressive medium in Tiwanaku is the well-known stone sculpture tradition, while within the Huari sphere images are most often found on ceramics, especially oversized ceremonial urns and jars. It is interesting to note that portable miniature lithic figurines and other miniature stone artifacts were produced in large numbers within the Huari sphere, in contrast to the large stone sculptures that were favored at Tiwanaku. Wooden snuff tablets and other drug-related paraphernalia were elaborately decorated and found throughout the Tiwanaku sphere, while these are conspicuously missing within the Huari area. Here, items such as wooden spoons with decorated handles have been found. The general picture that emerges suggests that the distributions of particular media may prove to be quite different from one sphere to the other.

The earliest known form of Huari and Tiwanaku iconography is found at the site of Pucara in the southern Peruvian highlands and north of the Lake Titicaca Basin circa 200 B.C. - 200 A.D. (Lumbreras and Amat 1968). The basis of Pucara economy is little known, but the site is located in the grassland altiplano at approximately 3950 meters above sea level, where little cultivation is possible and herding conditions are excellent.

At this center an iconographic art style is found that featured Front Face Figures, running Profile Attendants, anthropomorphized felines, birds, and numerous trophy heads. Only one type of attendant is known (Rowe and Brandel 1969-1970: PL. II-IX). It has human features but the facial decorations and mouth appendages convey supernatural status (Cook 1982). The figures have several supra-human features such as wings. These are present on all but the Profile Attendants. It will be shown that the presence or absence of wings is important to the understanding and evolution of this figural art form.

There was a marked increase in the variety and frequency of figures depicted over time. The occurrence of a Front Face Figure (not a staffed deity) and Profile Attendants, the main components of the later Central Deity Theme, is continuously present in this iconographic tradition making fruitful comparisons possible.

The two principal figures of Huari and Tiwanaku iconography were supernaturals and humans. In its earlier form at Pucara the division between these two categories is less clearly visible. Available examples of Pucara figures indicate that the human component is only found in the depiction of trophy heads. The Front Face Figure and Profile Attendants (Rowe and Brandel 1969-1970: PL. II-V) are characterized by the features that endow them with supernatural status. The Profile Attendants face each other. Their facial features are those of a human. Smaller trophy heads are found around the eyes and on the chin of some of these figures. A staff is held in the left hand, while an axe and trophy head are grasped by the right. These features identify a common figure in Andean iconography, best described here as the "Sacrificer" (Hocart 1970:60-71; Valcarcel 1959).

The Front Face Figure (Rowe and Brandel 1969-1970: PL. IV-V) as it appears on Pucara ceramics is a supernatural figure characterized by split

eyes, tear motifs, a collar with pendants, round shoulder medallions and wings. The presence of wings, earspools, and forehead ornaments on Pucara Front Face Figures are features absent on later representations of the figure. Even more characteristic of this Pucara figure are the objects it holds: an axe or digging stick in its right hand and a tethered camelid in its left. This figure is repeatedly depicted with a pack animal. Pucara and sites in its vicinity were characterized by a mixed economy largely dependent on pastoral activities. Ritual ceremonies that assured the production and reproduction of flocks can be expected to have been important then, as they are today.

One small lithic figurine is said to come from Pucara (Rowe 1976: Lam. IX). This example clearly indicates a precedent or model for the later Staffed Front Face Deity. Other images frequently depicted include birds, fishes, a large variety of felines, and supernatural anthropomorphs. All of these figures are modeled and incised on serving vessels, such as regular bowls, pedestaled bowls and beakers. The precise function of these vessels has yet to be determined. Their utilitarian nature indicate they may have served as recipients of food and drink associated with particular imbibing ceremonies and/or offerings.

The Pucara Front Face Figure is structurally a precursor to the Staffed Front Face Deity of the Middle Horizon, just as the Profile Attendant Sacrificers present in Pucara art reappear in a newly conceived context several centuries later, at Huari and Tiwanaku. Within both of these spheres of influence there are still no known sites where direct iconographic continuity of the Pucara style Front Face Figure and Sacrificers have been found. It seems reasonable to suggest that Huari and Tiwanaku iconography was an archaizing style to which was attributed new or altered meanings by ruling elites. We will see that the iconography

harked back to an ancestral past while simultaneously incorporating the surviving portions of earlier art traditions.

