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THE CONVENTIONALIZED RULES IN PUCARA POTTERY TECHNOLOGY AND ICONOGRAPHY: IMPLICATIONS FOR SOCIO-POLITICAL DEVELOPMENTS IN THE NORTHERN LAKE TITICACA BASIN

VOLUME I

By

Sergio Jorge Chávez

A DISSERTATION

Submitted to
Michigan State University
in partial fulfillment of the requirements
for the degree of

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

Department of Anthropology

1992

ABSTRACT

THE CONVENTIONALIZED RULES IN PUCARA POTTERY TECHNOLOGY AND ICONOGRAPHY: IMPLICATIONS FOR SOCIO-POLITICAL DEVELOPMENTS IN THE NORTHERN LAKE TITICACA BASIN

By

Sergio Jorge Chávez

This dissertation focuses on a previously little-studied but major episode in the rise of Andean civilization, the Pucara society of Peru's northwestern region of the Lake Titicaca Basin. Alfred Kidder II conducted excavations at Pucara in 1939, the results of which remain almost totally unknown. The author has been allowed access to Kidder's collection at Harvard University's Peabody Museum. Of particular value is an assemblage of more than 10,000 specimens, most of which consists of decorated pottery. This study is aimed at the analysis of the technology and iconography reflected in pottery as a key to revealing crucial elements of the nature of the society which produced them.

The study follows the analysis of attributes (instead of types), and examines the pottery tradition to help define the Pucara style, to determine level of standardization in manufacture, and to recognize local versus non-local patterning in manufacture. From this foundation the analysis examines the development of standardized patterning in the style's iconography to better understand the social, political, economic, and religious contexts under which the pottery was produced, to reflect on the consumption or use of the pottery in Pucara society, and to reveal the systems of meaning underlying the iconography of the pottery.

The methods of iconographic analysis use and build upon a thematic approach that results in the identification and analysis of two main themes, each corresponding to male and female supernatural personages and likely reflecting principal mythologies. Furthermore, eight motifs, corresponding to mythological/supernatural animals and humans, derive from or are related to each of the two themes--several not previously identified in the literature on Andean archaeology. In addition, a series of well defined and associated geometric designs have also been found to derive from and/or align with either the male or female themes--the first such attempt in Andean archaeology. Such standardized, explicit, and well defined symbols of power constitutes the first complex representational iconography with associated designs in the region.

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1992

DEDICATION

Karen L. Mohr Chávez, sonqo ruru warmiypaq

Paypaq kay ukhu pacha
ñawpa pachamanta
paqarichisqay kashan

Paywan llakitan kusiwan awayku
paywan orqon k'asanta wasaparqani
runakunaq yachayninta maskhaspa

Paywanqa manan imapis sasa kanchu
chairayku sonqoy chaupinpi pay kashan

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The laborious and time-consuming work upon which this dissertation is based, would not have been possible without the help of a number of people. Particularly, I would like to acknowledge the constant and endless support, inspiration, stimulating ideas, and critical comments provided by Karen L. Mohr Chávez in every step of the project. Her views often served to sharpen and influence my own, and provided the foundations for the broad scope of this study.

The analysis and documentation of the different attributes in the pottery collection necessitated a complex procedure which was carried out in several steps primarily by me, but also with the positive help of many people. Most of the people involved in this process included my archaeology students at Central Michigan University, who gave their best efforts in the successful completion of the different projects assigned to them under my supervision. To the following people go my wholehearted thanks and appreciation for assisting in:

a) The process of gluing and reconstructing thousands of sherds, tracing their iconography onto cellophane and tracing paper, and subsequently photographing them to generate an inventory of shapes and associated iconography: Edwin Chávez Farfán, Karen L. Mohr Chávez, Dale Hutchinson, Denise Carlevato, and Ann Scott.

b) The process of inking a selected sample of specimens, following specific standards established for the generation of camera-ready materials: Jeffrey Devantier, and more recently Teobaldo Yábar V.

c) The process of classifying, quantifying, and expanding on the previously established groups of fancy pottery: Karen L. Mohr Chávez, and Susan Brookhouse.
d) The process of quantifying and incorporating additional specimens into previously classified plain pottery: Karen L. Mohr Chávez, Denise Carlevato, Natán Espinosa, and Myra Lighthart.

Appreciation also goes to the members of my dissertation committee: Drs. Joseph L. Chartkoff (Chair), Lawrence H. Robbins, and more recently Helen P. Pollard, for their constant support, revisions and comments on the original drafts of the dissertation; as well as to Susan Madigan (Department of Art History and outside reader of my dissertation). To John H. Rowe, who so graciously accepted to be an outside member of my dissertation committee, I owe many thanks and endless appreciation for his counseling, sound comments and clarity of arguments, and for helping to keep my interpretations within the boundaries of evidence.

To Rodney C. Kirk, a great friend and colleague, goes my deepest appreciation for his support and expertise in computers, particularly during the preparation of the final draft of the dissertation.

A large portion of the collection derived from Kidder's 1939 excavations was left at the Museo Nacional de Antropología y Arqueología in Lima, where access to those specimens as well as working space were provided to me and Karen Chávez. In this respect I would like to thank to Hermilio Rosas Donaire, then Director of the museum, for providing permission and access to materials in storage, to Justo Torres for facilitating the space necessary to carry out the analysis and documentation, and to René Candela whose patience and excellent memory

permitted us to locate crucial specimens stored there since Julio C. Tello's times.

Another important collection derived from the 1955 excavation at Pucara, conducted by Kidder and Manuel Chávez Ballón, was housed in Cuzco. There, Manuel Chávez Ballón made this collection accessible to us, and provided his own fieldnotes and a map of the site of Pucara he made at that time. His pioneer work in the south highlands, extensive knowledge, and experience has always been a constant source of inspiration for me. In addition, a few fancy sherds derived from Kidder's 1939 excavations ended up in Vancouver, Canada, where Alan Sawyer so graciously made those pieces available to us.

The artifact collection and archival materials housed at the Peabody Museum of Harvard University were made available to us here in Mt. Pleasant thanks to the efforts of C. C. Lamberg-Karlovsky, Director, Geoffrey Conrad, then Curator of South American Archaeology, and to many others at the Peabody. In addition, acknowledgement also goes to William R. Coe at the University Museum of the University of Pennsylvania, who provided us with additional materials pertaining to Kidder's work in Pucara.

Finally, to the late Alfred Kidder II goes my appreciation and admiration for his pioneer and extensive work in the Lake Titicaca Basin, and while he was alive for entrusting and allowing us to study the materials he excavated, despite competing interests on the part of other persons.

This research was partially funded by a National Science Foundation Grant awarded to me and Karen Chávez (BSN 81-12162), as well as a

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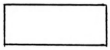
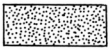
ABBREVIATIONS, KEY TO COLORS, AND SCALE

The following is a list of some of the abbreviations primarily used in tables and lists of artifacts:

Plsh: Polished	Ht: Height
Pdtl: Pedestal	Diam: Diameter
Plcm: Polychrome	Max: Maximum
Lvl: Level	Fel: Feline

The following chart refers to the color keys used in all the figures:

Cream Pigment		All Black Specimens	
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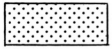
Red Pigment		Excision or Scraped Surfaces	

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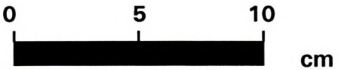

I. INTRODUCTION

The materials upon which this study is based, primarily consist of some 10,000 pottery specimens derived from the archaeological excavations conducted by Alfred Kidder II in 1939 at the site of Pucara. Pucara is located in the Province of Lampa, Department of Puno, Peru, and the site is situated at an altitude of 3900 meters above sea level, on the high plateau of the northwestern Lake Titicaca Basin (Figure 1).

The study centers on the analysis, documentation, and classification of the different attributes present on plain and fancy Pucara pottery of the Early Intermediate Period (Figure 3). The definition of the Pucara style is based on identification and analysis of the conventionalized rules in technology and iconography, along with their associated vessel shapes, surface finish, wear and residue patterns, and paste/temper. It will be shown that vessel shapes, temper, surface finish, and iconography are standardized in Pucara. The identification of 24 paste groups present in plain and fancy pottery, as well as the location of many possible sources at or near the site of Pucara, has served to propose possible local and non-local origins for pottery production.

Regarding the standards employed in the depiction of both representational and non-representational iconography, two main themes have been identified, one associated with a supernatural male personage and the other with a supernatural female personage, likely reflecting

principal mythologies. In turn, a number of isolated motifs and geometric designs were found to derive from and/or be closely aligned with the main two themes. Furthermore, it will be shown that the different themes and motifs are associated with specific pastes and tempers, surface finishes, and vessel shapes, as well as a specific selection of areas within each shapes for their depiction.

The following list shows the different motifs as they relate to or derive from each of the two themes. Except for the motifs and designs in parentheses, those listed under the female and male themes, respectively, follow the order in which they are presented in different sections of the text. However, as their analysis and documentation were concluded, it was noted that some of the motifs originally indicated as being derived from or related to the feline man possessed attributes which clearly showed them also to be related to or derived from the camelid woman. These motifs include some feline-headed snakes and some felines (e.g., some anthropomorphized felines were found to be ambiguous, possessing both male and female related attributes, and other felines were shown to be female related). In addition, geometric designs associated with feline motifs were later discovered to be either male or female related. However, I have kept such ambiguous or male/female related designs and motifs within their respective sections as originally discovered, thus reflecting the inductive approach of my study.

Camelid Woman Theme	Feline Man Theme
1. Rayed Head Motif	1. Severed Head Motif
2. (Feline-headed Snake Motif)	2. Feline-headed Snake Motif
3. Camelid Motif	3. Guanaco and Bird Motif
4. (Feline Motif)	4. Feline Motif
5. (Geometric Designs)	5. (Geometric Designs)
6. Owl Motif	6. Winged Man Motif

Furthermore, the association of technique of manufacture with a standardized, explicit, and well defined supernatural iconography or symbols of power, as well as ethnographic and ethnohistorical comparisons, has served to propose a religious function and ritual paraphernalia. Furthermore, spatial distribution and site functions are also proposed, and these are based on pottery provenience, analysis of strata, and associated remains in the excavated units which were placed in six different locations within the site.

The method employed in the analysis and documentation of some 10,000 specimens is one of identification of attributes (rather than types), which has permitted a detailed study of the collection. Furthermore, provided that a similar method of analysis is employed elsewhere, it would also allow the identification of the kind of spread and degree of influence of Pucara in other places and in later times, or whether Pucara served as a source for both Tiahuanaco and Huari.

Since the main scope of this work deals mainly with the conventionalized rules in Pucara pottery technology and iconography, a systematic comparison with related materials from other Pucara sites and those of the later Tiahuanaco and Huari cultures have not been included here. However, it should be noted that many Pucara attributes presented here show striking similarities and strong influence into Tiahuanaco and Huari developments of the Middle Horizon. Of particular importance is the continuation of plain and tall jars with abundant mica in the paste in Tiahuanaco, the survival of Pucara iconography present on such remains as the Door of the Qalasasaya, as well as on some of the personages depicted on snuff tablets from San Pedro de Atacama in Chile (S. Chávez and Torres 1986)--lending further support to the

continuation of concepts associated with the Yaya-Mama Religious Tradition proposed by Karen L. Mohr Chávez (1989).

In addition, many preconceived notions and assumptions present in the literature (such as those regarding warfare, presence of "trophy heads," or whether the site of Pucara functioned as a city), are assessed in light of new evidence and analysis presented here.

Regarding the spelling of site names (such as Pucara, Tiahuanaco, Cuzco, and Nasca--instead of Pukara, Tiwanaku, Cusco/Qosqo, and Nazca), they follow those reported for the first time in the writings of early chroniclers. Recent writers, however, tend to change the historically-accurate spellings for different reasons. For example, Flores and Paz (19 85:141) have proposed the spelling of Pucara for the modern town and Pukara for the archaeological site area surrounding the modern town, even though the archaeological site containing Pucara and other earlier and later remains extends into and includes the modern town as well.

II. THEORETICAL CONSIDERATIONS, WORKING HYPOTHESES, AND THEIR OPERATIONALIZATION

Evidence for interpreting prehistoric political organization requires a great deal of archaeological work, especially in the absence of written records. A number of criteria have been proposed and operationalized archaeologically to determine the presence of states, that is centrally organized temporally sustained polities with administrative hierarchies in which rule or coercion is by the use or threat of force. Such criteria include the presence of a four-tiered site hierarchy that includes urban settlements, social stratification associated with or maintained by differential access to labor and other resources, and full-time specialization. There has been a great deal of debate concerning the definitions of such criteria, as well as about what constitutes crucial archaeological evidence needed to determine their presence and, hence, the nature of a prehistoric political organization, polity, or social formation. It is not my aim to review those debates here, but to briefly focus on one of these, specialization, as it relates to pottery production since Pucara style pottery is the subject of this study.

One line of evidence employed to assess the nature, degree, and origins of centralized political controls is craft specialization and standardization in production. Specifically, pottery production and its relationship to higher levels of social and economic developments have

been studied and proposed as important indicators of the rise and development of so-called "complex" societies. Many archaeologists working in different parts of the world rely on craft specialization and standardization to suggest the emergence of complex or state societies. This problem area is usually stated in the form of a hypothesis or model, which can be summarized as follows:

> High levels of labor specialization and standardization in craft production are closely associated with higher levels of socio-economic integration and centralization in complex societies. As the modes and means of production are increasingly under the control, support, and demand of a centralized secular and/or religious authority, a group of full time specialists of non-food producers emerges to meet these demands. One such case may occur in the manufacture of pottery, plain ware and/or fancy ceremonial ware.

The operationalization or testing of the hypothesis requires the identification of crucial evidence from the body of data present in the pottery collection of a given area and time, and these results are usually assessed in conjunction with independent evidence of social and environmental contexts, to, among other things, mark the beginnings of state level societies.

There are a number of related issues or assumptions in the literature concerning specialization and standardization which must be considered and discussed to avoid circularity in interpretation, narrow frames of reference, and superficial reading of the archaeological data. Some of these issues and concerns include:

1) Although there are cases where a high degree of standardization in craft (pottery) production parallels significant changes in the social, economic, and political levels in a given society, the opposite has also been documented (e.g., studies of Medieval Nubian pottery, Adams 1979). Adams notes that pottery was not used as a status symbol

throughout most of Egyptian history to Roman and Byzantine times. With very few exceptions, both peasant and royal tombs contain similar vessel shapes and styles. Also, recent ethnographic research carried out in pottery producing centers of Raqch'i in Cuzco, and Pucara and Mercedes in Puno (K. Chávez 1992), indicates a high degree of standardization and production by part-time specialists, (specialists who may be full-time for part of the year), where the organization of production and distribution occurs without the direct or indirect participation/ intervention of the state, any form of centralized authority or managerial elite. Although it is often assumed in unilineal evolutionary schemes that craft specialization is associated with so-called "complex" societies, cross-cultural studies show that so-called "simple" or small scale societies may also include specialists. A case in point is Marcavalle in the Cuzco Basin (ca. 1000-600 B.C.) which includes specialization in the production of camelid meat, utilization of standardized pottery, and exchange over long distances preceding Pucara by at least 500 years (K. Chávez 1977).

2) Correlations made between standardization in pottery production and specialization in production, in which the former is simply interpreted as a result of the latter, should also require the consideration of additional factors within the realms of natural and cultural/social environments. That is, other factors than state level specialization may account for standardization, such as: (a) The natural availability of clay and temper resources in which great uniformity in pottery may occur as the same sources are widely shared. For example, some regions may possess a pattern of abundant and widely distributed sources of clay (e.g., the Yucatán Lowlands, Fry 1980),

while others may be characterized by a dispersed and low concentration of clay sources (e.g., Guatemala, Arnold 1978). (b) Modes of production and distribution such as when few communities specialize in making certain vessel shapes which are subsequently widely distributed (e.g., those in Cuzco and Puno, K. Chávez 1987). (c) Preference for specific kinds of vessels, or, conversely, a consistent demand precisely for diverse and unstandardized shapes. (d) Traditional skills or optimal technological solutions widely followed over centuries. (e) The nature of deposits excavated in the context of the site. Consequently, standardization may be a product of non-specialists, of specialists not associated with "complex" societies, or of other intervening factors. The study and testing of preconceived theories of the evolution of specialization or organization of craft production, then, must take these difficulties into account. The identification and explanation of craft specialization require the consideration of the wider natural and socio-cultural contexts within which the production of pottery takes place, and a recognition that these settings are dynamic in time and space.

3) A related issue is the consideration as to whether pottery is a universal indicator of specialization of production and level of social organization in every society. Correlations made between the developments in pottery technology and socio-political stages must take into consideration the rate of development present in other media of expression. For example, metal and stone elite vessels took on more importance at the expense of pottery during the Ubaid-Uruk-Jamet Nasr periods in Southwest Asia, as did the Mesoamerican Olmec developments in stone carving in comparison to pottery. In addition, only a <u>portion</u> of

all the pottery used by a society, such as fancy ware, may be an indicator of specialization.

4) The consideration of models which, when applied to a given time or geographical area, also have inherent limitations. Models by their own nature are heuristic devices which select and simplify reality and do not address all its aspects. As David Clarke (1978:31, 33-34) defines:

> "Models and hypotheses succeed in simplifying complex situations by ignoring information outside their frame of reference and by accurate generalizations within it.... However, at the moment most archaeological models are simple situation analogues based on history and anthropology or simple iconic documentations.... In archaeology analogue models are currently the most common and most tantalizingly dangerous form of model with historical, anthropological or abstract situations providing generalizations transferred to archaeological situations.... It is all too easy to mistakenly transfer too many attributes from the model to the theory - this is especially the case with historically based analogues or generalizations. Sometimes the model adopted is too limited in scope and may obscure actual relationships because it is insufficiently general."

To these precautions may be added the following observations noted by Patricia Lyon (1981:3) in relation to data from Peru:

> "Because data are often hard to find, difficult to interpret, sometimes inconsistent, and not always adequate to answer questions completely, many people prefer to deal with models which by their nature, are neat and tidy. Models, however, often lead to oversimplification. In the Peruvian case, the use of a unitary model for interchange between the highlands and the lowlands obscures the considerable geographical and ecological variability with both regions. Moreover, a static model for such interchange provides no scope for the consideration of diachronic change."

Translating these critical issues and concerns to the materials from Pucara, I am also aware of the possibility that due to the nature of the remains at the site of Pucara, the results of my study may reflect an organization of production and represent changes at the <u>local</u> level due to a specific position of the site in relation to the whole

region, rather than indicating a regional or multi-regional pattern. Furthermore, determination of the Pucara level or degree of specialization and standardization itself must be made in relation to earlier patterns preceding Pucara developments such as known from Chiripa, Qaluyu, Marcavalle, and the Yaya-Mama Religious Tradition (Karen Chávez 1989). In addition, other related issues to be considered include whether pottery was produced for an elite who demanded or sponsored such products, or was produced with little participation of such elite--that is, attached vs. independent specialists to use Timothy Earle's terms (Earle cited in Rice 1987:181, 186; see also Trigger 1974:100); and whether the attributes/variability observed can also be explained by addressing questions related to archaism, devolution, substitution or emulation, and syncretism.

This critical assessment and consideration of the applicability of models, assumptions and correlations (especially between standardization as a result of specialization of production, or whether pottery may be a universal indicator of specialization in production and level of social organization), indicate that the dynamics of pottery is very complex in different times and societies.

Consequently, what I propose to do in my analysis of Pucara style pottery is to ask a series of questions aimed at elucidating a broad range of issues such as:

1. Descriptive goals:
   a. To examine the nature of Pucara style pottery; to define the Pucara style; laying out the formal, technical and iconographic rules.

   b. To determine the degree of standardization, especially in fancy Pucara style pottery.

   c. To distinguish local from non-local pottery.

2. Interpretive goals:

a. To understand the nature of standardization present in the style, especially focussing on iconographic standardization of representational images. Standardization will be considered in light of some of the limitation/problems outlined above.

b. To understand the production of the style. Where was the pottery produced? By whom? Was production controlled and if so by whom? What information about distribution may be obtained from the site of Pucara--i.e., how does non-local pottery identified relate to the local pottery, and what are the social implications for that relation?

c. To understand aspects of consumption or use of Pucara style pottery. Who (i.e. what groups of people) used the pottery, and for what purposes? Again, by focussing on representational images, aspects as to use and function may be clarified. With what domains are the representational sets associated? Are there hierarchies reflected in such representations? The excavated contexts of the pottery provide information on function. What are the architectural, and/or social correlates of the style? That is, in what kinds of structures or with what kinds of features is the pottery associated, and who utilized these structures for what purposes that required specific Pucara style pottery? When the structures are temples, are certain images found only in a specific temple? Will the nature of the style, especially specific forms and representational imagery, provide further information about the function of the site and the nature of Pucara society?

d. To interpret the role of standardized, conventionalized religious imagery in Pucara society and political development. In the face of little or no other evidence, such as incomplete settlement pattern data, and hard economic data, I will argue that an emerging elite was manipulating symbols of power for personal gain, in some instances using visual terrorism to do so. By controlling powerful supernatural images, this emerging elite assured themselves access to supernatural, political, and economic power, the ability to control labor and have greater access to resources. Directly or indirectly, the emerging elite must also have closely controlled the production of these symbols of power on pottery, an important medium on which they were depicted.

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III. THE NATURE OF THE COLLECTIONS, ADVANTAGES AND LIMITATIONS, AND SCOPE OF THIS STUDY

This study is based primarily on the Pucara style pottery excavated by Alfred Kidder II at the site of Pucara in 1939. Details about this work are provided in a later section. The size of the excavation and collection, the sampling procedure, means of recovery, and recording are, therefore, beyond my control. Nevertheless, the pottery collection is large, was derived from diverse contexts, and has a rich and complex iconography. The fact that I am dealing with Pucara style pottery from one site alone and that site is the largest Pucara site so far known and not, therefore, representative of all Pucara settlements, must be taken into account.

Kidder excavated six locations (Excavations I-VI) at the site (Figure 2; see later section dealing with the site and excavations), that included ceremonial dumps or midden deposits along the river bank (Excavations I, II, III), complex public architecture on the plain (Excavation IV), and two temples on terraces above (Excavations V and VI). In addition to these contexts, pottery was also found in offerings (Excavation I) and a burial (Excavation VI); what appeared to be a domestic structure in Excavation III was partially excavated, but clear pottery associations could not be determined. These diverse contexts are important and are of value in a somewhat general sense. Limitations occur because of a lack of precision in recovery locations, both

stratigraphically and spatially, posing certain difficulties in using the remains for chronological and functional interpretations. Evaluation of these proveniences/contexts occurs in a later section. Many proveniences, nevertheless, do have greater use because of greater control in recording recovery locations. A further problem lies in the discard or lack of recovery of non-pottery remains, especially floral, faunal, and human remains.

Table 1 shows the total number of sherds Kidder recorded in his 1939 excavations at Pucara. Sherds have been tabulated by the types Kidder established and numbers are based on his own counts, including those he discarded. Kidder left numerous specimens in the Museo Nacional de Antropología y Arqueología in Lima, but most artifacts, about 10,000 were brought to the Peabody Museum at Harvard. Some specimens also went to Cambridge, England, and Vancouver, Canada. We have had access to the Peabody Museum collection and specimens from Vancouver through loans of these materials. We have also examined Pucara materials at the Museo Nacional in Lima during two trips. Thanks to Kidder's notes, sketches, drawings, and photographs we were able to identify most of his excavated specimens since museum records no longer specified which Pucara material was Kidder's. These pieces were described and documented. In some cases, we were unable to find Kidder's pieces. Pottery collections made at Pucara over the years were also examined at this museum and some of these specimens have been included in this study when they provided different or more complete information than the Peabody collection. Finally, in Cuzco we also studied Kidder's material derived from his limited excavation at Pucara that was made in 1955 to obtain samples for radiocarbon dating. Again,

some of these pieces, or others recovered from the site by archaeologist Manuel Chávez Ballón have also been included here when necessary.

When the classification of the pottery into types by Kidder was checked, there were the inevitable errors, so that Table 1 does not necessarily reflect the true counts. Much of the Collao-style pottery, for example, turned out to be Pucara-style in part or whole, or vice versa. Furthermore, sherds classified into two or more types were found to fit. The numbers of sherds also likely varied during movement and use of the collection over the years.

Practical limitations, including the size and complexity of the collection as well as the time-consuming approach used, have lead me to narrow the scope of this study. I have not included any of the late pottery from the site since this study deals with the Pucara style. This late material (Collao style, Inca and Inca-related, and Colonial pottery) is the subject of a separate study (Carlevato ms) to be included in the volumes on Pucara (Karen and Sergio Chávez ms). I have focused on the decorated Pucara style pottery with representational images, the most complex portion of the collection that will provide the rich iconography and most productive evidence needed to answer many of the questions posed in the previous section. Non-representational, geometric designs have been dealt with as they co-occur with representational images; sherds having only geometric designs were omitted from the iconographic study.

The representational iconographic focus elucidates the more readily diagnostic and identifiable aspects of the style for tighter spatial and temporal comparisons with other sites, and for understanding aspects of Pucara society. The analysis of vessel shapes and pastes draws on the

entire collection available to me, but a quantitative analysis of shapes has been done only for specimens having representational images.

The iconographic focus of this study, primarily of representational images and associated geometric designs, is important for future investigations on Pucara origins as well as on the later Tiahuanaco and Huari developments. This study should provide the foundation or basis for understanding how Pucara drew on earlier traditions and later societies drew upon the Pucara style, which aspects of it were adopted and/or adapted, and for what purposes. Both Huari and Tiahuanaco used much of the style, and likely the powerful religion it represented, or parts of it, for the social, political or economic control it had begun to set into place.

The study does not attempt to compare the Pucara style pottery to that from other sites, primarily because so little is really available. Nor is there a systematic attempt to compare this Pucara style pottery with that on other media such as stone sculpture. Nevertheless, when a better understanding of Pucara style pottery requires reference to selected pieces of stone sculpture or even metal, I have done so.

This study is also not a chronological one. Regarding temporal differences within the Pucara style, Edward Franquemont's (1967, reprinted in 1980) proposed pottery sequence was the first attempt to seriate Pucara pottery based on a limited sample of Kidder's collection from Pucara. His study resulted in a tentative temporal sequence of three phases or stylistic units which he designated, from earliest to latest, as the Cusipata style; Pucara style, Pucara Pampa Phase and Pucara River Phase. Based on a detailed assessment carried out by Karen Chávez, summarized below, of Kidder's excavation notes, plans, and

photographs, there is a good possibility for confirming Franquemont's tentative placement of the Cusipata style as preceding the Pucara strata. Documentation and discussion of this apparently early, and non-representational pottery will be the topic of a separate paper. This pottery is characteristically painted cream on brown on a red slip, especially on bowls. Previously Kidder (1948:89) had also proposed an earlier date for this "white on red" pottery based on stratigraphic grounds, that it occurred in the lowest levels of Excavation IV. Subsequently Karen Chávez (1977:1027-1029) made comparisons with Marcavalle pottery from Cuzco (ca. 900-700 B.C.), and Mujica's (1987) later excavations at Pucara also suggested a pre-Pucara position for this material.

Franquemont's proposed phase division for the Pucara style into the Pucara Pampa Phase, followed by the Pucara River Phase, however, has no clear supporting evidence in light of our assessment of Kidder's excavations, evaluation of sherd proveniences in relation to strata, as well as the detailed analysis of the Pucara style based on this sample. The style is highly standardized and consistent in shape, size, color, technique, paste, iconography and its proportions and locations, lending support to the argument that the style developed within a short time span. The small number of specimens that shows variations in the execution of standard designs may be regarded as non-local in origin based on their paste. Consequently, the earlier statement by Kidder (1943:7) that Pucara pottery and other remains belong to a single period, echoed by Rowe (1963:6) that it is a "one-period" site, appears to hold true so far as the Pucara occupation itself is concerned. Later work could, nevertheless, reveal subdivisions within that occupation,

especially given the potential structural sequence of constructions at the site. Certainly there is no evidence of an occupation that immediately follows Pucara at the site. In this regard, I earlier proposed a sudden abandonment of Pucara followed by a population shift in two directions: southwest to Tiahuanaco in Bolivia and northwest to Chumbivilcas in Cuzco (S. Chávez 1989:28-29, 37).

Aspects not incorporated in this study will be included in either the volumes to be published or in articles. It is hoped this study will be of use to other investigators who work with similar or related materials.

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IV. METHODS OF ANALYSIS

In order to achieve the interpretive goals of this study, it was necessary to accomplish the descriptive aims first. The major descriptive goal of this study is to lay out the nature of Pucara pottery shapes, techniques, themes, motifs, designs, and elements, and to uncover the rules of the style. The methods employed in the documentation, classification, analysis, and interpretation of this collection is heavily influenced by the works of a group of Andean archaeologists whose interpretations are founded on detailed observations of attributes, their associations together on vessels, and the associations of vessels in depositional contexts. These archaeologists share a critical concern for the development of a tighter chronology, explicit consideration of geographical and cultural differences, and rigorous interpretation within the limits of evidence, that is especially based on the nature of the imagery, the shapes on which it occurs, and the kinds of contexts in which the vessels are found. Interpretations go beyond documenting temporal change and spatial diversity to include political, religious, social (e.g., prestige), and economic explanations or variables. Some of these scholars whose works I specifically drew and sometimes built upon in the process of studying this collection, include: Dorothy Menzel, John H. Rowe, Lawrence E. Dawson (Menzel, Rowe, and Dawson 1964; Menzel 1976), Patricia J. Lyon (Lyon 1978, 1983), Karen L. Mohr Chávez (K. Chávez

1977, 1982-1983), and Christopher Donnan (1978). In addition, over the years I have also had the opportunity personally to discuss with these archaeologists their method and research which, aside from the fact that many of them worked in the Lake Titicaca Basin, also dealt directly or indirectly with the archaeology and/or ethnography and history of the region.

The use of taxonomic or hierarchical types is not the approach used in this classification; such an approach emphasizes similarities resulting in "standardization" that could be the partial result of the classification itself. The uses and limitations derived from such typological emphasis has been amply discussed by Anna Shephard (1963:306-322) among others, and more specifically Karen Chávez's (Mohr 1966:14-20; 1977:15-19) discussion of typology in relation to materials she excavated in Cuzco and Puno. Rather, paradigmatic classification involving attribute analysis is carried out in my study (cf. Sharer and Ashmore 1979:284). Major classes of attributes include vessel form, paste, surface finish, decorative technique, and iconography; associations among these attributes are also tabulated. The primarily qualitative analysis, then, also includes some quantitative considerations such as the frequencies of co-occurrence between and among attributes and the frequencies of occurrence of certain themes/motifs in excavated contexts.

The first step followed in the analysis of this collection, after description and documentation (elaborated in the next section), was the establishment of a complete inventory of vessel shapes derived from pottery fragments reconstructed as far as possible. The general procedure of classifying shapes follows the pioneer work of Dorothy

Menzel (1976), and more specifically the works of Karen L. Mohr Chávez (1977) for Cuzco and the Titicaca Basin.

The procedure of establishing shape categories requires the systematic determination of rim and base forms and diameters, vessel contours and proportions, and in some cases calculation of circumference to reconstruct the area or space available for the different motifs and designs. These measurements and dimensions were obtained using several devices I developed which allow a fast and accurate processing of a large number of specimens. Additional shape attributes recorded include: rim-to-base height (when possible or present), wall thickness, neck length, shoulder/base/rim angles, upper body profile, lip form, form of the wall-to-base junction; and size, shape and location of handles and lugs. Furthermore, residues, by-products of cooking, preparation of food or other substances, or storage and use of substances, were also recorded to aid in determining vessel function.

The most complete specimens provided the best evidence for vessel or other artifact shapes, and other sherds that showed variability or added other shapes to the inventory were also used. Vessel shapes, then, were based on the examination of the entire collection, but were derived only from a selection of pieces that provided an apparent complete array of shapes. Quantification of all sherds with shape attributes, then, went beyond the scope of this study, although such a study would assist in examining standardization in all shape categories. The majority of the approximately 10,000 sherds were diagnostic in some way, i.e. in either possessing iconography and/or shape attributes such as being rims, bases, handles, and lugs. Quantification of such a vast number of sherds with shape attributes would not have allowed me to concentrate on

the complex iconography. However, quantification of vessel shape for specimens having representational iconography has been included here.

The classification of shapes is aimed at identifying the regularities in patterns of shape attributes. Subsequently, technological (e.g., surface finish, paste), and iconographic attributes associated with each vessel shape are studied and classified. Of particular importance was associated surface finish, observed and recorded for the vast majority of sherds (and sherds used in this study), since it was found to co-vary with certain shapes, generally based on whether the vessel was open or unrestricted as opposed to restricted, but also dependent on apparent function. For example, generally open bowls were well finished on their interiors while necked ollas or jars were not, but pedestal base bowls or ceremonial burners, also an open form, were also less well finished on their interiors. Possible vessel functions, derived from the association of shape with other attributes, can also be suggested and used in conjunction with excavated contexts. The study of these patterned regularities between shapes and other attributes are used to measure the degree of standardization, and to define and set forth the rules present in the Pucara style, and the analysis concludes when these qualitative differences or regularities are written out and illustrated to scale.

Paste groups were determined by examining a fresh break of a vast majority of sherds (and all sherds used in this study), using a 10x-20x hand lens and/or a stereoscopic microscope. Once established, a set of 15 thin sections were made selected from these paste groups, and these thin sections were petrographically analyzed by a geologist. This petrographic analysis of rock and mineral constituents has for the most

part confirmed the previous paste classification, and has permitted the tentative assignment of pastes as being local and non-local. However, information regarding whether constituents were intentionally added to clay, the proportion of clay to temper, their geological source(s), and further clarification between local and non-local pastes are still being assessed (Chyi, K. Chávez, and S. Chávez, 1988; Burger 1991: 155). I have also examined the associations of paste with vessel shape (and possible function) and iconographic attributes, especially using a large sample of fancy ware.

Most of the excavated pottery of Pucara are diagnostic examples of relatively well-oxidized vessels built up by the coiling technique. The collection represents two major categories: plain ware and fancy ware. Fancy ware carries some kind of iconography, either geometric or representational, and is usually referred to as decorated ware. Of these two categories, fancy ware represents the most complex pottery development in the northern portion of the Titicaca Basin and is particularly emphasized in this study. Technologically, this group is well made, has one or more surfaces slipped and well smoothed or polished, possesses iconography that combines some or all of the following attributes: pre-fired polychrome painting in areas of black, cream, and red, outlined by incision; bichrome painting in black and cream; incision alone on either a red or a black surface; excision, appliqué or modelling; inlaying; and in some cases post-fired painting within the incisions.

The complex and elaborate iconography represented on the fancy ware includes and/or combines geometric designs and several human and animal beings with supernatural indicators. It cannot be emphasized enough,

that the kind of detailed iconographic analysis focussed upon this study is only possible when a pottery collection possesses sufficiently rich and complex iconography as characterizes the Pucara style. Other emphases or approaches would be necessary when such iconography is lacking. Furthermore, all representational iconography is religious in nature, consisting of supernatural images (the justification for this assertion will be discussed later). The classification of representational iconography into specific classes and groups follows strict definitions of themes, motifs, designs, and elements which I have developed and derived from Pucara iconography as follows:

A motif is defined as a main feature prominently displayed in whole (such as an animal or plant), or in part (such as a human head or body), which is clearly delimited and depicted in isolation, in a repetitive fashion, or in combination with only one other feature. Examples of motifs in Pucara include single felines or in pairs, severed human heads in a repetitive fashion, guanacos in association with birds, and isolated human heads with rayed appendages. Motifs can also be accompanied by a few but smaller additional motifs (e.g., smaller human severed heads and feline headed snakes as appendages associated with the feline motif), or with geometric designs (e.g., those associated with feline motifs).

An element refers to a basic and distinctive feature derived from a motif or elsewhere, which is usually smaller and/or stylized and is part of or a component of some complex human or animal motif. Examples of elements in Pucara include the "bow tie" at the feline's neck, the stylized and small circular head, and the three wavy segments on or off the face of some felines. Other more identifiable elements are referred

to as paraphernalia worn by personages such as crowns, earrings, necklaces, and wrist/ankle bands; or as items held by personages such as staffs and axes.

A design refers to a purely geometric figure, which can be depicted in isolation, in a repetitive fashion and/or in combination with different geometric figures. Like elements, geometric designs can also be a part of or a component of some complex human or animal motif. Examples of geometric designs in Pucara include checkered crosses, lunates, stepped blocks, nested parallelograms, and divider symbols separating felines.

A theme refers to several motifs or portions of them, designs, and elements directly associated with a central personage forming a single main composition. For example, one of the two themes identified in Pucara includes the Camelid Woman which is the main personage possessing two or three motifs (the alpaca, the flower/plant, and rayed head), several kinds of geometric designs (at the pedestal portion of the bowl, the pack carried by the alpaca, as face markings, as decorations on her dress and bag element she carries, and several elements and paraphernalia she holds or wears). The other theme is the Feline Man which is also the main personage possessing motifs (human severed heads, arms, legs, and headless bodies), portions of the feline motif (such as the fanged mouth and pelt), a few geometric designs (decorating his belt and staff), and several elements and paraphernalia he carries or wears.

In some cases the dictionary (and general usage) gives ambiguous or very general definitions of these terms, while in others my definitions may approximate those in the dictionary. However, what is more important is how I define the terms since these definitions will be used

throughout in this study of the Pucara style.

My approach to Pucara iconography is inspired by the work carried out on the partially contemporary Moche culture of the north coast by Christopher Donnan. In this respect, the following passage from Donnan's approach and the theory behind it would serve as a preamble to my study:

> "Our approach to Moche iconography is distinct from any attempted before. It is based on the assumption that inherent in the art is a symbolic system that follows consistent rules of expression. In many respects, this symbolic system is similar to the symbolic system of a language. In language, the speaker can modify what he is saying about an object (noun) by selecting a set of modifiers (adjectives and adverbs) and inserting them in their proper place in the message according to a set of rules (grammar).
>
> In art, the communication is between the artist and the viewer. The artist conveys information about objects such as houses, men, or ceremonies - we may call these 'artistic nouns' - by using a set of modifiers or 'artistic adjectives.' Thus individuals can be recognized as being rich or poor, high or low status, warriors, gods, or servants depending on the modifications the artist chooses to make in the way he depicts the individual. By using a certain combination of modifiers he can even represent a specific individual such as a god, king, or folk hero.
>
> Similarly, the artist uses what we might call 'artistic adverbs' to modify the action shown, and thus he is able to convey the speed of a given runner, the force of a mace blow or the intensity of a battle by the way he arranges the scene, and the various details he adds to the representation.
>
> In both language and art, communication is possible only when there is full understanding of and reasonable adherence to the rules of expression. If either the speaker of a language or the artist producing his work deviates too far from the rules of expression, his message may be misunderstood" (Donnan 1976:5).

For reasons too complex to present here, I am not using the term "art/artist" here. Art as defined today, referring to the unique creation/expression of an individual (the artist) or, in modern schools of art, to expectations that the viewer must individually interpret the

work of artists, does not appropriately fit the social contexts of prehistoric societies (S. Chávez ms).

The thematic approach Donnan (1975; 1976:117-129) uses to understand Moche iconography proved of particular relevance and a productive one to apply to Pucara style iconography. Donnan (1976:117) notes that Moche iconography consists of "a limited number of basic themes." In a few cases all symbolic representations of a theme, such as the Presentation Theme, occur together, or when other versions of the theme exist, additional representations may be added to obtain a more complete repertoire of representations associated with the theme. When one or more of these representations occur alone, these depictions, rather than remaining of interest in isolation, acquire greater significance since they can be related to a major theme. Themes or parts of them can be depicted on different media. Donnan (1976:129) concludes,

> "It can be see, therefore, that identification of the Presentation Theme allows us to better understand a great many examples of Moche art which would otherwise have little meaning beyond their obvious features. It also demonstrates the way Moche artists chose to represent a given theme by illustrating one of its symbolic elements alone or illustrating two or more of them together in various combinations. Realizing that the artist could and frequently did represent a complex theme by showing only one of its symbolic elements, present-day researchers working with Moche iconography should be encouraged to go beyond a simple explanation of a given piece, and to search for a basic theme to which it belongs."

Admittedly, I did not begin with Donnan's approach to analyze Pucara pottery. Rather, the idea of themes was suggested by observations of Pucara style pottery itself, although I was aware of such an approach. A thematic approach, obviously, cannot be applied to the study of all pottery, and, again, the rich representational nature

of the Pucara style permitted such an approach to be utilized. The themes I identified will also have significance in studying later historically related Tiahuanaco and Huari styles, as well as in understanding Pucara style origins in earlier styles, the underlying assumption being that Pucara themes, or motifs/designs/elements related to them, had some religious as well as socio-political significance for earlier or later societies.

Regarding the organization and classification of Pucara iconography, I have isolated two main themes, the Camelid Woman and Feline Man, and regarded them as a composition or perhaps a summary of two different myths or stories, where the first is closely aligned with the main supernatural female personage, her activities, power, life-giving attributes, and supernatural domain; and the second directly associated with the main supernatural male personage, his activities, power, life-taking attributes, and supernatural domain. This view can be compared with, for example, the Nativity Theme (cf. Donnan's use of this analogy for Moche, 1976:117) and Crucifixion Theme in Christian iconography, where each theme tells a different story or myth and is also a composition including different motifs and personages closely associated with the main personage of Christ (in the former: Baby Jesus, Virgin Mary, Saint Joseph, the visiting kings, and star; and in the latter: Christ, the cross, on the two others crucified, and attending soldiers), as well as different identifiable elements and paraphernalia.

Furthermore, in Christian iconography one or a few motifs or elements (e.g., Christ, Virgin Mary, the cross, and the visiting kings) are depicted isolated in paintings and statues directly or indirectly

deriving from the main theme in an identifiable way. Similarly, in Pucara iconography depictions of isolated motifs, and their related attributes, have served to identify them as directly or indirectly deriving from either the Camelid Woman Theme or the Feline Man Theme. For example, the isolated human severed head motif is considered to be a male-related motif directly deriving from the Feline Man Theme because only the Feline Man carries severed heads. Likewise, the alpaca motif is considered to be a female-related motif directly deriving from the Camelid Woman Theme because only the Camelid Woman holds an alpaca.

By beginning with themes, the most complex compositions, then sherds with parts of these themes could be classified with them. Variations of details in each occurrence of the theme permitted the further identification of associated attributes and, hence, the associations could be extended. By comparing isolated motifs and elements to those found in a theme or its variations then the isolated occurrences could be aligned with each respective theme. Sometimes the isolated motifs and elements were, in turn, associated with other attributes that then could also be related to the themes. It was by looking at isolated cases in which sex/gender could be determined and comparing associated attributes to similar ones on each theme that the identification of the Feline Man as a male and the Camelid Woman as a female could be determined. Furthermore, motifs or elements in the themes or comparable ones in isolation that possessed additional attributes showed that each theme could be related to either dry or wet season, wild or domestic animals, day or night, and life taking or life giving activities. Another result derived from the application of this method was that a number of geometric designs, which otherwise would

have been classified as a group by themselves, could be identified as or associated with being either male-related or female-related geometric designs--the first such attempt in Andean archaeology.

It was also observed that each motif shows additional patterned variability, needing further classification and study of its relationship to the main themes. This process was achieved by classifying each motif into related classes and groups within them. For example, feline motifs possessing a black body with nested rectangles were classified into Class I, while those possessing a cream body with nested diamonds were classified into Class II. Those with black bodies in Class I were further subdivided into groups distinguished by different kinds of bodies--plain black, with crosses, or with lunate-shaped designs, for example--hence, also allowing further control of variability while still maintaining their relatedness to Class I black-bodied felines.

This method of using the association of attributes on single specimens, such as themes, and further extending the inventory of associated attributes through comparisons with other similar specimens having additional attributes, and returning to those in the main theme, works like the process of seriation of attributes through time based on similarity and association. However, my devising of this specific method applies to the study and classification of attributes within a single style and period of time, and, hence, can be termed "synchronic analysis of attributes."

The different themes and motifs which are discussed and illustrated in the following text, are organized based on their similarities to the two main themes. That is, following the

presentation of the Camelid Woman Theme, a number of motifs are included based on their similarities to the main theme. Likewise, the series of motifs immediately following the Feline Man Theme are also included there due to their close association with that main theme. Consequently, this sequence of themes and motifs does not reflect or imply a chronological arrangement.

Following the description, documentation, and classification of the different representational and non-representational iconography, comes the analysis, comparisons, and interpretations of the different themes, motifs, and designs, a process which more closely is defined by the term iconology. Although generally both processes of description/documentation/classification and analysis/comparison/interpretation are subsumed under iconographic studies, the dictionary makes a clear distinction between the two, where the former is defined as iconography and the latter as iconology--very much like ethnography and ethnology where a reader can clearly discern the descriptive from the interpretive processes. It should be noted, however, that after I saw the need to make such a distinction between iconography and iconology independently as indicated in my dissertation, two members of my committee, first John Rowe and later Susan Madigan (outside reader of my dissertation), pointed out to me a similar distinction made by Erwin Panofsky (1955). Panofsky is a leading theoretician in European Medieval and Renaissance art and some of his ideas are also applicable to the study of non-text-aided styles. In this respect, he states:

> "For as the suffix "graphy" denotes something descriptive, so does the suffix "logy"-derived from logos, which means "thought" or "reason"-denote something interpretative.... So I conceive of iconology as an iconography turned interpretative and thus becoming an integral part of the

> study of art instead of being confined to the role of a preliminary statistical survey....Iconology, then, is a method of interpretation which arises from synthesis rather than analysis. And as the correct identification of motifs is the prerequisite of their correct iconographical analysis, so is the correct analysis of images, stories and allegories the prerequisite of their correct iconological interpretation ....In short, iconography considers only a part of all the elements which enter into the intrinsic content of a work of art and must be made explicit if the perception of this content is to become articulate and communicable" (Panofsky 1955:32).

The time consuming procedures followed to implement the descriptive goals, then, are crucial and necessary steps in achieving the interpretive goals posed earlier. The resource, technical, functional, and iconographic components of pottery analysis (see summary chart below) are directly related to understanding the nature of Pucara society and to such important issues as standardization in shapes, themes, motifs, and design elements; standardization in measure and production; control of production; presence and degree of specialization; context of religious iconography and use of powerful representational images; vessel functions and site activities; and status differentiation.

The supernatural nature of the iconography, its content, the shapes on which it occurs, and the contexts in which it is found all contribute to answering questions raised as interpretive goals. The different <u>spatial contexts</u> from which the pottery at Pucara was excavated (including ceremonial dumps, temple architecture, public architecture, burials, and offerings) provide the opportunity to test, through pottery analysis, the functional differences that might exist over the site, in terms of social differentiation, public activities, burial practices, and specialization of activities. Such functional assessment and

provenience tabulations are included using most of the diagnostic themes and motifs over the six excavated units.

Components of Pottery Analysis	Pottery Groups	Evidence and Inferences
1. Resource	Plain ware Fancy ware	Location(s) and distance(s) involved in the procurement of clay, temper, and pigment. The nature and kind of these resources. The distribution of pottery and economic relations.
2. Technical	Plain ware Fancy ware	Vessel size, shape, forming technique, surface finish, decoration, and firing. Standards of measure and production. Ceremonial/utilitarian forms, their contexts and residues.
3. Functional	Plain ware Fancy ware	Function of both groups of ware aimed at elucidating the possible modes of distribution and consumption. Possible vessel functions, site activities.
4. Iconographic	Fancy ware	Identification of vessel context of themes, motifs, and designs. Centralized theology: Source(s) and nature of the religious vocabulary or symbols of communication, prestige, power, control.

Procedures Followed in the Description and Documentation of Pucara Style Pottery

The initial step in this process began by checking the Peabody Museum's accession numbers with those present on the approximately 10,000 artifacts, and identifying Kidder's field number. In turn, this procedure allowed the grouping of artifacts by provenience, based on their excavation and contexts. The museum accession number, 39-101-30 (39 for 1939), occurred on all sherds and was followed by a four digit number. Each four digit number corresponds to a separate field number Kidder assigned to groups of sherds. Kidder assigned the field number by first the excavation number and then a number for a group of similar sherds from the same provenience, or for a unique specimen. Such groups

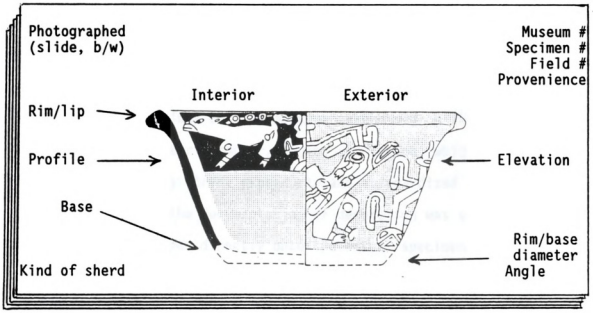
were usually his types. An example of Kidder's field number is 3/270; it designates Excavation III, West Extension, and all sherds in this lot were classified as Pucara Polychrome by Kidder. The Peabody number, 39-101-30/2373, was given to this lot of sherds. Actual field provenience, that is the natural or arbitrary level or deposit, is noted in the Peabody Museum's catalog. In addition, on the index cards used, we assigned a specimen number for each sherd, starting with 1 for each lot of sherds. This specimen number follows the four digit museum number. For example, in the number 39-101-30/2373-37, 2373 is the museum number given to Kidder's field number 3/270, and 37 is the specimen number we assigned to one of those sherds.

Subsequently, sherds from each excavation were laid out to fit together when possible, or to group them according to their similarities in shape and decoration. Often we were even able to "fit" pieces in the Peabody collection with Kidder's sherds that were located elsewhere. This procedure made it possible to increase considerably Kidder's original fits, and generate a far more complete view of variability for the study and documentation of their associated attributes. It also permitted additional clues for proveniences that could be linked. At this point, the time consuming effort of fitting and gluing had considerably reduced the original number of individual fragments, making the collection more manageable in the absence of complete vessels. For example, the oversized jar with owls was formed by fitting together 130 individually numbered fragments, and was drawn and counted as a single piece from rim to near the vessel's base. Such pieces that fit were tabulated as one specimen, thus closer approximating a minimum number of vessels. Numbers of sherds were recorded for individual specimens, but

were not tabulated here. In other cases where fragments did not fit, but there were good reasons to consider them as part of a single piece (based on surface finish, decoration, paste/temper, color, wear patterns, shape, and other related attributes), these too were described and drawn together; each set of sherd fits were, however, usually counted separately.

The descriptions and drawings of specimens, then, were made on both sides of 5x7" index cards for each specimen as follows:

FRONT



BACK

Kidder's Designation:

Vessel Form:

Paste:

Firing:

Surface Finish:
Surface Color, Slip, Decoration: (Sometimes colors were recorded using the Munzel Soil Color Chart.)
Exterior:
Rim Top:
Interior:
Additional Comments:
Technique of manufacture or decoration.
Accumulations (interior, exterior; soot or blackening; white and whether CaCo3 if they reacted to HCl).
Use or wear patterns.

In the case of paste and surface finish groups, these groups were established as description proceeded. Surface finish groups were based on both exterior and interior surface finishes together on each

specimen. The documentation of data making use of index cards allows more flexibility in the classification and quantification of sherds based on their excavation proveniences, shapes, designs, pastes, surface finishes, or other qualities.

The actual drawings of each specimen are based on the reconstruction of their diameter, angle, and design, which in turn are represented following strict procedures and standardized symbols in the text. For example, the documentation of decoration was achieved by taping cellophane paper directly onto the actual specimens, then tracing the design in ink as accurately as possible. Subsequently, these tracings were transferred onto tracing paper where further additions, corrections, and checks were made, and taped onto the front of the index cards next to its corresponding profile and sometimes elevation. In turn, a sample of the total range of variability in shapes and iconography, especially including the most complete pieces, was selected from the reconstructed drawings for drafting in ink onto mylar paper. Likewise, the selection of samples required for such analysis as temper necessitated the documentation of almost 5000 individual sherds making use of a low-power binocular microscope. Small samples were chipped from each specimen to expose a fresh surface as the 24 paste/temper groups were generated for the entire Pucara style collection. Finally, once the entire range of pastes was known, then several representative specimens were submitted for petrographic analysis for further confirmation and identification of constituents by the geologist, Dr. Kwo-Ling Chyi, then of Central Michigan University.

The last step in documentation included photographing the entire collection, including close-up views of significant attributes such as

surface finish, techniques of modeling and appliqueing, basket impressions, and color changes due to subsequent exposure to fire. The photographic documentation includes slides and some black and white pictures, which served as a permanent record for further checks once the collection was returned to the Peabody Museum. The illustrations are reproductions from the originals drawn at natural size, most of them are reduced here at the same scale (64%) when possible.

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V. HISTORY OF INVESTIGATION AT PUCARA

The site of Pucara is the type-site for which the Pucara style and archaeological culture take their names. It is located in the Province of Lampa, Department of Puno, in the Peruvian altiplano at an altitude of about 3900 meters above sea level, and is situated on the Pucara River almost 80 kilometers northwest of Lake Titicaca (Figure 1).

Prior to Kidder's work at Pucara in 1939, some descriptions and illustrations of Pucara materials (primarily pottery and stone sculpture) had been published (e.g., Dar 1923; Valcárcel 1925, 1932a, 1932b, 1935, 1938; Tello 1929). Kidder credited Luis E. Valcárcel, who visited the site as early as 1925 (Valcárcel 1925), with discovering the archaeological importance of the site (Kidder 1943:vi). Later, Valcárcel and Julio C. Tello briefly visited Pucara in 1935 when they made a pottery collection from the site; it was then that the Pucara pottery style was discovered (Rowe and Brandel 1971:1). Valcárcel and Tello collected from the area of Excavation III on the riverbank, and Kidder obtained most of his Pucara sherds from this area during his first visit to the site in 1937 (K. and S. Chávez ms). In addition, it may be noted that the first archaeological observation of the site of Pucara was made in the 16th century by the chronicler Pedro Cieza de León [1922 (1550, 1552): Capítulo CII, p. 320; Rowe and Brandel 1971:iv].

After conducting a preliminary survey of a large area of Peru and Bolivia in 1937, Alfred Kidder II, then of Harvard University, initiated six months of field work in 1939 involving extensive excavations at Pucara, the first systematically undertaken at the site. Kidder's subsequent regional reconnaissance conducted in 1941, assisted by John H. Rowe (Kidder 1943), was the first of four carried out in the south highlands of Peru as part of Project 7 of the Research Projects in Latin America of the Institute of Andean Research, with Kidder as Director (Kidder 1943:v; Strong 1942:182; 1943:3-4, 7). These expeditions were sponsored and financed by the Office of the Coordinator of Inter-American Affairs, under the auspices of the Peabody Museum (Kidder 1943:v). Goals of these Project 7 expeditions were indicative of Kidder's major goals and concerns. This survey was primarily aimed at discovering the distribution and nature of Pucara culture, and locating and describing additional early sites in the northern Lake Titicaca Basin which would relate to them seemingly isolated site of Pucara itself and/or to Tiahuanaco (Kidder 1943:v, 8-9, 39).

The third of these expeditions involved the study by Marion H. Tschopik (Assistant Supervisor of Project 7) of the late sites in the Puno region (Tschopik 1946). Her study of these Late Intermediate Period and Late Horizon sites and materials (see Figure 3) was made between 1940 and 1942 when she was in Chucuito. Similar Late Intermediate Period pottery had been found at Pucara as well (Kidder 1943:8).

The fourth expedition was conducted by John H. Rowe (Supervisor of Project 7) between 1941 and 1942 in Cuzco and nearby locations, in order to discover pre-Inca materials there (none had been verified as of

1940), to understand development within Inca itself, and to clarify the chronology of Inca expansion into the Lake Titicaca Basin, since Inca remains had been found at Pucara and other Puno sites (Kidder 1943:v; Rowe 1942). Among the results of this investigation was the discovery of the pre-Inca Chanapata style (see Figure 3) by Rowe (Rowe 1944).

Between the time of Kidder's 1939/1941 work at Pucara and his return to the site in 1955, several brief references to Pucara appeared. José María Franco Inojosa, who assisted Kidder, made a brief summary of Kidder's 1939 work at Pucara (Franco Inojosa 1940a), and in 1939 Kidder provided preliminary notes on the archaeology of Pucara (Kidder 1942). Later, Kidder presented a short résumé of his 1939 work at Pucara, with only two photographs of the site included (Kidder 1943:ii, 3-8), and also published a short article on the relative date of the Pucara culture prior to radiocarbon dating (Kidder 1948). Rowe (1958) very briefly described and illustrated some of Kidder's early work, and Mary B. Kidder (1942) also presented an account of her husband's work at Pucara. Other references to Pucara at this time included: Franco Inojosa (1940b), Vásquez (1940:148), Tello (1940, 1942), Strong (1942:182; 1943:22-23, 37-39), Kroeber (1944:100-102), Bennett (1946:120-121; 1950), Schaedel (1948), and Chávez Ballón (1943:91-97; 1950).

In 1955, Kidder revisited Pucara briefly as part of the University of Pennsylvania, University Museum's project in the Lake Titicaca Basin, partially supported by the American Philosophical Society. The project, which involved work at all four sites (Pucara, as well as Qaluyu just north of Pucara, and at Chiripa and Tiahuanaco in Bolivia), was aimed generally at correcting "... the disparity between our knowledge of

coast and highland...," since much work had and continues to be done on the coast, "... to attempt to build a regional chronology and to add to the still, very scanty knowledge of several periods of the history of the lake basin" (Kidder 1956a:21).

After Kidder's 1955 visit, a small excavation was made at Pucara in 1964 by Peruvian investigators, but only a preliminary report was published (Neira Avendaño 1968:108). In addition, Edward M. Franquemont wrote his B.A. Honor's thesis at Harvard on the pottery housed at the Peabody Museum from Kidder's 1939 excavations (Franquemont 1967, 1986; Patterson 1968:134-135), and a bibliography on Pucara now exists (Espejo Núñez 1971). My own research, as well as that of Karen L. Mohr Chávez, has also dealt with Pucara, especially stone sculpture (Chávez and Chávez 1969, 1970, 1976; S. Chávez 1976, 1982, 1989; S. Chávez and Jorgenson 1981). In addition, Karen Chávez and I have excavated Pucara occupations at Qaluyu in 1967 and Taraco in 1974, which has been partially reported (K. Chávez 1969, 1977), and were, along with Clark Erickson's (1989), the only other Pucara sites besides Pucara itself to have been excavated and dated in the Lake Titicaca Basin (se also Patterson 1968:134, Karen Chávez 1969, 1977:1020, passim; Lynch 1972:276, 1973:241, 1974:384).

Finally, in 1975-1978 a UNESCO-sponsored project (and the Peruvian government's Plan COPESCO; Samanez Argumedo 1979) was begun at Pucara involving excavations carried out by Elías Mujica and Ernesto Nakandakari. The project continued with the Peruvian Instituto Nacional de Cultura and the participation of various investigators (Lynch 1977:286, 1978:525, 1979:620, 1981:203-204; Mujica Barreda 1978, 1979; Nakandakari 1978; Paredes 1985). In addition to consolidation of the

temple excavated by Kidder in 1939 and the excavation of Late Intermediate Period, Inca, and Colonial remains, these investigators have revealed the following of relevance to Kidder's work: (1) The discovery of an earlier "pyramid," below and related to the one in which Kidder excavated, suggested as dating to perhaps 800-200 B.C. (Lynch 1981:204); (2) the identification of pre-Pucara occupations below the Pucara ones at the site (Lynch 1979:620, 1981:204; Mujica 1979:185). The results of this work are currently being prepared (Shimada and Shimada 1980:9-10).

The site of Pucara was a large ceremonial center (one of the largest sites in this region) with an extensive residential area (see, e.g., Kidder 1956b:153), which some have regarded as being an early urban center (Rowe 1963:6-7 and Lanning 1967:115-116). Several large buildings, likely temples, occur at the site and vary in plan (Kidder 1943:6). In addition to its dressed stone architecture, Pucara is best known for its stone sculpture and fancy decorated pottery. Brief descriptions of Pucara occur in the references cited in this section, as well as in general works, such as Bennett and Bird (1960:passim), Kidder (1964:465), Willey (1971:153-154), and Lumbreras (1974:37, 84, 88-89, 92, 139).

In 1939 Kidder excavated one of the several ceremonial temples or public buildings situated on a terraced slope just below the large cliff there. The temple is U-shaped in plan, formed by a series of continuous rooms around a sunken stone-lined square court in the center, and Kidder noted similarities with Tiahuanaco structures (1948:88). Walls are of dressed stone, but would have had adobe on top, and grave chambers occurred in the center of each side of the sunken court, each containing

one or two skeletons and limited grave goods (Kidder 1943:5-6). Kidder's excavations on the plain below produced what appears to be public architecture with stone foundations (cf. the interpretation as remains of houses in Rowe 1958:257), while his excavations beyond at the river bank revealed a deep refuse area and a structure (Kidder 1943:5).

Kidder recorded 49 pieces of stone sculpture in 1939, 11 coming from his excavations (Kidder 1943:6; Franco Inojosa 1940b). This sculpture relates to pieces he published in 1943, and to others from the south highlands (e.g., S. Chávez 1989). Pucara sculpture includes stelae, slabs, statuettes, and statues. There are, for example, human statues with fanged mouths, personages holding human severed heads, and stelae having snakes and frogs/toads motifs, mythical composite beings, and various geometric designs. Several investigators have focused on Pucara style stone sculpture, including myself and Karen Chávez (e.g., Rowe 1958; S. Chávez 1976, 1982, 1989; S. Chávez and K. Chávez 1969, 1970, 1976; S. Chávez and Jorgenson 1981).

Pucara style pottery is well elaborated, frequently with modeling and polychrome painting outlined by incision (e.g., Rowe and Brandel 1971). Kidder was aware of the importance of identifying local Pucara pottery in relation to determining their exportation from the site (Kidder 1943:38). Likewise, he recognized that good local clays are available and that Pucara is today a well-known pottery producing center.

Regarding chronology, Kidder credited Max Uhle (1912:14) for realizing the existence of non-Tiahuanaco, non-Inca materials in the Lake Titicaca Basin, which were related to, but earlier than Tiahuanaco (Kidder 1943:39). As early as 1939 Tello, too, had regarded the Pucara

culture as pre-Tiahuanaco, arguing its relative date on the basis of its similarities with the earlier widespread Chavín culture (Tello 1942 [1939]:123; 1940; 1943:152). Alfred Kroeber similarly argued for its position as earlier than Classic Tiahuanaco (defined by Wendell Bennett, 1934), but pointed to the greater similarities Pucara shared with Tiahuanaco than with Chavín (Kroeber 1944:101-102). Kidder (1943:9, 39) was convinced that excavation and stratigraphy were crucial in resolving such chronological problems.

Stratigraphic evidence for the relation of Pucara to Tiahuanaco was lacking at Pucara, since no Tiahuanaco sherds occurred at Pucara, and Kidder was skeptical of using a single possible Pucara-style sherd, which Bennett had found in an Early Tiahuanaco level at Tiahuanaco, as evidence for the contemporaneity of Pucara with Early Tiahuanaco (Kidder 1943:7). Relative dating, therefore, depended largely on stylistic comparisons using pottery, stone sculpture, and architecture. Based on comparisons with Tiahuanaco, Kidder at first concluded Pucara might be regarded as nearly contemporary with Classic Tiahuanaco rather than being closer to Early or Decadent Tiahuanaco (also defined by Bennett 1934), with a "Tiahuanaco" culture in the southern basin and a "Pucara" one in the north (Kidder 1943:7, 39-40). Later, however, Kidder argued that Pucara was somewhat earlier than Classic Tiahuanaco on the basis primarily of similarities with Chiripa [eventually placed by Bennett (1948) as pre-Early Tiahuanaco] and of comparisons with Chanapata and coastal Chavín (Kidder 1948:88-89).

At Pucara, Kidder found Late Intermediate Period pottery stratified above Pucara-style pottery; and while scanty Inca remains were found at Pucara itself, they were known to be late (Kidder 1943:8). The gap

identified between Pucara and these later wares, however, needed explaining (Kidder 1948:89, Bennett 1948:92).

Kidder took advantage of the advent of radiocarbon dating to resolve the question of dating Pucara. The six dates obtained on samples he collected in 1955 clustered near the first century B.C., uncorrected; these were close to the recent end of the series of Chiripa dates he obtained (spanning from ca, 1300-100 B.C.), they post-dated those from Qaluyu (about 1000 and 600 B.C.), and at the same time pre-dated the nine dates from Tiahuanaco (Ralph 1959:54-57). Our own date for the Pucara occupation at Qaluyu, also in the first century B.C. (Lawn 1971, P-1581), conforms well to those of Kidder obtained at Pucara itself.

Other efforts at dating or describing the Pucara style with respect to other styles have been made, based on what little documentary evidence for Pucara existed without Kidder's report available (e.g., Bennett 1950, Rowe 1956:138, Lumbreras and Amat 1968, Hyslop 1976, Wallace 1957:172-199). Rowe specifically has suggested that Pucara style pottery compares most closely to Nasca style pottery from the south coast, belonging to phases 1-3 of the Early Intermediate Period (Rowe and Brandel 1971:3, Rowe 1971:118), and has examined Pucara as possible source for stylistic continuities from Chavín to Tiahuanaco and Huari (Rowe 1971:117-122).

Regarding temporal differences <u>within the Pucara style</u>, Franquemont's proposed pottery sequence was the first attempt to seriate pottery from Pucara (Franquemont 1967). This study resulted in a tentative temporal sequence of three phases or stylistic units which he designated, from earliest to latest, as the Cusipata Style, Pucara Pampa

Phase, and Pucara River Phase. Kidder considered such divisions to be possible (Kidder 1948:87), and on tentative stratigraphic grounds, he had discerned pre-Pucara sherds in the lowest levels of the site that were painted white on red without incisions (Kidder 1948:89, 1955:48; cf. Franquemont's early Cusipata Style). Karen Chávez has made comparisons between Marcavalle pottery from Cuzco and Franquemont's Cusipata Style (K. Chávez 1977:1027-1029). My own, as well as Karen Chávez's work, has involved the seriation of Pucara-related stone sculpture and its cross-dating to materials from the south coast. We have isolated the Yaya-Mama Style which we have argued is pre-Pucara, but closely related to it, and which could correspond to the "Upper House Levels" at Chiripa (S. Chávez and K. Chávez 1976; see also Browman 1978).

With respect to the spatial distribution of Pucara, Kidder's 1941 survey indicated Pucara material occurs from near Chucuito on the south, to Qaluyu just 2.5 miles north of Pucara (see Figure 1; Rowe 1958:256). The survey extended the known distribution of Pucara pottery and stone sculpture, but Kidder stressed that his survey could not easily be evaluated without having the 1939 report published (Kidder 1943:3). From his 1941 survey Kidder could identify, on the one hand, a homogeneity of Pucara material but, on the other, considerable variability which he thought needed to be explained (Kidder 1943:39). At that time he suggested some reasons to account for the variability, including geographic location, population changes, and temporal differences (Kidder 1943:40).

More recent surveys, also hindered by the lack of Kidder's report, have indicated the Pucara culture to be even more extensive

geographically, but especially concentrated in the northern Lake Titicaca Basin, as Kidder had emphasized. On the basis mainly of stone sculpture, Pucara is known to occur on the north from Livitaca, Velille, and Sicuani in the Department of Cuzco, to Tiahuanaco in the south (Rowe 1956:144; 1958; 1971:118; 1976:1; Núñez del Prado 1972; S. Chávez 1976, 1989; S. Chávez and K. Chávez 1976).

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VI. THE SITE OF PUCARA

Pucara remains extend from at least the location of Excavation I on the north to just south of the present limits of the modern pueblo of Pucara, and from the foot of the huge stone cliff on the west, under the town, and to the high riverbank edge on the east (Figure 2). Remains have not been reported on the east side of the river. The area covered would be approximately 1000 X 1500 m, or about 150 ha. Based on the extensive construction found at Excavation IV, Kidder felt that the entire pampa had structures. He argued that the pueblo covers the site based on modern digging there that yielded Pucara sherds, the numerous surface sherds due to modern disturbance, and the fact that Pucara remains surround the pueblo. Many dressed stone slabs have been reused in modern constructions, including the church, and Pucara sherds occur in modern adobe walls of the pueblo.

The principal feature of the site is an artificially constructed terrace system at the foot of the cliff (El Peñon or El Calvario), bordered by the lower Pucaorqo hill on the north, that Kidder called the Qalasaya terraces, Today these have been partially excavated and reconstructed by the UNESCO project. Before excavation these terraces were covered by soil, lacked sharp contours, and appeared relatively moderate in size. After cleaning and reconstruction, however, they stand as truly massive, impressive monumental constructions even in their setting in front of the gigantic natural cliff behind them. These terraces served as platforms upon which six dressed stone enclosures

(Enclosures I-VI), or temples were built. Platforms are wide at lower levels and narrower terraces above. Recent UNESCO excavation revealed two major stairways leading to the summit, a stone statue on one terrace, and rounded, rather than squared, corners in some of the southeast terraces (Expedition 1989: Cover).

Kidder argued that the Qalasaya terraces were Pucara, and not Inca, because the Pucara structures on them aligned with them and the terrace wall delimited Enclosure 2 and probably Enclosure 1. That is, the buildings and the terrace system formed a unit. Kidder had found Inca sherds in one area of these terraces, and later UNESCO excavation did reveal Inca architectural modification.

Kidder recorded six "enclosures" or temples, designated Enclosures 1-6. He completely excavated Enclosure 2 (Excavation VI) and test excavated Enclosure 4 (Excavation V). Enclosure 2 (K. Chávez 1989:Fig. 9) is roughly U-shaped, with the open side facing the river. It has been convincingly argued that this temple form was derived from the temple-storage complex at Chiripa (K. Chávez 1989) and that peripheral compartments here at Pucara may also have had a storage function.

Kidder also recorded seven mounds on the pampa or flat terrain below the Qalasaya terraces, in the vicinity of Pucara pueblo that he noted varied in size, shape, and probable function. These mounds remain unexcavated by archaeologists.

Collao (Tschopik 1946, Carlevato 1989), Inca, and related pottery styles at the site indicate Late Intermediate Period and Late Horizon presence there. Collao style pottery occurred in minor amounts in mixed contexts from Excavation I and III, and in large quantities (almost 20% of all pottery excavated) in Excavations IV, V, and VI (Carlevato

1989:39). Although Kidder's investigations did not reveal any Collao structures, the recent UNESCO-sponsored (COPESCO) project showed some of the Qalasaya had apparently been re-used and modified by the Collao occupants (Paredes 1985:38) or later.

The area was incorporated into the Inca empire around 1463, and the presence of Inca-influenced pottery reflects some degree of governmental control of the Inca over the local population at Pucara, but also shows the persistence of a strong local tradition. Almost all of the Inca style pottery from the site comes from the Enclosure 3 area, as collected from the surface by Kidder or excavation by the UNESCO project.

Inca vessels at Pucara include imitation Cuzco-Inca forms with diverse non-Collao style pastes and Inca-influenced forms with traditional Collao style paste (Carlevato 1989).

Colonial glazed pottery was manufactured at Pucara and distributed over a wide area (Kidder ms.). Today Pucara continues to be a major pottery producing center for the south highlands, expanding its area of exports to include markets in the United States and Europe, especially for tourist consumption (K. Chávez 1992).

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VII. KIDDER'S EXCAVATIONS AT PUCARA

This summary of Kidder's 1939 excavations at Pucara draws heavily from a summary by Karen Chávez (K. and S. Chávez ms). Figure 2 is derived from Kidder's site map and gives the locations of the six excavations. The total area excavated by Kidder was extensive, covering about 3360.1 square meters.

Excavations on the Riverbank

Excavations I, II, and III were made in discontinuously distributed rubbish deposits exposed by erosion in the high west bank of the Pucara River northeast of the modern town of Pucara. Excavations I and III were made on the highest part of the riverbank, I at about 16 m above the river and III about 13 m above it, and both were placed in indentations or small draws eroded into the riverbank. Excavation II was placed on the 8 m terrace below the top of the bank. Kidder selected these localities for excavation because of the considerable quantity of remains visible there. Rubbish accumulations along the bank stand out as dark, ashy soil in contrast to the red and gray of the natural bank formation.

Excavation I

This excavation, the northernmost on the riverbank, was oriented northeast/southwest so that its narrow "north side" was open on the bank's edge. Excavation I revealed four pits which Kidder called

Concentrations 1-4. They contained black soil, ash, charcoal, sherds, obsidian chips and other lithic artifacts, as well as worked and unworked bone (including camelid, some of which was burned). Very little material came from outside these well-defined pits, which had been placed into essentially sterile soil (only the top 50 cm produced cultural remains in any significant amount).

This unit was excavated in 25 cm arbitrary levels and materials from each concentration by these levels were kept separate. The area excavated had a maximum length of 9.75 m by 6 m wide with two additional extensions of about .75 by 3 m (to excavate Concentration 4 completely) and .5 by 1 m (to excavate Concentration 1 completely). The total area excavated was 49.4 sq. m. A total depth of 4 m was reached in some places, and the total number of levels was 16.

Kidder regarded these pits or depressions as artificial, arguing that they were intentionally dug into the ground based on the sharpness of their limits. Consequently, these concentrations of refuse were not the result of haphazard dumping of remains over the exposed edge of the riverbank. Concentrations 1 and 4 were deep in relation to their widths, while 2 and 3 were wide and shallow.

Concentrations 1 and 4, 1 and 2, and 2 and 3, each had one group of sherds that belonged to the same vessel, suggesting that all four concentrations were roughly contemporary. However, based on stratigraphic evidence, Concentration 2 was superimposed above Concentration 3, and Concentrations 1, 2, and 4 appeared to have been placed at about the same level in what seemed to be horizontal levels, suggesting that Concentrations 1, 2, and 4 were contemporary and Concentration 3 was older. Concentration 3 was covered by about 1 m of

silts, then clay, and clayey soil, and it is not clear how much time such deposition required; Concentrations 1, 2, and 4 were placed in the last clayey soil. The sherd from what was likely Concentration 2 that fit with sherds from Concentration 3, was indicated as coming from "level 6, chiefly from north end of cut" where Concentration 2 was ending. Mixing during excavation seems unlikely since apparently Concentration 2 was completely removed before Concentration 3 was encountered. This sherd fit remains puzzling.

There were what appeared to be at least two superimposed depositional events within Concentration 4, suggesting there could be time differences between lower (levels 12-14) and upper levels (4-11) in that pit. Indeed, the sherd fit between Concentrations 1 and 4 involved a sherd from the upper levels of Concentration 4. Consequently, the upper levels of Concentration 4 appear to be contemporary with Concentration 1.

Concentration 4 yielded two unusual sub-features. First, at the top in level 5 there was a dog burial. An oval area of stones with a single Pucara polychrome sherd among them, covered a dog. Second, near the bottom of the pit beginning in level 12, was what Kidder described as an ossuary. This sub-feature consisted of a miniature two-handled jar with a geometric design having about half of a human mandible next to it, a small mica plain bowl also with about half of a different mandible next to it, and a miniature plain red two-handled jar with a part of a maxilla next to it. No white accumulation (lime) was present in the miniature jars. These remains were associated with a Y-shaped camelid bone "snuff tube," commonly used in snuffing drugs, and parts of a human skull. About 60 cm away was the other part of one of the

mandibles, and the broken skulls of two adults. The skulls possibly belonged to the two mandibles next to the small vessels. Also associated here were disarticulated long bones that included two humeri, two fibulae, one radius, one ulna, and several ribs. Finally, several whole and split camelid(?) bones were also associated. Taken together, these remains may represent secondary burials with grave goods, or an offering. Their disarticulation and specific body parts present could very well be the actual severed heads, arms, and legs as those represented in the iconography on Pucara style pottery.

Excavation II

This excavated unit measured 6 m by 2.5 m, for a total of 15 sq. m, and about 1.30-1.45 m deep. It was oriented on the terrace edge northwest-southeast so that its eastern 6 m long side was open toward the river. The excavation exposed a midden deposit consisting of a sharply defined pit dug into sterile soil. The pit was slightly less than 6 m long by 2 m wide and 1.20 m deep in its center. It was roughly oval in plan and lenticular in cross-section like those of Concentrations 2 and 3 in Excavation I. The entire pit was taken out as one lot, no levels or other subdivisions being used. Dark soil, charcoal, ash, polished stone artifacts, obsidian chips, and a worked antler were found in the pit in addition to pottery; Kidder makes no specific mention of unworked bone here, but faunal remains were likely also present based on his description of such riverbank refuse generally.

Excavation III

This excavation was placed on the south bank of the most prominent draw south of Excavation I, at a location that had already been known

for the abundance of Pucara polychrome pottery it produced. The main trench was oriented northeast-southwest so that the long side opened northwestward into the draw. This trench was originally 12 m long by 2.3 m wide. As the trench deepened it was widened to about 6 to 7.5 m, and two extensions were made on its southwest side. One directly adjacent was called the "West Extension," and the other farther southwestward was designated the "House Extension." The West Extension was irregular in shape and protruded northwest beyond the main trench, essentially along the top of the bank. It had a maximum northwest/southeast length of about 9 m and a maximum width of about 6 m. The House Extension measured about 5.75 m in length (northeast/southwest) by 3.75 m to 4.75 m, but was not perfectly rectangular. It had the same alignment as the main trench and was on top of the bank. Depths of 6 m were reached in some areas, but 3.5-4 m was more common. The total area excavated was approximately 135.3 square meters.

Kidder used six arbitrary levels in the main trench, but because of the sloping strata, realized they were not useful for establishing a chronology. Level 1 in the main trench included sterile overburden of 1.6-2 m in thickness. The remaining arbitrary levels were each 50 cm thick except level 2, which was 60 cm thick, and level 5, which was 1.15 m thick. He dug the West Extension and the House Extension as separate units without using arbitrary levels or any other subdivisions. The West Extension was made to obtain a larger sample of Pucara polychrome sherds, and the House Extension was opened to reveal a stone structure that had begun to appear in the West Extension.

The refuse revealed in Excavation III appears to have filled a draw that had first been naturally filled only slightly. The refuse deposits followed the slopes of the underlying gravel of the draw; refuse was shallow over the slopes and thicker in the bed of the draw. The base of the thickest part of the refuse was roughly a broad U-shape in profile and was up to about 2 m thick. It appears that rubbish, stretching continuously over some distance (perhaps 22 m), was dumped into the draw from the slopes above, rather than placed discontinuously into artificially dug pits as in Excavations I and II. The fresh, essentially uneroded appearance of the sherds from Excavation III would eliminate erosion as the major mechanism for their deposition. Furthermore, judging from the sherd fits of lowest levels (see below) much of the rubbish was dumped at about the same time. On the northeast side of the West Extension and in the top part of the main dump Kidder found a heavy animal (camelid?) bone concentration, also containing sherds. The contents of the Excavation III rubbish deposits were otherwise like those in Excavations I and II--black soil, ash, charcoal, unworked bone, worked bone and antler, sherds, obsidian and chert flakes, polished stone artifacts, and a copper(?) chisel. The most abundant quantity of decorated pottery that Kidder excavated at Pucara was recovered from Excavation III.

There were eight <u>human bones</u> with no apparent associations, haphazardly distributed in the rubbish. On the western side of the main trench in the thickest refuse were an adult male mandible, a femur fragment, and two tibiae. Parts of two adult crania were in the West Extension, at least one near the top of the deposit. In the House

Extension were a sub-adult tibia fragment separated from the distal end of an adult femur, both among the rocks of the structure.

The House Extension unfortunately could not be completed because a wall of the unit collapsed, injuring several workmen. Nevertheless, the structure had been cleared and recorded just prior to the collapse. It consisted of a single row of irregular stones forming the foundation of a roughly open-sided rectangle approximately 2.4 m long by 1.4-2 m wide on the interior. The long side was oriented almost north-south and the open side faced east onto what appeared to be a pavement consisting of a layer of smaller rocks. Among the foundation stones was a rectangular dressed sandstone block, and among them or slightly toward the structure's interior were two broken mortars, one on the north and one on the south side.

No sherds or rubbish occurred within the structure. However, rubbish was thick around a feature located about 1 m to the south. This feature consisted of three large stones and several smaller ones partially surrounding a flat-topped pile of hard, burned soil ("adobe") about 30 cm thick. The feature measured about 1 m by .75 m. Kidder suggested it could have been a raised hearth outside the "house," or a "kiln," that is, a location for firing pottery. Few sherds occurred over the structure, but many more were found around and below the structure on the north and west sides. On these sides sterile gravel had been reached; few stones associated with the structure lay more than 50 cm above the gravel.

The stones of the structure complex were about 2.50 to 2.95 m below the surface. The complex was situated at the same level as an area of loose stones found in the main trench (level 3) and in the West

Extension that were stratified roughly horizontally over the thick rubbish of the dump. Consequently, Kidder suggested that the loose stones and the structure complex were placed at the same time--toward the end of the rubbish accumulation at this location in the draw. After the structure was disused, only a few sherds were deposited over it in the area.

There were many (16) cases of sherd fits between the House Extension and the West Extension, as well as three cases each between the House Extension and level 5 and level 6 of the main trench. Levels 5 and 6 would be considerably below the level of the structure, based on the position of loose stones on top of the dump. If the structure complex were built after the dump had been intensively used, the question is to explain the large number of sherd fits between the House Extension (sherds were not frequent above the structure) and the West Extension (and the lower levels of the main trench). It is possible activities carried out in or around the structure resulted in the dumping of refuse into the area of the West Extension; this material would likely have been at the top of the main dump, but we do not know from which levels the sherds that fit came. On the other hand, if the main refuse dump were under the stone complex in the House Extension, Kidder would not yet have excavated it. However, on the north and west sides of the structure, as well as on the south (also based on photos and their descriptions), dark refuse was encountered in part below the level of the structure, and excavation of rubbish below the level of the house is mentioned by Kidder in his field record book. Therefore, it is also possible Kidder did excavate some of the main dump in the House Extension, thus accounting for the numerous sherd fits with the West

Extension and the lowest levels of the main trench. In turn, there were 19 cases of sherd fits between the West Extension and levels 5 and 6 of the main trench. Kidder noted (field notes) that the best and greatest number of decorated sherds came from levels 5 and 6 and from corresponding depths in the bottom of the slope of the West Extension. In any case, Excavation III material cannot be used for chronological purposes.

Excavations on the Pampa

Excavation IV

Located on the pampa (or plain) below the Qalasaya terraces and south of the pueblo, Excavation IV was undertaken here only because a carved stela (Monolith 30) was said to have come from a depression at that locality. Otherwise, there were very few surface indications of buried structures there, a low mound slightly more than 1 m high, a partly buried dressed slab, and a low wall on the west and south. Stones of principal walls were encountered close to the surface (20-30 cm) and some were at or protruded above the surface.

In Excavation IV Kidder used long trenches for testing, wall clearing, as well as for drainage of water, and when walls and other features were encountered, additional trenches or large rectangular areas were used to expose them. The resulting excavation was very extensive and complex. The total area excavated was roughly 1254.5 sq. m. Only in one area (Trench D) was sterile soil ever reached; in all other areas of Excavation IV, water level curtailed deeper excavation or he stopped digging before reaching either water table or sterile. Most areas were about 50 cm deep, and the deepest ranged between 1.40 and

1.90 m. The potential of excavating early material and deriving a chronology here is greater, as some areas he uncovered suggested.

Kidder recorded natural/cultural strata for the areas and trenches excavated that were apparently clearest. These observations resulted in the following broad strata for Excavation IV, from top to bottom:

Level 1. Reddish grey alluvium topsoil.

Level 2. Mixture of topsoil and Level 3. This description, however, presumes topsoil was already laid down, and he notes Level 3 was restricted to the mound.

Level 3. Light grey clayey soil mixed with a few pebbles, limited to the low mound area blending with Level 2 at its edges.

Level 4. Brown earth full of pebbles, appearing to be an artificial layer, found sporadically only within the mound area.

Level 5. Dark brown silty to sandy soil, the ubiquitous, sometimes thick, lowest level of the Excavation IV area. A thin horizontal charcoal layer within it (here designated as 5c) occurred in the Northwest Section and in one area of the Central Section.

Level 6. Like Level 5, but with streaks of sand, yellow, grey, and black, occurring only in the southern part of the low mound.

In addition, there were (our numbers, not Kidder's):

7. Black rubbish deposits such as in the Northwest and Northeast Sections.

8. A thin yellow silt layer on top of or near the top of Level 5 in the Northwest and Northeast Sections.

9. Red earth filling Structure Y.

10. Mixed dark clayey soil in Room 3.

In almost every instance Kidder used arbitrary levels in his excavation so that materials from more than one natural/cultural level were combined, posing serious difficulties for deriving a chronology as well as for determining functional differences. Nevertheless, in some locations some arbitrary levels corresponded, or roughly so, to natural/cultural levels. Another problem for chronology was that

scraping of trench walls pulled later sherds down into lower levels, such as in Trench D where Kidder identified this difficulty. Furthermore, water worn sherds from near the surface and even deeper may have been transported from elsewhere and mixed with deposits here. In addition, prehistoric mixing caused by construction, modifications in structures, or reuse of the area by later peoples including those with Collao, Inca, and Colonial style pottery may also have caused mixing here. Finally, sherd fits between proveniences do not aid in resolving chronological or functional problems.

In terms of functions of the constructions and features, in addition to the many sources of mixing, there are the additional difficulties in not clearly knowing which parts are contemporary, their multiple functions (e.g., dumping of later refuse into rooms), the likely addition of mixed fill (e.g., to construct the mound and platform), and the likely dismantling of structures over time. The walls (except for two main ones) do not give the impression of unity of construction, and many joined walls form only L-shaped "constructions."

Kidder grouped proveniences into Upper Levels (generally not deep, but including from the surface down to as little as .25 m and as deep as 1.30 m), Lower Levels (ranging from about .25-1.30 m down to .75-1.90 m below the surface), and Lowest Levels (.80-1.00 m to 1.20-1.55 m). Upper Levels, always including at least topsoil and sometimes Pucara strata, almost always contained post-Pucara style sherds as well as Pucara ones. Lower Levels generally contained purely Pucara materials, but some mixing with later sherds still occurred, and further differentiation of natural/cultural layers might have been possible. Level 5, e.g., could have been subdivided. Lowest Levels generally

involved the lowest parts of Level 5, but also higher parts of that level so that the clear distinction between Pucara and a possible pre-Pucara component cannot be made with certainty.

The following paragraphs provide a general overview of what Kidder found and a specific assessment as to the chronological potential for proveniences excavated in various areas of Excavation IV. The ten levels or deposits will be referred to in these descriptions.

The Main Structure and the Central Section within It.

Excavation IV revealed a large construction that Kidder called an enclosure, although very different from the temple enclosures and not to be confused with them. Stones used in construction were mostly red as well as white sandstone and were usually unworked. However, some cut and dressed stones did occur, although none equaled those of the temples. Adobe and smaller stones were also used in the walls and as chinking. Walls inside the enclosure were crudely built pirca masonry.

This enclosure might be interpreted as consisting on the west of a very low, but large, unroofed rectangular platform (our interpretation) that had a low mound on its southern part, and on the east of an open area with no platform. The platform measured about 36.8 m north-south and 17.5 m east-west. The enclosure may have been roughly square, 36.8 m north-south by 38.4 m east-west.

Both the eastern half of the enclosure on the north and the entire eastern side were open. Inside the northwest corner of the platform was Room 1, 2.9 m by 2.8 m (exterior), and 2 m by 2.3 m (interior).

Outer platform walls had large stones laid so that the flat side faced to the outside of the wall. Evidence suggested to Kidder that the south and west walls were never much higher than the 50-65 cm preserved,

but that the north Wall C was higher, preserved to 70 cm. To drain the platform there were two canals in the west wall, each consisting of a channeled stone projecting 23-25 cm beyond the wall exterior and dipping west from the inside to the outside.

Against the interior of the platform walls was a layer of loose stones that Kidder referred to as grouting, about 1 m wide, but of uneven width or missing in parts. The layer did not appear to occur toward the center, although Kidder noted a whitish pebbly-mixed adobe east of Wall B at the same level. Kidder found no evidence of plastering over the rocks to make a flatter flooring, but it may have been obliterated. Nevertheless in some parts, flooring is suggested, and canal stones appear to be under the grouting, thus draining this flooring. The platform, then, was likely low, floored as shown by the layer of rocks on these wall interiors, and was not roofed, as shown by the low heights of the south and west walls and especially by the two drainage stones.

Within the southwest quarter of the enclosure and southern part of the platform was a very low, roughly square mound. It measured ca. 15.3 m east-west by 13.2 m north-south. In addition, many stone walls occurred within the enclosure, both within the platform and mound area and outside them to the east, most oriented north-south/east-west or nearly so. Under the mound Wall K, 80 cm high, ran almost east-west and on its east end met Wall L that ran roughly north along the east edge of the mound and beyond.

Along Wall L on the northeast corner of the mound was a large dressed, but undecorated, stone slab that once had been placed upright. Under the fallen slab and to the west in the mound area was a

concentration of about 100 human mandibles and small skull fragments. Most of them appeared beginning at 75 cm below the surface, placing them on or in Level 5.

To the northeast of this feature outside the platform and mound were other walls as well as Structure X. Structure X was 1.5 m by 1.5 m on the interior, had one curved and two straight sides, and was preserved for a height of 3-4 courses of stones. An entrance was on the west and the structure had a dark yellow sandy and pebbly floor. A low wall (Wall N) linked it to the location where Stela 30 was said to have been found.

To the north of the mound in the platform area were additional walls, including Walls S and T that were 95 cm high, and a small corbel vaulted structure, Structure Y. This structure may have been built in post-Pucara times, although its time of construction remains unclear. It was preserved to a height of about 93 cm, consisting of about 6-10 courses of stone. Its exterior was beehive-like, and the interior was squared, measuring 1.5 m by 1.3 m, and was filled with red pebbly soil.

The following is a summary of excavation proveniences, Kidder's groupings, and their correspondence to natural/cultural strata for this Central Section. It is based on Kidder's north-south profile and on his descriptions. The greatest depth excavated in the Central Section was under the center of the mound to 1.90 m and under Structure Y to 1.40 m, both to water level. Nowhere was sterile reached.

	Depth in Meters	Strata Included*
Upper Levels (Kidder's Grouping)		
Wall A, East Section (East of Trench C) & South Extension	0-.65	at least 1, probably 5
Wall A, Central Section (15 m West of Trench C)	0-.50	1
Wall A, West Section (from Central Section to west end)	0-.60 [1.50]	at least 1
Wall A, Gateway Area(?) South of Wall A ("soft earth South of Wall A")	0-.50	1
Wall B, South Section (South of Wall C)	0-.60	at least 1
Wall K	0-.75	1, 3; some 5, 6; and perhaps rubbish pit into wall
Wall L	0-.75	1; probably 2, 3, 5, and even 4
Wall L, below dressed slab	0-.75	1, 2, perhaps 5
Wall M, over stones of wall	0-.65	1
Wall N	0-1.00 [1.15]	1 to 1 m, 5
Wall H	0-.50	no artifacts reported
Wall O	0-.65	no artifacts reported
Wall P	0-1.00 [1.15]	1 to 1 m, 5
Between Walls N and P and "complex of rooms NE of Wall N")	0-1.00 [1.15]	1 to 1 m, 5
Wall Q	0-.75	at least 1
Wall R	0-.70	1, probably 2, perhaps some 5
Wall S	0-.50	1, 2
Trench U, Level 1	0-.75	1, 2/3, perhaps some 5
Trench U-V junction	0-.75	1, 3, perhaps 4, and even 5
Trench V, South of Wall K, Level 1	0-.70	1, 3, part of 6

Trench V, North of Wall K to Trench U, Level 1	0-1.30	1, 3, 4, 5
Trench V, from Trench U to Structure Y, Level 1	0-.50	1, 2
Structure Y, interior	[.30-1.10]	9
<u>Lower Levels (Kidder's Grouping)</u>		
Wall A, Central Section	.50-.75 [1.10]	1, 5
Wall A, between "inner gateway" and Wall A ("from among fallen stones of Wall A, S. of inner wall of 'S. Gateway'" and "recovered in cleaning inner wall of 'S. Gateway'")	.50-1.10 [1.40]	2/3, 6, mostly 5, perhaps 1
Wall M	.65-1.00	5, rubbish in NE corner
Wall O	.65-1.00	5
Wall S	.50-1.25	5, perhaps 2
Trench U, Level 2	.75-1.10	primarily 5
Trench V, South of Wall K, Level 3 [<u>sic</u>]	.70-1.70 [1.80]	5, 6
Trench V, North of Wall K to Trench U, Level 3 [<u>sic</u>]	1.30-1.90	5
Trench V, from Trench U to Structure Y, Level 3 [<u>sic</u>]	.50-1.00	2, mostly 5, perhaps some 1
Structure Y	1.10-1.40	5, 5c and below

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*Level 1 = Reddish grey alluvium top soil
Level 2 = Mixture of top soil and Level 3
Level 3 = Light grey clayey soil mixed with a few pebbles
Level 4 = Brown earth full of pebbles; appears to be an artificial layer
Level 5 = Dark brown silty soil
Level 5c = Charcoal level within Level 5
Level 6 = Like Level 5, but with streaks of sand, yellow, grey, and black
Level 9 = Red earth fill

Upper Levels were mixed and with only one exception contained Collao and sometimes Inca sherds in addition to Pucara ones. The Lower Level of the Central Section of Wall A was mixed with topsoil and would not be useful for chronological purposes, and the other lower level of Wall A contained several strata, including possibly topsoil. The Lower Levels of Walls M and O were from Level 5, and from Wall M also included some rubbish inside the structure. These proveniences should represent Pucara strata, although a few Collao sherds came from the Lower Level of Wall O. However, Kidder noted that no Collao sherds came from Level 5, so these were likely accidentally mixed. The Lower Level of Wall S included Levels 2 and 5; both likely represent Pucara levels and no late sherds were found. However, Level 2 could be fill for making the platform and could include earlier material. The Lower Level of Trench U was "primarily 5," and Kidder specifically noted the Collao sherds recovered here were from above. The Lower Levels of Trench V were combined so that materials could belong to Levels 5, 6, 2, and perhaps 1; only two Collao style sherds were found, however. Finally, the Lower Level of Structure Y included only Level 5, although it also involved the charcoal level (5c) and soil below it that could be pre-Pucara. It is possible that some of the Lower Levels also incorporated the earliest deposits (pre-Pucara?) not differentiated in Level 5. No Lowest Levels were segregated in the Central Section.

In summary, the best possible proveniences for chronological purposes are Lower Levels of Walls M and O, Trench U, and Structure Y. These proveniences would be good Pucara contexts except that Level 5 may also have involved several time periods, including possibly pre-Pucara.

The Northern Sections

The area north of the wall that has been interpreted here as the north wall of the platform (Wall C) was designated as the Northwest Section (and Kidder included Room 1 as well, even though it was south of Wall C). Just east of this area, was the Northeast Section, extending to between about 6.9 to 11 m north.

In most of the Northwest Section there was a rectangular area, about 5.5 m north-south by 13.5 m east-west on the exterior, formed by Wall C on the south, the northward extension of the platform's west wall, and two other walls. This area may have been a habitation area (Room 2) although no floor was noted. Kidder thought this rectangular area was not roofed. It contained a three-sided Room 3, open on the south side and measuring 1.6 m north-south by 2 m east-west on the exterior, likely roofed, and an L-shaped wall. The floor of Room 3 appeared to be a layer of uneven stones. This rectangular area was full of deep rubbish, perhaps dumped after primary use. Subsequently Wall C stones collapsed over the rubbish in some areas.

In the Northeastern Section there was a possible hearth consisting of a baked clay bench surrounded by stones in a rough semi-circle. The straight back side of the hearth was on the north side of an east-west wall, part of Wall E. The hearth was 25 cm below the top of Wall E, was ca. 2.9 m long by 1 m wide, and extended to the base of Wall E, making it perhaps 35 cm high. On the baked clay were charcoal, charred animal bones, and a few Pucara plain sherds.

Farther north in the Northeastern Section was a rectangular cyst burial. The back of the burial cyst was parallel and adjacent to a triangular bench of stones and adobe projecting from a north-south

running wall, Wall F. The two narrower sides consisted of an upright slab or slabs 60-65 cm high, and about 50-60 cm apart. The other long side was open, and another broken slab had covered the burial. Two individuals were placed between the upright slabs, a male in what appeared to be a seated position facing north, and an infant perhaps behind him. Only a camelid pelvis, two pieces of burned camelid bone, and a broken mica plain miniature bowl occurred in the fill that also contained charcoal. It is not clear these pieces represent grave goods, however. Thick rubbish occurred around the burial.

The base of the burial was at the same level as the base of Walls E and F, as well as the hearth that, in turn, all lay over the yellow silt layer. Perhaps the burial was placed prior to the refuse accumulation, just prior to disuse of this Northeast area, and all but the burial and area to the north were covered by stones; alternatively, it could have been placed from above at a much later date.

Stratigraphy of the Northwest and Northeast Sections. In some locations of the Northwest and Northeast Sections Kidder excavated below wall levels into earlier levels down to the water table. This area provides some idea of the depositional and construction sequence, although by no means clear, and the potential for deriving pottery chronology, although with some uncertainty.

The stratigraphy of these sections from top to bottom (including Room 1 south of Wall C) may be summarized as follows, based on profiles of Room 1, Room 2, and Room 3, as well as on a description of the Northeast Section strata, and attempting to correlate them with Kidder's major levels for Excavation IV:

1. Reddish grey alluvium topsoil ca. 25-65 cm thick. In Room 1 this layer appears to have extended to 90 cm, and with depth it became more clayey with pebbles; this lower portion may have been Kidder's Level 2.

10. Inside Room 3, a mixed dark clayey soil then occurred at 25 cm to ca. 60 cm where a layer of rocks was found as a possible flooring. This deposit is not clearly Kidder's Level 2 and so has been given a separate number.

5a. Dark brown sandy soil full of charcoal, in Room 1 ca. 15 cm thick, in Room 2 perhaps 10 cm thick, and in Room 3 ca. 1 m thick; this layer may be part of Kidder's Level 5, but in this description it is differentiated from 5b below that clearly is Kidder's Level 5, or from Level 7.

7. Dark brown or black rubbish-filled soil (many camelid bones, sherds, pieces of burned earth, charcoal, and ash) inside the rectangular area between Walls C and D/G and in most of the Northeast Section north of Wall E - ca. 50 cm thick in Room 2, perhaps 65 cm or more in the Northeast Section.

8. Yellow silt 5-10 cm thick in Room 2 and 10-15 cm thick under the hearth. The silt occurred throughout the Northwest and Northeast Sections, but was less clear on the north, such as in Room 3. It also was found in Room 1.

5b. Dark brown sandy soil, Kidder's Level 5, or silty in Room 1, to water level, ca. 50 cm thick in Room 2, 60 cm in Room 1; evidently because no yellow silt made a clear distinction between 5a and 5b in Room 3, 5a extended to water level, but also included the charcoal level (5c). In the Northeast Section Level 7 was taken out down to water level and no mention is made of this level, but it likely occurred under the yellow silt there.

5c. A distinct level of charcoal within Level 5b, with bones/sherds in Rooms 2 and 3, and some charcoal not in a layer in Room 1. In Rooms 2 and 3, it was 5 cm thick. A similar level of charcoal was found at about the same level under Structure Y in Trench V. Level 5b continued below 5c, but the deposit below 5c may have been a distinct earlier level. Excavation ended when water level was reached at 1.75 m in Room 1, 1.63 m in Room 3, and 1.55 m in Room 2. Sherds were noted as occurring about 5 cm above water level in Room 1 and to just below the charcoal layer (5c) in Room 2. These observations seem to suggest sterile was close or perhaps even reached.

Arbitrary levels excavated in relation to these natural strata may be summarized as follows:

	Kidder's Grouping	Depth in Meters	Strata Included
Northwest Section			
Room 1	Upper Level	0-.50	1. Topsoil
	Lower Level	.50-1.75	1. Topsoil and perhaps 2 5a. Dark brown sandy 8. Yellow silt 5b. Dark silty soil with some charcoal
Room 3	Upper Level	0-.25	1. Topsoil
	Lower Level	.25-1.12	10. Mixed dark clayey soil 5a/5b. Dark brown soil becoming sandier with depth
	Nothing saved (few sherds noted by Kidder)	1.12-1.63	5a/5b. Dark brown sandy soil and the charcoal layer, 5c, within it
Room 2, Level 1	Upper Level	0-.30	1. Topsoil
Level 2	Lower Level	.30-1.00	1. About 20 cm of topsoil 5a.Dark soil just under parts of Wall C 7. Dark brown rubbish soil
Level 3 (small trench only)	Lowest Level	1.00-1.55	7. Could include a very tiny amount of the above rubbish deposit, but 8. appears to coincide with the top of the yellow silt layer 5b. Dark sandy soil and the charcoal layer, 5c, within it
Wall B, North Section (North of Wall C)	Upper Level	0-.25	1. Topsoil
Wall C, On top and both sides of Wall C, including Room 2 before it was exposed	Upper Level	0-.40	1. Topsoil 2. Mixture of 1 and 3 7. Perhaps rubbish in Room 2
Wall D	Upper Level	0-.30	1. Topsoil
Wall G	Upper Level	0-.30 [.50]	1. Topsoil

Northeast Section,			
Level 1	Upper Level	0-.30	1. Topsoil
Level 2	Lower Level	.30-.80	7. Dark brown rubbish soil; hearth; burial
Level 3	Lowest Level	.80-1.20	7. Dark brown rubbish soil 8. Yellow silt 5b(?). Likely the dark brown sandy soil below 8 was also included
Wall E	Upper Level	0-.30	1. Topsoil
Wall F	Upper Level	0-.30	1. Topsoil

In summary, Lower Levels of Rooms 1 and 3 are mixed. For both functional and chronological analyses of Pucara remains, the Lower Level of the Northeast Section appears to have the greatest potential. However, the rubbish it represents could be derived from different locations as well as from different periods. The few Collao style sherds found in it likely were accidentally mixed, but the early span of time it represents could be quite long. The Lower Level of Room 2 poses the same problems, with the additional difficulty of perhaps including topsoil. Kidder observed that the Collao sherds came from the very upper part of that level.

Earliest levels in Room 1 were not kept separate, and nothing was saved from the lowermost deposit in Room 3. Only Room 2 and the Northeast Section had Lowest Levels segregated. However, there is surely mixing in the Northeast Section of the Lowest Level, and may have been in Room 2. Kidder commented that the couple of Collao sherds from the Lowest Level of the Northeast Section must have fallen in. Room 2 provides the most secure potential for defining an earlier component here, and no late sherds were recovered from this provenience. Kidder noted that remains stratified below the yellow silt layer here might

indicate an earlier occupation of the area, although the earlier occupation could be lower. He does not indicate whether the silt was sterile, but makes no mention of any remains in it. All construction and the hearth occurred after the yellow silt, as likely did the cyst burial.

Stratigraphy of Trenches A-D

Three test pits 2.5 by 2.5 m were placed to the west of (outside) the West Wall of the platform (Wall B) and were then linked by Trench D, 1.5-2 m wide, that ran almost parallel to Wall B, for a distance of about 45 m and turned southeast for about 57 m beyond it for drainage during excavation. Sterile soil was reached at about .75-1 m and water level at 1.15-1.30 m and excavation went little beyond.

From the depression in the center of the eastern half of the large structure or enclosure, said to have been the place where Monolith 30 was found, Trench A, 1 m wide, was made to drain the area slightly southeastward for a distance of about 26.6 m. From this same depression and slightly southwestward the 2 meter wide Trench B within the structure ran to the south Wall of the enclosure (Wall A) for a length of about 17 m. Finally, the 1 m wide Trench C, also made for drainage, ran from the outside of the eastern part of Wall A sharply to the southeast for a distance of about 30 m. Sterile soil was not reached in Trenches A-C, and water level was slightly more than 50 cm below the surface. Trench A was dug to 1 m, Trench B to .5 m, and Trench C to .8 m.

The stratigraphy of these trenches may be generalized as follows, using Kidder's levels:

1. Reddish grey alluvium topsoil--10-25 cm thick.

Layer of rocks--15-20 cm thick, only in Trench D on the west side of, but not meeting Wall B that suggested grouting.

5. Black silty soil--ca. 50-90 cm thick.

Fine silty sand that was sterile--only in Trench D at .75 m to 1 m below the surface.

Dark mud that was also sterile--only in Trench D.

The correspondence of arbitrary levels excavated to these strata is as follows:

	Kidder's Grouping	Depth in Meters	Strata Included
Trench A	Upper Level	0-.50	1, 5
	Lower Level	.50-1.00	5
Trench B, including South depression near Wall A	Upper Level	0-.50	1, 5
Trench C	Upper Level	0-.80	1, 5
Trench D	Upper Level	0-.50	1, rock layer, 5
	Lower Level	.50-.75	5
	---	.75-1.15/ 1.30	Sterile strata

Only the Lower Level of Trenches A and D are useful as apparently unmixed proveniences, although Level 5 might represent more than one period.

Excavations on the Qalasaya Terraces

Excavation V

Excavation V was a limited test excavation on the north side of Enclosure 4, carried out primarily to explore architecture. Grassless

lines, surface stones, and a roughly square central depression provided surface evidence of the structure. Enclosure 4 is the largest temple at Pucara, about 73 m by 65 m on the exterior, and lies on the next to the lowest terrace of the Qalasaya system. Excavation showed it to be similar to Enclosure 2 (Excavation VI) in many respects.

Excavation uncovered part of the straight outer, or North Wall, of the temple for a length of about 14.3 m. One peripheral compartment and some other cut blocks were found on the interior. From north to south outside the "Division" there were pavement slabs, upright retaining slabs marking the edge of what appears to have been a Lower Level (referred to as the Central Wall), and retaining slabs of the central sunken court (called the South Wall). Walls were of dressed red sandstone blocks with smaller stones on top, and had adobe mortar. The North Wall was 50-80 cm high and wall width was about 50 cm, the width of a stone block. Wall stones were set on stone slabs or on undisturbed red "adobe."

The excavated unit was roughly an inverted L-shape, oriented north-south, about 17.2 m long north-south by 6 m wide (but of differing widths), and 15.2 m long east-west by 1.75 m wide (also of varying widths). The total area excavated was 109.43 sq. m. Excavation ranged between about .5 m and 1.45 m below the surface, but generally .85 m.

The stratigraphy here consisted of a grayish topsoil over "grayish red adobe." All along the outside, or north side of the building there was a thin layer of fire debris, 50-70 cm below the surface, about 28 cm above "floor" level, and some 50 cm below the top of the wall. It included burned pieces of adobe, charcoal, ash, and burned grass. This fire post-dated building construction, as the north side of the wall had

fire marks and the layer overlay the exterior floor level. The few late sherds occurred only above this layer, providing for Kidder a clear stratigraphic context to conclude that Pucara was earlier than Collao. In addition, Inca and Collao sherds occurred in the upper 40-50 cm, while below and concentrated above floor level only Pucara sherds were found.

Excavated proveniences were divided horizontally into three arbitrary areas, and in two of them into Upper and Lower arbitrary levels. The correspondence of these areal divisions and arbitrary levels to structural and stratigraphic deposits may roughly be summarized as follows:

	Kidder's Grouping	Depth in Meters	Strata Included
Central Area, from the North Wall south, except the Room (peripheral compartment) and east extension that uncovered more of the North Wall, inside and outside Division	Upper Level	0-.50/.75	Grayish topsoil Possibly grayish red adobe Charcoal layer on outside of wall
	Lower Level	.50/.75-.90/1.15	Grayish red adobe "Floor" (?)
Room, interior of peripheral compartment	--		Grayish topsoil Possibly grayish red adobe "Floor" (?)

North Wall, eastern extension of Central Area to expose more of the North Wall, inside and outside of wall	Upper Level	0-.40	Grayish topsoil Possibly grayish red adobe
	Lower Level (.90 m is the bottom of the wall)	.40-.90	Grayish red adobe Charcoal layer on outside of wall "Floor" (?)
	Below .90 m, sterile		Red pebbly undisturbed soil below level of wall (field notes)

It is not clear whether true floor levels were reached throughout the excavation, nor whether sterile was truly encountered. The sterile level in the North Wall area may have been placed over earlier culture bearing deposits. Upper levels are mixed, but contained all the late sherds. For chronological purposes, the Lower Levels would appear to provide good Pucara contexts, with some cautions or reservations. One problem is that the depth of the topsoil was not reported, although in the profile, it appears to be roughly .10-.20 m thick; however, there is no clear label or delimitation of it so that, although not likely, it could have also extended into the Lower Levels. It is also not clear to what extent the grayish red adobe represents mixed fill, even if it involved material mixed from more than one Pucara period. Nevertheless, Kidder notes that Pucara sherds were concentrated at the foot of the North Wall, especially on its southern, inner side, as well as in the Room at the foot of the North Wall in the Lower Level between .40-.85 m. Material from the Room, however, was not kept separately into an upper or lower level. The grayish red adobe above the charcoal layer is also evidently included in the Lower Level of the North Wall, but Kidder

placed all late sherds into the Upper Level. Finally, sherd fits do not assist in resolving any chronological problems.

This limited excavation would have been an ideal situation to control provenience for a functional study. The arbitrary areal divisions, unfortunately, combine material from different horizontal contexts both inside and outside of the Division. The Room provides the best opportunity for a functional analysis, but upper and lower material were combined so that remains that may have been left on the floor cannot be isolated with certainty. This Room could have been a storage bin, such as suggested by Karen Chávez for the Excavation VI temple (K. Chávez 1989:22).

Excavation VI

Excavation VI completely exposed Enclosure 2 in the center of the upper part of the Qalasaya terrace system. It was the largest excavation, involving an area of approximately 1796.5 square meters. Surface evidence of grassless areas, central depression, and surface stones pointed to the presence of the buried structure, but gave no idea of its complexity. The building exposed was a roughly U-shaped temple oriented north-south/east-west, the east open side facing the river (K. Chávez 1989:Fig. 9). It measured about 47.7 m at its widest point north-south and 44.1 m from west to terrace edge on the east. This terrace was 4.4 m high, the distance to the next terrace below.

There were nine major rooms or "Divisions," A to I, forming the U on an uppermost construction platform (Level 1), two divisions on the north and south sides (there may have been more), three on the west, and one diagonally set at the northwest and southwest corners. These divisions shared a wall between them, except for two or three passageways that led

into the temple. Each division was entered through an inset entryway and door that led to a central rectangular room. Eight to nine peripheral compartments (bins?) surrounded the central room, each having a door into it. In the center of the two opposite shorter sides of the central room was a flat stone slab, that Kidder called an altar, that would have formed a kind of niche between the peripheral compartments. The Level 1 Divisions had surely been roofed.

A pavement surrounded the north and west exterior walls, edged by a curbing of vertically set slabs. On the north, additional pavement beyond the curbing linked Enclosure 2 to Enclosure 3.

Level 2 was stepped below Level 1 and the even lower central sunken court of Level 3. It was narrow, and like the sunken court was likely unroofed. The central sunken court had a stairway leading into it from Level 2 on the southern part of the east side. The slab-lined court was 2.2 m deep and measured ca. 15 m by 16 m. It was slightly trapezoidal with the largest side on the east.

The Level 1 structures were of red sandstone, in sharp contrast to the white sandstone of the outer pavement, the upright retaining slabs between Levels 2 and 3, and the slabs lining the central sunken court. Wall and slab stones were usually carefully cut and dressed. The stone blocks in the walls had adobe and small stones as mortar. Excavation was carried down to floor level in Level 1 which was at or slightly below the bases of the walls. Outer and inner walls were preserved to a height of 60-80 cm, and in one location of the outer wall to 1.26 m above floor level. Outer walls often contained two courses. Patches of prepared floor indicated it was 3-5 cm thick, of smoothly plastered red pebbly adobe over undisturbed soil of the same kind.

Level 2 had no prepared floors, but in three locations paving stones were found. On the north, these stones were about 1 m higher than the paving on the northeast and in front of the stairs leading down to Level 3. Level 3, the sunken court, had what appeared to be a red adobe floor with rough stones, evidently as a floor foundation.

In the center of each wall of the central sunken court was a three-sided burial chamber with double jamb, stepped fret entrance slabs (K. Chávez 1989:Fig. 12). They were stone lined, roofed, and set into rubble fill with floor level the same as that of the sunken court, but of harder packed soil. The east chamber contained an adult, the south chamber two adults (one certainly and the other probably male), the west chamber two adults (one male and the other probably male), and the north chamber a probable adult. Only the west and north chambers contained Pucara pottery. In the west chamber was a broken Plain Red bowl and a Plain Brown bowl, while in the north there was a Plain Red bowl. There was a stone axe in the east chamber and other remains were also found in these graves.

To understand the chronological and functional potential of excavated proveniences, their stratigraphic and locational correspondences may be summarized as follows:

Kidder's Groupings	Possible Architectural Division	Stratigraphy for all of Level 1
Level 1 Proveniences		
West side	D-F? and C and G?	1. Fill of red
W. side, S. end/Section	D?	adobe alluvium,
W. Wall, Central Section	E?	fine wind blown
W. side, N. Section	F?	material, and
W. side and NW Corner	D-F and G?	scattered
Northwest Corner	G?	stones
North Side	H-I?	
Southeast Corner	A? or east of A?	2. Floor at ca.
S. main wall just W. of pavement - 40 cm from surface	A?	75 cm depth, 3-5 cm thick of smoothly
S. main wall just W. of pavement - 50 cm from surface	A?	plastered red pebbly adobe
SW corner just above outer pavement	C?	3. Undisturbed, same soil as 2
No Level 2 proveniences were segregated.		
Level 3 Proveniences in the Central Sunken Court		
Upper Fill of Central Sunken Court		1. Fill of red
Central Enclosure fill		adobe with
Central Enclosure - bottom of fill		abundant stone rubble
Central Enclosure - fill and grey earth		2. Grey ashy soil (see below)
Lower Fill of Central Sunken Court		2. Lower 25 cm
Central Enclosure - grey earth		above floor, 15-20 cm thick, grey ashy soil
		3. Sterile red adobe floor level, some stones
Grave Chambers in the Central Sunken Court		
East side		Fill of soil
South side		and stones;
West side		adobe floor
North side		

All of Level 1 proveniences were mixed to floor level and, in addition to Pucara pottery, included Collao, Inca, and Colonial sherds. Level 1 proveniences, then, are not chronologically useful. In addition, the Level 1 proveniences were not very specific with respect to Division, and materials could have come from inside or outside the structures, with one exception where the provenience was designated as outside. Kidder noted that the fill of Level 1 contained only very few obsidian chips and no rubbish, charcoal, or animal bones, in contrast to Excavations I-IV, a general reflection of functional differences. One could argue that most of what was recovered there was ultimately more related or directly related to temple activities even if mixed.

The Upper Fill of the central sunken court was also mixed, but Kidder regarded the Lower Fill of grey soil as a primary, undisturbed deposit. The Lower Fill, then, would have both chronological and functional significance. No Collao sherds were found in the grey soil. One could argue that the materials left on the court floor represent the latest use of the temple and, assuming this temple was in use until the end of the Pucara occupation at the site, could even date to the abandonment of Pucara itself. In support of this argument, the iconography of the carved stone bowls found in this grey earth very closely resembles that of the later Classic Tiahuanaco style (K. Chávez 1986). We do not know whether the abandonment of this temple corresponds to the general abandonment of the site as a whole, however. Another difficulty is one of reuse of sacred objects, so that remains in the temple may have been kept for generations, especially stone sculpture and stone bowls; such a long period of use may not be the case for pottery, however, since it breaks more readily from use.

The grave chambers, lacking apparent internal disturbance, would also have chronological and functional potential. The chambers were an integral part of the sunken court and the temple construction as a whole; however, interments may have been placed at different times subsequent to chamber construction.

The following fits among sherds from different proveniences suggest some relationship among different parts of the temple, although their position in fill points more to post-abandonment spreading of debris as a good possibility. Pieces from a single provenience designated as the West Side and Northwest Corner fit with those from: the West Side and from the Northwest Corner, two separate proveniences (two cases, as could be expected); the Upper Fill of the sunken court (three cases); and the grey earth of the sunken court (three cases). In the case of one owl vessel, most sherds came from Level 1 while a couple entered the sunken court fill. In addition, curiously and barring errors in the field, most of a Camelid Woman pedestal base bowl was found in Excavation V (North Wall, Lower Level) and one sherd from this vessel came from Excavation VI, West Side and Northwest Corner. Finally, stone bowl fragments fit from the central sunken court fill and from Excavation III, Level 5, posing the suggestion that refuse from this temple may have been deposited in the Excavation III midden.

Two pieces of statues were found in Level 1 fill in Division E. Six broken statues and three carved slabs were recovered in Level 3, all in or just above the grey soil. From the grey soil or just above also came elaborately carved stone bowls, as well as a large pestle-like stone, all religious materials associated with temple activities.

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VIII. ANALYSIS AND CLASSIFICATION OF PASTES AND SURFACE FINISH

Pastes

Paste analysis involved inspection of a fresh break or surfaces of most diagnostic sherds in the collection, involving all of those included here, and many hundreds more, totally perhaps 8,000 sherds. Use was made of a 15-20 power hand lens, but usually a low-power binocular microscope (1.5 X 10 ocular, or 15 power). As observation of pastes proceeded, sherds were classified into paste groups based primarily on the nature, size, shape, and quantity of rock and mineral constituents. Each paste group was given a number (e.g., #1) and sometimes subgroups that appeared basically similar to the group, but differed in some way, were given letter designations (e.g., #1A, #1B).

A total of 24 pastes resulted for the Pucara style or sherds closely related to it; two additional paste groups do not pertain to the Pucara style and many others belonged to clearly Late Intermediate Period, Late Horizon, or Colonial pottery styles currently being studied by Denise Carlevato (see, e.g. Carlevato 1989). This paste analysis depended heavily on the work of Karen Chávez who has previous experience in such analysis with pottery from the area. Completion of these detailed sherd by sherd observations on such a large quantity would otherwise have been much longer without her assistance, and her observations provided consistency in the classification and description.

One or more samples were selected from each paste group for thin sectioning and subsequent petrographic analysis by a geologist, Dr. Kwo-Ling Chyi, then of the Department of Geology, Central Michigan University. Samples were selected so as to provide direct association of the paste with other attributes such as shape and decoration. A total of 64 sherds were thin sectioned, most having one thin section cut parallel and another cut perpendicular to the surfaces. Of these sherds, 45 belonged or were related to the Pucara style. Appropriate permission was obtained from the Peabody Museum at Harvard.

Objectives of thin section analysis have been discussed elsewhere (e.g., Mohr 1966:23-24, K. Chávez 1982:278), but include the geological identification and quantification of the rock and mineral constituents, the confirmation of the archaeologist's groupings, the determination as to whether inclusions were added intentionally or were natural constituents of the clay, and with other evidence the determination as to which pastes may be locally or non-locally produced so as to indicate patterns of distribution, exchange, and interaction.

In the process of observation, classification, and description of paste we were able to consult with Dr. Chyi, which was very helpful. She agreed to undertake petrographic analysis of the thin sections, and in 1988 went with us to southern Peru, including Pucara and vicinity, to collect relevant rock, mineral, and clay samples. This latter project had the objective of determining with greater certainty which paste constituents may have been derived locally in or around Pucara and perhaps to locate other distant sources that could have provided these 6paste inclusions. Ethnographic observations were also made in three pottery making communities--Pucara, nearby Mercedes, and Raqch'i in

Cuzco to the north. Petrographic analysis of the Pucara pottery and of the rock/mineral samples collected are still in progress, so that results are not yet complete. Only some preliminary results are available (K. Chávez, Chyi, and S. Chávez 1988), and the following discussion reflects that fact (Chyi, personal communication 5/91).

Pastes #1 and #1A, the most frequently occurring paste associated with fancy pottery, is local. The major inclusion in both is dacite, a shallow intrusive rock. Chyi has determined that the mineral constituents and the texture of the dacite are identical to the rocks collected from the cliff behind the Qalasaya terraces. This conclusion is most clear and for purposes of archaeological interpretation the most significant. Paste #16 is also similar.

Pastes #2 and #14 primarily contain arkosic sandstone similar to samples from Pucara, and may be local (Chyi, personal communication). However, the formation from which it may have come covers an extensive area so that these pastes or some of them could be non-local. Paste #3 contains abundant quartzite that may come from this same formation or from another east of the Pucara River; the possible source, then, could be local, but it is unclear. Pastes #4, #4A, #4B, #4C, and #4D have abundant mica, but a possible mica source was not located near Pucara in 1988.

Pastes #5 and #12 contained devitrified tuff, paste #11 volcanic glass/tuff, and paste #13 cryptocrystaline tuff. Chyi thinks these inclusions might be local, but #11 is more dubious.

Pastes #7, #8, and #8A have inclusions that are of shallow intrusive origin (andesite?), the possible source(s) of which are not known. Pastes #9, #9A, and #10 contained hornblende andesite and are

not similar to andesites collected in 1988, so that the source(s) is also unknown at this time.

An examination of pastes and the vessel shapes and iconography indicates specific associations among them. In many cases, iconography or other attributes that differ from the usual Pucara conventions appear to be associated with rarer and possibly non-local pastes. This situation is especially true for pastes #10, #11, and #14.

What follows are descriptions of each paste group, largely derived from observations made at 15 power magnification using a binocular microscope with a 10 X ocular at 1.5. These descriptions are based heavily on the work of Karen Chávez.

Paste #1. Abundant to moderately abundant white matte opaque grains, angular to subangular, appearing to the naked eye homogeneous in size (less than 1 mm) and evenly distributed. Consequently, the paste has a "salted" appearance. These inclusions have been identified as dacite (Chyi, personal communication). Some white grains contain fine black inclusions. Minor amounts of white lustrous translucent grains also occur that are crystal-like to subangular, and small in size (less than 1 mm). Very rare to minor amounts of black lustrous opaque platy small grains also are present. Rare, although sometimes moderately abundant, are small gold mica inclusions, and very rare dark red to reddish black matte opaque grains that are rounded and sometimes large (1 mm and up to 5 mm). Also very rare are small yellowish to greenish white matte opaque grains that appear roundish or irregular in form and appear powdery. Paste is virtually always completely oxidized to an orange-red color.

Paste #1A. This paste appears to be the same paste as #1 and sometimes the distinction is difficult to make. Paste #1A is not so "salted" in appearance, has less abundant inclusions, has smaller sized white opaque grains, and inclusions are less homogeneous in size. The paste appears more fine grained than paste #1. The six kinds of inclusions are also present in this paste; the white matte opaque grains are very small (occasionally up to 1 mm), somewhat heterogeneous in size, and moderately abundant. The white lustrous grains are minor, the gold mica very rare to minor, the black lustrous grains rare, and the dark red and the yellowish white grains very rare. Paste #1A is also virtually always completely oxidized to orange-red.

Paste #1B. This paste has the appearance of #1A, but includes, in addition to the white opaque and white lustrous grains and mica, also contains in moderate abundance, bright orange matte opaque grains that are angular to subangular, are powdery, fine grained in texture, and perhaps about .5 mm in size.

Paste #2. This paste possesses abundant reddish pink to darkish red opaque grains with a very dull luster that are angular to subangular and fairly large (up to 1.5 mm). These pink grains contain reddish to gold mica, often clinging to them, and matte white opaque grains. This major constituent has been identified as arkosic sandstone (Chyi, personal communication). These pink grains are difficult to see when the paste is red. This paste also includes moderately abundant to minor white opaque grains that are matte to dully lustrous and smaller than 1 mm. These white grains contain some translucent lustrous inclusions. Also present is moderately abundant to minor gold mica up to 1 mm in size, and these grains also appear on the surfaces. Paste texture is somewhat

angular tactually. Paste #2 is usually incompletely oxidized but oxidizes to a brownish red.

Paste #3. This paste contains abundant white, to grayish white, to light gray translucent lustrous grains that are subangular and faceted; once angular, like crystals, they have been rounded. These medium-sized grains (most .5 mm, but up to 1 mm) are fairly homogeneous in size and evenly distributed. The inclusions have been identified as quartzite (Chyi, personal communication). There are also rare subangular white to grayish white matte opaque grains up to 1 mm in size, and very rare subangular pink matte opaque grains about .5 mm in size. The paste looks sandy and the abundant coarse grains are easily visible. The texture is tactually very angular, the fracture of the paste is grainy, and the paste oxidizes to red-orange to beige.

Paste #4. This paste contains abundant gold mica (platy, hexagonal) that usually is large (1-2 mm), aligned parallel to the vessel surfaces, and glitters on the surfaces. This paste, or pastes #4A, #4B, #4C, and #4D, are characteristic of Kidder's Pucara Mica Plain type. There are also moderately abundant to minor white lustrous translucent grains that are subangular to rounded. These grains are faceted (once angular, but angles have been rounded) like crystals, of medium size (less than 1 mm), and are difficult to see without a hand lens or microscope. There are minor amounts of black (to very dark reddish) semi-lustrous grains that are flat, subangular, and small (up to 1 mm in length). Very rare are pink matte opaque grains that are subangular and small (less than .5 mm). Very rare to sometimes moderately abundant are white matte opaque grains that are angular to subangular. The paste is tactually angular,

and in thick sherds friable. Paste #4 oxidizes to beige, yellowish brown, or light gray.

Paste #4A. This paste contains abundant gold mica (platy, hexagonal) that is large (1-2 mm), is usually aligned parallel to the surfaces and glitters on the surfaces. Moderately abundant white semi-lustrous opaque grains are also present that are subangular, small (less than 1 mm), and heterogeneous in size. There are rare white lustrous translucent grains that are subangular, faceted, and small (less than 1 mm). This paste is tactually angular and oxidizes red.

Paste #4B. Paste #4B contains abundant gold mica that is large in size (ca. 1 mm) and usually aligned parallel to the surfaces. There are also abundant subrounded dark greenish, somewhat lustrous grains having perhaps other inclusions such as mica. These greenish grains are powdery when probed and about 1 mm long. This paste also contains some pink lustrous subrounded grains, rare translucent lustrous subangular grains, and rare white matte grains. Occasionally a large rounded dark red matte grain, up to 8 mm, is visible. This paste is somewhat angular to the touch and oxidizes to an orangy-brown.

Paste #4C. This paste contains abundant medium to fine sized (most less than 1 mm) gold mica that is aligned parallel to and visible on the surfaces. At higher power observations very minor amounts of other inclusions are visible, but essentially this paste appears to contain only mica. It is fine textured and oxidizes orange.

Paste #4D. This paste contains abundant mica, silver colored on the surfaces and black in the paste. There are also abundant small to large (up to 3 mm) cream (pinkish yellow), very fine grained (powdery), matte rounded grains. Moderate to minor amounts of small white semi-lustrous

opaque angular to subangular grains occur. This paste is tactually angular and oxidizes to orange-red.

Paste #5. This paste is characterized by relatively abundant lustrous flat black inclusions that are aligned with the surfaces and visible on them, giving a "peppered" appearance to the paste. There are also moderately abundant white opaque grains that are subangular, and moderately abundant white lustrous translucent subangular to rounded grains, and very minor dark red to grayish subangular to rounded grains. Paste texture is tactually rough, has a grainy fracture, and oxidizes to a bright light red. Inclusions of devitrified tuff were identified in this paste (Chyi, personal communication).

Paste #6. Megascopically this paste appears to have no inclusions, but microscopically there is some gold mica, some white lustrous translucent grains, and a few white matte grains. The paste is tactually hard and sharp, and oxidizes to brick red. Dacite was identified as an inclusion in this paste (Chyi, personal communication).

Paste #7. This paste contains abundant opaque matte to dull lustrous white grains that are subrounded to somewhat angular and large in size (most are about 1 mm and up to 2 mm). They are not so homogeneous in size, but well distributed. Some of these grains appear to be weathered and are powdery when probed. Some grains look like they have cleavage planes, some have lustrous translucent rounded grains in or with them, some have mica in or on them, and some have a red stain. There are also very minor to somewhat abundant rounded lustrous translucent grains and moderately abundant reddish to gold mica, both perhaps derived from the opaque white grains. In addition, there were very minor rounded semi-transparent grains up to 2 mm, and minor subrounded matte dark red

grains that are large (up to 3 mm). The paste texture is granular and fractures along grains; this paste is the coarsest of any. It oxidizes to a bright orange or orange-brown red. Inclusions include a shallow intrusive (andesite?) rock (Chyi, personal communication).

Paste #8. This paste has abundant very dull lustrous white angular to subangular to subrounded grains containing gold to black mica that frequently clings to a faceted side, dark red areas, and some lustrous translucent inclusions. In some sherds, there are some reddish-pink matte opaque rounded grains. These grains are usually powdery and look highly weathered. They are usually associated with reddish-gold mica on a faceted side; these reddish-pink grains are white when the red outer layer is scraped off and may be the same white grains just described. These reddish-pink grains can be confused with those of paste #2, but those in paste #2 are harder and more angular. These grains are large, up to 1.5 mm. There are white matte opaque subangular grains, smaller than the previous grains, and minor amounts of lustrous translucent round grains. These constituents may be derived from the first white grains. The paste texture is tactually hard, angular, and granular, and oxidizes to an orangy brick red. Paste #8 has shallow intrusive (andesite?) rock inclusions (Chyi, personal communication).

Paste #8A. This paste appears to be a finer version of paste #8. Most inclusions are not visible megascopically. There are moderately abundant white matte opaque subangular grains containing dark red areas and grayish lustrous translucent grains, or moderately abundant white subangular grains with reddish-pink color throughout and mica clinging to one faceted edge. There are abundant white semi-lustrous, semi-transparent, to opaque angular grains of different sizes. Relatively

abundant gold mica with a reddish tinge is also present. There is a tendency for the paste to have a buff colored core. Paste #8A is tactually and visually angular. Like paste #8, the reddish-pink inclusions may be confused with those in paste #2, and also included shallow intrusive rock (andesite?) (Chyi, personal communication).

Paste #9. This paste contains abundant black to dark gray (with sometimes dark green color) opaque lustrous subangular grains. There are also some white matte opaque subangular grains, and moderate to small amounts of lustrous translucent rounded grains. The paste is tactually angular and oxidizes to brick red. Hornblende andesite was identified as the major inclusion (Chyi, personal communication).

Paste #9A. This paste contains abundant gold mica aligned parallel to the walls that is generally small (up to ca. .75 mm). There are moderately abundant black grains that are elongated to subangular or subrounded, less than .5 mm in size. When broken, these grains are shiny, metallic. They often look prismatic, and sometimes are in or associated with white lustrous transparent grains. Also present in this paste are abundant white opaque combined with white semitransparent lustrous subangular grains that are less than .5 mm. Sometimes the two grains appear separate. Rare to very rare are dark red almost matte subrounded grains, less than .5 mm. The paste is fine textured and oxidizes to brick red. Hornblende andesite was identified as the major inclusion (Chyi, personal communication).

Paste #10. This paste contains abundant black very small (less than 1 mm) shiny opaque angular grains. These grains have flat planes and tend to be or appear to look long and prismatic. Some of them have an iridescent luster. Abundant to moderately abundant white opaque semi-

lustrous or semi-matte subangular grains occur that are also very small. Some of these grains also contain lustrous translucent grains and dark red areas. There are minor amounts of lustrous translucent subrounded grains, some larger than the other grains. Very minor are dark orange opaque matte rounded grains, some with black inclusions; some are larger than other grains. This fine textured paste looks temperless megascopically. Particles align parallel to the walls. The paste oxidizes to light yellowish brown. Hornblende andesite was identified in this paste (Chyi, personal communication).

Paste #11. This paste contains banded grayish-white grains that on edge look like slivers. Lustrous translucent bands alternate with white opaque bands; not all bands are parallel. These grains are difficult to quantify since they are not always clearly visible microscopically. There are moderately abundant grayish-white or clear lustrous translucent rounded grains as well as minor matte opaque powdery-looking grains. There are sometimes in minor amounts orange lustrous opaque subangular grains and occasionally very minor black lustrous round to flat incisions. The texture of this paste is fine and platy, looking like lustrous glassy planes tightly intermeshed in various directions. The entire paste looks vitreous microscopically, but megascopically not vitreous and in some cases temperless. The paste oxidizes to orange-red and the core may be buff-colored. This paste contains volcanic glass/tuff (Chyi, personal communication).

Paste #12. This paste contains abundant gray-white merky opaque matte grains having black inclusions and sometimes black mica within them. These grains are subangular to rounded and of different sizes, up to 1 mm. There is abundant (but not so abundant as in the paste #4 group)

large sized (about 1 mm) gold mica, and moderately abundant black mica. Less abundant are milky white opaque lustrous rounded grains, consistently large, about 1 mm. In minor amounts are lustrous translucent subangular grains up to 1.5 mm in size, and matte black inclusions. Paste texture is tactually sandy and angular. This paste is rosy red and vitreous. Devitrified tuff has been identified in this paste (Chyi, personal communication).

Paste #13. This paste contains abundant dark purplish-red semi-lustrous to lustrous subrounded grains, that have gray-white to white lustrous angular, gold mica, and black inclusions. To the naked eye these grains appear grayish. They are large, most about .5 mm or less, but up to almost 2 mm. Moderately abundant is gold mica, up to 1 mm in size. There are some milky white rounded to angular grains, relatively large. There are some lustrous translucent rounded grains, relatively large, up to 1 mm. Very rare are black inclusions having an almost iridescent, metallic luster. This paste is tactually angular and is oxidized red. Cryptocrystalline tuff has been identified in this paste (Chyi, personal communication).

Paste #14. Very abundant are pinkish to pinkish-red to very dark red areas that are amorphous in outline and lack clear boundaries; sometimes, however, these look like grains. Gold to reddish-gold mica, sometimes clinging to the pinkish or red areas just described, is fairly abundant. There are minor to moderately abundant amounts of milky to translucent angular grains, and very minor dark red to blackish opaque semi-matte almost glassy subangular grains. This fine textured paste is grainy, not platy, and only under the microscope can the vitreous or glassy luster of the paste be seen. The paste is dark brick red

oxidized. Arkosic sandstone has been identified in this paste (Chyi, personal communication).

Pastes #15 and #15A. Are not Pucara style pastes.

Paste #16. This paste is very unusual and its appearance may be related to its firing process. Moderately abundant black subangular grains occur that are matte, but shiny when broken. Moderately abundant orangy clear lustrous subangular grains are present as are moderate amounts of gold mica and occasional white opaque grains. There also bright orange grains with uneven surfaces and minute dark gray inclusions that both give the appearance of oxidized and incompletely oxidized parts of the paste respectively. The fine-textured paste is tactually hard, rings slightly when struck, and under the microscope shows platy vesicles oriented parallel to the walls that almost have a glassy appearance. The paste is incompletely oxidized, having a dark grey core and orange surfaces.

Paste #17. This unusual paste contains dispersed and moderately abundant dark red dull lustrous to matte rounded grains, some having a small amount of white inclusions. There is a small amount of gray rounded grains and some white matte subangular grains. The fine-grained paste oxidizes to yellowish orange.

Surface Finish

Surface finish groups were based on the interior and exterior surfaces together. Many times, as on larger sherds such as jars that extend from the rim to the body, there are different finishes from one location to another on the vessel. Surface finish, especially on the interior, may vary near the rim, on the neck, and on the body, and these

changes are so noted on the sherds. The following descriptions indicate the characteristic surfaces of each group.

Group I. Exterior is horizontally smoothed, and generally matte. Parallel ridges or troughs from smoothing are tactually and visibly present, 3-5 mm wide, but as narrow as 1.5 mm and as wide as 8 mm. Surface is not well compacted; that is, there are places where the surface is not smoothed and is rough. The surface has an uneven contour. Interior is horizontally scraped, as shown by striations, often deep. Occasionally clay has built up at the end of the scraping marks. Surface contour is more even than the exterior.

Group IA. Like Group I, but the exterior shows both horizontal and oblique ridges or troughs from smoothing.

Group IB. Like Group I, except the exterior shows vertical smoothing.

Group IC. Like Group I, except the exterior shows both horizontal and vertical smoothing.

Group ID. Like Group I, except the exterior shows diagonal smoothing.

Group IE. Like Group I, except the exterior shows horizontal and vertical smoothing, and the interior shows horizontal, diagonal, and vertical scraping.

Group II. Exterior is horizontally well smoothed generally to a dull luster. Troughs or ridges are visible but tactually less pronounced than in Group I. Troughs are about 1-2 mm wide. The surface contour is somewhat uneven. Interior is horizontally scraped as in Group I.

Group IIA. Like Group II, except the exterior shows both horizontal and oblique ridges or troughs from smoothing.

Group IIB. Like Group II, except the exterior shows vertical to oblique smoothing.

Group IIC. Like Group II, except the exterior shows horizontal and vertical smoothing.

Group IID. Like Group II, except the interior shows both horizontal and diagonal scraping.

Group III. Exterior is well smoothed to a dull luster or highly polished to a lustrous surface (like that of Group IV and some of Group II). Smoothing troughs are visible, but tactually less apparent and about 1-2 mm wide. The Interior has horizontally smoothed surfaces, but sometimes the smoothing is not well compacted so that horizontal scrape marks are clearly visible on parts of the surface. Rather broad smoothing troughs, 3-5 mm wide, are visually and tactually apparent, although sometimes troughs are not apparent tactually. Surface contour is uneven.

Group IV. Exterior is well smoothed horizontally to a luster or dull luster. On incised pieces smoothing frequently follows, or is parallel to, the incisions. On open bowls, for example, usually the exterior surface has a more uneven contour than the interior and troughs or ridges are more pronounced tactually than on the interior.

Interior is well smoothed horizontally to a luster or dull luster.

Group IVA. Same as Group IV, except exterior and interior are highly polished and lustrous with very fine, compacted surfaces.

Group IVB. Same a Group IV, except exterior is vertically smoothed with horizontal smoothing at the rim.

Group IVC. Same as Group IV, except exterior is vertically smoothed.

Group IVD. Same as Group IV, except exterior is both horizontally and diagonally smoothed.

Group V. Exterior is well smoothed or polished horizontally to a luster or dull luster (as in Group IV). Interior is wiped or washed horizontally. "Wet"-looking impressions or fine shallow striations are visible.

Group VA. Same as Group V, except exterior has both vertical and horizontal smoothing marks. Specifically, the body of a base sherd smoothing is vertical and at the base edge it is horizontal, or on a rim sherd the neck has vertical smoothing, while the rim has horizontal smoothing.

Group VB. Like Group V, except exterior has smoothing marks in all directions and interior has wipe marks in all directions. Exterior contour is very uneven and interior contour is uneven.

Group VC. Like Group V, except exterior has vertical smooth marks and very uneven surface contour. The interior has an uneven contour.

Group VD. Like Group V, except exterior shows uneven coverage of smoothing and interior shows either horizontal and/or no orientation of wiping.

Group VE. Like Group V, except exterior has diagonally oriented smoothing.

Group VF. Like Group V, except exterior shows both horizontal and diagonal smoothing.

Group VI. Exterior is horizontally smoothed like Group I. Smoothing marks are about 3-4 mm wide, and sometimes horizontal striations show between smoothing marks. Interior is same as exterior.

Three other subgroups of VI were designated based on orientation directions of exterior smoothing.

Group VII. Exterior is wiped horizontally. Interior is wiped horizontally.

Group VIIA. Exterior is wiped horizontally and vertically; interior is wiped horizontally and diagonally.

Group VIII. Exterior is horizontally smoothed like Group II. Interior is wiped horizontally.

Five other subgroups of Group VIII were designated based on directions of smoothing on exterior, or in one group wiping on interior.

Group IX. Exterior is scraped horizontally as the interior of Groups I and II. Interior is wiped horizontally.

Two other subgroups of Group IX were designated based on the directions of exterior scraping and/or interior wiping.

Group X. Exterior is like that of Group I (uneven horizontal smoothing). Interior is horizontally wiped.

Five other subgroups of Group X were designated based on the directions of exterior smoothing and/or interior wiping.

Group XI. Exterior is like that of Group II (well smoothed horizontally). Interior is brushed or "scratched" horizontally.

Two other subgroups of Group XI were designated based on the directions of exterior smoothing and/or interior brushing.

Group XII. Exterior is horizontally scraped. Interior is horizontally scraped.

Two other subgroups of Group XII were designated based on the directions of exterior scraping.

Group XIII. Exterior is like exterior of Group II. Interior is like exterior of Group II.

Three other subgroups of Group XIII were designated based on the directions of exterior and/or interior smoothing.

Group XIV. Exterior is wiped. Interior is horizontally scraped.

Group XIVA. Like Group XIV, except exterior wiping is both vertical and horizontal.

Group XV. Exterior is like exterior of Group I. Interior is like exterior of Group II.

Group XVI. Exterior is like exterior of Group I. Interior is like exterior of Group II.

Group XVIA. Like Group XVI, except exterior has both horizontal and vertical smoothing.

Group XVII. Exterior is horizontally smoothed over horizontal wiping that shows in many areas between the smoothed areas. Interior is horizontally wiped.

Group XVIIA. Like Group XVII, except exterior shows vertical smoothing over wiping.

Group XVIII. Exterior is like exterior of Group II. Interior is like exterior of Group I.

Group XIX. Exterior is like exterior of Group I. Interior is like interior of Group IV.

Group XX. Exterior is like exterior of Group I. Interior is horizontally brushed or "scratched."

Group XXI. Exterior is like interior of Group III. Interior is like interior of Group III.

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IX. VESSEL SHAPES AND RELATED ATTRIBUTES

Unlike the abundant examples of complete vessels present in many coastal sites and periods, those in south highland Peru and the Lake Titicaca Basin are for the most part highly fragmentary. This characteristic is particularly prevalent in sites pertaining to the first half of the Pottery Stage (Initial Period to Early Intermediate Period). Specifically, in the Cuzco and Puno regions, complete vessels begin to appear (especially associated with human burials) only during the Middle Horizon, corresponding to Huari and Tiahuanaco occupations respectively. In addition, it can be noted that this pattern is also present in many early sites of the north and north-central highlands of Peru. Such peculiarities in vessel preservation during the first-half of the Pottery Stage in coastal (e.g., Cupisnique, Paracas, Nasca, and Moche) and highland (e.g., Chiripa, Qaluyu, Marcavalle, Chanapata, and Pucara) sites, may indicate different traditions in burial patterns and pottery production.

Consequently, to overcome this limitation the analysis and classification of vessel shapes in Pucara are based on the most completely or partially reconstructed vessels, that is, vessels reconstructed from rim to base or those with larger portions of the rim or the base preserved. Aside from very few complete miniature and a couple of regular-size vessels present in Kidder's and other Pucara collections, the rest of the pottery is highly fragmentary.

Fortunately, the different attributes (size, shape, paste, temper, surface finish, and decoration) are relatively standardized, and generally permit the incorporation of smaller and badly preserved fragments into the different categories established for Pucara.

On the other hand, our extensive efforts to glue together as many pieces as possible, has more than doubled those pieced together by Kidder and have permitted the reconstruction of many shapes, designs, and motifs; but at the same time, it has significantly reduced the original number of sherds. For purposes of quantification glued sherds have been counted as one specimen since such quantification more closely approximates the minimal number of vessels represented (MNV). For example, a vessel reconstructed with 139 individual glued sherds, is now counted as one. However, such vessels also retain the information as to the number of pieces they contain, and those numbered are included for further reference in the individual descriptions of reconstructed vessels.

Each shape in the following classification also takes into account further additional variations in attributes, such as lip and rim shapes, wall shape and thickness, vessel height, proportion of neck-to-body or pedestal-to-bowl, and ratio of rim-to-base diameters. In addition, with very few exceptions, the central portion of the base bottom of bowls and jars are slightly concave. That is, the outer base circumference rests flat on a surface, while the center of the base exterior becomes slightly concave. Furthermore, based on a few more completely reconstructed base bottoms extending into the radius, the concave base can continue, or it can rest again on a flat surface.

The classification of each shape (such as regular, oversized, or miniature jars, bowls, ollas, and effigy vessels), also takes into account whether the vessel is restricted or unrestricted. That is, a restricted vessel refers to the different degrees of incurving or reduction of diameter at the upper walls (usually at the neck-to-body junction in jars and at the rim or lip portions in bowls); while walls of unrestricted vessels remain open, or the rim diameters are greater in relation to the base. In addition, based on ethnographic observations made in the south highlands of Peru, the consideration of both restricted and unrestricted vessels may also allow us to infer the possible functions assigned to these vessels, such as activities carried out in the contexts from which the pottery was recovered, including temple structures and elsewhere in Pucara. The following chart is based on my ethnographic observations and summarizes the possible functions for both unrestricted and restricted vessels:

SHAPE	POSSIBLE FUNCTION
UNRESTRICTED VESSELS (e.g., beaker, bowl, and effigy)	Serving Drinking liquids Containing solids/liquids Ceremonial burners
RESTRICTED VESSELS (e.g., tall & squat jars, and effigy)	Preparation Fermentation Storage Transportation Lime containers for coca chewing

Regarding the terms or names given to each shape, I have purposefully avoided using terms which imply function of the vessels, such as "drinking cups" or "incense burners." However, in a few cases functional names are assigned when there is enough evidence to do so

(e.g., the presence of interior burnt spots or sooty residue in pedestal-base bowls, indicating a ceremonial burner).

