Chapter **12**

Missing Links, Imaginary Links: Staff God Imagery in the South Andean Past

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INTRODUCTION TO ANDEAN STAFF GOD IMAGERY

Early in the Middle Horizon, a new set of religious images appeared in the ceramic arts of Central Peru, demonstrating radical ideological change that almost certainly documents the adoption of a new religion. Eventually the images became official symbols of allegiance to the Huari empire, as its political strength expanded from a capital in the Ayacucho Valley, subjecting older polities throughout much of Peru. Significantly, similar icons occurred at the Bolivian site of Tiwanaku and throughout its great sphere of influence to the south of Huari.

Several scholars (Demarest 1981; Menzel 1968, 1977; Rowe 1946, 1960; Valcárcel 1959) believe that the foremost icon, the Wari-Tiwanaku Staff God, was the forerunner of principal gods of the Inca pantheon, Sun, Moon, and Thunder. Menzel (1977) compared Wari and Tiwanaku's front-faced staff-being as represented on oversized Conchopata urns (Figure 12.1a), and Tiwanaku's Gate of the Sun (Figure 12.1b) with Thunder, a god of weather and rain. Another set of oversized Wari-style urns from Pacheco have paintings of a male and a female front-faced being, also grasping staffs in both hands (Morris and von Hagen 1993: 112; Posnansky 1957: plate LVII a). Menzel suggested that they might represent the Sun and Moon deities. Of course fertility worship would adhere to such a divine couple, an ideology that probably gained popularity through time, becoming especially apparent in Middle Horizon 3 press-molded pottery from the North Coast (Menzel 1977: 55)

If the Wari and Tiwanaku front-faced beings with two staffs represent primary deities, then it seems that they were assisted by a group of anthropomorphic attendants and mythical animals, represented in profile, often with a single staff, and usually with wings (Figures 12.1a, b, 12.2, 12.3b, 12.6, 12.7, 12.8a, b, c, 12.9a, 12.10a, b). In many cases these Wari and Tiwanaku figures are associated with light-colored circles with broad central dots suggestive of stars. Considering the importance of star constellations in Inca religion, perhaps these creatures represented seasonal constellations that could fly across the night sky and walk the earth during the day, in constant attendance to staff gods who represented the sun and moon (Knobloch 1989: 116).

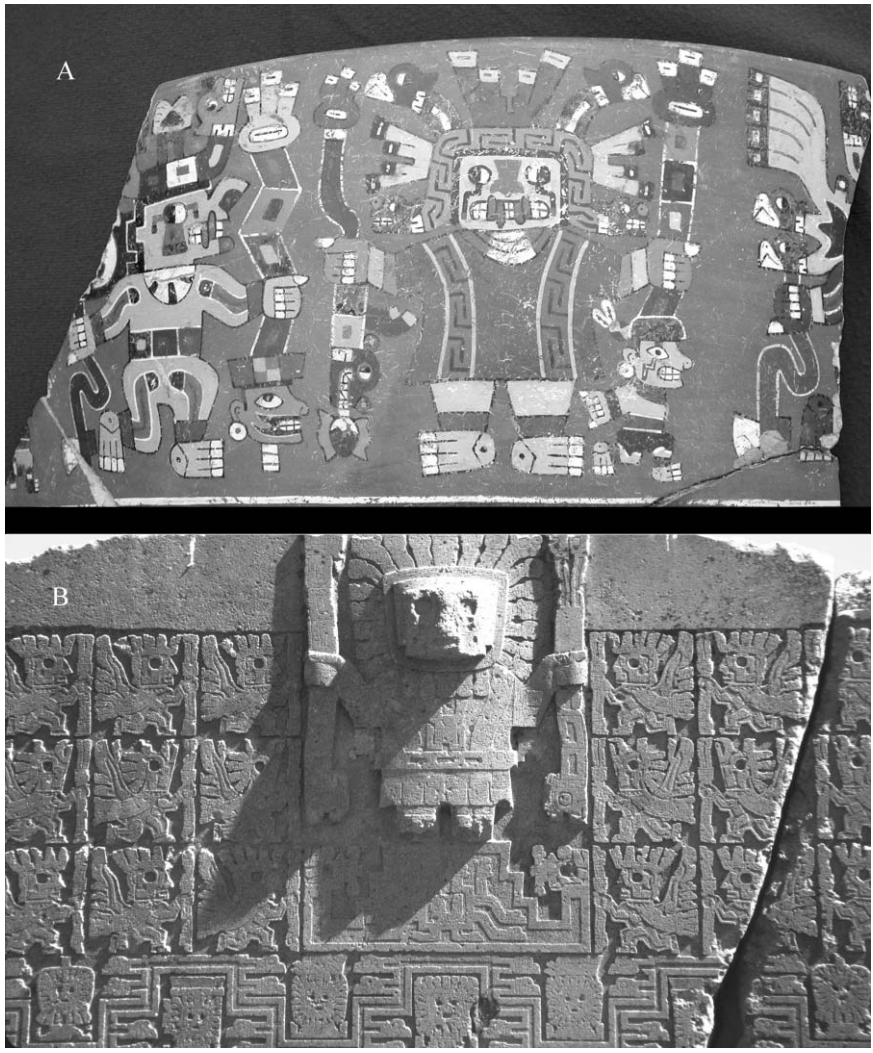


Figure 12.1. a. Conchopata urn of 1942/1999 style, with Staff God. (Photo by W. H. Isbell); b. Gate of the Sun, Tiwanaku. (Photo by W. H. Isbell)

John Rowe (1971) argued that the origin of the Staff God imagery, so prominent in the Middle Horizon religion, was in earlier Chavín iconography and ideology. More recently, Haas, Creamer and Ruiz (2003: 9) claim to have identified the original "Staff God" in the late Archaic Phase, as Andean peoples took their first steps toward civilization. Has a deep structural principle of Andean civilization been discovered, that shaped religion from 3000 BC until AD 1500? Anthropological theory is critical of cultural essentialism implied by the assertion that a single religious ideology dominated the whole of Andean civilization. But what of the

iconographic remains reported by archaeologists? Do they support a unified ideological essence underlying four millennia of Andean religion? Or have archaeologists over-interpreted ancient art, recognizing similarities but missing difference and change? This is a question to which we address ourselves.

Staff God and Profile Attendant religious imagery was undoubtedly new to the emerging cities of Conchopata and Huari during the first century or so of the Middle Horizon (AD 550–1000). The iconographic evidence is undeniable. But did Staff God religion enter Ayacucho culture as a unified ideology, as an integrated essence unchanged from its presumed Tiwanaku source, so it could be passed more or less intact to the Incas, half a millennium later? Or did this new religion undergo selective syncretism, construction out of heterogeneous fragments, and combination into a unique new hybrid, in which meanings were surely transformed, even if some key icons may have retained their form over several centuries? We plan an investigation of the alleged four-millennium Andean religious essence by focusing on the Middle Horizon component, for which there is a wealth of new information.

The Middle Horizon represents something of a mid point in the proposed transmission of the great tradition, so identification of integrated continuity, or of complex recombination and reinterpretation will provide a conclusive answer. Furthermore, this research will take us into fascinating examinations of interaction and long distance relations among diverse Andean cultures, laying groundwork for a more rigorous determination of who participated in the Staff God cultural tradition. This requires us to confront the issue of relative chronology among the cultures and widespread set of icons, whose interpretations have not always been rigorous and systematic. Indeed, special confusion and misunderstanding adheres to Tiwanaku and its art, left over from eras when assumptions about hyper-diffusion, racism, nationalism, and effects of the accidental sequence of early archaeological discoveries determined inferences about the past more than objectively evaluated investigation of the archaeological record.

This study is an excellent opportunity to reexamine the chronology and relationships of religious imagery from the Middle Horizon. Rich iconographic discoveries have been made at Conchopata (Cook 2004; Knobloch 2000; Isbell 2001a, 2004; Isbell and Cook 2002; Ochatoma and Cabrera 2001, 2002) and Huari (Isbell 1997, 2001b, 2001c; Perez 1999, 2001, 2002) as well as new studies at Tiwanaku (Couture 2004; Couture and Sampeck 2003; Kolata 1993, 1996, 2003, 2004; Janusek 2004), San Pedro de Atacama (Torres and Conklin 1995), Moquegua (Goldstein 2000; Goldstein and Owen 2002; Owen and Goldstein 2002; Williams 2001; Williams and Nash 2002) and Pucara (Chávez 1992, 2002a, 2004). An entire new stylistic sphere has been identified (Haeberli 2002). An electrifying sample of highly relevant art was recently displayed at the Denver Art Museum, accompanied by the publication of a marvelous catalogue (Young-Sánchez 2004b). Two compendium volumes (Kaulicke and Isbell 2001, 2002) from an international symposium held at Lima's Universidad Católica in 1999 have been published. Of course, we still have more questions than current data can answer. These inadequacies are intensified by the distribution of the art across international boundaries separating the

modern nations of Bolivia, Peru, Chile and Argentina, where communication is poor, different chronologies are in use, and political tensions impede archaeological investigations.

CHRONOLOGICAL CONFUSION AT TIWANAKU

For more than a century archaeologists have believed that Tiwanaku was the center where Staff God art and religion developed, and from which it diffused. Today, this perspective is too simplistic, and is partially contradicted by the archaeological record from the southern Andes. We suspect that Tiwanaku, or more properly phrased, the Tiwanaku Style at the type site, is too late and too specialized to qualify as the origin and center of diffusion for all Tiwanaku-related art and iconography. In this section of our paper we review the history of investigations of Tiwanaku's past, pointing out factors that encouraged earlier investigators to consider Tiwanaku the origin center of all Tiwanaku Style art and culture. This powerful legacy, that we can only highlight in this chapter, makes it difficult to objectively evaluate the dating, cultural role and importance of Tiwanaku, as a site, as a style of stone sculpture, as a collection of monuments, as a temporal scheme, and all the other meanings for which "Tiwanaku" stands.

The Tiwanaku site is certainly a spectacular archaeological center by any standards. Located 20 kms from the southern shore of Lake Titicaca, it lies on the high and cold altiplano, considered too inhospitable to support civilization by early visitors and scholars. This incongruity promoted a shroud of mystical speculation about Tiwanaku, that continues today, as thousands of new age pilgrims assemble on the night of the June solstice to absorb power from solar rays rising though the megalithic Kalasasaya gateway. Indeed, Tiwanaku's fame as archaeological spectacle contributed greatly to its furnishing the first prehistoric style to be defined for the Central Andes.

As the 19th century drew to a close Europeans ascribed little antiquity to indigenous American civilizations, assigning archaeological remains to a synchronic pre-conquest period. An exception was Max Uhle (Stübel and Uhle 1892) who undertook to define the "Tiwanaku Style," abstracting formal and technical attributes from sculptural representations of anthropomorphic figures collected from or described at the Tiwanaku site. Subsequently he showed that this "Tiwanaku Style" was older than the Incas, representing a culture of the altiplano before Inca conquest. This was the first chronology for an archaeological site in the Americas.

Several years later, Uhle (1903a, b) excavated at the Peruvian center of Pachacamac, 25 kms south of Lima. In some of the tombs he discovered art in the Tiwanaku Style. Given his curiosity about chronology, Uhle presumed that the Tiwanaku Style had reached Pachacamac from the Tiwanaku site, so he postulated a time when the popular style spread far and wide—anticipating the modern "horizon concept."

Uhle concluded that Pachacamac's Tiwanaku Style must have spread from, and be broadly contemporary with, Tiwanaku's Tiwanaku Style. Both styles were

pre-Inca. Furthermore, in the Pachacamac cemeteries Uhle observed stratigraphic relationships that permitted him to identify a ceramic style that preceded Tiwanaku, and another that followed it, temporally between Tiwanaku and Inca remains. Uhle argued that the two global styles, Tiwanaku and Inca, could be used to cross date other, more local, cultural styles of the Andean past, that were being recognized by art collectors and museum curators.

Uhle's accomplishment was groundbreaking, providing the first regional chronology for the Americas. But it resulted in Tiwanaku stylistic influence being sought out in every other Andean archaeological style, until it became recognized even where it did not exist. When the next great synthesizer of Andean archaeology, Philip Means (1931), wrote his compendium, he evaluated each archaeological style in terms of its similarities with the Tiwanaku temporal marker. Art that bore no similarity to Tiwanaku should predate it. Tiwanaku's high quality and distinctive iconography belonged to a second phase, but an early moment when the Tiwanaku style was spreading. Poor copies of Tiwanaku belonged to the end of the second phase, that Uhle called "Epigone," when distant artists no longer knew "true" Tiwanaku art. When Tiwanaku influences died out, or were only a trace, a third and local phase was recognized. Finally, anything in Inca style belonged to the fourth phase.

In order to date as many Andean art traditions as possible, the Tiwanaku style was generalized and conflated with related traditions. Remote similarities were exaggerated so problematic styles could be dated, until Tiwanaku appeared to have influenced everything. For example, Means (1931) believed that Chavín art showed Tiwanaku influence, and he suggested that it dated several centuries later than Tiwanaku, for it appeared to have undergone considerable stylistic development. Of course, we now know that Chavín predates Tiwanaku, by half a millennium or more, so it could not have been influenced by Tiwanaku. But our concern is the long-term effect of this pre-radiocarbon approach to chronology building that promoted a predisposition for thinking of Tiwanaku as more of an origin center than it really was, predating and influencing more Andean styles than it actually did.

Influential early scholars, motivated by nationalism and other non-scientific ideas, built on this exaggerated image of Tiwanaku. Arthur Posnansky (1945, 1957) was surely the most extreme, arguing that Tiwanaku was the singular center of American civilization, so old that its apogee preceded the rise of the Andes mountains to their current elevations. However unacceptable to modern scholarship, these affirmations of Tiwanaku's antiquity and widespread influence have had lasting influences.