Pucara had a stone sculptural tradition that included human or trophy heads and full figures. Some of these sculptures had incised decoration similar to monoliths found at other sites in the Lake Titicaca Basin and at Tiwanaku. These early pieces or stelae do not depict components of the Central Deity Theme. Male and female forms and felines are sculpted in stone during the period between Pucara and Tiwanaku occupations. The designs on these stone sculptures are predominantly feline, reptilian and geometric (Chavez 1976, 1981; Chavez and Chavez 1976). The elaborate iconography seems to have lost importance as socio-political transformations occurred that eventually lead to large-scale urban life.

Niño Korin is a site situated close to Pucara moving south towards Tiwanaku within the modern boundaries of Bolivia. The discoveries from this dry cave site are considered to be part of a medicineman's equipment consisting of various containers, spatulas, syringes, tubes of pyroengraved bone, snuff tablets, baskets, ceramics, leaves of the Ilex Guayasa plant used in medicinal curing and human skeletal remains (Wassen 1972)¹.

A long history of coast-highland interactions significantly pre-dates the Middle Horizon. Niño Korin and other villages in the region are still today the homeland of the reknowned itinerant Callawaya medicinemen (Isbell, this volume). They served the Inca as both advisors and litter-bearers (Guaman Poma 1956: Folio 331). The Niño Korin cave offers data that support the early importance of the Callawayas. Their role in disseminating information throughout the central highland region was clearly significant and provided the context in which new styles and ideas could flourish.

Some of the icons found on these Niño Korin artifacts are the Staffed Front Face Deity pyroengraved on bone (Oblitas 1963: Lam. No. 85), a Front Face Deity head repeated around the exterior of a basket (Wassen 1972: PL. II), and a bird design decoration on a woven bag (Wassen 1972: Fig. 10). Several snuff tablets were also found, one of which portrayed a new type of attendant figure, its face characterized by camelid-like features (Fig. 4). When viewed vertically the figure is the Sacrificer standing wingless, a staff in one hand, and trophy head clutched by the hair in the other. The head is thrust back. The object that extends from the figure's right elbow may be a stylized axe or a wing. We will have to return to this question below. The importance of this rests in its transitional quality placing it between Pucara and later Huari and Tiwanaku Profile Attendants.

Moving further south and east of Tiwanaku, to the site of San Pedro de Atacama in Chile, we find that a series of snuff tablets, very similar to those found at Niño Korin, were recovered as burial offerings within cemeteries (le Paige 1965: Lam 13, 47, 58-60). The handles of some of the snuff tablets depict various forms of the Sacrificer. The figures are kneeling (not standing as in the Niño Korin example), wingless, a staff is held in their right hand, a trophy and axe in the left, and their heads are thrown back. These figures are further distinguished by a long extended nose and a feather appendage emerging from their mouths (le Paige 1965: Lam. 58, 60). One stands on a pedestal similar to the one found under the Staffed Front Face Deity on the Gate of the Sun. These figures convey the attributes of an attendant fulfilling a similar role to those found at Pucara and Niño Korin: they all lack wings but hold axes, trophy heads and staffs. I would suggest that these various figures appear to be individuals associated with trophy-head rituals. The figures are variants of the Sacrificer. This figure was important to different ethnic groups

or villages throughout a large area. Although the Sacrificer was represented in different forms, its basic paraphernalia remained constant. This figure assumed somewhat different identities probably due to differing local traditions: at Pucara a human-like attendant with supernatural qualities, at Niffo Korin a camelid-related figure and at San Pedro de Atacama another Sacrificer with an over-extended nose.

The iconography in this early phase included several figures performing similar roles. They contrast with later Middle Horizon mythological scenes because attendants are all winged in the Huari and Tiwanaku pantheon, e.g. Feline or Bird-Headed Profile Attendants. The Pucara winged Front Face Figure is later replaced by the wingless Staffed Front Face Deity. The wingless Sacrificer, depicted in its earliest known image as a Pucara Profile Attendant, is transformed into a winged Profile Attendant under Huari and Tiwanaku dominion. In this study, attention is strictly directed to the transformation of the Central Deity and Sacrificer over time. The structural reversal from winged to wingless in the former and the opposite in the latter helps support my contention that an iconographic transformation occurred in the transition from single figure depictions to themes. It also helped maintain a formal similarity between a Pucara iconography and the Huari and Tiwanaku versions. Simultaneously, the structural reversal of key supernatural features, such as wings, indicates a contextual change that may imply a shift in the meaning conveyed by the figure. The Sacrificer is now associated with other members of the pantheon. The significance of certain figures in this central and southern Andean iconography shifts over time. Although it is unlikely we will ever know the exact meanings of these icons, changing interpretations are observable. It is to clues such as these that we should be paying closer attention.

