

Images of the Huari: restoring ancient identity

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Ascertaining the identity of ancient people and discerning their agency is difficult when names and events have long been forgotten in an archaeological landscape over 1000 years old. Fortunately, artisans who were witness to the events or knew well their historical accounts provide observable images of individuals and their actions. In this paper the images were created by Andean people from the Middle Horizon (MH) (AD 750/800 – 1000)¹ who are arguably the originators of a pan-Andean multi-societal unification known as the Wari Empire. This culture's heartland was in the region of Ayacucho, Peru, with a possible capital at the urban site of Huari² and ancestral origins in the centuries old Huarpa culture of the Early Intermediate Period (AD 0 – 650/750).³ The Wari unification of a number of diverse populations throughout Peru has relied on evidence of an architectural technique to organize enclosed habitation known as an “orthogonal cellular” building plan⁴ and of a religious-based art tradition from southern Peru, northern Chile and the altiplano known as the Southern Andean Iconographic Series (SAIS).⁵

Sites with Wari architecture and art imply invasion, displacement, and domination of previous cultural groups. The Wari building plan is a large rectangular enclosure with long, narrow rooms along all four sides with doors opening inward to a courtyard. Wari art depicts SAIS icons of anthropomorphic and zoomorphic gods holding authoritarian staffs and with supernatural attributes such as protruding upper and lower canine teeth, half-moon eyes and wings. The sites occur in Peru's northern highlands such as Honcopampa, Viracochapampa, and Kolkítin,⁶ southern highlands such as Huaro, Pikillaqta, and Jincamocco,⁷ south coast such as Pataraya,⁸ and far south coast such as Sonay and Cerro Baul,⁹ as well as at Huari and sites closer to the capital such as Conchopata,¹⁰ Jargampata,¹¹ and

Azangaro¹² (see p. 153, Fig. 2). This broad dispersal and inferred multi-societal interaction suggest that the Wari developed a complex governing strategy or state form of government. However, no two sites are identical in layout or artifact inventory of icons (Figures 1 and 2 are two versions of the Agent 102).¹³ This diversity may indicate different architectural functions or degrees of religious indoctrination particularly suited to each sites' local population thereby inferring a "mosaic" of varied local autonomy and degrees of Wari control.¹⁴

As a broad unit of analysis, the orthogonal cellular building was useful in recognizing state development, but within a site it becomes a more detailed unit of analysis to define Wari management strategies. For example, William Isbell recently argued that these structures at Huari and Conchopata defined "great houses...as a new social and architectural building block of the city and state" that may have been palace compounds.¹⁵ He details possible activities of feasting and ancestor worship within such compounds and suggests the next refinement is for units of analysis based on ranked status and kinship groups. Thus, refining Wari research is a trend toward more detailed units of analysis from state, to site, to building, to occupants and now harkens an investigation of 'individual identity'.

Ascertaining the identity of individuals in a prehistoric context has long been a goal of archaeology. James Hill and Joel Gunn¹⁶ began developing methods, techniques and theory to study style variations that represent individuals within a group. For example, by analyzing artistic details, Charles Redman¹⁷ suggested that small groupings of design elements might indicate the individual by a uniqueness of expression within a culture's art or ceramic style. Such stylistic analysis may capture an identity as an observable distinction within a given database for a

specific place and time, but an individual usually shares a repertoire of techniques and at any moment may drop or adopt a technique¹⁸ thereby disappearing or appearing as a different individual. So can a single identity be discerned in the material culture at different locations or at different times without raising questions that more than one individual was involved? With stylistic analysis of design elements, I would argue probably not unless the identity is observed as an unchanging or only slightly changing phenomenon. For example, Donna McClelland¹⁹ developed a remarkable database of fineline drawings and proscribed a number of Moche “painter” identities based on recurring unique details. A similar form of identity occurs in portraits, such as Christopher Donnan’s²⁰ analysis of Moche portrait vessels, which showed the same individual at different ages due to a consistently depicted lip scar. This approach to ascertain identity as consistency of recurring design details provides the “who” data in this study; but theories of identity also require an understanding of “how” and “why” they are created.

Theoretical views on ascertaining identity emphasize that an individual changes by choosing to interact with others and to participate as a member of a group. The action of choice may originate within societal constraints, but the individual obtains observable attributes that differentiate one membership from another.²¹ Creating identity from an individual’s actions resonates in the concept of “agency”²² where the goal is to understand broad social structures by analyzing individual activities.²³ Agency may be observed as choices of dress or displays of action, but can best be discerned from narrative depictions that animate relationships thereby assigning identity traits such as leader, enemy or ally.

Ascertaining Identity

In the archive of Middle Horizon people,²⁴ the term “agent” followed by a number is used to distinguish individual identity and to acknowledge that depictions of people can be summaries of their agency.²⁵ Identity is ascertained from design elements of dress – such as tunics, hats, pouches, capes, belts, and breechclouts - accessories and facial decoration (Fig. 3 – ERRATA This textile displays Agents 100 (upper left and lower right) and Agent 108 (upper right and lower left). Accessories include weapons, staffs, drinking cups, severed heads, necklaces, plants and animals. Tattoos may have been used.

Agent depictions occur most often on ceramic effigy jars. An effigy jar is shaped so that a vessel’s area between the rim and neck displays a human face and the jar’s shoulders and body can represent a human’s shoulders and body. The Huarpa potters produced effigy jars of individuals who practiced a communal identity of black vertical lines on the face.²⁶ New pigments and curvilinear designs in late Huarpa pottery indicate interaction with the south coast Nasca population that had for previous centuries produced remarkable pottery. However, early Wari effigy jars most likely developed from Huarpa antecedents since both share the trait of a cylinder-shaped neck with slight surface modeling to show facial attributes. This trait contrasts with the Nasca effigy jars with round, head-shaped necks.