Scientific excavations by professional archaeologist Wendell Bennett (1934) in the 1930s failed to correct the situation by providing an accurate ceramic chronology. Bennett employed what at that time was a new methodology, excavation of arbitrary levels, to define a "stratigraphic pottery series." He described his chronology in terms of three phases, Early, Classic and Decadent Tiwanaku. But he was not rigorous in his approach, and data from his published tables contradict his conclusions. Unfortunately, the youthful Bennett allowed expectations about change

in art styles to determine his chronology more than the stratigraphy he excavated. In his sequence, Early Tiwanaku consisted of soft paste, oddly-shaped vessels with bold designs. It developed into technically excellent pottery with richly painted naturalistic decorations on hard-fired, highly varied vessel forms. Eventually, Classic pottery gave way to Decadent ceramics of drab colors and simplified designs based on elements from Classic icons.

Bennett's Early Tiwanaku phase was actually based on decorated museum pieces because only plain ware shapes and pottery with simple linear or wavy lines appeared in the excavation levels he designated as Early Tiwanaku. The Early Tiwanaku phase bowl with modeled animal heads that he designated "Shape Bf," was found in both Early and Classic phase deposits. Examination of his report yields no real examples of the Early Tiwanaku angular design, the long-necked decanter shape, and spittoon vessel shape (Bennett 1934: fig. 13c, 14b) in any stratigraphic tables (Knobloch 1989: 120). Perhaps this problem can be put into perspective by the results of settlement survey in the Tiwanaku Valley. Using this ceramic chronology, there are only two or three settlements in the entire Tiwanaku Valley during Early Tiwanaku times (Albarracin-Jordan 1996; Albarracin-Jordan and Matthews 1990). Either the Valley was virtually empty immediately before the great city appeared, early occupations are all buried under later trash, or the ceramic chronology is seriously in error. The fact that eight thermoluminescent tests made on Early Tiwanaku-style pottery found it to date between AD 830 and 940 (Eisleb and Strelow 1980: 171) supports the argument that the problem is with the Tiwanaku ceramic chronology.

Problems with Bennett's Tiwanaku chronology are not limited to the Early phase. Nowhere is the chronological separation of Classic and Decadent style pottery confirmed by stratigraphic findings. Rather, Bennett's statistics show that the two types were either isolated in different pits—indicating spatial and functional difference—or mixed within the same excavation—implying contemporaneous use. For example, wide-open, flaring-rim bowls classified as Shape C have typical Classic decorations, not Decadent designs, yet they are found in greatest frequency in deposits that Bennett classified as Decadent in date, including Pit IV, which is supposed to date entirely to the Decadent period (Knobloch 1989: 121). Unfortunately, Bennett's ceramic chronology is still in use, little improved, except for changes in some of the names.

Since the 1950s and until his recent death, archaeologist/politician Carlos Ponce (1969a, 1969b 1976, 1985, 1999) promoted an extravagant vision of Tiwanaku as a heritage program for Bolivia, intended to equalize the past of indigenous peoples with that of European Bolivians. Though a laudable political goal, such a vision misdirected scientific archaeology. In accord with his goals Ponce consistently promoted the earliest dates for Tiwanaku's phases, the greatest population estimates, the grandest descriptions of urbanism, the highest degree of political centralization, and the most extensive inferences about expansion and provincial power. He also insisted that Tiwanaku was exclusively Bolivian, with no cultural contributions from outside. Tiwanaku was always a cultural donor, through conquest, to other Andean territories, but the development of its civilization was

exclusively autochthonous. This nationalistic bias infiltrating archaeology and art history promotes inferences that things outside but stylistically similar to Tiwanaku diffused from Tiwanaku rather than being sources of inspiration for Tiwanaku's development.

Ponce and his disciples created a five-phase chronology for Tiwanaku, named Tiwanaku I, II, III, IV, and V. Phases III, IV and V correspond respectively with Bennett's Early, Classic and Decadent phases, essentially unmodified. Phases I and II purport to represent earlier ceramic assemblages discovered by Ponce at Tiwanaku, from formative stage hamlets that preceded the city by several centuries.

A recent large-scale research program at Tiwanaku, directed by Alan Kolata (1993, 1996, 2003, 2004), involved many investigators. Huge collections were excavated, but, unfortunately, ceramic chronology was a low a priority for this program. During their early years the project members employed the Ponce phases. As problems became apparent name changes were introduced, and some phases were divided and re-dated. But the ceramic characteristics of renamed phases have only begun to be worked out and described in sufficient detail for other investigators to evaluate and employ (see Janusek 2003). In large part this is because the team continues to use temporal phases and style groups interdependently and interchangeably, without establishing an independent ceramic typology or set of style descriptions. Only after styles or types have been defined can archaeologists do their best work determining stratigraphic distributions and relative dates for each style or type. A set of style descriptions for Tiwanaku ceramics was worked out by Isbell and Burkholder (2002; Isbell, Burkholder and Albarracin-Jordan 2002; Burkholder 1997, 2002) but they have not been adopted by Tiwanaku traditionalists.

Isbell and Burkholder (2002) found that at the site of Iwawi, 20 kms from the capital, on the shore of Lake Titicaca, Tiwanaku ceramics experienced a radical change between AD 600 and 700. New decoration techniques, new design themes, and many new vessel shapes appeared quickly and more or less simultaneously. Certainly, some vessel shapes and styles did continue from the early half of the sequence, but it seems likely that continuity at Tiwanaku was not so very much greater than it was in Ayacucho, where everyone agrees that Tiwanaku-style art and artifacts were introduced suddenly (See Leoni, this volume for a description of pre-Tiwanaku culture in Ayacucho).

THE TIWANAKU STYLE—STAFF GODS AND PROFILE ATTENDANTS

Tiwanaku is home to many spectacular stone sculptures, but representations of the Staff God and Profile Attendants, that define the Tiwanaku style, occur in relief sculpture, and most frequently in fine-line incision, sometime combined with shallow excision. The delicately carved relief figures occur as decorative details on statues of well-dressed humans that range in size from diminutive to immense. Less common are architectural lintels and gateways that also range in size but are usually monumental. These sculptures come from Tiwanaku and a few

neighboring sites, and there are unprovenienced pieces that were probably looted from core area sites many years ago. Another set of Tiwanaku-style representations, smaller and stylistically less unified, are portable stone carvings such as mortars, bowls, keros, and snuff tablets. These objects are sometimes decorated with Staff God and Attendant icons, but different themes appear as well, such as felines, other animals and geometric motifs. Occasionally, these other themes appear on human statues and portals, where they are usually depicted with the fine-line incision technique that characterizes Staff God and Profile Attendant iconography. So the boundaries of the Tiwanaku style are neither sharp nor well defined. They grade into closely related styles and repertories of sculpture that were also popular at Tiwanaku and its surrounding heartland.

Tapestry textiles were an important medium for depicting images of Tiwanaku-style Profile Attendants, but none have been discovered at Tiwanaku, where preservation is poor. The best examples come from far-off northern Chile, and especially San Pedro de Atacama, where they have been described by Amy Oakland Rodman (Oakland 1986a, 1986b; Rodman 1992) and William Conklin (1985, 2004a; Torres and Conklin 1995; see also Berenguer 2000: 90). Recently, a lovely specimen was found in a dry cave near Sucre, associated with six richly honored individuals, possibly shamans (Berenguer 2000: 86–87). Based on the published specimens depiction of Profile Attendants was common, but representations of the Staff God were rare to absent in Tiwanaku tapestries.

Tiwanaku pottery, even from the capital itself, was rarely decorated with Tiwanaku-style icons. Perhaps this means that the great statues and gateways bearing the iconography were hidden from the gaze of less exalted inhabitants of the city, such as potters. Or perhaps the representation of Tiwanaku-style icons was limited by custom, rules of sanctity, or law. Be that as it may, only a very small number of Profile Attendants were depicted on kero vessels, and Rayed Heads occasionally appear on handled jars.

Our current goal is not to exhaustively examine Tiwanaku sculpture, but to consider the Tiwanaku style as it is commonly represented in stone sculpture. Certainly the most famous Tiwanaku-style carving is the Gate of the Sun (Posnansky 1945: figs. 112–114). Additional lintels are the Kantataita Lintel (Conklin 1991: 284, fig. 5; Isbell and Cook 1987: 32–33; Ponce 1981: 223, fig. 104); and the Linares Lintel (Posnansky 1945: figs. 140, 140a). Among the statues we examined are Stela 10, or Bennett Monolith (Ponce and Mogrovejo 1970: 304, fig. 27; Posnansky 1945: figs. 112–114); Stela 8, or Ponce Monolith (Figure 12.2; see also Ponce 1995: 315, fig. 147; Ponce and Mogrovejo 1970: 305, fig. 28; Makowski 2002: fig. 11b); Stela 2 or Kochamama Monolith (Ponce 1995: 184, fig. 79; Posnansky 1945: figs. 99–102); and the dynamited stela or Pachacama/Pachatatac (Posnansky 1945: figs. 132–133; Makowski 2002: fig. 11C). The decorated stone bowl or mortar excavated in the Semisubterranean Temple also provided important information (Ponce 1969: 84, figs. 58–60, lam. 14, 16).

Old attempts to date architectural and sculptural remains from Tiwanaku on the basis of orientations to ancient astronomical positions, differential erosion, and material (especially red sandstone vs. gray andesite) have proven unreliable,

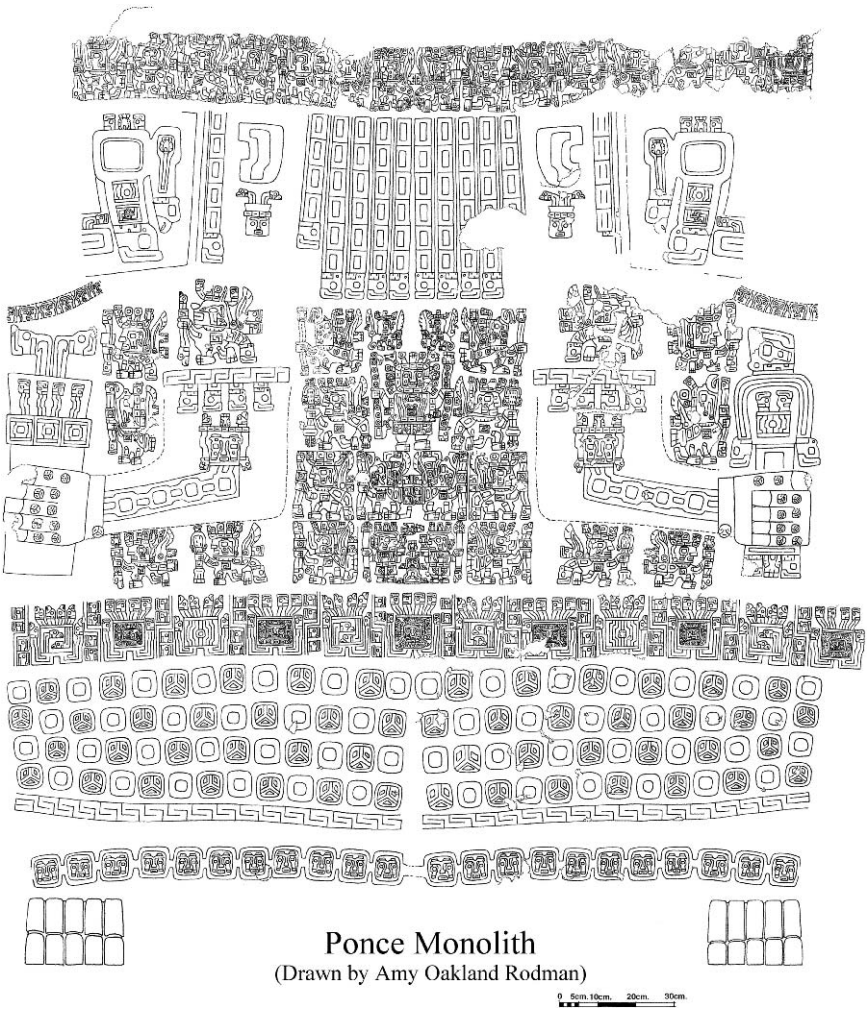


Figure 12.2. Ponce Monolith details. (Drawing by Amy Oakland Rodman)

although some scholars continue to believe in these techniques. Like the ceramic chronology, they are based on expectations derived from unproven assumptions. Several scholars have observed that primitive techniques employed in the Linares Lintel, and the long-nosed faces of its Flying Profile Attendants might imply that it is an early example of the Tiwanaku style. Furthermore, similarities with the Kantataita lintel suggest that these two were close in time (Conklin 1991; Isbell and Cook 1987). However, these preliminary inferences should not be given much credence without supporting evidence.

There are two competing reconstructions of the severely damaged Kantataita Lintel, one by Isbell and Cook (1987: 32–33), the other by Conklin (1991: fig. 5).

Isbell and Cook reconstructed six images, three Profile Attendants on one side mirrored by three on the other side. Their drawing is probably correct in identifying the object held behind the horizontal bodies as an axe and severed head motif, and in defining an ear at the upper rear of each attendant's face. Conklin's drawing is probably correct in identifying different nose forms on pairs of these attendants. One pair with circled-dot noses occurs in the middle figure on either side, while the other four have long-nosed snouts. Damage to this architrave prevents observation of design elements that might differentiate these two iconic variants with respect to crown appendages and other attributes.