The San Pedro de Atacama snuff tablets include a depiction of the Staffed Front Face Deity head on a pedestal (le Paige 1965: Lam.59). Another illustrates a stylized camelid, probably a llama or related species. These figures are all vertically positioned on the snuff tablet handle. At Pucara the Front Face Deity holds an axe in one hand and a tethered llama in the other. The number and nature of the represented icons at these sites are strikingly similar, if one considers that the Niño Korin and the San Pedro de Atacama artifacts are roughly contemporary and the Pucara examples precede these artistic developments by at least 100-200 years. It should also be noted that a comparison of snuff tablet handle designs from San Pedro de Atacama clearly indicates that the icons were depicted vertically. The Sacrificers are positioned standing directly above the snuffing surface in a vertical and not floating or flying position.

At Tiwanaku, an incised stone fragment located at the Akapana section of the site was excavated by de Crequi-Montfort (1906) at the turn of the century. This piece illustrates a winged Profile Attendant (Fig. 6) running on all fours wearing a headdress with trophy heads and other appendages, and carrying an abbreviated staff below the body. Two heads were depicted on the extremities of this staff. The symbolically important association between the trophy head and the Sacrificer is repeated on this fragment. Here we have clear evidence reaffirming the relationship between this class and trophy-head ceremonials. The de Crequi-Montfort fragment is poorly preserved, but it demonstrates that features found associated with the Pucara Sacrificer appear at Tiwanaku as a distinct figure yet in an earlier style than the classic monolithic stone sculpture.

Several phases of stone sculpture have been defined for the Tiwanaku area (Bennett 1934, 1936; Browman n.d.; Chavez 1976; Wallace 1957). Bennett

excavated the semi-subterranean temple in 1934 where he located two monoliths, referred to by Ponce as Stela 15, which he assigned to Tiwanaku III, and Stela 10, attributed to Tiwanaku IV.

Stela 15 depicts a personage who lacks a headdress, is bearded and is associated with feline and reptilian figures. Most strikingly, the arms are positioned horizontally across the torso, the left hand below the right, a common posture of Tiwanaku III sculpture. (Note as well that this figure is empty-handed). Phase III of Tiwanaku stone sculpture thus combines reptilian and feline zoomorphs of the preceding periods with a crudely sculpted human figure. This style, popular in many parts of the Titicaca Basin, is largely unrelated to Pucara and later Tiwanaku IV staffed deity iconography.

Stela 10 (Posnansky 1948: Figs. 113-116), or the Pachamama, is a classical Tiwanaku piece. The unnaturally inverted hand position holds various objects. It has a finished surface covered in fine, incised iconographic detail, and the general dimensions and style of the monolith place it in the Tiwanaku IV period.

A view of just one of the semi-subterranean temple walls at Tiwanaku indicates the even spacing of tenoned heads projecting from the wall matrix (Posnansky 1945: PL. VII-VIII). Each head, although in some cases badly worn, bears a headdress (like the Phase IV stone monoliths) or a hat with an incised decorated border suggestive of textile head bands better known on the coast, where they are more frequently preserved. The temple construction and tenoned heads are approximately assigned to Phase III because there was no material dating to the first two periods within the fill of the temple structure. It would follow, from the above descriptions that the tenoned heads are stylistically more akin to the Phase IV stone sculpture (e.g. Stela 10), than to pieces dated to the preceding period.

Clearly, more work needs to be done to improve the Tiwanaku stone sculpture sequence. Some helpful hints are provided by iconography displayed on two lintels from Tiwanaku.