To begin describing the MH agents, I will start with the earliest documented identity in the Wari heartland, dating to early Epoch 1 (Fig. 1; See also p.67, Fig.14). The remaining agents date to late Epoch 1 and Epoch 2. MH Epochs 3 and 4 are not discussed here.

Agent 102. This individual’s effigy jars consistently have a rim band of multi-colored chevrons. The chevron band design originated in Huarpa ceramic art

to demarcate areas of a vessel's surface. On Agent 102 jars, the design most likely indicates an ancestral identity by wearing a headband of chevrons. The jars are in two basic sizes: regular, or about .3-.5 m and oversize, or over 1 m, as demonstrated by 27 oversize jars found in 2000 at Conchopata²⁷ that were smashed and appear to have been buried as a ritual offering. The most common identity mark occurs on the cheeks and is a rectangle divided into three or more, multi-colored bands; some examples include wavy lines in the bands. Known as the "pendent rectangle"²⁸ this motif was painted from the lip to the base on the interior surface of straight-sided open bowls.²⁹ Other facial attributes include a bang and side-burns of black hair. In 1977 another buried offering of oversize Agent 102 jars were recovered and inspected by Dorothy Menzel who assigned them to Epoch 1B.³⁰ Zoomorphic motifs replace the pendent rectangle and some faces have a small moustache and round chin beards; others have only the moustache and beard or completely plain.³¹ All rim fragments display the chevron headband motif.

The shoulders appear covered with a tunic that displays humped-animal icons – most likely felines - either as two large, mirrored pairs or several small figures. Julio Tello³² interpreted the combination of a central anthropomorphic figure with flanking profile feline figures - guardians or "custodios" - as an Andean theme common in northern Peru down to Cajamarquilla. In a recent analysis of these jars³³ similar humped-animal icons were identified on short tunics from the south coast that would have covered only the shoulder and upper torso of the wearers³⁴ (Fig. 4) and on other coastal textiles including pouches³⁵ with motifs that are datable to MH Epoch 1B.³⁶

Below the effigy jars' shoulders, the most remarkable feature of these vessels is the SAIS display of a frontal posed icon holding a staff in either hand and standing atop a pyramid motif. This icon is identified as a 'staff god' (Fig. 5). The most consistent identifying attribute of this type of icon is a 'rayed corona'. This corona is depicted as a band that is usually filled with interlocking L's and encircles the face. The appended rays end in zoomorphic heads and geometric elements. This staff god example is flanked by rows of profile posed icons apparently running or kneeling to the staff god and identified here as 'profile gods'. These profile gods are too stylized to associate directly with other SAIS icons. In contrast to the "custodio" theme as on the short tunics, Tello³⁷ also described another well-known Andean theme of a central supreme god flanked by subordinate profile figures - the Gateway of the Sun theme – that has yet to be found on a tunic. Thus the body of these Agent 102 effigy jars may be depicting concepts too foreign to this area to have been accepted as clothing decoration and most likely represent narratives – perhaps on tapestries - coming through southern Peru from Chile and the altiplano.

Soon after the appearance of Agent 102, the Wari seemed to embrace this new religion by producing many, oversize urns painted with more detailed SAIS icons. In 1942 at Conchopata, Tello recovered many fragments of these urns that appeared to be from another ritual burial in subsurface pits.³⁸ Elaborate images were painted in a wide band around the upper exterior surface. The images include other SAIS staff gods and several profile gods as bodiless heads or in full-body poses as though walking, running or kneeling, and flying³⁹ and date to the end of Epoch 1.⁴⁰ I will describe Agents 101, 110, 132, and 140 that were painted on a few of these

large urn fragments next to staff gods that wore tunics with or without belts and zoomorphic profile gods. I will refer to these vessels as the ‘Tello Urns’.

Agent 101. This agent has two consistent identity traits: a facial design of one or two vertical bands of x’s on the cheek and a four-cornered hat with tassels.⁴¹ The number of x’s varies and may occur on the forehead.⁴² The tassels do not appear on two Agent 101 effigy vessels dating to Epoch 2,⁴³ (Fig. 6) which may indicate temporal change. Four-cornered hats are considered elite attire due to the fine thread knotting involved and occur in both the Wari and Tiwanaku regions.⁴⁴ On one Tello Urn, Agent 101 appears to attend to the staff god and holds a mirror in one hand,⁴⁵ an axe in the other and wears a breechclout with a belt of motifs in a zigzag pattern of triangular profile human faces. On a different Conchopata urn,⁴⁶ Agent 101 wears a tunic and a tasseled four-cornered hat with a similar zigzag pattern of designs known as ‘face/fret’ (Fig. 7)⁴⁷ motifs. The fret is a geometric motif embedded in bands or rectangular fields that usually combines a ‘step’ element and a ‘volute’ element – either curved or angular; often the motif is repeated with interlocked volute elements.⁴⁸ Agent 101 is also depicted on sherds from Epoch 2 contexts at Huari.⁴⁹ On one Epoch 2 effigy jar⁵⁰ he wears a tunic with Susan Bergh’s ‘Profile Creature’⁵¹ pattern as found on similar tunics from the Huanca Sancos caves,⁵² Trancas,⁵³ Ancón (Fig. 8),⁵⁴ and Locarí.⁵⁵ The last location is a burial with Epoch 1B Wari style pottery.⁵⁶ This tunic pattern is also depicted on Conchopata pottery.⁵⁷ These depictions may indicate that such tunics and Agent 101 existed in both late Epoch 1 and Epoch 2.