Miniature vessels are relatively rare in the collection and are usually about 5-6 cm in height and even smaller in rim and base diameters. While many miniature vessels are fragmentary, there are also a few which are relatively complete or at least a large portion of the rim and base are preserved (especially unrestricted vessels). Miniature vessels also replicate the two major categories of fancy and plain vessels, as well as restricted and unrestricted shapes, within which many specific groups in the large and medium sized vessels are also present. The similarities with larger or regular sized vessels also include surface finish, paste, presence of slightly concave bases, and wearing at the outer periphery of the base bottom. On the other hand, there are a few new shapes of miniature vessels, indicating that either their larger counterparts are absent or not represented in the six excavated units at Pucara. Likewise, some large shapes are absent in miniatures.

Most of the fancy miniatures are associated with polished red slipped surface(s), geometric designs, feline motifs, male-head effigy bowls and jars, and male-related motifs (especially human severed heads and the feline-headed snake motif), but only one miniature jar has the owl motif which is a female-related motif. Furthermore, most restricted miniature shapes, such as jars, have a heavy accumulation of a white residue, and many of these are calcium carbonate deposits since they react to HCl. In this respect, ethnographic information in the Andes indicates the use of small containers (usually gourd) for calcium carbonate (<u>llipt'a</u> in Runa Simi), which is consumed along with coca-leaf

chewing to release additional alkaloid in coca. Consequently, such an important attribute would indicate that these miniatures are special purpose vessels, rather than, for example, toys or simply a miniaturization of larger vessels, and provides indirect means to suggest the use and importation of coca in Pucara times from its native habitat in the eastern slopes of the Andes.

On the other hand, most (if not all) of the unrestricted miniature shapes, such as bowls, lack the white residue or calcium carbonate. Instead, their interiors show different degrees of wearing, some even with wearing marks in a rotating form. Hence, unrestricted miniature shapes were likely also special purpose vessels for the grinding or preparation of some substance.

The documentation of the different attributes present on miniature vessels posed some difficulties and required additional time--in many instances more than those in regular or oversized vessels. For example, the determination of wall shapes, interior/exterior rim thickening, technique of vessel construction, and measurements to calculate proportions, were imperceptible at first glance or so small that in many instances these were in fractions of a millimeter. Likewise, those with complex designs or motifs include the use of very fine incisions, and pigments were still applied to very restricted small spaces. Hence, those miniature jars containing, for example, the feline motif in pairs, still possess the felines' head and in some cases even the front feet in appliqué relief, and in many instances the associated feline attributes had more detail than in the larger vessels where more space was clearly available.

Consequently, the inclusion of all the miniature vessels in this section is limited and lacks the extensive and systematic documentation provided for the larger or regular-sized vessels. However, general comparisons are made between miniature and regular-sized vessels at the end of the sections dealing with unrestricted and restricted shapes. Likewise, when necessary or appropriate, some miniature vessels have also been included in the sections dealing with the different motifs and themes.

The following sections include the description, documentation, classification, and study of unrestricted shapes, followed by restricted shapes. Furthermore, a general summary illustrating all the shapes is included at the beginning of the section dealing with unrestricted shapes (Figure 4), and another preceding the section on restricted shapes (Figures 86-87). Proveniences and additional attributes are included in charts at the end of each shape. All measurements are given in centimeters.

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CAPTION TO GENERAL UNRESTRICTED SHAPES
(Figure 4)

Pedestal Base Bowls
a. Medium, Pedestal Base Bowl.

Ovoidal Annular Base Bowl
b. Large, Ovoidal Annular Base Bowl with Horizontal Handles.

Slightly Outflaring Bowls
c. Large, Deep Slightly Outflaring Bowl.
d. Medium, Deep Slightly Outflaring Bowl.
e. Small, Deep Slightly Outflaring Bowl.
f. Deep, Slightly Outflaring Narrow Based Bowl.
g. Medium, Shallow Slightly Outflaring Bowl.
h. Small, Shallow Slightly Outflaring Bowl.

Outflaring Tetrapod Bowl
i. Small, Shallow Slightly Outflaring Tetrapod Bowl.

Shallow Outflaring Bowls
j. Large, Shallow Outflaring Bowl.
k. Medium, Shallow Outflaring Bowl.
l. Small, Shallow Outflaring Bowl.

Hemispherical Shallow Bowls
m. Small, Hemispherical Shallow Bowl.

Slightly Outflaring Beakers
n. Large, Slightly Outflaring Beaker.
o. Small, Slightly Outflaring Beaker.

Male-Head Effigy Bowls
p. Medium, Male-Head Effigy Bowl.

Slightly Incurved and Vertical Walled Bowls
q. Medium, Slightly Incurved and Vertical Walled Bowl.

Slightly Incurved Very Shallow Bowls
r. Small, Slightly Incurved Very Shallow Bowl.

Slightly Incurved Deep Bowl
s. Medium, Slightly Incurved Deep Bowl.

PEDESTAL-BASE BOWL OR CEREMONIAL BURNER

Some authors refer to this shape as "incense burner" (or incensario in Spanish), a term which implies the use of an aromatic resin from incense-bearing trees. However, it should be pointed out that such trees are native to Southwest Asia, and were introduced into the Andes in Colonial times. Hence, a more appropriate term would be pedestal-base bowl or ceremonial burner, as indicated by the frequent presence of burnt and sooty patches on the interior walls and base portions of the vessel (e.g., K. Chávez 1985:144). However, Weston LaBarre (1946:584) makes a brief mention of a native odoriferous resinous plant (called khoa in Aymara), which is burnt today in "incense burners" during ceremonial occasions among the Chipaya and Carangas peoples in Bolivia.

This roughly hour-glass shape consists of two connected portions that form a restricted waist where they join: above, a slightly outflaring bowl with two lugs (or two horizontal handles) at the rim, and below, a hollow pedestal resembling a truncated cone. The bowl portion is deeper and larger in diameter than the pedestal portion, and the bowl has slightly convex walls while the pedestal portion usually has slightly concave walls. The rim of the bowl is direct or slightly thickened on the interior and has a beveled lip on the interior. The rim of the pedestal is direct or slightly thickened on the exterior, and usually has a short exterior bevel. The waist diameter is smaller than both bowl and pedestal rim diameters, and the bowl base is slightly concave where preserved. Most specimens are regular or medium sized (with a few slightly smaller), and very rarely small.

Considering the logistics in manufacturing this shape, it is possible that the pedestal portion was made and subsequently attached

after the bowl portion was completed. A few examples of polychrome bowl portions support this assertion. They show where the pedestal portion became separated from the bowl, exposing a series of indentations or punctations made along the circumference of the underside of the bowl base that corresponds to the attachment of the pedestal portion onto the slightly concave base of the bowl. Subsequently, the interior and exterior junctures of the pedestal were sealed and evened out, making these portions smooth and rounded in cross-section.

Since most pedestal-base bowls tend to break below the juncture with the bowl, it can be difficult to assign pedestal rims to pedestal portions of burners. In fact, one author drew such Pucara-style pedestal rims upside-down, as though they were slightly outflaring bowls or neck portions of jars (Ponce 1970:Fig. 32 bottom, and 33 upper left). However, a distinguishable feature present on most (if not all) pedestal bases is the wear on the pedestal rim which has altered its original shape to a flat, horizontal and slightly squared lip, and has obliterated the pigmented and polished surface of the lip (exposing the paste in some cases). This post-fire wear pattern is certainly the result of contact with a hard flat surface (such as a stone slab), and is present only on pedestal bases and not at the lip of the bowl portion.

The following three sections include polychrome, polished red slipped, and black pedestal-base burners, classified in terms of the presence of lugs or horizontal handles.

Pedestal-base Bowls with Lugs

This group includes fancy ceremonial burners with polychrome incised motifs and designs distributed on the entire exterior (from rim

to base), and is the most abundant pedestal-base group in Pucara. There is also a small number of vessels that have polychrome designs only on the bowl portion while the pedestal portion remains polished red slipped. A few other specimens are black with incised motifs and designs, and one is polished red slipped.

The upper portion of the bowl is slightly outflaring and convex walled, while its lower portion is more rounded towards the base/waist. The interior lip is sharply beveled. Only the exterior and beveled lip have a smooth or polished surface but can extend onto the interior just below the bevel. The interior of the bowl lacks this kind of fine finishing and is self slipped; interiors are crudely smoothed, wiped, or sometimes scraped (see section dealing with Surface Finish). Sometimes a shallow indentation (the width of a finger) is present just below the rim exterior. The walls are relatively homogeneous in thickness, ranging from 6-8 mm in some pieces and 7-9 mm in others. The upper portions of the walls containing relief are slightly flat, likely from pressing the surface during attachment of the appliquéd human or feline heads.

Based on more complete vessels, a pair of tab-like or ovoidal lugs are located opposite one another at the rim exterior. Specimens with lugs not preserved may once have had them. These lugs sometimes extend very slightly above the rim/lip, and their edges gradually blend with the surrounding surface, making it difficult to take accurate measurements. However, lugs have a maximum length of 3.5-3.7 cm, a maximum width of 1.3-1.5 cm, and a maximum thickness of 6-8 mm or 3 mm in one case. They tend to be worn at the "tip," where they protrude most.

The waist portion forms an angle of between 130-140 degrees between bowl and pedestal. The interior walls and bases of many bowls have burnt areas and/or sooty remains, which serve to identify the vessel as a ceremonial burner.

The walls of the pedestal portion are slightly concave (or somewhat straight in a few cases), terminating in a very slightly thickened or beveled lip exterior. The walls tend to be slightly thinner than those of the bowl. The smoothed or polished exterior extends onto the interior for about 4-10 mm, and the rest of the interior surface is wiped, crudely smoothed, or scraped. The lip is worn horizontally flat where it contacts the surface.

A large number of specimens in this group are associated with specific motifs and designs as follows: polychrome incised Feline Motifs with their heads in relief on the bowl portion and only geometric designs on the pedestal portion; polychrome incised themes such as the Feline Man and Camelid Woman occupying the entire surface from rim to pedestal base; panels of polychrome incised geometric designs on the bowl portion and a polished red pedestal portion; black incised Feline Motif or geometric designs on the bowl and either incised (and excised) geometric designs or a polished black pedestal portion. Finally, a single specimen preserved from rim to near the waist, lacks designs or motifs. This specimen is polished red slipped on the exterior, extending 2 cm into the interior, below which the surface is sooty and blackened. In addition, the kind of surface finish in this specimen (III, associated with burners) serves to classify it as a burner, rather than as a bowl.

The following two charts show the most complete specimens and their related attributes present in pedestal-base bowls with lugs, as follows: the first chart includes specimens with polychrome incised designs and motifs on the entire exterior, and those with designs only at the bowl portion; the second chart includes the single polished red slipped bowl portion, and those with black surfaces and incised motifs and designs. The diameter at the restricted waist portion or point of inflexion (Shephard 1968:226), does not necessarily correspond to the true base of the bowl, but it is close to it. This point of reference was also used to determine the height of both the bowl and pedestal portions. Furthermore, all the specimens are completely oxidized, and those pertaining to black sherds are also completely oxidized, but with blackened interior and exterior surfaces.

	BOWL=MOTIFS PEDESTAL=DESIGNS			BOWL=DESIGNS PDSTL=POLSH RED		
Specimen Number	1*	2	3	4	5	6
Rim Diameter	19	20	15	14.7	17	-
Waist Diameter	12	11.5	8.8	10.1	10.2	10.6
Bowl Height	8.3	8.7	7.1	8	8.3	-
Rim Diam:Bowl Ht	2.3:1	2.3:1	2.1:1	1.8:1	2:1	-
Rim:Waist Diam.	1.6:1	1.7:1	1.7:1	1.5:1	1.7:1	-
Pdtl. Base Diam.	16	14.5	10.6	12.2	14	13
Pedestal Height	5.7	6	4.8	4.3	4.2	4.7
Vessel Height	14	14.7	11.9	12.3	12.5	-
Bowl Ht:Pdtl Ht	1.4:1	1.4:1	1.5:1	1.9:1	2:1	-
Paste	#1/1A	#1A	#1	#1A	#1	#1A
Surface Finish:						
Bowl	II	III	III	II**	V	-
Pedestal	II	II?	V	V**	V	V

*This relatively complete specimen has a volume capacity of 1300 milliliters.
**Upper interior of bowl and lower interior of pedestal are III.

Provenience and Associated Motifs and Designs

Specimen 1: (Figure 51), Excavation III, West Extension, 2352-4 (4 sherds). Bowl with Feline Motifs, pedestal with panels of geometric designs.

Specimen 2: (Figure 6), Excavation III, Levels 5-6 and W. Extension, 2373-239 to 257, etc. (38 sherds). Bowl with Feline Motifs, pedestal with panels geometric designs.
Specimen 3: (Figure 7), Excavation II, 2221-33, 2216-1 to 5 (6 sherds) Bowl with Feline Motifs, pedestal with panels of geometric designs.
Specimen 4: (Figure 8), Excavation V, North Wall, 2615-12 to 36, and Excavation VI, W. side of NW Corner, 2632-1 (26 sherds). Bowl-pedestal with Camelid Woman Theme, pedestal with geometric designs.
Specimen 5: (Figure 9), Excavation III, W. Extension, 2363-1 to 5, 2373-309, 2364-1 to 2 (8 sherds). Bowl with panels of geometric designs, pedestal polished red.
Specimen 6: (Figure 10), Excavation I, Level 9, Concentration 3, 2185-1 to 3 (3 sherds). A horizontal incision at the waist indicates that the bowl had designs, the pedestal is polished red.

	BOWL= PLSH RED	BOWL-PEDESTAL=BLACK INCISED (1 has undecorated pedestal)			
Specimen Number	7**	8**	9	10	11
Rim Diameter	19	17	-	-	-
Waist Diameter	10.4	10	10 .6	7	7
Bowl Height	8	7.7	-	-	-
Rim Diam:Bowl Ht	2.4:1	2.2:1	-	-	-
Rim:Waist Diam	1.8:1	1.7:1	-	-	-
Pdtl. Base Diam.	-	-	13	-	11
Pedestal Height	-	-	5	-	5
Vessel Height	-	-	-	-	-
Bowl Ht:Pdstl Ht	-	-	-	-	-
Paste	#1A	#1A	#1A	#8A?	#1A
Surface Finish:					
Bowl	III	V	V	***	-
Pedestal	-	-	V	***	III

**These specimens are preserved from rim to near waist, hence the bowl height and waist measurements are approximate.
***Exterior is not smoothed; interiors of bowl and pedestal are scraped.

Provenience and Associated Motifs and Designs

Specimen 7: (Figure 11), Excavation III, Level 5, 2264-39 to 40 (2 sherds). Bowl polished red.
Specimen 8: (Figure 12), Excavation III, House Extension, 2388-5 to 11 (7 sherds). Bowl with Feline Motif.
Specimen 9: (Figure 13), Excavation III, Level 6, 2308-1. Bowl with remains of designs or motifs, pedestal polished black.
Specimen 10: (Figure 14), Excavation IV, Room 2, Level 2, Lower Level, 2427-13. Waist portion with geometric designs likely extending beyond.
Specimen 11: (Figure 15), Excavation III, House and West Extensions, 2389-2, 2343-2 (2 sherds). Pedestal with geometric designs.

Consequently, based on the analysis presented above, the following attributes are major diagnostic features for the identification of pedestal-base bowls with lugs:

1. Slightly outflaring and convex walled bowl, with a more rounded portion toward the waist.
2. Direct or slightly thickened rim on the interior and interior beveled lip.
3. Presence of two lugs on opposite sides of the rim.
4. Smaller waist diameter than rim or base, forming an angle of between 130-140 degrees.
5. Slightly concave or somewhat straight pedestal walls, with slight exterior thickening and bevel of its rim.
6. Pedestal rim worn flat on contact with surface.
7. Smoothed or polished exterior and beveled lip; crudely smoothed, wiped, or scraped interior of bowl and pedestal portions.
8. Pastes include local paste #1A and #8A(?) of unknown origin (non-local?) in this sample.
9. Polychrome or black incised pedestal-base ceremonial burners possess the following themes, motifs, and designs: The Camelid Woman Theme, the Camelid Motif, the Feline Man Theme, the Feline Motif, and Geometric Designs.

Pedestal-Base Bowls with Horizontal Handles

This kind of undecorated, polished red slipped vessels are for the most part similar to the previously described group. However, this group has two horizontal handles instead of lugs, and vessels are polished red slipped on the entire exterior, from rim to base. The red slip extends onto the lips of the bowl and pedestal, and may continue to the upper interior of the bowl. The handles are also situated at and on opposite sides of the rim (or rarely just below the rim, not illustrated), but tend to be oriented slightly downwards (about 3-7 mm below the horizontal plane). Handle length ranges from 4.3-5 cm, width from 1.5-2.2 cm, and they extend 1.3-2 cm beyond the rim exterior. Furthermore, unlike usual handles which permit the insertion of at least one finger, these have very small and ovoidal openings ranging from 7 by 5 mm to 14 by 11 mm, indicating that they may have been used as lugs.

Only one specimen (not illustrated) has the opening large enough to insert a finger. The wall thickness tends to be homogeneous, and the interior bevel of the rim is less pronounced than the previous group.

Polished red slipped burners are the next largest group, but are rarely found preserved from rim to base (most are preserved from rim to the middle of the bowl portion). Hence, while fragments of the bowl portion, especially those with the horizontal handle, can readily be included in this new group, pedestal pieces can be confused with the previous group of polished red pedestals pertaining to polychrome incised bowls. Consequently, only those having portions of the polished red bowls and pedestals are included here.

All the other shape attributes present in the previously described group also apply here, including the flat wearing of the pedestal rim. Many specimens also have sooty and burned interiors indicating their function as burners.

Although the following chart includes the most complete specimens and their related attributes, none is preserved or reconstructed from rim to base. These pieces are completely oxidized.

	POLISHED RED			
Specimen Number	1*	2	3	4
Rim Diameter	19.5	-	-	17
Waist Diameter	11.5	12	11.6	-
Bowl Height	8.5	-	-	-
Rim Diam:Bowl Ht	2.3:1	-	-	-
Rim:Waist Diam.	1.7:1	-	-	-
Pdtl. Base Diam.	-	15	14.5	-
Pedestal Height	-	3.5	4	-
Paste	#1A	#1A	#1	#1A
Surface Finish:				
Bowl	V	III	III	III
Pedestal	-	III	II	-

*Most of the bowl portion in this specimen is preserved, and has a volume capacity of 1200 milliliters.

Provenience
Specimen 1: (Figure 16), Excavation III, West Extension, 2337-1 to 8 (8 sherds).
Specimen 2: (Figure 17), Excavation III, Level 5, 2262-1 to 2 (2 sherds).
Specimen 3: Excavation III, Level 5, 2264-51 to 55 (5 sherds).
Specimen 4: (Figure 18), Excavation III, West Extension, 2341-58.

Consequently, based on the analysis presented above, the following attributes are diagnostic features for the identification of pedestal-base bowls with horizontal handles:

1. Slightly outflaring and convex walled bowl, with a more rounded portion towards the waist.
2. Direct or slightly thickened rim on the interior and interior beveled rim.
3. Presence of two horizontal handles on opposite sides of the rim.
4. Smaller waist diameter than rim or base, forming an angle of 130 degrees.
5. Slightly concave or somewhat straight pedestal walls, with slight exterior thickening and bevel of its rim.
6. Pedestal rim worn flat on contact with surface.
7. Polished red slipped exterior surface from rim to base; crudely smoothed or wiped bowl interior and crudely smoothed or scraped pedestal interior.
8. Paste include local pastes #1 and #1A in this sample.

OVOIDAL ANNULAR-BASE BOWL WITH HORIZONTAL HANDLES

This group of undecorated vessels is rare in Pucara, and does not belong with the fancy pedestal-base bowls of the two previous groups. Although the base is pedestal and the function is also likely a burner, this group differs significantly from the pedestal-base bowls in overall shape and proportions, its larger size, less well finished surfaces, uneven or irregular contours, paste generally associated with utilitarian forms, and its lack of red slip or decoration. Specimen 1, an almost complete rim to base vessel, is a large ovoidal bowl, with a

short ovoidal ring base set in from the bowl base edge. The identification of this vessel shape requires large fragments having diagnostic attributes of form preserved.

Based on Specimen 1, the bowl portion is ovoidal (or rectangular with rounded corners), and its almost flat base becomes slightly concave toward the center. The top of the rim is irregular or almost wavy all around. The walls are very slightly outflaring, forming an angle of 100 degrees at the narrow sides and 110 degrees at the wide sides. The rim of the narrow side has a slight and gradual interior and exterior thickening, and the rim top is rounded; the rim of the wide side is slightly thickened only on the interior (forming a somewhat convex wall profile), and the top is slanted towards the exterior. Further differences between the wide and narrow sides also include slightly thicker walls and somewhat shorter bowl and taller annular base on the wide side. Interior and exterior surfaces are tan slipped and not well smoothed, on the exterior in diagonal and horizontal directions. In addition, the center of the bowl interior has a slightly worn rectangular area of about 17 by 5 cm, and the interior and exterior mid-wall and rim have some horizontal zones of blackening. Its function as a burner is supported by the blackening.

Specimen 1 has one horizontal handle preserved just below the rim, situated in the middle of the wide side. Since such a large and heavy vessel would be difficult to carry or lift with a single handle, it may be assumed that all such specimens had two handles opposite one another on the wide sides of the bowl. The preserved handle is 7.5 by 2.5 cm (another specimen is 9 by 3.5 cm), but the opening is too small (2 by 1 cm) for a finger to be inserted. Consequently, at least in Specimen 1

the handle may have been used as a lug, although another piece has a large enough opening (2.7 by 2 cm) to permit at least one finger to be inserted.

The very short annular base has much smaller dimensions than the bowl. Because it is set in about 4 cm from the edge of the bowl base, the characteristic waist juncture present on pedestal-base burners is lacking. This portion is also ovoidal (or rectangular with rounded corners), has vertical walls, and is thickened and rounded on the interior and exterior where it attaches to the underside of the bowl. The rim of the base is also worn flat on contact with the surface.

The following chart includes Specimen 1 and a few related fragments. Most pieces are completely oxidized.

		PLAIN		
Specimen Number	1*	2	3**	4***
Rim Length	31	-	-	-
Rim Width	21.4	-	-	-
Bowl Height	6.1, 7.1	9.2	-	-
Annular Base Length	20.6	-	15	-
Annular Base Width	10	-	-	-
Annular Base Height	1.9, 1.4	-	2.8	-
Bowl Ht:Base Ht	3.2:1 5.1:1	-	-	-
Vessel Height	8, 8.5	-	-	-
Paste	#4	#4	#6	#4
Surface Finish	XIIIB	XIIIA	IV	V?

*Rim width is reconstructed. The two measurements for bowl height, annular base height, and total vessel height correspond to the wide and narrow sides respectively.
**The length or width of this small annular base fragment cannot be determined with certainty.
***The measurements for this rim piece with a horizontal handle cannot be determined, but they are probably like Specimen 1.

Provenience
Specimen 1: (Figure 19), Excavation III, Level 5, 2253-1 to 3 (3 sherds).
Specimen 2: (Figure 20), Excavation III, Level 5, 2254-42 to 46 (5 sherds).

Specimen 3: (Figure 21), Excavation II, 2214-2.
Specimen 4: Excavation IV, Wall A-Central Section, Upper Level, 2435-1.

Consequently, based on the analysis presented above, the following attributes are diagnostic features for the identification of ovoidal annular-base bowls with horizontal handles:

1. Ovoidal bowl and annular base, with bowl dimensions, including height, much larger than base dimensions; base is set far in from bowl walls so no waist is formed.
2. Straight bowl walls that are very slightly outflaring with angles ranging from 100-110 degrees.
3. Bowl rims have some slight exterior and/or interior thickening with rim top either straight and slanted toward the exterior or slightly rounded.
4. Almost flat bowl base, becoming slightly concave towards the center.
5. Presence of likely two horizontal handles on the opposite wide sides of the rim.
6. Straight to slightly concave walls of the annular base.
7. Annular base worn flat on contact with the surface.
8. Surface finish is well smoothed to moderately well smoothed interior and exterior as well as smoothed exterior and wiped interior.
9. Pieces are tan to brownish orange slipped and undecorated. Some blackening is present at the mid-interior and exterior, as well as portions of the rim.
10. Pastes include the micaceous paste #4 (of unknown origin) generally associated with utilitarian vessels present in abundance at Pucara, as well as a rare paste #6.

SLIGHTLY OUTFLARING BOWLS

This shape is relatively abundant and for the most part associated with polychrome incised themes and motifs, followed in lesser quantities by polished red slipped and by plain bowls. The walls are slightly outflaring, and, based on more complete pieces, two lugs are present, one on each opposite side of the rim. Furthermore, aside from a few large deep bowls and shallow small bowls, most are within the range of regular size bowls. In addition, it has been determined that the most important variable in classifying large and small bowls, is the vessel height, since rim diameters may be the same in many cases. Furthermore,

the presence of exterior thickening and beveling, and somewhat straight outflaring walls, stand out in contrast to the bowl portion in the previously described pedestal base bowls, and serve to identify and classify smaller fragments.

Large, Deep Slightly Outflaring Bowl

This kind of bowl is rare. It has slightly outflaring walls with angles ranging from 105-125 degrees, and a relatively homogeneous wall thickness ranging from 7-9 mm in one case and 12-14 mm in another. The upper walls can be straight or somewhat concave, and slightly convex towards the base. The exterior base juncture is direct and can be relatively sharp or slightly rounded, while the interior is rounded. The exterior rims are thickened with a sharp beveling, although in other cases the thickening and beveling are less pronounced. A few base portions are preserved with diameters ranging from 16-19 cm (the base in Specimen 1 has been estimated to be 14 cm). Only one piece has a lug preserved at the rim, measuring about 4.5 cm long, 1.8 cm wide, and 8 mm thick. Vessel height is 10 cm or more (Specimen 1, for example, has an estimated height of 13.8 cm).

Large, deep bowls are polished red slipped on the interior and exterior and may be polychrome incised. Associated are a large bird "devouring" a man (with portions of the man's body in relief), the Guanaco and Bird Motif on the entire exterior with a band of guanacos on the upper interior, or a band of severed heads and arms on the upper interior.

The following chart includes some of the few specimens pertaining to this group. The fragments are completely oxidized.

	POLYCHROME			POLISHED RED	
Specimen Number	1*	2**	3	4	5
Rim Diameter	27	26	25	34	26
Bowl Height	13.8	13.2	10	-	-
Rim Diam:Bowl Ht.	2:1	2:1	2.5:1	-	-
Base Diameter	14	19	16	-	-
Paste	#1A	#1	#1	#1A	#8
Surface Finish	IV	IV	IV	IV	IV

*The height and base diameter are reconstructed.
**This specimen is housed at the National Museum in Lima, and was restored in plaster making difficult to obtain the entire wall thickness.

Provenience and Associated Motifs

Specimen 1: (Figure 22), Excavation IV, Trench U - Upper Level, and Wall K to a depth of 75 cm, 2555-46 to 69, 2501-23 (27 sherds, some do not fit but are part of the same piece). Exterior with the Guanaco and Bird Motif, upper interior band with guanaco motifs.
Specimen 2: (Figure 23), Excavation III, Levels 4 and 5, (6 sherds). Exterior with a large bird "devouring" a man, and upper interior band with severed heads and arms.
Specimen 3: (Figure 24), Excavation III, West Extension, 2361-1 to 2 (2 sherds). Upper interior band with severed heads and arms.
Specimen 4: (Figure 25), Excavation III, Level 5, 2264-36.
Specimen 5: (Figure 26), Excavation III, Level 5, 2264-79.

Consequently, based on the analysis presented above, the following attributes are diagnostic features for the identification of large, deep slightly outflaring bowls:

1. Slightly outflaring and somewhat straight walls, some slightly concave near the rim and slightly convex toward the base, forming angles ranging from 105-125 degrees.
2. Exterior rim thickening and beveling ranging from sharp to less pronounced.
3. Homogeneous wall thickness, with specimens varying from 7-9 mm in one case to 12-14 mm in another.
4. Likely two lugs, one at opposite sides of the rim.
5. Rim diameters ranging from 25-34 cm.
6. Bowl height ranging from 10-13.8 cm.
7. Slightly concave base worn on the exterior circumference.
8. Smoothed/polished interior and exterior surfaces.
9. Surfaces are red slipped only or also posses the following motifs: The Guanaco and Bird (entire exterior and band on upper interior), the large bird "devouring" a man (entire exterior), and the motif containing Severed Heads and Arms (band on upper interior).
10. Most pastes in this sample are local, #1 or #1A, and also #8 (unknown origin).

Medium, Deep Slightly Outflaring Bowl

This group is very abundant, and shares most of the characteristics of the large, deep bowls described above. However, there is also more variability in rim and wall shape, bowl height, and rim diameter, as well as in associated motifs and designs.

The walls are slightly outflaring and straight or slightly concave at the rim, forming angles ranging from 115-130 degrees. Bowl height ranges from 6.2-9.7 cm, and rim diameters range from 13-24 cm. The wall thickness is relatively homogeneous (5-8 mm), although in some cases the middle portion is thinner (5 mm) and slightly concave (especially the exterior) or convex.

Nowhere is the variability more significant than at the rim and lip portions. Rims may be direct, thickened, or thickened and beveled on the interior. The rim exterior can be slightly thickened to form a bevel that ranges from long and sharp to short and almost unnoticeable. The upper portion of the lip can be rounded or pointed. The rim of one polished red bowl having the unusually sharp interior beveled rim could be confused with the bowl of a pedestal-base burner except for its slightly outflaring walls and red slipped smooth interior.

Based on more complete specimens, there are two oval lugs, one on each side of the rim, and these are similar in size and shape to those present on pedestal-base bowls. These lugs are usually situated at the level of the rim, but they can also protrude about 4 mm above the rim, or can be situated 4 mm below the level of the rim. The lug dimensions range from 2.2-4 cm long, 1.2-2 cm in maximum width, and 4-7 mm in thickness.

The juncture with the base portion is generally direct and relatively sharp, while the interior is rounded. The exterior circumference of the base bottom is worn for about 5 or 12 mm, after which the base becomes slightly concave or it can become flat again in the center. The base diameter ranges from 7.5-14 cm, and the thickness can range from 5-13 mm (most are 7 mm thick). In addition, some bases have an unusual ring in relief situated in the center of the base interior, and based on a few large base fragments, the ring appears precisely centered. The inner and outer portions of these rings are gently rounded as a result of smoothing them to the level of the surrounding surface, and the maximum height ranges from 2-4 mm. Ring measurements range from 3.5-4 cm in exterior diameter and 2-2.5 cm in interior diameter (measured from its highest points, which tend to be worn).

Most bowls of this group have the entire interior and exterior polished/smoothed red slipped, and one in this sample, "mica plain," is smoothed on the exterior and scraped on the interior with orange slipped or self-slipped surfaces. However, most of the specimens are associated with fancy male-related motifs, the Feline Man Theme, as well as geometric designs.

The following two charts and illustrations include specimens showing the minor variations in rim, lip, and wall, as well as their dimensions and proportions. The pieces are completely oxidized.

	POLYCHROME				
Specimen Number	1	2*	3	4	5
Rim Diameter	22.7	21.2	20	21	24
Bowl Height	9.3	9.7	6.5	7.3	7
Rim Diam:Bowl Ht	2.4:1	2.2:1	3.1:1	2.9:1	3.4:1
Base Diameter	16	15	12	12	15
Paste	#11	#1A	#1A	#1A	?
Surface Finish	IV	IV	IV	IV	IV

*This specimen has a relief ring on the base interior.

Provenience and Associated Theme, Motifs, and Designs

Specimen 1: (Figure 27), Excavation III, House Extension, 2396-1. Upper interior band with severed heads.
Specimen 2: (Figure 28), Excavation III, Level 5. The Feline Man Theme on the entire exterior.
Specimen 3: (Figure 29), Excavation III, West Extension, housed at the National Museum in Lima (P-8425, 72). Band of severed heads unusually situated on the upper exterior.
Specimen 4: (Figure 30), Excavation II, 2223-9. Upper interior band of geometric designs.
Specimen 5: (Figure 31), Excavation IV, Wall B, North Section, 2473-1 to 10 (10 sherds). Upper interior band with severed heads.

		POLISHED RED				MICA PLAIN
Specimen Number	6	7	8	9	10	11
Rim Diameter	18.6	22	24	22	17	20
Bowl Height	7.6	7.5	7.2	6.8	6.2	8.3
Rim Diam:Bowl Ht	2.4:1	2.9:1	3.3:1	3.2:1	2.7:1	2.4:1
Base Diameter	12	11.8	13.7	15.2	7.5	10.2
Paste	#1A	#1A	#1A	#1?	#1A	#4A
Surface Finish	IV	IV	IV	IV	IV	II

Provenience

Specimen 6: (Figure 32), Excavation IV, Wall D - Upper Level, 2483-1.
Specimen 7: (Figure 33), Excavation II, 2210-28 to 29 (2 sherds).
Specimen 8: (Figure 34), Excavation III?, no number-31 to 38 (8 sherds).
Specimen 9: (Figure 35), Excavation II, 2214-1, 2210-37 (2 sherds).
Specimen 10: (Figure 36), Excavation III, West Extension, 2341-29.
Specimen 11: (Figure 37), Excavation I, Level 3, 2168-2.

Consequently, based on the analysis presented above, the following attributes are diagnostic features for the identification of medium, deep slightly outflaring bowls:

1. Slightly outflaring walls that are straight or slightly concave at the rim, forming angles ranging from 115-130 degrees.
2. Considerable variability in lip and rim. The rim can be direct, slightly thickened, or thickened and beveled on the interior. Exterior beveling can be long and sharp or short and almost unnoticeable.
3. Relatively homogeneous wall thickness (5-8 mm), and in some cases the middle portion can be thinner with slightly concave or convex exterior.
4. Presence of two lugs, each on opposite sides of the rim, usually situated at rim level, or just above or below the rim.
5. Rim diameters ranging from 17-24 cm.
6. Bowl height ranging from 6.2-9.7 cm.
7. Slightly concave base, worn on its exterior circumference; larger base fragments show that the concave base can also become flat in the center.
8. In some cases, presence of a relief ring situated in the center of the base interior.
9. Smooth/polished interior and exterior surfaces, except for one piece with micaceous paste that has a smooth exterior and scrapped interior.
10. In this sample, pastes are mostly local (#1, #1A); a non-local paste (#11) or of unknown origin (#4A) are minor.
11. This shape is associated with red slipped interior and exterior surfaces, mica plain, and with polychrome incised decoration as follows: The Feline Man Theme (entire exterior), the Severed Head (and Arm) Motifs (band on upper interior, or in one case upper exterior), the Feline Headed Snake Motif (band on upper interior), the Feline Headed Flying Snake Motif (entire exterior, not illustrated), Miscellaneous Bird Motifs (entire exterior), and Geometric designs (band on upper interior).

Small, Deep Slightly Outflaring Bowl

This group is relatively rare, and shares most of the attributes present in the previous bowls. However, the rim and base diameters are smaller, while the bowl height is proportionately deeper and ranges from 4.8-5.7 cm.

Most of the specimens have the same range of variation in wall, base, rim, and lip attributes as in the previously described group. However, one polished red slipped specimen has a flat topped, irregularly wavy rim, and its upper wall thickness of 7 mm gradually thickens to 8 mm at the base. The bases of this form are slightly

concave and worn for about 4-8 mm on the exterior circumference, and in specimens having a larger portion of the base preserved, the concavity extends across the entire base. The angles formed at the base and wall range from 110-120 degrees. Although none of the specimens is large enough to have the lugs preserved, it is very possible that this attribute was also present here.

One specimen also has the relief ring in the center of the interior. Furthermore, most of the bowls show extensive wear marks on the interior of the base (including wear marks produced by a circular motion in the specimen with the relief ring), and even pitted marks extending over the entire interior (in the specimen with wavy rim). In addition, this group is associated with polished red slipped surfaces, as well as with incised red slipped, and polychrome incised, motifs.

The following chart includes the most complete specimens in this group. These specimens are completely oxidized.

	POLYCHROME	POLISHED RED		
Specimen Number	1	2	3	4
Rim Diameter	14.5	11	11	14.3
Bowl Height	5.7	4.9	4.8	5.5
Rim Diam:Bowl Ht	2.5:1	2.2:1	2.3:1	2.6:1
Base Diameter	9.5	7	6.2	9
Paste	#1A	#1A	#1A	#8A
Surface Finish	IV	IV	IV	IV

Provenience and Associated Motifs

Specimen 1: (Figure 38), Excavation VI, West Side, 2626-1 to 3 (3 sherds). Bird motif on the entire exterior.

Specimen 2: (Figure 39), Excavation IV, Trench U - Upper Level, 2555-8 to 9 (2 sherds). Anthropomorphized Flying Feline Motif directly incised on a polished red slipped exterior.

Specimen 3: (Figure 40), Excavation IV, Trench U - Upper Level, 2565-1.

Specimen 4: (Figure 41), Excavation IV, Level 2, Room 2 - Lower level, 2425-1.

Consequently, based on the analysis presented above, the following attributes are diagnostic features for the identification of small deep slightly outflaring bowls:

1. Slightly outflaring walls that are straight or slightly divergent at the rim, forming angles ranging from 110-120 degrees.
2. Slightly thickened exterior rim with relatively sharp exterior beveling, or flat top in one case.
3. Likely associated with two lugs at the rim.
4. Rim diameters ranging from 11-14.5 cm.
5. Bowl height ranging from 4.8-5.7 cm.
6. Slightly concave base, worn at the outer periphery.
7. One specimen has a ring in relief situated at the middle of the interior base.
8. Smoother, polished interior and exterior surfaces.
9. Pastes are local (#1A) or of unknown origin (#8A).
10. Interior wear suggests some kind of grinding or mixing function.
11. This shape is associated with polished red slipped surfaces, and with polished red slipped incised (not polychrome), Anthropomorphized Flying Feline motif (exterior), and with polychrome incised bird motif (entire exterior).

Deep, Slightly Outflaring Narrow-Base Bowl

Specimens pertaining to this group are very rare, and none has the base preserved. The major attribute which serves to isolate this group is the very small base diameter in relation to rim diameter and bowl height.

The walls are slightly outflaring with angles ranging from 120 to 130 degrees. Very slightly concave upper walls (somewhat straight) become slightly convex toward the base. The upper walls tend to be thicker (5-8 mm), thinning towards the base; in two instances the walls are only 3 mm near the base. The exterior rim is slightly thickened and beveled, although in one case the lip is thinner and pointed. Only one specimen has remains of a lug at the rim.

This group is associated with polychrome incised and polished red slipped surfaces, and in a few cases the lower exterior is blackened

from definite burning. The following chart includes the most complete specimens in this group that are completely oxidized.

	POLISHED RED				POLYCHROME
Specimen Number	1	2	3	4	5*
Rim Diameter	17	17	14	14	18
Estimated Bowl Ht.	6.5	7.5	6.2	5	8.8
Rim Diam:Est. Ht.	2.6:1	2.3:1	2.3:1	2.8:1	2:1
Est. Base Diameter	6	7.5	5.5	6	7.7
Paste	#1A	#1	#1	#1A	-
Surface Finish	IV	IV	IV	IV	-

*This specimen is part of Kidder's 1937 surface collection.

Provenience
Specimen 1: (Figure 42), Excavation V, North Wall, 2612-8 to 11 (4 sherds).
Specimen 2: (Figure 43), Excavation III, Level 6, 2307-16.
Specimen 3: (Figure 44), Excavation III, West Extension, 2341-21.
Specimen 4: (Figure 45), Excavation III, Level 5, 2264-43.
Specimen 5: (Figure 46), Surface Collection, 1624 (2 sherds). Bird motif.

Consequently, based on the analysis presented above, the following attributes are diagnostic features for the identification of deep, slightly outflaring narrow base bowls:

1. Slightly outflaring walls with concave (somewhat straight) walls becoming convex and thinner walled towards the base, and forming angles ranging from 120-130 degrees.
2. Slightly thickened and beveled exterior rim, or direct rim with pointed lip in one case.
3. Rim diameters ranging from 14-18 cm.
4. Likely association with two lugs, one on opposite side of the rim.
5. Estimated bowl height ranging from 5-8.8 cm.
6. Likely very small base diameters in relation to rim diameter and bowl height.
7. Smoothed, polished interior and exterior surfaces.
8. This shape is associated with polished red slipped surfaces which, in a few cases, are blackened on the exterior from burning, and polychrome incised bird motif (entire exterior).
9. Pastes are local (#1, #1A).

Medium, Shallow Slightly Outflaring Bowl

Such bowls are relatively rare, but most of the shape attributes are shared with, or are within the range of previously described bowls. However, the main criterion used to classify this group is bowl height, which is shorter than in previous groups and ranges from 4.8-5.7 cm.

Slightly outflaring walls have angles ranging from 120-130 degrees. The exterior base juncture is relatively sharp, while the interior is rounded. Wall thickness can be homogeneous (8 mm), or thins in the middle and sometimes to the base (5 mm thick). The rim is direct or slightly thickened on the exterior, and the lip also shows some variability including a rounded or pointed top, relatively sharp interior beveling (almost everted), or slight exterior beveling. Furthermore, the base is slightly concave and worn at the exterior circumference for about 8 mm. Only one specimen has a lug preserved at about 5 mm below? the rim. In addition, this group is associated only with polished red slipped surfaces including the exterior, interior, and exterior base bottom. The following chart shows the most complete specimens, which are completely oxidized.

Specimen Number	1	2	3*
Rim Diameter	18.4	21.2	18
Bowl Height	4.8	5.5	5.7
Rim Diam:Bowl Ht	3.8:1	3.9:1	3.1:1
Base Diameter	11	13.5	11.3
Paste	#1A	#1A	#1
Surface Finish	IV	IV	IV

*This specimen has a gray dendritic accumulation near the interior bottom reacting to Hcl, as well as wear marks (as from stirring) on the circumference of the base interior.

Provenience
Specimen 1: (Figure 47), Excavation II, 2210-24.
Specimen 2: (Figure 48), Excavation II, 2210-27.
Specimen 3: (Figure 49), Excavation II, 2213-2.

Consequently, based on the analysis presented above, the following attributes are diagnostic features for the identification of medium, shallow slightly outflaring bowls:

1. Slightly outflaring walls forming angles ranging from 120-130 degrees.
2. Direct or thickened exterior rim, with relatively sharp interior beveling or slight exterior beveling.
3. Relatively homogeneous wall thickness (8 mm), or thinning (5 mm) in the middle or to the base.
4. Likely presence of two lugs, one on opposite sides of the rim.
5. Rim diameter range from 18-21.2 cm.
6. Bowl height ranging from 4.8-5.7 cm.
7. Slightly concave base, worn at the exterior circumference.
8. Smoothed/polished interior and exterior surfaces.
9. This shape is associated only with polished red slipped surfaces and with local pastes (#1, #1A).

Small, Shallow Slightly Outflaring Bowl

This group has most of the attributes within the range of the previously described bowls. However, the rim diameter (9.8-16 cm) and bowl height (2.5-4.1 cm) are much smaller, while the angles (120-135 degrees) are about the same as in the previous group.

Additional differences include somewhat straight or very irregular walls (in one case, excessively thick walls and rounded lip), in some cases irregular (almost wavy) rims and/or bases, and a smaller specimen has an unusual protrusion at the exterior base. No lugs are preserved and may not be present in this group. One specimen has remains of the relief ring situated in the center of the interior. Many others are worn on the bottom interior, and a few also have shallow perforations or conical depressions in the base interior. Based on some larger base

fragments, several depressions are present at the outer periphery of the base interior, and such small bowls may have been used for spinning (Karen Chávez, personal communication, based on ethnographic observations).

This group is associated with polished red slipped, "mica plain," and "plain red" specimens. The following chart shows the most complete specimens, which are well oxidized. The dimensions are given in cm.

	POLISHED RED		PLAIN RED		MICA PLAIN
Specimen Number	1	2	3	4	5
Rim Diameter	13.8	16	11.5	9.8	15
Bowl Height	4.1	3.8	2.5	2.7	3.1
Rim Diam:Bowl Ht	3.4:1	4.2:1	4.6:1	3.6:1	4.8:1
Base Diameter	9.4	10.5	9	7	9.5
Paste	#1A	#1A	#8A	#7	#4
Surface Finish	IV	IV	XV	XV	XIII

Provenience
Specimen 1: (Figure 50), Excavation III, Level 5, 2264-10.
Specimen 2: (Figure 51), Excavation III, West Extension, 2341-35.
Specimen 3: (Figure 52), Excavation IV, Trench V, Upper Level, 2573-10.
Specimen 4: (Figure 53), Excavation III, Level 5, 2256-22.
Specimen 5: (Figure 54), Excavation III, Level 5, 2258-19.

Consequently, based on the analysis presented above, the following attributes are diagnostic features for the identification of small shallow slightly outflaring bowls:

1. Slightly outflaring walls with straight or slightly everted rims, forming angles ranging from 120-135 degrees.
2. Exterior rim slightly thickened, with slight exterior beveling.
3. Relatively homogeneous wall thickness ranging from 6-9 cm.
4. Bowl height ranging from 2.5-4.1.
5. One specimen has a relief ring situated at the middle of the interior base.
6. Association with polished red, plain red, and mica plain surfaces.
7. Pastes are local (#1A), but most are of unknown origin(s) (#4, #7, and #8A).

SMALL, SHALLOW SLIGHTLY OUTFLARING TETRAPOD BOWL

There is only one specimen in this group, and only one other specimen with a foot or leg is present in the entire Pucara collection (see section dealing with the Head with Rayed Appendages), which indicates the special nature of this piece. The context is also special; the four fragments pertaining to this specimen were among the very few items associated with the west grave chamber, situated in the sunken court of the main temple (Excavation VI).

The walls are slightly outflaring and convex, forming an angle of 130 degrees, with a relatively homogeneous wall thickness (6-7 mm) from rim to base. The rim lacks the slight exterior thickening, and the lip has an exterior beveling. Furthermore, the base is slightly concave and becoming flat at the middle of the base. The four legs or feet are attached at the base juncture. In addition, these legs are 7-8 mm in height and somewhat trapezoidal, and are worn flat on contact with the surface.

This specimen has a plain red surface with blackened portions at the interior base and exterior (fire cloud?), and some remains of white residue are present on the interior of the bowl, which react to Hcl. The following chart shows additional attributes present in this well oxidized specimen.

Rim Diameter	16
Bowl Height	4.8
Rim Diam:Bowl Ht.	3.3:1
Base Diameter	8.5
Vessel Height	5.6
Paste	#8A (of unknown origin)
Surface Finish	XV

Provenience: (Figure 55) Excavation VI, Central Enclosure, West Grave Chamber, 2656-1 to 4 (4 sherds).

SHALLOW OUTFLARING BOWLS

Large, Shallow Outflaring Bowl or Plate/Dish

This unusual shape is very rare, and is characterized by excessively wide angles ranging from 160-165 degrees resembling a relatively flat plate or dish. Unfortunately there are no specimens preserved from rim to base, but they may have had very small base diameters. Furthermore, one of the specimens included here is somewhat worn on the exterior, rim, and interior surfaces; and the other has a worn area (ca. 2.1 cm wide) at the center of the interior, removing a black/burnt circular area as well as the red slip. The burnt surface also extends onto most of the exterior, indicating that this shape was a special purpose vessel probably used as a burner rather than as a lid.

The exterior portion of the rim is slightly thickened, and the top is pointed and forming a slight interior and exterior bevel, or the top can be flat and without beveling. The walls are very slightly concave or somewhat flat, turning slightly convex towards the base, with relatively homogeneous thickness (ca. 8 mm).

Such specimens are associated only with polished red slip surfaces. The following chart includes the two specimens which are well oxidized.

Specimen Number	1	2
Rim Diameter	28	22
Estimated Height	3	2.5
Rim Diam:Height	9.3:1	8.8:1
Estimated Base Diam.	6	6
Paste	#1A	#1A
Surface Finish	IV	IV

Provenience
Specimen 1: (Figure 56), Excavation V, North Wall, 2612-6.
Specimen 2: (Figure 57), Excavation III, West Extension, 2341-52.

Consequently, based on the analysis presented above, the following attributes are diagnostic features for the identification of large shallow outflaring bowls or dishes:

1. Excessively outflaring walls, forming angles ranging from 160-165 degrees.
2. Slightly thickened exterior rim with or without a slight bevel.
3. Slightly concave or somewhat flat walls, turning slightly convex towards the base.
4. Associated with polished red slipped surfaces, which are worn and/or burnt.
5. Pastes are local (#1A).

Medium, Shallow Outflaring Bowl

Although the bowl height in this group (2.6-3.6 cm) is within the range of the previously described large bowls or dishes, the walls are less outflaring (145-155 degrees) and the rim diameters are smaller. This time a few bases are preserved, some of which are worn at the outer periphery of the bottom. One specimen has a larger portion of the base preserved and is slightly concave, but becoming to flat in the middle. The exterior portion of the rim is slightly thickened and beveled, with rounded top or pointed in one instance. In some cases the walls are relatively homogeneous in thickness (5-7 mm), and in others slightly thinner near the base, but in all cases the walls are slightly concave (somewhat straight) and slightly convex near the base, with almost unnoticeable base juncture. Furthermore, no lugs are preserved or they may be absent.

Such specimens are associated only with polished red slipped surfaces. However, in one case the entire interior and exterior is burnt and blackened, indicating an additional similarity with the large

outflaring plates. Likewise, another specimen shows exterior burnt areas near the base, as well as extensive wearing at the base interior.

The following chart includes the most complete specimens in this group. The pieces are well oxidized.

Specimen Number	1	2	3*
Rim Diameter	16	17	20
Bowl Height	2.6	2.8	3.6
Rim Diam:Height	6.2:1	6.1:1	5.6:1
Base Diameter	9	7.5	9
Paste	#1	#1A	#1A
Surface Finish	IV	IV	IV

*This specimen is preserved from rim to very near the base, hence the bowl height and base diameter are estimations.

Provenience
Specimen 1: (Figure 58), Excavation IV, Trench U, Upper Level, 2551-2.
Specimen 2: (Figure 59), Excavation III, West Extension, 2341-53.
Specimen 3: (Figure 60), Excavation III, Level 5. 2264-17.

Consequently, based on the analysis presented above, the following attributes are diagnostic features for the identification of medium shallow outflaring bowls:

1. Similar bowl height (2.6-3.6 cm) to that in the previous large bowls or dishes, but less outflaring walls (145-155 degrees) and smaller rim diameters (16-20 cm).
2. Slightly thickened and beveled exterior rim, as well as slightly concave or somewhat straight walls becoming somewhat convex near the base, and almost unnoticeable base juncture.
3. Slightly thinner walls (5-7 mm) than in the previous large bowl or dish.
4. Association with polished red slipped surfaces, which can be burnt and blackened on the exterior and interior, as well as extensively worn at the base interior.
5. Pastes are local (#1 or #1A).

Small, Shallow Outflaring Bowl

Such bowls are very rare, and have smaller diameters (6-13 cm) and slightly smaller bowl heights (2.5-2.6 cm) than in the previously described medium shallow outflaring bowls. Otherwise, the attributes

present at the lip, rim, wall and base, are similar, including the wearing at the base interior in one case, as well as the angles which range from 140-150 degrees.

On the other hand, the presence of at least one small depression at the periphery of the base interior, irregular (almost wavy) rim, and a slight extension at the exterior base, resemble those in the small shallow slightly outflaring bowls described previously. This group is associated with polished red slipped, and gray slipped with some red slip surfaces.

The following chart includes two of the most complete specimens in this group. The specimens are well oxidized.

Specimen Number	1	2
Rim Diameter	13	11
Bowl Height	2.5	2.6
Rim Diam:Height	5.2:1	4.2:1
Base Diameter	6.5	6
Paste	#1	#1B
Surface Finish	IV	VI

Provenience
Specimen 1: (Figure 61), Excavation I, Loose mixed earth from cleaning off face in front of excavation, 2165D-3.
Specimen 2: (Figure 62), Excavation III, Level 5, 2258-1.

Consequently, based on the analysis presented above, the following attributes are diagnostic features for the identification of small shallow outflaring bowls:

1. Smaller diameters (11-13 cm) and bowl heights (2.5-2.6 cm) than in the previous medium shallow outflaring bowls.
2. Slightly thickened and beveled exterior rim, as well as slightly concave or somewhat straight walls turning a bit convex near the base juncture.
3. Similar angles as in the previous group, ranging from 140-150 degrees.

4. Similarities with small shallow slightly outflaring bowls in the presence of at least one small depression at the base interior periphery, irregular (almost wavy) rim, and a slight extension at the exterior base.
5. Association with polished red, and gray slip with some red slip surfaces, which are worn at the base interior.

Hemispherical Shallow Bowls

This shape is very rare, and no specimen is preserved from rim to base. This lack of more complete sherds does not permit the conclusive determination of the base as flat or rounded. Based on these specimens, the diameters range from 15-16 cm and the bowl height is approximately 3.5-4.5 cm. The lip lacks the characteristic thickening of other groups of bowls. The relatively homogeneous wall thickness terminates in a direct, or thinner and tapering lip. The hemispherical shape is not smooth, rather it tends to bend slightly at about the middle of the bowl, or in the other specimen the slight bending occurs near the rim. Furthermore, the hemispherical shape makes the angle very difficult to obtain.

One specimen is red slipped on the entire interior with extensive wear marks at the bottom, while the rim is red extending 1 cm onto the exterior forming a horizontal band, below which is a light brown slip or self slip. This piece is incompletely oxidized. The other specimen has an exterior red band situated just below the rim, containing an unusual scroll-like design in black with an additional narrow black band below it. The narrow portion between the lip and the band of designs is cream as well as the rest of the bowl below the band of designs. The cream color has a brownish tone likely from post-depositional burning. This piece is completely oxidized.

The following chart includes two of the most complete examples.

Specimen Number	1	2
Rim Diameter	15	16
Aprox. Bowl Height	4.5	3.5
Rim Diam:Height	3.3:1	4.6:1
Paste	#10	#8
Surface Finish	IV	III/IV

Provenience
Specimen 1: (Figure 63), Excavation I, Level 2, and Concentration 4 below Level 11, 2166-1 and 2189-116.
Specimen 2: (Figure 64), Excavation I, Level 2, 2167-1.

Consequently, based on the analysis presented above, the following attributes are diagnostic features for the identification of hemispherical shallow bowls:

1. Regular diameters (15-16 cm) and approximately smaller bowl heights (ca. 4.5-3.5 cm). Shape of base is unknown, but likely rounded.
2. Direct or thinner tapering lip.
3. Relatively homogeneous wall thickness, with slight bend at about the middle of the bowl or near the rim.
4. Association with a red interior surface (worn at the bottom) extending 1 cm onto the exterior, or a cream exterior surface with a horizontal band of geometric designs near the rim.
5. Possibly non-local pastes (#10 and #8), but of unknown origin(s).

SLIGHTLY OUTFLARING BEAKERS

Such vessels are relatively rare, and most specimens in the collection are rim to body or only base portions. However, Rowe and Brandel (1971:Fig. 1a, b) reported the only known complete beaker, now housed at the National Museum in Lima. Rowe assigned it to the Pucara-style, and indicated that according to the museum accession records this specimen was catalogued by Max Uhle while he was the director of the museum in 1905-1912. Subsequently, we were able to document this specimen in more detail, hoping to use it as a guide in the classification of the Pucara beaker fragments. However, a close study of its attributes indicates that only the general beaker shape (with a raised band around the upper third of the vessel), and surface finish

are similar to those in the Pucara collection. The rest of the attributes are certainly not Pucara (or may be a later Pucara-related style), and include: Very convex base; direct rim lacking the exterior thickening and beveling; very thin upper walls (5 mm) and gradually doubling at the base (10 mm); a series of contiguous trapezoidal designs on the raised band (a pair of red ones alternating with a single black one); below this band a wider band containing an unusual combination of nested rectangles, rings, and solid triangles; and lack of cream color.

Based on the Pucara rim fragments, the sizes range from medium (16-19 cm in diameter) to small (11-13 cm in diameter), and the few diagnostic base fragments range from large or perhaps over sized (ca. 22-25 cm in diameter) to medium (ca. 19 cm in diameter). Furthermore, two very large rim fragments (one from the 1955 Kidder and Chávez excavations, and the other from the surface material collected by Chávez Ballón) indicate the presence of over sized beakers with a rim diameter of 28 cm in the former, and perhaps larger in the latter.

One of the main diagnostic features in this shape is the consistent presence of a raised band situated around the upper portion of the beaker, which is 1.8-2.1 wide and begins 4.4-7 cm below the rim in the large/over sized beakers, 1.3-1.7 cm wide and 3.4-4.8 cm below the rim in the medium sized beakers, and 1.4-1.5 cm wide and 2.3-3.6 cm below the rim in the small beakers. These bands are rectangular or rounded/convex in cross-section, usually only 1-2 mm in relief and rarely 3 mm. In addition, the bands usually contain a series of contiguous parallelograms (each alternating in cream, black, and red), and very rarely stepped interlocking designs (also alternating in the

same colors), and rectangles with a pair of horizontal lines in the middle (each alternating in cream and black).

The walls are somewhat straight and slightly outflaring with somewhat everted rim, turning slightly convex towards the base (one base fragment has a straight or direct base juncture). The wall thickness is relatively homogeneous, ranging from 5-8 mm in the medium sized fragments, 5-6 mm in the small, and 7-11 in one of the large/oversized fragment. Furthermore, the angles in rim to body fragments (measured below the slightly everted rim) range from 82-84 degrees, and the angles in the base fragments range from 82-100 degrees. In addition, the exterior base bottom is polished red slipped, slightly concave, and worn at the outer periphery.

Aside from the raised band containing geometric designs, the portion above it is usually polished red slipped, and extends into the upper interior of the beaker forming a band ranging from 2-12 mm in width, or 35 mm in one of the large/over sized beaker. Very few fragments (associated with a raised band containing cream and black rectangles) have the portions above and below the raised band decorated with what appears to be remains of polychrome vertical bands and/or motifs, but these are too fragmentary to determine the specific kind of designs. Furthermore, the portion below the raised band (likely extending to the base) possesses polychrome geometric designs, or in a few cases incised designs on a polished red slipped surface. Other fragments contain the Head with Rayed Appendages, with the face in relief; the Feline Headed Snake Motif associated with different kinds of birds, the "Cat Fish," and beings holding a human severed head; or a series of cream and black rectangular panels, each containing or

alternating with bird motifs, the Feline Headed Flying Snake Motif, and Winged Man (in one case having the head in relief) holding a human severed head.

The following chart includes rim and base fragments corresponding to medium and small sized beakers. The fragments are well oxidized.

	LARGE/ OVER SIZED			MEDIUM SIZED			SMALL SIZED		
Specimen Number	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
Rim Diameter	28	-	-	19	16	-	13	12	11
Base Diameter	-	25	22	-	-	19	-	-	-
Paste	?	#1A	#1	#1A	#1A	#1A	#1A	#1A	#1A
Surface Finish	V	IV?	III?	III	II	V	IV?	V	II

Provenience and Associated Designs and Motifs

Specimen 1: (Figure 65), Kidder and Chávez's 1955 Excavation. Raised band with a series of polychrome stepped designs.

Specimen 2: (Figure 66), Excavation VI, Central Enclosure, 2655-138 to 144 (8 sherds in two portions). Base fragment containing polychrome designs.

Specimen 3: (Figure 67), Excavation IV, Wall A, Central Section, 2441-23 to 24 (2 sherds). Base fragment containing Head with Rayed Appendages.

Specimen 4: (Figure 68), Excavation III, 2341-9 to 10, and 2373-125 (3 sherds). Rim fragment probably with geometric designs below the raised band.

Specimen 5: (Figure 69), Excavation III, House Extension, 2409-110 and no number-15 (2 sherds). Rim fragment probably with designs below the band.

Specimen 6: (Figure 70), Excavation III, Levels 5 and 6 clearing in front of excavation, 2307-1, 2294-28, and 2415-4 (3 sherds). Base fragment with the Feline Headed Flying Snake Motif.

Specimen 7: (Figure 71), Excavation III, Levels 5 and 6, West Extension and clearing in front of excavation, 2373-296, 2294-158 to 159, 2415-41 to 42, and 2323-54 (6 sherds). Nested Rectangles below the raised band.

Specimen 8: (Figure 72), Excavation III, Level 6, 2323-31 to 32 (2 sherds). Probably designs below the band.

Specimen 9: (Figure 73), Excavation III, Section 8-10, Level 2, 2232-4. Probably designs below the band.

Consequently, based on the analysis presented above, the following attributes are diagnostic features for the identification of slightly outflaring beakers:

1. Presence of a raised band below the rim, containing polychrome parallelograms or rectangles with a pair of horizontal lines, or stepped designs.
2. Somewhat straight and slightly outflaring walls, with a somewhat everted rim, and slightly convex towards the base.
3. Relatively homogeneous wall thickness corresponding to 7-11 mm on one large/oversized specimen, 5-8 mm in medium sized, and 5-5 mm in small sized specimens.
4. Projecting the rim angles to the base, these range from 82-100 degrees (including base fragments).
5. The base bottoms are slightly concave, polished red slipped, and worn at the outer periphery.
6. The field between the rim and raised band is usually polished red slipped, and very few appear to have polychrome designs above and below the band (associated with rectangles in the raised band).
7. The larger field below the band to the base, contains polychrome designs (a few have incised designs on a polished red surface), and the Head with Rayed Appendages, the Feline Headed Snake Motif associated with different kinds of birds, the "Cat Fish," and beings holding human severed heads. Some specimens also have cream and black rectangular panels alternating with bird motifs, the Feline Headed Flying Snake Motif, and the Winged Man holding a human severed head.
8. Local pastes (#1 or #1A).

MALE-HEAD EFFIGY BOWLS

Effigy bowls are very rare. Two such vessels are preserved from rim to base and are housed at the National Museum in Lima, where they were reconstructed in plaster making it difficult to obtain accurate measurements and observations of paste and surface finish. However, during a trip to the museum we were able to match these specimens to ones excavated by Kidder and described in his notes, making it possible to place their provenience from Excavation III. One of the effigy bowls is slightly larger than the other, and both possess a single human head with the entire face in relief. Their identification as a male head has been reached through comparisons with similar miniature vessels and the Feline Man (see section dealing with the Feline Man Theme).

The first specimen is a medium sized deep bowl with very slightly outflaring and convex walls, forming an angle of 97 degrees. The walls

are straight with a rounded lip top, and relatively homogeneous thickness ranging from 6-8 mm. The base of the bowl is flat, although the lower chin portion of the head protrudes 2 mm below the level of the base, giving the impression of a slightly concave base. The entire face is solid and in high relief, depicted in three dimensions from rim to base. Furthermore, the entire interior and exterior base bottom are polished red slipped. However, the lower third portion of the bowl interior is worn, and even more so the exterior base bottom (especially the protruding base of the chin).

The second specimen is also a medium sized deep bowl but with slightly smaller dimensions than the previous one. The walls are slightly outflaring, but with somewhat straight lower walls and slightly incurved rim, forming an angle of 100 degrees. The lip top is flat, and the walls are relatively homogeneous in thickness ranging from 6-7 mm. The base of the bowl is relatively flat, and the lower chin portion of the head also protrudes 2 mm below the level of the base. However, unlike the first specimen, this protruding chin is preserved as a raised band about 1 cm wide. The entire face is solid and depicted in three dimensions from rim to base, but in much lower relief. Furthermore, only the entire exterior base bottom is polished red slipped, while the polished red extends only 4 mm into the interior of the bowl, below which the surface is orange slip. In addition, the interior bottom is worn, as well as portions of the outer circumference of the exterior base bottom making contact with the surface (especially the protruding base of the chin).

The following chart includes the two fancy effigy bowls, which are completely oxidized specimens.

	MALE-HEAD EFFIGY BOWLS	
Specimen Number	1	2
Rim Diameter	16	14.3
Bowl Height	10.5	9.2
Rim:Bowl Height	1.5:1	1.5:1
Base Diameter	13	10
Paste	#1A	#1A?
Surface Finish	IV	IV

Provenience
Specimen 1: (Figure 74), Excavation III, Level 5, (4 sherds).
Specimen 2: (Figure 75), Excavation III, Level 5 and West Extension (7 sherds).

Consequently, based on the analysis presented above, the following attributes are diagnostic features for the identification of male-head effigy bowls:

1. Very slightly outflaring and convex walls or with somewhat straight lower walls and slightly incurved rim.
2. The lip top can be rounded or flat.
3. The base of the bowl is flat with the lower portion of the chin slightly protruding at the base.
4. The three dimensional solid faces can be very high or low relief.
5. Pastes are apparently local (#1A).

Slightly Incurved and Vertical Walled Bowls

Except for the low bowl height this shape is somewhat reminiscent of the male-head effigy bowls. Specimens preserved from rim to base indicate that there are two sizes: a medium size with rim diameters ranging from 14-17 cm and bowl height ranging from 6-7.3 cm, and a smaller size with a diameter of 10 cm and bowl height of 2.7 cm. Except for the small specimen which has a relatively homogeneous wall thickness, the medium sized bowls tend to vary with additional exterior thickening in the middle or most of the body, making the bowl slightly incurved while the interior remains vertical or less incurved. The rims also vary from slight interior and exterior thickening in the small

specimen, to slightly incurved and thinner or straight in the medium sized bowls.

The base diameter in the medium sized bowls is smaller in comparison to the rim (10.5-15 cm) and is set farther inside the slightly incurved walls, making it difficult to read the angle (approximately 80-90 degrees). On the other hand, the base diameter in the smaller specimen is about the same as that of the rim (9.2 cm), giving a reading of an angle of 90 degrees. This shape is associated with polychrome geometric designs on a band situated on the upper third of the bowl, below which and including the bottom exterior is cream, while the interior is orange slip or self slip. The other regular sized bowl is plain with interior and exterior red orange slip, and a large exterior fire cloud area which seems almost cream. This piece also shows vertical striations at the lower exterior from use or wear, as well as extensive use at the upper interior edge, and at least one conically drilled(?) incomplete perforation at the exterior base bottom. The smaller bowl is also plain with interior and exterior light brown slip or self slip.

The following chart includes the three specimens which are completely oxidized:

	REGULAR SIZED		SMALL
Specimen Number	1	2	3
Rim Diameter	17	14	10
Bowl Height	6	7.2	2.7
Rim:Bowl Height	2.8:1	1.9:1	3.7:1
Base Diameter	15	10.5	9.2
Paste	#1A	#4C	#4
Surface Finish	V	V	V

Provenience

Specimen 1: (Figure 76), Excavation III, Level 5, 2264-2, 2294-30 to 31, and 2292-4 (4 sherds).
Specimen 2: (Figure 77), Excavation III, West Extension, 2328-14.
Specimen 3: (Figure 78), Excavation II, 2207-4.

Consequently, based on the analysis presented above, the following attributes are diagnostic features for the identification of slightly incurved and vertical walled bowls:

1. Medium sized bowls with exterior thickened walls making it slightly incurved, while the interior remains vertical or almost vertical. The smaller bowl is much shallower and the walls are vertical.
2. Uneven wall thickness especially near the rim or base.
3. Those with more pronounced incurved walls make the angle difficult to determine. However, the angles of the medium sized bowls range from 80-90 degrees, and the small specimen is 90 degrees.
4. The wall thickness tends to be uneven at the upper and lower portions of the bowl. The rim varies from direct to thinner, while that in the smaller specimen has a slight interior and exterior thickening.
5. This shape is associated with plain bowls, and fancy ones containing a band of geometric designs and cream below it that extends onto the base bottom.
6. Pastes are local (#1A) or of unknown origin(s) (#4, #4C).

Slightly Incurved Very Shallow Bowl

A single specimen in this group is preserved from rim to base and is somewhat reminiscent of the small almost vertical walled bowl in the previous group. However, both the interior and exterior portions of the wall are incurved, and the interior portion of the rim is slightly beveled. The exterior appears to be red orange slipped, and the interior has a red-brown slip or self slip. The piece is completely oxidized. This is the only plain specimen which can be assigned to this group with certainty. The associated characteristics and measurements are as follows:

Rim Diameter	10
Bowl Height	2.3
Rim:Bowl Height	4.3:1
Base Diameter	8.5
Paste	#4 (unknown origin)
Surface Finish	V

Provenience
Specimen 1: (Figure 79), Excavation III, 2209-12.

Slightly Incurved Deep Bowls

Several medium sized specimens in this group are preserved from rim to lower body, hence, it is not known whether the base was rounded or flat. Rim diameters range from 12.3-15 cm, and the bowl height may be estimated to be about 9 cm. The wall thickness is relatively homogeneous, and the interior portion of the rim is usually slightly thickened and almost beveled. Only one specimen has remains of what appears to be a lug situated just below the rim. The point of inflexion is usually situated at about 1.5 or 2.6 cm below the rim (in one case it is 4 cm below the rim), which also corresponds to the maximum body diameter ranging from 13.6-15.5 cm.

Most bowls corresponding to this shape are associated with a horizontal band of geometric designs (including in most cases an additional narrower red or black band below it ca. 1-.7 cm wide), below which the rest is cream, or red in one case. The band of geometric designs is situated about 1-.5 cm below the rim, and include panels of designs in a repetitive fashion. The band of designs (excluding the narrower one below it) can be narrow (ca. 1.4 cm wide), wide (2.5 cm), wider (ca. 3.5 cm), or even wider perhaps extending the entire width of the bowl. A few additional specimens include a red slipped bowl (with remains of what appears to be a lug); and another with a 1.2 cm wide black horizontal band at the exterior rim, below which the rest of the bowl is cream.

Some of the large fragments show wear of the cream pigment below the band of designs, and/or exterior blackening, and in one case both the interior and parts of the exterior are blackened.

The following chart shows the associated characteristic and measurements of these well oxidized specimens:

Specimen Number	1	2	3	4	5	6
Rim Diameter	13	14	15	13	14	12.3
Max. Bowl Diam.	15.5	14.5	15.2	13.9	15.2	13.6
Paste	#11	#1	#1	#1	#1A	#1
Surface Finish	V	III	III	V	III	V

Provenience
Specimen 1: (Figure 80), Excavation IV, Wall C, Upper Level, 2479-1 to 7 (7 sherds).
Specimen 2: (Figure 81), Excavation III, West Extension, 2373-290 to 293 (4 sherds).
Specimen 3: (Figure 82), Excavation III, West Extension, 2373-285 to 287 (3 sherds).
Specimen 4: (Figure 83), Excavation I, Concentration 3, Level 8, 2184-2.
Specimen 5: (Figure 84), Excavation IV, Trench V first 2 meters, 2573-2.
Specimen 6: (Figure 85), Excavation I, Level 4, North and West sides, 2172-7.

Consequently, based on the analysis presented above, the following attributes are diagnostic features for the identification of slightly incurved deep bowls:

1. Medium sized bowls with relatively homogeneous wall thickness.
2. Rims have a slight interior thickening or curvature with a slight interior beveling.
3. Point of inflexion situated at 1.5-2.6 cm below the rim, also corresponding to the body's maximum diameter which is slightly wider than rim diameter. In one case the point of inflexion is 4 cm below the rim.
4. Association with a horizontal band containing panels of repetitive geometric designs below which the bowl is cream (or red in one case), or much wider panels perhaps extending over the entire exterior. A few other examples include a red slipped bowl (perhaps with lugs), and one with a single narrow black band at the exterior rim and cream below it.
5. A few of the bowls with geometric designs show exterior blackening, and one with interior and part of exterior blackening.
6. Most pastes are local (#1, #1A) or perhaps non-local (#11).

UNRESTRICTED MINIATURE SHAPES

Miniature specimens corresponding to this major category include for the most part those which are preserved or reconstructed from rim to base, and incorporate both fancy and plain vessels. Some of these

specimens have been illustrated within specific motifs. Unrestricted miniature shapes can be subdivided into small and smaller. Such vessels reproduce some of the shapes in regular or large size vessels as follows (see also Caption to General Unrestricted Shapes):

Miniature bowls include those reminiscent of deep slightly outflaring bowls, and very few are also like the shallow slightly outflaring bowls, including one with a lug preserved (see Figure 4c-e and g). However, these miniature bowls lack the characteristic sharp exterior beveled rim, and, instead, possess a slight interior beveling. Those resembling deep and shallow slightly outflaring bowls are polished red slipped on the interior and exterior including the base bottom (some are worn at the interior base), or possess an exterior horizontal band containing a series of human severed heads, while a few are plain with self-slipped surfaces.

There are also a few which are very much like the deep slightly outflaring narrow based bowls (see Figure 4f). Such miniatures are polished red slipped on the interior and exterior.

Another miniature vessel has the shape and proportions resembling a beaker. However, the characteristic designs and motifs, raised band with geometric designs on the upper third of the vessel, and beveled exterior rim are absent. This fancy specimen possesses a wide horizontal band situated at the upper portion of the vessel containing remains of at least one Feline-Headed Snake Motif.

A few miniatures also resemble slightly incurved and vertical walled bowls, and slightly incurved very shallow bowls (see Figure 4q-r). One such plain bowl has remains of a single vertical handle--an attribute never present on large or regular-sized bowls.

Further similarities with regular-sized unrestricted vessels include fancy male-head effigy bowls. Although this kind of miniature specimen is rare, the technique of applying a solid head in relief on the entire exterior, including face markings, hair, and ears is very much like the larger counterparts.

Consequently, the miniature unrestricted shapes reproducing or resembling those in large or regular-sized vessels include: Deep and shallow slightly outflaring bowls, deep slightly outflaring narrow-based bowls, slightly incurved or very shallow and vertical walled bowls, male-head effigy bowls, and possibly one resembling a beaker. Significantly absent are pedestal base bowls, ovoidal annular base bowls with horizontal handles, tetrapod bowls, shallow outflaring bowls, hemispherical shallow bowls, and slightly incurved deep bowls.

New unrestricted shapes, not found on regular or large-sized vessels include: A plain relatively deep hemispherical bowl with outflaring rim, and a red slipped double bowl. The double bowl consists of two bowls joined together, each with pronounced restriction in the middle and an outflaring rim. The entire exterior, rim, and base bottom is red slipped, while the interior of each chamber is self slipped.

Furthermore, since almost all the unrestricted miniature vessels lack any kind of residue, but instead many possess interior wear marks (some in a rotating form), it can be concluded that such vessels were used for some special purpose which included grinding or preparation of some substance.

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CAPTION TO GENERAL RESTRICTED SHAPES
(Figures 86-87)

Bulging Necked Jars
a. Oversized Jar.
b. Regular Sized Jar.
c. Small Sized Jar.

Jars with Slightly Outflaring Neck and Relatively Sharp Neck to Shoulder Juncture.
d. Large Sized Jar.
e. Medium Sized Jar.
f. Small Sized Jar.

Jar with Long Slightly Outflaring Neck and Less Angular Neck to Shoulder Juncture.
g. Medium Sized Jar.

Jars with Short Slightly Outflaring Neck and Less Angular Neck to Shoulder Juncture.
h. Medium Sized Jar.

Jar with Long Outflaring Neck and Relatively Sharp Neck to Shoulder Juncture.
i. Medium Sized Jar.

Four Sided Jar with Slightly Outflaring Neck and Relatively Sharp Neck to Shoulder Juncture.
j. Medium Sized Jar.

Tall Jar with Short Outflaring Neck.
k. Large Sized Jar.

Tall Jar with Outflaring Neck and Rim.
l. Large Sized Jar.

Tall Jar with Short Outflaring Neck and Bulging Shoulder.
m. Medium Sized Jar.

Slightly Incurved Squat Jars.
n. Large Sized Jar with Thick Triangular Rim.
o. Medium Sized Jar with Thick Triangular Rim.
p. Medium Sized Jar without Thick Triangular Rim.
q. Medium Sized Carinated Jar with Thick Triangular Rim.

Feline Effigy Jars
r. Medium Sized Feline Effigy Jar.

BULGING NECKED JARS

This shape is relatively rare in Pucara. Oversized jars are associated with polychrome motifs depicted on the body portion of the jar (including the Owl and Feline Motifs), and the bulging neck portion contains geometric designs, or the neck (and perhaps the entire body) can be polished red slipped. Furthermore, aside from beakers, this shape is the only other one employed for oversized vessels, while other bulging neck jars are within the range of regular size jars.

Oversized Bulging Necked Jar

The largest example in this group was reconstructed from rim to about one half of its height, with 139 glued sherds from Excavation VI. Without the time-consuming efforts to find a fit or connection between the bulging neck and body, it would have been very difficult to establish this shape. For example, Kidder (his notes on preliminary analysis) and Franquemont (1990: Figs. 39, 81a-b) have classified the neck and body portions into two different groups, especially because the neck portion contains geometric designs, while the body has animal motifs with their heads in relief.

Based on the reconstruction of this large restricted vessel, the bulging neck portion terminates in an outflaring rim, which can be relatively straight or curved, and the juncture with the upper neck can be also slightly sharper or rounded. The exterior lip is thickened with a sharper carination, reminiscent of some of the slightly outflaring bowls (especially those with sharper beveled edges). The neck height in Specimen 1 is 11 cm with a rim diameter of 19 cm, but other pieces have a neck height of 13.5 or 16 cm and a rim diameter of 23 cm.

Furthermore, the lower portion of the neck is connected to the shoulder with a relatively sharp juncture.

Following the convex shoulders, the upper body portion is globular, which becomes slightly vertical walled at about the middle of the jar (providing a maximum body diameter of 38 cm or a circumference of 119.4 cm), and then the walls become convex ending in a narrow base. The remaining height is 42.7 cm and the total height has been estimated to be about 63 cm. The body wall thickness is about 10 mm, with a smooth and well finished exterior, while the uneven or irregular interior surface sometimes possesses a wall thickness of about 6 mm. Furthermore, the upper interior portion has remains of at least one coil, measuring about 14.5 cm in width.

Two large horizontal handles are positioned at about the middle of the slightly vertical walls (beginning at about 30.7 cm from the rim). These handles are about 12 cm in horizontal length and 5.7-6.1 cm wide. In cross-section the handles are concave and slightly tilted upwards. They have the following exterior dimensions away from the vessel wall (height): upper portion 3.7 cm (2.9 interior space), middle portion 3.5 cm (2.2 cm interior space), and lower portion 3.9 cm (2.9 cm interior space).

The following chart includes Specimen 1 which is the most completely reconstructed polychrome jar, and additional pieces including a slightly larger polished red slipped neck to shoulder fragment (Specimen 5). The neck-shoulder angle is measured from the exterior shoulder to the lower portion of the exterior neck. These pieces are well oxidized.

	OVERSIZED BULGING NECKED JARS				
		POLYCHROME			POLYSHD RED
Specimen No.	1	2	3	4	5
Rim Diameter	19	18.6**	-	21	23
Base Neck Diam	17.6	17.4	-	20.1	22.9
Neck Height	11	11.5**	-	16.2	11.4
Neck-Shldr Angle	120	120	-	-	125
Max Body Diam	38	39.6	38**	-	-
Rim to Handle*	30.7	29.6**	-	-	-
Handle Length	12	-	-	-	-
Handle Width	5.7-6.1	6.5**	-	-	-
Hand Upp Int Ht	3	-	-	-	-
Hand Midd Int Ht	2.2	-	-	-	-
Hand Low Int Ht	2.9	-	-	-	-
Paste	#1A	#1A	#1A	#8	#1
Surface Finish:					
Rim	XXI	-	-	IV-III	II
Neck	V	-	-	II\V	II
Body	II	V	II	-	II

*Measured from rim top to the upper portion of the handle.
**These measurements are approximate or based on reconstructions.

Provenience and Associated designs and motifs:
Specimen 1: (Figure 88), Excavation VI, West Side and Northwest Corner, 2632-2 to 26 etc. (139 sherds). Neck with geometric designs and body with Owl Motif.
Specimen 2: Excavation IV, Level 2 (Lower Level), Northeast Corner, 2596-102 to 135 and 2596-136 to 160 (59 sherds in two groups). Neck with geometric designs, and body with Feline Motif.
Specimen 3: Excavation VI, West Side and NW Corner, 2633-86 to 116 etc. (total 66 sherds in three groups). Feline Motif - anthropomorphized feline.
Specimen 4: Excavation IV, NE Corner, Level 2 (Lower Level), 2596-203 to 210 (eight sherds). Neck portion with geometric designs.
Specimen 5: (Figure 89), Excavation IV, Far NE Corner, Lowest Level, 2601-1 to 16 (16 sherds). Polished red slipped.

Consequently, based on the analysis presented above, the following attributes are major diagnostic features for the identification of bulging necked oversized jars:

1. Bulging neck portion terminating in an outflaring rim with exterior thickening and beveled lip.
2. Rim diameters ranging from 19-23 cm, and neck heights ranging from 11-16.2 cm.
3. Slightly vertical walls at about the middle of the jar, providing a maximum diameter of 38 cm.

4. Presence of two horizontal handles (about 12 X 6 cm), perhaps just above the middle of the body.
5. The neck portion is consistently associated with geometric designs, while the body portion contains feline and owl motifs with appliqué heads. Specimen 5 is polished red at the neck and shoulder, and the rest of the body may have been decorated or remain polished red.
6. Most pastes are local (#1, #1A) or of unknown origin (#8).

Furthermore, the measurements in Specimens 1-3 indicate that these jars are standardized. However, Specimen 5 has a greater neck to shoulder angle and larger diameters at the rim and neck, and may correspond to a taller jar than the estimated height of 63 cm for Specimen 1.

Regular and Small Sized Bulging Necked Jars

These jars are represented by two specimens having some shape similarities with those in the oversized jars. Aside from the smaller size, other differences include: the medium necked specimen 1 (preserved from rim to shoulder) has a less pronounced bulging portion (but with a neck height closely similar to oversized ones), the neck-shoulder angle is greater, and only the neck portion has geometric designs. The small necked specimen 2 (preserved from upper neck to shoulder) has the same shoulder size as Specimen 1, but the neck diameter and neck-shoulder angle are smaller, and both the neck and shoulder contain geometric designs. In addition, the shoulder is slightly raised, and the preserved portion of the body has remains of additional designs or motifs.

The following chart provides additional measurements and attributes associated with these well oxidized specimens.

REGULAR AND SMALL SIZED BULGING NECKED JARS

	REGULAR	SMALL
Diameter	12.5	ca. 7
Base Neck Diameter	13.3	7
Neck Height	10.5	5
Neck-Shoulder Angle	140	95
Paste	#8A	#1B (unknown origins)
Surface Finish:		
Rim	VIII	-
Neck	VIII	V
Upper Body	VIII	II

Provenience and Associated Designs

Specimen 1: (Figure 90), Excavation III, Level 6, 2303-26, 2302-1 to 4 (5 sherds). Band of stepped designs at the lower neck.

Specimen 2: (Figure 91), Excavation V, North Wall, 2615- 10 to 11 (2 sherds). Geometric designs at the neck and shoulder.

JARS WITH LONG SLIGHTLY OUTFLARING NECK AND RELATIVELY SHARP NECK TO SHOULDER JUNCTURE

These kinds of jars are for the most part preserved at the neck or neck to shoulder portions, and only three specimens were preserved or reconstructed from rim to base. Consequently, base and body fragments are very difficult to associate with the different groups of jars. However, these base and body fragments will be included at the end of this section, indicating their associated paste, surface finish, and dimensions, and their possible affiliations with the different jar neck fragments.

The classification of large, medium, and small jars is based on rim diameter and neck height measurements. Furthermore, the distinction between this group and other jars at the end of this section, is based on the presence of an almost vertical walled neck and a relatively sharp angle at the neck to shoulder juncture in the former, and lack of them in the latter.

Large Jars

Since pieces pertaining to large jars are preserved only at the neck-shoulder portion, the attributes used to isolate them include larger rim diameter and neck height. The neck portion is long and slightly outflaring, sometimes giving the impression of being almost vertical. The exterior rim is thickened or slightly thickened, with a smooth or relatively sharp bevel lip. Most pieces have relatively uneven interiors, making the middle portion of the walls 3-6 mm thick, and other portions 7-8 mm thick. Furthermore, the rim diameters are 13-15 cm, base of neck diameters 10.5-15.8 cm (almost the same as rim diameters), and neck height about 10.5-11.5 cm.

The shoulder portion is slightly convex, and the juncture with the neck is relatively sharp, sometimes with a sharper interior or clay protrusion as a result of subsequent attachment of the neck. Furthermore, the exterior angle at the neck-shoulder juncture is about 140-150 degrees.

All the fragments corresponding to large jars lack motifs and designs, and the exterior is "plain red" slipped. Likewise, these pieces also lack handles, although similar fragments corresponding to medium sized jars have one or two vertical handles at the neck.

Medium jars

Pieces pertaining to this kind of jar are also preserved for the most part at the neck or shoulder portions, and the proportions between rim diameter and neck height are smaller than the previous group--even though some pieces may have a tall neck. Furthermore, unlike large sized jars which are "plain red," medium sized jars are also polished

red slipped, polychrome, "plain red," and "mica red" jars. Likewise, the neck pieces have one or two vertical handles preserved.

The neck and shoulder portions have a relatively homogeneous wall thickness, with a slightly thickened exterior rim, and relatively sharp or smooth exterior beveling. However, in a few cases the interior portion of the lip is also slightly beveled. The juncture with the slightly convex shoulder is similar to those in large jars, although the shoulder appears to be slightly higher. In addition, one vertical handle (and in some cases two handles) begins at the rim and rests on the shoulder; they are thicker (9-12 mm) than the neck walls. In one case, the handle begins just below the lip, and rests at the juncture. Based on better preserved handles, the maximum width ranges from 2.5-2.8 cm, with a maximum interior height of 1.5-2.5 cm, and sometimes the exterior portion of the handle is slightly concave.

In addition, some handles have a perforation on their upper portion close to the rim, which tends to be wider under the handle (ca. 8-11 mm in diameter) and narrower above (ca. 6-9 mm in diameter). These perforations appear to have been made with some kind of hard and pointed tool, and the exposed paste produced by the perforation indicates a post-fire procedure (in one case the perforation fell short from going through the handle). Another piece lacks the exposed paste, and indicates that the perforation was made when the clay was still wet. Such perforations were probably used to secure some kind of lid, and one possible lid has been found possessing a handle or lug on its center.

The body and base portions are preserved on one single specimen having remains of the relatively sharp neck juncture. Here, the body is globular, with a maximum body diameter of 16.6 cm (at 8.2 cm from the

base), which corresponds to the breakage at a coil. The walls at the shoulder are thinner (5 mm thick), and progressively thicker towards the base (8 mm). The base is 10 cm in diameter and has an angle of 130 degrees, which (based on the reconstruction) corresponds to the same rim diameter and neck juncture angle.

This group of medium sized jars includes polished red slipped, polychrome (with bands of Human Severed Head and Arm Motifs, and Feline Headed Snake Motifs), "plain red," and "mica plain" pieces.

Small Jars

Although these jars have basically the same attributes as those of large and medium size, the rim diameter and neck height are smaller. The most complete specimen was reconstructed from rim to near the base, and subsequently the base and portions of the shoulder and handle were restored with plaster (probably by Kidder some time ago). Based on this specimen, the total height has been calculated to be about 17.5 cm, and a volumetric capacity of 1300 milliliters. In addition, this specimen possess geometric designs at the neck, and the body has a single anthropomorphized feline with the head in relief.

The neck and shoulder portions are relatively homogeneous in thickness (5-6 mm), and the rim exterior is slightly thickened and beveled. Furthermore, a single vertical handle begins at the rim and rests at the shoulder. Another slightly larger piece (preserved from rim to shoulder with a vertical handle), is polished red slipped, and has very thin walls ranging from 3-4 mm. In addition, a third specimen having a "plain red" surface (preserved from rim to near the shoulder juncture), has a smaller rim diameter and the rim is somewhat more everted or outflaring.

The body portion is globular with a maximum body diameter of 13.3 cm (at 7 cm from the base), and an approximate base diameter of 8.5 cm. The wall thickness is about the same as that at the neck.

The following chart includes the best preserved pieces for large, medium, and small sized jars, all of which are well oxidized.

LARGE SIZED JARS	PLAIN RED			
Specimen Number	1	2	3	4*
Rim Diameter	13	15	13	14
Base Neck Diam.	12.5	15.8	13.8	13
Neck Height	10.5	11.5	10.5	10.5
Rim:Height	1:1.2	1:1.3	1:1.2	1:1.3
Shoulder Angle	140	150	-	-
Paste	#8A	#8	#8A	#8A
Surface Finish:				
Rim/Neck	IV	VIII	VIIID	V
Shoulder	V	-	-	-

*The dimensions below the rim in this specimen are approximate.

Provenience
Specimen 1: (Figure 92), Excavation III, West Extension, 2328-11 to 13 (3 sherds).
Specimen 2: (Figure 93), Excavation III, Level 6, 2300-1, 2303-8, 2304-6 (3 sherds).
Specimen 3: (Figure 94), Excavation IV, Trench V (first 2 meters) Upper Level, 2573-12 to 16 (5 sherds).
Specimen 4: (Figure 95), Excavation I, Concentration 3, Level 12, 2193-14 (1 sherd).

MEDIUM SIZED JARS	POLISHED RED			POLCM	MICA RED	
Specimen Number	1	2	3*	4	5	6
Rim Diameter	-	10	9.5	13	11	12.5
Base Neck Diam.	9	9	10	11.5	8	10.5
Neck Height	-	6	9.3	7.7	7.8	8.5
Rim:Height	-	1:1.7	1:1	1:1.7	1:1.4	1:1.5
Shoulder Angle	-	130	130	-	140	130
Max. Body Diam.	16.6	-	-	-	-	-
Ht. at Max. Body	8.2	-	-	-	-	-
Base Diameter	10	-	-	-	-	-
Base Angle	130	-	-	-	-	-
Paste	#1A	#1A	#8	#1	#4	#1A
Surface Finish:						
Rim	-	IV	V?	II/V?	VA	VIA
Neck	-	III	V?	II/V?	VA	XD
Shoulder	V	III	V?	-	-	-
Body	V	-	-	-	-	-

*The neck and shoulder portions in this specimen are not connected, but the fragments share the same attributes including worn/eroded surfaces.

Provenience and Associated Motifs

Specimen 1: (Figure 96), Excavation III, Level 5, 2264-176, 2256-32 to 38 (8 sherds).
Specimen 2: (Figure 97), Excavation III, Level 6, 2307-69 to 75 (7 sherds).
Specimen 3: (Figure 98), Excavation IV, Far NE Corner, Lowest Level, 2602-1 to 11 (11 sherds in two parts).
Specimen 4: (Figure 99), Excavation III, Level 5, 2273-1 to 4, 2298-25, 2294-92 (6 sherds). Severed Head Motif.
Specimen 5: Excavation III, Levels 5-6, 2256-7, 2303-3, 6 (3 sherds).
Specimen 6: (Figure 100), Excavation III, Levels 5-6, 2256-20, 2303-21 to 25 (6 sherds).

SMALL SIZED JARS	POLY-CHROME	POLISHED RED	PLAIN RED
Specimen Number	1*	2	3
Rim Diameter	7	7.8	6.5
Base Neck Diam.	7.1	7.8	6.5
Neck Height	5.2	4.3	5.3
Rim:Height	1:1.3	1:1.8	1:1.2
Shoulder Angle	130	130	-
Max. Body Diam	13.3	-	-
Ht. at Max. Body	7	-	-
Base Diameter	8.5	-	-
Base Angle	-	-	-
Paste	?	#1A	#8A
Surface Finish:			
Rim	?	V	VIIIB
Neck	?	V	VIIIB
Shoulder	?	V	-
Body	?	-	-

*The base portion in this specimen has been reconstructed in plaster, hence vessel height of 17.5 cm and base diameter of 8.5 cm are approximate.

Provenience and Associated Motif

Specimen 1: (Figure 101), Excavation III, Level 5 and West Extension, 2347-1 to 2, 2345-1 to 6, 2277-1 (ca. 24 sherds). Anthropomorphized Feline Motif.
Specimen 2: (Figure 102), Excavation II, 2210-17.
Specimen 3: (Figure 103), Excavation IV, Trench U-Level 2, Lower Level, 2558-6.

Consequently, based on the analysis presented above, the following attributes are diagnostic features for the identification of large, medium, and small sized jars with long slightly outflaring neck and relatively sharp shoulder juncture:

1. Slightly thickened and beveled exterior.
2. Possible tall and globular body for all sizes.
3. Large jars have shoulder angles ranging from 140-150 degrees, rim diameters ranging from 13-15 cm, and neck heights ranging from 10.5-11.5 cm. There are no vertical handles preserved at the neck, hence, they may or may not have had such handles, or they may have had horizontal handles at the body. Large jars have only plain red slipped surfaces.
4. Medium jars have shoulder angles ranging from 130-140 degrees, rim diameters ranging from 9.5-13 cm, and neck heights ranging from 6-9.3 cm. There is one or even two vertical handles, usually attached from rim to shoulder, and some may be perforated at the upper portion near the rim. Medium jars are associated with polychrome, polished red, plain red, and mica red surfaces.
5. Small jars have a shoulder angle of 130 degrees, rim diameters range from 6.5-7.8 cm, and neck heights range from 4.3-5.3 cm. There are appears to be only one vertical handle attached from rim to shoulder. Small jars are associated with polychrome, polished red, and plain red surfaces.
6. Most pastes are of unknown origin(s) (#4, #8, #8A), and others are local (#1, #1A). All large sized jars have pastes of unknown origin (#8, #8A).

JARS WITH LONG OR SHORT SLIGHTLY OUTFLARING NECK AND LESS ANGULAR NECK TO SHOULDER JUNCTURE

In addition to the only complete vessel of regular size ever recovered in Pucara, the other specimens in this group are preserved from rim to body. Except for minor variations, the neck, lip, handle, and wall thickness are similar to those in the previous group; and the rim diameters and neck heights are for the most part similar to those in medium and small sized jars. However, a major attribute used to isolate this group is the less angular neck to shoulder juncture, where the shoulder portion is lower and less well defined. Furthermore, the bodies are also globular, but much shorter in comparisons to the tall

bodies in the previous group. The complete specimen has a volumetric capacity of 750 milliliters.

The neck portion is slightly outflaring, and the exterior rim is slightly thickened and beveled. In some cases, the rim can be somewhat more outflaring than usual. Likewise, some specimens have a shorter neck height, and are associated with larger rim diameters. Furthermore, a single vertical handle (attached from rim to shoulder) is present in the complete specimen, which is concave on its outer portion, and 2.6 cm in maximum width. Another specimen shows two vertical handles of about the same width.

The shoulder and body portions are about the same thickness as the neck wall, although in some cases the lower body becomes progressively thicker. The fact that the neck and shoulder junctures are less defined makes their angles very difficult to measure; however, these tend to be about 140-150 degrees--similar to those in the previous large sized jars. The body is short and globular, and probably with a maximum body diameter situated much lower than in the tall globular jars.

The base portion in the complete specimen is concave, and worn flat for about 2 cm around the outer periphery. Furthermore, the base angle is 110 degrees, which is formed by a slight protrusion at the base juncture. This is the first time where such a protrusion is directly associated with jars.

These kinds of jars are associated with "red mica," red slipped or "plain red," polished red slipped, and polychrome surfaces. The following chart includes the well oxidized specimens assigned to this group.

	LONG NECKED			SHORT NECKED	
Specimen Number	1	2	3	4	5
Rim Diameter	8	5	-	14	12
Base Neck Diam.	8.8	6.1	7	14.5	11.5
Neck Height	6.2	3.7	-	3	4
Rim:Height	1:1.3	1:1.4	-	1:4.7	1:3
Shoulder Angle	150	150	140	150	140
Max. Body Diam.	12	8.5	11.2	-	-
Ht. at Max. Body	3.1	-	-	-	-
Base Diameter	10.5	-	-	-	-
Base Angle	110	-	-	-	-
Paste	#4A	#17	#8A	#1	#1A
Surface Finish:					
Neck	VA	VA	V	?	V
Shoulder	VA	VA	V	?	V
Body	VA	VA	V	-	-

Provenience and Associated Designs

Specimen 1: (Figure 104), Excavation III, Level 6, 2301-1.
Specimen 2: (Figure 105), Excavation IV, South Depression, Upper Level, 2581-18 to 20 (3 sherds). Only traces of cream and red at the neck.
Specimen 3: (Figure 106), Excavation IV, Trench V-Upper Level, 2573-17 to 18 (2 sherds).
Specimen 4: (Figure 107), Excavation III, West Extension, 2341-85.
Specimen 5: (Figure 108), Excavation III, Level 5, 2298-21, 2294-61 to 62, 2275-1 to 3 (6 sherds). Geometric designs only at the neck portion.

Consequently, based on the analysis presented above, the following attributes are diagnostic features for the identification of jars with long or short slightly outflaring neck and less angular neck to shoulder juncture:

1. Slightly thickened and beveled exterior.
2. Possible shorter globular body for both long and short necked jars.
3. Less well defined neck to shoulder juncture, with approximate angles ranging from 140-150 degrees.
4. Long necked jars have rim diameters ranging from 5-8 cm, and neck heights ranging from 3.7-6.2 cm. There is at least one vertical handle attached from rim to shoulder. Long necked jars are associated with plain red, red mica, and possibly a polychrome surface (but without incisions).
5. Short necked jars have rim diameters ranging from 12-14 cm, and neck heights ranging from 3-4 cm. There is one piece with two preserved handles. Short necked jars are associated with polished red slipped and polychrome surfaces.
6. Most pastes are of unknown origin (#4A, #8A, #17) or are local (#1, #1A).

JARS WITH LONG OUTFLARING NECK AND RELATIVELY SHARP NECK TO SHOULDER JUNCTURE

These kinds of jars are very rare in Pucara, and include specimens preserved from rim to juncture. Based on neck and rim proportions, they may be associated with tall bodies.

The neck portion is unusually long and outflaring, with a relatively sharp juncture and forming an angle of about 130 degrees. In one case the wall thickness is irregular and ranges from 4-7 mm, and in another piece the wall is 6 mm thick and more homogeneous. The rim exterior can be slightly thickened and beveled, or straight and very slightly beveled. In addition, remains of a single vertical handle is preserved in one specimen, which begins at the rim and may have extended to the shoulder portion.

The other unusual characteristic in this kind of jars is the presence of a thick black/carbonized accumulation on the entire exterior of the neck, while the interior is red slipped to the juncture with the body. On the other hand, the other specimen has a red brown (almost red) exterior with black paint below the juncture, and the interior is brown slipped.

The following chart includes the two most complete specimens, corresponding to a long and short necked jars. These pieces are well oxidized.

	LONG NECK	SHORT NECK
Specimen Number	1	2
Rim Diameter	13	14
Base Neck Diam.	8.7	10.5
Neck Height	5.5	4
Rim:Height	1:2.4	1:3.5
Shoulder Angle	130	130
Paste	#4	#8
Surface Finish:		
Exterior	I?	VIII
Interior	IV	VIII

Provenience
Specimen 1: (Figure 109), Excavation IV, Wall A-Central Section, Upper Level, 2435-2.
Specimen 2: (Figure 110), Excavation III, Level 4, 2244-13.

Consequently, based on the analysis presented above, the following attributes are diagnostic features for the identification of jars with long outflaring neck and relatively sharp neck to shoulder juncture:

1. Outflaring neck with a juncture angle of 130 degrees.
2. The rim exterior can be slightly thickened and beveled, or straight and very slightly beveled.
3. A single (or perhaps two) vertical handle may be present attached at the rim and perhaps resting on the shoulder.
4. Long necked jars have a thick carbonized accumulation on the entire neck exterior, while the interior is red slipped.
5. Short necked jars are red brown or almost red on the exterior and black painted below the juncture, and the interior is brown slipped.

FOUR SIDED JARS WITH SLIGHTLY OUTFLARING NECK AND RELATIVELY SHARP NECK TO SHOULDER JUNCTURE

Pieces belonging to this composite shape are for the most part body and base fragments. The most complete vessel in this group is reconstructed from rim to base with 21 sherds, and nine additional pieces (which do not fit, but very likely belong to the same jar) were incorporated in the drawing reconstruction. Consequently, this specimen has been used as a guide to incorporate the rest of the fragmentary pieces. In addition, four sided jars are only associated with polychrome motifs and geometric designs.

In most cases the neck portion is short and very much like the slightly outflaring jar necks described above. Hence, the exterior rim is also slightly thickened and beveled, and the wall thickness is relatively homogeneous ranging from 4-5 mm. However, a larger specimen having a neck height double than the usual ones, has a wall thickness of 7 mm. A pair of vertical handles (measuring 2.2 cm in maximum width, and about 1 cm in thickness) are attached from rim to shoulder, or the handle can be at the juncture with the four-sided body. The middle interior height of the handle is 1.7 cm.

The shoulder and neck juncture are some of the diagnostic features in the identification of this shape. Unlike previous jars the shoulder portion is very slightly convex or almost flat, with the same wall thickness as the neck. The angle at the neck to shoulder juncture ranges from 110-140 degrees (most are 130). Furthermore, the length of the shoulder is 3 cm, and the shoulder height measured from neck juncture to body juncture is 2-2.4 cm. In addition, the juncture with the four-sided body corresponds to the maximum width of the jar, which is 13.6 cm on one side and 13.3 cm in the other.

Each side of the four-sided body is trapezoidal, with slightly convex walls in side view, and more convex in top view. The four corners are slightly rounded. The maximum width at the juncture with the shoulder measures about 13.6 X 13.3 cm, while the base is about 10 X 10 cm wide with an angle at the base ranging from 110-110 degrees. The height from base to shoulder juncture is 7.2 cm, and in another fragment is 9.5 cm. However, each convex trapezoidal side in front view (which also corresponds to the trapezoidal panels of designs), has smaller dimensions as follows: 11.6-11.8 cm upper width, 9-9.2 cm lower width,

and 7.5 cm in height (measured at the middle of the trapezoidal panel). Lastly, the total jar height in the reconstructed specimen is 13 cm.

The interior surfaces are uneven and range in thickness from 6-8 mm, and in other specimens range from 3-10 mm. Furthermore, the entire exterior base bottom is polished red slipped and slightly concave, and the outer base periphery is worn for about 7-10 mm. The thickness at the base is 4-6 mm, and in the other specimens 6-8 mm.

The designs and motifs associated with this shape are specific. The neck portion contains the Feline Headed Snake Motif and geometric designs, while the shoulder can be polished red slipped or contain additional motifs extending into the four-sided body. For the most part the four trapezoidal panels at the body have geometric designs. However, additional body specimens also have the Feline Motif with nested diamonds, a variation of the Feline Headed Snake Motif, and other motifs which are too fragmentary to be identified.

The following chart includes Specimen 1 which is reconstructed from rim to base, and additional fragments. These pieces are well oxidized.

Specimen Number	1	2	3	4	5
Rim Diameter	10.5	-	-	16	-
Base Neck Diam.	9.8	9.4	-	13.4	-
Neck Height	3.5	-	-	6.8	-
Shoulder Height	2.3	2	-	-	-
Rim:Height	1:3	-	-	1:2.4	-
Max. Body Length	13.6	14	-	-	-
Base Length	10	-	18.3	-	-
Body Height	7.2	-	-	-	9.5
Jar Height	13	-	-	-	-
Body:Neck/shldr	1:1.2	-	-	-	-
Paste	#1A	#1A	#1A	#1A	#1A
Surface Finish:					
Neck	IV	IV	-	III	-
Body	V	V	V	-	V

Provenience and Associated Designs and Motifs:
Specimen 1: (Figure 111), Excavation III, Level 5 and West Extension, 2362-9 to 20, etc. (21 sherds). Neck portion with Feline Headed Snake Motif and body portion with geometric designs in four panels.
Specimen 2: (Figure 112), Excavation IV, Wall A Central and West Section (Upper Level), 2441-43, 2451-47 to 48. Neck portion is polished red slipped, and body has geometric designs in panels.
Specimen 3: (Figure 113), Excavation III, Level 5 and West Extension, 2282-3 to 8, 2373-331 (9 sherds). Body portion with Feline Motifs.
Specimen 4: (Figure 114), Excavation III, Level 5, 2274-1. Neck portion has geometric designs, and shoulder is polished red slipped.
Specimen 5: (Figure 115), Excavation III, Level 5, 2298-5 to 6 (2 sherds). Body portion has geometric designs.

Consequently, based on the analysis presented above, the following attributes are some of the diagnostic features for the identification of four-sided polychrome jars with slightly outflaring necks:

1. Slightly thickened and beveled rim exterior.
2. Slightly outflaring neck and a short almost flat shoulder, with a neck to shoulder angle ranging from 110-140 degrees (most are 130).
3. Presence of two vertical handles from rim to shoulder or body juncture.
4. The maximum body length occurred at the shoulder-juncture.
5. Each of the four sides of the body are trapezoidal, which in turn are convex in front and top views.
6. The base bottom is concave and polished red slipped.
7. The neck portion contains the Feline-Headed Snake Motif and geometric designs, while the shoulder can be polished red slipped or contain additional motifs extending into the four-sided body.
8. For the most part the body contains four slightly smaller trapezoidal panels with geometric designs, but it can also have Feline Motifs and other badly preserved motifs.
9. All pastes are local (#1A).

Furthermore, based on the preserved body and base dimensions, this kind of jar can be grouped into:

Medium four-sided jars having a 10 X 10 cm maximum base width, and 7.2 body height (Specimen 1).

Large four-sided jars having about 18.3 X 18.3 cm maximum base width (Specimen 3), and 9.5 cm body height (Specimen 5).

TALL JARS WITH SHORT OUTFLARING NECK

Most of these jars are characterized by different surface shades as a result to differential exposure to fire, such as the exterior surfaces being blackened to sooty, black to beige or light orange brown, red brown blackened slip, or brown tan and blackened slip; and the interior slipped or self-slipped surfaces are tan, brown gray, or light orange brown. However, some pieces which have blackened to sooty exteriors, completely lack blackening on the base exterior and central interior, indicating that the blackening may have been post-depositional in some pieces. On the other hand, there are also polychrome specimens in this group.

Other unusual diagnostic attributes include a short outflaring neck, with a body to neck height proportion of 1:10.1 in Specimen 1. The shoulder is long and slightly convex--sometimes giving the impression of being almost straight and low. The neck to shoulder juncture is less well defined, making it very difficult to measure the angle. Furthermore, this kind of tall jar tends to have irregular rims (almost wavy in some cases), and appears to be always associated with vertical handles at the neck.

Specimen 1 (see chart below) is the most complete jar, reconstructed from rim to base, and providing a total height of 28.9 cm. Here, the neck and shoulder portions are totally different from those described previously. The short neck is outflaring, while the shoulder is longer and slightly concave, and the neck to shoulder juncture is less well defined and slightly rounded forming an angle of ca. 140 degrees (or less in some cases). The exterior rim is slightly thickened and beveled, and in one case the interior is also beveled. The wall

thickness at the rim and shoulder ranges from 4-5 mm in Specimen 1, and 5-7 mm in other specimens. In addition, two relatively large vertical handles (about 9-11.5 cm in length) are attached from rim to almost the middle of the shoulder. The handles are thicker in cross-section than the jar's walls (7-14 mm), ranging in width from 2.4-3.6 cm (and 1.4 cm in smaller jars), with a maximum interior height of 2.3-2.6 cm (and 1.1 cm in smaller jars). Furthermore, most handles are concave on the exterior.

The body portion is globular with a maximum body diameter situated below the middle of the jar, below which it becomes more restricted towards the base. The wall thickness is about the same as the shoulder, although the interior surfaces are more irregular. Furthermore, the exterior base bottom in Specimen 1 is concave (7-8 mm thick), and worn at the outer periphery. In addition, the exterior base bottom also has remains of possible mat impressions, but these are obliterated by subsequent smoothing, making it difficult to determine the specific pattern.

The following chart includes Specimen 1 which is the most completely reconstructed jar, and additional fragments preserved from rim to shoulder. For the most part these pieces are well oxidized, although Specimen 1 also has portions which are not completely oxidized.

	MICA PLAIN				POLCM	PLAIN RED
Specimen No.	1	2	3	4	5**	6
Rim Diameter	14	12.5	14	17	18	9
Base Neck Diam.	12	10.6	12.5	13.2	-	6.9
Neck Height*	2.6	2.6	3.5	3.5	-	1.7
Neck-Shldr Angle*	140	140	140	140	-	110
Maximum Body Diam.	21	-	-	-	CK	-
Ht. to Max. Body	11.5	-	-	-	-	-
Base Diameter	10	-	-	-	-	-
Jar Height	28.9	-	-	-	-	-
Paste	#4	#4A	#4	#4	#1A	#8A
Surface Finish:	I	XE	VIIIB	VIIID	IV	II

*Neck height and angle measurements are approximate due to less well defined juncture in this kind of jars.
**The rim diameter in this specimen is reconstructed.

Provenience and Associated Motif

Specimen 1: (Figure 116), Excavation I, Levels 11-13 and very top of 14, Concentration 4, 2194-1 to 16, 2189-115, 2198-1 (18 sherds).
Specimen 2: (Figure 117), Excavation IV, Trench U-Upper Level, 2551-3.
Specimen 3: (Figure 118), Excavation IV, Level 3-Room 2, Lowest Level, 2429-1.
Specimen 4: (Figure 119), Excavation III, Level 4, 2239-7 to 9 (3 sherds).
Specimen 5: (Figure 120), Excavation VI, Central Enclosure, grey earth and fill, 2655-1 to 32, 343 to 348, 2647-20 (39 sherds). Feline Man Theme.
Specimen 6: (Figure 121), Excavation III, Level 5, 2256-51.

Consequently, based on the analysis presented above, the following attributes are diagnostic features for the identification of tall jars with short outflaring necks:

1. Short and outflaring neck with slightly thickened and beveled rim exterior, and sometimes also with interior beveling.
2. Long and slightly convex shoulder (almost straight and low).
3. Less well defined or rounded neck to shoulder juncture, forming an angle of approximately 110-140 degrees.
4. Presence of two vertical handles from rim to almost the middle of the shoulder, most being concave on the exterior.
5. Globular and tall body, which becomes convex towards the restricted base.
6. Concave base bottom, worn at the outer periphery, and very possibly with mat impressions which are obliterated by subsequent smoothing.
7. Most jars have surfaces indicating different degrees of exposure to fire, including blackened to sooty, and other shades. Some may have been post-depositionally blackened (e.g., Specimen 1 which has a blackened to sooty exterior, but lacks blackening at the base).

8. For the most part the specimens have "mica plain" surfaces, and few are also "plain red," and polychrome including the Feline Man Theme.
9. Most pastes are of unknown origin(s) (#4, #4A, #8A), or local (#1A).

Furthermore, based on the preserved rim and neck dimensions, this kind of jar can be grouped into:

Medium sized jars having rim diameters ranging from 12.5-18 cm, neck heights ranging from 2.6-3.5 cm, and approximately 140 degrees in neck to shoulder angle.

Small sized jars having rim diameters ranging from 11.5-9 cm, neck heights ranging from 1.7-1.9 cm, and approximately 110 degrees in neck to shoulder angle.

TALL JARS WITH SHORT OUTFLARING NECK AND BULGING SHOULDER

This relatively rare jar is represented by specimens having only the rim to shoulder portions preserved, and, except for the different degrees of burning and sooty accumulations, they share about the same attributes as those in the previous group. However, the presence of an unusual bulge at the shoulder serves to distinguish them as a different group.

The neck portion is outflaring, with slight exterior thickening, and the lip is beveled or angular. Furthermore, the neck to shoulder juncture is less well defined and rounded, making it difficult to calculate the angle. However, the angles range from approximately 130-140 degrees.

The shoulder portion is low and joins a globular/tall body--just like those in the previous kind of jar. The wall thickness ranges from 3-8 mm, and the unusual bulging portion is situated at about the middle of the shoulder. The bulging portion can be slightly raised or pronounced. Furthermore, a specimen corresponding to a smaller jar has a vertical handle preserved, which originates at the rim and rests on

top of the bulging portion. In addition, this kind of jar is associated only with "mica plain" specimens.

The following chart includes specimens preserved at the rim and shoulder specimens, which are well oxidized.

Specimen Number	1	2	3**
Rim Diameter	13	11	6
Base Neck Diam.	10.1	9.3	4.8
Neck Height*	3	1.8	1.7
Neck-Shldr Angle*	130	130	140
Paste	#4	#4	#4
Surface Finish:			
Neck	VII	VII	VD
Shoulder	VIIIA	VII	VD

*Neck height and angle measurements are approximate due to less well defined juncture in this kind of jar.
**The rim angle is approximate in this specimen.

Provenience
Specimen 1: (Figure 122), Excavation III, Level 5, 2254-7.
Specimen 2: (Figure 123), Excavation III, Levels 5-6, 2300-68, 2254-35 to 37 (4 sherds).
Specimen 3: (Figure 124), Excavation III, Level 6, 2300-74.

Consequently, based on the analysis presented above, the following attributes are diagnostic features for the identification of tall jars with short outflaring neck and bulging shoulder:

1. Short outflaring neck with slight exterior thickening and beveled or angular rim exterior.
2. Less well defined or rounded neck to shoulder juncture, forming an angle of approximately 130-140 degrees.
3. Long and low shoulder, with a slightly raised or pronounced bulging portion situated at about the middle of the shoulder.
4. One specimen has a vertical handle preserved from rim to the bulging portion (possibly all the specimens had two vertical handles).
5. These specimens lack burning or sooty remains, and are mainly "mica plain."
6. All pastes are of unknown origin (#4).

Furthermore, based on the preserved rim and neck dimensions, this kind of jar can be grouped into:

Medium sized jars having rim diameters ranging from 11-13 cm, neck heights ranging from 1.8-3 cm, and approximately 130 degrees in neck to shoulder angle.

Small sized jar having a rim diameter of 6 cm, a neck height of 1.7 cm, and approximately 140 degrees in neck to shoulder angle.

TALL JARS WITH OUTFLARING NECK AND RIM

For the most part this kind of jar is preserved at the rim and neck, and those few body to shoulder fragments correspond to oversized or large jars with two horizontal handles situated at the middle of the globular body. The exterior surfaces are red slipped, "mica plain" slipped, and "plain brown;" and in many cases portions of the interior and exterior are blackened in parts to brown gray or red brown, perhaps as a result of exposure to post-depositional fire. However, the major attribute which serves to identified this kind of jar, is the continuous outflaring of both the neck and rim. Also, this group appears to be associated only with horizontal handles at the body.

Specimen 1 is a large body fragment corresponding to an oversized jar with globular body, with relatively homogeneous wall thickness (5-6 mm thick). However, the upper portion or shoulder gradually becomes thicker to 8 mm, at which point it becomes concave, indicating that it may correspond to a long and continuously outflaring neck and rim--sometimes almost resembling the two previous groups of jars with short outflaring necks. One such neck and rim (Specimen 2, with very closely similar dimensions) has been used in the reconstruction of Specimen 1, which has no exterior thickening, and the lip is rounded or slightly pointed. However, other fragments having similar rim and neck characteristics have the usual slight thickening at the rim exterior, and the lips are beveled or pointed.

The body portion is globular with walls narrowing towards a restricted base. The interior surface of Specimen 1 has remains of at least three coil marks, the two lower ones are 6.5 cm wide, and the uppermost is 7.5 cm. However, a similar body fragment has remains of narrower coils, about 3-4 cm wide. The maximum body diameter is 32.7 cm, and at about 1 cm above it (or at about the middle of the jar) a pair of horizontal handles begin. These handles are slightly tilted upwards and thicker in cross-section (9-11 mm) than the jar's body, and measure about 8 cm in length and 4 cm in width, with a middle interior height of 1.7-2 cm. In addition, the exterior or outer portion of the handles are concave.

The base portion in Specimen 1 has been reconstructed with a base fragment having similar dimensions and surface characteristics (from Excavation I, 2175-3). Assuming that this kind of base is associated with the tall and oversized jar, then, the base is concave (5-6 mm in thickness), with straight lower walls to a height of 7 cm (forming an angle of 130 degrees), and turning slightly convex towards the juncture with the globular body. In addition, the outer periphery is worn and the diameter is 13 cm. Furthermore, although the base specimen used in the reconstruction has a direct or relatively sharp connection with the base, other similar pieces have a 3-6 mm protrusion or thickening beyond the base exterior, which can be slightly vertical or vertical and about 8-13 mm in height. In addition, this and similar bases have remains of mat impressions at the bottom. However, these impressions are partially obliterated by smoothing marks, leaving remains of only concentric coils.

The following chart includes the reconstructed Specimen 1 and other neck to shoulder fragments. These pieces are usually well oxidized, and in some cases the middle portion is oxidized and the interior and exterior surfaces are blackened likely from exposure to subsequent fires. Furthermore, the minimum neck diameter and height at minimum neck diameter are measured at the most restricted portion of the inflection.

Specimen Number	1*	2	3	4	5	6
Rim Diameter	18.5	21	19	21	30	14.5
Minimum Neck Diam.	16	18.4	16.6	18.6	26	11.8
Ht. at Minimum Neck	4	4	3.2	3.5	4.5	4.3
Max. Body Diam.	32.7	-	-	-	-	-
Ht. to Max. Body	20.2	-	-	-	-	-
Base Diameter	12	-	-	-	-	-
Paste	#4	#4	#8A	#4	#4	#8A
Surface Finish:						
Neck	-	IA	VIII	I	VII	VIIIC
Body	IA	-	-	-	X	-

*The reconstruction of neck and rim portions in Specimen 1 is based on Specimen 2; hence the rim, neck height and diameter measurements are estimated. The reconstruction of the base is based on a separate specimen (Exc. I, 2175-3); hence the base and height to maximum body diameters are estimated. Based on these reconstructions, the total jar height has been estimated to be close to 49 cm.

Provenience

Specimen 1: (Figure 125), Excavation I, Levels 10-11, Concentration 3, 2187-73 to 75, 2190-41 to 42, 2191-1 to 19 (24 sherds).
Specimen 2: (Figure 126), Excavation I, Level 13 and top of 14, Concentration, 2198-4 to 5 (2 sherds).
Specimen 3: (Figure 127), Excavation III, Level 6, 2300-12.
Specimen 4: (Figure 128), Excavation I, Level 13 and top of 14, 2198-37.
Specimen 5: (Figure 129), Excavation III, Level 6, 2300-3 to 5, (3 sherds).
Specimen 6; (Figure 130), Excavation III, Level 5, 2256-19.

Consequently, based on the analysis presented above, the following attributes are diagnostic features for the identification of tall jars with outflaring neck and rim:

1. Slightly thickened rim exterior and beveled lip, or direct rim with rounded or pointed lip exterior.
2. Long and continuously outflaring neck and rim, and continuously curving neck to body juncture.
3. Tall and globular body narrowing towards the base, with interior coil marks about 6.5-7.5 cm or 3-4 cm wide.
4. Two horizontal handles slightly tilted upwards (8 cm long and 4 cm wide in Specimen 1), situated at about the middle of the jar.
5. Relying on the specimen used to reconstruct the base portion in Specimen 1, the exterior juncture with the base is straight, and the base bottom is concave with remains of mat impressions, but these are obliterated by smoothing and only concentric coils are visible.
6. Some pieces are sooty on the interior and exterior (including the base bottom), but others are red brown or gray and blackened in parts--indicating a post-depositional exposure to fire.
7. All pastes are of unknown origin(s) (#4, #8A).

Furthermore, based on the reconstructed Specimen 1 and other neck fragments, this kind of jar can be grouped into:

Oversized jars with a maximum body diameter of 32.7 cm and an estimated total height of about 49 cm (Specimen 1), and rim diameters ranging from 19-30 cm.

Large sized jar with a rim diameter of 14.5 cm.

SQUAT JARS

The different kinds of jars classified in this group are associated with polished red slipped specimens, having incurved or slightly incurved rims with vertical handles, most with thick triangular rims. The body portion is squat and somewhat globular, or carinated. Furthermore, most pieces have a white or cream accumulation or residue in the interior, which does not react to HCl.

Large Slightly Incurved Squat Jar with Thick Triangular Rim

This kind of jar is very rare in Pucara, and is characterized by very thick walls and rim, associated with polished red slipped exterior surfaces. The exterior rim portion is triangular formed by an excessively thickened and protruding lip. The rim is very wide (3.2 cm), and the top of the rim is not horizontal and consequently forms an

interior bevel. Furthermore, the interior portion of the rim has an additional rectangular protrusion. In addition, Specimen 2 has remains of a slightly raised area at the rim, which likely corresponds to a vertical handle.

The neck and body portions are 11 mm thick, gradually becoming thicker towards the rim and base. The neck is very short with a concave exterior and flat interior, and the juncture with the body is undefined. The body is squat and somewhat globular, with the maximum body diameter situated at about the middle of the body.

The base portion is concave (12 mm thick), and the diameter is almost as wide as the rim. The polished red slipped surface continues onto the base bottom, and the outer periphery is worn for about 5 mm. Furthermore, the interior portion of the base is rounded, while the exterior is more angular. The following chart includes two of the most completely reconstructed specimens which are well oxidized.

Specimen Number	1*	2**
Rim Diameter	26.5	26
Minimum Neck Diam.	24.2	23.6
Ht. at Minimum Neck	3.2	3.2
Max. Body Diam.	26.8	25.5
Ht. to Max. Body	5	4.4
Base Diameter	24	22.5
Paste	#1A	#1A
Surface Finish	III	III

*The rim portion of this specimen has been reconstructed based on Specimen 2, hence the rim diameter is approximate.
**The lower body and base portions in this specimen has been reconstructed based on Specimen 1, hence the base and maximum body diameters are approximate.

Provenience
Specimen 1: (Figure 131), Excavation III, Level 6, 2307-54 to 57 (4 sherds).
Specimen 2: (Figure 132), Excavation III, Levels 5-6, 2264-118, 2307-58 to 59 (3 sherds).

Consequently, based on the analysis presented above, the following attributes are diagnostic features for the identification of large slightly incurved squat jars:

1. Very thick walls (11 mm), gradually becoming thicker towards the rim and base.
2. Triangular rim, formed by an excessively thickened exterior and protruding lip. The top of the rim is not horizontal and forms an interior bevel, with an additional rectangular protrusion.
3. Very possibly associated with vertical handles at the rim.
4. Short neck with concave exterior and flat interior, and the neck to body juncture is undefined.
5. Squat and somewhat globular body.
6. Concave base with a diameter almost as wide as that of the rim.
7. Polished red slipped exterior, including the base bottom.
8. Pastes are local (#1A).

Medium Incurved Squat Jar with Thick Triangular Rim

Such jars are rare and preserved from rim to body. They are associated with polished red slipped sherds, some having a white accumulation on the interior not reacting to HCl. The rim portion is incurved and triangular with exterior thickening and protruding lip. However, unlike the previously described group of jars, the rim is less wide (2.1-2.7 cm), with a horizontal top (hence, lacking interior beveling), but the interior still has a rectangular or rounded protrusion. Furthermore, at least one specimen has a vertical handle (3.3 cm in width and bi-convex in section), which originates at the rim and rests at about the middle of the body.

The neck and body portions are thinner (5-8 mm) than in the previous group of large jars. The neck is very short, and the minimum neck diameter is situated just below the triangular rim. The neck to body junction is undefined and curved directly into the body contour. The body itself is squat, but more globular than in the previously described group of large jars.

The following chart includes two of the most completely reconstructed specimens which are well oxidized.

Specimen Number	1	2
Rim Diameter	21.2	22
Minimum Neck Diam.	28	14.5
Ht. at Minimum Neck	1.1	1.3
Max. Body Diam.	25.4	24
Paste	#1	#14
Surface Finish	III	IV?

Provenience
Specimen 1: (Figure 133), Excavation III, West Extension, 2341-44.
Specimen 2: (Figure 134), Excavation III, Level 5, 2264-128.

Consequently, based on the analysis presented above, the following attributes are diagnostic features for the identification of medium sized incurved squat jars with thick triangular rims:

1. Triangular and incurved rim, with exterior thickening and protruding lip, horizontal top, and interior rectangular or rounded protrusion.
2. Possibly two vertical handles from rim to middle of the body.
3. Very short neck with minimum neck diameter situated just below the triangular rim.
4. Undefined neck to body juncture.
5. Squat body, but more globular than in the previous group of large sized jars.
6. Polished red slipped exterior, and some pieces with a white interior accumulation not reacting to HCl.
7. Pastes are local (#1 and #14).

Medium Incurved Squat Jar Without Thick Triangular Rim

Unlike the previously described jars, the handles in this group of jars are raised above the plain of the mouth, and the triangular rim is absent. These jars are also polished red slipped, with a white accumulation at the interior not reacting to HCl. The rim portion is incurved with slight exterior thickening and beveling, or with additional slight interior thickening--making the rim somewhat bulbous in most specimens. Furthermore, there are two vertical handles originating at the rim top and resting just above the middle of the

body. These handles are 2.7-3.3 cm wide, and extend about 5 mm above the rim, making it difficult to obtain rim measurements.

The neck and body portions are relatively homogeneous in thickness (5-6 mm). The neck is very short, however, unlike the previously described group of jars where the minimum neck diameter is situated just below the rim; the minimum diameter in this kind of jar also corresponds to the rim diameter. The neck to body juncture is undefined and curves directly into the body contour. The body itself is squat and somewhat globular. Furthermore, Specimen 1 has a horizontal break at the maximum body diameter, suggesting the presence of a coil.

The base portion of Specimen 1 is concave and corresponds to the thickest portion of the vessel (9-10 mm). The polished red slip continues onto the base bottom, and the outer periphery is worn for about 2.5 cm.

The following chart includes Specimen 1 (reconstructed from rim to base), and additional related pieces which are also well oxidized.

Specimen Number	1	2	3**
Rim Diameter*	12	17	17
Max. Body Diam.	21	26	24
Ht. to Max. Body	5.3	-	-
Base Diameter	16	-	-
Paste	#1	#1A	#1A
Surface Finish:			
Rim	V	IV	III
Body	V	V	V

*Since the neck is very short, the rim diameter also corresponds to minimum diameter.
**The measurements in this specimen are approximate.

Provenience
Specimen 1: (Figure 135), Excavation I, Concentration 3, Level 9, and Face Clean off, 2186-1 to 5, 2165G-1 to 2 (7 sherds).
Specimen 2: (Figure 136), Excavation IV, Wall L, Upper Level, 2502-1.
Specimen 3: Excavation III, Level 5, 2264-47.

Consequently, based on the analysis presented above, the following attributes are diagnostic features for the identification of medium sized incurved squat jars without thick triangular rims:

1. Incurved rims with slight exterior thickening and beveling, or with additional slight interior thickening and beveling, making the rim somewhat bulbous in some cases.
2. Presence of two vertical handles from rim to just above the middle of the body. The handles extend about 5 mm above the rim.
3. The neck is very short and raised, hence the minimum neck diameter corresponds to the rim diameter.
4. Undefined neck to body juncture.
5. Squat and somewhat globular body.
6. Concave base, with the polished red extending into the base bottom. The outer periphery of the base bottom is worn.
7. Polished red slipped exterior, and white interior accumulation which does not react to HCl.
8. Pastes are local (#1 and #1a).

Medium Incurved, Carinated Squat Jar with Thick Triangular Rim

This kind of jar is very rare in Pucara, and most of the attributes are similar to those of the last two groups of jars. However, the major difference includes a carination at about the middle of the body. The rim portion is incurved and thickened on the exterior, but the exterior lip is relatively pointed and faces up--leaving an interior bevel and forming a triangular rim. Furthermore, although all the fragments in this group have only one vertical handle preserved, it is very possible that there were two handles from rim to just above the carination at the body. These handles are 2.6-2.8 cm wide, and extend about 4 mm above the rim, which also makes measurements difficult to obtain.

The neck and body portions can range from 4-7 cm in thickness, or can be 7 mm thick and homogeneous. The neck is very short and the minimum neck diameter is situated just below the rim. The neck to body juncture is undefined, while the body itself is carinated at about the middle. The carination is relatively sharp, forming an angle of 120

degrees which also corresponds to the maximum body diameter. Furthermore, the exterior body profile is slightly convex, while the interior is almost flat or straight. In addition, the exterior surface is polished red slipped, while the interior can be orange-brown or light-brown slip or self slipped, and in one case there is a white residue which does not react to HCl.

The following chart includes some of the few specimens which are also well oxidized.

Specimen Number	1	2
Rim Diameter	19	19
Minimum Neck Diam.	19	18.9
Ht. at Minimum Neck	1.2	1.1
Angle at Carination	120	120
Maximum Body Diam.	23	24
Paste	#1	#1A
Surface Finish	II	V

Provenience
Specimen 1: (Figure 137), Excavation III, Level 5, 2264-49.
Specimen 2: (Figure 138), Excavation III, Level 6, 2307-28.

Consequently, based on the analysis presented above, the following attributes are diagnostic features for the identification of medium sized incurved, carinated squat jars with thick triangular rims:

1. Thick and incurved rim with exterior thickening. Pointed or slightly rounded exterior lip facing up and interior bevel, forming a triangular rim.
2. Possibly two vertical handles from rim to just above the carination at the body. The handle(s) extend about 4 mm above the rim.
3. Very short neck, with minimum neck diameter situated just below the rim.
4. Undefined neck to body juncture.
5. Squat and carinated body. The carination is situated at about the middle of the body, and forms an angle of 120 degrees corresponding to the maximum body diameter.
6. Polished red slipped exterior, and in some cases there is a white accumulation on the interior, which does not react to HCl.
7. Pastes are local (#1, #1A).

FELINE EFFIGY JAR

This kind of jar is very rare in Pucara, and there is only one group of sherds which appears to be part of a single effigy jar. This partially restored specimen was left by Kidder at the National Museum in Lima. We were able to locate most of the pieces there, and identify their excavation provenience based on Kidder's notes and a black and white photograph. Such a fancy piece is very important, as it provides an antecedent for the later feline effigy vessels in the Tiahuanaco-style in the southern end of the Lake Titicaca Basin.

This specimen has only the feet and portions of the body preserved, and is reconstructed from four sherds. However, next to the large fragment in Kidder's black and white photograph there are also two additional smaller pieces which appear to be part of the same vessel. Both of these smaller pieces are portions of the juncture between the body and neck of the jar (one has the feline's left ear and bands above the eye), and have served to make comparisons with a miniature effigy jar and aid in drawing the reconstruction. In addition, some of these miniature effigy jars have a single vertical handle at the rim, which in turn is part of the feline's tail turned upwards.

The realistic and three-dimensional feline body has large nested diamonds on a cream background (see section dealing with Feline Motifs). The vessel is roughly rectangular at the base/body. The four feet with short legs protrude from under the body, and the preserved front and rear portions of the body are especially more rounded. In addition, the wall thickness at the upper remaining portions is 5 mm, gradually becoming about 8 mm thick towards the lower portion of the body, and the feet are solid.

The following chart provides the provenience, measurements, and other attributes pertaining to this well oxidized specimen.

Maximum Body Length	16.5
Maximum Rear Body Width	11
Maximum Front Body Width	9.3
Estimated total Height	15
Paste	#1A (local)
Surface Finish	V

Provenience
(Figure 139), Excavation III, Level 5, West Extension (4 sherds and 2 additional ones part of the same vessel).

RESTRICTED MINIATURE SHAPES

Fancy and plain miniature specimens belonging to this major category include for the most part those preserved or reconstructed from rim to base. Some of these vessels have been illustrated within specific motifs. Restricted miniature shapes are usually small and a few are slightly larger. Such vessels reproduce some of the shapes in large or regular sized vessels as follows (see also Caption to General Restricted Shapes):

Miniature jars include those reminiscent of jars with slightly outflaring neck and relatively sharp neck to shoulder juncture (see Figure 86 e-f). Most of these miniature jars are polychrome with either a pair of felines or owls depicted on the body, or a horizontal band at the neck or upper body containing geometric designs, human severed heads, or the feline-headed snake motif. Some of these have one or two vertical handles preserved at the neck, and the body tends to be more globular. A few miniature jars are also plain.

A few miniature specimens resemble the jar with long slightly outflaring neck and less angular neck to shoulder juncture (see Figure 86g), but with a much shorter body (the rest of the neck is not

preserved), and the entire body is polished red slipped with a narrow black horizontal band at the base. One specimen with a polished red slipped body and a band of geometric designs at the neck is like the jar with short slightly outflaring neck and less angular neck to shoulder juncture (see Figure 86h).

Some specimens are very much like the four sided jars (see Figure 86j), including the four panels of geometric designs at the body and a band of designs at the neck, and a pair of vertical handles at the neck.

A single plain specimen reproduces the tall jar with short outflaring neck (see Figure 87k), but the vertical handles and base are not preserved. Another polished red slipped miniature jar has a body like the incurved squat jar (see Figure 87o), while the neck and rim are almost vertical.

Finally, some miniature fragments are very much like the feline effigy jar (see Figure 87r), including the upturned tail forming a vertical handle at the neck and a series of diamonds on a cream body.

Significantly absent are jars with bulging neck, jars with outflaring neck and rim, jars with long outflaring neck and relatively sharp neck to shoulder juncture, and the incurved carinated squat jar.

A new restricted miniature shape, not found on large or regular sized jars is a male-head effigy jar, some with a single vertical handle at the neck. These polychrome effigy heads include all the details present in either miniature or regular sized bowls.

Most of the miniature jars contain heavy accumulations of a white residue, and many of these are calcium carbonate deposits since they react to Hcl. As indicated in the beginning of this section, calcium carbonate is used today along with coca chewing and is usually kept in

small gourds. Consequently, the presence of this substance in Pucara style miniature jars can be considered as indirect evidence for the chewing and importation of coca from the eastern slopes of the Andes.

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X. ANALYSIS, CLASSIFICATION, DOCUMENTATION, AND INTERPRETATION OF PUCARA ICONOGRAPHY

This section deals with the study of the different themes, motifs, and geometric designs in Pucara pottery, as well as their related attributes of paste, technique, vessel shape, residues, and excavation provenience. Following each of the two main themes (the Camelid Woman and the Feline Man) are their related motifs.

The representational iconography in Pucara is entirely religious in nature, and many supernatural attributes are used in the generation of images of power, and even the geometric designs may also have had a symbolic meaning. Hence, an important step in this study is to identify the supernatural indicators present in the different themes and motifs (Lyon 1979:96-97).

Identification of Supernatural Status in Pucara Beings

Most, if not all, animal beings and human personages in Pucara combine their natural attributes with preternatural ones. One such universal supernatural indicator is the vertically divided eye. A possible natural model for the divided eye, however, may the nictitating membrane present in many animals (see section dealing with Feline Motifs), but the fact that this conventionalized attribute is consistently shared by all the recognizable animal and human beings in Pucara, supports their identification as supernaturals. The earliest

occurrence of the vertically divided eye has been identified by Karen Chávez on a Chiripa style sherd from Chiripa, representing an anthropomorphic head in relief, and indicating its origins in the southern Titicaca Basin (K. Chávez 1989:21, Fig. 10). The divided eye continues into Tiahuanaco and Huari styles on animal and human personages, in addition to pupils and naturalistic eyes. The presence of naturalistic eyes in these later styles may certainly be viewed as developments toward secularization.

A red band surrounding the divided eye is consistently present in most human and animal beings, and since this element has no natural counterpart it can be regarded as a supernatural indicator.

Another supernatural indicator is the presence of an open mouth/lips with closed teeth including crossed fangs. This attribute is present in the Feline Man and on some Feline Motifs. Since no natural cats show their teeth closed, then, such depictions can be regarded as an indicator of supernatural status (see section dealing with Feline Motifs).

The term Staff God pose as a supernatural indicator was proposed by John Rowe, and was derived from his identification of a particular deity in Chavín which "... is fullface with arms outstretched and a staff or other ceremonial object in each hand" (Rowe 1971:117). Furthermore, in the same reference he also identified this pose on a Pucara personage, which I now refer here as the Camelid Woman. Following Chavín influence, this pose is also present in Paracas on a variety of supernatural beings, and, as noted by Rowe, this pose is used again in Tiahuanaco and Huari human deity figures.

The fact that the Staff God pose in Pucara is clearly associated with female personages, a more appropriate term would be the Staff Goddess pose, which opens up the possibility of reassessing and determining the gender identity in some Chavín style personages (e.g., those on some Carhua painted textiles of the South Coast, Lyon 1979:98-103, K. Chávez ms.), as well as Huari and Tiahuanaco ones.

A related female motif in Pucara is the human head with rayed appendages. Such appendages or rays surrounding the head have also been considered as supernatural indicators, including, for example, those present in many styles ranging from the Early Horizon onto the Late Intermediate Period (Lyon 1979:97). In Pucara each ray usually terminates in a ring, animal head, checkered cross, or plant/flower.

The Feline Man in Pucara, I would propose, also has a specific pose which may be called the Feline Man pose. This pose consists of feet and legs in a running position, the upper torso in front view and tilted forward, the crowned head in profile and facing upwards, the mouth containing the supernatural closed and fanged teeth, a pair of appendages emanating from the mouth and terminating in circles or other elements, and outstretched arms with an axe and a staff in each hand respectively. I have identified such personages in Pucara as male. This identification of sex and gender would also served to reassess the identity of similar personages in Chavín, and especially those in Tiahuanaco and Huari where they usually appear accompanying the Staff God (or Goddess). Such personages are also known in the literature as winged or floating angels. For example, Rowe (1971:120, Fig. 25) refers to a pair of personages (Feline Men) present on a reconstructed Pucara style pottery bowl at the National Museum in Lima as running angels.

The Feline Motif in Pucara also possesses supernatural indicators such as the divided eyes and red band surrounding them, closed and fanged teeth on some felines, and others are anthropomorphized felines because they possess a left human arms and hand. These felines are also depicted in a consistent position in which the body is in profile facing left (from the feline's point of view), and the head, usually in relief, is in front view. Such a position may be called the Pucara feline pose.

There are also animals and personages which combine attributes from other animals, such as the Feline-headed Snake Motif, the Winged Man Motif, the Anthropomorphized Bird Motif, the Flying "Fish" Motif, and the Winged Anthropomorphized Feline Motif. Most of these motifs, however, are small and too fragmentary and will not be included here. In addition, all vessels used as a medium for the depiction of the different themes, motifs, and designs are fancy polychrome specimens produced by labor intensive techniques.

Consequently, every theme and all the motifs in Pucara possess supernatural indicators. Purely realistic or secular beings are absent in Pucara. This situation is somewhat similar to the partially contemporary Moche iconography of the north coast of Peru, where previously regarded as overwhelmingly realistic (a concept which was used by many archaeologists to reconstruct Moche culture) the style is now being interpreted as ritual/religious (Lyon 1985:170). Such works have been amply documented, especially by Christopher Donnan (e.g., 1975 and 1976), followed by the French investigator Anne Marie Hocquenghem (e.g., 1979), and the Russian Yuri Berezkin (e.g., 1981).

The Camelid Woman Theme

The first issue here is the determination of the personage's sex, hence its gender. The interpretation of the main personage as female is based primarily on comparisons with a female figurine recovered from Excavation III (Figure 140). This figurine possesses a pair of round appliquéd reliefs which represent breasts based on their position on the chest. Close similarities between attributes on the female figurine and those characteristic of the personage in the Camelid Woman Theme, support the identification of this camelid personage as female.

The figurine is painted red everywhere the skin is exposed. The ears are perforated and portrayed as lateral protrusions. The black hair that begins at the top of the head, continues behind the ears and down the back of the torso, and is represented by several vertical segments suggesting simple braids that are held by a horizontal line/string behind the ears. The eyes, mouth, eyebrows and nose are clustered closer together in the central part of the face. The eyes are also divided in black and cream, but with the right eye having black in the wrong position away from the nose. The eyebrows are emphasized with a black rectangular band which is also in relief and continues into the relief forming the nose. The mouth is represented by a single horizontal incision. Under her neck is black line with a series of vertical segments in black and cream suspended from it, suggesting a kind of necklace. Finally, a cream band encircles the face.

A related figurine fragment (with breasts missing or not preserved) shows a number of attributes similar to the female figurine just described (Figure 141, Excavation III). Here, the similarities include: a relatively flat face in cross-section, with thickness decreasing

toward the top of the head; slight depressions at the neck; and remains of clustered eyes, mouth, eyebrows and nose in the center of the red face. Significantly absent are the protruding perforated ears, and the oval band surrounding the face is black and only extends from the lower portion of the face to both sides. Furthermore, the front and back preserved portions of the upper torso are black (perhaps representing black clothing as on the Camelid Woman), while a large portion of the hair on the back is worn or had another color. Of importance, however, is the stepped hair-line at the forehead, which is outlined in very fine incision.

Attributes which the camelid woman or associated rayed head motif shares with the female figurine(s) include: 1) red front-view face, on the figurines with no face markings, but on the camelid woman with simple ones that are different from those on the feline man; 2) simple straight mouth; 3) T-shaped eyebrows and nose in relief; 4) protruding ears, in one figurine, that are perforated, resembling the often excised ears of the camelid woman; 5) necklace under the chin; 6) stepped hair line in one figurine that is like most, if not all, of the heads in relief present on the camelid woman; 7) braids; 8) band around lower portion or all of the faces, as on the Head Motif with Rayed Appendages; and 9) black dress, on one figurine.

Consequently, the shared attributes found on the female figurines serve to positively identify the central front-face personage in the main theme as female and by further association other motifs in the theme as female-related (including the Head Motif with Rayed Appendages). Furthermore, in the absence of similar explicit sexual/gender attributes for males, we can safely rely on their

secondary attributes, such as presence of moustache and beard (e.g., some of the human effigy vessels discussed below within the Feline Man Theme) to determine by opposition the characteristics used in portraying males. These differences include face markings, ways of wearing the hair, clothing, absence of earrings and necklace, and different associated motifs and stances.

Associated Shape

The only vessel shape associated with the Camelid Woman theme is the pedestal-base bowl or ceremonial burner. This shape shares for the most part the same kind and number of attributes of other standard pedestal-base bowls. The rim diameter taken at the exterior of the beveled lip (or slightly beveled in a few cases) ranges from 14.8 cm (Figure 142) to 21.5 cm (Figure 144), and most are 18-20 cm. The diameter at the waist of six pieces ranges from 10.2 cm to 12.6 cm. The exterior lip sometimes shows some wearing from use (Figures 145 and 168), possibly from being covered with a lid. Only three pieces had enough of the bowl portion complete to determine its height (Figures 1142, 144, and 145), which range from 8 to 9.3 cm. The red polishing extends from the exterior of the vessel onto the beveled portion at the interior. In addition, two lugs are present attached at the lip on opposite sides of the vessel exterior. Lug dimensions are as follows: width 3-3.8 cm, length 1.2-1.6 cm, and thickness 6-7 mm. Furthermore, the consistent presence of dark or sooty spots from burning on the interiors of the bowl portion has been used to assign a function for this shape as a burner.

Nine diagnostic fragments of pedestal bases show a range in diameter from 12 to 17 cm, and three pieces with a pedestal height

(measured to the mid-point of the waist) between 4.4 and 5.5 cm. In the majority of cases, the red polishing ends at the interior edge and point of contact with the surface (e.g., Figure 169). However, in a very few cases, the red extends 3 mm (Figures 142, 154, and 170) and 5 mm into the interior.

Unfortunately only one example of some 25 pieces we were able to piece together allowed the total height (from lip of bowl to base of the pedestal) to be reconstructed. Total height is 12.4 cm, and the proportion between the bowl height (8 cm) and the pedestal height (4.4 cm) is 1.82:1.

Surface Finish

While the associated surface finishes include II, III, IV, and V, most are V. In a few cases there is evidence for combining two surface finishes.

Paste Groups

All but five pieces possess paste #1 or #1A. Five examples have different pastes, and probably indicate a foreign manufacture. Three of these, pastes #11 (Figure 159), #14 (Figure 155), and #1B (Figure 163), also show significant variations in some details associated with the Camelid Woman Theme--one portrays toes instead of "shoes," the other has excised circular pendant hanging from the waist and the last has an unusual bird between the flower and staff.

The Camelid Woman Theme (Figures 142 to 171)

Despite repeated and time consuming efforts to fit the largest possible number of sherds together, we succeeded in partially connecting only one portion from rim to pedestal base for the Camelid Woman Theme. In addition, three larger fragments, representing the same number of

vessels, are relatively complete but lack the pedestal portion. Calculations of the circumference of these three pieces clearly indicated that the camelid woman, along with associated motifs constituting the theme, is represented only once on each vessel. The following reconstruction and description of this theme is based primarily on the three larger fragments and the partially reconstructed rim to base piece, and secondarily on the other fragments.

The Camelid Woman Theme is portrayed only on the exterior of the vessel, and the main personage is represented entirely in front view and in a standing position. Among all the human and animal representations in the collection, the front view position is reserved only for the Camelid Woman. Furthermore, additional attributes are exclusively used to further enhance her position and emphasize the personage: 1) she is portrayed on the entire exterior surface of the vessel (from top of bowl to bottom of pedestal base); 2) she is depicted in larger proportions than the other associated motifs; 3) the face is in relief, and in some cases the skirt (Figures 157 and 158) and/or feet or "shoes" (Figures 156 and 158), are also in relief; 4) excision is used for the Camelid Woman Theme alone. Except for one case (Figure 145), the rest of the human faces have excised areas filled with white post-fire paint and distributed on the forehead, around the eyes, earrings, or a combination of these. Furthermore, in some cases there are additional excised areas including the chin, circular collar pendants, and the tips of the "feathers" emanating from behind the head.