EARLY SOURCES FOR TIWANAKU STYLE ICONOGRAPHY

San Pedro de Atacama Snuff Tablets

Popular consensus assigns Tiwanaku-style sculpture, with fine-line incisions, to the Tiwanaku IV period, although none of the sculptures have convincing ceramic associations or radiocarbon dates. Extreme differences of opinion can be found regarding the best date for the beginning of Tiwanaku IV. However, no currently active investigators would argue that Tiwanaku IV began before AD 500, and some would place the date closer to AD 600 or even AD 700. If Tiwanaku-style sculptures first appeared at about that time, and this seems most likely to us, then there can be no question that the earliest examples of Tiwanaku-style icons come from the deserts of northern Chile, where they decorated hallucinogenic snuffing paraphernalia of wood. Many of these objects have come from cemeteries at San Pedro de Atacama.

The snuff tablets are shallow wooden trays of rectangular form that often have a sculptured figure on a broad handle or tab projecting from one end. At the Quitor 8 cemetery, dated 300 BC to AD 200, three of five snuff tablets have Tiwanaku decorations (Torres and Conklin 1995: 81, fig. 3). So, by the first or second century of our era, and perhaps significantly earlier, inhabitants of the Chilean oases were employing Tiwanaku-style icons to express ideas associated with hallucinatory experiences that were probably part of shamanic activities.

Tiwanaku-style iconic inventory from San Pedro includes Staff Gods as well as Rayed Heads, a number of distinct Profile Attendants, and several zoomorphic figures that represent raptorial birds, felines, llamas and perhaps a fox or dog. Many of the figures stand on a three-step pyramid, a feature of Tiwanaku Staff Gods and disembodied Rayed Heads as they appear on the Gate of the Sun and the Bennett Monolith. But the chronology of San Pedro iconography is not worked out, and no one has organized the sample of Tiwanaku-style snuffing paraphernalia in terms of its most probable sequence.

Now, if the earliest Tiwanaku-style art is not from Tiwanaku, but from San Pedro de Atacama, and northern Chile, is "Tiwanaku style" an appropriate name? Probably not. So if we continue to use the name "Tiwanaku style" it must be understood as a deference to Uhle's initial definition of the style at the Tiwanaku site–not some imagined implication of the name—that the style originated at Tiwanaku.

Of course, in defense of Tiwanaku, wooden snuff tablets similar to those of San Pedro de Atacama have been found associated with burials in dry caves from the eastern side of the Andes (Wassén 1972). A continuous distribution from northern Chile would have included Tiwanaku, and indeed, several unprovenienced tablets in museum collections, of the same shape, but made of stone, probably came from Tiwanaku (Torres 1987). Furthermore, Berenguer (2000) argues that the objects so often seen in the hands of the Tiwanaku's great statues—the bearers of Tiwanaku-style incised icons—are a ceramic kero and a snuff tablet. But snuffing paraphernalia from the eastern Andes appears to date two to five or six centuries later than the earliest San Pedro specimens, and the stone snuff tablets ascribed to Tiwanaku have elements of monumental Tiwanaku sculptures that also imply relatively late dates.

The antiquity of snuff tablets and the possibility that they were an early vehicle for Tiwanaku-style icons spreading throughout the southern Andes is an important issue for study, but it is a complex topic. Torres (Torres, Repke, Chan, McKenna, Llagostera, and Schultes 1991; Torres and Repke 1996) identified an hallucinogenic substance used with ancient snuffing paraphernalia as a powder ground from beans of the *Anadenanthera colubrina* plant. Indeed, *A. colubrina* is still widely used by lowland Amazonian shamans today, and Knobloch (2000) recognized graphic symbols of the plant on many examples of the Tiwanaku style, including snuff tablets, ceramic vessels, textiles, and stone sculptures from northern Chile, Tiwanaku and its hinterlands, as well as the Wari sphere, including Conchopata. As indicated above, snuff tablets have a wide distribution from San Pedro de Atacama to the eastern Lake Titicaca montaña. They also occur to the north at Puerto Nuevo, Paracas—possibly associated with Chavín pottery (Wassén 1972: fig. 14)—and at the Middle Horizon site of Castillo de Huarmey, as far away as Peru's central coast (Prümers 2001: 304–305).

Archaeologists might infer an early shamanic cult linking *A. colubrina* snuffing with Tiwanaku-style icons. Perhaps the strange supernatural icons originally represented "spirit animals" that guided the participants or shamans through an altered state of consciousness and spiritual quest. If this scenario were the case, the associated cosmological model could have become more formalized as shamans were replaced by priests during the development of the Wari and Tiwanaku complex societies. Knobloch (2000) has already advanced this argument. However, Isbell points out that the truth is probably much more complex, for it seems that *A. colubrina* may not have been the only hallucinogen snuffed, and *A. colubrina* was probably ingested in other ways as well. Furthermore, at San Pedro de Atacama, 614 snuffing kits are recorded in archaeological literature but only 56 trays and 32 tubes have Tiwanaku-style decorations (Torres 2002). Of course, some are plain, but many others are decorated with figures of different traditions, unrelated to the Tiwanaku style. Were these snuffing accoutrements employed with different hallucinogens, was the trance-world populated by beings of different cultural traditions, or is the archaeological inference that Tiwanaku-style icons represent hallucinatory trance experiences in error? More research and analysis are required.

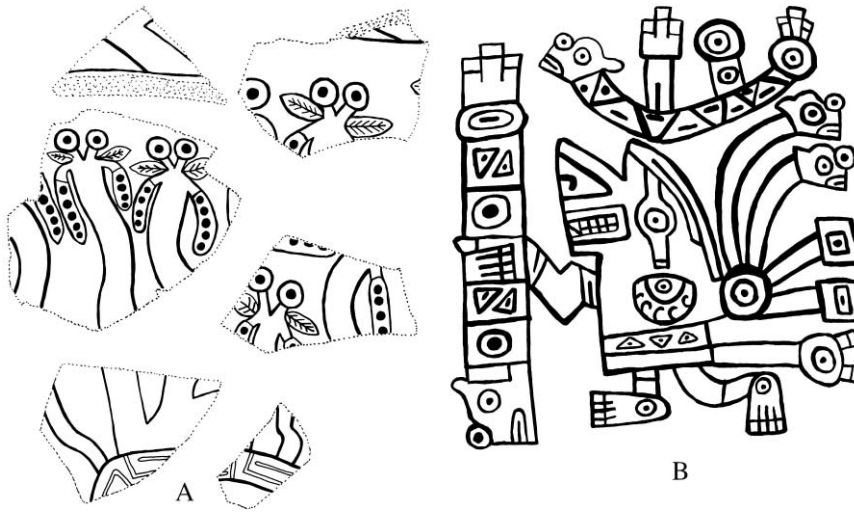


Figure 12.3. a. Realistic *A. Colubrina* from Conchopata jars. (Drawing by P. J. Knobloch, based on photographs by José Ochatoma and Martha Cabrera); b. Profile Attendant on 1977 offering jars. (Drawn by P. J. Knobloch from photographs by W. H. Isbell, see also Cook 1994 lám. 6, 10)

To complicate matters, at Conchopata, in the Wari cultural region, *A. colubrina* symbols appear on pottery vessels, especially jars that were probably used for brewing, and urns that were appropriate for serving a beverage (Figure 12.3a; Knobloch 2000: fig. 2). This implies that *A. colubrina* was drunk, not snuffed. Perhaps wooden spoons from Peru (Kelemen 1943: plate 275c), that look like snuff tablets, decorated with Tiwanaku-style figures on their handles, were ladles for dipping up the potent brew in preparation for drinking. However, we do not know whether as a drink *A. colubrina* is rendered ineffective by digestive acids, whether additional plants may have been included to neutralize stomach fluids, or whether the ritual powers of the plant were so great that the hallucinatory trance was no longer relevant. Again, more research is required, including some psychedelic experimental archaeology, before we have convincing answers. In the meantime Isbell believes that it is premature to affirm that *A. colubrina* was directly linked to, and explains Tiwanaku-style figures as coming from snuff-induced trances.

The Yaya-Mama Religious Tradition

Numerous statues at Tiwanaku and elsewhere about the altiplano are not in the Tiwanaku style, but in an earlier style, or group of styles. We follow Karen Mohr Chávez and Sergio Chávez (K. Chávez 1988, 2002; S. Chávez 2002b, 2004b; Chávez and Chávez 1976), in discussing them as members of the highly variable Yaya-Mama Religious Tradition.

"Yaya-Mama" means "Man-Woman," or "Father-Mother" in Quechua. This name was selected because some of the sculptures have two human faces or full figures on a slab-like sculpture, sometimes on opposite sides that apparently represent a male and a female. Yaya-Mama culture and art date from approximately 800 BC to AD 200-400 (K. Chávez 1988). But in the south, an advanced form of Yaya-Mama culture may have continued until the century of transformation at Tiwanaku, that Isbell and Burkholder (2002) place at AD 600-700, but John Janusek (2003) dates a century earlier, to AD 500–600. Yaya-Mama culture was most likely spread among independent farming and herding communities by rituals that involved mutual feasting as well as an increasingly popular religious ideology that may have involved shamanism, although no hallucinogenic snuff tablets have been found. The appearance of decorated pottery may mark the beginning of communal feasting activities that brought neighbors together from different communities (Steadman 2002).

Yaya-Mama religious objects included sunken court temples, ceramic burners and trumpets, as well as stone sculptures on rectangular stele and flat slabs, all of which continue with little modification into Tiwanaku (except the ceramic trumpets). Among the slab sculptures are fine rectangular grinding stones whose backs are decorated with a human head in front view, that has projections or rays emanating from all around the face (K. Chávez 1988: fig. 4a, b; S. Chávez 2004: fig. 3.21). We call this icon the Rayed Head. Usually displaying 6 appendages or rays, these disembodied faces are the earliest antecedent for Tiwanaku-style Rayed Heads that are so closely related to full-bodied Staff Gods. But many differences separate the two sets of images.

Variations of the Yaya-Mama Rayed Head appear on three gold artifacts collected in Cuzco, although their original provenience is unknown. The simplest, the Disco Oberti, has 8 rays, while the famous Echenique Plate has more, as many as 20 if each design at the edge of the circular plate is counted (Rowe 1977). The most spectacular of these objects is an ornamented gold plume (Rowe 1977; Young-Sánchez 2004a: fig. 3.28) that shows a full-bodied figure whose head has 11 rays that employ forms more reminiscent of the Tiwanaku style than the stone slab heads, or the other gold artifacts. The body is, however, shown in profile, with a feline tail, and avian feet. Both hands are positioned in front of the body, and hold objects, perhaps one of which is a staff that is being pecked by a bird. The figure stands in a scene of profile personages and what may be an architectural enclosure with llamas surrounding a circular motif. Several features suggest that the gold objects probably cross date with late Paracas, and if so, they probably belong to the Pucara culture.

The Pucara Style

The Pucara style (Valcarcel 1935) is best understood as a late and exuberant version of the Yaya-Mama Tradition, that developed and spread through the northern altiplano between approximately 200 BC and AD 200 (K. Chávez 1988). The first monumental altiplano capital was constructed at Pucara, a site 60 kms north of

Lake Titicaca, where artists depicted esoteric religious concepts in stone sculpture, ceramics (Rowe 1958; Rowe and Brandel 1970; S. Chávez 2002a), and apparently also fine woolen textiles and wood carvings (Conklin 1985, 2004; Torres and Conklin 1995). Some of the San Pedro de Atacama snuff tablets surely relate to Pucara art and times.

Pucara ceremonial architecture in the capital type-site included at least three sunken courts crowning a monumental platform complex, suggesting some kind of confederacy. Each court was surrounded by a D-shaped complex of rooms that may have facilitated large ritual activities by providing storage facilities for costumes, food, and other essentials (K. Chávez 1988: fig. 9). The extent of Pucara political domination is unknown, but it was probably a sizable polity.

The fundamental opposition of male and female, that dominated Yaya-Mama sculptures, was expressed in Pucara art as the opposition between the Camelid Woman and the Feline Man icons (Chávez 1992, 2002a). Pucara art became more sophisticated than other Yaya-Mama representation, including a greater repertoire of beings and symbolic elements. However, trumpets and burners continued to be important, and icons with Rayed Heads appeared in Pucara sculpture and ceramic art. Especially prominent are stone boxes with representations of Rayed Heads (Chávez 2004b: fig. 3.23) that have 16 rays. Among the rays is what is probably a plant figure that also occurs with the Camelid Woman (S. Chávez 2002a: figs, 2.2, 2.3).

Pucara art includes pottery forms as well as iconographic features and themes more closely related to the later Tiwanaku style than earlier Yaya-Mama art, and there are sculptures from Tiwanaku that are remarkably similar to Pucara. One, the Arapa Thunderbolt, was apparently carved in the Pucara area, later broken, and half was carried to Tiwanaku, where it was found in the Putuni building (Chávez and Chávez 1976; Chávez 2004). However, Pucara sculpture rarely has fine-line incised figures, and is otherwise different enough to require several transitional phases before it could be converted into the Tiwanaku style.

Among the new Pucara beings is a "Sacrificer" with fanged, feline mouth, as well as an axe and severed head in its hands (Valcárcel 1935). In fact, the frequency of weapons, severed heads, decapitated bodies, and other human body parts relates Pucara to Conchopata/Huari, as well as Tiwanaku versions of the Tiwanaku style. The Pucara Feline Man is definitely related to Tiwanaku-style Profile Attendants. On pottery it is outlined with fine-line incisions, showing a running figure wearing a crown and grasping a staff in the hand positioned in front of the body. The other hand usually holds an axe and a severed head. The Camelid Woman is shown in front-faced pose, with something in each outstretched hand, like the Tiwanaku Staff Gods, but the Tiwanaku Staff Gods have rays around the entire face, and other male attributes, while the Camelid Woman has the female attributes (Chávez 2004).