Agent 110. This agent’s hat has a headband that secures an inverted bowl-shaped hat possibly topped with feathers. On one Tello Urn he is depicted as a

captive and wears a breechclout. On a Huari effigy jar (Fig. 9)⁵⁸ he wears of tunic of fret motifs. Each fret is an S-shaped pattern of step elements with embedded triangles in the corners that are unlike any tunics with patterns of face/fret⁵⁹ or fret/fret motifs.⁶⁰ Menzel⁶¹ regards this motif as an innovation in the Epoch 1B Chakipampa style that continues into the Epoch 2, less-fancy Viñaque style. Thus Agent 110 possibly existed at the end of Epoch 1 and into Epoch 2.

Agent 132. This agent's hat is a black hood with a band – usually red - of dots – usually white - that frames the face below a black, inverted U-shaped brim. On a Tello Urn he is depicted as a captive of a profile god and wears a breechclout and a belt with two + designs. His cheek is painted with a white band with two appended, red hook elements. On another Conchopata style urn his face is plain.⁶² He most likely existed at the end of Epoch 1 and, perhaps, into Epoch 2.

Agent 140. This agent's hat is a round, black cap with either red dots or a headband of diamond elements with two feathers attached to the back by a fancy medallion. He also wears an ear spool, necklace, belt, breechclout, and anklets. Examples of his face vary from those with a white, T-shaped band to a jagged black-outlined white line drawn from the forehead down the cheek.⁶³ His belt of + elements occurs with the belted staff god and of diagonally divided squares with the beltless staff god. His appearance is limited to the Tello Urns and as a captive of the staff gods.

Many agents in the database lack more than one artifact depiction or evidence of associations with icons and other agents, so I will now describe only those pertinent to this study that have both: Agents 100, 103, 108, 117, 104, 147, and 111.

Agent 100. A large x divides one side of Agent 100's face while the other side is a grid of step-fret motifs (Fig. 11).⁶⁴ In late Epoch 1B, he is depicted on multiple Robles Moqo style effigy jars from the Nazca region (Fig. 10),⁶⁵ on a Nievería style effigy head jar from the Rimac Valley⁶⁶ and as a warrior with bow, arrows and shield on other Conchopata urns.⁶⁷ He wears a cylinder-shaped hat with a headband of diamond elements below a band of bi-colored, S-shaped frets that end in zigzag elements rather than steps or volutes. He also wears a multi-colored tie-dye tunic with a simple checkerboard layout of squares of one or two circles. Textiles with a similar pattern may date to Epoch 1B. In contrast, on two Epoch 2 effigy jars his tunic displays a more complex interlocking pattern of multi-colored tie-dye circles⁶⁸ and a tunic of face/fret motifs.⁶⁹ He wears a four-cornered hat on these jars - apparently to change his attire and identity to be a Wari elite. Other Epoch 2 contexts include Wilkawain,⁷⁰ Jincamocco,⁷¹ and Azángaro.⁷²

Agents 103, 108 and 117. The most notable attributes of Agent 103's black cap are the bands of white rectangles with one or two dots in each that frame the face. His tunic may also have been made with similar rectangle designs.⁷³ The face was divided into two or four quadrants of alternating red with blue or black. In Epoch 2, he is depicted on a tunic from Chimú Capac with Agent 108⁷⁴ whose hat is a simple cap with a plain headband and whose face is divided horizontally into two colors by a crenellated line. Agent 103 occurs on other Epoch 2 vessels: Viñaque style cups from Huari,⁷⁵ Huancayo⁷⁶ and San José de Moro (Fig. 12. ERRATA: Fig.12 caption should read "...Agentes 103 y 117...")⁷⁷ and on a Pachacamac style tumbler (Fig. 13 – see footnote).⁷⁸ On the last two vessels Agent 103 is paired with Agent 117. Agent 117's hat has a headband with a zigzag design topped by a band

of black and white squares that drapes down the back of the head. The lower half of his face is decorated with two rows of hook-like design elements. These agents may have existed in late Epoch 1, but certainly in Epoch 2.

Agents 104 and 147. As with Agent 132, these agents display a similar black hood-like hat with a rayed face or skull above the forehead.⁷⁹ Agent 104 appears as a warrior holding a shield⁸⁰ with a symmetrical-double-ray motif (Fig. 14).⁸¹ On an Epoch 2A Atarco style effigy jar from the Ica-Nazca region, Agent 104 stands on a reed boat holding a shield that displays a possible god image.⁸² Agent 147 wears a similar black hat but has tufts added to the top. Agent 147 appears on several duplicated Epoch 2A Atarco style,⁸³ wide-mouthed jars with two other agents – 105 and 107 that are not yet well documented and thus not described here (Fig. 15).⁸⁴ As catalogued, Agents 132, 104 and 147 are closely related but may represent more individual identities that require further research.

Agent 112. Depicted incompletely on Conchopata urn fragments, this agent has been described as a warrior who holds a staff or possible long knife in one hand and a round shield in the other hand. On his chest is a bodiless head - most likely a severed head. His hat is conical with horn-like projections. His tunic appears to be made from animal pelt – probably feline – with a textile hem of vertical chevrons. There may be a feline at his back.⁸⁵ He may date from late Epoch 1 into Epoch 2.

Discerning Agency

By the dominance and quality of the Epoch 1 effigy jars, Agent 102 individuals most likely achieved elite status in the Wari heartland. Their association with the SAIS suggests their leadership responsibility for participation in a new cult. To provide further insights into Wari agency with this new cult, there are three

artifacts that narrate these relationships of gods and men: the ‘Tello Urns’, the ‘Captives Tapestry’ (Fig. 17)⁸⁶ and the ‘Ica Tapestry’.⁸⁷ These relationships have often depended on how the icons were previously identified that, in turn, led to a preconceived interpretation.

