



The Politico-Religious Implications of the Huari Offering Tradition

ANITA G. COOK*

The Chavin, Tiwanaku and Inca Andean "horizons" were characterized by widespread distributions of commissioned or sanctioned objects, each expressing a particular image in distinctive styles. The "horizon" styles each resulted from dynamic historical processes that also significantly altered Andean social landscape and worldview. Entire design repertoires and symbolic imagery are strikingly consistent over large areas during each of these three periods of major cultural expansion.

Stonework, ceramics and textiles were the three principal artistic media used through time. Although the socio-economic and political nature of prehistoric Andean societies were distinct from each other; they all placed a high value on the production and labor invested in the transformation of these three materials into goods for distribution. It is only during the Middle Horizon (ca. A.D. 550-800), however, that a coherent iconography in these media emerged in conjunction with the rise of large urban complexes and statehood.

The political events that occurred during the period from. A.D. 550 to 800 culminated in centrally administered multi-regional polities in the central and southern Andean highlands (Isbell 1984, 1985; Isbell and Schreiber 1978; Lumbreras 1960, 1980; McEwan 1984, 1985; Menzel 1964, 1968; Ponce 1969, 1972, 1979; Schreiber 1982, 1983, 1985; Spickard 1983). Attention will focus on new data¹, from the central highland capital of Huari (Cook 1985a; Isbell et al. 1985) and related sites in the Ayacucho Valley of Peru, that throw light on changing concepts of political leadership. The politico-religious inferences that are drawn from the images in dated Huari deposits are also discussed with relation to the contemporary iconography and statuary art at Tiwanaku, in the Titicaca Basin of Bolivia.

Monuments and objects were in both of these areas bearing an iconographic complex involving profile and frontal figures. The best known example of this composition, named the Central Deity Theme (Cook, 1979; 1983, 1985a) is engraved on the lintel of the Monolithic Gateway at Tiwanaku (Posnansky 1945: Pl. XIX a-c). The image consists of a centrally positioned frontal figure with outstretched arms that grasp staffs. This figure is referred to as the Central Deity. Three rows of running profile staff figures on either side of this Central deity, are referred to as Profile Figures. The presence of these figures and related motifs on ceramics and stonework has often helped identify sites with a Middle Horizon

¹A new type of offering excavated during the 1979 to 1980 field season is included. It was recorded in the Moraduchayoq sector of Huari (Isbell et al. 1985) and differs significantly from those previously discussed in the literature (Menzel 1964, 1968; Ravines 1968, 1977; Thatcher 1975, 1977). Given the temporal changes proposed by Cook (1985a) and Knobloch (1983) this Huari offering has been dated to early Epoch 1B (ca. A.D. 600 to 650).

*Dumbarton Oaks. Precolumbian Studies, Washington D.C.

component. Given that each polity had distinct ceramic styles that did not bear this shared imagery, it has been possible to distinguish Huaris from Tiwanaku occupations. The differences between these polities is further enhanced by a geographical separation between Huaris and Tiwanaku site distributions in the highlands (Anders 1985; Isbell and Schreiber 1978; McEwan 1985; Mujica 1985; Schreiber 1982, 1983, 1985; Ponce 1972). On the coast, recent research reveals that the Moquegua Valley is the first area where both polities co-existed in such close proximity (Lumbreras 1982; Moseley et al. 1985; Watanabe 1984).

The iconography was so highly esteemed by both the Huaris and Tiwanakus that it is found on their major monuments, and on pottery and other media within special ritual offerings. Studies of both polities, however, have not yet helped explain their iconographic homogeneity. Research at Huaris and Tiwanaku sites is conducted as separate from one another; unfortunately there has been little agreement on problems of mutual interest. One such area of research concerns the shared structure and content in pictorial imagery.

Research on Huaris and Tiwanaku designs has largely concerned chronology (Ponce 1972, 1976; Wallace 1957), stylistic differences (Menzel 1964, 1968) or interpretive studies on the diffusionary mechanisms responsible for the dissemination of these designs. The most frequently quoted position refers to the Titicaca Basin as the distributional center. Dissemination of the iconography is argued to have occurred through means of religious pilgrimages or itinerant medicine-men (Isbell 1983, 1985; Lumbreras 1974; Menzel 1964, 1968; Wallace 1980). As yet, there is no known archaeological evidence that suggests the existence of either pilgrimages or itinerant medicinemen for the period from A.D. 500 to 800 (Cook in press). Until more is known about population movements between Huaris and Tiwanaku sites these interpretations remain speculative². While little can yet be confirmed from archaeological remains about the specific relationship that brought Huaris and Tiwanaku into close contact, too little attention has been paid to the social and ceremonial importance of the shared imagery, a subject that does reveal both structural (Cook in press) and contextual information about these two polities.

In this paper, I suggest that the information encoded in the contexts and contents of buried caches reveals that specific ritual practices were absorbed and sanctioned by leaders in the power struggle that shaped the Huaris state. I am arguing that patterned changes in the deposition of ritual objects also express a conceptual shift in the legitimation of hierarchy from the mythical to the human domain. This has direct bearing on our understanding of the rapid political and economic transformation that were taking place in the Ayacucho Valley, and with people in other regions with whom the Huaris had contact. To achieve an understanding of these changes in the context of ritual deposits, only Epoch 1 (ca. A.D. 550-650) offerings are considered in this discussion.

Buried offerings have been recovered (Cook 1983, in press; Menzel 1964, 1968; Ravines 1968, 1977; Thatcher 1975, 1977; Valcárcel 1933) within regions that felt Huaris presence. The contents of these offerings vary, but they all include the representation of figures common to the iconography known from both Huaris and Tiwanaku. Many deposits contain oversized finely decorated but broken pottery, others include finely carved figurines, etc. The comparative study of the deposits suggests that these offerings reveal variations in ritual behavior that have politico-religious implications.