In a single example of Pucara sculpture the Rayed Head comes together with a full body, represented with staffs in both hands. The carving is a small 12 cms-high sculpture in the round with certain details added in fine, line incision. Its provenience is unknown, but it probably belongs at the late end of Pucara stylistic developments (Sergio Chávez, personal communication 2002). The anthropomorphic

figure is shown standing, or perhaps sitting on a stool, with arms extended holding vertical staves, a face surrounded by a band of interlocking frets apparently representing rays, but now damaged, and wings on the back. This carving is certainly a unique version of the Staff God. Perhaps at the close of Pucara culture, an important religious innovation took place, but how was it spread, to where, and what meanings could it have carried? Pucara culture was in decline and soon disappeared.

Pucara Provincial Art

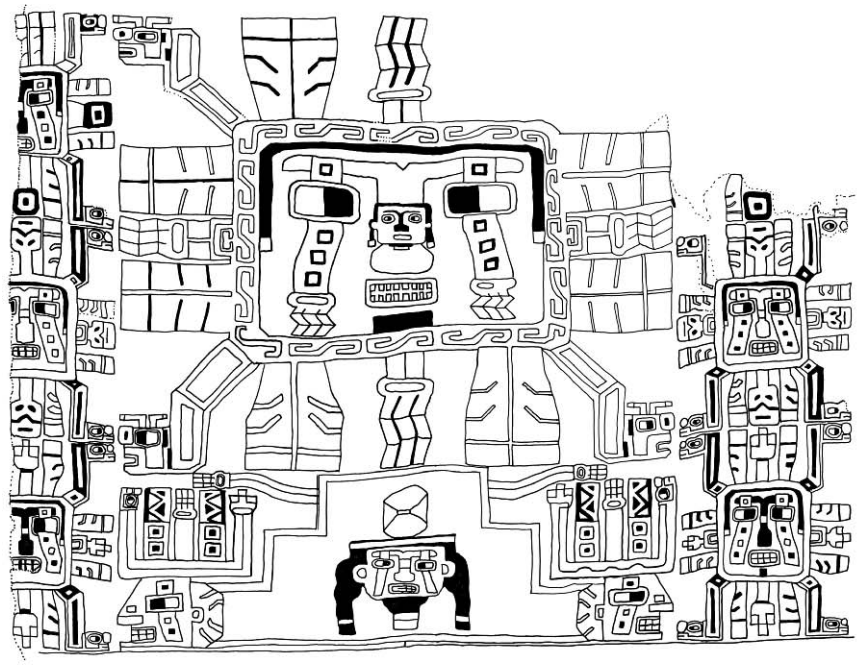
The Yaya-Mama and Pucara cultures had contemporaries on the adjacent coast who used fine textiles obtained though trade or other relationships with altiplano people (Conklin 1991; Haeberli 2002). Perhaps some of these textiles even represent highland colonists. The cloth is interlocking tapestry, with warp and weft of camelid fibers, typical of the highlands, but examples are few and limited to private collections.

Joerg Haeberli (2002) defined two important new textile styles that he named Siguas 1, 2 and 3, and Pucara Provincial. He employs the name "Siguas" because he believes that most of the weavings came from looted cemeteries in the Sihuas, Vitor, and Majes valleys of Arequipa. The Siguas phases share important designs with Yaya-Mama art, including male and female figures, and the Rayed-Head theme. More than 20 calibrated radiocarbon dates from textile specimens imply a time range from about 600 BC to AD 150 for Siguas 1, and about AD 150-750 for Siguas 3, broadly paralleling the span of the Yaya-Mama tradition (Haeberli 2002: table 1).

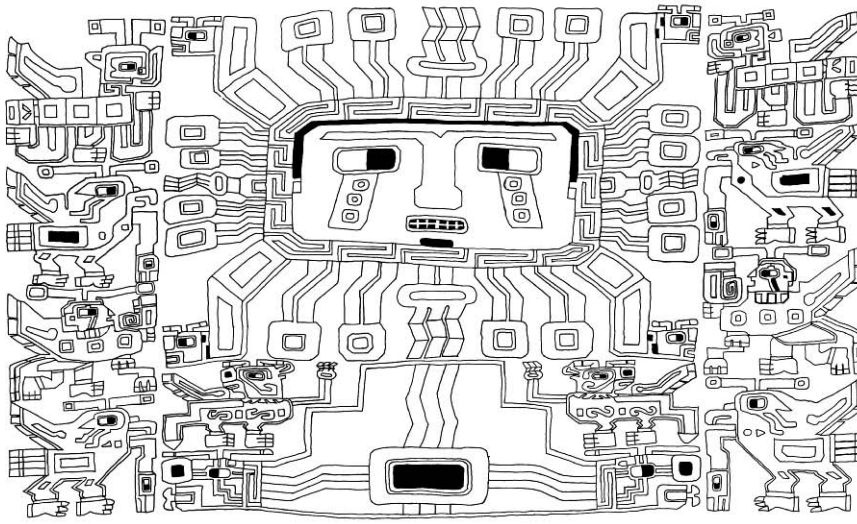
The second group of textiles is characterized by tunics with separately woven shoulder panels, very elaborate with a Rayed Head on top of a three-step pyramid, and a column of smaller figures to the right and left of the face. These textiles are neither typical of iconography known at the type site of Pucara, nor Tiwanaku or Wari textiles that are both characterized by vertical bands of attendant figures that alternate in orientation and color schemes, as well as other conventions (Bergh 1999). Since the iconography is more or less intermediate among the styles, Haeberli (2002) proposes the name "Pucara Provincial." Three radiocarbon dates place textiles between AD 200 and 400 (Haeberli 2002: table 1), or late in the Pucara style.

Within the Pucara Provincial group there appear to be two classes, based on iconography (Haeberli 2002). The Rayed Head with feather rays has an encircling band with S-shaped figures, and two broad, segmented appendages that look like feathers projecting from each of the four sides of the block-like face (Figure 12.4a). Between the pair of feathers is a ray with a bulb-based, wavy three-filleted tuft. At each corner of the squared head is a ray with a profile animal head with divided eye. This rayed head is perched on a three-step pyramid. To the right and left of the big face is a stack of three similar faces, in alternating color schemes (Haeberli 2002: fig. 30; Young-Sánchez 2004b: fig. 2.22).

The second Pucara Provincial shoulder-panel style, the Rayed Head with circled-dot rays is also placed above a three-step pyramid (Figure 12.4b). The head has a



A



B

Figure 12.4. a. Pucara Provincial Rayed Head weaving with feather rays (Redrawn by P. J. Knobloch from Haeberli 2002: fig.30, p. 118); b. Pucara Provincial Rayed Head weaving with circle and dot rays (Redrawn by P. J. Knobloch from Brinckerhoff 1999: cat. no. 99, p. 21)

band surrounding its face that contains interlocking frets. Four rays project from each side of the face that end in circled dots. At the center, between each pair of two rays is one projection terminating in a bulb-based, wavy three-filleted tuft, and at the corners of the blocky face are rays with profile heads at their tips (Brinckerhoff 1999: fig. 29; Young-Sánchez 2004b: fig. 19 [same textile]). To the right and left are a group of profile beings with distinctive antennae on their heads, one above the other, that have legs, a wing, and something projecting from the chest. Felines, deer, raptorial birds, and humans appear, with the human sometimes grasping a shell trumpet.

An exceptionally spectacular weaving of a Pucara Provincial Rayed Head with circled-dot rays was displayed at the Denver Art Museum (Young-Sánchez 2004b: fig. 26a). Surprisingly, tapestry decoration is not limited to the shoulder panels, but is spread over the entire tunic. In the center of the chest is the Rayed Head on its pedestal. To the left and right are three rows of three front-faced, standing persons, wearing elaborate clothing and headdresses, and grasping objects in both outstretched hands. In this tapestry tunic, the shoulder panels were apparently woven in one piece, and represent two architectural enclosures with a triple-jamb gateway remarkably similar to Tiwanaku's Gate of the Sun (and closely-related portals, see Protzen and Nair 2000, 2002). Standing in the center of the enclosure is a front-face figure grasping a staff in each hand. This being, with divided eyes, wears an elaborate headdress and earrings that resemble those of the smaller front-face persons. Surely this lovely garment is a cosmological map, representing concepts that later guided Tiwanaku architects in their megalithic constructions. The crown or headdress of the front-face personages are not like those of the Rayed Face on the same textile, and differ much more from the rays of Staff-God crowns than the projections surrounding the big Rayed Face. If these front-face figures represent Staff Gods, as we suspect, they are quite idiosyncratic. Astonishingly, several radiocarbon dates convincingly place the tunic immediately before the beginning of our era (Blackmon 2005).

In conclusion, we can affirm that late in the Pucara art tradition, and perhaps earlier in Pucara Provincial art, a Rayed Head was occasionally represented as a standing, full-bodied figure grasping two staffs. Do these prototypical Staff Gods represent the same being as the disembodied Rayed Head present since Yaya-Mama times? Or were new figures appearing, such as the unusual front-face Staff Gods on the Tapestry displayed at Denver? Be that as it may, these full-bodied figures must be the antecedent of the Staff God image. Do they—the Staff God in the tiny Pucara sculpture, and the numerous Staff Gods of the Pucara Provincial Denver Tapestry—represent the kind of centrality and hierarchy that seems to characterize Staff God iconography at Tiwanaku and at Conchopata/Huari? Perhaps on the textile, but not the little sculpture. Certainly, significant ideological transformations were yet to take place.

Do these Staff Gods represent influence from the art and ideology of Chavín? Their appearance seems a bit late for Chavín, and this Staff God seems to develop from a disembodied rayed head, that was never a prominent feature of Chavín iconography. Furthermore, these Staff Gods appear in a south Andean tradition in

which front-face vs. profile pose, and one or two staffs in outstretched hands had been key means of symbolic communication for centuries—in art styles ranging from San Pedro de Atacama to Pucara. We conclude that if Chavín did play a part in the iconography, it was slight, in relation to the strong, "Southern Tradition" in which these icons developed.

RELEVANT PERUVIAN STYLES

Rayed Head, and Staff God iconography are nowhere apparent in immediately pre-Middle Horizon art of Huarpa and Nasca, the principal antecedents of Huari and its second city of Conchopata. Huarpa peoples of the Ayacucho Valley produced pottery painted with geometric black-on-white, as well as red-and-black-on-white decorations (Leoni, this volume). Beginning in Epoch 7 of the Early Intermediate Period, cultural interaction between Huarpa and south coastal Nasca peoples (fabricators of spectacular polychrome pottery) stimulated an increase in colors and curvilinear designs in the Huarpa style. However, these cultural exchanges seem to have remained rather distant. Interactions and stylistic exchanges continued into Epoch 8, resulting in the gradual replacement of Ayacucho's Huarpa pottery by a complex repertoire of polychrome Conchopata/Huari styles in Middle Horizon Epoch 1, especially Chakipampa, Ocros and Conchopata (Knobloch 1983, 1991).

Staff God iconography appeared in Conchpata/Huari art in Epoch 1, and soon became a central motif, first in ceremonial and then in more secular pottery, and other artifacts. Furthermore, based on the analysis of Wari's Chakipampa B-style design features, Menzel (1964: 68) argued that Middle Horizon 1B was a time of empire building and conquest by Huari. The old Nasca area fell, as Huari incorporated the south and central coasts from Acarí to Chancay and the highlands to Huaraz. Moche Phase V (Rafael Larco Hoyle 1948, 2001), dates to Middle Horizon 1B based on the "association of Moche V and Wari-style features on some objects, and the associations of Moche V and Wari-style objects in the same burials" (Menzel 1977: 59). Indeed, Knobloch (1983) observed Moche V press-molded blackware from excavations at Huari, along with central coast Nievería and north highland Cajamarca-style pottery. So foreign influences coming into Ayacucho during the century or two from Early Intermediate Period 7 through Middle Horizon 1 were diverse, representing the major cultures of the Andean world, but full understanding of the chronology, details, and relative importance of different influences has eluded archaeologists.

STAFF GOD AND PROFILE ATTENDANT IMAGERY IN CONCHOPATA/HUARI AND TIWANAKU

The most spectacular Tiwanaku-style art north of the altiplano is the painted pottery of Conchopata, the second city of Ayacucho during the Middle Horizon, located 10 kms south of Huari. Before current excavation projects began in the late 1990s,

two collections of oversize ceramic vessels with Tiwanaku-style iconography had been discovered. The first discovery was made by Julio Tello (1942) in 1942. The second was by construction workers in 1977, which was subsequently investigated by Isbell's Huari Urban Prehistory Project (Cook 1987, 1994; Isbell 1987; Isbell and Cook 1987; Knobloch 1983). When Dorothy Menzel (1964, 1968, 1977) seriated the art and styles of the Peruvian Middle Horizon she had only the 1942 collections to consider, and they were largely unpublished. She concluded that Tello's 1942 Conchopata style depictions of the Staff God represented the first wave of Tiwanaku influence to reach central Peru. This event initiated the Middle Horizon, beginning Epoch 1A, which, in turn, was characterized by a new religious tradition of deliberately smashing oversized ceramic vessels decorated with polychrome images of Tiwanaku's Staff God and Profile Attendants. Simultaneously, the polychrome Chakipampa-style became popular, Regular and Fancy varieties, with both displaying colors diffused from Nasca 9 ceramics, while the Fancy variant also adopted features of vessel shape and attributes of mythical animals.