The Kantataita architrave (Fig. 7) and the lintel found on Linares Street in La Paz, Bolivia (Fig. 5; Posnansky 1945: Fig. 140, 140a) are architectural forms that convey an iconographic evolution towards the full Central Deity Theme. The Kantataita monument is probably part of a doorway; the stone is rectangular in shape but the design field is raised. The Linares Street piece lacks a raised surface and is a rectangular lintel that was also probably part of a doorway. In both instances, the Huari and Tiwanaku Sacrificers are depicted. They are horizontally positioned yet in a kneeling stance. Stylistic similarities are clearly seen when the headdress, facial decoration, chin, belt, mouth appendage and collar details are compared. The differences are few but important. These figures lack wings and are for the first time in our sample horizontally positioned. These two characteristics place the depictions apart from the earlier examples already discussed.

Internal differences exist when the two architraves are compared iconographically. Although the Kantataita monument was extensively damaged by both time and human intervention, the six repeated figures on it still reveal the fine, detailed workmanship that was applied to these architectural surfaces. The figures follow one another moving from both extremities toward the mid-point of the architrave. They meet face to face at the center. These figures are not identical and can be distinguished by comparing the figures that bear a trophy head on their bodice below the collar from those with feline heads. All the figures hold a double headed staff in their right hand. The object(s) held in the left hand are only partially visible on one figure: a trophy head

grasped by its hair or by two braided strands of hair, cord or textile are identified as well as an axe held in the same hand (Fig. 7). This identification helps to substantiate the observation that the object extending off the right elbow of the Niño Korin Sacrificer is probably also a stylized axe. A trophy head is depicted as well on the bodice of this figure and at the base of its staff. These similar stylistic and iconographic conventions strongly suggest we are dealing with a figure performing related symbolic tasks in two different geographic areas. The Linares Street lintel on the other hand might best be considered a link between singular depictions of the Sacrificer and its transformation and inclusion in the Central Deity Theme prevalent during the classic Huari and Tiwanaku periods.

The carved Linares Street lintel combines four running horizontally positioned Profile Attendants and a Staffed Front Face Deity. This piece might best be considered stylistically transitional between an iconography largely concerned with figures acting upon a trophy-head cult, and the peak of an architecturally oriented art form. The Kantataita architrave was described above and only includes horizontal Sacrificers. The Linares Street lintel also conveys a similar floating figure but accompanied by a centrally positioned Staffed Front Face Deity. This is closely related to the Tiwanaku IV theme image on the Gateway of the Sun (Posnansky 1945: PL. XLV). This horizontal figure represents the Sacrificer transformed into Profile Attendant. Although many of its design elements are shared with the earlier Kantataita figures, it is not holding a trophy head or an axe. The floating figures on the Linares Street lintel seem in fact to be good copies of the Kantataita figure stripped of its earlier symbolic attributes. Note that where the hand should be one finds a peculiar claw-like replacement, which is difficult to identify. In the

bodice of each horizontal figure a feline head is repeatedly incised, again a feature strongly associated with Tiwanaku IV iconography.

The Staffed Front Face Deity is badly damaged; only half of the body is visible. The figure wears a tunic, probably belted at the waist (note the two feline heads below each elbow which indicate the terminal points of the missing belt). Repeated felines adorn the headdress, tear motifs surround the eyes, and the Central Deity holds the symbolically important staffs in each hand with a zig-zag vertically divided band with repeated triangles. The Staffed Deity is not a new introduction to the iconography; instead it had already appeared in a similar form as a small stone figure carved in the same frontal position from the site of Pucara. The characteristics that help define this lintel as transitional are 1) the inclusion of a centrally positioned Staff Front Face Deity, 2) the repeated Profile Attendant strongly reminiscent of the Kantataita lintel yet lacking in essential trophy head paraphernalia characteristic of an earlier interpretation and, 3) the consistent lack of wings on supernatural attendants in contrast to their later depiction as winged figures in classic Tiwanaku IV. This particular figure also appears headless as a pedestal ornament on an incised stone slab, housed at the American Museum of Natural History (Fig. 8). Its catalogued provenience is the Island of Titicaca. Clearly, the Sacrificer played a key role in this highland pantheon and may be one of its earliest traceable figures.

Huari and Tiwanaku share early representations of the Staffed Front Face Deity and Sacrificer. Iconographic data from the Ayacucho region, and specifically the site of Conchopata, (located 10 Km. south of Huari proper) are here considered, because they most clearly represent the simultaneous adoption of the Central Deity pantheon in the Ayacucho area.

Two ceremonial ceramic offerings have been recovered from Conchopata.