²I have also suggested that Huaris is viewed as secondary to Tiwanaku because archaeological recognition of Huaris as a major site in antiquity came late, and remains poorly integrated today in Peruvian history. Conversely, Tiwanaku, remained an important center in the past and continues to be recognized as a nationalistic symbol in Bolivia. Cusco with its Inca heritage, serves as the equivalent symbol in Peru (Cook 1985a: 52-54).

The Secular Hypothesis

Menzel (1964) originally developed a Huari ceramic seriation from which she derived a subdivision into ceremonial, lay elite, and local secular pottery. This is the framework used most by Huari scholars in North America. In her discussion of individual style definitions Menzel emphasized a series of socio-political and religious inferences drawn from the depositional context and iconography of elaborately decorated ceramics.

According to Menzel, the division into ceremonial, lay elite, and local pottery groups occurred early in the Middle Horizon. Mythical themes were found in exclusive ritual offerings in Ayacucho, particularly at the site of Conchopata and at Pacheco on the south coast. By Menzel's account, during Middle Horizon 2A (ca. A.D. 700) there occurred a secularizing trend in the offering tradition, manifested in the depiction of mythical themes on more secular pottery. These were found, for instance, in the Epoch 2 highland offering at Ayapata (Menzel 1968, Ravines 1968, 1977) in the Ayacucho region, and in elaborate south coastal burials, indicating their use in elite contexts also. Menzel referred to these ceramics as lay elite items. She used the terms, secular Huari pottery, to refer to vessels with design variations locally developed in Ayacucho communities. Wagner (1981) emphasized these three as socially significant groupings in her doctoral thesis on Huari ceramics. Her conclusions differ only in degree from those arrived at by Menzel. In her conclusions, Menzel maintains the fundamental concept that the three distinct ceramic groups reflect different Huari class statuses and possible ethnic diversity.

The meaning of secularization in the sense implied by Menzel and Wagner, is very difficult to ascertain from archaeological remains, especially if ceramics are the only source on which this information is based. I suggest, instead, that there are different types of offerings, and that they involved, what we consider to be, both the secular and sacred domains. This question is explored in the following pages through an analysis of painted ceramic images and carved and incised sculptures found exclusively within sealed or subterranean deposits. Each contains portable art objects that bear on the question of Huari presence in different parts of the highlands.

Political Implications of the Offering Tradition

The Andean concept of an offering is given meaning by the particular time and place of calendrical, agricultural, cosmological and religious events that occur within a variety of socio-political contexts. There is a wealth of ethnographic evidence that confirms the contemporary role of offerings at specific points in a person's life cycle, at religious ceremonies, at the beginning and end of agricultural and construction activities (Arguedas 1956, 1968; Fuenzalida 1965; Isbell 1978; Llanos and Osterling 1982; Millones 1967; Núñez del Prado 1974; Ossio 1973; Roel Pineda 1966; Urton forthcoming etc.). A good number of references in the ethnohistoric literature (Duviols 1976; Rostworowski 1976; Zuidema 1973, 1982) cover descriptions of ceremonial practices among the Inca (for summaries of these sources see also Rowe 1947; Valcárcel 1978). Archaeological evidence pertaining to the same subject is also discussed, by Carrion (1955), Isbell (1976), Menzel (1964, 1968), Lumbreras (1974), Tello (1939), and others.

Inca offerings reveal a large known repertory of cultural material ranging from textiles and ceramics (including figurines), to gold, silver, and bronze artifacts. Menzel (1964, 1968) refers to Inca ethnohistory to draw an analogy between the written sources that describe the ritual nature of subterranean Inca offerings, and the deposits of broken vessels buried together at various Middle Horizon Huari sites. Her analogy emphasizes the ritual and sacred aspects of Andean offerings. With the accumulation of more data from Huari and related sites, the number and variation of offerings have recently increased.

Offerings, I suggest, are a form of Andean tribute that occur at prescribed points

in time and space and require special attention to a series of ordered events that will ensure propitious results. Ethnohistory tells us that tribute was never paid under Inca rule, it was given in the form of labor (e.g., Cobo 1979: Bk. II, Ch. 27). Offerings can be argued to be part of this system of reciprocal payment. To ensure a good crop the production of labor-intensive goods were given to the goods in exchange for a promising harvest, plentiful rain etc. It is therefore not surprising that there are different types of offerings with elaborately decorated pottery that result from specific ritual objectives. Assuming that we do accept that Huari deposits, as they are described by Menzel, are indeed offerings; what then is the relationship between these ritual deposits and the political domain?

It seems safe to assume that the economic and political changes that shaped the growth of Huari also involved parallel changes in leadership roles. Although we can only speculate about the specific nature of these changes, I argue that we should expect to find differences in offering deposits that also express the increased importance of centralized leadership and its legitimation. In this sense, the offerings are considered as event that were the subject of conceptual changes in the structure and fabric of Huari society.

For now I would like to return to a discussion of the Middle Horizon offerings and illustrate how changes in the context and content of deposits, provide evidence of three types of tribute that express the increasing importance and legitimation of human political leadership.

A Typology of Huari Offerings

There are many major and minor offerings reported for the Middle Horizon. I will only analyze the five major highland deposits that have been recovered within provenienced architecturally defined areas of Huari sites. These include two ceramic caches from the site of Conchopata, two green stone figurine deposits from Pikillajta, and the Cist Area ceramics from Moraduchayoq at Huari (Table 1, Fig. 1).

Table 1
COMPARISON OF OFFERING DEPOSITS

Variables	CONCHOPATA		PIKILLAJTA		HUARI
	<i>Offering 1</i> (ca 550 A.D.)	<i>Offering 2</i> (ca 600 A.D.)	<i>Offering 1</i> (ca 650 A.D.)	<i>Offering 2</i> (ca 650 A.D.)	<i>Cist Area</i> (ca 600-650 A.D.)
Context	Unprepared cist	Unprepared cist	Unprepared cist	Unprepared cist	7 prepared stone chambers 3 clay-lined pits
Contents	Broken oversized ceramics	Broken oversized ceramics	Green stone Figurines Shell Bronze	Green stone Figurines Shell Bronze	Broken ceramics Human bone
Shape	Oversized painted ceramic urns	Oversized painted ceramic face-neck jars (n = ca. 25)	Human stone figurines (n = 40)	Human stone figurines (n = 40) ^a	Regular-sized painted <i>Lyre cups</i> Cups/vases, Tumblers Keros, Effigies and spoons, Bowls.
	↑ Type 1 ↓		↑ Type 2 ↓		↑ Type 3 ↓
Epoch	1A	1B	1B	1B	1B

^a1 lost figurine.