Following the 1977 discovery of a second cache of oversized jars with Tiwanaku-style beings (Isbell and Cook 1987), Isbell furnished Menzel with photographs and drawings. She concluded that this new pottery was later than the 1942 style, belonging to Epoch 1B. Menzel (personal communication, 1978) also inferred that icons of the 1977 offering must lie off the major evolutionary path of Wari-Tiwanaku art because they were so idiosyncratic, especially the Profile Attendants (see Fig. 12.3b).

Menzel's stylistic groupings and seriation became the standard for subsequent understandings of Wari, Tiwanaku and the Middle Horizon, especially its chronology. However, Knobloch (1983) observed that in stratified excavation at Huari, Regular Chakipampa pottery was present at the beginning of the Middle Horizon while Fancy Chakipampa appeared only in higher strata. She concluded that Fancy Chakipampa 1A pottery had developed slowly and locally in Ayacucho from Regular Chakipampa 1A antecedents and could be no earlier than Epoch 1B. Furthermore, this stylistic development was responsible for the fancy pottery of the Nasca 9 style, through a reintroduction to south coast art later in Epoch 1B, by Wari/Nasca interaction.

Knobloch's modest chronological revision has significant ramifications. In large part, Menzel dated the Conchopata style to Epoch 1A because of design similarities to Fancy Chakipampa 1A pottery. If these features belonged to Epoch 1B, then so did the Conchopata style of Tiwanaku-influenced pottery. Knobloch (1991: 252–253) went on to argue that the iconography of the 1977 offering vessels predated the 1942 Conchopata icons, although also probably dating to Middle Horizon 1B. Indeed, Epoch 1A of the Middle Horizon appeares to have been a time when Regular Chakipampa and Ocros pottery, influenced by Nasca and perhaps other styles, became the preferred new styles of Ayacucho peoples.

Recent excavations at Conchopata support Knobloch's revision of Menzel's chronology. Of course there has been a lot of disturbance at Conchopata, and many more fragments must be reconstructed before the earliest stratigraphic appearance of any icons can be confirmed, but both radiocarbon dates and stratigraphic

locations imply that the 1977 version of Tiwanaku-Style iconography predates the 1942 discoveries, by perhaps a century. Furthermore, both are later than the beginning of the Middle Horizon. Finally, a close relative of the 1977 offering was discovered in 2003, stratigraphically probably slightly earlier, consisting of only a few sherds, but significantly expanding information about early Tiwanaku-Style iconography at Conchopata.

The 1977 offering had two types of large jars, the more frequent variant decorated with a Staff God on a pedestal, flanked by two horizontal rows of Profile Attendants (Cook 1979, 1987, 1994). This Staff God icon (Figure 12.5) is related to the Pucara

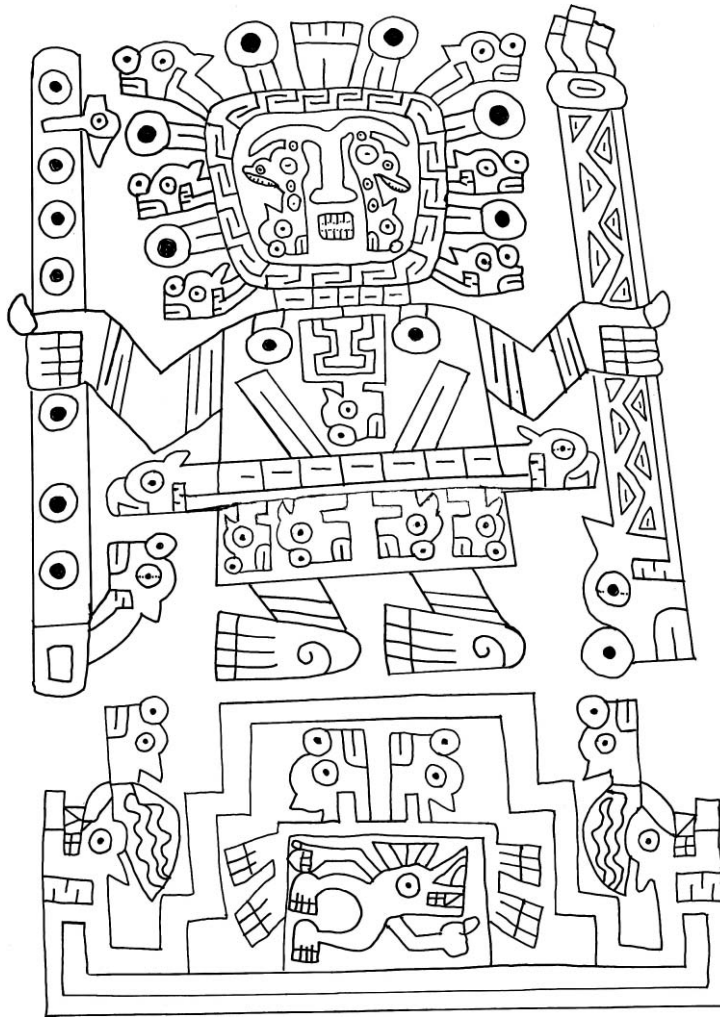


Figure 12.5. Staff-God on 1977 Conchopata offering jars. (Drawn by P. Knobloch from photographs by W. H. Isbell)

Provincial Rayed Head with circled-dot rays, apparent in the three-step pyramid on which the full-bodied deity stands, and in the form of the rays projecting from the crown, even though they are less in number than the Pucara Provincial crown (Haeberli 2002).

The 1977 Staff God lacks the supernatural attributes of divided eye and N-shaped canines. Its design attributes include: 1) Staff God's right-hand staff of circled-dot filler elements has animal heads near the ends, attached along the inner side of the staff, and the bottom end of the staff terminates in a nested square; 2) Staff God's left-hand staff of zigzag, nested triangle elements ends with a feline head at the bottom and bulb-based, three-filleted tuft on top; 3) a crown encircles the head with an interlocking fret band; 4) crown appendages include circled dots, flat-based tuft and feline heads; 5) circled dots and animal-headed breastplate are suspended from the neck; 6) shoulder to belt "suspenders" are abbreviated fillet bands above the belt; 7) belt, of segmented squares and filler dashes, ends in avian heads; 8) four feline heads project from bottom of belt; 9) anklets, wristbands and shoulder bands; 10) toed feet with spiral heels; and, 11) icon stands on a three-stepped pedestal with animal heads to each side.

Tiwanaku Profile Attendants are anthropomorphic except for specific animal features such as wings, a beak, a snout, or salient canine teeth. Profile Attendants on the 1977 Conchopata offering jars are highly stylized, and only one version is represented (Figure 12.3b). Many of its features are distorted almost beyond recognition, and many elements are minimized. On the other hand, the kneeling posture with rear leg bent, and some other aspects of the figures remain apparent. Their attributes include: 1) N-shaped canine teeth, and a triangular nose that extends above the head; 2) eye is a simple circle with small tear bands above and below; 3) head is bullet-shaped, and not reminiscent of any animal form; 4) the curved crown floats above the head, with a profile animal head at one end and a bulb-based, three-filleted tuft at the other, that has a zigzag filler as well as a circled dot and a nested rectangle with three projections as ray appendages; 5) a scrawny wing of four bands; 6) collar with radiating lines near middle of body; 7) belt of alternating nested triangles; 8) heel and belt appendages; and, 9) staff of segmented squares filled with triangles or circled dots topped with a bulb-based, three-filleted tuft and animal head at the bottom.

The Conchopata 1977 Profile Attendants have a wing that is spindly and idiosyncratic, although somewhat similar to Conchopata's Standing Profile Attendant's wing (Figs 12.1A, 12.7E). The collar with radiating lines that characterizes many Tiwanaku Profile Attendants, including those on the Ponce Monolith (Figure 12.2), is present but the motifs are so stylized that only someone very familiar with the conventions could depict or decipher such a confusing and atypical variant.

The 1977 Conchopata Staff God icon (Figure 12.5) is astonishingly similar to the Staff God icon on the back of the Ponce Monolith (Figure 12.2). They are so similar that the two must be very close in time, and based on a common representation known to the artisans responsible for the respective representations. Specifically, both Staff Gods' right-hand staffs contain circled-dot elements, inner projecting heads at top and bottom and the bottom end is a nested square. The

Staff God's left-hand staff is topped with bulb-based, three-filleted tufts and a feline head is at the bottom. Crown bands encircle both heads that have the same types of appendages as well as their spacing. The faces share a T-shaped brow and nose, fancy eye markings and non-fanged mouth. Though the eye markings are not identical, the Conchopata figures' eye markings are very similar to those on the face of the Ponce statue's large head. Both have wing-like elements on the outside corners of the eye and a hanging band with two elements, one below the other, under the open eye, and then an animal head with its eye—in the case of the Ponce Monolith's face, the fish or snake theme. Both Staff Gods have a head with ray appendages projecting from three sides only, excluding the chin. Two circled dots and a larger central pendant hang from the neck. Both Staff God representations have segmented belts, with an avian head at each end. Suspended from the belt are four other heads, avian on the Ponce Monolith, feline on the 1977 Conchopata Staff God. These attributes are too similar for coincidence. The artisans who created these two representations had to be working with the same concepts and rules, and probably even the same model, whether in textiles or in some other medium.

One very important feature distinguishes the Ponce Monolith Staff God from the Conchopata 1977 Staff God: the symbol for *A. colubrina*. This motif, identified by Knobloch (2000), is one of the first Tiwanaku-style conventionalized symbols to be interpreted since Posnansky's (1945, 1957) extraordinary treatise on the entire corpus of Tiwanaku art. With modest variations, this plant symbol is found in Tiwanaku, Huari and San Pedro de Atacama depictions, and perhaps in type-site Pucara art. So far, no depictions of *A. colubrina* have been observed in Pucara Provincial textiles, but these weavings are little published, so perhaps the icon is yet to be recognized. Be that as it may, the Tiwanaku Ponce Monolith version of the Staff God has an *A. colubrina* symbol on the top of its left-hand staff. Two of the staffs carried by Profile Attendants adjacent to the Staff God are also topped with *A. colubrina* elements, as are several other staffs of Profile Attendants scattered about the statue, some of their crown rays, some rays on the backs of wings, and some of the elements at the tips of Profile Figures' capes or tails. Two of the elements of the eye decoration from the face of the Ponce statue are also *A. colubrina* symbols (Figure 12.2). In short, *A. colubrina* is all over this statue.

A lot of *A. colubrina* symbols also occur on the mortar found in Tiwanaku's Semisubterranean Temple (Ponce 1969b: lam. 14, 16), but they are very selectively placed. Each of the eight Rayed Heads on the upper side of the sculpture has three *A. colubrina* symbols in its headdress. But none of the eight Staff God representations on the side of the stone have *A. colubrina* symbols. Presence or absence seems deliberate. *A. colubrina* symbols, albeit slightly different, are also present on the Bennett Monolith (Posnansky 1945: figs. 112–114), where they are part of the foot attachments of the Staff God as well as the tops of numerous other objects, and on the statue's chest, between the objects held in the hands. The symbol also appears in the eye design of the avian attendants on the Gate of the Sun (Posnansky 1945: plate XXV, top), and in the belt, neck and suspenders of the Taquiri cube (Rydén 1947: fig. 147). So, some, but not all, Tiwanaku-Style sculptures have *A. colubrina* symbols, and of those that do,

some have many, while others have few (for illustrations see Knobloch 2001 and http://www-rohan.sdsu.edu/~bharley/WWWPlantIDICON.html#Acolubrina).

The Conchopata 1977 Staff God and Profile Attendants have no *A. colubrina* symbols. Why is this, if the artisans responsible for the two Staff God representations were working from a common model?

On one hand, since Uhle's time, Andean archaeologists have explained change in iconographic representations as misunderstandings of the original by ancient artisans, who created copies that were not true to the original. Knobloch favors this argument in relation to *A. colubrina* symbols on the Ponce Monolith and the 1977 Conchopata jars. She suggests that an authentic version of the Staff God, perhaps represented in a textile, included *A. colubrina* icons, that were carefully depicted in fine-line relief on the Ponce Monolith. However, the Conchopata jar painter did not understand the symbols, and simplified the images beyond recognition. Or, perhaps painters were following verbal instructions rather than working from a visual model, so words for shapes in different languages resulted in different final shapes.

On the other hand, Isbell believes that ancient artists were much more informed about religious icons and their details than modern archaeologists. He believes that the Ponce statue's sculptors and the Conchopata jar painters shared common models, although the scarcity of a "Staff God with Profile Attendants" theme on textiles from the Middle Horizon makes him reluctant to assume that the shared models were weavings. Be that as it may, he suggests that ancient artisans acted knowingly, selecting some elements instead of others, stylizing some icons while creating conservative copies of others, and even creating new icons and elements in conjunction with changing ideology and practice. The *A. colubrina* symbol appears on some Tiwanaku sculptures in abundance, but is relatively rare on some, and completely absent on others. The *A. colubrina* symbol appears on some Tiwanaku-style snuff trays, but on most, it does not. The *A. colubrina* symbol appears on some Conchopata/Huari ceramics and textiles (of unknown provenience), but not others. At Conchopata there seem to be some chronological factors influencing the representation of *A. colubrina*, that we will try to identify, but it seems undeniable that artisans who created Tiwanaku-style iconography made decisions about the representation of *A. colubrina* as well as other elements and themes.