They include the burials of oversized painted vessels that were ritually broken in situ. Julio Tello excavated the first discovered cache of urns in 1942, referred to below as Conchopata A. Subsequently, a second ceramic interment of oversized face-neck jars was located in 1977, hereafter Conchopata B. The two caches are stylistically distinct both in terms of vessel shape and design layout. Their iconography consists of the Central Deity Theme pantheon. Various images are conveyed on the Conchopata A offering vessels. Each oversized urn displays a somewhat different sequence of figures. Not only is there a considerable degree of variation in depicted scenes, but this cache might be the earliest known assemblage that includes two Front-Face Deities. One wears a loosely-fitting tunic, the other wears a belt and the two figures have varied headdress appendages. They have not been found to occur together on any one vessel, but they are both associated with running Profile Attendants and miniature humans (Cook 1979; Menzel 1964, 1968, 1977).

In contrast, the Conchopata B cache consistently depicted the Central Deity Theme: a single Staffed Front Face Deity accompanied by two rows of running Profile Attendants (Fig. 3). This image envelopes the central and most visible surface of each jar. Only three vessels of the twenty-five found in this cache have different main design fields. These convey figures derived or inspired from the Nasca 9B stylistic tradition (Fig. 2). These Nascoïd figures and the humped-back animals (Fig. 1) that appear on the shoulder of many of these jars, help date the cache with relation to the Nasca sequence to Middle Horizon 1B (Menzel personal communication).

Central to our discussion is the more frequent and dominant Central Deity Theme depicted on these jars. Menzel (1964, 1968) has previously argued on stylistic grounds that the Conchopata A offering belongs to

and defines Middle Horizon 1A. It has the greatest known variety of figures from a single context in the Ayacucho area. The repertoire includes two Staffed Front Face Deities, four Profile Attendants (winged), several human figures, a series of captive human miniatures, hands clasped behind their backs, and trophy heads (Cook 1979; Menzel 1977). The Profile Attendants are of three types: 1) positioned vertically either standing or kneeling (e.g. the Sacrificer)(Menzel 1977: Fig. 67), 2) placed in a horizontal flying or floating stance with crossed canines (Menzel 1977: Fig. 91) and, 3) a profile head and headdress of a figure here depicted without a body and with crossed canines (Cook 1979: Fig. 10, 11). Many of the vessels in this assemblage remain in fragmentary condition. Nonetheless, it is clear that felines, smiling staff heads, and flowering plant mouth appendages are also used in this style (Cook 1979; Menzel 1968, 1977). The iconographic variability characteristic of this early cache is further emphasized in the uniqueness of each frame. There is little image redundancy and the structure of these scenes suggest that each is meant to convey specific information that might have been read sequentially around the circumference of the vessel. No other caches of this nature have been found. Comparisons to early Central Deity Theme figures at Tiwanaku are the two Staffed Central Deities, the Sacrificer, and the Profile Attendants (Cook 1979, n.d.; Menzel 1968, 1977).

The period in the Ayacucho sequence potentially cross-datable to the early classic Tiwanaku IV monuments, such as the Kantaita architrave and the transitional Linares Street lintel, was probably late Middle Horizon 1A, exemplified by the Conchopata A cache. In the Huari region there are two horizontal figures; one has the facial features of a bird, the other is feline in nature with crossed canines. They represent two winged deities (Menzel 1977: Fig. 91). Positionally, these figures are

depicted horizontally as they are found on the Tiwanaku lintels. However, at Conchopata they do not represent the Sacrificer. Instead, the running Profile Attendant or Angel A (Menzel 1964) holds a staff in one hand at the base of which is either a trophy head or a miniature captive. An axe is held in the other hand (Menzel 1977: Fig. 67). This is the earliest known example of the Sacrificer in the Huari highland region. It is associated with the most complex and varied iconographic assemblage unearthed in the area. It can be directly compared to the same figure seen at Niño Korin (with camelid features) and the San Pedro de Atacama snuff table figures. It is likewise the same figure depicted horizontally on the Kantataita and Linares Street lintels at Tiwanaku and bears some resemblance to the damaged de Crequi-Montfort stone fragment. These figures appear in both spheres during the same time period. By 500 A.D. or Middle Horizon 1B the figure is associated with a range of other figures in the pantheon at Huari, while in the Tiwanaku sphere, it appears as a miniature human Sacrificer on the Gateway of the Sun (Posnansky 1945: PL. LII, LXII, LXIV).