Traditionally, Middle Horizon offerings have been defined as broken vessels buried in subterranean unprepared cists (Menzel 1964). The offerings found at the site of Conchopata (Fig. 1) were of this type. Both included the broken remains of oversized and elaborately painted vessels. The religious significance is conveyed by the mythical or nonhuman iconography found on their surfaces (Figs. 2, 3). All the pieces of each vessel were buried together in a single deposit (Menzel 1964). The vessels can be completely reconstructed. This suggests that they were intentionally broken at the same time and buried as a single event (Cook 1979, in press).

Differences in the content and context of offerings suggests that the traditional definition needs to be expanded to include more than one type³. In 1927, two other caches, each consisting of forty green figurines, were found within an interior room at the Huari site of Pikillajta (Ramos and Blasco 1977; Valcárcel 1933). Each was located within an unprepared cist below a plaster floor and sealed with a polished stone⁴. Carbon 14 dates (see McEwan 1984: 63-65, 131-133) suggest that this section of the site probably dates to Epoch 1B. Menzel had stylistically dated Pikillajta occupation to Epoch 1B or early 2A on the basis of ceramics collected by Sanders (see also Sanders 1973). At Huari, the recovery of Epoch 1B deposits within finely built stone capped cists and with a distinctly different ceramic inventory also provides evidence that offerings of the same time period varied significantly. Table 1 compares the deposits, to be discussed below, from Conchopata, Huari and Pikillajta⁵.

The criteria that distinguish these offerings from one another are: 1) archaeological context, 2) the nature of their contents, and 3) the shapes of offering objects. Three types of offerings are defined in Table 1. One type includes offerings deposited exclusively in unprepared cists. Each contain the same type of broken oversized painted vessels. Examples include, the urns in the 1942 Conchopata deposit (Fig. 2) and the repeated face-neck jars in the 1977 Conchopata cache (Fig. 3). A second type is also found in unprepared cists, however, these contain non-ceramic whole artifacts, such as the green stone human figurines in the Pikillajta offerings. The third, and last type described here, are offerings found in either architecturally defined, capped chambers, some of which have niches and stone floors, or in unprepared or clay-lined cists. They may include different vessel shapes (Figs. 4, 5). Those found at Huari contained a variety of painted miniature and regular-sized vessels. This class of offering may require further subdivisions with more research.

This classification is not meant to suggest that different types of offerings were made at each site; all types are expected to occur at other Huari sites. The sample of five caches remains small, but it can still serve to define the major known Middle Horizon deposits. For example, if the south coast Pacheco cache⁶ was included in this analysis, it would conform to a type 3 offering, because it was found in unprepared chambers within and architecturally defined area of the site and contains both regular and over-sized vessel

³Menzel had already recognized this problem in her 1968 article on "New Data on the Huari Empire in Middle Horizon 2A" (1968: 52).

⁴These offerings are reported to have been found on the northwest side of structure 34-2B in Sector # 2 of McEwan's description of the site (McEwan this volume, Mapa 3).

⁵Detailed descriptions of each offering and their contents are given in several publications. For the 1942 and 1977 Conchopata offerings see Cook 1979, in press; Isbell and Cook in press; Lumbreras 1980; Menzel 1964, 1968, 1977. The Pikillajta figurine offerings are discussed by Cook 1985b; Engl and Engl 1969; McEwan 1984; Ramos and Blasco 1977; Valcárcel 1933. The Cist Area at Moraduchayoq is fully described in Cook 1985a; Isbell et al. 1985.

⁶A third offering from Pacheco on the south coast includes both regular and oversized painted vessels. This deposit is not discussed here for two reasons. First, the adobe structures at Pacheco have not been fully described so it is difficult to define its relationship to other highland Huari sites with architecture. Second, the Pacheco materials were collected by looters and archaeologists on different occasions. The provenience and contextual associations are therefore not provided in sufficient detail to include in this analysis.

shapes. It is important to note that all the offerings except the 1942 Conchopata deposit date to Epoch 1B. About 50 to 75 years separate the 1942 and 1977 Conchopata caches. Differences are stylistic, and not in the nature of the actual offerings, which consist of many of the same type of vessels in unprepared cists. This suggests a continuity in offering rituals occurring at different points in time.

Ritual Offerings in Political Contexts

The political inferences are drawn from the three principal variables in the left column of Table 1: the context, content, and shape of the offering materials. First, I examine the increased role of human political leadership in the imagery by documenting the presence and frequency of humans in offering art. Second, differences in the archaeological contexts of these Middle Horizon offerings suggest different tribute objectives and distinct ritual events that likewise imply the increasing importance of political legitimation expressed in material symbols (Bloch 1974, 1978)⁷. A comparison of the five offerings reveals that humans are depicted in each deposit within particular associations that suggest the rituals were appropriated by a ruling elite.