The profile gods holding axes and severed heads⁸⁸ represent icons defined by Luis Valcárcel⁸⁹ as ‘Sacrificers’ that are as common as the staff god icons, but rarely do they occur together as depicted on the Tello Urns. On the Tello Urns, Agents 110 and 132 are captives of these sacrificer gods and therefore are about to be sacrificed, presumably to the staff god. This interpretation is based on the assumption that each urn, though extensively fragmented and incomplete, depicted a staff god flanked by several ‘sacrificer’ gods to indicate a model of hierarchical authority.⁹⁰ A new reconstruction shows a significant departure from this model.

Based on analyzing Tello’s 1942 Conchopata collection, there are at least a dozen staff god images both belted and beltless - they do not occur together on the same urn - and each is paired with a profile god (Fig. 16b. ERRATA: the last two icons are incorrectly switched and should be a staff god and then to the right the profile god).⁹¹ On each urn, these pairs are repeated perhaps 6 or 7 times in panels demarcated by a vertical band of face/fret motifs.⁹² The profile gods are similar but face away from the belted staff god or face toward the beltless staff god. With the belted staff god they grasp a captive Agent 110 or 132 and with the beltless staff god, a severed head. With the belted staff god there is one panel that depicts a full body Agent 101. With the beltless staff god, the profile gods have an *Anadenanthera colubrina* symbol in the crown.⁹³ With these reconstructions, the pairing and repetition of the two different gods implies a duality of power and not a

hierarchy of authority. The beltless staff god example clearly depicts a decapitation, but as for a sacrifice: why are profile gods holding Agents 110 and 132 away from the belted staff gods? Or, why are both staff gods holding Agents 140 and not Agents 110 or 132 as sacrificial offerings? I suggest that a sacrifice narrative would depict a profile god facing a staff god and both holding similar agents. Rather than ‘sacrificer’, perhaps the term ‘decapitator’ should be used to identify the actions of these profile gods.

The adequacy of a model of hierarchical authority is further questioned with the Captives Tapestry that clearly depicts a bound staff god associated with an unbound profile god and four captive agents numbered 110, 104, 147 and 146⁹⁴ and dates to Epoch 2.⁹⁵ With a captured staff god, a narrative of sacrifice would not make sense since supernaturals are considered immortal beings; and, to what would the human captives be sacrificed?

The Ica Tapestry displays two opposing groups of agents both full body and several bodiless heads. Two full body and opposing figures, Agents 100 and 101, do not hold weapons and are held at the top of their heads by dominating, avian profile gods – only the claw of one remains. With the absence of weaponry and tongues hanging out of the mouths, the bodiless heads should not represent beheaded victims. Rather the symmetry of the narrative promotes another duality of authority seemingly forced to meet. Thus Agents 102, 103 and 112 are with Agent 100 and Agent 108 is with Agent 101. Though unfortunately a fragment, the tapestry still displays an intriguing observation: why are two profile avian gods controlling the action?

Perhaps ethnohistoric accounts can provide insights into interpreting such narratives. The chronicles of Inca religion have documented pre-Hispanic cults, however, Inca creator worship in the Cuzco region was a relatively recent development during Pachakuti's theological revolution.⁹⁶ Sabine MacCormack adds: "the persuasive power of Inca religion resided not so much in its imperial prestige as in the fact that it converged with long established Andean religious traditions".⁹⁷ Thus, Huarochirí ethnohistoric records of non-Inca, regional myths that originated in valley populations east of Pachacamac and closer to the Wari heartland may provide better clues to the allegory of these narrative artifacts.

The Huarochirí's primary god, Paria Caca, came from a mountain to save the Yunca lowlanders from their mountain god, Huallallo, a cruel cannibal god. Paria Caca "...attacked and expelled the ancient cannibal god in a world-shaking combat between storm water and volcanic fire...he subjected the Yunca to his own people, expelling many of them, reorganizing their lands, creating a cultic order in which both victors and vanquished would participate".⁹⁸ Conflicts are resolved when Paria Caca becomes a brother to Chaupi Ñamca, the supreme female god in the lower Rimac region and wife of Pacha Camac, the supreme male god of the central coast. Frank Salomon proposed a broad cultural premise that Andean mythic allegory often relies on a familial process of "passage from mere difference (for example, the juxtaposition of antagonistic gods strange to each other) to complementary difference (for example, a revised juxtaposition in which the gods become male and female spouses or siblings embodying opposite ecological principles)".⁹⁹ As a result "...the gender mythology of Huarochirí, though centered on an idealized complementarity, is at the same time emphatically a conflict model

of society”.¹⁰⁰ Moreover Salomon¹⁰¹ recognized that Huarochirí myth is possible allegory of an ancient conflict and resolution between highland “invaders” and lowland “aboriginal” agriculturalists. Wari expansion from its highland heartland into coastal territories seems to have been similar, and may represent actual events behind this myth. Perhaps the names of these mythical supernaturals were once the actual names of individuals. Also, the fact that Agent 110 is a captive on both the Tello Urns and the Captives Tapestry and the fact that Agent 101 is not a captive on the Tello Urns and the Ica Tapestry is evidence that highland and coastal artisans shared a common story of societal conflict involving specific individuals and did not just borrow artistic designs.