This central personage has a consistent number of associated motifs, elements and designs which are also standardized on a red background, as follows:

1. Her right arm is bent at the elbow, and her hand with four fingers holds a staff extending from forehead height to almost the bottom of the skirt. The staff is shown behind the whole hand, but gives the illusion of being grasped.

2. She also hold in her right hand a round to subrectangular item, perhaps a bag.

3. Her left arm is also bent at the elbow, and her hand leads a camelid in profile facing her. The relatively smaller camelid is portrayed above the level of her hand, with its head at or just below the vessel's lip. Again, the neck rope is shown behind the hand.

4. A pair of exterior lugs at the lip of each at opposite sides of the vessel, separates the central personage and the camelid from the plant/flower-like motifs, which are portrayed from under the rim to waist of the vessel. This latter motif is next in size to the central personage, and it occurs only in association with the Camelid Woman Theme and in no other contexts.

5. Finally, the pedestal portion of the vessel has additional vertical bands or panels in zigzag flanking the personage below the waist.

Specific attributes and variations associated with the Camelid Woman Theme, include the following. The face is modeled and appliquéd onto the vessel wall. The top of the head originates at or just below the vessel's rim, and the nose has the highest relief (7 mm-1.1 cm, and probably 1.4 cm). Although in most cases the entire face (from top of head to chin) protrudes 3-9 mm from the vessel wall, in one case the relief is much lower (Figure 149), or it is further emphasized by reducing the thickness of the vessel wall in half around the face and body (Figure 144).

The hair is black with a stepped hair-line at the sides of the face. It disappears above the ear-lobe, or continues downwards and tapers in front of the ears. Except in two cases which lack braids (Figures 143 and 145), the other diagnostic face fragments have two braids represented by parallel segments with chevrons (Figures 144 and 151), or as in one case (Figure 142) with three parallel segments having

no chevrons. These braids originate behind the ear and disappear behind the shoulders.

At each side of the head a pair of feather-like segments or streamers extends horizontally away from the head. These streamers are consistently with black tips. Only in one case the longer segments are preserved in red (Figure 146), and sometimes the tips of the feather are excised.

A unique example from Excavation III (Figure 149) combines a braid (at the forehead and shoulders completely covering the ears) and a veil covering the top of the head and extending below at both sides of the face. The veil includes a band of contiguous panels of interlocking steps in black and cream. This same geometric design occurs in other pieces flanking the skirt as side flaps, or as face marks in two cases (Figures 143 and 150).

The entire face of the camelid woman is red, and the ears (when exposed) possess small circular earrings which can be excised, painted yellow, or yellow with a smaller black concentric circle in the middle.

The eyes are sub-rectangular ovoids divided into two fields, black towards the nose and cream towards the ears, that are surrounded by an additional ovoidal red band. The sides of the eyes are sometimes also outlined by excised fields tapering at both extremes giving the appearance of almond-shaped corners. The excised areas extend onto the nose and towards the ears at the cheeks. In a couple of instances eyebrows are represented by a wavy or zigzag incision; otherwise there is a gentle relief surrounding the eyes that extends and blends into the nose. The mouth is a simple horizontal incision extending the width of the nose, or just beyond it.

Except in one case (Figure 145), the forehead is further accentuated by excised geometric designs beginning at or near the hairline, including two-stepped designs divided in two (Figure 147) or joined together (Figures 144 and 146), three triangles (Figures 142 and 143), or three vertical incisions (Figure 148).

With very few cases of duplication, the face has different kinds of face markings under the eyes. These face markings include an incised line which originates at the side of the lower nose, horizontally follows the lower contour of the eye, and terminates towards the cheeks and below the ear Figures 142 and 147). A second kind of face marking includes a checkered cross (Figure 146), or a nested cross (Figure 149) suspended from under the eyes. A third kind has a black rectangle under the eyes (Figure 148). A fourth kind is a double-stepped interlocking design under the eyes, each in cream and black, the mirror image of the other (Figure 143), or a variation of it in a horizontal position and not connected to the lower portion of the eyes (Figure 150); in both examples the black area is away from the nose. Finally, a fifth kind of face marking includes oblique or almost vertical parallel bands in zigzag originating under the eyes and extending into the lower sides of the face--one of these is a red band flanked by two black bands (Figure 144), and the other is a cream band next to a black band (Figure 145). Furthermore, a single example (Figure 144; P-8425 (2)) has an excised band extending the entire width of the chin or lower portion of the face, and marking a separation between the face and the collar.

All the diagnostic samples include a necklace or narrow collar at the neck, which can extend from ear to ear (Figure 145), or commonly remain at the neck. These necklaces/collars can have one or two rows of

beads, and each row includes seven beads (eight in one case). In most cases, a large rectangular bead is next to a smaller rectangular one, and the beads in each collar can alternate in black/cream/red, cream/black, or black/cream/black/red.

The main garment she wears is what appears to be a black dress (perhaps sleeveless), with a yellow belt or row of rectangles at the waist. A vertical band at both sides of the waist extends along the length of her skirt like side-flaps. Each of these vertical side-flaps contains two rectangular panels of interlocking double-stepped elements, each alternating in cream and black (or red and black in one case, Figure 152). The skirt shows a hem-line and ends at foot height, or below it. Sometimes cream and red designs in the shape of the number 8 with an incised X in the middle, hang from the belt (Figure 152) or are combined with a pendant circle (Figure 153)

The chest portion of the dress can contain additional panels of the same interlocking double-stepped designs, and at each shoulder a black ovoidal design within a sub-rectangular cream field (Figure 144). In other cases there is a pair of circular pendants hanging from the necklace, which can be excised (Figure 142) or painted red (Figure 145); or three short stems hanging from the necklace that terminate in designs similar to a number 8 (each alternating in cream and red) with an I-shaped incision in the middle (Figure 143). The latter group of pendants appears to be a variation of the upper portion of the staff, but in a more curvilinear shape.

In addition, in one case (Figure 143) there is a kind of veil or cape, which originates below the ears, and extends behind and away from the shoulders. This cream colored garment has a pair of black circular

pendants with longer stems, which originates below each ear lobes like earrings and terminates above the shoulders.

Most of the time she wears "shoes" which are always painted cream (and sometimes in relief), although sometimes she is bearfooted with cream feet and toes (Figure 159), or her skirt reaches the ground (Figure 154). However, the personage's foot or dress does not reach the absolute bottom of the vessel; instead there is a red field about 7 mm wide which continues around the base.

The two arms and hands are bent at the elbow and wrist respectively. A red rectangular portion (sometimes triangular) at the wrist may be the exposed wrists/arms or a bracelet/wristband. The hands are cream with black fingernails, or black with cream fingernails, or both the hands and fingernails are cream. Assuming that red color represents the skin (as in the face), then the cream and black colors in the hands may represent gloves. Furthermore, the number of fingers is always four, where the index finger is covered from view by the thumb.

Directly in front of her right hand there is a cream colored bag with criss-crossed pattern (perhaps representing a netted bag), or alternatively has a black checkered cross with a red square in the center. These bags are not hanging, instead they are held out horizontally directly next to the hand. The same hand also holds the characteristic black staff. Based on a piece having the lower portion preserved (Figure 153), it appears that the staff is very long, from near the rim of the vessel to about the lower portion of her skirt or dress. The upper portion of the staff is I-shaped with a similar incised design in the center, and in most cases this portion has sharp corners or edges. However, one exception (Figure 145) has the corners

or edges rounded. In addition, the portion just below it can extend to form a trapezoid, a diamond (with a similar design in the center), or it can continue directly into the rest of the staff.

Her left hand leads a camelid (depicted in profile) by a black or cream rope which is tied to its neck. A single piece shows the lower portion of a much smaller camelid with the front foot resting on top of the personage's thumb, as well as what appears to be a ring in front of the camelid (Figure 162). The camelid has a rounded (Figure 145) or squared (Figure 161) back pack containing interlocking single stepped blocks or L-shaped designs, each alternating in cream and black. This color alternation is also used in different body parts of the camelid: black for the upper half of the body which is separated by a line in zigzag, tail, wool hanging just above the foot, and toes; and cream occurs between these body parts. Conversely, the mouth, face, nose, and wool accumulation above the head of the camelid can be combined in cream and black (Figures 143, 144, and 160). The divided eye in black and cream, interpreted here as a supernatural attribute, is also shared with the personage. Furthermore, it can be argued that the cluster or abundant wool at the top of the head, and wool hanging below the neck and short legs, compares more closely to those on actual alpacas, rather than llamas. The combination of black and cream colors used in the body's wool is also a characteristic present in domestic rather than wild camelids. Although llamas carry packs, these supernatural alpacas may be carrying special burdens.

The space between the camelid's tail and the staff or scepter of the personage is reserved for a group of plant or flower-like motifs with stems in zigzag, and most of them with seeds and/or fruits

emanating from the flowers. However, an additional piece shows that this space also contains a checkered cross design, which is situated at about the level of her left hand (Figure 162). Another unique piece shows an unusual bird facing the fruits/seeds of a plant (Figure 163). The bird's beak is depicted like the mouth of the camelids, and the four segments above the head are like the tuft of most the camelids depicted here.

The portrayal of the plants includes what appears to be two stages in the growth of the plant: one in the blossoming/flowering stage (Figures 142, 143, 164, to 167), and the other in a non-flowering stage (Figures 145 and 168). The non-flowering plant is represented in three zigzagging parallel segments or stems: the middle segment in black, and the two flanking it in cream and each terminating in black leaves (Figure 168). This non-flowering plant is repeated three times: one vertical flanked by two laterally connected plants; and perhaps each standing by itself.

The blossoming/flowering plant is generally similar to the first group in number and position of stems, although it can also have only two zigzagging segments, in which the black and cream colors of the stem and leaves are cross-symmetrical (Figures 164 and 165). One piece (Figure 166) seems to have a horizontal stem with at least two parallel segments in black. However, the crucial difference between the flowering and non-flowering plant is the presence of fruits/seeds stemming from the petal and/or leaves of the flowering plants, and solitary petals in the non-flowering plants.

The cream colored curved central portion between the black petals can be plain or segmented as a continuation of the middle zigzagging

stem, or can appear directly from two petals/leaves forming the semi-circular central area, red below and cream alternating in black segments above (Figure 164).

The small fruits/seeds are represented by two or three circular elements, each with a stem connected to another single stem, and/or by single nested crosses (or a nested cross surrounded by a cream sub-rectangle in one case--Figure 167 with a single stem). All the fruits/seeds are black and are attached to the juncture between the petal and leaf, to the petal itself, or to the tip of the leaves. Sometimes both the circular elements and nested crosses emerge together from a single plant, while in others each emerges independently from two separate plants. It should also be noted that the black circular seeds are also present as pendants in some Camelid Women (Figure 143), and the nested cross as face markings below the eye (Figure 149).

Based on three examples showing a clear association between the plant/flower motif and the central personage, it should be noted that in one case the non-flowering plant is associated with the simplest Camelid Woman (Figure 145). That is, she lacks the excised geometric markings on her face and forehead, has a simple face marking below the eyes, no braids or cape, has a staff with rounded rather than sharp edges, and only two pendants hanging from a necklace, which in turn is unusually attached from ear to ear. Conversely, the blossoming/flowering plants are associated with the most ornamented women holding a scepter or staff with sharp edges. Consequently, it could be argued that these associations may indicate either differences in age, rank, and/or season of the year.

The pedestal portion of the vessel and flanking the skirt of the woman, contains a series of parallel vertical bands in zigzag (likely forming independent panels). Each wide band alternates in black, cream, and red, and can have plain or have additional incised dashes in the bands following the zigzag pattern (Figures 142, 153, 169, 170, and 171). However, next to the panel of zigzag bands on one example (Figure 171) there is a unique human head in front view with rayed appendages (see section dealing with the Head Motif with Rayed Appendages). The ovoidal head is surrounded by a narrow black band, and semi-circular protrusions are situated at or represent the ears. Face markings include a horizontal incised dash under the divided eyes. The mouth is a horizontal black ovoidal band, and the nose and eyebrows are connected in black. Each of the six peripheral appendages (three at each side of the head) terminates in a small front view head, a black one alternating with a and cream one (not to be confused with the stylized circular heads with an incised inverted V separating the eyes from the mouth and which are different and pertain to the Feline Man Theme). In addition, a black element (perhaps trapezoidal in shape) emerges at the middle and top of the head.

It can be argued that this human head may also be that of a woman, This interpretation is based on a combination of the following similarities shared with the camelid woman: portrayal in front view, simple face markings under the divided eyes (in contrast to those of the feline man), protruding ears, and simple horizontal mouth. In addition, the band which encircles the face, the connected eyebrows and nose, and the simple straight mouth are attributes which are also significantly present on the female figurine described above.

Conclusion and interpretation

The term Camelid Woman used in the identification of this theme may not be so fully descriptive as other terms (such as Woman with Alpaca, Staff, and Plants), but it was selected as a more succinct term emphasizing the association with the camelid.

This female personage(s) is portrayed in a prominent position and stance uniquely reserved for this personage and theme, not shared by any other in the entire collection. The long staff or distaff, held consistently in her right hand, may represent an emblem of authority, supernatural identity, or position indicative of hierarchical rank.

The plant represented in flowering and non-flowering stages, have the stems in zigzag may be a vine-like plant, and the geometric panels at the pedestal with zigzag bands could indicate the roots growing below the ground. Should this be the case, then the line of separation between above and below ground (which also coincides with the woman's waist and the waist of the pedestal based bowl) would make the central personage emerging from below the ground.

The flowering plant, associated with a more elaborate kind of woman holding a sharp-edged staff, and the non-flowering one with a more simple woman (holding a more rounded-edged staff), could be interpreted as indicative of slight differences in seasons of the year (such as in the rainy season, before and after flowering) and/or further differences in the women's age or rank. These differences could represent a rite of passage that took place just before flowering.

The camelid/alpaca is portrayed in a consistent stance, small size, and always led by a rope in her left hand. The abundant wool, which is represented in cream and black colors, is more characteristic of

domestic alpaca than llamas. The load with L-shaped interlocking designs carried by the alpaca may represent a light-weight load of some special product (perhaps wool or selected plant seeds), rather than regular heavy loads llamas would carry. Alpacas are raised mainly for their meat and wool and are not used as pack animals.

The two kinds of small and rounded bags which are consistently held in the woman's right hand, include: five examples in the collection are criss-crossed as a net, and could represent a ball of wool yarn; and a single example having a checkered cross design in the middle, could represent a bag of seeds, since crosses (although nested) emanate from the blossoming/flowering plants.

In conclusion, the Camelid Woman Theme is one which presents a clear association with agricultural and pastoral products, fertility and growth, including plants and their products, and the alpaca producer of meat and wool, and carrier of a special pack. It may be argued that these elements represent, and hence strongly suggest the camelid woman is associated with the warmer rainy season when plants grow and bloom and when the camelids give birth and are shorn for their wool. The woman herself is depicted in a more naturalistic and passive position, although with a symbol of authority and in a prominent position. In addition, based on differences in face markings, pendants, staffs, presence or absence of "shoes," position of geometric designs on her dress, and association with flowering and non-flowering plants, I would propose that the Camelid Woman is not a single personage. Instead, there may be several women, each of different rank and/or age. Nevertheless, her consistent pose with alpaca, plants, bag, and staff

suggests strong similarity in access to, control over, or association with the same elements.

The importance of female deities in the prehistory of the Lake Titicaca Basin has a long tradition. John Rowe was the first to describe Bennett's monolith (a Tiahuanaco-style sculpture assigned to Epoch 2 in the Middle Horizon, hence post-Pucara) as a female personage. Subsequently, Karen Chávez and I (1969, 1976) described a group of stone sculpture from the basin as pre-Pucara based on stylistic and seriational grounds. This style was named Yaya-Mama (Father-Mother as portrayed by male and female personages), and the female personage was identified as a supernatural deity (Lyon 1979). More recently, Karen Chávez presented a convincing argument tracing this female personage from Yaya-Mama through Pucara to Tiahuanaco/Huari times. Hence, the Camelid Woman Theme is an important link to Tiahuanaco/Huari, and the observations/conclusions presented here lend further support to the importance of female supernaturals in the region. Consequently, important attributes to be considered in the transition from Pucara to Tiahuanaco/Huari include: the prominent stance of the female personage and her association with plants, camelid, a bird, as well as nested crosses, and a face with protruding ears surrounded by peripheral appendages terminating in small heads.

Face Motif with Rayed Appendages

The specimens representing this motif show significant similarities to the face with rayed appendages present on the Camelid Woman Theme, and, as observed previously, this motif may also represent the face of a woman. However, the pieces to be described here are too fragmentary and

badly preserved to determine whether the motif occurs by itself, or is connected to the main theme and/or other motifs.

The first fragment, from the lower portion of an oversized beaker having a base diameter of 22 cm, has remains of red slip on the exterior that extends onto the bottom of the base, as well as bits of red slip on the interior (Figure 172, Excavation IV). The oval-shaped face and protruding ears are the only portions in low relief. Although the piece is badly preserved, there are still remains of important attributes, including polychrome painting. The oval face is surrounded by a black band from which a series of peripheral appendages emanates or radiates, interrupted by the protruding ears. The appendages below the face appear to include rectangular ones flanking a shorter appendage that terminates in a rectangular element with two parallel bands emanating from the middle and extending beyond it. Furthermore, the face itself has remains of a cream color, but the eyebrows and nose are eroded. The closed mouth is oval and each eye (which was likely also divided) is surrounded by a red band, under which a pair of segmented bands emerge and continue to the lower sides of the face. Lastly, based on the vessel's reconstructed circumference and assuming repetition of similar motifs, there were four such motifs around the oversized beaker.

The second piece (Figure 173, Excavation IV), also a badly worn, is a body sherd (probably a bowl) with remains of cream and red on the motif, and red to red orange slip on the interior. The face motif is better preserved here and shows the Y-shaped eyebrows-nose, the same closed simple mouth, and also a band around the face. The face markings or bands under the eyes appear to be unsegmented, and the single

preserved appendage emanating from under the ear may be a feather element.

A third piece excavated from Pucara by Kidder and Manuel Chávez Ballón in 1955 (Figure 174), also portraying the rayed face motif with a band surrounding the face and Y-shaped eyebrows-nose, possesses rectangular, horizontally oriented face markings just like those on the camelid woman. The segmented appendage emanating from the corner appears to represent the plant associated with the camelid woman. Colors on this specimen are unclear and we have not seen the piece.

The last fragment is quite a unique example in terms of shape and surface color (Figure 175, Excavation III). The slipped surface of the entire piece (exterior, interior, and bottom base) is black and the designs are formed by incisions lacking colors. Furthermore, attached at one corner of the base are remains of a vessel foot which is ovoidal in section. Based on the straight contour of the preserved wall, the shape was likely a four-sided tetrapod bowl.

The preserved distal ends of three appendages include a ring flanked by a pair of profile feline heads. The stem of one band appears to possess a feather-like chevron. Since such a radiating sequence of appendages occurs only with rayed faces, then these attributes serve to assign this piece also to the main face motif.

In conclusion, the face motif with rayed appendages is represented by a very small number of mostly badly preserved pieces, all of which derive only from Excavations III and IV. The associated vessel shapes include an oversized beaker, a probable bowl, and an unusual black polished, probably four-sided tetrapod bowl.

The collective attributes which closely compare to the rayed face motif preserved on one specimen of the Camelid Woman Theme include: location of the motif at or near the vessel's base; protruding ears; band surrounding the face; simple mouth; eyebrows connecting with the nose; trapezoidal element above the face; appendages emanating from around the face, some of which terminate in geometric elements, feline heads, and also likely plants that are associated with the camelid woman; and the horizontal face marking under the eyes. On the other hand, the oblique face markings or band emanating from below the eyes best compare to those of the simpler camelid woman associated with plants in the non-flowering stage. Further, as has been pointed out previously in the section on the Camelid Woman Theme, the associated rayed face motif, in turn, is also that of a woman, a point which can also be made here based on the presence of an oval band surrounding the face, eyebrows connected to the nose, and a simple mouth--just like those on the female figurine.

Consequently, the position and attributes just described for the Head Motif with Rayed Appendages clearly indicate a direct association with the Camelid Woman Theme, and the representation of this rayed head is also likely that of a woman. In addition, this motif provides an important link to the heads with rayed appendages so commonly present in Tiahuanaco and Huari styles (K. Chávez 1986b).

The following is a list of proveniences and associated attributes pertaining to the specimens discussed above:

Figure 1, oversized beaker from Excavation IV, Wall A, Central Section. Paste #1.
Figure 2, probable bowl from Excavation IV, Wall Q. Paste could be #1A.
Figure 3, probable bowl from the 1955 excavations.
Figure 4, probably a tetrapod bowl from Excavation III. Paste #1A.

Camelid Motifs

Many camelids in this section possess a number of close similarities to those in the Camelid Woman Theme, and, therefore, indicate them to be related to or derived from that theme. The similarities include the standing position in profile; feet usually resting flat on the ground; abundant body wool which alternates in cream and black; the tuft of wool on the head; divided eye; details of most noses, ears, and tails. Furthermore, the vessel shape is also a pedestal-base bowl. However, these camelids do not carry packs or can have an appendage emanating from the back, frequently a feline headed snake (like Class I). The camelids are represented in pairs (facing each other and tied by the neck), or in rows, where some face toward or away from a wide zigzag band containing camelid foot prints. In addition, based on the fragmentary examples, it appears that the camelids are portrayed on the entire exterior of pedestal-base bowls (from rim to pedestal base), on a polished red background.

Based on observations of modern camelids, and identification of specific attributes in the iconography (such as body color, presence or absence of abundant wool, and stance), these camelids can be classified as domestic or wild. The domestic alpaca and llama have abundant wool in different color tones, achieved and maintained through artificial selection, and further details serve to distinguish alpacas from llamas. Such characteristics are also depicted in Pucara iconography. Both alpacas and llamas show abundant body wool in different colors, black and cream, in Pucara. Alpacas, however, are depicted with a heavy accumulation or tuft of wool at the top of the head, while llamas lack the tuft at the head. On the other hand, the wild guanaco lacks the

abundant body wool and the colors are more homogeneous (cream in Pucara guanacos). Consequently, these attributes were used to identify and distinguish the different camelids in Pucara iconography. The following section deals with the classification and analysis of camelid motifs.

Class I, Alpacas Tied at the Neck and Facing/Chasing Each Other (Figures 176-181).

The first example from Excavation III is represented by a large portion of the pedestal, reconstructed from two sherds from the Peabody Museum and one at the National Museum in Lima (Figure 176). A pair of identical alpacas face each other and are tied a rope at the neck to a single black ring with a cream center. Portions of a black mouth and cream rope attached to a ring are present behind each of these alpacas, and indicate the presence of two additional alpacas. One of the rings is black with a cream center, and the other has the colors in reverse. In addition, portions of what could be camelid feet are present above each camelid, so that the bowl portion may also have contained camelids. Based on the orientation of the black toes, these camelids were facing away from the center.

It should be pointed out that a partially preserved black ring with a cream center is associated with an alpaca in the Camelid Woman Theme (see Figure 161 there).

The second example is also a portion of the pedestal from Excavation IV? (Figure 177). Here, a pair of alpacas face each other. At least one has remains of a rope at the neck, which appears to be cream. One alpaca has a cream face, and the mouth and tuft are black, while the other has the colors in reverse.

The third example derives from Excavation IV? and has portions of an alpaca preserved on the bowl of the vessel (Figure 178). The wool at the front portion of the body alternates in horizontal cream and black fields, and there is additional wool at the chest. A red collar at the neck continues into what appears to be a cream rope. The head is larger in comparison to the previous examples, and the tuft and mouth are black.

The fourth example is a body portion near the waist of the pedestal bowl from Excavation III (Figure 179). Here, the bowl portion has remains of an alpaca which faces right, also has additional wool at the chest, and is tied to a ring. The pedestal portion shows the tuft and nose portions of two alpacas facing each other. In addition, there are traces of green post-fire paint just above the ring.

The fifth example is a portion of the pedestal from Excavation III (Figure 180). Almost the entire body of an alpaca is preserved with a black rope at the neck, likely terminating in a ring. The alpaca appears to have the body pulling away from the rope, and the feet are depicted with only the two toes on the ground, which are in turn separated. This position is certainly different from the usual one in which the body is in a horizontal position and the heel and toes rest flat in the ground.

The sixth example was reconstructed from rim to near the waist from two sherds from Excavation III (Figure 181). There are remains of two alpacas facing each other, and at least one of them has remains of a cream rope at the neck. However, this piece is unusual because at least one of the alpacas has either a cream pack or, more likely, a bent appendage on its back.

Class II, Alpacas Facing Toward or Away from a Band of Foot Prints, and with an Appendage Emanating from Their Backs (Figures 182-187).

The first example was reconstructed from rim to waist from six sherds from Excavation III (Figure 182). This large piece has remains of at least two alpacas, each with a long appendage on its back, unlike the packs/loads carried by the alpacas in the Camelid Woman Theme. This appendage is sharply bent towards the tail and terminates in small animal heads (likely felines), like the feline head snake motif (Class I). These heads have the mouth, circular nose, and neck-band in cream, while the bent stem is black in the first alpaca and cream in the other.

Each alpaca faces away from a wide zigzag band containing foot prints. The zigzag band, which originates under the vessel's lug, is cream and has remains of at least three foot prints, each having the heel portion in red, and the toes in black. In addition, a cream diamond nested on a black diamond is present (like a divider symbol) between one alpaca and the band of foot prints. It is Divider Symbol 1c found on male and female-related felines (see section dealing on Feline Motifs).

The second example also pertains to the bowl portion of the vessel (Figure 183). Two alpacas (one above the other) face a similar zigzag band with at least three foot prints preserved. At least one of the alpacas has remains of a bent appendage facing towards the back, and is formed by two parallel segments in black and cream. One alpaca has the tuft, ear, mouth, and upper portion of the body (with additional dashed incisions) in cream, while the face is black and continues into the middle portion of the body. The other alpaca is preserved at the head and neck, and the colors here are reversed. Furthermore, in contrast to

the previous example, the zigzag band is black, and at least one foot print has a cream heel and red toe.

The third example is a body sherd coming from near the waist of a pedestal bowl and was reconstructed two sherds from Excavation III (Figure 184). On this specimen a portion of the band has the footprints facing down. The toes are red, and the heel black with an additional horizontal incision in the middle. Furthermore, there are also remains of two alpacas, each facing away from the band of footprints.

The fourth example is a portion of the pedestal reconstructed from three sherds from Excavation IV (Figure 185). A pair of alpacas with colors not preserved face away from each other, and each has portions of the small animal heads which are the ends of the bent appendages that will be on the alpacas' back.

The fifth example is also a portion of the pedestal from Excavation III (Figure 186). Here, the bent appendage at the back is formed by two segments in black and cream. However, these segments are not separated by incision.

The sixth example, from Excavation III, was reconstructed from rim to pedestal bowl waist from three sherds (Figure 187). Here, portions of a large alpaca occupy almost the entire bowl portion of the vessel. This alpaca faces away from what appears to be the zigzag band in black, and has a bent black appendage on its back terminating in a cream rectangle. Furthermore, at the waist portion of the vessel the feet of the alpacas rest on remains of what appear to be geometric designs or panels, each having black and cream frames enclosing a red field.

It should also be pointed out that a Pucara style stone slab from Chumbivilcas in Cuzco (some 140 kilometers northwest of Pucara),

combines most of the attributes described here in the first and second class of camelids (S. Chávez 1989:36, Fig. 12). A pair of alpacas (also facing each other) are tied at the neck into a semi-circular element, and are also associated with foot prints. However, the long appendage terminating in a feline-like head is in zigzag, and emanates from under the alpacas' eyes. Also, unlike the consistent portrayal of closed mouths in the pottery examples, those on the slab have open mouths with teeth. Nevertheless, the motifs on the slab from Chumbivilcas combine many of the attributes present in the two classes of alpacas here.

Class III, Guanacos (and Alpaca) (Figures 188-190).

The first example is a bowl portion reconstructed from rim to pedestal bowl waist from two sherds from Excavation III (Figure 188). The motifs depicted in this new class are most unlike those previously discussed. On the left, the rear portion of an alpaca (identified by the heavy wool in cream and black) has remains of the small animal head on the end of what would have been the bent appendage on its back. The feline(?) head has the nose extending from the face, the mouth in black, and the face in cream.

Begin the alpaca on the right there is a body of a guanaco with black toes unusually pointing down (as in a running or jumping position). The identification of the guanaco is based on the lack of heavy accumulation of wool and homogeneous cream body. Such wild camelids are also present in the Guanaco and Bird Motif (discussed below). This representation of both wild and domestic camelids facing away from each other also incorporates a divider symbol standing between

the two. This divider is incompletely preserved, but appears to have had four segments alternating in cream and black in a circular band with a red center, each segment containing an incised dash in its center. It is similar to Divider Symbol 6 associated with male-related felines (see section dealing with Feline Motifs). This piece, then, appears to combine the female-related alpaca with the male-related guanaco separated by a divider associated with both male-related felines.

The second example is a small portion of the bowl near the waist of the pedestal bowl from Excavation III (Figure 189). Here, the hind leg is also preserved with black toes facing down, and the entire body is cream. Furthermore, at the middle of the body there appears to be remains of additional designs (perhaps like those in the Guanaco and Bird Motif).

The third example is also small, and consists of a bowl portion extending into the waist of the pedestal bowl, from Excavation III (Figure 190). There is at least one cream leg with black toes pointing down, and above it a black circle attached to a narrow stem. On top of the black circle there is what appears to be a black closed mouth. In addition, another portion of the toes is situated on the opposite side, and there appear to be in a horizontal position.

Class IV, Rows of Llamas (Figures 191-193).

The first example is reconstructed from rim to pedestal bowl waist from two sherds from Excavation III (Figure 191). The exterior portion of the waist was worn flat, so as to re-use the bowl portion of the vessel. The lack of wool or tuft at the top of the head, and abundant wool (in cream and red) on the rest of the body, serve to identify the

camelid as the domestic llama. Here, the red color has been unusually used at the ear, face, upper body and tail, and wool near the feet, while the central body and heels are cream. Unlike the ears of alpacas (which are pointed and usually face upwards), those of llamas are always depicted rounded, and are represented slightly tilted towards the back. The mouth appears to be black, and there is some kind of long black appendage or perhaps a rope tied at the mouth. Behind this llama there is a portion of black toes, and below it lies the black head of another llama. Consequently, this piece is important in showing that both the bowl and pedestal portions possess a series of llamas, perhaps all of them facing left.

The second example is a rim from Excavation III (Figure 192). Portions of at least two llamas are chasing each other. One has the black mouth closed and lacks the rope, while the face, ear that is tilted back, and upper body have remains of cream paint. The rest of the colors are worn.

The third example is a small portion of a rim from Excavation III (Figure 193). The head and upper body of a llama are preserved, showing the characteristic rounded and slightly tilted ear, as well as the combination of black on the lower body and cream on the face and upper body.

Miscellaneous Camelids (Figures 194-195).

The following three specimens corresponding to pedestal base burners show unusual or unique characteristics associated with camelids. The first specimen derives from Excavation IV (Figure 194), and possesses remains of an alpaca with a long neck and a black head turned

or facing in an opposite direction from that of its body. This alpaca is also unusual in having a line separating the head from the neck, but without the rope at the neck. The long neck is segmented along its length in black and cream, and appears to have at least a black spot on the cream field of the neck.

The second specimen also derives from Excavation IV (Figure 195), and has remains of a cream ear held low on a black neck and portion of the upper body. Judging from the unusually large size of the ear, this camelid may have been very large, perhaps occupying the entire bowl portion of the burner.

The third specimen corresponds to the pedestal portion of a burner and was reconstructed from five sherds from Excavation III (Figure 196). Just above the panels of geometric designs there are remains of a pair of camelid feet. Such ovoidal feet are sometimes present in alpacas (see, for example, Figures 176 and 179 in Class I; and Figure 186 in Class II above). Based on calculations of circumference at the pedestal portion, there were four panels of single-stepped interlocking blocks. This design corresponds to Geometric Design B, which is a female-related design (see section dealing with Feline Motifs and associated designs). Consequently, this specimen constitutes the only evidence for the association of a Camelid Motif with a specific kind of female-related geometric design although the incomplete geometric design on the pedestal of the piece in Figure 187 may also have been the same.

The Owl Motif

The owl is the last independent motif which shares a number of attributes with those in the Camelid Woman Theme. The vessel shape associated with this motif includes only oversized jars with bulging necks having a pair of horizontal handles situated at about the middle of the body, and a globular bodied miniature jar likely with a pair of vertical handles from rim to shoulder (see also section dealing with restricted shapes). Despite repeated efforts to glue together and/or further identify this motif in the entire collection, no other shapes can be assigned to the owl motif.

The first example (Figure 197), which was reconstructed from 139 fragments, is an oversized jar with bulging neck and everted rim, having a preserved height of about 42.7 cm (and perhaps a total height of 63 cm). The portion of the jar's body below its shoulders tends to be more vertical than globular, and a pair of large horizontal handles (about 6 x 8 cm) are positioned at about the middle of the vessel's body. These oversized jars are also associated with some of the anthropomorphized felines (see section dealing with Feline Motifs).

A pair of nearly identical owls, each chasing one another and separated by the horizontal handles, begins just below the neck and covers the upper half of the vessel's body. Depicted on a red background and close to life size, each owl has the body in profile facing the viewer's right, while the head, the only portion in appliqué relief, is in front view. Each bird appears to be landing, with the right foot on the ground and the other at the front and lower left portion of a stepped design. This geometric design consists of a black double stepped field (facing left) outlined by a cream band with an

additional small red rectangle within the black field. A variation of this design is also present at the bulging neck in panels and in a repetitive fashion, where a cream stepped design facing left interlocks with a black one, and a narrow red field/band separates the two.

Emerging from each side of the bird's head is a stepped streamer formed by two parallel bands in black and cream that terminates in two small rectangular segments of opposite colors. The other streamer possesses a reversed order of colors. Surrounding the face is a band formed by eight rectangular segments alternating in black and cream, each segment having an incised dashed line in the middle flanked by four additional dashes painted black when on cream or cream on black. A segmented black band below each eye extends to the lower sides of the face. Each divided eye is also surrounded by a red band. The face itself is cream and includes joined eyebrows in red, as well as a beak in higher relief. Furthermore, each of the pair of tufts or feathers above the head is formed by three parallel bands in cream terminating in smaller black segments. These tufts also have the additional dashes painted cream when on black and black on cream.

In addition to the head, the entire body and wing contain the usual combination of black dashes painted on cream areas and cream dashes painted on black ones, giving a speckled or spotted appearance to the bird.

The chest and lower body are cream, and a black circle nested on a red one is situated in the center of the chest. A register of nested rectangles emerges from the right side of the face, a plain red one within a cream and a black one, forming the bird's upper body. A black band delimits the front portion of the body, continues along the legs

and terminates behind the right leg. Each foot is black and has three cream toes. Furthermore, the area of red anklebands and nearby portions show curious post-fire scrapings or scratches with a sharp implement.

The tail, which is separated from the body by a red band, consists of four parallel, horizontal bands that terminate in a pair of black and cream narrow bands. In turn, a series of vertical bands in zigzag (each alternating in red, cream, and black) are present along the length of the tail. Viewed differently, each horizontal tail band has a series of chevrons in alternating colors. Lastly, a black wing terminates in five cream colored feathers, and contains along its length a red wavy wing element that begins as a circle (often associated with wings elsewhere).

Remains of a nearly identical owl is present on the opposite side of the vessel. This owl also has the scratches or scrapings at the red ankleband. However, the nested circle at the chest as well as the stepped streamers at both sides of the owl's head, alternate in opposite combination of colors from those on the more complete bird. Likewise, an identical two-stepped design is also present behind the bird's foot.

The second specimen is also from an oversized jar (Figure 198), and contains the head and chest portion of a nearly identical owl. Based on the previous example (where only a pair of owls are depicted on a single jar), this specimen, then, constitutes a separate vessel altogether. The bird's stance and size as well as technique and combination of colors, are for the most part similar to those described above, but with minor variations in the combination of colors as follows: The preserved portion of the tuft or feathers at the top of the head is formed by black and cream segments--rather than being entirely in cream, and the rectangular segments in the band surrounding the face have opposite

color alternations. Similar changes in color alternations are also present on the double-stepped motif behind the bird's left foot. The nested circle at the chest, however, is just like the second bird described on the previous example. In addition, the owl's left leg, which is much shorter than in previous examples, also possesses the unusual post-fire scratching or scraping made by a hard implement, extending from the red ankleband onto the nearby portion of the foot.

A simplified version of the owl is preserved on a miniature globular-bodied jar (Figure 199). The interior portion of the jar has a heavy accumulation of white residue in layers that reacts to HCl (see also section dealing with restricted shapes). Here, the slightly worn miniature owl has basically the same major characteristics as do the larger counterparts. The differences include: a) The segmented band surrounding the face/head is wider and occupies almost the entire face. This band has only six rectangles (instead of eight) alternating in black and cream, each with an additional smaller red rectangle nested within it. b) The bands under the eyes are absent. c) Directly below the head there is an unusual black semi-circular field with cream dots. d) One of the preserved streamers emerging from the side of the head has additional black and cream dots. e) The usual long and zigzagging element on the wing has been simplified or replaced by a red circle. f) The colors of the nested rectangles situated at the upper black body have been reversed.

In addition to the three specimens described above, there are only two other fragments with the owl motif in the Pucara collection (not illustrated). The first piece, derived from Excavation VI, was reconstructed from four fragments and may correspond to a large jar.

Only a portion of a large horizontal handle is preserved with heavier red pigmentation than in the rest of the vessel's body, as well as the lower portion of the owl's tail. The tail, however, has five vertical zigzag bands alternating only in black and cream, instead of eight alternating in three colors.

The other specimen is a smaller body fragment reconstructed from three Excavation IV sherds. The colors are badly worn, and it also perhaps represents a large jar. Only the lower tail is preserved with a few vertical bands in zigzag.

The presence of a pair of tufts or ear-tufts at the top of the head, as well as the spotted body and banded tail, serve to identified the natural and likely local model as that of the great horned owl (Bubo virginianus, perhaps nigrescens). Jon Fjeldasa and Niels Krabbe (1990:222, 226, and 754, Plate XXVI 3a-b) indicate that this kind of owl is 48-56 cm long and has ear-tufts that are held upright in the male (as those in Pucara) or more laterally in female, but that are concealed in flight. The body of nigrescens is reported to be heavily spotted. This bird is known to hunt small mammals and birds, mainly at dusk and dawn, and has a preferred habitat on somewhat rocky hillsides or also near villages. Furthermore, owls in general breed as solitary, monogamous pairs; and eggs are laid in October-November, while nestlings appear in January (as reported in south and central Peru). Its range in the Andes is reported to be mainly at 2500-4500 m (except the humid lowland forest), specifically above 3000 m in the puna zones of Peru, western Bolivia, northwestern Argentina, and northern Chile.

A combination of the following attributes serve to relate the Owl Motif to the Camelid Woman Theme, as well as to some of the motifs and designs pertaining to or deriving from the same theme:

1) The stepped and segmented streamers emerging at each side of the owl's head, may be seen as a variation of the straight and segmented streamers which are also situated at both sides of the head in almost all camelid women. No other animal or human personage shares or possesses such streamers.

2) The segmented band emerging under the owl's eyes and extending towards the lower side of the face, is also present on a specimen pertaining to the Face Motif with Rayed Appendages, which is a motif directly related to or derived from the camelid woman. Furthermore, at least one camelid woman has a segmented band (although in zigzag) emerging from under each eye and extending towards the lower side of the face.

3) The segmented band surrounding the owl's head/face can also be related to the unsegmented band which is characteristically present on the Head Motif with Rayed Appendages, including the one which is directly associated with the Camelid Woman Theme, as well as on the female figurine used to determine the sex of the camelid woman.

4) The black stepped geometric design (or interlocking with a cream one) which is present at the owl's foot or on the bulging neck portion of the jar, is also a very common design used as face markings and on the clothing of the camelid woman, as well as on the load carried by the alpaca in the same theme. In addition, only female-related felines possess this kind of design that corresponds to Geometric Design F (see section dealing with Feline Motifs). Conversely, such a geometric

design is absent in the Feline Man Theme, male effigy vessels, and male-related motifs.

Consequently, it has been established that the owl and its related geometric designs and streamers are overwhelmingly shared with the Camelid Woman Theme, as well as with many of her related motifs--hence, the owl is considered to be a female-related motif. In turn, these attributes are significantly absent in the Feline Man Theme and his related motifs.

The only attributes which this female-related owl shares with male-related motifs are general and include: a) The oversized jar with bulging neck, horizontal handles, and more vertical body walls, is also shared with one class of male-related and anthropomorphized felines (see section dealing with Feline Motifs; and b) the intentional post-fire scratches on the owl's anklebands (perhaps from a ceremonial attempt to "sever" the feet) are also present on the hand/wrist portion of at least one of the male-related anthropomorphized felines.

The following list includes the provenience of the three specimens discussed above:

Figure 197, oversized bulging necked jar, from Excavation VI.
Figure 198, oversized bulging necked jar, from Excavation VI.
Figure 199, miniature globular-bodied jar likely with two vertical handles at the neck and shoulder), from Excavation II.

The Feline Man Theme

Characteristics and Attributes Associated with Male Supernaturals

Aside from the Camelid Woman Theme, the feline man constitutes the only other theme which centers on the representation of a personage with supernatural attributes.

Unlike the determination of the woman in the Camelid Woman Theme through the figurine portrayed with breasts as a primary sexual determinant, the feline man has no similar counterpart. However, a search for additional secondary sexual attributes led me to isolate two pairs of both miniature and regular sized effigy bowls representing human heads, which permitted the identification of the heads as those of males. Their associated attributes identified these attributes as male-related. These effigy vessels, then, share enough such male-related attributes with the feline man so as to identify the feline man as male and to build up an inventory and identify a whole range of characteristics associated with the male personage(s) in the theme.

The crucial characteristic on the effigy bowls is the presence of facial hair, which is usually sex-linked in male populations. One of the miniature effigy bowls presents this characteristic with a moustache (Figure 200), and the other has a moustache and beard (Figure 201). The moustache is trimmed and is represented by two unconnected segments continuing onto the sides of the upper lip, while the beard is a horizontal segment on the chin like a goatee. Consequently, once the presence of moustache and beard is associated with the representation of males, then the documentation of face markings and ways of wearing the hair will serve to link them to the other pair of regular sized effigy

vessels, and, in doing so, to build a larger vocabulary which in turn will allow final linkage to the main personage(s) in the theme.

The main conventionalized attribute which links the miniature having only a moustache with the other portraying moustache and beard, is the way the hair is worn or combed. Especially similar is the front portion above the hair-line that is parted in the middle of the forehead where, three or four horizontal bands or simple braids parallel the hair-line to the sides of the head. In the first specimen, however, the simple braids continue above and behind the ears, and at this point join different braids represented by chevrons that continue down the back of the head and taper near the neck. In the second specimen, simple braids continue to the sides of the head covering the ears, then turn upwards leaving an empty space in the back of the head (which is perhaps shaved). In addition, at each side of the face the braids appear to be held by two cream rings.

Additional attributes, which are shared in the two miniature effigy bowls, include a relatively prominent nose and a protruding chin. Of particular importance is the chin, which protrudes way below the horizontal plane of the vessel's base--making the bowl tilt from side to side and, hence, very unstable when resting on a flat surface. Consequently, the only points of contact with the surface are the undersides of the chin and the lower back portion of the head which are worn. Furthermore, the exposed ears in the first specimen lack earrings, and the natural folds of the ears are represented by incisions--a semi-circle followed by a horizontal T element.

The second most important set of attributes are the associated face markings. The head in the second effigy bowl possesses four black rings

with the cream centers, which are situated within a red band. This band begins above each eye and continues below them and extends onto the sides of the chin. Three additional rings, this time red with black centers, are also present at both sides of the face paralleling those in the red band. In addition, except for a red rectangular area surrounding the black mouth, moustache, and beard that continues onto the nose, the rest of the face is cream. Furthermore, above the nose and extending onto the forehead, is an element similar to those at the upper end of the staffs held by feline men (the staff element).

On the other hand, the first miniature bowl (with closed eyes probably portraying a dead head) has a red face and a different set of symmetrical face markings which includes a line surrounding the shape of the closed eyes that continues towards the sides of the mouth and ends below the lips. Two additional vertical segments, each above the eyebrows, extend to meet the hairline, and in the middle of the forehead a circular element is present. This element represents a small stylized head in front view, with a black triangular field separating the mouth from the rest of the cream face.

In addition, the mouth/lips are more elaborate than those represented by a simple incision in the camelid woman. The first specimen includes a closed mouth with drooping corners, and the thick lips are in relief separated by an incision in the middle. In the second specimen, the mouth is represented by a thicker and deeper incision and is painted black.

Consequently, the two miniature effigy bowls just described have served to begin the inventory of male attributes, and, as can be observed, show marked differences in hair and face characteristics from

those of the camelid woman. In turn, many attributes present in these specimens can also be used to incorporate the other two regular sized human effigy bowls, and subsequently build an even larger collective list of attributes to identify the personage in the theme as a male.

The two regular sized male-head effigy bowls, one with a red and cream face (Figure 202) and the other with a cream face (Figure 203), differ from the miniature effigy examples in having asymmetrical and more complex face markings, and in lacking moustache/beard (although these attributes may not be preserved or may represent plucked faces). However, these bowls also possess close similarities with some of the face markings present on the miniature effigy bowls. One such similar element is the small stylized head element (Figure 202). This element is repeated three times on the left side of the face: one above the eye, and two below it, extending towards the lower left side of the face. The other specimen (Figure 203) also shares an outstanding similarity with the second miniature bowl, that is the presence of the staff element on the forehead. Furthermore, both effigy bowls also possess the same kind of protruding chins, thick lips in relief, and hair parted in the middle of the forehead. However, the hair at the forehead includes four simple horizontal braids that extend down in front of the ears where they form rows of rectangles (probably simple braids tied together). The back of the head is black, perhaps indicating plain hair. Furthermore, in at least one specimen a red ear is preserved in low relief, and the folds are incised with a variation of the horizontal T-shaped element in the middle.

New attributes in Figure 202 include a face which is cream on the left side and red on the right side and an impressive bird on the right

side that stands in profile almost surrounding the eye. Based on the long neck and shape of the beak, this bird appears to represent a black flamingo, also with a divided eye. The flamingo has three cream rings with black centers resting directly on top of the bird's back, and additional body and wing markings or elements.

The face markings on the other effigy bowl (Figure 203) include on the right side two red branching bands emerging under the eye and surrounding its outer portions, where one terminates above the eye in a black triangular knife, and the other appears to be connected to the staff element at the forehead. The identification of the triangular element as a knife derives from an identical instrument held by a personage on a stone statue found in Altarane, just south of Pucara (S. Chávez and Torres 1986). These branching bands, in turn, are connected below to a single vertical band with two smaller appendages flanking its lower portion (one bends towards the nose and the other towards the side of the face). Furthermore, the vertical portion of the band continues horizontally under the mouth and terminates in the small stylized head element which is similar to that at the forehead of the miniature bowl. Finally, a mirror image of the horizontal red band and small head element under the lip repeat on the opposite left side, and the band branches vertically into two zigzag bands under the left eye and reappear above it. One of the smaller segments above the eye terminate in a black rectangle, while the other is not preserved for identification.

Based on these four crucial examples, we can then generate a list of attributes associated with the portrayal of male supernaturals.

Significant attributes, which stand in clear contrast or opposition to those of the camelid woman, include:

1. Presence of moustache or moustache and goatee/beard.

2. Hair and braids parted in the middle of the forehead, rather than plain hair following the hairline as in the camelid woman.

3. Thick red lips in relief and/or a thick incision in the middle which is painted black, rather than a single horizontal incision as in the camelid woman.

4. Unlike the ears in the camelid woman, those on the male heads are less pronounced and lack earrings, and possess additional incisions representing the ear folds.

5. Protruding chin, which is also an exclusive male attribute.

6. Symmetrical or asymmetrical faces in color and/or with more elaborate and representational face markings, unlike the consistently red faces and simple geometric face markings in the camelid woman.

7. Absence of excised areas or excised face markings.

There are a few attributes which are shared with the camelid woman, and these include: long hair with braids, and the vertically divided eye surrounded by a red band. However, the braids in the camelid woman appear like pigtails and the hair follows the hairline at the forehead, while in males there are several braids and the hair is parted horizontally in the middle of the forehead.

General Characteristics and Attributes Associated with Feline Men (Figures 204-226).

The analysis and comparisons made among the four effigy bowls have permitted the identification of the heads as those of a supernatural male(s), and the compilation of a list of his associated attributes. What remains to be done is bridge the final gap--that is, make the crucial connection with the main personage(s) present in the Feline Man. The identification of this personage(s) in terms of its sex/gender, stance, use of specific combination of colors, and other associated

attributes and paraphernalia, can best be achieved by using at least four of the most complete specimens pertaining to the Feline Man Theme. Finally, once the reader becomes familiarized with this complex personage(s), then, the rest of the fragments related to the theme will be more easily identified and incorporated both qualitatively and quantitatively.

The following four examples selected for this purpose contain the Feline Man Theme, which is portrayed on the entire exterior from rim top to base on slightly outflaring bowls and pedestal base burners, and perhaps on most of the exterior of tall jars:

Figure 204. Slightly outflaring bowl from Excavation III (132) containing two opposing feline men. The documentation of this specimen is based on rubbings, slides, and notes taken by us at the National Museum (where it was previously restored in plaster), as well as on Kidder's original notes, sketches, and his watercolor reproduction. Consequently, the illustration of this bowl published by Rowe and Brandel (1971:8, Figs. 4 and 66) lacks some details.

Figure 205. Pedestal base burner from Excavation III (173) containing two feline men chasing each other.

Figure 206. Tall jar with vertical handles from Excavation VI (75) containing two opposing feline men.

Figure 207. Pedestal base burner from unknown provenience, at the National Museum, containing two feline men impersonating a feline and chasing each other.

Beginning with the head/face portion and crown, which is always portrayed in profile and tilted upwards, there are a number of similarities with those present on the male head effigy bowls. However, since the head of the feline man is consistently in profile, the hair/braids are absent; hence, this attribute will remain useful only in contrasting the male-female differences in the previous step among the effigy vessels. The only exception may be what appears to be a single

braid (with black and red chevrons) situated between the ear and eye (Figure 214).

More significantly, however, are the face markings, most of which can be directly correlated with and/or duplicated in those on the male effigy vessels, and which hence, serve to identify the main personage(s) as male. One class of appendages present on the face of one feline man appearing in Figure 204, is virtually a duplication of the one on the regular sized effigy bowl (Figure 203). It includes the red branching bands terminating in the staff element and the black knife above the eye (although the three segments are of the same size). Likewise, the lower portion of the red band has at least one of the small bent appendage towards the back of the face, and the extension along the jaw terminating in a small human severed head under the mouth rather than the stylized head element on the effigy example. The stylized head element may be interchangeable with the human severed head and may be a simplified representation, and/or a front view, of the severed head.

The opposite personage on the same bowl, however, has a different face marking, where a single red band forms a zigzag with three circles at some of the corners of the zigzag. This band terminates in a small human severed head under the mouth as well as in the staff element almost above the eye. Furthermore, an additional severed head with long hair parted in the back, lies by itself between the nose and eye.

The other more complete specimen is a pedestal base bowl (Figure 205), where some of the face markings on the miniature effigy bowls are combined as follows: two small circular head elements flank the eye, and the red band (this time in zigzag and with four black circles) starts above the eye and continues below it.

As will be remembered, the other male attribute present on the effigy bowls is a mouth with thick red lips, and/or a thicker incision painted black. Although the thick lips are maintained in the feline man, however, these are consistently black, and the mouth is open with teeth and a pair of fangs. Hence, what remains from the male heads in the effigy vessels are the thick lips, and the black paint present within the thick incision of the mouth now extends onto the lips.

Another attribute which continues from some of the effigy bowls is the use of the cream color on the face, which is consistently present on all feline men, as well as on most of the human severed heads held or carried by him.

Likewise, the protruding three-dimensional chin with goatee/beard on the effigy bowls, continues on the two-dimensional and profile-view heads of the feline men. This characteristic can be consistently seen in the protruding black chin, which can also contain a small human severed head. In one case (Figure 206a) the black beard segment is worn or absent at the chin, but the chin is still emphasized by being sharply pointed. With respect to the representation of moustache, it appears to be absent on the feline men. In the absence of an appropriate space between the upper lip and lower nose, however, "artistic liberty" may have resulted in placing or indicating the moustache at the tip of the nose. Such black rectangular areas at the tip of the nose are consistently present on all the feline men, and even on the human severed heads.

The last attribute shared between the effigy bowls and the feline men is the ear. None of the feline men possess earrings. The single ear in each personage is bearly outlined. However, the ear folds are

still represented (although rarely) with a variation of the horizontal-T design--an attribute present on some of the male effigy bowls.

In conclusion, the final connection has been made from the three-dimensional male head effigy bowls to the two-dimensional personage's face in profile, where the shared attributes are very similar or nearly identical and in marked opposition to those in the camelid woman. Consequently, the main personage(s) or feline man is male. What remains is the identification of his associated characteristics presented on the rest of the body, as well as vessel shapes.

The Feline Man Theme is portrayed on a much wider range of vessel shapes than is the Camelid Woman Theme. Most are pedestal base burners, followed by a few slightly outflaring bowls and tall jars (e.g., the selection of the four more complete examples presented above represent the three vessel shapes). The main personage, then, is the feline man portrayed in profile and occupies the entire exterior of the vessel, from rim top to base or just above it. Furthermore, the entire personage and associated paraphernalia he holds or carries are incised. However, rarely the eye (Figure 210) or the face portion (Figure 213) is sculptured or in slightly high relief.

The personage's head with a crown is consistently tilted upwards, in such a way that the front of the face and black part of the divided eye always face towards the rim of the vessel.

The open mouth with thick black lips shows clinched teeth and fangs; only on one case, however, the teeth and fangs appear to have been replaced by excision, or they may be worn (Figure 205). Directly in front of the teeth/mouth and as though emanating from it, a pair of long and parallel appendages (each alternating in black and cream, or

both in black) extends towards the shoulder where they split apart or form a zigzag. Sometimes these appendages are very short and split in front of the mouth, and rarely there is also a single long appendage (e.g., Figure 216). Each of these appendages usually terminates in a circle (which can be cream or alternate with black), or sometimes they terminate in the staff element or a variation of it.

The crown consists of four superimposed portions as follows: 1) Directly on top of the personage's head is what appears to be a feline head in profile with a divided eye that faces upwards and away from the crown. The feline body under the crown is rectangular, and some kind of three-part feathered tail turns upwards towards the back of the crown. The possible identification of this head as that of a feline is based on the presence of a circular/round nose, although the ears, teeth, and fangs are absent. The body and "tail" can be a solid black segment, or can also be segmented forming a zigzag in cream and black that becomes parallel at the upturned "tail." Furthermore, the "tail" terminates in an element somewhat like those present at the end of staffs, although its central part protrudes beyond the two which flank it and there is no ovoid. However, such a feline-like crown element is absent when the feline man impersonates or wears the pelt of a feline (Figures 207 and 208).

2) A rectangular horizontal segment divided in black and cream rests on top of the feline's body. In the case where the personage impersonates a feline, however, this portion becomes a trapezoid and is the only portion present directly on top of the personage's head (Figures 207 and 208).

3) Immediately above the rectangular segment, four plume-like trapezoidal cream colored segments emerge in a fan-like arrangement, and the plumes terminate in a row of black perpendicular rectangle, followed by an additional row of cream ones on top. The plumes have diagonal, either incised or black painted, lines within them.

4) Finally, above the fan-like plumes and forming the uppermost part of the crown, three appendages usually emanate. The straight appendage in the middle is segmented and terminates in the staff element (Figures 205, 206, and 210), while the unsegmented ones that flank it tend to be slightly bent away from the middle, and terminate in the black "knife" element (Figures 206, 210 and 220). Exceptions to this rule includes only two segmented appendages terminating in human severed heads (Figure 207), or in the staff element (Figure 220); a pair of appendages terminating in the black knife (Figure 209); three appendages with rounded tips and a crisscrossed rectangle in the middle (Figure 219); and two appendages with pointed tips and a rectangle in the middle containing an X-design, which in turn flank a middle segmented appendage terminating in the staff element (Figure 205). One additional specimen appears to have three appendages terminating in a ring or circle, or perhaps rectangle but not well preserved (Figure 204).

The upper torso of the feline man is in a position of lunging forwards (Figure 204), or almost horizontal (Figure 206). One arm is bent at the elbow, while the black hand (or cream, Figure 205) with three clinched fingers and cream fingernails is bent at the wrist and holds a wavy or zigzagging staff. Furthermore, in one case an additional element, consisting of a short segment connected to a cream ovoid containing three zigzagging incisions hangs from under the upper

arm (Figure 204); or instead of the ovoid element there is the small stylized head with an inverted V incision separating mouth from eyes (Figure 205).

The staff (one for each personage) is larger than the height of the personage, and originates at or just below the vessel's lip/rim, extends down towards the base where it bends and projects backward towards the foot of the personage. The staff is consistently wavy or in zigzag. There are two major kinds of staffs, one with nested rectangles and one with two or three parallel segments. There may be five nested rectangles in the staff, beginning and ending in cream (Figure 204), or six nested rectangles beginning in cream and ending in black (Figure 206); both black and cream rectangles have red ones nested within them. Staffs with three parallel segments have either cream, red, and black segments (Figure 205) or two black segments flanking a cream one (Figures 210 and 211). Those with two parallel segments are black and cream (Figures 208 and 209). Furthermore, when preserved, it can also be observed that some vertically segmented staffs possess a series of G-shaped appendages, which can be present at the lower portion of the staff (Figure 205), or perhaps only on its upper portion (Figures 210 and 212).

The top of the staff includes what I have been calling the staff element, which consists of a black ovoid with horizontal incision or a smaller cream or red ovoid in the middle, followed by three (or four) segments in zigzag. The zigzag segments are further divided into two or three horizontal painted bands and terminate at the vessel's rim, or the middle segment can be slightly longer (Figure 223).

At the opposite end of the staff, the most common motif is a human severed head, or the stylized round head (Figures 206, 208, and 209). In one case, however, there is a smaller headless and perhaps naked human body (Figure 204). This body is in a horizontal position and the slightly wavy torso and limbs gives the impression of being pulled or dragged. The headless body also possess anklebands and wristbands, two pairs of black circles each placed at the shoulder and hip joints, and a wide black band or belt at the waist. Additional details include three toes facing down, three clinched fingers, and a black rectangle in the position of the neck, which is connected to the side of the staff (see Figure 206 for a larger version of the headless human body being held by a feline man).

Although the staff held by each personage on a single vessel is identical, each appears to terminate in different motifs or elements. That is, one staff may end in a human headless body and the other in a human severed head (which may correspond to that headless body) (Figure 204); or one may end in a human severed head with closed eye (also showing the neck and trachea), and the other in the round stylized head (Figure 209).

Furthermore, all the severed heads (including those held by feline men and the smaller ones used as face markings) also share many similarities with that of the feline man, such as the overwhelming use of cream for the face, divided eye, thick lips and lower portion of the nose in black, pointed chin, and a simple representation of an ear. However, differences include closed mouth, lack of the goatee/beard at the tip of the chin, and prominent hair extending towards the back of the head (see also section dealing with Severed Head Motifs).

The other arm of the feline man extends towards his buttocks, and is also similarly bent at the elbow and wrist. The hand is also black and the fingers cream. In most cases this hand of the personage holds an axe and at the same time a human severed head. In some cases, however, a small human leg is connected to the hand through a narrow black band (Figure 207), or a larger human headless body (Figures 206 and 220). This headless body is a larger version of the one present at the end of the staff in Figure 204. Hence, the ribs are represented, and the upper segment of the neck is a cream colored rectangle containing three incisions, which in turn is connected to the personage's hand by a short band. At one side of the neck there is a rectangle with two chevrons extending downwards--likely representing the cartilaginous rings of the trachea or windpipe and larynx. It should be noted that in this case the head was severed above the neck, unlike those where the head retains the neck (Figures 209 and 211). Finally, in one case (Figure 204) the other back hand is open rather than clenched and appears to hold an object in the upside down palm.

The axe itself, which is fastened to a relatively short handle, is probably a T-shaped one. Some actual samples of stone axes were found at Pucara, especially a T-shaped one from the surface, and a partially grooved flat axe was uncovered from the East Grave Chamber in Excavation VI. Unfortunately, Kidder was unable to determine the sex of the individual associated in this burial; however, other grave chambers here contained males.

The axe handle usually has a zigzag line along the center of its length, which in turn separates black and cream fields, each with additional vertical dashed incisions (Figures 207, 210, 219, and 221).

The handle can also be cream with a red zigzag band along its length (Figures 206 and 220), or simply a cream handle (Figures 205 and 209). Furthermore, the lower portion of most handles (at the point where it is held) has a wider trapezoidal portion and/or a separate element, which may be interpreted as some kind of device such as a "blood catcher" or sheath for the axe blade. This additional element or device, however, is absent in other specimens (Figures 209 and 210).

The legs of the feline man are consistently portrayed in a running position, where one leg has the foot flat on the ground, and the other with only the toes on the ground. The feet are black, while the three toes/nails are cream, or sometimes in reverse.

Another significant attribute is the kind of garment and its associated ornamentation. The personage wears what appears to be tight-fitting pants and a long-sleeved shirt, with a band/belt at the waist. The band/belt has a zigzag in align it which separates black and cream fields with additional incised dashes or sometimes triangles--a pattern which is also present at the base of some crowns and on some axe handles. It should also be noted that this pattern and design is also present on Pucara style stone statues (head band and belt), as well as on some personages depicted on snuff tablets from northern Chile, such as at the belt, lower crown, and part of the staff held by a feline man, and on a feline's tail (S. Chávez and Torres 1986).

Half of the shirt and one arm is black and the other half is cream, and conversely this pattern repeats on the legs/pants in crossed-symmetry. However, in one case the shirt appears to be entirely cream with a U-shaped black band extending onto the shoulders (Figure 214). Sometimes a feline-headed snake motif is present in the middle of the

chest and in between the black and cream fields of the shirt (Figures 204, 206, and 212). This supernatural creature is depicted in profile with a divided eye and a round nose, while the body/tail is bent forward forming a semi-circle. The head and upper body of this animal is red, and a kind of face marking emerges from under the eye and extends to form the rest of the lower body which is cream. The nose and closed mouth are also cream (see section dealing with the Feline-Headed Snake Motif).

Furthermore, feline men also possess the following elements which alternate in three colors: red circles over a black background or black over a cream background, probably placed to represent the location of hip and shoulder joints (Figures 204, 209, 210, 211, 212, and 214). The other element is a long bent appendage emanating from the middle of each bracelet and anklet, and terminating in a short segment/tip which alternates in a different color than the rest of the appendage. This element combines the red and cream colors when the background is black, and is alternatively black and red when the background is cream. Bracelets/wristbands and anklets/anklebands are always present, and can be in a solid color or segmented in black and cream. Except for wristbands and anklebands, the rest of these elements are absent when the personage wears the pelt of a feline (Figures 207 and 208).

Suspended from the personage's neck and extending onto the shoulders, there is an additional piece of garment in the form of a collar. The collar is not a necklace (see section dealing with the associated attire in the camelid woman); instead it appears to be a wider piece of cloth in a fan-like or flaring shape with additional lines at the lower border. The collars can be of one color or alternate

in two colors. This fan-like collar appears to be associated with most of the feline men portrayed on snuff tablets from northern Chile (S. Chávez and Torres 1986), and also provides a direct link to those present on Pucara style anthropomorphic stone statues representing feline men in three dimensions. The collars on stone sculpture are also suspended from the neck and flaring out onto the shoulders. However, the collar does not extend into the back of the personage. Consequently, this last characteristic becomes a crucial point of reference to determine whether the feline man's torso (as depicted in pottery) is a front view or back view, and which arm and leg is left or right, to be discussed below.

Having concluded the analysis and documentation of any single feline man and its associated attributes, what remains is to incorporate the other feline man that accompany one another on the same vessel. The other personage can face the first personage or move away from him. Based on the more complete specimen in Figure 204, except for the face markings and severed head and headless body at the end of each staff, the other personage is repeated in mirror image, and hence, forms a couple immediately facing each other. Alternatively, another case (Figure 205) portrays two feline men chasing each other, and, based on the preserved portions of the head and bodies, the crowns, face markings, and staffs are identical in both personages. A similar situation appears to be present in the two feline men chasing each other and wearing the pelt of a feline (Figure 207).

The fact that in the former case the face markings are different in each personage may be related to or derived from the asymmetrical face markings present on the regular sized human head effigy bowl discussed

earlier (Figures 202 and 203), and, hence, it may be an attempt to depict precisely the two asymmetrical sides of a single face of one individual portrayed facing another. Conversely, the apparently identical face markings present on feline men chasing each other, may be related to or derived from the symmetrical face markings present on the miniature effigy bowl (Figure 201); or may be an attempt to depict only one side of a face in two individuals chasing each other.

An important comparison here would help to clarify whether the portrayal of the two personages in mirror image is also symmetrical or asymmetrical in relation to the true anatomical position of the entire body and its extremities. As pointed out above in the section dealing with the position of the collar, comparisons were made with those present on the three-dimensional stone statues indicating that this collar is present only on the personage's front chest. This crucial fact leads to the conclusion that the personage's torso depicted in pottery is a front/chest view. Hence, personages shown facing one another must represent two front view personages and not the back and front of views of one individual. Furthermore, personages which face towards the right (from the viewer's point of view), always hold the staff with the left hand and the axe with the right hand; while those facing left have the opposite hands holding the staff and axe respectively (or in the right personage in Figure 5, the left hand is held differently). It should be pointed out that similar or related personages depicted particularly in stone sculpture (e.g., the Pucara style statues and the so-called chachapumas in Tiahuanaco) and snuff trays in northern Chile (S. Chávez and Torres 1986), always hold an axe in the right hand and a severed head in the left hand.

Regarding the position of legs and feet of the feline man, the cream and black colored alternations present on the pants and rear contour become a key indicator to determine which is the right or left leg/foot. In this respect, personages facing right (from the viewer's point of view), have the black leg (overlapping the cream leg) directly connected to the back curve of the buttocks, indicating it to be the right leg. Conversely, the cream leg in front would be the left one, which is bent forwards and the flat foot holds the weight and becomes the vertical point of gravity of the personage's body. This pattern reverses when the personages face left.

It should also be pointed out that the same alternation of legs and feet of personages facing right, is clearly visible on the three-dimensional personage present on one of the snuff-tablets San Pedro de Atacama (Chávez and Torres 1986).

Having concluded the analysis and identification of the feline man, what remains is to incorporate the other motifs forming and complementing the Feline Man Theme. In this respect, specimens having larger or crucial portions preserved show that additional human legs and arms lie by themselves in empty spaces. Specifically, these upper and lower extremities are present near the vessel's rim and lugs (or in one case an arm near a handle), and are situated between or behind each personage as dividers.

The first kind of isolated leg refers to the articulated foot, leg, and thigh or femoral region. A pair of such legs are nicely preserved between two feline men chasing each other (Figure 205). It should also be recalled that a similar but smaller leg is also carried in the same position by each of the personages impersonating a feline (Figure 207).

These legs are bent at the knee where a black semi-circle is present. Following a red ankle band the foot is cream with three black toes, and the rest of the leg and thigh are also cream. Furthermore, the severed portion at the upper leg or thigh is indicated by a black segmented band, and from its central portion a black triangle outlined by a red band points towards the knee. In addition, the leg is portrayed upside down, that is, the foot points towards the vessel's rim.

The second kind of isolated leg refers to the articulated foot, leg, thigh or femoral region, and hip (Figures 210, 221, and 222). Such legs are also bent at the knee, but with a cream semi-circle there. Unlike the previous kind of leg, a cream ankleband separates the black foot with three cream toes from the rest of the leg and thigh which are also black. Furthermore, the severed portion at the hip is indicated by a cream band divided into four segments, below which a red triangle is nested within a cream triangle (or in opposite combination of colors in another case). Also unlike the previous kind of leg, the leg is right side up, that is, the severed portion points towards the vessel's rim.

It should be noted that this pattern of cutting a black leg at the hip, and the other cream leg at the upper leg or thigh, certainly corresponds to the black buttocks and rear leg of the feline man and the cream front leg of the same personage, respectively.

With respect to isolated arms, these are even more rarely preserved, and may not include the same black and cream counterparts as in the isolated legs. A partially preserved black arm can be seen in Figure 206, which is situated just below the handle and behind the feline man. Although this isolated arm is larger than those of the feline men, it nevertheless also has a wristband, is bent at the wrist

and elbow (with a cream circle at the elbow), and the fingers are clenched--just like the right black arm of the feline man. The only other specimen having at least the right hand with clenched fingers preserved is illustrated in Figure 226. This specimen is unusual in many respects, however. First, the thumb is excessively long. Second, it is unusually situated at the pedestal portion of a burner and near an unconventionalized geometric design. Nevertheless, the justification for its inclusion in this section lies in the fact that such hands/arms occur only in association with the Feline Man Theme.

In conclusion, based on the striking similarities between the feline man and the severed legs, arms, and some of the severed heads, it is possible that those body parts may correspond to some feline men victims (see also section dealing with severed head motifs).

Based on the classification and study of the different crowns, staffs, axes, and face markings, it can be proposed that there are different kinds of feline men, and perhaps each holds the same or similar rank. If we consider the crown to be an important indicator of rank, then, there could be at least seven positions or ranks of feline men. However, considering the staff, axe, and face markings, then, there are perhaps four or five kinds of feline men.

In any case, I would question the interpretations made by some archaeologists implying that the feline man represented in Pucara-style pottery or stone sculpture (referred to by them as the "sacrificer" or "decapitator") is a single personage, unless the same individual wore or carried the four important symbols on different occasions over time, or that the figure represents a sequence of different people holding the position(s) over time. In addition, if the six known Pucara temples

were functioning at the same time, then, we could argue that each temple also required a feline man to control and represent it (see also the section dealing with severed head motifs, where the implications for warfare are assessed).

In conclusion, aside from the Camelid Woman Theme, the Feline Man Theme constitutes the only other theme in the entire collection. The kinds of high quality vessel shapes associated with this theme are more diverse, however, than the specific pedestal based burner employed in the depiction of the camelid woman. Furthermore, although extensive diachronical comparisons are outside the limits of this work, it should be pointed out, however, that both the camelid woman and the feline man had a considerable impact in later Andean developments during the Middle Horizon. Tracing this trajectory, as well as its social, political, economic, and religious implications and developments in time and space, would require the same kind of intensive, systematic, and time-consuming study of the different attributes as was applied in this study.

The reader will find in the following sections the analysis and documentation of different motifs and designs derived from or related to the Feline Man Theme, as well as additional designs and supernatural beings (such as some of the feline-headed snake and feline motifs) which are ambiguous or are also aligned to or associated with the Camelid Woman Theme.

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THE CONVENTIONALIZED RULES IN PUCARA POTTERY TECHNOLOGY AND ICONOGRAPHY: IMPLICATIONS FOR SOCIO-POLITICAL DEVELOPMENTS IN THE NORTHERN LAKE TITICACA BASIN

VOLUME II

By

Sergio Jorge Chávez

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Human Severed Head, Arm, and Body (and Related Bird) Motifs
(Figures 227-295 and Tables 2-10)

These motifs include profile human heads repeated in rows, sometimes alternating with arms, or human bodies alone. They are similar to those present in the Feline Man Theme or related male human head effigy vessels, and therefore relate to or derive from this theme. Specific comparisons between these motifs and those of the feline man Theme will be detailed below, further reinforcing the relation between the two. Because these independent bodiless heads and arms, sometimes associated together, are like the severed ones held or associated with the feline man, they will be referred to as severed. Real human skulls and mandibles were also found in the excavations, indicating that actual separation or severing from the body took place. While the literature frequently refers to such heads or arms as trophy heads/arms, I am refraining from using that term because of the ambiguous function(s) it implies, and the implications of severed heads will be discussed later in the conclusion of this chapter. The word severed here can simply mean separated or disjoined, or can refer to disjoining by cutting as shown by the cut heads, bodies, and limbs in the Feline Man Theme. At the same time heads are among the most abundant and diverse motifs in the collection.

Most of these motifs are highly standardized in terms of how they are portrayed, combined, their colors, various details, use of fine incision, and their locations on vessels. Specifically, all profile human heads have an open ovoidal divided eye, black hair behind an exposed red ear (only one specimen lacks an ear), a strongly convex forehead in profile ending in a sharply pointed and protruding black-

tipped nose, and a closed black mouth. Based on the color of the face, two basic heads may be distinguished. Most are red faced and these are chinless (with one exception). They always occur on a cream colored band or panel that is usually bounded by incision(s). Their faces and hair are most frequently plain, but they also may possess face markings and/or hair elaborations. In contrast, cream faced heads always occur on a red background that is apparently always unbounded, and a red band usually encircles their eyes. Their faces are plain or with complex face markings, their hair plain or apparently with elaboration, and the heads may possess chins or be chinless.

Despite standardization, details vary. Such variability includes whether the head faces left, right, or both ways on a single vessel; the form and extent of the hair above the nose and behind the head; whether the hair continues behind the head or separates from it; details of face markings or hair elaborations; presence or absence of incision on the ear; and overall size and spacing between heads. When heads are repeated on a vessel they are virtually identical, unless they face left and right. For example, red faces are not combined with cream ones and faces with face markings are not placed with those lacking them.

The arms alternate with red faced heads in panels that are separated by a vertical incision. They are also highly standardized in position and detail. They are either cream or red, but are always on a black background. The clenched three-fingered fist with thumb, bent wrist and elbow, resemble those of the feline man and associated limbs, as do other details discussed below. Evidence appears to show that only when heads alternate with arms are the bands divided into panels.

Also included in this section is a single example of an unbounded row of bodies having a closed eye on the face, upturned hair that hides the ear, and a headband. Other details of the piece are discussed below. Two miniature effigy jars of human heads with closed eyes have been included here as well (one of these was previously discussed in the section on the Feline Man Theme). Bands of severed heads are sometimes associated with felines on the bodies of jars or miniature jars; some miniature jar bodies were plain red, however. On some bowls bands of severed heads and arms occur with a human-devouring bird having a crest or crown sometimes also containing severed heads. Finally, three copper fragments having severed heads and a single bone fragment with an incised arm (or leg) are also incorporated in this section.

Heads/arms occur on a variety of forms (at least nine; Table 8), but the locations on these forms, as with other motifs, are standardized. The most frequently associated form is the slightly outflaring bowl where the rows of heads, or heads and arms, are on the upper rim interior (at least two exceptions to this convention exist, however). A single horizontal incised line always delimits the lower edge of the band when faces are red, or the row is unbounded when faces are cream. The second most common form is the slightly incurved bowl where the band of heads occurs on the upper exterior, bounded by one or two horizontal incised lines; one or more additional colored, narrower horizontal bands may be present below the band of head bands. One or two bands of heads, or heads with arms, are also found on the exterior necks of jars, including a bulging necked jar, or miniature jars; two bands are primarily associated with long necks and one band with short necked forms. On jars, the bands are delimited both above and below by

incision, and where the bands are interrupted by a vertical handle, they are bounded by a vertical incision on each side of the handle. Only on jars do heads face opposite directions in the same band. On miniature bowls, the band of heads, bounded on the lower edge only, is found on the upper exterior. On trumpets, the band of heads, or head and arm, band, is located on the central raised portion, unbounded by incision, or on the bell, either unbounded or bounded above and below.

Most of the vessels having these motifs have local paste #1A (65% of all pieces), followed by the coarser version #1 (21%) (Table 9). Only two other pieces have local paste #14, five probably non-local paste #11, and one paste #8 of unknown origin. Of significance is that most of the pieces in Class V have diverse pastes, and at least one of these pastes non-local. Only rare pastes will be indicated for pieces in the description below.

The classes and groups below attempt to take into account the differences in the depiction and disposition of these heads, arms, and bodies. Many of the conventions presented above will not be repeated again in the detailed description below.

CLASS I SEVERED HEADS (Figures 227-248)

This class consists of plain faces without face markings or hair modifications, and is sub-divided into three related groups as follows:

Group A. Single band of heads facing left.
Group B. Single band of heads facing right.
Group C. One or two bands of heads facing away from or toward one another.

Group A. Single band of heads facing left (Figures 227-235).

This group of heads is predominantly present on slightly outflaring bowls, ten of which derive from Excavation III and one from Pit A, level 1 of the Kidder/M. Chávez 1955 excavations (Figure 227), followed by a pair of miniature jars (Excavation IV), and two trumpet fragments (Excavations IV and VI). Those bowls having the base portion preserved consistently have a slightly concave base also polished red, and show wear of about 2 cm wide around the circumference of bottom the exterior--likely from using the bowl on a hard surface. One is also worn on the interior near the rim. Furthermore, at least two bowls have wear marks on the circumference of the base interior; these marks include vertical and horizontal striations as from use in grinding (Figure 232). In addition, while most of the walls have a consistent thickness, at least one bowl fragment shows extremely thin walls near the base.

Minor variations present on bowls within this group include:

a) Cream band width ranges from 4 to 2.1 cm.

b) Distance between each head from the tip of the nose to the back hair of the next head varies, even on one piece, from about 1.5 cm to .1 cm.

c) The black portion delimiting the tip or lower portion of the nose can also include the entire nose (e.g., Figures 230 and 231).

d) Although in most cases the mouth has incision separating the lips, in two cases this incision is absent (Figures 228 and 230).

e) While the hair usually extends forward on the forehead to about eye level, the back portion of the hair shows some variability as follows: usually this portion of long hair is delimited by an oblique line, but it can also parallel the shape of the head and ear (Figure

232), or the hair can be short, ending above the ear (Figure 231); this piece is the only one in all classes of heads to have paste #8). Furthermore, the pattern of depicting the hair connected directly to the back of the head and ear, can also vary to show the hair separate from the head under the ear (Figure 235). In addition, based on the calculation of interior circumference of larger fragments, those bowls having large sized heads may have had from seven to eight heads, while those with medium sized heads may have had 12 heads.

One of the miniature vessels (Figure 233) is the most complete jar in this group, possessing a single handle beginning just below the rim and a red body which narrows at the base. The interior contains a thick accumulation of white residue which reacts to HCl. The cream band (about 1.4 cm in width) contains the three heads with longer and oversized divided eyes. The hair hangs almost on top of the nose, while the back of the hair separates from the back of the head at the ear. The body exterior and about 3 mm of the lip interior are polished red slipped.

The other miniature vessel is a fragment of a jar, like that above but with a smaller body proportion in relation to the neck and a sharper edge at the shoulder. The body exterior and 7 mm of the rim interior are polished red slipped. The interior also contains a white residue that does not react to HCl. The remains of severed heads depicted on the band are badly preserved, and are similar to those described in the previous miniature jar except that the back portion of the hair is directly connected to the back of the head. Based on the calculation of its neck circumference, this jar also had a row of three heads. It should be pointed out that although there are no regular sized jars in

this group, it is possible that some of the miscellaneous pieces from jars described at the end of this section may belong to this group.

The last two specimens in this group correspond to trumpet fragments (see also section on trumpets). The first fragment is the bell portion of a trumpet (Figure 234) where a cream band (about 3 cm wide) is delimited by fine incision above and below. A row of at least two heads is preserved, which would have been viewed right side up by the trumpeter. The short hair ends above the ear just like on one portrayed on a bowl (Figure 231), and the middle of the ear has an unusual vertical dash.

The second fragment is a large piece preserved from the mouth portion of the trumpet to a band in relief (Figure 235). A head (likely part of a row) occurs on the raised band without delimiting incisions. However, in front of the head there is a vertical incision which appears to indicate panels rather than a continuous row of heads. The head is similar to some of those previously described in this group in having the back portion of the hair separated from the head below the ear. Based on the calculated circumference of the raised band there were perhaps three heads or panels.

Group B. Single band of heads facing right (Figures 236-242).

This group of heads occurs on three kinds of bowls: slightly outflaring bowls (three pieces, Figures 236-238), miniature bowls (two fragments, Figures 239-240) and slightly incurved bowls (three fragments, Figures 241-242). All derive from Excavation III, except for one miniature bowl that comes from an unknown provenience.

The slightly outflaring bowls possess the same attributes as those described in the first group, including the slightly concave base which is also polished red and worn on the exterior periphery of the base (present here also on the miniature bowls) and at the center of the base exterior (Figure 237); some have wear on the rim exterior. Likewise, a single bowl fragment also shows the unusually thinner walls near the base (Figure 236).

Heads on slightly outflaring bowls (Figures 236-238) have most of the attributes described in Class I, Group A. However, heads with the hair separated from the head below or at the ear, and short hair ending above the ear are absent in this group; and the presence of an additional protrusion of hair at the forehead is new here (Figure 238). Based on the reconstruction of the circumference of the bowl with large sized heads, there were seven heads, and those with medium sized heads ranged from ten to 11 heads.

The single example of a slightly outflaring miniature bowl from Excavation III has wear marks on the interior base as from grinding (Figure 239). This band of motifs is present on the exterior, unlike regular sized bowls. The rest of the vessel exterior is polished red, including the base, and the red slip extends onto about 1 cm of the rim interior. Following the calculation of its circumference, there were four heads. Another similar, but slightly smaller, miniature bowl comes from unknown provenience, and was recorded by us at the National Museum in Lima (Figure 240). This piece also shows wear patterns on its interior base. The row of heads are not always proportionally spaced, and the base is slightly squared. The calculation of its circumference also indicates four heads were present.

The slightly incurved bowls, on the other hand, have the band with heads on the exterior at or just below the rim--just like on the miniature bowls. In the first case (Figure 241), there appears to be a 1 cm wide band (preserved in grayish color) below the main band of motifs, followed by an additional wider band about 3 cm wide (preserved as light red-brown, which perhaps was cream), and a red area near the base. In addition, the lower half of the interior has a thick white accumulation which reacts to HCl; however, somewhat higher up, the accumulation is yellowish and does not react to HCl. The base may have been convex, and the calculation of the circumference of the band indicates that there were perhaps eight heads. An additional similar piece also has white accumulation on the interior which reacts weakly to HCl. Both of these slightly incurved bowls have only the lower edge of the band delimited by an incision.

The last slightly incurved bowl (Figure 242) has an unusual thickening of the upper walls and rim. The cream band containing the heads is delimited by a thin incision above and below it. In addition, the fields above and below the band are red slipped, and the entire nose is black.

Group C. One or two bands of heads facing away from or toward one other (Figures 243-248).

Unlike Groups A and B, all are jar neck fragments. Three pieces are from Excavation III, one from Excavation IV, one (Figure 244) from the Kidder/M. Chávez 1955 excavations, and one from an unknown provenience. These fragments include four kinds of jars: those with long and slightly outflaring necks with one handle preserved (three

fragments), ones having short and slightly outflaring neck (one fragment), jars with an undefined juncture between the body and neck (one fragment), and a miniature jar--the last two associated with the feline motif on the body of the jar. In addition, three copper fragments from Excavation IV are also included here.

The three fragments corresponding to the first kind of jar with long neck are the only ones possessing two rows of heads (Figures 243-244). The first piece (Figure 243) possesses part of a red vertical handle having a perforation on its upper portion. Both bands are delimited by incisions above and below, and are separated by a narrower red band. The upper band contains heads facing left and the lower one heads facing right, even when the handle interrupts the bands. At least on the upper band, each side of the handle is flanked by a vertical incision that marks the ends of the bands. The heads, however, have the back portion of the hair represented with sharp corners or angles that separates from the head under the ear. One of the heads lacks the incision separating the lips. Based on the calculation of the circumference and assuming the presence of two handles, there were six heads in each row, or seven heads if only one handle were present. An additional badly preserved fragment of a long-necked jar shows the heads in reverse direction, that is, the upper row face right while the lower row face left.

The third fragment of a long necked jar from Pit A, level 4 of the Kidder and M. Chávez 1955 excavations (Figure 244) has two rows of heads facing away from the handle, and the hair rests directly on the back portion of the head. The arrangement of heads (a rare preserved instance where backs of heads meet) indicates that the heads directly

faced each other on the opposite side, as on other pieces; although another handle may have separated the bands, there are no fragments where a handle separates heads facing one another. Furthermore, the calculated circumference indicates the presence of about seven heads in each row, leaving space for two handles, or eight heads with one handle.

A single case of a short necked jar with the entire neck interior polished red (Figure 245), has a single cream band, with at least its upper portion delimited by a fine incision. A pair of large sized heads directly face each other to the left of the handle, and based on the most preserved one, the back portion of the hair separates from the head under the ear and touches a red area that would have been under the handle. The calculation of its circumference indicates that there were two pairs of heads, leaving space for only one handle.

The next example is a single fragment of a jar having an undefined juncture between the body and neck (Figure 246). This piece represents a rare instance where the heads on the neck are directly associated with the feline motif on the body of the jar (see also section on Feline Motifs). Two heads face one another and are unusually separated by a vertical incision that directly points to the middle of the feline's ears below. In fact, there appears to be an attempt to center the line, and the facing heads, precisely over the center of the feline head beneath them on what presumably was the front of the vessel, as on the next example below. A horizontal incision is present on the lower edge of the band of heads.

The association of heads on the neck with the feline motif on the vessel body is also present on a miniature jar (Figure 247). This piece is from an unknown provenience and was documented by us at the National

Museum in Lima. A pair of heads face each other directly and above the mid point between the ears of the relief head of the anthropomorphized feline (see section on Feline Motifs). The band is delimited by incision on its upper and lower edges. The calculation of its circumference indicates that there were probably two pairs of heads, leaving space for a single handle.

The last heads in this group are engraved on three badly preserved copper fragments derived from Excavation IV. These thin sheets have no edges preserved to determine their overall shape, and the designs were engraved on one side in very fine punched incision. Two bands of heads are separated by a plain band that has a centrally located row of diamond-shaped perforations punched through the sheet. The heads in one band are the mirror image of those in the other. On two pieces the heads face left (Figure 248b and c), while on the other the heads directly face one another (Figure 248a). The close similarity of all three pieces in size, technique, and design suggests they belong to a single ornament, such as a bracelet. If so, the backs of the heads would meet on the opposite side; however, these fragments could correspond to two different ornaments. None of the eyes is divided (unless these ornaments were also painted), and the back portion of the hair is separated from the head under the ear. The straight break above the heads in Figure 248b suggests there may have been an incision delimiting the band.

CLASS II SEVERED HEADS (Figures 249-256)

This class of heads is defined by the presence of a ring or a circular element at the forehead, that can be complete or shown in half,

and the face has or lacks face markings. When present, the face marking is consistently shown as an incision above and around the back of the eye that zigzags over the face behind the mouth. The face marking is similar to those on a male head miniature effigy jar (shown dead with closed eyes) incorporated in the discussion on the Feline Man belonging to Class IV, Group C heads (Figure 287). The circle on the forehead is also present on this piece in the form of a small stylized head. Otherwise, the rest of the attributes of Class II heads are generally the same as those of Class I. Furthermore, as in the first class the heads which face each other or those in rows facing in opposite directions are associated with jar necks, while those in a single band are consistently present on slightly outflaring bowls. This class is sub-divided into four groups as follows:

Group A. Single band of heads facing left with a solid black circle (or half circle) at the forehead.

Group B. Single band of heads facing left with a solid black circle (or half circle) at the forehead and a face marking.

Group C. Heads facing each other, with a solid black circle (or half circle) at the forehead and a face marking.

Group D. Single and/or double band of heads facing left or in opposite directions with a ring (or half ring) at the forehead and a face marking.

Group A. Single band of heads facing left with a solid black circle (or half circle) at the forehead (Figure 249).

This group is represented by a slightly outflaring bowl from Excavation III preserved from rim to base (Figure 249). It shows the characteristic concave base with wear marks about 1.5 cm around the exterior base edge, and additional wear on the exterior edge of the

beveled rim. The exterior walls and base are polished red, as well as the entire interior beyond the band of motifs.

The band containing a single row of heads measures about 2.7 cm in width. The back portion of the hair follows the contour of the ear, and its lower portion separates from the head below the ear. Half of a solid black circle is located at the forehead. Based on the reconstruction of the interior circumference, there were about nine heads.

Group B. Single band of heads facing left with a solid black circle (or half circle) at the forehead and a face marking (Figures 250-251).

All the pieces in this group belong to slightly outflaring bowls and derive from Excavation III except for one. The first piece is preserved from rim to base and also has the characteristic wear at the base as well as at the exterior of the lug and edge of the beveled rim (Figure 250). Although the two groups of sherds constituting this piece do not fit, they have been drawn together based on a number of similar attributes including their provenience from level 6. The width of the band is about 2.5 cm and contains a single row of closely spaced heads facing left.

Unlike Group A of this class, the heads here combine half of a black solid circle at the forehead with the face marking characteristic of this class. Aside from the presence of the face marking, the rest of the attributes are similar to those in the previous group, including the back portion of the hair which follows the shape of the back of the head and ear, and separates from the head below the ear. In addition, based

on the calculation of the interior circumference, about 13 heads were represented.

Two additional fragments also from slightly outflaring bowls possess heads similar to those described above. The first derives from Excavation III, and the other has no number but was boxed with the rest of Kidder's materials from the Peabody Museum.

The next example in this group is preserved from rim to base (Figure 251). A photograph of it was published by Alfred Kroeber (1944:Plate 41E), and later Rowe and Brandel (1971:9, Figure 10) described and illustrated the band of heads. Subsequently, we documented this piece at the National Museum in Lima and were able to match it with Kidder's notes and determined its provenience from Excavation III. Consequently, the following description and illustration complement those of Rowe and Brandel.

The base of this bowl is also slightly concave and worn at the exterior base edge for about 1 cm, and the rest of the vessel is polished red. However, this piece has two unusual attributes which make it stand out from other slightly outflaring bowls containing the head motif, making it a single exception in the entire collection. First, the exterior portion of the rim is straight and lacks the exterior thickening at the rim, and the thickness of the wall and base is homogeneous. The second exceptional attribute is that the band containing a single row of heads facing left is now located on the exterior rim of the bowl, and is about 3 cm wide. Furthermore, the indentation on the band is a chipped portion, rather than the remains of a lug as described by Rowe and Brandel. Aside from these unique characteristics, the severed heads are similar to those described in

s group. The calculation of the exterior circumference indicates
ıt there were 11 heads.

ɔup C. Heads facing each other, with a solid black circle (or half
rcle) at the forehead and a face marking (Figures 252-254).

The three pieces pertaining to this group are fragments of what
pear to be short necked jars with thin walls. Heads are similar to
ose in Class II, Group B above; that is, they possess a solid black
mi-circle at the forehead and a characteristic face marking. However,
ıe heads face one another. If the necks were short, only one band
ɔuld be present on the exterior.

The first piece (Figure 252) from Excavation III has two heads that
ıce one another and touch a very fine vertical incision between them.
ıese heads are unusually portrayed with chins which is an attribute
ɔund only on one other piece (see Class VI, Group B below), and
esemble most of the heads present in the Feline Man Theme, both the
eline Man's head itself and associated heads.

The next piece is a jar rim (Figure 253) from Excavation III having
emains of a handle. The rim top is worn and the polished red slip
xtends about 2 cm into the interior. A pair of heads (at least one
reserved with the hair ending above the ear) likely face each other
cf. Figure 245 in Class I, Group C, where heads face one another just
ɔ one side of the handle) or perhaps chase each other. The lower face
s not preserved to detect whether it may also have had a chin.
ssuming the presence of a single handle, the reconstruction of the
xterior circumference suggests there were perhaps eight heads.

The last piece was documented at the National Museum in Lima igure 254), and is important because it is associated with a feline tif on the jar body, like the jars in Class I, Group C (Figures 246 d 247). Like the other pieces, two heads face each other above the nter of the feline head below, but this case is the only one where ere are at least two heads preserved that face right. The short hair like that of the previous jar.

oup D. Single and/or double band of heads facing left or in opposite rections, with a ring (or half ring) at the forehead and a face rking (Figures 255-256).

This group is represented by a slightly outflaring bowl from cavation IV, and three jars from Excavation III. The only attribute sed to isolate this group from the previous ones in this class is the resence of a ring at the forehead, instead of the solid black circle.

The first piece is a slightly outflaring bowl preserved from rim to ase (Figure 255). The large preserved base portion shows that the base s not entirely concave; rather, the concave portion of the base begins fter about 6 mm of wearing at the bottom, extends for about 3 cm, and hen rests again on the surface. Additional wear marks are present at he rim top and on the interior at the juncture between the base and all.

The band containing the heads is about 3.5 cm wide. The heads have he back portion of the hair separating from the head below the ear, and complete ring is situated between the forehead and eye. Furthermore, he reconstruction of the interior circumference indicates that there ere ten heads.

The second piece is a long-necked jar with a vertical handle igure 256). The sherds on the right are extensively blackened on the terior and exterior, while those on the left portion are not, dicating differential burning after deposition. Polished red slip tends to about 1.2 cm into the interior.

There are two bands of uneven widths ranging from 2.7 to 3.1 cm hat are separated by a narrower band in red. The upper band contains a ow of heads facing left with a semi-circle at the forehead, the haracteristic face marking, and hair connected to the back portion of he head. The lower band also contains a row of similar heads, but hese face to the right. Furthermore, assuming the presence of a single ertical handle, the reconstruction of the exterior circumference ndicates that each band probably had seven heads, or six heads if we ssume the presence of two handles. The last two jar fragments are maller but appear to have the same distribution of heads as in the jar ust described.

CLASS III HEADS AND ARMS (Figures 257-268)

Unlike the previous classes, heads in this class occur in ectangular or slightly trapezoidal panels delimited by incision and ternate with panels containing arms in one or in two superimposed rizontal bands. There is no clear evidence for the presence of legs. e heads continue to be on a cream background while the arms are on a ack background. The heads can be plain (like Class I faces), with a ng and face marking (like Class II faces), or with a face marking ly. The arms are consistently portrayed bent at the elbow and at the ist, terminating in a clenched fist with three fingers and thumb. In

addition, for the first time bowls containing the interior band with head and arm motifs, are also decorated on the exterior with additional bird and/or human body motifs.

As pointed out at the outset of this section, the six classes of heads, arms, and bodies are related to or derive from the Feline Man Theme. In this respect, it can be observed that the standardized position and many details of the arms depicted in this class are like those on the Feline Man himself as well as on their associated decapitated bodies and arms (e.g., Figures 204-207 in the Feline Man Theme). That is, the arms with clenched fists and wristbands are bent downward at the elbow and again bent at the wrist. The clenched fist is represented by four fingers, where the thumb is interpreted to be resting on the index finger leaving the other three fingers exposed. This arrangement, then, permits the determination of a right or left arm. In this class the arm and hand are usually red, while the fingernails are cream. There is a band at the wrist, usually a circle at the elbow, a triangular or sub-triangular element near the upper arm, and four segments at the point of severing (which may represent the segments or striations of the deltoid muscle); all of these elements are usually cream. In addition, the arms were severed before reaching the shoulder joint (hence only showing a bend at the wrist and elbow), or sometimes the severing appears to have included the shoulder (hence showing the arms bent at the wrist, elbow, and shoulder).

In contrast to arms, legs associated with the Feline Man are bent upward at the knee and have feet with three toes. Similar to arms, legs have anklebands, a semi-circle at the knee, a sub-triangular element at the upper leg, and three to four segments at the point of severing.

ors vary. The two kinds of severing of arms are also represented for
s. That is, a leg can be severed before reaching the thighs (hence
owing a bend only at the knee), or can also include the pelvis above
e thighs (hence the bends are present at the knee and thigh).

It is important to identify arms or legs in this class. Based on
e characteristics just described, the only way to be certain of the
piction of arms and legs is the presence of a clenched fist in the
rmer, and a foot with three toes in the latter. The direction of the
nd of the elbow downward or of the knee upward is not always
nclusive because of the kind of severing. Consequently, there is no
lear evidence of legs in this class. Based on the better preserved
rms, both kinds of severing appear to be represented.

The shapes associated with this class include slightly outflaring
owls, long and probably short necked jars, and trumpets. A fragment of
bone has also been included here. This class is sub-divided into
nree groups as follows:

roup A. Head panels alternating with arm panels in one band.

roup B. Head panels alternating with arm panels in two bands.

roup C. Head panels alternating with arm panels in one band on the
nterior, and bird motifs on the exterior.

roup A. Head panels alternating with arm panels in one band
Figures 257-262).

The first example in this group is a slightly outflaring and deeper
owl preserved from rim to base derived from Excavation III (Figure
7). The preserved exterior of the base is worn, and the central
rtion of the walls are unusually thickened, while the entire exterior
d interior beyond the band of motifs is polished red slipped.

The 4 cm wide band is delimited by a horizontal incision only on s lower portion, and slightly oblique incisions delimit the black nels containing the arms and the cream panel with the head. In dition, the upper portion of the band has been blackened, and white st-fire paint remains in some of the fine incisions.

The head faces left and an oblique line delimits the back portion f the hair, which rests directly on the back of the head. The head ppears to be plain (a Class I head) although a solid circle or ring at he forehead could have been present. The black panels contain red arms hat also face left and represent right arms. Furthermore, the ingernails, wristband, and the four small rectangles at the point of evering have traces of cream, while the color of the circle in the iddle of the arm is black, and the colors of the half ovoid element ear the proximal end are not preserved. In addition, as pointed out in he introduction to this class of motifs, the key attribute in istinguishing arms from legs is the presence of hand or foot. The ight panel is clearly an arm and the left one could also be, severed bove the shoulder. However, it could also be a leg. Consequently, the anels flanking the heads in this piece may be all arms or a combination f arm and leg. However, since the better preserved examples in this lass are clearly arms, I would tend to conclude that heads alternate nly with arms. Assuming all the panels to be the same size, the alculated circumference indicates that there were about ten panels of eads and arms.

The next fragment is the central portion of a trumpet and derives rom Excavation VI (Figure 258). The only other group associated with umpets is Class I, Group A above. One panel contains a head facing

ft without a face marking, and another panel has likely a left arm
cing right. The opposing directions are unusual (but cf. Figure 267
Group C in this class). The single band occurs on the characteristic
lief band present on trumpets (see also section on trumpets), and the
otifs would also face the trumpeter. Although some portions of the
olors are worn, traces of paint indicate the same pattern described in
he previous bowl fragment. However, there are specific variations in
ome attributes, such as the back portion of the hair which separates
rom the head almost below the ear, and extending from the usual four
mall rectangles at the severed end there appears to be a segment
triangle?) in red rather than the triangle in cream.

The following three fragments contain only the arm motif in a band,
hile the head is not preserved or may not have been present.
onsequently, since this is the only group containing arms in a single
and, these pieces are included and described here.

The first of such miscellaneous fragments is a bowl from Excavation
II (Figure 259), having the most complete right arm in this group. The
ragment was burnt, changing the colors from black to dark-brown, and
rom red to light-brown (see section dealing with color in polychrome
ottery). However, traces of cream remain at the fingernails,
ristband, and circle situated near the elbow. The arm appears to have
shoulder.

The other fragment is the bell portion of a trumpet coming from
xcavation IV (Figure 260). This piece shows remains of what appears to
e a perforation associated with an additional appliqued figure.
urthermore, the badly worn surface does not permit a complete
ssessment of the colors present; however, based on the better preserved

areas, this piece shows a unique combination of colors in this class of motifs. The hand and the proximal end of the left arm are black while the middle portion of the arm appears to be white, and the fingernails remain in cream. On another fragment (Figure 261) the plain face faces to the right and has the front hair extending unusually forward onto the nose. The piece has a vertical incision preserved to the right of the head where the arm panel would have occurred.

The last miscellaneous specimen derives from Excavation III and is a small fragment of a long, hollow (bird?) bone where the motif is portrayed in fine incision (Figure 262). The edges of the bone are cut, not broken, indicating that this specimen was probably a bead. Furthermore, the preserved portion of the motif includes the characteristic four rectangles at the point of severing, followed by a triangular element, and a semi-circle of the joint. Since the clenched fist or three-toed foot are missing (and depending on the orientation) this motif could be a leg or an arm. However, the semi-circle rather than circle is suggestive of a knee as on those associated with the Feline Man Theme.

Group B. Head panels alternating with arm panels in two bands (Figures 263-266).

This group includes jar necks where the bands are positioned on the exterior. The first piece derives from the 1955 Kidder and M. Chávez excavations, Pit AE, levels 5 and 6, and it has been included here because it is the most complete example of a long necked jar with a single handle (Figure 263) and provides a complete view of motifs around its neck. A preserved upper portion of the single handle possesses a

rforation, and the polished red slip also extends about 3 cm into the terior of the neck.

Just below the lip there are two rows of directly adjoining bands at contain four slightly trapezoidal panels each all outlined by cision. All panels are about the same size except for the two slightly aller ones shown on the right. The motifs in each set of four panels the right and left halves of the jar face toward one another and the nt of the vessel. The handle separates the two sets on the back. arrangement of motifs in each set of four panels follows a pattern crossed-symmetry as on similar cases of Pucara style motifs and metric designs. That is, the upper left panel with head on a cream kground corresponds to the lower right panel with head, while the er right panel with arm on a black background corresponds to the er left panel with arm. In addition, it should be pointed out that s specimen is the only case in this class of motifs where the heads bine the face marking with a solid circle at the forehead (like Class Groups B and C heads), while the arms possess the more standard ributes.

The next piece is also a fragment from a long necked jar deriving m Excavation V (Figure 264). A small field in red on the left icates the location of a handle, and the polished red slip extends ut 3 cm into the interior of the neck. As on the previous jar there remains of what appears to be a set of four panels facing the front the vessel in probable cross-symmetrical arrangement. There were bably also four panels in each row if one vertical handle separated sets in the back of the vessel as on the previous jar. Judging from height of the remaining panels (3.6 cm), the neck portion was much

longer than in the previous case described above. The unique head which faces right lacks the circle at the forehead, but possesses the face marking found in Class II, Groups B-D heads; however, it has an additional incised segment extending towards the ear. Likewise, the front portion of the hair has an unusual rectangular protrusion at the forehead. Such a protrusion is reminiscent of those present on a bowl in Class I, Group B (Figure 238), as well as on a head associated with the Feline Man Theme (Figure 204). The next panel contains the upper portion of either an arm or leg on a black background. The three parallel incisions at the severed end of the arm/leg do not reach the other extreme of the cream band, and the characteristic triangle has been replaced by what appears to be a rectangle in cream.

The third example derives from Excavation III and appears to have also been a long necked jar (Figure 265). In the absence of rim, the unfinished interior surface as well as the slight outflaring wall have been used to classify it as a jar neck. A 3 cm wide panel contains portions of a left arm on the characteristic black background. Furthermore, a small portion in red (likely part of the red face) of an additional panel above it indicates the likely cross-symmetrical arrangement of panels.

The last piece also comes from Excavation III and pertains to a short necked jar (Figure 266). Remains of a 1.6 cm wide upper band with panels and additional panels below indicate that the motifs and background colors were also arranged cross-symmetrically.

Group C. Head panels alternating with arm panels in one band on the interior, and bird motifs on the exterior (Figures 267-268).

This group is unique within all the classes of heads with or without arms in that the interior contains a band with alternating panels of heads and arms like Group A in this class, while the entire exterior possesses a bird and other motifs. This group is associated with slightly outflaring bowls, especially which are larger and deeper.

The best preserved piece comes from Excavation III (Figure 41). It is now in the National Museum in Lima and was reconstructed some time ago in plaster together with an additional disconnected rim sherd having a lug and similar motifs. Both pieces were illustrated by Rowe and Brandel (1971:10-12, 15, Figures 20, 21, 29 a-b, and 67; see also Kroeber 1944:Plate 41D). Subsequently, while working with the Pucara collection at the National Museum, Karen Chávez and I further documented these pieces, and were able to match Kidder's notes and excavation provenience with the larger fragment. However, the smaller fragment could not be directly matched with Kidder's notes, but it is possible that this piece may also have derived from his excavations at Pucara and, hence, was included in the plaster reconstruction (see also Muelle and Blas 1938:Plate 71a, third at top). Consequently, the description presented here includes the modeled portion, wall section, and minor details not presented by Rowe and Brandel.

The interior portion of the bowl contains the characteristic band with remains of three slightly trapezoidal panels, each alternating with heads facing right on a cream background and a left arm on a black background. The plain (Class I) heads have the hair separating from the head near the lower portion of the ear, and the ear possesses an unusual

vertical incised dash. Likewise, the arm also presents a variation of the design connected to the four rectangular segments at the severed end; it is a curved and pointed cream appendage, the form more like those on the Feline Man arms. The reconstructed circumference indicates that there were 12 panels.

The entire exterior of the same bowl contains a large bird depicted from rim top to the vessel's base, and is also associated with an additional modeled motif. Most of the bird's body and feet are preserved which show that the body is black and the legs/feet are apart. The front leg is bent forward as in a walking position, and the head is also bent forward on a long curved neck. The preserved portion of the wing appears to have been raised or open with an additional "load" on top, which appears to be an oval, cream-colored element.

The hook-shaped bill serves to identify the bird as that of a raptorial kind. Below and towards the back of the beak, a cream-colored appendage hangs down and terminates in the head of an unusual creature having a solid black circle for an eye and upturned beak or mouth in black. Some authors have unconvincingly described this creature as a "catfish" (or "suche" in Hispanized Runa Simi). However, for lack of a better term, I will refer to this motif as a "creature with upturned mouth."

The bird's divided eye is surrounded by a cream ovoidal band, from which an appendage extends towards the back and into the neck, containing a row of three solid black circles. On top of the bird's head there is what appears to be a crown with three plain-faced human severed heads facing right, each with hair ending above the ear and face uncharacteristically painted cream. Such cream colored faces are only

found on a special kind of head (see Class VI, Groups A and B below), on the feline man himself, and on most of the severed heads associated with the feline man (see section dealing with the Feline Man Theme). This "crown" is formed by a long band of eight segments alternating in cream and black, which rests directly on the bird's head and terminates in an upturned "feather" element above the beak.

The body of the bird contains three geometric elements. A large cream ovoidal ring with the center in red is situated at the juncture between the neck and body. A solid circle in red occurs on the bird's chest, and a nested rectangle in red and cream is situated on the bird's body. Furthermore, red bands separate the legs from the feet. The feet are also black and consist of three outspread and pointed toes facing down, and a narrow heel.

Situated directly in front of the bird, a different motif is present in relief, likely a human. The best preserved portion of this motif is an arm in high relief bent at the elbow with the hand in even higher relief terminating at the level of the vessel's base. In turn, the arm and hand are red in color, while the wristband and fingernails are cream. Situated just above the shoulder and emerging from below the beveled rim, an additional long and pointed relief in black extends and terminates near the bird's beak. A solid cream circle is present just below the shoulder. Finally, a narrow cream band delimited by fine incisions that appears to originate above the shoulder follows the shape of the arm and turns up to touch the tip of the bird's beak. Consequently, I would propose that the portion in relief above the shoulder is actually the back portion of the hair emerging from a human head (just like those present on the severed heads), and that the arm in

relief may be dismembered and placed in anatomical position or may still be attached to the torso. In addition, based on the reconstruction of exterior circumference, the bowl may have included another similar bird on the opposite side of the human body, their wings tip to tip. There would be enough space left for an entire human body, perhaps seated on the ground or attempting to get up. The position and distribution of such birds attempting to "devour" a human body can be observed on a jar neck (not included here), and the presence of touching wing tips of two birds is documented in the next fragment.

As indicated above, the smaller fragment does not fit the larger bowl, but was included in the same plaster reconstruction at the National Museum in Lima. Certainly, the number present on this piece (39/38) does not correspond to Kidder's numbering system, and the orientation of motifs present on the interior is opposite that on the larger bowl. This fragment could pertain to a different bowl having remains of similar interior and exterior motifs as those on the larger bowl just described. However, the motifs on the interior panels could be facing one another as on the next specimen, and hence, the smaller fragment could belong to the above large bowl.

This smaller fragment (Rowe and Brandel 1971:Fig. 29a and b) is a rim from a slightly outflaring bowl with an extremely protruding, pointed lug. The interior has a band containing a cream panel with a head facing left and a black panel with a right arm. On the exterior under the lug, the tips of two upraised wings meet. The distal ends of the wings are black with two horizontal incisions forming three segments, and the most preserved wing shows a vertical band in cream

close to the black body of the bird. There was likely a segmented tail below the wing, based on the more complete piece to be described below.

The next example also derives from Excavation III and is a rim from a large bowl (Figure 267). The interior contains the usual black panel with left arm and cream panel with a head. The clenched fist directly faces the head which indicates the location where opposite facing sets of panels meet. This kind of arrangement is reminiscent of some of the panels/motifs present on jars discussed in Group B of this class.

The exterior of the bowl also has remains of an upturned wing and tail of the same large bird having two ovoidal "loads" resting above the wing. Certainly this specimen is the only one in which the complex wing is preserved, and some of its attributes can be related to the bird described in the large bowl fragment above. Both birds have ovoidal "loads," one above the red band that appears to separate the wing from the body. The edge of the wing is formed by a segmented cream band while its upper portion has two vertical bands in cream on a black background. The black tail consists of horizontal sections, and a small vertical incision opposite it likely indicates the tail of another bird facing in the opposite direction.

An additional bowl rim from Excavation III also possesses motifs on the exterior and interior (Figure 268) and for this reason has been included here. The interior has remains of the cream and black panels. A head facing left has a semi-circular incision in the middle of the ear. On the exterior below the lip there is the corner of an element with two parallel bands in black and cream, which may be the tip of a bird wing.

Four additional fragments relate to this group, but do not have bands of heads or arms. They represent the same bird. However, one piece has plain severed heads as crown ornaments on the bird and the other has a human body being devoured by two of these birds. Similarly, such subsidiary heads or bodies from the Feline Man Theme have not been included in this section.

CLASS IV DEAD BODIES (Figure 269)

This class is represented by a single fragment that possesses a row of dead human bodies. A number of attributes directly relate these bodies to those associated with the birds just described above, as well as to the headless bodies on the Feline Man Theme.

The piece likely comes from the 1955 excavations of Kidder and M. Chávez, and is incorporated here to expand the range of variability of related motifs. The vessel is also a large, slightly outflaring bowl. The entire exterior is polished red which extends into the interior and serves as the background for the motif. It cannot be determined if the motifs had colors.

On the interior there are remains of three similar dead human bodies which are placed horizontally forming an unframed row. Based on the upward or downward position of the preserved feet and heads, a body facing up alternates with a body facing down. The faces are plain and the eyes are closed with corners characteristically pointing down. Such closed dead eyes are present on only four other pieces: on two heads severed below the neck, one attached to the distal end of the staff and one held in the hand of the feline man (see Feline Man Theme, Figures 209 and 211, respectively), and on two miniature human head effigy jars

described in Class VI, Groups B and C below, respectively. A headband with a ring in front and back holds the hair, and a portion of hair hangs at the forehead. The back portion of the hair hides the ear, extends to the back of the head, and then turns upward to be held by the headband. This upturned hair style is similar to that on an effigy vessel representing a male head (see the Feline Man Theme, Figure 201). The arms, which possess a circle in each shoulder, are bent at the elbow and wrist. The right hand has five fingers and a wristband, while the left hand has only four fingers and the wristband is near the elbow. Fingernails appear to be absent. Unlike the headless bodies associated with the Feline Man, the fist is not clenched and resembles the relief hand of the piece with the crowned bird from Class III, Group C above (Rowe and Brandel 1971:Fig. 67). The ribs are indicated by two oblique incisions on the upper chest, while a chevron-shaped incision may define the lower portion of the chest cavity. There is a band at the waist and on each ankle, and the feet have pointed heels and three toes. Furthermore, the legs are bent at the thighs and knees. The lower torso may be twisted so that the left leg possibly crosses over the right leg and hides the penis, a position also proposed for the body being "devoured" by two birds.

CLASS V HEADS (Figures 270-276)

This class is defined by heads possessing elaboration of the hair and/or hair ornaments. Their faces are either plain or have a series of solid circles. Despite the diversity present in these seven pieces, they have not been placed into different groups at this time.

The largest piece derives from Excavation III and is a slightly outflaring bowl preserved from rim to base (Figure 44). It is unusual in having non-local paste #11. This bowl has one lug preserved, and the exterior circumference of the base is extensively worn, beyond which the base is concave. Furthermore, the entire exterior surface, base, and interior beyond the band of motifs is polished red slipped. This unsegmented cream band, which is blackened on its upper portion, is about 5 cm wide and contains large portions of two heads facing left. The upper portion of the hair has at least two oblique bands in cream, while the back hair contains four cream circles arranged from top to under the ear. In turn, four similar circles are also present on one of the faces under and in front of the eye. The circles on the hair and faces of these heads can be compared to the nested circles on the hair and face of the small male head effigy vessel discussed in the Feline Man Theme section (Figure 201). Calculation of the interior circumference indicates that there were about nine heads.

The next piece also derives from Excavation III, but the shape is a slightly incurved bowl with thinner and irregular walls (Figure 271). The cream band containing heads facing right begins just below the exterior rim and is bounded by horizontal incisions on its upper and lower portions. In addition, this band which is about 2.5 cm high wide is immediately followed by an additional narrower band (about 1 cm wide) delimited by incision that contains red and black bands without incision. Below this series of horizontal bands the surface is cream. It should be pointed out that most of the cream areas are worn, exposing a light-brown smoothed surface.

One unusual attribute of the head is a red horizontal headband that holds the hair, which continues onto the forehead under it. A roughly square solid cream ornament emerges in front of the headband. Furthermore, the back portion of the hair hides the ear and its tail portion recurves and almost touches the headband on the back. In turn, this recurving portion contains a series of three solid circles in cream. The headband with ornament and the hair that hides the ear and recurves at the back is reminiscent of those on the heads of the dead bodies of Class IV.

The third example derives from Excavation IV and is a smaller portion of a bowl slightly weathered and worn at the edge of the rim (Figure 272). It has paste #14. The exterior is polished red, and on the interior there are remains of the upper back portion of a head on the characteristic cream background. The hair appears to have at least three solid circles in cream behind the ear just like those on the first bowl described above. However, the ear is uniquely represented by a vertically oriented rectangle with vertical incision in the middle and is connected to a vertical incision which separates the ear from the face. In addition, the back of the head has a ring ornament in red and black resembling those on the dead body motif described in the Class IV.

The next example derives from Excavation IV and is a badly preserved fragment of a miniature jar (Figure 273). The interior has a yellowish-white accumulation not reacting to HCl. The exterior possesses the upper left portion of a head facing right on a red background. This absence of a cream background and the uncharacteristic extension of the face from the neck onto the body of the jar suggest the head was not in a band and/or could be more than a separate head. The

hair has oblique bands, but the colors are worn as in other areas of the red face.

The last three fragments in this group derive from Excavation III and possess unusual attributes in vessel shape, colors, paste (non-local #11), and motifs (Figures 274-276). Although these pieces have only a small portion of the rim and body preserved, limiting a more accurate determination of the vessel's angle, it appears that they correspond to a slightly incurved bowl shape. This assertion is supported when compared to the slightly incurved bowls in Group B of Class I (e.g., Figure 241), where the band of heads is also depicted on the upper exterior of the vessel and their interior lips are slightly beveled. An additional horizontal band, here black, under the design band and the cream color of the remaining exterior surface (Figure 274) are also characteristics of incurved bowls (e.g., the second example of this class). However, the red slipped beveled rim of these three sherds and their diameters resemble those of pedestal-based burners; if they come from burners, then they would be the only examples of this form associated with any of the classes of this motif. This ambiguity of vessel form may be related to their foreign paste and non-local manufacture.

The major attribute which serves to distinguish this group is the presence of chevron designs on the hair, perhaps representing braids or hair ornaments. The oversized divided eye tends to be more rectangular, there is no separate forehead, and the entire black nose and mouth are joined by a single slightly vertical incision.

Since the motifs are incomplete on these pieces, it is assumed that the heads also follow a repetitive pattern. The colors on the most

complete fragment are badly distorted to a purplish color, perhaps the result of subsequent exposure to heat, leaving only the black areas clearly unaltered. The other two fragments have the orange slip as a background for the heads, instead of the cream color, characteristic of pieces with this paste (Figures 275-276).

CLASS VI HEADS (Figures 277-287)

This last class of head motifs is characterized by possessing attributes present on the Feline Man heads and related male head effigy vessels such as cream colored faces, red band around the eye, and complex face markings. They differ from Feline Man heads, however, in having the mouth closed, possessing hair, and lacking a crown. These differences make them more similar to the heads directly attached to the staffs, hands, and crowns of the Feline Man and on bird crowns of Class III, Group B. Heads with cream faces are consistently placed on a red background and do not occur in bands delimited by incision, contrasting with the red faced heads of other classes. This class of heads is further sub-divided into three groups as follows:

Group A. Heads with plain cream faces.

Group B. Heads with cream faces and face markings like those on the feline man.

Group C. Heads with red faces and face markings like those on the Feline Man.

Group A. Heads with plain cream faces (Figures 277-279).

The first piece is a slightly outflaring bowl rim with a lug from Excavation IV (Figure 277). The lug is worn, and the red surfaces range from brownish-orange to dark red. The upper interior has an unbounded

row of heads facing left. Between the heads is an uneven field which looks more like light-brown slipped than red, likely because the red slip was not well applied. The shape of the face is unusually square with a vertical incision separating the nose; also unique is the front portion of the hair that extends onto and parallels the nose, while the back portion of the hair separates from the head under a rectangular ear. Furthermore, all the fine incisions are uncharacteristically shallow, and the face has traces of white color.

Two additional pieces in this group belong to slightly outflaring bowls from Excavation III. The first example (Figure 278), blackened on the interior and rim, has the head facing right, while on the second piece (Figure 279) heads face left in an unbounded row. The hair on this second piece is unusual in extending obliquely below the base of the head. The cream faces and red band encircling the eye on these two pieces are attributes lacking in all previous classes and groups of head motifs. Significantly, these attributes are consistently present on the Feline Man heads and related effigy vessels, and cream-faced heads without the red band around the eye are found on most (if not all) of the heads directly associated with the Feline Man Theme and on those on the bird's crown in Class III, Group C.

Group B. Heads with cream faces and face markings like those on the Feline Man (Figures 280-282).

This group is best represented by a base fragment of a bowl from an unknown provenience (Figure 280). This piece is housed at the National Museum in Lima and was illustrated by Rowe and Brandel (1971:9, Figure 13). Subsequently, we made a rubbing with color indications, and

took photographs and measurements that allowed us to incorporate further information.

Both the exterior and interior bottom of the base are polished red. However, there are two attributes which make this piece unique in the entire collection: the head is situated unusually on the interior base of the bowl and the cream face possesses a chin. Only on one other sherd (in Class II, Group C) did the faces have chins, but their faces were red. In addition to the feline man attributes of a chin, a red band around the eye, and a cream face, this head also possesses geometric face markings especially like those on the man impersonating a feline (see section dealing with the Feline Man Theme, Figure 207). The face markings include a red and a black band that begin above the eye, diverge sharply and form triangles at the sides of the eye, return under the eye, and separately continue toward the back of the head where the black band zigzags more than the red one. Furthermore, a cream band with a black segment at the front rests on the hair, and there is an additional cream portion above it; it is not clear whether this band was part of a crown.

The second example of this group is a weathered body fragment, perhaps a slightly incurved bowl because the interior is orange self-slipped rather than smoothed red of outflaring bowls (Figure 281). If it were a tumbler it would be the only such case in all classes of heads. The front portion of a cream face is preserved on a red background of the exterior. The closed mouth, presence of hair, and black face marking surrounding the eye, are similar to those described in the previous piece. In addition, portions of another cream colored element(s) are present in front of the face. Whether this face

represents a head or was part of some other design cannot be determined.

The last piece in this group is a human head miniature effigy jar with one vertical handle (Figure 282). This piece is of unknown provenience and was documented by us at the National Museum in Lima. The representation of a head in three dimensions, with closed eyes and mouth, protruding chin, cream face, and complex face markings justifies its incorporation in this group (see also section dealing with miniature vessels representing human heads). At the same time, the presence of closed eyes with corners downward, chin, cream face, and closed mouth compares very closely to the severed heads either on the staff or held by the feline man (see section dealing with the Feline Man Theme, Figures 209 and 211), and the complex face markings that differ on each half of the cream face can be compared to some on the Feline Man heads themselves as well as on related male human head effigy vessels.

Group C. Heads with red faces and face markings like those on the Feline Man (Figures 283-287).

The combination of specific face markings and a red face makes this group more similar to those in the Feline Man Theme and related human head effigy vessels.

The first piece belongs to a slightly incurved bowl (Figure 283). It was boxed in the Peabody Museum collection with those of Excavation III, along with a label indicating "House Extension." The head faces left, apparently in a bounded band. All the face markings lack colors and are outlined in very fine incision directly on the red face. Of particular importance are the face markings, which include the male-related stylized circular face in front view situated at the forehead.

The location and details of this element are identically present on the miniature effigy jar representing the dead head of a man with a moustache (the last example of this group, see section on the Feline Man Theme, Figure 200). Furthermore, the set of face markings (situated above, below, and behind the eye with what appears to be an additional appendage extending above the closed mouth) are strikingly similar to those on the right side of the male head effigy bowl (Figure 203) and the face of one Feline Man (Figure 204). In addition, a portion of what appears to be a red ring around a solid cream circle rests on top of the forehead and in front of the hair, possibly a head ornament. This ring is similar to those on headbands in Classes IV and V, but is never found on Feline Man heads. The upper portion of the ear is preserved, and the hair above the head has a vertical incision.

The next example of unknown provenience is also a fragment of a slightly incurved bowl, presently housed and restored in plaster at the National Museum in Lima (Figure 284). This piece was illustrated by Rowe and Brandel (1971:9, Fig. 12). The new illustration here includes additional information based on a rubbing, measurements, and recording of colors we made during a subsequent trip. However, we were unable to study the paste and interior surface due to the plaster used in the reconstruction.

Below the exterior lip of the rim which is red, lies a narrow horizontal cream band. Below, a 3 cm wide cream band is delimited by incision above and below, and includes remains of two heads facing right. At least three additional horizontal bands continue onto the lower portion of the bowl as follows: a narrow band in red without incision (about 6 mm wide) is followed by a 1 cm wide band of

undetermined color, after which a horizontal incision appears to separate a lower field with traces of cream. Such horizontal bands below the main decorative band are characteristic of incurved bowls previously discussed in Class I, Group B and Class V.

The best preserved head contains face markings without colors that are directly incised on the red face. Of interest is the bird in profile whose chest leans against the lower back portion of the eye, and its long neck continues surrounding the upper portion of the eye. Although the bird's head is not preserved, the stance and some body details are strikingly similar to the flamingo present on the male head effigy bowl (see section on the Feline Man Theme, Figure 202). In addition, above the black rectangle of the nose there are three parallel oblique incised lines, and the back portion of the hair separates from the head under the ear.

The third piece in this group is a rim fragment of what appears to be a slightly incurved bowl from Excavation III (Figure 285). The lip exterior and all of the interior are red. On the exterior just below the rim, a portion of a head facing left is preserved enough to show a black solid circle at the forehead, and an unusual face marking is preserved consisting of a vertical incision above the middle of the eye that continues below it towards the back of the face. Furthermore, an additional incision is preserved on the right side of eye which may also be related to the face marking.

The fourth example corresponds to a slightly incurved bowl from Excavation III (Figure 286). Part of the cream band delimited by a horizontal incision is situated on the exterior below the rim. Here, portions of a red faced head (perhaps facing left) have at least two

circles attached to what appears to be an unusual face marking preserved above the eye. These circles could represent the same elements as those directly above the flamingo's body that decorates half of the face of a human effigy vessel (see section on Feline Man Theme, Figure 202).

Finally, a miniature effigy vessel representing a male head can also be assigned to this group (Figure 287). This vessel was also used to document the male characteristics of the Feline Man (see section dealing with the Feline Man Theme, Figure 200). It possesses a red face with complex face markings as well as black braids. In addition, this head has the mouth and eyes closed and a protruding chin, which may represent the red faced version of the miniature included in the previous group (Figure 282).

MISCELLANEOUS HEAD MOTIFS (Figures 288-295)

This section takes into account pieces too fragmentary or badly or incompletely preserved to be incorporated with certainty into the different classes and groups. When pieces possess only one head, it cannot be determined whether heads face in the same or opposite directions or whether arm panels were also present. However, these fragments are listed below and eight are illustrated and briefly described here to provide additional documentation or confirmation of related shapes, pastes, and motif details, as well as their distribution within the site.

Group A. Plain heads facing left (like those of Class I, Group A):

Five unillustrated, Excavation III. Slightly outflaring bowls, band on the upper interior.

One unillustrated, Excavation III. Probably short-necked jar, heads on exterior of neck.

Group B. Plain trophy heads facing left (like those of Class I, Group A, but the area where a ring or solid circle on the forehead could occur is not preserved):

Sixteen unillustrated, Excavation III. Slightly outflaring bowls, band on upper interior.

One unillustrated, Excavation IV. Slightly outflaring bowl, band on upper interior. It has non-local paste #11.

One unillustrated, Excavation II. Jar, possibly long necked, heads on exterior of neck.

One unillustrated, Excavation III. Jar, probably short necked, heads on exterior of neck.

Group C. Plain heads facing right (like those of Class I, Group B):

Three unillustrated, Excavation III. Slightly outflaring bowls, band on upper interior.

Group D. Plain heads facing right (like those of Class I, Group B, but the area where a ring or solid circle on the forehead could occur is not preserved):

Figure 288, Excavation III. The slightly outflaring bowl is worn on the base exterior.

Figure 289, Excavation III. This piece is the only example of a bulging necked jar in all the classes of severed heads. The interior is orange slipped or self-slipped.

Figure 290, Excavation IV. The jar sherd, probably long necked, shows an additional incision paralleling the ear and continuing upward. The interior is red-brown slipped or self-slipped.

Figure 291, Excavation VI. This miniature jar neck shows only the front hair portion of the head. Red occurs only on the lip. It has paste #14.

One unillustrated, Excavation III. Slightly incurved bowl. Head on exterior.

One unillustrated, Excavation III. Jar, probably long necked, two bands on exterior, heads in upper band not preserved.

Group E. Heads with a solid black circle (or half circle) at the forehead and a simple face marking, facing right (like those of Class II, Group C, but lacks another head to determine whether heads face one another):

Figure 292, Excavation III. The short necked jar is polished red on the neck interior and has a single band of heads on the exterior.

Group F. Heads with a ring on the face (like those of Class II, Group D):

Figure 293, Excavation III. The slightly outflaring bowl has a lug and unusual exterior lip indentation. The head faces left and has the simple face marking. An additional incision parallels the ear and neck, and there are other parallel incisions behind the hair unlike any other piece in the entire section dealing with severed heads.

Figure 294, Excavation III. The slightly outflaring bowl has a head that faces left with a ring in the middle of the nose, but lacks evidence of a face marking.

Figure 295, Excavation III. The slightly outflaring bowl has a head that faces left with a ring resting on the black portion of the nose, but lacks evidence of a face marking.

One unillustrated, Excavation III. Slightly outflaring bowl, band on upper interior.

Group G. Presence of heads (no other details preserved):

One unillustrated, Excavation III. Slightly outflaring bowl, band on upper interior.

The miscellaneous pieces (Table 7) reflect, for the most part, the situation in the six classes analyzed above. There is a preponderance of slightly outflaring bowls with apparently plain heads facing left, and most pieces come from Excavation III. There are more faces with rings represented here, however, and a single bulging necked jar is present.

CONCLUSIONS, COMPARISONS, AND INTERPRETATIONS

Shapes Associated with Severed Head, Arm, and Body Motifs

The shapes associated with the severed heads/arms/dead body motifs are slightly outflaring bowls (including regular size, deep, and miniature bowls), jars (including regular size long and short necked ones, jars with undefined junction at the neck and body, as well as bulging necked and miniature jars), slightly incurved bowls, as well as trumpets, and metal and bone ornaments. The regular size, slightly

outflaring bowls predominate (58%), followed by long necked jars (14%), and slightly incurved bowls (12%). The other shapes are represented in minor amounts (see Tables 2-8).

Since these motifs relate to or are derived from the Feline Man Theme, it is worth comparing their associated forms. The standardized vessel shapes on which the independent human head/arm/body motifs occur are more diverse than those found with the Feline Man Theme where only large size jars with undefined neck to body junction, pedestal-based burners, and regular size slightly outflaring bowls occur. Consequently, while the slightly outflaring bowls and jars with undefined junction are shared, the pedestal-base burners are significantly absent among the vessels having the independent head/arm/body motifs.

The locations of wear marks present on some of the slightly outflaring and miniature bowls include the exterior edge of the rim and the upper portion of the interior wall, as well as at the interior base. Wear at the exterior rim may be the result of placing bowls close together, hence rubbing the edges of the rim, or from having some kind of lid. On the other hand, those with wear marks on the interior may be the result of the function associated with the decapitation--perhaps as from keeping the head and/or cleaning blood, since these bowls are large enough to hold a human head. In any case, wear shows these pieces were utilized over some period of time.

The miniature jars and some of the slightly incurved bowls have remains of a white accumulation on their interiors. Most of the white residue reacts to HCl indicating the vessel contents to be calcium carbonate. The use of calcium carbonate today in the south highlands of

Peru is associated with the chewing of coca (llipt'a in Runa Simi), a practice which allows additional release of the alkaloid. The prehistoric presence of calcium carbonate on miniature vessels or gourd containers and its association with coca chewing has been discussed in the literature (e.g., Lathrap 1980:47-48 and note 3, Fig. 62), and those found in Pucara may indicate the earliest recognizable association between coca chewing and severed heads in this region.

Depiction and Location of Motifs

The depiction of motifs is for the most part highly standardized, in a repetitive pattern, of heads which may also alternate with arms (and perhaps also legs) or of dead bodies, clearly indicating the convention of motifs. Likewise, the location of these motifs is also standardized (with very few exceptions) on the upper interior of deep and regular size slightly outflaring bowls; on the upper exterior of miniature bowls and of slightly incurved bowls; on the necks of short, long, and bulging necked jars, and of miniature jars; and on the bell and middle portions of trumpets. A few additional examples also show unusual locations of a special kind of head: from neck to body of a miniature jar (Figure 273, Class V), on the bottom interior of a bowl and another on the exterior of a vessel's body (Figures 280-281, Class VI, Group B).

Severed heads are sometimes associated or combined with different motifs--only the feline or a bird. The feline motif is located on the body of jars (Figures 246-247, Class I, Group C; and Figure 254, Class II, Group C) (see also section on Feline Motifs). Probably other jar necks having this motif also had the feline associated on the body, although one miniature jar (Figure 233) has an undecorated red body.

Apparently the same bird, one "devouring" a man, is depicted on the exterior of slightly outflaring bowls, at least some of them deep (Rowe and Brandel 1971:Figs. 67 and 29; Figures 267-268, Class III, Group C). Consistently, heads alternating with arms occur on their interiors. All these pieces come from Excavation III or from unknown proveniences.

Associated Paste Groups

The association of these motifs with the different paste groups indicates that out of the 24 paste groups established for the Pucara style, only five were used here (see Table 9). Geological samples collected in collaboration with geologist Kwo-Ling Chyi and Karen Chávez in the northern Lake Titicaca Basin during the summer of 1988, indicate that pastes #1, #1A, and possibly #4 are local to the vicinity of Pucara, while pastes #8 and possibly #11 are non-local (see section on paste groups).

The local paste groups #1 and #1A are overwhelmingly used in 86% of the total number of pieces associated with these motifs (#1 = 21%, #1A = 65%) and the possibly local paste #14 was only 2%. Only 12% correspond to possibly non-local or unknown pastes (#8 = 1%, #11 = 4%, and unknown = 7%). Significantly, Class V pieces possessing heads with unique elaboration of the hair and/or hair ornaments, and with either plain red faces or having a series of solid circles in cream (attributes absent in other classes), have diverse pastes (#1A, #11, and #14), and because at least paste #11 is non-local most are non-local. Three paste #11 pieces are incurved bowls and one is an outflaring bowl, all from Excavation III; one paste #11 bowl from Excavation IV belonged to miscellaneous Group B. Paste #8 is represented by a bowl in Class I, Group A from Excavation III; its visual appearance is of a different color than the

usual and it is less finely executed. Paste #14 (local?) is represented by a bowl in Class V from Excavation IV and a miniature jar in miscellaneous Group D from Excavation VI. Evidence that this elaborated Class V head motif was being used on pottery made elsewhere is important. Diversity is thus partly spatial (outside the site), showing that others centers linked to Pucara were making similar vessels and using the severed head motif.

Spatial Distribution of Severed Head and Arm Motifs

Excavation I lacks any sherds having this motif, and if not a question of sampling, indicates the refuse in the four pits here came from a location(s) where this motif was absent or in low frequency. However, Excavation I contained remains of actual human mandibles, maxilla, parts of a human skull, and skulls of two adults with occipital deformation, as well as disarticulated human long bones and ribs. The disarticulated nature and specific body parts, then, may be the actual counterparts of those represented in the iconography. Furthermore, Excavation I also contained several pieces of at least one Feline Man pedestal base bowl possessing severed human heads.

Excavation II, also a refuse dump, has only two pottery fragments, one pertaining to Class I, Group A and the other to a miscellaneous group like Class I, Group A (single band of heads facing left). This refuse may also represent materials derived from other locations where the motifs were low in frequency.

Excavation III is the largest excavated unit at the riverbank, and produced the largest quantity of specimens having this motif. Of the 83 specimens, all classes except Class IV (from the 1955 Kidder/Chávez excavation) are represented, indicating 15 groups in addition to most of

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the miscellaneous pieces (36 out of 40 in all seven groups) (Tables 3 and 7). Consequently, Excavation III is the only location that produced the greatest diversity within this motif, and may represent the major dumping ground for many of the structures at Pucara where the motif was used.

Excavation IV is second to III in having all classes (except Class IV from the 1955 Kidder/Chávez excavation) represented. However, of the ten samples only six groups are represented in addition to two miscellaneous groups (Tables 4 and 7).

Excavation V, on the other hand, has the lowest representation of these motifs with a single piece pertaining to Class III, Group B (head panels alternating with arm panels in two bands).

Excavation VI materials pertain to the large U-shaped temple. The four specimens here pertain to Class I, Group A (and a miscellaneous piece probably of Class I, Group B), one to Class III, Group A, and one to Class VI, Group C.

This motif, then, is found in all excavated locations except Excavation I. Excavations II and III, primarily refuse dumps whose contents may be coming from one or more locations, do not provide good functional contexts. Excavation II had only Class I, Group A, plain heads facing left, while Excavation III produced all classes and groups. Of significance is the presence of this motif in the architectural contexts of Excavations IV, V, and VI because it is Excavation IV that yielded some 100 human skulls or mandibles, and Excavations V and VI where temples were uncovered. Furthermore, a stone statue of a personage like the Feline Man holding a severed head was found in the Excavation VI temple (designated by Kidder as Sculpture 8), most

probably positioned in the stair leading down into its sunken central court. The architectural contexts of Excavations IV, V, and VI show that Class III, both severed heads and arms, occurred in all three special function locations. This class was not the most frequently occurring class and the samples from the three architectural areas were small, making their presence there stand out. In addition, Excavation IV possessed specimens of Class V, having elaborate hair and head ornaments, of Class VI with cream faces, and Class II, Group D, with a ring at the forehead and face markings. The only miniature effigy jar of Class VI, Group C came from Excavation VI. Class I, the most frequently occurring class, is found in all but Excavation V (and I).

Pieces in which severed heads are associated with felines are found only in Excavation III and from unknown proveniences. Severed heads and arms found with birds also come only from Excavation III and an unknown provenience.

Based on Tables 2-6 the following list summarizes the excavation locations of vessel forms associated with this motif:

Slightly outflaring bowl - Excavations III and IV
Miniature bowl - Excavation III only
Slightly incurved bowl - Excavation III only
Long necked jar - Excavations II, III, IV, and V
Short necked jar - Excavation III only
Bulging necked jar - Excavation III only
Miniature jar - Excavations II, IV, and VI
Miniature effigy jar - Excavation VI
Trumpet - Excavations IV and VI

The miniature jars and trumpets are significantly absent from Excavation III, despite the fact that the largest number of pieces come from there. In addition to Excavation II, miniature jars come only from Excavations IV and VI where the trumpets are also found. These forms may be interpreted as paraphernalia associated with ritual, and may have been

items that were curated a longer time rather than dumped. Excavation IV had actual human heads or mandibles (although these bones and sherds were not found in direct association), implying one such ritual was one that involved human heads as probable offerings of some kind, and the temple of Excavation VI revealed a Feline Man statue. The severed head bracelet fragments also come from Excavation IV, perhaps worn by a decapitator or a feline man, while the bone bead came from Excavation III.

The above list also shows that the most frequently associated form, the slightly outflaring bowl, came only from Excavations III and IV. The long necked jar was spatially most widespread--in Excavations II-V. Miniature bowls, slightly incurved bowls, short necked jars, and bulging necked jars with this motif came only from Excavation III.

COMPARISONS AND INTERPRETATIONS

Archaeological Comparisons

The term "trophy head" has been used by many archaeologists working in the Andean region of Peru, at least since the turn of the century when Max Uhle introduced it when he interpreted prehistoric depictions of severed heads as trophies of warfare. This term has been used to refer to the remains of actual decapitated human heads uncovered at many coastal and highland sites as well as to depictions of severed heads. A brief overview of some of these remains will show that the practice of severing heads or other body parts has a long history in Peru, and that there is a diversity of forms in various societies over time and space. Earliest evidence occurs at about 2000 B.C. at the Cotton Preceramic site of Asia on the central coast. The site contained adult and

children's skulls, often with caps and two headless bodies of adults (Engel 1963:92, 94-95, 100-101, 110, 115, Table 4). A single adult skull, a single child's skull, an adult skull accompanying a child's burial, and an adult skull (having its skin cut from its face) with three child's skulls were recovered. One skull in the last burial had been trephined. Each burial, in addition to each headless body, consisted of a mat-wrapped bundle with other items associated, the same treatment as in other complete burials. They have been suggested as serving in religious ceremonies (Moseley 1975:76). From an Initial Period context, three headless bodies were found at Kotosh and a skull at the Sillacoto Mound near Kotosh, both in the north highlands (Izumi and Terada 1972:308).

Representations of severed heads have been documented on Chavín style stone sculpture in the north highlands during the Early Horizon (Rowe 1962:18, Fig. 17; Roe 1974:Fig. 28e, Feature 60 on page 14), and heads as well as severed arms, legs, and torsos are depicted in slabs at the Initial Period/Early Horizon temple of Cerro Sechín (e.g., Tello 1956:146-243, lám. XXVIIIA), and on the north coast on Cupisnique style stone vessels (Salazar and Burger 1982). Five deformed skulls were ritually buried at the Early Horizon temple of Wichqana in the highlands of Ayacucho, each in a small spherical pit (Lumbreras 1975:63-65; 1981:172-175, 177).

However, a more dramatic increase in the depiction of heads occurred on the south coast at the end of the Early Horizon on Paracas textiles (Tello and Mejía 1979:479, Fig. 132/33-39; Dwyer 1979:126-127, Figs. 9, 17), and on pottery (Menzel, Rowe, and Dawson 1964:199, 244, Figs. 52c, g, and 58; Proulx 1971:17-18). In addition, actual severed

heads make their appearance here for the first time (Menzel, Rowe, and Dawson 1964:199; Pezzia 1968:99-101 and photos on page 102). This tradition developed into Nasca during the Early Intermediate Period when head depictions and actual head taking expanded even more significantly (Silverman in press, 1986:136-141, 147; Eisleb 1977:79-81, Figs. 118-124; Proulx 1968:21, 37, 47, 58, 68-69, 89-90; Sawyer 1966:Fig. 213; Lapiner 1976:Figs.488-493; Blasco and Ramos 1985). In addition, the contemporary Moche on the north coast also depicted severed heads and decapitated bodies (Donnan 1978:Figs. 106, 152, and 205; Kauffmann 1969:Fig. 429), as well as Recuay in the north highlands (Lumbreras 1980:369, 373, 375, and Láms. 380 and 387).

Other regions where heads occur, but are not properly emphasized in the literature, are in the Lake Titicaca Basin and, particularly, in the area of San Pedro de Atacama of northern Chile. Depictions of such heads in the Titicaca Basin may have begun during Late Chiripa times late in the Early Horizon. The Yaya-Mama style of stone sculpture has been defined for this region, and cross-dating centers on Early Horizon Phase 9 of the master sequence established for the Ica Valley on the south coast of Peru (S. and K. Chávez 1976). Some of the attributes in the Yaya-Mama style include what were interpreted as being stylized trophy heads. Subsequently, Karen Chávez (1989) proposed a direct link between the Late Chiripa Yaya-Mama style and Pucara based on a number of architectural attributes and religious paraphernalia comprising what she designated as the Yaya-Mama Religious Tradition. By Pucara times, actual skulls and body parts became important as did representations of human heads, arms, and legs in the iconography such as on the pottery documented in this study, on stone sculpture (Valcárcel 1932a:Figs. on

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pp. 19, 23; Kidder 1943:Plates II-1, V-11, and VI-7), and on a textile garment (Conklin 1985).

In the area of San Pedro de Atacama in northern Chile, several burials were found associated with actual heads (Niemeyer 1963:200) and ritual paraphernalia. Some of these objects included wood and bone tubes and spoons, as well as several hundred wooden trays known as snuff tablets used in the preparation of psychoactive drugs (Llagostera and Costa 1984:74-94). A number of these trays contained representations of human severed heads and the Feline Man (sacrificer) in what appears to be a transitional Pucara-Tiahuanaco style, as well as in Tiahuanaco and other styles (Chávez and Torres 1986; Torres 1987:38-55, Figs. 74-142).

During the Middle Horizon, representations of such heads continued on Tiahuanaco stone sculpture (Posnansky 1945:Plate XXXIX-3, Fig. 133 and Fig. on page 154; Eisleb and Strelow 1980:Fig. 270) and pottery (Bennett 1956:88, Fig. 15a, c; Ponce 1971:Fig. 110). Severed heads occur held by personages or suspended from them, or in rows as independent motifs (Manzanilla and Woodard 1990:Fig. 13). Most recently, actual headless bodies have been recovered from the Akapana at Tiahuanaco and interpreted as sacrifices (Specter 1989:A3; Manzanilla and Woodard 1990). In addition, a chachapuma statue holding a human head was also found there (Manzanilla and Woodard 1990:Fig. 14) in what appears to be Pucara style or close to it, suggesting reuse of the statue.

Also, during the Middle Horizon severed front view or profile heads held by personages or as independent motifs occur in the Huari style on pottery and textiles (e.g., Menzel 1964:51, Figs. 11a-b, 19; Clifford 1983:Fig. 149; Lavalle 1984:Figs. on pages 76 and 101). At least one

case of severed legs and arms(?) is found on pottery (Schmidt 1929:Fig. on p. 291). Lastly, the tradition of head taking continued with the Inca at least until the Spanish conquest (Rowe 1946:279).

Table 11 shows the distribution of head/arm/leg/decapitated body representations in the Andes (including 15 related attributes) which would permit additional comparisons to be made with Pucara. What emerges from this sample is that although representations of heads occur in almost all of the Andean cultures, specific attributes continue through time and space, while others are altogether absent, or present in specific periods and media. Of interest is that there are no antecedents outside the Lake Titicaca Basin for the Pucara divided eye on severed heads nor for headless bodies. The divided eye continues on some Huari human severed heads on textiles; and headless bodies do not occur until Moche (e.g., a three-dimensional representation in Donnan 1978:Fig. 152), and much later in Colonial Inca times. Likewise, representations of legs and arms occur much earlier only on bas-relief stone carvings of Sechín, and sometimes heads cut below the neck occur in the same medium at Chavín and Sechín. The post-mortem openings of the skull, carrying rope at the forehead, and pinned lips--Nasca features--are consistently absent on the north coast in the partially contemporary Moche culture during the Early Intermediate Period. Rather, the carrying rope is inserted through the mouth and base of the head (e.g., Donnan 1978:Figs. 273-274, Badner 1972:Fig. 43). However, legs, arms, and heads cut below the neck are present in Moche, and only heads cut below the neck occur in Colonial Inca.

Pucara - Nasca Comparisons

Although the representation and actual taking of heads have a long tradition in the Andes, it is with Nasca in the Early Intermediate Period that this practice becomes a widespread and significant characteristic. Similarly this practice becomes perhaps equally significant during Pucara times, and since Pucara is at least partially contemporary with Nasca, Phases 1-3 of the Early Intermediate Period (Rowe 1971a:118), comparisons between the two are important.