Both of the Conchopata deposits were found in unprepared cists within an open area defined by surrounding walls with benches. These walls are not visible on the surface. The area is interpreted by William Isbell and Cook (in press) as a sacred area, or temple, where offerings were made. On the 1942 Conchopata urns, a broad painted band includes a series of different mythical figures among which appear miniature humans, and a few full-sized humans. These are figures with elite insignia such as elaborate hats, tunics, and earspools. I only found three examples of full-sized figures in the 1942 Conchopata offering

⁷To understand the political implications of the Middle Horizon offering tradition, it is of value to reconstruct, albeit briefly, the nature of ritual practice and its relevance to political leadership. The theory that ritual communication involves formalized and repeated acts and that this type of performance is a form of power that is characteristic of traditional authority situations is discussed by Bloch (1974, 1977). His argument, based on ethnographic data on Madagascar chiefdoms, suggests that ritual behavior, such as song, dance and communication by material symbols is so highly structured and formalized, that it reduces the potential for saying new things. For Bloch, organized ritual is basically nondiscursive, yet he proposes that it is employed, and may even have its roots in the sanctioning of leadership and power. While much of Bloch's argument is convincing, it suggests that ritual does not actively communicate to its participants instead:

...as the leader turns to formalization his individual will disappears as he transforms reality in a timeless placeless zone in which everybody is in his right place. In the political context the elder has to fight off rivals. However, in the role of religion this is not necessary any more. Indeed one can say that a political event becomes religious when individual power struggles have become unnecessary. Formalisation thus not only removed what is being said from a particular time and a particular place, it has also removed it from the actual speaker, and thus created another supernatural being which the elder is slowly becoming of speaks for (Bloch 1974: 78).

It is interesting to note that in Inca state religious practices, for example, the Inca as son of the Sun is mediator between the human sphere and the supernatural, and assumes the position described above during the festival of the sun, or *Inti Raymi* and many other important rituals.

Despite the appeal of Bloch's argument, which is also supported by other anthropological studies on the nature of ritual, there is an equally abundant literature on the communicative aspects of ritual and the multi-vocality of symbols analyzed in ceremonial contexts (e.g. Turner 1967, 1969). This discussion is not intended as a review of the extensive literature on the subject of ritual symbolism. I merely want to point out that an analysis of material symbols sensitive to ethnoarchaeological issues has yet to be written, but that this should not preclude some initial efforts in this direction. Although what I propose may be premature and even proven in the future to be inaccurate, I am inclined to believe that the non-communicative nature of ritual behavior proposed by Bloch does not necessarily mean that the symbols associated with rituals are equally passive. Communication of new ideas, just like the ritual passage from childhood to adulthood, may reside in the material symbols associated with rituals rather than in the proscribed and highly structured patterns of ritual behavior. Inferences drawn from archaeological data to be presented in this paper follow this line of thought.

housed at the Museo Nacional de Antropología y Arqueología in Lima. All three appear on fragments and could not be fully reconstructed. The most complete full-size human is clothed and wears a 4-cornered hat with tassels, earspools and a tunic (Fig. 2; third figure from the right). In one hand this figure holds a ball, in the other an unidentified object. The two remaining examples of humans appear as likely victims of ritual sacrifice (Fig. 6, 7) or captives. One figure (Fig. 6), is firmly held by the arm, the other (Fig. 7) has blood spurting from its mouth. All miniature humans in this offering occur only as staff appendages of Central Deities and Profile Figures (or Sacrificers as Cook (1983) has argued elsewhere) in a subordinate, captive position. Those attached to Profile Figure staffs are upside down, while the Central Deity staff appendages are upright. The hands and arms of the miniature figures are unnaturally twisted and bound behind their backs (Fig. 2).

In the 1977 Conchopata deposit, there are no examples of two dimensional representations of humans. Instead, each face-neck jar is modeled in human form (Cook 1979, in press) with various decorations (Fig. 3). Painted braids descend down their backs. The facial features vary from jar to jar, suggesting that these were portraits of either living individuals, ancestors, or persons of different rank. Hands are often depicted on the shoulders of these vessels, while the overall decoration of the body of the jars resembles a women tunic. Most of these jars depict garments with the iconographic theme also found on the Monolithic Gateway at Tiwanaku.

It is important to note that, the iconographic relationship between the Conchopata 1977 jars and the Monolithic Gateway is supported by additional evidence provided by the statuary art, in particular the stelae at Tiwanaku. Several of the rectilinear monolithic statues that dot the landscape at Tiwanaku represent human figures analogous to the 1977 Conchopata face-neck jars. For example, Ponce's Stela 10 (1969: 67) or the Pachamama (Posnansky 1945: Figs. 113-116) and the Kochamama (Posnansky 1945: Figs. 101-102A). These have human faces with facial paint or masks, tresses that descend down the back of their heads, hand across the front superior portion of their bodies, and figures from the Central Deity Theme depicted on their garments. In summary, the oversized Conchopata clay jars are modeled human figures just like the monolithic Tiwanaku stone stelae and their garments likewise convey figures of the Central Deity Theme. The ceramics and sculptures are here considered contemporary, dating to Middle Horizon 1B (ca. A.D. 600 to 700). Clearly, Tiwanaku statuary needs to be considered within its own history, but the similarities between Huari offerings and these sculptures suggest that Epoch 1B is the period on which to focus future research in this area.

In summary, in type one Huari offerings, humans are depicted in their earliest form as miniature captives or very infrequently as full-sized figures. A variety of mythical themes predominate. By Epoch 1B, all the jars in the 1977 Conchopata deposit are modeled in human form.

The offerings from the frontier state settlement of Pikillajta illustrate the importance of humans as the ritual objects of tribute. Here to unprepared cists with forty green stone human figurines each, were located within meters of one another. The figures were associated with non-ceramic artifacts that included marine shell. Some local informants indicated that the figurines were positioned around a thin bronze rod at the time of their discovery. Each figurine is dressed in a fancy hat and tunic, many wear earspools, while a few bear nose plugs (Ramos and Blasco 1977; Valcárcel 1933). Each figure has unique facial features, which are clearly visible because their faces are disproportionately enlarged. It should be noted that the size range of the figurines in both collections is 20-52 mm. Highly specialized craftspersons were clearly involved in the production of these fine stone carvings. The purpose again seems to have been to reproduce portraits of ancestors, living individuals known to the artist, or positions of rank that required differentiation (Cook 1985b).

These figures provide a comprehensive view of Huari officials or elites in typical dress and are thus or most direct link to the political leaders and possible rank differences within the Huari administrative hierarchy. Actual tunics from coastal burials offer some information on burial garments, but they do not represent the range found on these figurines.