Isbell argues that if Conchopata artisans were just simplifying *A. colubrina* symbols, or painting in accord with verbal descriptions, they would have replaced all *A. colubrina* elements from the model with the same design. But this is not what we see on the Conchopata 1977 jars. Crowns of some of the Profile Attendants on the Ponce Monolith have *A. colubrina* symbols, while the crown of the Conchopata 1977 Profile Attendant has a three-segment tuft with nested rectangle base. It certainly is not a typical *A. colubrina* symbol, although it might be a simplification of the sort suggested by Knobloch. However, on the Conchopata Staff God's left-hand staff, *A. colubrina* is replaced by a different, and well-known symbol, the bulb-based, three-filleted tuft. And although Ponce Monolith Profile Attendants' staffs are tipped with diverse elements that include examples of the *A. colubrina* symbol, the universal Profile Attendant on the Conchopata 1977 jars holds a staff

tipped with the bulb-based, three-filleted tuft, as well. On the other hand, the wing rays of some Ponce Monolith Attendants have *A. colubrina* symbols, but all the Conchopata 1977 jar Attendants have profile feline heads and nested rectangles. None of the Conchopata 1977 Attendants have capes or tails so, of course, no *A. colubrina* symbols appear on them. Finally, the face of the Ponce Monolith has *A. colubrina* symbols in its eye decorations, but none of the face necks of the Conchopata jars have *A. colubrina* as elements included in eye decorations.

Isbell concludes that Conchopata painters made explicit iconic choices expressing religious ideas and practices. He argues that they were participating in a broad, multi-regional sphere that was interactively shaping the Tiwanaku style. In all probability this style was dynamic, involving both universally accepted ideology and iconography, as well as competing knowledge and symbols regarding the cosmos, its symbolic representation, and the conduct of rituals and ceremonies.

New Tiwanaku-style sherds discovered in 2003 appear to have come from a large jar similar to those found in 1977. They represent only a tiny part of the original design but include the Staff God's chest, belt and left elbow. The segmented belt, suspenders, animal head on the chest, and position of at least one arm, wristband and shoulder band are identical to the Staff God depicted on the 1977 giant jars (Figure 12.6). Perhaps other features were also the same, such as the face, crown and stepped pedestal.

The 2003 Profile Attendants are represented by several fragments showing the head, crown, upper staff, partial body, wing and bent or kneeling leg (Figure 12.6). These fragments provide a composite imagery complete enough to show that there was no rear arm, and probably at least two rows of attendants, one above the other, perhaps in opposing processions. No rim is preserved but potter's wiping marks on the interior of the vessel are horizontal when attendants are positioned vertically. The attributes of these Profile Attendants include: 1) a feline head that points up; 2) nose is a circled dot, mouth has N-shaped canines and projecting bulb-based, three-filleted tuft; 3) chin bar or band has nested zigzags and ends with nested square; 4) divided eye and eye band with nested circles; 5) eyebrow is a segmented band with human head in front of the eye and bulb-based, three-filleted tuft near the neck; 6) curved crown of two bands, the first has a nested zigzag band with feline head at front and bulb-based, three-filleted tuft at back while the second band is segmented and has "E"-shape filler elements, rays from the top consist of two front-faced human heads with a bulb-based, three-filleted tuft between them; 7) collar with inward lines; 8) body segments are outlined with single fillet; 9) limbs have nested fillet bands and feline heads; 10) belt and staff of zigzag with alternating triangle band; 11) staff topped with bulb-based, three-filleted tuft and fillet band outlines top and side; 12) two bulb-based, three-filleted tufts project behind back (ends broken off); 13) projecting wing has saber curve of fillet bands with multi-feathered edge; and 14) probably toed feet. The fillet outlining is unique to this version of the Profile Attendant icon and very typical of Nasca-related designs and motifs. The cache includes a sherd from a different vessel decorated with a bicolored asymmetrical ray that developed from the earlier Nasca 8 "monkey head" icon. In the Wari area this design's stylistic dates must be early Epoch 1B

Figure 12.6. Newly discovered Tiwanaku Style Staff God with Profile Attendants, excavated at Conchopata in 2003, all known fragments. (Photo by W. H. Isbell) (See also Color Plate 1.)

(Knobloch in press). Therefore we date this cache to be the transition from Wari art with Nasca antecedents to Wari art displaying the new, Tiwanaku style repertoire of mythical iconography. A similar stylistic date is implied for the iconography of the 1977 Conchopata jars.

The 2003 Profile Attendants are unlike any others from Ayacucho. The crown differs from other Conchopata/Huari, and Tiwanaku crowns, that have a single band from which rays emanate. This crown has a band, and another above that, from which rays emanate. The tall, double band is more like the crowns of Feline Man in Pucara art (Figure 12.7a; Chávez 2002a: fig. 2.10). The lower band is like an animal pelt in having a head at one end and a tail at the other, consisting of a bulb-based, three-filleted tuft. This band is decorated with the same zigzag design as the chin band, and a zigzag design also characterizes many Pucara crowns. Above the first band is another segmented band, from which emanate three rays. They are capped by a severed human head, upside down and front face, a bulb-based, wavy three-filleted tuft, and another upside-down head. An upside-down profile

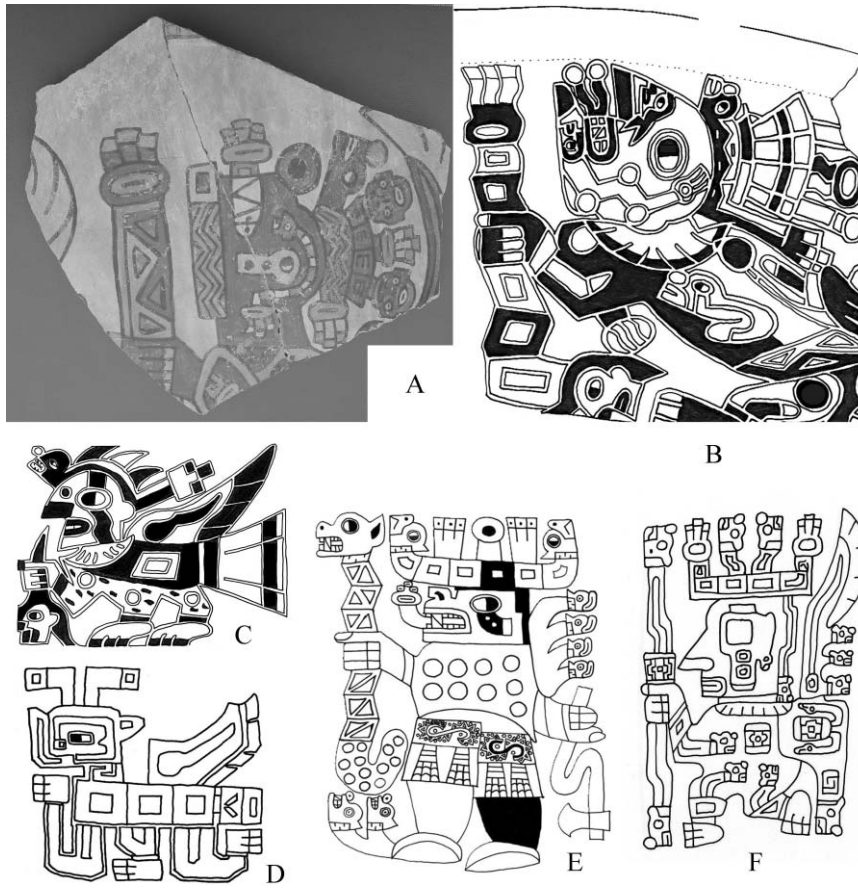


Figure 12.7. a. Conchopata 2003 Profile Attendant showing head with crown, and part of wing; b. Pucara Feline Man with Crown (Redrawn by P. J. Knobloch from Chávez 2002a: fig. 2.8a); c. Pucara style wing (Redrawn by P. J. Knobloch from Chávez 2002a: fig. 2.19a); d. Pucara Provincial style wing (Redrawn by P. J. Knobloch from Brinckerhoff 1999: cat. no. 99, p. 21); e. Conchopata 1942 Profile Attendant wing (Redrawn by P. J. Knobloch from Menzel 1977: fig. 66); f. Tiwanaku Profile Attendant wing, Kochamama Monolith (Redrawn by P. J. Knobloch from Posnansky 1945: fig. 100c)

human head in a fragmentary crown design that cannot be securely identified as part of an Profile Attendant is also reminiscent of Pucara severed heads (Figure 12.7a; Chávez 2002a: fig. 2.11).

The wing of the 2003 Profile Attendants is especially interesting. It is not like other Conchopata wings composed of 3 or 4 bands that curve up and out from the back (Figure 12.7e). Rather, it is more like Pucara wings (Figure 12.7c, Chávez 2002: 219a), Pucara Provincial wings (Figure 12.7d, Brinkerhoff 1999: fig. 29), and Tiwanaku wings (Figure 12.7f, Posnansky 1945: plate XXXIV, 3 and 4).

The 2003 wing, and its altiplano relatives, are almost straight, with a structural element that curves slightly, like a saber, and to which a membrane is attached that has slim internal lines suggesting division into feathers. The closest parallels to the Conchopata 2003 wings are Profile Attendants on Tiwanaku sculptures, especially the Kochamama, Bennett, and Ponce monoliths. On the other hand, the wings of Profile Attendant on textiles from San Pedro de Atacama are less similar than the 2003 jar and the Tiwanaku sculptures are to one another. Perhaps textile representations were not the intermediate models used by early Conchopata and Tiwanaku artists.

We have no information about the staffs held by the 2003 Staff God, but the Profile Attendants grasp a staff divided by a zigzag band with nested triangles (Figure 12.6). Their belts have the same design. This kind of division of staffs and belts is not found among the figures incised on Tiwanaku monoliths, but appears on two lintels, Linares and Kantataita, that are usually considered early in the Tiwanaku sequence. On the Linares lintel the zigzag band with nested triangles is on both staffs in the hands of the Staff God (Posnansky 1945: fig. 140 a, b). On the Kantataita Lintel, the staffs are held by the Profile Attendants (Isbell and Cook 1987: 33), and there is no central Staff God. The belts and chin bands of the Profile Attendants have the same design. Both these sculptures are characterized by Profile Attendants whose bodies float horizontally as though they were flying, what we shall refer to as Flying Profile Attendants (Figure 12.8a, b, c).

At Conchopata, Flying Profile Attendants are also illustrated, but not among the 1977 and 2003 materials we have assigned to the beginning of Middle Horizon 1B. They occur on the 1942 style urns that we date to the end of Middle Horizon 1B, or perhaps Epoch 2.

Two types of Flying Profile Attendants, each with two variants labeled Types A1 and A2 (Figure 12.8a), and Types B1 and B2 (Figure 12.8b, c) all appear to be contemporary. Menzel (1977: fig. 63 upper left) illustrated horizontal Profile Attendant of Type A that have no wings on their backs, but rather have ray-like projections. Differences between A1 and A2 are in the staffs they carry. Type B Flying Profile Attendants have wings on their backs; B1 has the same kind of head as Type A flyers, perhaps a feline (Figure 12.8b; Isbell 2001c: fig. 4) while Type B2 has an avian head (Figure 12.8c; Isbell 2001c: fig. 5). Diversity of staffs within this pair means that they can probably be further subdivided.

As a group, Conchopata's Flying Profile Attendant icons share numerous attributes, including: 1) bodies travel right to left; 2) body and head colors alternate between pairs; 3) belt has alternating nested triangles; 4) wristbands and ankle bands; 5) U-shaped crown band of interlocking frets; 6) crown ends have feline, avian and bulb-based, three-filleted tuft endings; 7) center of crown has flat-based or bulb-based, three-filleted tuft; 8) toed feet with ankle dot; 9) ray projects from mouth and terminates in feline, fish/snake, or deer head; 10) A2 and B2 icons grasp staffs of segmented zigzag with nested triangles design in body, topped with feline (possibly canine) head, and terminated with a curved end; 11) A1 and B1 icons grasp straight staffs topped with bulb-based, three-filleted tuft that splays open the fillets; 12) two legs in standing position, and one arm grasping staff;

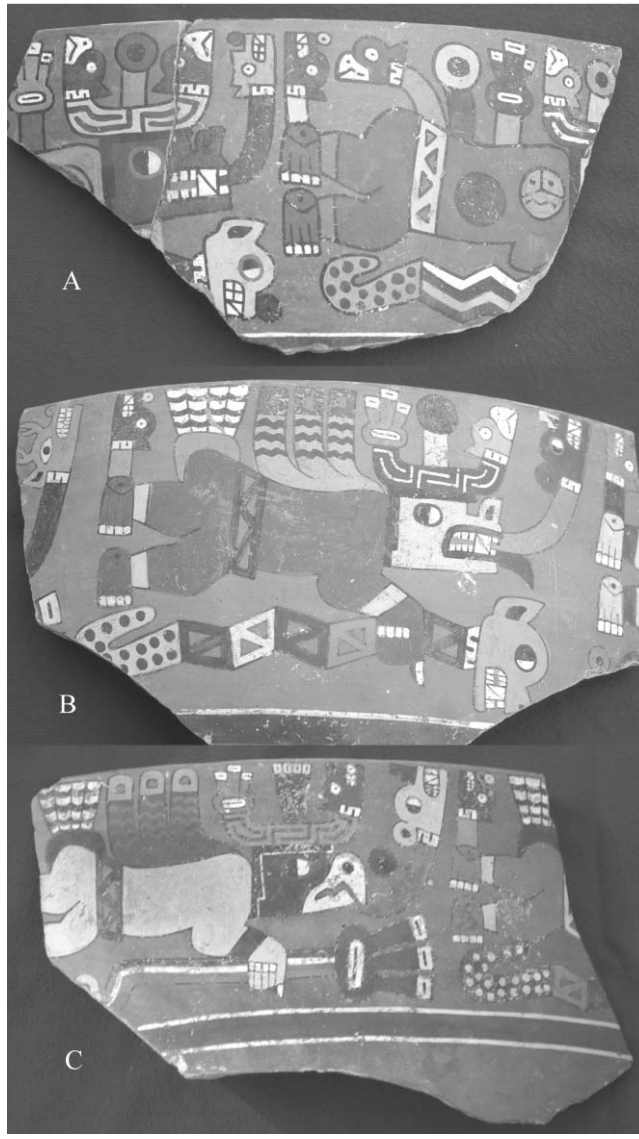


Figure 12.8. Horizontal Flying Attendants. a. Types A1 and A2 (Photo by W. H. Isbell); b. Type B1 (Photo by W. H. Isbell); c. Type B2 (Photo by W. H. Isbell)

13) right-angled black hair band; 14) red-outlined and divided eyes; 15) bulb-based, three-filleted tufts; 16) ray appendages end in feline and avian heads; 17) ray appendage to one heel; and 18) flat-based, three-filleted tuft in crown.