Certainly, the good preservation of organic remains on the south coast has permitted detailed analyses of the heads, including the use of radiology and microscopic analysis of the skin (Rydén 1930:365, Planche XLI). One such observation made by Donald Proulx describes the procedures followed in the preparation of heads in Paracas:

> "After the head had been severed from the body, the cervical vertebrae and remainder of the neck were removed. Next the foramen magnum was enlarged, sometimes being expanded up to the occipital protuberance. The brain and soft tissue of the skull were then removed through this aperture. A hole was pierced through the frontal bone at the center of the forehead, and a cotton cord was extended through the hole for use as a carrying rope. The eye orbits were either left empty or filled with a black resinous substance. Often rags were placed in the cranial cavity, and these often can be seen protruding from the eye sockets. Finally the lips were pinned shut with one or two thorns, perhaps for ritualistic purposes. The hair was often ornamented, and sometimes a warrior's head was wrapped with a sling" (Proulx 1971:18).

It has been shown that the Paracas culture developed directly into the Nasca culture marking the beginning of the Early Intermediate Period, and the procedures described above in the preparation of Paracas heads appear to have also continued into Nasca as well (Proulx 1989:78 cited in Silverman, in press), including the presence of artificial skull deformation (Pezzia 1968:99; Silverman, in press).

The more than 100 remains of actual heads (mainly mandibles) excavated by Kidder in Pucara, unfortunately were not saved, photographed, or described in any detail by Kidder. However, his field notes make no mention of any widening of the foramen magnum for removal of the brains, nor any punched hole through the middle of the forehead for insertion of a carrying rope. Even if the soft tissues and carrying rope do not preserve in this region, he would certainly have noticed the post-mortem opening at the base of the skull. Based on Paracas specimens, since no evidence is available for Nasca ones, these openings at the base of the skull measure approximately 52 mm in diameter and the hole at the forehead 15-18 mm in diameter (Pezzia 1968:99-100). Furthermore, none of the heads represented in Pucara pottery (or stone sculpture) shows the opening and carrying rope at the forehead. The only possible exception may include those in Class II (Figures 249-256) and one in Class III (Figure 263), where only a circle or semi-circular element is present at the forehead. However, some three-dimensional miniature effigy vessels have a circular stylized head in the same position, which suggests the circular or semi-circular elements on the profile heads are not actual openings for the carrying rope, but represent simplified versions of stylized heads that may have been tattooed or painted. Likewise, the thorns used to pin the lips, so commonly present in actual heads of Paracas and Nasca (as well as in Nasca representation) are absent in Pucara iconography. In addition, representations of heads cut below the neck are absent in Nasca, as are representations of and/or actual legs and arms (Silverman, personal communication). In fact, I found only two references for severed legs in Nasca iconography: a double spouted vessel containing a personage

holding a head, a fox, a condor, a decapitated head, and two legs (Lapiner 1976:445, Fig. 488) and a Nasca 2 depiction of a bird with a severed leg in its beak (Wolfe 1982:Fig. 62). Decapitated bodies are rare in Nasca (Lavalle 1986: upper left figure on page 176).

In conclusion, the practice and representation of head taking was part of a pan-Andean phenomenon that began in the Cotton Preceramic and continued despite socio-economic changes. A separate and distinct tradition developed in the Lake Titicaca Basin at least by the early part of the Early Intermediate Period as exemplified by the Pucara culture. The Pucara head taking tradition does not share the head preparation features that characterize the earlier south coastal Paracas and contemporary Nasca tradition--there is no carrying rope from the forehead hole, no pinned lips, and most probably no post-mortem opening at the base of the skull.

The Pucara manner of representation differs from that in Nasca including the use of a divided eye, heads cut below the neck, and dismembered arms. Shared with Nasca are representations of decapitated bodies and dismembered legs, although rarer in Nasca. Furthermore, the rules followed in the depiction of heads in Pucara are more restricted than those in the partially contemporary Nasca, although there may be temporal and/or spatial differences in Nasca. That is, while Nasca representations include heads in front and profile views, with closed or open eyes and pupils usually facing upwards, with or without carrying rope at the forehead and thorns pinning the lips, or closed and open mouths with teeth, Pucara heads are <u>consistently</u> represented only in profile, with open divided eyes or closed eyes and closed mouths (either as independent motifs or associated with the Feline Man Theme). In

addition, whole actual heads were kept in Nasca, while mostly mandibles were deposited in Pucara. In terms of tools used, in both Nasca and Pucara (obsidian) knives are associated with severed heads in the iconography, but in Nasca shell (Silverman, in press) is also used while in Pucara axes are employed (see Feline Man Theme). Musical instruments, likely a part of the headtaking ceremony, include pottery drums, panpipes, and trumpets all having severed heads on them in Nasca (Lavalle 1986:Figs. on pages 134-135, Rowe 1974:Fig. 365), and at least pottery trumpets in Pucara (although perishable panpipes and drums may have been used). Distinctive in Pucara is coca chewing, as evidenced by miniature lime pots associated with severed heads.

Ethnographic and Ethnohistoric Comparisons

In a recent work dealing with head taking in the ethnographic literature, Helaine Silverman (in press) concludes that this culturally sanctioned practice is exclusively associated with so-called tribal societies such as the Dyak of Borneo, the Ilongot of the Philippines, the Dogon of West Africa, and the Jívaro of the eastern lowlands of Peru and Ecuador. She concludes that ultimately such tribal headhunting practices appear to be related to achieving appropriate social status and seeking high social position and prestige, such as in male ritual passage from adolescence to adulthood, and the prestige attained when killers return home in triumph. Silverman also argues that similar functions may be reflected in the iconography and archaeology of Nasca trophy head taking, although Nasca corresponds "to a society far more advanced than the tribal level indicated in the ethnographic literature."

Of interest among the ethnographic cases are the shrunken heads of the Jívaro called tsantsa. It has been attributed to Max Uhle for being the first to have noted the similarities between Nasca severed heads and the shrunken heads of the Jívaro, including the use of thorns to pin the lips and eyes, and the carrying rope at the forehead--although no shrunken heads have been found in the prehistoric Andes. Tello (1918:50, Lám. XI) argued that Nasca representations of small size heads, such as hung on a staff held by a personage or those independently depicted, were like Jívaro shrunken heads. At the same time, he argues that the Nasca also utilized a more Mundurucú form of head preparation, in which heads were mummified and an opening was made at the base of the skull, based on similarities to actual Nasca heads and large size ones represented on Nasca pottery (Tello 1918:13, 30, 34, 56, Láms. III-VII, IX). Since Uhle, many authors have also suggested the possibility of an actual historic connection between these two regions, have continued to repeat Uhle's observations, or at least have indicated Nasca heads to be analogous to Jívaro ones in their preparation, thus inferring the same purpose for head taking (e.g., Lumbreras 1980:308, Proulx 1983:92). One author has even referred to Nasca heads as tsantsa (Kauffman 1980:397).

In questioning the rationale used in this analogy, two points need to be made: there are many more differences than similarities between Nasca and Jívaro heads, and head taking is much more widespread in time and space. Based on descriptions of Jívaro head preparation provided by Julian Steward and Alfred Métraux (1963a:625, Pl. 63) and Michael Harner (1973:187-193), the only similarity between actual Nasca heads and the Jívaro shrunken heads are the pins through the lips (for Jívaro,

three of chonta palm). However, for the Jívaro these pins are temporary, and the lips are also lashed together with bark string, but later both are removed and permanently replaced with long white cotton strings. These authors also mention that during the six days of intermittent preparation the skull is thrown into the river as a gift to the anaconda, all facial hair (except eyebrows) is removed, the skin is smoke-blackened and polished and kept in a jar, the carrying string is placed through a hole made on top of the head (rather than through the forehead), the head may eventually be buried with the head-taker, and sometimes animal heads are substituted for human heads (e.g., shrunken sloth heads, Steward and Métraux 1963b:735). As can be seen, all of these characteristics are absent in Nasca, and comparisons between the two may be made only at a general level. Nasca comparisons should also include peoples beyond the Jívaro since head taking is widespread in time and space.

Furthermore, the reasons for head taking may be more diverse. Michael Harner indicates that from the Jívaro point of view "The primary purpose of the tsantsa feast... is to acquire prestige, friendship, and obligations through being recognized as an accomplished warrior and, through the feasting, by being a generous host to as many neighbors as possible" (Harner 1973:191-192). Métraux (1963c:385) notes that a varo warrior's reputation increases with the number of heads taken. the same time the Jívaro recognize a secondary supernatural purpose well. Métraux (1963c:406) points out that

> "... the possession of a trophy head seems to have insured good luck to the owner, first because it contained tsarutama or magic power and secondly, because it secured the good will of the ancestors whose desire for revenge was gratified.... Before its preparation, however, the head was considered to be inert and

impotent; it assumed its magic powers only after it had been shrunk in accordance with strict rules."

Furthermore, the ability of the Jívaro to recognize and be aware of hese causal relationships, has significant implications for emic and tic issues in ethnographic studies. The following observations made by arner may serve to better appreciate the diversity present in this and ther groups:

> "In asking and respecting the opinions of native informants about causality I depart from the position of some anthropologists who have seemed to doubt the ability of non-literate peoples to provide meaningful analysis of causal relationships within their own culture. On the contrary, I have found that the Jívaro are extremely aware of, and alert to, the factors directly influencing their lives; and normally I found their hypotheses superior to those that I proposed and tested in the field. Unlike some other non-literate populations, for example the Conibo Indians of eastern Peru, whom I have also studied, the Jívaro almost never explain any behavior, traditional or otherwise, on the basis of such a statement as 'we do it that way because our ancestors did' or 'we do it that way because other people would laugh at us if we did differently'.... All this does not mean to convey the idea that the Jívaro are natural anthropologists, but simply that their knowledge of the factors which influence the changes that they make as individuals should be respected sufficiently to be collected and included as useful ethnological data." (Harner 1973:195-196).

Oversimplification and/or uncritical comparisons of societies so far apart in time and space can obscure important differences and hinder the development of appropriate models and inferences.

An overview of the literature dealing with the taking of heads, arms, and other body parts in the eastern and lowland regions of South America, shows that these practices are widespread and complex, occurring in different contexts, and may be used only as generalized analogies at this time. Four principal types of head trophies existed: skulls, mummified heads, shrunken heads, and skull cups (Métraux 1963c:406). The Jívaro were not the only group to shrink heads. Their

eighbors, the Maina, Chébero, and Cocama, also did so to enemy heads Métraux 1963c:408). The Chébero were originally between the Marañon nd Huallaga Rivers extending west along the Marañon and to the sierras f Chayabitas and Cavapanas, and women carried the heads (Steward and étraux 1963a:606).

The Mundurucú of Brazil mummified heads by smoking them. After lacing them in oil and exposing them to sun, they make an oval opening at the base of the skull about 61 mm to remove soft parts, shave the forehead and make a "crown" about 25 mm in diameter high in the forehead, remove the teeth, set animal teeth into the wax or resin-filled eye sockets, and place a carrying cord from the mouth (Tello 1918:11-13; Henschen 1966:57, Plate 19; Horton 1963:278, Plate 23; Métraux 1963c:407). They prepare the heads of enemies as well as of their own relatives in the same way and both are object of adoration (Tello 1918:11-13, 58). If a Mundurucú warrior dies outside his village such that the body is difficult to bring back, they cut his head and one arm or leg which is smoked to replace the cadaver in burial. Horton (1963:279) states that such a warrior's head is "... put on display with his ornaments, trumpet, and weapons. After a feast in honor of the deceased, the head is suspended from the neck of his mother, widow, or sister," and a shaman in a special hut plays the sacred trumpet; the head is buried in the warrior's house after four years. If the warrior died very far away, only one hand was taken back. A head is sacred for only four years, after which it is buried or abandoned. Horton (1963:277) notes that "The central military institution was the group of warriors living in the men's house. This house and the village were constantly guarded by a patrol whose leader

gave signals by means of a trumpet or flute." The men's house was the center of the cult of the sacred musical instruments that included trumpets (Murphy 1960:101, 106). This case links maleness, head taking, and trumpets, aspects seen in Pucara.

Among some of the tribes in the lower and middle Xingú River (having different degrees of agriculture and of inter-tribal relations involving intermittent warfare and sometimes cannibalism), it is reported that the Yuruna kept skulls from their enemies, and on the uprising of 1686 "carried as a standard the head of a certain Sergeant... whom they had killed" (Nimuendajú 1963:236). Skulls were also used as resonators of war trumpets, while human teeth were used to decorate their ear lobes, and flutes were made of long bones. After removing the flesh from the skull, the Shipaya fastened the maxillary and filled the orbits with wax, placing bone disks into them. The head was then hung in a basket from a pole of a dwelling. The teeth were made into necklaces or earplugs. On the other hand, the Arana, regarded as less clearly horticultural, removed the scalp, ears, and the skin of the face. The skull was cleaned and decorated with two macaw feathers, and the teeth were made into necklaces. Furthermore, an episode is reported about the chief of the Tacunyapé who, after being mortally wounded, requested that his body be divided at the waist, his upper torso to go to his home village and the rest to be left on the battlefield (Nimuendajú 1963:213-214, 235-236, Fig. 28).

Among the Chiriguano of the eastern slopes of the Bolivian Andes, organized inter-tribal warfare was caused by raids to steal crops, cattle, or women. In this example, victors returned with the heads of slain enemies (Métraux 1963a:480-481). Other groups with more

diversified subsistence activities in the Peruvian montaña were also involved in warfare, but the motive was related to slave raids both to obtain them and for retaliation. For example, it has been reported that the Cashibo took trophy heads, lower limbs, forearms, and wore enemies' teeth as necklaces; and other tribes in the Ucayali (including the Cashibo, Chama, Shipibo, Conibo, and Nocomán) also practiced infant head deformation (Steward and Métraux 1963a:572, 586-587, Figs. 76-77). Another group in the Napo River and extending into the Amazon is the Omagua. This tribe also took trophy heads and decorated them with paint and feathers but threw the bodies into the river. The organized raids were motivated by the desire to bring back young captives and take the heads of some high ranked captives or of outstanding courage (Métraux 1963b:700-701). Lastly, the Cubeo of the northern Amazon region practice warfare for revenge and to capture slaves. The bodies of dead enemies are eaten during a celebration, and the penis and scrotum are smoked and worn by a warrior over his genitals, and subsequently eaten by the warrior's wife to become fertile (Goldman 1963:766, 787).

These examples are sufficient to document the diversity of human trophies in the so-called tribes of the tropical forest and montaña regions. Likewise, Métraux (1963c:406-407) concludes that: "A great variety of motives of a psychological, social, and religious order underlie the taking and preparation of such trophies. Unfortunately, our sources seldom allude to the reasons for the practice...."

Ethnohistoric references to peoples in the Lake Titicaca Basin of Bolivia indicate the presence of human sacrifice and cannibalism. Weston LaBarre (1948:28, 173) refers to Joan de Santacruz Pachacuti Yamqui Salcamaygua who in 1613 wrote that the Colla/Aymara sacrificed

children and guinea pigs to the sun to take omens in time of war, or according to the early 17th century Martín Murúa the children were sacrificed on important occasions by strangulation (Tschopik 1963:558). Such sacrifices would have been public, but no mention is made of the number of victims nor the kind of subsequent disposal of the remains.

LaBarre (1948:40, 79, 162-163) also refers to occasional cannibalism among the Aymara of Bolivia as reported in the late 19th and early 20th centuries. He notes that this variety is strictly limited to "revenge-cannibalism," although he mentions that Bandelier noted it was also connected to ancient religious ideas. Revenge cannibalism would be a public event more like those in the tropical forest described above. At the same time, LaBarre notes that it is customary in wartime to drink the blood of enemies (and blood of flock-ravaging pumas, also in revenge) probably to acquire their power and strength, while there are also cases when tea made of human victim's ashes was drunk. Based on the cases described by LaBarre, cannibalism included victims (presumably for revenge from some sort of abuse and exploitation) such as a white female, a mestizo judge, prisoners taken from conflicts between haciendas and communities, and several whites whose eyes were pulled out and tongues and testicles cut off to be subsequently eaten.

In summarizing data derived from numerous South American tropical forest cultures, Métraux (1963c:384) states "...a strongly integrated system of social and religious values was associated with warfare, and every male member of the group was expected to become a warrior." It is clear that head taking was a male activity, and that for the most part victims were also male. Although <u>group</u> gain or winning over an enemy was involved in trophy head taking, it appears that among these groups

the prestige obtained was on a more individual or familial level, and heads could be buried with a head taker (e.g., Jívaro), displayed on a house (e.g., Shipaya), or on posts in front of huts, or carried by women relatives of the warriors (e.g., Mundurucú and Chébero). The only display on a public structure is when enemy heads were placed on palisades (e.g. Tupinamba in Brazil from the mouth of the Amazon and inland, Métraux 1963c:407); and perhaps, although not clearly the same, when heads and hands of enemies were placed on a chief's house among the Quijo in the headwaters of the Coca River of Ecuador (Steward and Métraux 1963a:652-653, 656). Furthermore, these groups do not make representations of these heads or this practice, and the head taking or skull keeping is not a result of human sacrifice nor for ancestor worship (except perhaps the Mundurucú). In fact, the only reference to human sacrifice among these lowland groups was among the Tupinamba who sacrifice an ill prisoner or children of prisoners born to a local woman (Métraux 1963d:113). Among the Aymara, revenge cannibalism may be similar in some respects to tropical forest cases, but the head is not of primary importance. What differs is the human ritual sacrifice among the Aymara. Similarly, the Aymara do not make representations of their practices. Sacrifices of children and cannibalism could also be represented by some of the actual body parts found in Pucara. However, since we no longer have the actual skeletal remains available, such analogies are inconclusive.

Finally, it should also be taken into consideration that information such as described above was collected over the last four centuries, and should not be taken as contemporary data. During this time, many groups have become extinct, assimilated, displaced (Lyon

1974:3), and have even changed from practicing agriculture to a hunting and gathering as a result of European pressures (Lathrap 1968:28-29). These headtaking practices were also affected by European encroachment, such as the European market for slaves who were exchanged for newly needed European goods (Métraux 1963c:386.

INTERPRETATIONS

Pucara Severed Heads

All severed heads in Pucara style iconography on pottery, either as independent motifs or directly associated with the feline man, are individuals who possess three main attributes which are also present on the feline man himself. These include: 1) the exclusive depiction in profile, 2) the consistent use of black for the lips and lower portion of the nose, and 3) the divided eye interpreted as a supernatural signifier (except on those with the eye closed). Furthermore, arms alone or on naked headless bodies are in the same bent position and have the same clenched fist as the feline man. These heads, arms, and headless bodies, I propose, represent individuals who at one point possessed a rank close to the feline man himself based on the features they share with him. In fact, no other anthropomorphic figure is depicted with these characteristics. Subsequent to beheading, these persons lost their former rank and power or experienced a lowering of status prior to decapitation. In this interpretation, the absence of a crown, feline teeth, mouth emanations, and clothing such as the collar in the case of bodies, reflects the loss of the symbols of power and rank. The heads, arms, and bodies would all represent adult males.

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In addition, based on other additional attributes these heads may be ranked in relation to the feline man, from least alike to most alike him. The resulting three- to four-tiered hierarchy also roughly corresponds in relative abundance present--least alike are most frequent to most alike are most rare. The categories are as follows, from lowest to highest in rank: 1) heads with plain red faces (Classes I, IIIA and C; Figures 227-248, 257-262, 267-268, and Rowe and Brandel 1971:Figs. 29 and 67; 38 cases excluding miscellaneous). In only two instances does the feline man hold severed heads with plain red faces; others with plain red faces occur on his crown or as face markings (see section dealing with the Feline Man Theme).

2a) heads with simple face markings on red faces (Classes II and IIIB; Figures 249-256, 263-266; 16 cases excluding miscellaneous). The circle and/or simple face markings surrounding the back part of the face are a simplified version of the Feline Man face markings.

2b) heads with red faces having unique elaboration of the hair and/or hair ornaments (Class V, possibly Class IV; Figures 269-276; eight cases excluding miscellaneous). These individuals appear to be of the same rank as those in group 2a, but the hair elaboration/headband and face markings are distinctive. These unique attributes are significantly associated with vessels having the most diverse pastes and at least four of these are non-local (Table 9). Such ornamentation, as well as diverse and non-local pastes, are not associated with the Feline Man so that it may be inferred that these individuals are non-local in origin (such as from regions outside Pucara proper, but within their territory of interaction). Upon decapitation they lost their former rank while maintaining some symbols of non-local identification and

rank. Further, since these heads, like group 2a ones above, are never present with or held by the Feline Man, their decapitation may have been performed elsewhere or by someone else.

3) Heads with cream faces (Class VIA), cream faces with Feline Man face markings (Class VIB), or red faces with Feline Man face markings (Class VIC) (Figures 277-287; 11 cases excluding miscellaneous). This group of heads is perhaps the most interesting since they provide the intriguing suggestion that the feline man himself is decapitated. In addition to the typical portrayal of heads (with the supernatural signifier of divided eye, depiction in profile, and use of black in the lower nose and closed lips), their faces share attributes which are exclusively present only on the Feline Man himself--the same cream face color, an additional red band that characteristically encircles the divided eye (including red over a closed eye in one case), and/or elaborate face markings. These individuals may also have lost their rank, crown, and sometimes the face markings prior to decapitation. In addition, most severed heads held by the Feline Man or at the end of his staff have cream faces, and in one case the severed head had a cream face with face markings and a red closed eye. Because all but one of the heads associated with the Feline Man are plain, the actual decapitation of the more elaborate heads may have taken place elsewhere and/or was performed by someone else. Furthermore, the pastes associated with these vessels are local (Table 9), just as are those of groups 1 (with one possible exception) and 2a, perhaps suggesting that these decapitated individuals were also local, coming from the immediate vicinity of Pucara.

Consequently, if we consider the attributes of the three kinds of heads as having close to very close similarities to the main Feline Man, then, we may be dealing with a situation in which the decapitated individuals were actually members of the ruling elite representing at least a three-tiered ranking, all of whom lost their crown, feline teeth, mouth emanations, and power. At the same time, attributes were maintained imitating those of the feline man himself (divided eye, black lips and lower nose, and view in profile) as were others that revealed their rank in relation to the feline man, such as the third kind of heads with the red band surrounding the eye, cream face, or elaborate face markings that were closest in similarity to the feline man. Of the examples in this collection, there are more of lowest rank (group 1 above), fewer of middle rank (groups 2a and b), and least of highest rank (group 3). In addition, at least the second kind of heads associated with more diverse and foreign pastes, could indicate non-local individuals of high rank but from within Pucara territory or area of influence. It would be less likely that ordinary people would be represented with such feline man characteristics and in such contexts as with the Feline Man, as well as portrayed on special ceremonial vessels. Instead, this interpretation would significantly favor a view of decapitation of local and non-local members of the ruling elite holding different ranks as a result of power struggles among them. The hierarchy of rank may correspond to a hierarchy of cultural (religious, political) centers in conflict or competition with the center at Pucara.

This interpretation is closer to Ralf Dahrendorf's warfare and conflict theory (Dahrendorf 1979:56-57; see also Harrison 1973:4), in

which conflict is related to differential relations to the structure of authority. He states:

> "Our model of conflict group formation involves the proposition that of the two aggregates of authority positions to be distinguished in every association, one - that of domination - is characterized by an interest in the maintenance of a social structure that for them conveys authority, whereas the other - that of subjection - involves an interest in changing a social condition that deprives its incumbents of authority. The two interests are in conflict." (Dahrendorf 1959:176).

This pattern appears to be absent in Nasca iconography. Instead, the heads, either in front view or profile, and either held by Anthropomorphic Mythical Beings or depicted as independent motifs (see for example, Proulx 1968:37, 47, 58, 68-69, and 89 for changes in early Nasca Phases 3 and 4), lack the characteristic ornaments of the main Anthropomorphic Beings, and for the most part the pupils of the eye face upward (a manner of representing dead people) unlike the Being. However, six excavated Nasca ceremonial vessels reported by Tello from the Río Grande de Nasca show the main Anthropomorphic Being, with the characteristic mouth mask and headband, that occupies the entire vessel and approaches a three-dimensional form. In his right hand he holds a similar smaller, but naked being with similar face or head ornaments who in turn also holds severed head(s) and a club (or perhaps a trumpet based on the shape; or the naked being has only a slingshot at the forehead); in his left hand he holds a small naked individual lacking head or face ornaments (or just a head) (Tello 1959:Lám. XXXI, Figs. 84 and 102, 85-87). Furthermore, Tello (1959:Fig. 88) also reproduces a drawing from a ceremonial vessel where the main Anthropomorphic Being holds in his right hand a small naked (dead male) personage wearing an identical headband who in turn also holds a smaller naked (dead female)

personage wearing a different headband who holds a head and club; in the Being's left hand is a head. Consequently, based on these Nasca vessels, the main Anthropomorphic Being (perhaps like the main Feline Man in Pucara) also had at least a three-tiered ranking of individuals who were under the control of or in conflict with the main being--an assertion based on their depictions in smaller scale, the presence of some lower or similar symbols of status, and their nakedness (although not decapitated, but dead in two instances). The tiers would be, (1) the smaller naked figure with head or face ornament like the Being's, (2) the small figure with slingshot, and (3) the small figure with no ornaments, including the female.

The Ceremonial/Mythical Component of Severed Heads in Pucara

In addition to the materialistic/political interpretation proposed above, there is also a ceremonial/mythical component in the representation and actual remains of body parts in Pucara. Hence, such practices and representations could have served both political as well as ceremonial ends.

What makes the independent and conventionalized heads, arms/legs religious in nature is, firstly, their likeness to the Feline Man Theme. The head of the Feline Man possesses supernatural attributes, including feline characteristics, and other features, some of which are shared with the independent heads, and he carries or displays in an ostentatious manner similar heads, legs, arms, and headless bodies. Secondly, the independent heads/arms are depicted on highly elaborated and standardized vessels and trumpets regarded as ceremonial, many coming from the contexts of temples (Excavations V and VI). In addition, several miniature jars served as containers for calcium

carbonate, a substance used to release the alkaloid in the chewing of coca, a frequent ingredient in rituals, and here associated with severed heads. Thirdly, on some sherds the heads and arms are associated with the supernatural feline or the supernatural bird "devouring" a man. Likewise, the bowls and jars associated with the Feline Man Theme are also highly elaborate and standardized, and include the pedestal based bowl with interior burning marks used as ceremonial burner.

The feline man is never shown actually severing the head, arm, or leg. He may be only carrying or displaying such body parts as a symbol of his right to do so, and hence his position of religious and/or political authority. He may have been the actual decapitator as well, but was never represented in the action of doing so. Conversely, the actual practice of severing may have been carried out by others such as "secular" officials who perhaps were never depicted in Pucara. Certainly, with very few exceptions all the anthropomorphic and animal beings possess supernatural or mythical attributes, and no common people or mundane activities are represented.

It is interesting, however, that in Nasca the main Anthropomorphic Beings (with elaborate mouth masks, headbands, and other attributes that are supernatural) also only carry or display heads, while the actual severing was performed by "secular" individuals, as noted by Silverman (in press). Such individuals lack high rank and supernatural attributes and are rarely depicted in Nasca. One such scene can be seen on a Phase 7 Nasca style step-fret shaped bottle with double spout and bridge, and Rowe describes the figures as mythological (Rowe 1974:Plate XLV, 328). A similar scene can be seen on a spout and bridge vessel (Rawls 1979:156-157, Fig. 53). Elsewhere, this individual also appears to be

depicted holding darts and spearthrowers and flanked by bands of severed heads (e.g., Lavalle 1986:Figs. on pages 164 and 167).

These head and related representations in Pucara have strong supernatural components centered around the feline man and may be associated with some kind of myth and ceremony, interpreted to function as a means of social control. The major protagonist in this scene is a male anthropomorphic personage who possesses supernatural attributes including feline characteristics and/or wears a feline pelt. The figure could be a deity or, an interpretation preferred here, a person who serves as intermediary between the people in the real world and the deities in theirs, or even possibly a divine or semidivine political leader. The personage wears symbols of rank and power, and has the authority to take human lives as he carries or displays human body parts and an axe. The whole scene showing after-the-fact severing, perhaps depicting a myth, is possibly abbreviated by the independent head and arm motifs that may have been meant to stand for the entire act, ceremony, or myth, like the Christian cross alone symbolizing the entire crucifixion. The repetition of heads magnifies the violent act. In addition, severed heads and/or humans are associated with a supernatural devouring bird suggesting that actual bodies were left to be defleshed by raptorial birds who may also have had other religious significance.

The use of force or threat of force that the whole scene conveys is supported by the remains of actual human skull fragments found, one large group of them in Excavation IV associated with a large plain stela (Kidder's Monoloith 30), adjacent to an area where a highly decorated stela is said to have been found, in what possibly was a public area or at least special function stone architecture. Other human remains

derive from what I regard to be dumps of ceremonial pottery (and perhaps other material), some further containing offerings consisting of human parts associated with complete miniature and effigy vessels, including representations of dead human heads, perhaps as substitutes for real heads.

Statues holding human heads are relatively common at Pucara sites, including at Pucara itself, but most are surface finds. One such statue, however, was recovered in the Excavation VI temple. It was most probably set by its basal tenon into a slab of the stair leading into the sunken court. Such a direct association of a severed head with a temple points to a religious function of decapitation, one in which human sacrifice is inferred. It further suggests the possibility that the ritual act of severing and/or accompanying ceremonies took place at or near the temple. Devouring of flesh by raptorial birds may have followed, while heads were taken at least to the area of the Excavation IV structures where Kidder (Karen and Sergio Chávez ms) suggested they may have been prepared and deposited near the uncarved upright stela. Kidder felt the skulls had perhaps been placed on stakes, so the mandibles would have dropped from the dried skull. It is not clear how public such a display would have been. The copper bracelet with severed heads was found in Excavation IV (perhaps worn by a Feline Man). Kidder found no evidence of decapitated skeletons, so that we have no clear indication of what was done with their bodies. However, Kidder encountered a large burned bone deposit in Excavation III, much of which he assumed were animals. It is possible that in this sequence of events following decapitation, the rest of the bodies were cremated and dumped

as refuse. On the other hand, bodies may have been thrown into the river or deposited in unexcavated locations.

In attempting to assess the nature of Pucara head severing with all its socio-political and religious implications, several variables need to be taken into account. It is clear that the deaths were not "natural," but violent through intentional decapitation. This manner of dying would appear to rule out depictions or deposits of important ancestors or important personages who once held power and had eventually died. Such important people could have been kept as relics and served as the focus of pilgrimages. However, while this latter possibility could help account for some of the actual heads/mandibles found, a consistent explanation that takes into account various kinds of evidence would not support the possibility that ancestors or important individuals who died naturally (or at least not by decapitation) are depicted or deposited. We do know that the complete bodies of some important males (where identifiable) were buried in the four chambers of the semi-subterranean court of the temple, thus pointing to a different disposal and treatment for such individuals (one of them had an axe as a grave good). Violent death by decapitation may readily be interpreted as evidence for warfare (see, e.g., Patterson 1986 for one such interpretation of Nasca). We have seen that tropical forest groups take human trophies in war while very rarely practicing human sacrifice. War trophies should be primarily adult males. The depictions on Pucara pottery are all male, but we lack the crucial information on the some 100 human skulls/mandibles found. We cannot even assess whether there may have been cranial deformation or other cultural practices that would relate them to the local Pucara population, or condition of health while

alive to determine rank/status, method of head preparation, or even degree of genetic relatedness such as studies currently being carried out by John Verano and Helaine Silverman with 48 actual Nasca heads (Silverman in press). In contrast, victims of different ages and sexes would be expected if human sacrifice were involved. In Nasca, actual heads include about the same number of adult females as males and there are also children, thus more indicative of ritual head taking rather than for war trophies (Silverman in press, summarizing Vera Penteado Coehlo 1972 Ph.D. dissertation, Sao Paulo).

The tropical forest trophy taking as well as the Colla/Aymara sacrifice and revenge cannibalism appear to have involved small numbers of people, in contrast to the large numbers of human remains at Pucara, unless they were accumulated over a long period of time. The numbers involved, unfortunately, need not be diagnostic in distinguishing warfare from sacrifice, but seem to reflect intensity. The religious component is very strongly indicated in the case of Pucara, given the Feline Man association, the ceremonial trumpets, lime jars, and temple context. Ritual sacrifice--human offerings to the gods--need not be mutually exclusive to warfare, however, either ritual or non-ritual. War victims may also be ritually decapitated. Such a dual explanation for Nasca trophy heads has been proposed by Proulx and Silverman (Silverman in press).

At Pucara severed heads are publicly and widely displayed on portable objects and stone sculpture, and actual heads were also evidently publicly displayed. Such extensive public display is lacking in the ethnographic examples in which such actions are not depicted in any media, and heads do not have the same widespread public visibility

since heads seem to belong to the takers (they may be placed on houses, but not on public buildings, e.g.).

The repeated visual images (repetition of heads, numerous sculptures, multiple skulls) further exaggerate or magnify the messages conveyed in their depictions or display--perhaps reflecting a myth and/or the real or potentially real situations. The publicly displayed and repeated messages are intentionally standardized and consistent, suggesting centralized control and manipulation. Such a strong visual image also suggests a situation beyond simple sacrifices and threat from the gods. The imagery suggests social control by threat of force or visual terrorism, to prevent some event or conflict (cf. Larrea 1937:527). The centralized control could be an emerging state in which religious threats are no longer effective in ruling by persuasion; religion backed by actual decapitation by force provides a means of or rationale for ruling by force or threat of force that characterizes a state. Rulers possessed the authority to decapitate or have decapitation take place, and it was ritualized in ceremony and standardized in iconography. Centralized control of decapitation that is publicly ritualized expresses and sanctifies authority given to a restricted group to use force by decapitation, thus suggesting that others may have been prohibited from doing so and indicating a monopoly over force. This interpretation is as close as we get to declaring Pucara as a pristine state society based on this evidence. The use of a ritual of force is manipulated for political ends as a way of reinforcing rule by force. Such a scenario further suggests conflict, and the iconography has pointed to the possibility of power struggles among those of perhaps three levels of high rank in which other feline

men (divine or semi-devine leaders?), both local and non-local, are decapitated (although others may also have been). (This section derives from extensive discussions with Karen Chávez).

Possibilities of Non-ritual Warfare in Pucara

Although the religious component of head depictions and deposits is strongly indicated, warfare may also have been involved, as discussed above, but this point is less clear. However, such representations of decapitated heads/arms in a mythical context may not be indicative of frequent, widespread, endemic, or reoccurring events of warfare in a given society. In this regard Robert Harrison notes:

> "Wars and their related activities may be preserved in the myths of a society. This seems like a self-evident proposition. Wars, even in societies where they are fairly endemic, are not likely to become so usual as to be taken wholly as a matter of course. Homer's Iliad and Odyssey are excellent examples of warfare being preserved for the instruction of oncoming generations. Myths are not likely to provide clues that will allow the investigator to assess the frequency or the degree to which warfare was endemic in a given society.
>
> The actual rendering of specific wars in the myths and tales of a people is not the only aspect of myths which may provide the ethnographer with clues to warfare in the past. Myths may also contain distillations of concepts of personhood which are qualities related to warfare activities. The qualities of personhood that a social group idealizes may also provide clues to previous warfare....
>
> It would appear that there are no certain indices or clues to a society's warring past which cannot be interpreted in other ways. As with many other aspects of the study of society and culture the best evidence may be a lot of it, and a lot of it from as many various areas of life itself as it is possible to gather" (Harrison 1973:54-56).

Other indicators of warfare include weapons, fortifications, defensive earthworks, and settlements in strategic locations. Extensive surface surveys and excavations conducted by myself and Karen Chávez in the northern Lake Titicaca Basin, as well as Kidder's excavations at

Pucara and survey elsewhere, have not produced significant concentrations of projectile points, axes, or other weapons attributable to warfare. In fact, stone knives, points, and axes (such as those carried by the Feline Man) are rare. The projectile points are most probably hunting weapons like those found from excavated sites in Cuzco and Puno, either earlier than or contemporary with Pucara, that were found associated with wild fauna hunted.

With respect to fortifications and strategic locations, to my knowledge and based on extensive surveys, no Pucara site is associated with natural or artificial fortifications, ditches, or defensive earthworks around the living areas. In an earlier paper (S. Chávez 1988) I have shown the importance of sod blocks known as ch'ampa in the region. It is a readily available and efficient material used today to solve a number of structural problems such as in house construction, elevating the terrain to form platforms and causeways in inundated areas, and even construction of large walls. Such materials could be used in fortifications or barricades even on a temporary basis, but no such remains are so far known for Pucara. In this respect, Harrison argues in favor of ritualized warfare as an alternative to defensive barricades, which would place the battle grounds outside populated centers, and states:

> "A group could also overcome their need for defensive barricades to the degree that they and their combatants were able to ritualize warfare between them. If wars are only fought after the initiation of a ceremony such rites can act as a signal to nearby communities to prepare for attack. Also contending communities in the area could ritualize the operations of warfare such that they would only be fought on specified fields designated for battle. Essentially this is the system utilized by the Marings [eastern New Guinea highlands] and only when the battle moved heavily in favor of one group would there be an expectation of an attack upon the residence sites" (Harrison 1973:54).

Likewise, no Pucara settlements are situated in locations which could be regarded as clearly strategic. In fact, many Pucara sites like Qaluyu, Taraco, Cancha Cancha Asiruni, Esquina Pata and others are situated on the open fields of the high plateau and close to the lake and rivers, forming low mounds as a result of their reoccupation over earlier refuse. And even sites like Qaqachupa in Puno, Velille in Cuzco, and Pucara itself which are closely associated with huge cliffs and rock formations, the actual Pucara settlements and remains are situated at the foot of the cliff and extend onto the open and flat terrain, while the higher and more strategic areas contain mostly Late Intermediate materials.

Sites like Llallahua (Rowe 1943:71-74; Flores 1971), Arapa (Kidder 1943:19; S. Chávez 1976), Incacancha de Pucara (Rowe 1943:66-71), Incatunuhuiri (Kidder 1943:13-15; S. Chávez 1976:60; 1982:81-82), Mallaccasi (Kidder 1943:21-22), and Waraq'oyoq Q'asa (in Cuzco; Núñez del Prado 1972) are situated in strategic locations and associated with fortifications. Incatunuhuiri, Mallaccasi, and Waraq'oyoq Q'asa have been included by Lumbreras in his work dealing with "The Origins of Warfare and the Army in Peru," although inconclusively as Pucara fortified sites (Lumbreras 1980:379, 381, 383). Llallahua, Asillo, Arapa, and Incacancha include fortified hills, but based on historical accounts these forts correspond to the rebellion of Colla and Lupaca against the Incas (Rowe 1943:67).

Close scrutiny of the criteria used to assign these sites to Pucara times indicates that, except for Incatunuhuiri, assignment is based only on the presence of Pucara-style stone sculpture, while other surface indicators of actual Pucara occupation (such as pottery and

architecture) are so far absent, undiagnostic, or belong to later occupations. There is no evidence of any Pucara remains at Incacancha despite its close proximity to the site of Pucara. The problem in relying solely on stone sculpture is that over the centuries or millennia these pieces have been moved from their original locations, and in many instances are still being reused and venerated as sacred objects, usually in higher locations (e.g., Flores 1971; S. Chávez 1976:11 and note 39, 1982:80-81).

Regarding the site of Incatunuhuiri, Kidder reported it to be at the summit of a low hill (about 300 meters above the lake level) which is an extension of a larger range of hills (Kidder 1943:13-14, Pl. I, 2 and 3). The site, then, is not in such a strategic position given the higher hills behind the site. He also indicates the hill to be terraced with rough retaining walls of field stone of 2.50-3 meters high of undetermined age, and perhaps used for dry farming. At its summit there are remains of what appears to be a stone "temple" structure or structures, probably rectangular or octagonal like those at Pucara. There were also seven pieces of stone sculpture (some in Pucara-style) distributed from the foot of the small hill to near the summit (one fragment of a statue was set up at the summit near a shrine of a Christian cross sometime before Kidder visited the site in 1941), as well as relatively abundant sherds of Pucara and other styles, most of which came from the upper terraces (Kidder 1943:22-26; Fig. 2, 1-7, 18-29, 37-40, 42-45; and Fig. 3, 1-10, 13-15). Consequently, considering the presence of ceremonial architecture, sculpture, and fancy pottery, as well as the relatively small area of the site, Incatunuhuiri may be regarded as a ceremonial center situated at the smallest hill of a

larger range with minimum strategic advantage, and certainly not with a resident population of significant size which could be related to warfare and defense. Furthermore, the practice of placing ceremonial structures atop terraces is relatively common in ancient Peru. This characteristic can be also observed at Pucara itself, where the recent UNESCO project excavated the several large stone terraces/platforms facing the river that led up to the main platform with temples on it (K. Chávez 1989: front cover).

An additional alternative involving a specific spatial organization of settlements is also proposed by Harrison (1973:52), in which people might "...organize the dwelling sites into geometric patterns such as circles or squares which they feel offer some defensive advantage for their type of warfare." Likewise, a dispersed settlement, in which individual households are widespread from each other in a given territory, may constitute a kind of defense, making a successful attack difficult against all its population. Such dispersed settlements have been reported among contemporary/traditional rural peoples in the Lake Titicaca Basin and elsewhere (S. Chávez 1988). Although these spatial arrangements may be prehistoric, there have not been large enough area excavations or extensive enough test excavations to document these patterns for Pucara times.

Therefore, since there is no substantial evidence for any significant amount of weapons, defensive fortifications, and settlements in strategic locations attributable to warfare, then, it may also be concluded that there were no military specialists per se. Instead, the representations and actual body parts in Pucara may indicate: conflict as a result of differential relationships to the structure of authority

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s, if such a broad generalization can be made, that Rawls
18, 116) notes that "...iconographic treatments of military
...are conspicuously absent" during the Middle Horizon, Late
ediate Period, and Late Horizon. We may add to this observation
r generalization that those periods were times when there was more
and widespread militarism. Conversely, periods when militarism
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Feline-Headed Snake Motifs

This motif has been grouped into four classes, based on the sence or absence of crown and ear. The supernatural animals in the r classes also share the following attributes: 1) head in profile, ided eye, closed mouth, and a round nose which can be solid or resented by a ring; 2) a rectilinear or curvilinear body usually ided into two fields. The upper portion of the body, which is ally red, continues onto the animal's face, and the lower portion is extension of a band originating under the eye, which is usually am. In addition, the head and upper portions of the body are very ely represented in black, and the band or background where the mals are portrayed can be black or cream depending on the opposite er body color. Furthermore, this motif, which is generally portrayed a repetitive fashion, sometimes in alternating colored panels (either ing or chasing each other), is situated at the neck or body of jars. a few cases they are also found on the upper interior of open bowls. etimes the feline-headed snakes present on jars are also associated h geometric designs or with a feline motif.

The following four classes begin with feline-headed snakes which t closely resemble those present on the chest of some Feline Men, lowed by those possessing only ears or crowns, and those which have n. In addition, pieces which are too fragmentary to be classified, included at the end as miscellaneous motifs.

ss I, Feline-Headed Snakes without Crown or Ear (Figures 296-301).

The first example is a miniature jar reconstructed from rim to e, having three sherds, from Excavation III (Figure 296). The jar sharp shoulders and probably two handles at the neck. A row of four

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entical feline-headed snakes face left and chase each other, and are rtrayed on a black band below the shoulder on the body of the jar. ch of these motifs has a cream nose, mouth, and band below the body d eye, while the face and upper body are red.

In addition, the neck portion of the jar contains panels of ometric designs consisting in opposing double-stepped designs, each ternating in cream and black with a red area between them. Based on lculations of the neck circumference, there were four panels of ometric designs, leaving space for two small handles between each ir.

The second example is a four-sided miniature jar with a single rtical handle. This piece is housed at the National Museum in Lima d derives from Excavation III (Figure 297). On the neck a feline tif is portrayed at the body of the jar, and two feline-headed snakes, cing each other, each in a panel, are present on a black band. Based calculations of circumference at the neck, there were two pairs of line-headed snakes (likely facing each other).

The third example is a regular size jar from Excavation IV constructed at the neck portion from three sherds (Figure 298). This ece, which has the colors badly preserved, has remains of a vertical ndle with a perforation through its upper, central portion. There are o rows of feline-headed snakes (separated by a horizontal red band) ich face away from the red handle or unfinished portion under it. sed on calculation of the circumference at the neck (and assuming the had one handle), there were two rows, each containing six motifs. wever, assuming the presence of two handles, then there were four ifs in each row.

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The fourth example from Excavation IV is similar to the previous and was reconstructed from two sherds (Figure 299). Some of the rs are better preserved, and include a combination of black and red rs on the body of the feline-headed snake. Each background color of nel alternates cross-symmetrically in black and cream.

The fifth example is the rim portion of an open bowl from vation IV (Figure 300). The motif is portrayed on a black band on rim interior, and was probably repeated. The animal faces left, and unusual snake body is formed by a single recurving and rectilinear that is red.

The sixth example is a fancy miniature four-sided jar with opposing ical handles at the neck (Figure 301). This piece is housed at the onal Museum in Lima and derives from Excavation V. The neck has ls containing geometric designs identical to those in Figure 296 e, and a pair of felines are depicted on the jar's body. A feline- ed snake motif emerges from each side of the felines' head. The n body of the snake, or appendage linking it to below the feline , has black painted lines like rings around its body.

s II, Feline-Headed Snake with Ear (Figures 302-304).

This class is characterized by the consistent presence of ears, n are semi-circular solids in black, red, or cream. The first ple is a miniature jar with globular body having a portion of a le near the neck. This piece was reconstructed from below the neck ase from two sherds from Excavation III (Figure 302). The broken on at the neck juncture is worn flat (likely for further re-use of ody portion). The upper half of the vessel's body has remains of and of adjoining trapezoidal panels, each containing a feline-

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aded snake. The snake with cream nose (this time a rectangle), mouth, kely the ear, and lower portion of the body is on a black background d alternate with the snake and background of opposite colors. The per body and face in both, however, is consistently red. Based on the lculation of circumference, there were four panels of motifs, each ir facing one another, and perhaps two handles.

The second example is a regular size jar with one vertical handle eserved (Figure 303). This piece was reconstructed from rim to the per portion of the body, from two sherds from Excavation III. The ck contains two rows of similar motifs facing away from the handle. e panels, as well as the lower portion of the animal's body, appear to ssess the same color alternations as on the miniature jar described ove, and again, the upper body is always red. The calculation of rcumference at the neck, and assuming the presence a single handle, dicates that each band contained six animals; or assuming the jar had o handles, then there were four animals in each row.

The third example includes two neck fragments probably from a ngle jar, with a vertical handle perforated at the upper portion igure 304). These pieces were not found either at the National Museum Lima or in the Peabody collection, but they may have fit the above ecimen (Figure 303) except that only one handle was perforated. wever, a water color reproduction was found in Kidder's archive, dicating the provenience to be Excavation III. Consequently, based on e water color illustration, the neck portion of the jar contains two ws of similar motifs facing each other. Each row contains two tangular panels alternating in black and cream cross-symmetrically, , except for the head and upper portion of the animal's body that is

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d, the other parts of the snakes alternate in black and cream, also oss-symmetrically as in the previous specimen. Furthermore, the other agment also with the same arrangement and color alternations, would ve continued on the opposite side of the jar's neck.

ass III, Feline-Headed Snake with Crown (Figures 305-312).

The characteristic attribute which has been used to isolate this ass is the presence of a crown on top of the animal's head. The crown a trapezoid which in most cases is divided into two segments, each ternating in black and red or cream and red.

The first example is a large portion of a jar neck with remains of o vertical handles (Figure 305). This piece is housed at the National seum in Lima and derives from Excavation III. Here, the spaces tween each handle contain four panels in two rows with a red band parating the upper from the lower row. The colors of each panel and tifs alternate cross-symmetrically, while the motifs face each other pairs. The crown at the head, characteristic of this group, is apezoidal and divided into two fields; in each crown a red field faces rward and the back field alternates in cream or black.

The second example is also the neck portion of a jar, reconstructed ɔm six sherds from Excavation III (Figure 306). Here, the motifs and ıels have the same color alternations except for red noses and the ;ition of the red fields of some crowns, as in the previous example. ıever, the red band separating the upper from the lower panels is ent.

The third example is a short neck of a jar from Excavation III gure 307). There is a single black band (or panel), containing

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mains of a feline-headed snake with crown facing left. The upper body red, and the lower is cream as usual.

The fourth example is the rim of an open bowl from Excavation III igure 308). Here, a single black band (or panel) contains a motif ke that described in the previous example. However, the portion of e panel above the motif has traces of cream, which is very unusual, though the black may not be preserved.

The fifth example is a miniature jar preserved from below the rim the upper portion of the body, and derives from Excavation III igure 309). The body has remains of a feline head in relief, while e neck portion has at least one usual feline-headed snake facing right a black background.

The sixth example is a portion of a short necked jar from cavation IV (Figure 310). Here, the motifs face each other in parently opposing colors on a cream band without a vertical incision parating them. This time, the crown is apparently divided into four gments (only the red color is preserved). The cream panel ends to the ft of the remains of a handle.

The seventh example is the body portion of a globular jar, and bably derives from Excavation III (Figure 311). The motif faces left is portrayed on a black background. The crown is divided into a red a cream field, each of which is further divided in two by short tical incisions. Consequently, this kind of crown can be considered have four segments.

The eighth example is a rim portion of a bowl from Excavation IV gure 312), and has a black band situated on the upper interior. The if faces left and has the crown divided into four segments (like the

one previously described). However, the red face and upper body has unusual incised dashed lines.

Class IV, Feline-Headed Snake with Crown and Ear (Figures 313-321).

The first example is a four-sided jar reconstructed from rim to base, consists of several sherds from Excavation III (Figure 313). This fancy piece has two vertical handles and four panels of geometric designs, one on each side of the body. The neck portion has remains of a black band (interrupted by the two handles) which contains a pair of feline-headed snakes in mirror image facing each other that are not in panels. Each motif has an ear with an incision in it and a crown divided into two. Furthermore, the cream nose is unusually represented by a ring with a black center, rather than the usual circle.

The second example from Excavation III consists of two pieces (likely part of the same bowl), and is preserved from rim to near the base of the bowl (Figure 314). The black band is situated at the upper interior, and contains a row of motifs facing left with identical color combinations. At least two of them have a ring nose, segmented crown, and ear preserved.

The third example is a four-sided miniature jar, reconstructed from below the neck to base from two sherds from Excavation III (Figure 315). A pair of felines have remains of feline-headed snakes surrounding both ears. The motif has an ear as well as a crown divided into two, while the nose is an extension of the face, rather than being circular or a ring.

The fourth example is a jar neck reconstructed from two sherds from Excavation I (Figure 316). The exterior contains a black band with remains of two motifs facing each other, and an incision below indicates

that there was an additional band. The motif has a ring nose, ear, and a crown with four segments, the front pair red and the back cream.

The fifth example is a portion of the globular body of a jar from Excavation III (Figure 317). The head of a large motif faces right, and is depicted on a black background. The crown is segmented into two fields (cream and red), and each is further divided in two by short incision.

The sixth example is an open bowl rim from Excavation III (Figure 318). The black band is situated at the upper interior, and contains a portion of the motif facing left. The only unusual characteristic here is the segmented crown, which has the front portion in red and further divided into two by incision, while the back portion in cream is further divided into three by short incisions.

The seventh example is a jar neck from Excavation III (Figure 319). A single black band contains a portion of the feline-headed snake facing left, with remains of a crown and ear. The body is unusually depicted in a curvilinear fashion.

The eighth example is a slightly incurved bowl from Excavation III (Figure 320). The motif is depicted on a cream band which appears to be situated near the center of the bowl exterior. The motif faces left, and has remains of the crown and ear.

The ninth example is a miniature deep bowl, reconstructed from rim to base from two sherds from Excavation IV (Figure 321). The entire exterior, including the background color of the band with motifs, and half of the interior are polished red. The band on the upper exterior appears to have panels, and one of them has remains of the motif facing right. The colors in the motif are not preserved (although there traces

of black at the lower body), but there are remains of the crown and ear.

Miscellaneous Feline-Headed Snake Motifs (Figures 322-328).

The fragmentary nature of these pieces does not permit their incorporation into the four classes. However, some of them are described and illustrated here to provide additional variations in vessel shape and general layout of related motifs.

The first example derives from Excavation III (Figure 322), and is a short-necked jar with a pair of feline-headed snakes facing each other that are depicted on a black band situated just below the rim. Based on the calculation of the circumference, and assuming the presence of two handles, there were two pairs of motifs.

The second example is a long neck of a jar, reconstructed from two sherds from Excavation III (Figure 323). The piece also has a portion of the shoulder preserved, permitting the confirmation of a larger area in red below the two rows of panels. One panel is cream and the other black, and each contains portions of the motifs facing away from the vertical handle.

The third example is also part of a long neck, with a vertical handle having a perforation in the upper central portion (Figure 324). This piece, which derives from Excavation III, also has two rows of panels, one black and one cream with the motifs facing away from the handle.

The fourth example is an outflaring bowl from Excavation III (Figure 325). The upper interior has remains of one row of two panels alternating in black and cream, each containing portions of the feline-headed snake facing left. The nose is a black circle, but the crown is not preserved.

The fifth example from Excavation IV is the body portion of a four-sided miniature jar containing a feline head in relief (Figure 326). This piece has a pair of appendages emanating from between the feline's ears, which probably terminated in the feline-headed snakes (cf. Figure 315 above).

The seventh example is a large portion of a globular-body jar from Excavation III (Figure 327). This piece is preserved from the neck juncture to near the base, and contains an unusual feline lacking the appliqué relief at the head. Emerging from between the ears there are two bands in black and cream, and each surrounds the ears. These bands may correspond to the feline-headed snake, and at least one has remains of what appears to be the cream ear.

CONCLUSIONS FOR AND ICONOLOGY OF FELINE-HEADED SNAKE MOTIFS

The following chart shows the association of each class of feline-headed snakes with vessel shape, including those portrayed by themselves or associated with different motifs and designs. The category of jar includes both globular and four-sided bodies.

	REGULAR SIZE VESSELS			MINIATURE VESSELS		
	JAR	OPEN BOWL	SLIGHT.INCURV.BOWL	JAR	DEEP BOWL	SUB-TOTAL
Class I	1	1		3		5
Class II	3			1		4
Class III	13	2		2		17
Class IV	4	2	1	1	1	9
Misc.	9	1		1		11
TOTALS	30	6	1	8	1	46

As can be seen, then, the most frequently associated shape for all classes (including miniature and miscellaneous pieces) is the jar, where the neck portion is the preferred surface for decoration, followed by

the globular body portion of the jar. On the other hand, the four-sided miniature and four-sided regular size jars, have the feline-headed snake motifs restricted to the neck portion, or can be used as appendages emanating from above the heads of felines. The globular or other related miniature jars have the motifs just below the neck or in the central portion of the body.

The only other major shape category is the regular size open bowl. Here, the field of decoration is a band (ranging from 1.7 to 3.5 cm wide) consistently present on the upper interior. In addition, a regular size slightly incurved bowl and a miniature deep bowl are represented by a single case each. The field of decoration in the former is a band situated at the exterior and central portion of the bowl, and for the latter is also a band at the exterior but just below the rim.

The presence of crown and/or ear or absence of these proved to be useful criteria in defining the four classes. That is, each of the four classes of motifs was consistently associated with: (I) crownless and earless heads, (II) with ear only, (III) with crown only, and (IV) with crown and ear. Within these, the first class of feline-headed snakes is the only one present on the chest of some of the personage(s) in the Feline Man theme. Likewise, this kind of motif is also present on the four-sided miniature jar, having bands emerging at both sides of the feline's head. Furthermore, the last class of motifs (with crown and ear) also occurs as appendages emanating from above the felines' head. In addition, when feline-headed snake motifs are associated with other motifs or geometric designs (as opposed to being portrayed in a

repetitive fashion), these consistently only include the feline motif and interlocking stepped designs.

With respect to colors of motifs associated with jar necks, these are used to alternate the panels and motifs. Colors are also employed to form a cross-symmetry when the motifs are portrayed in two separate horizontal rows or in larger rectangular panels formed by joining four smaller panels--in both cases, the rows and larger panels appear to be consistently interrupted by a pair of vertical handles in red. Furthermore, in most cases the remaining exterior surfaces of globular-body jars (beyond the fields of motifs) appear to be polished red, including an area extending from 1 to 4 cm (and from 4 to 7 mm on miniature jars) and into the interior of the jar's neck. The open bowls have a polished red surface on the entire exterior, as well as the interior portion beyond the band of motifs.

Fragments in the four classes, as well as miscellaneous pieces, are oxidized, and most pastes are #1/#1A, followed by a few cases which are #14.

Additional note: After having concluded the analysis of the different themes, motifs, and designs (especially the next section dealing with male and female-related feline motifs and designs), it was realized that the feline-headed snake motif is somewhat more complex than presented here. Additional observations which deal with broader associations with other motifs, can be made about the feline-headed snake motifs as follows:

a) Class I feline-headed snakes are identical to those present on the chest of some personages in the Feline Man Theme. Hence, Class I has been considered to be a male-related motif. However, some feline-

headed snakes in Class I (particularly those portrayed on miniature jars) are associated with stepped block designs which are exclusively female-related designs, or are also associated with female-related felines (see section dealing with Feline Motifs). One unusual example comes from Excavation VI and has been hypothetically reconstructed in Figure 328 based on very close similarities of the sherds involved. Part of a Feline Motif is associated with what appears to be checkered crosses (likely making the piece female-related (see section on Feline Motifs). The feline-headed snakes associated, however, are different from Class I feline headed snakes in having long bodies, two parallel segments of the same color (either black or cream), a line separating the body from the head, and a different nose.

b) Some heads of Class I feline-headed snakes are also used at the end of a pair of streamers emanating from the sides of female-related felines. However, the characteristic band below the eye is absent, and the segmented body is replaced by a simple band forming the streamer.

c) Similar appendages to those just described above are also present on many Class II alpacas (see section dealing with Alpaca Motifs), a motif regarded as being female-related. Such appendages emanate from above the back of the alpaca, turn towards the tail in a sharp angle, and terminates in the head of a feline-headed snake.

d) One specimen in Class I also lacks the segmented body and band under the eye, and the single band forming a rectilinear body recurves and terminates under the body. Such feline-headed snakes with unsegmented bodies occur on two Pucara style pieces of stone sculpture as follows: The first is a slab from Qaluyu, Puno (Rowe 1967:Figure in page 128) that has a single band terminating in feline-headed snake

eads at both ends forms a rectangle enclosing a male-related feline. he second is also a slab from Chumbivilcas, Cuzco (S. Chávez 1989: ig. 12), that possesses a similar motif emanates from under the eyes of pair of alpacas and extends towards the back and above each camelid. uch camelids are considered to be female-related (see section dealing ith Camelid Motifs).

In addition, a fragment of a Pucara style slab from Chumbivilcas nd another fragment of a large anthropomorphic Tiahuanaco style statue rom Puno (S. Chávez 1989: Figs. 10-11), each possesses female-related elines that have their tails terminating in feline-headed snake motifs. owever, the head in the slab from Chumbivilcas also has a rectangular nd at the neck with interlocking L-shaped designs. The Tiahuanaco eline also has eared headed snake appendages at the sides of the rincipal feline. These designs may serve to identify the motif present the middle of the breach clout of a personage on a nearby stela (S. ávez 1989: Fig. 6a) as a curled feline-headed snake with ears and gmented body in top view. In addition, this stela also has one gmented appendage in zigzag on each side of the breach clout that rminates in similar feline-headed snake heads.

e) Some Class IV feline-headed snakes with rectilinear and gmented bodies, possessing a ring nose, ear, and crown are associated th a series of panels containing stepped blocks. Such designs are male-related (see section dealing with feline motifs).

f) A similar motif with segmented body, crown, and ear in Class IV rves as a pair of streamers at the upper portion of the heads of male-related felines (see section dealing with feline motifs). wever, the nose in the feline-headed snakes is formed by a volute.

g) Feline-headed snakes with nose formed by a volute in Class IV re reminiscent of the noses present in most alpacas, which is a female-elated motif. In addition, a single specimen in Class III alpacas has feline-headed snake-like appendage facing towards the back of the amelid and possesses an elevated nose (forming almost a triangle), and ay represent still another kind of feline-headed snake motif.

Consequently, the feline-headed snake motif appears to be a more iverse motif and element, one which is mainly associated with female-elated motifs and designs, but also with some male-related ones, as ell as directly derived from the Feline Man Theme as those in Class I.

The Guanaco and Bird Motif

This motif is very rare in the Pucara collection. The best example derives from a reconstructed vessel comprised of 27 sherds, 14 of which do not fit coming from Excavation IV (Figures 329a and 329b). However, based on a number of similarities (such as paste, temper, shape, size, surface finish, wall thickness, wear patterns, use of very fine incisions, and decoration), these 14 disconnected fragments were found to be part of this single large and deep bowl. Consequently, all of the glued and related fragments were drawn together, and the missing portions were reconstructed accordingly within the limits provided by the reconstruction of the interior and exterior circumferences of the vessel.

This large and deep bowl has one lug preserved, a rim diameter of 27 cm, and a reconstructed vessel height of about 14 cm. One set of larger motifs is depicted on the exterior of the vessel (at or just below the beveled rim) on a red background. Beginning just above the base exterior there is a narrow cream band, which appears to continue onto the vessel's base. On the vessel interior is a narrower band, originating at the rim and extending for almost one-third of the vessel's interior surface, that contains repetitive motifs, here on a black background. All the motifs are executed in very fine incision, unusual for such a large size vessel.

The black, red, and cream colors are badly preserved. The use of a binocular microscope was required to determine the colors within and between the different motifs and elements.

A pair of identical camelids were identified as guanacos in accordance with the following criteria: lack of abundant wool; presence

f a cream colored body (as in real guanacos which are more homogeneous ight-brown); and the running or jumping position of the legs and hooves hat contrasts with the standing more controlled position of the omestic alpaca (discussed earlier within the Camelid Woman Theme and amelid Motifs). Furthermore, the head and nose are slightly raised, nd the ear is held low. Consequently, the absence of attributes which re consistently associated with the domestic camelid/alpaca (such as oundant body wool in black and cream, rope at the neck, and stationary osition), supports the interpretation that this camelid is the wild uanaco; or lacks the characteristic chest wool of the vicuña. The ossibility of its being a young or female deer should not be ruled out, owever.

The motifs portrayed on the exterior of the bowl include two pairs f guanacos and birds, each followed by two different pairs of isolated taffs terminating in the stylized head. Each guanaco and bird has upernatural indicators and alternates with another one another facing the right in nearly identical pairs. In addition, the staffs between ch animal are also depicted in an alternating fashion, such that one nd of staff is present in front of each guanaco, and a different kind staff is in front of each bird.

The guanaco has a Y-shaped red band as a face marking. The portion the band flanking the eye forms a zigzag with recurving tips, extends ards the body as a single and continuously bending band, and rminates in an element similar to those at the end of the staff held feline men. A horizontal, wide band (containing square segments with stylized head, followed by a ring) is positioned in the middle of guanaco's body. In addition, the guanaco has cream anklebands and a

solid circle positioned at the middle of the chest. This latter attribute may also have been present at the rear--as found on the better preserved guanacos on the interior of the vessel. Furthermore, the eye (which was probably divided) is surrounded by an additional red band.

Originating under the ear and continuing above the back of the animal, is a streamer formed by a band interrupted by rings. The last element directly connected to the animal is what appears to be a crown. This crown has two superimposed portions. The lower portion resting directly on top of the head is a trapezoidal band divided into two fields, and resembles the elements on the guanaco's body. The rear field contains a pair of rings and the front one has a rectangular/trapezoidal version of the stylized head. The upper portion of the crown is a horizontal band with three segments, which bends toward the back of the animal and terminates in the staff element. This band also possesses the elements present on the trapezoidal portion of the crown, where a pair of rings are flanked by rectangular/trapezoidal versions of the stylized heads, one of which faces right and rests on the lower portion of the crown. Finally, two additional G-shaped appendages emanate from the band-- one at the front and the other at the lower end near the staff element.

In turn, the attributes present on the two portions of the crown as well as on the body of the animal, are similar to those in the isolated staffs, which are positioned in front of each guanaco. Therefore, this arrangement will be called the guanaco-and-staff motif, just as the bird with its corresponding staff is designated as the bird-and-staff motif.

The guanaco staff consists of a wide segmented band in zigzag, containing four segments which correspond to each of the straight

rtions of the zigzag staff. These segments, in turn, contain
ternating pairs of rings and a set of three or four interlocking
sted-triangles. The upper portion of the staff ends in the staff
ement, while its lower portion terminates in the stylized circular
ad. In addition, two G-shaped appendages are situated at each side of
e staff. A similar or identical staff is then repeated in front of
e next guanaco.

These isolated staffs also show some striking similarities with the
affs held by feline men (see section dealing with the Feline Man
eme), particularly the zigzag shape with the characteristic element
ove the staff, and those with G-shaped appendages and stylized
rcular heads at the end of the staff.

The second motif is a pair of nearly identical birds, one between
ch guanaco, depicted in a running motion or landing position. The
rd appears to lack wings, and the tail is unusually rectangular and
parated from the body by two parallel bands. The beak is slightly
en, and resembles that of a raptorial bird. Furthermore, the upper
rtion of the left leg has a solid circle, while the right leg is
aced under or behind the left leg and lacks the solid circle. The
tire body and legs are cream color, and an ankleband delimits each
ot with three toes.

The eye (which was probably divided) is also encircled by a red
nd, and is almost entirely enclosed by a different kind of face
rking. Each end of the face marking band extends towards the body and
rminates in a rectangular element with three points--perhaps similar
a bird's foot with ankleband. The body contains a smaller and
mpler version of the staff in front of the bird. Finally, emerging

from the top of the bird's head is a pair of two parallel segments forming a band that turns towards the back. This band, which also has at least three G-shaped appendages, appears to be in zigzag, very much like the isolated staff or its smaller version on the bird's body.

A pair of nearly identical staffs are also positioned directly in front of each bird. Although the staff also shows many similarities to that of the guanaco, the body is much more simple and includes two parallel segments in zigzag. Likewise, this kind of staff resembles some of those held by feline men (see section dealing with the Feline Man Theme).

The interior portion of the bowl is based on the reconstructed circumference and on the position of fragments and exterior designs. The upper interior contains a wide black band with a series of six nearly identical, but smaller guanacos running left or counterclockwise. Each of these animals, in turn, is separated by a staff. These staffs are smaller and simple versions of the bird's staffs present on the exterior of the vessel. The rest of the interior, including the base (as far as can be determined by the remaining fragments), is a polished red surface.

Since these animals show many similarities to those on the exterior of the bowl, they have also been interpreted as being guanacos. The similarities include: a circle above the front leg, ankleband with hoofs in a running or jumping motion, the ear held low, a consistently beam body, and a similar streamer emanating from under the ear. However, there are also marked differences, including the depiction of motifs on a black background (rather than on red); absence of additional elements on the body; lack of the red band surrounding the eye; almost

orizontal position of the head, neck, and body; absence of the haracteristic guanaco staff; and animals facing in the opposite irection from those on the exterior of the bowl.

Consequently, the series of smaller guanacos combine some ttributes of the larger guanaco with a simplified and smaller version f the bird's staff.

In addition to the group of 27 fragments used in the reconstruction f this deep bowl from Excavation IV, there are only two additional ragments (not illustrated) containing small portions of the bird motif. ne is a rim (probably also from a deep bowl) from Excavation III, Level , containing a portion of the bird's body and neck on the interior of ne bowl; while the exterior remains polished red. The other is from a niature bowl from Excavation III, Level 5 (housed at the National useum), containing a portion of the beak and the bird's staff which is epicted almost upside down on the exterior of the bowl.

Feline Motifs

The Feline Motif is the most abundant (396 specimens, compared to 113 belonging to the Severed Head Motif) and complex in the Pucara style. At first I had assumed that the Feline Motif was related to or derived from the Feline Man Theme since the Feline Man shares a number of feline attributes such as teeth with fangs, some face markings, feline pelage on Feline Men impersonating felines, and the Feline Headed Snake Motif. Conversely, in a few cases the feline becomes anthropomorphized by possessing a human arm and hand with clenched fist. However, it became clear after classification and analysis that certain felines could be related to the Feline Man Theme, and others to the Camelid Woman Theme, while still others showed ambiguity or a combination of the two. Such a detailed analysis of this large sample revealed the complexity of this motif as well as a much better understanding of its variability.

The analysis of the variability of the Feline Motif has resulted in classifying it into four major classes, each further subdivided into groups, for a total of 20 groups. Various miscellaneous categories for pieces too fragmentary or incomplete that lacked specific diagnostic attributes to be placed with certainty into these groups, also resulted; still other miscellaneous pieces were unusual or distinct in some way.

After numerous attempts to classify the felines using various attributes, it was concluded that body color, body markings, whether the feline head was front face or in profile, and whether the feline was anthropomorphized or not, were the most consistent indicators of the kinds of felines in the collection. Based on body color, two principal, standardized patterns for depicting felines emerged, Model A that is

lack bodied and Model B cream bodied. Model A felines became Class I nd Model B became Class II felines. Groups within each depended on ind of body markings; Class I felines were then divided into nine roups, A to I, and Class II felines into three groups, A to C. Class II felines were those entirely in profile, and were divided into three roups, A to C. Class IV felines were anthropomorphic, and were lassified into six groups, A to F. Once the diagnostic feature of nthropomorphized felines was identified (the human arm), it became pparent that there were many more of them than at first recognized. lass III and IV felines could also be related to Model A and B felines, ut were often combinations of the two or otherwise distinctive. Each lass and group identified started with specimens having the most omplete representations that then allowed more fragmentary pieces to be ncorporated.

This section on Feline Motifs begins by describing associated apes, techniques, Models A and B, and includes the independent lassification of diverse attributes associated with felines, including ances, kinds of feline heads, neck elements, geometric designs, non-eometric elements, and divider symbols between felines. The classes d groups are then described, with their respectively associated vessel apes and pastes. I then present arguments for identifying Model A ass I felines as female-related and Model B Class II as male-related, fter showing how the two models form a clear dichotomy, with only some tributes shared. Class III and IV felines are then analyzed in lation to the two models. Finally, interpretations are offered, king into account natural feline models, ethnographic and historical

information, and archaeological data, including the nature of the iconography as well as excavated contexts.

Shapes Associated with Feline Motifs (see also section dealing with associated vessel shape).

The vessel shape overwhelmingly associated with this motif is the pedestal base burner with a pair of lugs at opposite extremes of the rim. There are minor amounts of miniature, regular sized, and oversized globular jars; miniature and regular sized four-sided jars; miniature and regular sized feline effigy jars; an oversized beaker; and trumpets. Significantly, bowls of any kind are absent. Most shapes are ceremonial in function.

Feline Colors and Incisions

The fancy vessels associated with the Feline Motif have well finished exteriors upon which the motifs are incised and painted on a red slipped background. Feline motifs never occur on vessel interiors. The colors employed include the usual red, cream, and black (and rarely white). Also, in a very few instances black specimens have the designs and motifs without colors.

Except for a few painted short lines, dashes, and vertically divided eyes without incision, the rest of the designs and motifs are delimited by regular incisions (in a few cases the incisions are broader such as at the mouth), as well as very fine incisions regardless of the size of motif/design. Several pieces with regular incisions also contain remains of white, and in some cases green, post-fire paint within the incisions. Excised areas also occur in a few cases, such as at the centers of the ears and at the band of geometric designs situated above the feline's back. In a few examples, deep concavities were made

in the eyes and ring at the neck, likely for the insertion of shaped stones.

Specific color combinations were very important in Pucara style felines; they were employed in consistent, standardized ways, and are crucial in understanding and identifying the felines. The kind or combination of colors employed in the same motif or element serves to change its category completely. For example, two felines may have the same designs on the body, but one may have a black body and belong to Model A as is usually the case, while the other may have a cream body placing it with Model B. Interestingly, the cream bodied feline is also unusual in being anthropomorphized. Consequently, the use of different body colors not only serves to differentiate Model A from Model B felines, but also perhaps to emphasize the mediating nature of the anthropomorphized feline since it combines qualities from both models. Another example where colors play an important role is on the ring pendant from the feline's neck. While rings are always associated with Model A felines, a few occur on Model B felines, but the colors in each are different. The detection of such important conventions in colors were observed <u>after</u> the felines were classified based on their body attributes alone.

<u>Technique Used in the Appliqué Feline Heads</u>

Based on several pieces on which the relief head or portions of it separated from the vessel, it can be seen that the head was carefully hand-modelled using several small pieces of clay which were likely built directly onto the vessel surface. For the most part, appliquéd reliefs include the feline head in front view, and sometimes the front legs and

element at the neck. Very rarely is the head depicted in two-dimensions and outlined by incision.

Four appliquéd feline heads (Figures 330-333) became separated from the vessel wall, and their undersides show four basic and separate portions of clay used in their construction: a rounded pellet for each eye, a long cylindrical piece for the nose, and a rectangular one for the snout/mouth. Likely additional clay was employed to surround and unite these segments. Subsequently, the head was modelled and the outer edges of the head thinned to join the vessel surface. The ears are also in relief and were evidently added separately. Furthermore, the vessel surface receiving the head was scraped or roughened, usually leaving horizontal striations. In addition, with a spatula both the outer portions of the band surrounding the eye and the eye itself were very subtly indented forming two slight levels of relief. Finally, a spatula was used obliquely to form the grooved mouth (V-shaped in cross section), and in some cases the eyes were carved out to place possibly shaped stones (Figure 332).

Consequently, the head was modelled little by little directly onto the vessel surface, and the same technique was employed in the elaboration of heads in all sizes, including regular sized heads with moderate relief (Figure 330) or very protruding relief (Figures 331-332), and miniature heads (Figure 333). It is also likely that the oversized heads were made in the same way.

Models A and B Used in the Classification of Felines (Figures 334-335).

Among all the attributes present on feline motifs, only those present on the feline's body have been found to be consistent indicators for the classification of felines into the different classes and groups. After repeated attempts to use the head, tail, feet, feline stance, or any other design outside the feline's body, it was concluded that these elements are not productive in classifying the feline motifs in any meaningful way. Consequently, after analyzing the attributes forming the feline's body, two major patterns or models emerged, within which most of the diagnostic pieces can be understood and classified.

Generally, the key attributes in Model A include: presence of black body emerging at the feline's chest and extending towards the tail and a narrow cream band surrounding the chest, lower body, and tail (sometimes with short black segments). The upper body possesses one or two wider parallel bands (here referred to as Registers 1 and 2, respectively), each containing a row of contiguous, alternating black and cream, nested rectangles having red centers.

In Model B the colors are reversed so that the entire body is cream and the narrow band surrounding the lower body is now black. The cream body serves as a background for nested parallelograms which are usually diamonds, but sometimes look like rectangles. Unlike the contiguous nested rectangles in Model A, these nested parallelograms are not joined, but form rows which are either neatly or sometimes loosely aligned. In addition, the parallelograms are always black with red centers.

Since models or archetypes represent general patterns, Models A and B do not take into account additional variations present in the

different classes, but serve as an initial guide in the classification and understanding of this complex collection of feline motifs. Hence, a more detailed description of these models and related attributes/variations helps integrate the rest of the variability and allows a subdivision of classes into groups.

Model A Felines (Figure 334)

Model A corresponds primarily to Class I felines, but also to some Class III and IV felines. One characteristic in Model A is the presence of Register 1, which is a wide band emerging at the upper right side of the feline's head/ear, continuing at the upper portion of the body, and terminating at the rear. This register can contain two, three, or four contiguous nested rectangles, and a few more extending onto the tail. The smaller inner rectangle is consistently red (sometimes containing a horizontal incised line) and nested within the larger outer rectangle that is black or cream. Consequently, each rectangle is placed in such a way that a black alternates or follows a cream rectangle, and, with one exception, the rule is that the first rectangle next to the face always begins in black.

Register 2, when present, is a similar band of alternating cream and black nested rectangles that is situated directly below Register 1, with a few of these rectangles continuing onto the tail. The first nested rectangle which emerges at the lower right corner of the feline's head tends to be narrower or slanted, and is consistently cream with one exception (present in the same piece which also has the exception for Register 1). Cream rectangles of Register 2 are under black rectangles of Register 1, as are black ones of Register 2 under cream ones of Register 1. Not all felines possess a Register 2.

Furthermore, there are also two alternates to Registers 1 and 2, and these include: First, a pair of parallel bands (the upper black and the lower red) replacing the registers. These bands continue onto the tail, and sometimes possess a line of dashed incisions within them. The second alternate consists of one or two rows of neatly or loosely aligned red triangles, red triangles alternating with cream ones, or a red triangle nested within a cream triangle. These triangles, which occupy most or all of the body, replace both the parallel bands and registers, and are depicted on a black body or background. Their arrangement is more like that on Model B feline bodies.

The feline's lower body is a black field beginning at the feline's chest and continuing about midway below or barely entering Register 2, or below Register 1 in the absence of Register 2. This field may remain black, or may contain checkered crosses or lunate-shaped designs. An alternate to this horizontal field is when the entire body is black and serves as a background for the different kinds of triangles mentioned above. The triangles are present in most or part of the body, and probably also continue onto the tail.

Pendant from the middle of the neck is a red band terminating in a ring element, which is consistently red with a cream center. Very rarely this element can also be a red rectangle with a cream center. Furthermore, this ring is consistently associated with an inverted U-shaped mouth.

A cream narrow band surrounds or borders the feline's outer chest, lower body and tail, and terminates at the tail's tip in a semi-circle or in a rectangle. Some well preserved specimens show portions of this cream band changing to black, without incisions, when a cream nested

rectangle is opposite it at the rear and tail portions. In addition, the feet are consistently black and the toes cream.

The tail can be portrayed in a Z-shape (pointing towards the next feline), and rarely in an L-shape (pointing towards the rim of the vessel).

Register 3 is a wide band usually containing a pair of panels, each with similar geometric designs. When the pair of felines is portrayed on pedestal base bowls, this register is attached to or emerges from the upper right side or ear of each feline's head, and the portion of the design next to the ear is consistently black. One exception to this rule also has an unusual cream ring at the neck with a red center. Based on a few specimens preserved from rim to base, similar but larger designs (or alternating with different designs) are also present on the pedestal base. On the other hand, when the feline(s) are portrayed on jars, Register 3 is absent; instead, the panels of designs are depicted on the neck of the jar. However, in other cases the jar's neck contains human severed heads or the Feline-Headed Snake Motifs.

The spaces between the front and back of each feline can be empty, or can have a divider symbol as an isolated geometric design (or rarely two). Each of these dividers is specifically situated in the space below the tail of the first feline and above the front foot of the second. There are no dividers on miniature jars.

When the pair of felines is depicted on a pedestal base bowl, there are two lugs, one at opposite sides of the rim. These lugs, in turn, are consistently situated just above the separation between the tail and body of each feline. When the two felines (or sometimes just a single feline) are portrayed on a miniature or regular sized jar, there can be

one or two vertical handles each at opposite sides of the neck, that are also situated just above the separation between the tail and body of each feline or very close to it. When the felines are depicted on tall oversized jars, there are two horizontal handles each at about the middle and at opposite sides of the jar's body, and situated below the tail of the feline(s). Consequently, such a consistent correspondence indicates that both lugs and handles are used as markers to accurately judge the space allowed for the depiction of each feline.

Model B Felines (Figure 335)

This model applies primarily to Class II felines, but also to some Class III and IV felines. Instead of Registers 1 and 2, the entire body possesses nested diamonds or nested parallelograms with red centers (sometimes resembling nested rectangles) that form two or three aligned or loosely aligned rows. The diamonds are usually separate but can touch one another on their sides. Sometimes small black triangles (likely representing the corners of parallelograms or diamonds) fill in the edges or periphery of the body.

The feline's body is cream and serves as a background for the nested diamonds. Sometimes additional black painted dashed lines surround and are parallel to the sides of the diamonds.

An element is present just below the feline's neck consisting of two round areas, usually red, separated by, usually, black. For ease of reference this neck element will be called a "bow tie." Generally, felines having this "bow tie" neck element also have a straight incision representing the feline's closed mouth. A few Model B felines have the horizontal mouth open with or without teeth/fangs.

A continuous black narrow band surrounds or delimits the feline's outer chest, lower body and tail, and terminates at the tail's tip in a semi-circle. The tail is portrayed only in a Z-shape, pointing to the next feline. On miniature effigy jars, however, the tail is straight, modelled, and extends to the rim forming a handle. Regular sized effigy jar tails were not preserved. As in Model A, the feet are consistently black and the toes cream.

Register 3 is in the same position on pedestal base bowls as in Model A, and also contains a pair of panels each with similar designs; similar but larger designs are present on the pedestal base. However, when the feline(s) is portrayed on jars, Register 3 is absent; instead, the neck of the jar possesses a band containing panels of human severed heads.

The spaces between the front and back of each feline can be empty or have a divider symbol as an isolated geometric design (or rarely two different designs occur together), situated between the tail of the first feline and the chest of the other. In addition, based on the available sample, there are no dividers on miniature jars.

As in Model A, when two felines are depicted on a pedestal base bowl, a lug is situated on the rim just above the separation between the tail and body of each feline. On the other hand, jars containing felines are too fragmentary to determine the location of the vertical handle(s).

CLASSIFICATION OF FELINE STANCES

The feline is usually portrayed in pairs chasing each other, and rarely by itself. From the viewer's point of view, the tail is at the left and head at the right. Usually the body and rear feet/legs are in profile, while the head, chest, and sometimes the front legs/feet are in front view, although in some cases the entire body, head, and feet are in profile. The feet are consistently black with toes/claws in cream. There is usually a red band at the ankle of the front left foot or on all feet when the feline is not resting. Furthermore, in most cases when the felines are depicted on pedestal base bowls they occupy the bowl portion, and rarely occupy the entire exterior from rim to bottom (the latter cases are shared with the Feline Man Theme on pedestal base bowls).

The following section deals with the classification of stances derived from the specimens having sufficient information preserved. This classification shows nine positions present in all kinds of felines, including those with body in profile and head in front view or also in profile, anthropomorphized felines with body in profile and head in front view possessing a human arm with clenched fist, and three-dimensional modeled feline effigies. The major attributes employed in this classification include shape of the narrow band bordering the lower body; position of the feet, toes, heels, ankle bands; and presence or absence of knees and/or legs.

Basically, both regular and anthropomorphized felines share three general positions which include <u>resting</u>, <u>standing</u>, and <u>running</u>, and each with additional combinations or variations. The number of feet also varies according to the stance: from three to four in the

standing/running combination for felines with heads in front view, three for running felines with head in profile or front view, three for resting felines with heads in front view, and two for running or resting anthropomorphized felines which always have the head in front view. The position of the heels, toes, feet, knees, and legs varies in each stance or are combined in a single stance. Furthermore, when the feet are depicted in profile there are three toes (with one exception containing four on a single foot), but when the feet are in front view the number of toes is always four.

The line drawings of stances (Figures 336-337) were traced directly from the original, more complete specimens, or reconstructed based on several related fragments. Each position was then redrawn horizontally and reduced to about the same size for visual comparability. These positions will be referred to here, as well as in the analysis of the different classes and groups, as Feline Stance 1, 2, 3, 4, etc., in order to avoid lengthy and repetitious descriptions of each stance in the text. The following section describes the nine feline stances based on the analysis of the different attributes employed in the classification. The reader should be reminded that when a reference is made to a right or left foot, it refers to the feline's right or left feet and is not from the viewer's point of view.

Feline Stance 1: Corresponding to felines with body in profile and head in front view (Figure 336, 1). In this stance the narrow band at the lower body is horizontal, dropping down below the chest to ground level, then borders the chest. A total of three feet in profile are arranged in the following way: The right front is tip toe with the heel held horizontally, as is the right rear foot, while the left front

usually has a red ankle band emerging horizontally from the lower chest that terminates in a drawn-in foot without the heel. In addition, both the ankle band and drawn-in foot are at ground level. Such a stance depicts the feline in a resting position.

Feline Stance 2: Corresponding to felines with body in profile and head in front view (Figure 336-2). The narrow band at the lower body recurves twice to form the bent knees of the rear legs, then horizontally continues and borders the chest. There are four feet, each with red ankle bands, that are arranged in the following way: The two front ones are front view, slightly apart under the chest, and in relief, while the two rear ones are in profile and tip toe with heel held at about 45 degrees. Such a stance makes the feline's front feet in a passively standing position, while the rear ones are in an initial running position.

Feline Stance 3: Corresponding to felines with body in profile and head in front view (Figure 336, 3). The shape of the narrow band and position of most of the feet are similar to the previously described stance, except the rear knee is further bent almost to ground level, and the heel of the back foot is almost vertical, a position which resembles one foot of the Feline Man (see section dealing with the Feline Man Theme). The two front feet are together and in relief. Such a stance is similar to the previous one having front feet in a passively standing position, but only one rear foot is in an initial running position and the other rear foot would appear to be in a more actively running position.

Feline Stance 4: Corresponding to felines with body in profile and head in front view (Figure 336, 4). The narrow band drops on both sides of a

single rear foot and drops again to form a step between the two front feet. It then forms a sharp angle before continuing to border the chest. The number of feet is three, each with red ankle bands and arranged as follows: The two front ones are in relief in front view and held wide apart under the chest, while a single right foot at the rear is in profile and tip toe with the heel held horizontally. This last foot is further drawn into the body. Such a stance makes the feline's front feet in a passively standing position, while the single rear one is in an initial running position.

Feline Stance 5: Corresponding to effigy felines where the entire body is modelled and in three dimensions (Figure 336, 5). Felines depicted in three dimensions lack the narrow band, but the four feet have the red ankle band. The four toes are cream and the feet are usually black. Here the four modelled feet emerge directly from the lower body and rest flat on the ground. Such a stance depicts the feline in a passively standing position.

Feline Stance 6: Corresponding to felines with both the body and head in profile (Figure 337, 6). The narrow band has two turns which follow the bent knees at both rear legs. The leg farthest back is even further bent down and the heel of this foot is almost vertical, similar to that in Feline Stance 3 above, and again reminiscent of one foot of the Feline Man. The narrow band forms a stepped design separating the front foot, and then it curves upward to border the chest. The number of feet in felines with head and body in profile is always three, and all of them are shown in profile, tip toe, and possess red ankle bands. The single front foot would correspond to the right leg. Such a stance makes the feline in an actively running position.

Feline Stance 7: Corresponding to anthropomorphized felines with body in profile and head in front view (Figure 337, 7). The shape of the narrow band is very much like that in Feline Stance 1 above; that is, it is horizontal below the body and then drops down under the chest to ground level. However, before turning up to border the chest or shoulder, the band makes a turn onto the chest to accommodate the human arm. Only anthropomorphized felines possess two feet; the rear one here is reconstructed, but the other foot is in profile and tip toe, with the heel horizontal. Furthermore, replacing what would be the left front foot, is a human left arm with a red wrist band and clinched fist bent at the wrist. In addition, the hand is also black with four fingers terminating in cream, and the arm appears drawn into the chest without an elbow. Such a stance would make the anthropomorphized feline in a resting position.

Feline Stance 8: Corresponding to anthropomorphized felines with body in profile and head in front view (Figure 337, 8). The narrow band borders what would be a pair of legs bent at the knee and held relatively close together, then borders the human arm which is bent at the elbow, continues below the wrist band, and turns up to follow the chest or shoulder. As in other anthropomorphized felines, only two feet are depicted, and, along with the two legs, may indicate the more anthropomorphized nature of the feline. The two feet are depicted in profile with red ankle bands, and the heels are slightly bent and held at about 45 degrees. Only the rear toes of each foot touch the ground. In addition, the human arm and hand are similar to the previous one described above, but they extend farther beyond the chest or shoulder.

Such a stance would make the anthropomorphized feline in a more actively running position with toes barely touching the ground.

Feline Stance 9: Corresponding to anthropomorphized felines with body in profile and head in front view (Figure 337, 9). The narrow band borders what would be the knee in front of or above each foot, but the rear leg bends further down. The narrow band drops to form a stepped design between the widely spaced legs, goes upward and then appears to drop down twice, and returns to follow the arm and chest or shoulder. The usual two feet present only on anthropomorphized felines are also tip toe in profile with red ankle bands, and the heel of the rear foot is held vertically. The position of the two feet is also like that of the two rear feet in Feline Stances 3 and 6. The human arm and hand replicates those in previous anthropomorphized felines. Such a stance would make the feline in an initial running position.

CLASSIFICATION OF FRONT VIEW FELINE HEADS

Classification resulted in 12 kinds of feline heads, incorporating the variability present in all the feline heads in the collection. These groups will be indicated in the text as Feline Head 1, 2, 3, 4, etc., followed by a letter to indicate additional variations in each group.

In the majority of cases, the front view portrayal of the head is in appliquéd relief with the ears at or slightly above the rim of pedestal base bowls, or just below the neck in jars. The slightly ovoidal-shaped face has markings and other attributes which are combined in the three colors, and include broad, regular, and thin incisions. Sometimes additional painted or incised dashes or dots are present in

different areas of the face, and white or green post-fire paint is preserved within some of the incisions. Although rare, the middle portion within each ear may be excised, and the eyes may be carved out, likely for the insertion of shaped stones. Furthermore, there is a small number of heads that are portrayed in front view or profile, but not in appliqué relief. These two-dimensional pieces are described within their corresponding classes and groups.

Attributes which characterize feline heads, along with some variations, include:

a) Red band surrounding the ovoidal divided eyes; rarely eyes may also be carved out.

b) Face markings at the upper and lower portions of the eyes, which are usually zigzag bands in black or black with red. Frequently between upper and lower markings and coming from the upper, outer side of each eye is a triangular to oval red, cream, or black area, sometimes with an incised dash. A few other kinds of face markings also occur.

c) Rounded or more rectangular nose in black and higher relief, with black extending onto the middle of the upper lip (or rarely red). The forehead between face markings is usually cream and may have incised or painted dashes, or rarely diamonds. The bridge of the nose is usually red or sometimes black.

d) Sub-rectangular snout or area around the mouth in cream (rarely also black or with painted whiskers or the dark lines from which whiskers emanate).

e) Four kinds of mouth formed by incision and/or grooving: Reversed U-shaped mouth formed by a horizontal incision with vertical extensions at both sides, straight mouth represented by a horizontal incision, open mouth with teeth and fangs, and open mouth with tongue.

f) Semicircular, forward facing ears with cream centers that are bordered by a narrow black band (rarely the middle portion can also be excised or red). The black band sometimes continues under the cream centers of the ears. Most ears are separate, but sometimes the black upper or lower band joins the two ears. Rarely ears are depicted as though they are turned outward, in side view.

Attributes that are closely associated with the heads, but are not included in their classification, include:

g) Sometimes additional bands or appendages that emerge from between the ears, border each ear, extend to the outer portion of the ear, and terminate in a rectangle or in an smaller animal head like the feline-headed snake.

h) On pedestal base bowls, Register 3, that is, a horizontal band emerging from the side of the feline's right ear that extends towards the tail. This band usually has two adjoining rectangular panels, each containing identical geometric designs. Usually these or similar panels are also repeated at the pedestal portion of the vessel, but may be combined with different designs. Some felines also have an additional horizontal band with identical designs emerging from the opposite ear.

For purposes of classification, however, the diverse attributes present on the head itself (especially the face markings) have been selected as primary attributes, followed by the combinations of colors. Size variations such as oversized, regular, and miniature heads have not been included in this classification. Hence, all heads, including miniature and oversized, have been reproduced at about the same size for visual comparability (Figures 338-344). The following section deals with the classification of 12 kinds of heads (indicated by numbers), most of which have additional variations (indicated by small letters following the numbers).

Feline Head 1a (Figure 338, 1a). This exceptional piece is distinguished by a specific kind of face marking and a straight open mouth with teeth and fangs. The face markings consist of three zigzag narrow bands, a red flanked by two black bands, from the ears to the middle and above each eye. From here, each of the black bands alone extends to both sides of the eyes forming a small triangular area that is excised. At the lower and outer corners of the eyes the two black zigzag bands emerge and again flank a red band, continuing onto the lower sides of the face. These face markings resemble those on the Feline Man that wears the feline pelt.

There are eight teeth, four above and four below between the fangs, and four on the right, and four on the left of the fangs, two above and two below in each case. The lips and teeth are red. The centers of the ears are also excised.

Feline Head 1b (Figure 338, 1b). This fragmentary piece is incomplete and may have come from an effigy vessel. Like Feline Head 1a it has part of what appears to have been an eye marking that is pointed toward the nose. It has a black snout and black stripe down the nose. The straight mouth is open showing crossed fangs and teeth, only two teeth above and below between the fangs and one above and below on each side. The lips are red.

Feline Heads 2. All specimens have diagnostic face markings consisting of three zigzag narrow bands, a red flanked by two black bands, above the eye, that continue at the lower and outer corner of the eye, and extend onto the lower sides of the face. Mouths are U-shaped except on 2d heads, and the centers of the ears are cream where preserved. Head 2e is flat rather than in relief.

Feline Head 2a (Figure 338, 2a). A plain red triangle at the upper and outer corner of each eye, black painted dots at the forehead and upper corners of the face, and a pair of black oblique lines painted on each side of the nose above the mouth in a manner of whiskers are distinguishing attributes of this head. Secondary attributes include a narrow horizontal black band between the face and ears and a red rectangle between the eyes.

Feline Head 2b (Figure 339, 2b). The forehead and red triangles at the upper corners of the eyes contain incised dashes, and the red space between the eyes is divided in two.

Feline Head 2c (Figure 338, 2c). This head is characterized by a straight mouth and a dash in the red triangular elements at the upper and outer corners of the eyes. There are red triangles between the eyes.

Feline Head 2d (Figure 338, 2d). There are no additional incised or painted dashes or whiskers.

Feline Head 2e (Figure 339, 2e). This incomplete head is not in relief and is most like Feline Head 2d in face markings. However, a black band encircles the face, and the ears are not separated from the face by a horizontal incision.

Feline Heads 3. These heads have the same three zigzag bands above the eye, a red band flanked by two black bands, but the bands at the lower and outer corner of the eye differ. These consist of two black zigzag bands above a third red area not in zigzag surrounding the snout. Mouths are straight except for Feline Heads 3c and 3h.

Feline Head 3a (Figure 339, 3a). The colors are lacking on this badly preserved, but elaborate, appliquéd head. It possesses two nested diamonds on the forehead and a dash in the rough triangles at the upper corners of the eyes. A deep groove forms the straight mouth, and eye sockets are deeply carved out concavities with a small, incomplete perforation in the center, likely for the insertion of a shaped stone inlay.

Feline Head 3b (Figure 339, 3b). This head has black painted dashes at the forehead, an incised dash in each red area at the upper corners of the eyes, and two pairs of black painted diagonal lines for whiskers or whisker markings above the straight mouth and at either side of the nose. There are two red areas above the nose.

Feline Head 3c (Figure 339, 3c). This head possesses a U-shaped mouth, has incised dashes on the forehead, and has plain red elements at the upper corners of the eyes. The ears are excised and the black band above the face connects them.

Feline Head 3d (Figure 339, 3d). This head is distinguished by its straight, open mouth having teeth and crossed fangs. The number and position of the teeth are the same as those in Feline Head 1a. There are cream lips in relief around the mouth, a dash in the red element at the upper corners of the eyes, and excised ears.

Feline Head 3e (Figure 339, 3e). This head has an incised dash in the red triangles at the upper corners of the eyes and two pairs of black painted diagonal lines for whiskers or whisker markings above the straight mouth and at either side of the nose. Two heads in this group lack whiskers. There are two red triangles above the nose.

Feline Head 3f (Figure 340, 3f). This head with straight mouth possesses a semicircular element of cream nested within red at the upper corners of the eyes. Two of the black zigzag bands above the eye extend onto the nose where there is a cream horizontal band above the red nose. This kind of red semicircular element at the upper corners of the eyes was also present on two incomplete specimens that did not belong to Feline Head Group 3, but lacked enough detail to place them elsewhere. One had two black zigzag bands above the eye as in Feline Heads 4 and 5. The other, with black nested in the red semicircular element, had a red zigzag band flanked by two black ones under the eye as in Feline Heads 1, 2, and 4.

Feline Head 3g (Figure 340, 3g). This head with straight mouth shows a preponderant use of black. The triangle at the upper corner of

the eye is black and contains an incision, two of the black zigzag bands above the eye extend to near the tip of the red nose, and there is an additional horizontal black band under the ears similar to that in Feline Head 2a.

Feline Head 3h (Figure 340, 3h). This head has a U-shaped mouth and plain red elements at the upper corners of the eye. The centers of the ears appear to be red. The worn areas are likely black as occurs on a better preserved piece that has cream ear centers.

Feline Heads 4. These heads are characterized by having two zigzag bands above the eye and three below or to one side of the eye. Head 4b is flat rather than in relief.

Feline Head 4a (Figure 340, 4a). This head is distinguished by only two parallel black zigzag bands above the eye and a red band flanked by two black bands below the eye. The mouth is U-shaped, and the semicircular element at the upper and outer corner of the eye is cream. Of secondary importance, the ears are joined by the black band that borders them, and there is a red rectangular area between the eyes above the nose.

Feline Head 4b (Figure 340, 4b). This head is flat, but resembles Feline Head 4a closely. It differs in having the two bands above the eye in red and black, the semicircular element at the upper corner of the eye in red, and a vertical dash on the forehead. The eyes are more squared as is the U-shaped mouth.

Feline Heads 5. This group of heads differs from previous ones in being characterized by having only two black zigzag bands both above and below the eyes. However, like Feline Heads 3, most have a third area

near the mouth in red, but not zigzag, that gives the impression of an additional band. Only Feline Heads 5j-k do not have this red area. Mouths are U-shaped except for 5d and h. Only Feline Heads 5g-i, and k do not have elements at the upper and outer corners of the eyes.

Feline Head 5a (Figure 341, 5a). This head with U-shaped mouth has an incised dash on the forehead, in the red rectangle between the eyes, and in the red semicircular element at the upper corner of the eye.

Feline Head 5b (Figure 341, 5b). This head with U-shaped mouth has an incised dash on the forehead and a dash within the cream semicircular elements at the upper corners of the eyes. There is a red band on the nose.

Feline Head 5c (Figure 341, 5c). This head with U-shaped mouth has an incised dash within the red elements at the upper and outer corners of the eyes. There are two small red triangles on the nose.

Feline Head 5d (Figure 341, 5d). This head is like Feline Head 5c, but with a straight mouth and a red rectangular area between the eyes.

Feline Head 5e (Figure 341, 5e). This head with U-shaped mouth is like Feline Head 5f, but with a vertical dash on the forehead and cream triangular areas between the eyes.

Feline Head 5f (Figure 341, 5f). This head with U-shaped mouth is like Feline Head 5b, but the semicircular elements at the upper and outer corners of the eyes are red and lack the incised dash. The two small triangles on the nose are joined. Rarely, in two examples, the centers of the ears are red or, in one case, the black areas over the ears extend between them to join them.

Feline Head 5g (Figure 342, 5g). This badly preserved piece with U-shaped mouth lacks the semicircular elements at the upper corners of the eyes, but has two incised dashes on the forehead. The small rectangle below the nose appears to be red, and the usual additional field between the eyes on the nose is absent.

Feline Head 5h (Figure 342, 5h). This head is identical to Feline Head 5g except that the mouth is straight and the centers of the ears are excised.

Feline Head 5i (Figure 342, 5i). This head with U-shaped mouth also lacks the elements at the upper and outer corners of the eyes. There is a red rectangular area between the eyes, and the two zigzag bands in this example emerge horizontally from the sides of the eyes.

Feline Head 5j (Figure 342, 5j). Unlike previous examples, the usual red space nearest the U-shaped mouth is absent, and the two black bands above and below the eyes are straight. The red elements at the upper and outer corners of the eyes are triangular, and there is a red area on the nose.

Feline Head 5k (Figure 342, 5k). Like Feline Head 5j, the red area near the U-shaped mouth is absent, but the elements at the upper corners of the eyes are also lacking.

Feline Head 6 (Figure 342, 6). This head is fragmentary and could belong to Feline Head 5f, but it has several attributes that strongly suggest it belongs to this unique group 6. The two parallel zigzag black bands that usually come from the lower corners of the eyes instead come from the circular element at the upper corner of the eye. Furthermore, there is an additional zigzag line that does come from the

lower corner of the eye, showing that there was at least one additional zigzag band closer to the mouth, making a total of perhaps six such bands on each half of the face instead of four. The red field in the upper quarter of the face is also unusually large. Finally, the relief of this head is very low.

Feline Heads 7. These heads are distinguished by having two bands coming from the lower portion of each eye, and a horizontal red field across the entire upper third of the face. There is a horizontal band above the face and under the ears that connects the widely spaced ears. Mouths are U-shaped.

Feline Head 7a (Figure 343, 7a). This head has horizontal incised dashes in the entire upper red field. There are two black zigzag bands coming from the lower corner of the eye and each contains a punctated dot at the lower portion of each band. The ears and horizontal band under them are cream and an unusual semicircular grooved line in the center of the ear replaces the usual semicircular area.

Feline Head 7b (Figure 343, 7b). This badly preserved piece is similar to the previous one but with additional variations. The plain red field across the upper face is delimited by a horizontal incision from a cream area below it at the sides of the face. There are two bands below the eye, one a red zigzag band, and the other, not zigzag, appears to be black. The area bordering and joining the ears is worn, and the centers of the ears are cream semicircular areas.

Feline Heads 8. These heads have two bands below the eye, and in 8b a T-shaped area forming eyebrow and nose. In 8a an incomplete relief over the eyes appears to be similar. Both 8a and b have black faces, but in many other attributes they differ considerably.

Feline Head 8a (Figure 343, 8a). This unique head is based on badly worn fragments likely from the same vessel. The ears appear to be feline with a black semicircular center, and the straight oval relief mouth is somewhat similar to the straight open mouths with relief lips and teeth, but the face lacks a snout around the mouth. There are two parallel curved bands coming from the lower portion of the more squared eye which has a deep cavity, likely for a stone inlay. The rest of the face, apparently black, appears plain except for a curved relief above the eye.

Feline Head 8b (Figure 343, 8b). This head is flat rather than in relief. The attributes are based on two incomplete but complementary fragments that appear to possess the same kind of head. The face is black except for two cream zigzag bands coming from under the eye. One red area forms the curved eyebrows, the narrow bridge of the nose, and the round nose. There is also a red area under the nose. The black ears are not separated by an incision from the face and they have cream centers. The squared mouth is U-shaped.

Feline Head 9 (Figure 343, 9). The colors of this head are not well preserved. There is one band above and one band below each eye, the lower ones apparently red. The mouth is U-shaped.

Feline Head 10 (Figure 344, 10). The face of this head is entirely red above the cream snout and there is an incised square at the upper corner of the face. There are no bands above or below the eyes. It has a black nose and area under it, and the mouth is U-shaped.

Feline Heads 11. This group of heads shows unusual attributes not present in any of the previous heads. The faces are entirely one color, black on those with colors preserved. On more complete specimens, a

cream band emerges from between the eyes, continues directly on top of the eye, and extends to the side of the head like eyebrows. It is plain or terminates in a wavy element divided into three segments that may be on the face or extend outside it. Another cream band is present below the eye that terminates in a circular area which is plain or is a stylized head, either on or outside the face. The wavy element and stylized head are similar to elements associated with the Feline Man Theme. Heads 11a and b have unusual curved open mouths with a tongue. Ears do not have a horizontal incision separating them from the face.

Feline Head 11a (Figure 344, 11a). The colors on this head are not well preserved. The upper band curving above the eye terminates on the face in a wavy element that has three segments. The lower band below the eye terminates on the face in a circular stylized head with an inverted V under its eyes. The open mouth of the feline is curved upward and a relief tongue is present. The ears are slightly tilted like those on Feline Head 11d.

Feline Head 11b (Figure 344, 11b). This oversized head is most like Feline Head 11a, but the zigzag red band below the eye terminates on the face in a plain circular element. The face is black and the mouth is open with a relief tongue emerging from it (colors are not preserved). Two of the three segments of the wavy element at the end of the eyebrow-like band are red. The ears with cream semicircular centers are in the more usual feline position, although very slightly slanted.

Feline Head 11c (Figure 344, 11c). Although the head is poorly preserved, attributes present show it belongs to the Feline Head 8 group. The upper band curving above the eye is cream on the face, continues and apparently widens into two red bands outside the head, and

terminates in a zigzag element divided into three segments. Four painted bands run across this element, beginning with red nearest the head and alternating with cream. The lower band below the eye is cream on the face, extends beyond it (color not preserved), and terminates in a round stylized head. This head, oriented on its side, is cream above and red below the inverted V separation, and eyes and mouth are single incised lines. These two end elements are the same as those on Feline Head 11a, but differ in being located outside the feline head, resembling streamers. The face is black and the ears are in the more usual feline position and with cream semicircular centers. Although the snout is broken, the preserved portion of the mouth shows it is straight.

Feline Head 11d (Figure 344, 11d). This head has a cream band curving over each eye that lacks an end element. The cream band under the eye ends in a plain red circular area just outside the face on the feline's chest. The ears, with cream semicircular centers, are widely separated, lower on the head, and slanted. The face is black and the mouth is straight.

Feline Head 12 (Figure 344, 12). This kind of head is most unlike any of the previously described heads. It may represent another kind of feline, a feline in another attitude, or some other animal. The high relief and widely separated ears are uniquely turned so they face to the sides, rather than forward, and there is no incision separating them from the face. The portion above the head and between the ears has an unusual relief in cream, which gradually declines towards the nose. Beginning at the side of this high relief on top of the head, there is a black triangle which extends towards and rests above the eye. A wide

black band emerges from under the eye, extends towards the side of the mouth, and sharply turns upward to the side of the face. Additional black semicircular elements are present at the upper and outer corners of the eyes. Aside from the black tip of the nose and band extending to the lip/mouth, the rest of the face and ears are cream. Finally, the mouth is U-shaped.

CLASSIFICATION OF NECK ELEMENTS

There are basically two kinds of elements that are pendant from or at the neck of the felines, rings and "bow-ties." What primarily varies are their colors. These elements are classified as follows:

Neck Elements 1. These elements are all rings in front view. The rings are often ovoidal.

Neck Element 1a (Figure 345, 1a). The rings is red with a cream center. There are variations in the shape of the vertical band that connects the ring to the center of the neck. It may be rectangular, either short or long, or trapezoidal with the wide side at the top or at the bottom. Sometimes the incision at the top of the ring that delineates it from the vertical band is absent.

Neck Element 1b (Figure 345, 1b). The "ring" is a rectangular band oriented horizontally with a cream center and a vertical connecting band (color not preserved).

Neck Element 1c (Figure 345, 1c). The red ring has a cream center and a cream vertical connecting band.

Neck Element 1d (Figure 345, 1d). The ring and vertical connecting band are red, and the center of the ring is black.

Neck Element 1e (Figure 345, 1e). The ring and vertical connecting band are black, and the center of the ring is red.

Neck Element 1f (Figure 345, 1f). The ring and vertical connecting band are cream, and the center of the ring is red.

Neck Element 1g (Figure 345, 1g). The red ring has a concave center, likely for a stone inlay. The color of the vertical connecting band is not preserved.

Neck Element 1h (Figure 345, 1h). The ring, on an all black sherd, has an excised center.

Neck Elements 2. All of these ring pendants emerge from the front of the necks of profile view felines, but the depiction of the rings remains in front view. They all have long connecting bands resembling ropes, but when preserved, the rope does not continue around the entire neck. The connecting band is wider at the ring and tapers forward the neck.

Neck Element 2a (Figure 345, 2a). The black ring has a red center. The long curved connecting band has five slightly diagonal stripes, beginning with cream at the ring, alternating with black, and ending with cream at the neck.

Neck Element 2b (Figure 345, 2b). The black ring has a cream center and the long connecting band is diagonally striped, black alternating with cream, beginning with cream at the ring.

Neck Element 2c (Figure 345, 2c). The ring is not preserved, but the long, curved connecting band is striped with chevrons, beginning with cream at the neck and alternating with black. Four chevrons are preserved.

Neck Elements 3. These elements are all "Bow-ties" consisting of two roughly circular or semicircular areas, one on each side of an area of a different color or separated by a vertical band connecting the elements to the center of the neck.

Neck Element 3a (Figure 345, 3a). The two circular or roughly circular areas are red and separated by an irregularly shaped black area. There is no vertical connecting band.

Neck Element 3b (Figure 345, 3b). The two semicircular areas are red with a small circular punctation in the center of each. They are separated by a black rectangle that forms the vertical connecting element.

Neck Element 3c (Figure 345, 3c). The two semicircular areas are red, separated by a black vertical connecting band. The lower end of this band is curved.

Neck Element 3d (Figure 345, 3d). The two semicircular areas are black and are separated by a red rectangular connecting band.

Neck Element 3e (Figure 345, 3e). The two semicircular areas are red and separated by a cream area. Above an incision, the cream continues in a long rectangular connecting band.

Neck Element 3f (Figure 345, 3f). The two semicircular areas are red and are separated by a long connecting band. This rectangular band has chevrons alternating in black with cream, suggesting a rope.

What these neck elements actually depict is not clear, but some observations may be made. The center color of the rings is not the same color as the feline's body against which it rests, as though suggesting it is not simply a ring. The neck elements of the profile felines seem more revealing, and appear to suggest a kind of rope, although not

around the neck. Instances of two profile camelids facing one another (see section dealing with Camelid Motifs), each with a neck pendant attached to the same ring between them give the impression of tethering to control the animals. These feline neck elements may also have been related to tethering or control over these supernatural felines.

CLASSIFICATION OF GEOMETRIC DESIGNS IN REGISTER 3 AND OUTSIDE THE FELINES' BODY

These geometric, mostly rectilinear, designs are present on most fragments containing Feline Motifs, and are found at specific locations on pedestal base bowls, different kinds of jars, and trumpets. Their identification permits the association of these designs with the different classes and groups of felines, and helps to incorporate more fragmentary pieces into Feline Motifs.

On pedestal base bowls geometric designs occur in Register 3, usually within a pair of adjoining horizontal rectangular panels that emerge from the feline's right ear (or sometimes from both sides), extend above the body, and terminate above the tail. Rows of larger panels containing identical geometrical designs (or sometimes combined with different designs) are repeated on the entire pedestal portion of the same vessel. On jars, the panels with geometric designs are usually located on the neck of the jar. On trumpets, a row of geometric designs occurs on the raised band in the middle of the trumpet, as well as on the bell portion.

Each group in the following classification is indicated by a capital letter, and those with minor variations within each group are identified by small letters following the capital letter.

Feline Geometric Design Aa (in panels, Figure 346, Aa). This design consists of opposing single-stepped blocks, with an additional L-shaped incision within each block. The block at the left is cream and the one at the right is black.

Feline Geometric Design Ab (in panels, Figure 346, Ab). This design is the same as Aa, but it is associated with black sherds which lack colors.

Feline Geometric Design Ac (in panels, Figure 346, Ac). This design is the mirror image of design Aa.

Feline Geometric Design B (in panels, Figure 346, B). This design also consists of opposing single-stepped blocks, but with an additional L-shaped red area nested within each block. The left block is cream and the right one is black.

Feline Geometric Design Ca (in panels, Figure 346, Ca). This design consists of opposing double-stepped blocks with a red rectangle or square within the widest portion of each block. The block at the left is cream and the one at the right is black.

Feline Geometric Design Cb (in panels, Figure 346, Cb). This design is the same as Ca, but the colors are reversed so that the left block is black and the right is cream.

Feline Geometric Design Cc (in panels, Figure 346, Cc). This design is the mirror image of Ca above.

Feline Geometric Design D (in panels, Figure 347, D). This design consists of plain, opposing double-stepped blocks. The left block is cream and the right is black.

Feline Geometric Design E (in panels, Figure 347, E). This design consists of opposing double-stepped blocks within an L-shaped incision within each block. The left block is black and the right is cream.

Feline Geometric Design F (in panels, Figure 347, F). This design consists of plain, opposing double-stepped blocks separated by a double-stepped red field or zigzag. The left block is cream and the right is black.

Feline Geometric Design Ga (in panels, Figure 347, Ga). This design consists of opposing, nested double-stepped blocks. A double-stepped red block is nested within the cream double-stepped block on the left and within a black one on the right.

Feline Geometric Design Gb (in panels, Figure 347, Gb). The series of panels combine two different designs. A series of panels containing design group Ga around the pedestal base is interrupted by a different, but related, panel that is positioned under the feline's head. On the different panel the cream double-stepped block on the left is mirrored by a black one on the right and both have red double-stepped blocks nested within them. Above and between these stepped blocks there is a narrow stepped band, alternating in black on the left and cream on the right, which in turn bounds a stepped red field with a T-shaped incision in its center.

Feline Geometric Design Gc (in panels, Figure 347, Gc). The same design panels are combined as those in Gb, but the panel with stepped blocks in mirror image has a red stepped field between them that contains a broad, excised T-shaped design.

Feline Geometric Design Gd (in panels, Figure 348, Gd). The same design panels are combined as those in Gb, but colors are reversed.

Feline Geometric Design H (in panels and on a cream background, Figure 348, H). Two panels with the same design, but in different colors, are combined. The design is a reclining-S, formed by a continuous band around an incised S that terminates in inward-facing double-stepped blocks having a square within each. In one panel the band is black and the squares are cream, while in the other panel the band is red and the squares are black.

Feline Geometric Design I (in panels and on a cream background, Figure 348, I). This design is a reclining-S formed by a red area nested within a continuous black band that terminates in inward-facing double-stepped blocks. A red ring with a black center occurs at each end of the S.

Feline Geometric Design Ja (in panels and on a cream background, Figure 348, Ja). This design is the same as I above, except it lacks the ring at each end of the S. In this case, the ends of the S touch the diagonal central portion of the S.

Feline Geometric Design Jb (in panels and on a cream background, Figure 348, Jb). This design is the same as Ja, but it is a reclining-Z.

Feline Geometric Design K (in panels and on a cream background, Figure 348, K). This design is like a reclining-Z, but it is formed by a single black band on the right interlocked with a cream band on the left. As each band turns inward it ends in a double-stepped block having an additional red rectangle at the corner.

Feline Geometric Design L (in panels and on a cream background, Figure 349, L). This design is a reclining-Z formed by a black band on the right interlocking with a cream band on the left that are separated

by a red band which terminated in a double-stepped block at each end. As the black and cream bands turn inward they border the red double-stepped block.

Feline Geometric Design Ma (probably in panels, Figure 349, Ma). This design consists of a continuous series of wave-like interlocking scrolls formed by a single incised line and having incised triangles above and below within each scroll. Lower scrolls face right. This design is based on a piece from Kidder's 1955 excavations that lacks colors. The sherd is not included here, however.

Feline Geometric Design Mb (probably in panels, Figure 349, Mb). This design is incomplete, from a fragmentary piece, but may represent the reverse of Ma so that lower scrolls face left.

Feline Geometric Design N (in a row, Figure 349, N). This design consists of a series of opposing triangles, the upper row red and the lower row black, that are separated by two parallel zigzag bands, the one next to the red triangle black and the one next to the black triangle cream.

Feline Geometric Design O (in a row, Figure 349, O). The design consists of a series of opposing nested triangles, cream alternating with black, each with a red triangle within it.

Feline Geometric Design Pa (in a row, Figure 349, Pa). The design consists of a series of connected parallelograms inclined to the right, alternating in cream, black, and red.

Feline Geometric Design Pb (in a row, Figure 349, Pb). The series of connected parallelograms are inclined to the left, and the colors alternate only in cream and black.

DIVIDER SYMBOLS BETWEEN FELINES

These individual geometric designs are usually present in the spaces between the two felines, that is, at the front of the chest of the first feline, and under the tail of the next feline. Based on more complete examples, the same design repeats again in the same position at the next space.

The parallelograms can be positioned diagonally or horizontally, and only one of these (1b, red diamond nested within a black diamond) is identical to the nested diamonds present on Model B felines with cream bodies. The rest of the parallelograms and ovoidal designs are found exclusively as divider symbols between the two felines. In one case two different symbols are present on a single piece, combining a nested parallelogram with remains of a circular design below it.

Included with divider symbols, although not properly a divider, is a checkered cross that occurs alone on the exterior bottom of miniature jars. It has been included here because it is the only other independent design element associated with felines. The checkered cross and its component nested rectangles or squares, also resemble some of the Model A feline body markings. The lunate-shaped incisions of symbol 5 also resemble those on some Model A feline bodies.

The groups in the following classification will be designated by a number, followed by a small letter for those possessing variations in the same group.

Divider Symbol 1a (Figure 350, 1a). This divider consists of a black parallelogram nested within a cream one. In one case the same symbol occurred twice, one between each of the two felines; one is

depicted in such a way that it resembles a nested rectangle and the other a nested diamond.

Divider Symbol 1b (Figure 350, 1b). This reconstructed symbol is preserved at its lower portion, and surely represents nested diamonds, a red diamond nested within a black one.

Divider Symbol 1c (Figure 350, 1c). This symbol consists of a cream diamond nested within a black diamond.

Divider Symbol 2 (Figure 350, 2). The divider is a black diamond with an incised dashed line that looks like a slit in the center along its longer axis. The symbol can be positioned diagonally or horizontally.

Divider Symbol 3 (Figure 350, 3). A single fragment combines a parallelogram (color not preserved) nested on a cream one and oriented horizontally, with the remains of an ovoidal symbol below it, similar to Divider Symbol 4 below. However, the colors are not preserved, and the ovoid appears to have only one set of L-shaped designs rotating counterclockwise.

Divider Symbol 4 (Figure 350, 4). This ovoidal symbol has three incised lines in the shape of a reversed-L that emerge from the outer circle inward. They are evenly spaced and rotate counterclockwise. Three identical elements (reverse-L's) emerge from a central red circle, rotate clockwise, and interlock with the previous ones. The rest of the colors are not preserved.

Divider Symbol 5a (Figure 350, 5a). This ovoidal symbol is divided in half, cream on the left and black on the right. An incised line in the shape of a cross is present between the two fields, and

there is a semicircular or lunate-shaped incised line in each field around the horizontal arm of the cross.

Divider Symbol 5b (Figure 350, 5b). This design is the same as 5a, but the vertical portion of the cross extends to divide the ovoid in half.

Divider Symbol 6 (Figure 350, 6). This ovoidal symbol is divided into four nested segments or quarters around a small red circular area in the center. A cream segment alternates with a black one, and each contains a small red semicircular rectangle. Sometimes a larger version of this divider is associated with felines on oversized jars.

Divider Symbol 7 (Figure 350, 7). This symbol is incompletely preserved and seems to resemble Divider Symbol 6, but is more squared. It appears to have been divided into four fields, each alternating in black and cream with red L-shaped areas nested within each field. The center portion of the design may have had an additional, but smaller, rectangle as well.

Divider Symbol 8 (Figure 350, 8). This geometric symbol is not a true divider, since it occurs by itself on the exterior bottom of four-sided miniature jars. The design consists of a checkered cross formed by four black rectangles having a red rectangle nested within each, and a black rectangle nested within a red rectangle forms the center of the cross.

Divider Symbols 9. These checkered cross are not true dividers since they, or likely a pair of them, occur above a feline head on an oversized beaker. Symbols 9a and 9b may have occurred on the same vessel.

Divider Symbol 9a (Figure 350, 9a). The vertically elongated checkered cross has cream arms and a red center.

Divider Symbol 9b (Figure 350, 9b). The vertically elongated checkered cross has black arms and a red center.

CLASSIFICATION OF FELINE MOTIFS

This section describes each of the four different classes of feline motifs and thye groups into which they were sub-divided, as well as indicates the associated shapes, pastes, wear and smoke patterns, and residues. Only the most complete and diagnostic specimens are illustrated, while the others are included in the discussion of each class. Except for rare or unusual attributes, the general characteristics described above will be referred to here by their corresponding numbers and letters. That is, the reader should refer to Feline Models A and B, the classification of feline stances, heads, neck elements, geometric designs and divider symbols in the previous sections.

FELINE CLASS I

This class of felines follows Model A and includes nine groups labeled from A-I. All class I felines consistently possess a black body with a narrow band bordering the lower body and tail, an inverted U-shaped mouth, and a ring neck element. Groups A-F most closely approximate Model A, while Groups G-I show greater variation from it.

Groups A-F are classified in terms of presence of either one or two registers containing nested rectangles along the upper body and tail, and a black chest and body which can be plain or contain checkered crosses or lunate-shaped designs. The chest, lower body, and tail are

bordered by a narrow cream band (sometimes with short black segments) and the tail terminates in a black or cream semi-circular tip. Additional variability is documented and classified in the following six groups:

Group A has a single register (either Register 1 or 2) and a plain black body that extends under about half of the register or less.

Group B has both Registers 1 and 2 and a the plain black body that usually extends just under Register 2. One specimen is entirely black rather than polychrome.

Group C has both Registers 1 and 2 and a wide black body that extends under the registers and possesses at least one checkered cross.

Group D has only Register 1, and the black body possesses two (or perhaps three) checkered crosses.

Group E has only Register 1, and the black body possesses lunate-shaped elements.

Group F has Registers 1 and 2, and the body (color not preserved) contains larger lunate-like designs.

Specimens pertaining to Groups G-I, relatively rare in comparison to the previous groups, are like Model A, except Registers 1 and 2 have been replaced by two parallel bands, while the black chest and body is maintained. These parallel bands begin at the lower right side of the feline's head, continue onto the tail, and terminate just before reaching the tip of the tail. The black body extends to near the tip of the tail or ends before the beginning of the tail. Additional variability is documented and classified in the following three groups:

Group G has two plain black and red bands, and a plain black body that extends to near the beginning of the tail.

Group H has two plain black and red bands, and the black body that extends onto the tail possesses checkered crosses.

Group I has incised dashes in the two bands and body, and sometimes also in the narrow band bordering the lower body. There are some all black specimens in this groups.

Miscellaneous specimens include fragments which could not be fit with certainty into any of these groups, but possess some attributes characteristic of Class I, Group A-I. Some pieces can be narrowed more specifically to some group within Class I. There is one all black sherd. Finally, pieces which lack the diagnostic front left foot or hand to determine placement into the anthropomorphic Class IV, have been included in Class I because of what seem to be a greater likelyhood for doing so.

Most specimens of Class I are pedestal base bowls. There are also some regular globular jars and miniature globular four-sided jars. In addition, a few trumpet fragments are also present in Model A/Class I, but these specimens are too fragmentary to determine with certainty their specific group.

Feline Class I, Group A: Feline with One Register and Plain Black Body (Figures 351-353).

The diagnostic attribute of this group are the presence of only Register 1 or 2 and a plain black body that extends below about half of the register or much less. All the specimens in this group correspond to polychrome pedestal base bowls, and have paste #1A or #1A(?).

The most complete specimen (Figure 351) possesses Register 1 (because the outer rectancle is black on the nested rectangles next to the feline's face), while the two other specimens (Figures 352-353) have Register 2 (determined by the cream rectangle next to the face) that is much wider and occupies the entire body. In Figure 351, two additional nested rectangles follow the Z-shaped tail.

Specimens in Figures 351 and 352 have neck element 1a as is probably true for the Figure 353 specimen. The neck element in Figure 351 has a

trapezoidal stem, while the other stems are rectangular. In one specimen (Figure 352) there are additional incised dashes on the body surrounding the ring. The narrow cream band following the chest, lower body, and tail changes to black at the point where the tail turns up (with traces of cream next to the black rectangle), and continues to the tip of the tail (Figure 351). However, when the register begins in cream (Register 2), the narrow band under it is black (Figure 352). Based on the most complete specimen (Figure 351), the feline is in a resting position (Stance 1), but the left front foot lacks a red band at the ankle.

All the specimens in this group have Register 3 parallel to the feline's back and separated from it. Register 3 contains panels (two identical panels in Figure 351) corresponding to Geometric Design Ca. The two preserved heads correspond to Feline Head 5f (Figure 352, although the middle portions of the ears are red instead of the usual cream), and 7b (Figure 353). Furthermore, the specimen in Figure 352 has remains of white post-fire paint preserved in a small portion of the incision of the feline's left ear.

The Figure 351 specimen has front portions of a second similar feline. Its head touches the tip of the tail of the previous feline, and there is no divider symbol between the two.

The pedestal portion of the Figure 351 vessel has a series of large panels corresponding to Geometric Design Ga. Calculations of circumference at two points of the pedestal (waist and base) indicate that there were four such panels. Consequently, each feline has two panels on the pedestal and two panels in Register 3.

Feline Class I, Group B: Feline with Registers 1 and 2 and Plain Black Body (Figures 354-361).

The diagnostic attributes of this group are the presence of Registers 1 and 2, and a plain black body that extends a bit under Register 2 or about half way under it. All specimens correspond to pedestal base bowls. One piece (Figure 357) is all black with remains of white post-fire paint in portions of the incisions, and the edges have been extensively used. Most specimens have paste #1A, some #1, and one each of #11 and #14(?).

The best preserved feline (Figure 354) has three nested rectangles in each register, and three more continue into the Z-shaped tail. These bands of nested rectangles have a consistent width in each feline, which also serves to calculate the width of the feline's body, and this feature helps identify the more incomplete specimens. In addition, the width of the black body is narrow, indicating the absence of body markings. One specimen has a short horizontal incision in the center of the red nested rectangle (Figure 356), as does the all black specimen (Figure 357). Furthermore, the black sherd (Figure 357) appears to have dashed incisions at the chest. Most ring neck elements are 1a (e.g., Figure 345), but a few are 1c and 1f. The narrow band surrounding the chest, lower body, and tail is usually cream, and in some cases it becomes black where there is a cream rectangle next to it.

All the felines in this group appear to be in a resting position (Stance 1). Register 3 rests directly on top of the body (Figures 354, 358, and 359) or is separated from it (Figures 355 and 356). This register in Figure 359 lacks incision/designs probably because it is worn or weathered. Another specimen appears to have an additional

Register 3 at the upper left side of the head (Figure 355); however, it might be the result of miscalculation in space and pertain to or extend from the second feline. The designs in Register 3 are Ca (Figure 354), Cb (Figure 355), D (Figure 356), and Aa (Figure 358).

Feline heads include 3h, 4a (Figure 355), 5a (Figure 356), 5c (Figure 354), 5e, 5f (Figure 358), and 5j (Figure 359). Based on more complete specimens, the spaces between the front and back of each feline lack the divider symbols, or include only Divider Symbol 1a in both spaces (Figure 354).

With respect to designs on the pedestal portions, unfortunately there are no specimens preserved from rim to base in this group to determine whether the designs are the same as, similar to, or different from those in Register 3. However, a few specimens with preserved pedestals possess two kinds of adjoining and alternating panels of designs designated as Geometric Design Gc (Figure 360), Gb (Figure 361), and a variation of it Gd not illustrated. Several pedestal sherds that did not have felines preserved were placed in this group because their designs were similar to the known Group B feline pedestal designs. These designs were not found to be associated with other feline groups. Their classification, then, is probable, but not conclusive.

On the pedestal base white post-fire paint is preserved in incisions of the panel containing the T-shaped element (Figure 360), in portions of the feline head and Register 3 (Figure 358); green in incised portions of the step design not illustrated; and red on the black specimen (Figure 357). White post-fire paint is also preserved in parts of the body, tail, feet, and Registers 1 and 2 on specimens not illustrated here.

Feline Class I, Group C: Feline with Registers 1 and 2, and Checkered Cross(es) on a Black Body (Figure 362).

This group is represented by a single specimen pertaining to a regular size globular jar, and at the same time this piece is highly unusual in many respects. For example, the feline head is not in relief, and the cream color is replaced by an orange slip, or the cream was worn or absent. The orange color is commonly found with this relatively rare paste #11.

The attributes which serve to identify this group are the presence of Registers 1 and 2, and at least one checkered cross (orange slip with red in the center) depicted on an unusually wide black body. The cross does not touch Register 2 in contrast to those in Group D. The colors of the rectangles beginning at the right side of the feline's head (which serve to identify Registers 1 and 2) are in reverse--constituting the only case where this rule is changed.

The red ring at the neck (Neck Element 1d) is of an unusual size and shape, and its almost ovoidal central portion is black--also a rare attribute in Pucara. However, the ring is associated with the more usual inverted U-shaped mouth.

Remains of the usual narrow cream band (now orange slip) is still present around the chest. Since the feet and lower body are not preserved, it is difficult to determine the feline's stance with certainty.

Based on calculations of the jar's body circumference, there is plenty of space for two felines, and the remains of a short Z-shaped tail would correspond to the second feline. In addition, the space in

front of the feline has an unusual divider which corresponds to Divider Symbol 7.

The unusual head, corresponding to Feline Head 4b, lacks relief and has rectilinear or rectangular and less symmetrical eyes, nose, and mouth. Likewise, the zigzag bands above the eyes are red and black, and do not follow the regular pattern. In general, however, it follows the Pucara canons. In addition, beginning between the ears there are two bands (the upper half is black and the lower orange), each following the shape above each ear and extending to both sides. This element appears to be part of the Feline Headed Snake Motif (with ears), which is more commonly found in felines depicted on four-sided miniature jars in the next group below--a group also associated with checkered crosses on a black body.

As in other cases, such misunderstanding of the usual conventions of attributes (but still following the general Pucara canons) is associated with a possibly foreign, non-local paste #11. If the paste is non-local, it would indicate that people from other centers or regions (but within the Pucara sphere of interaction or dominion), came or sent to Pucara special pottery (among other things) and participated in the ceremonies and/or were present at Pucara. Consequently, I would favor in this and similar cases the interpretation that such differences in the usual conventions of motifs at Pucara are the result of non-local peoples making and bringing their own vessels, rather than conceiving such differences as a result of purely chronological changes.

Feline Class I, Group D: Feline with Register 1 and Checkered Crosses on a Black Body (Figures 363-374).

This group is distinguished by having Register 1 and checkered crosses on a wide black body, and is overwhelmingly associated with polychrome pedestal base bowls, followed by four-sided miniature jars, and at least one regular size jar. However, the miniature jars are the most complete specimens in terms of shape and motifs (see also Rowe 1974:Figs. 362a and b for a side view of Figure 370). Almost all pastes are #1A and two are #1.

Register 1 (identified by a black rectangle next to the feline's face), contains three (Figures 370 and 373) or four (Figure 374) nested rectangles, which follow the upper body and continues at the rear. Three additional nested rectangles (Figures 373 and 374) or only two (Figure 370) continue into the Z-shaped tail. In addition, all nested rectangles associated with pedestal base bowls appear to have a horizontal incised dashed line in their centers.

The checkered crosses which appear to be always in pairs (Figures 370, 373, and 374), are separate from one another, but their upper and lower portions always touch Register 1 and the narrow band respectively. Each cross is formed by five rectangles, where the outer four are red and the central one is cream, or vice versa. Based on the most complete specimens, these two kinds of crosses are depicted side by side on a single feline, with one exception where the two are entirely red (Figure 374, unless the colors are worn). Furthermore, a single specimen (Figure 366) shows remains of a different kind of cross which is not checkered; here there is an additional incised cross nested in the middle of a red cross.

All the feline specimens in this group possess the usual red 1a neck pendant, and are consistently associated with inverted U-shaped mouths. In one case there is a half circle or lunate-shaped design in cream unusually situated next to the ring (Figure 370).

The narrow cream band surrounding the chest, lower body, and tail also changes to black when next to a cream rectangle (Figure 367), although in the miniature jars it remains cream (Figure 371 and 374, unless worn or weathered) or the entire portion of the tail changes to black (Figure 373). In addition, the shape of the narrow band under the body also serves to identify the resting position of the feline with three feet (Stance 1), and such diagnostic pieces pertain to pedestal base bowls. The standing positions with four feet (Stances 2 and 3) or three feet (Stance 4) are identified on most of the felines portrayed on miniature jars.

Register 3 is always associated with felines on pedestal base bowls and, based on the most complete specimens, includes two panels corresponding to Geometric Design Ca (Figure 363) and Aa (Figures 365, 366, and 368). Although felines on four-sided miniature jars lack this register, similar panels but corresponding to Geometric Design F are present on the jar's neck (Figure 370), or the jar neck has the Feline-Headed Snake Motif (Figure 371).

All the diagnostic feline heads in relief portrayed on pedestal base bowls correspond to Feline Head 5f (Figures 363 and 368); and those on miniature jars are 2d (Figures 370 and 373), or 3h (one unillustrated and possibly Figure 371). Furthermore, above some of the miniature feline ears there are two narrow bands, each emerging between the ears and continuing onto both sides of the head. One such band, but divided

in black and cream, surrounds the preserved ear and terminates at the side in the Feline-Headed Snake Motif (Figure 374, the appliqué head is not preserved but was reconstructed as Feline Head 2d). The feline head of the snake has a segmented crown and the cream portion of the band emanates from under its divided eye. A portion of an identical motif in reverse is also present at the opposite ear of the next feline, indicating that both ears in each feline were surrounded by similar motifs. Another specimen also shows feline-headed snakes without ears or crown, but emerging from much longer bands at both sides of the head in each feline (Figure 370). However, the bands are not segmented; rather, the portions around the feline head have a series of black painted segments, making them resemble a rope. The one on the right side of the feline's head rests horizontally on top of Register 1, while the other separates from the feline's head and faces down. In addition, two miniature jars (not illustrated) have remains of segmented bands emerging between the ears, each perhaps terminating in a black rectangle. Finally, there also appear to be bands behind the feline ears in Figure 371.

Only two specimens associated with pedestal base bowls have remains of a divider corresponding to Divider Symbol 1b (Figure 367), and perhaps also 1a (Figure 368); miniature jars lack such dividers. However, some of the miniature jars have a single "divider," but it is situated at the base bottom and corresponds to Divider Symbol 8 (Figures 370 and 373).

Regarding the panels of designs on the pedestal portions of bowls, there is only one specimen that has designs preserved with certainty. These panels have Geometric Design B (Figure 369).

Remains of white post-fire paint in portions of incisions are preserved only at different locations associated with pedestal base bowls as follows: Register 1, checkered crosses, and foot (Figure 364); head and Register 3 (Figure 368); and foot and panels at the pedestal (Figure 369). In addition, some of the interiors of miniature jars have remains of a white accumulation, most of which react to HCl.

Feline Class I, Group E: Feline with One Register, and Lunate Designs on a Black Body (Figures 375-377).

This rare group is characterized by the presence of one register and lunate-shaped designs on the black body under the register. The associated vessel shapes include polychrome pedestal base bowls, and a miniature globular jar. These specimens are very fragmentary and lack the head, tail, pedestal, and neck portions. All have paste #1A.

The fragmentary nature of the pieces makes difficult the identification of the specific register employed. However, the miniature jar appears to possess Register 2 (Figure 377, with a cream rectangle next to the feline's head). Based on calculations of circumference and reconstruction of Register 3 in Figure 375, it should correspond to Register 1 (black rectangle next to the head). One of the nested rectangles preserved in this specimen has an additional horizontal incised line in the red center--just like those pedestal bowls in Group D and some of Group B.

The black field under the register is narrow, and contains a series of incised lunate or reversed C-shaped designs aligned horizontally. These designs can be short (Figure 375) or wider (Figure 376). On the other hand, the feline on the miniature jar has a wider black body and

lunate designs or half circles facing down, alternating in cream and red.

The characteristic red and cream ring under the head is preserved only on the miniature jar (Neck Element 1a). Felines in this group are either standing (Stance 3?) or resting (Stance 1). The narrow twisted cream band under the body and red band above the foot, indicate the standing position of the feline (Figure 375), and the resting position is also indicated by the right front foot (Figure 377).

Register 3 is preserved only on one of the pedestal base bowls, and corresponds to Geometric Design Ca (Figure 375). Furthermore, no post-fire paint is preserved on any of the specimens, but the miniature jar has a white accumulation on the interior which reacts to HCl. Unfortunately no appliqué heads, divider symbols, pedestal or neck portions can be assigned to this group with certainty.

Feline Class I, Group F: Feline with Two Registers and Lunate-Like Designs on a Black(?) Body (Figures 378-379).

Pieces pertaining to this group are very rare, and are associated with a few body fragments corresponding to large and tall globular jars with slightly convex/vertical sides. These pieces have the exterior and especially interior surfaces highly worn. However, portions of red and cream were detected, but the black fields were completely worn. All sherds have paste #8.

The first specimen includes an additional piece which does not fit but must pertain to the same vessel (Figure 378). Here, remains of wide nested rectangles correspond to registers 1 and 2. The upper register at the feline's rear consists of a cream upsidedown and reverse L-shaped

design with a red center; it extends below and encloses the last nested rectangle of the lower register. The other specimen has only remains of two nested rectangles corresponding to the lower register (Figure 379), but judging by the height of the rectangles it must also correspond to a large feline with two registers.

Below the second register and situated in the middle of the worn body (now orange slip), there are remains of solid lunates that differ from the lunates formed by an incision of Group E, but they also face left and are in a row. These red lunates are reverse C-shaped (Figure 378) or >-shaped (Figure 379).

The first specimen has remains of the narrow cream band under the lunate-like designs (Figure 378). No other portions are preserved in this group.

Feline Class I, Groups A-F Miscellaneous (Figures 380-391)

These miscellaneous fragments are too small or incomplete to be classified specifically into any of the previous Groups A-F. However, remains of some diagnostic attributes (especially nested rectangles on the body or tail) serve to incorporate them within Class I Groups A-F with certainty. Furthermore, some of these attributes also serve to document additional minor variations corresponding to the previous groups. All pastes appear to be local [most are #1A, some #1, and one #2 and #6(?) each].

The specimens illustrated in Figures 380-383 show the tail and rear portions of the feline as follows: L-shaped tail facing up, also containing nested designs each with additional L-shaped incisions within them (Figure 380); similar designs on a Z-shaped tail (Figure 381); and

Z-shaped tails with nested rectangles (Figures 382-383). One specimen is an all black sherd showing portions of the tail, rear, and Register 3 (Figure 384). This piece possesses red post-fire paint in most of the incisions, and cream on the middle L-shaped incision. In addition, the Figure 383 specimen has remains of white post-fire paint in different portions of the incisions on the tail and body.

Specimens in Figures 385-387 possess unusual variations in Register 3. The first case is a rare instance where the black and cream colors in each of the interlocking stepped designs have been reversed, and an additional L-shaped incision is present in the middle of each step (Figure 385, Geometric Design E). The three remaining specimens show Register 3 unusually separated from the feline's right head or ear. In Figure 386 this register appears to be emanating from the left side of the head of the next feline, an instance documented in Figure 387; the piece in Figure 387 is highly distinctive and similar to that in Figure 386, strongly suggesting they came from the same vessel, and both have the same paste (#1) and derive from the same provenience. In Figure 389, Register 3 is not attached to the feline head/ear and appears to remain alone. Also, the specimen in Figure 386 appears to have the divider symbol uniquely situated above the tail or above the point where the tail emerges from the body. Should this be a divider, then it would correspond to Divider Symbol 1c.

The only feline in Class I associated with a trumpet is illustrated in Figure 388. Only portions of the head and chest are preserved, and except for the red color, the rest is worn. Here, short incised vertical dashes are present at the forehead, and similar dashes are also surrounding the red ring at the chest. In addition, the color within

the incision forming the usual reverse U-shaped mouth is red. This kind of head resembles Feline Head 3c, but the diagnostic portions are not preserved.

The last two illustrated specimens show remains of Divider Symbol 1c (Figure 390) and 1b (Figure 391). The specimen with the feline head preserved (Figure 390) would correspond to Feline Head 5c (but with an unusual black semi-circle in the center of each red field of the upper corners of the eye), although the red field between the eyes would also correspond to Feline Head 5d. In addition, this piece has remains of a greenish-white post-fire paint in one of the incisions emanating from the feline's right eye.

Feline Class I, Group G: Feline with Two Plain Bands and Plain Black Body (Figure 392).

Based on a large rim to pedestal base specimen, the upper body of the feline contains a black band and below it a red band, that together continue onto the Z-shaped tail, and extend to near its tip. These bands are in the same location as Registers 1 and 2 in previous groups. The black body extends under the red band and terminates at a point before the tail emerges. Two other miscellaneous specimens are also pedestal base bowls, and all three have paste #1.

The usual red ring with cream center (Neck Element 1a) is also associated with the reversed U-shaped mouth. This ring extends to the base of the chest and the shape resembles a sub-triangle.

The narrow cream band that delimits the chest, lower body (seen in the first feline), lower tail, and rounded tip (seen in the tail of the next feline) remains cream, likely because there are no cream areas on

the body to conflict. The straight shape of the cream band under the body and three feet in profile, indicate the resting position of the feline (Stance 1).

The feline head has been used distinguishing Feline Head 5i. Register 3 contains the usual panels of designs that correspond to Geometric Design Aa, and as far as the diagnostic specimens permit, the register does not rest on the back of the feline. However, unlike previous cases, the register is narrower and includes at least three identical panels instead of the usual two. In addition, the head appears to possess two such registers; however, the one at the left side of the ear may correspond and extend from the next feline. Furthermore, the divider symbol is absent.

Based on the specimen in Figure 392 and an additional pedestal fragment not illustrated, but derived from the same provenience and possibly from the same vessel, the pedestal portion contains larger panels with same designs as in Register 3 (Geometric Design Aa). Based on a calculation of the circumference at the pedestal, there were four such panels.

The interior of the bowl portion has the usual blackening which also includes the interior rim, while the pedestal base has a thin layer of white accumulation on the interior which does not react to HCl and some blackening on both surfaces.

Feline Class I, Group H: Feline with Two Plain Bands and Black Body with Checkered Crosses (Figure 393).

This group is represented by miniature globular jars, one of these a rim to base vessel (Figure 393), and possibly includes a pedestal base bowl specimen. All have paste #1A, except one that is #11(?).

Based on the almost complete specimen (Figure 1; the others are very fragmentary), the upper black and lower red bands are paralleled by the black field of the body that all extend, unlike Group G, to near the tip of the Z-shaped tail. However, another specimen has the black body joining the upper black band near the tip of the tail. The black body in the first specimen has a pair of red checkered crosses which are separate from one another (the cream color may be worn, and remains only on one of the rectangles). The crosses occupy the width of the entire height of the body, touching upper and lower bands.

The usual red ring with cream center (neck Element 1a) is also associated with the inverted U-shaped mouth. The narrow band delimiting the chest and lower body is red, although the usual cream color may have been worn (Figures 393). The most complete feline, as well as remains of the next feline, are in a resting position (Stance 1) and without the divider symbol.

Remains of both feline heads have been used in the classification of Feline Head 2a. These heads also have an additional element on top of the ears consisting of a cream and red band emerging from between the ears, each terminating at both sides of the ears in a black rectangle.

A portion of the jar neck is preserved with at least one vertical handle, as well as portions of panels corresponding to Geometric Design B. Calculation of neck circumference indicates that there were four

panels of designs, each pair interrupted by a handle. The pedestal base bowl, not illustrated, has remains of Register 3 corresponding to Geometric Design Ca.

The interior portions of two and possibly three miniature jars have a thick white accumulation in layers parallel to the walls that reacts to HCl.

Feline Class I, Group I: Feline with Incised Dashes in Bands and on Body (Figures 394-396).

All specimens in this group belong to pedestal-base bowls. All are polychrome except two that are all black incised, and their attributes duplicate those of the usual polychrome felines. Consequently, these pieces can be considered to be the black version of similar polychrome felines. Most pastes are #1A and two are #1.

The major characteristic in this group is the presence of a series of incised dashes in and paralleling the black and red bands and on the black body. The felines in this group resemble to some extent those in the previous Group G; that is, the black body is situated under the black and red bands and ends near the rear of the feline. However, the tail is L-shaped, and a series of dashes parallel the middle of each band. Furthermore, the tip of the upturned tail ends in a black rectangle.

The black field of the body under the red band appears to contain lunate-shaped incisions facing down (especially Figure 395, and perhaps also Figure 394), or horizontal dashes in the black specimen (Figure 396). The narrow cream band preserved at the lower body and tail, changes to black at least at the tail (Figure 395). However, this

narrow band on one black specimen possesses an additional series of incised dashes that continue onto the rectangle at the end of the tail (Figure 3). Furthermore, when preserved all the specimens indicate a resting position for the feline (Stance 1).

The few pieces with Register 3 preserved correspond to Geometric Design Aa (Figure 394), and Ab for the black specimen (Figure 396). Although there are no heads preserved, it is possible that Feline Head 7a may correspond to this group; such a head has incised dashes on a red band across the upper head, and possesses a reversed U-shaped mouth--usually associated with rings at the neck.

Only one specimen has a divider preserved, and it corresponds to Divider Symbol 5a. Unfortunately, there are no pedestal portions preserved in this group. With respect to post-fire paint, there are traces of white preserved in incisions at the feline's body and Register 3 which curiously reacts to HCl (Figure 394). Another specimen has green post-fire paint preserved in incisions of the divider symbol, some of the incisions and dashes at the body, as well as white at the toes (Figure 395).

Feline Class I, Groups A-I Miscellaneous (Figures 397-400).

Pieces in this miscellaneous group are too fragmentary (lack diagnostic attributes) to be placed with certainty into any group. However, the fragments show some variations not preserved on previous specimens.

The specimen in Figure 397 could belong to Groups A, B, or G. It is unique in having the front feet in relief on a pedestal base bowl.

This standing position could correspond to Stance 2, 3, or 4. It has paste #1A.

Specimens of Figures 398 and 399 are trumpet fragments having paste #1 and #1A(?), respectively. Class I trumpets are rare. The Figure 398 trumpet possesses Geometric Design Pa on the raised band, while the Figure 399 trumpet has Geometric Design G on the bell portion. There is white post-fire paint in incisions on both pieces. The feline head in Figure 398 is most like 5f, and that in Figure 399 corresponds to Feline Head 5c.