The presence of human figurines in the two Pikillajta caches set them apart from the ceramic deposits discussed at Conchopata. Although, all four offerings occur in unprepared cists and suggest similar ritual treatment, the Pikillajta deposits were found below the floor of a small room within the site, while the Conchopata offerings were made within an open sacred patio.

The presence of Middle Horizon offerings within architectural compounds is repeated in the archaeological evidence of the cists within the dressed stone Moraduchayoq sector of Huari. This third type of offering includes primarily ceramics and some human bones, that suggest the possibility of human sacrifice (Cook 1985a). This is supported to some degree by the recovery of a single human skull offering excavated by Christina Brewster-Wray within one of the Moraduchayoq patio areas (Isbell et al. 1985).

The Cist Area deposits include a variety of broken ceramic vessels, both regular-sized and miniature, as well as spoons. It is difficult to determine whether or not the pottery was intentionally broken as part of ritual tributes or by post-depositional activities. No complete vessels were recovered although many were largely reconstructed after excavations were completed by the investigators. The major vessel categories were lyre cups (Fig. 4), vases/cups, tumblers, *keros*, effigy vessels, and bowls. The design features can be attributed to several Epoch 1B styles—this stylistic diversity contrasts with the other offerings—. In the previously described deposits, each offering largely represented a single style and included only finely executed ceremonial pieces. At Moraduchayoq fancy or ceremonial, lay elite, and local wares are combined in the offering (Cook 1985a).

In the offerings at Moraduchayoq, humans are depicted on modeled effigy vessels (Fig. 5) or as bodiless figures on the decorative bands of *keros*. Among the effigy vessels, humans appear in full elite regalia and wearing fine woven textiles with elaborate turbans or headdresses. The painted human heads on *keros* also have distinct headdresses (Cook 1985a: Fig. 18 a-g). In this instance, humans appear both as two dimensional figures and as modeled ceramic effigies, thus combining in one offering traits that appeared separately in the 1942 and 1977 Conchopata deposits (Figs. 2, 3).

From the evidence presented here it becomes clear that the contexts in which human figures were found indicate that they were part of an extensive offering tradition. The infrequent depiction of humans, especially as miniatures, on the early offering urns from Conchopata is reversed in the 1977 Conchopata offering where the jars are all modeled in the shape of human figures. From ca. A.D. 600 to 700 there was a proliferation of humans in modeled ceramic form, in carved stone, on textiles, and on numerous portable art objects. The proliferation coincides with the first visible period of Huari presence in the southern highlands and west to the coast.

One interpretation for the increased presence of human figures presented by Menzel attributes this change to the secularization of offerings brought about by Huari expansion. However, this tells us little about why this occurred or what was being expressed by this change. I suggest that the increasing role of centralized authority was a major concern during this period, the very focus of which involved human participation and leadership. The spiritual world is emphasized almost exclusively in the early offerings while humans, to the exclusion of mythical figures, distinguish the later Pikillajta stone figurine deposits. In interpret these offering object as material symbols. Changes in these material symbols of offerings provide insights into shifting modes of thought during a period when relations of dominance were being redefined under a more centralized Huari rulership. This qualitative

shift from mythic imagery to a focus on humans, occurred during the same years as Huari expanded to the frontiers of its empire.

A transformation in the content of offerings, which are seen as part of the ritual domain, documents how ritual and political leadership became overlapping domains. The total lack of mythical figures among the green stone Pikillajta figurines indicates the political importance of portraits ritually interred in what had once been a more exclusively religious context.

The context and contents of the offerings in the Cist Area of Moraduchayoq at Huari provide further support for this interpretation. The various vessel shapes and the effigy vessels, and keros with humans are among the earliest ceramics from the compound (ca. A.D. 600)⁸. This important piece of evidence indicates that the offerings within the Cist Area occurred towards the beginning of construction at Moraduchayoq. The events that led to these offerings were probably closely linked to the people involved in the initial construction of this compound. This in turn suggests that these offerings were made for different reasons. The first major difference between Moraduchayoq and all the other offerings described is the presence of ceremonial, lay elite, and local ceramic vessels. The second distinguishing feature is the time invested in finely built stone cist chambers sealed by large cap stone. This is the first instance of architecturally defined cists in reported Huari offerings.

An emphasis on the built environment, evident in architecturally planned Huari compounds such as Moraduchayoq and Pikillajta, is recapitulated in the dressed stone Moraduchayoq offering cists. Whereas in previous offerings we found fine ceremonial pottery in unprepared cists, at Moraduchayoq we encounter offerings of more utilitarian vessels within finely built stone chambers. This gives further credence to my interpretation that the Cist Area offerings were intended as ritual tributes made by those contributing labor to the construction of Moraduchayoq. The third important feature that separates these cists from those at Conchopata and Pikillajta is the presence of lyre cups within ritual contexts. I have suggested elsewhere (Cook 1985a) that lyre cups are a political emblem of Huari and Huari presence in areas outside the Ayacucho Valley. This is the first and only known Huari offering context in which lyre cups occur.

Given the nature of the Cist Area offerings and their particular construction, context, and contents, I would argue that the presence of lyre cups adds further evidence that state-sanctioned tributes were made before and during the construction activities at Huari in the Cist Area rooms. The Moraduchayoq cists are our first glimpse of Huari ceremonial offerings at what may be the capital city. The mixture of ceremonial, lay elite, and local ceramics within these cists suggest the events during which the offerings occurred were different from those described for Pikillajta or the earlier Conchopata deposits.

In this study, the ubiquitous human form and its transformation in the iconography of Huari from a miniature captive of the gods to a modeled form that bears a tunic with representations of the gods has been historically documented in Huari offerings. At Tiwanaku, however, where architectural design dominates that flat puna landscape, the stelae appear as colossal versions of the miniature humans described in Huari ritual deposits. A similar approach is now needed for the study of objects in this southern Tiwanaku polity.