The A-type Flying Attendants are distinctive in having round, abstract facial design elements or "tripartite faces" on the body (Figure 12.8a). The circle is divided

into three sections with dots for eyes and horizontal line for a mouth. Similar tripartite faces occur on Tiwanaku sculptures, especially on the Ponce Monolith, where some of the circles on the skirt are shown as more elaborate tripartite faces, but the fingers of the hands have almost identical tripartite faced circles. Other attributes of A-type Flying Attendants include: 1) hook-shaped noses; 2) ray appendages project from back; 3) U-based, three-filleted tuft; and 4) ray appendages end in disks.

Flying Attendants type B (Figure 12.8b, c) alternate between avian and feline, and include the following attributes: 1) three-or four-band wing motif across the back; 2) divided eye peers backward; and 3) feather tufts project from the buttocks.

Tiwanaku Flying Profile Attendants differ significantly from the Conchopata examples with respect to the body position. The Tiwanaku Attendant's upper body is turned toward the front allowing both arms to extend from the two sides of the body while the head and lower body are viewed from the side. This pose allows the chest area of Tiwanaku Attendants to be decorated while also displaying the collar with radiating lines from the front. Limbs also have nested fillet bands. On the other hand, Conchopata's profile bodies reveal wings on the back of the figure. The pose of Tiwanaku's Flying Profile Attendants is similar to vertically positioned Profile Attendants with legs in the kneeling position, and with the representation of the second arm, shown grasping an axe and severed head, above or behind the body, while the staff is below or in front of the body. But the Tiwanaku and Conchopata Flying Profile Attendants share important attributes as well, including: 1) belt designs; 2) elongated snout; 3) bulb-based, three-filleted tuft; 4) projecting round disk; 5) alternation of two types in procession (probably in the Linares Lintel); and 6) ray projecting from the mouth. Also, Conchopata Flying Profile Attendants Type 1 do not have wings while Type 2 have wings as well as round-based, tufts projecting below the belt like tail feathers. The "wingless" attribute is shared by the Tiwanaku examples. The lack of fillet bands in the limbs of the Conchopata attendants is an interesting distinction that may relate to body position.

Tiwanaku-style iconography is not absolutely limited to stone sculpture for a few examples appear on pottery. Near the southwestern corner of the Tiwanaku V building known as the Putuni there are a number of disturbed intrusions interpreted as tombs that have been assigned to the Late Tiwanaku IV phase by excavators Couture and Sampeck (2003: 238–245 and fig. 9.28). One of the features contained ceramic fragments that appear to have belonged originally to a matched pair of kero vessels (Figure 12.9a). Given the incomplete representations, Couture (2002: 197–222 and fig. 5.29) confused feet for wings, concluding that some of the figures were standing. She argued that the scene depicted a battle narrative, but what is represented is the most common scene at Tiwanaku, a procession of Attendants. In this case they are horizontal Flying Profile Attendants.

The theme of a procession of Flying Profile Attendants is rare at Conchopata and at Tiwanaku. At Conchopata it was prominent for a short time, and if this was the case at Tiwanaku, we should be able to cross date the Putuni keros as well as Tiwanaku's Linares and Kantataita lintels with Conchopata's 1942 style of giant urns. Such correlations would suggest that the Tiwanaku lintels may date later than the Bennett and Ponce Monoliths and, therefore, reverse the current order as

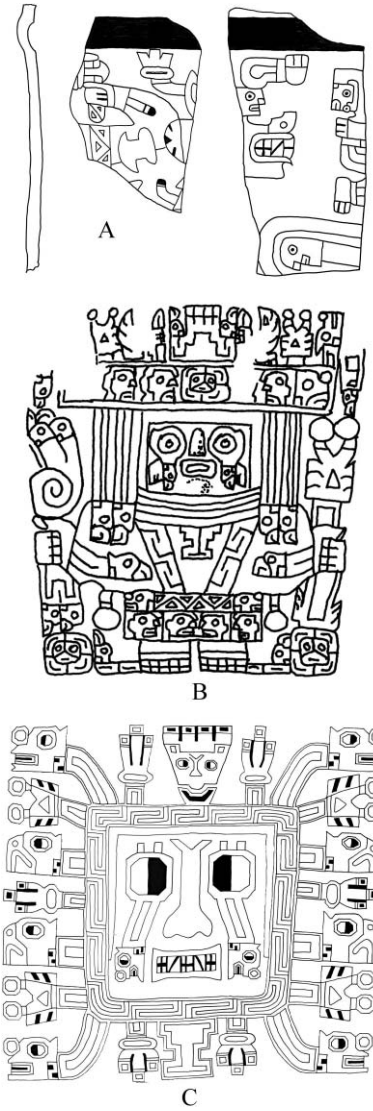


Figure 12.9. a. Tiwanaku flying Profile Attendants from ceramic keros (Redrawn by P. J. Knobloch from Couture and Sampeck 2003: fig. 9.28, p. 245); b. *A. colubrina* symbol on a snuff tray from San Pedro de Atacama (Redrawn by P. J. Knobloch from Torres 1987: p. 43, fig. 1); c. *A. colubrina* symbol on the "Fire Textile" Rayed Head (Redrawn by P. J. Knobloch from Conklin 2004: fig. 5, p. 97)

suggested in the literature. This sequence is, however, attractive in that monolithic statue carving at Tiwanaku must have continued with little or no interruption from earlier Yaya-Mama and Pucara styles, but megalithic gateways were a new invention. More likely, fine-line incised imagery would have been worked out

on the familiar medium of statuary rather than the new medium of architectural gateways.

At Conchopata, Flying Profile Attendants are associated with other vessels decorated with a Staff God flanked by Profile Attendants. These different iconic themes appear on urns of the same shape, with the same color schemes. Examples were recovered by Tello in 1942, and illustrated by Menzel (1977: fig. 62, 66, 67). More recent examples were excavated by Isbell and Cook (2002) in their 1999 excavations (Figure 12.1a). So if the cross dating of Flying Profile Attendants, proposed above works, this Deity with Attendants theme should be contemporary with the Putuni Keros, as well the Linares and Kantataita Lintels. Perhaps the Gate of the Sun belongs only slightly later.

The icons and organization of Conchopata's 1942/1999 Deity with Attendants theme (Figure 12.1a) differs significantly from the 1977 representation, and from what we know of the 2003 icons as well. The profile figures are Kneeling Profile Attendants characterized by: 1) snout noses; 2) great canines shown as long peg teeth projecting beyond the lips; 3) bent-knee legs; 4) limbs with internal fillet; 5) segmented belt; 6) collar with radiating lines; 7) front hand grasps a zigzag, segmented staff that has a bulb-based, three-filleted tuft on the top, and a severed head or captive at the bottom; 8) back hand grasps an axe hafted onto a recurved handle; and, 9) crown with a segmented band terminates at both ends with a feline head and what is probably a two-leaf representation of *A. colubrina* icon is in the middle (Figure 12.1a; Knobloch 2000: fig. 8a). Isbell believes that this rendition may be the first representational appearance of the hallucinogenic plant at Conchopata, probably late Epoch 1B, or early Epoch 2.

Knobloch suggests the possibility of an earlier appearance of *A. colubrina* representations at Conchopata. The realistic rendition of the icon on sherds discovered in 1997–98 by Ochatoma and Cabrera (Figure 12.3a; Knobloch 2000: fig. 2) might be an earlier rendition. On these sherds the spherical flowers, bipinnate leaves and leguminous seedpods of the "pea family" *A. colubrina* plant are much more naturalistically represented. The plant is depicted attached to an interlocking fret band, almost certainly from a round anthropomorphic head. Similar head motifs with crowns of highly stylized plants "growing" from the fret band come from another jar with early appearing shape, from the same excavations (Ochatoma and Cabrera 2002: fig. 8.8E). Perhaps the vessel represents an old Huarpa-style vessel like ones illustrated by Knobloch (1983: plate 39). Isbell, however, emphasizes that in spite of the archaistic vessel form, the fine painting and the context of this jar suggest that it is probably broadly contemporary with the 1942/1999 offerings. If so, the appearance of crowns with realistic *A. colubrina* growing from disembodied heads would be approximately contemporary with the more stylized *A. colubrina* icon in the middle of the 1942/1999 Profile Attendant crown. Be this dating issue as it may, disembodied heads with plants growing from them, sometimes with encircling interlocking fret band, appear on Tiwanaku sculptures, San Pedro snuff tablets, and other Tiwanaku-style art, but space prevents the exploration of this iconic relationship more than Knobloch (2000) has already discussed.

A Staff God is represented between Kneeling Profile Attendants on 1942/1999 oversize urns, consistent with the "Deity with Attendants" theme that has been

compared with Tiwanaku's Gate of the Sun by many investigators (Figure 12.1a, b; Cook 1994; Isbell and Cook 1987; Menzel 1964, 1977). However, specific similarities among these icons are not as many as the frequently repeated comparisons suggest. Of course, there is the basic organization of the scene, consisting of a front-face Staff God with Profile Attendants to its right and left. However, on the Gate of the Sun there are three rows of Profile Attendants, who are all smaller than the Staff God, and who kneel facing, or run toward, the Staff God. Furthermore, the Staff God stands on the three-step pyramid. There can be no confusion about hierarchical status, and who is in charge of whom.

In the 1942/1999 Deity with Attendants scene, the Kneeling Profile Attendants are all traveling right to left, like Flying Profile Attendants, not toward the deity. Furthermore, they are the same size as the Staff God. If it were not for the more famous Gate of the Sun theme, there would be no reason to infer difference in status for the front-face and profile figures. In fact, the two perspectives could be alternative representations of the same being, perhaps seasonal manifestations, as the god travels though the year, always in the right to left direction. Motifs the 1942/1999 Staff God shares with the Gate of the Sun Staff God include: 1) belted tunic with two vertical bands with interlocking frets or alternative segments, that resemble suspenders; 2) staff decoration consisting of segmented, nested squares; and, 3) crown appendages that emphasize profile animal heads at four corners, separated by other motifs. On the other hand, dissimilarities include: 1) crowns are shaped differently, especially the band of interlocking frets around the face; 2) crown rays are different in form and organization, with the 1942/1999 Staff God's rays differing significantly from all other known ray sets; 3) the mouth includes salient peg teeth similar to those of the Profile Attendant, but otherwise virtually unique in Tiwanaku-Style iconography; 4) ends of staff tufts are very different; 5) Staff God is no larger than the Profile Attendant; 6) the Conchopata version lacks a stepped pedestal. These distinctions suggest that in terms of stylistic development Conchopata was taking innovative steps, and that the art and religion of Tiwanaku and Conchopata/Huari were beginning to diverge, even if some elements may be more similar than ever. Perhaps the divergence was not due to a breakdown in communication, but to disagreement about religious symbols and meanings.

One of the most curious aspects of the 1942/1999 Staff God is its crown (Fig. 12.1a). In Pucara Provincial, Tiwanaku, and other Conchopata/Huari representations, the Staff God has a rather blocky head, with a band completely encircling the face, as though it were an emanation from the face itself. Rays project from this band, sometimes from all four sides, and sometimes from only three, so that nothing projects below the chin. In those cases, decorative elements below the chin seem to be hanging around the being's neck, or represented as on the clothing. The 1942/1999 Staff God face and crown violate this tradition, taking conventionalization of the crown a step farther than any other representation. Not only are there no rays below the chin, but the encircling band does not pass below the chin, and instead turns out over each shoulder. Rays terminating in profile heads that projected from the corners of the encircling band are now attached to the ends of the band. This crown looks very much more like a hat or headdress than an

essential radiance of the face, or like an encircling collar. And very curiously, the broad feather-like rays of 1942/1999, between the profile heads at the corners of the face, remind the observer of rays from the Pucara Provincial Rayed Head with feather rays (Figure 12.4a) textile style.

The 1942/1999 Staff God is not the only icon that suggests increasing divergence between the Conchopata/Huari iconic and religious tradition, and that of Tiwanaku. One Tiwanaku-Style icon was apparently invented at Conchopata and never appears at Tiwanaku. The innovative icon appears for the first time in the 1942/1999 style, but this style continued to dominate Conchopata art for some time, perhaps until the end of the oversize-urn tradition. The new icon gained popularity later than other 1942/1999 icons, and perhaps its invention was also relatively late. At any rate, this icon could be no earlier than Epoch 2 of the Middle Horizon, and may have continued into Epoch 3—although Ayacucho ceramic styles for Epochs 3 and 4 are still to be worked out.

Conchopata's new Tiwanaku-style icon is a disembodied profile head that is almost surely an abbreviated version of the Profile Attendant. Consequently, we refer to it as the Attendant Head.

Attendant Head icons are large enough to occupy the entire decorative band on the exterior of giant urns. Menzel (1964, 1977) recognized one form with what she called a feline snout. Rosalind Spielvogel published black and white photos of a Tello urn showing Attendant Heads (Spielvogel 1955: plate 55) that later was fully reconstructed and exhibited at the Palazzo Strozzi Museum in Florence, although it has some errors.