Tracing the development of the Sacrificer with relation to its spatial distribution and context has offered an interesting yet complex picture of figures appearing within the Huari and Tiwanaku spheres. In brief, the pattern that emerges from this analysis indicates that although Pucara art conveys many aspects of later Middle Horizon state iconography its context and use is of a different nature. As one moves out towards Tiwanaku to sites where this iconography has been found, the Sacrificer bearing an axe, trophy head and staff is repeatedly found on snuff-tablets and later appears briefly on Tiwanaku stone sculpture. Known examples of the figure never appear with wings within the Tiwanaku sphere. Within the Huari area, during this same period, the figure is

present, winged and in conjunction with a full repertoire of pantheistic figures depicted in themes on oversized vessels. The earlier trophy-head ritual participants are now embraced and transformed in a symbolic repertoire utilized by a growing number of ethnic groups that have come under the centralizing influence of two strong polities. The Central Deity Theme is a supernaturally-oriented configuration whose figures were attributed wings, facial decoration, split eyes, etc., placing them above the human. Simultaneously, the figures conveyed status symbols such as earspools, staffs and pedestals. The figures themselves reflect a hierarchy ranging from a Staffed Front Face Deity to Profile Attendants, humans and animal figures.

Current ethnographers and ethnohistorians maintain that a long tradition of cultural continuity characterizes the Central Andean region. Accounts of native Andean genealogy and cosmology, provided by modern informants (Isbell, B.J. 1978; Isbell, Wm. 1976; Nuñez del Prado 1968; Pease 1973; Zuidema 1972; Zuidema and Quispe 1973) indicate that boundaries between the human and the supernatural are often confused and ambiguous. This strongly suggests that similar conceptions of cosmology existed prehistorically. It is therefore not surprising to see the worldly and superhuman combined in iconographic scenarios.

It still remains to be seen how Huari and Tiwanaku symbolic congruence is a result of competitive polities, each made up of different ethnic groups whose power elites attempt both internal and external integration through a common imagery reflective of relations of dominance.

Footnotes

1. The Carbon 14 date of an associated skull is 755 A.D., the leaves date to 355-375 A.D. indicating that subsequent interments were

possibly made. (It is well known that Carbon 14 dating results are most reliable with large comparative samples. The date of one skull should therefore not be considered definitive). The Carbon 14 dates that cluster around 300-500 A.D. can also be substantiated iconographically by comparison with Pucara art.

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FIGURES

- Figure 1. Conchopata B offering cache: small Nascoïd 9B related humped-back animals arranged on the shoulder of oversized face-neck jars.
- Figure 2. Conchopata B offering cache: Nascoïd animal with stinger, located on the main design panel of oversized face-neck jars. This theme occurs only three to four times on the main panel.
- Figure 3. Conchopata B offering cache: Central Deity Theme consisting of a Staffed Front Face Deity and two rows of running Profile Attendants. This is the most common theme in the offering, located on the main design panel.
- Figure 4. Niño Korín snuff tablet with Sacrificer. (Length 18.5 cm). After Wassen 1972: Fig. 5.
- Figure 5. Linares Street lintel, La Paz, Bolivia. The Central Deity Theme in which a Staffed Front Face Deity is flanked by a single row of horizontal Profile Attendants. After Posnansky 1945, Vol. II: Fig. 140a and Wassen 1972: Fig. 6.
- Figure 6. Lithic fragment from the Akapana section of Tiwanaku excavated by de Crequi-Montfort (1906). After de Crequi-Montfort 1906: Fig. 11. (Approximate dimensions 16 cm by 8 cm).
- Figure 7. A Sacrificer from the Kantataita lintel located at Tiwanaku. This is the most complete figure on the piece that indicates the axe, trophy head and staff attributes.
- Figure 8. Lithic fragment from the Bandelier collection housed at the American Museum of Natural History. Catalogued provenience: Ticani, Island of Titicaca (B2121). An example of the Sacrificer's head used as a pedestal appendage.