The material symbols that are identified, in this paper, as political objects in Huari ritual contexts are: 1) images which show a sharp increase in the depiction of humans (many

⁸Within the Moraduchayoq compound at Huari, the same ceramic inventory that was found within the Cist Area was also recovered within residential rooms, the latter dating to ca. A.D. 700. It is interesting and unique to discover that at Huari, the same vessel shapes found in early offerings are recovered within a more secular and possibly residential area of the same compound approximately fifty years later. This evidence supports the suggestion that the Moraduchayoq caches are a new type of Epoch 1B Huari offering.

with insignia of elite rank) who replace mythical figures, and 2) lyre cups in offerings. These are part of a growing body of evidence that suggests how the state appropriated religious and ritual domains in its legitimation process. The imagery and its contexts reveal that visible expressions of hierarchy shift focus, around A.D. 600, from the sacred realm of the gods, to the sanctioning of humans as divine lords or kings.

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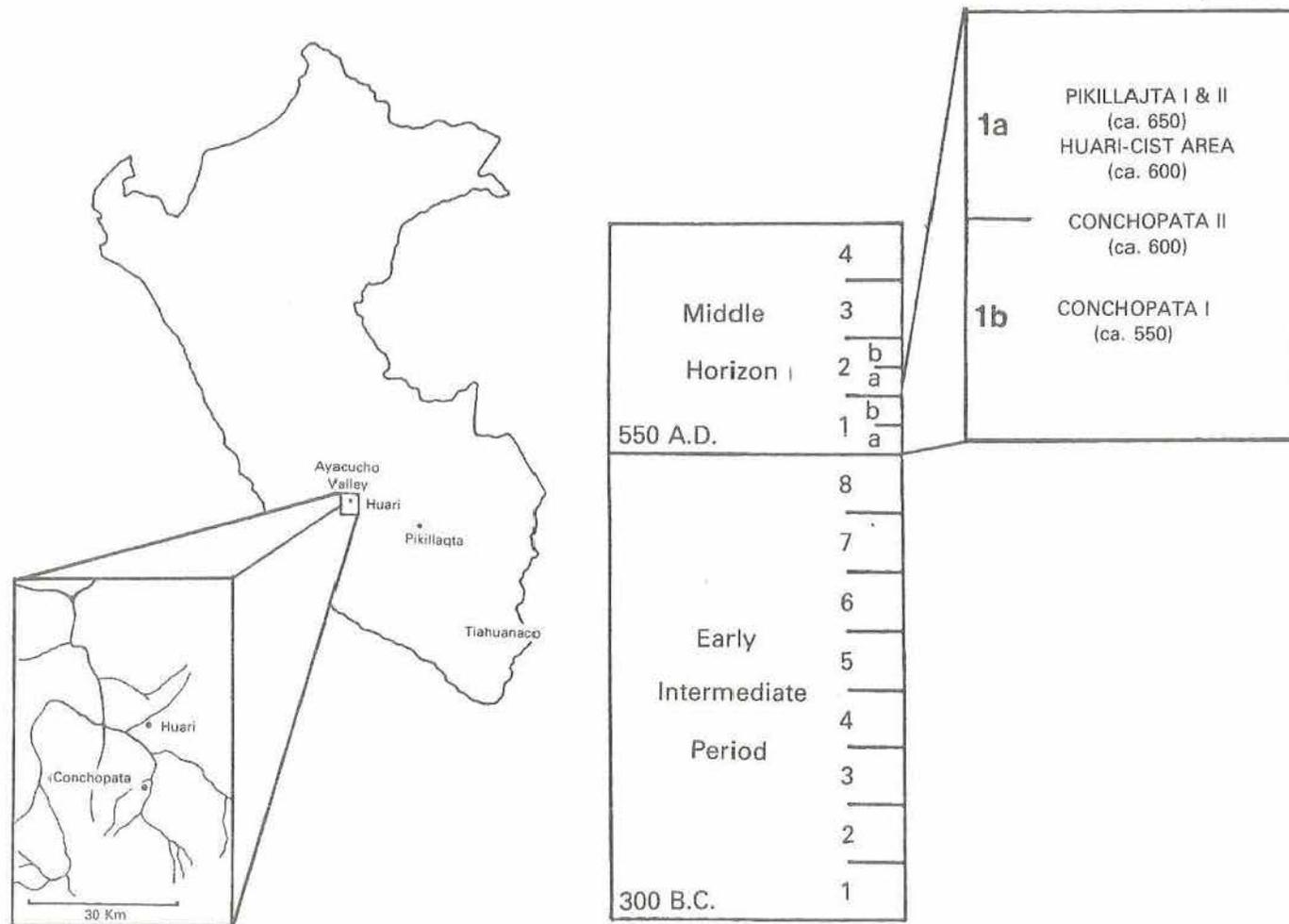