As metaphors can the Wari deity icons represent the identity of distinct individuals or groups? Based on the Tello Urns, Captives Tapestry and Ica Tapestry, the staff god metaphor might represent a grouping of Agents 101, 104, 108, 110, 132, 147 and the profile gods, a grouping of Agents 100, 102, 103, 112 and 140. The following artifact evidence will test the integrity of these groupings. If depictions of agent associations lack evidence of conflict such as confrontations with weapons, then I determined them to be allied. For clarity the depictions are identified here as either Staff God (SG) or Profile God (PG) agents. The examples are: 1) a three-headed effigy jar with SG Agents 101 and 132 with imagery of plants but not conflict (Figs. 6 and 18);¹⁰² 2) a tapestry depicts bodiless heads of SG Agents 101 and 104 multiple times with no evidence of conflict (Fig. 19);¹⁰³ 3) a gold kero depicts conflict of two SG Agents 104 held captive by a victorious, frontal-posed god holding an axe but lacking a ‘rayed corona’ and staffs - thereby representing another version of a profile god;¹⁰⁴ 4) a tunic depicts SG Agent 104

and two other agents with a combative profile god that wears a belted tunic, holds an axe and one captive agent still holding his axe (Fig. 21. ERRATA: figure was cropped too short on right side and does not depict Agent 104).¹⁰⁵ Agent 104 and another agent are depicted upside down, weaponless and within a meandering band that suggests entombment; 5) a fragmented Conchopata urn depicts SG Agent 101 and PG Agent 112 as confrontational warriors holding weapons (Figs. 20a, b).¹⁰⁶ Above PG Agent 112 is a bodiless head of SG Agent 132.¹⁰⁷ Based on the symmetry of this conflict narrative, I interpret the SG Agent 132 as a victim – thus, a severed head - of actions taken by PG Agent 112; 6) a tunic of vertical stripes and panels that depicts alternating bodiless profile heads of PG Agents 108 and 103 and a bird motif with no evidence of conflict;¹⁰⁸ 7) a tunic of vertical stripes and panels depicts alternating bodiless profile heads of PG Agents 108 and 100 and butterfly motifs with no evidence of conflict (Fig. 3);¹⁰⁹ and, 8) pottery urns depict a row of severed agent heads with tongues hanging out including PG Agents 108 and 103 with no evidence of confrontational conflict among them (Fig. 22. ERRATA: this photo shows a portion of one of the urns with Agent 108 at far left, but unfortunately an example that was too worn to show the horizontal dentate line on the face – see footnote for better example).¹¹⁰ The presence of Agent 108 is thus far an anomaly since he is associated with Staff God Agent 101 on the Ica Tapestry though depicted on three other artifacts with profile god agents.

Previous research has shown dramatic changes from Epoch 1 to Epoch 2 in artistic styles,¹¹¹ burial patterns at Ancón¹¹² and settlement patterns in the Carhuarazo Valley¹¹³ that demonstrate possible episodes of societal disruption. Though preliminary, the proposed correlation between a pattern of two agent

groupings and the metaphoric symbols of two god types – staff gods and profile gods – presented here provides the first substantial though not unexpected evidence that after Agent 102 introduced the SAIS, Wari expansion involved actual conflict – not just human sacrifice - between at least two political alliances of ethnic groups.

In the Ica Tapestry narrative, the conflict may have been resolved through treaty-like negotiation or reached a religious conversion of the Staff God group since the depicted supernaturals are both profile gods. Though color details of Agent 108's face vary and may indicate more than one agent, his depictions in both alliances may simply indicate his changing intent to belong to the other group. By Epoch 2, Agents 102 apparently chose to identify with a group of agents not original to the Wari heartland thus diversifying their leadership responsibilities. Such reasonable interpretations provide more insight into narratives of captive agents than one that simply begins and ends with human sacrifice.

Concluding Remarks

Menzel described distinct regional preferences in ceramic styles for certain profile icons including feline, avian and griffin that might be symbolic of local attempts to acquire independent identity under Wari control.¹¹⁴ The present analysis reflects her observations of symbolic identity but does not yet provide enough evidence to refine the identities of specific icons to specific agents or regions. Further research will attempt to map such associations.

In a similar criticism of the central staff god and subordinate profile gods theme, Krzysztof Makowski¹¹⁵ re-evaluated the iconic relationships of the SAIS gods on Tiahuanaco's stone sculpture. He suggests that the Gateway of the Sun's central figure is one of many staff gods and does not represent a "hierarchical

theme” of central authority over all other SAIS gods. These icons may be symbolic identities of social lineages. Observed identities of Wari agents may also represent distinct lineages or ethnic groups but the present analysis suggests that deity icons were symbolic metaphors rather of political alliances in conflict with each other.

As previously mentioned, Agent 110’s effigy jar from Huari depicts a tunic with a pattern of fret motifs. This motif occurs on Tiwanaku¹¹⁶ and Wari style pottery.¹¹⁷ Recent recovery of effigy jars from the island of Pariti in Lake Titicaca produced a ceramic effigy jar of Agent 132 (see footnote for photo).¹¹⁸ These two agents depicted on the Tello urns may not be coincidental but provide evidence that for the first time identifies “middle-men” who may have traveled between the altiplano and the Wari heartland. Indeed, the previously mentioned, three-headed effigy jar depicts Agent 132 above a yuca (manioc) plant that is cultivated on the eastern slopes of the Andes. Isbell and Martha Anders¹¹⁹ mention the trade routes from Jargampata and Azangaro, respectively, into the *ceja de selva* region that could have existed during the Middle Horizon. As captives they may represent Wari intrusion and subjugation of this area. Evidence of actual contact between Wari and Tiwanaku people will be further studied.

By ascertaining the identity of various individuals and discerning the agency of chosen alliances the analysis of agent categories is proving to be an important research tool possibly revealing crucial details toward comprehending the social and political dynamics within Wari society.