The Conchopata Archaeological Project discovered an unusually complete urn with two alternating feline Attendant Heads encircling the wide-rim band (Figure 12.10a). Both icons face left and have the following general attributes: 1) crown with a straight, segmented top band and curved, three-filleted neck band; 2) projecting tufts at either end of top band; 3) curved tear bands below the eye with two divided circles; 4) round disk and wing-like tufts on either side of the eye; 5) spiral nose; and, 6) open mouth with squared teeth. There are design elements that distinguish these heads. One Attendant Head icon has the following: 1) N-shaped canines; 2) oval eye with black pupil; 3) three avian- and one feline-head motifs projecting as crown rays; 4) top band is segmented, nested squares; and, 5) central crown tuft has U-shaped base. The other Attendant Head icon has: 1) long, peg-tooth canines; 2) divided eye; 3) three feline and one avian-head motifs as crown rays; 4) top band is segmented nested squares and chevrons; and 5) central crown tuft with bodiless head motif.

Another urn from near by (Figure 12.10b), has two alternating Attendant Heads occupying the broad rim band; one is feline and has a divided eye, spiral nose and N-shaped canines while the other is avian with pupil eye and slightly open beak. These two, as well as the Attendant Heads from the former urn have the same headband pattern of alternating nested squares and chevrons. On the other hand, the Attendant Heads on the feline and avian urn have eye decorations that represent a serpentine body with double-curved legs. The Feline Attendant Head's eye marking ends in a avian profile head, while the Avian Attendant Head's eye marking terminates in

Figure 12.10. a. Conchopata Urn in late variant of the 1942/1999 style, showing alternating Attendant Head icons (Photo by W. H. Isbell); b. Conchopata Urn in late variant of the 1942/1999 style, showing alternating feline and avian Attendant Head icons with ray appendages that include the late *A. colubrina* symbol with two circles-with-dot flowers (Photo by W. H. Isbell)

a feline profile head. The urn with the feline and avian attendant head has another element that appears for the first time, a projecting crown ray that represents *A. colubrina* (see Knobloch 2000: fig. 8a). This *A. colubrina* symbol is different from the two-leafed icon on the head of the Kneeling Profile Attendant from the 1942/1999 Deity with Attendants theme, and different from relatively realistic *A. colubrina* representations on oversize jars excavated by Ochatoma and Cabrera, that may predate the urns discussed here. This new icon has a two-leafed rectangle

with internal crescent. On the top are two circled dots that apparently represent the flowers of the *A. colubrina* plant. Significantly, Tiwanaku representations of *A. colubrina* that employ the two-leafed rectangle also have circles representing the flowers on the top of the icon, but there are always three. At first glance, the two-circle, or two-flower *A. colubrina* seems unique to Conchopata, but in fact, it is almost identical to the *A. colubrina* symbol on a snuff tray from San Pedro de Atacama (Figure 12.9b; Torres 1987: 43 no. 1, plate 74, left hand staff top), as already noted by Knobloch (2000: fig. 5a). Probably sometime in Epoch 2 or 3 of the Middle Horizon, Conchopata urn painters and San Pedro de Atacama snuff tablet carvers employed almost identical symbols for *A. colubrina*.

Communication of this *A. colubrina* symbol between Conchopata and San Pedro de Atacama could have taken place with textiles, for the new Conchopata-style icon appears almost exactly like its ceramic version, on several textiles. One, published by Conklin (2004b) as the "Fire Textile" shows a Rayed Head of the Staff God head, with rays that include the late Conchopata-style *A. colubrina* icon (Figure 12.9c; Knobloch 2000: fig. 7). The Fire Textile was named for a minor theme showing two men holding a vertical staff, which Conklin (1970, 2004b) considers to be a depiction of the pair drilling fire. The *A. colubrina* symbol also occurs in other examples of this kind of textile, either in the Rayed Head, or on the top of minor heads. A similar rendition of *A. colubrina* occurs in several locations of a Kneeling Attendant icon on a textile with unknown provenience (Knobloch 2000: fig. 4). If this variant of the *A. colubrina* symbol is temporally significant, then these textiles must date no earlier than late Epoch 2 of the Middle Horizon.

Returning to Conchopata's Profile Attendant Heads, Ochatoma and Cabrera (2001: fig. 7, 2002: fig. 8.9A, B, C) found a distinct type, characterized by a nose that resembles the noses of Conchopata's Flying Profile Attendant B2. They are also different in having a nested square of contrasting color at the tip of the chin. Similar elements occur in the Pucara-Style Feline-Man theme (Chávez 2002a: fig. 2.8 A and B). Other design elements include: 1) peg canine teeth that extend beyond the lips, like the Staff God and Kneeling Profile Attendants from the 1942/1999 urns; 2) crown is a segmented band of nested squares that turns up at both ends, with a feline head at one end and a bulb-based, three-filleted tuft for a tail at the other; 3) crown rays have circled dot, tuft, and avian head tips; 4) projection from ends in fish/snake head or bulb-based, three-filleted tuft; and 5) hair at the back of the head in unusual yellow-orange color. Unusual to these icons is the use of white outlining of design elements, although the Kneeling Attendant on the Tello/1999 urns has some white outlining.

Additional Attendant Heads occur at Conchopata, but we have discussed the most salient and best preserved variants. There are also other icons that we are just beginning to define as we reconstruct Conchopata's smashed pottery. Some of these icons relate to the Tiwanaku style, while others apparently do not. As at Tiwanaku, boundaries of the Tiwanaku style do not seem to have been sharp and clear. Some marginal icons, such as a winged bird with feline attributes, are probably shared by Tiwanaku and Conchopata/Huari, while others such as profile felines with front-face body, a llama with a plant on its back, frogs, eagles/hawks,

and elaborately clothed humans with weapons may be part of one repertoire or the other. Much iconography remains to be studied, and this preliminary reevaluation reveals the kind of breakthroughs that are coming.

CONCLUSION

We believe that our research has answered the key question posed at the onset of this paper. Was Staff God with Profile Attendant religion a unified, deep structural ideology that endured Archaic origins, the Early Horizon, the Middle Horizon and the Inca Empire essentially unchanged? The answer is "No." In the rise of Middle Horizon religious art, we see the Staff God emerge out of an older theme, the Rayed Head. This development involved significant syncretism, reinterpretation, and hybridization, perhaps over half a millennium. The process appears to have begun by the end of the Early Horizon, if the ornamented gold plume from Cuzco is an early representation of the synthesis. Consequently, Chavín iconography and meaning probably contributed something. But local traditions, not Chavín influence, seem to provide the most meaningful antecedents and context for this innovative theme. Probably slightly later is the little Pucara statuette, but these objects still appear to be unique examples that are unlikely to have been the focus of major religious activities.

In Pucara Provincial art, emphasis continued on the Rayed Head, but the Denver Tapestry shows that the Staff God, or multiple Staff Gods, were important images too. However, this textile seems to imply that the Rayed Head and Staff God(s) were not unified into a single concept. Furthermore, with the two Staff Gods in secondary position, and 36 front-face figures with staffs seeming to represent tertiary rank, there is little resemblance to a pantheon emphasizing Sun, Moon and Thunder.

The Staff God appears to have achieved religious supremacy by Middle Horizon 1B, that is probably synchronous with its popular appearance at both Conchopata/Huari, and at Tiwanaku. At Tiwanaku the new religion was introduced into a context of Yaya-Mama culture and ideology that was surely more consistent with new Staff God beliefs than Huarpa/Nasca cultural contexts were for the new religion in Ayacucho. However, interactions between Conchopata/Huari and Tiwanaku were apparently close at the time, so religious ideology in the respective areas may have maintained considerable homogeneity. But it was not long before the religions of the two centers began to separate, following independent evolutionary lines, as at least Ayacucho invented new icons that never appeared at Tiwanaku.

What can we make of *Anadenanthera colubrina*, hallucinogenic snuffing, and shamanism in the evolution of Rayed Head into Staff God and Profile Attendants religion? Certainly, hallucinatory experiences played a significant role. Isbell argues that from quite early on, some practitioners of the religion, or closely related set of religions, preferred an ecstatic and personal worship, such as shamans, while others preferred a more sober and institutionalized experience, such as priests. But

he believes that the chronology shows that these alternatives were contemporary, not sequential. They influenced one another rather than developing from one to the other. If the frequency of *A. colubrina* symbols in the objects of a religious art style measures the popularity of its use, there appears to have been an on-going dialog between worshippers with different attitudes toward *A. colubrina* for a very long time. *A. colubrina* seems to have begun more in the southwest portion of our vast region, but it was very strong at Tiwanaku when the Ponce Monolith was cut. On the other hand, it was much less popular with those who sculpted the Gate of the Sun.

Isbell believes that *A. colubrina* was resoundingly rejected by the painters or commissioners of Conchopata's 1977 jars. But they were contemporaries of Tiwanaku's Ponce Monolith carvers who repeated the symbol all over that statue. With the invention of the Attendant Head icon, *A. colubrina* became more obvious and popular at Conchopata, appearing also in spectacular textiles.

It seems that during the Middle Horizon, Staff God religion was dynamic, varied and changing. Surely Wari influence on Inca religion—perhaps reaching Chokepukio from Huaro and Pikillacta (Hiltunen and McEwan 2004)—could not have carried an encapsulated and ancient essence of Andean cosmology, for there never was a universal ideology. Dynamic competition, change, reinterpretation and invention appear to have been the rule as the Rayed Head developed into Staff God worship.

Is "Tiwanaku style" an appropriate name for Middle Horizon Staff God and Profile Attendant iconography? We think not, even though historical precedent associates the icons with the place where they were first defined, in this case by archaeologist Max Uhle. Unfortunately, by naming the style and religion for Tiwanaku, the amazing vitality and complexity of this Andean "Southern Tradition" is obscured, camouflaging its interactive, multi-regional and multicultural odyssey in the old garb of diffusion from a precocious origin center. We do not want to detract from the magnitude of Tiwanaku as a great center of Andean culture. But we are striving for an Andean past that is consistent with its material remains, and that accounts for the archaeological record better than alternative pronouncements. In the past we have just proposed, places considered marginal, like San Pedro de Atacama, are recognized as important contributors to Andean civilization. Styles hardly known to archaeologists before, such as Pucara Provincial, have been acknowledged. The remains and their dates support us.

We feel that Early Tiwanaku, or Tiwanaku III, is still inadequately defined and it is not correlated with stylistic changes in the Huari sphere. This shortcoming means that inferring what was going on in the southern altiplano just before the apogee of Tiwanaku is little more than guesswork. Facing this problem, some scholars prefer to place everything stylistically antecedent to local monuments and remains at Tiwanku, as well as everything ancestral to the widely diffused Tiwanaku style, into an undefined "Early Tiwanaku" class. We feel that if materials did not come from Tiwanaku, are stylistically different from known Tiwanaku examples, and include several pieces with internal stylistic integrity, and are consistently dated earlier than Tiwanaku's apogee, we are better off creating a new stylistic name that

recognizes the spatial and temporal unity of the objects and collections rather than lumping all into an Early Tiwanaku category that we do not understand—in space, in time, or in culture. Haeberli's (2002) Provincial Pucara style is an excellent example.

On the basis of archaeology at Iwawi (Isbell and Burkholder 2002), in Tiwanaku's heartland, we suggest that Early Tiwanaku at the type site of Tiwanaku continued a Yaya-Mama tradition, probably with significant Pucara influence. The impressive developments responsible for the monumental Tiwanaku center came relatively late, after AD 500 or 600. To the degree that we are correct, the origins of the "Tiwanaku style" are not in local, long-term evolution in the south altiplano, but in intensified interactions among distant cultures of the southern Andes, from Ayacucho to San Pedro de Atacama, and from Cochabamba to Moquegua. Furthemore, a smidgen of northern Chavín iconography and meaning seems to have participated. Tiwanaku-style iconography and religion came out of innovation promoted by cultural interaction in a vast sphere linked by llama caravans, where social difference and political power were increasingly important. It was not invented and sustained for millennia by precocious elites at a monumental capital.

This discussion has proposed important chronological changes for Conchopata/Huari, and the Peruvian Middle Horizon. We feel that some of the changes are very secure—that the 1942/1999 oversized urns date to the end of Middle Horizon 1B, and not the beginning of Epoch 1A, for example. Indeed, one of Tello's 1942 fragments shows the Staff God and Profile Attendants with a small human standing by, perhaps a shaman or priest. This man is wearing a 4-cornered hat, and all other depictions of these textile hats on ceramics found at Huari are in association with Epoch 2 style pottery in the Bennett collection from his Huari excavations (Knobloch 1989: 118). On the other hand, we are not as secure about the date when the 1942/1999 Conchopata style disappeared. Perhaps it survived as late as Middle Horizon Epoch 3.

We have proposed important stylistic and chronological links between Conchopata and Tiwanaku and, with less precision, links to Pucara, Pucara Provincial, and San Pedro de Atacama. Some of the links seem unassailable—the 1977 Staff God with the Ponce Monolith Staff God, for example. Others are more problematic and contradict traditional thinking. We are puzzled by the implication that Flying Profile Attendants, and therefore the Linares and Kantataita lintels, are later than the Ponce Monolith and 1977/2003 Conchopata jars, when we apply Conchopata's sequence to Tiwanaku sculpture. But the numerous stylistic attributes and themes that are shared must not be ignored in favor of the ideas that are accepted because they have been for decades. Of course, much remains to be learned. This paper answers a few of the old questions about Middle Horizon chronology and iconography, while laying a foundation for a host of new interrogatives.

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