Figure 1.
Chronological Framework

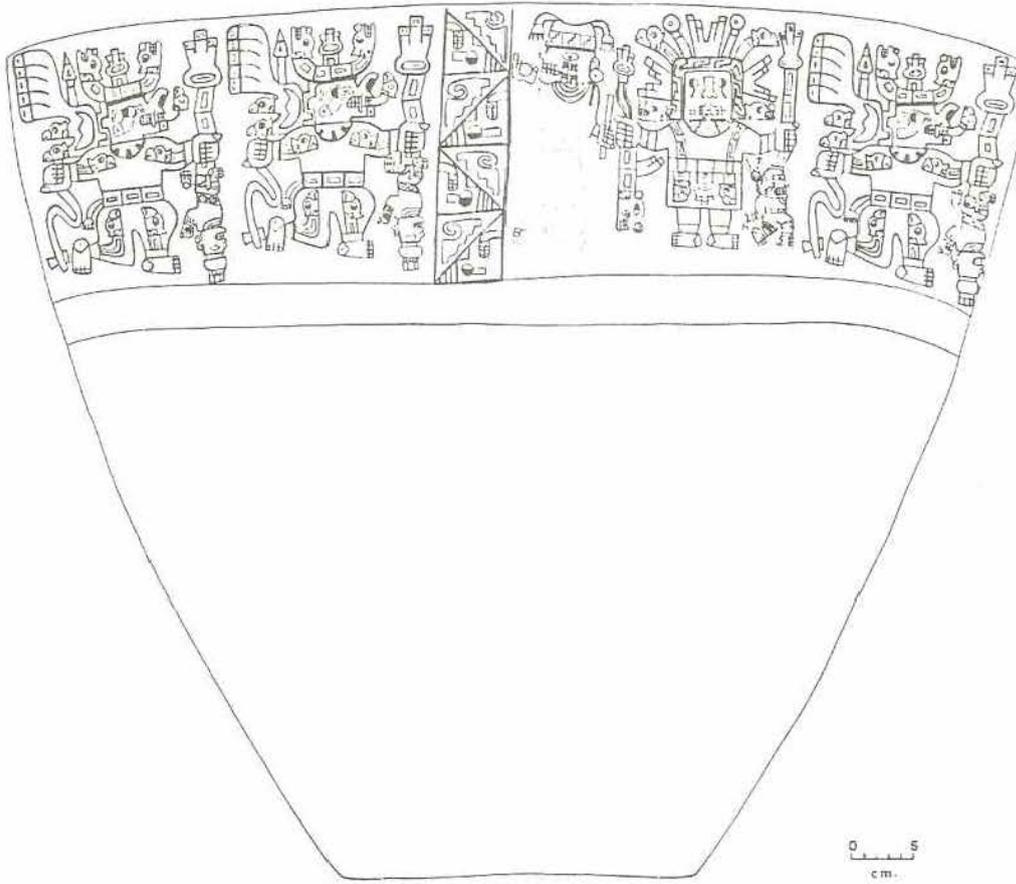


Figure 2.
Conchopata I urns with profile Figures, Central Deity, full-sized and miniature humans.

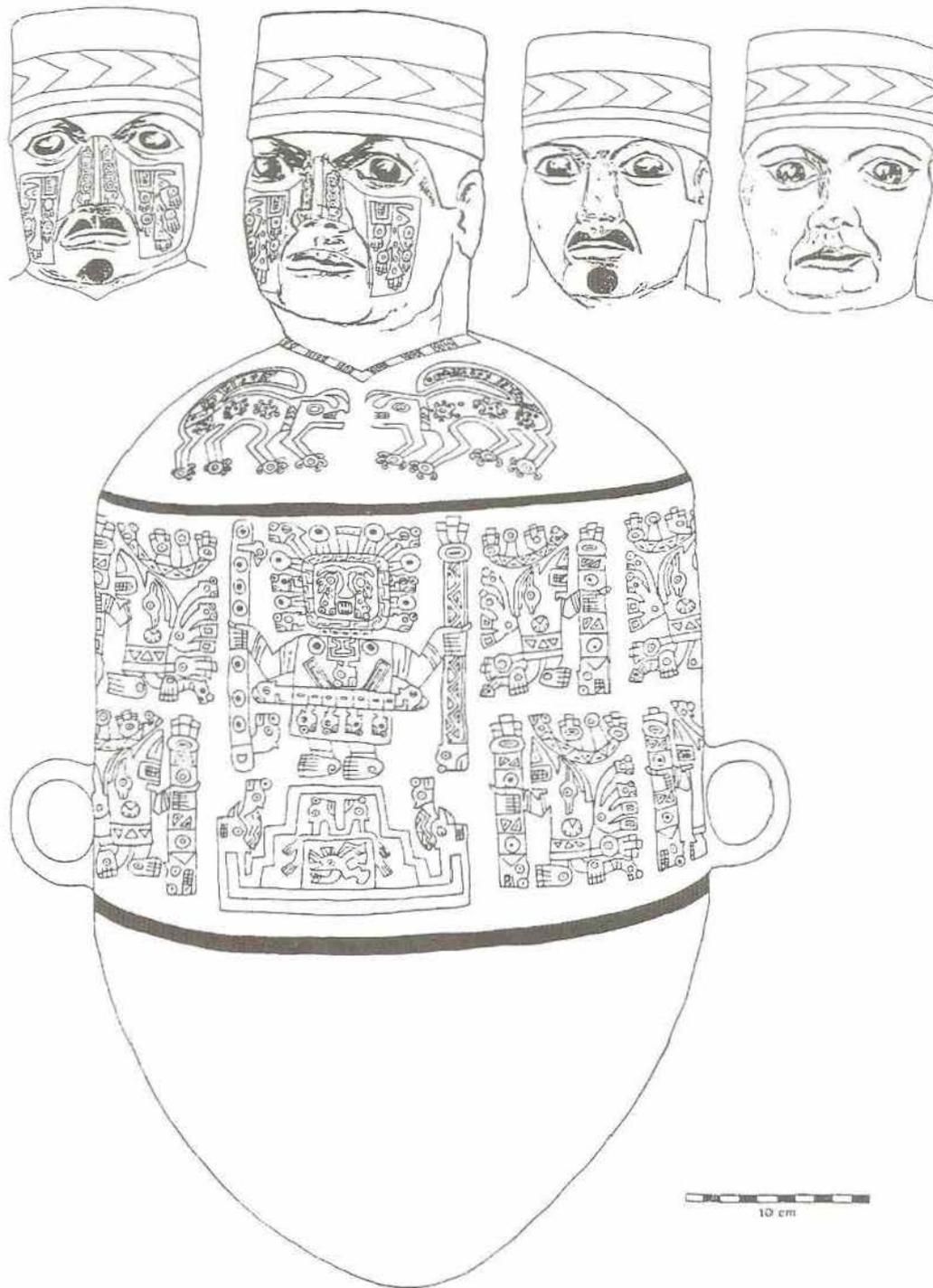
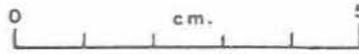
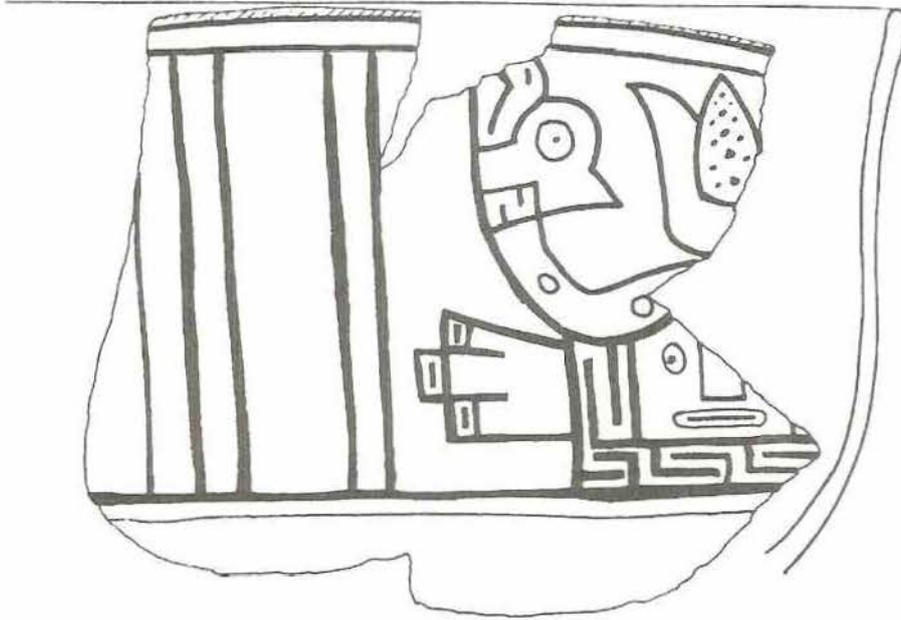