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Endnotes

¹ In reviewing the ¹⁴C data from recent excavations at Tiahuanaco and Conchopata, I have suggested that the Middle Horizon began later than previous estimates (Isbell and Knobloch 2009) and correlates with Tiwanaku IV and V periods that have been found to overlap significantly between AD 800 – 1000, thus as two contemporary stylistic modes (Knobloch ms 1).

² “Huari” is used to designate the site and artifacts from that site whereas “Wari” is used to designate the culture. Likewise, “Tiahuanaco” designates the site and “Tiwanaku”, the culture.

³ For Isbell and Knobloch (2009) the determination of the beginning of the Middle Horizon remained questionable since there were no 14C dates associated with Epoch 1A evidence. The latest 14C dates for Huarpa evidence come from Juan Leoni’s (2004) excavations of a temple at Ñawinpukyo as BP 1600+/-70, calAD 430-576 and BP 1583+/-34, calAD 441-593, both at 1 sigma (Stuiver and Reimer 1993; Stuiver et al 1986-2005). Huarpa culture could have continued beyond this 600 AD end point since the associated pottery shows little stylistic change into ceramics assigned to MH Epoch 1A.

⁴ Isbell 1991a.

⁵ Isbell and Knobloch 2006; 2009.

⁶ Isbell 1991b; Topic 1991; Watanabe 2002, respectively.

⁷ Glowacki y McEwan 2002; McEwan 1991, 2005; Schreiber 1992, respectively.

⁸ Schreiber 2001.

⁹ Malpass 2000; Williams and Nash 2002, respectively.

¹⁰ Ochatoma y Cabrera 2001a, b, c, 2002; Isbell and and Cook 2002.

¹¹ Isbell 1977.

¹² Anders 1986, 1991.

¹³ Anders 1991; Glowacki y McEwan 2002; Schreiber 1992; Topic, J. 1991; Topic, T. 1991.

¹⁴ Schreiber 1992.

¹⁵ Isbell 2009: 215.

¹⁶ Hill and Gunn 1977.

¹⁷ Redman 1977.

¹⁸ Muller 1977.

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- ¹⁹ Donnan and McClelland 1999.
- ²⁰ Donnan 2001.
- ²¹ Díaz-Andreu and Lucy 2005.
- ²² Dobres and Robb 2000.
- ²³ Dornan 2002.
- ²⁴ Knobloch 2002.
- ²⁵ As artistic expression, the depictions also represent the constraints of the artisans' agency.
- ²⁶ Knobloch 1976, 1983.
- ²⁷ Isbell and Cook 2002: 268-269, Figs. 9.18-9.19.
- ²⁸ Menzel 1964.
- ²⁹ Based on a detailed stylistic seriation, the pendent rectangle motif is a culmination of stylization from the earlier Nasca "monkey" motif (Knobloch 2005).
- ³⁰ From Conchopata salvage project conducted with personnel from William H. Isbell's Huari Urban Prehistory Project. Housed at Museo de la Nación. Menzel's dating was a personal communication to Isbell, 1978. THIS IS FIG. 1
- ³¹ Cook 1987: Figs. 1-4.
- ³² Tello 1923: 230-235, Figs. 32-37.
- ³³ Knobloch ms 2.
- ³⁴ Frame 1999: Plate 15 (Housed at Dumbarton Oaks, Washington, D.C. B-511 – THIS IS FIG. 4); Stone-Miller 1992: 115-116, Plate 29. The author knows only one complete tunic, but similar tapestry fragments probably represent more examples of such tunics. Frame (1999: 344, footnote 31) notes, moreover, that fragments of some such tunics were probably remade into other articles such as pouches.
- ³⁵ Lapiner 1976: Figs. 519, 520; Moraga 2005: Figs. 17-18; Museum of Primitive Art 1958: Fig. 10; Taillard 1949.
- ³⁶ Rowe 1979: Fig. 5.
- ³⁷ Tello 1923: 602-603.
- ³⁸ Upon visiting the excavations at Conchopata in 1999 and 2000, I observed several such deposits. I suggested that some of the pits may simply represent management of urban trash, but they continue to be labeled offerings in the published literature.
- ³⁹ Menzel 1964, 1977: Figs. 62, 63 left, 66, 67, 91.
- ⁴⁰ Knobloch 1983, 1991a. In contrast, Menzel (1964, 1968, 1977) dates this Conchopata material to the beginning of Epoch I.
- ⁴¹ Frame 1990: Plates 1, 8, back cover; O'Neale and Kroeber 1930: Plate 14b, c.
- ⁴² Benavides 1984: Lamina XXI c; Benavides 1999: 367; Knobloch 2000: Figs. 10a, b.
- <html>
- <body>
- ⁴³ Anton and Dockstader 1968: Fig. 206 (visit Knobloch 2002: <http://whowaswhowari.sdsu.edu/WWWAgents.html#101> (Click on 101-15) and the other is Ochatoma 2007: 126, i and back cover (visit Knobloch 2002: <http://whowaswhowari.sdsu.edu/WWWAgents.html#101> (Click on 101-6) THIS FIG. 6.
- ⁴⁴ Frame 1990.
- ⁴⁵ Knobloch 2000: 399-400.
- ⁴⁶ From 1997 Conchopata excavations by José Ochatoma and Martha Cabrera and housed at Laboratorio de Arqueología, Universidad Nacional de San Cristóbal de Huamanga. Ochatoma and Cabrera 2002: Fig. 8.6A.
- ⁴⁷ Bergh 1999; Menzel (1964: 42) refers to these motifs as 'split-face'. THIS IS FIG. 7 of tunic housed at Amano Museum (catalog #R-3188).
- ⁴⁸ Step and volute elements can be independently combined to create symmetrical patterns – the latter forming S-shaped fret patterns, for example.
- ⁴⁹ Bennett 1953: Fig. 15D; Lumbreras 1960a: Lámina Xa or Lumbreras 1960b: Lámina 8E.
- ⁵⁰ Anton and Dockstader 1968: Fig. 206.
- ⁵¹ Bergh 1999: 796-811.
- ⁵² Bergh 1999: 809-810.
- ⁵³ Bergh 1999: 798-799.
- ⁵⁴ Eisleb and Strelow 1980: Plate 320. THIS IS FIG. 8: housed at Ethnologisches Museum (formerly Museum für Völkerkunde), Berlin (catalog #VA20006).