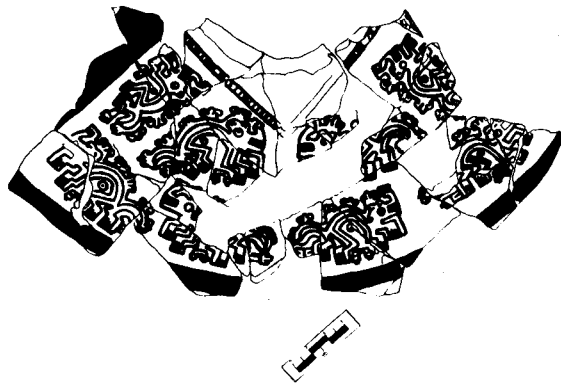


Fig. 1

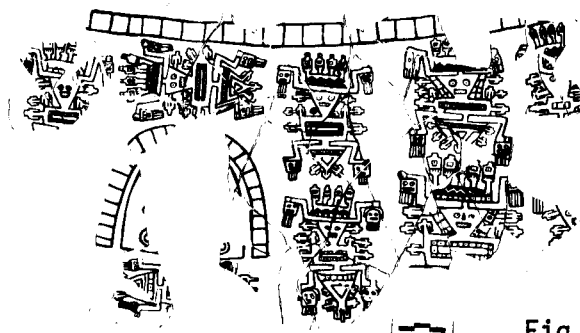


Fig. 2

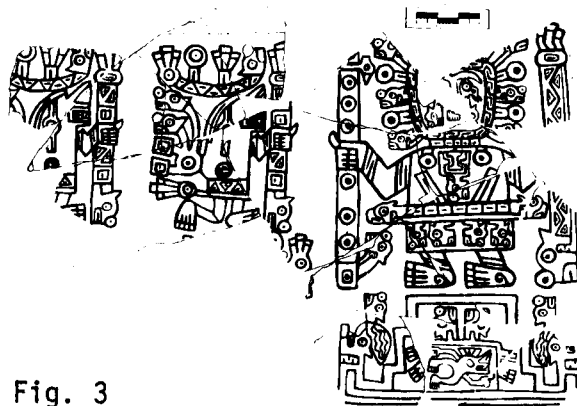


Fig. 3

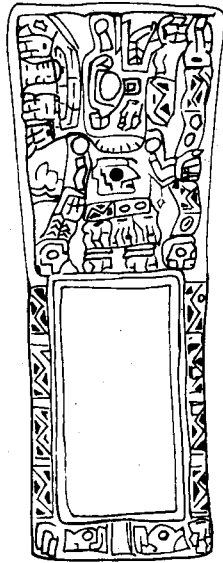


Fig. 4



Fig. 5

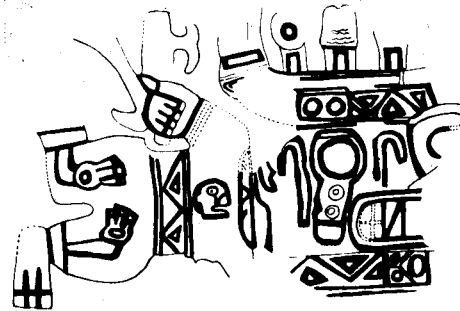


Fig. 7

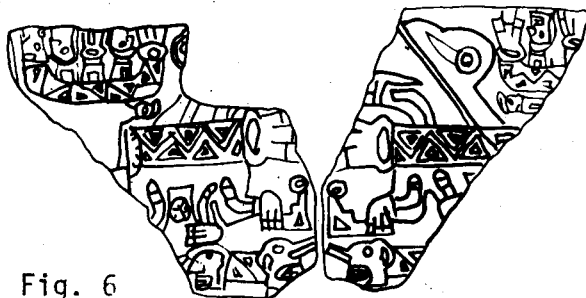


Fig. 6

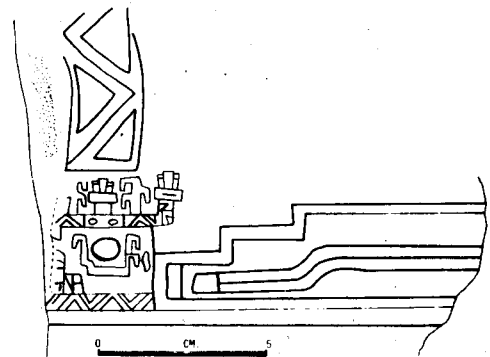


Fig. 8