The Figure 400 specimen is unique in having a flat feline head, rather than in relief, on a pedestal base bowl. The head corresponds to Feline Head 8b with black face and cream face bands. The paste is #1A.

FELINE CLASS II

Felines in Class II possess attributes of Model B felines. Unlike Model A felines, the principal diagnostic attribute consists of felines having their entire body in cream with two horizontal rows of independent nested diamonds (instead of registers with joined nested rectangles). One row of diamonds continues to near the tip of the tail. The diamonds are usually neatly aligned (but not joined) and consist of a red diamond nested in a black diamond. Sometimes these independent nested diamonds are oriented and aligned in such a way that they resemble nested rectangles or nested parallelograms. In addition, rarely the diamonds can be plain black, and not nested, but with an incised dash in the middle; or the regular nested diamonds can be surrounded by black painted dashes. The body markings show greater consistency or less variability than those of Class I/Model A felines.

The narrow band surrounding the chest and lower portions of the body and tail is black instead of alternating in black and cream as in Class I/Model A. While both the resting and actively standing stances of the Class I continue, there is also the passive standing position on effigy feline jars. The tail appears to be restricted to the Z-shape and has a black tip. Class II/Model B felines are most characteristically associated with a "bow tie" neck element and a straight horizontal mouth, unlike Class I/Model A felines that possess the ring neck element and a reversed U-shaped mouth. The ring elements or U-shaped mouths, nevertheless do very rarely occur on Class II felines.

The vessel shapes associated with Class II felines that are shared with Class I felines include the predominant pedestal base bowls followed by globular jars; miniature globular jars are rarer, and trumpets more numerous. There are new vessel shapes that include miniature and regular size effigy vessels, a regular four-sided jar, and a probable oversized jar; miniature four-sided jars are absent. There are also new geometric designs in Register 3; in addition to Geometric Design Ca shared with Class I, there are five new ones. There are also four new divider symbols between the two felines, although this element can be absent or associated with a single feline on a trumpet. Furthermore, some felines in this class and not in Class I have additional attributes which are most like those associated with the Feline Man Theme, such as human severed heads, open mouth with teeth and fangs, and a specific kind of face marking. In fact, the feline pelt worn by some Feline Men is one with nested diamonds on a cream body like those of Class II felines.

Additional variability is documented and classified in the following three groups:

Group A has nested diamonds on a cream body.
Group B has black diamonds on a cream body.
Group C has horizontal bands on a cream body.

There are miscellaneous specimens that lack the diagnostic left front foot or hand which distinguishes anthropomorphic Class IV Group F felines from Class II Group A or B felines. They have been included with Class II because of what appear to be a greater likelihood for doing so.

Feline Class II, Group A: Feline with Nested Diamonds on a Cream Body (Figures 401-418).

This group is the most abundant, and overwhelmingly includes pedestal base bowls, followed by true miniature and regular size feline effigy jars, one quasi-effigy four-sided miniature jar (Figure 416), as well as a few trumpets. The effigy jars are described and compared at the end of this group. Furthermore, there are a number of attributes which serve to link some of the felines in this group with the Feline Man. Pastes associated are predominantly #1A or #1A(?), and there is one #1 and one #6(?). The pedestal base bowls in Figures 402 and 403 are those Kidder had reproduced in water color.

Based on the most complete specimens, the entire body is cream and contains an upper and lower row of nested diamonds or nested parallelograms, which continue onto the Z-shaped tail. Sometimes the black corners or edges of these diamonds are included at the upper borders of the tail and body (Figure 403) and chest (Figure 401), perhaps in an attempt to represent a three-dimensional view. In

addition, a few specimens have black painted dashes surrounding every diamond at the tail, body, and chest (Figure 408), or incised dashes surrounding the ring at the chest (Figure 409).

The characteristic ring at the neck in the previous Class I/Model A, has been replaced by the "bow tie" [Neck Elements 3a and b(?)] which consists of two red round or ovoidal elements separated by a black segment in the middle (in Figure 406 the "bow tie" is also in relief), and are consistently associated with a horizontal mouth. Exceptions to this rule are documented in three specimens, however: the first possesses a ring (Neck Element 1d) and still associated with a horizontal mouth (Figure 408), the second also has a ring (Neck Element 1d) but the mouth is like those in Model A (inverted U-shaped, Figure 409), and the third has the horizontal mouth but lacks either a ring or "bow tie" (Figure 411). However, it should be noted that rings with such a combination of colors (black nested within a red ring) usually do not occur in Class I/Model A (only one case), and may be considered to be a shared characteristic with Class II/Model B felines, although it is slightly more frequent in the latter.

The narrow band, which was cream (sometimes with black segments) in Class I/Model A, is now black. It also borders the chest, lower body, and lower tail. Furthermore, the portion of the straight narrow band under the body and presence of three feet (both the right rear and front in profile and tip toe, and the left front flat and extending from the chest with or without a red band) show the resting position of the feline corresponding to Stance 1 (Figures 401 and 402). The recurving narrow band under the body and presence of four feet with red bands at the ankles (the two rear feet tip toe and in profile, and the two front

feet in front view and relief) show the standing position of Stance 2 (Figures 404 and 405). In addition, when in a standing position the front feet under the chest are in relief and usually separated, but in a few cases they are also together (Figure 407) as in Stance 3. No rearmost bent leg/foot is preserved to verify the presence of Stance 3 with certainty, however.

Register 3 is portrayed in the same position as those in Class I/Model A, that is, resting on top of the feline's body or separated from it. It also contains for the most part a pair of identical designs, or ones that are similar, but contrasting in colors. These designs include at least four new ones as follows: Geometric Design H (Figure 401), Jb in identical pairs (Figure 403), K likely also in pairs (Figure 408), and remains of Geometric Design Mb which is the only such example in Register 3 (Figure 411). Furthermore, the only design also present in Class I/Model A that is shared with Class II is Geometric Design Ca (Figures 402 and 412). In addition, Geometric Design Ca in Register 3 (Figures 402 and 412) is shared with Class I/Model A. It appears that on some specimens Register 3 can also be present on the left ear of the same feline, or that the left one extends from the right side of the next feline (Figures 403 and 412). However, without specimens having both heads preserved, it is difficult to determined which occurs.

The relief heads in this group include: Feline Head 1a (Figure 410), 2b (Figure 409), 2c (Figure 412), 3b (Figure 408), 3d (Figure 418), 3e (Figure 401 and Figure 403, but no whiskers), 3g (Figure 411), and 5d (Figure 402).

The three-dimensional head shown in Figure 410 has a number of unique attributes which resemble those in the two-dimensional Feline Man in profile (see section dealing with the Feline Man Theme), particularly those in which the Feline Man wears the pelt of a feline. The first such attribute is the two black bands which emerge above each eye, extend to both sides forming triangular fields, and then continue towards the lower corners of the face. The second attribute is the open mouth with closed teeth and fangs; and the third is the cream body or background containing red diamonds nested within black diamonds. Furthermore, on the Figure 410 specimen a narrow band with black and red segments (likely representing a rope) are preserved at both sides of the neck from ear to ear. Based on the direction of the "twisting" black and red rope, the missing portion under the chin has been reconstructed so that a single rope surrounds the neck, and likely a "bow tie" hung from it. In addition, another specimen from a trumpet (Figure 418) also has an open mouth with closed teeth and fangs, a single black and red rope surrounding the neck, and a "bow tie" in relief hanging from it, as well as a series of human severed heads at the bell portion which further and closely serves to associate this kind of feline with the Feline Man Theme. This specimen does not derive from Kidder's excavation, and it is housed at the National Museum in Lima. A color photograph of this trumpet has been published by Karen Chávez (1989:Fig. 11).

With respect to dividers between felines, these are absent, or include new ones as follows: Divider Symbol 1a (Figure 418), 1c, 2 (Figure 402), 3 (Figure 410), 4 (Figure 405), and 6 (the most common, Figure 413). Only two dividers are shared with those in the previous

Class I/Model A, Divider Symbols 1a and 1c (Figure 414). Furthermore, the divider in the trumpet (Figure 405) indicates that such symbols can also be present associated with a single feline.

Regarding designs on the pedestal portion of bowls, only very few specimens have this portion preserved, while others are broken in such a way that it is difficult to determine with certainty the kind of feline with which they are associated. Consequently, those with secure association in this group include only Geometric Designs I (Figure 401, based on calculation of its circumference, the number of identical panels is four), Jb (Figure 403), and L (Figure 407). In addition, based on the only two specimens with bowl rim to pedestal base preserved, it can be seen that the same germetric design, or close variation of it, occurs on both pedestal base and Register 3. Such a situation is also present in Class I/Model A, where a couple of rim to base specimens show similar or identical designs.

The only other designs outside the feline proper are those on trumpets, where the raised band below the feline's feet contains Geometric Design O (Figures 405 and 406). However, a trumpet at National Museum in Lima mentioned above (Figure 418), has a series of human severed heads facing left on the bell portion (K. Chávez 1989:Fig. 11).

The last remaining specimens in this group are those pertaining to <u>feline effigy jars</u>, which unfortunately are preserved only at the body, or lower body and feet, and lack heads. However, both miniature and regular size three-dimensional felines depict a single feline with Stance 5 having their four black feet with cream toes resting flat on the ground and red bands at the ankles. Furthermore, most of their

diagnostic attributes are like those in the two-dimensional felines in this group.

The first group of feline effigy jars are miniature, and the most complete specimen shows the body and four feet (Figure 415). Here, the two rows of nested diamonds (a red nested within a black diamond and includes corners or edges of such diamonds) are present on a cream body like those in the two-dimensional felines. However, the narrow black band is absent, and the cream continues onto the base bottom of the jar/feline body. The bottom of the four feet are black and the four toes are cream, but the two front feet are slightly larger than the rear ones. Furthermore, the feline also appears to wear the "bow tie" element at the neck. The remaining few specimens are even more fragmentary, but also show the same attributes, although a single cream foot with black ankle band and red bottom (not illustrated) is almost twice as large and may indicate an effigy intermediary in size between the miniature and regular size ones, or be some other kind of effigy.

Remains of a red portion pertaining to the neck of the Figure 415 miniature jar is preserved above the feline's upper left body. The reconstruction of the upturned tail terminating in a horizontal black band at the rim of the jar, which also has a perforation suggesting a handle, is based on other specimens such as the one in Figure 416.

A variation of the true miniature effigy jar discussed above, is a quasi effigy four-sided miniature jar (Figure 416). Such a distinction is based on the fact that the vessel's base is flat/slightly concave and the four modeled feet are absent, but the upturned tail (which also has a perforation suggesting a handle) is modeled. Aside from the four-sided jar shape, the feline's cream body also contains basically two

rows of nested diamonds, and remains of the jar's neck indicate that this portion remained red and without any additional designs or motifs. In addition, most of the interiors of these miniature effigy jars contain remains of a white accumulation or residue which reacts to HCl.

The last group of sherds correspond to a regular-size feline effigy jar, also preserved at the lower body (Figure 417). This specimen has basically the same characteristics as those of the miniature felines, and the only difference is that the bottom portions of the feet are red. This specimen is housed at the National Museum in Lima, and a black and white photograph made by Kidder allowed us to identify the piece in Lima and to record additional information. Unfortunately, we were unable to locate the two additional fragments which appear in his photograph. Of particular importance is the fragment pertaining to the feline's left ear (shown upside down in the photograph), which also shows a portion of the jar's neck with remains of additional but undetermined designs or motifs.

Feline Class II, Group B: Feline with Black Diamonds on a Cream Body (Figures 419-420).

Specimens pertaining to this group are very rare, and are characterized by the presence of black diamonds on a cream body. The few body fragments include a possible pedestal base bowl and regular globular jars. Pastes are #1 or #1A.

The black diamonds are not nested, but rather contain an incised dashed line along their longer axes. Divider Symbol 2 is like the diamonds of this group. These diamonds are preserved at the chest in the fragment of a possible pedestal bowl (Figure 419), and at the

feline's rear in the fragment of a tall jar (Figure 420). The specimen associated with the tall jar appears to have remains of an upturned tail. In addition, the feline in the pedestal base bowl has remains of the head in relief and under it the right portion of an unusual "bow tie" which is black [Neck Element 3d(?)]. No other attributes can readily be determined in these body fragments.

Feline Class II, Group C: Feline with Horizontal Bands on a Cream Body (Figures 421-422).

Specimens pertaining to this group are also very rare and have the colors altered by burning or weathering, making the group less certain. They are associated with a pedestal base bowl and a miniature jar having pastes #1 and #1A, respectively.

The pedestal base bowl fragment has remains of the chest and front paw, and tail of the next feline (Figure 421). This piece shows an unusual combination of attributes as follows: the cream chest with black bordering band contains incised dashes, instead of diamonds, that surround the ring neck pendant (possible Neck Element 1d); and remains of an L-shaped tail corresponding to the next feline has the cream narrow band, followed by a black band with incised dashes in the middle. The usual left foot with a red band emerging at the base of the chest indicates the resting position of the feline (Stance 1), and a Divider Symbol 5b is situated between the two felines.

Consequently, this kind of feline appears to combine attributes of both models, where the cream body is characteristic of Model B; while the black dashed band at the tail and narrow band changing from black to cream are characteristics derived from Model A, as is to some extent the

divider. The closest comparison is with the second specimen in Class I, Group I above, but such felines have a red dashed band at the tail instead of a black band. However, this specimen of Figure 421 has been darkened by burning and the colors have been altered so that classification is less secure.

The second specimen in this group is a miniature jar. It is weathered and has only the red color preserved at the eyes and in bands under them (Figure 422). Nevertheless, this specimen also combines attributes of both models as follows: the "bow tie" (here associated with a reversed U-shaped mouth) characteristic of Model B; while the two bands at the upper body continuing into the Z-shaped tail, and a rectangular field beginning at the chest and continuing about half way through the body are characteristics of Model A. Such a feline with plain bands on the body is reminiscent of those in Class I, Group G. Again, because of lack of body color, this specimen is tentatively placed into this group primarily because of the "bow tie."

The feline depicted on the miniature jar also has remains of the narrow band (although it appears to be discontinued), and the position of the preserved feet indicates a resting position (Stance 1). The head in relief is badly preserved and corresponds to Feline Head 9. The Neck Element could be 3d. The rectangular portion in front of the chest may correspond to the tip of tail of the next feline. In addition, the interior of the jar, unusually blackened, has traces of a white accumulation which does not react to HCl.

Miscellaneous Class II, Group A, or Anthropomorphic Class IV, Group F (Figures 423-425, and 254 in Severed Heads Class I, Group C).

These specimens do not have the diagnostic front left foot preserved that distinguishes them from anthropomorphic felines which possess a left hand. Only a few examples have been illustrated because of certain noteworthy attributes.

The first specimen from a pedestal bowl having paste #1A, shows an unusual manner of representing the body to tail portion of a Z-shaped tail. The Stance is standing, possibly Stance 2. There is also the remains of a divider symbol or Register 3 (but if so, unusually placed above the tail). Register 3 corresponds to Geometric Design Jb.

Figure 424 shows a pedestal base bowl fragment having paste #1. It also shows another variation of the Z-shaped tail. The Geometric Design Ca of Register 3, shared with Class I, appears to emerge unusually from another feline's left ear, because the design panel ends on its right edge.

The highly weathered relief head of Figure 425 should correspond to the body portion of a regular globular jar, based on the interior curvature. It has paste #1A. Although the head lacks the diagnostic cream body, it has been placed into Class II, rather than I, because of its straight mouth and presence of diamonds on the forehead, the only such head in this collection possessing diamonds, as on the bodies. It is Feline Head 3a. Of interest are the deep, roughened concavities of the eyes, each having deeper incomplete perforations that appear to have received the "pins" of the inlays that would fit into the eye depressions.

Finally, a tall globular jar having paste #1A, has been illustrated in the section on Severed Heads, Class I, Group C (Figure 254). A band of severed heads is situated on the neck of the jar, and a cream body feline with Feline Head 2e occurs below on the body of the jar.

FELINE CLASS III

Specimens related to this class are very rare, and for the most part are associated with regular sized four-sided jars, as well as a regular size globular jar. Pastes are predominantly #1; others are #6(?), and #2 or #8A. One specimen may come from an open bowl; if so, it is the only such shape in the entire collection of felines.

The felines possess ten unusual characteristics which are present here for the first time, and the first is diagnostic of this class: 1) based on the most complete specimens, the felines are entirely in profile such that the head is also in profile in addition to the usual profile body; 2) there are two kinds of felines portrayed on a single vessel; 3) one kind of feline possesses the black body from Model A and the other a cream body with nested diamonds from Model B; 4) the black-bodied feline possesses triangles on its body and, like Model B, body elements are not adjoining and no register is present (except for one that has a checkered cross and Register 1 similar to Model A); 5) a long rope terminating in a front view ring emerges from the neck; 6) based on the most complete pieces, the felines possess Stance 6 with three tip toe feet, the back leg bent as though in a running position; 7) an appendage in the shape of a leg with foot emerges out of the back of at least the black-bodied felines; 8) an appendage terminating in a circular stylized head, associated with male-related motifs, appears to

emerge from under the eye; 9) the tails of at least the black-bodied felines are very short, horizontal, and thick with three painted horizontal lines; and 10) the only head preserved, from the 1955 Kidder/M. Chávez collection, possesses a circular nose, semi-circular ring-like ear, distinctive eye/face markings, and appendages/elements on top of the head.

It is possible that such a complex portrayal of felines may also include additional groups, but since the sample is so small and fragmentary, I have included them into only two groups:

Group A profile variations of Models A and B felines.

Group B profile variation of Model A felines.

There are also some miscellaneous pieces that cannot be placed with certainty into these two groups.

Feline Class III, Group A: Profile Variations of Models A and B Felines (Figures 426-427).

The best preserved specimen is a regular size four-sided jar. Each side has a black bordered panel that contains a feline on a red background; a feline with black body and triangles alternates with a feline having a cream body and diamonds (Figure 426). The first kind of feline (repeated on the opposite side of the vessel) has a series of loosely aligned cream alternating with red isosceles triangles (perhaps in two rows) pointing toward the back of and on the black body. In addition, the narrow cream band is preserved at the lower body and tail and terminates in a rectangle at its tip.

A new attribute not present on either model includes a straight and very short tail terminating in a cream rectangle, with three additional

black painted horizontal lines. The only feline possessing a somewhat similar tail is present in Class IV, Group B, where a single anthropomorphized feline is associated with an over-sized jar (although the tip of the tail is not preserved).

Another unique attribute is the feline's stance (Stance 6) which is running and includes only three feet (portrayed tip toe and with a red band at the ankles). Furthermore, a ring is preserved at foot level, and interestingly both kinds of felines on this single piece possess this Neck Element 2b. As in Class II, then, a ring may be associated with Model B-related felines.

Two additional fragments (also from Excavation III and pertaining to four-sided jars) show further attributes not preserved on the first specimen, and have been drawn with it because of their similarity even though they do not fit. One of these fragments has remains of an identical tail, loosely aligned isosceles triangles, and what appears to be a severed leg emerging upwards from the feline's back that bends backward toward the tail. Such a very unusual element consists of a black foot with three cream toes, a cream ankle band, a horizontal black leg having remains of a cream element, and a cream portion joining the feline's back.

The other fragment drawn in Figure 426, has remains of the feline's neck and front chest, as well as the lower head which clearly indicates the depiction of the head in profile. This specimen also shows remains of a long rope formed by chevrons alternating in cream and black (Neck Element 2c). This rope directly emerges from the neck-to-head juncture (rather than from around the neck as in a few Class II, Group A specimens). Likewise, a portion of the cream narrow band originates

under the rope and continues to border the chest. In addition, a bent cream band extends from the face (likely from under the eye) and terminates in the stylized head element.

Another four-sided jar fragment shows the black-bodied feline with the same cream and red triangles, but aligned in rows (Figure 427). The appendage emanating from the feline's back is divided into a black and cream segment, and at a right angle above the preserved portion is a horizontal incision that is probably part of the leg and foot.

Feline Class III, Group B: Profile Variation of Model A Felines (Figures 428-429)

Based on the most complete specimen (Figure 428), this black bodied feline with a cream band bordering the chest and lower body resembles Model A even further in having Register I (a black and red nested rectangle) and a cream checkered cross with red center as a body marking below it, similar to Class I, Group D felines. This specimen from the 1955 Kidder/M. Chávez collection is, to my knowledge, the only example in this or other collections of a preserved profile feline head depicted on what appears to be an outflaring bowl shape (but classified as unknown shape in tables). If the vessel is a bowl, then it is a unique occurrence. This specimen was not examined first hand, however, and it is not clear if the feline is on the exterior or, more likely, the interior (drawing provided by M. Chávez Ballón).

This feline is also likely in a running position [Stance 6(?)]. The ring and rope (Neck Element 2a) are in the same position as those in Group A. However, the ring is black with a red center (a characteristic found only in Model B), while the rope has cream and black rectangular

segments (rather than chevrons) and is also reminiscent of those present exclusively in Model B felines. The mouth is straight and horizontal as in most Model B felines; however, profile mouths may have differed. Furthermore, the bands emerging above and below the eye, as well as the semi-circular areas at both sides of the eye may be equivalent to those on the three-dimensional heads, although the latter black semi-circular areas on the inner sides of their eyes.

The elements on top of the feline head include a black trapezoidal portion divided into four segments flanked by two additional red and cream appendages each terminating in black rectangles. The red appendage sharply turns towards the back of the feline on top of the ear, and the cream one turns towards the front. The diverging bands are reminiscent of the bands emerging from between the ears and extending to the sides of each ear which occur in Class I, Group D and H (both groups also with checkered body crosses). The round nose and horizontal mouth of this Class III, Group B specimen are like those of the Feline-Headed Snake motifs, and the trapezoidal portion of the head element resembles those in some groups of the Feline-Headed Snakes. Finally, this specimen stands out as most like some Tiahuanaco all-profile felines (e.g., Posnansky 1958: Plate XL.a also with a cross on the body, not checkered, and a rope and ring hanging from the neck).

Lastly, a body fragment corresponding to the only globular body jar in this class contains the front portion of the head in profile (Figure 429). The face appears to be black and is the reason for classifying the specimen into this group. Except for the black preserved at the face and nose, the other colors are weathered or only the natural orange remains. Especially the exterior is blackened. Of interest is the ring

nose, and the face marking surrounding the eye which is reminiscent of the three-dimensional head with teeth in Class II, Group A above. The mouth is not incised, instead there were remains of a horizontal line of pigment indicating a closed mouth. Furthermore, there appears to be a rope at the neck, and perhaps a divider symbol or possibly the tail of another feline in front of the head.

FELINE CLASS IV

This class is relatively diverse although it is represented by only a few specimens in each of the six groups. The main attribute used in the classification is the presence of anthropomorphized felines, which is defined by the presence of a single human left arm emerging from the feline's left chest that is bent at the elbow and wrist, a wrist band, and clenched fist. Based on the specimens having the hand preserved, it is black usually with three, but sometimes four, fingers and a thumb, and their tips are cream. The bent arm may be drawn in to the body, or somewhat extended which is reminiscent of those in the Feline Man Theme as well as in the Camelid Woman Theme. The hands of the felines, however, hold nothing, except for one that grips a bird by its neck.

Following the same diagnostic criteria employed in the classification of felines (body color and designs within it), some of the following six groups of anthropomorphized felines correspond either to Model A or to Model B, while others combine both models, and to some extent all of them also possess new attributes. At the same time, most felines in this class are depicted in a jumping or running stance (Stances 8 and 9, respectively); there are only two legs and each

possesses a red ankle band. A single specimen also shows a resting stance (Stance 7).

New elements associated with the feline is a bird, a pair of appendages emerging from the outer portions of each eye or from the feline's right head, a ring neck element with a central depression for an inlay or an excised center, Geometric Design N on a jar neck, and perhaps a new geometric design at the pedestal portion of a burner. In addition, some felines cover the entire exterior of pedestal base bowls from rim to pedestal base, and one group of felines has an open mouth showing the tongue but no teeth.

With respect to shapes, this class is overwhelmingly associated with oversized jars, followed by pedestal base bowls; there are fewer regular globular jars, and even fewer miniature globular jars. Except for one possible oversized jar in Class II, these are essentially exclusive to this class of felines. When preserved they have bulging necks and horizontal handles at the body. Most specimens have paste #1 or #1A; in minor numbers are pastes #1B, #8, #8A, #10, and #11. Additional variability is documented and classified in the following six groups:

Group A anthropomorphized variation of Model A felines, with Registers 1 and 2 and checkered crosses on a black body.

Group B anthropomorphized felines with solid triangles on a black body.

Group C possible anthropomorphized feline with offset nested triangles on a black body.

Group D anthropomorphized feline with triangles on a cream (?) body.

Group E anthropomorphized felines combining Model A (Registers 1 and 2 and checkered crosses) and Model B (cream body with black narrow band).

Group F anthropomorphized variation of Model B felines, with nested diamonds on a cream body.

There are also miscellaneous specimens, some placed tentatively within each group, and others kept separate, depending on diagnostic attributes present or suggested.

Feline Class IV, Group A: Anthropomorphized Feline with Registers 1 and 2 and Checkered Crosses on a Black Body (Figures 430-433).

This group is represented with certainty by a single regular-size jar possessing a vertical handle from rim to the shoulder of its globular body. This jar is preserved from rim to near its base and was reconstructed in plaster, probably at the Peabody Museum, which made the tracing of all details difficult.

The single anthropomorphized feline, depicted on the entire body of the jar, is the only one in the collection which holds a bird (probably a long necked duck). The bird has a head with a long beak that faces upwards, a single spread wing and stands on tip toe. The feline has most of the attributes of Model A, specifically those in Class I, Group C, with Registers 1 and 2 and at least one checkered cross on a black body. The black and cream nested rectangles in Register 1 continue onto the Z-shaped tail, some becoming L-shaped. Register 2 is situated under it in the same manner. Remains of a checkered cross is preserved near the feline's rear (another was probably also present near the chest), and a similar but larger cross is unusually situated to the left of the neck element at the shoulder of the arm.

The usual Model A ovoidal ring (Neck Element 1a) hangs at the neck and is also associated with a reversed U-shaped mouth. The cream narrow band borders the chest, arm, lower body and tail, and terminates at the tip of the tail. This band also turns black in portions next to a cream

rectangle. There appear to be two feet in tip toe with red ankle bands showing a running stance (Stance 9). The head in relief corresponds to Feline Head 5f, although the centers of each ear are red (or the cream may not be preserved).

As is the case for felines on jars, there is no Register 3. However, three panels of Geometric Design B are situated on the jar's neck, a design that is also associated with Model A/Class I felines.

The remaining specimens have been assigned to this group tentatively and may be considered miscellaneous anthropomorphized felines with probable checkered cross(es) on a black body (Figures 431-433). This group of sherds corresponds to pedestal base bowls having paste #1A. They possess an unusually large lower body, legs, and feet with ankle bands onto the pedestal base, indicating that the feline(s) are portrayed on the entire vessel from rim to pedestal base similar to the Feline Man Theme. The diagnostic attributes which help assign these pieces to felines, however, as opposed to the Feline Man, are the presence of a narrow cream band bordering the legs (Figures 430-432), the tip toe position of both feet (the Feline Man has the front foot flat), and the absence of an appendage emanating from the ankle band on the leg. Such felines, then, possess a black body, and at least one of the specimens appears to contain a checkered cross like Model A (Figure 430). Furthermore, based especially on one specimen (Figure 432) where the rear leg/foot of one feline is preceded by a front foot/leg of another feline, there appears to be two anthropomorphic felines on each vessel.

Feline Class IV, Group B: Anthropomorphized Feline with Solid Triangles on a Black Body (Figures 434-435)

The best preserved specimen includes an oversized bulging necked jar having paste #1A reconstructed from near the rim to near the base with 66 sherds in three separate large fragments which do not fit, but most likely pertain to the next feline on the opposite side of the jar. The jar most likely had two horizontal handles situated at about the middle of the slightly vertical walls. These handles, then, are equivalent to the vertical handles on other smaller jars or lugs on pedestal base bowls in that they serve to mark the spaces between each feline.

The entire black body of a large sized feline(s) contain at least five rows of isosceles triangles pointing left, each more or less of equivalent size and alternating in red and cream. Such triangles on a black body are like those of Class III, Group A. Furthermore, a single triangle continues onto the unusually short and straight tail, a tail also reminiscent of Class III, Group A feline tails. The two red ovoidal elements forming the "bow tie" are connected to the neck by a long cream segment (Neck Element 3e). Such a long segment appears here for the first time and seems to be associated with a straight or horizontal mouth.

The usual narrow cream band is bent at the legs/knee, while remains of a curving incised line in front of the feline forms a shoulder above the protruding chest. Although the arm is not preserved, the presence of a shoulder followed by a protruding chest is characteristic of felines possessing the arm. In addition, the two legs, which appear to

be bent at the knee, have the toes almost touching the ground and indicate a running stance (Stance 8).

The feline's head in relief is not well preserved to determine its specific attributes (Feline Head 11c), but a pair of appendages emerge at the right side of the head. These appendages, in turn, may have continued onto the face (similar to those in the next Group C). The first appendage has a short red segment divided in two that terminates in three parallel zig-zag bands with four perpendicular painted bands alternating in cream and red, reminiscent of those at the distal end of staffs, crowns, and face markings on some of the Feline Men. Below it, the other appendage has a longer cream stem and terminates in the circular stylized head which pertains to or is associated with male motifs (the mouth portion/field separated by a red triangle). The circular head and zig-zag element are also present at both ends of staffs associated with the Guanaco and Bird Motif.

The last attribute associated with this shape and kind of feline is the single row of designs corresponding to Geometric Design N on the bulging neck of the jar.

In addition, there are twelve miscellaneous pieces that could belong to this group, but lack the diagnostic arm. Eight and possibly another also come from oversized jars; most have paste #1 and one has paste #1B. Another comes from a globular jar with paste #8A, and two pieces which likely come from the same miniature jar have paste #11 (Figure 435). The two pieces from the miniature jar come from the same provenience and share other attributes that also suggest they belong to a single vessel.

The body contains two rows of more or less horizontally aligned solid triangles. Some of these triangles are equilateral and others are isosceles, and most preserved are red while a single one is cream. The usual ovoidal red ring at the neck has a hemispherical depression in its center evidently to receive an inlay (Neck Element 1g). The cream narrow band is preserved below the body, and indicates the resting position of the feline (possibly Stance 7). Furthermore, the interior portion of the jar contains traces of a white residue that reacts to HCl.

Feline Class IV, Group C: Possible Anthropomorphized Feline with Offset Nested Triangles on a Black Body (Figure 436)

This group is represented by a miniature jar with globular body having paste #1A (Figure 436). The black body with cream band on the lower body contains a single row of equilateral triangles pointing left. These triangles contain an additional incised triangle (with a horizontal incision in the middle) so the inner triangles emerge from within the right side of the outer one (hence are offset nested). The diagnostic left hand is not preserved on this specimen, but it compares most closely to the miniature jar of Class IV, Group D that is anthropomorphized. If this Group C specimen is anthropomorphized its stance would be 7. The red band emerging from the feline's neck appears to terminate in the oval red ring. The head has been used in the classification of Feline Head 11d. The red circle outside the lower corner of the face may be part of the band emerging from under the eye like those in Feline Head 11b.

Calculation of circumference at the vessel's body indicates the presence of a single feline, and likely the jar had a single vertical handle. The interior portion of this specimen also has a thin layer of white residue that reacts to HCl.

Feline Class IV, Group D: Anthropomorphized Feline with Triangles on a Cream(?) Body (Figures 437-439)

These specimens include a miniature jar preserved from rim to base (no paste recorded) and remains of oversized jars with very large feline heads with paste #1. The miniature is housed at the National Museum in Lima and does not belong to Kidder's collection, but it is included here for comparative purposes. It has what could be a cream body, but others in this group with black faces suggest a black body.

Based primarily on the more complete miniature jar (Figure 437), this group shares many attributes Class IV, Group B. The body of this feline, however, is apparently cream although colors are not well preserved. The body contains two rows of triangles pointing left, at least one of them having three horizontal incisions within it; the feline has a "bow tie" (possible Neck Element 3a), and specific kinds of appendages at the face. A single foot is preserved tip toe, and the narrow cream band bordering the knee also indicates a running stance (probably Stance 9). The narrow band continues onto the arm and also borders or forms the shoulder. Furthermore, based on the calculation of body circumference there is space only for a single feline on the miniature jar.

The miniature jar neck contains a band with remains of a pair of human severed heads facing each other (Severed Head Class I, Group C).

Based on the calculation of neck circumference there were four heads with an additional space for a single vertical handle.

The heads in this group (Figures 437-438) show a unique characteristic not present in other classes or groups in which the mouth is open showing the tongue, but no teeth. The miniature has Feline Head 11a and the oversized jars 11b. The entire face is black in the oversized jars (Figures 438-439). The feline body and diagnostic hand are not preserved on these oversized jars, but these pieces have been included in this group because of the similarity of their heads to that of the specimen in Figure 437. In addition, the pair of appendages emanating from the right side of the head in Class IV, Group B, are also present here in both the miniature and oversized felines. However, these appendages are present in pairs on the face itself. The element terminating in zagzag bands originates at the inner part of each eye, borders the upper eye, and terminates at the upper corners (Figure 437) or outer sides of the eyes (Figures 438 and 439). The second or lower element emerges under each eye and also terminates in the round stylized head (Figure 437) or in a red ovoidal element with a zig-zag stem (Figures 438 and 439).

The large feline head (Figure 438) and the slightly larger one (Figure 439) on the oversized jars also have a rope around the neck, preserved only at one side of the head/neck. This rope is segmented and each segment appears to alternate in red, cream, and black. Furthermore, the only example of a divider in this class is partially preserved on one of the large specimens (Figure 438), and corresponds to Divider Symbol 6.

Two sherds from oversized jars(?), one with paste #1 and the other #1A(?), contain feline head fragments resembling Feline Head 11b. They have been classified as miscellaneous Groups C-D.

Feline Class IV, Group E. Anthropomorphized Feline with Registers 1 and 2 and Checkered Crosses on a Cream Body (Figure 440)

This group is represented with certainty by a body fragment corresponding to a large and tall (regular globular) jar with slightly vertical sides having paste #1A. The feline shows a clear combination of attributes from both models. From Model A, specifically Class I, Group C, the body possesses nested rectangles in Registers 1 and 2, and below them a checkered cross in red with a black center. Another probable cross to the right has a black segment terminating in a cream rectangle preserved; it is possible the entire arm of the cross was meant to be black, however. In addition, the neck pendant is the usual ovoidal ring (Neck Element 1e) also associated with a reversed U-shaped mouth. However, the use of black for the outer portion and red for the center of the ring are not present in Model A. From Model B, the body is cream and bordered by the narrow black band. Apparently because the body is cream, Register 1 begins with a cream rectangle and Register 2 with a black one, just the reverse of Model A black bodied registers.

The narrow black band around the chest and lower body originates at the neck, forms the shoulder, and enters the middle chest to, most likely, emerge with the hand. It is this chest indentation that indicates the feline is anthropomorphized. The stance may be Stance 8. In addition, the lower portion of the head that is preserved is not in

relief. Such two-dimensional heads are very rare in Pucara, one of the few examples is present in Class I, Group C.

One miscellaneous Group E sherd coming from a regular globular jar with paste #1 lacks the diagnostic hand/arm. However, it has a cream bodied feline having a red checkered cross with a black center to the right of the ring neck pendant (Neck Element 1d). This position of the cross appears to occur only on enthropomorphized felines.

Feline Class IV, Group F: Anthropomorphized Feline with Nested Diamonds on a Cream Body (Figures 441-444)

This group is associated with oversized jars and pedestal base bowls, all with paste #1A, are present. The largest and most complete feline has been reconstructed with 66 sherds in three separate portions (the tail has 11 sherds, the arm 12, and body 43) which do not fit, and were tabulated in tables as three specimens, but were drawn together in anatomical position (Figure 441). The tail and arm portions could belong to the next feline on the opposite side of the jar. The neck, likely bulging, is not preserved.

The felines of this group are more closely related to Model B with nested diamonds on a cream body. The narrow black band also borders the chest/shoulder, arm, lower body and tail. In the first specimen, however, there are three kinds of diamonds, representing the only such occurrence on a single feline, as follows: a preponderance of large and a few medium sized diamonds in which a red diamond is nested on a black diamond (including those few where only their pointed corners are represented, especially at the edges of the tail); a few smaller solid diamonds between them, most of which are cream and at least one is red;

and a single black diamond with a horizontal incision in its center preserved just below the "bow tie." This specimen is the only case on which solid cream and red diamonds are associated with a feline, while the black diamond with a horizontal incision is also present in and is characteristic of Class IV, Group B (also a Model B group). The nested diamonds are very irregularly aligned in at least four rows, with a few extending into the legs, arm, and Z-shaped tail. The other two specimens in this group appear to include only the usual nested diamonds, as well as corners of some at the lower body (Figures 442 and 443).

With respect to the feline's stance, this group has examples of three different positions. The first (Stance 8) consists of a running stance with toes barely touching the ground, and this is the only time when the two legs are present--perhaps emphasizing the more anthropomorphized nature of the feline (Figure 441). The second (probably a variation of Stance 9) is tip toe with a red ankle band and a bit of the back knee showing, while the lower chest unusually drops and rests on the ground (Figure 442). The third also has the chest resting on the ground, but what is most unusual for anthropomorphized felines is the resting Stance 7 (Figure 443).

All examples in this group possess the "bow tie" neck element (Neck Element 3b and c in Figures 443 and 442, respectively), or a long segmented rope with chevrons alternating in cream and black (Neck Element 3f, Figure 441) which is also present on a feline depicted entirely in profile (Class III, Group A). One of the specimens has a punctation/perforation in the middle of each ovoidal portion of the "bow tie" (Figure 443).

Unfortunately, only the oversized feline has the head preserved, and it also shows the usual association of "bow tie" with a horizontal mouth, although with slightly downturned corners. This massive head most closely approximates Feline Head 5d, but there are no dashes in the elongated red areas at the upper corners of the eyes and a black band links the two ears. Furthermore, the eyes are carved out perhaps to contain shaped stones. However, the outer contour of the carved out eyes has remains of black and cream paint which correspond to the divided eyes, indicating that, if there were inlays, they were also painted. In addition, the oversized specimen has remains of white post-fire paint preserved in a few incisions at the chest.

The preserved portions of the black narrow band shows it forms the shoulder, a short bend into the chest, borders the arm under the red wristband, and then returns to form the bent elbow and lower chest--giving the impression that the arm is drawn in. The black hand with cream fingers is held horizontally in a clenched fist. In one case the arm is long and extends farther out (Figure 441), while in others it is much shorter (Figure 443). In addition, the red band at the wrist of the oversized feline shows intentional cut marks scratched after firing, perhaps in an attempt to ritually sever the hand. These scratch marks are oriented along the four sides of the wrist band, and within it there are additional ones in many directions. Such post-fire scratches are also present on the oversized jar with bulging neck containing the Owl Motif, where the ankle band of the bird's front foot shows attempts at "severing" (see section dealing with the Owl Motif). In addition, the oversized feline shows similar scratches over the left eye, oriented diagonally to the left.

Only one specimen associated with a pedestal base bowl has a portion of the pedestal preserved, and it contains remains of designs in panels (Figure 443). However, the kind of geometric design is very difficult to determine; it may represent a reclining-S design of some sort, but the colors would not correspond in the next panel.

Finally, an unusual specimen is included here as miscellaneous Group F(?). It corresponds to the pedestal portion of a burner and has likely non-local paste #10. Because of the presence of legs (as in Stance 8), the piece appears to have been anthropomorphized. It contains the remains of a bent leg, red ankle band, and feet, as well as the narrow band bordering the leg (Figure 444). Such a large feline with a cream body was surely depicted from rim to pedestal as in the previous Class IV, Group A miscellaneous felines. However, this specimen is unusual in having black painted diamonds enclosed and surrounded by black dots. In addition, the toes and narrow band bordering the leg are painted white (chalky and not reacting to HCl) that has the appearance of being post-fire paint. The central part of the leg and rest of the foot also have traces of white, but are now the orange color of the weathered surface. Furthermore, some of the incisions forming the narrow band also have remains of green (copper?) post-fire paint.

Miscellaneous Class IV, Groups A-D: Anthropomorphized Felines with Black Body (Figures 445-447).

This miscellaneous group is represented by two oversized jars having paste #1 and #8 (Figures 445 and 446, respectively) and a pedestal base bowl with paste #1A (Figure 447). No feline body markings

are preserved on their black bodies to allow placement into groups more precisely.

The oversized jar in Figure 445 shows the feline's chest with cream band bordering it, remains of a black human hand and wide red wristband, and above it a large divider corresponding to Divider Symbol 6. This piece resembles the Class IV, Group D feline having the same divider symbol; it has a black face that suggests a black, rather than cream, body. The piece has been reused along one edge to the right of the divider, and is blackened on the interior and exterior.

The second oversized jar with horizontal handle (Figure 446) has very long bent legs (like Stance 8) with a cream band bordering them, red ankles, and unusual rounded black feet. Only anthropomorphized felines have such long legs, and on oversized jars with anthropomorphized felines, the horizontal handle also occurs near the feet.

The pedestal bowl of Figure 447 is unique in being the only preserved black bodied anthropomorphized feline on the upper portion of a pedestal base bowl (cf. Class IV, Miscellaneous Group A). It has paste #1A, and appears to have had a ring neck element.

Class IV: Miscellaneous Anthropomorphized Felines (Figure 448).

Many specimens are too fragmentary to be able to assign them with certainty to specific groups. However, all of them have enough remains of a human hand to determine that they are anthropomorphized. One such piece is an all black sherd corresponding to the body portion of a pedestal base bowl having paste #1A(?) (Figure 448). It contains portions of the head, chest, and arm. The head is not in relief. In

addition, the ring element (associated with the usual reversed U-shaped mouth) has its center excised (Neck Element 1h), and portions of the incisions have remains of red post-fire paint. Its stance may be 7. This is the only all black sherd in the class of anthropomorphized felines.

All other miscellaneous specimens are jars (either regular globular or oversized), most having pastse #1, followed by #1A, and one piece each of #8 and #8A. One regular globular jar shows post-fire cut marks at the red wrist of the hand, again apparently indicating severing. The hand has four fingers, instead of the usual three, and a thumb. Another such jar possesses Divider Symbol 6 above the hand.

SHAPES AND PASTES ASSOCIATED WITH FELINE MOTIFS

Vessel Shapes (Table 12)

The total number of vessel shapes associated with the feline motifs is nine in addition to trumpets. The overwhelmingly most frequently associated shape is the pedestal base bowl which constitutes 62.4% of the 396 specimens, including probable pedestal base bowls. The second most frequent shape is the regular sized globular jar (12.9%), followed by oversized jars (10.6%), and miniature globular jars (3.3%). All other shapes occur with minor frequencies including: regular sized four-sided jars (2.3%), miniature four-sided jars (2%), miniature effigy jars (2%), trumpets (1.8%), regular size effigy jars (1%), and oversized beaker (.3%). Taken together all jars regardless of size and shape constitute 34.1%, and miniatures are 7.3%. Noticeably absent are bowls.

The most frequently associated vessel shapes associated with specific classes of felines significantly differ in some respects from

the summary just presented. That is, the most frequent vessel shape associated with Class I felines is the pedestal base bowl (82.9%), followed by regular size globular jars (5.7%), and miniature four-sided jars (5.1%). For Class II felines is the pedestal base bowl (52.2%), followed by regular globular jars (17.4%), and miniature effigy jars (11.6%). For Class III felines regular four-sided jars are most frequent (77.8%), followed by the regular globular jar (11.1%); no other vessel shapes were associated. For Class IV felines oversize jars predominate (49%), followed by pedestal base bowls (27.5%), regular globular jars (15.7%), and miniature globular jars (7.8%); no other shapes are associated. Class II felines have the most number of shapes associated (seven shapes plus trumpets), Class I has four vessel shapes in addition to trumpets, Class IV four shapes, and Class III only two shapes associated.

Miniature four-sided jars occur only with Class I felines, while regular and miniature effigy jars occur only with Class II. Miniature globular jars are found with Classes I, II, and IV felines, but are most frequent with Class IV. Regular globular jars are found with Classes I, II, and IV, but with greatest frequency in Classes II and IV. Oversized jars occur only with Class IV with one possible exception in Class II. Trumpets are more frequent for Class II felines (5.8%), compared to Class I felines (1.9%), and they are absent in Classes III and IV.

Pastes (see Table 13).

Most vessels containing the feline motif possess pastes #1A (65.4%) or #1 (17.2%) that are local, followed by #8 or #8A of unknown origin (5.8%). Even many of the oversized jars have pastes #1 or #1A, the same paste primarily used for miniature jars and pedestal base bowls. Pastes

#8 and #8A are primarily associated with regular globular jars, and some oversized.

Very few foreign or non-local pastes are found with felines. If pastes #8, #8A, #10, and #11 are non-local, then their frequency is 7.8% (compared to 5.3% possible non-local pastes associated with severed head motifs). One factor that could be considered to explain the low frequency of non-local pastes is that the shapes are ritual paraphernalia (ceremonial burners, trumpets, miniature jars for lime, and perhaps even the oversized jars to contain fermented beverages for ritual purposes), therefore requiring the control of their production. None of these vessels are bowls suited for serving or carrying, as is the case for severed heads where bowls are the primary form associated.

THE ICONOLOGY OF FELINE MOTIFS

This section deals with interpretation and comparison of felines, their association with other motifs and themes, as well as provenience. The feline motif is certainly one of the most abundant and complex in Pucara iconography. In the following section I will show the clear dichotomy of Models A and B and argue that Model A is female-related and Model B is male-related. I will also show that other felines appear to combine attributes of both models. Associated attributes with both models to be examined systematically include: colors employed, body designs, neck pendants, mouth shape, kind of head, divider symbol, geometric designs, and non-geometric elements.

Attributes Associated with Models A and B

Both models have served to guide in the classification of a large number of fragments, as well as to further explore the relationships between the two. The most useful and consistent attribute is the color of the body and narrow band, which was used as the main criterion to isolate the different classes of felines.

Those felines corresponding to Model A possess a black lower body and chest, and narrow cream band (sometimes with black segments) bordering the chest, lower body and tail. Those corresponding to Model B have cream bodies with a narrow black band bordering the chest, lower body and tail.

Consequently, Class I felines corresponds to Model A, Class II to Model B, Class III combines Model A and B felines (but with heads also in profile) on a single vessel, and Class IV corresponds to anthropomorphized felines either of Model A or B, or combines attributes of both models in a single feline.

The kind of design present on the body was the second attribute used to isolate groups within the classes, and to some extent also to help distinguish the four classes. Hence, Class I felines are associated with joined nested rectangles, checkered and nested crosses, and lunate-shaped designs. Class II felines are associated with separated nested diamonds/parallelograms, as well as a few solid black diamonds.

In terms of body color and design, some Class III felines and those in Groups B-E of Class IV, combine Models A and B, however. The black color body used on some Class III, all profile felines would align them with Model A (also Groups B-D of Class IV, anthropomorphized felines),

but the red and cream triangles are disposed freely over the body like Model B diamonds. Other associated attributes make their affiliation male (discussed later). The Group E, Class IV felines have the same designs, checkered crosses, as the black bodied Group C-D, Class I felines, but the former have a cream body. Here, body color is important and serves to change the category of the Group E, Class IV felines from Model A to B, while the design maintains their affiliation with Model A. The combination of models in this Group E, Class IV interestingly also corresponds to an anthropomorphized feline. Consequently, the use of different colors on the body has served to differentiate the two felines, and/or perhaps to emphasize the mediating nature of the anthropomorphized felines since it combines both models.

When vessels are not polychrome, but are entirely black, then color cannot be used to assign them to class. Rather, body design shows four of the seven all black sherds to belong to Class I felines, and one is anthropomorphic and likely a Model A feline. However, one black sherd (in miscellaneous) possesses both crosses and diamonds, combining designs from both Models A and B.

Neck pendants associated (Table 14) show that only rings (1a-d and f), are found with Class I Model A felines. All but two out of 41 cases are red rings with cream centers, and one is cream with red center, and another is red with black center. Class I felines do not have "bow tie" pendants. In contrast, "bow ties" (3a-b and d) are found only with Class II Model B felines. However, some Class II felines have rings (1d) as does one Class I feline. Again, color plays an important role in separating the two kinds of felines, since Class I Model A rings are primarily red with cream center, while the 1d rings are red with a black

center. Class III felines have black rings with either a red or cream center, making Class III felines unlike Class I or II felines.

Class IV felines that are more like Model A (Group A) have ring 1a as expected. Groups B-D with triangles on the body primarily have "bow ties," especially 3e, but two have rings (one is a red ring with a central depression for an inlay, 1g). The felines with cream bodies and crosses (Group E) have rings 1d and 1e, where 1d is shared by Model A and B felines, again emphasizing the combination of attributes from both models. Finally, the Group F felines with diamonds on a cream body have only "bow tie" neck pendants as expected. Miscellaneous black bodied felines all have rings, and the miscellaneous cream bodied feline has a "bow tie" as predicted.

A rope at the neck is found only with Class II felines, and is absent in Class I felines. In one case the "bow tie" is just below the rope. A rope is also associated with Class IV, Group D (or miscellaneous C-D) felines having body triangles. The profile Class III felines also have long pendant ropes that terminate in the ring.

Feline mouths include four kinds: straight, reversed U-shaped, open showing the tongue, and open showing fanged teeth. Class I Model A felines possess only U-shaped mouths (see Table 15). Class II Model B felines have predominantly straight mouths, except for two cases out of 13, and only cream bodied felines have fanged mouths. Class IV, Group A feline also possesses a U-shaped mouth consistent with its similarity to Model A; and Class IV, Group F feline has a straight mouth, expected because of its similarity to Model B. Class IV, Group C-D are all straight, mostly tongued, reinforcing their closer affiliation with Model B. Class IV, Group E has a U-shaped mouth, consistent with its

Model A body design but acceptable for its Model B color. Finally, all miscellaneous black bodied felines have U-shaped mouths, and most miscellaneous cream bodied felines have straight mouths.

The kinds of feline heads are the most diverse, and include 12 with subdivisions totalling 40 (see Table 15). Class I Model A heads do not overlap with Class II Model B heads, that is they mutually exclusive. Class I heads include: 2a, 2d, 3h, 4, 5a, 5c, 5e, 5f, 5i, 5j, 7b, and 8b; while Class II heads include: 1a, 2b, 2c, 2e, 3a, 3b, 3d, 3e, 3g, 5d, and 9. There are 12 kinds of heads out of 30 cases for Class I felines, but 11 kinds out of 12 cases for Class II felines, indicating greater variability in heads for the latter, which in turn contrasts to the greater diversity in kinds of body design for the former. Most (70%) Class I heads fall within the Feline Head 5 group, while most (50%) Class II heads have the Feline Head 3 group.

The Class IV, Group A feline possesses Feline Head 5f, as expected giving its similarity to Class I felines; and the Class IV, Group F feline possesses Feline Head 5d, as expected giving its similarity to Class II felines. Class IV, Groups B-D felines with triangles all have Feline Head 11, emphasizing the separateness of this anthropomorphized feline from Class I or II. Finally, miscellaneous felines with black bodies have Feline Heads 3h, 5b, 5f, 5k, and 8b as predictable; and miscellaneous felines with cream bodies possess Feline Heads 1b, 3e, and 3f as expected, but also 5f and 5h.

Another attribute of some importance is the triangular or rounded element situated at the upper and outer corners of the eyes. These elements generally contain dashes or semicircles in Class II felines or others with cream bodies (except for Feline Head 2e and one case of 5f),

while Class I felines or those with black bodies tend to lack these dashes or semicircles (with the exception of Feline Heads 5a-c). Feline heads not in relief, that is flat two-dimensional ones, are associated with both Class I and II felines or their equivalent. Feline Head 2e occurs with Class II felines; head 4b with Class I; head 8b with Class I and miscellaneous black bodied felines; and a flat, not well-preserved head with Class I, a miscellaneous black bodied feline, and Class IV Group E. Similarly, whiskers are associated with both Class I and II felines; Feline Head 2a is found with Class I, head 3b with Class II, and head 3e with Class II and miscellaneous cream bodied felines. In addition, of three feline heads having depressions for inlay eyes, one occurs with a Class II feline, one with a Class IV Group F feline (cream bodied with diamonds), but another is associated with the presumably Class I related feline(?) on the oversized beaker.

Regarding divider symbols, Divider Symbol 6 is the most frequent, nine out of 32 cases (see Table 16). However, when all parallelograms are combined (dividers 1-3), then these are the most frequent (11 out of 32 cases). Divider 6 occurs only with Class II and Class IV Group D felines, without counting miscellaneous. Checkered crosses (divider 8) are the most frequently associated divider with Class I felines found only with Group D; dividers 9a and b occur on the oversized beaker. Dividers 2, 3, and 4 occur only with Class II felines, while dividers 1b and 7 are found only with Class I felines. Both Class I and Class II felines have diamond dividers, but 50% of the Class II felines have these dividers, while only 38.5% of Class I felines have these dividers. Divider 5a is found with Class I felines, while 5b occurs with Class II felines; but both have banded bodies.

Geometric designs present on Register 1, pedestal portion of burners, on the neck of jars, or on the bell or raised band of trumpets, also show significant differences between the two classes of felines (see Table 17). Class I felines are exclusively associated with Geometric Designs Aa-b, B, Ca-c, E, F, Ga-d, and Pa; miscellaneous black bodied felines also possess designs Aa and Ga and in addition include designs Ac and D, while a miscellaneous feline on the oversized beaker has design Pb. Furthermore, the black bodied Class IV Group A feline with checkered crosses also possesses design B as expected. Consequently, all stepped designs and diagonal bands correspond exclusively to Class I and related felines. The only exception to this rule is Geometric Design Ca that is shared by Class II felines.

Class II felines are found associated exclusively with designs H-Mb and O, in addition to design Ca shared with Class I felines. Furthermore, a miscellaneous cream bodied feline possesses design Ca, and a Class IV Group B feline with triangles is found with design N. Therefore, all S-shaped and triangular geometric designs as well as scrolls are exclusively associated with Class II and related felines.

Non-geometric elements associated with felines include bands emerging from the top of the head and surrounding the ears, some terminating in feline headed snake elements, severed human heads, feline headed snakes, duck, stylized circular head, and the wavy element (Table 17). Only Class I felines have bands at the head, either plain or terminating in feline headed snakes. In addition, only Class I has a feline headed snake on a jar neck. One likely Class I related feline also has such a head band and is associated with feline headed snakes.

Furthermore, a duck is being held by a Class IV Group A feline, that is Class I related.

In sharp contrast severed heads are only associated with Class II felines, as well as with Class IV Group D felines having body triangles. In addition, Class III Group A felines have what appears to be a leg appendage emerging from the back of the black bodied feline with triangles.

The round stylized head element on or off the feline face, is found associated only with felines having body triangles (Class II Group A and Class IV Groups B and D), as is the wavy element, also on or off the face (Class IV Groups B and D).

The Identification of Model A/Class I Felines as Female Related and Model B/Class II Felines as Male Related

The discussion of associated iconographic attributes presented above has inductively documented a clear mutually exclusive dichotomy between Model A Class I and Model B Class II felines, with only very little overlapping. It remains now to demonstrate that Class I Model A felines are female-related, and Class II Model B felines are male-related. This argument is based on the elements shared with the Camelid Woman Theme and the Feline Man Theme, respectively. It may then further be argued that other elements or designs not directly linked to these two themes, but that are also distributed in a dichotomy between Class I and Class II felines may also be distinguishing features of female or male status. Finally, some Class III and some Class IV felines may be better understood as a combination of the two genders.

When I use the term male/female feline or male-related/female-related, I am not simply referring to their sex, but to their relatedness to their male or female themes and all the other complexities that may have also derived from them.

Female-related Attributes and Designs on Class I/Model A Felines

At the conclusion of the classification of felines into the different classes and groups, it became apparent that many of the geometric designs present on Class I/Model A felines are identical to those directly associated with the Camelid Woman Theme, and absent in the Feline Man Theme or male-related motifs. Such comparisons show the following similarities (see the section dealing with the Camelid Woman Theme):

1. Feline Geometric Design Aa present in Register 3 and on pedestal bases of Class I felines, is also found on the pack carried by some alpacas. Furthermore, Feline Geometric Designs Ab and Ac are also similar to Aa.

2. Feline Geometric Design D preserved in Register 3 on miscellaneous Class I or IV black bodied felines is identical (in some cases also in reverse) to those present in several locations: on the pack carried by the alpaca, a face marking below the eye of the Camelid Woman, on her chest, on the band surrounding her veil, and at both sides of her skirt.

3. Checkered crosses that are entirely red present on the black body of felines corresponding to Class I, Groups D and H, are also found as face markings below the eyes of the Camelid Woman.

4. Red crosses with an additional incised cross in the middle present on the black body of felines corresponding to Class I, Group D and miscellaneous felines also with black bodies (Class I Groups C or C or Class IV Group A), are also found as face markings below the eye and emerging from the flower/plant of the Camelid Woman.

5. A variation of black checkered crosses with red centers (Divider Symbol 8), present at the exterior base bottom of miniature jars in Class I Group D, is also present on the bag carried by the Camelid Woman.

6. Other checkered crosses (red with cream centers or vice versa) on black bodied felines of Class I Groups C and D, Class III Group B, and Class IV Group A, as well as checkered crosses (red with black centers or vice versa) on cream bodied Class IV Group E felines would also appear to be female-related. Divider Symbols 9a and b would also appear to be female-related. This female affiliation for all crosses is based on the fact that crosses are associated only with the Camelid Woman, even though these variations do not directly occur with the Camelid Woman, and are absent in the Feline Man Theme.

7. The only other animal in the collection possessing a ring neck pendant are several alpacas in the Camelid Motif, which is in turn related to the Camelid Woman Theme. However, their colors differ from the usual red with cream center rings associated with Class I felines, and the length of the connecting band is longer, and the function of these pendants may differ although be related.

8. A more general similarity exists between the all black body of felines and the black dresses worn by the Camelid Woman.

Consequently, since these key Class I/Model A feline designs and attributes are also present in the Camelid Woman Theme and related Camelid Motif, while at the same time absent in the Feline Man Theme, it may be concluded that Class I black bodied felines are female related. Furthermore, it may be argued that other elements associated with Class I felines, many discussed in the previous section as delimiting a dichotomy, serve to differentiate and/or be female-related status indicators. Such attributes would include, for example, U-shaped mouth, red ring neck pendants with cream centers, lunate-shaped designs, perhaps nested rectangles on Register 1 and/or 2, and perhaps certain Feline-headed Snake Motifs. Diagonal bands, however, are not clearly exclusively female-related based on their occurrence with male-related motifs elsewhere.

The row(s) of adjoining nested rectangles alternating in cream and black with red centers in Registers 1 and/or 2, pose certain problems which need further discussion. Following my method of analysis whereby specific feline attributes are compared to those from other themes and motifs, the row of nested rectangles would compare most closely to the staff held by some Feline Men or feline impersonators and, therefore, would argue for Class I felines as possessing a male-related attribute. This situation may be the case, but there are other considerations. Such adjoining nested rectangles are also present around the face of some of the female-related owls. The nested rectangles, therefore, could be viewed as an independent design "universally" used by both the Feline Men as well as the female-related owl and not significant in assigning gender. Other geometric designs (with one exception), for example, were shown to align clearly by gender, and the nested

rectangles do not appear to be so clear. The row of nested rectangles on the felines is meant to be viewed horizontally along the back of the feline and into the tail, while those on the staff are viewed vertically and following a zigzag pattern. Those around the owl's face form a continuous circle or oval pattern. Consequently, the pattern differs in all three cases. On the other hand, one could argue that the Feline Man staff is female-related and derived from the female-related felines and/or the female-related owl. An interesting possibility might be that the staff was somehow actually made from the back portion of a female-related feline pelt.

Similar difficulties arise with the Feline-headed Snake Motifs found only in association with the female-related felines. As will be recalled, this motif appears at the chest of the Feline Man and, hence, was regarded as deriving from the Feline Man Theme. However, it is possible that this motif may be further identified into male as well as female-related varieties, requiring further analysis.

Felines with banded bodies (Class I Groups G-I) resemble the two examples of Class II Group C; however, Class I Groups H and I have female-related checkered crosses and lunates or dashes, respectively. Furthermore, one of the Class II Group C felines lacks most of the body where the lunate and/or crosses could occur, and both specimens are badly preserved with respect to colors.

Male-related Attributes and Designs on Class II/ Model B Felines

Comparisons between feline elements and those associated with the Feline Man Theme permit the assignment of Class II felines as male-

related. The following similarities include (see section dealing with the Feline Man Theme):

1. The cream body with diamonds of Class II felines is the pelt chosen when the Feline Man impersonates a feline. The cream body with diamonds also characterizes Class IV Group F felines, as well as some Class III Group A felines emphasizing their male-relatedness as well.

2. The fanged mouth found only on some Class II felines is shared with the Feline Man including the one who impersonates a feline.

3. Another important link consists of the face marking found on Feline Head 1a, associated with a Class II feline, that is virtually identical to those of the feline impersonator.

4. Human severed heads situated on the neck of a jar and on the bell of a trumpet associated with Class II felines, are also directly associated with the Feline Man Theme and other male-related motifs. Severed heads also occur on a jar neck of Class IV Group D feline, pointing to its male-relatedness.

5. Feline geometric designs are rarely present in the Feline Man Theme or male-head effigy bowls. Those few designs include the interlocking nested triangles corresponding to Feline Geometric Design O. This design is found on the raised band of trumpets containing Class II felines, and are like those on some of the belts worn by the Feline Man.

Consequently, based on these major Class II/Model B feline designs and attributes which are also present on the Feline Man Theme and absent on the Camelid Woman Theme, it may be concluded that cream bodied Class II/Model B felines containing diamonds are male-related. Furthermore, it may be argued that other elements associated with Class II felines

discussed in the previous section as delimiting a dichotomy, also serve to differentiate and/or indicate a male-related status. Such attributes would include, for example, a straight mouth, "bow tie" neck pendants, geometric S designs and scrolls, and presence of a rope at the neck.

Of importance are the feline geometric designs, reclining and stepped S's as well as scrolls, that can be given male-related status even though they are not found directly associated with the Feline Man Theme. In fact, my method of extending associations has permitted for the first time to my knowledge the assignment of non-representational geometric designs to gender, whether they are the female-related steps or the male-related S's, nested triangles, and scrolls. Such assignment will prove to be productive in future analysis of purely geometric designs in this collection.

Gender Affiliation of Class III and IV Felines

The black bodied felines with checkered cross body markings of Class III Group B and Class IV Group A are more clearly female-related. The cream bodied felines with diamond markings of Class II Group A and Class IV Group F are more clearly male-related.

Although the black bodied felines with triangular body markings found in Class III Group A and Class IV Groups B-C (and perhaps D?) are like Class I female-related felines because of their black bodies, they are more probably male-related because of other associated attributes. Such all-profile or anthropomorphized felines would appear to combine some male or female aspects, making their gender assignment more ambiguous. The male attributes associated with felines having triangular body markings include two specific face markings on or off

the feline face: the stylized head element and the wavy element (Table 6). Indeed, these two elements are found only with these felines having triangles on their bodies. The stylized head is found with Class III Group A and Class IV Groups B and D felines. The wavy element occurs on Class IV Group B and D felines. These elements or face markings are also found on the face of male-head effigy bowls as well as on some Feline Men. Furthermore, a variation of the feline element with three wavy segments (although lacking the ovoidal portion at the base) is consistently present at the distal end of staffs carried by Feline Men. In addition, these elements are also present in the male-related Guanaco and Bird Motif. The association of male-related severed heads on a jar neck of a Class IV Group D feline also emphasizes its male relatedness. Finally, only Class III felines share the profile body and head with the Feline Man.

Most Class IV Group B and D felines have "bow tie" neck pendants like Class II male-related felines as expected, but a couple of Group B and C felines have rings (as noted, some male Class II felines also have rings). Class III Group A felines have black ring neck pendants; neither Class I female or Class II male felines have black ring pendants. The only other occurrence of a black ring neck pendant is also with an ambiguous Class IV Group E feline.

The leg appendages in Class III Group A black bodied felines with triangles are somewhat similar to the severed legs associated with the Feline Man Theme. However, the leg appendages emerge from the back of the feline and do not have the attributes associated with severed legs.

The triangles on feline bodies also resemble those that are only found on the Feline Man's belt and in the Guanaco and Bird Motif

(although these are nested and interlocking), as well as on Class II feline bodies as solid black triangles at the edges of tail and body. Although these comparisons are less precise, it appears that triangles seem to be associated with male-related motifs.

Finally, Class IV Group E and related miscellaneous felines also show ambiguity in assigning gender. They possess the cream body of Class II male-related felines, but the checkered cross of Class I female-related felines. They both have neck ring pendants, and one of these is black (Neck Pendant 1e) unlike either male or female-related ring neck pendants, while the other (Neck Pendant 1d) is the very neck pendant that is shared by Class I and Class II felines (Table 14).

Consequently, the felines with triangles on their bodies (some of Class III Group A and Class IV Groups B-D) combine attributes from both male and female-related felines, but tend to posses more male-related attributes that derive from the Feline Man Theme or related motifs rather than from the female-related felines. Similarly, Class IV Group E felines also combine attributes from male and female-related felines; one has a black ring neck pendant like those in Class III, which does not occur with either male or female-related felines. Class III Group B and Class IV Group A felines are more female-related, while the cream bodied Class IV Group F are more male-related. Therefore, it appears that some female-related and some male-related felines can be represented completely in profile or be anthropomorphized, while felines of anbiguous gender occur pnly among the all profile and anthropomorphized felines.

Felines depicted on all black sherds total seven specimens, one from Class I Group B; one from Class I miscellaneous Groups A-F; two

Class I Group I; one Class IV miscellaneous; one Class I or II miscellaneous; and one Class I, II, or IV miscellaneous. Although color is lacking, most belong to female-related Class I, and one could argue that the all black color is related and corresponds to the black body female-related felines. The anthropomorphized miscellaneous Class IV specimen possesses a ring neck pendant (1h) that in this case does not clearly distinguish gender. On the other hand, some of the black specimens may be intended to convey ambiguity in gender, by being "color blind." One unusual specimen of miscellaneous Class I, II, or IV combines both diamonds and crosses on a single feline body, representing male and female-related body markings on one feline.

A conclusion concerning male and female-related feline attributes indicates that when they share attributes, the male-related felines appear to be borrowing these from female-related felines. These attributes include the ring neck pendant, the U-shaped mouth, Geometric Design Ca, and perhaps banded bodies. This conclusion is based on the fact that these attributes occur with greater frequency on female-related felines than on male-related ones, and for Geometric Design Ca, steps in general are also most frequently female-related. Female-related felines do not appear to borrow attributes from male-related felines, but the only similar possibility is the row of nested rectangles in Registers 1 and/or 2 and the Feline Headed Snakes could be borrowed from or related to the Feline Man Theme, as noted previously.

Identification of Feline Attributes

Both Patricia Lyon (1985) and John Rowe (personal communication) have warned of the long standing tradition by Andean archaeologists of

identifying "feline attributes" without looking at actual cats. Specifically, they point out that the fanged mouth (which appears not only in Pucara iconography but also in that of Chavín, Tiahuanaco, and Huari) is essentially portrayed with the teeth closed--a characteristic not shared by real felines. Apparently, feline threatening gestures are always accompanied by opening the mouth and teeth wide, and the depiction of fanged mouths with closed teeth is used as a sign or marker that a being is supernatural (Lyon 1985:167-168), while those with closed mouths or open showing only the tongue are proper gestures for natural felines (Rowe, personal communication, 5/8/91).

Therefore, felines with a natural mouth include all Pucara felines in Model A and most in Model B, where the mouth is closed, as well as a few in Model B with open mouth and showing only the tongue (Class IV, Group D). However, the form of representing a closed mouth has been slected and conventionalized so that Model A felines hace a reversed U mouth, while most Model B feline mouths are represented by a horizontal incision. On the other hand, those few with fanged mouths and closed teeth are restricted to Model B (Class II, Group A), and this depiction, therefore, appears to reinforce their supernatural character. Open mouths with closed teeth are more human like while the fangs are feline. The depiction of the upper canines behind the lower ones, however, is a natural position of feline (and other animal) teeth. Fanged mouths in the Pucara style are feline related, rathern than related to other animals, as indicated by their occurrence only on felines, and no other animal, or on Feline Men wearing feline pelts; the fanged mouths of Feline Men without pelts, therefore, most also be feline related.

Another possibility to explain the unnatural depiction of closed teeth is that this characteristic may have been derived or copied from real felines which were desiccated and stuffed, leaving the lips naturally or purposefully dried and/or shrunk and exposing closed teeth. For example, Harry Tschopik (1951:243, Fig. 11.7 and 8, Pl. 30A-B) describes and illustrates the use of stuffed felines in a ceremony for animal increase rites carried out by the Aymara of Chucuito in Puno. Also, indirect evidence in support of this alternative is the fact that some of the Feline Men actually wear the pelt of a Model B feline including the head with closed fanged teeth, and a non-human rounded or button nose. Such a nose is actually present on a feline with the head in profile (Class III, Group B), and serves to link the rounded noses to cats. This pelt, then, may have included the natural or purposeful shrinking or retreating of the lips, with the teeth remaining closed as in animal cadavers. Another possibility is that the closed position of the teeth may have been borrowed from humans, who, unlike felines can open the lips and keep the teeth closed.

In addition, a reference dealing with the nature of cats indicates that felines detect odors through the nose and a little-understood structure at the roof of the mouth known as Jacobsen's organ, for which cats wrinkle their nose and curl their lips into a grimace known as flehmen (Sunquist 1987:28). However, no indication is made as to the opening of the teeth in the smelling process. In any case, fanged teeth are repeated on all the Feline Men, perhaps to indicate the acquisition or sharing of feline powers and characteristics or the transformation involved; and the teeth purposefully kept closed may serve to retain the association with humans.

Another feline feature included at the outset of this section is the red band surrounding the divided eye(s), a characteristic shared by Camelid Women, Feline Men, most birds, some human severed heads, and larger principal guanacos. As pointed out correctly by Rowe (personal communication), such a feature is not present on South American felines, and hence, is not a specifically feline attribute. Likewise, Rowe observes that no South American cat species has face markings like those in Pucara. My identification of these and other "feline features," however, were aimed at providing an inventory of attributes and conventions used in the depiction of felines alone, without implying that these features are direct copies, simplifications or careless renderings of actual felines. The issue of identifying the kind(s) of actual felines being represented in Pucara is discussed below.

Possible Natural Models for Pucara Felines

An important consideration in the process of attempting to identify the actual felines through their representations in Pucara is the realization that regardless of vessel size or space available, felines may be depicted with the same number of attributes or elements. That is, size of space does not determine whether some elements are left out or added, or whether smaller elements are substituted for larger ones; such variations are always present whether the feline(s) was depicted on regular, oversized, or miniature vessels.

It was more important, however, to follow as closely as possible the rules of convention determined for the different kinds of felines and in strict association with specific vessel shapes and perhaps vessel function. For example, the rule indicates that when felines are

depicted on jars, Register 3 designs found on pedestal bowls emerging from the ear of felines are omitted and moved to the jar's neck or replaced there by human severed heads--whether the jar is a miniature (with "less space" available), or regular and oversized (with "more space" available). Conversely, when felines are depicted on pedestal base bowls, Register 3 designs emerge from the right ear (sometimes also from the left one), and a similar or identical design is repeated on the pedestal; or sometimes the feline can be depicted on the entire surface from bowl rim to pedestal base. Furthermore, miniature pedestal base bowls and slightly outflaring bowls of any size are never used for the depiction of felines. Likewise, the same variation in the number of face markings, feet, or nested rectangles on the body are present on felines depicted on pedestal bowls or regular and miniature jars. Hence, the miniature felines are simply scaled-down reproductions of larger ones, and vice versa.

Regarding the identification of actual felines, Fiona Sunquist (1987:18-29) provides descriptions and characteristics of New World cats including the jaguar, ocelot, margay, pampas cat, Geoffroy's cat, the mountain cat, the little spotted cat, the kodkod, and jaguarundi. For our purposes, felines havingpelage markings or spots are of significant importance for understanding Pucara felines since they possess body markings. Specifically, jaguars have pelage markings formed by black dots (on the head, legs, and feet), and discontinuous segments, which, especially around the body and tail of young jaguars, appear like "paw prints" enclosing a brown-orange field in contrast to the yellowish-cream background of the body. When the jaguar is viewed at a distance

or from a low angle, these markings on the body and tail appear like the black nested diamonds with red centers on Pucara Model B felines.

The jaguar (Panthera onca) known in the Andes as uturunku (probably a word of Runa Simi origin as noted by Bandelier 1910:156, footnote 125), is the largest predator in the New World, with males weighing 120-200 pounds and females 80-100 pounds. They have been reported from a wide range of habitats from California and Arizona, to Peru, Argentina, and the lowlands of Brazil. In Peru, jaguar tracks have been reported at altitudes above 8000 feet (2438 meters) (Sunquist 1987:61-68), as well as on the coast (Tschudi 1847:151-152, 174, cited in Lyon 1985:167).

Another spotted feline, the ocelot, also has about the same range of habitats (but at lower altitudes), and similar pelage markings as the jaguar. Ocelots (Felis pardalis) are nocturnal and much smaller, weighing 22-23 pounds. Sunquist (1987:75) interestingly observes variations in ocelot fur markings, noting that no two animals look alike. She states that "The ocelot's fur can be anywhere between cream and reddish grey, marked with open-centered dark spots that run in lines across its body like links in a chain. In some animals the elongated spots join together to form [horizontal] stripes along the body..." Nevertheless, unlike jaguars, ocelots possess a pair of vertical black bands or stripes at the forehead above the nose (enclosing additional vertical dashes), diagonal ones at the outer sides of each eye, and horizontally above the mouth, as well as a triangular or semi-circular field at the upper and outer corners of each eye.

Another spotted feline is the margay (Felis weidii), sometimes known as the "little ocelot." This strictly nocturnal cat lives almost

exclusively in humid forests, is smaller, weighs only 6-11 pounds, is more slimly built than the ocelot, and has a relatively longer tail. The face and body markings are similar to those of ocelots, but those along the body appear like roughly circular spots or rows. Karen Chávez (1986:152-153) includes the margay as one of the possible models for a group of late Early Intermediate Period ceremonial burners containing feline motifs in the Cuzco region.

A little known South American feline is the Geoffroy's cat or "gato montés" in Spanish (Felis geoffroyi). This cat is roughly the same size as the margay (weighing 4-7 pounds) and inhabits areas including the Bolivian Andes. The cat's fur is reported to be smoky-grey or lion-like ocher "with every imaginable color in between" (Sunquist 1987:83). This nocturnal and twilight feline also has small spots on the body and legs and narrow bands on the head, resembling those of the margay and ocelot. Roaming in open grasslands and almost at any high altitude of the Andes is the pampas cat (Felis colocolo), also known as 'usqollu in Runa Simi. This cat weighs 7-14 ponds, and as in the case of ocelots, has been reported to vary from cat to cat in color, pattern, and even fur texture (Sunquist 1987:81). Hence, some may be dark with red-grey spots/streaks, and others may be unpatterned except for brown marks on the legs and tail and linear face markings. Elizabeth Wolfe (1982:2 and footnote 3) proposes that the pampas cat was the naturalistic model for the mythical Spotted Cat of the Nasca style on the south coast of Peru, based on Larry Dawson's suggestion and Patricia Lyon's identification (Lyon 1985:164, footnote 2).

Three additional but little known felines which also roam in the Andes include the mountain cat, the little spotted cat, and the kodkod.

The mountain cat (Felis jacobita) weighs 7-15 pounds and appears to be found at high altitudes and barren slopes above 11,500 feet (3503 meters). The fur is reported to be silvery with brown stripes. The little spotted cat (Felis tigrina) is also known as the tiger cat, weighs 4-6 pounds and is a forest dweller. Finally, the kodkod (Felis guinea) is the smallest cat in the Western Hemisphere weighing 4-5 pounds, and is almost unknown since no data are available on its biology and behavior. It is believed to inhabit the forests of a small area of Chile and Argentina. The fur is reported to be greyish-brown with round blackish spots on its back and flanks, while the tail has black bands or rings.

Based on this survey of spotted felines it can be seen that there are several considerations to be taken into account before assigning a specific natural model(s) for Pucara style felines. First, as indicated at least for the ocelot and pampas cat, no two cats in each species are alike. Color, pattern, and fur texture varies from animal to animal. Unfortunately, such individual "finger printing" is not readily available (or known) for other Andean felines. It is also possible that all felines change their pelage markings as they grow up; e.g., puma cubs have spots. Second, the felines range in size and weight from the largest and most impressive (the jaguar) to the smallest (the kodkod). As pointed out by Lyon (1985:163-164, 167), the great majority of spotted felines represented in ancient Peruvian iconography are not the largest and most powerful puma and jaguar, but rather other smaller felines. Third, their range of habitats is also wide, many felines being at home in the high altitudes of the Andes. In this respect, it is very common to assume that the jaguar is native to the jungle or

lower elevations (e.g., Tello 1923:227-228 in relation to his hypothesis on the tropical forest origins of Chavín) and absent in other environments like the coast. However, as indicated above, the jaguar has a wide range including habitats at high altitudes as well as on the coast.

Keeping these variables in mind, it is difficult to identify with certainty the natural models employed for Pucara style felines. However, among the felines in Pucara, those corresponding to Model B (as well as the pelt worn by some Feline Men) possess certain attributes which can be more closely identified with the jaguar. Specifically, the independent and more or less aligned black pelage markings (each enclosing a brown-orange field on a yellowish-cream background) present at the body and tail of young jaguars, may be related to the Pucara black nested diamonds/parallelograms with red centers on a cream body. Alternatively, it may also be the ocelot which, in contrast to jaguars, possesses a pair of black stripes or bands at the forehead, the outer sides of the eyes, above the mouth, and a semi-circular field at the upper and outer corners of each eye. These face markings closely resemble most Pucara style feline heads (Models A and B) and also possess variations of these markings. Similar face markings are also present on the margay, Geoffroy's cat, and to some extent also on the little known smaller cats. However, the ringed tail present on the pampas cat (proposed as a model for the Nasca style) is absent in Pucara; therefore, on this basis alone, this species may be eliminated as a natural model.

Some additional characteristics present on Pucara felines need to be considered in the search for natural models: 1) All Pucara felines

in Model B possess black feet combined with cream toes, and most have a red band at the ankles. These attributes are absent in real felines, and may have some cultural meaning augmented to the natural model. 2) Andean cats also lack the precise and and different combinations of zigzag bands situated above and below the eyes, as well as the semicircular or triangular fields (sometimes with additional dashes or semicircles in the middle), and other face markings. However, as indicated above, most cats (except the jaguar) possess spots or linear markings of some kind on the face, and those in Pucara appear most like those of the ocelot or margay, but may be imaginary and/or further elaborations based upon real markings. 3) The narrow band bordering the outer chest, lower body, and tail on Pucara felines, cream (sometimes also black) on Model A felines and black in Model B ones, may be derived from the lighter and contrasting pelage present at the belly and chest of most natural felines. In Pucara, however, this contrast in pelage may be black and the band extends to near the tip of the tail. 5) Lastly, the divided eyes on Pucara felines which are also consistently employed in animal and human beings, is likely a supernatural indicator. Conversely, this characteristic may indicate or derive from the nictitating membrane of the feline, which is a transparent or semi-transparent membrane between the eyelids and cornea (e.g., Bruun 1974:138). Such a membrane is present in many vertebrates, and moves sideways across the eye from the inner corner, cleaning and moistening the cornea but still allowing the passage of light.

Pucara felines in Model A appear to be further removed from a natural model. No felines in the Andes possess the neatly aligned and adjoining nested cream and black rectangles, or the lunate shapes or

crosses on the body. The margay is the only cat possessing, at least remotely, a body with horizontal rows of rectangles. If the black body of Model A felines represents night (an argument that could be made based on the black dress of the Camelid Woman, relation to crosses, and her association with the nocturnal owl), then the nocturnal margay provides another possible confirming association. However, the black chest and body below Registers 1 or 2 may be related to the melanistic variations documented at least for the jaguar and kodkod (Sunquist 1987:64, 83). For example, melanistic jaguars or "black jaguars" are characterized by having a dark grey and brown pelage with black rosette-like spots. Another possibility is that all the body elements present on Model A may be cultural additions irrespect of a natural model (i.e. a black body/background containing female designs indicating or emphasizing the female-related nature of the feline).

An additional group of felines in the Pucara style possess a relatively flat head with short rounded ears, which are held wide apart or drawn sideways (see, Feline Head 11d with triangles on a black body in Class IV, Group C; and Feline Head 12 in miscellaneous felines). The natural model for those few specimens may be the jaguarundi (Felis jagouaroundi), which is a relatively small cat weighing 12-22 pounds and also present in much of South America (Sunquist 1987:72-73). Although not much biological and behavioral data is available, jaguarundis have been described as possessing a small and flattened head with short rounded ears held apart. This feline roams mainly at twilight and during the day, and unlike the kittens which are born spotted, adults lack spots and the fur ranges from brownish-gray to brown chestnut. It has also being reported that due to their long slender bodies with short

legs and ability to swim well, jaguarundis are also known as otter cats in some parts of Mexico.

Consequently, the attempts to find direct natural models for Pucara felines are for the most part inconclusive. However, those in Model B may be derived from the jaguar and/or the ocelot, and perhaps even the margay and Geoffroy's cat as the next possible candidates. Those in Model A may be the margay (but with bodies made intentionally black), or the melanistic variations of cats like jaguars and kodkods. Finally, those few specimens with short and widely apart ears and relatively flat heads, may be related or derive from the jaguarundi.

In all cases, however, there are additional attributes which are not specifically feline, and may be imaginary markings or further elaborations of natural attributes represented by non-realistic conventions that obscure the natural models, but that give symbolic meaning(s) to emphasize their supernatural status and the importance of female/male-related felines as images of power.

Ethnographic Data and Historical References Dealing with the Identification and Functions of Felines in Ritual Contexts

Ethnographic data recorded among the Aymara people of Chucuito (on the western shores of Lake Titicaca, about 100 km southeast of Pucara) indicates the use of amulets or actual felines in religious and ritual contexts. Harry Tschopik (1951:236, 242-243, 275-276; Figs. 7, 11, and Pl. 30A-B) reports among the ritual equipment the use of: ritual bundles wrapped in the skin of a jaguar he identifies as Felis pardalis, which is the ocelot, and tied with llama hair cordage; a jaguar shoulder-length dance poncho (such a short poncho, however, could also

derive from other smaller cats such as the ocelot); "tiger" claw amulets; substituting for a vicuña, stuffed wild cats known as titi or titi p'isi, he identifies as Felis pajaros (however, no such species is mentioned in recent feline literature); and puma paws.

The rituals and ceremonies associated with these felines are related to the promotion of fertility of "all livestock" (uiwataki mesa loqaña, meaning to offer a table for the animals), and to the assurance of community welfare (coqela rite). Furthermore, Tschopik (1951:236) indicates that the jaguar (or perhaps the ocelot, since he confuses the two) is not native to the region and that their skins must be obtained from the eastern slopes of the Andes.

In the Cuzco region, information recorded in Pacariqtambo indicates that the puma is related to the rainy season (Zuidema 1985:193), and one of the terms given to pumas (as well as to foxes) is "son of the earth" due to their ability to communicate with the forces and spirits within the earth. A particular relationship also exists between pumas and humans in ritual co-parenthood (Urton 1985:255-257). In Acomayo the consumption of puma meat is reported to occur in order to acquire strength, and puma masks are made to be used in dances (Zuidema 1985:193).

These references deriving from two regions bordering Pucara on the north and south, serve to link felines with traditional rites and ceremonies. Of particular interest for our purposes is the use of multiple or different felines (as appears to be the case in Pucara), and both puma and jaguar skins are worn by men in dances and/or used as part of a ritual paraphernalia/equipment. Information deriving from the Cuzco region appears to focus on the puma over jaguars or other spotted

felines, while the information from the altiplano centers on spotted felines. In Pucara iconography all felines possess some kind of spots or body markings, indicating that pumas do not appear to be represented. Another possibility is that such distinctions may have been intentionally obscured in Pucara, or perhaps the spotted puma cub may also have served as a natural model.

Historical references, recorded in the 16th and later centuries, dealing with the importance and metaphorical uses of felines is relatively abundant. Felines also played an important role in Inca mythology and ceremony. For example, based on 16th-17th century chroniclers Tom Zuidema (1985) provides information regarding the symbolic, ritual, and ceremonial uses of felines by the Incas. The puma, as well as the jaguar and serpent, are said to have been associated with times and places of transition and transformation, as in the case of the six day initiation rituals for male noble youths in Cuzco. These rituals coincided with the December solstice and was conducted or supervised by men wearing a puma head and skin (Zuidema 1985:183, 193-194). Likewise, young women impersonated Earthmother (Pachamama Suyrumama) by wearing puma skins during harvest rituals (Zuidema 1985:195).

In this regard, however, John Rowe (personal communication, 1991) pointed out to me that there is a discrepancy between Zuidema's interpretations and the sources he uses in his arguments. The historical reference is that of Cieza de León, who refers to a written account he received from a priest named Marcos Otaço of a pagan ceremony he had witnessed in the pueblo of Lampaz (presumably Lampa, about 30 km south of Pucara) in May 1547. This account refers to a

ceremony where a boy about 12 years old and a girl about 10 were richly dressed, where the boy carried a weapon in his right hand (like a halberd or halbert which is "a combination spear and battle axe used in 15th and 16th centuries" Webster's 1962:652), and a coca bag in his left; while the girl wore a dress with a long skirt that was carried by an older woman, and a small "lion's" pelt on her back hanging from her neck. She also carried a bag full of gold and silver estampas. Although the ceremony included a dance and blood of a sacrificed cordero poured on a sack of selected and large potatoes, there is no mention as to the girl impersonating Earthmother. Such an account, nevertheless, is significant in relation to the symbols of manhood and womanhood associated with the complementarity of the sexes.

Regarding Zuidema's interpretation of the initiation rituals during the Inca month of Capac Raymi, Rowe also pointed out to that from such references (derived from Molina's own investigation of Inca religion written in 1575, and Bernabé Cobo's report taken from Polo de Ondegardo's writing of 1559) "it is by no means certain that the lion skins had anything to do with the initiation ceremony, beyond the fact that the dance involving them [called cayo by Molina and aucayo by Cobo] took place in the same Inca month" (Rowe, personal communication 1991).

Although both pumas and jaguars overlap at least partially in their habitats (jaguars reported at altitudes above 8000 ft as well as on the Peruvian coast), many historic and ethnographic sources place the jaguar in the jungle and tropical forest environments, and the puma in the mountains or highlands. For example, specific references and illustrations of jaguars provided by Guaman Poma in the late 16th and early 17th centuries appear to be mostly associated with the worship of

idols and sacred places corresponding to Anti Suyu, which is one of the four political divisions of the Inca empire situated on the eastern slopes or jungle regions (e.g., Guaman Poma 1936:84, Fig. 83; and p. 269, Fig. 268), as well as a reference indicating that Inca Roca and his son (Otorongo Achachi, also known as Apo Camac Inca or Guaman Capac Inca) conquered the jungle by becoming a jaguar (Guaman Poma 1936: 103, 154, Fig. 155). However, it should be pointed out that Guaman Poma nor any other chronicler make or explicitly suggest such oppositions in which the puma stands for the sierra and the jaguar for the selva.

Such historical references also provide ritual, ceremonial, and mythological information, but within a wider context including social and political oppositions between highlands (puma) and lowlands (jaguar). However, unlike the ethnographic references presented above that include at least two spotted felines in addition to the puma, historical ones center only on the jaguar and the puma. In this respect, it is possible that the Spanish or European-influenced chroniclers referred collectively to all spotted felines as jaguar (sometimes the jaguar is described as tiger and the puma as lion). For our purposes, it is significant that during the Inca ceremony a young girl also wore the pelt of a feline, specifically the puma. In addition to the ethnographic references that indicate the ability of the feline to communicate with forces and spirits within the earth, and are associated with livestock fertility, the historic ones lend support to the interpretation that Model A or female-related felines in Pucara may be associated with fertility.

Archaeological Evidence for the Function of Felines in Ritual and Ceremonial Contexts

The functions of felines on Pucara pottery in ceremonial and ritual contexts derive directly from their technical aspects, iconographic analysis and documentation, and archaeological association presented in this section. Feline motifs constitute the most abundant at Pucara, in this sample 396 specimens. This abundance certainly must reflect the importance and significance of felines in Pucara ritual, ceremony, and mythology, but also likely in their social and political life. Felines are essentially portrayed on ritual paraphernalia following strict rules of convention and standardization, combined with labor intensive techniques in their depiction.

These labor intensive techniques include: fine, broad, and regular incisions outlining polychrome fields; appliqué; excision; carving of impressions for inlays; pre-fire painting and high polishing of surfaces extending to the exterior base bottoms; white, green (copper?), and/or red post-fire painting within incisions. The end result is a highly elaborate, handmade group of specimens, portraying the feline motif on specific portions of the vessels' surface, and associated with trumpets and certain vessel shapes.

Trumpets are also handmade and standardized in size and shape. The technique of manufacture involve the use of a bundle of reeds or grass to form and maintain the shape of the interior during firing. The single feline portrayed on this musical instrument also has the head and sometimes the front feet in relieve, as well as remains of post-fire paint and a small handle near the bell. The exterior surface also shows the same care and well finished technique as on fancy vessels.

The religious function is documented by the fact that felines are depicted on clearly ritual paraphernalia. These items include: ceremonial burners or pedestal base bowls; trumpets; and at least miniature and oversized jars.

Ceremonial burners are defined as such by the presence of burnt spots or sooty residues present on the interior of the bowl portion which is less well finished than the exterior (cf. Karen Chávez 1986: 144, 147; see also the section dealing with vessel shapes). The pedestal base rim that is flattened by wear, present on most, if not all, burners indicates extensive use resulting from its contact with a hard surface, such as a stone slab or perhaps the stone "altars" that Kidder found within the temple corresponding to Excavation VI. These vessels may have been used to burn some kind of resin-producing or scented wood that produced smoke offered in rites associated with or related to felines. In this respect, Rowe (1946:307) mentions the use of a stone brazier to burn a scented wood near the Temple of the Sun in Cuzco; and Tschopik (1951:242, 250, Fig. 9.4) documents the use of pottery burners among the Aymara of Chucuito known as braseru (from Spanish brasero), as part of the ritual equipment used in the house dedication rites. Such burners, which are still made today in Pucara and nearby Santiago de Pupuja, are remarkably similar in general shape and size to those found in prehistoric Pucara of two millennia ago.

The association of male and female-related felines with trumpets that function as ritual instruments, also supports the religious nature of felines. Such trumpets may have been played (perhaps by both males and females) during ceremonial and/or social occasions. The presence of a handle with an opening small enough to secure a carrying string,

indicates that trumpets may also have been carried during long marches. Today, Quechua people in Cuzco still play conch shells during social, political, and religious processions, that are also carried by a small string during long marches.

Likewise, miniature jars may have been used, in conjunction with burners and trumpets, as ritual paraphernalia. Most of these miniature jars contain remains of a white residue that reacts to hydrochloric acid, indicating the vessel contained lime, a calcium carbonate. Lime (known in Runa Simi as llipt'a) is strictly used today in conjunction with the chewing of coca leaves, and facilitates the release of additional alkaloid. The lime preserved in Pucara miniature jars, including those with felines, would serve as indirect evidence for: 1) The importation of coca from its native habitat on the eastern slopes of the Andes, or possibly the western side where it also may be grown; 2) the association of coca chewing with both male and female-related felines, and 3) the use of coca in ritual, curing, divination, and other religious activities, and perhaps even to solemnize socio-political events as inferred by ethnographic data.

Regarding the use of coca in Inca times, Rowe (1946:291) reports its restricted use among the nobility as well as in ritual and religion. However, beginning in the Colonial period the use of coca became secularized as a result of the expansion of coca plantations under the Spanish (Kubler 1946:394), and today its use still involves both ritual and secular contexts, especially among the Quechua and Aymara peoples of Peru and Bolivia. For example, Tschopik (1951:244-245) studying among the Aymara of Chucuito, reports the use of coca in divination; in diagnosis, as a medicine, and as an anesthetic; in offerings to spirits,

shrines, amulets, sacred objects, and the dead. Coca chewing itself is part of a ritual act during ceremonies, and also serves to solemnize social or socio-political events (Tschopik 1951:256-257).

Oversized jars similarly may also have been used to contain or transport or contain liquids associated with ceremonies, in conjunction with burners, trumpets, and miniature jars. The large size of these jars reflects the large quantity of liquid utilized and required during public religious occasions, although regular sized jars may also have served the same function. The oversized jars with bulging neck are about the same size as those manufactured today in the pottery producing center of Raqch'i in Cuzco, which are used exclusively as containers and in the fermentation of chicha or corn beer. Although the Raqch'i vessels have a much wider mouth, a special narrower mouthed vessel is also made exclusively for peoples living at higher altitudes such as Pucara, where a narrower mouth is apparently required for fermentation at high altitudes (K. Chávez 1987:164-165). In this regard, Tschopik (1951:242, 245) also reports the use of chicha (specially made of a native grain called quinoa) on a number of ceremonial and social occasions, as was also the case during Inca times (Rowe 1946:292-293; Morris and Thompson 1985:90-91).

Virtually all jars in Pucara also show a wear pattern situated at the outer circumference of the base bottom. Such wear indicates that these vessels were also in constant contact with a hard flat surface such as stone slabs.

The iconographic analysis indicates the feline motifs to be of supernatural importance and, hence, of ritual and ceremonial significance. In addition to their association with ceremonial dumps,

temples, and public architecture, as well as their portrayal on ritual paraphernalia, felines are part of a much wider group of conventionalized motifs and themes generated to produce a complex set of images of power. Their supernatural status can be seen in a number of standardized attributes, most of which are also shared by other supernatural beings, such as the vertically divided eyes and the red band surrounding them; in some, the single human left arm nearly identical to those in the Camelid Woman and Feline Man personages, and the two legs and feet approaching the position of the Feline Man; the real and/or imaginary body and head markings and designs; the presence on some felines of unrealistic closed teeth and fangs, some face markings, and the stylized head and wavy element on or off the face, like those of the Feline Man; consistent portrayal of felines facing left, all with the body shown in profile, most having the head in front view and some with the head also in profile; and associated designs used to relate to the Feline Man and Camelid Woman.

We do not know the sex of the felines, or whether such a distinction was important. As previously noted, when I use the term male or female feline, I am not referring to their sex, but rather to their relatedness to their male or female themes. Therefore, the function of these two kinds of felines may relate to the respective functions of each theme. Likewise, each of the two felines were possibly also used for different purposes. In either case, we are independently documenting here a possible antecedent for historic and ethnographic cases in which felines are not single purpose creatures, but rather diverse felines with distinct powers, abilities, and uses.

Female-related felines may have been associated with life-giving power for crops and livestock, and, hence, an economic end would take on an economic function. Of importance in this interpretation of fertility is the fact that the Camelid Woman is consistently associated with domestic camelids and plants/flowers primarily related to the rainy season. She herself appears to be emerging from the ground, or at any rate from below the surface marked by the horizontal incision coinciding with the juncture between the bowl and pedestal portions. In this respect, the historical and ethnographic accounts should also be recalled in which, in the former, young women impersonated Earthmother during harvest rituals by wearing feline skins, and, in the latter, felines were important in livestock fertility. Also, the Camelid Woman (as well as Model A felines) share the black dress/body, respectively, and the Camelid Woman has been associated with the nocturnal owl, suggesting Model A felines were also associated with the night.

Conversely, male-related felines may have been associated with power-giving power to rulers and for political enhancement and group identity, including their association with the supernatural "life-taking" Feline Man. In this respect, it should be remembered that whatever the function, symbolism, or activity involved, the Feline Man chooses to take the main attributes of Model B male-related felines (the pelage and/or fanged teeth) and not those of the female-related felines. He also ostentatiously carries severed human body parts, and within the male-related severed head motif there are even the severed heads of other rulers. Also, only Model B felines and an anthropomorphized feline with body triangles are associated with severed human heads. Likewise, the political and social overtones associated with males and

felines is documented for the Incas, where initiation rituals among male noble youths were conducted or supervised by men wearing the head and skin of a feline. Finally, as noted previously in ethnographic cases, felines were found to be associated with community welfare or personal strength.

The anthropomorphized felines in Class IV pose an interesting question. Ethnographic data derived from South American tropical forest regions indicate the presence of shamans who possess the ability to transform themselves into jaguars. A discussion of this issue, as well as its interpretation and association with a jaguar cult in Peruvian and Mesoamerican prehistory, is found in a critical article written by Patricia Lyon (1985:163-164). For our purposes, however, is the fact that such ethnographic sources clearly and consistently indicate the transformation of male shamans into jaguars (or into other animals as well), or more generally, human beings and not animals seek or achieve this transformation. In Pucara, the human-to-feline transformation or impersonation is documented by the Feline Man. However, in contrast to the ethnographic references, some of the felines in Pucara also appear to seek and at least partially achieve the transformation into human, by "growing" or possessing a single human arm and hand as well as two legs with feet in a more human posture. Consequently, in Pucara the transformation process may have included a dichotomy generated in two directions--Feline Man and Man Feline.

Furthermore, the feline's ability to at least partially become human is, to some extent, objected to by humans after the fact, and the feline's human hand begins to be "severed." This post-fire event is present on two anthropomorphized felines depicted on oversized jars with

bulging neck having extensive and intentionally made scratch marks on the wrist band, one on an oversized bulging necked jar belonging to Class IV Group F and the other on a regular sized jar of miscellaneous Class IV. The only other place where this kind of post-fire "severing" occurs is at the feet of the owl, which is a female-related motif, indicating a totally different event or ritual.

Of significance is the fact that most anthropomorphized felines are on jars (72.5%), especially oversized ones (49%), and only a few (27.5%) are on pedestal burners, even though pedestal base bowls constitute the most frequently associated shape (Table 12). Furthermore, all but one of these 25 oversized jars derive from the Excavation VI temple and the Excavation IV public buildings, where they could have been associated with ritual drinking of a fermented beverage. In this respect, felines would also be associated with a time of transition from a sober to an intoxicated state as the fermented liquid was consumed. The fermented beverage may further have served to facilitate the transformation from felines to humans and humans to felines.

Most feline burners (77.5% of the 247 specimens), on the other hand, were recovered from ceremonial dumps (Excavations I, II, and especially III). This situation would indicate that burners were more extensively used and broken than jars, making both demand and production of them high. While burners could have had long life spans, this situation does not appear to be the case. In contrast, jars (especially the less portable oversized ones) had longer life spans.

The clear distinction between Model A (female) and Model B (male) felines becomes ambiguous in some Class III and IV felines as discussed previously. For example, those possessing triangles on a black,

otherwise female body also have male attributes (such as circular stylized heads and the wavy element at or emerging from the face). In other cases (Class IV Group E) the designs and registers correspond to Model A, but the cream color body is from Model B. Where there is this ambiguity, the felines are entirely in profile view or anthropomorphic. Portrayal of felines of ambiguous gender could be interpreted as indicating the ability of these felines to mediate between the two established male and female-related dichotomies, to transform one model into the other, or to purposefully obscure differences between them. From a more practical point of view, it may be noted that most anthropomorphized felines occur on less portable oversized jars having a long life span, so that such jars with felines of ambiguous gender could be used in either male or female-related ceremonies rather than requiring a special large-sized vessel for each.

Another issue of significance is the relative importance of male to female felines, or whether there may be a hierarchical relation between them. The archaeological evidence shows that female-related felines are more important when greater frequency is used to measure importance; there are more than twice as many female-related felines (Class I) as male-related ones (Class II). In addition, if greater diversity in body markings is employed to measure relative importance, then the female-related Class I felines have many more different body markings (as shown by more numerous groups) than do Class II male-related felines. Using post-fire paint as an indicator or relative importance (a labor intensive technique perhaps involving long distance acquisition of pigments), then female-related felines are more important. Of 158 Class I felines 22.2% had post-fire painting, while of 69 Class II male-

related felines only 5.8% showed post-fire painting. One difficulty is both recognition and preservation, however. Excision occurs with about the same frequency in each class (3.2% in Class I, 2.9% in Class II). Finally, if male-related felines are borrowing certain attributes from female ones, rather than the reverse, such "emulation" suggests the greater importance of female-related felines. However, if diversity of vessel shapes is used, then male-related felines are associated with a greater variety of vessel shapes.

In reality, however, the evidence for a hierarchy between female and male-related felines is not exceedingly great, although female-related felines appear to have a very slight edge. It is perhaps more likely that they are simply different rather than in hierarchical relation. Nevertheless, the greater frequency of female-related felines may be a measure of frequency or diversity of uses of those supernaturals, suggesting some real importance. But both were necessary and complementary as shown by their co-occurrence in excavated contexts, to be discussed below.

Looking only at Class I felines, the question emerges as to whether the groups within may be of equal or different status. Do different female-related felines represent different representations or aspects of the same being or supernatural, or are they different, but related, supernaturals. Do these differences have social, religious, or architectural correlates?

Examination of the distribution of Class I felines by group according to excavation shows Class I Groups A and B are the most frequent in the entire sample, but they do not occur in the temples (Excavations V and VI). Perhaps their greater frequency is due to a

more "general purpose" use as suggested by their lack of specific markings. Rather, of classifiable Class I sherds, only those with crosses occur in these two temples (the Excavation V piece of apparently good unmixed provenience, the Excavation VI sherds that fit from both unmixed and mixed proveniences). There are also crosses on anthropomorphized Class IV felines coming from the temple of Excavation VI (no anthropomorphized felines came from Excavation V). Possibly female-related felines with crosses were essential to temple activities or were the only ones permitted to be used in temples, although this interpretation is based on a small sample size. Their presence in temple contexts could indicate an elevated status for that kind of female-related feline. The checkered cross today also has ritual significance as Tschopik (1951:239) noted for the Aymara of Chucuito. Here an amulet with a checkered cross was used to sit spirits [attract them?].

Excavation IV, with public architecture, has Groups A-F, but no felines with banded bodies. The trash deposits of Excavations I, II, and III contain all groups and are the only locations for banded bodies, although there are differences among these excavations. Groups found in refuse that are not found in either the public architecture or the temples must have come from elsewhere at the site where they were used.

The distribution of feline classes by excavation, as well as vessel shape, may further provide information about functional differences at the site. These distributions also help show the relationship between female and male-related felines. Proveniences however, are not controlled enough spatially/horizontally or temporally/vertically (e.g., fill) to provide specific information, so that conclusions here are

general and need further testing. Furthermore, the sample becomes very small for some excavations.

Female and male-related felines co-occur in all excavations, except Excavation I, suggesting complementarity between the two (Table 18). That is, female or male-related felines are not differentially distributed spatially, especially with respect to the temples, suggesting that any one temple did not solely have access to or functioned exclusively in relationship to one or the other. There was no female or male-related feline "cult" each with its own temple, but rather both appear to have been part of an integrated religious system controlled and managed in some central way at both temples.

Despite the overwhelming predominance of Class I felines (158) over Class II felines (69) at the site as a whole, male-related Class II felines occur with greater frequency at the two temples (Excavations V and VI) (Table 18). Such predominance in temple contexts may indicate slightly greater prestige and status for male-related felines.

Not shown in Table 18 is the fact that in Excavation VI all female-related felines are on pedestal base bowls and a trumpet, while all male-related felines are on regular globular jars. It may be recalled that both female and male-related felines occur on these forms. Furthermore, all the female-related Class IV Group A felines are also on pedestal base bowls, while all the male-related Class IV Group F felines are oversized jars (also the ambiguous, but more male-affiliated Class IV Groups B and D are on oversized or regular globular jars). The complementarity in this temple of shapes and felines (female with pedestal bowls and male with jars) might be significant. In Excavation V, however, the Class I feline is associated with a miniature four-sided

jar, while the Class II feline is on a regular globular jar. In any case, jars with felines far outnumber pedestal base bowls in these temples and in the Excavation VI temple oversized jars represent 50% of all the forms found associated with felines there. Furthermore, Class IV felines are the most numerous in the Excavation VI temple (44%), the feline class most frequently associated with oversized jars. Most of these Class IV felines are the more male-related, but ambiguous kind (Groups B and D).

In the refuse deposits of Excavations I-III, in contrast to the temple deposits, female-related Class I felines constitute the majority or almost so (between 49% and 100%), as do pedestal bowls, the most frequent vessel shape associated with them (Table 18). In addition, Class IV felines are very low in abundance ranging between 0 and 7%, as are jars of all kinds, from 0 to 22.6%.

The public architecture of Excavation IV produced frequencies somewhat between those of the refuse deposits and temples (Table 18). Class I female-related felines were lower than in refuse deposits but, as in the refuse deposits, were nevertheless more frequent than Class II felines. Class IV felines were lower in frequency than in Excavation VI, but higher than in the refuse deposits. Pedestal base bowls are the most frequent vessel shape as in refuse deposits, but jars are also much higher (43.2%) than in the refuse deposits similar to but not so high as in the temple deposits. Only in Excavations IV and III were Class III feline represented. The trumpet in Excavation IV belongs to Class II, while that in Excavation VI belongs to Class I. In this public architecture of Excavation IV, then, female-related felines predominated as did pedestal base bowls, in contrast to the temples. Nevertheless,

as in the temples, jars, including oversized ones, were apparently necessary for drinking large quantities of fermented(?) liquids.

The Northeast Corner of Excavation IV, lower level, provides a context that is possibly related to the area north of the large platform where a burial and hearth were found, and the sample is reasonably large. In this area most identifiable felines belong to the female-related Class I felines, and consist of four pedestal base burners (one identifiable to Group B) and four jars (three identifiable to Group F); Class II male-related felines by three jars and one miniature globular jar, and the six Class IV anthropomorphized felines are all on oversized jars. In total, there are 18 jars (nine oversized) and six pedestal base burners in the Northeast Corner, lower level. This assemblage shows the association of Classes I, II, and IV; the occurrence of at least Groups B (plain black body) and F (lunates) of Class I; the predominance of Class I for pedestal base burners, Class II for two kinds of jars; and Class IV for oversized jars. The large proportion of oversized jars suggests public drinking.

The other proveniences in Excavation IV yielded very small samples, primarily pedestal base burners. The lowest levels have three Class I pedestal base burners and one miscellaneous I or IV burner.

The small sample from the temple of Excavation V shows a Class I Group D (crosses) miniature four-sided jar coming from the south side and base of the North Wall, a good, perhaps undisturbed context. Two Class II felines come from the area of the North Wall, one a jar and the other of unknown shape.

In Excavation VI the possibly undisturbed grey earth of the central sunken court of the temple produced 28 vessels with felines: One burner

of Class I Group B, C, or F; four from Class II, three of which were jars and one of unknown shape; 14 from Class IV, 13 oversized jars and one regular globular jar; and nine miscellaneous, one of which was a miniature globular jar, five jars, two oversized jars, and one oversized beaker. In total one burner, one miniature globular jar, one oversized beaker, nine jars, and 16 oversized jars came from this deposit. This deposits shows the co-occurrence of Classes I, II, and IV; the underrepresentation of Class I (only one burner), and overrepresentation of Class IV (primarily oversized jars used in ceremonial drinking).

The Excavation IV (Northeast Corner) and VI (grey earth of the sunken court) show reverse ratios of Classes I and II. In Excavation IV Class I to Class II is 4:1 while in Excavation VI it is 1:4. While both locations may have utilized felines differently, with more preference to female-related ones on the pampa and male-related ones above in the temple. Whether differential status or prestige is reflected in these two contexts is not clear, but differences may reflect the differences in emphasis in ritual functions. Ceremonies linked to the female theme may have been in the economic sphere, emphasizing rituals dealing with agriculture, herding, water and rain, the rainy season, life-giving fertility, the night. Ceremonies associated with the male theme may have focused on a political sphere, rituals dealing with power relations, community well-being, "foreign exchange" such as might occur in the dry season, alliance formation, peace keeping, life-taking, the day. Interdependency between the two is shown by the overlapping excavated contexts and the existence of ambiguous Class IV varieties. Caution must be taken in making such an interpretation based on felines alone rather than on the full array of themes and motifs.

The Winged Man Motif (Figures 449-452)

This motif is very rare in the Pucara collection and includes only four specimens. Only one base sherd and two body sherds come from Kidder's excavations, and a large rim sherd from an oversized beaker included here is likely from Pucara. The importance of the three sherds was realized after comparing them to the oversized beaker fragment Kidder had inked from a preliminary pencil drawing that lacked its profile and diameter. Subsequently, I traced the fragment from Kidder's final drawing and inked it following my color key standards (Figure 449). Kidder also noted that this sherd was from Manuel Chávez Ballón's Pucara collection, which subsequently was probably given to the National Museum in Lima. However, we were unable to locate this piece either in Lima or in Cuzco. Such low representation in pottery may indicate that this motif was either depicted on other more perishable media, or that it was not a widespread motif at this time.

The large specimen (Figures 449; see also section dealing with unrestricted shapes/beakers) has many attributes which serve to classify or identify it as an oversized beaker, and these include: A raised horizontal band (2.1 cm wide and 7 cm below the rim) containing a series of blocks (alternating in black, red, and cream) diagonally oriented to the right and each separated by incision. The rim shows an exterior thickening or beveling, below which there is a polished red field, followed by the raised band. Below the raised band there is a wide area containing a series of rectangular panels, each with remains of at least two or three different kinds of birds with supernatural indicators, and one with the winged man. In addition, the background of each panel alternates in black and cream, cross-symmetrically.

Significantly important in this specimen is the panel containing the winged man on a cream background, which also serves to incorporate the rest of the fragments. This personage is recognizably identifiable as male, since he shares many characteristic attributes with those of the Feline Man Theme, as well as with some of the Severed Head Motifs.

The attributes shared with the feline man include: a) A fan-like segmented collar at the neck that covers the shoulder. b) A feline head with segmented body in zigzag and upturned "tail" (with additional dashes) terminating in a variation of the staff element that is situated above the personage's head. This creature is very much like those at the base of crowns worn by feline men, although the black color is combined with red instead of cream. However, above this creature the rest of the crown is much more simple, and includes three triangles (a red one flanked by black ones) which are bent towards the back similar to the top hair on the severed heads. c) A face marking consisting of a black band which begins above the eye, and continues below the eye forming a zigzag. d) The divided eye surrounded by an additional red band. e) The right arm, bent at the wrist and elbow, with clinched fingers.

The attributes which are not shared with the feline man include: a) A red - rather than cream - faced human severed head held in the hand, with teeth shown in its black mouth (Figure 449). However, the mouth of the severed head in at least two other specimens appears to be closed (Figures 450 and 452), and in one case the face is cream (Figure 450). b) The severed head in a horizontal position facing away from the personage and held under his hand at foot level, unlike the severed head held by the feline man that faces either upwards or downwards and is

always held with an axe in the same hand. An exception to this arrangement can be seen in Figure 451. Also unusual is the hair of the severed head, which re-emerges above the personage's hand in a long triangular shape. Furthermore, when the general background is black, then, the hair, mouth, and tip of nose of the severed head are cream (Figures 451 and 452). Conversely, when the background is cream or red, the hair, mouth, and tip of nose are black (Figures 449 and 450).

c) The horizontal position of the winged man's head that faces left (from the viewer's point of view), rather than upward. d) The red rather than cream face of the personage, the closed mouth rather than open with teeth and gangs, and a black circle situated at the forehead. Since red faces with closed mouths are present on most of the faces pertaining to the Severed Head Motif, and the circle at the forehead occurs on a specific group of the same isolated motif, these attributes would indicate that the winged man may have also been among the victims (see also section dealing with Severed Head Motifs).

d) The representation of the main personage on different backgrounds such as cream (Figure 449), black (Figures 451 and 452), and red (Figure 450), in contrast to the consistently red background of the feline man.

e) The tip-toed, rather than flat, feet.

In addition to these differences, the winged man, who faces left, possesses a wide horizontal black band on its upper body that extends under the collar. In the middle of the black band there is a cream rectangle/parallelogram nested on a red one. Behind the personage there is a trapezoidal bird tail formed by three segments with a perpendicular black band near the end of the tail. A single cream wing, terminating

in black feathers, emerges above his body, and a long black wavy element is positioned in the middle of the wing. The lower body contains a single arm with a black wristband, and two legs, each also with a black ankleband, that terminates in three black toes. Where preserved, the wrist and anklebands are black when the background is cream or red (Figures 449 and 450), or are cream when the background is black (Figures 451 and 452). Furthermore, the lower body, arm, and legs are red with additional black spots/dashes, and three cream circles are positioned at the shoulder and leg joints respectively.

Because the winged man is associated with at least two or three supernatural birds, it is like they are also male-related. Such birds are also very rare in the collection, and on the oversized beaker they occur in the remains of at least five other panels. It is, therefore, significant that although the wing man shares many attributes with the feline man, he is portrayed singly as an independent supernatural male motif with bird attributes, rather than as part of a theme.

Consequently, the winged man (as well as the feline man) would serve to understand later versions and trace their trajectory through time and space into the Middle Horizon. In this respect, the so-called "attendants" or "flying angels" (such as those at the Doorway of the Qalasasaya) are of particular importance.

The following is a list of proveniences and associated attributes for the four specimens:

Figure 449, oversized beaker, probably from the site of Pucara.
Figure 450, probably a pedestal base burner, from Excavation III, West Extension, Paste #1A, Surface Finish V.
Figure 451, undetermined shape, from Excavation VI, West side and NW corner, Paste #1A, Surface Finish II or V.
Figure 452, bowl or jar base, from Excavation VI, West Side and Northwest Corner, Paste #1A, Surface Finish II.

XI. CONCLUSIONS AND INTERPRETATIONS

This section deals with the major conclusions and interpretations as they relate to the interpretive and descriptive goals in terms of the analysis, classification, and documentation of pottery from Pucara presented in this study. More specific conclusions and interpretations have been included at the end of most chapters, particularly those dealing with iconography and excavation. The general aim of this study was to define and lay out the conventionalized rules in Pucara pottery technology and iconography, as well as to adddress a number of related questions, most of which can be answered with greater or lesser degrees of satisfaction or certainty.

The highly fragmentary nature of the Pucara collections, which originally consisted of about 10,000 sherds, necessitated time consuming efforts to reconstruct as many specimens as possible before any description, classification, or analysis could proceed. Aside from a few illustrations of pottery from unknown proveniences, and two general studies incorporating Kidder's incomplete collections at the Peabody Museum and the National Museum of Lima, there was no comprehensive assessment or definition of the Pucara style. Since comparative materials or studies were limited in terms of the level of analysis I wanted to carry out, it was concluded that my study had to begin anew.

Comparisons of Pucara style pottery with pottery of other sites and times are equally restricted. For example, despite relatively extensive

archaeological work in the southern end of the Lake Titicaca Basin, contemporary pottery or the sequence of later styles are still not fully understood; for the most part, studies utilize earlier incomplete or poorly documented works, making specific comparisons virtually impossible. On the other hand, studies of earlier styles (e.g., Marcavalle and Chiripa) are far more systematically studied, thanks in great measure to the works of Karen Chávez. Consequently, only general comparisons (mainly using iconography) can be attempted at this point until subsequent studies are undertaken. Those studies, however, must also follow the same rigorous steps I applied if one is to properly understand Pucara developments in time and space, as well as the nature of influence into later periods.

Vessel Shapes and Related Attributes

The inclusion of the two major categories of unrestricted and restricted shapes in the analysis (basically corresponding to bowls and jars, respectively), has served to identify the different shapes and further subdivide them into oversized, large, medium, small, effigy, and miniature vessels. Unrestricted shapes have been classified into 11 major groups, and restricted ones into 11 major groups. Each also includes plain, polished red slipped, and fancy vessels.

The identification of the 22 groups is based on the analysis of specific attributes including lip and rim shapes, wall shape and thickness, vessel height, proportions of neck to body or pedestal to bowl, and ratio of rim to base diameters, as well as technique of manufacture. Furthermore, additional attributes including kind of paste employed, interior and exterior surface finish, and associated

iconography or lack of it were also incorporated and noted for each shape/specimen in the entire collection. This kind of control of shape variability has been particularly useful in assigning specific shapes to even smaller or very fragmentary sherds containing the different complex themes, motifs, and associated geometric designs.

The analysis of miniature vessels has shown that they also replicate many of the unrestricted and restricted shapes, and similarly include plain, polished red slipped, and fancy specimens. However, some shapes in the large or regular size inventory are absent in miniatures; conversely, a few miniature shapes are not found in the larger or regular size categories. Similarities with their larger counterparts also include surface finish, paste, presence of a slightly concave base, specific motifs and designs, as well as wear marks on many unrestricted vessels, and residues in restricted ones. Consequently, after taking into consideration all of these attributes, it is clear that both unrestricted and restricted miniatures are special purpose vessels, replicating many larger vessels in terms of function, iconography, and technique of manufacture.

Aside from relatively minor variations, which can be expected in hand-made vessels or attributed to individual potters, Pucara style vessels are standardized in size, shape, surface finish, and paste. On the other hand, the quantities of vessels in each major shape groups varies to a great extent; that is, some shapes are much more abundant while others are less so. Among the unrestricted shapes, regular size pedestal base bowls and slightly outflaring bowls are the most common shapes, while the outflaring tetrapod bowl (one of the very few vessels associated with a burial in Excavation VI), slightly incurved very

shallow bowls, ovoidal annular base bowls, and male-head effigy bowls are represented by only a handful of sherds; the rest are shapes present in moderate quantities.

The quantities of vessels corresponding to the major groups of restricted shapes also show a great deal of variability. Regular size jars with slightly outflaring neck and relatively sharp neck to shoulder juncture are the most common shape, while bulging necked jars, jars with long outflaring neck and relatively sharp neck to shoulder angle, tall jars with bulging shoulder, and feline effigy jars are very rare; the rest are shapes present in moderate amounts.

Based on ethnographic observations in the south highlands of Peru, I have proposed the feasibility of inferring possible functions for both unrestricted and restricted shapes (see chapter dealing with Vessel Shapes and Related Attributes). To answer this question, each specimen in the entire collection included the identification and recording of specific interior and exterior wear marks or patterns (as from use or wear), blackening or sooty areas (as from cooking or burning), as well as residues or interior accumulations (as from storing or preparing substances), including testing them with HCl for calcium carbonate deposits.

The time-consuming efforts of recording post-fire usage or accumulations permitted, to some extent, support of the ethnographic observations. That is, many bowls or unrestricted vessels including miniature ones, showed some specific interior usage or wear patterns especially at the base (as from grinding) and sometimes also near the rim; pedestal base bowls possessed blackened or sooty areas on their bowl interiors (hence the term ceremonial burners). In addition, on

some bowls with polished red slipped interiors the interior slip was matte and thin, perhaps as a result of gradual wear or use as a container. In one case, a large slightly outflaring bowl, containing human severed heads motifs, almost completely reconstructed, showed specific wear marks restricted to the interior base and interior portion near the rim, leaving the central wall interior without wear. Judging by the size of the bowl, it was proposed that these specific wear marks may have been produced by its use as a container of an actual human severed head or skull. As an experiment, a skull was placed inside the bowl and it was observed that the wear marks at the base were relatively close to the points of contact with the base of the skull, while those near the interior rim could have been produced by the head rubbing or resting against it over time.

Using the possible functions suggested by ethnographic observations, I would propose that many unrestricted shapes provide at least partial evidence for their used in serving, drinking liquids, containing solids/liquids, and as ceremonial burners. The only function not indicated in the ethnographic cases is the use of pottery bowls for grinding. However, such activity today is carried out in stone mortars (also an unrestricted shape), and although there are stone mortars/bowls in Pucara, pottery bowls may also have been used for that purpose--as indicated by wear marks on the base interiors, sometimes in a circular direction, present on some regular size, small, and miniature bowls.

In addition, the documentation of wear along the circumference of the exterior base present on unrestricted shapes also proved to be an important indicator for the presence of slightly concave bases. The exterior wear in almost all bowls resulted from contact with a flat and

hard surface. The same situation was also present at the lip of pedestal bases, which in turn served to differentiate pedestal bases from rims. Wear marks were also present on the most protruding portions of the exterior rim and tip of lugs, especially on slightly outflaring bowls. It was postulated that this kind of wear may have been the result of keeping the bowls close together, where rubbing occurred at their widest points.

Finally, the interior base of many small size shallow outflaring bowls showed post-fire shallow circular depressions from use along the base juncture, as well as a wider distribution of general wear on the base. In this respect, Karen Chávez called to my attention the possibility that such wear may be the result of spinning. Some weavers today in the south highlands of Peru use similar shallow bowls for spinning, but no shallow depressions or wear marks were observed. Nevertheless, it is possible that after an extended period of time the basal tip of the spindle may eventually leave such shallow depressions, and could be used as indirect evidence for the spinning and weaving of wool in Pucara times. Based on artifacts excavated in the region by myself and Karen Chávez, specialized spindle whorls do not appear until the Late Intermediate Period (e.g., Carlevato 1989:Fig. 4), and yet there was likely a well developed weaving tradition in Pucara as suggested by William Conklin (1985) based on a Pucara style garment found on the south coast. The Camelid Woman on Pucara style pottery may have been related to spinning and/or weaving if the ball in her right hand represents yarn and the staff she holds is a distaff; she also holds the wool-producing alpaca.

Unlike the wear patterns and burnt areas present on the interiors or pedestal bases of unrestricted shapes, restricted ones lack these post-fire usage patterns. Instead, many plain tall jars have heavy sooty accumulations (mostly on the exterior), and/or are extensively burnt or blackened on both the interior and exterior--likely the result of direct exposure to fire as in cooking. Many other polished red slipped and fancy regular size jars, including miniature restricted shapes, show thick white accumulations on their interiors, particularly in miniature vessels where several thin layers are preserved. Many of these white residues reacted to HCl indicating them to be calcium carbonate, while others did not. Many regular size slightly incurved squat jars also show consistent chipping marks on their interiors in an attempt to remove the hard white accumulations, which did not react to HCl; in some instances this chipping even removed or damaged the interiors.

It is also possible that large quantities of calcium carbonate were prepared in regular size jars and subsequently distributed to miniature jars. Based on ethnographic data, calcium carbonate (lime) is kept in small gourd containers and chewed along with coca-leaf to release additional alkaloid in coca. Such evidence in Pucara would indicate the chewing and importation of coca from its native habitat in the lower eastern slopes of the Andes.

Other restricted shapes, such as the oversized bulging necked jars, lack any residues or blackened surfaces and may have been used, according to ethnographic observations, as vessels for storage, transportation, preparation, and perhaps even fermentation of an alcoholic drink such as that made today of the native quinoa grain.

In addition, wear was also present at the outer circumference of the exterior base in almost all jars, showing that the base was also slightly concave.

One additional artifact not included in the study of shapes is the trumpet. However, some trumpets have been included with the Severed Head/hand Motif, the Feline Motif and related designs. This musical instrument is relatively rare and fragmentary (58 pieces). They have a reconstructed maximum length of ca. 27.5 cm and consists of a mouth piece about 3 cm in diameter, followed by a long tube which gradually increases in diameter reaching about 7.5 cm at the bell's rim. An additional small vertical handle is also present usually at the juncture between the tube and bell portions--small enough to secure a small carrying string. The technique of manufacture includes the use of a bundle of reeds or grass to form the tube portion. Trumpets are also standardized, and for the most part share the same kinds of surface finish, temper (usually #1A), and well oxidized firing as those present on vessels.

Trumpets are associated with specific polychrome motifs and designs as follows: At about the middle of the trumpet there is a raised band containing different kinds of geometric designs in a repetitive fashion; the field between the raised band and bell juncture contains a single feline with head and sometimes feet in relief, or other rare motifs including appliquéd wings; the bell portion contains a band of geometric designs or severed heads and arms; while the portion below the raised band that extends to the mouth piece remains polished red slipped.

This instrument has been considered as part of Pucara ritual paraphernalia. Furthermore, based on a number of similarities with those present in earlier Chiripa times (including shape, general proportions, technique of manufacture, presence of a single small vertical handle, and depiction of at least a feline), Karen Chávez (1989) has proposed that trumpets were also part of the earlier Yaya-Mama Religious Tradition originating in at least late Chiripa times, and continued into Pucara times. Trumpets may have been used as ritual instruments during ceremonial and/or social occasions--somewhat similar to conch shells which are played today by Quechua people in Cuzco during social, political, and religious processions, and carried by a small string during long marches.

Religious Function of Shapes

The shapes on which the representational imagery occurs reinforces the religious function and significance of these pieces. Pedestal base bowls, the most numerous shapes possessing supernatural imagery, were used for the ceremonial burning of some substance as shown by evidence of interior blackening in many pieces. They could also have been for offerings of some kind in which burning was not involved. Use of these vessels on flat, hard surfaces, perhaps on stone slabs such those inside the Divisions/Rooms of temples (Kidder's "altars"), made the lips of the rims of the pedestal bases horizontally flat and removed the red slip once there. Ceremonial burners have a long tradition in the Lake Titicaca Basin, at least from Epoch I of Tiahuanaco, and continue in use today.

Miniature jars with religious imagery that contain lime for coca chewing also indicate the long and continuing Andean pattern of coca use that accompanies rituals.

Pottery trumpets must also have been played on ceremonial occasions. Such instruments were used at Chiripa/Yaya-Mama Religious Tradition sites, but appear to have dropped out of use (at least those made of pottery) during Tiahuanaco and later times in the altiplano. The distribution of all 58 trumpet fragments (including plain red slipped, miscellaneous decorated, and those with representational iconography used here), indicates that three come from Excavation II, 36 from Excavation III, six from Upper Levels of Excavation IV, three from Lower Levels of Excavation IV, two from Excavation V, six from mixed levels of Excavation VI, and two from the grey earth of the sunken court of Excavation VI. Their occurrence in two temples and in the public architecture of Excavation IV points to their use in diverse ritual contexts.

Oversized jars would have been necessary for public drinking, such as for fermented beverages that would occur during ceremonial activities, the beverage contributing toward altered or transformed states.

All of these shapes, as well as others having representational and supernatural imagery, have been found in public and religious contexts, again corroborating their religious or ceremonial function, although comparative collections from residential zones are needed. These contexts include the two temples represented in Excavations V and VI, and the platform/structure complex of Excavation IV where some 100 human

mandibles/skull fragments were uncovered and stone slabs were evidently once erected (one a carved stela).

Curiously, the pottery found in graves and offerings is not the fancy or most elaborate. The dog burial in Concentration 4 of Excavation I did not clearly contain pottery as part of the burial. Under the dog skeleton, likely as part of the fill, was a piece having the Camelid Woman and another with a Feline-headed Snake that fit with one in Concentration 1. Near the bottom of the Concentration 4 pit was the ossuary or offering. Here clearly three vessels accompanied three human mandibles/maxilla. At least two adults were involved and some long bones and ribs were also in the vicinity. One vessel was a small Mica Plain bowl, another a Plain Red miniature two-handled jar, and the third was also a miniature two-handled jar but with a polychrome geometric design. A Y-shaped snuff tube was also associated.

In the cyst burial in Excavation IV in the Northeastern Section that contained a male and an infant there was a Mica Plain miniature incurved bowl, but it appeared to be in the fill. In both the west and north grave chambers of the sunken court in the Excavation VI temple there was plain pottery associated, but none in the east and south chambers. In the west chamber, in association with a probable male, was a broken Plain Red tetrapod bowl (a unique form) and a Plain Brown bowl, while in the north chamber, associated with a probable adult, was a Plain Red bowl. It should be kept in mind, however, that while Kidder noted no apparent internal disturbance in the graves, the tomb walls in the sunken court had been damaged. That is, it is possible that some vessels may have been removed. As the evidence stands, however, what would have been important Pucara burials lacked the fancy vessels as

grave goods, thus pointing to a very different function for such vessels than dealing with post-mortem needs of individuals. Of course, fancy pottery could have been involved in the mortuary rituals for the living, but certainly more generally they served more the needs of the living than the dead. This pattern of having no pottery or few pieces that are not fancy, appears to continue an earlier south highland tradition. The pattern contrasts markedly, however, with contemporary Nasca or Moche burials on the coast.

Pastes and Pottery Production

The most important conclusion about pottery production is that pastes #1 and #1A containing primarily dacite appear with strong certainty to have been made locally, based on petrographic analysis of thin sections of these pastes and of rock derived from the cliff bordering and overlooking the site. Dr. Kwo-Ling Chyi, geologist, has argued that "Both the mineral components and texture of this dacite are identical to the rocks collected from the Peñon behind the Pucara temple" (personal communication 1991). Of significance is the fact that the overwhelming majority of decorated fancy ware, including those with representational themes and motifs analyzed in this study, possess these pastes. In the large sample of Severed Heads, 65% were of #1A, the finer version of paste #1, and 21% #1; for the even larger sample of sherds with the Feline Motif 65.4% had paste #1A and 17.2% paste #1. Paste #1 and #1A shapes are numerous, but of note is the variation in size having the finer paste #1A, from miniatures to oversized shapes. Fineness of paste appears to indicate fancy ware regardless of size of vessel or specific ritual function.

The excavations did not detect any kilns or areas where pottery might have been fired, although Kidder noted a small raised feature as a possible kiln or hearth. This feature, located 1 m from the house in Excavation III, consisted of burned adobe 1 X .75 m and about 30 cm high. Although such a small area could be used for firing, large quantities of pottery would not be accommodated on it. No wasters were found on the excavations. It is possible the large quantities of ash in Excavation III would have been dumped from the burning of fuel in firing. Today Pucara produces a large quantity of pottery and there are good clays locally available.

Other plain ware, including cooking jars, possesses primarily paste #4 (or #4A-D) that corresponds for the most part to Kidder's Mica Plain, and pastes #8 and #8A that usually corresponds to Kidder's Plain Red and Plain Brown. Some fancy ware, especially jars, also have pastes #8 or #8A, but no pottery with representational motifs possess paste #4. The location of production of pottery with both pastes #4 and #8 (or their variations) has not been determined. The great frequency of occurrence of both, especially #4, however, suggests somewhere in close proximity. Other pastes occur in minor amounts, and is more variable in plain ware. Among fancy ware with representational motifs are pastes #1B, #2, #8, #8A, #10, #11, and #14 in minor amounts. For the Severed Head Motif only 1% had paste #8, 4% paste #11, and 2% paste #14; for the Feline Motif 5.8% had pastes #8 or #8A, and only 3% had paste #10, #11, or #14. Paste #2 is local, paste #10 of unknown origin, pastes #11 and #14 perhaps local (possibly non-local). However, some of the variability in iconography occurs on sherds having these rare pastes suggesting their production elsewhere at sites whose populations nevertheless

participated in Pucara ceremonies, shared the powerful religion, and the social networks involved.

The Pucara Iconography and Iconology

The identification of sex and gender in the Camelid Woman Theme was achieved by first making a series of comparisons with a figurine possessing an explicit depiction of appliquéd breasts. The identification of a series of associated attributes followed, and included pierced ears or excised portions like earrings; mode of wearing the hair; consistent presence of necklaces; and a specific kind of simple mouth, eyebrows, and nose.

Once these attributes were compared with specimens depicting human personages, it was found that they were present only on the Camelid Woman. Following the positive identification of sex and gender, additional characteristics or variations of them were noted and incorporated into the inventory of gender attributes pertaining to the Camelid Woman. In addition, this female personage also has supernatural indicators including the vertically divided eye surrounded by a red band, and a depiction in a specific "staff goddess" pose. She also consistently holds a staff in her right hand, leads an alpaca in her left hand, and wears a dress/skirt with some kind of shoes. Although the term "woman with alpaca and staff" may be more appropriately descriptive, Camelid Woman was chosen as a more concise term, but without implying that she possesses camelid attributes per se.

The Camelid Woman is the only personage portrayed in front view, with head/face in relief (sometimes with shoes and shirt also in relief), prominently depicted singly as a central personage, and present

exclusively on pedestal base burners from rim to pedestal base. In addition to the Feline Man, the Camelid Woman is the only other being which has a number of designs, elements, and motifs (see definition of terms in the chapter dealing with Methods of Analysis), which are directly associated and in coordination with the main personage, forming a single composition or theme--hence the term Camelid Woman Theme.

The motifs directly present in the theme include: the plant/flower, the alpaca, and a head with rayed appendages. Except for the plant/flower, the other motifs are also found in isolation and repeated elsewhere forming independent motifs which can be identical to those in the main theme, or may possess additional variations or modifications but without losing their original identity or principal identifying attributes. Only the Owl Motif is not present in the main theme, but it shares many attributes with those in the Camelid Woman Theme, particularly the streamers and stepped designs. Therefore, these independent motifs are considered to be female or female-related motifs.

It has been noted that the female personage in the main theme is portrayed in a larger and prominent position and stance, uniquely reserved for this personage with supernatural indicators. Based on differences in face markings, elements or ornaments she wears or carries on different specimens, it is possible that there is more than one female personage represented. It has also been shown that the plant motif in the theme is depicted in two different stages: one flowering and the other non-flowering. The flowering plant is, in turn, directly associated with a more elaborate kind of woman holding a sharp-edged staff or distaff, while the non-flowering plant is associated with a more simple or less elaborate woman this time holding a more rounded-

edged staff or distaff. Such differences may be indicative of different times within a season and/or differences in the woman's age or rank.

The only other theme in Pucara is the Feline Man Theme. Its attributes of sex and gender were identified through miniature and regular size effigy bowls representing human heads. These vessels depict humans with a moustache or moustache and goatee as secondary male sexual determinants. Subsequently, other related attributes were noted to be crucial links relating them to the main Feline Man and absent in the Camelid Woman, including specific and more complex face markings, mode of wearing the hair, lack of pierced ears or earrings, presence of a protruding chin, thick and black lips/mouth. The male personage also has supernatural indicators including the vertically divided eye surrounded by a red band (also shared with the Camelid Woman), and a different pose which I call the Feline Man pose. Based on the different kinds of crowns, staffs, face markings, and attire, it is possible that there are more than one male personage represented, and/or these may indicate differences in rank.

Unlike the Camelid Woman, the Feline Man is always depicted in profile and in pairs (either facing or chasing each other), possesses a crown, fanged teeth with long bands or elements emerging from the mouth, and very rarely only the head in relief. He also consistently holds a different kind of staff in one hand, and in the other an axe and a human severed head or headless body. He wears what appears to be tight fitting pants, and lacks shoes. Regarding associated vessel shapes, in addition to pedestal base burners where the Feline Men are depicted from rim to pedestal base (the only shape associated with the Camelid Woman),

there are also tall fancy jars with vertical handles, and regular size slightly outflaring bowls.

The main personage(s) also have a number of designs, elements, and motifs which are directly associated or in coordination with them, forming a single composition or theme--hence the term Feline Man Theme. The motifs directly associated with the theme include: human severed heads, severed arms, headless bodies, and severed legs, and a specific kind of feline-headed snake. Except for headless bodies and severed legs, the other motifs are also found in isolation and repeated elsewhere forming independent motifs, which can be identical to those in the main theme, or may possess additional variations or modifications but without losing their original identity or attributes. On the other hand, motifs not present in the main theme, but sharing many attributes with it, include: The Guanaco and Bird, different kinds of felines, the Winged Man, and perhaps variations or different kinds of feline-headed snakes. Therefore, these four independent motifs are considered to be male or male-related motifs.

Among these male-related motifs, specimens pertaining to Feline Motifs were the most abundant and diverse in Pucara, followed by Severed Heads. However, after re-analyzing the original classification of Feline Motifs it was discovered that they contained both male-related as well as female-related felines, including a sharp distinction in geometric designs. Specifically, Class I felines possess female attributes, Class II male attributes, Class III combines both male and female attributes, and Class IV corresponds to anthropomorphized felines either male or female or combining both gender attributes in a single feline.

The Pucara style iconography, then, includes a conventionalized set of representational images, into which a number of supernatural attributes were incorporated that were used to generate images of power. Even the geometric designs associated with them also appear to have had affiliated symbolic meaning. The entirely religious nature of the iconography lacks secular or completely natural depictions, and consists of complementary images centering on or aligned with the two themes. The female personages in the Camelid Woman Theme are portrayed in a specific pose and prominent position. She holds a staff or distaff in one hand and leads the wool-producing domestic alpaca in the other, while plant/flower motifs in flowering or non-flowering stages stand close to her. Such a coordinated and unified composition, I would propose, represents a myth or story in which the main supernatural female personage is associated with fertility, life-giving attributes, her activities, power, and supernatural domain.

Furthermore, a consideration of her additional attributes as well as those of female-related motifs can also help interpret and incorporate additional realms of the natural world into her domain or sphere of activities, as follows: the plant/flower motif is certainly an indicator of the warmer rainy season, when agricultural products are planted, other plants grow, and harvested, and good pasturage is available; it is also the time when camelids are born and adults shorn of their wool. The female-related Owl Motif, representing the nocturnal great horned owl, also suggests the incorporation of night into her domain. In this respect, it should be noted that her dress is also consistently black, as well as the body of female-related felines (some even with lunate-shaped designs).

With respect to the male personages in the Feline Man Theme, they are also portrayed in a prominent position, but in a different pose and always in pairs. Each holds a different kind of staff in one hand and an axe/severed head (or sometimes a severed leg or headless body) on the other, while additional headless bodies and severed heads are attached at the base of the staff, or sometimes a severed arm and leg fill the empty spaces, and a specific feline-headed snake is usually present at the chest of each personage. Such a unified composition, I would propose, also represents a myth or story different from that of the Camelid Woman Theme, where the main supernatural male personage(s) is associated with his activities, life-taking attributes, power, and supernatural domain.

Furthermore, a consideration of his additional attributes as well as those of male-related motifs can also help to interpret and incorporate additional realms of the natural world into his domain or sphere of activities, as follows: The black bodied flamingo (present on half of the face of a male-head effigy bowl), could be the Phoenicopterus chilensis which possesses black wings, or grey plumage when immature. This bird is known to fly (probably from the cordilleran regions) into the Lake Titicaca Basin during the dry season to feed on salt water mollusc and crustacea (Aparicio Paredes 1957:29-30), and serves to assign the colder dry season into the Feline Man's domain.

Furthermore, the male-related Guanaco and Bird Motif overwhelmingly indicates an association with a wild camelid and a raptorial bird with man-devouring qualities. The only other motif which is even more closely associated with the Feline Man Theme is the male-related feline, whose pelt is also worn by some Feline Men. The ferocious and man-

devouring qualities may have also been sought after or acquired by the Feline Man, especially since he consistently possesses the kind of fanged teeth present only on male-related felines with body color and spots resembling those of the jaguar, and sometimes even possessing the characteristic feline round nose. This association with wild animals and qualities is overwhelmingly different and contrasts to the domestic alpaca in the Camelid Woman Theme. Likewise, the active and life-taking character of the Feline Man stands in clear contrast with the more passive and fertility oriented depictions of the Camelid Woman Theme.

On a different level of interpretation, I would also support the view that inherent in the Camelid Woman Theme is an economic aspect, an association with economic activities. The presence of a wool-producing alpaca, the possible wool yarn she holds, the staff which may be a distaff, as well as plants lends support to the argument that she may have possessed an intermediary role between these natural realms and supernatural forces regulating them. Specifically, the uncertain nature of agricultural production and herding as they relate to, for example, cycles of drought, flooding, frost, reduced pasturage and water, may have been attended to by the Camelid Woman to regularize, manage, or seek out the goodwill of natural/supernatural forces which ultimately controlled the outcome of production. Furthermore, while she occupies the entire exterior of the pedestal base burner, the waist or juncture between the bowl and pedestal portions also serves to divide an upper field (where the plant and alpaca are present) and a lower field (where a series of vertical bands in zig zag occur that could represent roots). Unifying these upper and lower fields, the Camelid Woman emerges from what could be regarded as the underground--further emphasizing her

closer contact or association with the earth. In this respect, it would be appropriate to refer to the correspondence between female and earth, known as Earth Mother or Pacha Mama in Runa Simi, that is both historically and ethnographically documented.

Conversely, the Feline Man Theme reflects a political aspect, one involving power, control, conflict, competition, and even non-local contacts, conflicts, or alliances with other groups. In this discussion it is also crucial to incorporate the associated motifs containing human severed heads, legs, arms, and headless bodies which bear striking similarities to those in the Feline Man. Based on the analysis of a number of shared attributes, I have proposed that severed heads represent individuals who at one point possessed a rank close to the Feline Man himself; that is, the resulting three-to-four tiered hierarchy of heads were ranked from those least like the Feline Man (the most frequent) to those most like him (the most rare). One of these groups possesses different face markings and hair and the paste is non-local, indicating that these high ranking individuals may also have been non-local, but from within Pucara territory or influence. Therefore, I have proposed an interpretation in which both local and non-local members of the ruling elite or high status leaders possessing different ranks, perhaps corresponding to a hierarchy of cultural centers (religious, political), were in conflict or competition with the center at Pucara and that their decapitation reflects differential relations to the structure of authority.

These motifs, which are publicly displayed and portrayed in a repetitive fashion, magnifies the violent act, while at the same time suggests social control by threat of force or visual terrorism to

prevent some event or conflict. Likewise, the imagery is intentionally standardized, suggesting centralized control and manipulation--a situation in which religion backed by actual decapitation by force provides a means of or rationale for ruling by force or threat of force, especially when religious or supernatural threats are no longer effective in ruling by persuasion. In addition, the use of force or threat of force is also supported by the 100 mandibles/skull fragments uncovered in a public ceremonial context in Excavation IV. However, this association also implies a religious function of decapitation involving perhaps human sacrifice. Centralized control of decapitation that is publicly ritualized may express and sanctify authority given to a restricted group, thus suggesting a monopoly over force. This interpretation is as close as we get to declaring Pucara a pristine state.

I have also argued that in addition to this materialistic/political interpretation, there is also a ceremonial/mythical component and that such practices may have served both political as well as ceremonial ends. In this respect, the Feline Man is shown carrying or ostentatiously displaying the severed parts, and never actually severing them (hence, the term "sacrificer" was purposefully omitted here). These body parts are depicted on fancy ceremonial shapes such as trumpets, ceremonial burners, and miniature vessels containing lime which is chewed with coca--a frequent ingredient in rituals and many occur in temple contexts. On the other hand, the 100 mandibles/skull fragments may have been those of ancestors or important people, whose skulls were kept as relics and as the focus of pilgrimages. Such pilgrimages, manifested ethnographically as annual fairs at Catholic

shrines, take place in the dry season when travel is easier and there is no conflict with rainy season agricultural or herding activities. It is at these times when contact and exchanges between groups of other environmental zones occurs. It may be possible that the Feline Man has a dry season affiliation.

Too often, however, presence of actual human severed heads or their depictions are readily interpreted as evidence for warfare and termed trophy heads, implying trophies of war. An assessment of Pucara sites in the region that could provide clear indicators of warfare (such as weapons, fortifications, defensive earthworks, and settlements in strategic locations), however, has failed to provide evidence for frequent, widespread, endemic, or recurring events of warfare. In this respect, I have also presented a general survey of different periods in Andean prehistory when indicators for actual and widespread militarism were present or absent. In this survey it was concluded that periods when militarism is absent or not so clearly indicated (when actual uncontrolled fighting is less common), are times when violent motifs and scenes are depicted (such as in Pucara), suggesting its use as a means of social control to warn by displaying terrorist imagery in the absence of or as a substitute for widespread warfare or rule by force. Conversely, during periods of endemic warfare, violent iconography appears to be no longer necessary.

The documentation of two principal themes/supernaturals that never are depicted together with the distinct domains they represent, contributes toward understanding the history of such complementarity that so prevails in the Andes. The Pucara case constitutes the earliest such documentation for this highland region. Even when ambiguous

imagery occurs, it is done using felines, not the two main supernaturals themselves.

Spatial Distribution and Site Functions

Examination of the distribution of sherds having the two principal themes, related motifs, as well as ambiguous ones, reveals spatial differences over the site, perhaps reflecting functional distinctions (Table 18). Table 18 is based on the total number of specimens having representational motifs included in this study from known excavated proveniences, and percentages are based only on those totals. Motifs have been arranged according to their affiliation with the Camelid Woman or Feline Man Themes. Some of the felines that are combinations of both or show ambiguous affiliations remain separate. The feline-headed snakes also remain apart; although their affiliation with the Feline Man seems apparent, there is reason to think they may also be female-related (such as their occurrence with female-related felines). Other felines whose affiliation remains unknown because of their incompleteness are also separate.

The overall pattern for the excavated areas of the entire site reveals that the Camelid Woman Theme (including camelids) predominates over the Feline Man (15.2% vs. 6.7 %, respectively). The relative frequencies of these respective themes along with their related motifs also show that female and female-related representations predominate over male and male-related ones (46.5% vs. 33.1%, respectively) at the site. Such a pattern is also clearly mirrored in the frequency of Class I female-related felines (22.1%) in relation to Class II male-related felines (9%). Ambiguous or "mediating" felines are low overall (only

4.4%). However, there are spatial differences in these distributions over the site that appear to be significant.