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- ⁵⁵ Ubbelohde-Doering 1967: Plate 173.
- ⁵⁶ Menzel 1964: 25.
- ⁵⁷ Ochatoma and Cabrera 2002: Figs. 8.7A, B, C.
- ⁵⁸ This jar came from archaeological deposits associated with buildings on the steep slopes west of, and below, the Capilla Pata sector of Huari. The vessel was broken and dislodged by highway construction in July of 1974. William Isbell, Katharina Schreiber and the author collected the fragments while conducting reconnaissance and mapping in anticipation of Isbell's Huari Urban Prehistory project (Isbell, et. al. 1991: Fig. 4). THIS IS FIG. 9.
- ⁵⁹ Menzel (1964: 40-43) assigns the face/fret design to Viñaque Epoch 2 that includes its depiction on a Huari ceramic cup as a tunic worn by a staff god (Bennett 1953: Fig. 15G).
- ⁶⁰ Bergh 1999.
- ⁶¹ Menzel 1964: 16, 40, Fig. 233.
- ⁶² Ochatoma and Cabrera 2002: Fig. 8.9D.
- ⁶³ Isbell and Knobloch 2009: Fig. 25.
- ⁶⁴ Anton 1962: 113; Benson and Conklin 1981: 93; Larco Hoyle 1966: Fig. 116. THIS IS FIG. 11: housed at Amano Museum.
- ⁶⁵ Lumbreras 1969: 243; Ubbelohde-Doering 1967: 201. THIS IS FIG. 10: housed at Museo de la Nacion.
- ⁶⁶ Schaedel 1957: Fig. 4E.
- ⁶⁷ Ochatoma and Cabrera 2001b: Figs. 9-10; 2002: 241, Figs. 8.5A-C.
- ⁶⁸ From the Mantaro Valley (Anton 1962: Fig. 113; Kubler 1975: 184) and similar to Frame (1999: Lámina 23). From Huari, Bennett's (1953: 34, Plate 6G) Pit 8, level a (0-25 cm below the surface) produced one sherd from an effigy jar that matches the tie-dye pattern on this jar. Most of this pit's collection of about 14,000 sherds was assigned to Epoch 2.
- ⁶⁹ Benson and Conklin 1981: 93; Bergh 1999: 721-793; Larco Hoyle 1966: Fig. 116.
- ⁷⁰ Bennett 1944: Fig. 10F.
- ⁷¹ This is based on a slide provided by Katharina Schreiber for chronological analysis (Knobloch 1991a).
- ⁷² Anders 1986: Fig. 7.56a.
- ⁷³ Larco Hoyle 1966: Fig. 88.
- ⁷⁴ Bergh 1999: 912-913, Fig. 133, top; Knobloch 2002: <http://whowaswhowari.sdsu.edu/WWWAgents.html#103> (Click on 103-5): housed at Phoebe Apperson Hearst Museum, UC-Berkeley (catalog #4-7700).
- ⁷⁵ Pérez 1999: 75, right.
- ⁷⁶ Menzel 1968: Fig. 46.
- ⁷⁷ Castillo 2001: Fig. 14, center, right THIS IS FIG. 12.
- ⁷⁸ Schmidt 1929: Fig. 296-2. Housed at Ethnologisches Museum (formerly Museum für Völkerkunde), Berlin (catalog #VA49191). THIS IS FIG. 13 with a lyre-shaped cupr rather than the vase from Berlin.
- ⁷⁹ The "rayed face" may have earlier Nasca origins as seen on the hat of a Nasca 6 effigy jar of a man with moustache, beard and red tear lines holding a severed head (Kauffman-Doig 1998: 102).
- ⁸⁰ Harcourt 1924: 42 top, right.
- ⁸¹ Lumbreras 2000: 21. THIS IS FIG. 14.
- ⁸² Menzel 1968: Fig. 47. Carlos Soldi collection, Lima.
- ⁸³ Though Menzel (1964: 49) does not state outright that these vessels are Atarco A, she described them as having "Derived Robles Moqo, Derived Nasca 9 and borrowed Viñaque features and themes", all characteristics that separate the 2A from the 2B examples.
- ⁸⁴ Anton 1962: Fig. 107; Lumbreras 1990: 204; Zuidema 1972: Figs. 2, 3. THIS IS FIG. 15.
- ⁸⁵ Ochatoma and Cabrera 2002: 243, Fig. 8.11B.
- ⁸⁶ Isbell and Knobloch 2009: Figs. 4, 5; Provenience: Private Collection. THIS IS FIG. 17.
- ⁸⁷ Knobloch 1991b: Fig. 15; O'Neale and Kroeber 1930: Plate 12; Menzel 1977: Fig. 130 (reversed); <http://whowaswhowari.sdsu.edu/WWWlcaTextileJPGasWebPage.html> : Housed at the Phoebe Apperson Hearst Museum, UC-Berkeley (catalog #4-4556).
- ⁸⁸ Isbell and Knobloch 2009: Fig. 25; Menzel 1977: Fig. 67.
- ⁸⁹ Valcárcel 1959.
- ⁹⁰ Cook 1987, 1994; Isbell and Cook 1987: 30, bottom, right.