Figure 3.
Conchopata II face-neck jar.

Exterior Decoration

diam. = 8 cm.



diam. = 9 cm.

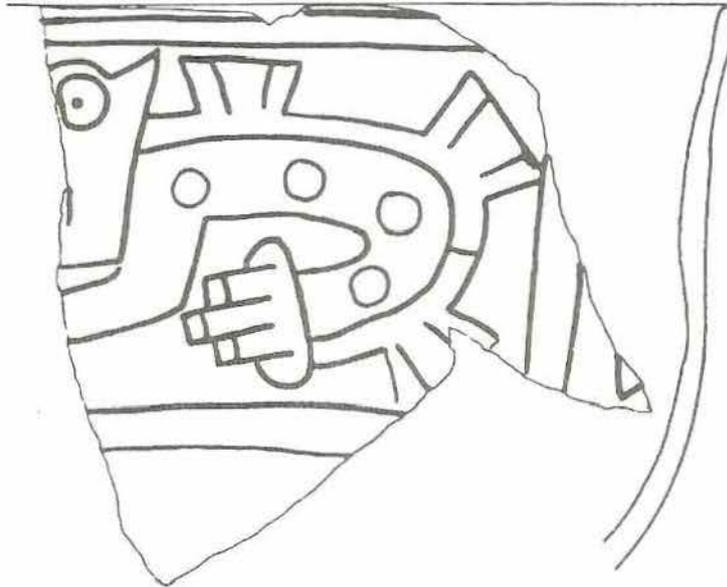


Figure 4.
Moraduchayoq lyre cup.



0 cm. 5

Figure 5.
Moraduchayoq human effigy vessel.

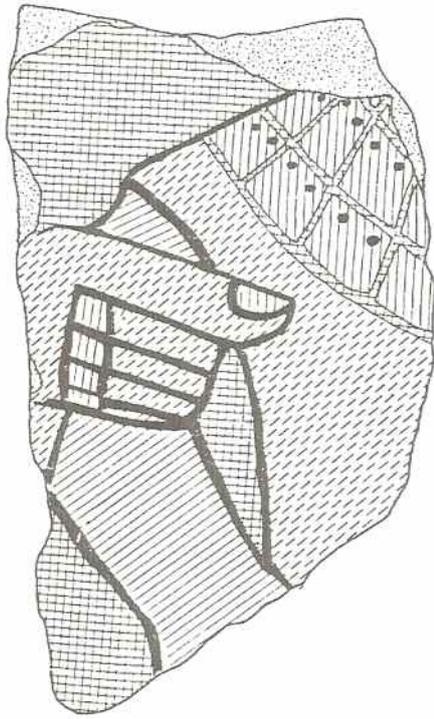


Figure 6.
Conchopata I full-sized human.

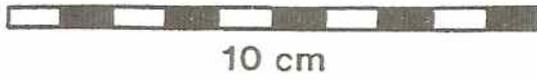
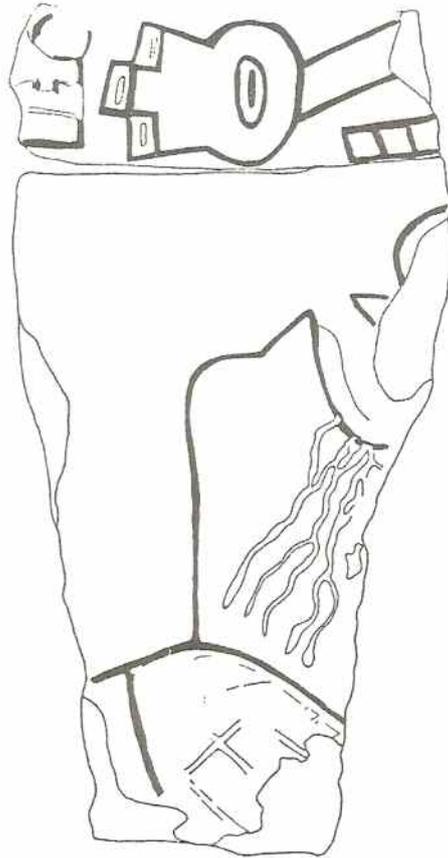


Figure 7.
Conchopata I full-sized human.