The Excavation VI temple, in the apparently undisturbed grey earth of the sunken court, shows, contrary to the pattern for the site as a whole, a predominance of Feline Man vessels (14.6%) over those with the Camelid Woman (2.4%). The grey soil of the sunken court shows a prevalence of male and male-related specimens (37%) and of ambiguous (many more male-related) vessels (29%), again in contrast to the overall site pattern. However, specimens from the mixed levels of this temple (most coming from the Level 1 Divisions or rooms above the court and apparently representing fill, although some might be primary) have predominantly female-related motifs (46.9%), and few are ambiguous (3.1%). Nevertheless, only one sherd from these mixed levels possesses the Camelid Woman Theme, and it fit with the almost complete Camelid Woman vessel from Excavation V. No feline-headed snakes occur in the Excavation VI temple. This temple shows the co-occurrence of male and female-related motifs, suggesting their necessity together as complementary in a temple setting for the diverse purposes which each served. Other media, especially stone sculpture or bowls, also shows such co-occurrence here. Yet, here pottery with male and male-related motifs dominate.

The following list indicates shapes found in Excavation VI that possess representational motifs (probable shapes have also been included):

	GREY EARTH		MIXED	
Pedestal base bowl	6	14.6%	8	25%
Jar	12	29.2%	3	9.4%
Oversized jar	17	41.5%	17	53.1%
Miniature globular jar	2	4.9%		
Beaker			2	6.3%
Oversized beaker	1	2.4%		
Trumpet	1	2.4%	2	6.3%
Unknown	2	4.9%		
	41	99.9%	32	100.1%

The vessel shape that predominates in this temple having representational motifs is the oversized jar, in both the grey layer of the sunken court as well as in mixed deposits. These oversized vessels may have been used for the serving of fermented liquids for large numbers of people who either participated directly or indirectly in the public ceremonies conducted at the temple or from it. However, a special storage function, such as for harvested products, may also have occurred, given the abundance of peripheral rooms in Level 1 of the temple. Noticeably absent here are bowls for serving, eating, or drinking (plain ones have not been included in this discussion). Pedestal base bowls do occur, but are less frequent than in Excavations IV, III, II, and I. Perhaps as they were broken or used they were deposited in refuse. Trumpets, although rare, occur in the temple context and include both male and female-related examples. Miniatures are also rare.

In contrast to Excavation VI temple the Excavation V temple produced no vessels with the Feline Man Theme, but did yield a Camelid Woman vessel (16.7%). Although there are two vessels with female or female-related motifs, the female-related feline vessel also had feline-headed snakes; when this vessel is counted twice, the total is three examples. There are three male-related specimens and no ambiguous

motifs present. Based only on this very small sample, male-related vessels seem to predominate (three vessels vs. two female or female-related ones), but the case remains uncertain. At least one vessel (the one having both a feline and feline-headed snakes) was found inside the temple at the base of the wall; other sherds have uncertain proveniences. In any case, again both male and female-related vessels co-occur in a temple context. The only vessels represented are one pedestal base bowl, one miniature four-sided jar (the one with both felines and feline-headed snakes), two regular globular jars, and one unknown shape.

Excavation IV shows a predominance of Camelid Woman (and Camelid Motif) specimens over Feline Man ones. In the Lower Levels Camelid Woman examples were 11.9% and in mixed Upper Levels 16.8%, while Feline Man specimens were absent in Lower Levels and 1.2% in Upper Levels. Using the Camelid Woman and all female-related motifs together, this predominance is further increased. In Lower Levels female-related motifs constitute 50% and in Upper Levels 45.8%, while male-related motifs are 21.4% in Lower Levels and 20.5% in Upper Levels. Ambiguous felines are 9.5% in Lower Levels and 3.6% in Upper Levels.

This predominance of female-related motifs would appear to suggest the greater importance in the Excavation IV constructions of activities and rituals involving this domain. However, the clear direct evidence of human heads here in association with a plain dressed slab strongly points to the performance of rituals and other activities relating to the Feline Man domain. Again, the co-occurrence of both domains appears to be documented in yet a different, non-temple architectural context.

Vessel shapes having these representational motifs include the following:

	LOWEST LEVELS		LOWER LEVELS		UPPER LEVELS	
Pedestal base bowl	4	100%	14	33.3%	44	53.0%
Regular globular jar			14	33.3%	18	21.7%
Oversized jar			11	26.2%	2	2.4%
Outflaring bowl			1	2.4%	7	8.4%
Deep bowl					1	1.2%
Miniature bowl					1	1.2%
Miniature globular jar			1	2.4%	4	4.8%
Oversized beaker					1	1.2%
Trumpet			1	2.4%	2	2.4%
Unknown					3	3.6%
	4	100%	42	100%	83	99.9%

The abundance or predominance of jars and oversized jars from the Lower Levels compares to that of the Excavation VI temple, although occurring with somewhat less frequency. Pedestal base bowls are higher in frequency than in Excavations V and VI, but lower than those in Excavations I-III. Outflaring, deep, and miniature bowls are represented in this Excavation IV context, but are absent in the temples of Excavations V and VI. The presence of trumpets also compares to their low frequency of occurrence in the Excavation V and VI temples. Three of the four pedestal base bowls from the Lowest Levels possess female-related felines and the fourth also possibly has the same motifs.

Given the nature of the Excavation IV architecture, its more accessible location on the pampa, the presence of the plain slab and human mandibles, and the dressed stela reported to have been erected here, it seems likely that ceremonial activities occurred here that were more public than those that went on at the temples on the Qalasaya terraces. Furthermore, public feasting may have been involved as suggested by the 3 m long hearth, the large proportion of oversized and regular sized jars, and a very large quantity of plain sherds. While

some residency may have occurred, these other features suggest the more public nature of the constructions. The presence of bowls having representational motifs, although only one in the Lowest Levels, seems to indicate serving of liquids or solids in fancy vessels here or perhaps to hold offerings or sacrifices.

The Excavation III trash deposits produced a predominance of specimens possessing the Camelid Woman Theme (or Camelids) (18.2%) over those with the Feline Man Theme (8.2%). Specimens with female and female-related motifs are most abundant (47.3%) in contrast to male and male-related motifs (38%), with only 2.4% ambiguous, a proportion most like the pattern for the site as a whole and contributing toward it.

Vessel shapes having representational motifs coming from Excavation III include:

Pedestal base bowl	280	60.7%
Regular globular jar	49	10.6%
Oversized jar	5	1.1%
Bowl	62	13.4%
Tetrapod/footed bowl	1	.2%
Deep bowl	1	.2%
Incurved bowl	15	3.3%
Four-sided jar	10	2.2%
Effigy jar	4	.9%
Miniature globular jar	10	2.2%
Miniature four-sided jar	9	2.0%
Miniature effigy jar	6	1.3%
Miniature bowl	2	.4%
Beaker	1	.2%
Trumpet	4	.9%
Unknown	2	.4%
	461	100.0%

Pedestal base bowls overwhelmingly predominate, in contrast to the low frequency of regular globular jars and oversized jars, proportions opposite those of Excavations IV and VI. Furthermore, bowls, absent in Excavation VI and lower in frequency in Excavation IV (especially Lower Levels), are relatively high in frequency here. Incurved bowls, not

present in the Excavations IV, V, and VI samples, occur in low frequency. It is possible that these differences reflect the greater quantities of pedestal base bowls, bowls, and incurved bowls that were disposed of after use from one or more locations such as temples and public constructions. The lower number of jars, especially oversized jars, might reflect their longer life expectancy and less frequent mobility so that more of them would have remained near their use locations. Four-sided jars, effigy jars, and miniature version, absent in Excavations IV and VI, are represented here. Trumpets are slightly less frequent than in Excavations IV and VI, again perhaps reflecting a long use life and curation at their use locations. However, other trumpet fragments with geometric, other or unidentifiable motifs are quite abundant from the Excavation III deposits.

In the Excavation II trash deposit, there are no sherds having either the Camelid Woman or Feline Man themes. However, female-related motifs predominate (63.3%) over male-related ones (15.2%), and there are no ambiguous ones present, nor feline-headed snakes. Vessel shapes with representational motifs include:

Pedestal base bowl	27	81.8%
Regular globular jar	1	3.0%
Oversized jar	1	3.0%
Miniature globular jar	4	12.2%
	33	99.9%

Pedestal base bowls are the highest in frequency, the highest of any location at the site, as is the frequency of miniature jars (the only exception possibly being Excavation V).

In the Concentration 1 trash deposit of Excavation I there was a pedestal base bowl with Camelids, a pedestal base bowl with the Feline Man, and a jar with Feline-headed Snakes. The Concentration 2 and 3

trash deposits each contained only one pedestal base bowl with female-related felines. The Upper Levels of the Concentration 4 trash deposit contained a Camelid Woman, and the other jar with Feline-headed Snakes fit the one from Concentration 1. Overall, female and female-related motifs predominate in Excavation I (57.1%) over male and male-related motifs (14.3%). Pedestal base bowls are the most abundant vessel shape (83.3%), and there was only one jar.

Consideration of the relationship between the Camelid Woman/female-related motifs and the Feline Man/male-related motifs and the domains to which they were affiliated shows them to be <u>complementary</u> based on the site distributions in which shapes with both occur in the same contexts. What seems clear is that there was not a specified building (temple as in Excavations V and VI or platform/structure as in Excavation IV) devoted solely to one or to the other. The relationship among the temples, nevertheless, remains to be investigated, especially if all of them were fully functioning at the same time. Because each domain is linked to a different season, the seasonal complementarity strongly suggests year-round ceremonies were carried out at the temples and platform/architectural complex.

One could also ask whether the complementarity relationship was equal or hierarchical. Using frequency of female vs. male-related motifs, the specimens with female-related motifs outnumber male-related ones, as noted previously. If we assume that rituals for each required the same number of vessels, then it could be argued that more rituals in the female-related economic domain occurred, such as for fertility of plants, animals, and perhaps humans, than in the male-related political one. However, rituals of the female-related domain may have required

more vessels, such as more pedestal burners, than for rituals of the male-related domain. That is, the frequency of rituals may have been equivalent for both despite frequency differences in pottery vessels.

Overall Conclusions

It has previously been stated that all Pucara style pottery with representational imagery is religious. Not only is the iconography supernatural, but also most of the associated shapes constitute ritual or ceremonial paraphernalia (e.g., pedestal base burners, lime containers, trumpets), and many, like oversized jars, are also indicative of large quantities of liquids or solids involved in public ceremonies or feasting. Furthermore, the representational imagery has been shown to occur in ceremonial contexts--the two temples and an architectural complex--all associated with different public religious activities; but this pottery does not occur in burials or offerings. Most of this fancy pottery (having pastes #1 or #1A) was shown to be of local manufacture.

The issue of the control over the production and consumption or local use may now be addressed. The religious imagery is specific and standardized, involving distinct themes, motifs, and means of depicting them that are conventionalized. These images communicate supernatural domains or events related to their real economic political, and social reality. Such powerful symbols expressed with such clarity, repetition and in public contexts serve as a means of controlling a political and economic reality by manipulating these symbols. Control or access to supernatural power might provide the basis for access to political and economic power, without the use of force. The imagery in part conveys

visual terrorism such as through the Severed Head Motifs or Feline Men carrying them. The known deposit of some 100 human mandibles/skull fragments in the architectural complex of Excavation IV provides direct evidence of head keeping or display. Unfortunately, we do not know the age or sex of those individuals, nor possible cultural ("ethnic") affiliation such as might be revealed by cultural practices observable on bones. This knowledge would help determine whether what might be involved is warfare, sacrificial offering, ancestor "worship," or some combination. No known Pucara site has indications of being fortified sites, and projectile points that might have served as weaponry are very rare at Pucara. While this evidence is only suggestive of the lack of militarism and rule by force, it is not conclusive. Study of the Severed Heads and Winged Man shows that some Feline Men, perhaps representatives of power had their own heads severed, suggesting that power struggles may have been going on. It could be argued that powerful military states would not need such precise visual supernatural imagery, and that Pucara symbols emerged with such clarity in the absence of well established centralized institutions of force.

The emerging elite of Pucara would have found the control over these powerful images and the ceremonies and economic production and distribution that accompanied them, to be useful for actual control. The imagery would have served to sanctify their status. The consistent ("standardized") explicitness and precision of the images would have been important to maintain and as would the ritual paraphernalia upon which they occurred, strongly suggesting some control over production of this pottery. The natural and economic domains for the supernatural Camelid Woman and female-related motifs have clearly been argued as well

as the natural and political domain for the Feline Man and male-related motifs. Because both co-occur in public religious contexts, both were being controlled at the same temples or public ceremonial locations by some emerging elite. The two domains were part of the complementarity that characterized the system. Control over production of the images, the pottery on which they occurred (and perhaps other media) provided the control over access to supernatural power that underwrote access to political and economic control. Tying labor and surpluses of agriculture and pastoral production into a centralized religious-dominated system assures access to both.

The question emerges as to why the Pucara style, apparently fairly short-lived as archaeological time goes, emerged with such dramatic clarity, explicit and conventionalized clarity, and with such great labor intensive and careful elaboration that had not preceded the style. A possible explanation for testing is that the powerful imagery and religious activities emerged out of the Yaya-Mama Religious Tradition as a response to political and/or economic crisis and in the absence of institutions that allowed rule by force. Michael Sallnow (1987:88-89) studying the rise of religious shrines in south highland Peru has noted this process of shrines emerging in the face of natural and social crises. Applying this possibility to Pucara, it may be that Pucara emerged as the prevailing supra-local center with the greatest regional importance and influence. This new effort appears to have succeeded for a time, but the Pucara collapse needs further investigation. Spread of the images of power that linked diverse regions to the Pucara system have been documented from Cuzco in the north, the far south coast in the Moquegua Valley of Peru, to Tiahuanaco in Bolivia. The impact of this

religion and the related political and economic organization had an impact on the development of later Tiahuanaco and Huari states. The paths of the two domains, male and female-related, may hopefully be traced into both later styles and shed light on just what aspects were used or rejected and why.

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THE CONVENTIONALIZED RULES IN PUCARA POTTERY TECHNOLOGY AND ICONOGRAPHY: IMPLICATIONS FOR SOCIO-POLITICAL DEVELOPMENTS IN THE NORTHERN LAKE TITICACA BASIN

VOLUME III

By

Sergio Jorge Chávez

A DISSERTATION

Submitted to
Michigan State University
in partial fulfillment of the requirements
for the degree of

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

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TABLES

TABLE 1. Excavated Pottery from Kidder's 1939 Excavations (Listed by Kidder's Types) *

	Excavation I		Excavation II		Excavation III		Excavation IV		Excavation V		Excavation VI		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
PLAIN WARES														
Pucara Mica Plain	405	59.4	225	29.2	1979	23.0	2950	25.5	383	26.7	680	16.7	6622	24.4
Pucara Plain Red	69	10.1	48	6.2	1192	13.9	1751	15.1	241	16.8	581	14.3	3882	14.3
Pucara Plain Brown	55	8.1	86	11.2	1496	17.4	1649	14.2	179	12.5	285	7.0	3750	13.8
Collao Plain	23	3.4			7	.1	1929	16.7	239	16.6	363	8.9	2561	9.4
Indeterminate Plain	15	2.2											15	.1
DECORATED WARES														
Pucara Polished Red	75	11.0	311	40.4	2356	27.4	2478	21.4	294	20.5	1130	27.8	6644	24.5
Pucara Polychrome	37	5.4	99	12.9	1511	17.6	685	5.9	39	2.7	903	22.2	3274	12.1
Collao Black on Red					12	.1	92	.8	5	.3	60	1.5	169	.6
Black Buff (& Red?)					12	.1			43	3.0			55	.2
Inca +Misc. Late Painted							8	.1	12	.8	20	.5	40	.1
R/B/W [Cusipata]							26	.2					26	.1
Black Incised			1	.1	22	.3	3	.0			2	.0	28	.1
Red Incised					14	.2							14	.1
Black, Red & Plain Incised	1	.1											1	.0
Black on Red							1	.0	1	.1			2	.0

TABLE 1. (cont'd.)

	Excavation I No.	%	Excavation II No.	%	Excavation III No.	%	Excavation IV No.	%	Excavation V No.	%	Excavation VI No.	%	Total No.	%
POST-CONQUEST WARES														
Colonial	2	.3			3	.0	12	.1			15	.4	32	.1
Modern											30	.7	30	.1
TOTAL	682	100.0	770	100.0	8604	100.1	11,584	100.0	1436	100.0	4069	100.0	27,145	100.0

* From Kidder's original tabulations, Peabody Museum, Harvard.
(Generally, trumpets, restorable vessels such as in Lima, figurines, disks were omitted.)

TABLE 2. Severed Head, Arm, and Body Motifs and Their Associated Shapes and Design Locations from Excavation II (see also Table 10).

	Slight Outfl. Bowl (interior)		Miniature Bowl (exterior)		Slight. Incurv. Bowl (exterior)		Long Neck Jar (2 rows ext.)		Short Neck Jar (1 row ext.)		Bulging Neck Jar (exterior)		Miniature Jar (1 row ext.)		Mini. Effigy Jar		Trumpet (bell or raised band)		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Class I																				
Grp A													1	100					1	100
Grp B																				
Grp C																				
Grp D																				
Class II																				
Grp A																				
Grp B																				
Grp C																				
Grp D																				
Class III																				
Grp A																				
Grp B																				
Grp C																				
C. IV																				
C. V																				
Class VI																				
Grp A																				
Grp B																				
Grp C																				
Misc.							1	100											1	100
Total							1	50					1	50					2	100

TABLE 3. Severed Head, Arm, and Body Motifs and Their Associated Shapes and Design Locations from Excavation III (see also Table 10).

	Slight Outfl. Bowl (interior)		Miniature Bowl (exterior)		Slight. Incurv. Bowl (exterior)		Long Neck Jar (2 rows ext.)		Short Neck Jar (1 row ext.)		Bulging Neck Jar (exterior)		Miniature Jar (1 row ext.)		Mini. Effigy Jar		Trumpet (bell or raised band)		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Class I																				
Grp A	10	100																	10	100
Grp B	3	43	1	14	3	43													7	100
Grp C							2	67	1	33									3	100
Class II																				
Grp A	1	100																	1	100
Grp B	3	100																	3	100
Grp C									2	100									2	100
Grp D							3	100											3	100
Class III																				
Grp A	3	100																	3	100
Grp B							2	100											2	100
Grp C	3	100																	3	100
C. IV																				
C. V	1	20			4	80													5	100
Class VI																				
Grp A	2	100																	2	100
Grp B	1	100																	1	100
Grp C					2	100													2	100
Misc.	30	83			1	3	1	3	3	8	1	3							36	100
Total	57	69	1	1	10	12	8	10	6	7	1	1							83	100

a = One piece has severed heads on the exterior.
b = Could have been long neck jars with two rows.

TABLE 4. Severed Head, Arm, and Body Motifs and Their Associated Shapes and Design Locations from Excavation IV (see also Table 10).

	Slight Outfl. Bowl (interior)		Miniature Bowl (exterior)		Slight. Incurv. Bowl (exterior)		Long Neck Jar (2 rows ext.)		Short Neck Jar (1 row ext.)		Bulging Neck Jar (exterior)		Miniature Jar (1 row ext.)		Mini. Effigy Jar		Trumpet (bell or raised band)		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Class I																				
Grp A													1	50			1	50	2	100
Grp B																				
Grp C							1	100											1	100
Class II																				
Grp A																				
Grp B																				
Grp C																				
Grp D	1	100																	1	100
Class III																				
Grp A																	1	100	1	100
Grp B																				
Grp C																				
C. IV																				
C. V	1	50											1	50					2	100
Class VI																				
Grp A	1	100																	1	100
Grp B																				
Grp C																				
Misc.	1	50					1	50											2	100
Total	4	40					2	20					2	20			2	20	10	100

TABLE 5. Severed Head, Arm, and Body Motifs and Their Associated Shapes and Design Locations from Excavation V (see also Table 10).

	Slight Outfl. Bowl (interior)		Miniature Bowl (exterior)		Slight. Incurv. Bowl (exterior)		Long Neck Jar (2 rows ext.)		Short Neck Jar (1 row ext.)		Bulging Neck Jar (exterior)		Miniature Jar (1 row ext.)		Mini. Effigy Jar		Trumpet (bell or raised band)		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Class I																				
Grp A																				
Grp B																				
Grp C																				
Class II																				
Grp A																				
Grp B																				
Grp C																				
Grp D																				
Class III																				
Grp A																				
Grp B							1	100											1	100
Grp C																				
C. IV																				
C. V																				
Class VI																				
Grp A																				
Grp B																				
Grp C																				
Misc.																				
Total							1	100											1	100

TABLE 6. Severed Head, Arm, and Body Motifs and Their Associated Shapes and Design Locations from Excavation VI (see also Table 10).

	Slight Outfl. Bowl (interior)		Miniature Bowl (exterior)		Slight. Incurv. Bowl (exterior)		Long Neck Jar (2 rows ext.)		Short Neck Jar (1 row ext.)		Bulging Neck Jar (exterior)		Miniature Jar (1 row ext.)		Mini. Effigy Jar		Trumpet (bell or raised band)		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Class I																				
Grp A																	1	100	1	100
Grp B																				
Grp C																				
Class II																				
Grp A																				
Grp B																				
Grp C																				
Grp D																				
Class III																				
Grp A																	1	100	1	100
Grp B																				
Grp C																				
C. IV																				
C. V																				
Class VI																				
Grp A																				
Grp B																				
Grp C															1	100			1	100
Misc.													1	100					1	100
Total													1	25	1	25	2	50	4	100

TABLE 7. Miscellaneous Severed Head Motifs (all are from Excavation III except where noted) and Associated Shapes and Design Locations (see also Table 10).

	Slight Outfl. Bowl (interior)		Miniature Bowl (exterior)		Slight. Incurv. Bowl (exterior)		Long Neck Jar (2 rows ext.)		Short Neck Jar (1 row ext.)		Bulging Neck Jar (exterior)		Miniature Jar (1 row ext.)		Mini. Effigy Jar		Trumpet (bell or raised band)		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Groups A & B: Like Class I, Grp A	22b	88					1a	4	2	8									25	100
Groups C & D: Like Class I, Grp B	4	44			1	11	2b	22			1	11	1c	11					9	99
Grp E: Like Class II, Grp C									1	100									1	100
Grp F: Like Class II, Grp D	4	100																	4	100
Grp G:	1	100																	1	100
Total	31	78			1	3	3	8	3	8	1	3	1	3					40	103

a = Excavation II.
b = One from Excavation IV.
c = Excavation VI.

TABLE 8. Severed Head, Arm, and Body Motifs and Their Associated Shapes and Design Locations from Excavations II-VI (none comes from Excavation I) and Unknown Proveniences (see Tables 2-7 & 10).

	Slight Outfl. Bowl (interior)		Miniature Bowl (exterior)		Slight. Incurv. Bowl (exterior)		Long Neck Jar (2 rows ext.)		Short Neck Jar (1 row ext.)		Bulging Neck Jar (exterior)		Miniature Jar (1 row ext.)		Mini. Effigy Jar		Trumpet (bell or raised band)		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Class I																				
Grp A	11a	73											2	13			2	13	15	99
Grp B	3	38	2b	25	3	38													8	101
Grp C							4ac	67	1	17			1bc	17					6	101
Class II																				
Grp A	1	100																	1	100
Grp B	4d	100																	4	100
Grp C									3b	100									3	100
Grp D	1	25					3	75											4	100
Class III																				
Grp A	3	60															2	40	5	100
Grp B							4a	100											4	100
Grp C	4be	100																	4	100
C. IV	1a	100																	1	100
C. V	2	29			4	57							1	14					7	100
Class VI																				
Grp A	3	100																	3	100
Grp B	1b	33			1	33									1b	33			3	99
Grp C					4f	80									1	20			5	100
Misc.	31	78			1	3	3	8	3	8	1	3	1	3					40	103
Total	65	58	2	2	13	12	14	12	7	6	1	1	5	4	2	2	4	4	113	101

Note: Numbers may include pieces comprised of more than one sherd, and pieces that do not fit but appear to be from the same vessel were counted as one.

a = Includes one piece from the 1955 excavations by Kidder/M. Chávez.

b = Includes one piece from unknown provenience in the National Museum, Lima.

c = One sherd also counted with feline motifs.

d = Includes one with exterior band of motifs, and another of unknown provenience from Kidder's 1939 excavations.

e = All four have bird motifs on exterior.

f = Includes one probably from Excavation III.

TABLE 9. Severed Head, Arm, and Body Motifs and Their Associated Paste Groups (see also Table 10).

	Local #1		Local #1A		Local? #14		Non-Local? #8		Non-Local? #11		Unknown		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Class I														
Group A	6	40	8	53			1	6					15	99
Group B			7	88							1	13	8	101
Group C	2	33	3	50							1	17	6	100
Class II														
Group A			1	100									1	100
Group B			4	100									4	100
Group C			3	100									3	100
Group D	2	50	1	25							1	25	4	100
Class III														
Group A	3	60	2	40									5	100
Group B			3	75							1	25	4	100
Group C	1	25	2	50							1	25	4	100
Class IV											1	100	1	100
Class V			2	29	1	14			4	57			7	100
Class VI														
Group A	1	33	2	67									3	100
Group B	1	33	2	67									3	100
Group C	2	40	1	20							2	40	5	100
Miscellaneous														
Group A	2	40	3	60									5	100
Group B	3	16	15	79					1	5			19	100
Group C			3	100									3	100
Group D			5	83	1	17							6	100
Group E			1	100									1	100
Group F			1	100									1	100
Group G			4	100									4	100
Group H	1	100											1	100
Total	24	21	73	65	2	2	1	1	5	4	8	7	113	100

Note: Numbers may include pieces of more than one sherd, and pieces that do not fit but appear to be from the same vessel were counted as one.

TABLE 10. List of Classes and Groups of Head, Arm, and Body Motifs Used in Tables 2-9.

Class I Severed Heads
- Group A. Single band of heads facing left.
- Group B. Single band of heads facing right.
- Group C. One or two bands of heads facing away from or toward one another.

Class II Severed Heads
- Group A. Single band of heads facing left with a solid black circle (or half circle) at the forehead.
- Group B. Single band of heads facing left with a solid black circle (or half circle) at the forehead and a face marking.
- Group C. Heads facing each other, with a solid black circle (or half circle) at the forehead and a face marking.
- Group D. Single and/or double band of heads facing left or in opposite directions with a ring (or half ring) at the forehead and a face marking.

Class III Severed Heads and Arms
- Group A. Head panels alternating with arm panels in one band.
- Group B. Head panels alternating with arm panels in two bands.
- Group C. Head panels alternating with arm panels in one band on the interior, and bird motifs on the exterior.

Class IV Dead Bodies

Class V Severed Heads

Class VI Severed Heads
- Group A. Heads with plain cream faces.
- Group B. Heads with cream faces and face markings like those on the Feline Man.
- Group C. Heads with red faces and face markings like those on the Feline Man.

Miscellaneous Severed Head Motifs

TABLE 11. A Sample of Heads, Dismembered Arms and Legs, and Decapitated Bodies Represented in Different Andean Cultures Compared to Pucara (excluding three-dimensional representations).

	Chavín	Sechín	Cupisnique	Paracas Textile	Paracas Pottery	Nasca	Pucara Pottery	Moche	Tiahuanaco Stone	Tiahuanaco Pottery	Huari Textile	Huari Pottery	Colonial Inca
Profile view	X	X	X			X	X	X	X	X		X	X
Front view		X	X	X	X	X			X		X	X	X
Open eye/pupil middle	X	X			X	X		X	X		X	X	X
Open eye/pupil above			X	X		X				X		X	
Divided eye (not stone)							X				X		
Closed eye		X	X		X	X	X						
Open mouth/teeth		X	X	X	X	?					X	X	
Closed mouth	X	X	X		X	X	X	X	X	X		X	X
Face markings				X		X	X						
Plain faces	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
With neck	X	X					X	X					
Without neck	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
Legs		X				X	X	X				X	
Arms		X					X	X				?	
Headless bodies						X	X	?					

References for illustrations on which table is based:

Chavín stone: Tello 1960: Fig. 81; Rowe 1962:Fig. 17; Roe 1974: Fig. 28e, Feature 60 on page 14.

Cerro Sechín stone: Tello 1956:Figs. 69, 80, 100-101, 106; Cordy-Collins 1983:Fig. 15.

Cupisnique stone vessels: Salazar and Burger 1982.

Paracas textile: Tello and Mejía 1979:Fig. 132.
Pottery: Menzel, Rowe, and Dawson 1964:Figs. 52c, g and 58.

Nasca pottery and gourd: Tello 1959:Fig. 89; Sawyer 1966:Fig. 213; Lapiner 1976:Figs. 490-491; Eisleb 1977:Figs. 55, 124; Lavalle 1986:Fig. on page 176; Wolf 1982:Fig. 62.

Moche pottery: Donnan 1978:Fig. 205; Kauffmann 1969:Fig. 429; Badner 1972:Fig. 43; Benson 1975:Fig. 1; Donnan 1978:Fig. 274.

Tiahuanaco stone: Posnansky 1945:Plate XXXIX-3, pp. 133, 154; Eisleb and Strelow 1980:Fig. 270.
Pottery: Bennett 1956:Fig. 15a, c.

Huari textile: Lavalle 1984:Figs. on pages 76 and 101.
Pottery: Menzel 1964:Fig. 11a; Clifford 1983:Fig. 149; Schmidt 1929:Fig. on pp. 279 and 291, and Tafel VI.

Colonial Inca wooden cups: Posnansky 1958:Plates XLV.a and XLVIIb.

TABLE 12. Feline Motifs and Vessel Shapes (? = uncertain)

Feline Groups	Pedestal Base Bowl	Oversized Jar	Regular Globular Jar	Regular 4-sided Jar	Regular Effigy Jar	Miniature Globular Jar	Miniature 4-sided Jar	Miniature Effigy Jar	Oversized Beaker	Trumpet	Unknown	TOTAL
Class I												
Group A	3											3
Group B	33											33
Misc B	1?											1?
Group C			1									1
Group D	7		1?				5					1? 12
Misc D	2?+7						3					2? 10
Group E	1?+1					1						1? 2
Group F			1?+3									1? 3
Misc A-F	6?+42										1	6? 43
Misc B,C,F	1?+2									1		1? 3
Group G	1											1
Misc G	2											2
Group H						3						3
Misc H	1											1
Grp I	1?+7											1? 7
Misc A,B,G	1											1
Misc A-I	3?+9		3			1	1			2		3? 16
Sub-Total	16		7			5	9			3	1	141
Sub-Total(?)	15?		2?									17?

TABLE 12. (cont'd.)

Feline Groups	Pedestal Base Bowl	Oversized Jar	Regular Globular Jar	Regular 4-sided Jar	Regular Effigy Jar	Miniature Globular Jar	Miniature 4-sided Jar	Miniature Effigy Jar	Oversized Beaker	Trumpet	Unknown	TOTAL
Class II												
Group A	12				1			2		2		17
Misc A	6							6		1		13
Misc A or IV(F)	5?+10	1?	2?+8	1	2?					1	3	10? 23
Misc A or B or IV(F)	1											1
Group B	1?		2									1? 2
Group C	1					1						2
Sub-Total	30		10	1	1	1		8		4	3	58
Sub-Total(?)	6?	1?	2?		2?							11?
Class III												
Group A				4								4
Group B											1	1
Misc III			1	3?								3? 1
Sub-Total			1	4							1	6
Sub-Total(?)				3?								3?

TABLE 12. (cont'd.)

Feline Groups	Pedestal Base Bowl	Oversized Jar	Regular Globular Jar	Regular 4-sided Jar	Regular Effigy Jar	Miniature Globular Jar	Miniature 4-sided Jar	Miniature Effigy Jar	Oversized Beaker	Trumpet	Unknown	TOTAL
Class IV												
Group A			1									1
Misc A?	9											9
Group B		3										3
Misc B		8	1			2						11
Misc B?		1?										1?
Group C						1						1
Group D		2				1						3
Misc C-D		2?										2?
Group E			1									1
Misc E			1									1
Group F	2	3										5
Misc F?	1											1
Misc A-D	1	2										3
Misc B,F		1?										1?
Misc IV	1	1?+2	4									1? 7
Sub-Total	14	20	8			4						46
Sub-Total(?)		5?										5?

TABLE 12. (cont'd.)

Feline Groups	Pedestal Base Bowl	Oversized Jar	Regular Globular Jar	Regular 4-sided Jar	Regular Effigy Jar	Miniature Globular Jar	Miniature 4-sided Jar	Miniature Effigy Jar	Oversized Beaker	Trumpet	Unknown	TOTAL	
Miscellaneous													
Misc I or IV	5?+23	1?	5?			1?						12?	23
Misc I (A-F) or IV(AorE)		1?+2	1									1?	3
Misc I (B,C,F) or IV(A)			1										1
Misc I (C,D) or IV(A)		2	1?									1?	2
Misc III or IV (B-D)				1									1
Misc I or II	1		1?+1									1?	2
Misc II or IV	1?+4	2	1?+1		1?							3?	7
Misc I, II,IV	5?+27	3?+5	4?+5			1?			1		1	13?	39
Sub-Total	55	11	9	1					1		1		78
Sub-Total(?)	11?	5?	12?		1?	2?						31?	
TABLE SUB-TOTAL	215	31	35	6	1	10	9	8	1	7	6		329
TABLE SUB-TOT.(?)	32?	11?	16?	3?	3?	2?						67?	
TABLE TOTAL	247	42	51	9	4	12	9	8	1	7	6		396

TABLE 13. Feline Motifs and Associated Pastes
(Unk. = Unknown; ? = uncertain)

Feline Groups	1	1?	1A	1A?	1B	2 or 2	8A	±5	±6	8	8A	8A?	10	11	11?	14	14?	Unk.	To-tal
Class I																			
Group A			2	1															3
Group B	6		24											1		1		1	33
Misc B			1																1
Group C														1					1
Group D			11															2	13
Misc D	2		10																12
Group E			3																3
Group F										4									4
Misc A-F	6	1	40		1				1										49
Misc B,C,F			4																4
Group G	1																		1
Misc G	2																		2
Group H			2												1				3
Misc H			1																1
Group I	2		6																8
Msc A,B,G			1																1
Misc A-I	2		13	1	1					1				1					19
Sub-Total	21	1	118	2	2				1	5				3	1	1		3	158
Class II																			
Group A			13	2					1									1	17
Misc A	1		10															2	13
Misc A or IV(F)	5		27							1									33
Msc A or B or IV(F)			1																1
Group B	2		1																3
Group C	1		1																2
Sub-Total	9		53	2					1	1								3	69

TABLE 13. (cont'd.)

Feline Groups	1	1?	1A	1A?	1B	2	2 or 8A	±5	±6	8	8A	8A?	10	11	11?	14	14?	Unk.	To-tal
Class III																			
Group A			3						1										4
Group B																		1	1
Misc III			2				1		1										4
Sub-Total			5				1		2									1	9
Class IV																			
Group A																		1	1
Misc A?			9																9
Group B			3																3
Misc B	7				1						1			2					11
Misc B?	1																		1
Group C			1																1
Group D	2																	1	3
Misc C-D	1			1															2
Group E			1																1
Misc E	1																		1
Group F			5																5
Misc F?													1						1
Misc A-D		1	1							1									3
Misc B,F			1																1
Misc IV	4		2							1	1								8
Sub-Total	16	1	23	1	1					2	2		1	2				2	51

TABLE 13. (cont'd.)

Feline Groups	1	1?	1A	1A?	1B	2 or 2	8A	±5	±6	8	8A	8A?	10	11	11?	14	14?	Unk.	To-tal
Misc																			
Msc I or IV	4		24		1			1		1	2					1	1		35
Msc I(A-F) orIV(AorE)	1		2															1	4
Misc I (B,C,F) or IV (A)														1					1
Misc I (C,D) or IV (A)			2									1							3
Misc III or IV(B-D)			1																1
Misc I or II	1		1											1					3
Misc IIorIV	3		3			1				1	2								10
Msc I,II,IV	13		27	1		1	1			1	6	2							52
Sub-Total	22		60	1	1	2	1	1		3	10	3		2		1	1	1	109
TOTAL	68	2	259	6	2	4	2	1	4	11	12	3	1	7	1	2	1	10	396

TABLE 14. Feline Motifs and Associated Neck Elements (? = uncertain)

Feline Groups	RINGS									RINGS ON PROFILES			"BOW TIES"					
	ring	1a	1b	1c	1d	1e	1f	1g	1h	2a	2b	2c	3a	3b	3c	3d	3e	3f
Class I																		
Group A		2 1?																
Group B		3 3?		2			1											
Group C					1													
Group D		6 1?																
Misc D		1 1?																
Group E		1																
Misc A-F		3		1														
Misc B,C,F		1?																
Group G		1																
Group H		1																
Misc A,B,G		1																
Misc A-I	1	5 3?	1															
Sub-Total	1	24	1	3	1		1											
Sub-Total(?)		10?																

TABLE 14. (cont'd.)

Feline Groups	RINGS								RINGS ON PROFILES			"BOW TIES"					
	ring	1a	1b	1c	1d	1e	1f	1g	1h	2a	2b	2c	3a	3b	3c	3d	3e	3f
Class II																		
Group A					2								5	1?				
Misc A													1 1?					
Group B																1?		
Group C					1?											1?		
Group A or IV(F)																1 (relief)		
Sub-Total					2								6			1		
Sub-Total(?)					1?								1?	1?		2?		
Class III																		
Group A											1	1						
Group B										1								
Sub-Total										1	1	1						

TABLE 14. (cont'd.)

Feline Groups	RINGS									RINGS ON PROFILES			"BOW TIES"					
	ring	1a	1b	1c	1d	1e	1f	1g	1h	2a	2b	2c	3a	3b	3c	3d	3e	3f
Class IV																		
Group A		1																
Group B																	1	
Misc B								1									1 1?	
Group C	1																	
Group D													1					
Group E						1												
Misc E					1													
Group F														1	1			1
Misc IV(A-D)	1																	
Misc. IV									1									
Sub-Total	2	1			1	1		1	1				1	1	1		2	1
Sub-Total(?)																	1?	
Miscellaneous																		
Misc I or IV	1?	3 4?		1?														
Misc I (B,C,F) or IV (A)	1																	
Misc II or IV													1?					
Misc I, II, or IV	1 1?																	
Sub-Total	2	3																
Sub-Total(?)	2?	4?		1?									1?					
TABLE SUB-TOTAL	5	28	1	3	4	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	7	1	1	1	2	1
TABLE SUB-TOTAL(?)	2?	14?		1?	1?								2?	1?		2?	1?	
TABLE 85 TOTAL	7	42	1	4	5	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	9	2	1	3	3	1

TABLE 10: Feline Motifs and Feline Heads

S = straight mouth, F = fanged mouth, U = U-shaped mouth, all others have U-shaped mouth
? = uncertain, anthro. = anthropomorphized, cr. = cream, bl. = black)

Feline Groups	SF SF 1a 1b	S 2a 2b 2c 2d 2e	S S SF S S S 3a 3b 3c 3d 3e 3f 3g 3h	4a 4b	S S 5a 5b 5c 5d 5e 5f 5g 5h 5i 5j 5k	? 6	7a 7b	S 8a 8b	9 10	S S ? S 11a 11b 11c 11d	12 S U
Class I											
Group A					1		1				
Group B			1	1	1 2 1 3 1						
Misc B											1
Group C				1							
Group D		2	1?		2						
Misc D			1		1						
Misc B, C, F											1
Misc A-F					1 2 3						
Group G					1						
Group H		1									
Misc A-I					1 2			1			
Sub-Total		1 2	2	1 1	1 5 1 12 1 1		1	1			2
Sub-Total(?)			1?		1?						

Feline Groups	SF SF 1a 1b	S 2a 2b 2c 2d 2e	S S SF S S S 3a 3b 3c 3d 3e 3f 3g 3h	4a 4b	S S 5a 5b 5c 5d 5e 5f 5g 5h 5i 5j 5k	? 6	7a 7b	S 8a 8b	9 10	S S ? S 11a 11b 11c 11d	12 S U
Class II											
Group A	1	1 1	1 2 1		1						1
Misc A			1								
Misc A or Anthro.		1	1								
Group C									1		
Sub-Total	1	1 1 1	1 1 1 2 1		1				1		1
Class IV											
Group A					1						
Group B										1	
Group C										1	
Group D										1 2	
Misc C-D										2?	
Group E											1
Group F					1						
Misc IV											1
Sub-Total					1 1					1 2 1 1	2
Sub-Total(?)										2?	

Feline Groups	SF SF 1a 1b	S 2a 2b 2c 2d 2e	S S SF S S S 3a 3b 3c 3d 3e 3f 3g 3h	4a 4b	S S 5a 5b 5c 5d 5e 5f 5g 5h 5i 5j 5k	? 6	7a 7b	S 8a 8b	9 10	S S ? S 11a 11b 11c 11d	12 S U
Miscellaneous											
Class I (B,C,F) or IV (A)					1						
Class I or IV bl. body			1		1 2 1			1			2
Class II or IV cr. body	1		1 1		1 1						
Class I,II,IV		1	1 1		2? 1 2 2 1 2? 1?	1	1	1	1		3 1
Sub-Total	1	1	1 1 1 2		1 1 2 6 1 1 1	1	1	1 1	1		3 3
Sub-Total(?)					2? 2? 1?						
TABLE SUB-TOTAL	1 1	1 1 1 3 1	1 1 1 1 3 1 1 4	1 1	1 1 6 2 3 19 1 1 1 1 1	1	1 1	1 2	1 1	1 2 1 1	3 1 7
TABLE SUB-TOTAL(?)			1?		3? 2? 1?					2?	
TABLE 94 TOTAL	1 1	1 1 1 3 1	1 1 1 1 3 1 1 5	1 1	4 1 6 2 3 21 1 1 1 1 2	1	1 1	1 2	1 1	1 4 1 1	3 1 6

Feline Groups	1a	1b	1c	2	3	4	5a	5b	6	7	8	9a	9b	Unknown	Total
Class I															
Group B	1														1
Group C										1					1
Group D	1?	1									4				1? 5
Misc A-F		1	1?+1											1	1?+3
Group I							1								1
Misc A-I														1	1
Sub-Total	1	2	1				1			1	4			2	12
Sub-Total(?)	1?		1?												2?
Class II															
Group A			1	2?+1	1	1			2						2?+6
Misc A	1								2						3
Group C								1							1
Sub-Total	1		1	1	1	1		1	4						10
Sub-Total(?)				2?											2?

Feline Groups	1a	1b	1c	2	3	4	5a	5b	6	7	8	9a	9b	Unknown	Total
Class IV															
Group D									1						1
Misc A or D									1						1
Misc IV									1						1
Sub-Total									3						3
Misc.															
Misc I,II,IV									1?+1			1	1		1?+3
Sub-Total									1			1	1		3
Sub-Total(?)									1?						1?
TABLE SUB-TOTAL	2	2	2	1	1	1	1	1	8	1	4	1	1	2	28
TABLE SUB-TOTAL(?)	1?		1?	2?					1?						5?
TABLE TOTAL	3	2	3	3	1	1	1	1	9	1	4	1	1	2	33

Feline Groups	Aa	Ab	Ac	B	Ca	Cb	Cc	D	E	F	Ga	Gb	Gc	Gd	H	I	Ja	Jb	K	L	Ma	Mb	N	O	Pa	Pb	Head-band	Fel-Snake Appen	Rope at Neck	Sev Head	Styled Head	Other
Class I																																
Group A					3						1																					
Group B	3			1?	2	1	1					5	2	3																		
Group C																												1?				
Group D	3			1	1					1																	1 1?	2				1a
Misc D	1				1																						1					
Group E					1																											
Msc A-F	7				16	2			2		1?																					
Group G	4																															
Group H				1																							1					
Misc H					1																											
Group I	1 1?	1																														

Feline Groups	Aa	Ab	Ac	B	Ca	Cb	Cc	D	E	F	Ga	Gb	Gc	Gd	H	I	Ja	Jb	K	L	Ma	Mb	N	O	Pa	Pb	Head-band	Fel-Snake Appen	Rope at Neck	Sev Head	Styled Head	Other
Misc A-I	2			1						1															1		1					
Shape Locations for Class I																																
Register 3	19 1?	1			25	3	1		2																							
Pedestal	2			2 1?							1 1?	5	2	3																		
Jar Neck				1						1																						1a
Trumpet Bell										1																						
Trumpet Band																									1							
Sub-Total	21	1		3	25	3	1		2	2	1	5	2	3											1		4	2				1a
Sub-Total?	1?			1?							1?																1?	1?				
TOTAL	22	1		4	25	3	1		2	2	2	5	2	3											1		5	3				1a

Feline Groups	Aa	Ab	Ac	B	Ca	Cb	Cc	D	E	F	Ga	Gb	Gc	Gd	H	I	Ja	Jb	K	L	Ma	Mb	N	O	Pa	Pb	Head-band	Fel-Snake Appen	Rope at Neck	Sev Head	Styled Head	Other
Class II																																
Group A					2										1	1		2	1	1		1		2					1			
Misc A					1																1								2	1		
Misc A or IV (F)					1												1	1		1										1		
Shape Locations for Class II																																
Register 3					4										1		1	2	1			1										
Pedestal																1		1		2	1											
Jar Neck																														1		
Trumpet Bell																														1		
Trumpet Band																								2								
TOTAL					4										1	1	1	3	1	2	1	1		2					3	2		

Feline Groups	Aa	Ab	Ac	B	Ca	Cb	Cc	D	E	F	Ga	Gb	Gc	Gd	H	I	Ja	Jb	K	L	Ma	Mb	N	O	Pa	Pb	Head-band	Fel-Snake Appen	Rope at Neck	Sev Head	Styled Head	Other
Class III																																
Group A																													2	2 (leg)	1	
Group B																													1			
Shape Locations for Class III																																
Other																														2		
TOTAL																													3	2	1	
Class IV																																
Group A				1																												1b
Group B																							1								1	1c
Group D																													2	1	1	3c
Msc C-D																													1			
Shape Locations for Class IV																																
Jar Neck				1																			1							1		
TOTAL				1																			1						3	1	2	5bc
Miscellaneous																																
Misc I or IV	5		1					4			1																					

Feline Groups	Aa	Ab	Ac	B	Ca	Cb	Cc	D	E	F	Ga	Gb	Gc	Gd	H	I	Ja	Jb	K	L	Ma	Mb	N	O	Pa	Pb	Head-band	Fel-Snake Appen	Rope at Neck	Sev Head	Styled Head	Other
Misc II or IV					1																											
Misc I, II,IV					6 2?		2																		1		1		1	1		1a 1d
Shape Locations for Misc																																
Register 3	5			1	7 2?		2	4																								
Pedestal											1																					
Jar Neck																														1		1a
Trumpet																																
Beaker																									1							1
Sub-Total	5			1	7		2	4			1														1		1		1	1		2
Sub-Total?					2?																											
TOTAL	5			1	9		2	4			1														1		1		1	1		2

Feline Groups	Aa	Ab	Ac	B	Ca	Cb	Cc	D	E	F	Ga	Gb	Gc	Gd	H	I	Ja	Jb	K	L	Ma	Mb	N	O	Pa	Pb	Head-band	Fel-Snake Appen	Rope at Neck	Sev Head	Styled Head	Other
TABLE TOTAL for Shape Locations, All Classes																																
Register 3	24 1?	1	1			3	3	4	2						1		1	2	1			1										
Pedestal	2			2 1?	36 2?						2 1?		5	2	3		1		1		2		1									
Jar Neck				2						1													1							3		2a
Trumpet Bell										1																				1		
Trumpet Band																								2	1							
Beaker Band																										1						1d
Other																											5 1?	2 1?	9 1?	2	3	5bc
Sub-Total	26	1	1	4	36	3	3	4	2	2	2	5	2	3	1	1	1	3	1	2	1	1	1	2	1	1	5	2	9	6	3	8
Sub-Total?	1?			1?	2?						1?																1?	1?	1?			
TOTAL 151	27	1	1	5	38	3	3	4	2	2	3	5	2	3	1	1	1	3	1	2	1	1	1	2	1	1	6	3	10	6	3	8

a = Feline-headed snake
b = Duck
c = Staff element
d = Snake

FEMALE RELATED	Camelid Woman	Camelid Woman?	Camelid	Camelid?	Rayed Head	Owl	Felines Class I	Felines Class IV A or A?	Misc. Felines Black Body w/ Crosses	Misc. Felines Black Body or Triangles	Sub-Total
Excavation I											(NOTE: For Table, specimens with two motifs have been counted twice.)
Concentration 1			1 33.3								1 33.3
Concentration 2							1 100.0				1 100.0
Concentration 3							1 100.0				1 100.0
Concentration 4, Levels 4-11	1 50.0										1 50.0
Sub-Total	1 14.3		1 14.3				2 28.6				4 57.1
Excavation II						1 3.0	17 51.5			3 9.1	21 63.6
Excavation III	51 11.1	2 .4	31 6.7		1 .2		105 22.8	6 1.3	3 .6	19 4.1	218 47.3
Excavation IV											
Upper levels	3 3.6		10 12.0	1 1.2	2 2.4	1 1.2	15 18.1	1 1.2		5 6.0	38 45.8
Lower levels	2 4.8		3 7.1				10 23.8			6 14.3	21 50.4
Lowest levels							3 75.0			1 25.0	4 100.0
Sub-Total	5 3.9		13 10.1	1 .8	2 1.6	1 .8	28 21.7	1 .8		12 9.3	63 48.8
Excavation V							* Exc. VI sherd fits the almost complete vessel from Exc. V.		** Same vessel, from the south side and base of North Wall.		
N.Wall, Lower Level	1* 16.7						1** 16.7				2 33.3
Excavation VI											
Mixed	1* 3.1					7 21.9	2 6.3	3 9.4		2 6.3	15 46.9
Grey earth, sunken court	1 2.4					1 2.4	2 4.9			3 7.3	7 17.1
Sub-Total	2 2.7					8 11.0	4 5.5	3 4.1		5 6.8	22 30.1
TOTAL	60 8.5	2 .3	45 6.3	1 .1	3 .4	10 1.4	157 22.1	10 1.4	3 .4	39 5.5	330 46.5

MALE RELATED	Feline Man	Feline Man?	Feline Man w/Pelt	Severed Heads	Guanaco & Bird	Felines Class II	Felines Class IV Group F	Misc. Felines Cream Body	Winged Man	Sub-Total
Excavation I										
Concentration 1	1 33.3									1 33.3
Concentration 2										
Concentration 3										
Concentration 4, Levels 4-11										
Sub-Total	1 14.3									1 14.3
Excavation II				2 6.1		2 6.1		1 3.0		5 15.2
Excavation III	28 6.1	9 1.9	1 .2	85 18.4	2 .4	41 8.9	3 .6	5 1.1	1 .2	175 38.0
Excavation IV										
Upper levels		1 1.2		9 10.8	1 1.2	6 7.2				17 20.5
Lower levels				1 2.4		7 16.7		1 2.4		9 21.4
Lowest levels										
Sub-Total		1 .8		10 7.8	1 .8	13 10.1		1 .8		26 20.2
Excavation V										
N.Wall,Lower Level				1 16.7		2 33.3				3 50.0
Excavation VI										
Mixed		2 6.3		1 3.1			3 9.4	2 6.3	2 6.3	10 31.3
Grey earth, sunken court	5 12.2	1 2.4		2 4.9		6 14.6		1 2.4		15 36.6
Sub-Total	5 6.8	3 4.1		3 4.1		6 8.2	3 4.1	3 4.1		25 34.2
TOTAL	34 4.8	13 1.8	1 .1	101 14.2	3 .4	64 9.0	6 .8	10 1.4	3 .4	235 33.1

Ambiguous and Unknown	Felines Class III	Felines Class IV, Grps. B-D	Felines Class IV Grp. E	Misc. Felines black body with triangles	Ambiguous Sub-Total	Feline Headed Snakes	Felines Class IV, Misc.	Misc. Felines	TABLE TOTAL
Excavation I									*** These two specimens fit
Concentration 1						1*** 33.3			3 99.9
Concentration 2									1 100.0
Concentration 3									1 100.0
Concentration 4, Levels 4-11						1*** 50.0			2 100.0
Sub-Total						2 28.6			7 100.1
Excavation II							1 3.0	6 18.2	33 100.0
Excavation III	7 1.5	3 .6		1 .2	11 2.4	37 8.0	3 .6	17 3.7	461 100.0
Excavation IV									
Upper levels	1 1.2		2 2.4		3 3.6	6 7.2	2 2.4	17 20.5	83 100.0
Lower Levels		4 9.5			4 9.5	1 2.4	3 7.1	4 9.5	42 99.9
Lowest levels									4 100.0
Sub-Total	1 .8	4 3.1	2 1.6		7 5.4	7 5.4	5 3.9	21 16.3	129 102.0
Excavation V									
N.Wall, Lower Level						1** 16.7			6 100.0
Excavation VI									
Mixed		1 3.1			1 3.1		1 3.1	5 15.6	32 100.0
Grey earth, sunken court		12 29.3			12 29.3		2 4.9	5 12.2	41 100.1
Sub-Total		13 17.8			13 17.8		3 4.1	10 13.7	73 99.9
TOTAL	8 1.1	20 2.8	2 .3	1 .1	31 4.4	47 6.6	12 1.7	54 7.6	709 99.9

FIGURES

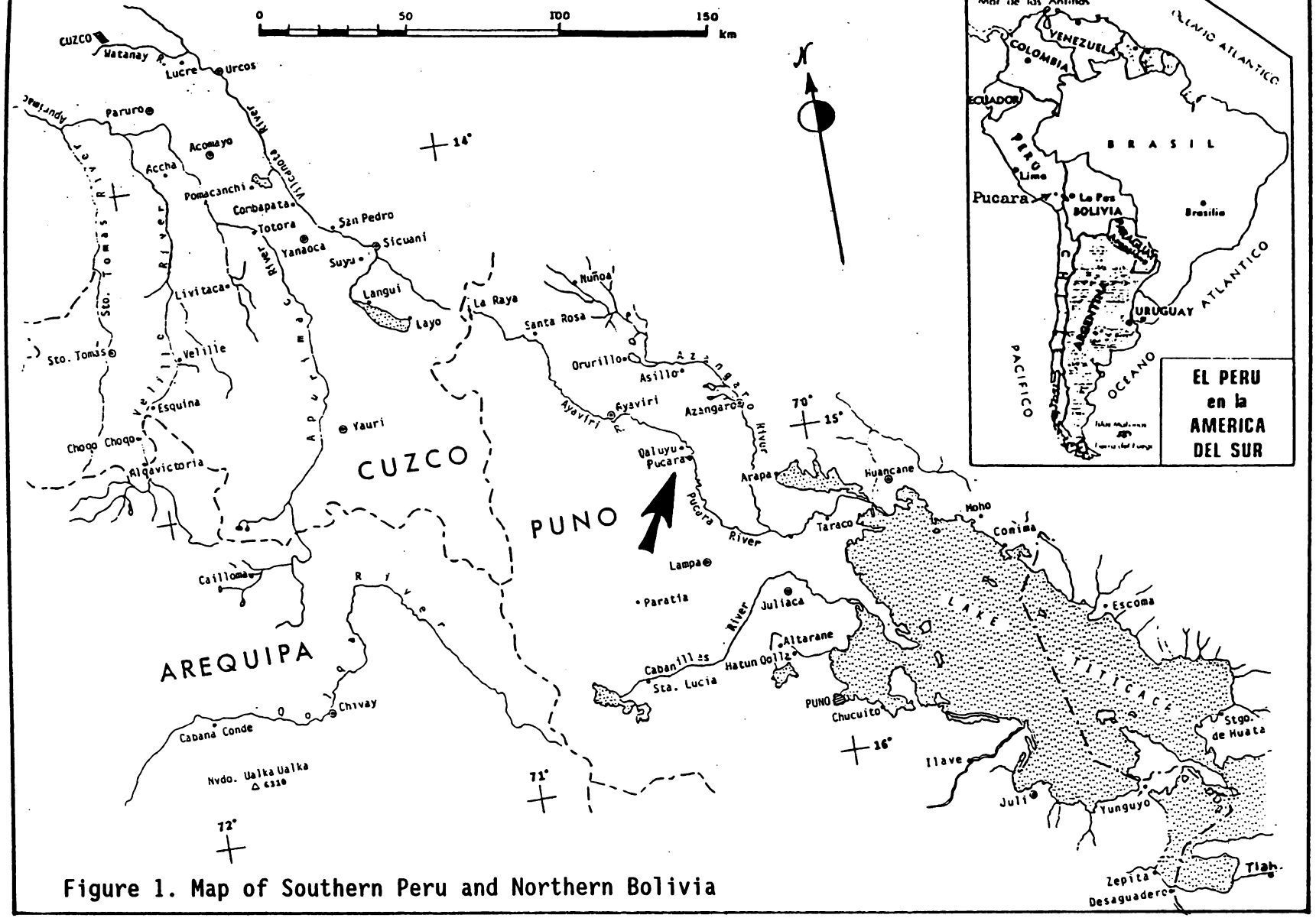


Figure 1. Map of Southern Peru and Northern Bolivia

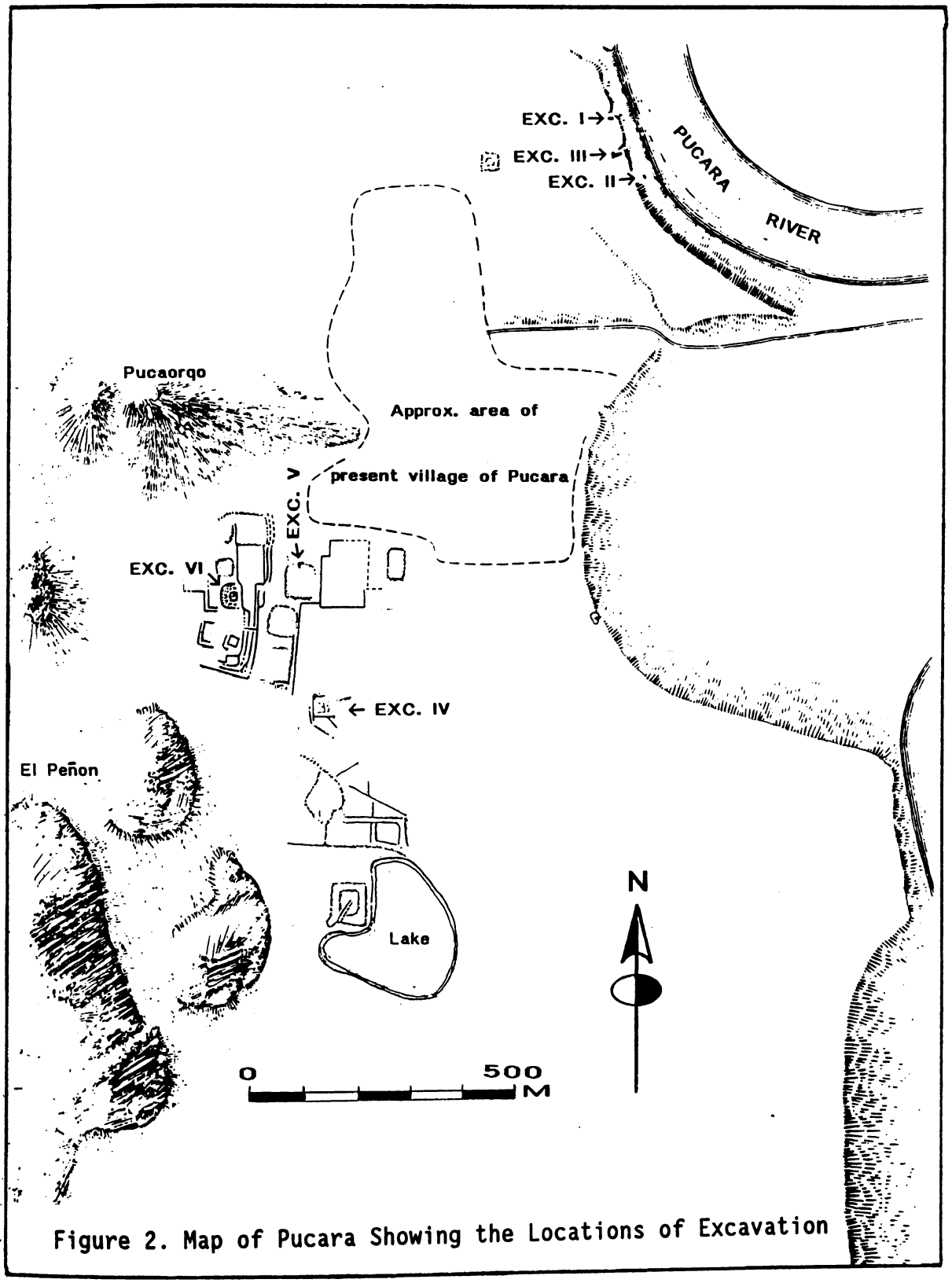


Figure 2. Map of Pucara Showing the Locations of Excavation

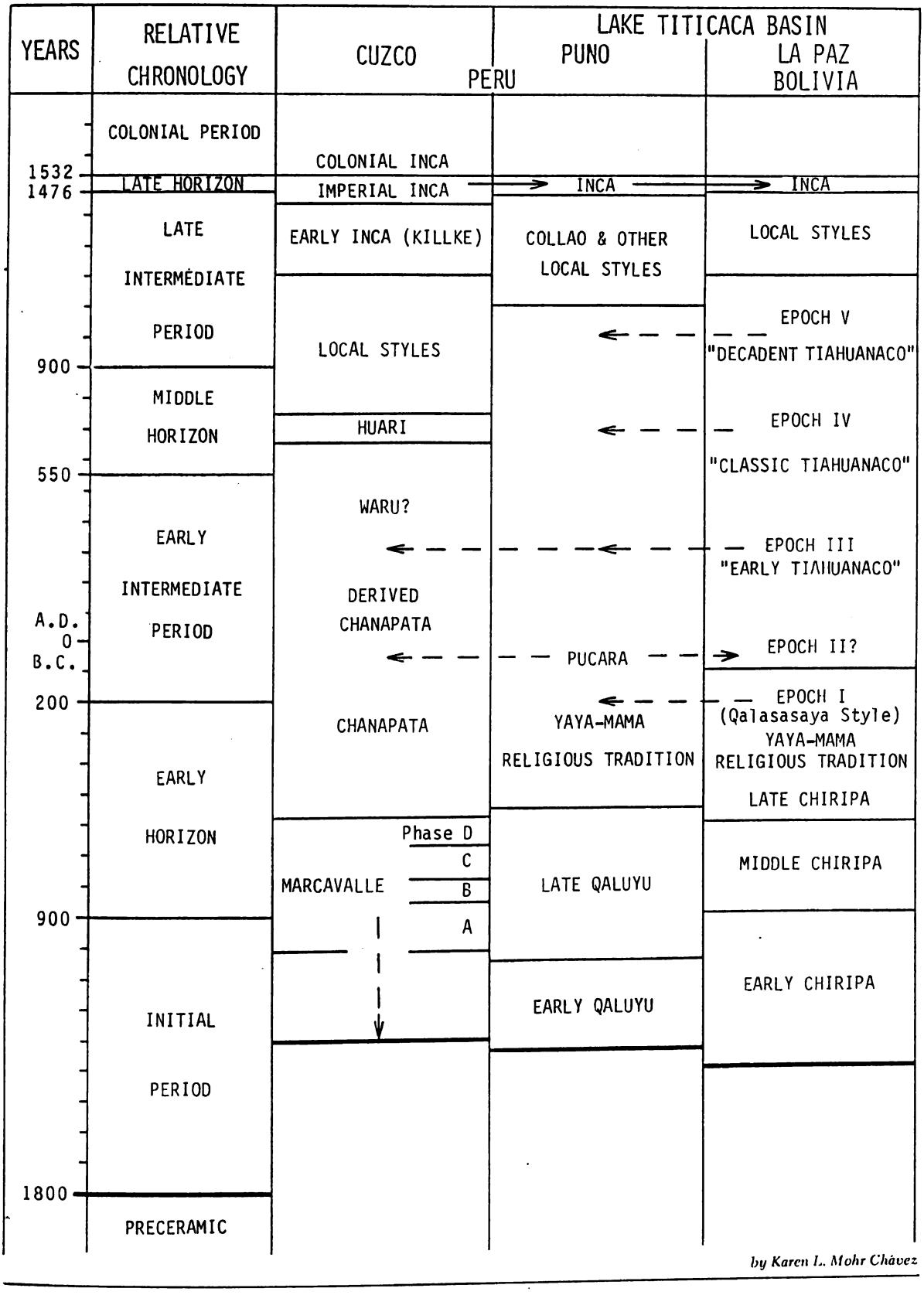


Figure 3. Chronology for South Central Andean Prehistory

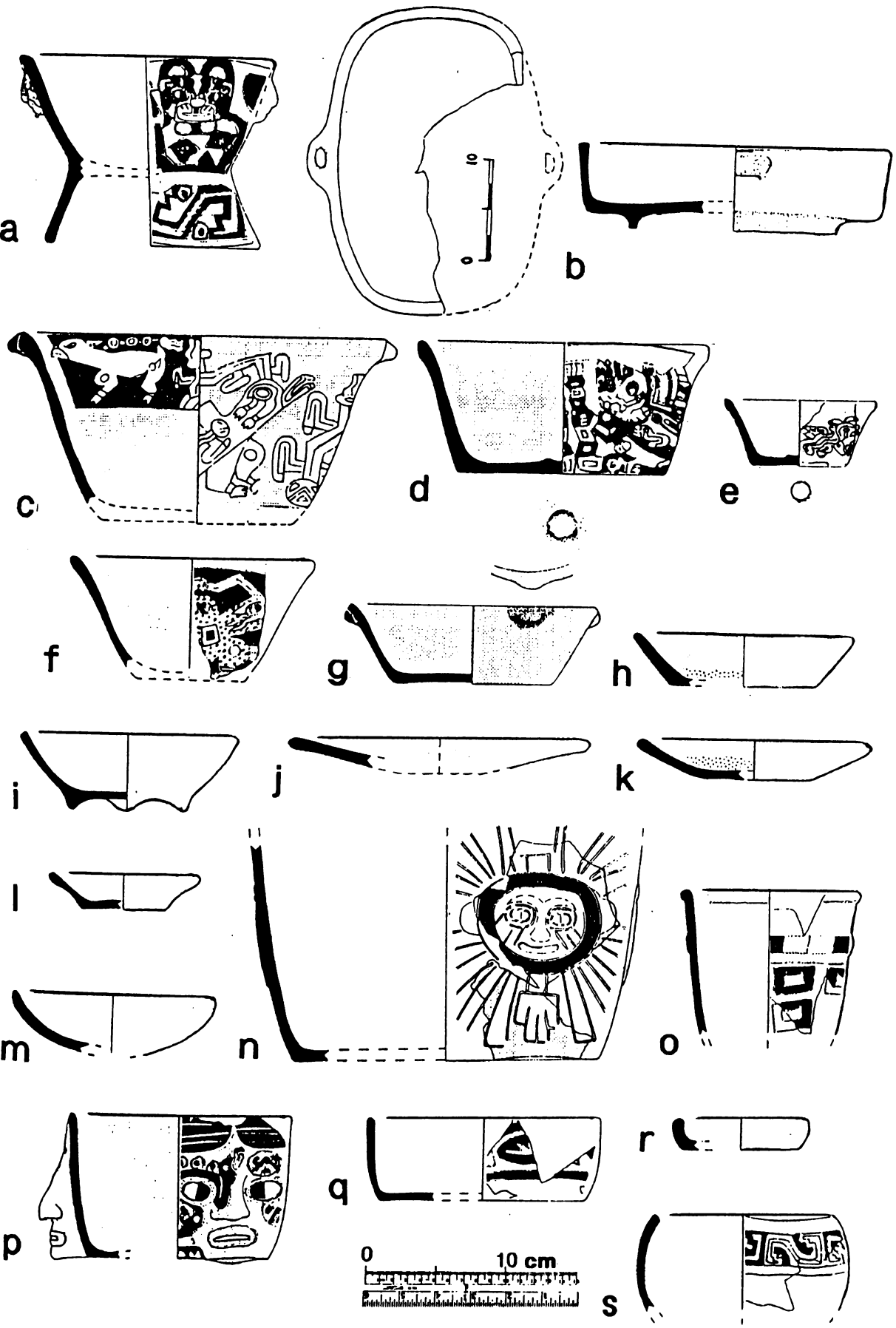
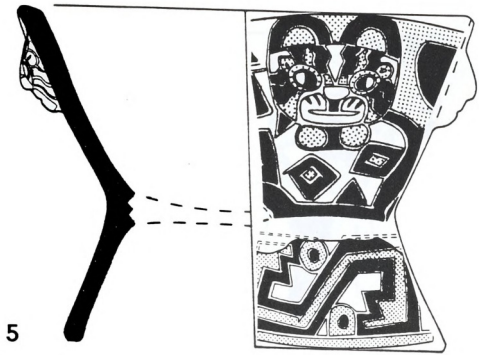
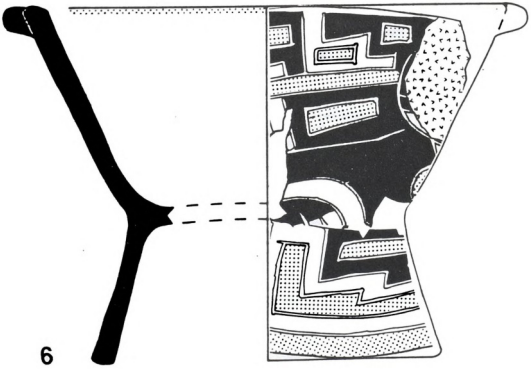


Figure 4. General Unrestricted Shapes

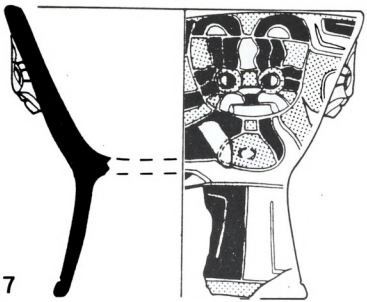


5

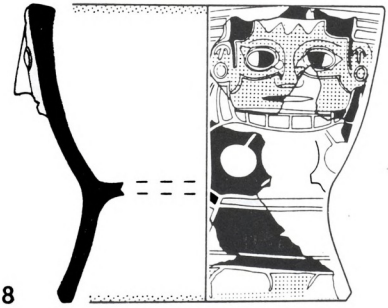


6

Figures 5-6. Pedestal-Base Bowls or Ceremonial Burner

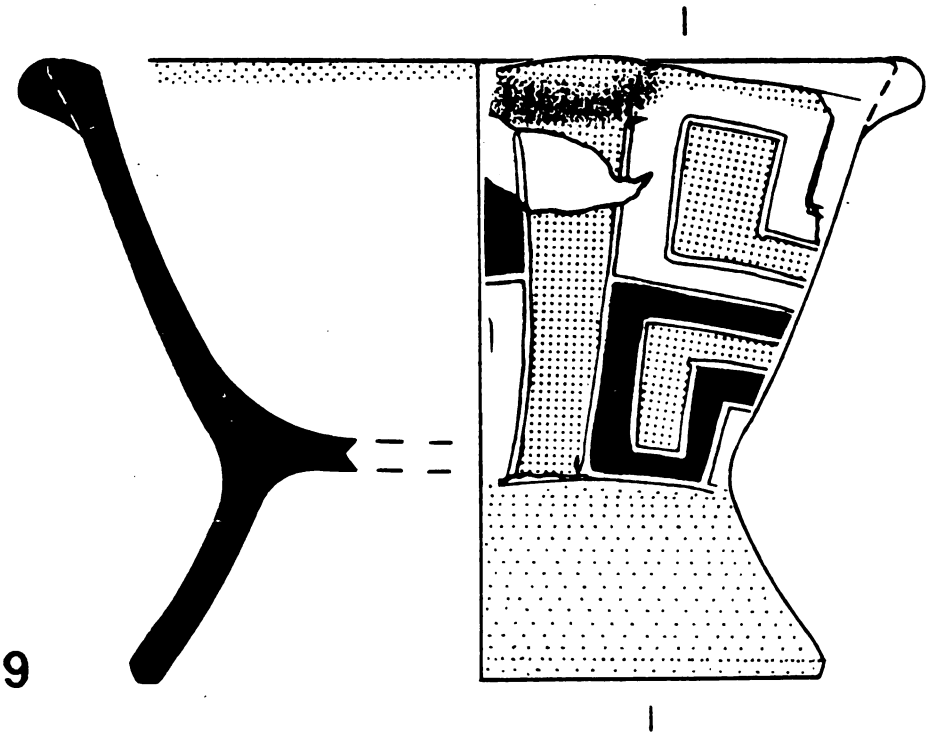


7



8

Figures 7-8. Pedestal-Base Bowls



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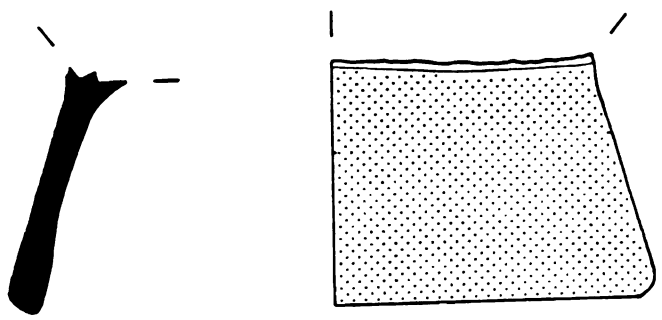

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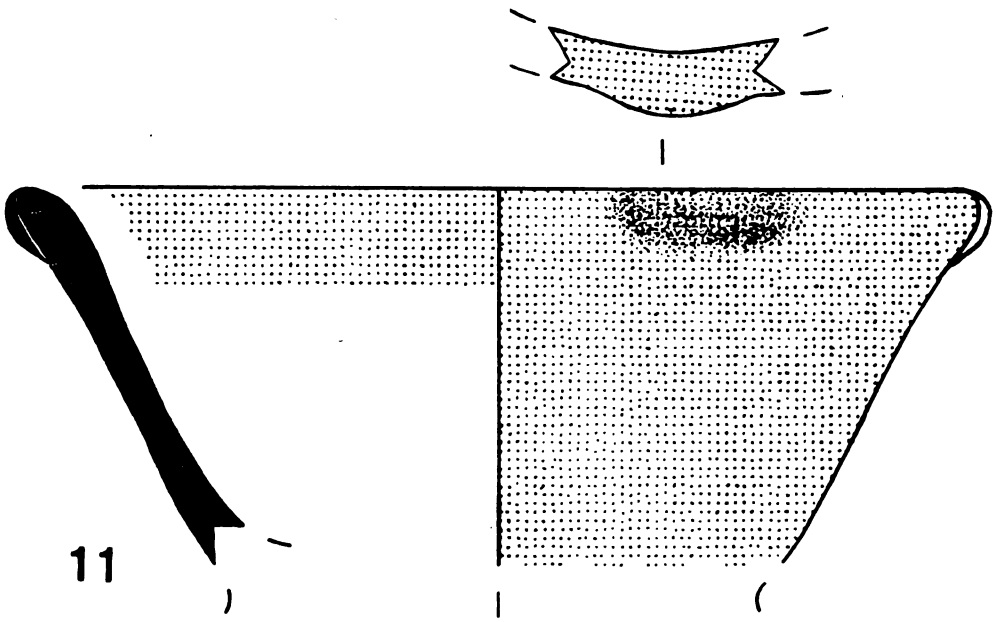
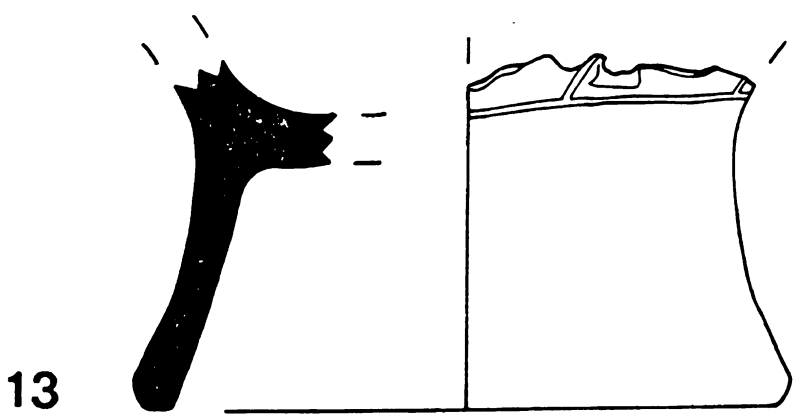
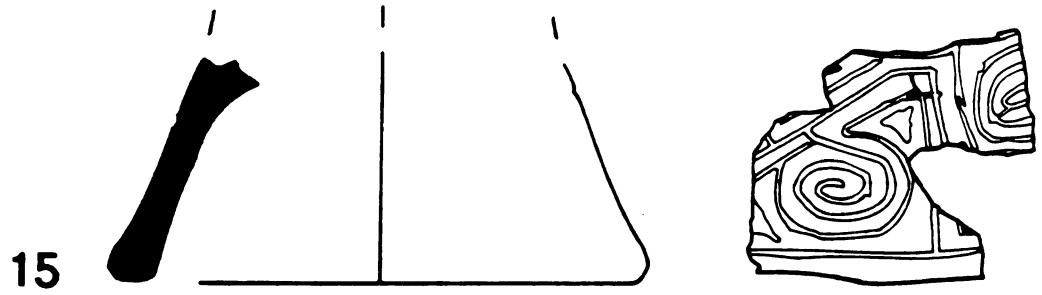
Figures 9-10. Pedestal-Base Bowls

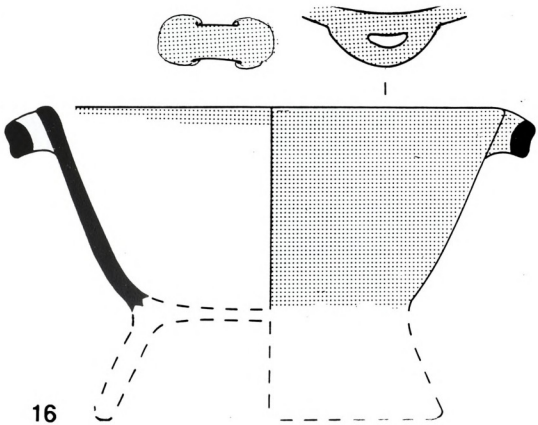


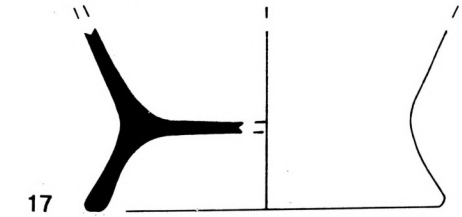


Figures 11-13. Pedestal-Base Bowls



Figures 14-15. Pedestal Base Bowls





Figures 16-17. Pedestal Base Bowls with Horizontal Handles

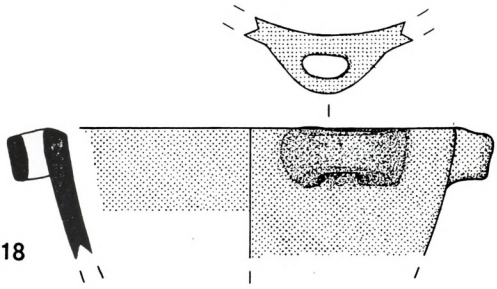


Figure 18. Pedestal Base Bowl with Horizontal Handles

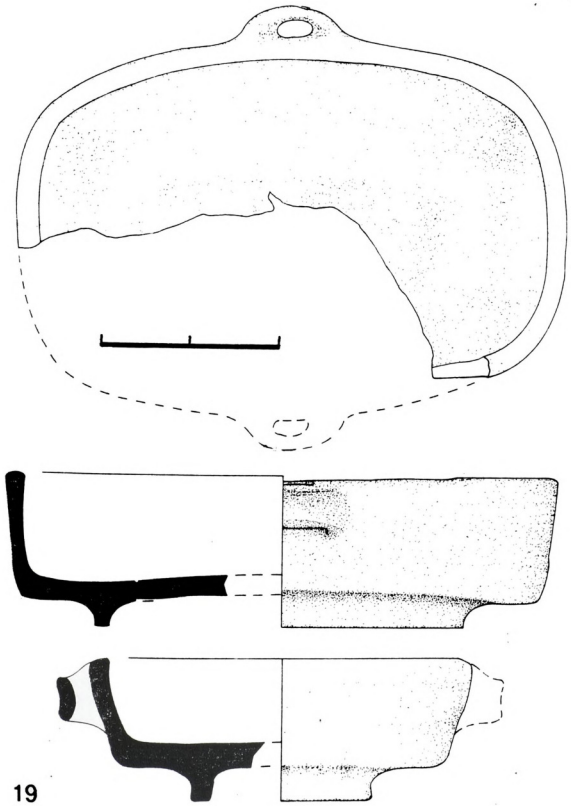
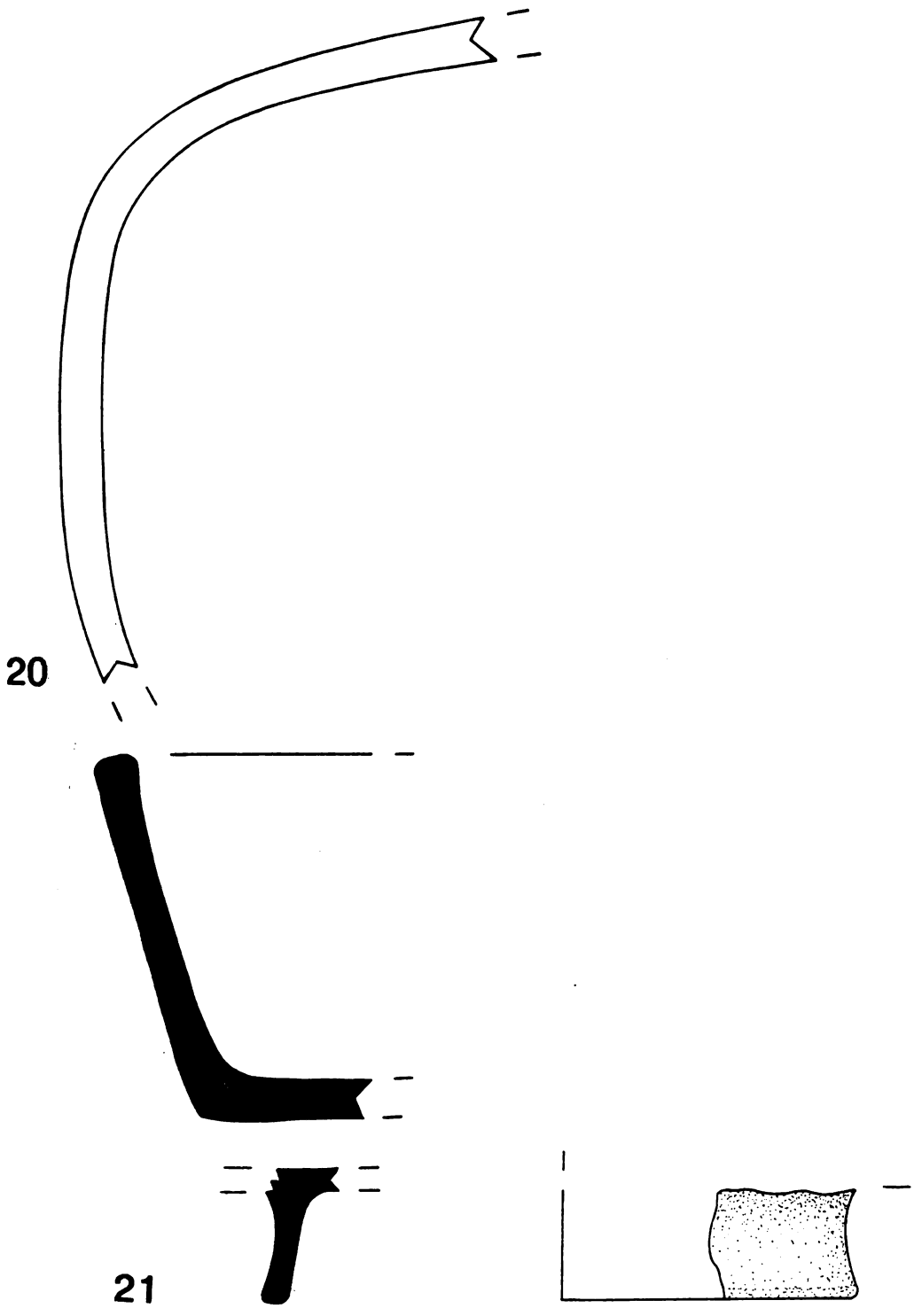


Figure 19. Ovoidal Annular Base Bowl with Horizontal Handles



Figures 20-21. Ovoidal Annular Base Bowls

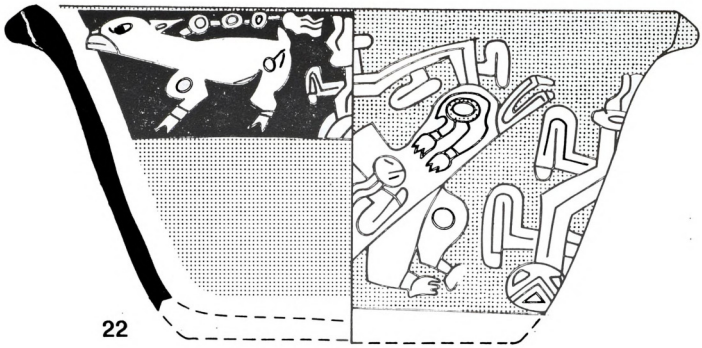


Figure 22. Large, Deep Slightly Outflaring Bowl

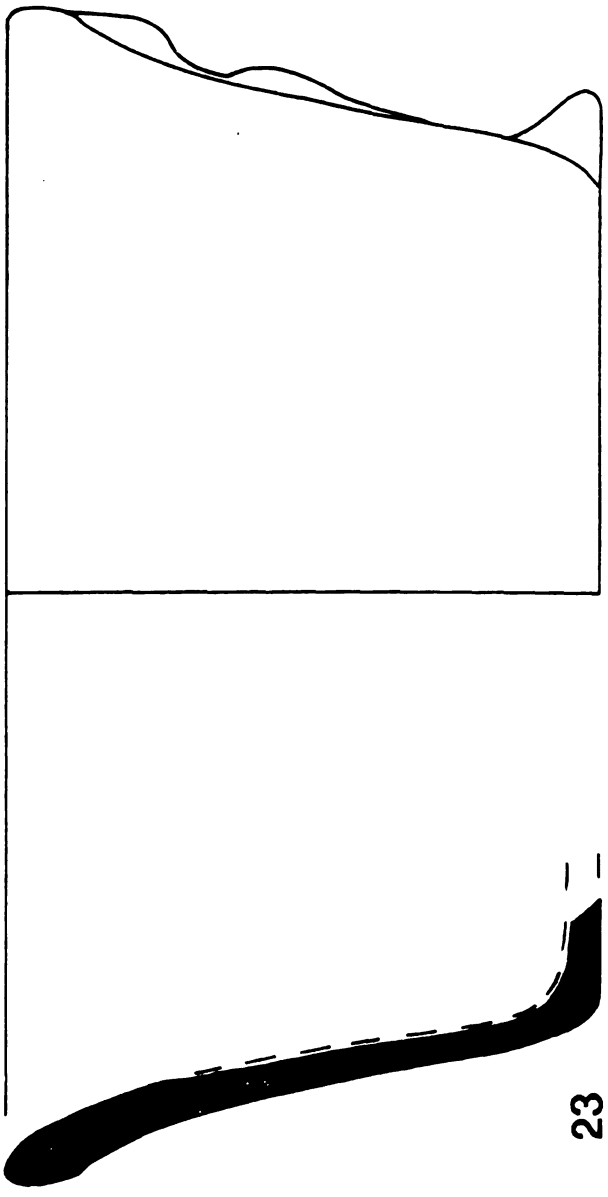


Figure 23. Large, Deep Slightly Outflaring Bowl

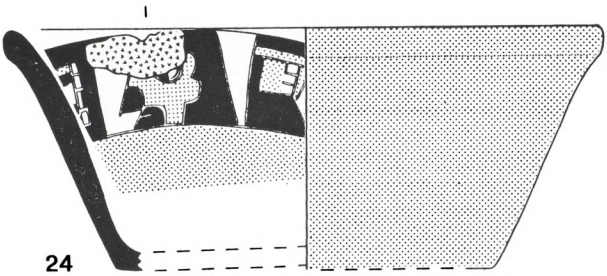
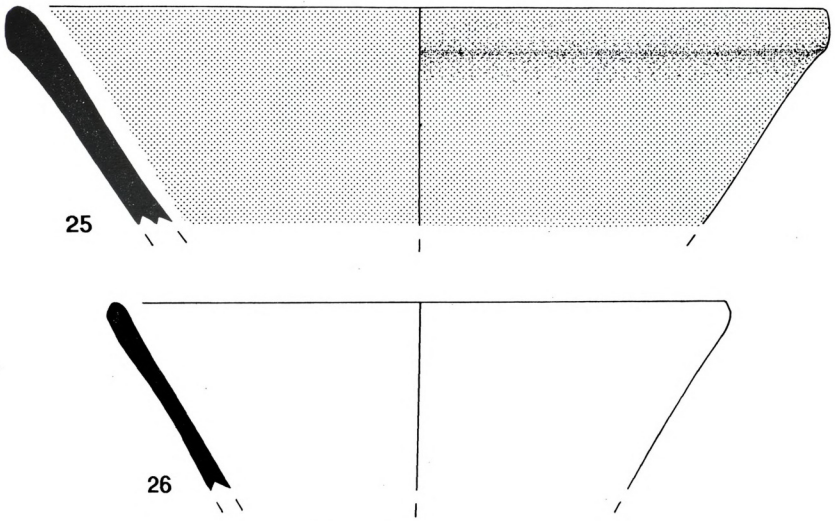
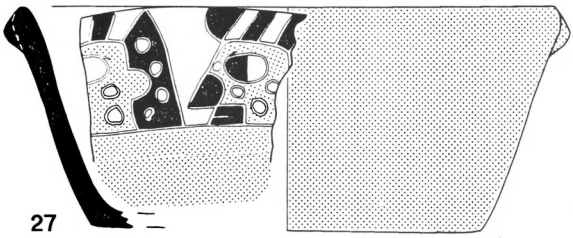


Figure 24. Large, Deep Slightly Outflaring Bowl



Figures 25-26. Large, Deep Slightly Outflaring Bowls



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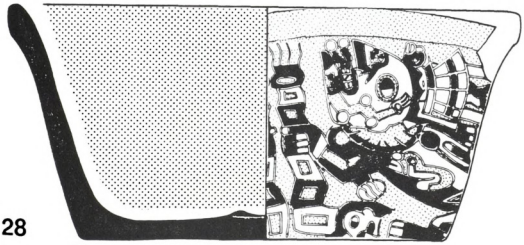

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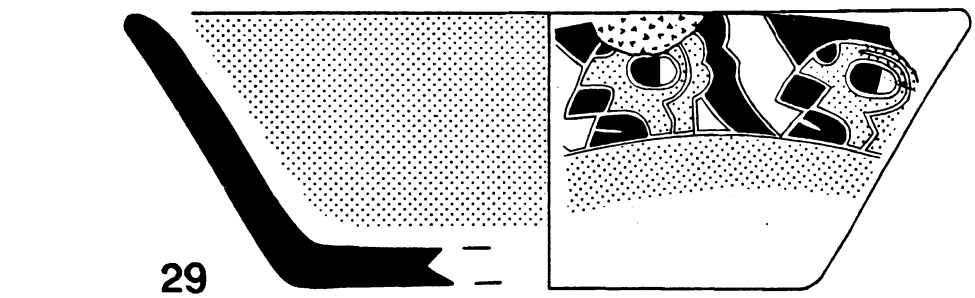
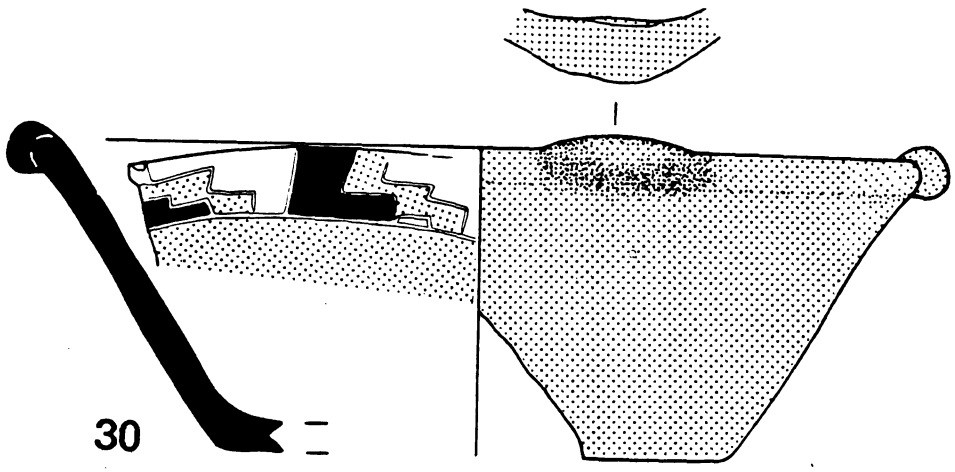
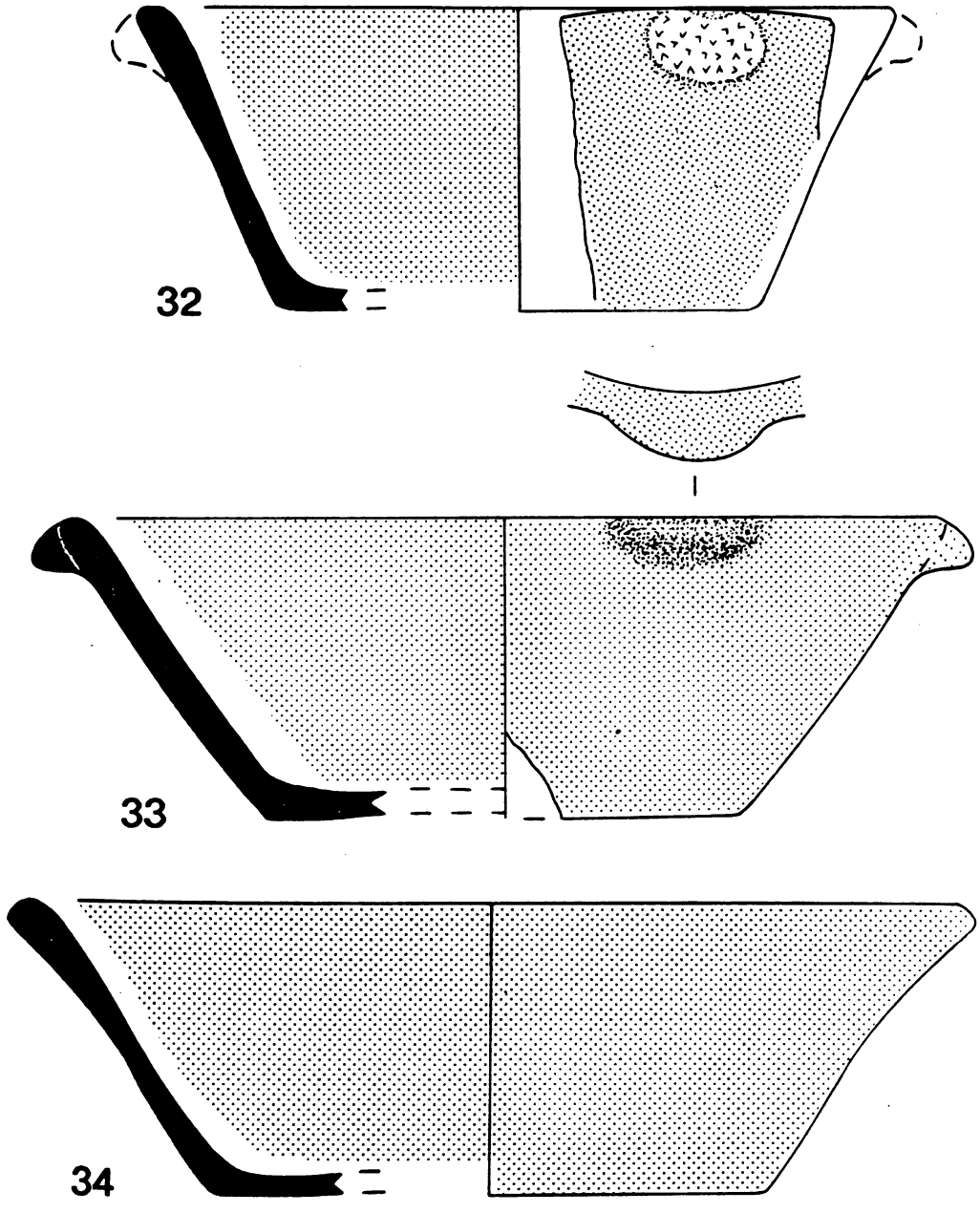
Figures 27-28. Medium, Deep Slightly Outflaring Bowls

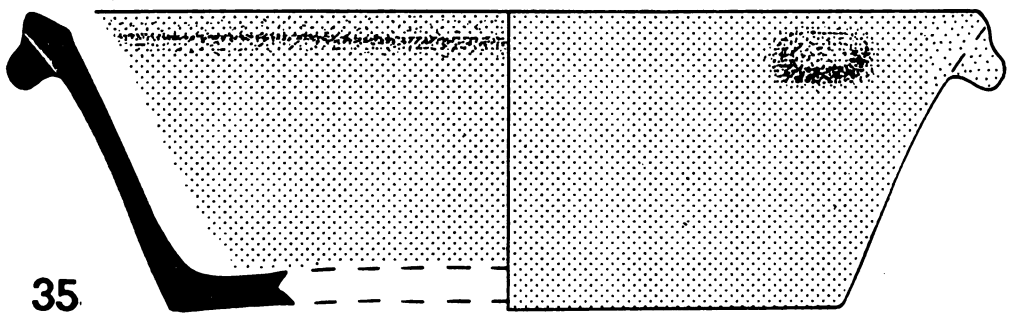


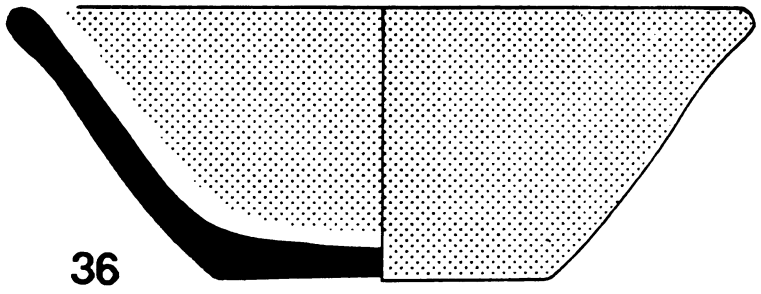


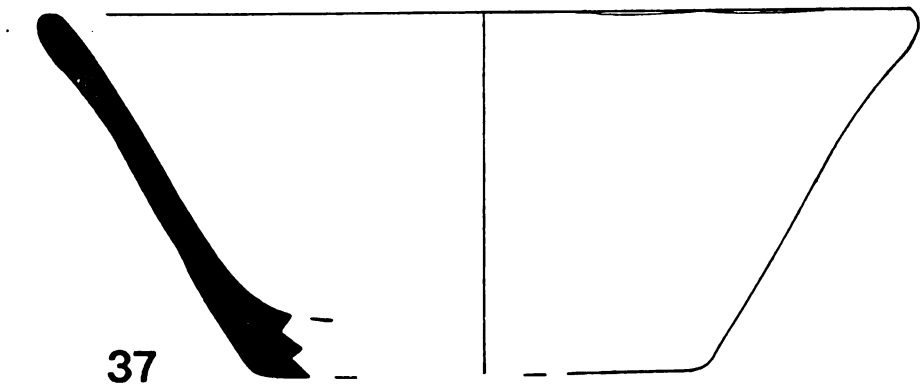
Figures 29-31. Medium, Deep Slightly Outflaring Bowls



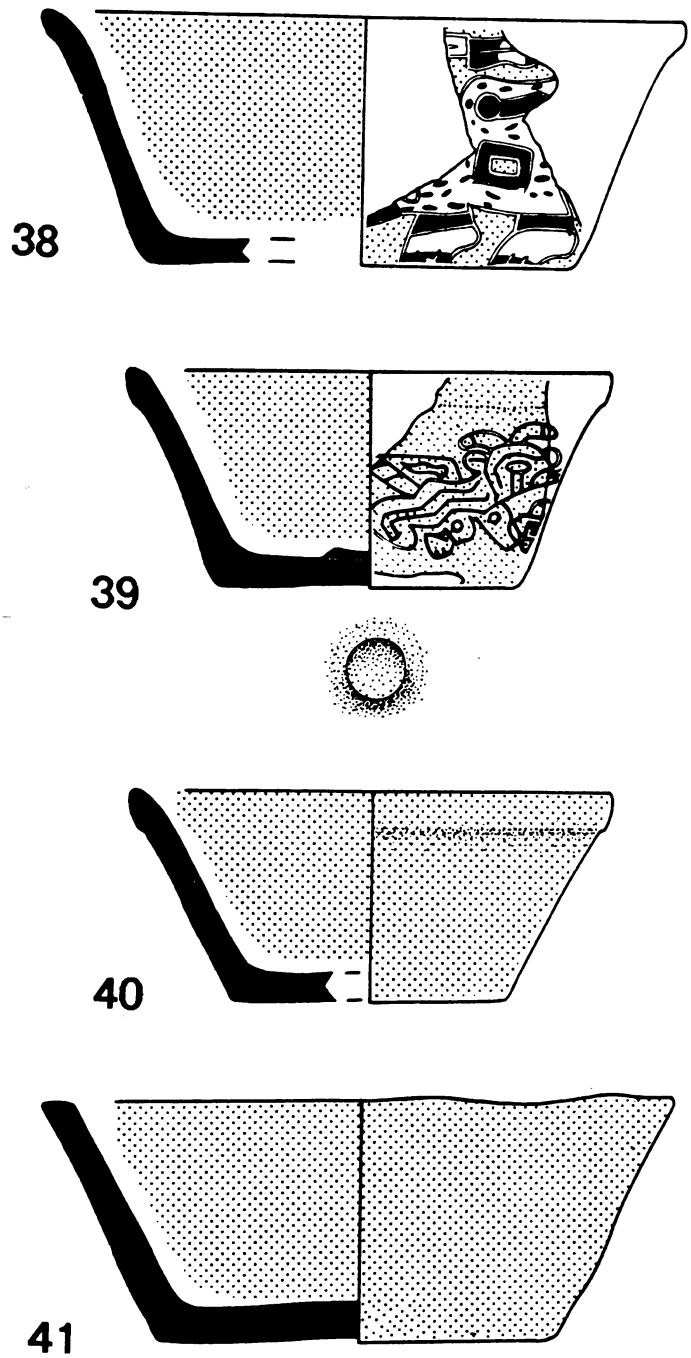
Figures 32-34. Medium, Deep Slightly Outflaring Bowls



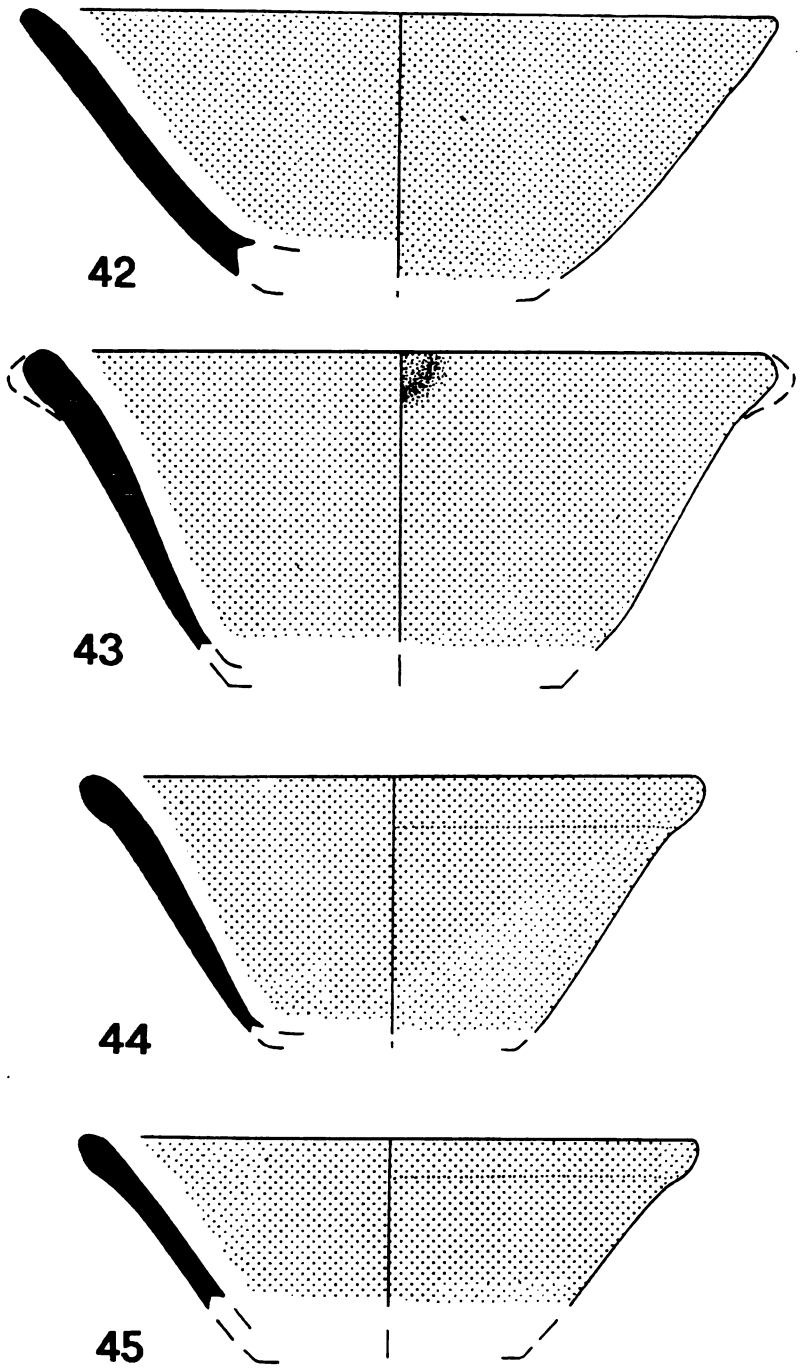




Figures 35-37. Medium, Deep Slightly Outflaring Bowls



Figures 38-41. Small, Deep Slightly Outflaring Bowls



Figures 42-45. Deep, Slightly Outflaring Narrow-Base Bowls

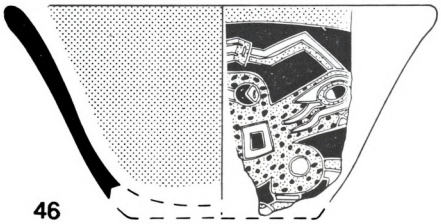
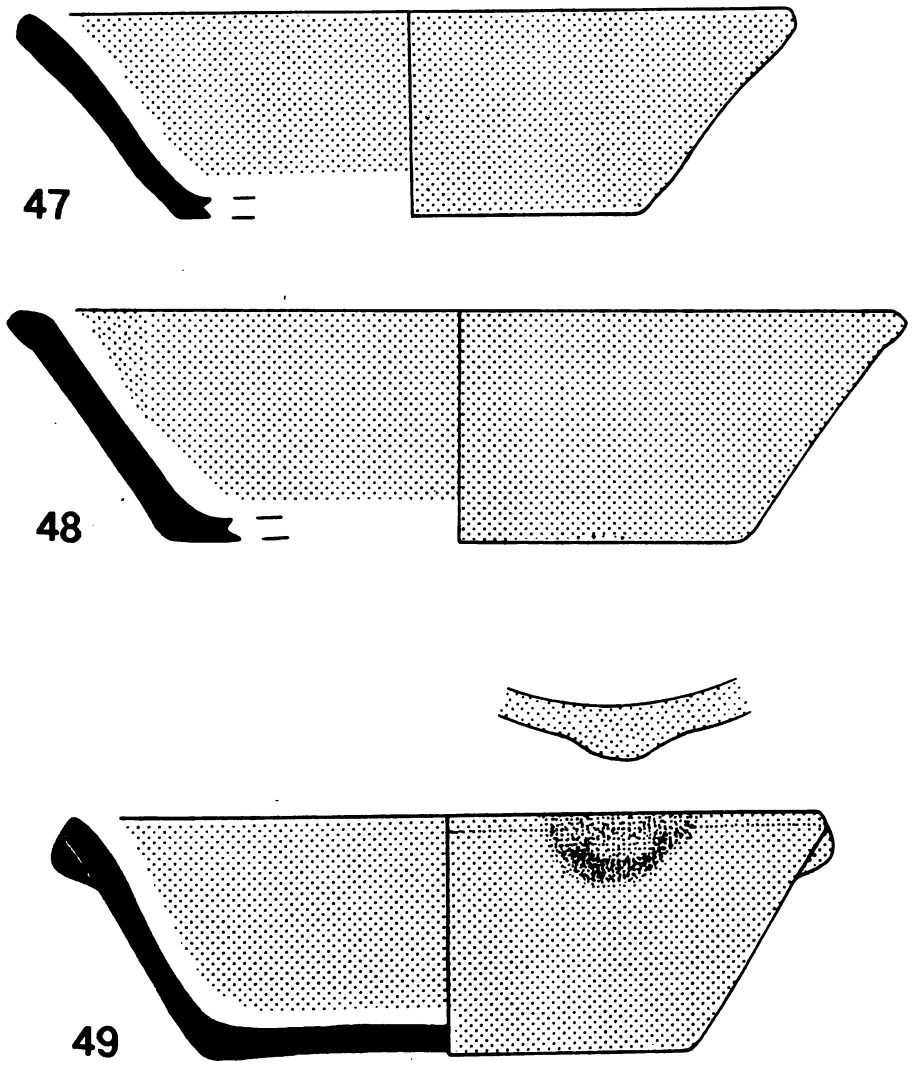
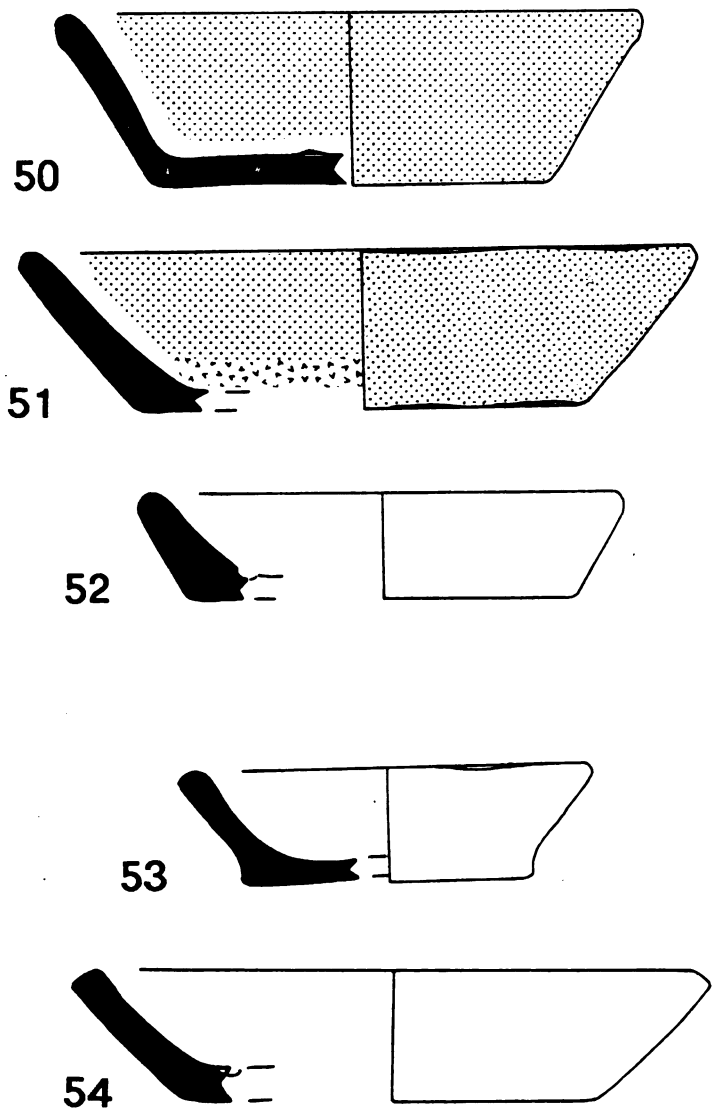


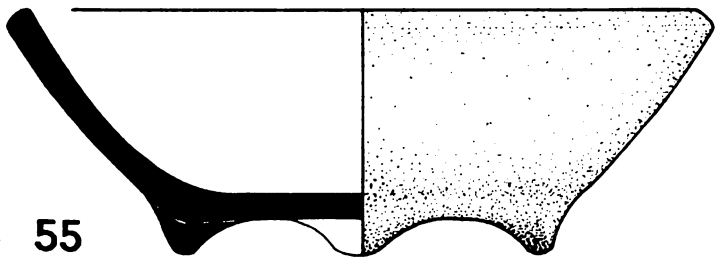
Figure 46. Deep, Slightly Outflaring Narrow-Base Bowl



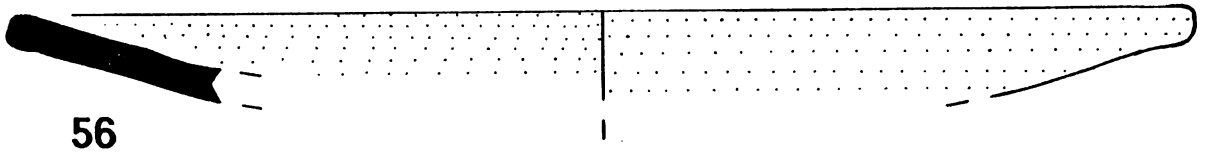
Figures 47-49. Medium, Shallow Slightly Outflaring Bowls



Figures 50-54. Small, Shallow Slightly Outflaring Bowls



Figures 55. Small, Shallow Slightly Outflaring Tetrapod Bowl



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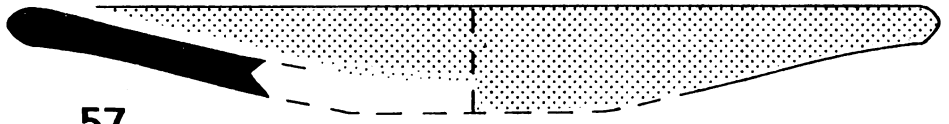
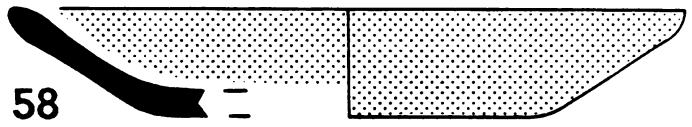
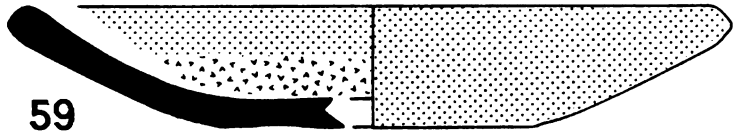
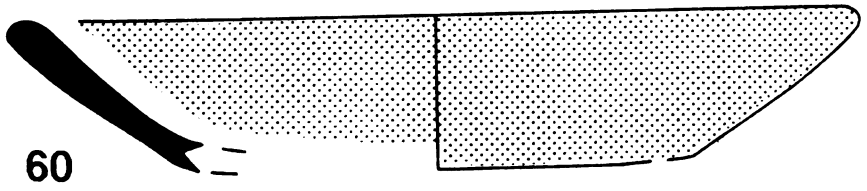


57

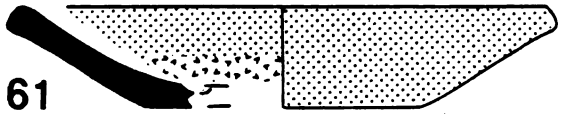
Figures 56-57. Shallow Outflaring Bowls

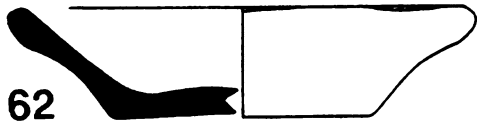




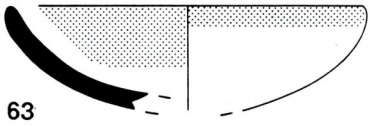


Figures 58-60. Medium, Shallow Outflaring Bowls





Figures 61-62. Small, Shallow Outflaring Bowls



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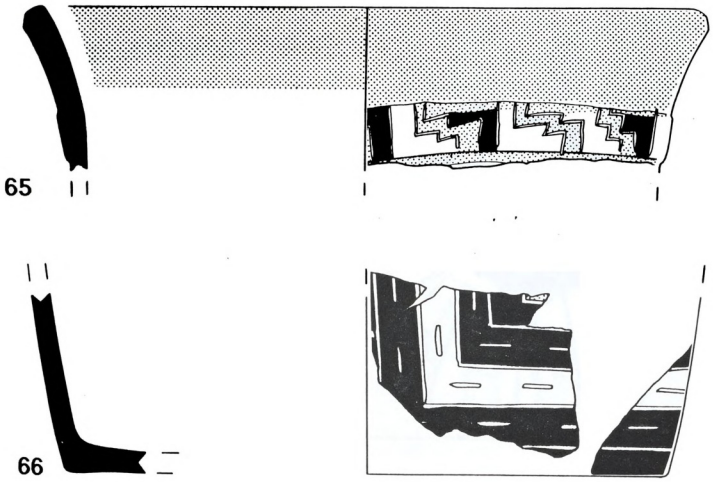
Figures 63-64. Hemispherical Shallow Bowls



Figures 65-66. Oversized, Slightly Outflaring Beakers

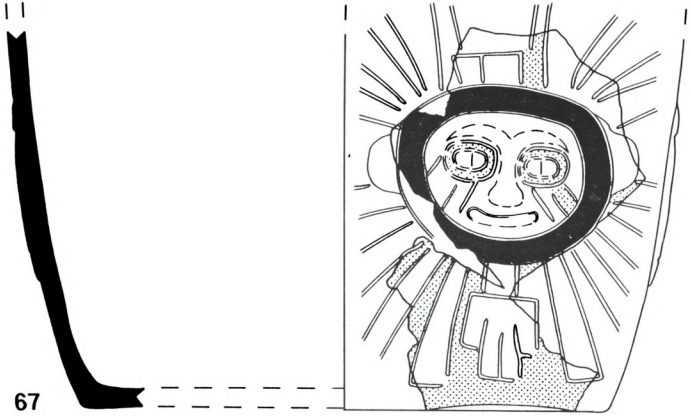
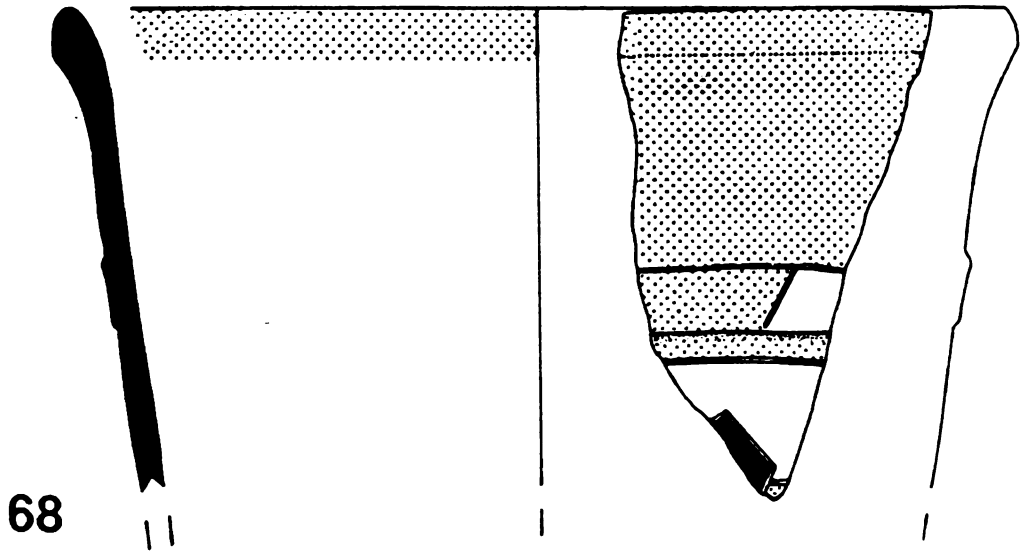
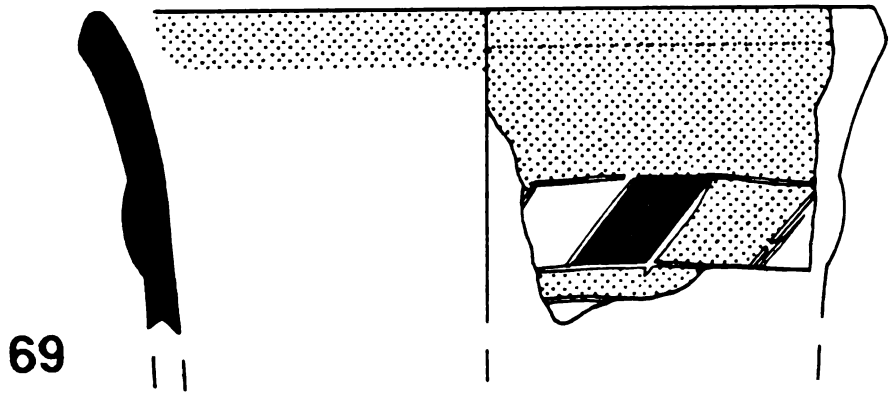
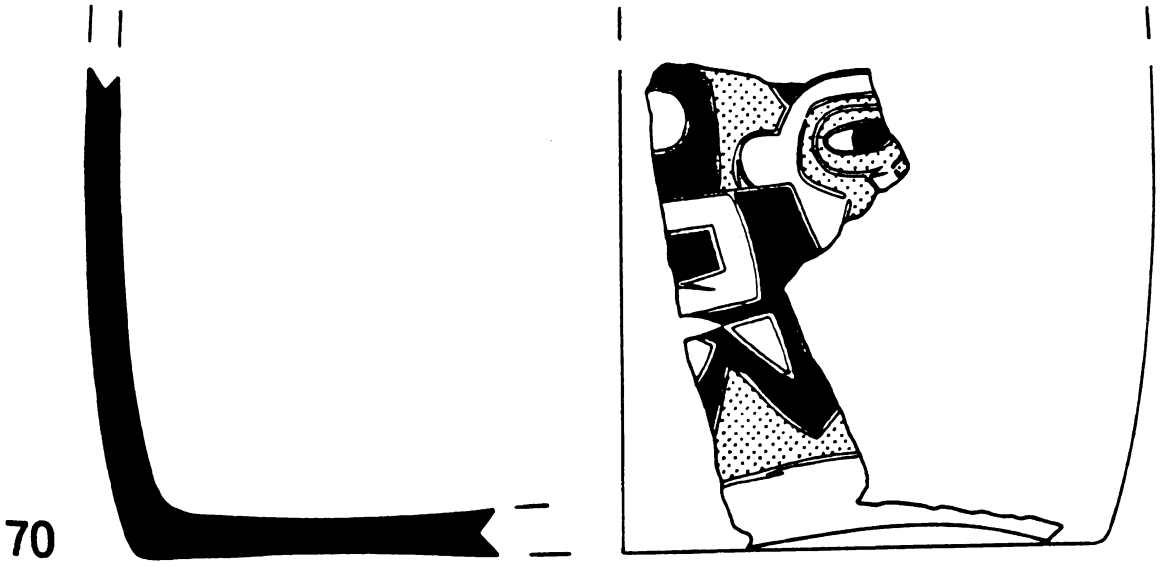


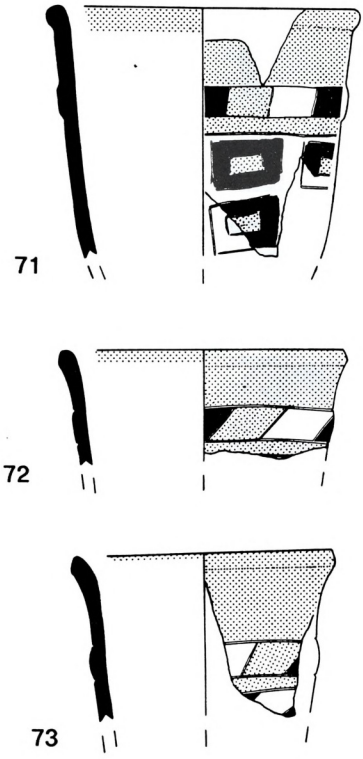
Figure 67. Oversized, Slightly Outflaring Beaker



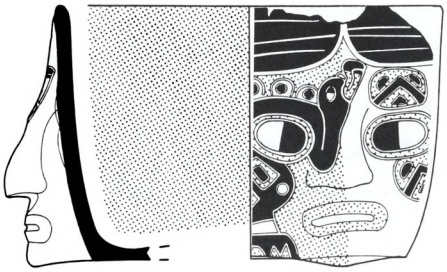




Figures 68-70. Medium, Slightly Outflaring Beakers



Figures 71-73. Small, slightly Outflaring Beakers



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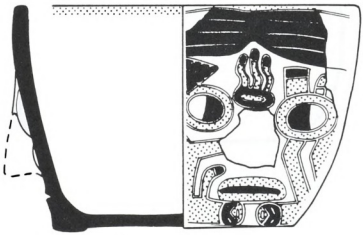

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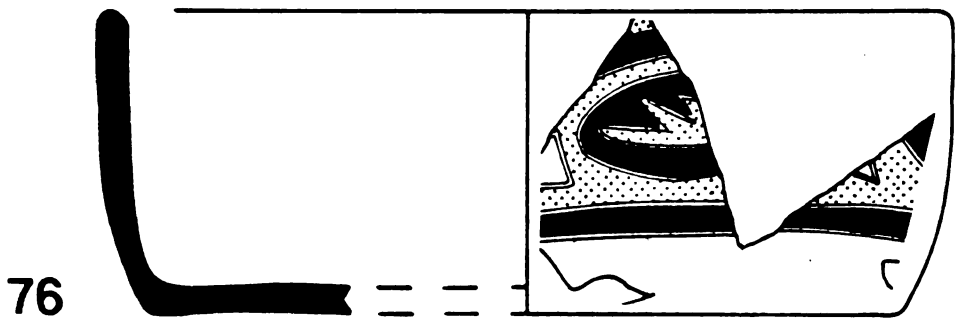
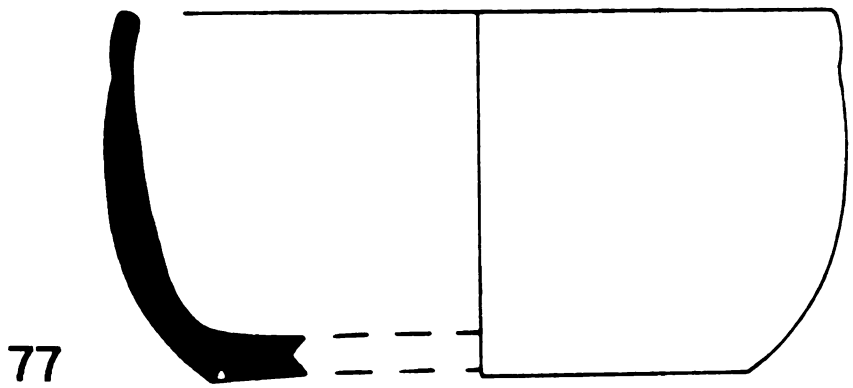
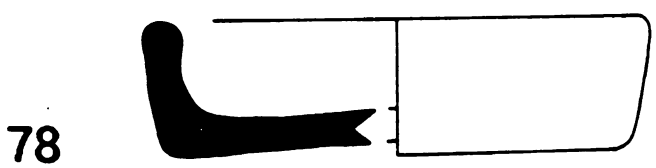
Figures 74-75. Male-Head Effigy Bowls







Figures 76-78. Slightly Incurved and Vertical Walled Bowls

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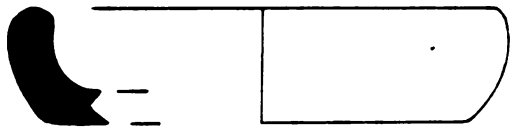
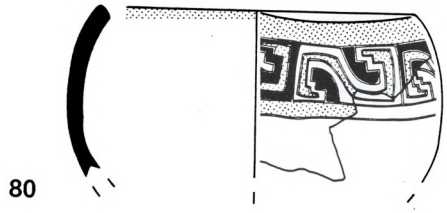


Figure 79. Slightly Incurved Very Shallow Bowl



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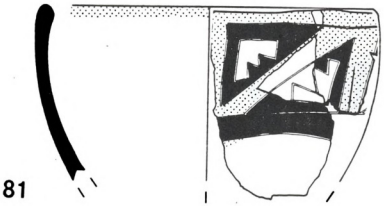

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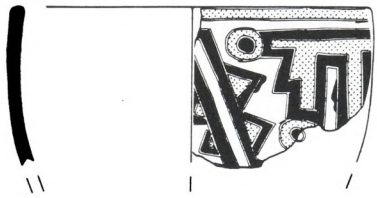

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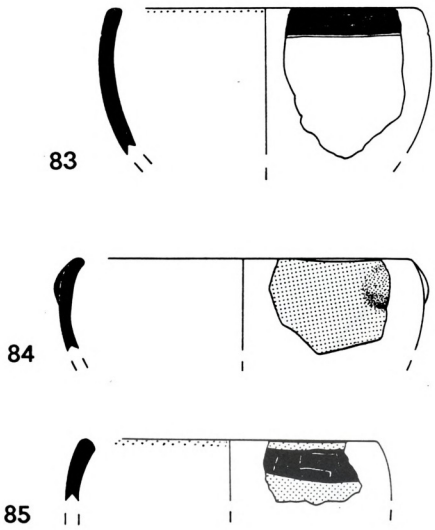
Figures 80-82. Slightly Incurved Deep Bowls



Figures 83-85. Slightly Incurved Deep Bowls

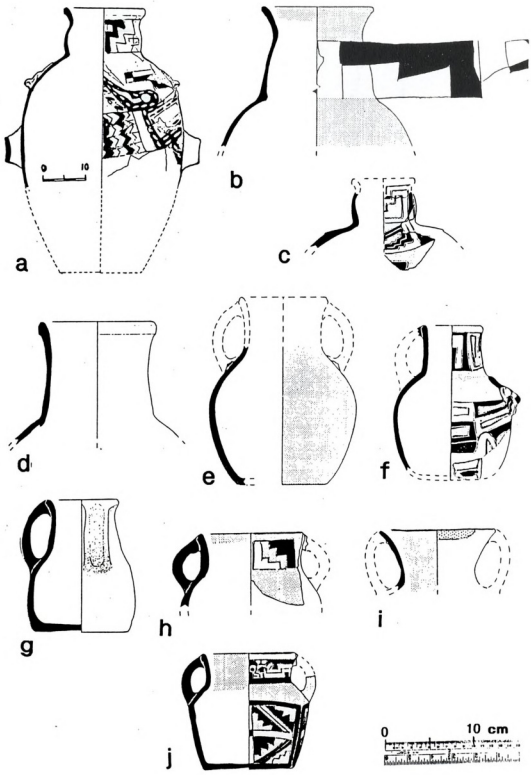


Figure 86. General Restricted Shapes

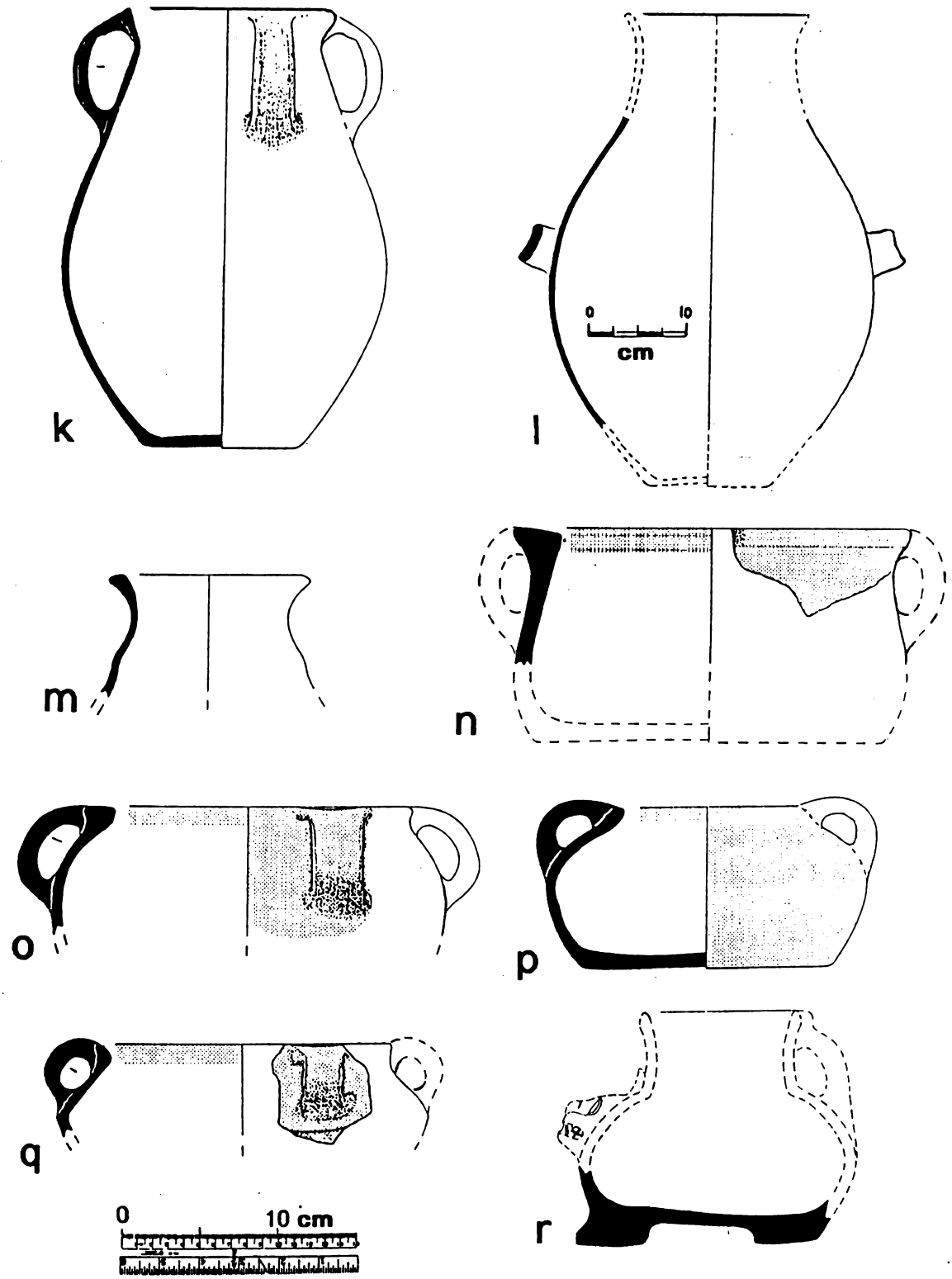


Figure 87. General Restricted Shapes

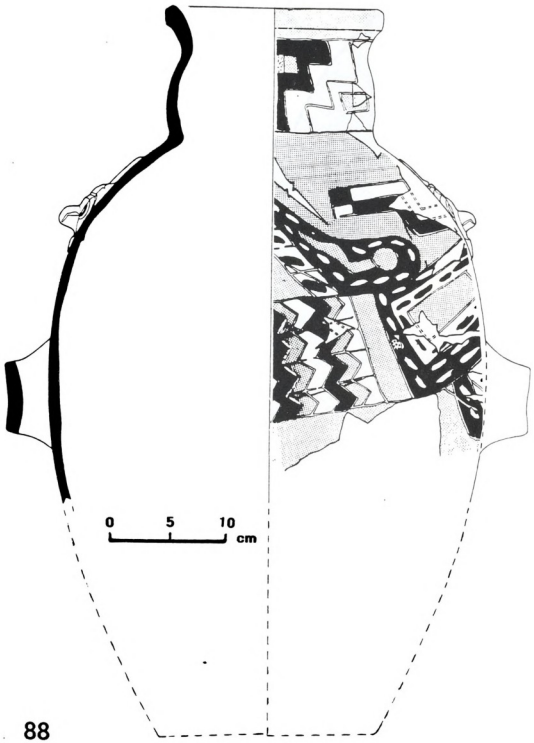


Figure 88. Oversized, Bulging Necked Jar

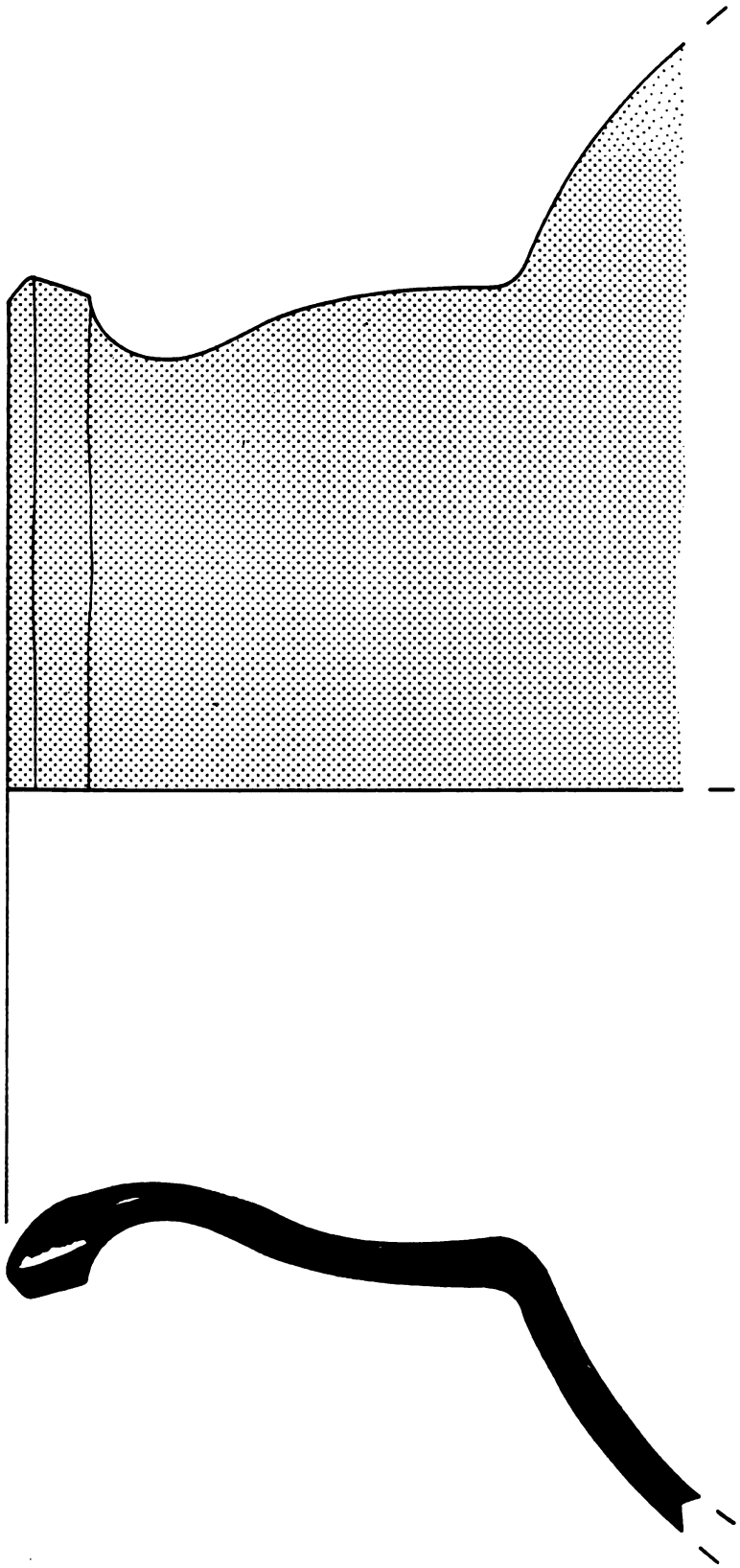


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Figure 89. Oversized, Bulging Necked Jar

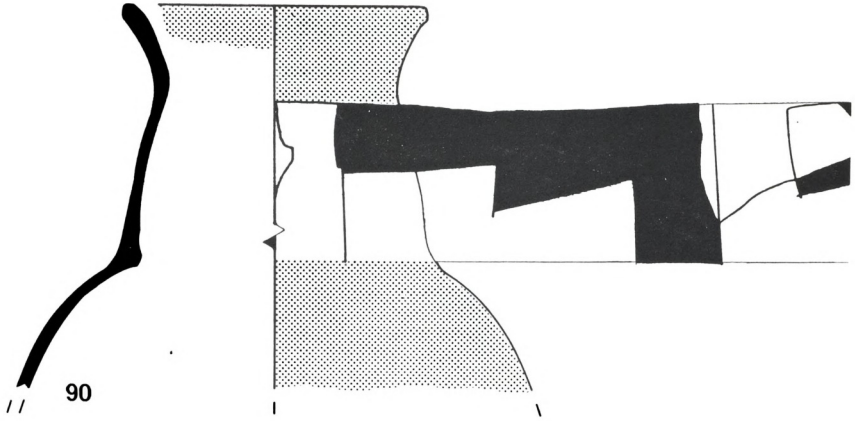

Figure 90. Regular Sized Bulging Necked Jar

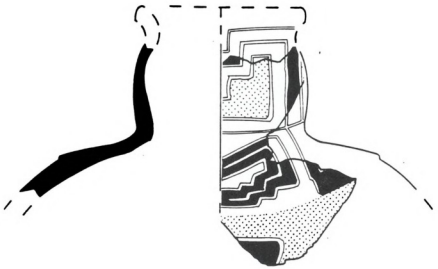

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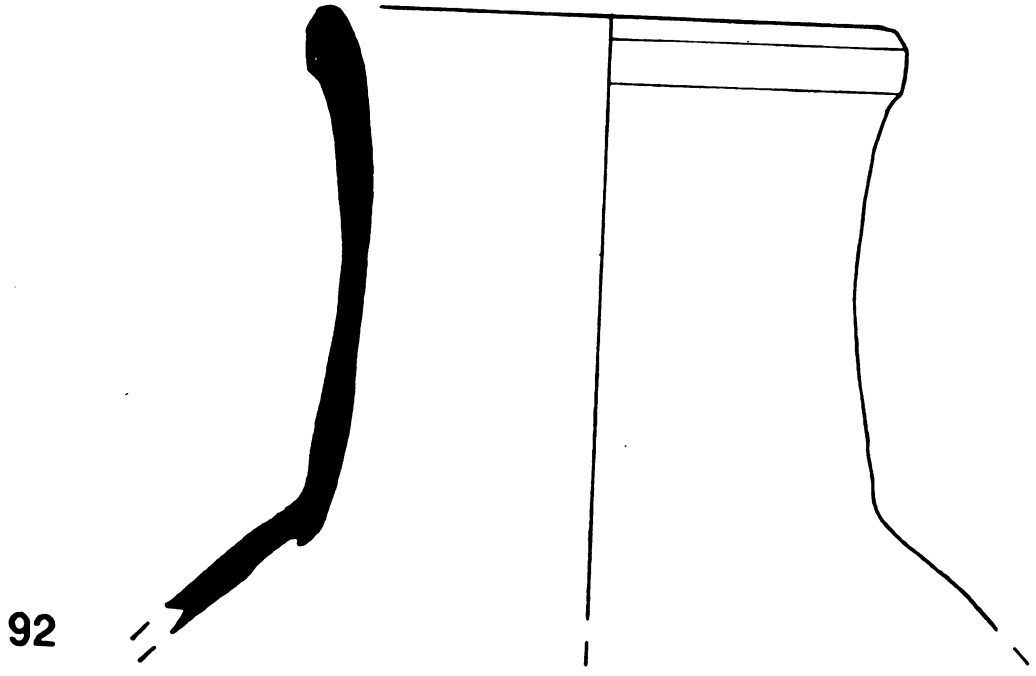
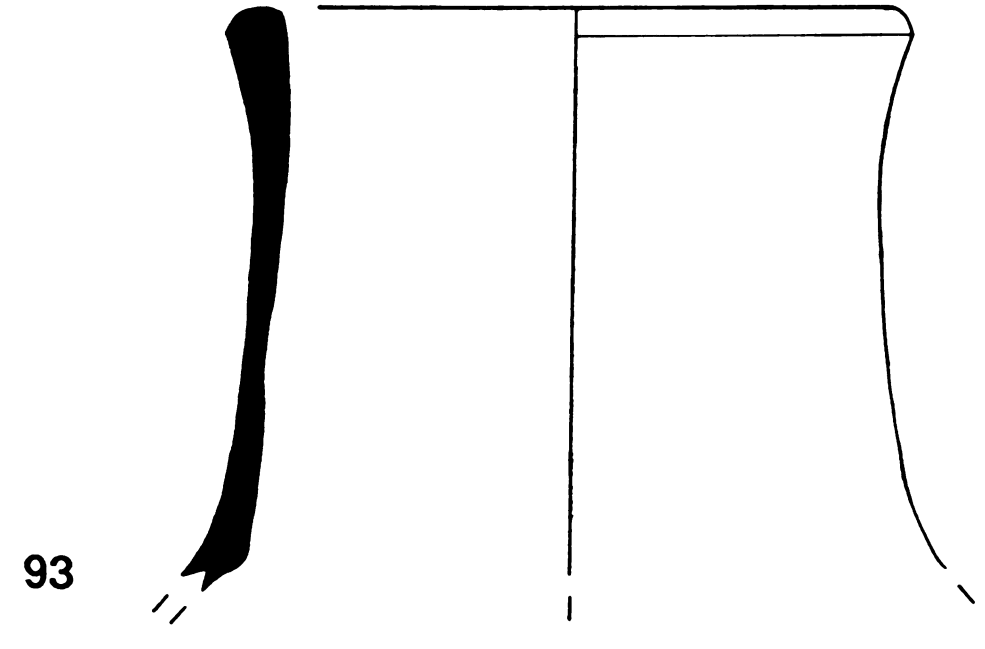
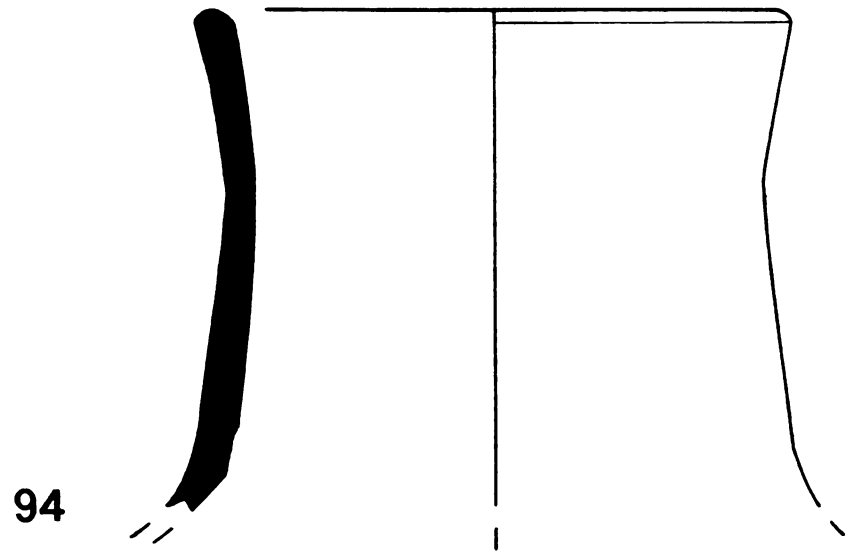
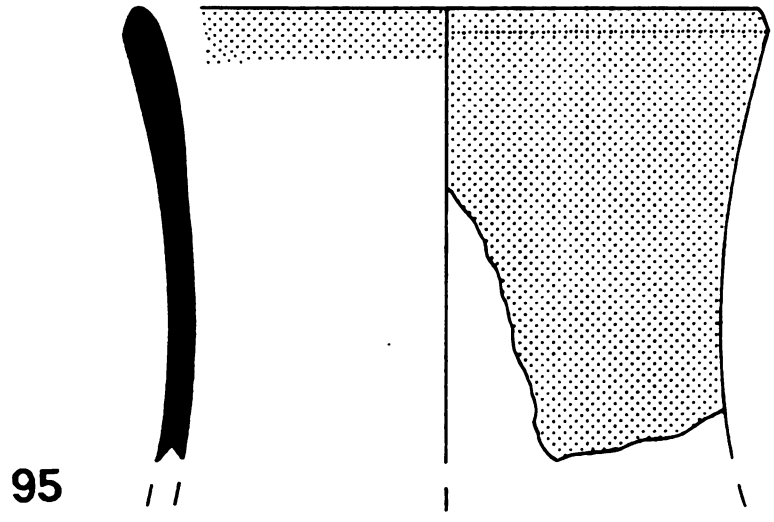
Figure 91. Small Sized Bulging Necked Jar