⁹¹ In 2003, William Isbell generously provided photographic images of Tello's Conchopata ceramics for my study. The reconstructions are sadly incomplete due to numerous missing pieces, perhaps from the intensity of smashing that probably pulverized much of the vessels. However, there are at least two more pairings of belted staff gods and many more of beltless staff gods. THIS IS FIG. 16b – ERRATA: the last two icons are incorrectly positioned and should be a staff god and then to the right the profile god.

⁹² Detailed analysis in Knobloch (ms 2). Though the 1999 example shows the pairing without the vertical bands (see Isbell and Knobloch 2009: Fig. 25), the captive agent feet at the far left indicates another staff god image.

⁹³ Knobloch 2000: Fig. 8b.

⁹⁴ For details see Isbell and Knobloch 2009.

⁹⁵ Knobloch ms 2.

⁹⁶ Rowe 1960: 422.

⁹⁷ MacCormack 1991: 149.

⁹⁸ Salomon 1991: 6.










⁹⁹ Salomon 1991: 4.

¹⁰⁰ Salomon 1991: 10.

¹⁰¹ Salomon 1991: 8-9.

¹⁰² From 1997 Conchopata excavations by José Ochotoma and Martha Cabrera (visit Knobloch 2002: <http://whowaswhowari.sdsu.edu/images/WWWAgentsPlants.jpg>). THIS IS FIGS. 6 and 18: housed at Laboratorio de Arqueología, Universidad Nacional de San Cristóbal de Huamanga.

Cultivators - Overseers: Analysis of a Huari Epoch 2 jar (Knobloch 2003)

Agent 137		Agent 132		Agent 101		
						
						
						
Name:	Oca	Papas	Tuna	Yuca	Tuna	Maiz
Taxa:	<i>Oxalis tuberosa</i>	<i>Solanum tuberosum</i>	<i>Opuntia sp.</i>	<i>Manihot utilissima</i>	<i>Opuntia sp.</i>	<i>Zea mays</i>
Huari (m)	4000	3800-4100	2500-3700	2200 (ceja de selva)	2500-3700	3200-3500
Harvest Season:	February/March/April					May-July

Colecciones del Laboratorio de Arqueología, Universidad Nacional de San Cristóbal de Huamanga. (Ochotoma y Pérez 1998:back cover)

¹⁰³ No provenience. Benavides 1999: 353 Plate 4; Museum of Fine Arts 1961: Fig. 286. THIS IS FIG. 19: housed at Brooklyn Museum of Art, NY (catalog #53.147).

¹⁰⁴ No provenience; private collection. Lapiner 1976: 251, Figs. 280-281; Young-Sánchez 2004: Figs. 2.44a, b. This cup was incorrectly assigned to the Tiwanaku style in this publication (Young-Sánchez 2004: Figs. 2.44a, b). The dotted chevron heel is a Wari design motif (Pat Lyon, personal communication, 1985). It was found with gold ear disks and wrist band (Lapiner 1976: Fig. 580).

¹⁰⁵ No provenience. Bergh 1999: 856-858, Fig. 86. THIS IS FIG. 21: housed at Ethnologisches Museum (formerly Museum für Völkerkunde), Berlin (catalog #VA65862). ERRATA: this figure was cropped too short on right side and cut off the image of Agent 104. Refer to Bergh.

¹⁰⁶ From 1997 Conchopata excavations by José Ochatoma and Martha Cabrera; housed at Laboratorio de Arqueología, Universidad Nacional de San Cristóbal de Huamanga. Ochatoma and Cabrera 2002: Fig. 8.6A and Fig. 8.11B, respectively. THIS IS FIG. 20a, b.

Directly below is Agent 101 to the left of Agent 112. The second photo shows the correct inclusion of severed head of Agent 132 above Agent 112.



¹⁰⁷ Knobloch ms 2.

¹⁰⁸ From Chimú Capac; visit Knobloch 2002:

<http://whowaswhowari.sdsu.edu/WWWAgents.html#103> (Click on 103-5) : housed at the Phoebe Apperson Hearst Museum, UC-Berkeley (catalog #4-7700)

¹⁰⁹ No provenience. Reid 1986: Plate 33; Lavalley 1991: cover. THIS IS FIG. 3.

¹¹⁰ From 1999 Conchopata excavations by William H. Isbell and Anita G. Cook; housed at Laboratorio de Arqueología, Universidad Nacional de San Cristóbal de Huamanga. Kaulicke and Isbell cover, Agent 103, middle right and Agent 108 bottom right. THIS IS FIG. 22. ERRATA: this photo shows a portion of one of the urns and unfortunately does not clearly show the dentate horizontal marking across the middle of the face of Agent 108. Visit Knobloch 2002: <http://whowaswhowari.sdsu.edu/WWWAgents.html#108> (Click on 108-4)



¹¹¹ Menzel 1964: 69.

¹¹² Menzel 1977: 44.

¹¹³ Schreiber 1992.

¹¹⁴ Menzel 1964.

¹¹⁵ Makowski 2009: 148-153.

¹¹⁶ Knobloch 2001: 80, Fig. 11; Posnansky 1957: Plate XVIc.

¹¹⁷ Bennett 1953: Fig. 11E; Ochatoma 2007: 123, center right and 124, top, left.

¹¹⁸ Korpisaari and Pärssinen 2005: Fig. 6; Sagárnaga 2007: cover, Fig. 53; Knobloch 2002: <http://whowaswhowari.sdsu.edu/WWAagents.html#132>. Photo below courtesy of Antti Korpisaari.



¹¹⁹ Isbell 1977: 10; Anders 1986: 56.

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