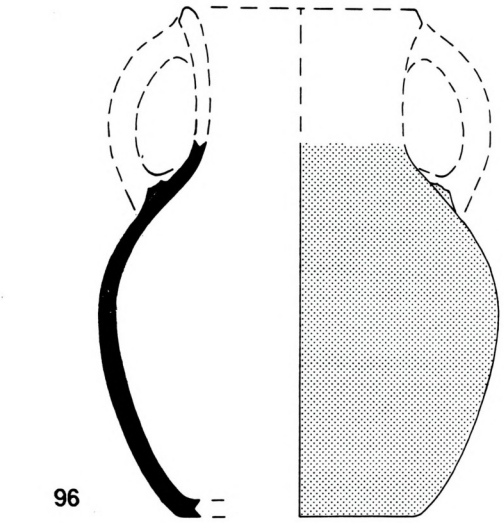


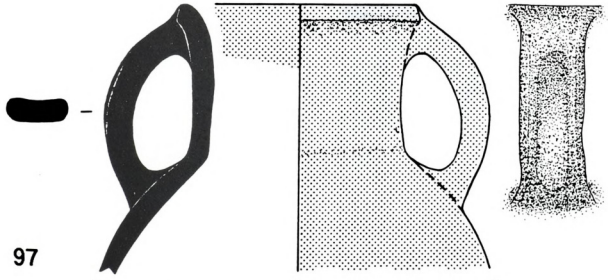
Figures 92-93. Jars with Long Slightly Outflaring Neck and Relatively Sharp Neck to Shoulder Juncture



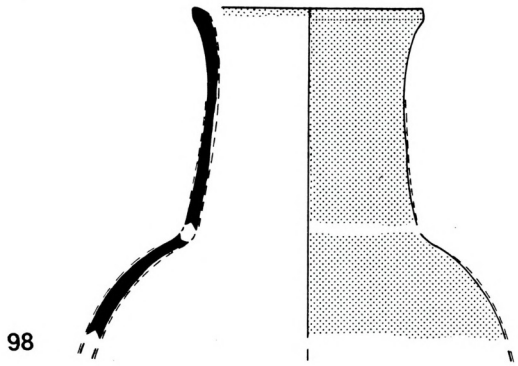


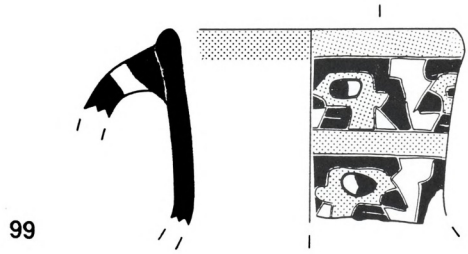
Figures 94-95. Jars with Long Slightly Outflaring Neck and Relatively Sharp Neck to Shoulder Juncture





Figures 96-97. Jars with Long Slightly Outflaring Neck and Relatively Sharp Neck to Shoulder Juncture





Figures 98-99. Jars with Long Slightly Outflaring Neck and Relatively Sharp Neck to Shoulder Juncture

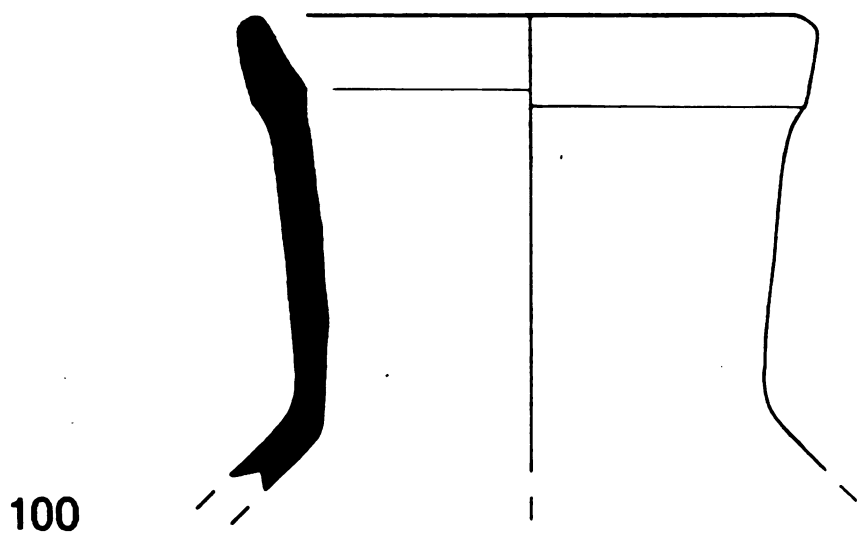


Figure 100. Jar with Long Slightly Outflaring Neck and Relatively Sharp Neck to Shoulder Juncture

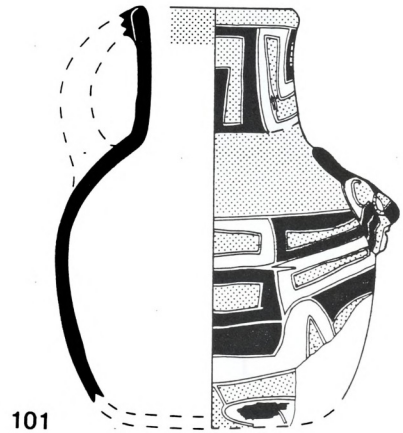
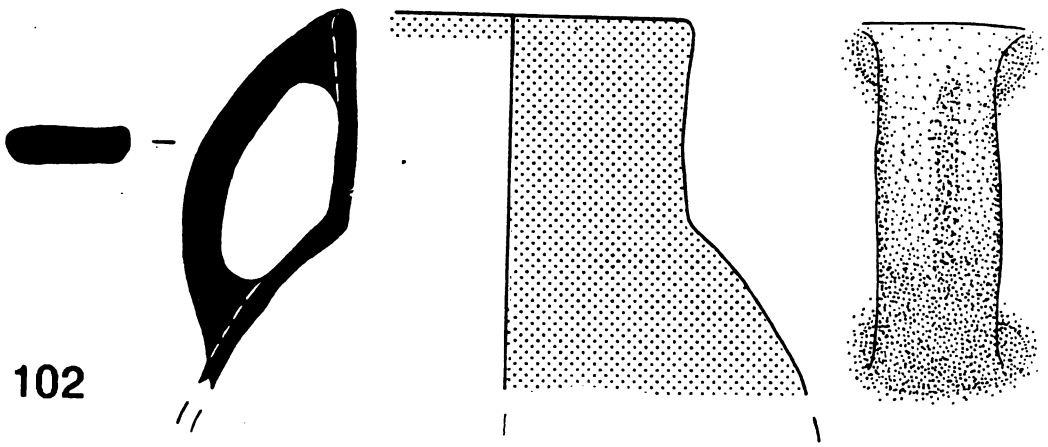
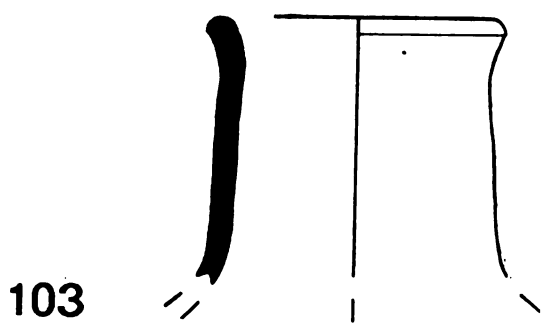
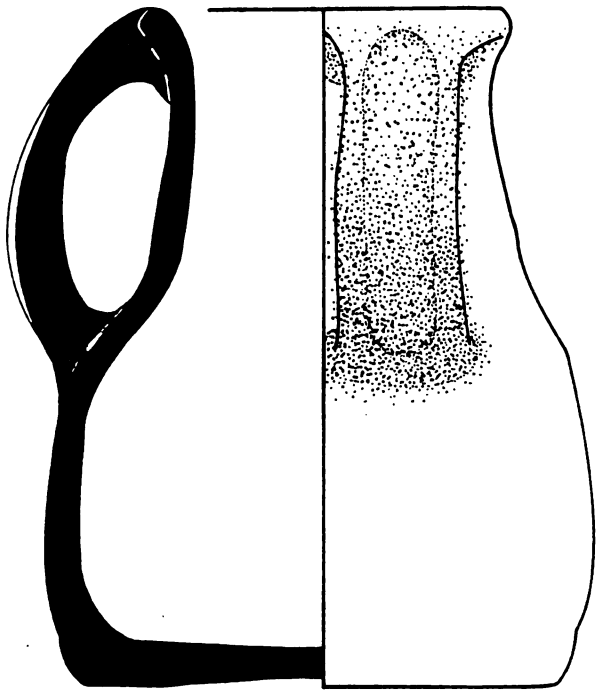


Figure 101. Jar with Long Slightly Outflaring Neck and Relatively Sharp Neck to Shoulder Juncture





Figures 102-103. Jars with Long Slightly Outflaring Neck and Relatively Sharp Neck to Shoulder Juncture



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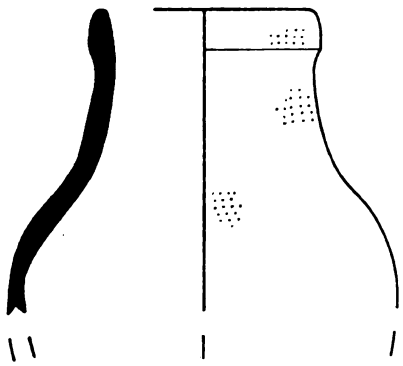
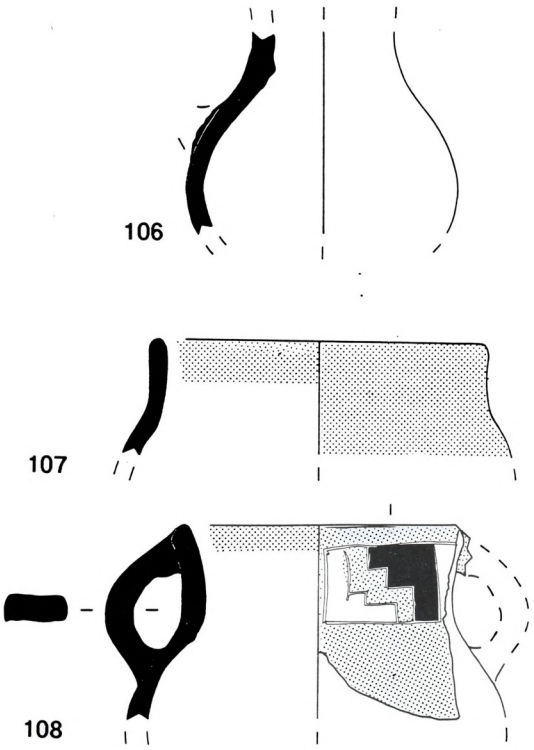


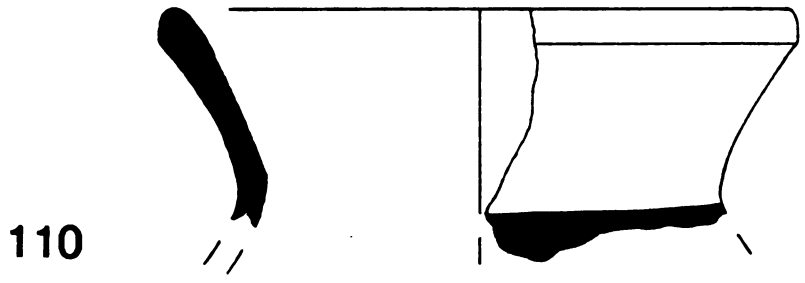
105

Figures 104-105. Jars with Long or Short Slightly Outflaring Neck and Less Angular Neck to Shoulder Juncture



Figures 106-108. Jars with Long or Short Slightly Outflaring Neck and Less Angular Neck to Shoulder Juncture

109



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Figures 109-110. Jars with Long Outflaring Neck and Relatively Sharp Neck to Shoulder Juncture

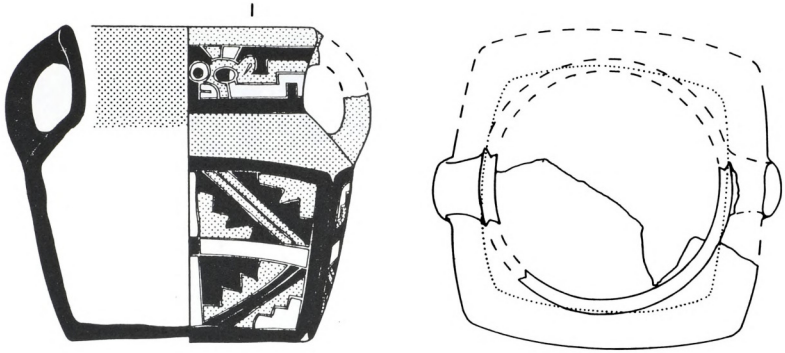

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Figure 111. Four-Sided Jar with Slightly Outflaring Neck and Relatively Sharp Neck to Shoulder Juncture

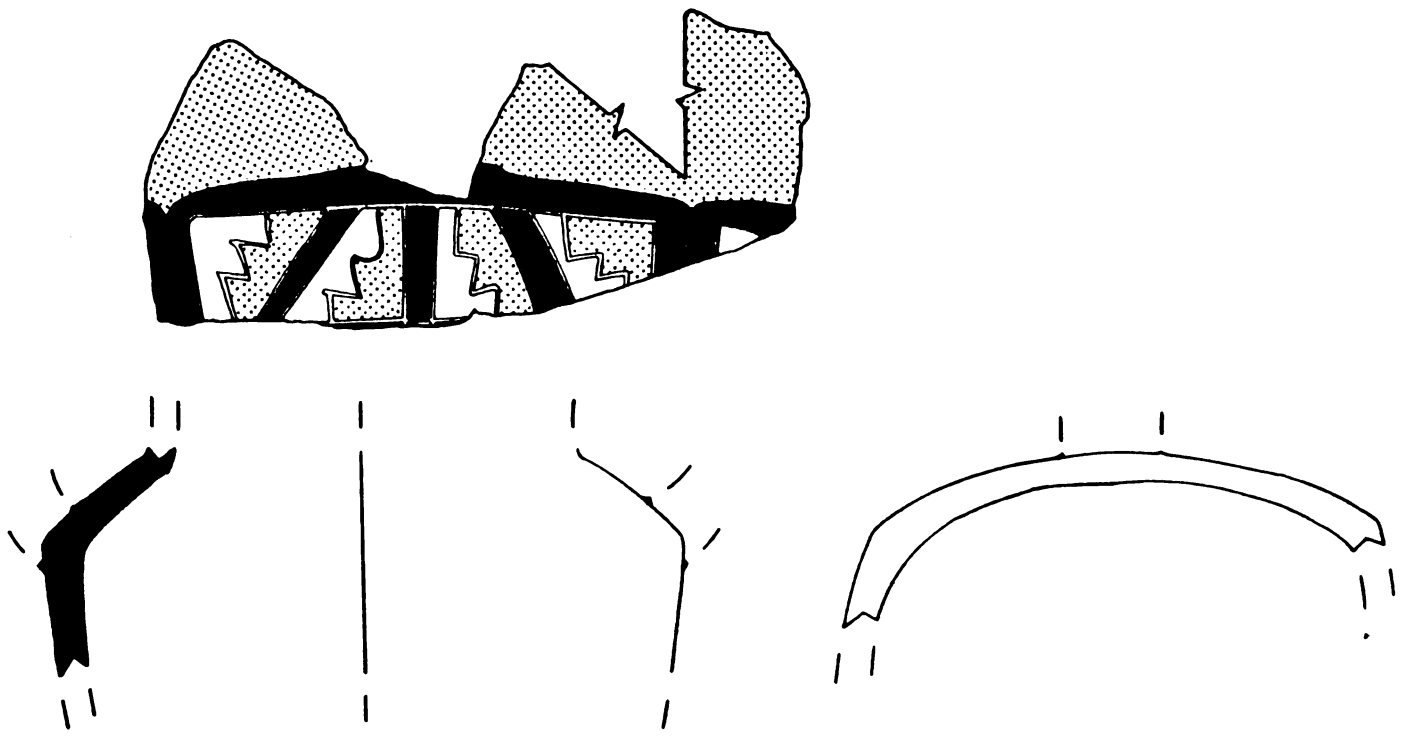

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Figure 112. Four-Sided Jar with Slightly Outflaring Neck and Relatively Sharp Neck to Shoulder Juncture

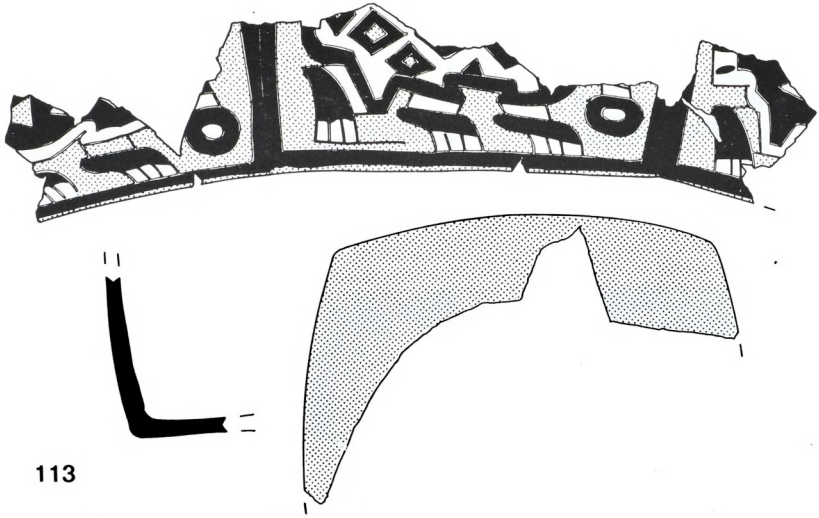
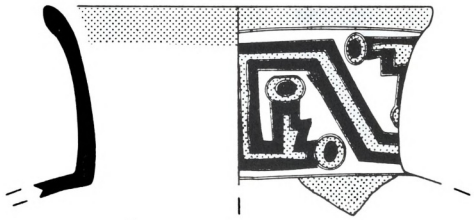


Figure 113. Four-Sided Jar with Slightly Outflaring Neck and Relatively Sharp Neck to Shoulder Juncture



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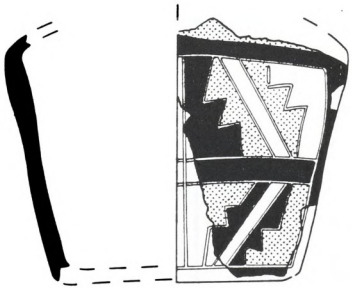

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Figures 114-115. Four-Sided Jars with Slightly Outflaring Neck and Relatively Sharp Neck to Shoulder Juncture

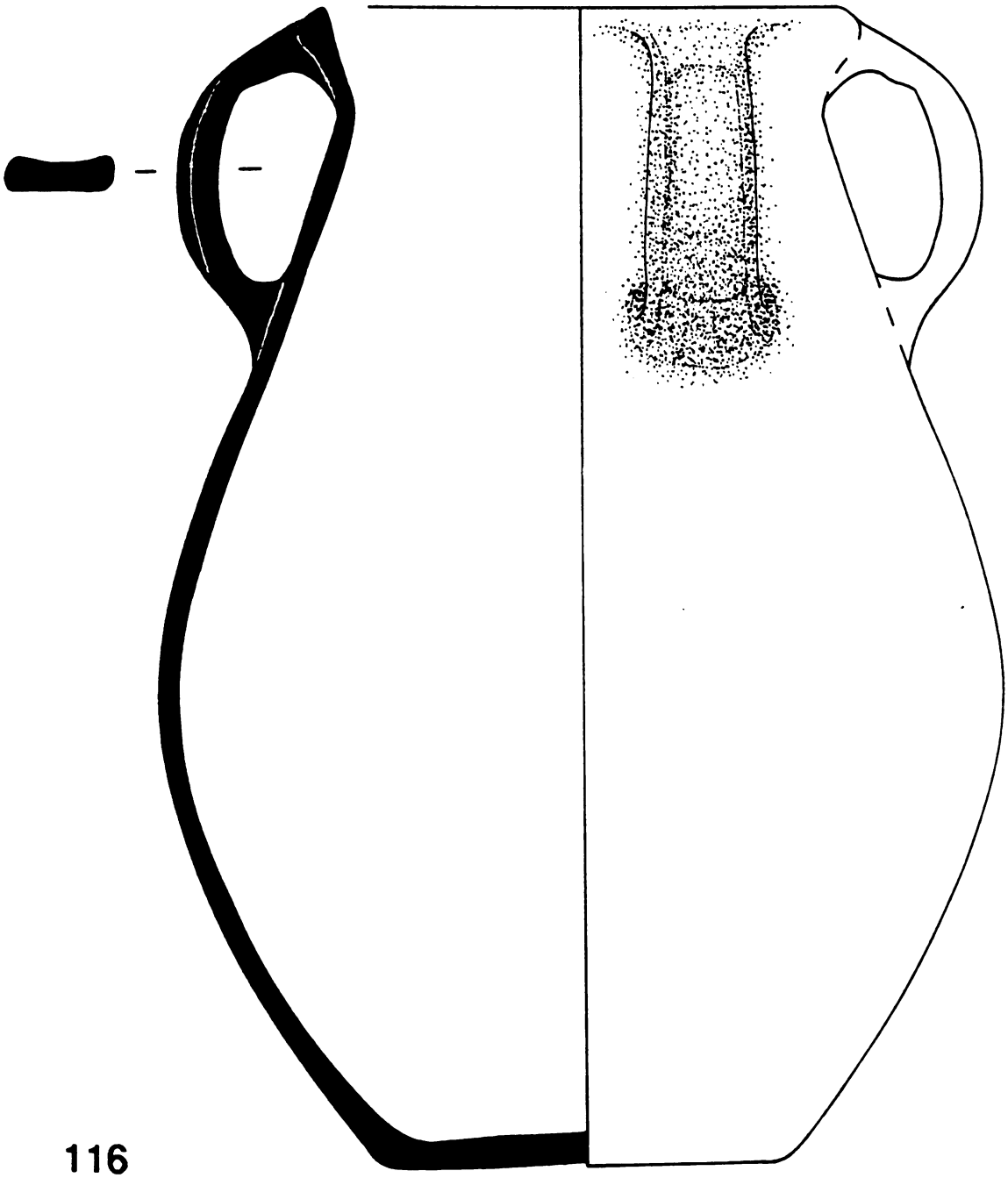
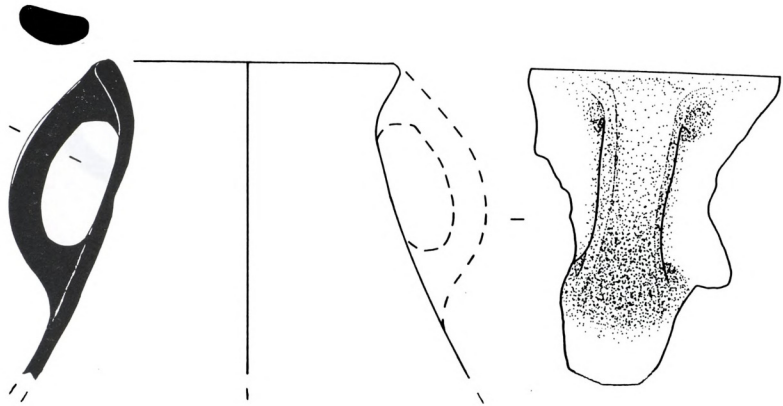


Figure 116. Tall Jar with Short Outflaring Neck



117

Figure 117. Tall Jar with Short Outflaring Neck

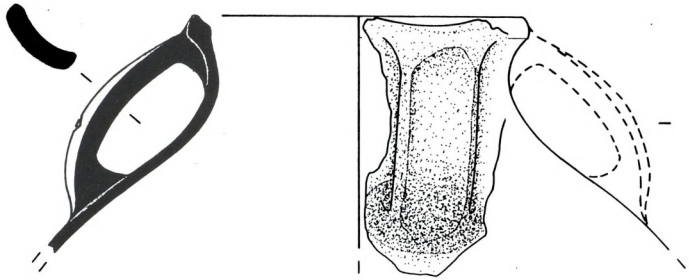


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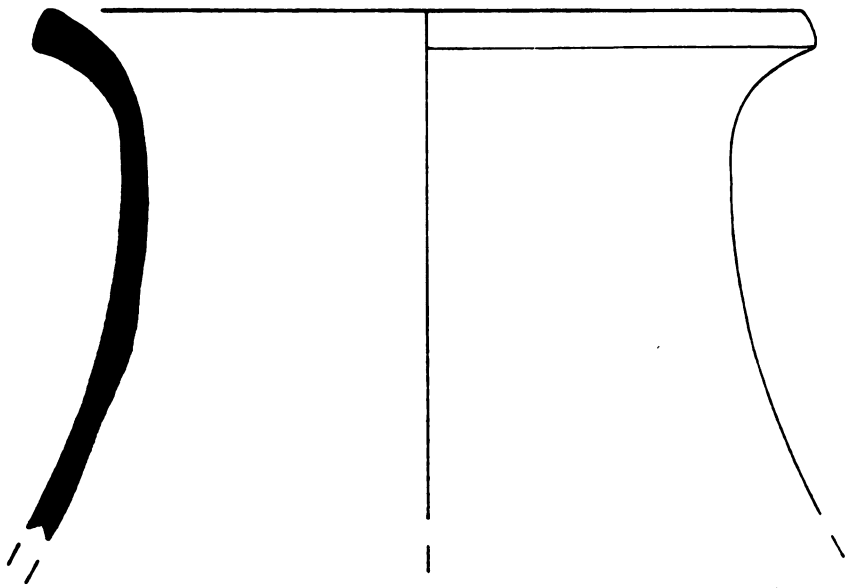
Figure 118. Tall Jar with Short Outflaring Neck



119

Figure 119. Tall Jar with Short Outflaring Neck

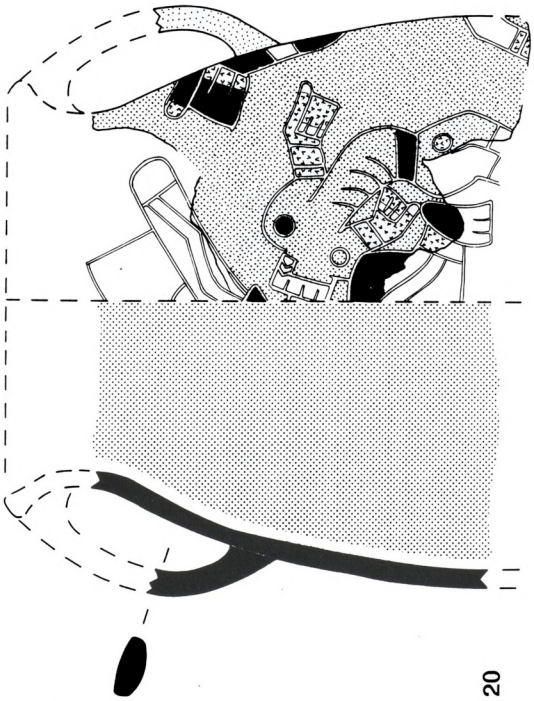


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Figure 120. Tall Jar with Short Outflaring Neck

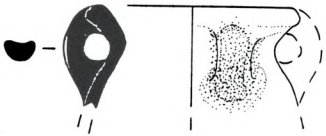

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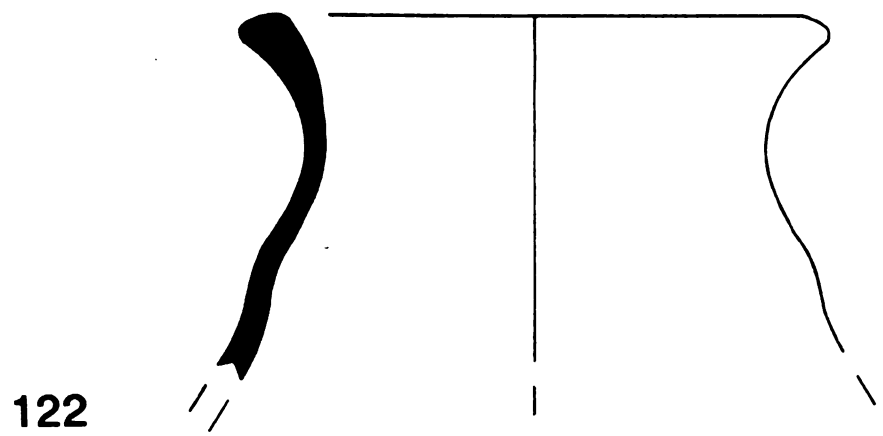
Figure 121. Small, Tall Jar with Outflaring Neck



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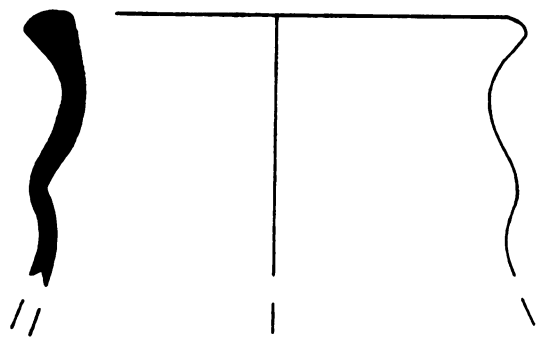

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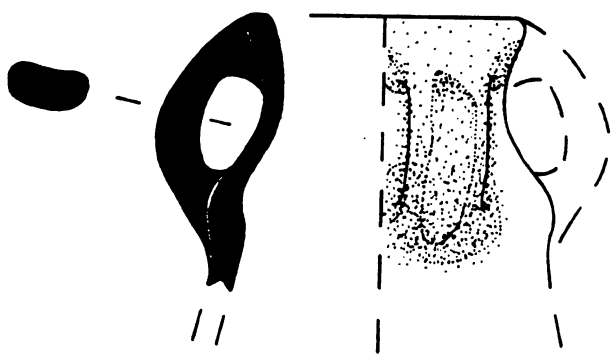

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Figures 122-124. Tall Jars with Short Outflaring Neck and Bulging Shoulder

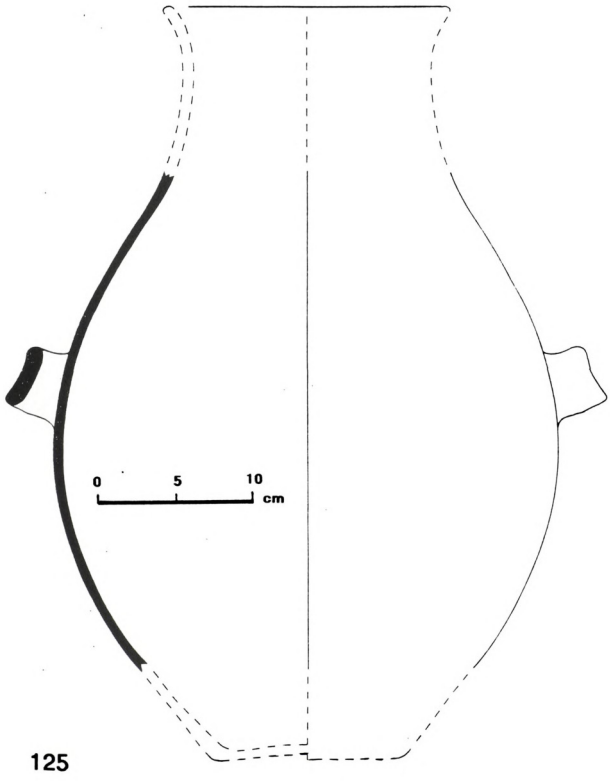
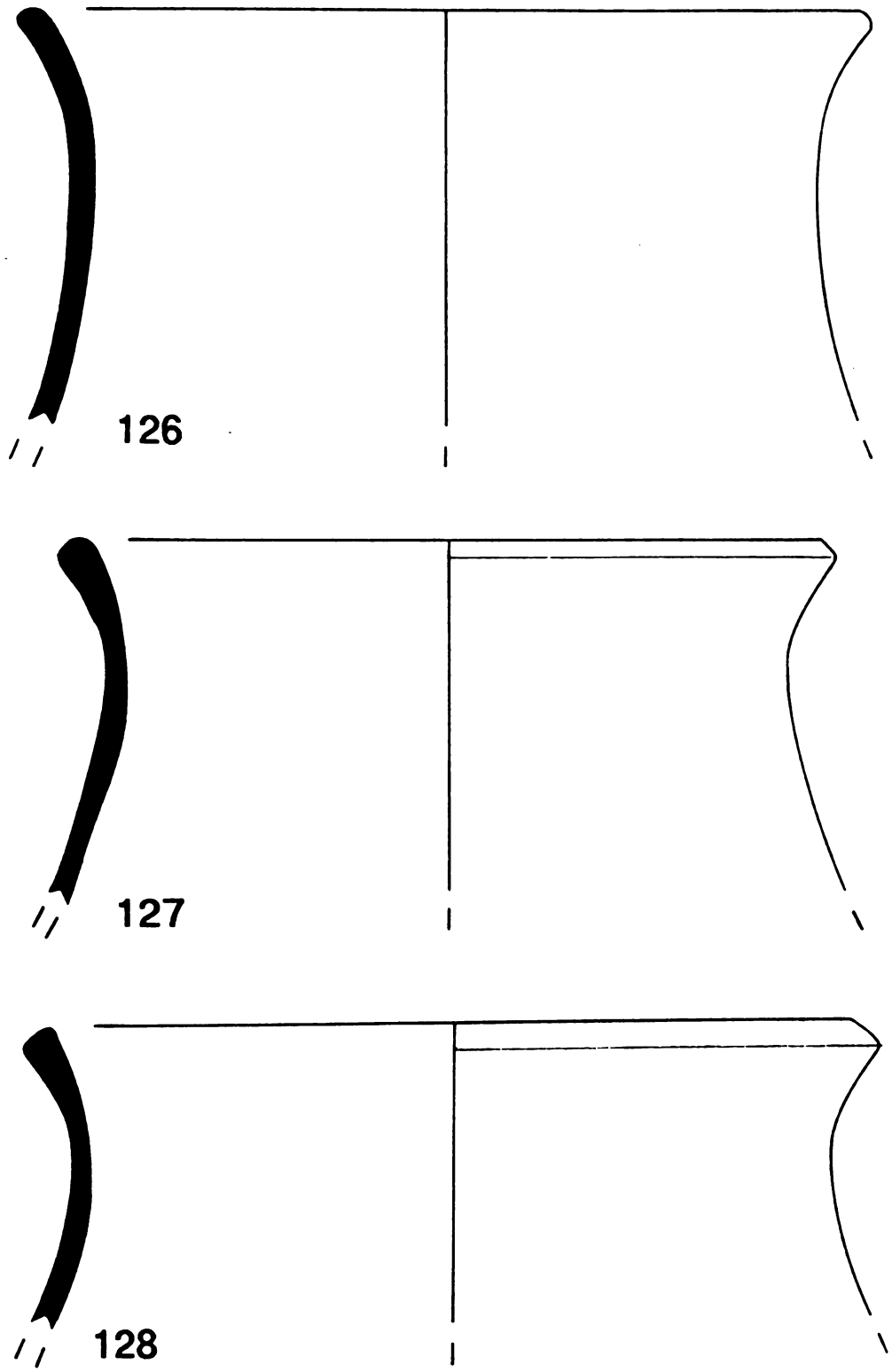
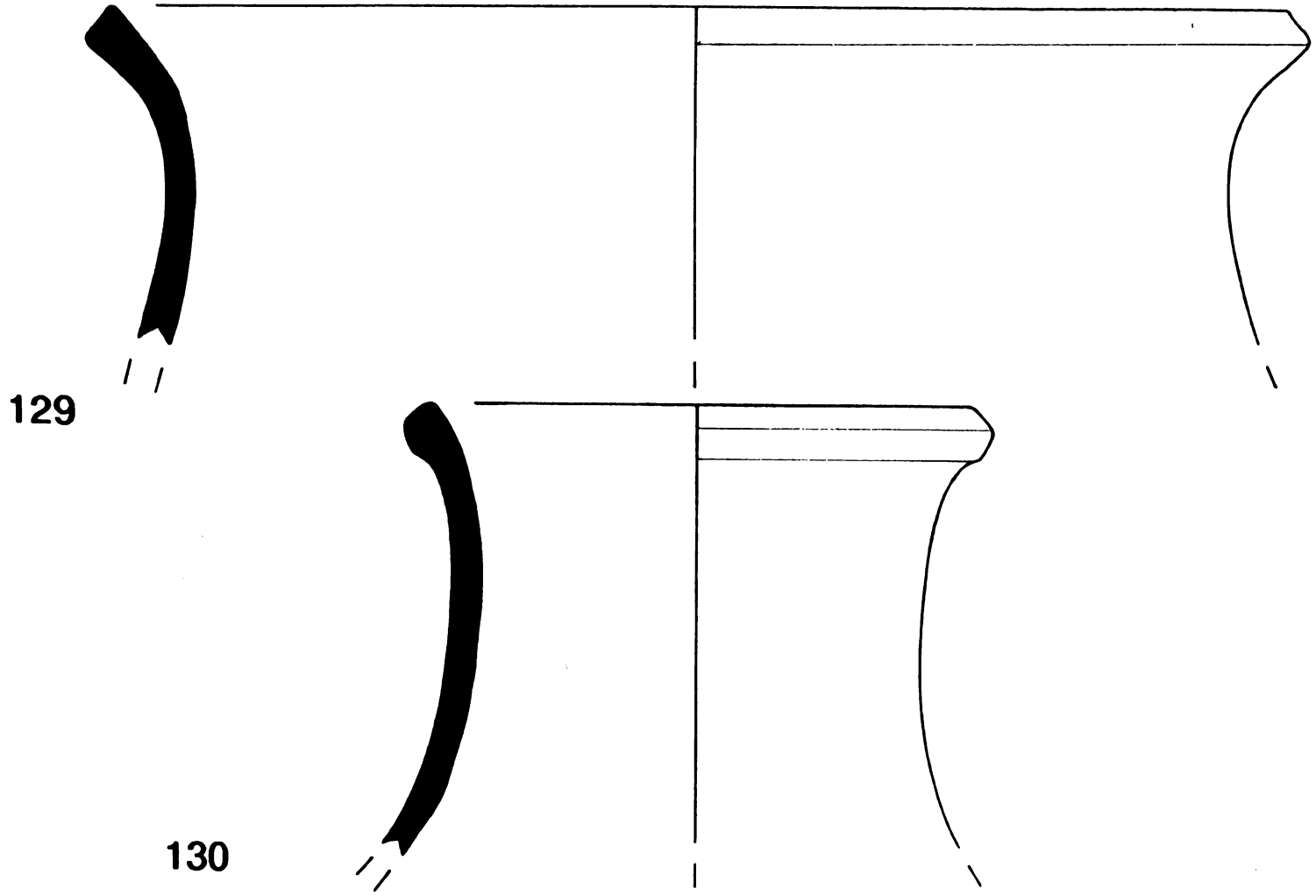


Figure 125. Tall Jar with Outflaring Neck and Rim



Figures 126-128. Tall Jars with Outflaring Neck and Rim



Figures 129-130. Tall Jars with Outflaring Neck and Rim

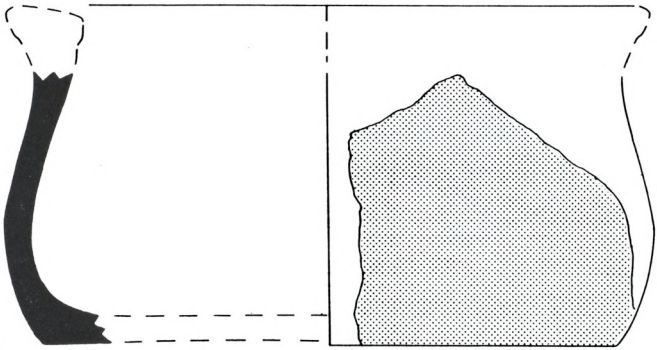


Figure 131. Large, Slightly Incurved Squat Jar with Thick Triangular Rim

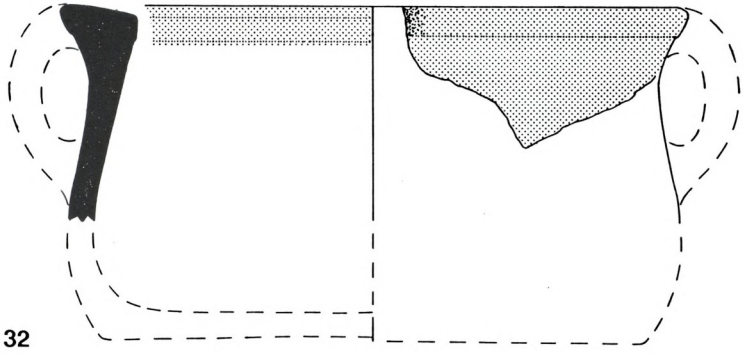
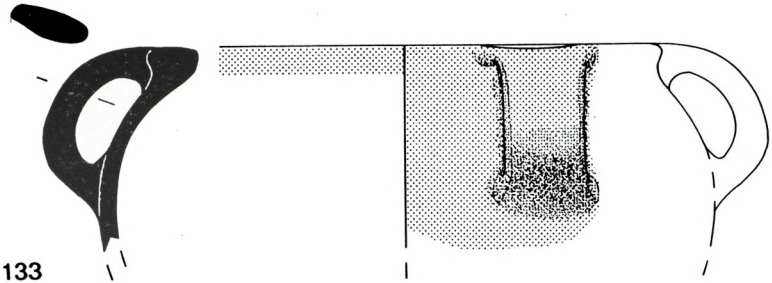
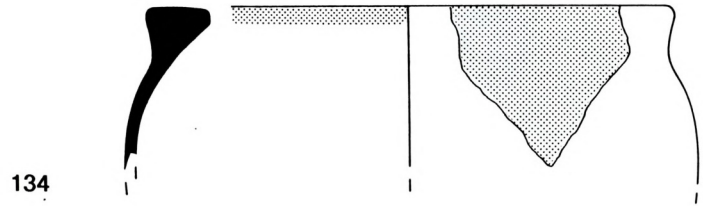


Figure 132. Large, Slightly Incurved Squat Jar with Thick Triangular Rim





Figures 133-134. Medium, Incurved Squat Jars with Thick Triangular Rim

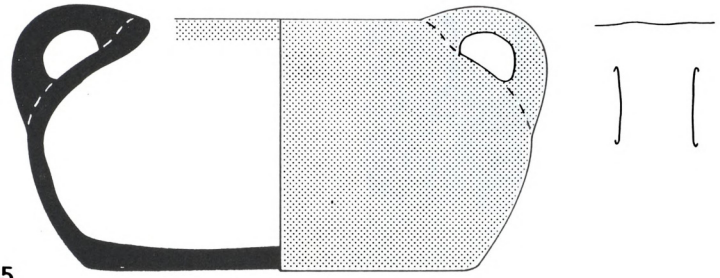


Figure 135. Medium, Incurved Squat Jar without Thick Triangular Rim

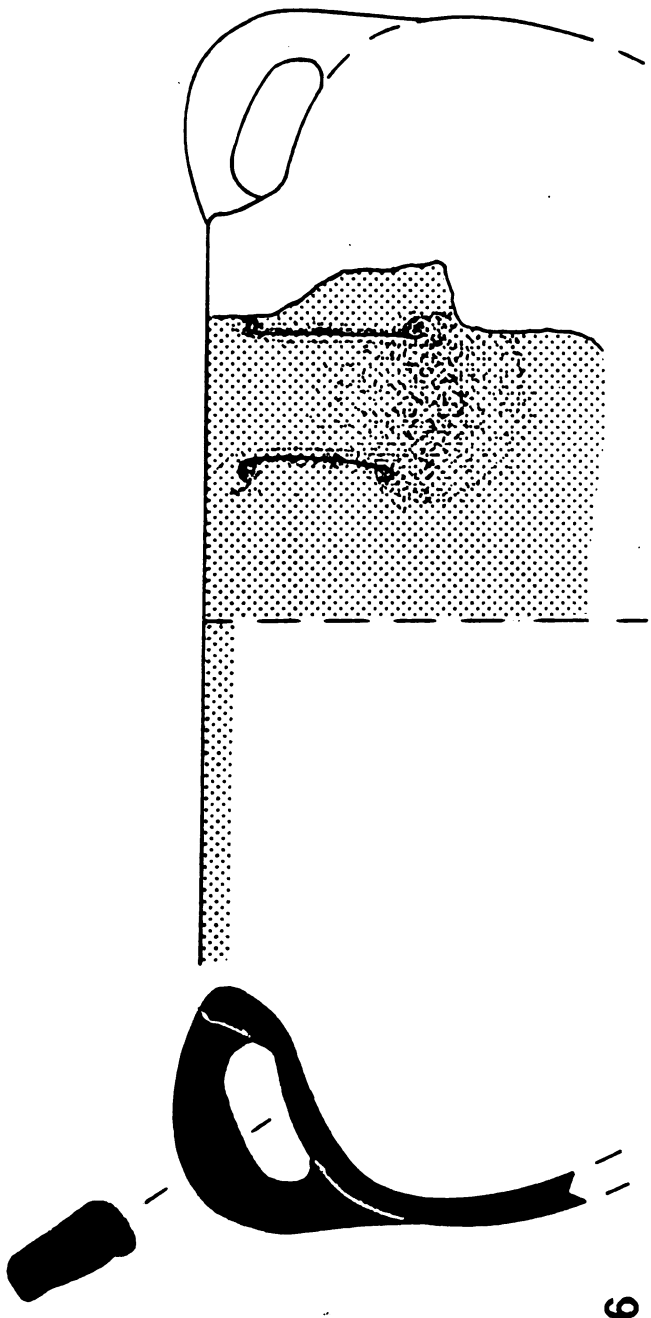
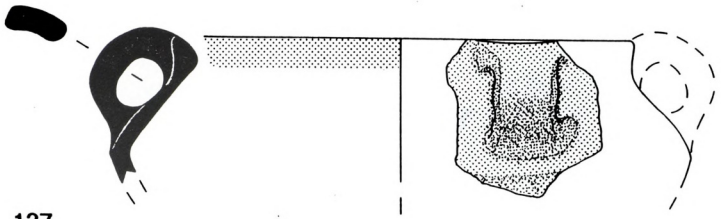


Figure 136. Medium, Incurved Squat Jar without Thick Triangular Rim



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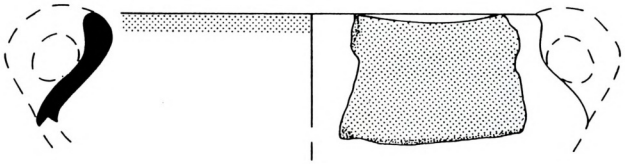

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Figures 137-138. Medium, Incurved Carinated Squat Jars with Thick Triangular Rim

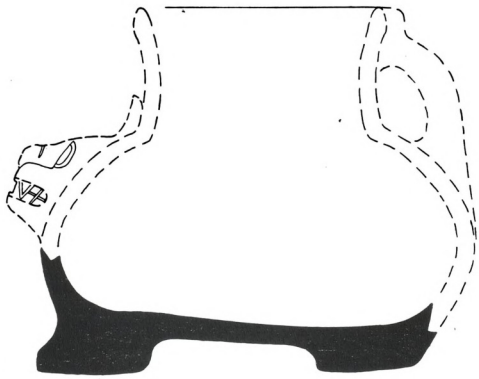

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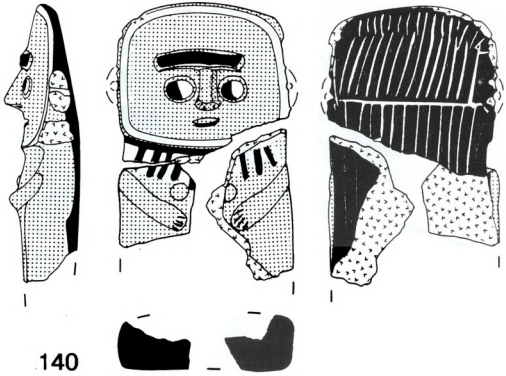
Figure 139. Feline Effigy Jar



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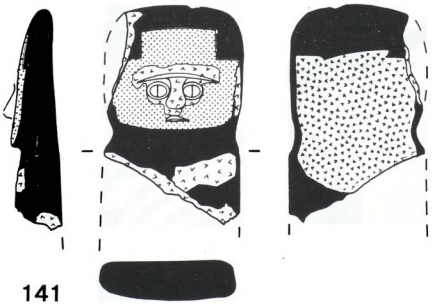

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Figures 140-141. Female Figurines

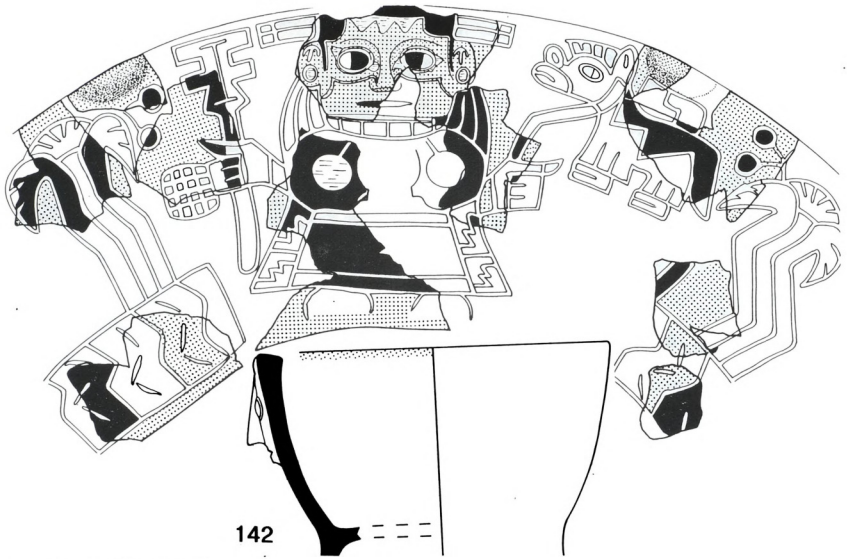
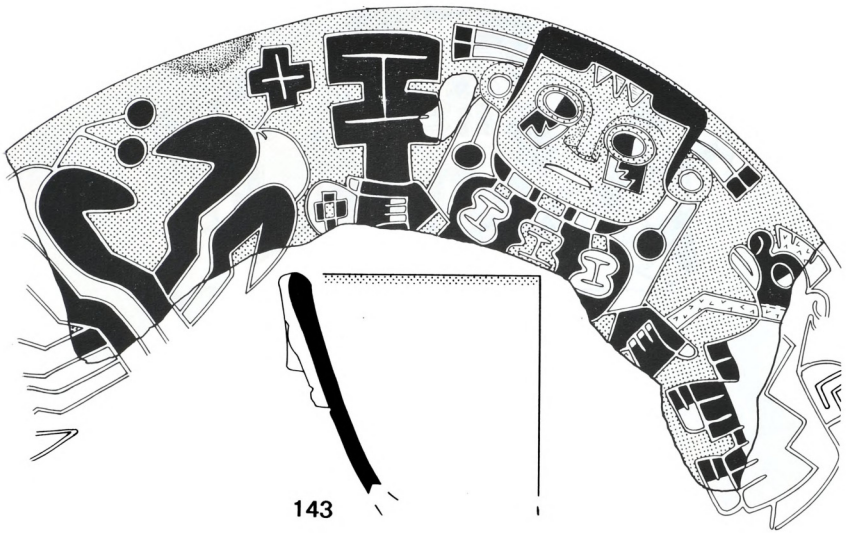
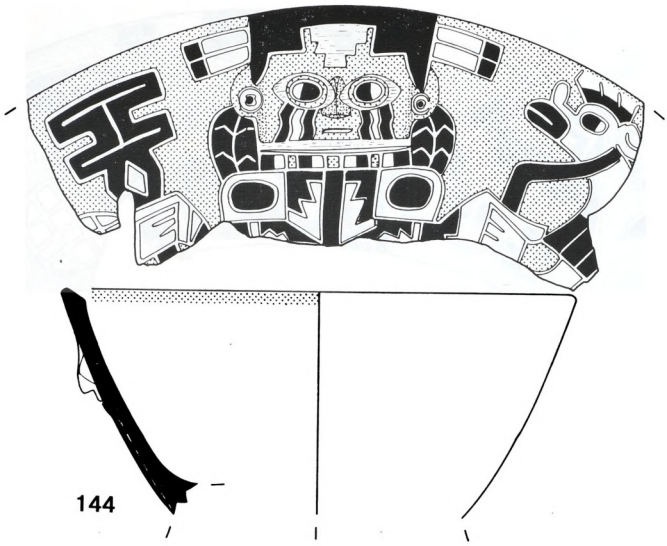


Figure 142. Camelid Woman Theme



Figures 143. Camelid Woman Theme



Figures 144. Camelid Woman Theme

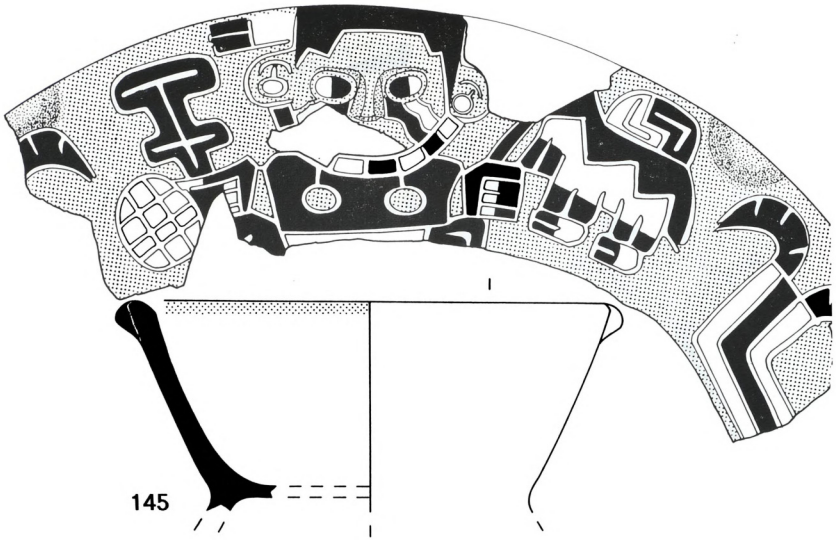
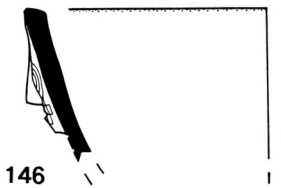


Figure 145. Camelid Woman Theme



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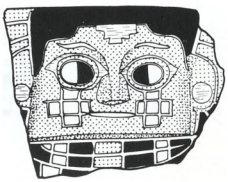

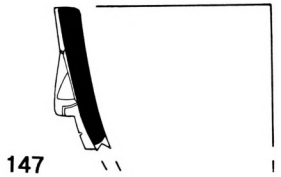

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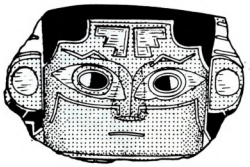

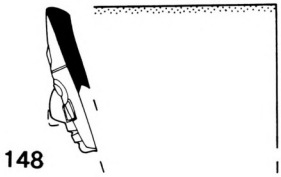

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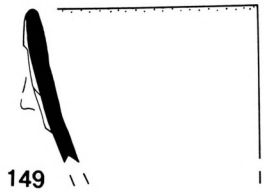

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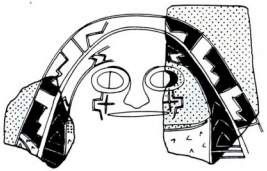
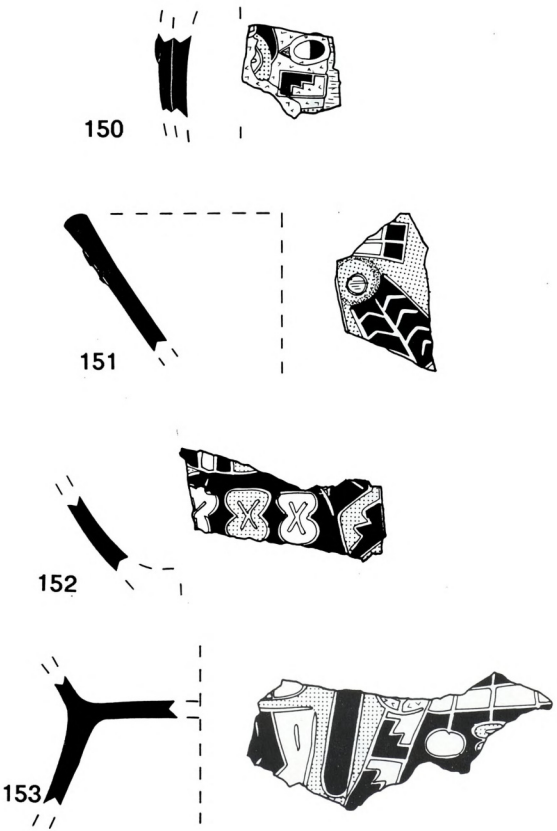
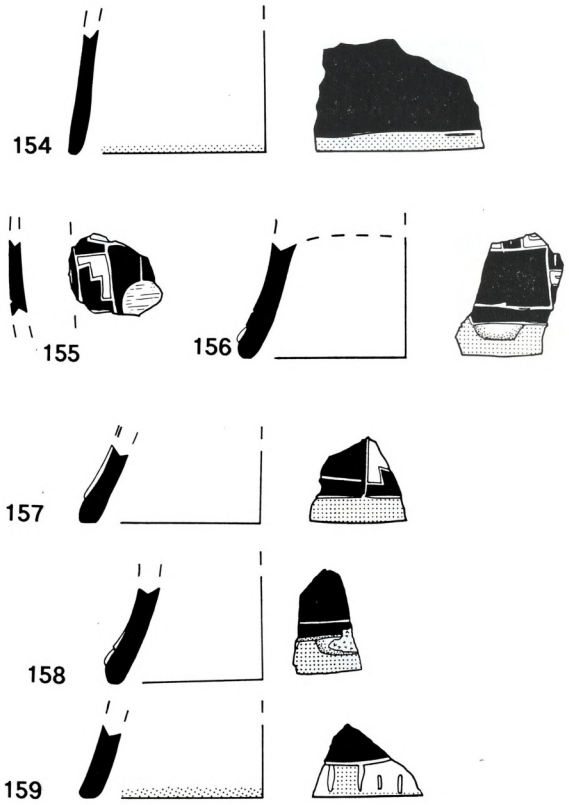


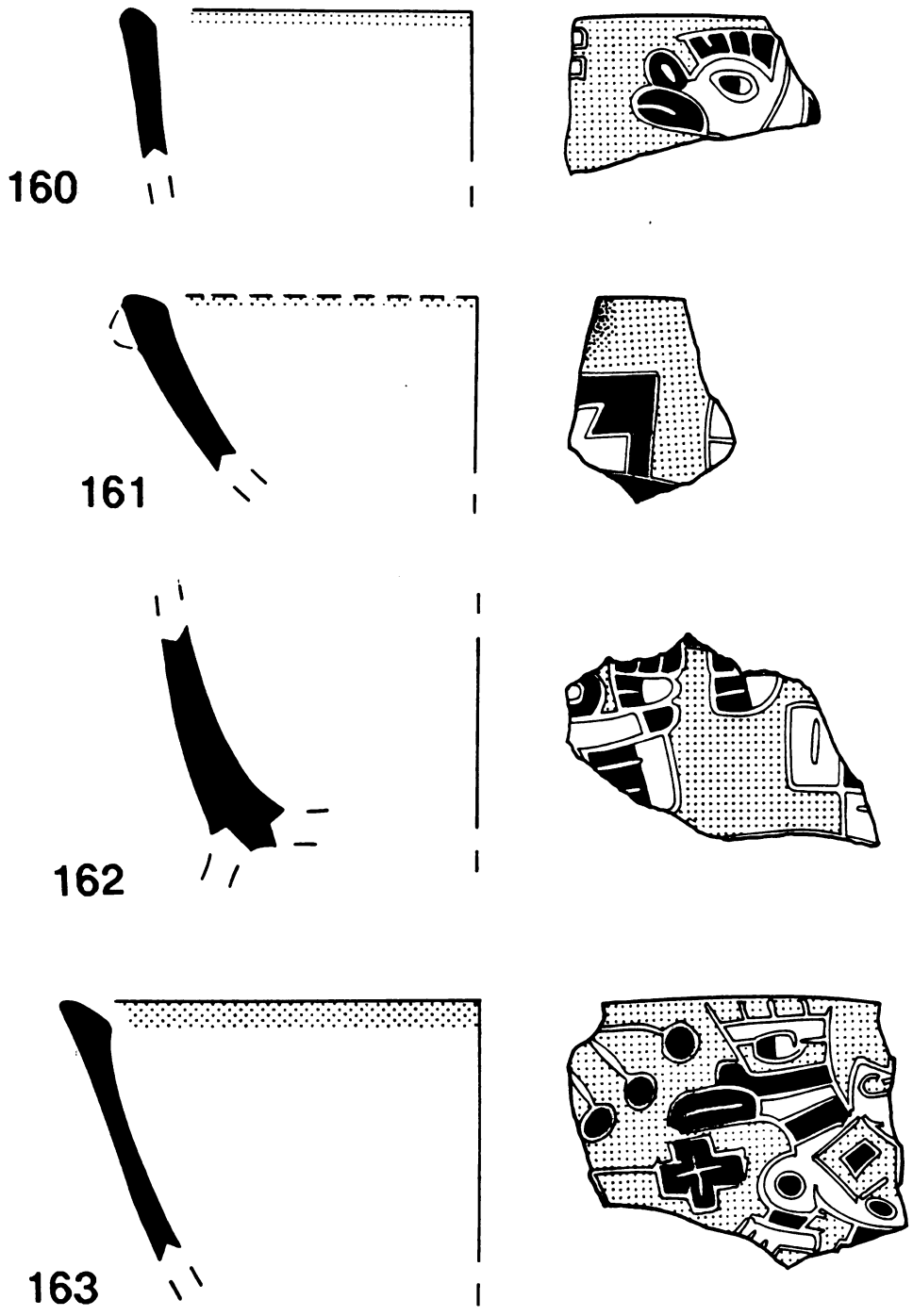
Figures 146-149. Camelid Woman Heads



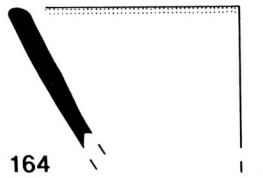
Figures 150-153. Camelid Woman Attire

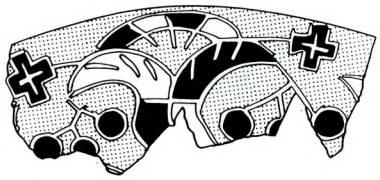


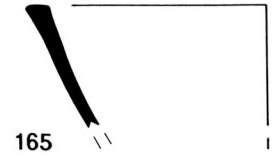
Figures 154-159. Camelid Woman Attire

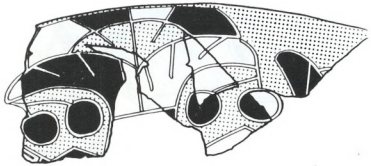


Figures 160-163. Camelid Woman Alpacas

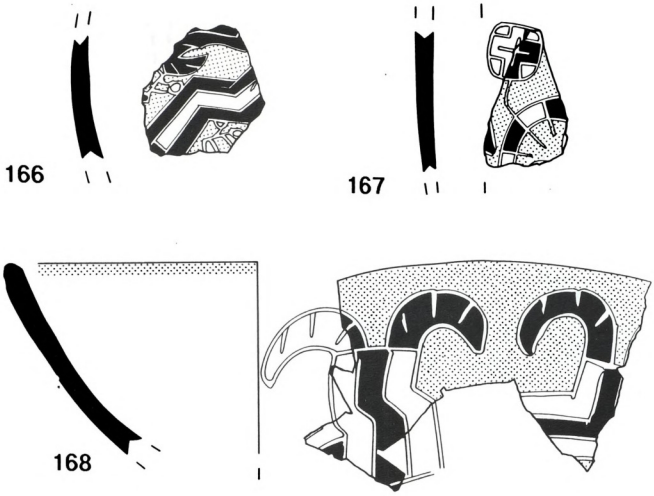




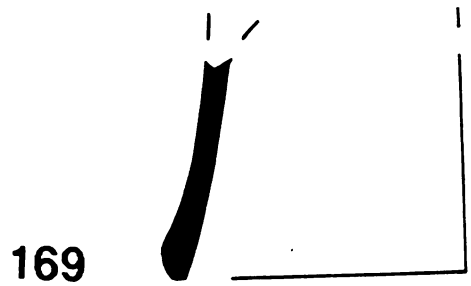


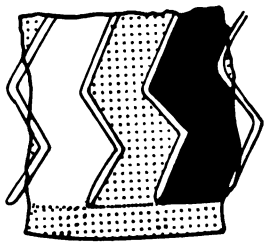


Figures 164-165. Camelid Woman Plants/Flowers



Figures 166-168. Camelid Woman Plants/Flowers





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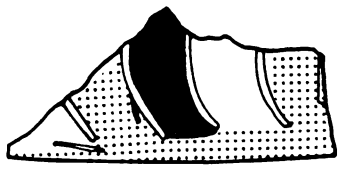

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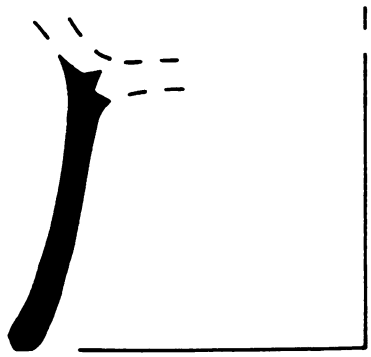
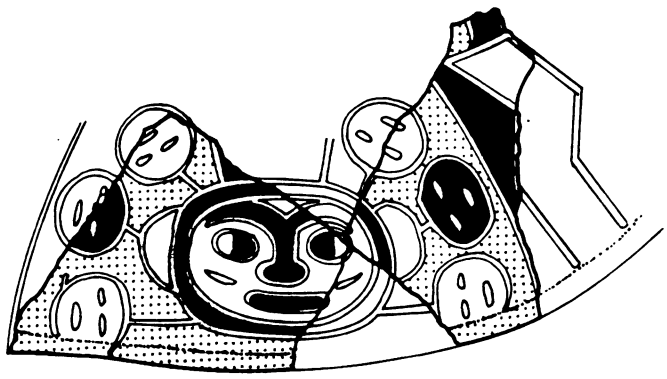




171

Figures 169-171. Camelid Woman Geometric Designs and Rayed Head

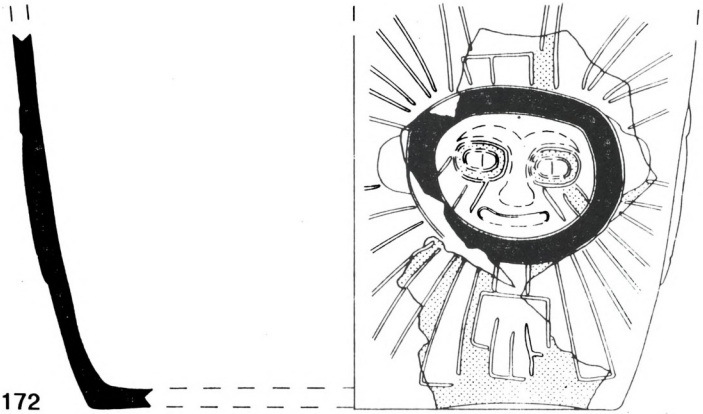
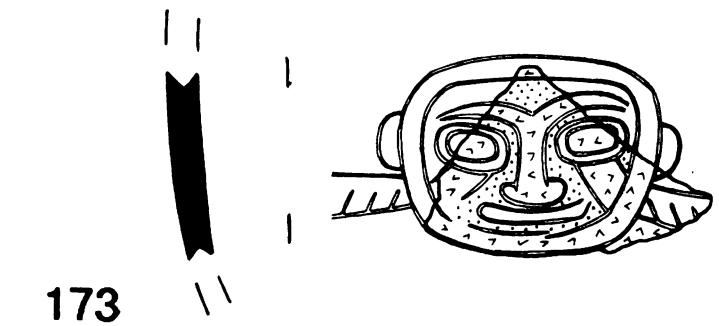
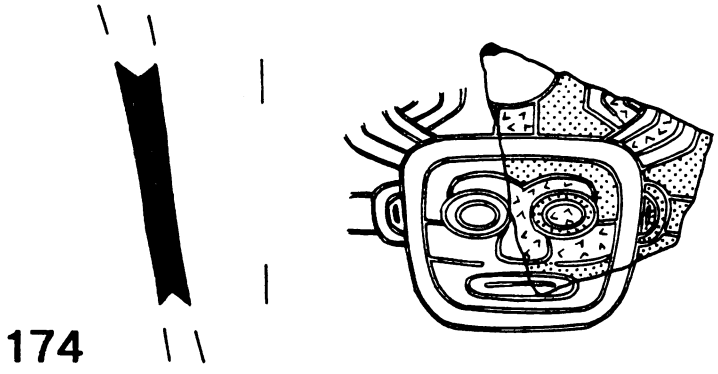


Figure 172. Rayed Head Motif



173



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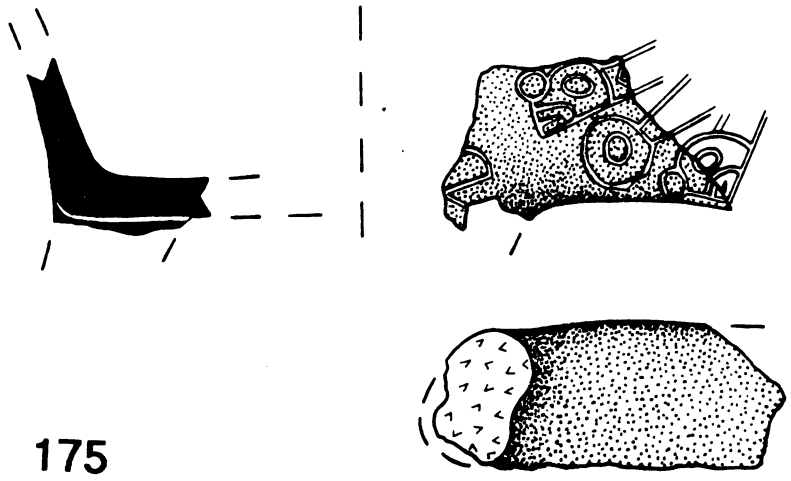


175

Figures 173-175. Rayed Head Motif

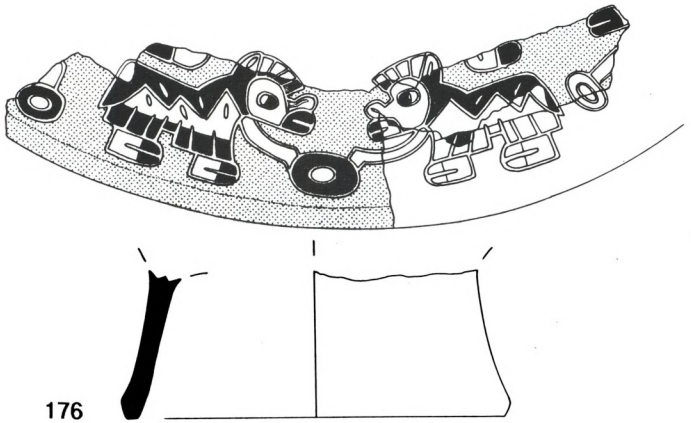
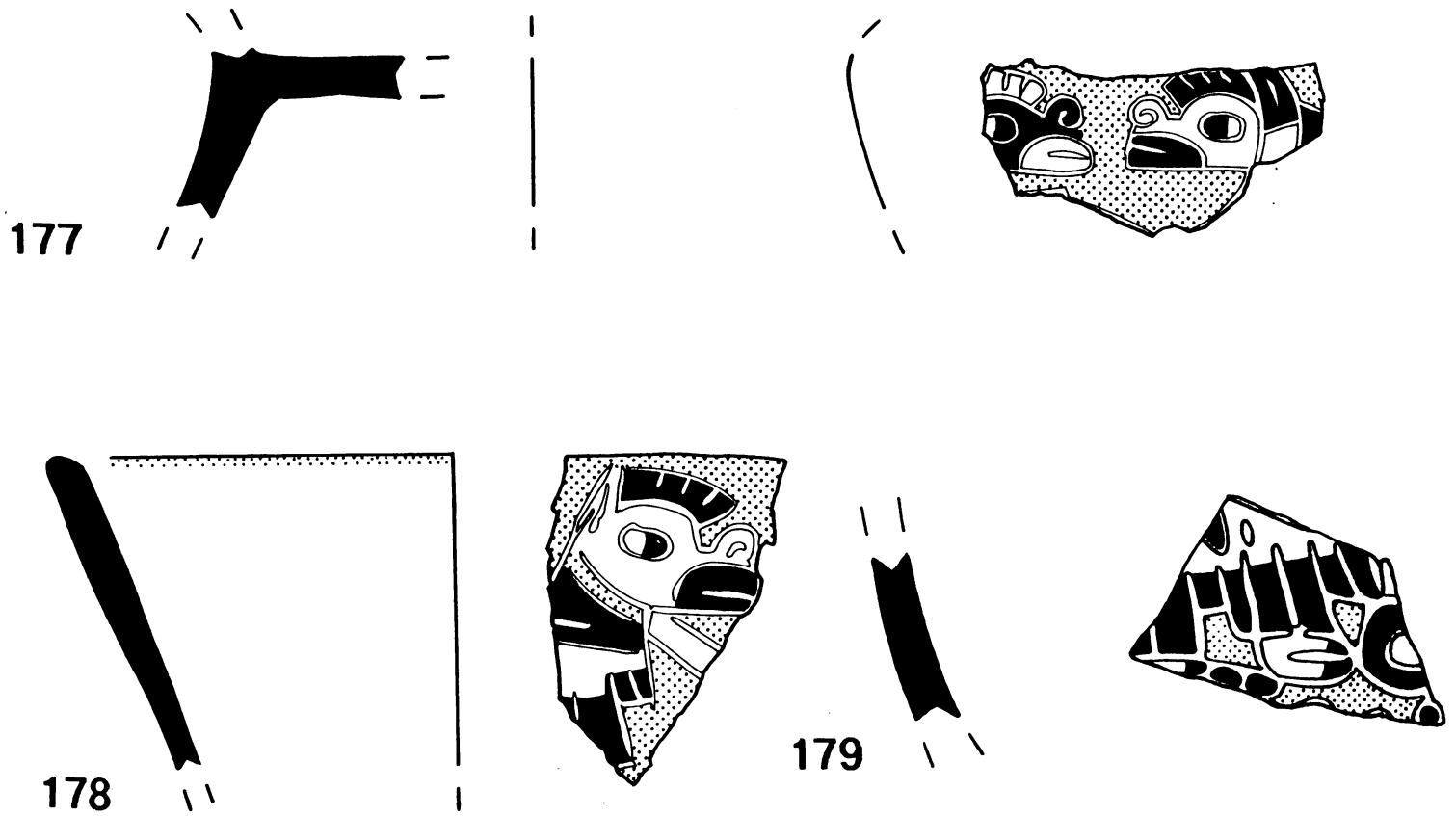
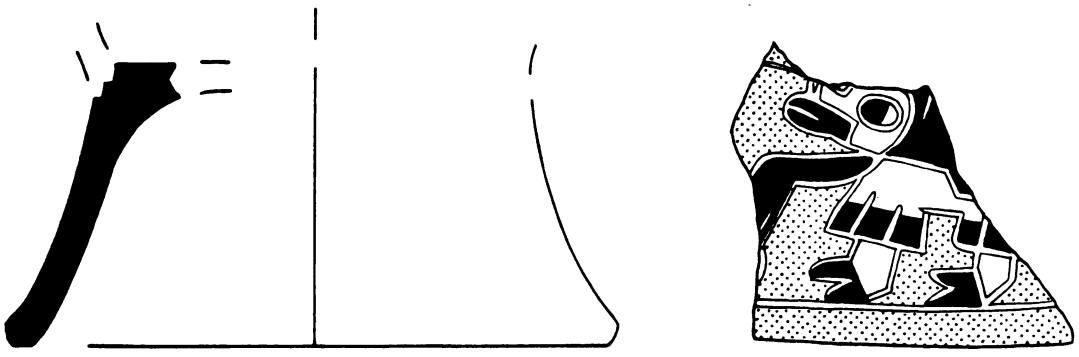


Figure 176. Class I Camelid Motif (Alpacas)



Figures 177-179. Class I Camelid Motif (Alpacas)



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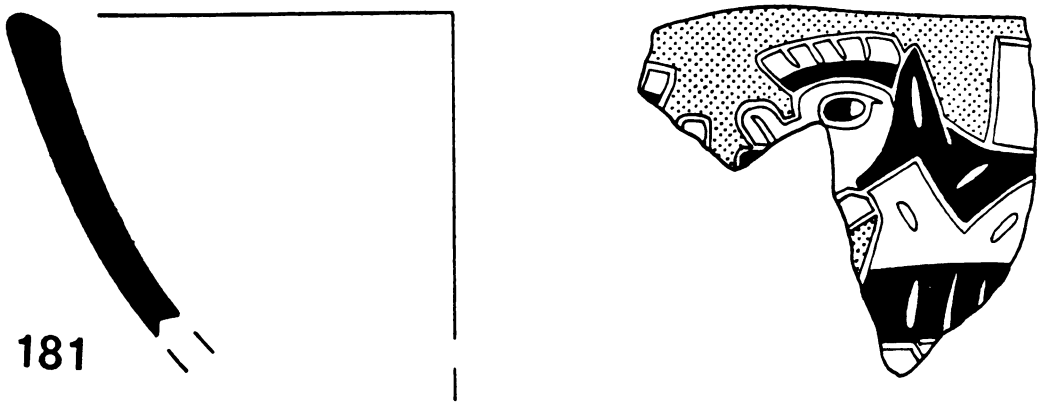
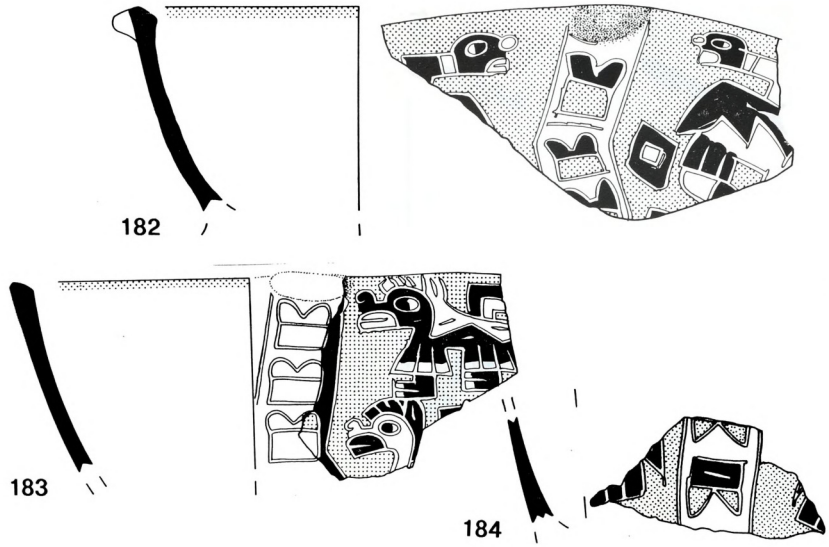
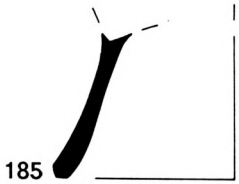


181

Figures 180-181. Class I Camelid Motif (Alpacas)



Figures 182-184. Class II Camelid Motif (Alpacas)



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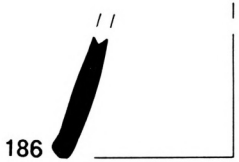

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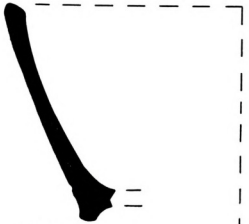

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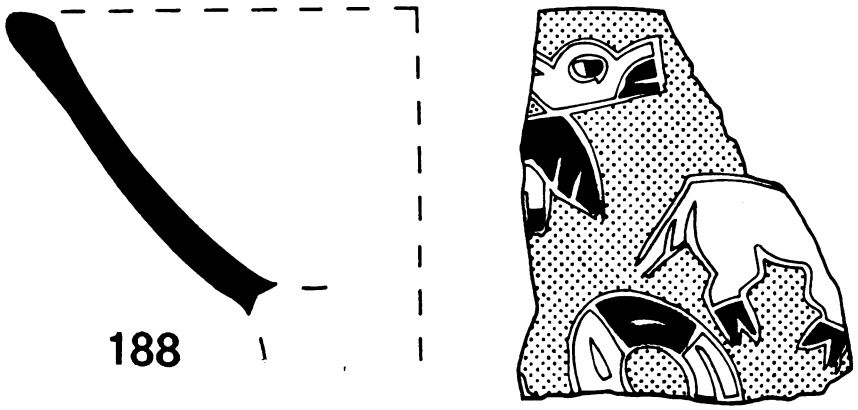
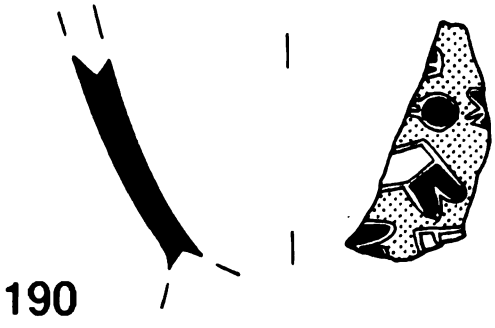
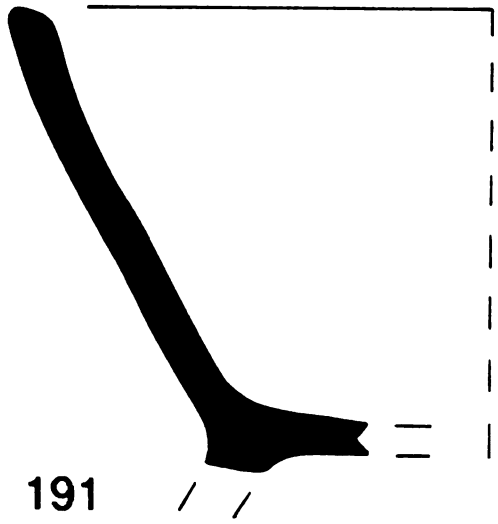
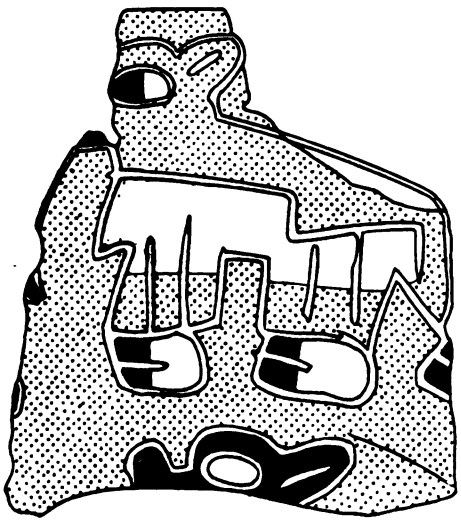
Figures 185-187. Class II Camelid Motif (Alpacas)

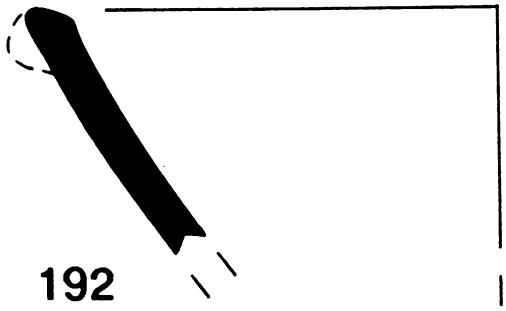


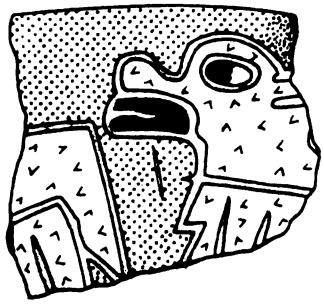


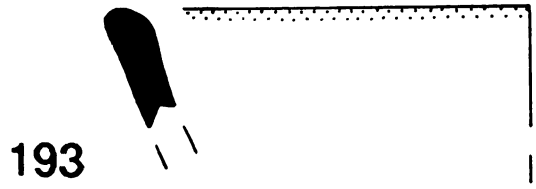
Figures 188-190. Class III Camelid Motif (Guanacos and Alpacas)

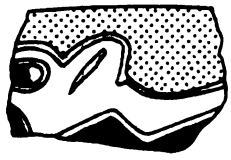




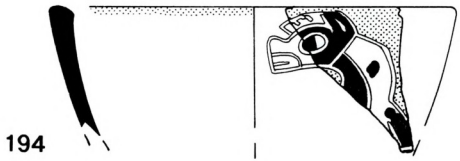








Figures 191-193. Class IV Camelid Motif (Llamas)



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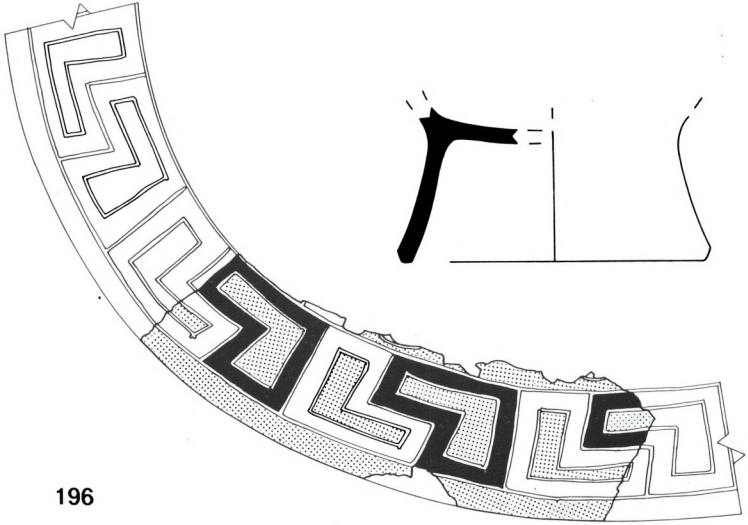
Figures 194-195. Miscellaneous Camelid Motif



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Figures 196. Miscellaneous Camelid Motif

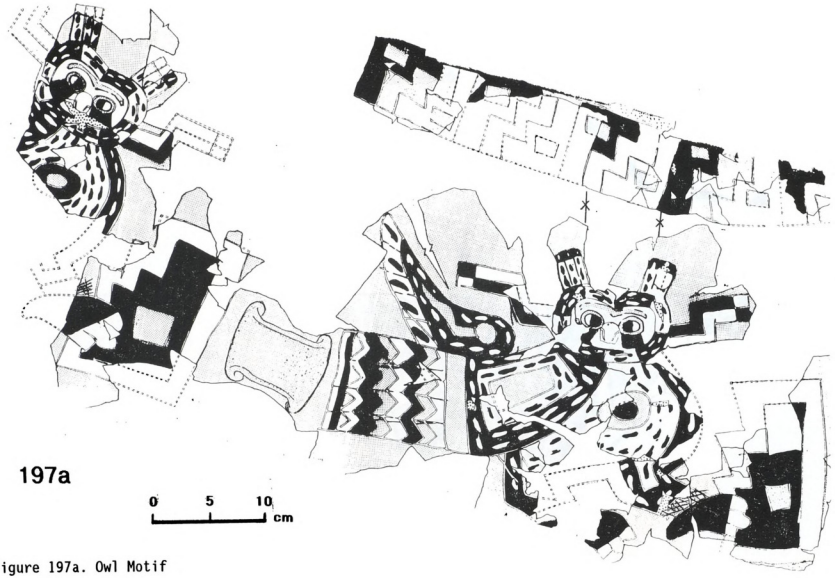


Figure 197a. Owl Motif

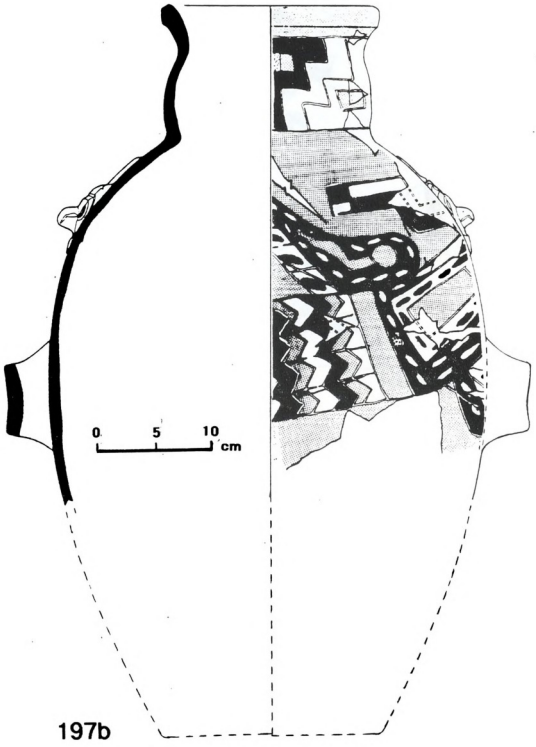
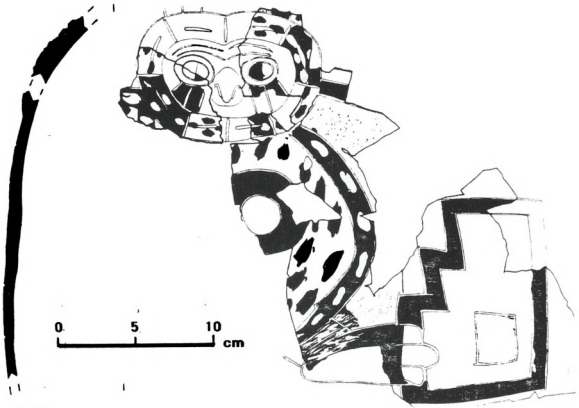


Figure 197b. Owl Motif (Vessel Shape Corresponding to Figure 197a)



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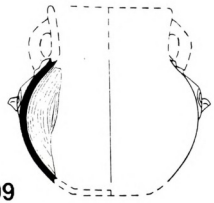

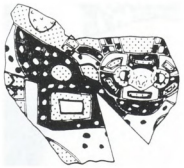

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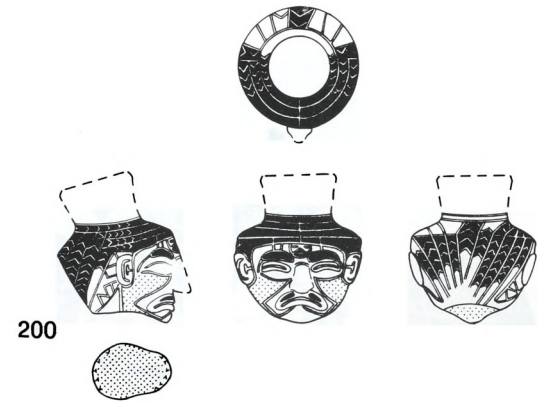
Figures 198-199. Owl Motif



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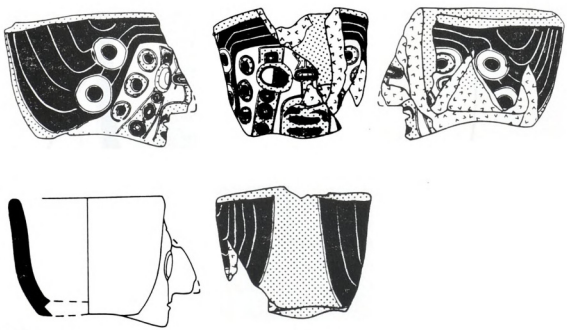
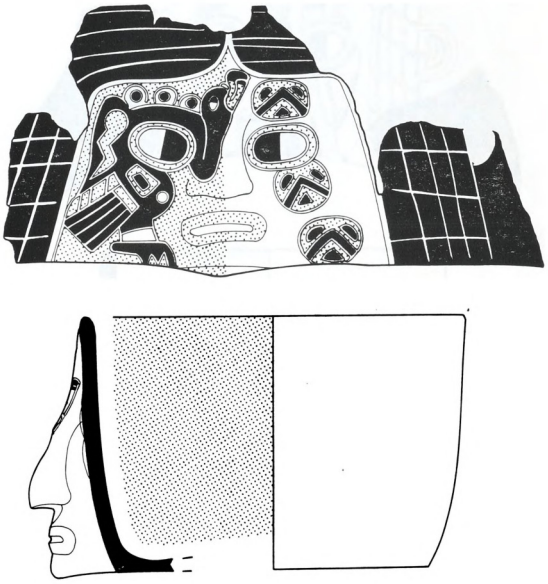


201

Figures 200-201. Miniature Male-Head Effigy Bowls



202

Figure 202. Male-Head Effigy Bowl

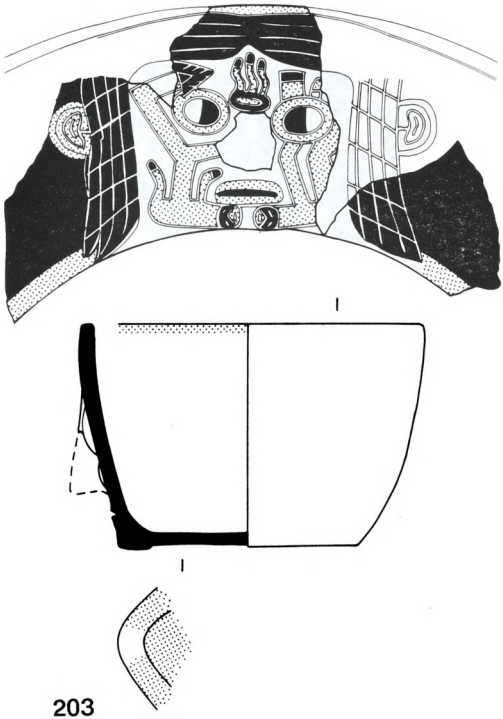


Figure 203. Male-Head Effigy Bowl

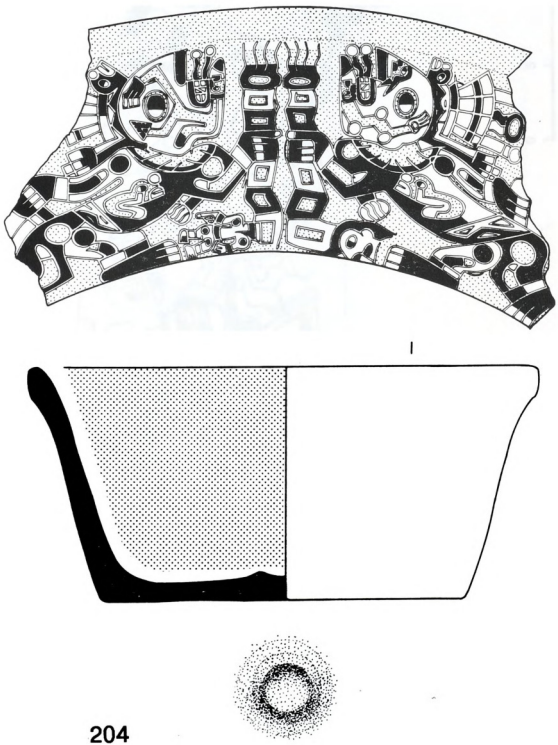


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Figure 204. Feline Man Theme

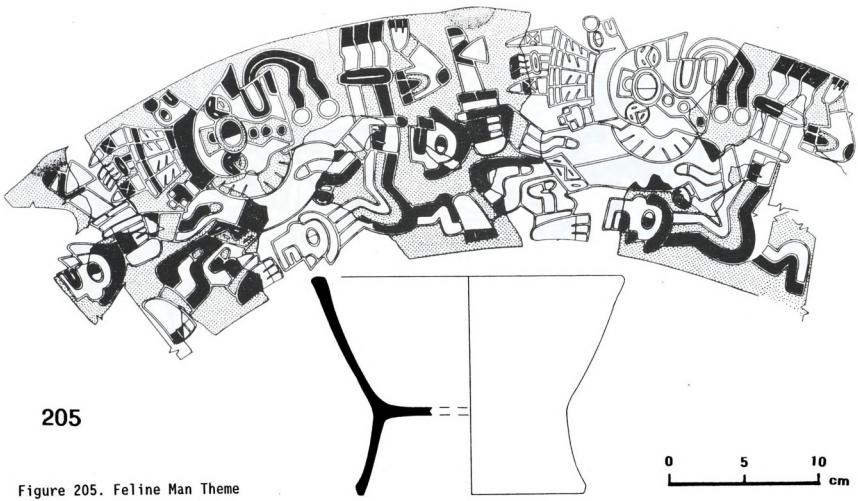


Figure 205. Feline Man Theme

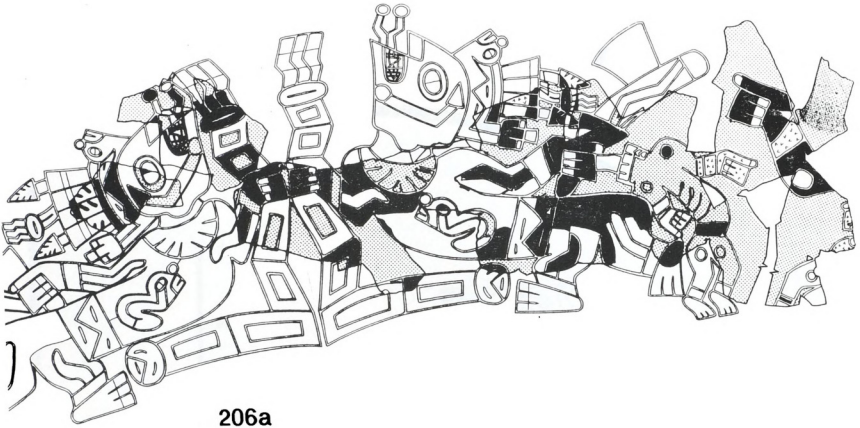


Figure 206a. Feline Man Theme

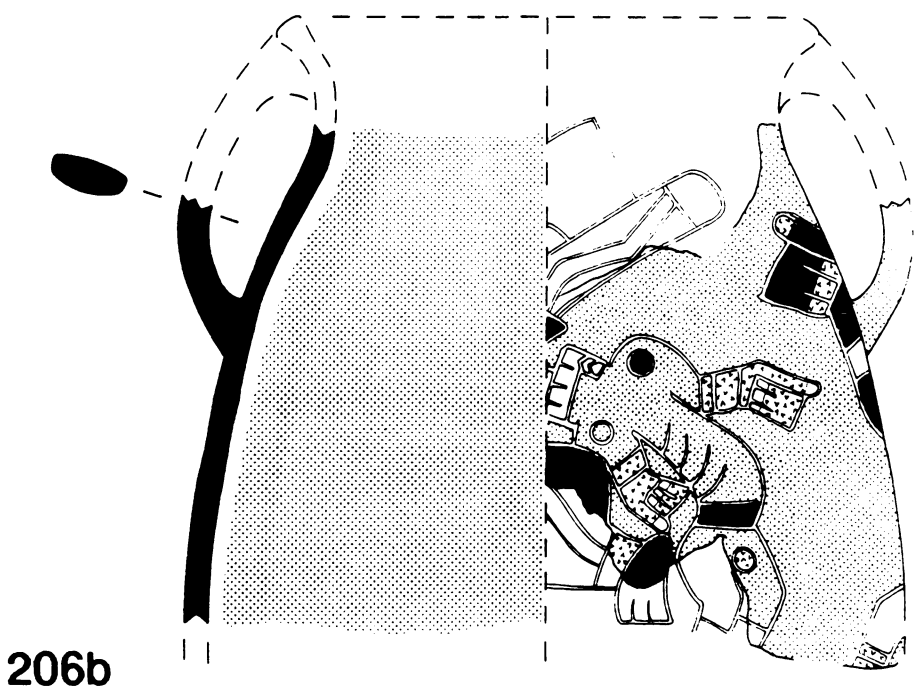


Figure 206b. Feline Man Theme (Vessel Shape Corresponding to Figure 206a)

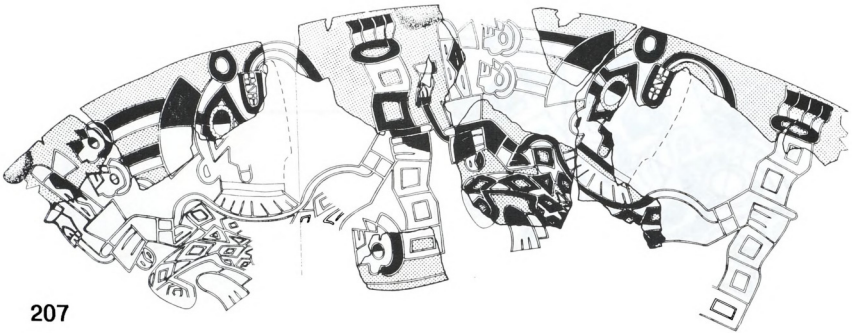


Figure 207. Feline Man Theme (Wearing a Feline Pelt)

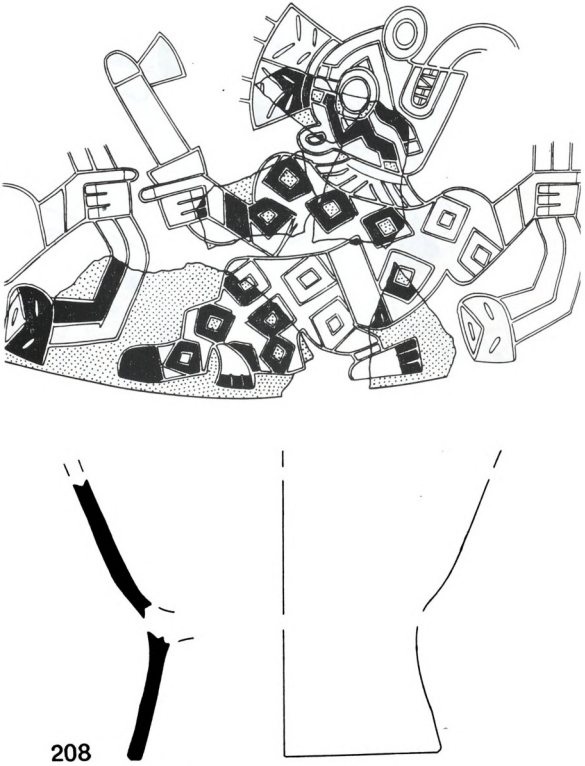
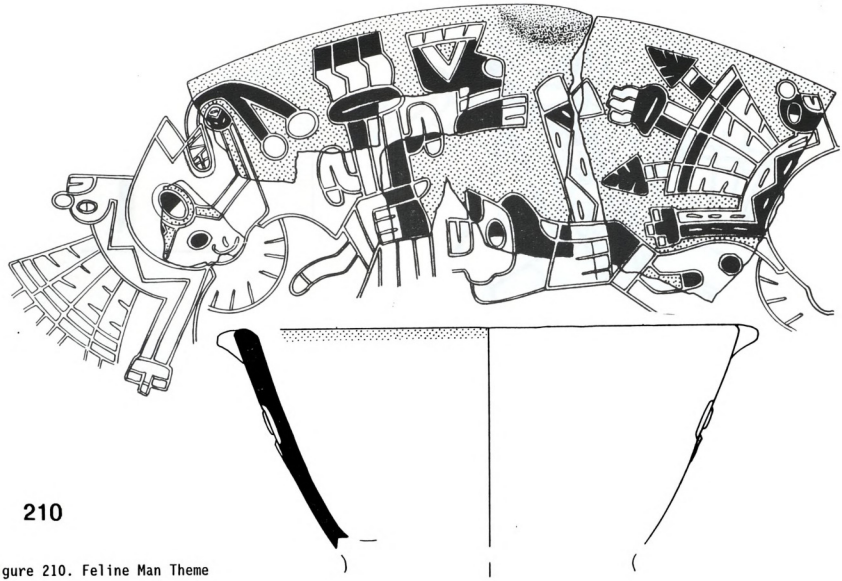
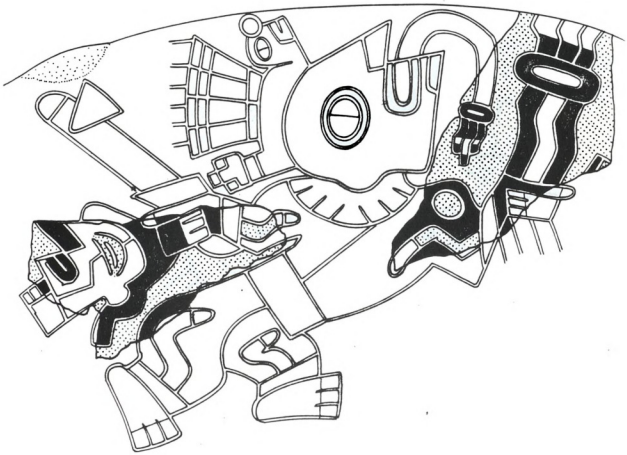


Figure 208. Feline Man Theme (Wearing a Feline Pelt)



210

Figure 210. Feline Man Theme



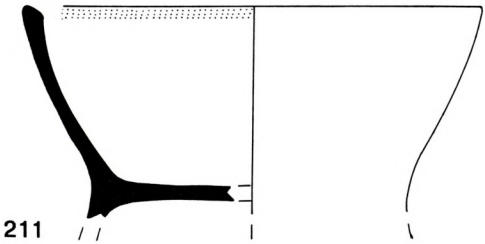


Figure 211. Feline Man Theme

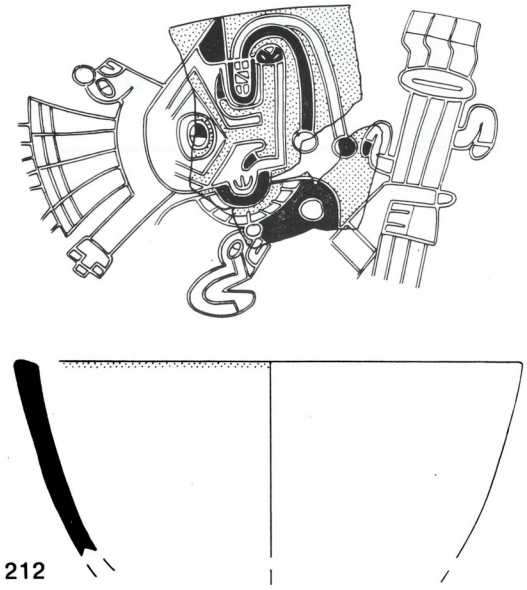
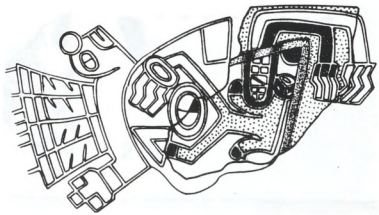
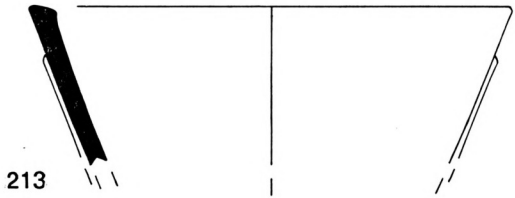
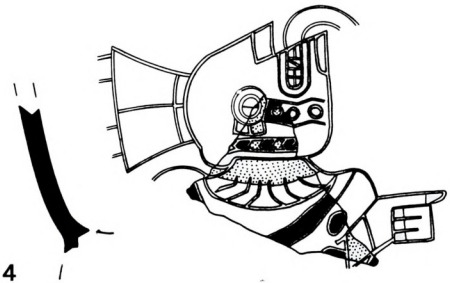


Figure 212. Feline Man Theme



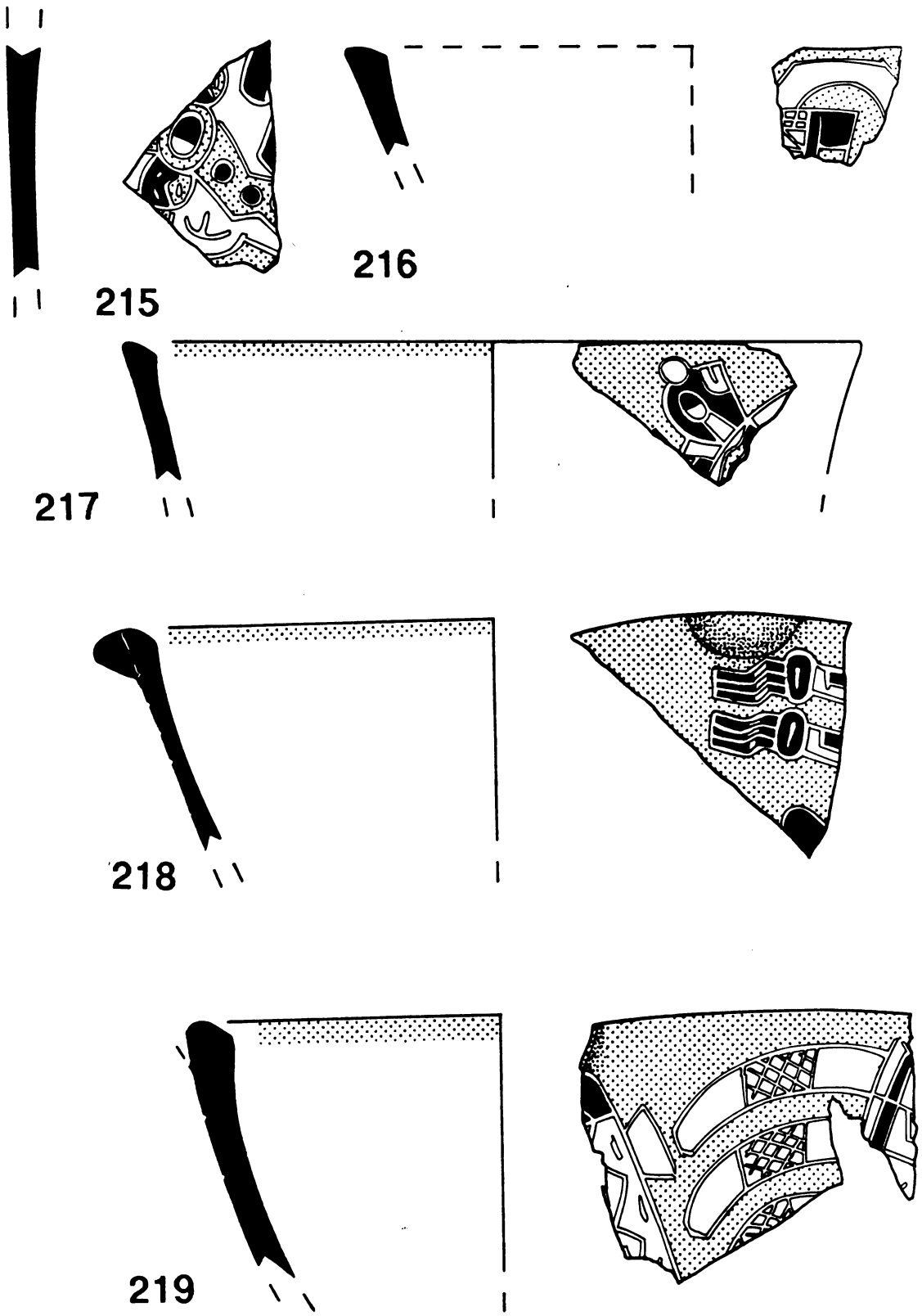


213

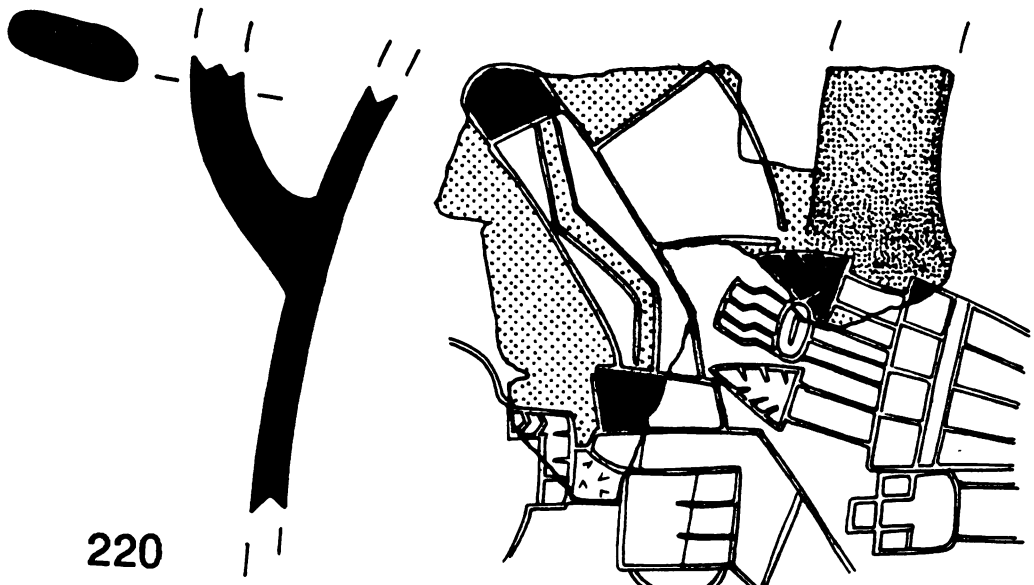


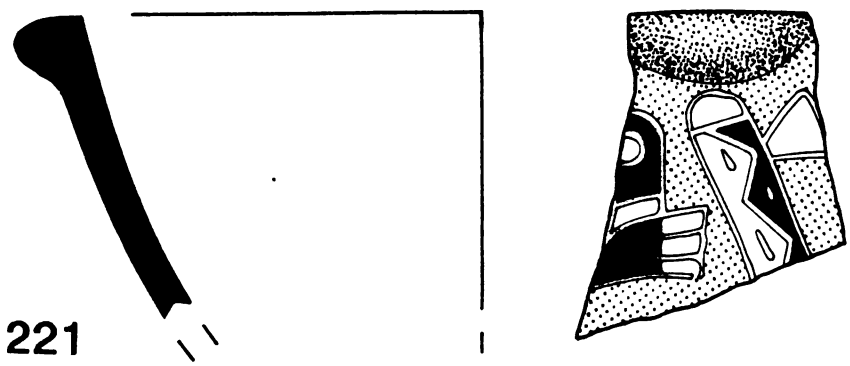
214

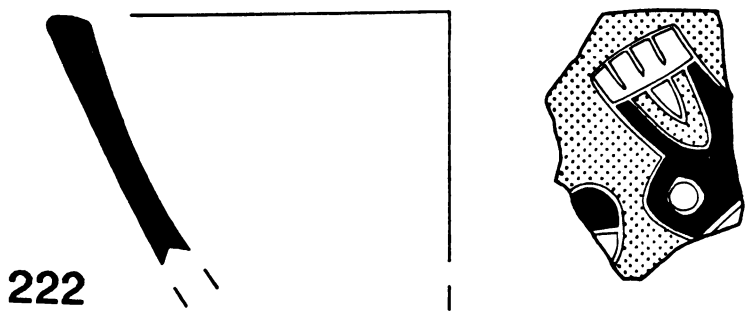
Figures 213-214. Elements Associated with the Feline Man Theme



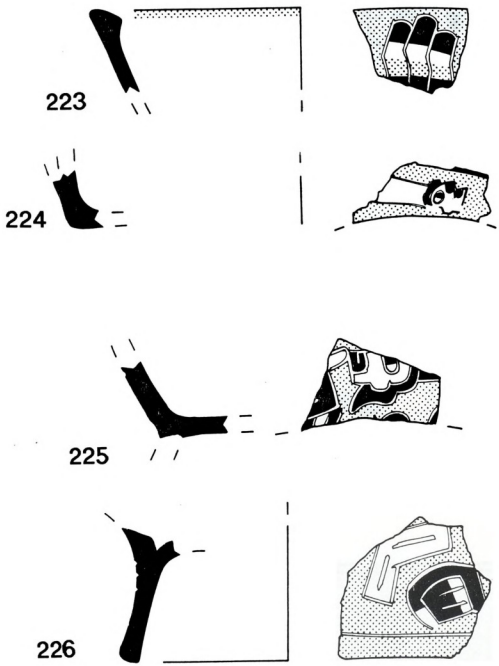
Figures 215-219. Elements Associated with the Feline Man Theme



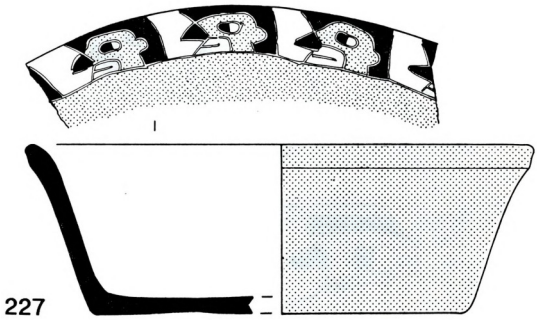




Figures 220-222. Elements Associated with the Feline Man Theme



Figures 223-226. Elements Associated with the Feline Man Theme



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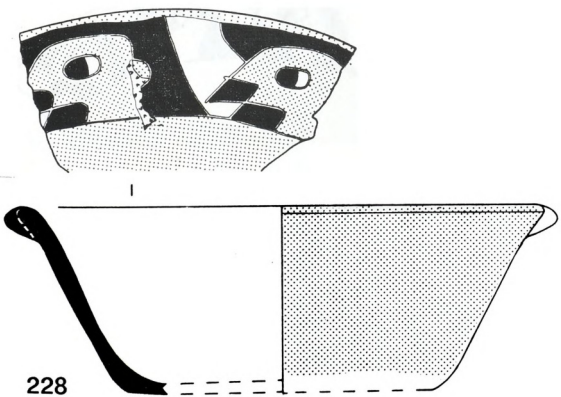
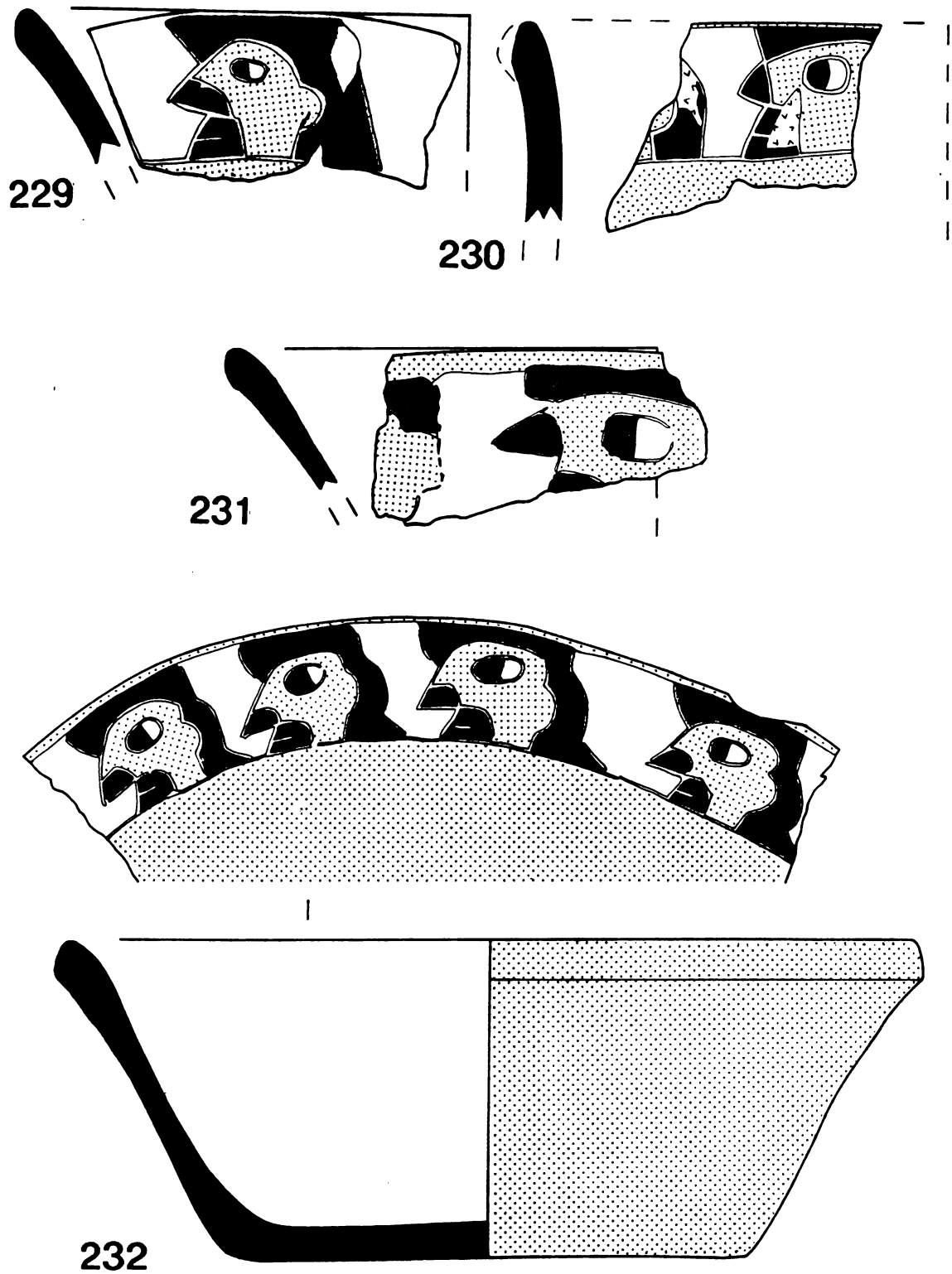
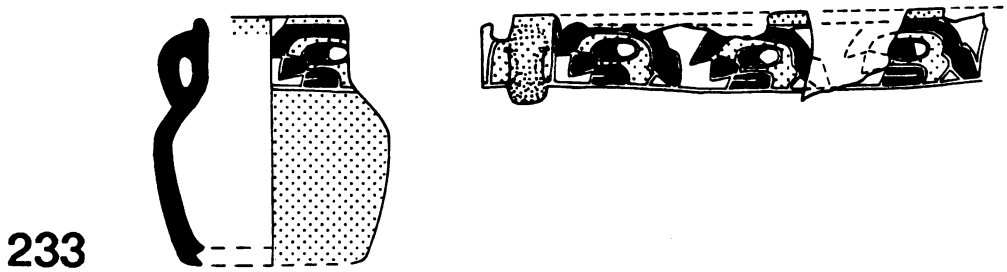


228

Figures 227-228. Class I, Group A Severed Head Motif



Figures 229-232. Class I, Group A Severed Head Motif



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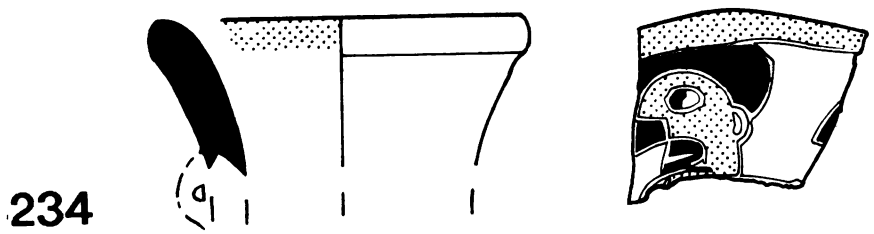

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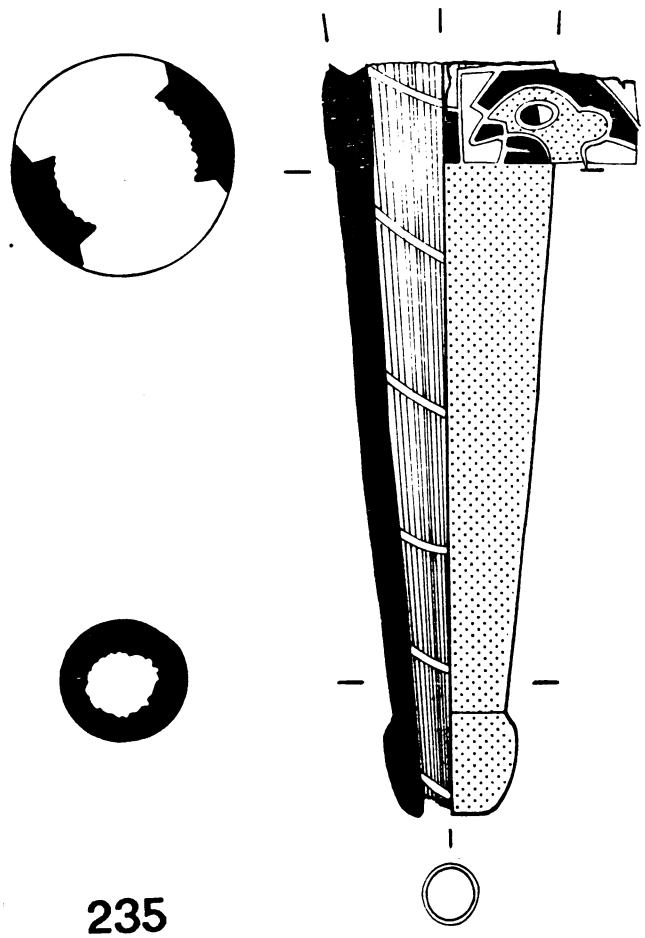
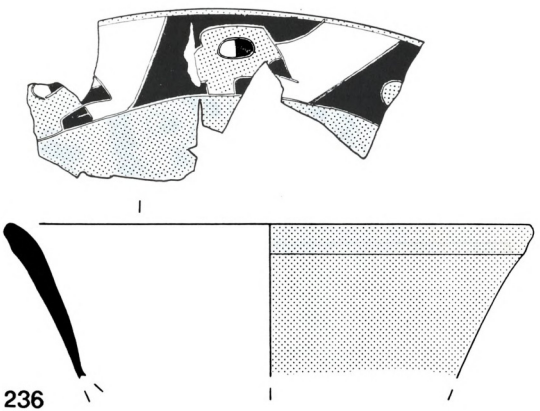
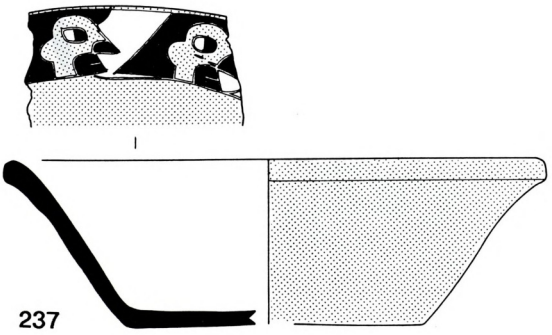


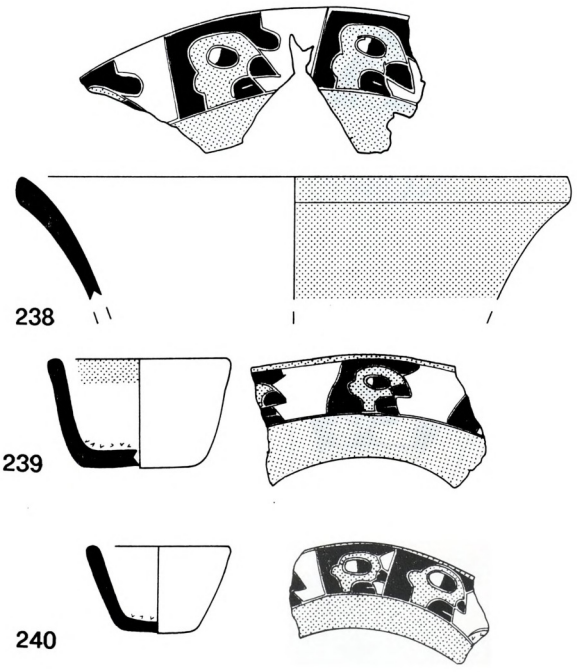
235

Figures 233-235. Class I, Group A Severed Head Motif

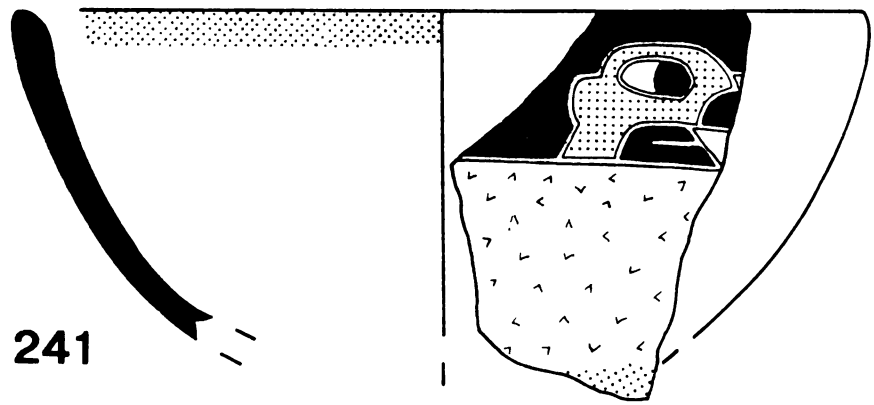




Figures 236-237. Class I, Group B Severed Head Motif



Figures 238-240. Class I, Group B Severed Head Motif



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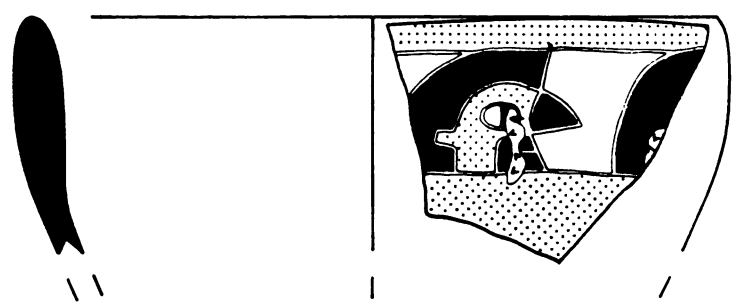


242

Figures 241-242. Class I, Group B Severed Head Motif

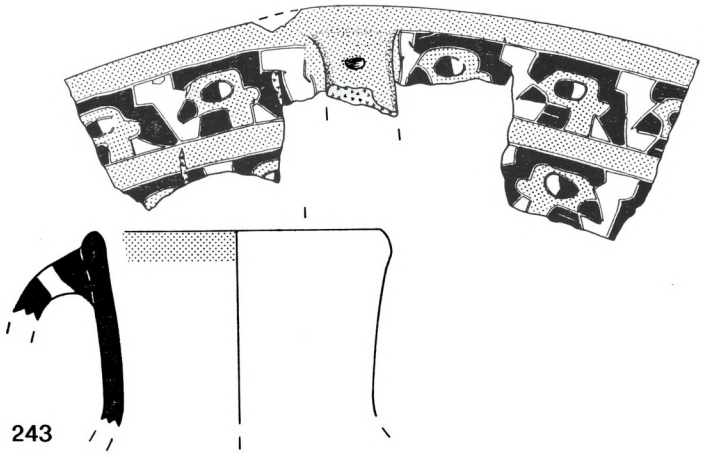
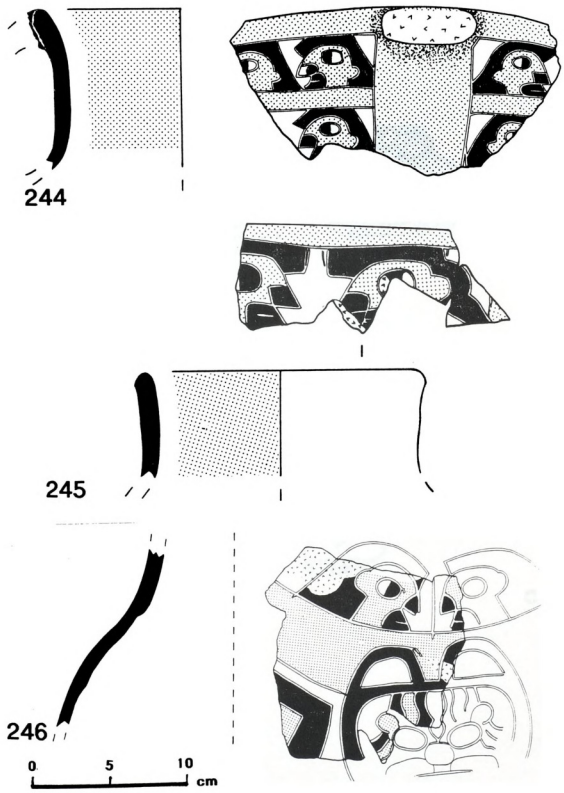
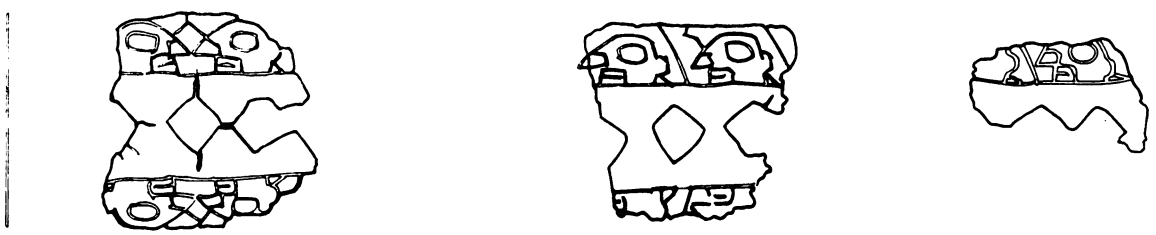


Figure 243. Class I, Group C Severed Head Motif



Figures 244-246. Class I, Group C Severed Head Motif

247



248 a b c

Figures 247-248a-c. Class I, Group C Severed Head Motif

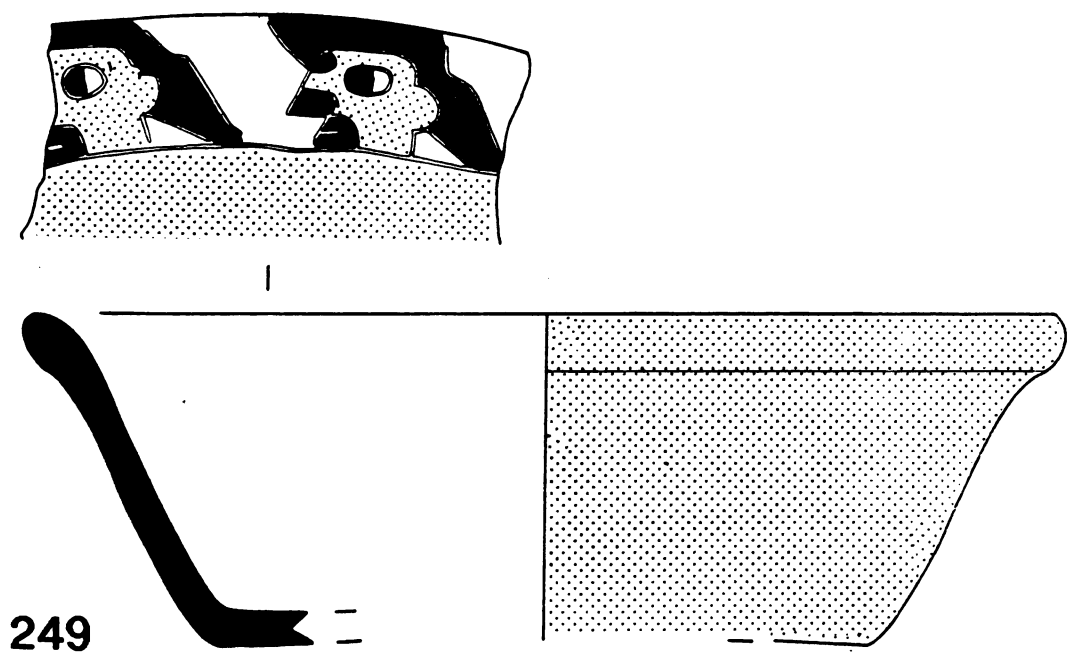
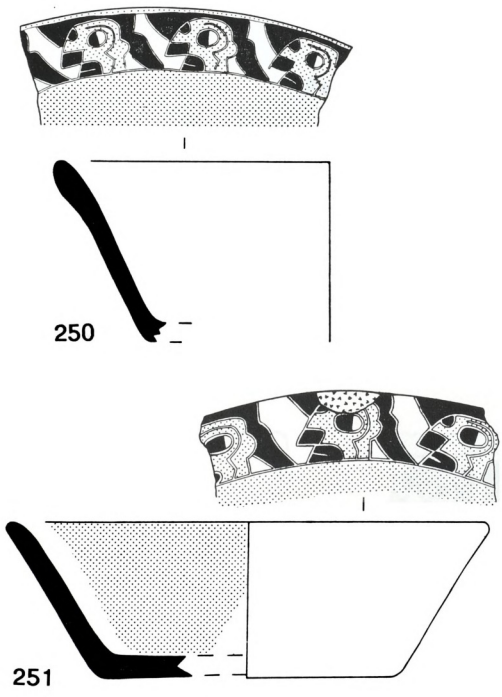


Figure 249. Class II, Group A Severed Head Motif



Figures 250-251. Class II, Group B Severed Head Motif

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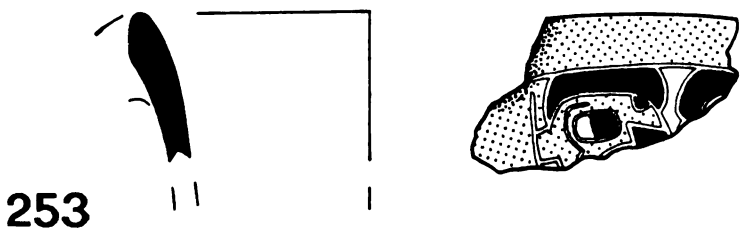
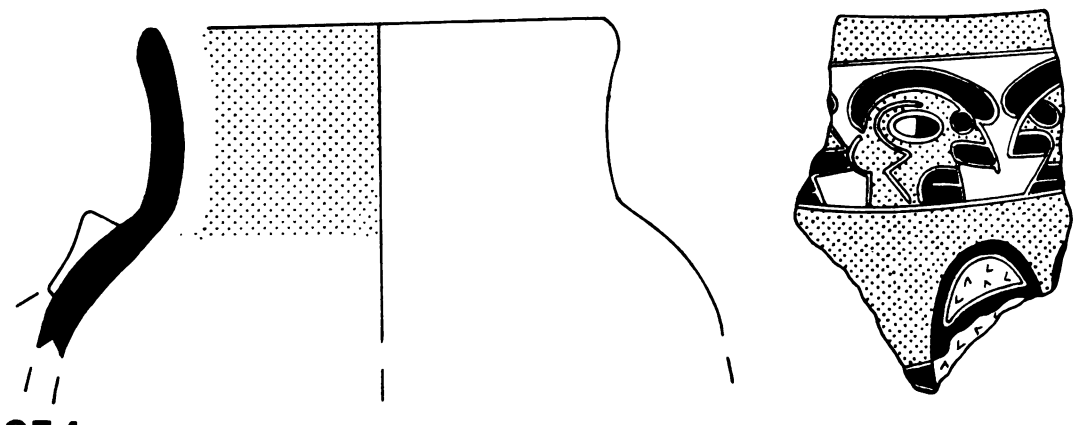
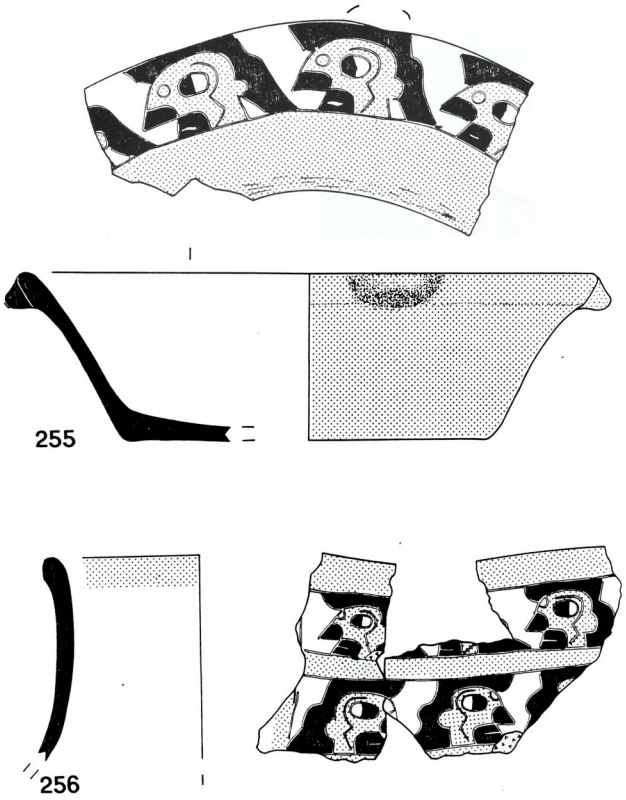


253



254

Figures 252-254. Class II, Group C Severed Head Motif



Figures 255-256. Class II, Group D Severed Head Motif

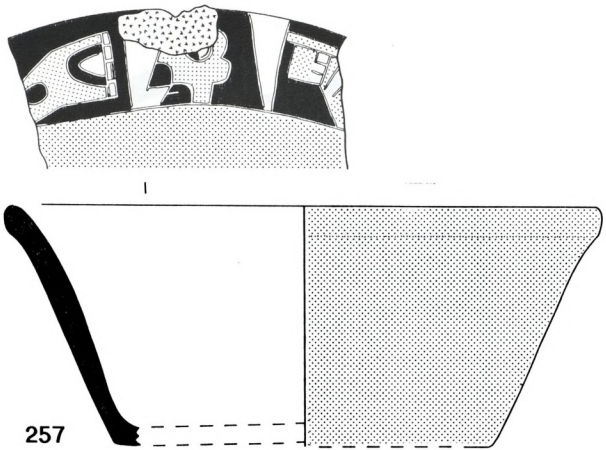
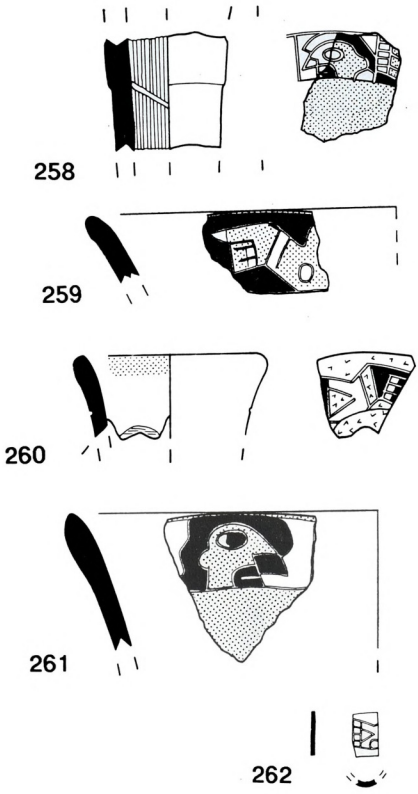
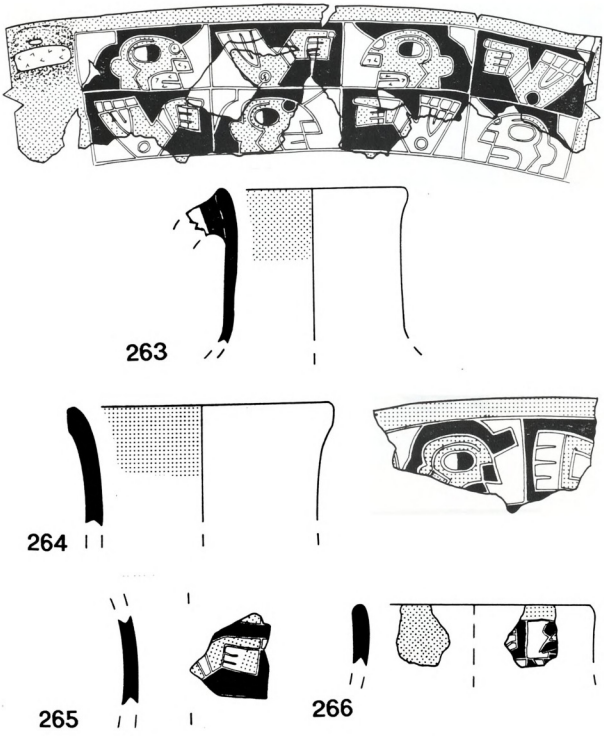


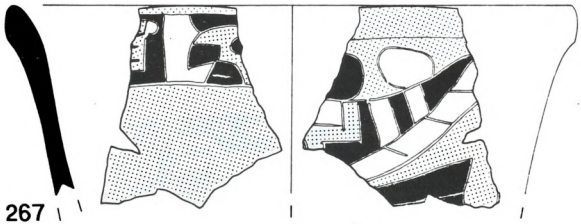
Figure 257. Class III, Group A Severed Head and Arm Motif



Figures 258-262. Class III, Group A Severed Head and Arm Motif



Figures 263-266. Class III, Group B Severed Head and Arm Motif



Figures 267-268. Class III, Group C Severed Head and Arm Motif (and Bird)

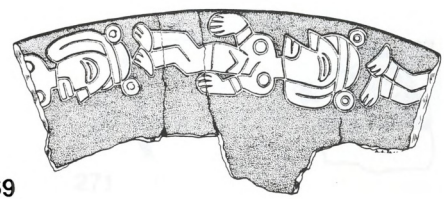


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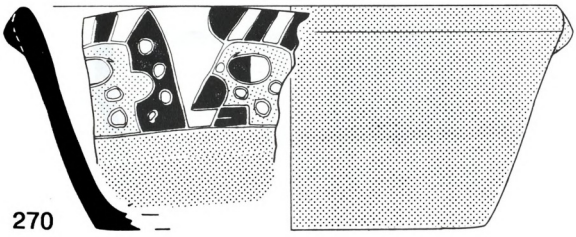
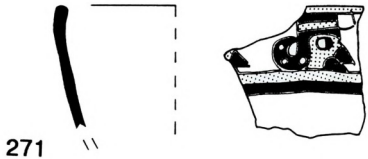
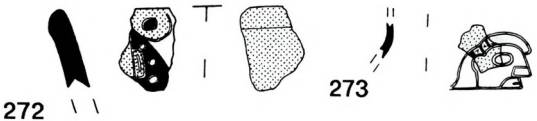
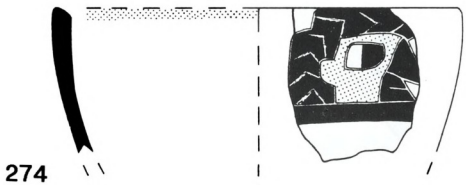
Figure 269. Class IV, Dead Human Bodies



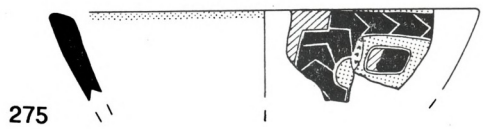




Figures 270-273. Class V, Severed Head Motif



274



275

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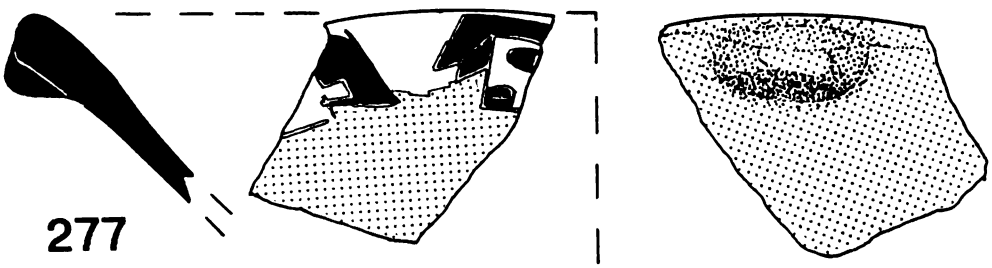
Figures 274-276. Class V, Severed Head Motif



277

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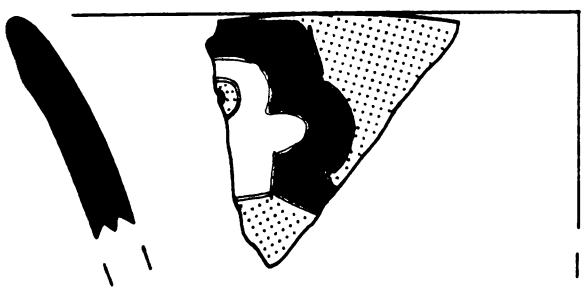

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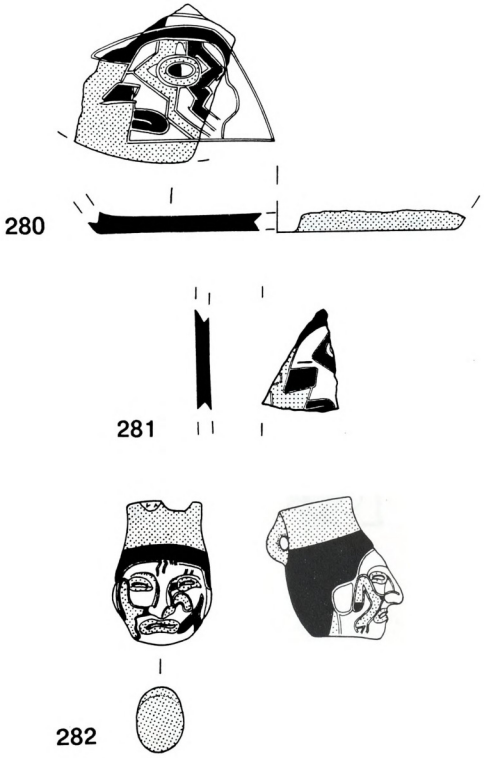
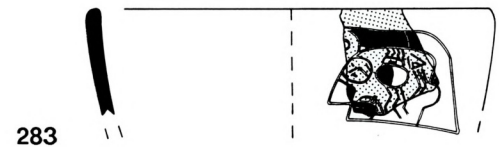
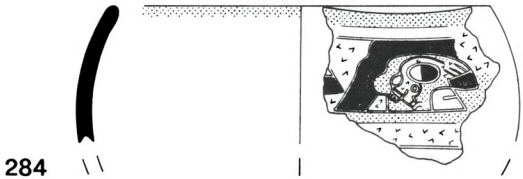
Figures 277-279. Class VI, Group A Severed Head Motif



Figures 280-282.Class VI, Group B Severed Head Motif

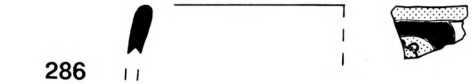


283



284

285



286

Figures 283-286. Class VI, Group C Severed Head Motif

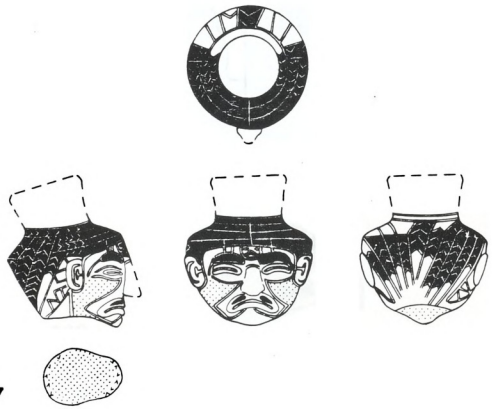


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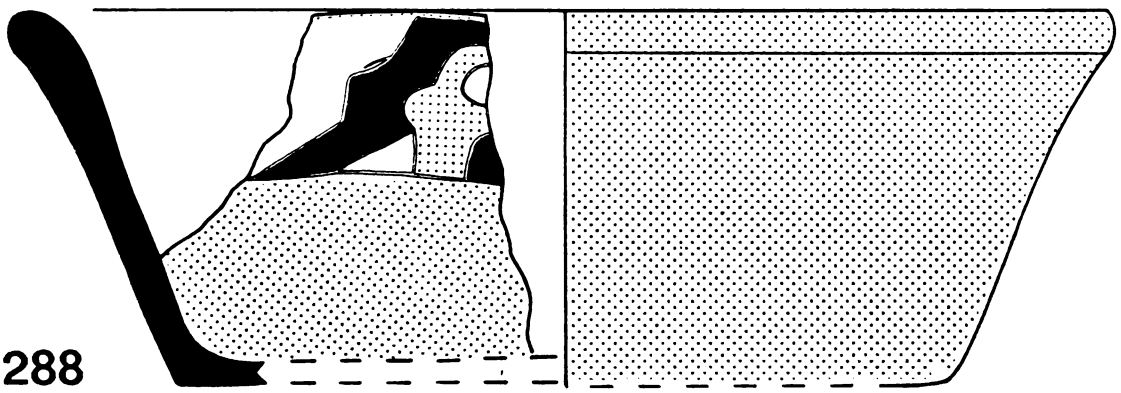
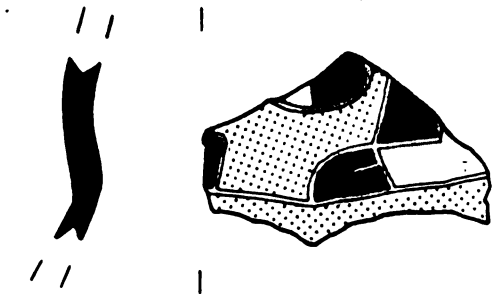
Figure 287. Class VI, Group C Severed Head Motif (Miniature Effigy Jar)



288

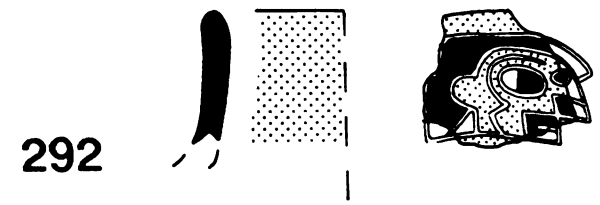


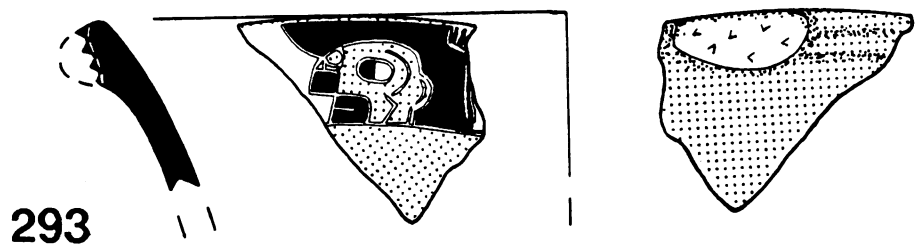
289

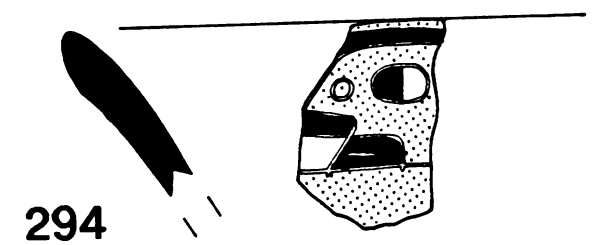
290

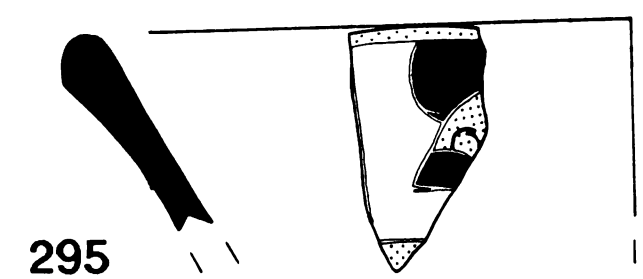
291

Figures 288-291. Miscellaneous, Group D Severed Head Motif

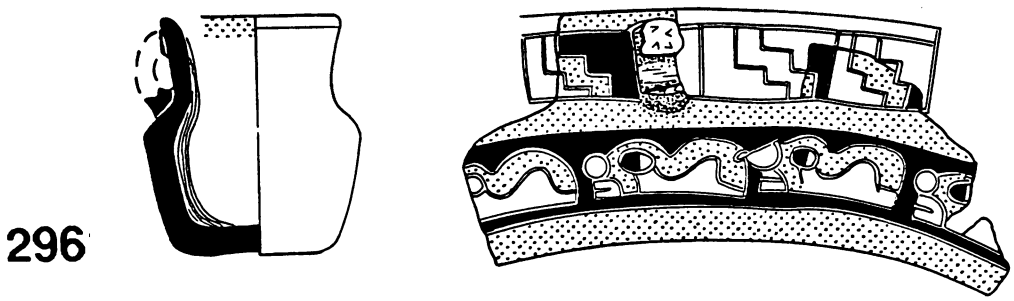








Figures 292-295. Miscellaneous, Groups E (Figure 292) and F (Figures 293-295) Severed Head Motif



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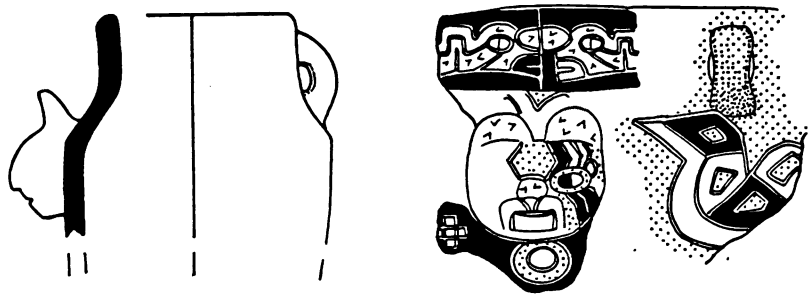

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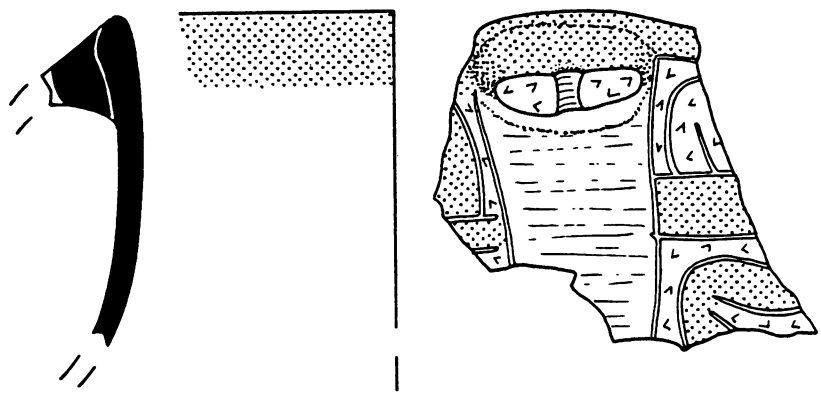
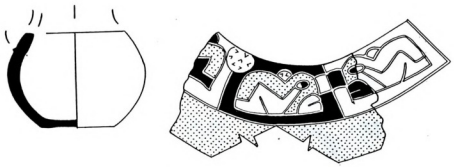


298

299

Figures 296-299. Class I, Feline-Headed Snake Motif Without Crown or Ear

Figures 300-301. Class I, Feline-Headed Snake Motif Without Crown or Ear



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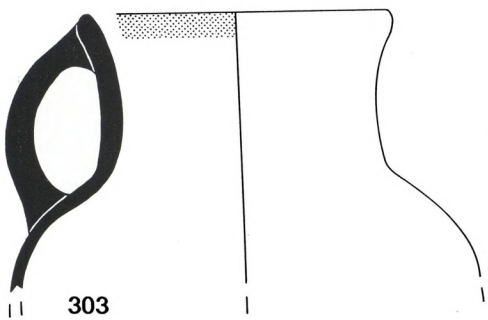

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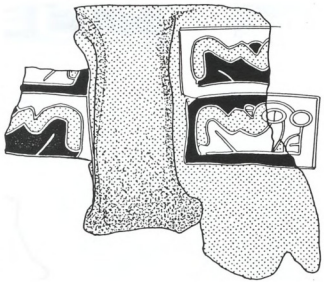


Figures 302-303. Class II, Feline-Headed Snake Motif with Ear

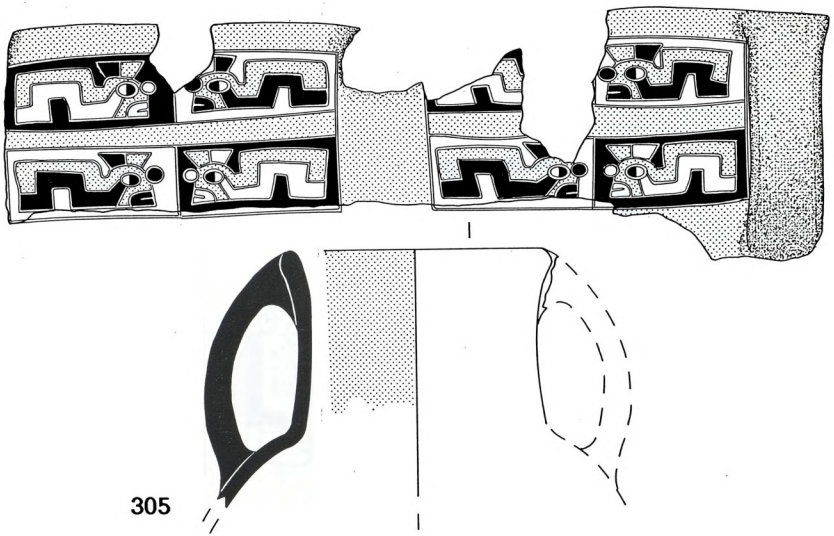
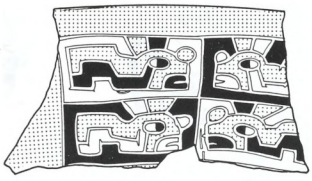


Figure 305. Class III, Feline-Headed Snake Motif with Crown



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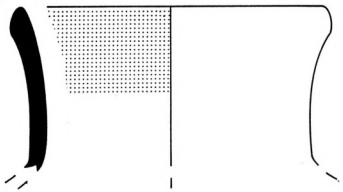
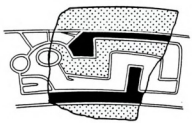
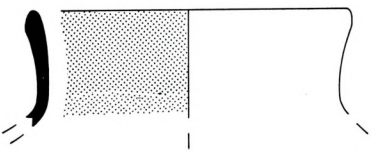




307



Figures 306-307. Class III, Feline-Headed Snake Motif with Crown

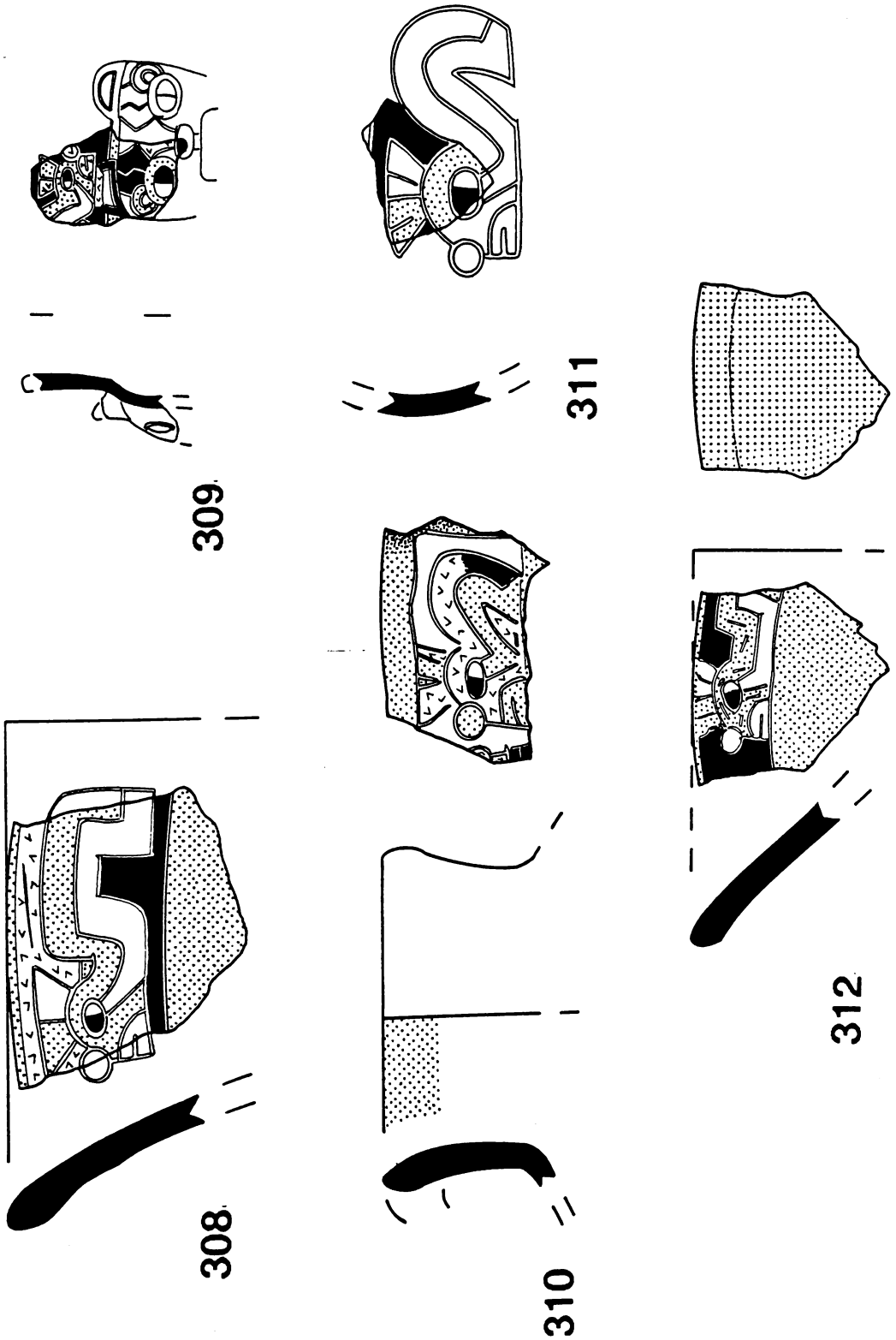
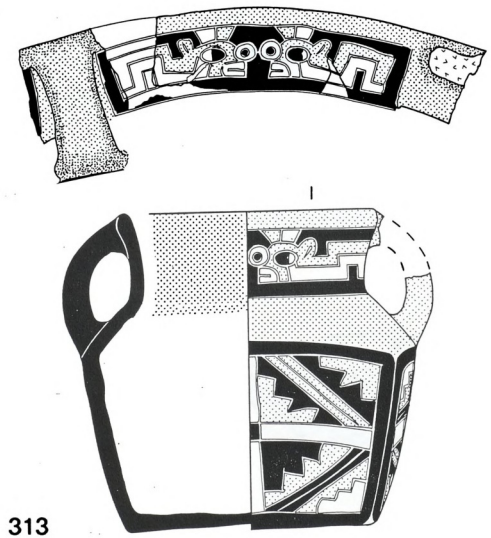
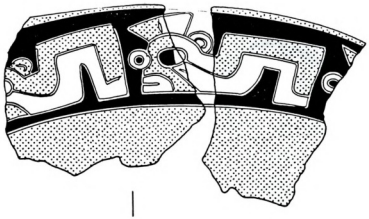


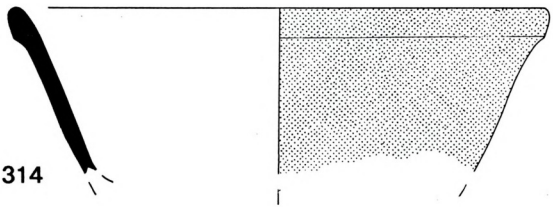
Figure 308-312. Class III, Feline-Headed Snake Motif with Crown



313

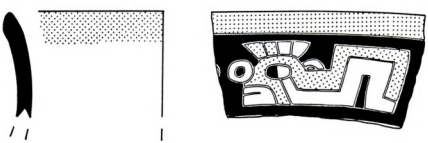
Figure 313. Class IV, Feline-Headed Snake Motif with Crown and Ear





314

315



316

Figures 314-316. Class IV, Feline-Headed Snake Motif with Crown and Ear

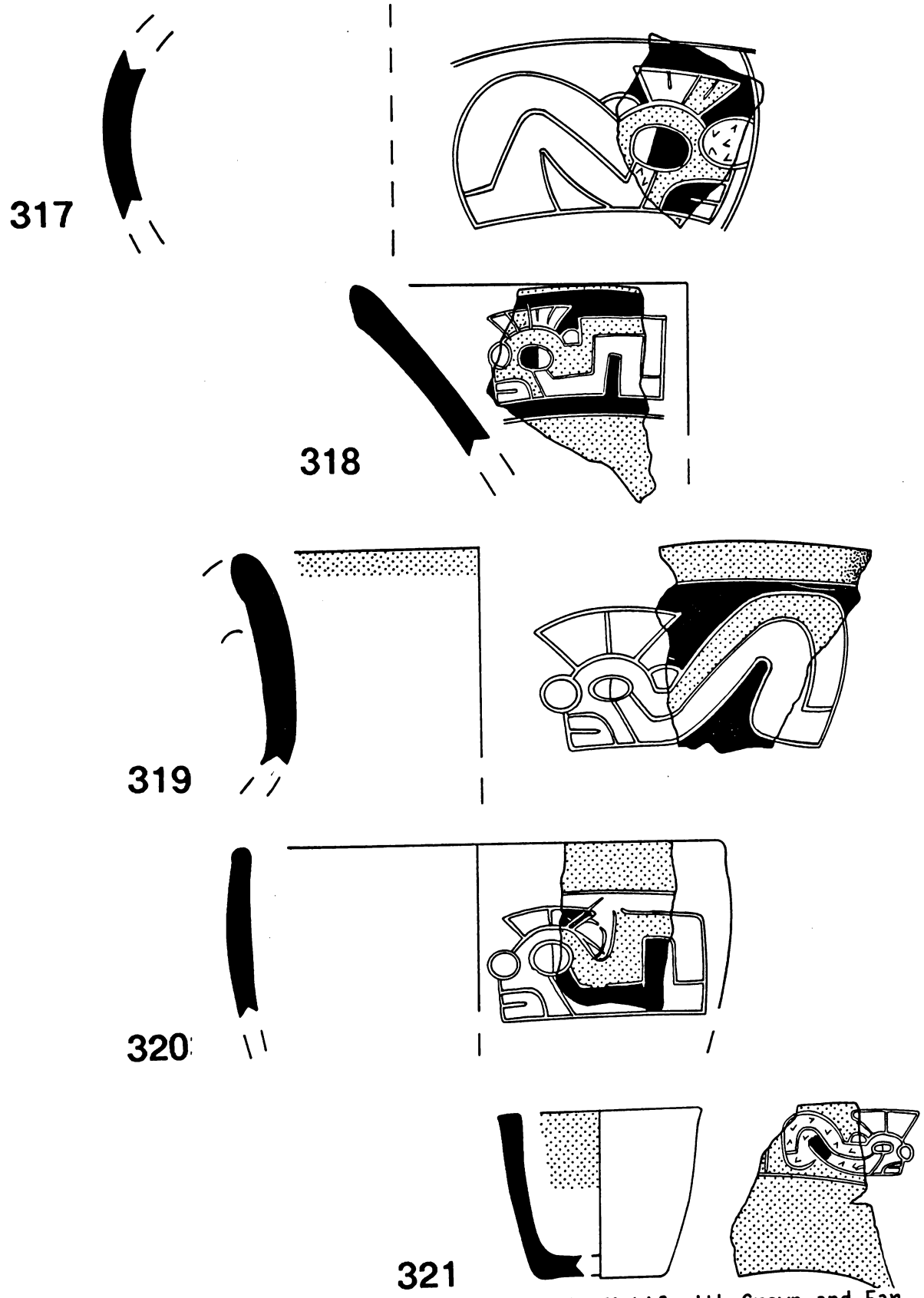
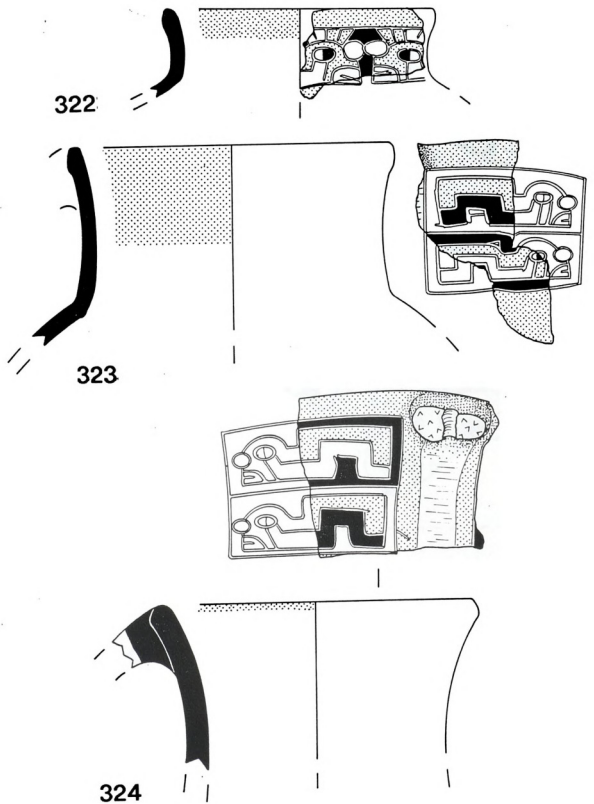


Figure 317-321. Class IV, Feline-Headed Snake Motif with Crown and Ear



Figures 322-324. Miscellaneous Feline-Headed Snake Motif

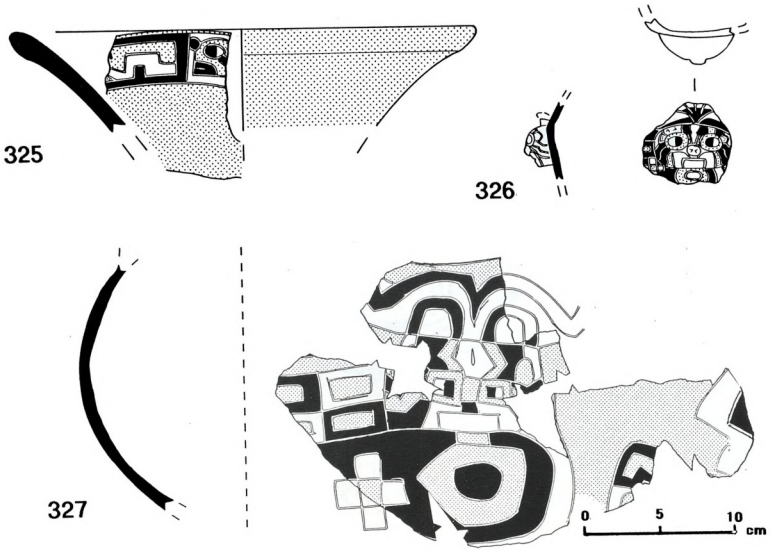


Figure 325-327. Miscellaneous Feline-Headed Snake Motif

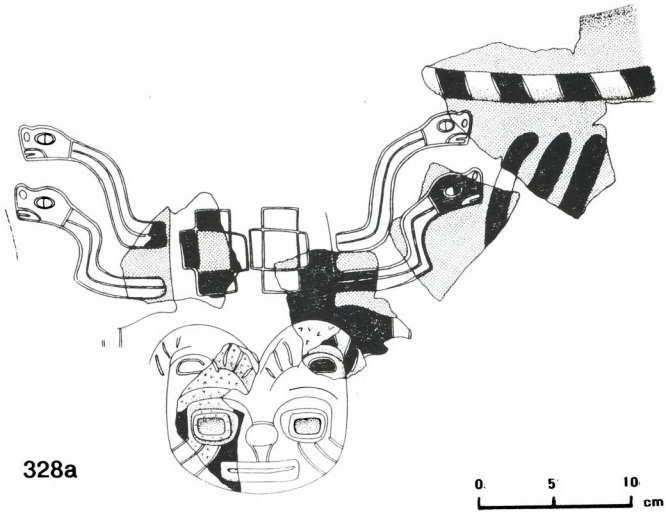


Figure 328a. Miscellaneous Feline-Headed Snake Motif

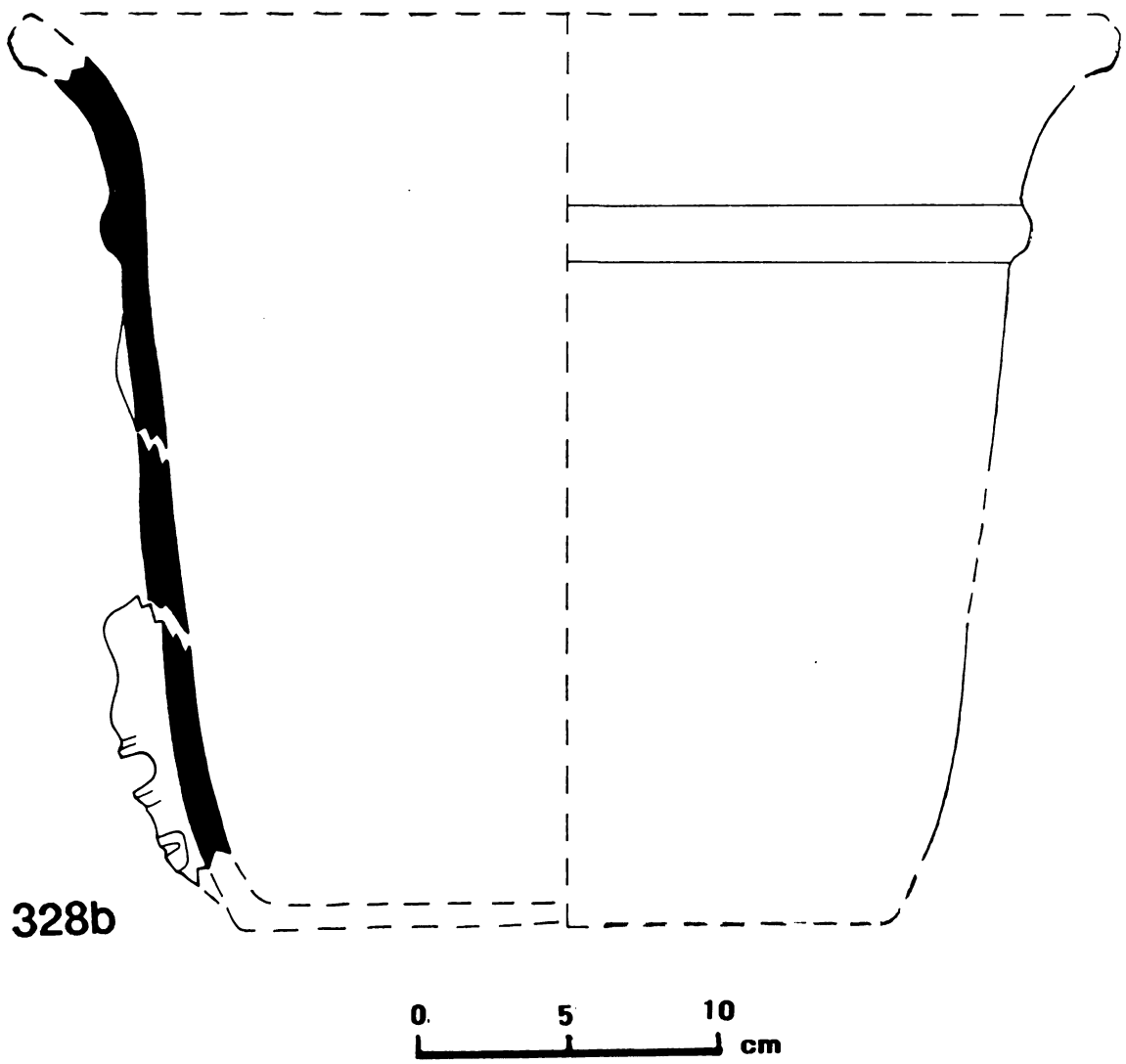


Figure 328b. Oversized Beaker Corresponding to Figure 328a

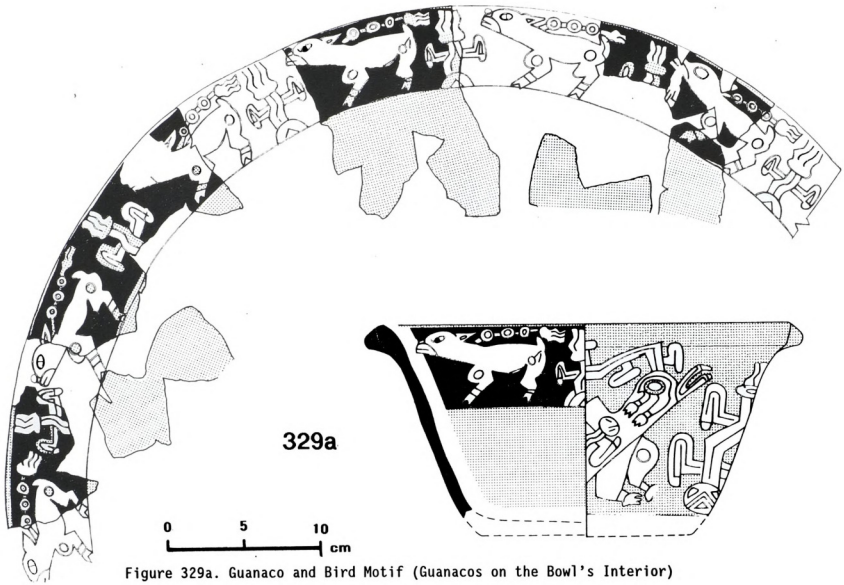


Figure 329a. Guanaco and Bird Motif (Guanacos on the Bowl's Interior)

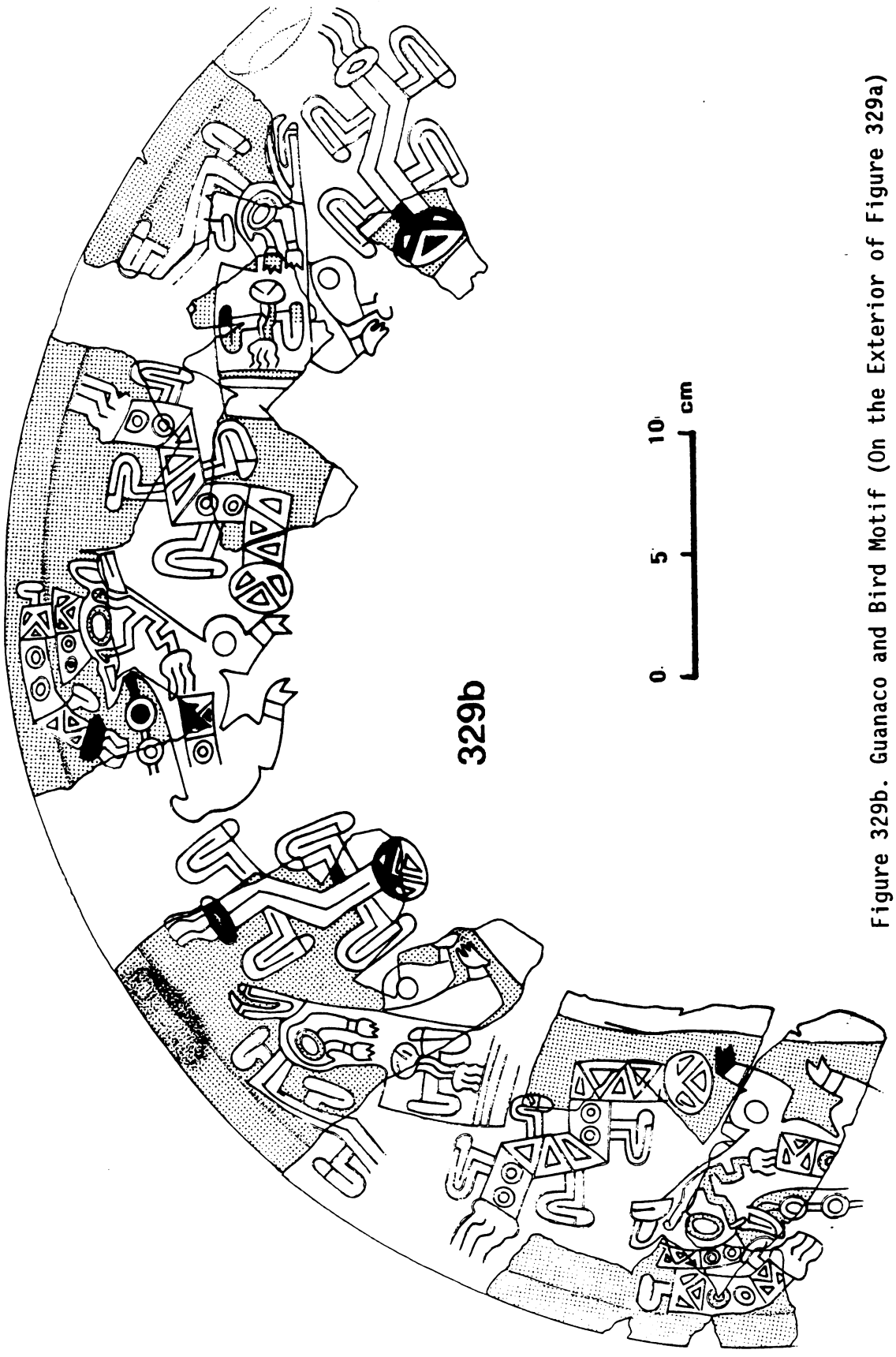
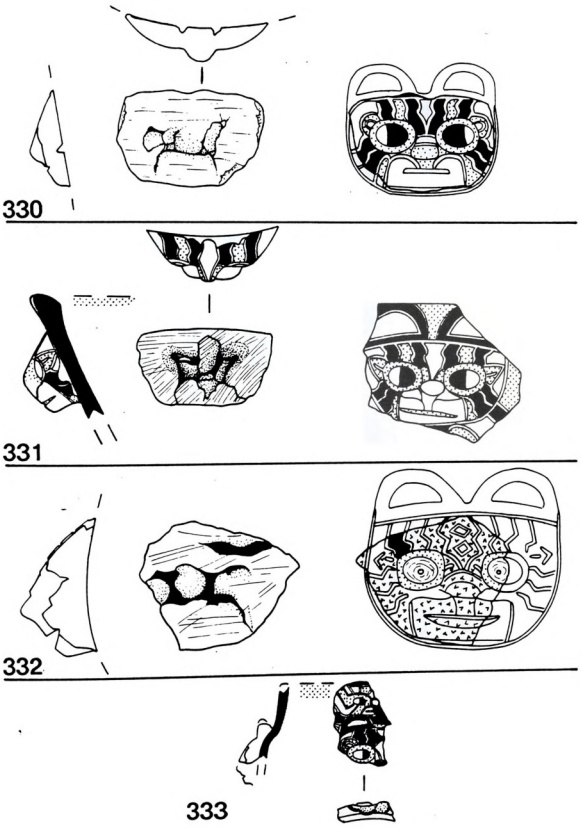
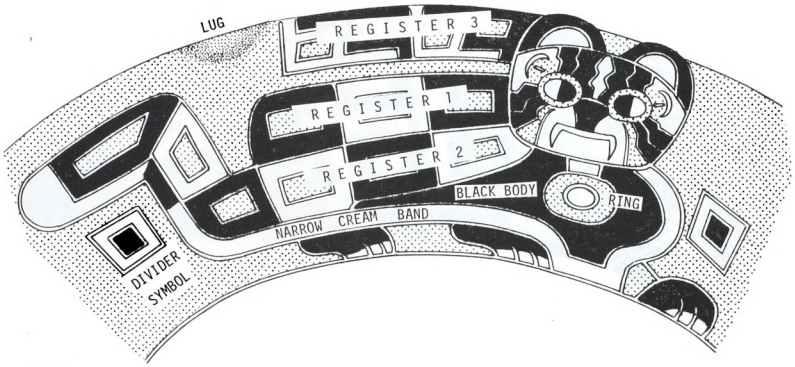


Figure 329b. Guanaco and Bird Motif (On the Exterior of Figure 329a)

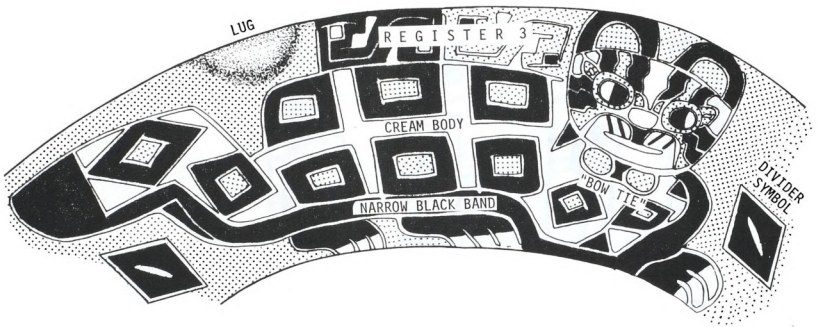


Figures 330-333. Technique of Appliquéd Heads for the Feline Motif



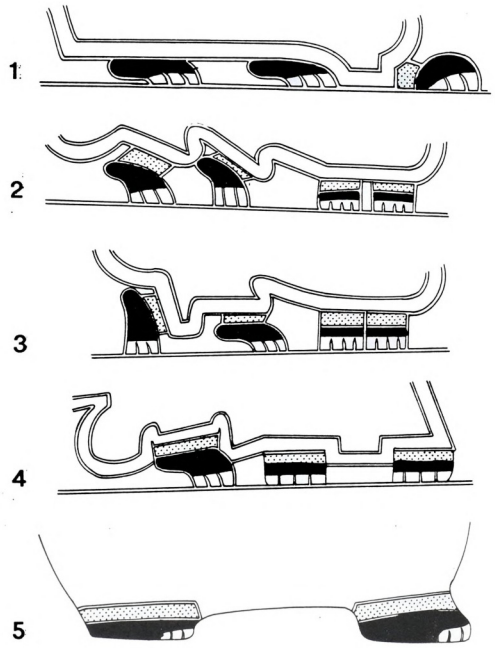
334

Figure 334. Model A Feline Motif



335

Figure 335. Model B Feline Motif



336

Figure 336. Classification of Feline Motif Stances

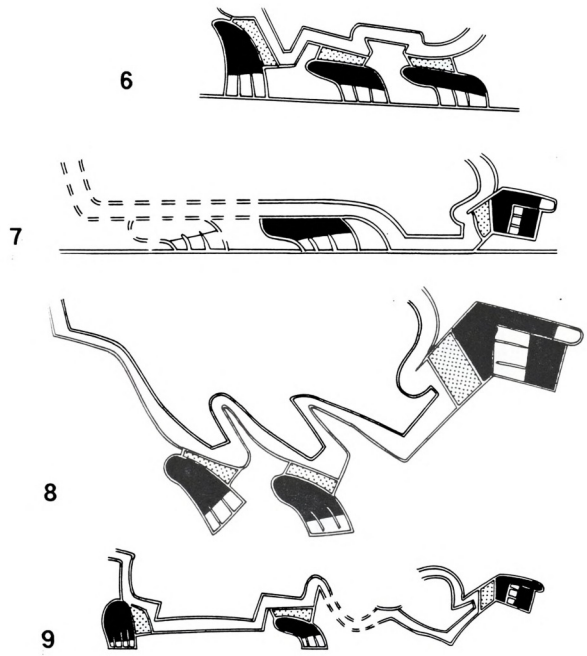


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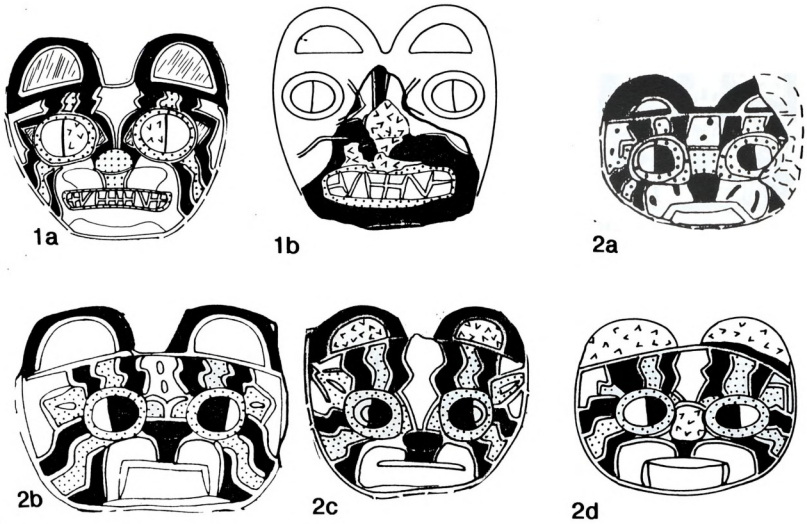
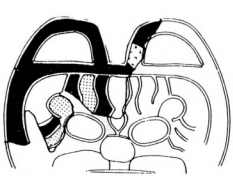
Figure 337. Classification of Feline Motif Stances



338

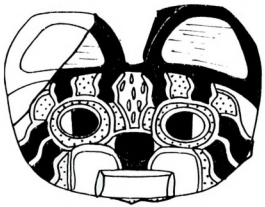
Figure 338. Classification of Front View Feline Heads



2e

3a

3b



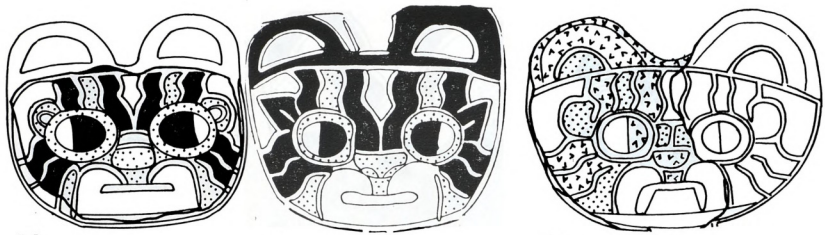
3c

3d

3e

339

Figure 339. Classification of Front View Feline Heads



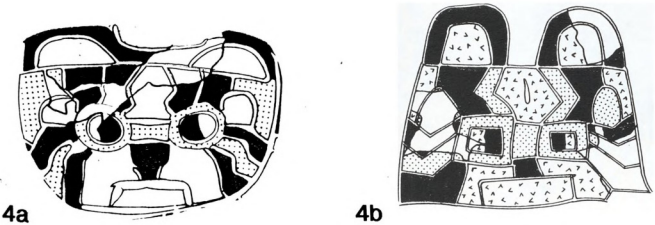
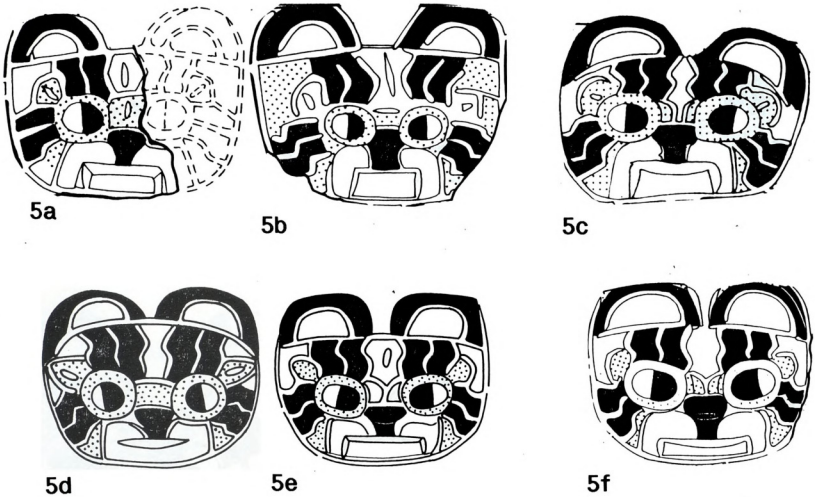
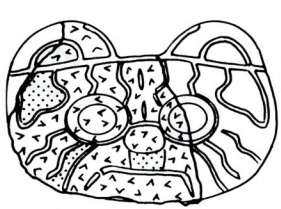


Figure 340. Classification of Front View Feline Heads

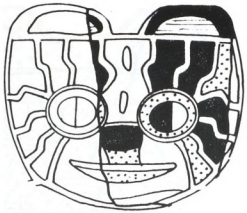


341

Figure 341. Classification of Front View Feline Heads

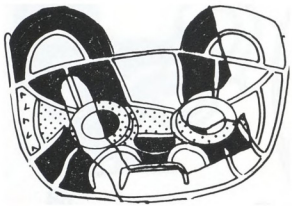


5g

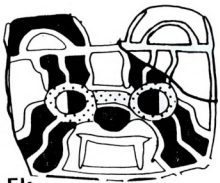


5h

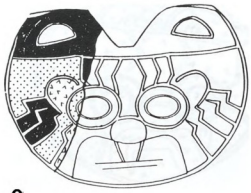
5i



342 5j



5k



6

Figure 342. Classification of Front View Feline Heads

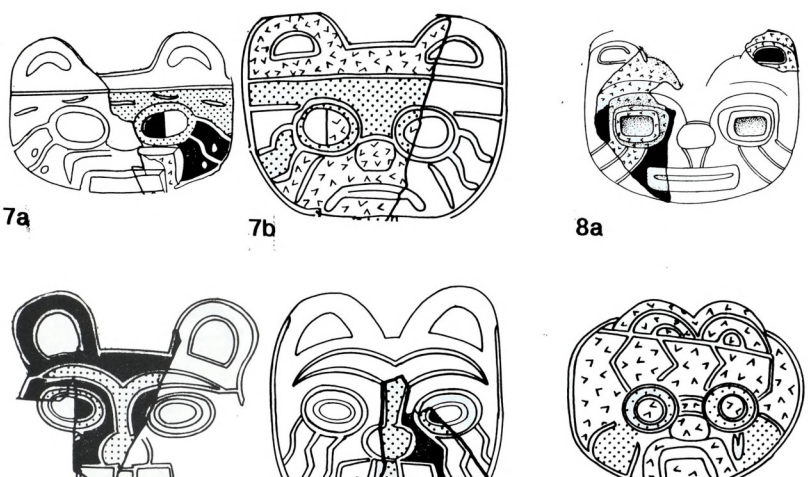
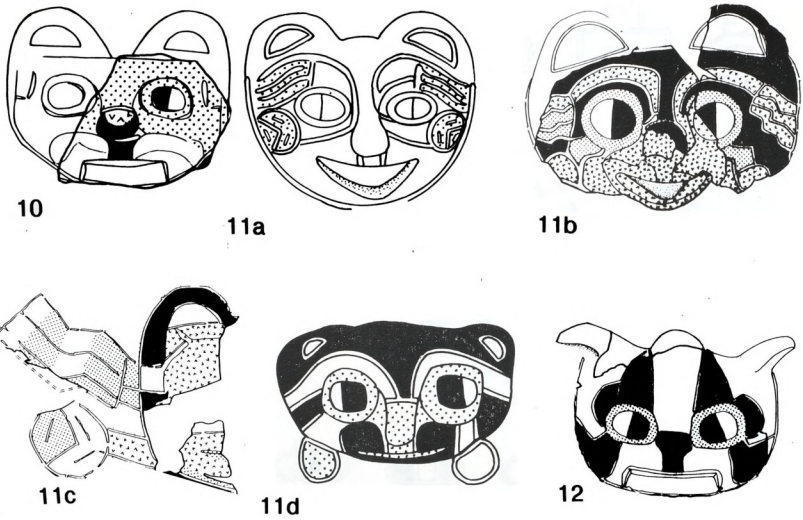


Figure 343. Classification of Front View Feline Heads



344

Figure 344. Classification of Front View Feline Heads

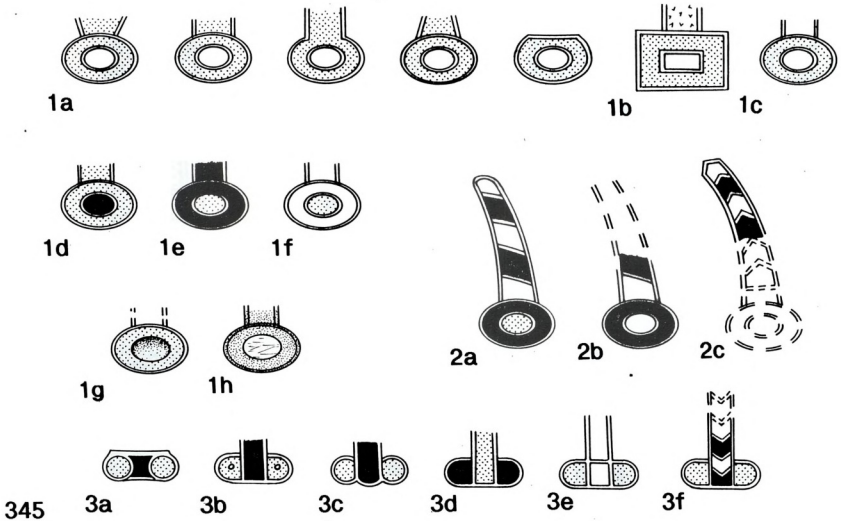
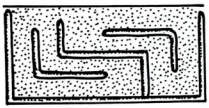


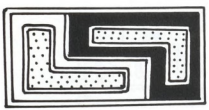
Figure 345. Classification of Feline Neck Elements

Aa



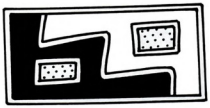
Ab

Ac

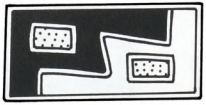


B

Ca



Cb



Cc

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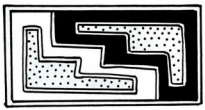
Figure 346. Classification of Geometric Designs Associated with Feline Motifs

D

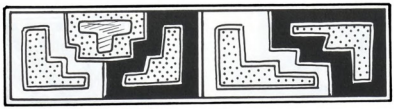
E

F



Ga

Gb



Gc

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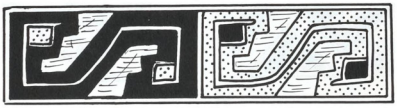
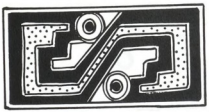
Figure 347. Classification of Geometric Designs Associated with Feline Motifs

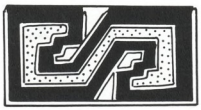
Gd



H



I



Ja

Jb

K

348

Figure 348. Classification of Geometric Designs Associated with Feline Motifs

L

Ma

Mb

N

O

Pa

Pb

349

Figure 349. Classification of Geometric Designs Associated with Feline Motifs

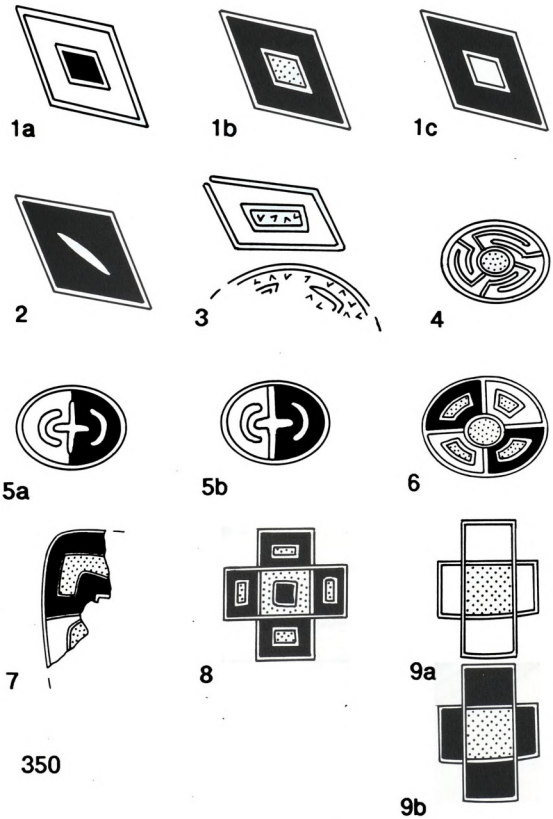


Figure 350. Classification of Divider Symbols Between Feline Motifs

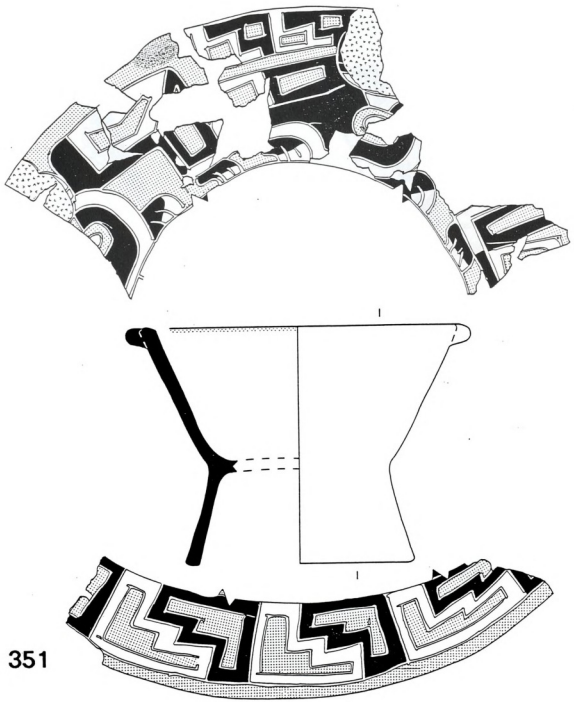
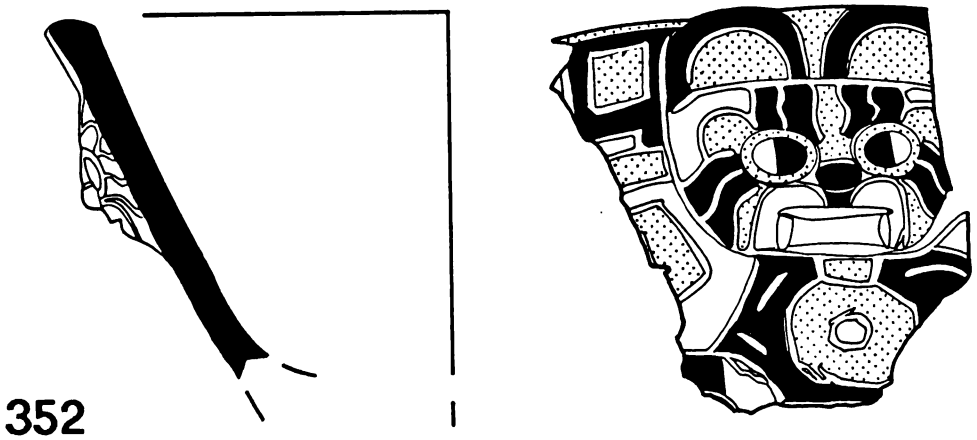


Figure 351. Class I, Group A Feline Motif



352

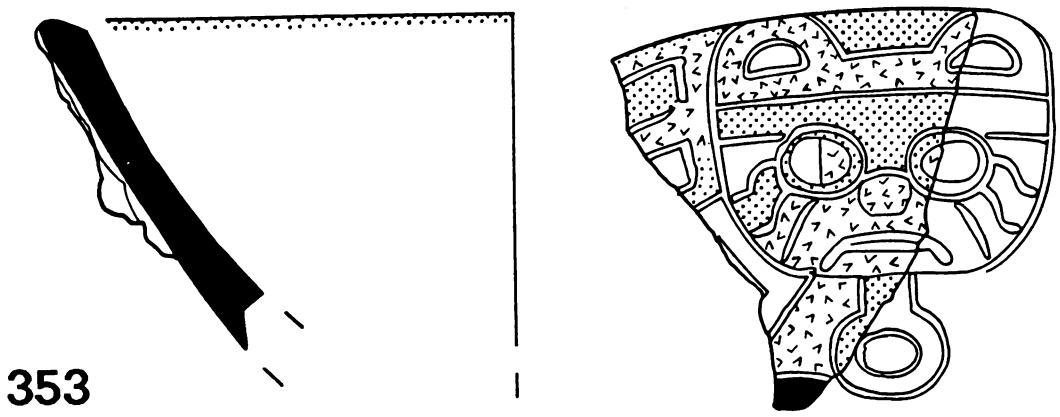


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Figure 352-353. Class I, Group A Feline Motif

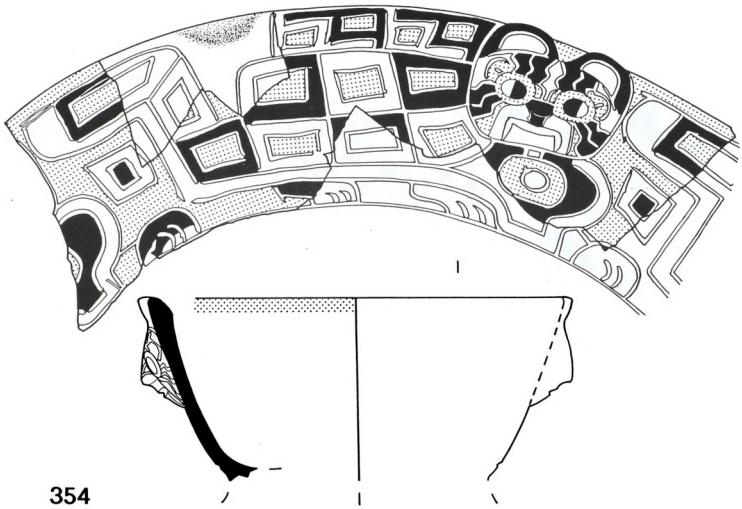


Figure 354. Class I, Group B Feline Motif

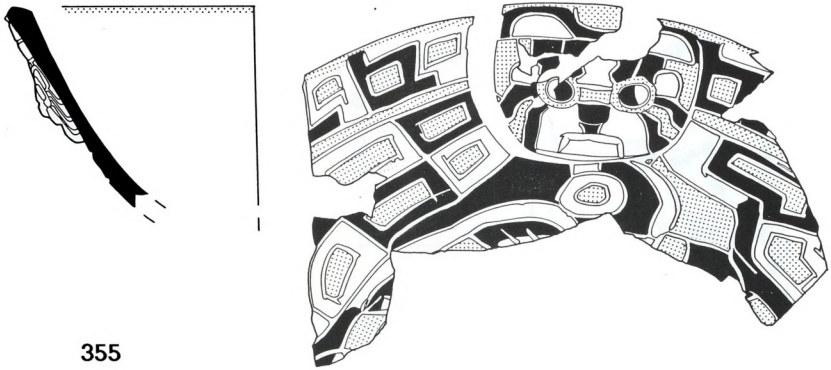
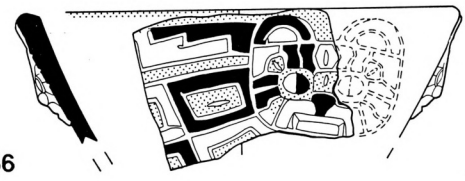


Figure 355. Class I, Group B Feline Motif



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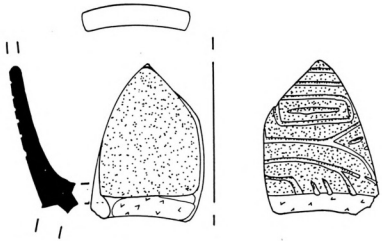

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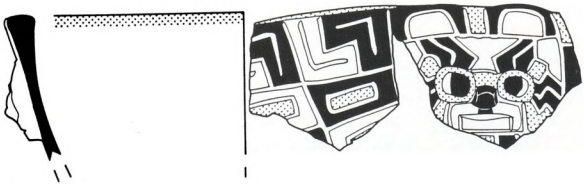
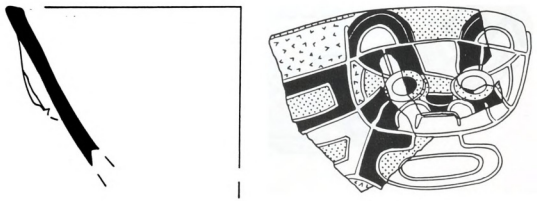


358

Figure 356-358. Class I, Group B Feline Motif



359

Figure 359. Class I, Group B Feline Motif

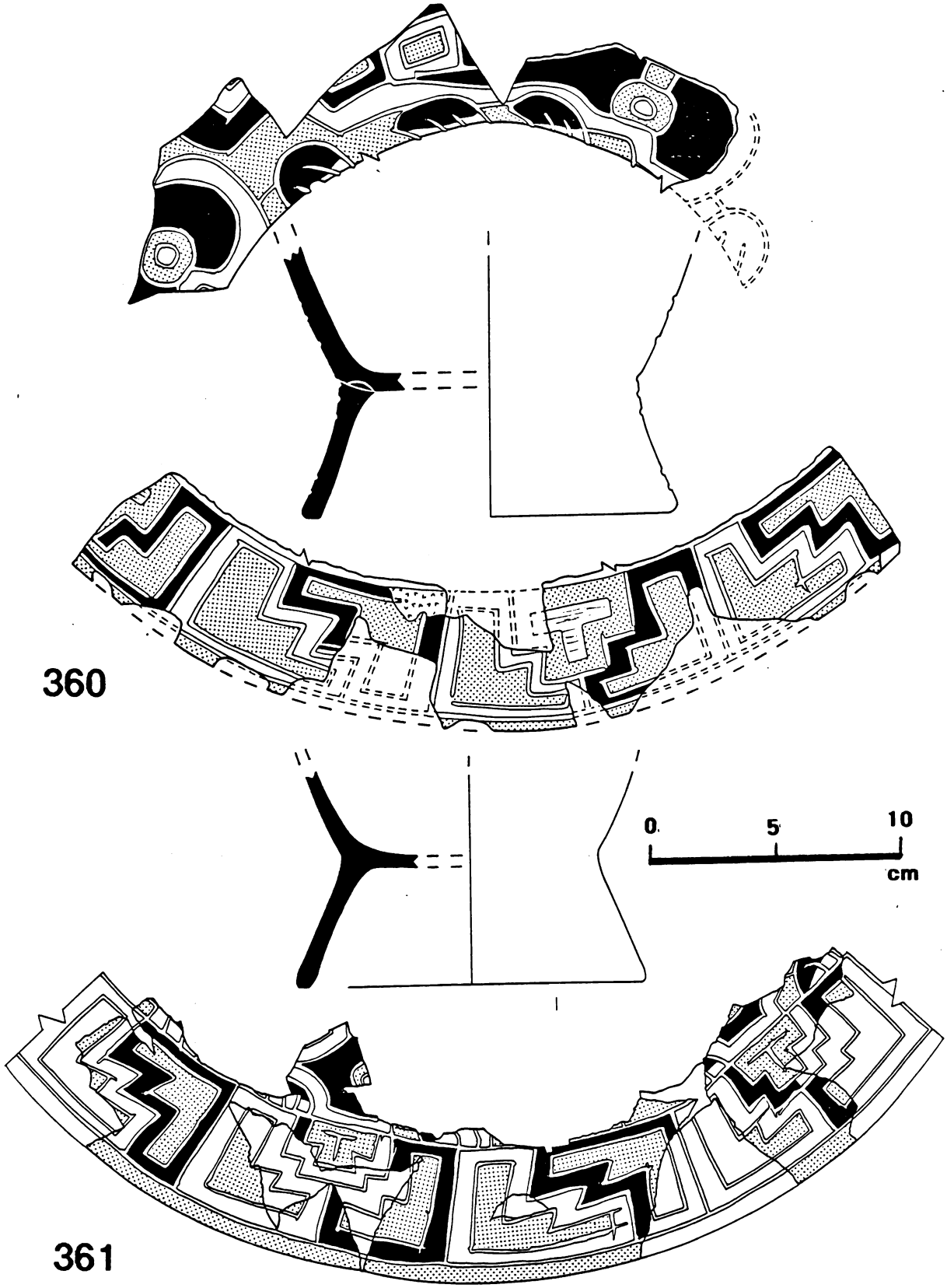


Figure 360-361. Class I, Group B Feline Motif

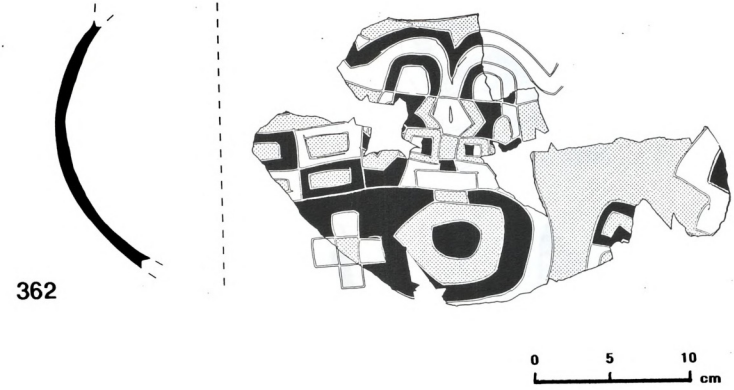


Figure 362. Class I, Group C Feline Motif

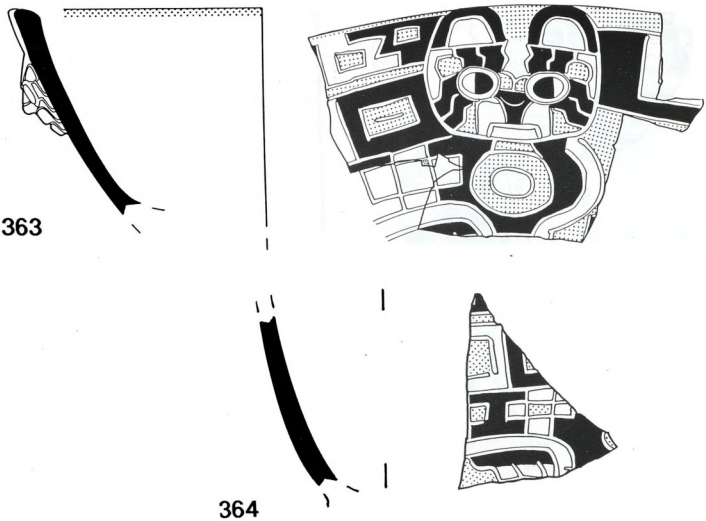


Figure 363-364. Class I, Group D Feline Motif

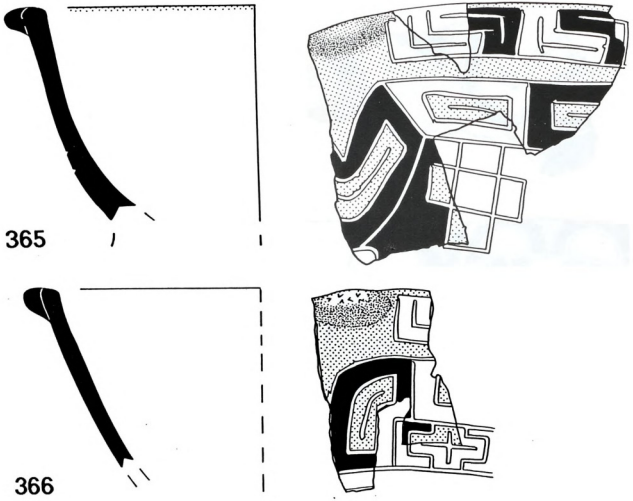


Figure 365-366. Class I, Group D Feline Motif

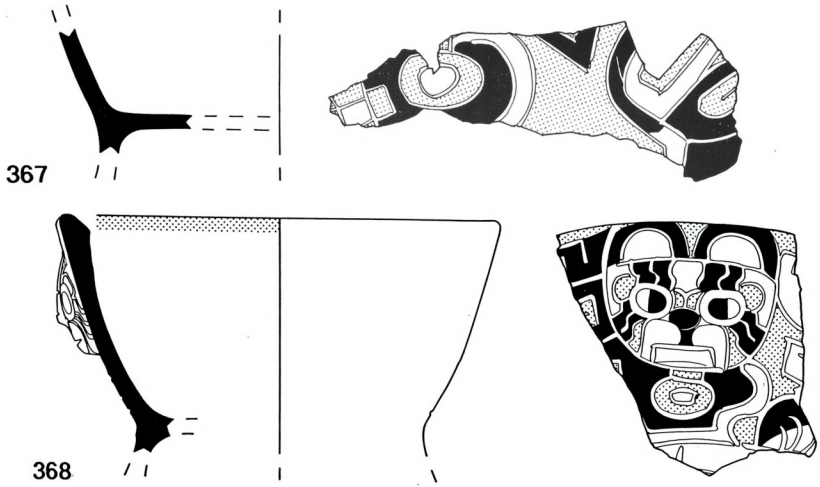


Figure 367-368. Class I, Group D Feline Motif

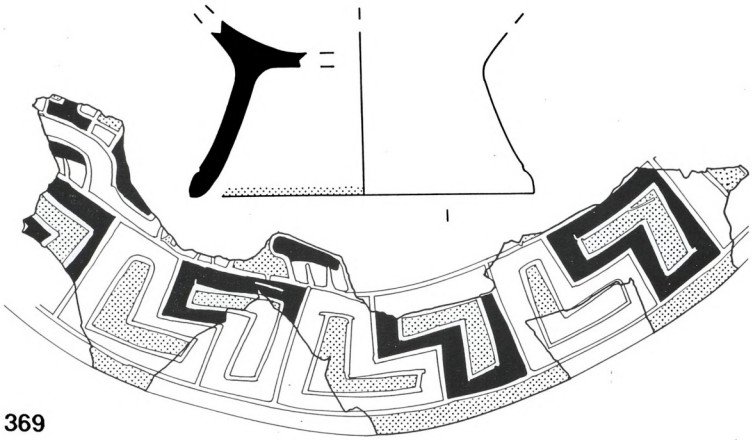


Figure 369. Class I, Group D Feline Motif

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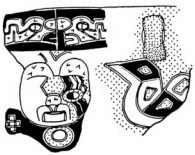

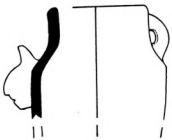

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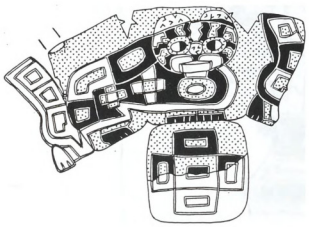
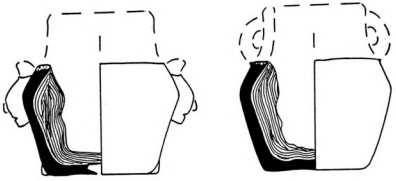
Figure 370-372. Class I, Group D Feline Motif





373

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Figure 373-374. Class I, Group D Feline Motif

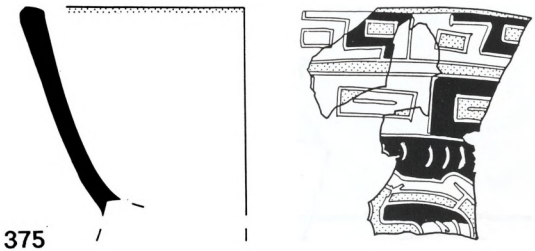
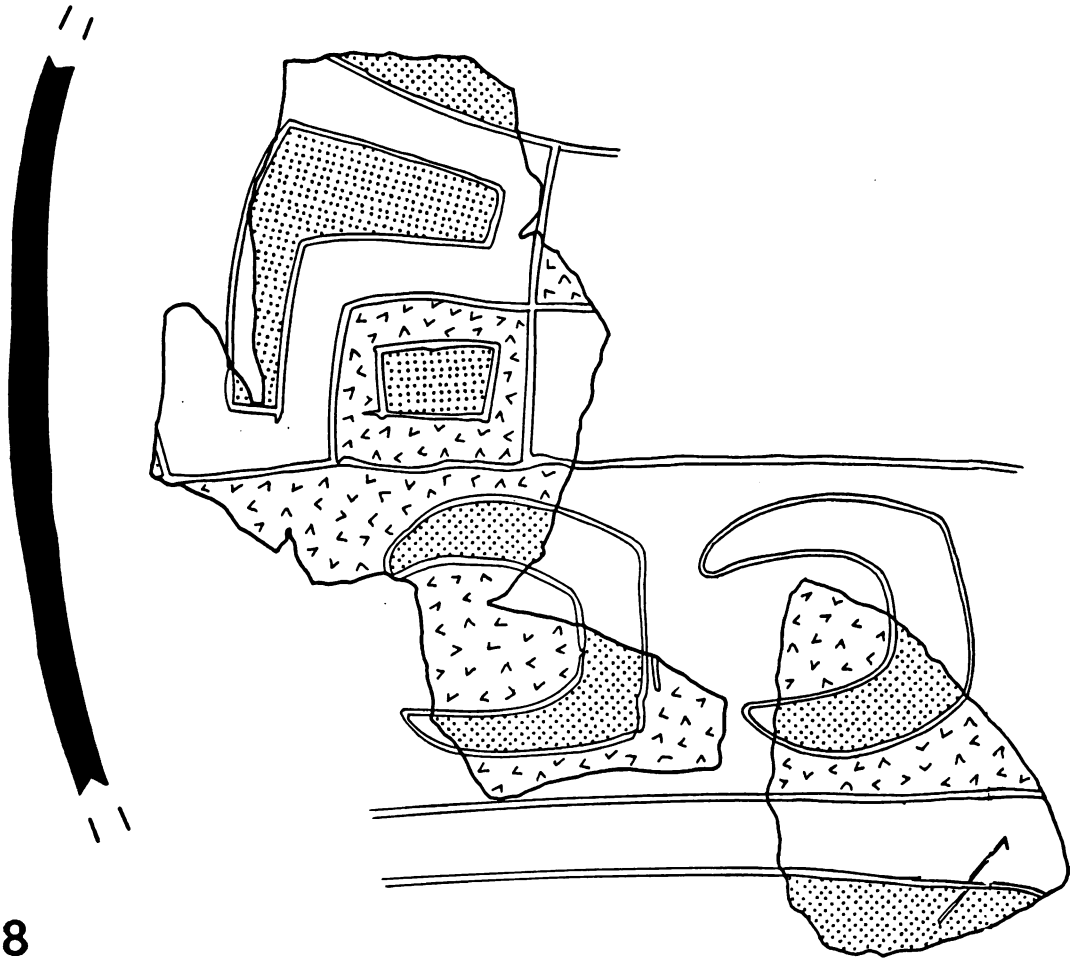


Figure 375-377. Class I, Group E Feline Motif



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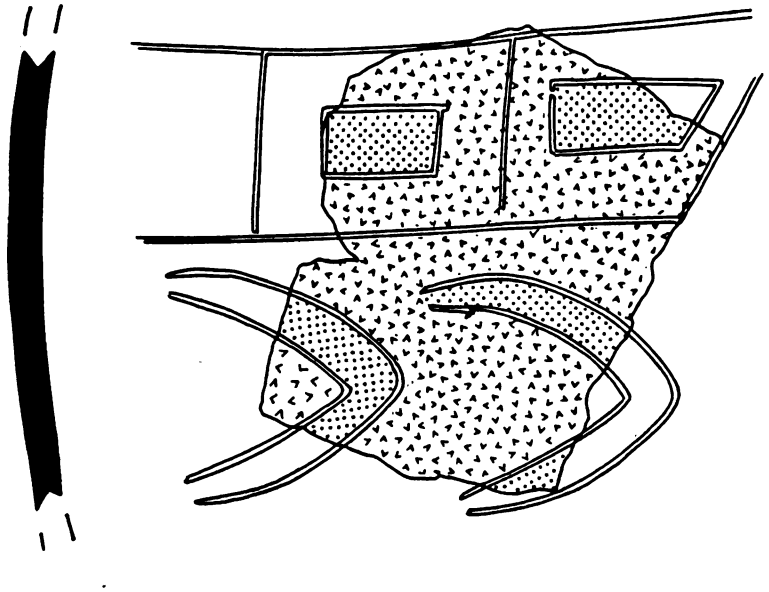

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Figure 378-379. Class I, Group F Feline Motif

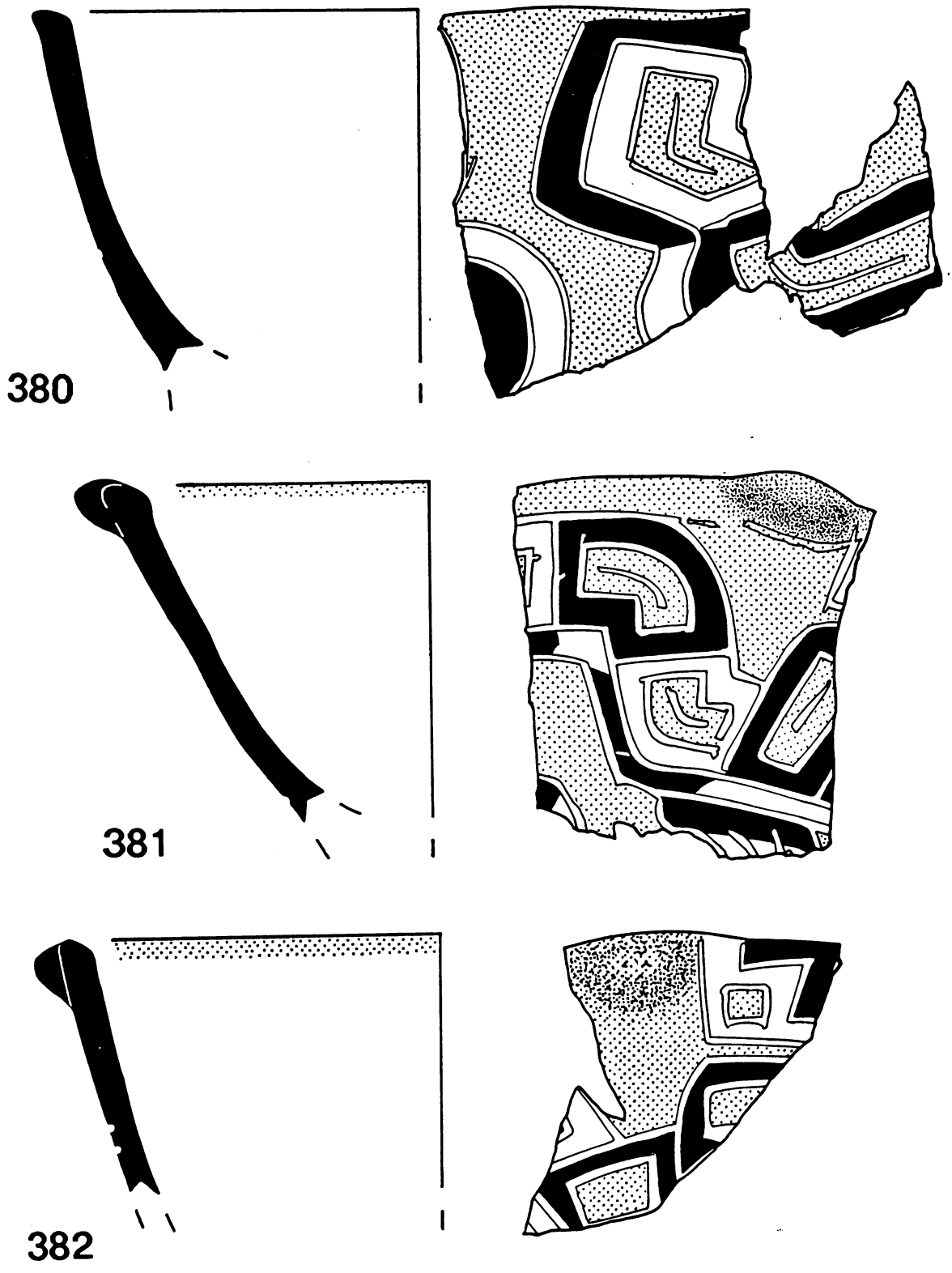
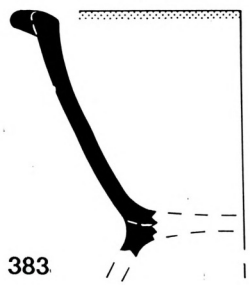
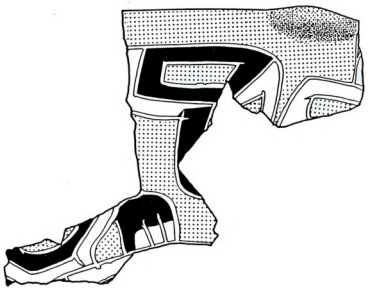
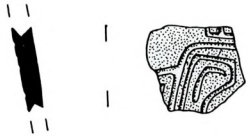


Figure 380-382. Class I, Miscellaneous Groups A-F Feline Motif







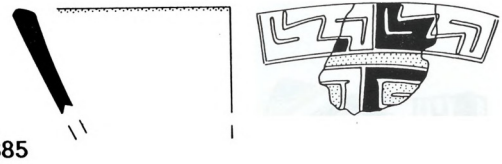
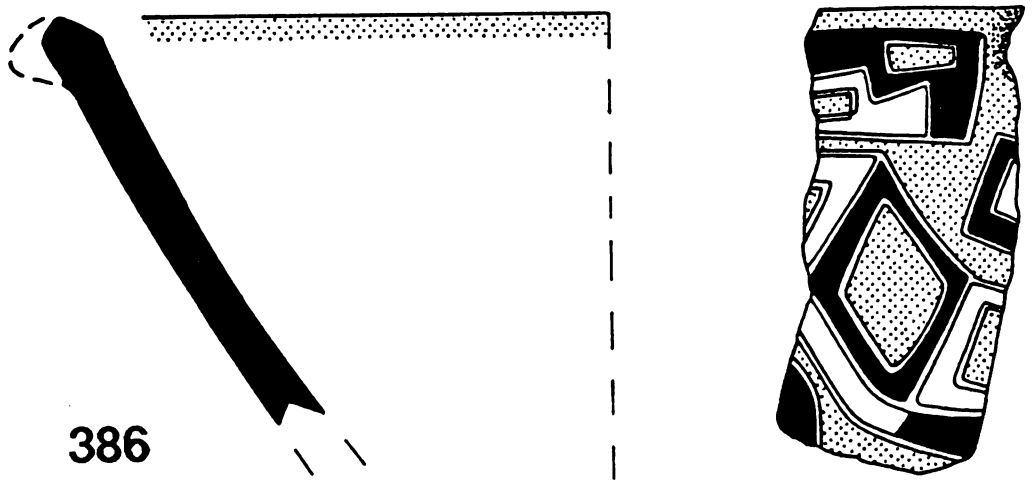
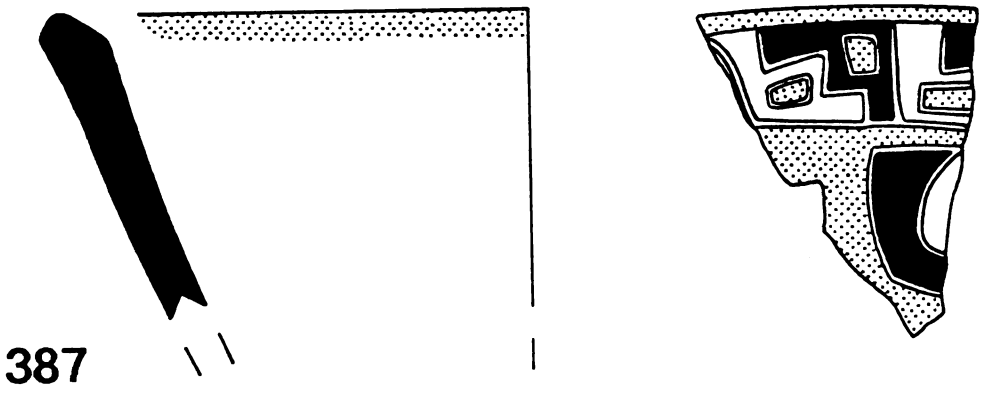


Figure 383-385. Class I, Miscellaneous Groups A-F Feline Motif





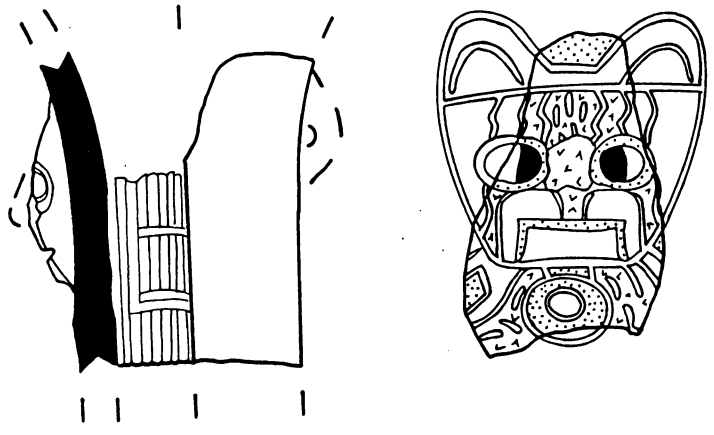


Figure 386-388. Class I, Miscellaneous Groups A-F Feline Motif

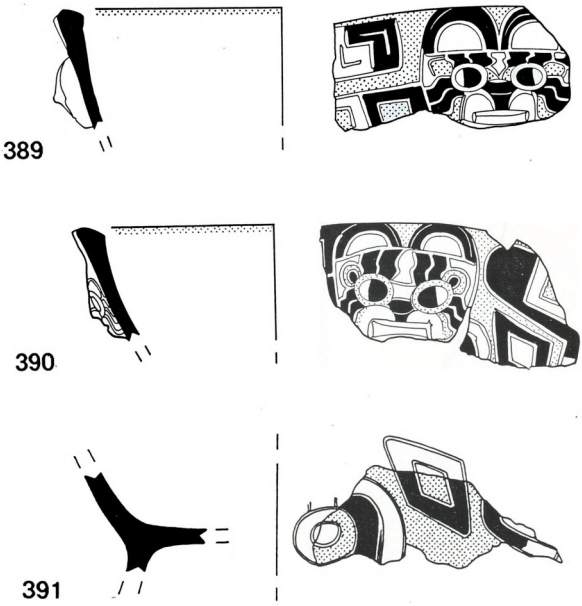


Figure 389-391. Class I, Miscellaneous Groups A-F Feline Motif

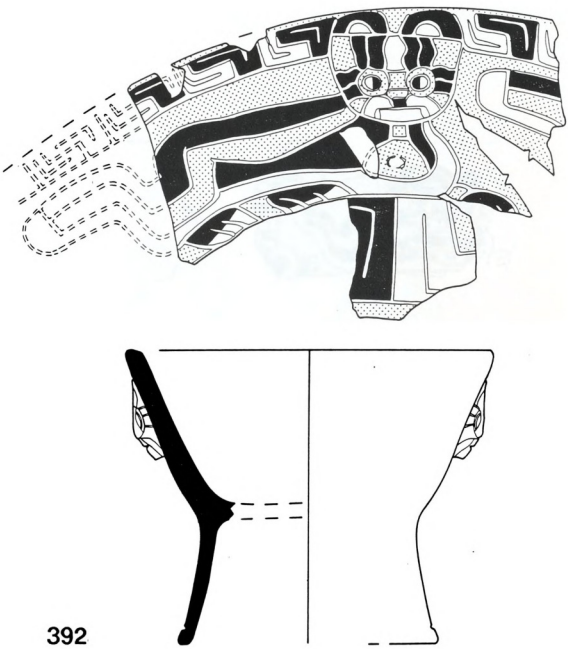


Figure 392. Class I, Group G Feline Motif

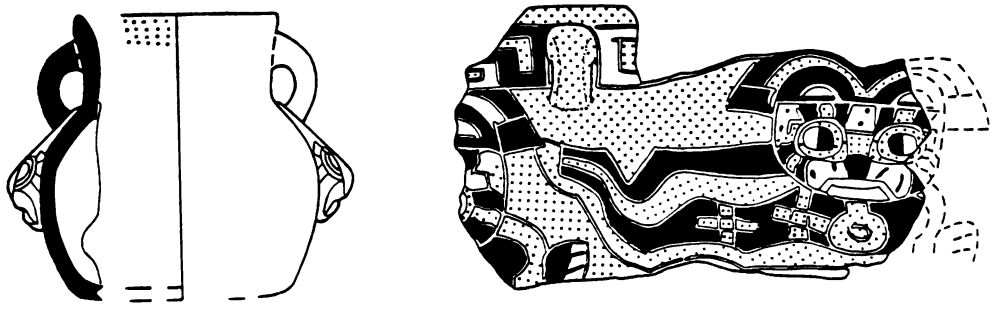


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Figure 393. Class I, Group H Feline Motif

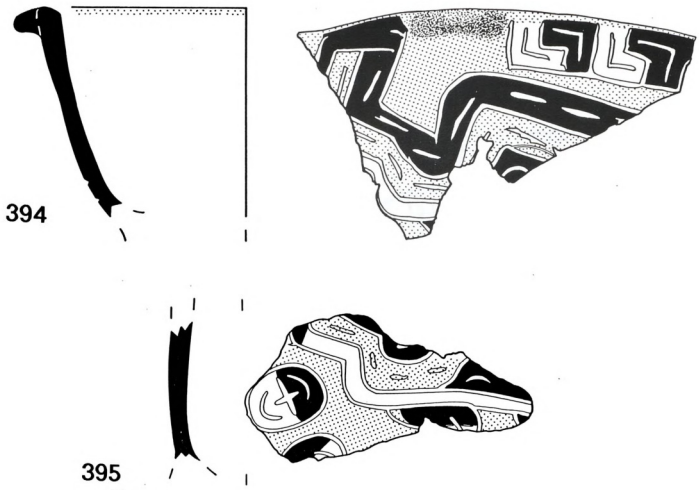
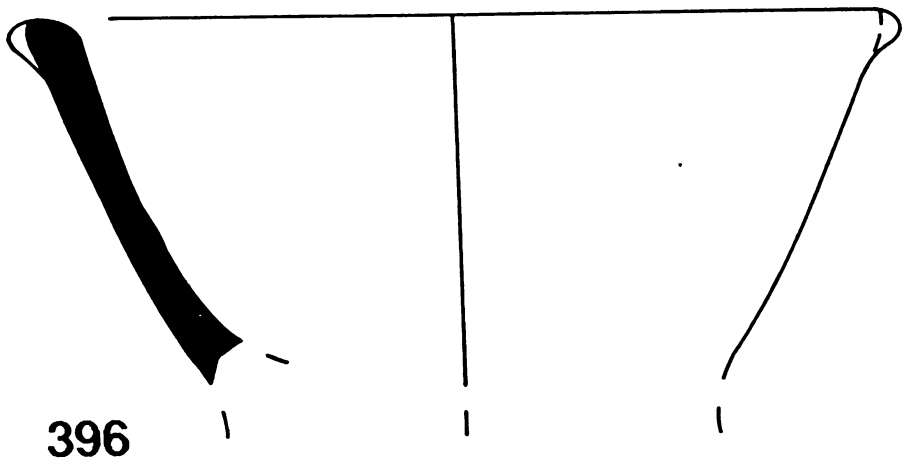


Figure 394-395. Class I, Group I Feline Motif



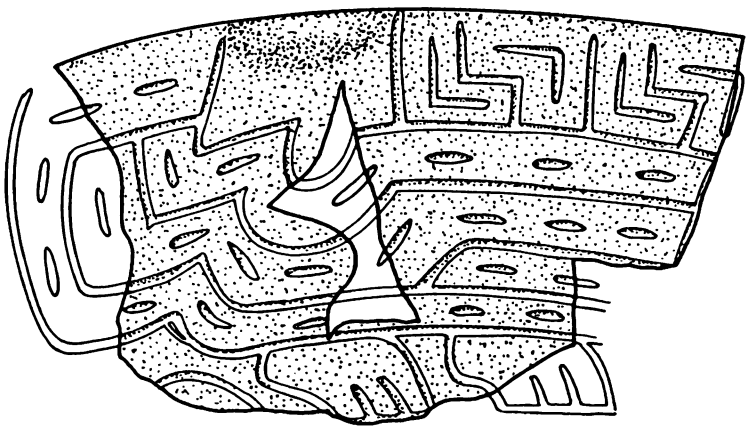


Figure 396. Class I, Group I Feline Motif

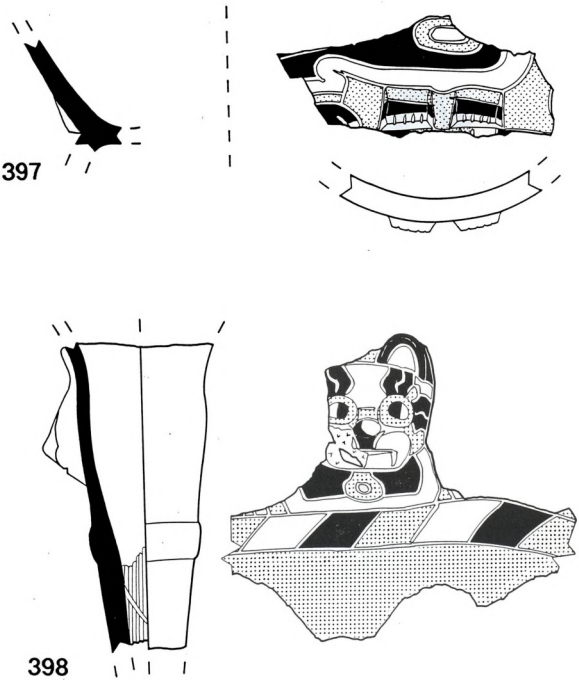
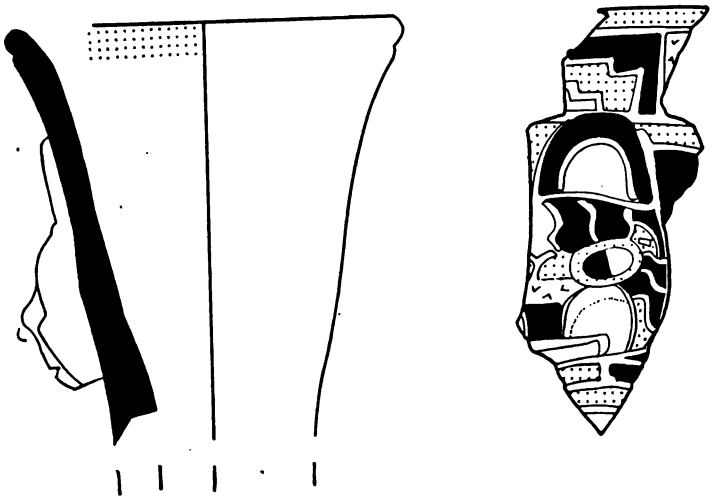


Figure 397-398. Class I, Miscellaneous Groups A-I Feline Motif



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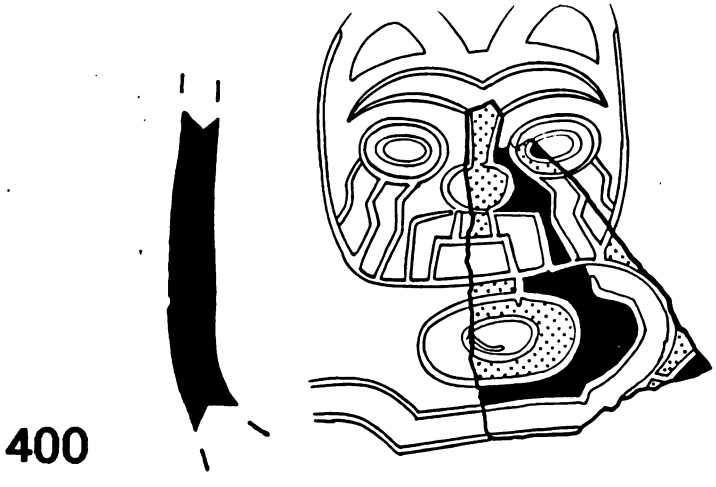

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Figure 399-400. Class I, Miscellaneous Groups A-I Feline Motif

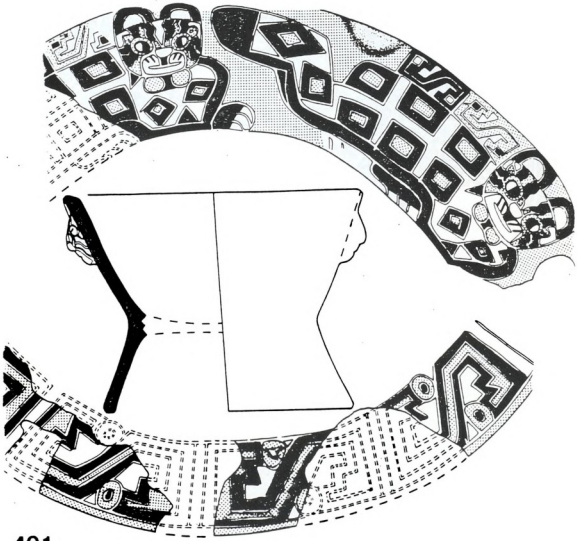
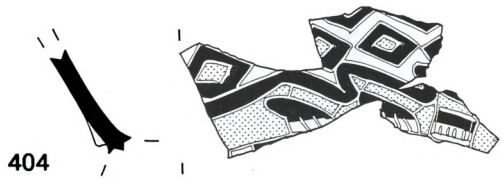


Figure 401. Class II, Group A Feline Motif

Figure 402-403. Class II, Group A Feline Motif



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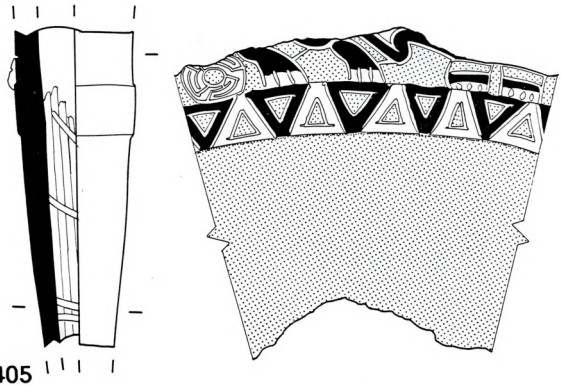

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Figure 404-405. Class II, Group A Feline Motif

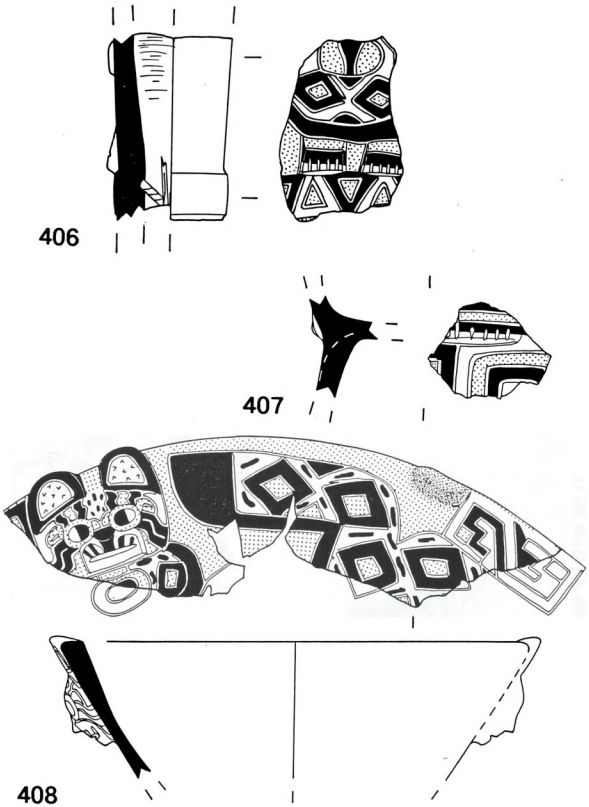
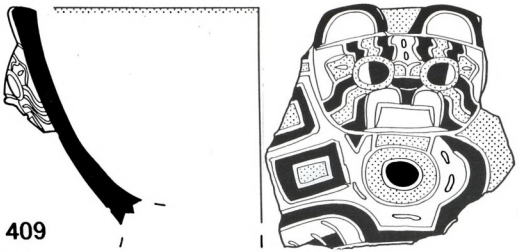
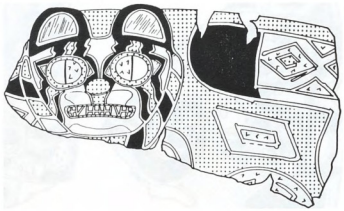


Figure 406-408. Class II, Group A Feline Motif





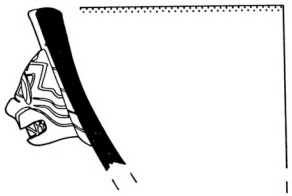


Figure 409-410. Class II, Group A Feline Motif

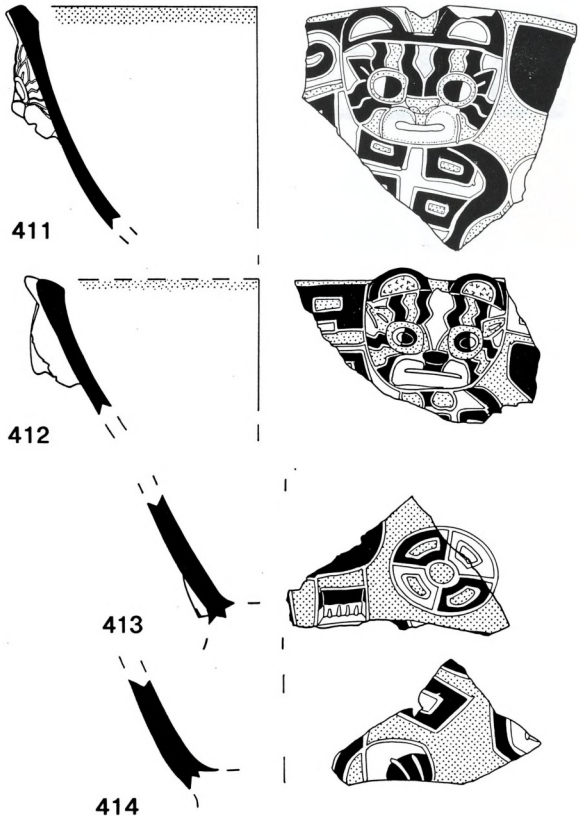


Figure 411-414. Class II, Group A Feline Motif

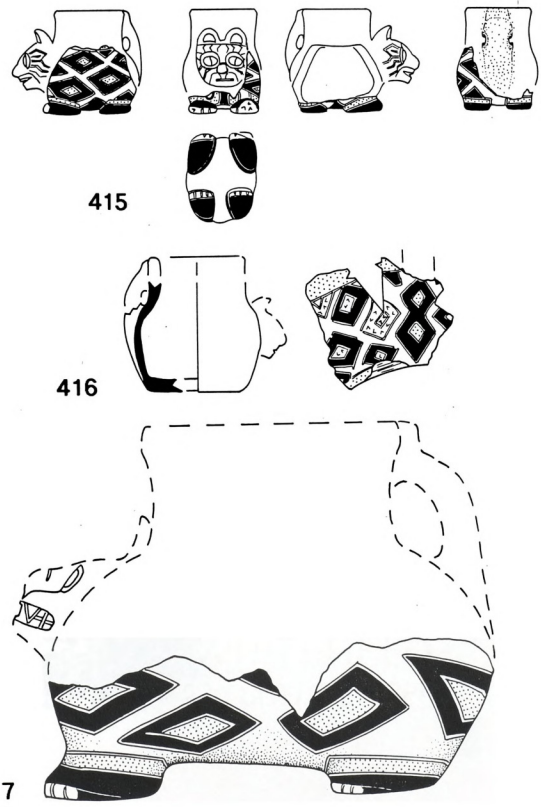


Figure 415-417. Class II, Group A Feline Motif

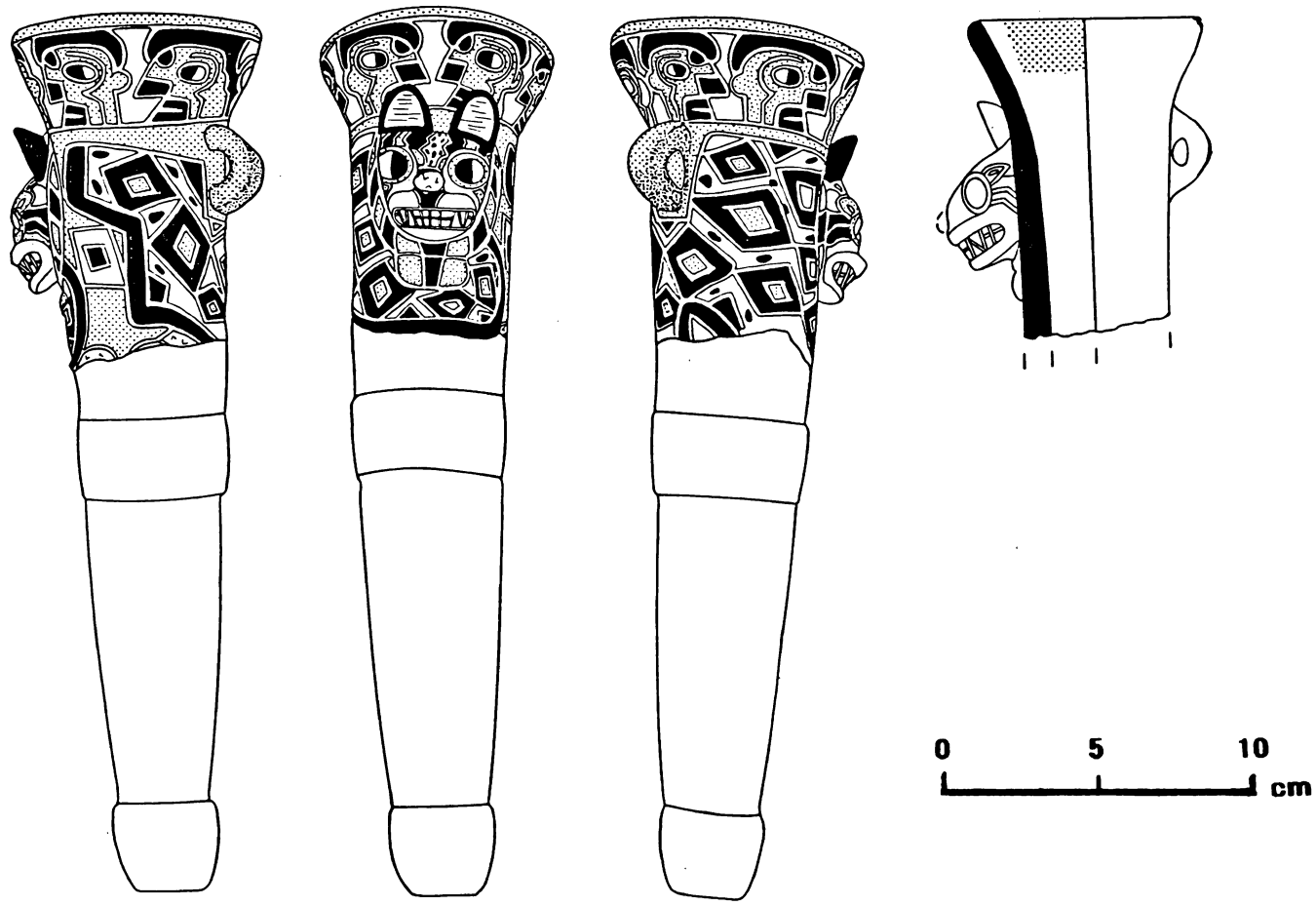
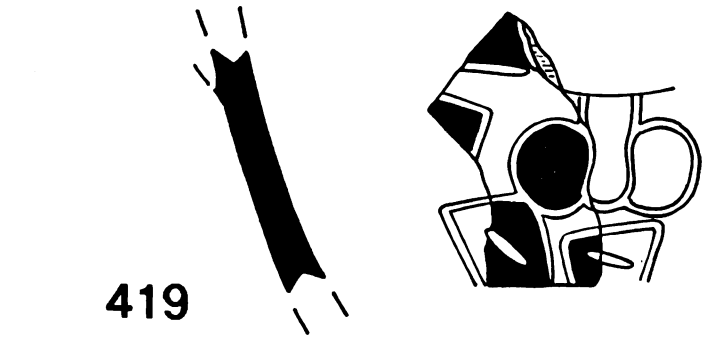


Figure 418. Class II, Group A Feline Motif



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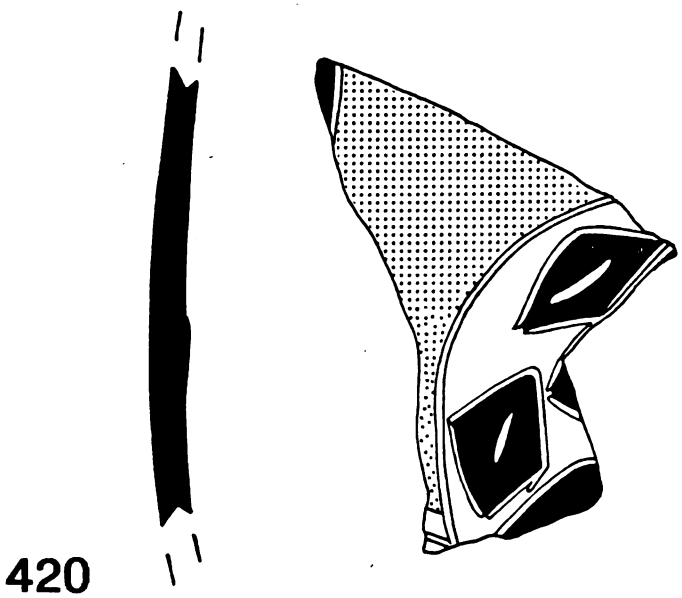
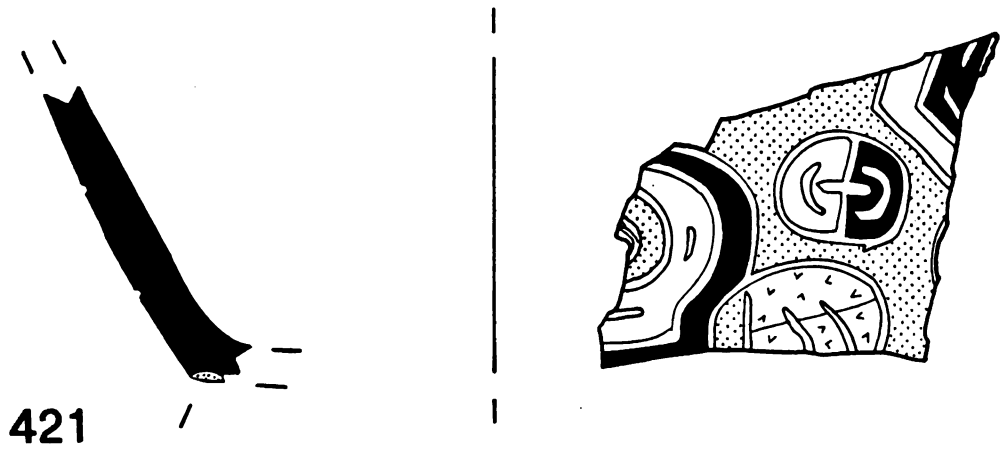


420

Figure 419-420. Class II, Group B Feline Motif



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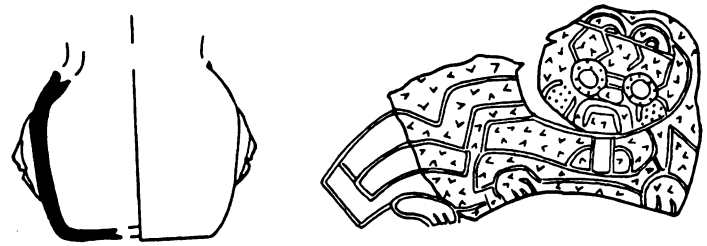

422

Figure 421-422. Class II, Group C Feline Motif

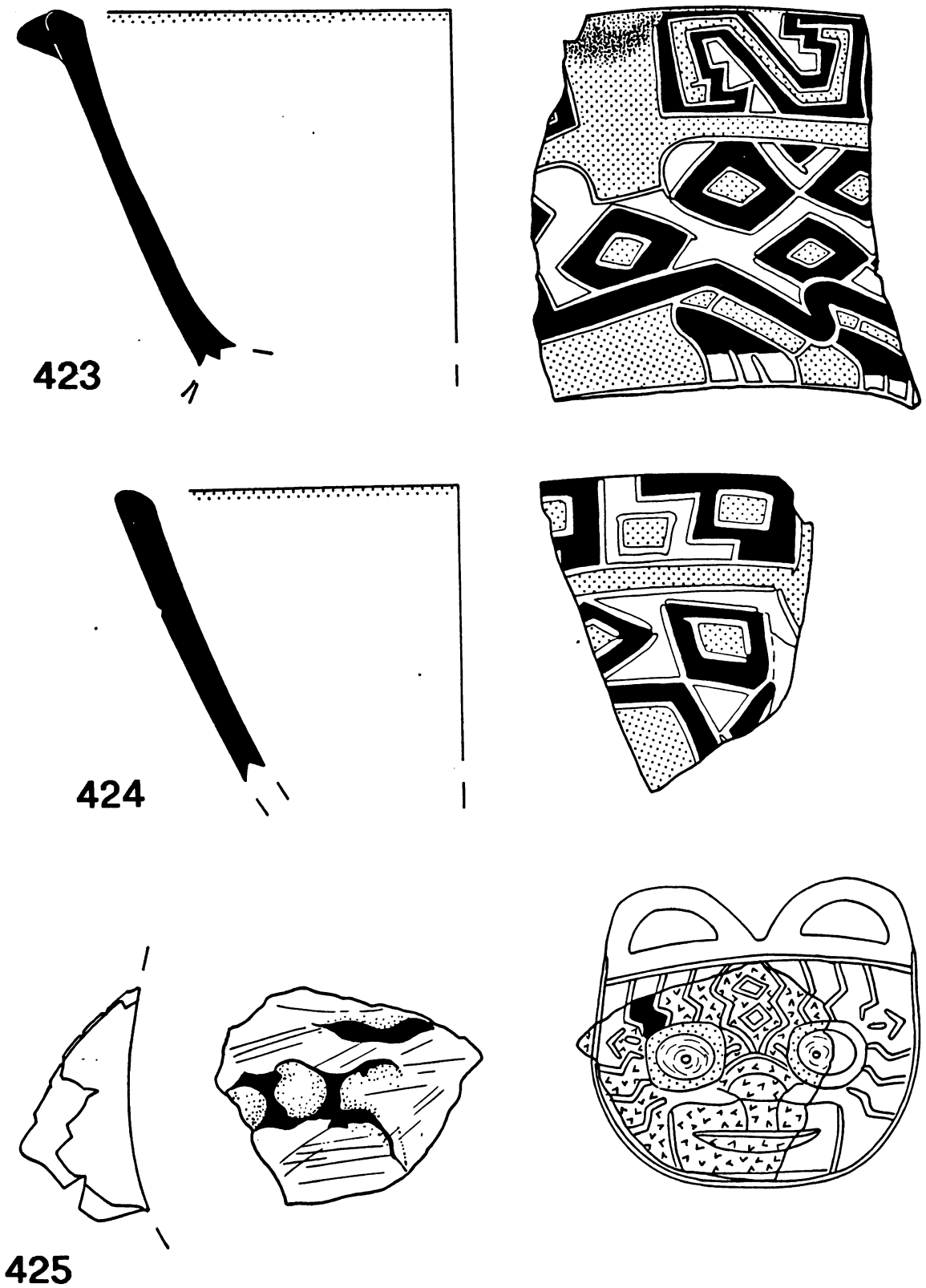

Figure 423-425. Class II, Group A or Class IV, Group F Feline Motif

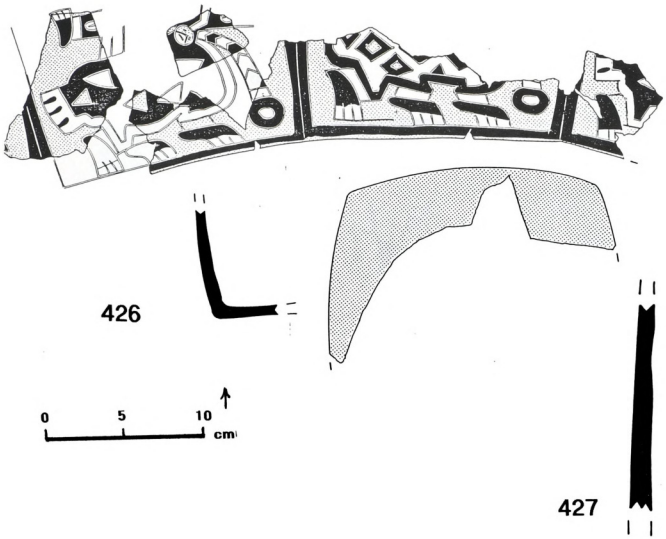

Figure 426-427. Class III, Group A Feline Motif

428

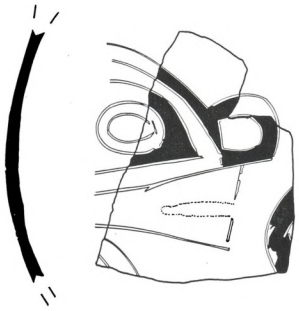

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Figure 428-429. Class III, Group B Feline Motif

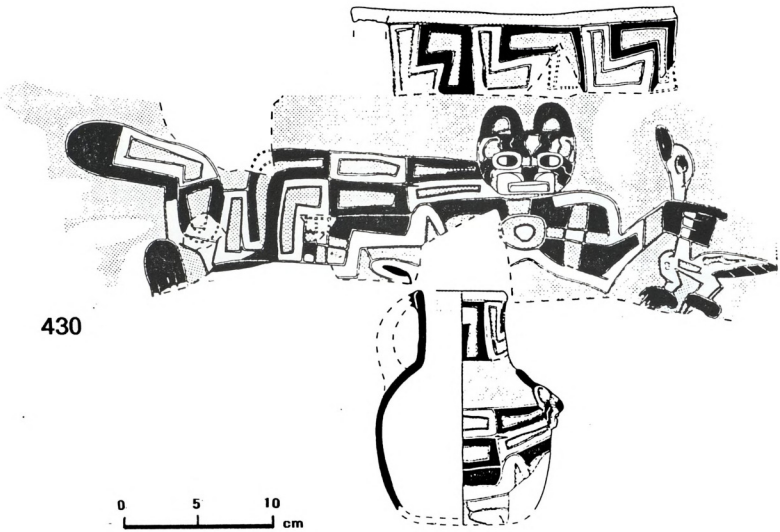
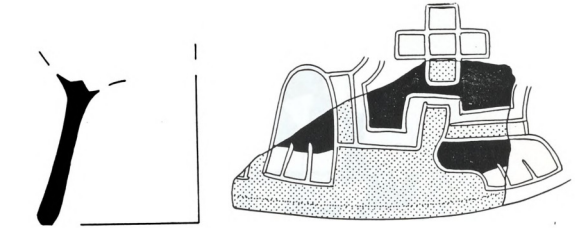


Figure 430. Class IV, Group A Feline Motif



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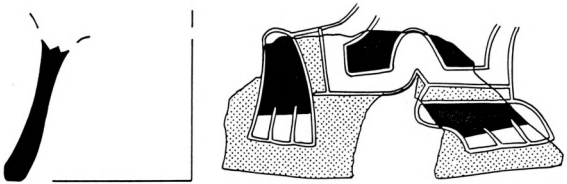

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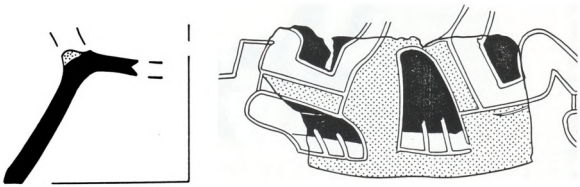

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Figure 431-433. Class IV, Group A Feline Motif

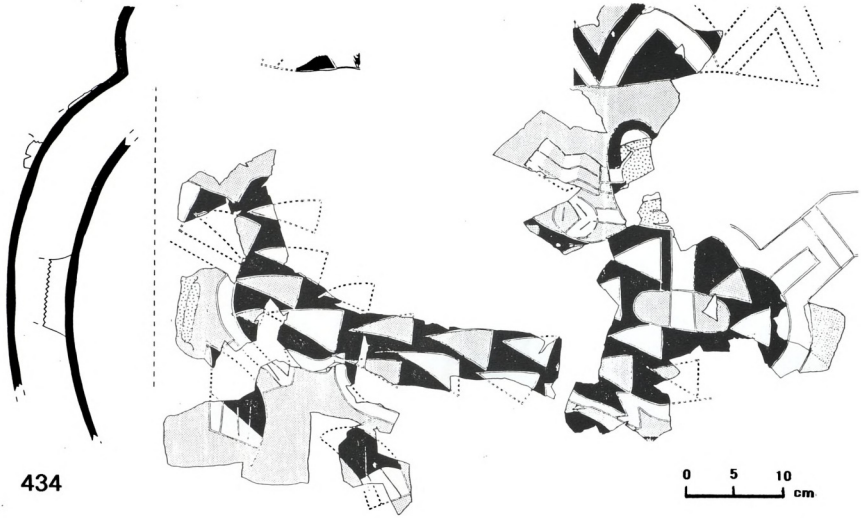

Figure 434. Class IV, Group B Feline Motif

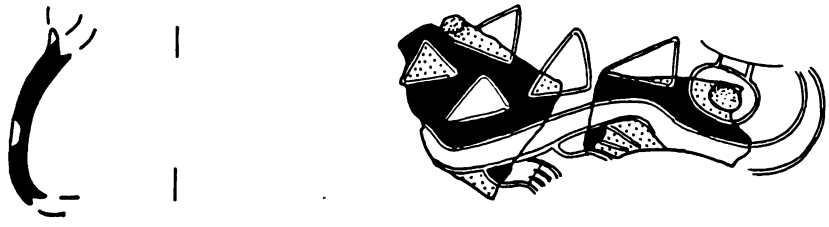

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Figure 435. Class IV, Group B Feline Motif

436

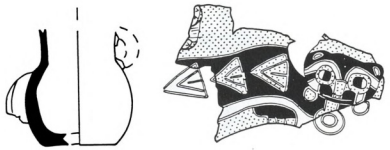
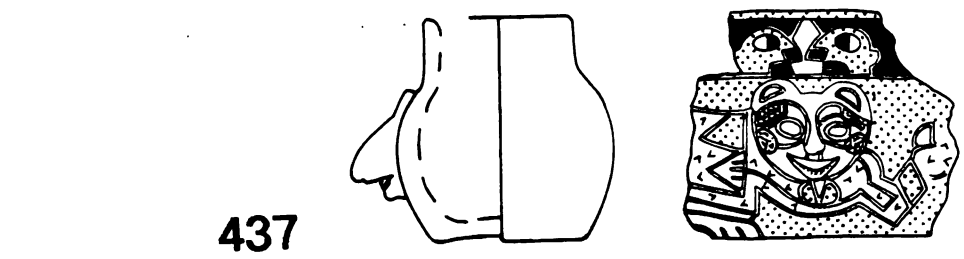


Figure 436. Class IV, Group C Feline Motif



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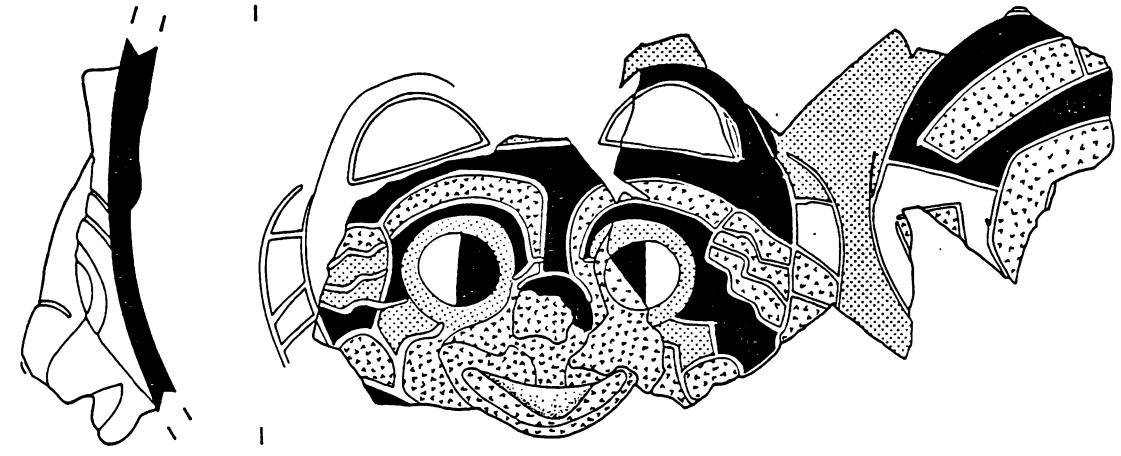

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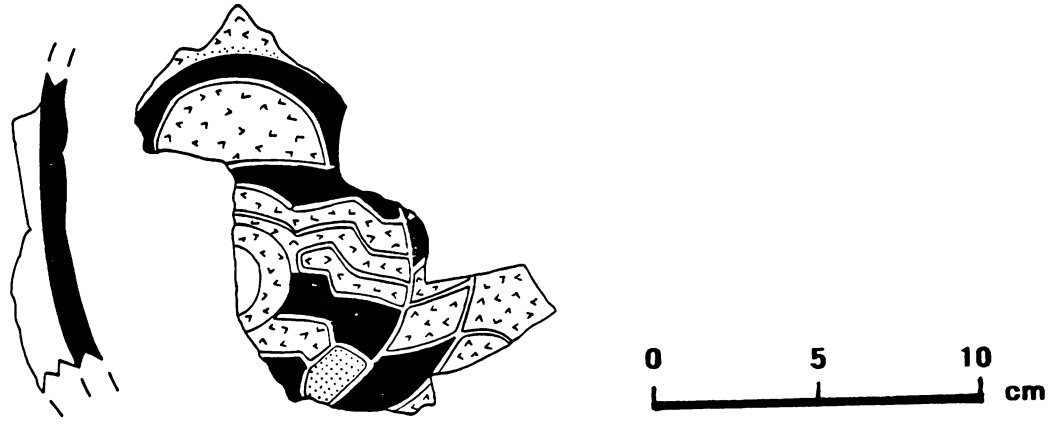

439

Figure 437-439. Class IV, Group D Feline Motif

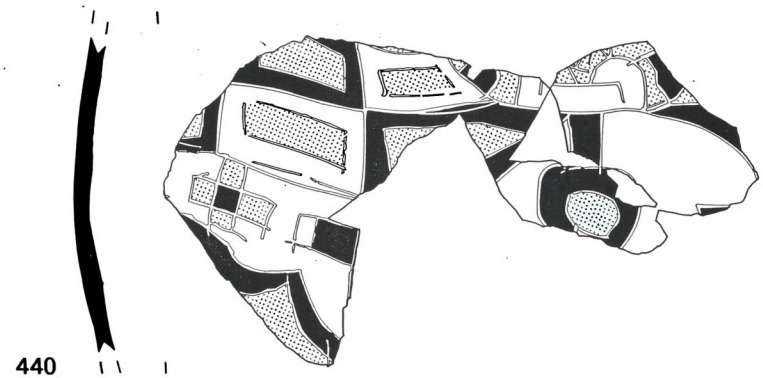

Figure 440. Class IV, Group E Feline Motif

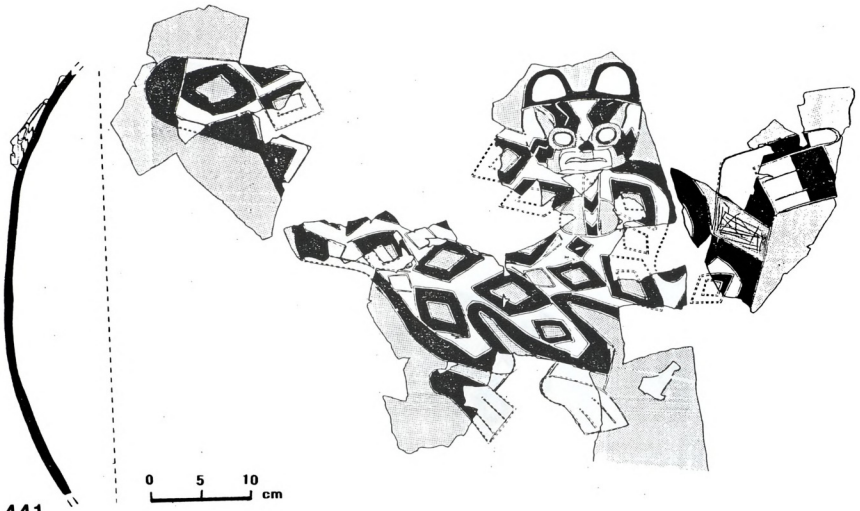

Figure 441. Class IV, Group F Feline Motif

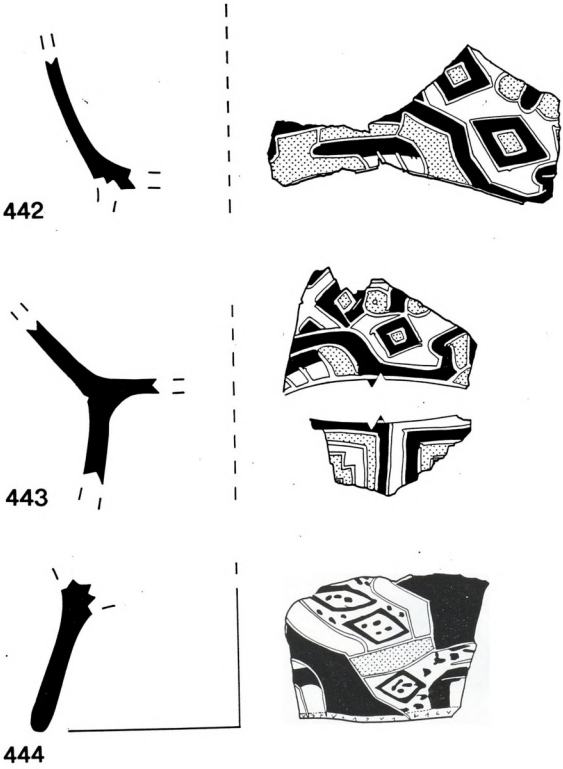

Figure 442-444. Class IV, Group F Feline Motif

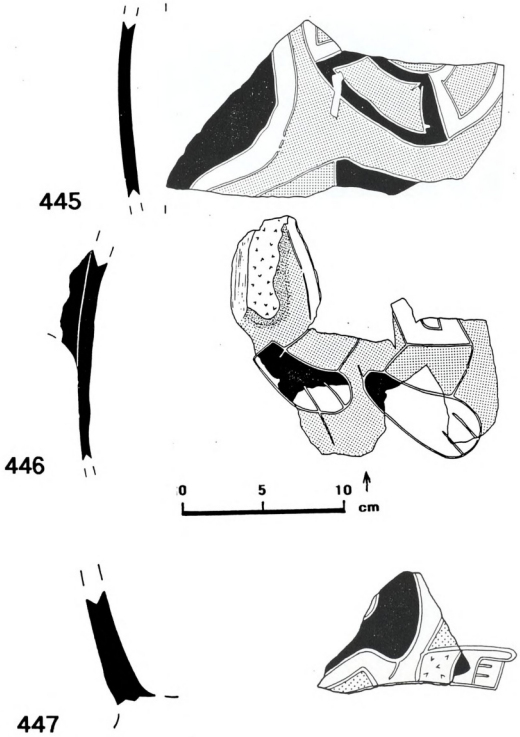

Figure 445-447. Class IV, Groups A-D Feline Motif

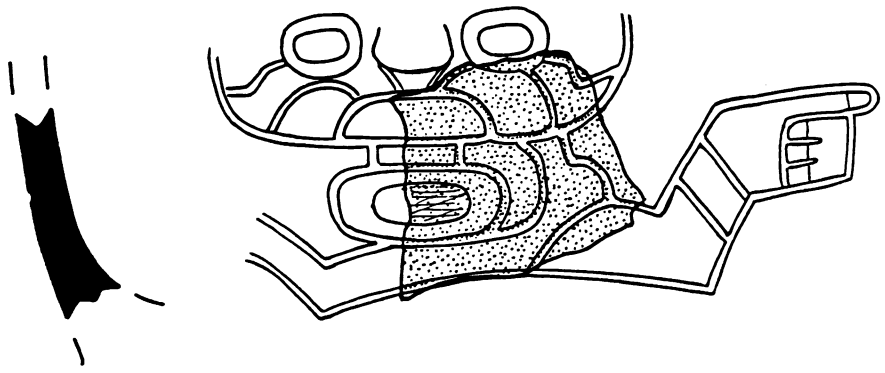

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Figure 448. Class IV, Miscellaneous Anthropomorphized Feline Motif

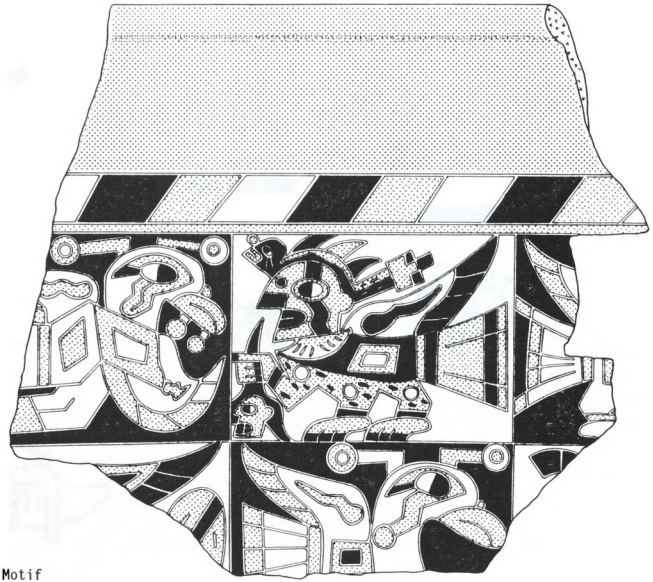

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Figure 449. Winged Man Motif

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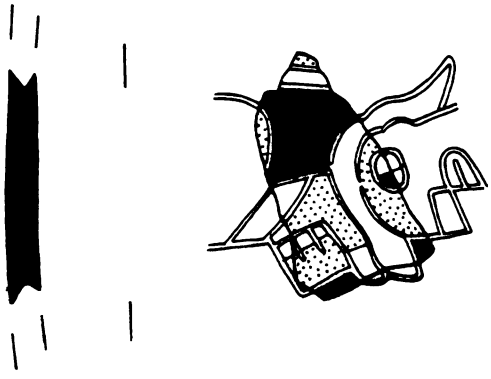

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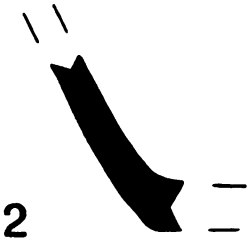

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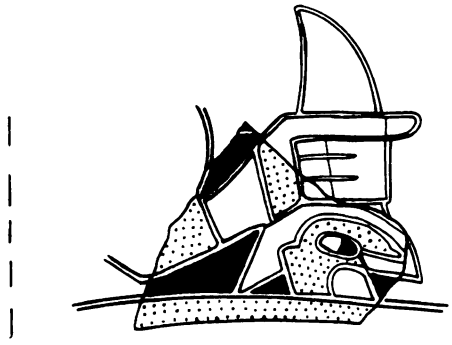

Figure 450-452. Winged Man Motif

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